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Miraculous Image as a Relic: The Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi in Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury

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Abstract

Based on archival documents, the paper discusses the Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi preserved in Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury, commissioned by Archbishop of Dubrovnik Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini after the miracle that the saint's image worked in Lorignano near Todi in 1672, and brought from Rome to Dubrovnik in 1690. The motive behind the execution of the reliquary was the image of St Filippo Benizi placed within the reliquary, which proved miracu-

lous once again upon its arrival to Dubrovnik and encouraged the veneration of the saint from the Servite Order entirely foreign to the city's tradition. Lucchesini's commission of the reliquary is contextualized among his other commissions, realized mainly as the Prior General of the Servite Order (1670–1678), strongly connected to his promotion of the veneration of St Filippo Benizi, canonized in 1671.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, reliquary, St Filippo Benizi, Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, Order of Friar Servants of Mary

The decades that followed the great earthquake that struck Dubrovnik on April 6, 1667 were a period of slow recovery for the citizens of the small Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), both in terms of physical reconstruction of the city and the psychological healing of its people from the traumatic event. Naturally, the reconstruction of the city relied on the abilities and diplomatic skills of the secular government, but its spiritual restoration greatly depended upon the relationship with the ecclesiastical institutions, namely the archbishop, at the time still appointed from the ranks of non-Ragusan (regularly Italian) clergy.

The first archbishop to arrive to Dubrovnik after the great earthquake of 1667 was Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini (Lucca, 1629 – Assisi, 1698), member and former Prior General of the Order of Friar Servants of Mary (*Ordine dei Servi di Maria*), as well as inquisitor of the Roman Curia and general vicar to Pope Clement X. The cataclysm of 1667 had compelled his predecessor Pietro de Torres (Trani, 1634–1708; Archbishop 1665–1689) to leave Dubrovnik and to attend to his transfer to another diocese in Rome, which finally occurred in 1689 after twenty-two years of his absence from the city. His successor Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini at first renounced at the honour of the title of archbishop of

Dubrovnik, which he had been offered by Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi in June 1689, only to accept it in November of the same year.¹ Lucchesini's concern for the spiritual needs of the Archdiocese of Dubrovnik began immediately after his having accepted the pallium: through his intercession with the papal Curia, the feast of Saint Blaise, the patron saint of Dubrovnik, was raised to the rank of Double First Class.² The long absence of their archbishop and the still fresh memory of the cataclysm that struck the city more than twenty years earlier incited the Ragusan government to honour their new spiritual leader with a magnificent ceremony organized on the occasion of his arrival, which would later become a model for all subsequent ceremonial entries of the future archbishops.³ Significant improvements to the spiritual state of the Archdiocese during Lucchesini's stay in Dubrovnik between 1690 and 1693 were accompanied by his efforts to restore the ecclesiastical possessions – the archiepiscopal villa on the island of Šipan and his own temporary residence within the city – both through his own investments and by maintaining favourable relations with the secular authorities.⁴

Lucchesini's most important addition to the artistic heritage of Dubrovnik was his donation of a masterpiece of craftsmanship today preserved in Dubrovnik's Cathedral



1. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, after 1672, Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury (photo: P. Mofardin, Institute of Art History, inv. n. IPU-F-28141_PM)

Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, nakon 1672., Riznica dubrovačke katedrale

Treasury: the Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi (Fig. 1),⁵ a 13th-century Florentine saint and the fifth general of the Servite Order,⁶ whose veneration Lucchesini especially promoted and whose biography he wrote in 1671,⁷ the year of the saint's canonization by Pope Clement X. The large reliquary consists of a wooden crucifix with a gilt bronze corpus, mounted on a wooden plinth with gilt bronze decorations, the coat-of-arms of Archbishop Lucchesini, and his motto *FORTITVDO MEA DOMINVS* surrounded by four sculpted flames (Fig. 2), with glass-covered compartments which house the saint's relics.⁸ Four figures of half-kneeling angels that decorate the upper part of the plinth carry the attributes of St Filippo Benizi – a twig (originally probably a bunch of flowers),⁹ a crucifix, the papal tiara, and a lily, in conformance with the saint's iconography firmly established and diffused from the sixteenth century (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Relics of St Filippo Benizi accompanied by inscriptions are inserted in the upper part of the plinth and on the sides of the central opening: particles of the saint's mantle (*Della Cappa*) and shirt (*Della Camiscia*) are placed on either side of the lower part of the reliquary housing the image of the saint, surmounted by a bone relic



2. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, after 1672, Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury, coat-of-arms of Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini (photo: T. Trška)

Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, nakon 1672, Riznica dubrovačke katedrale, grb Giovannija Vincenza Lucchesinija



3. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, after 1672, Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury, angels carrying the attributes of St Filippo Benizi (photo: T. Trška)

Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, nakon 1672, Riznica dubrovačke katedrale, anđeli s atributima sv. Filipa Benizija

with the inscription *Del B. Filippo Benizzi*. The painting of St Filippo Benizi in the central opening (Fig. 4) is flanked by pairs of fluted columns (paired columns are placed on each corner of the interior of the plinth and in the upper glass compartment with the bone relic). The standing figure of the saint is depicted on a slightly convex copper plate of uneven edges, surrounded by red flames. St Filippo Benizi is portrayed in the black habit of the Servite Order, holding a book in his left and a lily in his right hand, while a papal tiara rests on the saint's right as a reminder of his refusal to accept the pontifical title.

The veneration of St Filippo Benizi in the Archdiocese of Dubrovnik was encouraged by a miracle that occurred on



4. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, after 1672, Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury, miraculous image of St Filippo Benizi (photo: T. Trška)
Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, nakon 1672, Riznica dubrovačke katedrale, čudotvorna slika sv. Filipa Benizija

the day of Lucchesini's solemn entry to the city on June 29, 1690.¹¹ A detailed account of the miracle, which involved the image of St Filippo Benizi enclosed within the reliquary, is preserved in the Archives of the Diocese of Dubrovnik among the records related to Lucchesini's archiepiscopal administration,¹² as well as in the General Archives of the Servite Order in Rome.¹³ The narrative of the miraculous image of St Filippo Benizi begins in August of 1672, eighteen years before Lucchesini's arrival to Dubrovnik and a year after the saint's canonization, in Lorignano, a small castle in the vicinity of Todi, the burial place of San Filippo Benizi, where a fierce fire broke out in one of the houses. After futile attempts to extinguish the fire, a man especially devoted to St Filippo Benizi ran to his house and brought a piece of paper from a processional lantern that featured an image of the saint and handed it to the parish priest who assisted to the great fire. A bricklayer was asked to make an opening in the wall big enough for the piece of paper to be thrown inside the house, while the gathered crowd invoked the assistance of the saint, obtaining not one, but five miracles enumerated in the written account. The first miracle happened when the piece of paper with the saint's image was thrown inside the house: the fire, which was supposed to move towards the opening in the wall, stopped before the image and receded. The second miracle was that the fire immediately descended

towards the ground, contrary to its natural behaviour. The third and the most important miracle was that the fire surrounded the entire piece of paper and burned all the parts that were white, leaving the borders of the saint's vestments intact, along with the rays above his head, the lily held in his hand, and the papal tiara depicted below his feet. The signs of fire burning around the holy image remained visible, which was considered to be a miracle unheard of, because no artistic skill could have produced a similar effect. The fourth miracle was that the saint's image remained intact in the midst of the great fire, so that even twenty years afterwards the remains of burned paper around the saint's image were still visible. Finally, the fifth miracle was that the great fire, otherwise inextinguishable, immediately died out. The story continues with Lucchesini's acknowledgement of the miracle and the transportation of the miraculous image from Todi to Rome, where he obtained official recognition from Pope Clement X, the same pope who had canonized St Filippo Benizi a year earlier. This was followed by Lucchesini's commission of a reliquary that would contain the miraculous image and other relics of the saint, executed, as stated in the document, with considerable expenses. The image was placed under a glass cover and supported by a clean piece of copper and attached by nails, with the purpose of displaying not only the image, but also the signs of fire. Before Lucchesini's departure from Rome to Dubrovnik, it was preserved in the Servite convent of San Marcello in Rome, where the holy sheet was seen many times not only by members of the Order, but also by "various illustrious cardinals, prelates, princes, and other individuals of the city."

On the day of Lucchesini's solemn entry to the city of Dubrovnik on June 29, 1690 the image of St Filippo Benizi worked another miracle. Having sung his first mass in presence of the Rector and the Senate, the archbishop withdrew for lunch. Suddenly, impatient to open the chest which held the reliquary during his journey to Dubrovnik, Lucchesini ordered a theologian in his service to unpack the reliquary, who while doing it suddenly cried "Miracle!" as he revealed that the holy image was entirely surrounded by the colour of flames. The archbishop and members of his entourage remained stupefied at this great transformation, and after an initial period of astonishment, the archbishop noted five more miracles that had occurred on the holy image. The first miracle was that the piece of paper containing the image had retracted behind the copper plate which supported it, although it was attached by nails; the second that the once clean and unadorned copper plate now had an entire figure of the saint painted on its surface, as a faithful copy of the image on the sheet which had defied fire in Lorignano, including the saint's attributes; the image of the saint appeared so wonderful that no artist could have painted it more beautiful or graceful, since it was an image sent by angels from heaven and to be considered the true effigy of the saint. The third miracle consisted in the fact that the part of the copper plate around the image of the saint was surrounded by the liveliest colour of fire, showing the figure of the saint in the midst of burning fire that no painter could have executed better. The fourth miracle was that the base supporting the

copper plate had moved forward, in front of the piece of paper, but remained pure and intact, which proved that the copper plate used to be clear before the apparition of the miraculous image on its surface. The fifth miracle was that the copper plate, originally attached to the reliquary by nails, now stood freely without any support.

Just as witnesses were required to testify the virtues and miracles performed by the future saints, as was emphasized already at the end of the 11th century by Pope Urban II and officially regulated by the post-Tridentine Church,¹⁴ miracles performed by officially confirmed saints earned credibility only if they were confirmed by trustworthy witnesses. This prerequisite was certainly met in case of the miracles of the reliquary of St Filippo Benizi – the saintly event was officially recorded by a public notary of Dubrovnik¹⁵ and attested by a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries: Antonije Primović, Bishop of Trebinje-Mrkan; Matija Brnjaković, Bishop of Belgrade; Karlo Olanti, Bishop of Ston; three abbots of religious orders; members of the Cathedral Chapter; and other qualified ecclesiastics. They all testified that the five seals applied in Rome prior to Lucchesini's departure for Dubrovnik by a certain *Bastiano che lavora Reliquarij* remained intact, while individuals in Lucchesini's service confirmed that the image appeared different from the one they had had the opportunity to admire many times before in Rome. A month after the miracle, Archbishop Lucchesini began spreading the word of the saint's special benevolence towards himself and the Republic. On July 31, 1690 he sent letters and descriptions of the miraculous event to Pope Alexander VIII¹⁶ and to a member of his order, theologian Giulio Arighetti (Arrighetti) in Florence.¹⁷ In another letter (this time accompanied by a description of his ceremonial entry to the city) written on the same date to another Servite theologian in Florence, Cosimo della Bella, Lucchesini announced that the account of the miracle would be sent to be printed¹⁸ (perhaps modelled on works such as *Breve relatione di nuovi miracoli operati da Iddio per i Meriti del Glorioso S. Filippo Benizi* published in 1671),¹⁹ although it seems that the prelate's desire was never realized. The miracle was immediately interpreted as a sign of the saint's special benevolence towards the Republic and its citizens, as well as a clear sign to its owner that he should donate it to the Republic, and not to the church of his order in his hometown of Lucca as originally intended. Lucchesini designated the reliquary to the nunnery of St Claire, the largest and most prominent female monastery in the city, and issued special instructions for its safekeeping.²⁰ The miracles incited by invocations of St Filippo Benizi continued: nuns of the Order of St Claire reported a series of miraculous healings and miraculous findings of previously lost objects,²¹ which further encouraged the veneration of the saint entirely foreign to the city's tradition. In his proclamations to the clergy of Dubrovnik, Lucchesini himself did not miss any opportunity to recommend the invocation of his patron saint,²² considered especially inclined to the most excellent Republic and its people, who had, although surrounded by many enemies, preserved the Holy Faith pure and intact and with not a single schismatic throughout the vast territory of the archdiocese, as was stated

at the end of the document related to the miracle. The introduction of St Filippo Benizi among the publicly venerated saints endorsed by the secular government followed very soon, already in 1690, when the saint's feast day (August 23) was instituted as one of the so-called feasts of the Rector's Palace (*Blagdani Dvora*),²³ or a mandatory holiday officially proclaimed by the Republic, with a solemn mass held every year in front of his reliquary, preserved in the nunnery of St Claire. The recognition of St Filippo Benizi as a special advocate of the Republic became particularly evident during the outburst of plague in the city from January 9, 1691 until April 18 of the same year,²⁴ when the Senate declared him *Avvocato della Nostra Repubblica* equal to St Blaise. The processions organized by the Republic to invoke heavenly protection against the epidemics usually included the relics of St Blaise, the wood of the Holy Cross, and the image of the Madonna delle Porte, but now with an important addition of the "image with relics" of St Filippo Benizi, all carried on the second day of the procession.²⁵ The saint's relics were exposed to public veneration in the church of St Claire along with the Holy Sacrament on the last three days of the Carnival,²⁶ and St Filippo Benizi was included in the traditional *Laus* read at the opening ceremony of the feast of St Blaise, presented together with St Francis Xavier as advocate of the Republic.²⁷ There is no evidence to support Farlati's claim that Lucchesini commissioned an altar of St Filippo Benizi in the church of St Claire;²⁸ the eighteenth-century records mention the reliquary at the altar of St Luigi Gonzaga on the right-hand side of the main altar.²⁹ Despite Lucchesini's efforts and the highly receptive Ragusan environment when it came to relics,³⁰ state-endorsed veneration of St Filippo Benizi hardly outlasted his archiepiscopal mandate. However brief, the veneration of the Florentine saint during the archiepiscopate of Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini was just what the still recovering city needed: it was encouraged by a miracle which confirmed that the earthquake was not a sign that its citizens had been forgotten by their heavenly protectors, but – on the contrary – that the Republic and its people were expressly chosen by St Filippo Benizi as the ones who had earned his grace and who would preserve his miraculous reliquary in the centuries to come.

With the two sets of miracles that occurred first in Lorignano near Todi and then in Dubrovnik, the miraculous image of St Filippo Benizi met both conditions required for an image to be called miraculous, which must be either "an inorganic representation of a human being that allegedly produces an unnatural or 'miraculous' effect on something external to itself, perhaps without any change to itself," or "a representation that supposedly itself changes momentarily, perhaps without a change to anything external to itself."³¹ The first condition was met already in Lorignano, although the event differs from the usual narratives of miraculous images: the miraculous quality of the image became evident and existent only on the occasion of its transformation from an ordinary representation, taken from a processional lantern owned by a devotee, to an actual agent of the miracle. In other words, the image of St Filippo Benizi was neither an altarpiece nor a fresco or other image preserved in an ecclesiastical

setting, nor a painting adorning a house altar or a public shrine, but a common painted sheet that used to decorate an item carried in processions. Similar narratives of painted or sculpted images left intact by devouring flames – usually of the Madonna and Child – are widely spread in all historical periods and geographical areas, such as those of the sculpture of the Virgin in the church of La Madeleine at Vézelay (1160–1165),³² Our Lady of the Fire (*Madonna del fuoco*) from Faenza (1567),³³ or the geographically and chronologically closer example of Our Lady of the Stone Gate in Zagreb (1731),³⁴ to name only a few. These images, however, usually encouraged special veneration followed by the construction of shrines and sanctuaries that bear their name; that is, they stayed on the site of the miracle. On the contrary, the miracle-working image of St Filippo Benizi remained a movable and even itinerant object, placed inside a reliquary after being subjected to necessary verifications in order to obtain papal authentication, as if the image was indeed a relic. The saint's relics were duly placed within a reliquary, but the motive behind the commission was the once ordinary object created centuries after the saint's death, which thus became a sort of a "relic by extension." The *idea* of the saint embodied in his visual representation was therefore assigned the same powers as the actual relics of St Filippo Benizi that played central role in other miraculous events involving fire, some of which also occurred in the vicinity of Todi. One of the earliest accounts of salvation from fire by the intercession of St Filippo Benizi through his personal belongings dates to the fourteenth century (1317), when a fire was extinguished by the saint's mantle;³⁵ other events included the saint's slippers, which saved the burning Servite church of St Mark when a saint's devotee threw them in the fire, or a mattress on which the saint used to sleep and on which he died, which remained intact when a fire burnt down the house it was kept in.³⁶ The second prerequisite for the image to be qualified as miraculous – "a representation that supposedly itself changes momentarily" – was met upon Lucchesini's arrival to Dubrovnik, when the image of the saint transferred itself to the copper plate that used to support it. Here, the primacy in the relationship between the miracle-working object and the miracle-working image shifted to the image, whereas in Lorignano the agent of the miracle had been the object; all, naturally, through the intercession of the saint whose true likeness it represented.

Besides providing a detailed account of the miraculous events that incited the commission of the reliquary and its subsequent veneration in Dubrovnik, the narrative of the image of St Filippo Benizi reveals important information related to its date of execution. Studies discussing the reliquary have connected it to Abbot Stjepan Gradić (Dubrovnik, 1613 – Rome, 1683),³⁷ the most important agent of the Republic in Rome and largely responsible for the reconstruction of the city's cathedral, while its date of execution has been associated with the saint's canonization in 1671, considered as the motive for its commission.³⁸ However, the occurrence of the miracle of the saint's image in Lorignano in August 1672, a year after his canonization, provides a precise *terminus post quem* for the execution of the reliquary, commissioned

by Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini shortly after the official recognition of the miracle by Pope Clement X. The proposed connection to Abbot Stjepan Gradić has been motivated by purely art-historical reasons: the corpus placed high on the reliquary has been associated with a model by Alessandro Algardi,³⁹ who worked under the patronage of Pope Innocent X Pamphili. The sole fact of Stjepan Gradić's acquaintance with Pope Innocent X (who died in 1655) does not seem convincing enough to associate the reliquary's Roman commission with Gradić's intercession, especially in the light of the narrative of the reliquary's origin.

The reliquary of St Filippo Benizi in Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury most certainly belongs to the Roman artistic circles active in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, involved both directly and indirectly in visual and other celebrations of newly canonized saints.⁴⁰ Although detailed, the account of the miracles of the saint's image unfortunately does not mention the name of its maker, but only *un certo Bastiano, che lavora Reliquarij, che abita verso l'Orto*, who inspected the copper plate before Lucchesini's departure from Rome, closed the opening by applying five seals, and secured it for the transport.⁴¹ The said Bastiano (or Sebastiano) cannot be identified with any of the known goldsmiths or silversmiths active in Rome in the last quarter of the seventeenth century,⁴² and there is no evidence to suggest that he can be credited with the execution of the reliquary. The choice of architectural elements for the lower part of the reliquary was probably conditioned by the necessity to accommodate the miraculous image of the saint, initially supported by a copper plate and then, as the narrative of the miracle in Dubrovnik suggests, transferred to the same copper plate that supported it. The unknown master of the reliquary of St Filippo Benizi had to resolve a task in which content determined the form: the reason for the commission of the reliquary was not a relic, but a miraculous image, much larger in size than the usual minute particles of saints' bodies or personal belongings. The architectural form of the reliquary appears rather unusual for its date of execution, and its overall structure seems closer to examples produced in the first half of the seventeenth century,⁴³ often resembling an aedicule or a tabernacle,⁴⁴ or even much earlier reliquaries modelled upon elements of actual architecture.⁴⁵ Despite the somewhat archaic form of the lower part of the reliquary, conceived as a shrine for the miraculous image, the overall impression of the reliquary conforms to the artistic ambient of Rome in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when it was produced, primarily due to the elements of figural decoration applied to the wooden structure. Figures of angels and the crucified Christ (belonging to the type of the "living Christ" or *Cristo vivo*) may have been executed after models provided by sculptors, which was a common practice in Baroque Rome for objects of craftsmanship such as reliquaries and tabernacles.⁴⁶ Timothy Clifford has associated the figure of the crucified Christ with a model by Alessandro Algardi, but one cannot exclude Bernini's designs for bronze crucifixes, especially the one at Palazzo Pallavicini in Rome (perhaps connected to a documented commission by Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini to Bernini in 1665), which has



5. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, after 1672, Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury, figure of an angel carrying an attribute of St Filippo Benizi (photo: T. Trška)

Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, nakon 1672, Riznica dubrovačke katedrale, lik anđela s atributom sv. Filipa Benizija



6. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Half-Kneeling Angel*, model for the ciborium of the Holy Sacrament in the St Peter's Basilica, 1672, terracotta, 29.8 × 18.3 × 19.4 cm, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing and Friends of the Fogg Art Museum Funds, 1937.65 (photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, model za lik anđela na Ciboriju Presvetoga Sakramenta u Bazilici sv. Petra, 1672, terakota, 29,8 × 18,3 × 19,4 cm. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing and Friends of the Fogg Art Museum Funds, 1937.65

been attributed to both Bernini and Algardi.⁴⁷ The free-flying drapery of Christ's perizonium present on the Dubrovnik reliquary is common in Algardi's designs for the crucified Christ, but the majority of Algardi's figures, regardless of the material (e. g. silver crucifix in the Treasury of San Lorenzo, Florence; bronze crucifixes in SS. Vittore e Carlo, Genoa and in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome; clay crucifix in the Chapel of the Palazzo del Governatorato in Rome) feature four, not three nails like the ones designed by Bernini.⁴⁸ It must be remembered that Alessandro Algardi died in 1654, twenty-six years before Bernini (d. 1680), but also, more importantly, that the years of Lucchesini's commission of the reliquary (after 1672) correspond to the late phase of the activity of Gian Lorenzo Bernini and his workshop, who had just finished the series of ten angels for Ponte Sant' Angelo in Rome (1669)⁴⁹ and started the long-planned enterprise of the Ciborium of the Holy Sacrament in St Peter's (1672–1674).⁵⁰ The figures of half-kneeling angels carrying the attributes of St Filippo Benizi (Fig. 5) are, in fact, much closer to Bernini's concepts than to Algardi's more moderate, toned down

expression, especially if compared to the figures of angels for the Ciborium of the Holy Sacrament in St Peter's, realized by Bernini's collaborators Giovanni Rinaldi, Lazzaro Morelli, and Giuseppe Mazzuoli after the master's drawings and clay models (Fig. 6).⁵¹ Despite the obvious differences in size and artistic quality, the slightly reclining bodies, facial expressions with half-opened mouths, and dynamically rendered draperies of the Dubrovnik reliquary angels belong to the Berninesque spirit of the last decade of his life, close to Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini precisely in the same period through Bernini's pupil and close collaborator Mattia de' Rossi (Rome, 1637 – Rome, 1695).

Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini's ties to the visual arts are attested in a portrait engraving (Fig. 7) realized by the Flemish engraver Albert Clouwet (Antwerp, 1636 – Naples, 1679), a pupil of Cornelis Bloemaert resident in Rome between 1664



7. Albert Clouwet, *Portrait of Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini*, 1670s, engraving, Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria, Fondo incisioni, AR-29-3 (photo: T. Trška)

Albert Clouwet, *Portret Giovannija Vincenza Lucchesinija*, 1670-e, bakrorez. Rim, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria, Fondo incisioni, AR-29-3

and 1677.⁵² The inscription below the figure on either side of Lucchesini's coat-of-arms indicates that the engraving was produced in the 1670s, during the years of Lucchesini's service as Prior General, and represents a rare example of portraits of generals of the Servite Order.⁵³ However, his contacts with artists and craftsmen were most closely related to the canonization of St Filippo Benizi celebrated on April 12, 1671 (together with saints Gaetano Thiene, Francis Borgia, Louis Bertrand, and Rose of Lima),⁵⁴ and especially to the solemnization of the saint's canonization celebrated at the Order's church of San Marcello al Corso in Rome between 23 and 30 August 1671.⁵⁵ As Prior General of the Servite Order, Lucchesini had to authorize payments for artworks commissioned by the Order for the celebrations in the saint's honour.⁵⁶ Reports of his merits for the Order between 1670 and 1678 mention his initiatives for the reconstruction of the monastery of San Marcello,⁵⁷ as well as commissions of sculptures and paintings placed in the church on the occasion of eight-day solemnization celebrations in 1671,⁵⁸ all motivated by his permanent efforts to promote the veneration of the recently canonized saint. His initiatives involving the visual arts did not remain limited to Rome. During his service as Prior General, Lucchesini is reported to have or-

dered the relocation of a venerated image of the Madonna to the chapel of Madonna delle Grazie in the Servite church of San Fiorenzo in Perugia, which replaced a painting identified with Sinibaldo Ibi's altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist, Joseph, Fiorenzo and Blessed Filippo Benizi* of 1515, now at the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia, removed to the refectory of the adjacent convent.⁵⁹ More importantly, immediately after St Filippo Benizi's canonization in 1671, Lucchesini initiated the reconstruction of the high altar in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Todi, to which the body of the then still *beato* Filippo had been translated from the church of San Marco in Borgo Nuovo in 1599.⁶⁰ The design of the altar was entrusted to Roman architect Mattia de' Rossi, the statue of the saint placed in the centre of the retable was executed by Paolo Naldini and delivered to Todi in 1674, while stucco master Pietro Ghetti finished the upper part of the altar featuring a relief of the Madonna of the Sorrows.⁶¹ Bernini's pupil Mattia de' Rossi seems to have been Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini's preferred architect: during his service as Prior General, he entrusted De' Rossi with the design and execution of the pulpit in the Order's main church of San Marcello al Corso, financed from Lucchesini's own funds.⁶²

In these endeavours related to the visual arts, a prominent place was given to the saint's relics and reliquaries that housed them, which Lucchesini commissioned either in the function of Prior General of the Order, or from his private funds. As stated in his report to the General Chapter of 1678, he had arranged for the execution of two splendid silver reliquaries for the Servite church in Todi, financed from the funds collected from preaching licences in the first two years of his service;⁶³ these might correspond to the two large silver reliquaries Lucchesini sent to Todi in 1677 which preserved two pairs of the saint's sandals.⁶⁴ In 1673, also in Todi, he ordered that the "external" relics of St Filippo Benizi (his cap, a small crucifix, a wooden crown, a pair of slippers, and a pair of shoes) be moved to a silver urn which already housed the saint's mantle, and be placed in the sacristy of the church of the Order, which caused great protests of the faithful concerned that the General's intention was to deprive them of their precious relics.⁶⁵ Lucchesini made special mention of the saint's miraculous relics in his *Life of St Filippo Benizi* published in 1671, especially of his mantle preserved in his hometown of Lucca,⁶⁶ and relics and reliquaries remained in the centre of his attention even after the termination of his office of Prior General. In 1681, he donated three relics of San Filippo Benizi in a silver reliquary to Lucio Maria Amici, Confessor of the Apostolic Palace,⁶⁷ of the same origin as the ones in the Dubrovnik reliquary: a fragment of the bone from the saint's shin and particles of his shirt and mantle. Lucchesini's devotion to St Filippo Benizi apparently encouraged him to obtain the saint's relics for private devotion, perhaps even prior to the saint's canonization. This is suggested by the inscription identifying the saint attached to the bone fragment inside the Dubrovnik reliquary, which reads "Del B. [*Beato*] Filippo Benizzi", indicating that it was obtained before 1671.

Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini was appointed Bishop of Assisi in 1693, where he died on April 14, 1698 and was buried



8. Unknown painter, *Portrait of Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini*, after 1693, fresco, 103 × 50 cm, Assisi, Palazzo vescovile, Galleria dei vescovi (photo: courtesy of Diocesi di Assisi-Nocera Umbra-Gualdo Tadino)

Neznani slikar, Portret Giovannija Vincenza Lucchesinija, nakon 1693., zidna slika, 103 × 50 cm. Assisi, Palazzo vescovile, Galleria dei vescovi

in the cathedral chapel dedicated to his saintly protector Filippo Benizi.⁶⁸ An altar with the inscription *DOLOROSÆ VIRGINI, / AC / D. PHILIPPO / OR. SER. / D* still exists in the south aisle of the cathedral of Assisi, but today with a dedication to St Francis. It was erected in 1672 by Bishop Ludovico Giustiniani, also a member of the Servite Order,⁶⁹ so it seems plausible to presume that this was the site of Lucchesini's final resting place. His portrait (*il vero ritratto*)⁷⁰ survives in the Gallery of Bishops (Galleria dei Vescovi, today's Diocesan library) in the episcopal palace of Assisi, as part of a cycle of wall paintings initiated in the last quarter of the 17th century (Fig. 8).⁷¹ After Lucchesini's departure to Assisi, the Republic of Ragusa and its church gradually returned to their customary saints and their relics, while the reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, later transferred to the Cathedral Treasury (Fig. 10),⁷² came to be appreciated for its sumptuous decoration and artistic quality only in the more recent times. Before the earthquake of 1979, it was exhibited on the high altar of the cathedral (Fig. 9),⁷³ whereas today it remains preserved in the Treasury as a reminder of the



9. Reliquary of St Filippo Benizi on the former high altar of Dubrovnik's Cathedral, before 1979 (photo: Archives of the Cathedral Parish of Dubrovnik)

Relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija na nekadašnjem glavnom oltaru dubrovačke katedrale, prije 1979.

Florentine saint once regarded an advocate of the Republic, as well as of the archbishop who promoted his veneration.

Appendix

ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 13v-16v

Prodigio operato da S. Filippo Benitij nella Città di Ragusa nel giorno de SS.ti Apostoli Pietro, e Paolo dell'Anno 1690

Non puo aversi notitia perfetta di questo gran Miracolo, se prima non si narra l'origine e il principio del medesimo

Devesi dunque sapere, come nel Mese d'Agosto dell'anno 1672. s'accese un fuoco crudelissimo in una Casa del Castello detto di Lorgniano poco lungi dalla Città di Todi, dove si custodisce il corpo di detto Santo, e dove non passa giorno, che non compartisca à quei Popoli, Gratie, e Miracoli. Si fecero subito le solite diligenze per estinguer il detto fuoco, mà conoscendosi queste senza verun frutto un devoto di



10. Dubrovnik's Cathedral Treasury (photo: P. Mofardin, Institute of Art History, inv. n. IPU-F-28637_PM)
Riznica dubrovačke katedrale

detto Santo corse nella sua Casa, e prendendo una carta da lanternone, ove era dipinta l'effigie di detto Santo, la consegnò al Paroco, che si trovava presente con tutto il Popolo del Castello alla Casa, che furiosamente s'incendiava, e fatta fare da un Muratore tanta apertura nella muraglia, quanta bastava per (f. 14) gettarvi dentro la S. Imagine, invocando di cuore tutto il Popolo il Patrocinio di S. Filippo, solito a operar Prodigij sopra il fuoco, seguirono in un'istante cinque miracoli distinti.

Il Primo fù, che nel gettar, che fece il Paroco la Santa Carta dentro il fuoco, questo in vece di venire verso l'apertura della muraglia, come naturalmente doveva, cedette per riverenza il luogo al Santo con essersi allontanato ritirandosi in dietro.

Il 2.o fù, che doppo essersi allontanato questo fuoco, andò di subito à posarsi in terra contro il corso di natura, che tendit sursum.

Il 3.o maggiore di tutti i cinque fù, che il fuoco andò à circuire tutta la Santa Carta, abbrugiando tutta quella parte, che era bianca, e che non conteneva la pittura del Santo, rimanendo intatte l'estremità delle vestimenta, come pure rimasero intatti i raggi sopra la testa, il giglio, che tiene in mano, e il Triregno, che sta à piedi, come attualmente si vede, conservandosi tutta via doppo tanti anni i segni del fuoco, che stanno d'intorno alla Santa Imagine, con prodigio veramente inaudito, per[c]he con tutta l'arte non potrebbe prodursi un simile effetto.

Il 4.o miracolo fù, che rimase intatta la Santa Imagine in mezzo ad una gran fornace, come al presente si vede, con-

servandosi doppo anni venti d'intorno la Santa Imagine le reliquie della carta, che rimase abbrugiata.

Il 5.o Miracolo fù, che il fuoco, che era inestinguibile, posato, che fù in terra in un subito totalmente s'estinse.

(f. 14v) Alla fama di sì gran Miracolo si portò Monsignor Arcivescovo Lucchesini allora Generale del suo Ordine nella Città di Todi, per aver nelle mani, come gli riuscì la Santa Imagine, e fatti autenticare con le solite solennità i suddetti Prodigij, si portò nell'Alma Città di Roma per mostrare alla Gloriosa Maestà di Clemente X.º si gran Prodigio del Santo dal medesimo canonizzato l'anno antecedente, che lo venerò prostrato in terra non senza lagrime. Poco doppo, che seguì si gran Miracolo ripose Monsignor Arcivescovo questa Santa Carta insieme con altre Reliquie del Santo nel mezzo d'un gran Reliquiario insigne, che à tal effetto fece fare con spesa considerabile, et acciò si potessero ben discernere le vestigie del fuoco, che vi rimangono, come s'è detto d'intorno, la pose dietro un Cristallo, situata in piedi, e sostenuta da un pezzo di Rame, sopra il quale stava incollata della medesima grandezza, e forma della Santa Imagine, che di dietro la medesima fù questo Rame inchiodato soprà un poco del medesimo Rame.

Acciò possa ben conoscersi la grandezza del Miracolo, devesi sapere, che il detto Rame era puro naturale, senza verun artificio, e solamente di rustico, che era fù ripulito.

In questa forma è stata questa Santa Carta per tanti anni sino al giorno suddetto del seguente miracolo, come anno (*sic*) attestato con giuramento Monsignor Arcivescovo, e tre altre

Persone della sua famiglia, e come possono pure attestare non solamente tutti i Religiosi di San Marcello di Roma, mà anche diversi Eminentissimi Cardinali, Prelati, Principi, et altri Personaggi di detta Città, che più volte anno veduta questa Santa Carta, e per ultimo può farne testimonianza un certo Bastiano, che lavora Reliquarij, che abita verso l'Orto (f. 15) poco lungi dalla Casa del quondam Signor Abbate Rosa, il quale poco prima, che Monsignor Arcivescovo partisse da Roma, riconobbe il Rame, che sostiene la Santa Imagine, per osservare se stava con sicurezza, che non si muovesse nel lungo viaggio, che doveva fare, e trovandolo sicuro fù dal medesimo Bastiano alla presenza del detto Prelato, e delle tre Persone di sua famiglia serrato il sito dell'apertura, e sigilato con cinque sigilli, come con giuramento anno attestato al Notaro di Ragusa, nell'atto, che ha riconosciuti i suddetti Miracoli, e lo potrebbero pure attestare altri Religiosi di San Marcello, che furono presenti, quando furono posti i sudetti cinque sigilli.

Per passare ora al nuovo Prodigio ebbe Monsignor Arcivescovo la mattina de S.S. Apostoli Pietro, e Paolo (doppo, che ebbe cantata la sua prima Messa alla presenza del Principe, e del Senato) inspiratione specialissima contrò la determinatione, che aveva fatta di non muovere per qualche giorno le sue robbe, di far aprire la Cassa, dove era il Santo Reliquiario, e datone l'incumbenza al suo P. Teologo, cominciò l'opera, che rimase imperfetta, perche era in ordine il pranzo, e l'ora assai tarda, forse volendo il Santo, che Monsignore si resorcissasse dà patimenti avuti. Doppo il pranzo in vece di riposarsi, com'è suo solito, e come n'aveva non poco bisogno, ebbe la medesima impatienza, e impulso di terminare l'opra incominciata, e pervenuto il P. Teologo à levare una cortina, che stava in faccia alla Santa Imagine, interrogato da Monsignor se quella avesse patito, cominciò il P. Teologo à gridare Miracolo: la Santa Imagine è tutta circondata di color di fuoco. Postosi inginocchione il Prelato non poté mirare (f. 15v) sì gran Prodigio senza un gran spargimento di lacrime, come fecero quelli della sua famiglia, che in Roma tante volte havevano veduta la Santa Imagine totalmente diversa. Il Prelato doppo essere stato per un gran pezzo fuori di se, scoperse cinque Prodigij nella Santa Carta, come appunto furono cinque nell'origine della medesima, quando fù gettata nel fuoco.

Il Primo, che la Santa Carta, che stava in faccia al Popolo, perche potesse adorarsi, la vidde, che stava dietro il Rame, e questo che stava di dietro, che la sosteneva, come già s'è detto, e che stava inchiodato, vidde, che era venuto d'avanti.

Il 2.do. Questo Rame, che come pure s'è detto era puro, e naturale, e senza verun adornamento si vidde in esso dipinta tutta la figura intiera del Santo, nella forma, che è nella Carta con il Triregno verso i Piedi, il Giglio nella man destra, e un libro nella sinistra, comparendo la figura del Santo così mirabile, che con tutta l'arte della miniatura, non può farsi, ne più bella, ne più maestosa, essendo venuta come deve credersi dal Cielo per mano degl'Angioli, e bisogna, che come tale sia la vera effigie naturale del Santo.

Il 3.o Prodigio si è. D'intorno alla pitura (*sic*) del Santo, è circondato il Rame da un color vivissimo di fuoco, vedendosi

in cima del medesimo i segni di fiamme, che il Pittore non potrebbe con tutta l'arte meglio distinguerle, vedendosi tutto il Santo in mezzo al fuoco, che in una fornace non potrebbe esser più vivo.

Il 4.o Miracolo è il seguente. Come si è detto, stava il Rame situato dietro la Santa Carta inchiodato, et il piedistallo suo del medesimo Rame, che pure è comparso d'avanti si vede puro, e naturale nella forma, che vi fù posto, avendo voluto Iddio, che si conservi com'era, accio meglio si conosca (f. 16) il Miracolo, e si veda, che nell'istessa forma, che era il Piedistallo era pure il Rame, dove ora è l'Imagine del Santo circondata dalle fiamme.

L'ultimo si è, che quando fù scoperto il detto Miracolo, si vidde da Monsignor Arcivescovo, e da gl'altri della sua famiglia questo Santo Rame stato inchiodato tant'anni situato in piedi, senza che avesse nessun appoggio, che lo sostenesse, se non miracolosamente. Questi cinque Miracoli sono stati riconosciuti, et autenticati per mano di Notaro publico di Ragusa, doppo essere stati esaminati Monsignor Arcivescovo, e l'altre persone della sua famiglia, come pure furono riconosciuti intatti i cinque sigilli di Monsignor Arcivescovo, che custodivano la Santa Imagine, che in Roma furono posti dal sopra nominato Bastiano alla presenza de sudetti, con essersi trovati presenti alla medesima ricognitione Monsignor Vescovo di Trebigni, e Mercana, Monsignor Vescovo di Belgrado, e Monsignor Vescovo di Stagno, il Capitolo della Catedrale (*sic*), tre Abbati mitrati, tutti i superiori de gl'Ordini, et altri Religiosi qualificati.

Quantunque apparisca, che per essersi scoperti gl'accennati Prodigij subito, che arrivò il Prelato in Ragusa, volesse il Santo, che quivi si conservasse perpetuamente il suo Reliquiario, e non in altro luogo, non dimeno per far conoscer meglio questa Divina Dispositione, devesi sapere, che quando Monsignore fù destinato Arcivescovo di Ragusa, meditò di collocare in una Chiesa del suo Ordine questo Santo Reliquiario, e poco prima di partire per la sua Residenza, aveva risoluto affattò di mandare questo gran Tesoro nella Chiesa del suo Ordine di Lucca sua Patria, con averne à tal effetto scritto più lettere à quel P. Priore, mà per un certo (f. 16v) impulso soprannaturale, che ebbe un giorno all'improvviso verso sì gran Santo, riconosciuto da lui per suo unico, e benignissimo Protettore, dopo che ebbe la fortuna di vederlo canonizzato ne' primi mesi del suo Generalato, non ebbe cuore di privarsi di sì gran tesoro, in cui ripose in diversi suoi travagli, e accidenti ogni fiducia, e dal quale nell'anno medesimo, che seguì la sua Canonizzazione, ricevette la gratia, che essendo precipitato, e rivoltato più volte il suo Calesse da una gran balza, frà Levane, e Arezzo, rimase in più pezzi il Calesse, senza veruna lesione di Monsignore, che doppo avere scoperto il precipitio invocò il Patrocinio del Santo.

Avuta dunque l'inspiratione di non privarsi di questo Santo Reliquiario lo fece riporre in una custodia, e mandatolo in Ancona, l'imbarcò con altre sue robbe soprà il Vascello, che si fù destinato dall'Eccellentissima Republica di Ragusa, et è da osservarsi, che navigò felicemente senza minimo suo patimento contrò il suo solito, avendo molte altre volte patito notabilmente nelle navigationi, essendo giunto in brevissimo

tempo nel Porto di Ragusa, benchè quasi sempre il mare fosse in bonaccia.

Gl'accennati Prodigij, seguiti con sì mirabili circostanze danno giustamente motivo a Monsignor Arcivescovo di cavarne un felicissimo augurio per la Città di Ragusa, e per l'Anime destinate alla sua cura, conoscendosi troppo evidentemente, che questo gran Santo vole (*sic*) avere speciale Prottetione

di questa Eccellentissima Republica, e di questi Popoli, che quantunque circondati da tanti nostri nemici, conservano pura, e intatta la Santa Fede, non ritrovandosi in una Diocesi sì vasta soprà cento miglia di lunghezza per terra, e altrettanta per Mare, ne meno un Scismatico, conservando il Rito Cattolico, quanto qualsisia (*sic*) Chiesa d'Italia.

Laus Deo, Beatæ Virgini Mariæ, et Sancto Philippo Benitio.

Notes

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1 For the dates of archiepiscopal services, see: REMIGIUS RITZLER – PIRMIN SEFRIN, *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum – S. R. E. Cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series* (hereafter: *Hierarchia Catholica*), V, Padova, 1952, 327; for Lucchesini's appointment, see Archives of the Diocese of Dubrovnik (Arhiv Biskupije dubrovačke, hereafter ABD), 1, N. B. D., ser. 1 – *Diversa 7* (hereafter *Diversa 7*), ff. 2–3. Lucchesini's reluctance to accept the title of Archbishop of Dubrovnik is well illustrated in the chronicle of the convent of San Marcello in Rome: “Fino dalla felice, e santa memoria d'Innocenzo XI era stato designato Arcivescovo di Ragusa il nostro R.^{mo} P. Maestro Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, ma perché questi mal volentieri s'adattava a gire in paese rimoto, temporeggiò assai ad accettare quella Chiesa, tanto che prima di risolvere morì il Papa; ma eletto Alessandro VIII, che da Cardinale lo aveva dissuaso ad accettare quella Prelatura, da Papa cangiò consiglio, e gli fece soave violenza a prenderla, come seguì, ed esaminato con singolar suo decoro fu nella domenica 2.^a d'Avvento, che in quest' Anno è caduta nel dì 18 di dicembre fu solennemente consecrato dall'E.mo Sig. Card. Sano Millini in questa nostra Chiesa di S. Marcello.” ANGELO MARIA FREDDI, *Campione universale del convento di S. Marcello di Roma, 1697*, Ms. in the Archives of the Convent of San Marcello in Rome (transcription and digital reproductions at the Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria in Rome, hereafter: AGOSM), f. 158.

2 See Lucchesini's letter to the Republic of Ragusa dated January 25, 1690, ABD, *Diversa 7*, ff. 9–10; see also: SERAFIN MARIJA CERVA, *Prolegomena za Svetu dubrovačku metropoliju* [Prole-

gomena to the holy metropolitan Church of Dubrovnik], (ed.) Relja Seferović, Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 2012, 459.

3 NELLA LONZA, *Kazalište vlasti: ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke Republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [The theatre of power: State ceremonial and feasts of the Dubrovnik Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 2009, 134.

4 TANJA TRŠKA MIKLOŠIĆ, *Obnove nadbiskupskih posjeda u Dubrovniku u vrijeme nadbiskupa Giovannijsa Vincenza Lucchesinija* [Restoration of archiepiscopal estates in Dubrovnik at the time of Archbishop Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini], in: *Peristol: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 56 (2013), 143–154.

5 On the reliquary of St Filippo Benizi, see: VINICIJE B. LUPIS, *Prilog poznavanju rimskog zlatarstva u Dubrovniku* [A contribution to the research on Roman goldsmithing in Dubrovnik], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 30 (2006), 99–101, and most recently IDEM, *Moćnik katedrale* [Cathedral's treasury], in: *Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku*, (ed.) Katarina Horvat-Levaj, Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 2014, 432–433, with bibliography.

6 For the life and iconography of St Filippo Benizi, see: ARISTIDE MARIA SERRA – DAVIDE M. MONTAGNA, *Filippo Benizi, quinto generale dei Servi di Maria, santo*, in: *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, V, Rome, Città Nuova editrice, 1999 (1964), 736–756.

7 GIAN VINCENZO LUCCHESINI, *Vita di S. Filippo Benizi Generale, e Propagator dell'Ordine de' Servi di Maria Vergine*, In Roma, Per Ignatio de' Lazari, 1671.

8 Wood, glass, gilt bronze, tortoiseshell, fabric; 170 × 62 cm; painting (oil? on copper) approx. 25 × 12 cm.

9 The upper part of the object held by the figure of the angel has been damaged; ANTUN LIEPOPILI, *O dubrovačkom moćniku: razjašnjenja nekih pitanja* [On the Dubrovnik treasury: Some clarifications], Dubrovnik, 1934, 14, describes it as a lily.

10 ARISTIDE MARIA SERRA – DAVIDE M. MONTAGNA (note 6), 752–755.

11 The reception of Archbishop Lucchesini, including its expenses, was accorded by the Senate on 27 July 1690 – Dubrovnik State

Archives (Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, hereafter DAD), *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* (hereafter *Cons. Rog.*) 131, ff. 11v–12.

12

ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 13v–16v; see the transcription of the document in Appendix.

13

AGOSM, Reg. E, Filza 5, *Memorie Miscellane*, n. 46.

14

PETER BURKE, How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint, in: *The Reformation. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, IV, (ed.) Andrew Pettegree, London – New York, 2004, 153 (the article was first published in 1984).

15

An official record (public instrument) of the miracle (*Miraculum insigne S. Philippi Benitij*), dated July 24, 1690 and compiled by the secretary of the Archiepiscopal curia Blasius (Biagio) Squadri, corresponds to the Italian version in ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 21–22v.

16

A copy of Lucchesini's letter to the pope is in DAD, *Diplomata et acta* (hereafter *DA*), 17th ct., 13, n. 1261, but without the account of the miracle.

17

AGOSM, Reg. E, Filza 5, *Memorie Miscellane*, n. 46, accompanied by the description of the miracle corresponding to the one preserved in ABD. Giulio Arrighetti was also devoted to St Filippo Benizi: in 1672, he delivered a panegyric on the occasion of his canonization. See: GABRIELE M. ROSCHINI, *Galleria servitana: oltre mille religiosi dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria illustri per santità, scienze, lettere ed arti*, Rome, 1976, 379.

18

"Il Prodigioso Miracolo, che hà fatto al mio arrivo qui il nostro Glorioso S. Filippo Benitij dentro il suo Reliquiario insigne, che feci fare, e qui portai, m' ha fatto conoscere maggiormente, che Iddio (conforme più volte disse la S. M. d'Innocenzo) m' ha voluto al servizio di questi Popoli, la cui veneratione verso l' Arcivescovo è incredibile. Si mandará alle stampe il detto Miracolo, e allora V. P. M. R. vedrà, quanta sia la Protezione, che hà di me questo gran Santo con infinita mia confusione." – AGOSM, Reg. E, Filza 5, *Memorie Miscellane*, n. 14. On Cosimo della Bella, see: GABRIELE M. ROSCHINI (note 17), 376.

19

The full title of the work, consisting of only six pages, is *Breve relatione di nuovi miracoli operati da Iddio per i Meriti del Glorioso S. Filippo Benizi Propagatore Insigne dell'Ordine di S. Maria de' Servi doppo la Canonizatione, con occasione della sua Festa fatta in Todi il Mese di Maggio 1671. Descritti, e publicati da Monsignor Ragani Archidiacono di Todi*, In Roma: Per Ignatio de Lazeri, 1671 (a copy is preserved in AGOSM, Reg. D, Filza 4, *Memorie Miscellane*, n. 117).

20

ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 27–27v: "Instrumentum pro custodia Reliquarium S. Philippi Benitij in Ecclesia Monialium S. Clarae pro modum depositi", dated August 21, 1690.

21

ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 23–24v.

22

See various documents in ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 60–60v, 70–72, 74 (*Editto al Clero per intervenire alla Festa di S. Filippo*), 89–90v, 103–103v.

23

SERAFIN MARIJA CERVA (note 2), 463.

24

NELLA LONZA (note 3), 291–294; see also: DAD, *DA*, 17th ct., 13, n. 1263 (*Sincera relatione del Contagio, che si scopresse nella Città di Ragusa à 9 di Gennaio 1691, e terminò à 18. d'Aprile di detto Anno*), and Lucchesini's account dated May 7, 1691 in DAD, *DA*, 17th ct., 13, n. 1266.

25

DAD, *Cons. Rog.* 131, f. 89 (January 16, 1691): "et imago cum reliquijs S. Philippi Benitij quem asciscimus in nostrum Advocatum ut addito etiam eius Patrocinio apud S. D. Maiestatem postimus mediante eius intercessio." An addition on the margins of the manuscript after "Advocatum" reads: "cuius die festo quolibet annum delebit Ex.mus D. Rector cum eius Conciliaris intervenire primis vesperis, et Missae in Ecclesiam in qua erit Imago miracolosa dicti Sancti."

26

"A fine d'implorare dalla Divina Clemenza la Serenità del Cielo, la Salute de gli Infermi, e ogn'altra Prosperità per questa Eccellentissima Repubblica, starà esposto il Divinissimo Sacramento nè tre ultimi giorni di Carnevale nella Chiesa delle R. R. M. M. di S. Chiara dalle 16. ore sino alle 23, come pure per il medesimo effetto staranno scoperte le Reliquie di S. Filippo Benitij Avvocato di questa Eccellentissima Repubblica." – ABD, *Diversa* 7, f. 79, *Invito Generale per l'Esposizione del Santissimo nella Chiesa delle Reverende Madri di S. Chiara per li tre giorni di Carnevale* (February 15, 1692).

27

The text of the *Laus* (more elaborate than the version read today) is in: STIJEPO SKURLA, *Sveti Vlaho biskup i mučenik od Sevasta dubrovački obranitelj* [Bishop St Blaise, martyr of Sebastea, patron saint of Dubrovnik], Dubrovnik, 1871, 188–189.

28

"In Templo Virginum S. Clarae, D. Philippo Benitio amplificatori, quasque alteri parenti sodalitates religiosae Servorum B. M. V., quam ipse summo cum imperio administraverat, aram elegantem exstruit, & plurimis Divorum reliquijs locupletavit." See: DANIELE FARLATI – JACOPO COLETI, *Illyrici sacri tomus sextus. Ecclesia Ragusina cum suffraganeis, et ecclesia Rhiziniensis et Catharensis*, Venice, 1800, 266–267.

29

The altar was adorned by an altarpiece of St Luigi Gonzaga commissioned by Luigi Aligretti around 1698: "Catalogo 4.o di Reliquie conservate nella Chjesa di S. Chjara di Ragusa delle Monache Francescane in un Altare della parte dell'Epistola dell'Altar maggiore e chjuse con un quadro rappresentante S. Luigi Gonzaga per opera di D. Luigi Aligretti Confessore d'esse Monache circa l'an. 1698 (...) 26 Tabernaculum magnum ex Ebena, pretiosis marmoribus et aere inaurato, in quo os insigne, et Imago miraculosa S. Philippi Benitii" – IVAN MARIJA MATIJAŠEVIĆ (MATTEI), *Zibaldone*, I, Library of the Franciscan Convent, Dubrovnik, Ms. 433, 235. Cerva also lists the reliquary in the church of St Claire; SERAFIN MARIJA CERVA (note 2), 491.

30

Apart from numerous processions, the veneration of relics in Dubrovnik is exemplified by requests for opening of the Treasury and transporting relics to private houses in cases of illness or laborious childbirth; cf. RELJA SEFEROVIĆ, *Crkva iza Dvora: kroz povijest dubrovačke Crkve 18. stoljeća uz pratnju Serafina Marije Cerve* [Church behind the Palace: History of Dubrovnik's church

in the 18th century, in the company of Serafin Marija Cerva], in: SERAFIN MARIJA CERVA (note 2), 155.

31

RICHARD C. TREXLER, Being and Non-Being. Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image, in: *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance, papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana* (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May – 2 June 2003, (ed.) Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, Rome, 2004 (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum XXXV), 15.

32

For the account of the miracle, see: DAVID FREEDBERG, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago – London, 1991 (1989), 94.

33

ADRIANO PROSPERI, Madonne di città e Madonne di campagna. Per un'inchiesta sulle dinamiche del sacro nell'Italia post-tridentina, in: *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, (ed.) Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani, L'Aquila – Rome, 1984, 636–637.

34

GJURO SZABO, Stari Zagreb [Historical Zagreb], Zagreb, 1971, 22.

35

ROBERTO MARIA FAGIOLI, I cimeli di san Filippo Benizi conservati a Todi, in: *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 36, 1–2 (1986), 179.

36

LEONILDE DOMINICI, Un santo fiorentino a Todi nel 1285, in: LEONILDE DOMINICI – DOMENICO ANTONIO VALENTINO – ALDO CICINELLI – FRANCESCO FLOCCIA, Todi e S. Filippo Benizi: itinerario storico-artistico, Todi, 1985, 23–24.

37

VINICIJE B. LUPIS, Gradičev doprinos umjetničkoj opremi nove katedrale [Gradič's contribution to the artistic furnishing of the new cathedral], in: *Stjepan Gradič: otac domovine* (exhibition catalogue), Dubrovnik, 2013, 388–389.

38

TIMOTHY CLIFFORD, Dubrovnik: Italian art, c. 1400–1800, in: *Croatia: Aspects of Art, Architecture and Cultural Heritage*, London, 2009, 170, considers the reliquary “remounted in Rome in 1671 to commemorate the canonisation of the saint, during the period of Bishop Vicenza III from Lucca (1669–93).”

39

TIMOTHY CLIFFORD (note 38), 170.

40

For the commissions related to canonizations and solemnizations in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, see: VITTORIO CASALE, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni. L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento*, Turin – London – Venice – New York, 2011, 166–195.

41

ABD, *Diversa* 7, ff. 14v-15.

42

According to the available data, the only “Bastiano” or Sebastiano active as silversmith in Rome in the second half of the seventeenth century seems to have been Sebastiano Gamberucci, who died in 1658, almost fifteen years before the miracle in Todi (see: COS-

TANTINO G. BULGARI, Argentieri, gemmari e orafi d'Italia: notizie storiche e raccolta dei loro contrassegni con la riproduzione grafica dei punzoni individuali e dei punzoni di stato, Parte prima: Roma, vol. 1, Rome, 1958, 492–493). Close inspection of the reliquary did not reveal any silversmiths' stamps.

43

Vinicije B. Lupis has compared the reliquary of St Filippo Benizi to the reliquary of the Wood of the Holy Cross in Museo Palazzo Piersanti in Matelica (Marche), datable to the first half of the seventeenth century; VINICIJE B. LUPIS (note 37), 388; for the reliquary in Matelica, see: MARCELLA CHICCO, cat. 67, in: *Ori e argenti. Capolavori di oreficeria sacra nella provincia di Macerata*, (ed.) Maria Giannatiempo López, Milan, 2001, 161, 164, 166.

44

Such as the reliquary of Mary's veil and Joseph's pallium in Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome, first half of the seventeenth century; see: ALBA COSTAMAGNA, cat. 264, in: *Tesori d'arte sacra di Roma e del Lazio dal Medioevo all'Ottocento*, (ed.) Maria Andaloro et al., Rome, 1975, 110–111.

45

See, for example, Antonio di Pietro del Vagliente's St Philip reliquary in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence (ca. 1422–1425); for this and other examples, see: SALLY J. CORNELISON, Art Imitates Architecture: The Saint Philip Reliquary in Renaissance Florence, in: *The Art Bulletin*, 86, n. 4 (2004), 642–658.

46

JENNIFER MONTAGU, *Gold, Silver and Bronze. Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, New Haven – London, 1996, 6.

47

RUDOLF WITTKOWER, Bernini: the Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, London, 2008, 4th ed., 275–276, cat. 57 (4), attributed to Bernini (already in the second edition published in 1966); JENNIFER MONTAGU, Alessandro Algardi, vol. II, New Haven – London, 1985, 333, cat. 16.C.22, assesses the Crucifix as “one of numerous casts of a model which is generally accepted as by Algardi, and by no means the prime example.”

48

Also noted by Clifford; TIMOTHY CLIFFORD (note 38), 220, note 42. Drawings for crucifixes by and after Algardi also appear with corpus fixed by four nails; see: CATHERINE JOHNSTON, Drawings for Algardi's 'Cristo vivo', in: *The Burlington Magazine*, 110, n. 785 (1968), 458–460; JENNIFER MONTAGU (note 47), vol. II, 479. On Bernini's figures of Christ, see: VALENTINO MARTINELLI, La 'imago Christi' secondo Bernini. Costanti e varianti tipologiche e formali, in: *L'ultimo Bernini 1665–1680: nuovi argomenti, documenti e immagini*, (ed.) Valentino Martinelli, Rome, 1996, 181–231.

49

RUDOLF WITTKOWER (note 47), 287–291, cat. 72. Bernini made copies of two angel figures for Pope Clement IX in 1670, placed in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte in 1729.

50

On various phases of the projects, see: LAURA FALASCHI, Il Ciborio del Santissimo Sacramento in San Pietro in Vaticano, secondo i disegni e i progetti di Gian Lorenzo Bernini da Urbano VIII Barberini a Clemente X Altieri, in: *L'ultimo Bernini 1665–1680: nuovi argomenti, documenti e immagini*, (ed.) Valentino Martinelli, Rome, 1996, 69–39.

51

LAURA FALASCHI (note 50), 80.

52

WILLY LE LOUP – UTA RÖMER, Clouwet, Albertus, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon – Internationale Künstlerdatenbank – Online*, Berlin, Boston: K.G. Saur (2016), http://www.degruyter.com/view/AKL/_10166584 (February 10, 2017).

53

AGOSM, Fondo incisioni, AR-29-3. Signed lower left: *A. Clouwet scul*; sheet 287 × 225 mm, plate 196 × 146 mm, image 191 × 144 mm.

54

VITTORIO CASALE (note 40), 167–173.

55

VITTORIO CASALE (note 40), 178–180; for solemnizations in general, 42–46. Solemnizations followed canonization ceremonies held in St Peter's and included processions which accompanied the banner of the newly canonized saint from the Basilica to the church belonging to the saint's order in which the solemnization celebration was performed.

56

For a detailed study and a transcription of documents, see: VITTORIO CASALE, La canonizzazione di S. Filippo Benizi e l'opera di Baldi, Berrettoni, Garzi, Rioli, Maratti, in: *Antologia di Belle Arti*, 3, n. 9/12 (1979), 113–131.

57

“Benefizij fatti dal P. Generale al Convento di S. Marcello (...) Hà speso il P. Generale per terminare, et accrescere la Fabrica per le mani de Priori pro tempore Economi, come apparisce nel libro particolare che si teneva da medesimi scudi duemila cento tre, e b[aiocchi] quarantotto. Dalla qual' somma ne furono somministrati scudi mille cento ventitre, e b[aiocchi] quaranta quattro all'entrata del deposito spettante a detta Fabrica, come apparisce al suo libro. Gl'altri scudi mille gli fece contribuire il P. Generale con il Chirografo delli scudi cinque mila per la facoltà che hebbe da N. Signore. (...) Essendosi terminata la Fabrica, stimò superfluo il P. Generale che si lasciasse per il Convento la stanza in faccia a quella del Portinaro, onde la fece unire alla Bottega, e stanza segnata (blank space) con l'aggiunta di scudi quindici di Pingione si che resta in beneficio del Convento un fondo di scudi quattrocento. (...) Accio si desse principio a fare le spalliere in Refettorio fece contribuire scudi venticinque a tal' effetto a Padre Maestro Agostino Bianchi che era Priore, essendosi fatte le tavole con alcuni Noci che si trovavano in Convento.” – AGOSM, *Viri illustres Ord. Serv. B. M. V.*, vol. B, n. 47, ff. 13–14v.

58

“Con l'occasione che si doveva celebrare in S. Marcello l'Ottavario di S. Filippo, fece fare per la suddetta Chiesa Pianeta Tonnicele Piviale, Paliotto per l'Altare maggiore, e benda per la Croce di Broccato con frangie d'Oro con spesa di scudi trecento settanta due e b[aiocchi] trentasette (...) Per la medesima occasione si fecero fare diversi Quadri grandi di diversi miracoli del nostro Santo che servono per metterli sopra gl'Archi delle dieci Cappelle, quando si fanno le festi in Chiesa, fuori delle quali stanno in Sacrestia, et in Refettorio. La spesa di detti Quadri con le Cornice d'oro importa sopra trecento scudi. (...) Parimente sopra le Particelle del Coro si fecero due grandi statoue (*sic*) di S. Filippo e S. Marcello quali si pagarono scudi cento sedici.” – AGOSM, *Viri illustres Ord. Serv. B. M. V.*, vol. B, n. 47, f. 14v.

59

DONAL COOPER – CAROL PLAZZOTTA, Raphael's Ansidei Altarpiece in the National Gallery, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, 146, n. 1220 (2004), 728, 731. The entry in the manuscript preserved in the State Archives in Perugia (copied c. 1726–1730) cited by

Cooper and Plazzotta, reads: “Si dice poi da i PP. di S. Fiorenzo, che dieci anni sono Lucchesini loro Generale, ordinasse vi fusse posto in detta Cappella un quadro della Madonna tenuta in gran venerazione, e fusse levato il quadro, che vi era pure con l'Imagine della Madonna opera d'un scolaro di Pietro, che poi fu posto nel Refettorio.” Sinibaldo Ibi's altarpiece must have been transferred to the refectory between 1670 and 1678 during Lucchesini's service as General of the Order, and not in the 1710s as suggested by the authors in note 45 (Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini died in 1698).

60

ROBERTO M. FAGIOLI – GIORGIO COMEZ, La chiesa di San Filippo Benizi in Todi già di Santa Maria delle Grazie, Todi, 1991, 19.

61

ROBERTO M. FAGIOLI – GIORGIO COMEZ (note 60), 41.

62

“Benefizij fatti dal P. Generale al Convento di S. Marcello con il proprio deposito (...) Hà fatto in Chiesa di S. Marcello un Pulpito con spesa di settecento Scudi di Marmi finissimi con diversi bassirilievi intagliati, disegno del Signore Mattia de Rossi, stimato il più bello che sia in Roma. È però vero che per la fabrica di detto Pulpito ha h[av]uto da diversi benefattori intorno a scudi trecento.” – AGOSM, *Viri illustres Ord. Serv. B. M. V.*, vol. B, n. 47, f. 16. On Mattia de' Rossi, see: ANNA MENICHELLA, *Matthia de' Rossi: discepolo prediletto del Bernini*, Rome, 1985 (the study does not mention De Rossi's works for the Servite Order).

63

“Nei due primi Anni del Governo con l'esempio de Generali Predecessori fu contribuito da alcuni uno scudo per la Patente di poter Predicare che ascendono alla somma di scudi novanta tre notati a parte in un libro, qual danaro fù applicato dal P. Generale in due bellissimi Reliquarij d'Argento mandati alla Chiesa di Todi per custodirvi alcune Reliquie di S. Filippo, che per prima si tenevano con indecenza scandalosa ne mai s'esponevano alla publica Veneratione.” – AGOSM, *Viri illustres Ord. Serv. B. M. V.*, vol. B, n. 47, f. 5v.

64

ROBERTO MARIA FAGIOLI (note 35), 182–184.

65

ARISTIDE MARIA SERRA, Testimonianze di culto al beato Filippo in Todi: documentazione dal Trecento al Seicento, in: *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* 36, 1–2 (1986), 230–235, 280–295 (with transcriptions of documents).

66

“Le sue Reliquie furono sempre hauute in somma venerazione: trasferite più volte, occorrendo sempre in quell'atto molti prodigij. (...) la sua cappa conservata in Lucca è sopramodo prodigiosa, particolarmente a favor de i bambini, dell'innocenza de' quali egli è sempre stato particolar protettore.” – GIAN VINCENZO LUCCHESINI (note 7), 126.

67

“Io infrascritto i[n] virtù di questa fo ampla et indubitata fede a chi s'aspetta d'haver donato al M. R. P. Lucio Maria Amici Confessore del Sacro Palazzo Apostolico tre pezzetti di reliquia del nostro glorioso S. Filippo Benizzi, cioè del osso dello stinco, della camicia, e della cappa, dentro un piccolo reliquiario d'argento di filagrana. E in fede etc. Data dal convento di S. Marcello di Roma, questo giorno 6 aprile 1681. Così è F. Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, già Generale dell'Ordine de' Servi di Maria.” – UBALDO M. TODESCHINI, *Regestum documentorum quae in archivio conventus S. Marcelli de Urbe supersunt aliarumque notitiarum*

de eodem conventu ecclesia S. Marcelli ordine chronologico dispositum, Pars II – ab anno 1600 usque ad finem anni 1699, 2010, 277 (manuscript in AGOSM).

68

An undated document in AGOSM kindly provided by Odir J. Dias (in a letter postmarked 11 March 2017) entitled *Memorie di Monsignor Lucchesini Vescovo d'Assisi* states: “Nelle mie schede trovo, che egli morì li 14. Aprile 1698., e che fu sepolto in Cattedrale presso la Cappella di S. Filippo Benizi, ove non è iscrizione, o segno alcuno infuori di vedersi alla volta appresso il Cappello Prelatizio.”

69

PIER MAURIZIO DELLA PORTA – EZIO GENOVESI – ELVIO LUNGHI, *Guida di Assisi: storia e arte*, Assisi, 2009 (1991), 130. I am grateful to Danko Šourek for his help with the part of the research regarding the cathedral of Assisi.

70

See note 68.

71

PIER MAURIZIO DELLA PORTA – EZIO GENOVESI – ELVIO LUNGHI (note 69), 163. I am grateful to Francesca Cerri, Director of the Ufficio Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici della Diocesi di Assisi-

Nocera Umbra-Gualdo Tadino, for information on Lucchesini's portrait in Assisi.

72

It is unclear when the reliquary was moved to the Cathedral Treasury; the 18th-century records list it in the nunnery of St Claire (see note 29), while the more recent writers were mostly interested in older relics and reliquaries (the reliquary is not mentioned in: STJEPAN SKURLA, *Moćnik stolne crkve dubrovačke. Izvješće o drvu sv. Križa, Pelenici Isukrstovoj i ostalijem moćima posvećenijem životom i smrti našega Spasitelja* [Treasury of Dubrovnik's cathedral: A report on the wood of the Holy Cross, the swaddling clothes of baby Jesus, and other relics sanctified by the life and death of our Saviour], Dubrovnik, 1868) or only state that it was moved to the Treasury by the government of the Republic. – ANTUN LIEPOPILI (note 9), 14. It might have been transported to the Cathedral Treasury after the French suppression of the nunnery of St Claire in 1806. – PETAR BEZINA, *Samostani klarisa u Hrvatskoj* [Nunneries of St Claire in Croatia], in: *Kačić*, 26 (1994), 227.

73

I am grateful to Ivan Viđen for access to this and other photographs of the high altar of the cathedral taken before the earthquake of 1979, preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral Parish.

Sažetak

Tanja Trška

Čudotvorna slika kao relikvija: relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija u Riznici dubrovačke katedrale

U radu se obrađuje relikvijar sv. Filipa Benizija, trinaestostoljetnog sveca reda servita (Red slugu Blažene Djevice Marije), koji je u Dubrovnik donio nadbiskup Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini (Lucca, 1629. – Assisi, 1698.), i sam pripadnik reda i nekadašnji generalni prior (1670.–1678.). Na narudžbu relikvijara Lucchesinija je potakla vijest o čudu svečeve slike koje se dogodilo u kolovozu 1672., godinu dana nakon njegove kanonizacije, u mjestu Lorignana kraj Todija, gdje je svečev prikaz izvorno s procesijske svjetiljke ostao netaknut nakon što je bačen u gorući plamen, koji se čudom ugasio. Lucchesini je relikvijar ponio u Dubrovnik nakon što je imenovan nadbiskupom 1689. godine, a na dan njegova svečana ulaska u Grad na blagdan sv. Petra i Pavla

1690. godine dogodilo se ponovljeno čudo slike sv. Filipa Benizija. Tijekom svog boravka u Dubrovniku (1690.–1693.) nadbiskup Lucchesini je posebno promicao čašćenje sveca, a njegov je relikvijar dao pohraniti u samostanu sv. Klare. Osim pripovijesti o čudotvornoj svečevoj slici kojoj je njezinim smještanjem u relikvijar gotovo dan status relikvije, u radu se razmatraju mogući uzori za izradu relikvijara, nastalog u rimskim radionicama posljednje četvrtine 17. stoljeća, vjerojatno za vrijeme Lucchesinijeve službe na mjestu generalnog priora reda servita.

Ključne riječi: Dubrovnik, relikvijar, Sv. Filip Benizi, Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, serviti