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. When, in 1441, Giorgio was summoned to Sibenik 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 Sibenik 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. In the contract of September 1, 1446 in which his tenure as Protomastro 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. 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. Marcilliano, on the Rio della Misericordia. Additional evidence of Giorgio's presence in Venice comes from the Martigola 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 taipiera« appears two times. The proximity of the scuola to Giorgio's house and th prominence in the school of Bartolomeo Bon, 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 resemblance 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 Sibenik 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 Sibenik. For the most part, research concentrated on the Porta della Carta, as that work in progress immediately preceding Giorgio's departure for Sibenik. With a certain hesitation Hans Folnesics proposed to attribute to Giorgio the half-length figure of St. Mark on the Porta della Carta. The attribution produced no echo. A very different fate, however, attended the attribution to Giorgio of the shield-bearing putti and the putti on the gable of the Porta della Carta. Adolfo Venturi assigned to him the capital with its wind-blown foliage beneath the shield-bearing putti on the right pier of the portal. Recently Ileana Chiappini di Sorio ascribed the statues of Temperance and Fortitude to Giorgio. Michele d'Elia gave to Giorgio the capitals surrounding 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. 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. 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. 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 del Senatori. 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.
Where execution by Giorgio himself is either unlikely or cannot be discerned, as in architectural details, 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 Sibenik, 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 Sibenik 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.
thinned 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. 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, & ricoperte dall'incendio, furono scolpite dal sopradetto Bartolomeo, namely, Bartolomeo Bon.» Indeed, the statue of Charity bears many scars caused by the fire of March 31, 1485, 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. 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. But already in 1855 Jacob Burckhardt observed that the style of the relief was more advanced than that of the Madonna della Misericordia. Its absolute diversity from the other works produced in the
workshop of the Bon induced Giuseppe Fioce 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. Perhaps under his influence, Giovanni Mariacher recently gave it to a Tuscan sculptor not more precisely identified. Even among those, like Pietro Paolello and Gino Fogolar, who adhered to the traditional attribution to Bartolomeo Bon, the reservation of a possible retouching was advanced. 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. 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. 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 monumentality 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-
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 at 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 in 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 Split 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 blad 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
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
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 replication 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. 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 Sibenik.

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 diamond-shaped 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.

2 Ibid, pp. 131f, doc. 16.


6 Bartolomeo's name appears three times in the list of members: ASV, Scuole piccole sugrari, fol. 46, pp. 30v, 31r, 76r. At 1400 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 (Class. di scienze morali e lettere), xx, 1917–19, pp. 203, doc. 2. A Giovanni Bon, stonemaster of the parish of S. Canclano, was also recorded as a member of the school: Giusepppe Tassi, *Curiosità veneziane*, Venice, 1970, p. 119. Since this is the only time that the parish of S. Canclano is mentioned in connection with Bartolomeo, his identification with Bartolomeo's father cannot be certain.


17 Documentation regarding Giorgio's architectural work at Sibenik and Ancona amply proves that such work was regularly entrusted to assistants who worked from the master's draft in a way quite 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.


Giorgio da Sebenico and the Workshop of Giovanni Bon

SÄZETAK

JURAJ MATEJEV I RADIONICA GIOVANNIJA BONA
Anne Markham Schulz

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


Juraj Matejev i radionicu Giovanni Bona su dominovali, ali su se takve značajne umjetničke djela posebno održavali na sjeveru Europu. Stoga se može očekivati da će se njegova djela uživati i u drugim zemljama.

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.).
Sources of published documents relating to the life and works of GIORGIO DA SEBENICO

I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Seleksije Andrijia Dračenija", Službeni umjetnikih jugoslavenskih, Zagreb, I, 1858, pp. 59—112

Idem, "Matejević Juraj", Službeni umjetnikih jugoslavenskih, Zagreb, I, 1859, pp. 249—262

Vittorio Lazzarini and Andrea Moschetti, "Documenti relativi alla pittura padovano del secolo xx", Archivio veneto, n. s., xv. 1908, pp. 1, 249—321

Vincenzo Milagostovich, "Il sarcofago della moglie di Giorgio da Sebenico, Trieste", v.—vi, 1897—98, (1898), pp. 274—283


Gioseppa 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 xvi", Archivio storico dell'arte, vii, 1932, pp. 522—531

Giorgio, son of Matteo, was born at Zadar. (Galvani, II re d'armi di Sebenico, i, p. 159, n. 1) The surname Orsini, commonly assigned to Giorgio, is not documented before March 28, 1314, long after his death. (Ibid., p. 192, n. 2.) Giorgio's father, Matteo, was dead by June 22, 1441. (Frey—Molè, p. 131, doc. 16.) Giorgio was married to Elisabetta, daughter of Gregorio da Monte, a Venetian carpenter. (Frey—Molè, p. 132, doc. 20.) For many years Giovanni Pietro and Giorgio were associated in a spice business in Venice. (Frey—Molè, p. 143, docs. 58, 59 and p. 150, doc. 88: Praga in Rassegna marchigiana, 1928—29, p. 80.) Another brother-in-law, Benedicto, was a priest in Venice. (Frey—Molè, p. 132, doc. 29.) Giorgio's only son, Paolo, apparently practised no craft. (Posco, La Cattedrale di Sebenico, p. 52.) One daughter, Elena, was married to the painter, Giorgio Schiavone already in 1463. (Frey—Molè, p. 158, doc. 123. Kolendić in Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 1920, p. 123, no. 14.) Another daughter, Natalia, was married to Giuseppe SteltiBufale. (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 St. Giacomo Maggiore, Šibenik, in which the contracting parties stipulate the prices paid by the College 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 Petr Kolendić, "Šibenika katedrala pre dolska Orsinijeva (1430—1441.)", Narodna Starina, (Zagreb), series 8, iii, no. 2, 1924, pp. 154ff.) Giorgio was born in Venice, and his work suggests that he may have visited 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. (Frey—Molè, pp. 131f, doc. 16.) Before May 29, 1441 Giorgio had apparently entered into negotiations with the procurators of the Cathedral to envisage the extension of the east end of the church. (Frey—Molè, pp. 132f, doc. 21.)

May 29, 1443 Work is in progress on the Baptistry of the Cathedral. (Kolendić in Starinar, 1923, p. 73.) Description of the Baptistry 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.)

August 3, 1443 Master Giorgio Zanotta obligates himself to deliver to Giorgio da Sebenico between 200 and 400 pieces of dressed red stone from the quarries associated with him in Venetia. (Ibid., p. 73.) See the inscription on the other, for the construction of the sacristy of the Cathedral: Frey—Molè, p. 152, doc. 97.

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Giorgio was commissioned to build a church at Zadar, which includes a chapel dedicated to St. Rainerius. The chapel was commissioned by Maria, who also presented Giorgio with a coat of arms and colonnettes. The work on the chapel was to be completed within three years, up to, but exclusive of, the leaf cornice. (Frey — Molé, p. 149, doc. 78.)

September 1, 1446 The procurators of the Cathedral renew and prolong Giorgio’s contract as “Protomaster” even though his first contract has not yet expired. Giorgio is hired for a period of ten years to be counted from the date the contract is signed. (Ibid., i, pp. 4)
soon after March 21, 1447. (Ibid., p. 77.) June 21, 1447 He is back in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 159, 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. Dominus, 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 permission of the paintings. The new chapel is to be in form in appearance to the Chapel of St. Dominus (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 in two and a half years (December 30, 1445), Giorgio is to receive 306 gold ducats. (Frey—Molé, pp. 141f, doc. 55.)

November 29, 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. 56.)

December 9, 1449 Two contracts are made at Šibenik, Nicolini receiving 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. 143, doc. 56.)

September 6 and 7, 1449 Giorgio is at Cres. (Ibid., p. 80.)

September 26, 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 stone. The contract is to be finished and installed by the coming Lent. The sculptor is to receive 45 gold ducats for the monument and his labor. (Fiskević, 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.)

The tomb slab of Archbishop Venier, called Livaza, stonecarver 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. 169, 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 procurator of the Cathedral of St. Anastasius at Zadar, Lorenzo Venier, commissioned Master Giorgio to execute certain works for Giorgio for the new city of Pag, is annulled. Rado vić promises not to undertake any other work of stonemasonry there. Should he nevertheless do so, he is obligated to pay Giorgio half a ducat for every foot of constructed masonry. Like­wise, Giorgio must keep half a ducat and the remainder is to be divided into three equal portions 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 foot of constructed masonry. In addition, 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 Strelich and Marcovich, Giovanni Fran­bulov, must erect a wall there 3 braccia high. February 6, 1451 The contract is void if Giorgio does not receive the money. (Frey—Molé, p. 149, doc. 75.)

February 19, 1449 Giorgio owes Apletto di Nicolai da Curti 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. Giorgio 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. 151ff, doc. 97.)

November 2, 1450 The procurator of the Cathedral gives Giorgio the right to 50 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 Radeovich da Ragusa and Antonio Vukoslavich da Sebenico respectively, for the working of ten large pieces of dressed stone on Brač for the stone masons. (Frey—Molé, p. 150, docs. 92, 94.)

March 6, 1450 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the procurators of the Cathedral for the construction of the sac­risty to be erected next to the Bap­tistry. 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 dressings and scaffolding. (Frey—Molé, p. 153.)

November 1, 1453, after which time Giorgio is at liberty for the following...
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six years. During that period, although under no obligation to the Cathedral and drawing no salary from it, Gior­
giò may continue to use the house, storeroom and workshop that the pro­
curators had placed at his disposal; without paying rent. At the end of six years Giorgio is obligated to resume his con­
tractual obligations to the Cathed­ral which will last for another seven years. Giorgio and his heirs are

are: a cornice with leaves to be placed above the doorway; four capitals below the cornice; all the other cap­
titals and finials above the hood; the cornice beneath the hood; the completion of the hood, which Giorgio will give

roughewn 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 dress­
ing field above the hood between the cornice made of leaves and the cornice made of moldings; 4 middle­
size finials (?); there is a lunca in the document above the pinna­
cles; 4 capitals of the hood; two window parapets. The figures; 3 pinnacles above the tab­
bernels containing the figures; the rest of the large central pinnacle. Gio­
ni remains in debt to the church for

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

in the portal, the value of which is to be determined by an expert; to pay the monast­ery 15 ducats for the trans­
portation of the unworked stone from the depot at the harbor to the building site and for the excava­tion of the wood of the scaffolding. (I b i d., pp. 421ff, doc. 3.) February 6, 1459 Election of three new arbiters to adju­
cdate an appeal of the first verdict advanced by both sides. (I b i d., p. 424, doc. 4.) March 1, 3, 4, 1459 Both sides urge

the arbiters to come to a decision. (I b i d., pp. 425f, docs. 5, 6, 7, 8.) March 14, 1459 Second decision with which the first verdict is corrected. In addition, the stone which Giorgio had from the monastery and for which he was required to pay, by the first sentence, is evaluated at 5 ducats. (I b i d., pp. 426f, doc. 9.) September 26, 1459 Decision according to which 180 ducats of the money to be paid to Giorgio by the authorities of S. Fra­
cesco which had been sequestered for the benefit of the commune of Ancona, is to remain in the hands of the syn­
dics and overseers of S. Francesco until Giorgio returns to Ancona and settles his debt. (I b i d., p. 431, doc. 12.)

investigation of the conditions contained in the contract and which 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.
March 16, 1454 Giorgio is present at Sibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 153f, doc. 104.)

STONE FOR S. FRANCESCO, RIMINI

June 1, 1454 Giorgio meets with the representative of Sigismondo Malatesta, Andrea de' Pusti, 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' Pusti, with Sigismondo Malatesta. Giorgio promised to bring from Istria to Rimini a certain quantity of stone within a certain period of time for the chapel which Malatesta was constructing. Sigismondo was forced to request marble from Verona. (Grigioni in Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana, 1910, p. 90f.) Apparently, Giorgio did send some stone to Rimini. (Praga in Archivio storico per la Dalmazia, 1932, p. 530.)

December 8, 1454 Giovanni Brasaola, 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 he and the subrogates of Malatesta be freed of the pledge of 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. (Ibid., p. 529, doc. 1) January 14, 1455 Giorgio replies to the charges. 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. (Ibid., p. 529ff, doc. 2.) June 30, 1455 Giorgio receives a loan of 650 lire from the procurators of the Cathedral of Sibenik 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 his brother-in-law, Giovanni Pribilavich, Matteo Stolavich, Radmilo Ratcovich, Alegro Stipanich and Pietro Bereich, who had apparently scattered on account of the pledge, and to force them to execute the work for the Cathedral with which they had been engaged. On October 8, 1458 or else to find the ringleader of the affair (Frey—Molé, p. 157, doc. 112.) November 14, 1457 to March 16, 1458 Documents at very frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence in Sibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 107; Kolendić in Starinar, 1923, August, n. 14.) 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, 1929—29, p. 30.)

PORTAL OF S. 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 and according to specifications 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 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.
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Ancona equal in value to 300 ducats. (G. I., p. 409, doc. 1.) July 5, 1460 Giorgio takes possession of the house. (I. b. d., p. 435, doc. 14.) September 16, 1465 Through his procurator Giorgio rents the house for three years to Ludovico Bonfante. (I. b. d., p. 441f, doc. 20.) August 14, 1493 Michele di Giovanni da Milano and Giovanni Venanziano are commissioned to complete the portal of S. Agostino begun and left unfinished by Giorgio, for the sum of 250 ducats. They are to follow Giorgio's designs with the following additions: a lion at the bottom of either gate and placed above the niche: lions on the portal of the convent of S. Domenico at Recanati; two putti above these lions: above the putti a vase with a vine as designed (by Giorgio) which goes up to the cornice of either 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 above the astragal on 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 Annunciata Angel are to be finished and placed above the niche: 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 added to this inscription that appears in the said tabernacle (CEPTO IIIX TIRI VNO FVIT SIMILIS IVENCVTS), Above the inscription there should be an astragal consisting of a double column of leaves as drawn and above the astragal a relief up to the figure of Augustine with the tent and the two angels, one finished, the other going to be finished, should be installed; above the tent a herald 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 above 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 beginning 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. (I. b. d., p. 442f, doc. 21.)

September 25, 1460 Giorgio is in Sibenik 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 Ravena. (I. b. d., p. 89.) October 16, 1462 Francesco Squarcione, living at Padua, names a procurator in order to have his tabernacle reaching to the 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 arbitrator by his son-in-law, Giorgio Schiavone). (Lazzarini and Moschetti in Archivio veneto, 1908, p. 286, doc. 14.) December 24, 1463 April 10, 1464 Documents at very frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence in Sibenik. (Frey—Mölé, p. 158, docs. 116, 118, 122; Kolendić in Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 1920, pp. 132f, doc. 14, ident. in Starinar, 1923, p. 90, n. 160.) October 22, 1463 November 17, 1463 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence at Sibenik. (Frey—Mölé, p. 139, docs. 124, 125; Kolendić in Starinar, 1923, p. 90, n. 160.) March 12, 1464 and May 2, 1464 Giorgio is present in Sibenik. (Frey—Mölé, p. 159, docs. 127, 128.)

DUBROVNİK

June 5, 1464 The council of Dubrovnik decides to hire Giorgio da Sebenico and dismisses the Gaetano Bonaroisi. (Fabriczy in JPK, 1904, Beih. p. 108; Frey—Mölé, 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. 57ff.) June 23, 1464 Giorgio enters into a seven months agreement as ingegnario for four months at a salary of 600 hyperpers per year. (See the document of November 2, 1464: Fabriczy in JPK, 1904, Beih. p. 108.) July 3, 1464 The campasole 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 referred to by Beritich, Utvrđenje grada Dubrovnik, p. 93.) July 10, 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, Beih. p. 106; Montani, Juraj Dalmatinac, p. 39.) September 25, 1464 Proposals are made to extend Giorgio's contract for another eight months over a year at various salaries. The term of eight months is accepted. (Folnesics, p. 194, doc. 74; Idem in Starinar, 1923, p. 90, n. 160.) October 23, 1464 (Beritich, Utvrđenje grada Dubrovnik, p. 95) this gives this date as September 28, 1464.) Giorgio is to receive his former salary. (Fabriczy, JPK, 1904, Beih. p. 106; Frey—Mölé, p. 85, n. 95.) April 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 new palace which was then being recon­structed. (Folnesics, pp. 194 doc. 75.) Repairs were finally completed by Salvi di Michielo in 1468. March 25, 1465 The council of Dubrovnik gives Giorgio permission to go to Sibenik with the proviso that he return in 15 days. (Montani, Juraj Dalmatinac, p. 41; Beritich, Utvrđenje grada Dubrovnik, p. 95.) This is probably the statue formerly in the garden of the Hospice of the Domus Christi, Dubrovnik, a work not previously mentioned in the city's archives. (Frey—Mölé and given Giorgio's occupation at Dubrovnik at this time, I suspect that the date is mistaken.)

March 15, 1465 At Sibenik Giorgio pays the stonemason Pietro Dragussa, the final installment of his salary for work done with Giorgio on the island of Brač up to that date. (Frey—Mölé, p. 159, doc. 130. The document does not occur in its proper chronological sequence in the series published by Frey—Mölé 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 the «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 the proposed salary, docs. 75 as he returns from Milan. (Gino Franceschi, Figure del rinascimento urbinate, Urbino, 1959, p. 84, n. 44.) There is no proof that the «maestro or­gio 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 Si­benik. (Frey—Mölé, p. 159, doc. 131.)

NEW CITY OF PAG

1466 Antonio Palić, Bishop of Osor, makes a contract with Giorgio for the manufacture, for the new Palazzo Ves­covile at Pag, of ten columns with
capitals and bases of good stone carved with foliage to resemble those of the Palazzo dei Pretori, to be placed in the courtyard, and two balconies of better quality than those of the Palazzo capitals and bases of good stone carved 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 u-mjetnosti, Archive, MS., Marco Lautro Ruic, Delle rifiussioni storiche sopra l'antico stato civile ecclesiastico della città et isola di Pago osia dell' antica Gisa. Fauze a diversi autori, privilegi et altre carte pubbliche et private, i, 1778, pp. 253f quoted by Fiskovic in Ljetopis jugoslavenske akademije, 1949—50, p. 63, n. 24.) 1469 Giorgio contracts with Giorgio de Missolis, procurator of S. Maria, Pag, to execute the frontispiece above its main chapel. (Ruic, op. cit., i, pp. 253f quoted by Fiskovic 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 Missolis to construct for to be placed in the convent church of S. Margherita. Giorgio promises to send his pupil, Radianko Ratchovich from Hvar to perform the work in his stead. (Ruić, op. cit., i, pp. 262 quoted by Fiskovic 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, 1933, 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 Cattanova (Pag) which had been begun but not completed by her husband. (Kukuljević, Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih, iii, p. 262. See also Polnesic, p. 87.) September 9, 1491 Giorgio's son, Paolo, offers to complete the construction of the facade of S. Maria, Pag, underwritten by his father. His offer is rejected. (Frey—Molé, p. 163, doc. 156.)

January 19, 1497 Giorgio is absent from Sibenik. (Kolendić in Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 1920, p. 133, doc. 15.) February 17, 1497, April 11, 1497 and February 9, 1498 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence in Sibenik. (Ibid., p. 133, doc. 16; Fosco, La Cattedrale di Sebenico, p. 43; Frey—Molé, p. 160, doc. 135.) January 12, 1499 Giorgio is present in Ancona. (Gianuuzzi 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 Dubroevich, procurators of the Cathedral of Sibenik, 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 Urban Vignac, Bishop of Sibenik, who had died in 1468 in Porto near Rome. (Kukuljević, Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih, iii, p. 261. See also C. von Fabrizy, »Giovanni Dalmata, neues zum Leben und Werke des Meisters«, Jahrbuch der kÖniglich prussischen Kunstartsummlungen, xxvii, 1901, pp. 224f.) May 22, 1470 Gior-