

## Ana Šitina

Odjel za povijest umjetnosti  
Sveučilište u Zadru  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. 2  
HR - 23000 Zadar

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## Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni (1599-1626) and Some New Insights Concerning the Altarpiece by Filippo Zaniberti (1585-1636) in the Šibenik Cathedral of Saint James\*

Biskup Vincenzo Arrigoni  
(1599.-1626.) i nove spoznaje o pali  
Filippa Zanibertija (1585. – 1636.)  
iz katedrale Sv. Jakova u Šibeniku

### ABSTRACT

The early period of the post-Tridentine renewal in the Šibenik Diocese is marked by Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni's (1599-1626) commissions and donations. The altarpiece in the Šibenik cathedral executed by Filippo Zaniberti (1585-1636) has been considered one of the many works commissioned by Arrigoni in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that both Zaniberti and Arrigoni were originally from Brescia contributed to this false conclusion. However, the newly found will of Lucija Ivetić dating from 1626 and the archival data from 1635 describing the acquisition of the altarpiece in Venice provide new insights concerning the persons who commissioned the altarpiece from Zaniberti and the time of its execution.

**Keywords:** Vincenzo Arrigoni, Filippo Zaniberti, Šibenik, 17<sup>th</sup> century, art commissions

### SAŽETAK

Naručiteljska i donatorska djelatnost šibenskog biskupa Vincenza Arrigonija (1599. – 1626.) obilježila je rani period poslije-tridentske obnove u šibenskoj biskupiji. Oltarna pala u šibenskoj katedrali Sv. Jakova koju je naslikao Filippo Zaniberti (1585. – 1636.) do sada se, također, smatrala jednom od brojnih narudžbi ovog istaknutog premeta tijekom prvih desetljeća 17. stoljeća. Tome je svakako doprinijela i činjenica da je riječ o djelu majstora porijeklom iz Brescie, biskupovog rodnog mjesta. Međutim, do sada nepoznata oporuka Lucije Ivetić iz 1626. godine, kao i arhivski podatak iz 1635. godine o nabavi pale iz Venecije, pružaju nove spoznaje o naručiteljima Zanibertijeve pale te vremenu njezina nastanka.

**Ključne riječi:** Vincenzo Arrigoni, Filippo Zaniberti, Šibenik, 17. stoljeće, naručitelji

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, one of the main problems that the Church was facing in peripheral areas of the Venetian Republic was the clergy's lack of education. The Diocese of Šibenik, which then encompassed areas located on the border dividing the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire, was no exception to this systemic issue. Bishops of the Šibenik Diocese, and especially those who could have significantly contributed to the introduction of contemporary artistic tendencies to the Diocese, usually did not reside in Šibenik. This was a common practice in other coastal dioceses as well.<sup>1</sup> It was not until the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that a seminary was established in Šibenik, during the episcopate of Bishop Girolamo Savorgnano (1557-1573), which laid the foundation for the education of the local clergy.<sup>2</sup> It is documented that the successor of Savorgnano, Bishop Luca II Spignaroli (1574-1589), bequeathed three hundred ducats to the Cathedral of Šibenik. Even though the document does not precisely state what the bequest was meant for, since Spignaroli bequeathed another 50 ducats for the furnishing of his tomb, it was most probably intended to finance the acquisition of liturgical objects for the church.<sup>3</sup> The relief portrait on Bishop Spignaroli's tomb was executed by the local master Antun Nogulović, who carved his signature on the artwork: "ANF" (Antonius Nogulovich fecit).<sup>4</sup> The relief portrait also contains an inscription: LUCAS SPIGNAROLUS JADRENSIS EPISCOPUS SIBENICENSIS. OBIT ANNO DOMINI MDLXXXVIII<sup>5</sup> ("Luka Spignaroli from Zadar, Bishop of Šibenik. Died in the year of the Lord 1589").<sup>6</sup>

More information about the state of the Šibenik Diocese at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century is provided by the *ad limina* reports. However, there is no archival documentation that would confirm the commissions of paintings made by any bishop of the Šibenik Diocese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Within this context, Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni (1599-1626), whose episcopate marked the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is a notable exception. Arrigoni was one of the two most significant post-Tridentine bishops of Šibenik, who actively contributed to the restoration of religious life with his donations and commissions of liturgical objects. Bishop Arrigoni was a doctor of theology and a member of the Dominican order,<sup>7</sup> for which he performed a number of duties, including acting as an inquisitor in Verona for a while. He became the bishop of Šibenik after having been recommended to Pope Clement VIII by the Venetian Senate because of his great efforts and loyalty to the Church.<sup>8</sup> During his 27-year-long episcopate, he successfully implemented many reforms, showing his dedication when it came to the renewal and reinforcement of faith among the people as well as the clergy. He played an especially significant role in propagating numerous local cults, both new and ancient.<sup>9</sup> In the researched period, for example, the local veneration of Our Lady of the Castle was reinforced, so much so that there was even a newly prescribed set of detailed rules for the rites and processions that included the venerated image. Seven diocesan synods were held during his episcopate, between 1602 and 1626.<sup>10</sup> It is worth noting that a reputable member of the local community in Šibenik, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, was entrusted with preparing and conducting the synods. Tomko served as the chapter canon and professor at the Šibenik seminary at the time. A number of measures were prescribed in the synod conclusions, mostly relating to the clergy's conduct, which imposed regular Mass on Sundays and the holidays, the teaching of catechism, vows of silence, and similar rules. Interestingly, it was strictly forbidden to take silver images and candelabras out of sacred spaces on that occasion.<sup>11</sup>

The earliest church that was consecrated by Bishop Arrigoni was the Franciscan church of Saint Mary in Prvić Luka, which he declared a parish church on the same occasion in 1602. The Diocese of Šibenik was visited by another apostolic visitor: Michele Priuli, Bishop of Vicenza. Besides the spiritual renewal and reli-



1.  
View of the frescoes and the stone  
choir rail with an inscription, New  
Church, Šibenik (photo: A. Šitina)

Pogled na freske i kamenu ogradu  
kora s natpisom, Nova crkva,  
Šibenik

gious reinforcement that Bishop Arrigoni propagated in his synods, he also encouraged the building of new churches throughout the Diocese. The consecration of the New Church, which was fully erected in 1619, is especially significant (Fig. 1).<sup>12</sup> An inscription<sup>13</sup> carved onto the choir railing<sup>14</sup> documents the consecration: REGVM REGIS IESU CHRISTI ANNO MDCXIX XXIII APRILIS VICENTIVS ARRIGONVS SIBEN. EPISCOPVS TEMPLVM HOC ET ALTARE MAIVS AD HONOREM DEI AC B.V.M. INCLUVSIS IN EODEM ALTARE RELIQVIIS SS. IOANNIS BAPTISTAE THOMAE APOSTOLI ET BARBARE VIRGINIS ET MARTIRIS CONSECRAVIT CVRANTE PAVIO CAPI SVPERIORE (*On the twenty-second of April in the year of the King of kings Jesus Christ 1619, Vincentius Arrigonis, the Bishop of Šibenik, consecrated this temple and the bigger [main?] altar in the glory of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, including the remains of Saint John the Baptist, Thomas the Apostle, and Barbara, virgin and martyr, under the guardianship of Pavier Capi*)

During Arrigoni's episcopate, the New Church was equipped with newly commissioned furnishing, and local masters began with their fresco decorations on the walls and the ceiling cassettes. However, the project was not finished until after the bishop's death.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that Girolamo Mondella, from whom the bishop commissioned a pulpit and the cabinets for the sacristy in 1624, also executed the paintings on the ceiling of the New Church, depicting angels.<sup>16</sup> It is documented that Girolamo Mondella was originally from Verona.<sup>17</sup> Krsto Stošić suggests that Mondella was related to Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, but does not cite a source that would confirm this statement.<sup>18</sup> That may be true, but the role of Bishop Arrigoni, who had officially spent time in Verona before the beginning of his episcopate in 1599, should

2.  
Angelo Mancini (?), *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*, church of the Holy Sunday in Crnica, Šibenik (source: zupa-crnica.net/2018/10/03/crkveni-kalendar-u-listopadu-2018/ )

Angelo Mancini (?), *Gospa od Bezgrešnog Začeća*, crkva Sv. Nediljice u Crnici, Šibenik



also be considered. The connection between Mondella and Šibenik might be a result of Mrnavić's efforts, if the presumption that they were related is true. However, it is undeniable that Mondella's activity in Šibenik overlaps with the time of Arrigoni's episcopate, during which Mrnavić officiated the most important duties.<sup>19</sup> The earliest known information about Mondella can be traced to 1602, since it is noted that in that year he permanently settled in Šibenik and married a local woman, Antica Rota Kolunić, which may have also been a result of Mrnavić's interceding.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, it is documented that new smaller altars made by Martino Brunelli from Bologna were placed in the New Church on April 24, 1630, which additionally illustrates Arrigoni's dedication to acquiring objects with which to furnish the church interior.<sup>21</sup>

Arrigoni founded the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and dedicated an altar to it in the Šibenik cathedral.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, its appearance or whether it included a painted altarpiece is unknown today, since the altar currently placed in its original location is one made in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> The bishop consecrated the newly built church of Saint Helena in Prvić Šepurina in 1620, as documented by the inscription on the façade: MDCXX... CONSECRATVM ABI. MO VINCENTIO ARRIGONO EP. SIBENICENSI PROCVRANTE IOANNE GARBEGICH ET ANTONIO HANDRACICH IVDICIBVS. (162... commissioned and consecrated by Magister [?] Vincent Arrigoni, Bishop of Šibenik, under the judges Ivan Garbegić and Antun Handračić).<sup>24</sup> However, it is not known whether he donated paintings or liturgical objects to the church at the same time.

Bishop Arrigoni requested that a painting of Our Lady be acquired for the main altar of the church of the Holy Sunday (Sveta Nediljica) in Crnica in Šibenik, as is written in the record of his pastoral visit on the May 17, 1609.<sup>25</sup> The altar is still decorated by the painting of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception (Fig. 2) that dates

from the same year, according to the information provided by Arrigoni's notes.<sup>26</sup> However, since he only expressed his request for the altarpiece in May of 1609, it cannot be determined with certainty whether it was executed that very year. The presumed time span of the altarpiece's execution should, therefore, be expanded, that is, determined as after/around 1609. The bishop also requested the acquisition of a number of liturgical objects on the same occasion, such as patens and crosses for the main altar and the chapel.<sup>27</sup> Radoslav Tomić has recently attributed the altarpiece from Crnica to Angelo Mancini, a relatively unresearched Venetian painter from the circle of Palma's followers.<sup>28</sup> Another work by Mancini has been identified in Šibenik recently, which dates from 1610 according to its inscription.<sup>29</sup> It is an altarpiece commissioned by the Confraternity of Bombardiers for the main altar of the church of Saint Barbara in Šibenik, and it depicts Saints Barbara, Nicholas, and Paul.

Just before he died, Bishop Arrigoni commissioned a stone tomb in the church of Saint Dominic in Šibenik (Fig. 3). The cover of the tomb is decorated with a carving depicting the deceased. The bishop's coat of arms is carved at the foot of the relief portrait, and above it, in the upper strip of the aedicula, there is a dedication: FRI. VIN:O ARIGONO. DE. BRV:BUS BRIXEN. SACRE. THEOLO. MAGI:O ORD:S PRE.RUM EPO. SIBENICEN. F.F.F.<sup>30</sup> (*To brother Vincent Arrigoni from Brescia, magister of sacred theology, of the Order of Preachers, Bishop of Šibenik, from the brethren*). Radoslav Tomić has attributed Arrigoni's portrait to the local stonemason Antun Nogulović by comparing it to the relief cover with the figure of Bishop Spignaroli in the Šibenik Cathedral.<sup>31</sup> There was a wooden carved and gilded altar with an architectural layout above the tomb, containing the bishop's coat of arms carved in the gable.<sup>32</sup> The central, semi-circular part of the altar is decorated by a monumental altarpiece depicting Our Lady with Infant Christ and Saints (Catherine of Alexandria, Catherine of Siena, Mary Magdalene, and Vincent Ferrer), executed by Filippo Zaniberti (Brescia, 1585 – Venice, 1636).<sup>33</sup>

The author of the painting was a well-known follower of the *palmesque maniera*. He was taught painting in the workshop of Sante Peranda at the same time as Matteo Ponzone, the painter who executed four altarpieces for the Franciscan

3.  
Stone tomb of Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni, St Dominic's church, Šibenik (source: Conservation Department in Šibenik)

Kamena grobnica biskupa Vincenza Arrigonija, crkva Sv. Dominika, Šibenik



church in Šibenik. Zaniberti's stylistic expression shows a visible influence of Sante Peranda, most notably when it comes to creating shades and very fine, nuanced and soft transitions. Influences of Palma il Giovane are also highly visible, especially in Zaniberti's compositional construction and the figures' expressiveness, which is why his painting commissioned for the church of Saint Dominic in Šibenik was mistakenly attributed to Palma il Giovane for many years.<sup>34</sup> One of the most interesting information provided by Zaniberti's biography within the context of the Šibenik commissions is that he was originally from Brescia, as was Bishop Vincent Arrigoni. The painter died a relatively young man and did not leave many paintings behind, but recent research implies that he was a prolific master, especially in the domain of easel painting.<sup>35</sup> Among his works that we know of today, three paintings were executed as commissions for Dalmatian cities, two for Šibenik and one for Brač.<sup>36</sup>

Zaniberti's painting made for the Dominican church in Šibenik has been removed from its original altar and location, and is today exhibited in the Interpretation Centre of the Cathedral *Civitas Sacra*. The altar that it used to adorn is still preserved and therefore it is possible to imagine the painting in its original location.<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 4) Besides sporadic mentions, the painting has not been a common subject of research until 1989, when Radoslav Tomić attributed it to Filippo Zaniberti.<sup>38</sup> The attribution is supported by its significant stylistic similarity to his altarpiece in the church of Saint Lucy in Castelcuco near Treviso, dating from 1635. The latter is a prime example of a new Cinquecento interpretation of the *Sacra Conversazione*, modelled after *The Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Gallerie dell'Accademia) by Veronese. The similarities between the Treviso and Šibenik artworks are mostly manifested in their colour scheme and ambience, the refined shading derived from Peranda's style, and the classical composition, structured after the popular model mentioned above.<sup>39</sup> There are many similarities among the two, such as the physiognomies of the saints, the depiction of their movement, their monumental voluminosity, the folding of the drapery, and the subtle decoration.<sup>40</sup>

It is documented that Bishop Arrigoni instructed for his tomb to be made in the church of Saint Dominic while he was still alive; however, it is possible that he left a bequest for the commissions of the wooden altar and the altarpiece, and that the Dominicans hired a woodcarver and a painter, as well as stonemason Nogulović for the tomb relief cover after his death. Since both the painter and the bishop were originally from Brescia, Radoslav Tomić has suggested that Arrigoni may have hired him personally.<sup>41</sup> The hypothesis based on the biography would further imply that the approximate date of the altarpiece's execution was shortly before his death in 1626. There is for now no specific evidence that would support the theory that it was the bishop's commission, but it is quite important to note that Archbishop Oktavian Garzadori visited the Diocese of Šibenik in 1624 and noted that there was an altar dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer in the church of Saint Dominic in the city.<sup>42</sup> The description of the altar does not offer further information about an altarpiece, so the possibility of a painting being commissioned somewhat later, perhaps by the Dominicans after Bishop Arrigoni's death, should also be considered.

Furthermore, judging by the analogies made by Radoslav Tomić, the Šibenik altarpiece was executed almost a decade prior to the crucial comparative example from Treviso, monographed and dating from 1635. However, the possibility that the said altarpiece was created in the years following the bishop's death should also be noted. It seems that provincial clients from the small town of Castelcuco near Treviso and the clients from Šibenik leaned towards simpler designs by Zaniberti, which are very clear reinterpretations of the widely famous formulae outlined by the great Venetian painters of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These clients would have probably had an opportunity to see the works of famous Venetian painters on their travels



4.  
Reconstruction of the original  
appearance of the side altar of  
St Vincent, St Dominic's church,  
Šibenik

Rekonstrukcija izvornog izgleda  
bočnog oltara sv. Vincenta, crkva  
Sv. Dominika, Šibenik



5.  
Altarpiece of St Sebastian and St  
Fabian, Cathedral of St James,  
Šibenik (photo: A. Šitina)

Oltar sv. Sebastijana i sv.  
Fabijana, katedrala Sv. Jakova,  
Šibenik

to larger centres of their religious community and the Venetian Republic. This is probably the reason for the master's repetition of the highly requested 16<sup>th</sup>-century models, and two altarpieces by Zaniberti clearly illustrate this phenomenon of repeating artistic patterns. Their stylistic harmony, elegance, and the depicted figures' contemplativeness leave no room for the tension, pathos, and drama that came with the post-Tridentine rhetoric and that one would typically find in the works of Palma il Giovane and his followers.

All of the depicted saints are ones that are quite often part of the Dominican iconography, including Saint Vincent Ferrer, who was also the patron saint of the donor, Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni.<sup>43</sup> Along with the altar and the tomb, the painting conveys a number of symbolic messages with which the bishop bid his final goodbye to his community. By his request, he was buried in Šibenik, the seat of the

diocese, in the Dominican church and among his brethren. Although it cannot be confirmed, he presumably personally commissioned the painting from Zaniberti, a fellow *bresciano*.<sup>44</sup>

The only altarpiece in Dalmatia by Zaniberti was executed for an altar in the Šibenik Cathedral, which unfortunately has not been preserved. The painting is still *in situ* today, in the chapel nearest to the presbytery, on the south-facing wall of the cathedral – however, it is part of a massive marble altar with an architectural layout made much later. The altarpiece depicts Saints Sebastian, Fabian, Lucy, and Dominic. The painting's composition is unusual; the monumentally depicted Saints Sebastian and Fabian in the foreground, executed in the *maniera* similar to that of Palma il Giovane, take up two thirds of the painting. The figures of Saints Lucy and Dominic are much smaller and clumsily placed behind the massive figures in the foreground. Right by Saint Fabian's left foot, there is a small *putto* standing on a large stone on the ground, where the artist left his signature: "PHILIPPVS. ZANIMBERTI P" (Fig. 6). Saint Lucy is portrayed frontally, in a semi-kneeling position, looking towards the sky. She is hidden by the monumental figures in the foreground, so that only the front of her body and the tray with her eyes are visible. Saint Dominic is also portrayed frontally, behind her, wearing a Dominican habit and longingly looking towards the sky (Fig. 7).<sup>45</sup>

Given the high quality of the painting and despite its unusual composition, Radoslav Tomić has suggested that the smaller figures in the back of the painting may have been added later, as a result of the client's request.<sup>46</sup> He has also suggested that the altarpiece may have been commissioned by Bishop Arrigoni.<sup>47</sup> However, an unpublished archival document from November 29, 1635 proves this theory to be wrong (Figs. 8 and 9).<sup>48</sup> It is noted in the document that the altarpiece was commissioned by the Semonić brothers (Ivan, Dominik, and Ivan Krstitelj), sons of Gaspar Grisanis Semonić and Veronika née Ivetić. They fulfilled the wishes of their grandparents from their mother's side, expressed in their will.<sup>49</sup> The new insight into the donors' identities sheds light on the iconography of the altarpiece by Zaniberti. Federico Galvani and Krsto Stošić have also noted the partial signature on the aforementioned document.<sup>50</sup> Stošić has indicated that Dominik Ivetić left a bequest of

6.  
Filippo Zaniberti, detail with  
the painter's signature on the  
altarpiece of St Sebastian and St  
Fabian, Cathedral of St James,  
Šibenik, 1635 (photo: A. Šitina)

Filippo Zaniberti, detalj s potpisom  
slikara na oltarnoj pali sv.  
Sebastijana i sv. Fabijana, katedrala  
Sv. Jakova, Šibenik, 1635.





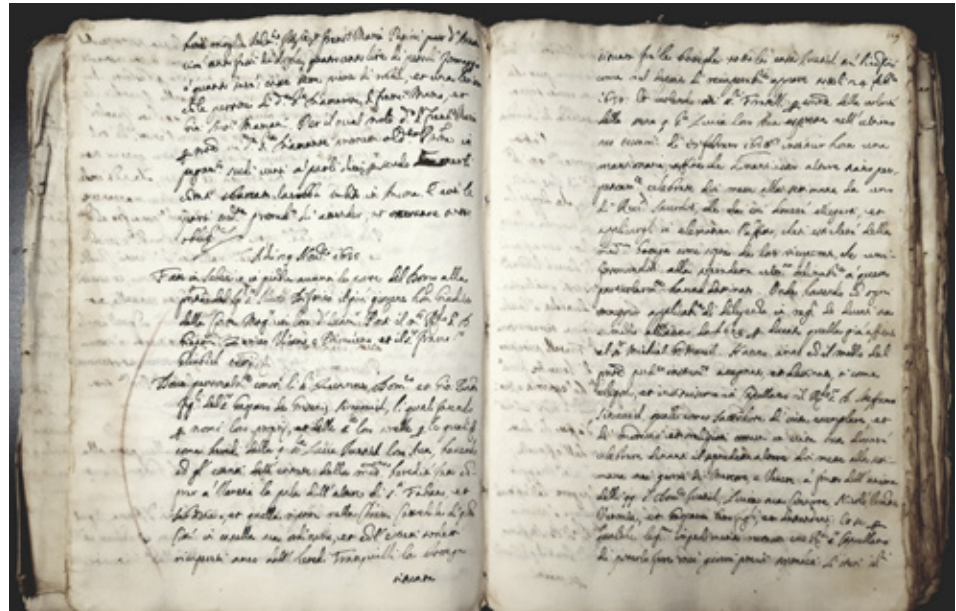
7.  
Filippo Zaniberti, *St Sebastian and  
St Fabian*, Cathedral of St James,  
Šibenik, 1635 (photo: A. Šitina)

Filippo Zaniberti, *Sv. Sebastijan i  
sv. Fabijan*, katedrala Sv. Jakova,  
Šibenik, 1635.



8 and 9.

Archival document: HR-DAŠI,  
box 66, Šimun Strižić, file E, fol.  
118v-120r (photo: A. Šitina)  
Arhivski dokument: HR-DAŠI, Kut. 66,  
Šimun Strižić, sv. E, fol. 118v-120r



one hundred ducats for the altarpiece of Saint Sebastian in the Šibenik Cathedral in 1622.<sup>51</sup> In the will of Lucija Ivetić, Dominik's widow, dating from February 17, 1626, there is evidence of a bequest of one hundred ducats for the commission of the altarpiece dedicated to Saint Sebastian in the Šibenik Cathedral, as her husband had already requested. It is also stated that a Mass should be held on the altar twice every week.<sup>52</sup> The information extracted from Lucija Ivetić's will is significant because it provides further knowledge about the members of the Ivetić family, their finances, and their familial relations. As for Zaniberti's painting, the will is crucial for its dating, as it proves that the altarpiece had not yet been commissioned in 1626, and that it was most definitely executed after Bishop Arrigoni's death. Additionally, the archival data from November 29, 1635 show that the altarpiece was imported from Venice with the goal of furnishing the altar dedicated to Saints Sebastian and Fabian in the cathedral prior to that date. Therefore, it can be concluded that the altarpiece

was executed between 1626 and the November of 1635, but most likely shortly before its delivery. There is no instruction on what the painting should look like in Lucija Ivetić's will, which implies that the appearance of the altarpiece was defined by the commissioning client rather than the donors.

Federico Galvani states that the noble Šibenik family of Ivetić, that is, Dominik Ivetić and his sons Jakov and Juraj, is mentioned as early as around 1400<sup>53</sup> and that their coat of arms adorned a house with the inscription: "DOMINICUS IVETICH. D. GEORGII RESTAURAVIT 1596."<sup>54</sup> In the *status animarum* by Ostojčić, the Ivetić family is mentioned alongside eighteen other noble families from Šibenik. The only member of the family mentioned on the list is Juraj Ivetić.<sup>55</sup> A document from 1598 mentions the Ivetić brothers as landowners after the death of Juraj Ivetić. Iva Kurelac has suggested that the man mentioned in the document is probably Juraj from the list made by Ostojčić. Aside from this conclusion, she has also proposed that one of Juraj Ivetić and Margita Draganić's sons may have been called Dominik. There is an inscription mentioning a person called Dominik, located on the corner column situated next to today's Café Medulić. Kurelac has argued that this inscription most likely refers to Dominik Ivetić, grandfather of the Semonić brothers who donated money used to commission the altarpiece from Zaniberti.<sup>56</sup> In addition, two coats of arms representing the Ivetić family can be found in the courtyard of the Rossini palace in Šibenik, on the well and above the courtyard entrance.<sup>57</sup>

Kristijan Juran mentions archival data from 1696 that provide information about a court verdict from 1686, stating that half of the estate on Pjaceta, which had once been property of the Ivetić family, followed by Ivan Grisanis Semonić, now belonged to brothers Divnić, sons of Antun. During the dispute, the Divnić family invoked the will of Dominik Ivetić who had died of the plague in 1649, as well as the renouncement of the Franciscans of Saint Francis in Šibenik, to whom the estate should have been assigned.<sup>58</sup> Due to the aforementioned circumstances, it is not clear which one of the many members of the Ivetić family named Dominik was really involved.

From what is left of Zaniberti's works in Dalmatia, two paintings are in Šibenik, one of which can be dated with certainty around 1625.<sup>59</sup> The other one dates from before November 1635, as proven by the presented document.<sup>60</sup> Even though archival data confirm that Bishop Arrigoni was not the one who commissioned Zaniberti's altarpiece in the Šibenik Cathedral, he may have played a role in its commission as a mediator. After having hired the *bresciano* painter for his own commission intended for the Dominican church, he may have recommended him to the Ivetić family, and the Semonić brothers either received this recommendation as well or were influenced by the bishop. It is worth noting, however, that the bishop's true role when it comes to hiring the painter for the Dominicans' altarpiece has not yet been fully disclosed. The document from 1635 that confirms the acquisition of Zaniberti's altarpiece from Venice is a prime example of the importance of distinguishing donors from clients who commission the artwork. The donors, in this case Dominik and Lucija Ivetić, left a certain bequest intended to be used with a certain purpose, that is, a hundred ducats for the altarpiece, while the commissioning clients, in this case the Semonić brothers, commissioned the painting from the artist of their choice, Filippo Zaniberti.

## Appendix

November 29, 1635 – in Šibenik. Brothers Ivan, Dominik and Ivan Krstitelj, sons of Gašpar Grisanis, in their name and in the name of their sisters, as heirs of their grandmother Lucija Ivetić, purchased an altarpiece in Venice for the altar of SS. Fabian and Sebastian in the Šibenik Cathedral.

HR-DAŠI, box 66, Šimun Strižić, file E, fol. 118v-120r

A di 29 Novembre 1635.

*Fatto in Sebenico in piazza avanti le porte del Domo alla presentia del sg Signor Nicoló Difnico il piú giouene honorabile giudice della Corte maggior in loco d'essaminator, presenti il magnifico Reverendo Signor domino Gioanni Zoriceo uicarò e primicerio et il signor Zuane Gliubich testii.*

*Dove personaliter costituiti li signori Zuane, Domenico e Giovanni Battista figli del signor Gasparo de Grisanis Simeonich, li quali intendo per nomi loro proprii, et delle tutte loro sorelle per lo quali et come heredi della guondam signora Lucia Iuetich loro aua, hauendo ed gli estratti dell'entrate della medesima hereditá fatto? comprar a' Uenetia la pala dell'altare Santi Fabiano et Sebastiano, et quella riposta nella chiesa Cattedrale di questa cittá in capella sua ordinaua, et con l'estratti sodetti ricuperato auo dall'heredi Tranquilli la bottega situata fra le bottege sotto la casa Iuetich trà li confini come nel deposito di recuperatione appare sotto li 24 febraio 1630. Lo uolendo essi signori fratelli per essecutione della uolontá della stesa quondam signora Lucia loro aua espressa nell'ultimo suo testamento di 17 febraio 1626. instituir hora una mansionaria, affine che davanti esso altare hanno perpetuamente celebrate dui messe alla settimana da uno di Reverendi scardoti, che da essi doverá ellegersi et applicargli in elemosina l'affitto che si estraherà della medesima bottega come sopra da loro ricuperata, che uniformadovi alla sopradetta ultima ordinatione á questo particolarmente hanno destinato. Onde hauendo con ogni maggior applicatione di diligenza in ragione de ducati otto e mezzo all'anno da L 6 s 4 per ducato quella già affitata al signor Michiel Grisanich. Hanno auo con il mezzo del presente publico instrumento assegnato, et destinato, in come elegano, et instituiscono á capellano il Reverendo signor domino Steffano Simeuich, quale come sacerdote di uita esemplare, et di modestissimi et religiosi costumi in uita sua douerá celebrare dinanti il sopradetto altare doi messe alla settimana nei giorni di mercore, e uenere a (nejasno) dell'anime delli quondam signor Domenico Iuetich, Lucia sua consorte, Nicoló Iuanac, Veronica, et Gasparo loro figli, et desendenti: et se per qualche legitimo impedimento restasse esso Reverendo signor cappellano di poterlo fare nei giorni precisi sopradetti: li stessi signori heredi bramando di compiacerlo li danno libertá di farlo nei giorni precedenti, in tutte questi della settimana, purché resti adempito il numero delle doi messe come sopra stabilite, et cosí doverá continuare l'incunberla di sacerdote in scardote perpetuamente sino che si potrà cauare el'affitto della predetta bottega, risseruando pero espressamente essi tutti fratelli per se et per loro heredi, et successori il ius dell'elettione di cappellano á proprio beneplacito, che doppo la morte d'esso Reverendo signor domino Steffano douerá per tempore elegersi et renonciando al medesimo hora daloro eletto, esso affito di bottega, che da signor Grisanich affittuale li doverá liberamente ogni anno aá debito tempo esser corisposto, quale principiará a primo zugno 1636. Intanto douendosi a laude del signor Dio, et peressecutione della pia institutione testamentaria predetta come sommamente desiderano essi signori fratelli principiar l'effetto del presente insdtrumente, il primo di decembre prossimo venuto, il signor Zuane Simeonich sopradetto haèsportato effettivamente presente me nodaro et li sopradetti signori giudice e testii L 26 s 7 al medesimo signor domino Steffano per sei mesi d'affito di detta bottega, che haueua egli già riceuuto dall'affittuale, quali ueniranno aponto a terminare a' ultimo maggio uenuto, et il novo affito annunciarli a' pagare dall'affittuale et riscotere nell'auenire dal Monsignor Cappellano a' primo zugno susseguente. Iui presente il Reverendo signor domino Steffano et questo accettante. Et perche il signor Domenico Iuetich quondam signor Zorzi per uirtú della conuentione stipulata sotto li 18 ottobre 1635. ha' l' abilitá di poter ricuperare con proprii danari essa bottega quandocumque Li sopradetti signori fratelli però hanno dechiarito, che se per alcun tempo il sopradetto signor Dominico*

*uenisse a' ricuperar detta bottega, d'investire quel danaro, che lui portasse in un altro stabile, affine che sempre mai per quanto a' loro s'aspettará, resti continuato, et essercitato quello pio, et raggonevol instituto.*

*Promettendo sotto obligatione ponto di testamento della quondam signora Lucia relicta quondam signor Domenico Iuetich stipulato a' 17 febraio 1626. nelle note dal quondam signor Marco Simeonich nodaro, nel quale istituissse heredi uniuersali li' figli del signor Gasparo Simeonich, et amministratrice la Reuerenda signora suor Benedetta Iuetich sua figlia monaca in uita sua.*

## NOTES

- \* This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2016-06-1265 *ET TIBI DABO: Commissions and Donors in Istria, Croatian Littoral and North Dalmatia from 1300 to 1800*.
- <sup>1</sup> The aim of this article is to analyse in detail the artistic currents and commissioning trends in the area of the Šibenik Diocese in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the commissioning of paintings from masters that worked in the *maniera* of Palma il Giovane during the first wave of the post-Tridentine renewal. See more in: ANA ŠITINA, *Slikarstvo 16. i 17. stoljeća u Šibenskoj biskupiji*, doctoral dissertation, University of Zadar, 2020, 38-49; 194-199; 400; 437-438; 444-445; 456-458.
- <sup>2</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI, *Il Re d'armi di Sebenico 1*, Venice, 1884, 41; KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Galerija uglednih Šibenčana*, 1936, 72.
- <sup>3</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 2), 76.
- <sup>4</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Dalmatinski klesar (Antun Nogulović?), Grobnica šibenskog biskupa Vinka (Vincenza) Arrigonija, crkva sv. Dominika, Šibenik, in: *Dominkanci u Hrvatskoj*, exhibition catalogue (Klovičevi Dvori Gallery, December 20, 2007 – March 30, 2008), ed. R. Tomić, 2011, 392.
- <sup>5</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 42.
- <sup>6</sup> JOSIP BARBARIĆ, Šibenik, šibenska biskupija, šibenski biskupi, in: *Sedam stoljeća Šibenske biskupije. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Šibenska biskupija od 1298. do 1998.*, Šibenik, September 22-26, 1998, Šibenik, 2001, 129.
- <sup>7</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 43.
- <sup>8</sup> JOSIP BARBARIĆ (as in n. 6), 131.
- <sup>9</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 2), 6; JOSIP ANTE SOLDI, *Kratka povijest Šibenske biskupije o 700. obljetnici*, Šibenik, 1997, 33.
- <sup>10</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 43.
- <sup>11</sup> JOSIP ANTE SOLDI (as in n. 9).
- <sup>12</sup> JOSIP BARBARIĆ (as in n. 6), 133.
- <sup>13</sup> JOSIP ČUZELA, Dvorana bratovštine Santa Maria Valverde i Nova crkva u Šibeniku, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 36/1, 1996, 101.
- <sup>14</sup> The inscription was made by Giacomo Taiapietra from Venice, for which he received 24 lire on February 19, 1620. Cf. JOSIP ČUZELA (as in n. 13), 101; SLAVKA PETRIĆ, Bratovštine u Šibeniku, *Croatica Chriatiana Periodica*, 39, 1997, 116.
- <sup>15</sup> J. Čuzela states that the inscription was carved onto the altar of the church (JOSIP ČUZELA (as in n. 13), 101). However, the inscription is carved onto the choir railing.
- <sup>16</sup> DANIEL PREMERL, Ranobarokni drveni oltari u crkvi Sv. Frane u Šibeniku, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 29, 2005, 154.
- <sup>17</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Sveti Križ u šibenskom Docu*, Šibenik, 1933, 5.
- <sup>18</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 17).
- <sup>19</sup> JOSIP BARBARIĆ (as in n. 6), 132.
- <sup>20</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 2), 58.
- <sup>21</sup> K. Stošić does not specify the archive number of the document he is citing. KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Nova crkva*, manuscript, 8.
- <sup>22</sup> SLAVKA PETRIĆ (as in n. 14), 104.
- <sup>23</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Katedrala*, manuscript, 6.
- <sup>24</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Sela šibenskog kotara*, 1941, 166; LJUBOMIR ANTIĆ, Prvić Šepurine, rodno mjesto Jere Jareba, *Spomenica, Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3, 2008, 740-741.
- <sup>25</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 24), 31; RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Slikar Angelo Mancini, in: *Šibenik od prvog spomena, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 950 godina od prvog spomena Šibenika*, Šibenik, September 26-28, 2016, ed. I. Kurelac, Šibenik-Zagreb, 2018, 512, 517.
- <sup>26</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 25), 509-519.
- <sup>27</sup> Diocesan Archive in Šibenik, Apostolic Visitations (1589-1636), box 1, Bishop Vincenzo Arrigoni, 17. V. 1609, fol. 124. (HR-BAŠ, kanonske vizitacije (1589-1636), kut 1, Biskup Vincenzo Arrigoni, 17. V. 1609., fol. 124.)

- <sup>28</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Bilješke o slikama u Šibeniku, Pirovcu, Kaštel Štafiliću, Poljicama, Skradinu, Biogradu i Zadru (Angelo Mancini, Mate Otoni, Giuseppe Marcatti, Franjo Gianacchi, Pietro Tantini), *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, 103-116; R. TOMIĆ (as in n. 25), 509-519.
- <sup>29</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 28); RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 25), 509-519.
- <sup>30</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Prijedlog za Filippa Zanibertija u Šibeniku, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 28, 1989, 150; RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 5), 392-393.
- <sup>31</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 5), 392-393; RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Crtica o slikama u Šibeniku, Murteru i Marini, *Kvartal*, 8, 1/2, 2011, 71.
- <sup>32</sup> About commissioning and making wooden altarpieces in the church of Saint Dominic in Šibenik, see more in: BOJAN GOJA, Pietro Sandrioli indorador iz Venecije i drvene oltarne pale u Rabu i Šibeniku, *Ars Adriatica*, 3, 2013, 159-174; ANA ŠITINA (as in n. 1), 101-104, including prior bibliography.
- <sup>33</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, Filippo Zaniberti (Brescia, 1585 – Venecija, 1636), Bogorodica s Djetetom, sv. Katarinom Aleksandrijskom, sv. Katarinom Sijenskom, Marijom Magdalenom i sv. Vinkom Ferskim, Šibenik, crkva sv. Dominika, in: *Dominikanci u Hrvatskoj*, exhibition catalogue (Klovičevi Dvori Gallery, December 20, 2007 – March 30, 2008), ed. R. Tomić, 2011, 353-354.
- <sup>34</sup> KRUNO PRIJATELJ, *Umjetnost 17. i 18. stoljeća u Dalmaciji*, 1956, 61, 128.
- <sup>35</sup> See more in: CARLO DONZELLI, GIUSEPPE MARIA PILO, *Il pittori del Seicento Veneto*, Florence, 1967, 436-437; RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI, Per il Ponzoni e lo Zaniberti, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (Fiskovićev zbornik 1), Split, 1980, 468-473; L. SALVADORI, C. VALLARINI, Contributo per una catalogazione dell' opera di Filippo Zaniberti, *Atti e memorie del sodalizio Vangadiciense*, 4, 1991, 226-228; ANTONIO ROMAGNOLO, Rovigo, in: *La pittura nel Veneto, Il Seicento I.*, ed. M. Lucco, Milan, 2000, 422-423.
- <sup>36</sup> KRUNO PRIJATELJ, Oltarna pala u župnoj crkvi u Nerežišću, *Peristil*, 37, 1994, 111-116.
- <sup>37</sup> There are three similar retables in the Dominican church with their respective altarpieces. Altars like these are common in Dalmatian churches from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but they are perhaps the most common in Šibenik, where the activity of woodcarver Jerolim Mondela is documented. The altar that contains Zaniberti's altarpiece has a classical architectural layout; its triangular gable is decorated with sculptures depicting angels and the fluted columns in the corners of the altar are set on tall pedestals and decorated with Corinthian capitals. The classical entablature with a triangular gable is decorated with Arrigoni's coat of arms, which contains a horizontal stripe with stars and an inscription with the bishop's initials. The lower part of the coat of arms is decorated with white and red stripes, while the upper part contains a winged eagle and a bishop's mitre. RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 150; RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 354, with prior bibliography.
- <sup>38</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 143-151.
- <sup>39</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 143-151.
- <sup>40</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 143-151.
- <sup>41</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 354.
- <sup>42</sup> HDAZG, microfilm D-2452, 1371-1374.
- <sup>43</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 354.
- <sup>44</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 354.
- <sup>45</sup> The first to write about the painting was K. Stošić (KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Katedrala u Šibeniku*, 1926, 17), but D. Westphal provides more data (DOROTHEA WESTPHAL, Malo poznata slikarska djela XIV.-XVIII. stoljeća u Dalmaciji, *Rad JAZU*, 256, 1937, 46). Vojko Devetak mentioned it in 1967 in his text about the cathedral interior (VOJKO DEVETAK, Šibenska katedrala, *Crkva u svijetu*, 2/5, 1967, 58) and K. Prijatelj brings it up within a wider context of Croatian baroque art (KRUNO PRIJATELJ, *Barok u Hrvatskoj*, 1982, 810). R. Tomić writes about the altarpiece the most, comparing it with the rest of Zaniberti's work (RADOSLAV TOMIĆ /as in n. 30/, 148).
- <sup>46</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 148.
- <sup>47</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 30), 150; R. TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 353-354.
- <sup>48</sup> State Archives in Šibenik, box 66, Šimun Strižić, file E, fol. 118v-120r (HR-DAŠI, Kut. 66, Šimun Strižić, sv. E, fol. 118v-120r)
- <sup>49</sup> State Archives in Šibenik, box 263, Notaries of Šibenik, Marko Semonić, 50/V, fol. 119-122 (HR-DAŠI-263, BŠ, Marko Semonić 50/V, fol. 119-122)
- <sup>50</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 137; KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 23).
- <sup>51</sup> KRSTO STOŠIĆ (as in n. 23).
- <sup>52</sup> "(...) *Item lasso et voglio che dalli (?) (?) commissarij, et dalla suddetta signora Benedetta mia figliuola siano fatte vender al publico in canto tutte le mie intrade per anni dodesi continui a persone secure, le quali siano obligati anco calore sicuresi per le detto (?) et che ogni anno siano confisatiati la dara di esse alla detta mia figliuola, la quale (?) in obbligo (?) esamente pagare tutti i legati pij (?) lasciati dal g. signor Dominico mio marito, et da mei Zuanne et (?) Nicolo mij figli et da m. a. Gaspara mia figlia quell pero, che non (?) pagar, et anco a li legati, che saranno da me lassati, et poi li debiti legitimi della mia heredita, et cio fornita sia in obbligo essa mia figlia accumulare dal ritratto di dette entrade ducati cento per fare una pala all' altare di S. Sebastiano in San Giacomo per essecutione del volere del g. mio marito; dopo di cio la sia in obbligo delle dette entrade (?) accumulare tanto danaro, quante basti per di scomparire la bottega posta detto la casa Ivetch venduta dal g. mio marito(...)*" In Šibenik (February 17, 1626), last will of Lucija Ivetić.: State Archives in Šibenik, box 263, Notaries of Šibenik, Marko Semonić, 50/V, fol. 119-122 (HR-DAŠI-263, BŠ, Marko Semonić 50/V, fol. 119-122.)
- <sup>53</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 136.
- <sup>54</sup> FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (as in n. 2), 137.
- <sup>55</sup> IVA KURELAC, *Sanctum animarum* prezbitera Bartolomeja Ostojčića kao izvor za proučavanje nekih aspekata socijalne topografije Šibenika s kraja 16. stoljeća, in: *Šibenik od prvog spomena, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 950 godina od prvog spomena Šibenika*, Šibenik, September 26-28, 2016, ed. I. Kurelac, Šibenik-Zagreb, 2018, 221.
- <sup>56</sup> IVA KURELAC (as in n. 55), 231.
- <sup>57</sup> *Grbovi: Zbirka kamenih grbova*, exhibition catalogue, Šibenik, 2000, 56-57.
- <sup>58</sup> KRISTIJAN JURAN, *Stari i novi stanovnici Šibenika i njegovih predgrađa u drugoj polovici 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća*, Šibenik, 2016, 155.
- <sup>59</sup> RADOSLAV TOMIĆ (as in n. 33), 353-354.
- <sup>60</sup> State Archives in Šibenik, Box 66, Šimun Strižić, file E, fol. 118v-120r (HR-DAŠI, Kut. 66., Šimun Strižić, sv. E, fol. 118v-120r).