

## **Visualizing Nationhood:**

### **The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> c.)**

Workshop hosted by the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck Institute for Art History, Rome

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## **Summaries**



**BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA**  
**MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE**

## Case study 1:

### Jasenka Gudelj, University of Zagreb: The church and the confraternity of Saint Jerome in Rome

The first known organized groups of people who spoke a South Slavic idiom and were of Catholic faith are mentioned in Rome from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when pope Nicholas V Parentucelli (1397-1455) granted the ruined church of Santa Marina at Ripetta to *Dalmatiae et Schiavonae nationum* with permission to reconstruct it and dedicate it to Saint Jerome. Now known as San Girolamo dei Croati, the church was rebuilt by Sixtus V Peretti (1585-1590) according to the design by Martino Longhi the Elder (1534–1591) in 1588-89. The complex has been an important feature for the self-fashioning of the cultural identity of an immigrant community which during the Early Modern period could not identify itself with a particular centre or political subject present on the map of Europe, as its members' originated from territories ruled by the Serenissima, the Habsburgs, the Ottomans and the small Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). This also meant that Schiavoni, before moving (in most cases: fleeing) to Rome, inhabited the area of the *triplex* religious *confinium*, bordering with both the Muslim and the Orthodox.

Recent literature on the complex, such as the *Chiesa Sistina*, proceedings of a conference held in 1988 (ed. R. Perić, Rome, 1989) reflects the national/universal dichotomy of the nature of the related historical-artistic phenomena: Croatian authors concentrate on the history of the community and its prominent members mainly through the study of the archival records, while the history of the art and architecture and the impact of the complex on the urban situation are studied by Italian scholars, who focused on their forms and authors in context of Roman artistic situation, almost voiding it of its "national" identity.

The research examines the positioning of the *natio* in question within *Roma communis patria* through commissions of art and architecture related to San Girolamo degli Schiavoni between 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on the comparison of papal interventions and the confraternity patronage.

**Jasenka Gudelj** is Assistant Professor at the University of Zagreb specialised in history of architecture of the Adriatic region. She obtained her PhD from School of Advanced Studies Venice, Italy and was a postdoctoral fellow at University of Pittsburgh and Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome. Her book *Europska renesansa antičke Pule* (European Renaissance of Ancient Pula, Zagreb, 2014) explores the critical fortune of the antiquities of Pula in the Renaissance. Gudelj is editor of *Costruire il dispositivo storico: tra fonti e strumenti* (with P. Nicolini, Milano, 2006), *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske* (Renaissance and Renesances in Croatia, with P. Marković, Zagreb, 2008) and *Umjetnost i naručitelji* (Art and its Patrons, Zagreb, 2010). She has also authored two exhibitions on early modern architectural treatises in Croatia (Dubrovnik, 2009 and Zagreb, 2012). She is currently PI of the Croatian Science Foundation research project *Visualizing Nationhood: the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> c.)*. Her main fields of interest are history of early modern art and architecture, classical tradition and urban history, with focus on the circulation of knowledge, its media and webs especially in the Adriatic region.

## Case study 2:

### Tanja Trška, University of Zagreb: Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice

Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni), one of the numerous *scuole piccole* in Venice, gathered immigrants originating from the eastern coast of the Adriatic (mainly Dalmatian territories under Venetian rule), in Italy commonly referred to as *Schiavoni*. Founded in 1451, during the period of increased migration of Dalmatian populace to Venice, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni first convened in the Hospice of St Catherine and had its altar in the church of San Giovanni in Tempio, both belonging to the Venetian branch of Knights Hospitaller (*Cavalieri di Malta*). The construction of the Scuola's new seat was concluded in 1551 with the reconstruction of the building realized by the *proto* of the Arsenale Giovanni de Zon and the erection of the new façade decorated by Sansovino's pupil Pietro da Salò. Besides with the famous early-16<sup>th</sup> century narrative cycle painted by Vittore Carpaccio, first painted for the Scuola's old seat in the Hospice of St Catherine, the new premises were further decorated in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by a series of paintings still preserved in the *sala superiore*.

The first phase of research of the artistic heritage of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni is related to the reconstruction of its seat in the central years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with special attention to the relationship with the Venetian seat of Knights Hospitaller (Scuola di San Giovanni Battista or San Giovanni in Tempio). As revealed by archival records consulted so far, the aforementioned construction of the new edifice of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, as well as the hitherto unknown reconstruction of the Priorato di Venezia commissioned by Ranuccio Farnese in 1554 caused disputes between the Guardians of the two confraternities. Records of the *Provveditori di comun* preserved in the State Archives in Venice provide an insight into the construction works of the Scuola's new seat, more precisely the demolition of the old façade in May 1551 executed without prior consultation with the members of the adjacent Scuola di San Giovanni Battista. A similar situation would repeat several years later, in 1554, but with roles reversed: as revealed by the correspondence between the Prior Ranuccio Farnese and the apostolic *nunzio* in Venice Lodovico Beccadelli, the discovery of an old cemetery belonging to the Schiavoni caused them to protest against the reconstruction of the seat of the Priorato di Venezia. These and other cases – disputes, agreements and compromises noted in the confraternities' *mariegole* and other archival records – marked and conditioned their centuries-long cohabitation.

Historical and art-historical research related to the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni has mainly concentrated on the early period of the confraternity's centuries-long existence, with special emphasis on Carpaccio's narrative cycle (1502-1507) relocated to the Scuola's newly reconstructed seat. Individual scenes of the series – episodes from the lives of the confraternity's patron saints George, Tryphon and Jerome – represent distinct statements of Dalmatian identity which the brethren strived to preserve within the pronouncedly multicultural Venetian society. This need continued in other decorative campaigns realized in the centuries that followed, namely with the works in the *sala superiore* realized by or attributed to Venetian painters of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (collaborators of Palma il Giovane, Andrea Vicentino, Antonio Vassilacchi called l'Aliense, Giuseppe Heintz il Giovane), which still have to be examined in relation to patronage and attribution. The presence of works of the aforementioned painters (especially those by Carpaccio and Palma il Giovane) in artistic centres on the Eastern-Adriatic coast brings forth the question of the dynamics of artistic commissions, along with the issue of possible mediators in commissions from Venetian-based artists, accessible to Dalmatian patrons by means of their national stronghold in Venice.

**Tanja Trška** completed Art History PhD programme at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, co-tutored with the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb in 2014. She was awarded research and study grants from the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Ministry of Science of the Republic of Croatia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini Onlus, and Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, Vicenza. Her research focuses on Renaissance and Baroque art and patronage.

### Case study 3:

#### **Daniel Premerl (Institute of Art History Zagreb) and Danko Šourek (University of Zagreb): The Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna**

The Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna existed from 1553 until 1781, governed by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter. The College's mission was to provide a seven-year doctoral programme at the University of Bologna for Croatian and Hungarian students from the Zagreb Bishopric and Slavonia (i.e. present day Northern and Eastern Croatia). The College building, built between 1690 and 1700, still exists. Since 1820s it has been known as Collegio Venturoli (after its subsequent owner).

The current state of knowledge on the general history of the College is to be found in introductory essays of the book *Annali del Collegio Ungaro-Ilirico di Bologna*, edited by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Luisa Accorsi, Bologna, 1988. In 2014 Daniel Premerl published a book on the iconography and patronage of ceiling and wall paintings painted in 1700 and still preserved in the College refectory, executed by Gioacchino Pizzoli (*Bolonjske slike hrvatske povijesti – Politička ikonografija zidnih slika u Ilirsko-ugarskom kolegiju u Bolonji*). In 2011 Daniel Premerl published an article on the College's patronage of the 1765 catafalque for emperor Francis I Stephen, designed by Mauro Tesi (*The meaning of emperor Francis I's funeral in Bologna*, in *Ikon*, no. 4).

The majority of College's archival records are kept in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Zagreb. Some archival records are kept in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna. The College rectors' reports are published in *Annali del Collegio Ungaro-Ilirico di Bologna*, edited by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Luisa Accorsi, Bologna, 1988.

The first phase of the research will be focused on the building history of the College based upon the unpublished archival documents (which include the contract for the construction of the College building and relative expenses) kept in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Zagreb. In the contract we read that the College was designed by Bologna's Senate architect Giovanni Battista Torri, whose biography is otherwise rather scarce. Torri's project will be considered in the context of contemporary Bolognese architecture of similar purpose or typology (e.g. Collegio di Spagna, Collegio dei Fiamminghi etc.). This phase of research will hopefully reveal some data about the earlier College building on the same spot.

The second phase of the research will be focused on College furnishings. Recent restoration works have revealed an overall program of fresco-decoration in the ground floor courtyard porticoes, as well as some preserved fresco fragments in other parts of the building. Those decorative paintings, revealing mostly heraldic content, will be further analyzed. Also, based on the several inventory books found in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Zagreb it will be possible, to a certain extent, to virtually restore some parts of the College interior (paintings, sculptures, furniture). Hopefully, some of those lost artworks might be found either in Bologna or Zagreb.

In addition, we will focus on other instances of Zagreb alumni patronage in Bologna (e.g. in the Archiginnasio, in the Way of the Cross chapel in the portico leading up to the Sanctuary of the Madonna di San Lucca, book publishing etc.). We will also try to find the remains of original edifices built on the College's suburban estates in Russo and San Vitale which are mentioned in some of the examined documents. The research on the artistic heritage of the Illyrian-Hungarian College will reveal the extent of interchange between Bologna and one of its student communities. How alumni used art to self-represent themselves, how their Zagreb background influenced their commissions in Bologna, did the Bolognese experience have an effect on their subsequent patronage in Croatia?

**Danko Šourek** obtained his PhD in Art History from University of Zagreb in 2012. Since 2006 he has been employed as a teaching and research assistant at the Art History Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. He was awarded research and study grants from the Croatian Ministry of Science; Central European University Budapest and Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He has published several articles on Renaissance and Baroque art and his forthcoming book *Altarističke radionice na granici* (Zagreb, 2015) explores Baroque sculpture in the Quarner area.

**Daniel Premerl** obtained his PhD in Art History from University of Zagreb in 2009 and is currently employed as a Research Associate at the Institute of Art History, Zagreb. He was awarded research and study grants from the University of Oxford (the Chevening scholarship), the Italian Government and the Getty Foundation. He has published several articles and book chapters on Baroque art and the book on political iconography of the frescoes in the Illyrian-Hungarian college in Bologna (*Bolonjske slike hrvatske povijesti – Politička ikonografija zidnih slika u Ilirsko-ugarskom kolegiju u Bolonji*, Zagreb, 2014).

#### Case study 4:

##### **Francesca Coltrinari, Giuseppe Capriotti (University of Macerata): *Schiavoni and the Marche***

The research on the artistic heritage related to the constellation of Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities and colleges in the Marche region has so far been rather fragmentary. Therefore, comparative analysis of individual projects and construction campaigns of oratories and churches in Ancona, Fermo, Loreto ecc. will put into perspective issues of architectural taste and power within the Papal State, reflecting pontifical policies towards the Eastern Adriatic. Moreover, the principal medium of visual expression of the group's identity, were the altars maintained and adorned by Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities (in the church of Saint Germano in Camerano, in the Carmine church in Fermo, in the Pesaro cathedral, in churches of Saint Peter the Martyr and Santa Maria of Castelnovo in Recanati).

The confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians and Illyrian colleges in the Marche have been studied mainly by historians, such as Mario Sensi (author of copious articles on the confraternities of Slavs), or Floriano Grimaldi, Marco Moroni and Carlo Verducci (on the Illyrian colleges of Loreto and Fermo), while the architectural history of Fermo complex was presented by Marisa Tabarrini. Numerous archival documents testifying the presence of Schiavoni in the Marche were also analyzed in occasion of some important conferences: *Le Marche e l'Adriatico orientale* (1978), *Marche e Dalmazia tra Umanesimo e Barocco* (1993), *Stranieri e forestieri nella Marca dei secc. XIV-XVI* (1996), *Adriatico. Un mare di storia, arte, cultura* (2000). On these occasions the attention was rarely focused on the artistic production promoted by the confraternities or linked to the devotional needs of confraternities or colleges. At present a comprehensive survey on these issues is completely missing, while virtually no historical research has been done on the Illyrian presence in the North part of the region.

##### **Giuseppe Capriotti: Ancona and Camerano**

The first year of research, focused on architecture, will be dedicated to the comparative analysis of two case studies linked to the confraternities of Schiavoni: the church of St. Blaise in Ancona, built in 1748, and the church of St. Germain in Camerano, built in a suburban area in the seventeenth century. The first, dedicated to St. Blaise, was founded by Schiavoni immigrants in Ancona in 1439; at first, the confraternity built a church of St. Blaise at Poggio (Monte Conero), then they moved to the city centre, building the new church in 1667. The project of the building was entrusted to Giovan Battista Urbini, while in the interior there are stuccos by Gioacchino Varlè and an altarpiece by Domenico Simonetti called "il Magatta", considered, according to the tradition, to be a late reproduction of the image brought by the Croats in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of St. Blaise on the canvas is very significant, because Blaise is the patron saint of Dubrovnik, highly revered by the Schiavoni of the Marche Region. Numerous unpublished documents testifying the early years of this confraternity survive in the Ancona Diocesan Archive, but the documentation on the building of the church and its decoration is however yet to be traced.

The Illyrian colony of Camerano was related to the church of St. Germain from 1478; in 1539 a confraternity of Schiavoni obtained the patronage of the church. The construction of the church, as well as its decoration with anonymous paintings, dates to the same period. The research will be based on parish archival records and on documents possibly preserved in the Ancona Diocesan Archive. One of the problems, in both cases, is the massive phenomenon of integration: both confraternities, in the long term, ceased to be formed only by Schiavoni/Croats, but always maintained a "national" denotation within their historical narratives.

In the following years I intend to analyze the relocation of specific cults of saints from the Illyrian coast to the Marche Region, caused by the migration of communities of Albanians and Schiavoni associated with confraternities in their new homeland. I intend to investigate the frequency of patron saints of these confraternities, namely St. Venera (for Albanians) and St. Blaise (for Schiavoni). Furthermore, the duration and the locations of these cults will be mapped and analyzed, through the analysis of paintings widespread in the Marche Region. Another interesting field of research involves the foundation of confraternity churches linked to 15<sup>th</sup>-century mystical phenomena with Albanian immigrants as protagonists, some interesting because of their passage of patronage to a Schiavoni confraternity.

**Giuseppe Capriotti** is Assistant Professor in Early Modern Art History at the University of Macerata. He obtained his PhD from the University of Macerata (research partly conducted at EPHE, Paris). His research focuses on iconography, combining the traditional iconological method with the criteria of historical anthropology. He organized two conferences on Jewish themes (2008, 2011) and collaborated at several exhibitions. His recent publications include *Lo scorpione sul petto. Iconografia antiebraica alla periferia dello Stato pontificio* (Roma, Gangemi, 2014) and *L'alibi del mito. Un'altra autobiografia di Benvenuto Cellini* (Genova, Il melangolo, 2013).

## **Francesca Coltrinari: Recanati, Loreto, Fermo**

At the moment, the research focuses on the Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Recanati/Loreto and Fermo, but I will also be researching Ascoli Piceno, Macerata and Tolentino in the following years. My intention is to create a catalogue/database of images of works of art by Slavic artists and/or related to "national" confraternities and to analyse archival documents in order to establish precise circumstances, chronologies and identities of artists and patrons in question.

Presently I'm concentrating on Recanati and Loreto, investigating economic and devotional dynamics of the said confraternities. The economic dynamics are linked to the important September fair that between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century launched Recanati as an international trade city, often in competition with Ancona and connected to Venice and Bergamo. The success of the fair was linked to the history of the shrine of Loreto: the mythical passage of the Holy House to Loreto from Rijeka become official in 1472/73, sanctioning its value as the Adriatic sanctuary of the people from the two coasts united under one faith. In Recanati, a Schiavoni confraternity of St. Peter Martyr was documented already in 1337, where particularly interesting for art history is their possible link to Lorenzo Lotto. Another Slavic confraternity, protected by St. George, was founded in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, linked to the church of Santa Maria di Castelnuovo, where they were possibly related to a chapel with frescoes by a painter of peruginesque culture around 1520. In Loreto, a confraternity of Schiavoni dedicated to Santa Maria was founded in 1469, gathering many of the Slavs who had moved into the village around the shrine; the confraternity changed their titular in 1528 to the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament. This fact is an important one, and it occurred regularly: national confraternities in the Marches during the 15<sup>th</sup> century tended to lose their "ethnic" features, a sign of the growing integration of immigrant communities. Moreover, Loreto was also the seat of the Illyrian College: the present college building dates back to 1820-30, but its history is still to be read against the "national" background of its students.

Another interesting research direction is the comparative study of the group identity of the confraternities and the personal one of individual Schiavoni/Illyrian patrons and pilgrims, often belonging to the nobility, whose passage is detected by the sources (especially the Registers of gifts) of the shrine. This dynamics - group patronage on one hand and individual on the other - is very important: individual personalities, such as Alvise Gozzi in Ancona, in fact, appear able, thanks to their economic power and social status, to "disengage" from the group and to be promoters of individual initiatives.

**Francesca Coltrinari** obtained her PhD from University of Macerata in 2004. She is Assistant Professor at the University of Macerata. Since 2010 she has been Member of the Scientific Committee and editor-in-chief of the Journal "Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage". In 2011 she curated the exhibition *Vittore Crivelli da Venezia alle Marche. Maestri del Rinascimento nell'Appennino* (Sarnano, Italy). Her publications focus on the history of art in central Italy from 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, history of museums, and the artistic exchanges in the Adriatic area.

Case study 4:

### Case study

**Anita Ruso (doctoral candidate, EPHE/University of Zagreb): *Artistic and diplomatic exchange: the case of the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik)***

The image of the historical nucleus of Dubrovnik appears a coherent and harmonious one, built exclusively in white local stone, with repeating elements on facades of buildings inserted into a rigid urban structure. This rather controlled environment reflects the state's social coherency and harmony, key terms in the historical and literary identity discourses of the "myth of the Republic of Ragusa". Closer formal analysis of representative buildings financed by the Republic, such as the Rectors' palace, the cathedral or the church of the town's patron Saint Blaise reveals, on the other hand, differences that cannot be interpreted only with the passage of time: it is clear and well known that their authors came from rather different geographical and artistic backgrounds: Naples, Rome and Venice.

In order to shed more light on the reasons of these artistic exchanges, the present research explores figures of architects and builders employed by the Republic of Ragusa between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with particular emphasis on the period after the great earthquake of 1667, when most of the buildings in question were rebuilt. Departing from the term "official architect of the Republic", used rather arbitrary by historiography, the research focuses on previously unexplored mechanisms and terms of employment of architects through often overlapping diplomatic instances of the Republic and/or Schiavoni/Illyrian institutions in Italy. Moreover, the analysis aims to position architects and architecture in the centre of wider political and social discourse, exploring the extent of architectural connoisseurship of the Ragusan elites, functioning of the building procedure and the relationship of the Republic with the Catholic Church.

Most of the research is based on archival documents preserved in the Dubrovnik state archives, some published, such as official documents of the public government (series *Acta consilii maioris* and *Acta consilii minoris*) and unpublished diplomatic letters (series *Diplomata et acta*, *Lettere da Ponente*). Moreover, the analysis of building procedures is based on mostly unexplored series of *Fabbriche*. For the exchange with Rome, some archival records preserved in Archivio di stato di Roma regarding the activity of the architects also employed in Dubrovnik were examined (*Libro di proposte 1647-1668*).

The exchange with other researchers involved in the project *Visualizing nationhood* will provide precious insight into the network of contacts of the Ragusan nobility, which resulted in harmoniously inharmonious yet telling architecture.

**Anita Ruso** graduated in Art History and French Language and Literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb in 2011. She is currently a PhD candidate in Architectural History at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes études (EPHE; Sorbonne) in Paris, co-tutored with the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She has been awarded research and study grants from the ERASMUS programme (2010), EPHE: Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, the French Government and the French School at Rome; she has also been the recipient of the Open Society Institute scholarship and MOBI doc scholarship from the region Ile de France-Paris. She has published articles on the history of Dubrovnik architecture (*Peristil, Il Capitale Culturale*).