

SUPPLEMENTI

# Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country:

Schiavoni/Illyrian  
Confraternities and Colleges  
in Early Modern Italy  
in comparative perspective

S 07

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE

*Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*

**JOURNAL OF THE SECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE**

Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism  
University of Macerata

**eum**



IL CAPITALE CULTURALE  
*Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*  
Supplementi 07 / 2018

---

**eum**

## Il Capitale culturale

*Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*  
Supplementi 07, 2018

ISSN 2039-2362 (online)  
ISBN 978-88-6056-565-5

*Direttore / Editor*  
Massimo Montella

### *Co-Direttori / Co-Editors*

Tommy D. Andersson, Elio Borgonovi,  
Rosanna Cioffi, Stefano Della Torre, Michela  
di Macco, Daniele Manacorda, Serge Noiret,  
Tonino Pencarelli, Angelo R. Pupino, Girolamo  
Sciullo

*Coordinatore editoriale / Editorial Coordinator*  
Francesca Coltrinari

*Coordinatore tecnico / Managing Coordinator*  
Pierluigi Feliciati

### *Comitato editoriale / Editorial Office*

Giuseppe Capriotti, Mara Cerquetti, Francesca  
Coltrinari, Patrizia Dragoni, Pierluigi Feliciati,  
Valeria Merola, Enrico Nicosia, Francesco  
Pirani, Mauro Saracco, Simone Sisani, Emanuela  
Stortoni

*Comitato scientifico - Sezione di beni  
culturali / Scientific Committee - Division of  
Cultural Heritage and Tourism*

Giuseppe Capriotti, Mara Cerquetti,  
Francesca Coltrinari, Patrizia Dragoni,  
Pierluigi Feliciati, Maria Teresa Gigliozzi,  
Susanne Adina Meyer, Massimo Montella,  
Umberto Moscatelli, Sabina Pavone, Francesco  
Pirani, Mauro Saracco, Michela Scolaro,  
Emanuela Stortoni, Federico Valacchi, Carmen  
Vitale

### *Comitato scientifico / Scientific Committee*

Michela Addis, Tommy D. Andersson, Alberto  
Mario Banti, Carla Barbati, Sergio Barile,  
Nadia Barrella, Marisa Borraccini, Rossella  
Caffo, Ileana Chirassi Colombo, Rosanna  
Cioffi, Caterina Cirelli, Alan Clarke, Claudine  
Cohen, Lucia Corrain, Giuseppe Cruciani,  
Girolamo Cusimano, Fiorella Dallari, Stefano  
Della Torre, Maria del Mar Gonzalez Chacon,

Maurizio De Vita, Michela di Macco, Fabio  
Donato, Rolando Dondarini, Andrea Emiliani,  
Gaetano Maria Golinelli, Xavier Greffe, Alberto  
Grohmann, Susan Hazan, Joel Heuillon,  
Emanuele Invernizzi, Lutz Klinkhammer,  
Federico Marazzi, Fabio Mariano, Aldo M.  
Morace, Raffaella Morselli, Olena Motuzenko,  
Giuliano Pinto, Marco Pizzo, Edouard  
Pommier, Carlo Pongetti, Adriano Prosperi,  
Angelo R. Pupino, Bernardino  
Quattrociocchi, Margherita Rasulo, Mauro  
Renna, Orietta Rossi Pinelli, Roberto  
Sani, Girolamo Sciullo, Mislav Simunic,  
Simonetta Stopponi, Michele Tamma, Frank  
Vermeulen, Stefano Vitali

### *Web*

<http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult>

### *e-mail*

[icc@unimc.it](mailto:icc@unimc.it)

### *Editore / Publisher*

eum edizioni università di macerata, Centro  
direzionale, via Carducci 63/a - 62100  
Macerata  
tel (39) 733 258 6081  
fax (39) 733 258 6086  
<http://eum.unimc.it>  
[info.ceum@unimc.it](mailto:info.ceum@unimc.it)

### *Layout editor*

Marzia Pelati

### *Progetto grafico / Graphics*

+crocevia / studio grafico



Rivista accreditata AIDEA  
Rivista riconosciuta CUNSTA  
Rivista riconosciuta SISMED  
Rivista indicizzata WOS

# Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country: Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in comparative perspective

This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project number 2305 - 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.)



---

# Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country: Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in comparative perspective

edited by Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari,  
Jasenka Gudelj

# Confraternities, immigrants and artistic production of the “Illyrians” in the Marche (XV-XVI cent.). Master Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico in Fermo (1462)\*

Francesca Coltrinari\*\*

## *Abstract*

The paper initially reassumes two years of research on the artistic production related to the Schiavoni confraternities in the Marche region. Unlike Albanian communities, identifiable for their choice of Saint Venus as their patron saint, the Schiavoni confraternities are more difficult to identify due to a greater variety of patron saints, non exclusively “national”. Their group “national” identity, recognizable through the images, seems to have resisted

\* This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project number 2305 -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.).

\*\* Francesca Coltrinari, Assistant Professor, University of Macerata, Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism, piazzale Bertelli, 1, 62100 Macerata, e-mail: francesca.coltrinari@unimc.it.

in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but not much later. In addition, the research interconnects the notion of the “art of confraternities” with the “Schiavoni artists”, a much more substantial and documented category in the Marche of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, re-discovering another forgotten Dalmatian sculptor active in Marche in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century: Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico. In 1462, he was commissioned to design the new portal for the Church of Santa Maria della Carità in Fermo, and the previously unpublished contract for the portal allows us to advance a hypothesis for the identification of some of its elements, now reused in the portal of the Mount of Piety in Fermo.

L'articolo parte fornendo una panoramica su due anni di ricerche sul tema della produzione artistica collegabile alle confraternite di Schiavoni nelle Marche. A differenza delle comunità albanesi, identificabili per la loro scelta di Santa Venere come loro santa patrona, le confraternite di Schiavoni sono più difficili da identificare, a causa di una maggiore varietà di santi patroni, non esclusivamente “nazionali”. Una loro identità di gruppo, riconoscibile dalle immagini, sembra aver resistito fino al XV secolo, ma non molto oltre. In questa ricerca la serie storica “arte delle confraternite” è stata incrociata con “gli artisti Schiavoni”, una categoria molto più consistente e documentata nelle Marche fra XV e XVI secolo. Il contributo presenta un altro sconosciuto scultore dalmata attivo nelle Marche nella seconda metà del XV secolo: Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico, che nel 1462 fu incaricato di realizzare il nuovo portale per la chiesa di Santa Maria della Carità a Fermo. Il contratto inedito per il portale ci consente di avanzare un'ipotesi per l'identificazione di alcuni elementi, ora riutilizzati nel portale del Monte di Pietà a Fermo.

### 1. *Schiavoni and Albanian Confraternities in Marche Region: devotion and art*

After two years of research of the artistic production that can be linked to the Schiavoni confraternities in Marche Region, it is clear that the most common Early Modern immigrants in the area, the Schiavoni/Illyrians and the Albanians, have completely different stories. Frequently, they both exist in the same town and sometimes, like in Fermo and in Ascoli Piceno, confraternities even have altars in the same church: in both cases, the church is devoted to Santa Maria della Carità. Nevertheless, the Schiavoni brotherhoods seem to be more widespread in the coastal towns, while the Albanians are also frequent in the hinterland, like in San Severino Marche and Fabriano. Ascoli, where both national confraternities existed, was an important manufacturing centre, and its nearby port (Porto d'Ascoli) favoured immigration<sup>1</sup>.

The concentration of confraternities was very high in the area of Ancona: between Ancona and the nearby Camerano there were three confraternities of

<sup>1</sup> For Fermo see Sensi 1978, p. 79. For Ascoli Fabiani 1958, vol. I, p. 372 and now also Capriotti 2016, pp. 32-39.

Schiavoni and one of Albanians<sup>2</sup>; in Recanati there were also two Schiavoni (St Peter Martyr in San Domenico and St George in Santa Maria di Castelnuovo) and two Albanian confraternities, while in Loreto there was a Schiavoni brotherhood devoted to the Virgin of Loreto and St Jerome<sup>3</sup>.

The biggest difference concerns the cult these two communities choose to promote. The Albanians used an identity national cult, the one of St Venus, to whom all their confraternities in Marche region are dedicated, with no exceptions<sup>4</sup>.

The Schiavoni confraternities are more difficult to recognize due to a larger variety of patron saints, not exclusively "national" ones. The most frequent is St Jerome, the patron saint of the Schiavoni, to whom the confraternities of Pesaro (located in the cathedral), Loreto (St Jerome and Holy Mary) and Jesi (in the church of Saint Domenico), were dedicated. The Church father was followed in popularity by St George, the patron saint of Bar (Bocche di Cattaro), to whom one of the two confraternities of Recanati was devoted, located in the church of Santa Maria of Castelnuovo, and St Blaise, patron saint of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), to whom the brotherhood of Ascoli, in the church of Santa Maria della Carità, was entitled, and Ancona, where the brotherhood had a church exclusively dedicated to this saint. There are also other patron saints that are not linked to traditional saints of the Schiavoni population, like St Peter Martyr, to whom the most numerous brotherhood of Recanati was entitled, located in the church of San Domenico; St Germano, to whom the confraternity of Camerano was devoted, St Mary of the Mercy and St Sebastian, to whom the brotherhood of Macerata was devoted. Some confraternities are generically called in the documents as "of the Schiavoni" so the patron saint hasn't been found yet: this is the case of Fano and Fermo<sup>5</sup>.

I can also point out that the confraternities of the Albanians tend to keep their distinctive national features for a very long period, while the historical data indicates a change in the character of the Schiavoni confraternities in the mid-sixteenth century. There seems to be a tendency to replace the ethnic element present in the title of the Schiavoni confraternities, which becomes overlapped or completely replaced by a new devotion, typical of the post-Tridentine period.

Two cases corroborate this hypothesis: one is Loreto. The Confraternity of Saint Jerome and the Virgin of Loreto, founded in 1469, was connected to the

<sup>2</sup> See in general Sensi 1978, p. 79 and Sensi 2003; for the Schiavoni confraternity in Ancona see Natalucci 1978, pp. 101-103 and Sebastiani 1996; for Camerano see Toccaceli 1991 e 1999. The existence of an altar devoted to St. Venus in the church of San Francesco ad Alto in Ancona is proved by an unpublished document in Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Archivio notarile di Ancona (ANA), notaio Angelo Cicconi, vol. 279 (1534), c. 358r.

<sup>3</sup> For the Schiavoni brotherhoods in Recanati and Loreto see Calcagni 1711, pp. 306-307; Grimaldi 1993, pp. 88-104; Coltrinari 2016a and 2017 with previous bibliography. For the Albanians cfr. Sensi 2003, pp. 488-489.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Sensi 2003, pp. 488-493.

<sup>5</sup> For the references see the previous notes.



Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament already in the 1530s, and soon the latter remained the only name of the group. In this case, the change is brought about by the Protector of the Sanctuary of Loreto, Cardinal Gaspare Contarini (1538-1542)<sup>6</sup>.

In Jesi, the Confraternity of St Jerome of the Schiavoni has been documented since 1487, but the sixteenth-century visitations fail to mention it. Gianni Barchi, who has recently carried out a research about the brotherhoods of the Albanians and Schiavoni in Jesi, draws a hypothesis that the Confraternity of St Jerome could have been dissolved or, more probably, merged into some other post-Tridentine confraternity<sup>7</sup>.

A strong identity of the Schiavoni confraternities, also acknowledged by the images of the national saints, seems to have endured until the early sixteenth century; their subsequent disappearance could be interpreted as a sign of a stronger integration of the Schiavoni immigrants into the receiving communities. For this reason, there are also very few testimonies of the art produced for these confraternities in Marche region.

One of such works is the well-known polyptych painted by Pietro Alemanno, signed and dated 1489, for the Schiavoni brotherhood of Ascoli (fig. 1)<sup>8</sup>. There is also a chapel with quite ruined frescoes in the church of Santa Maria di Castelnuovo in Recanati (1510-20 ca.), probably made for the Schiavoni confraternity of St George (figs. 2-3). The frescoes depict *St George killing the dragon* in the middle, on the left an illegible figure and on the right *St Jerome*, all inside a classical frame decorated with grotesque designs. In the upper part, there is a very fragmentary preserved enthroned *Madonna between two angels*, with members of the brotherhood at her feet. This fresco was so-far unpublished and no related archival documents have been traced. The figurative culture of its author reveals an Umbro-Marchigian environment, with clear influences from Perugino and Pinturicchio<sup>9</sup>. There is also the altarpiece by a Greek painter dated to the early sixteenth century in the Museum – Ancient treasure of the Holy House of Loreto, probably from the Schiavoni chapel in the basilica<sup>10</sup>. Finally, when discussing Schiavoni patronage, it is important to notice that the Gozze altarpiece by Titian in Ancona<sup>11</sup> is a result of the initiative by a single wealthy member of a community of the merchants from Ragusa, and that cannot be assimilated to a collective context or to a confraternity<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Coltrinari 2016a.

<sup>7</sup> Barchi 2010.

<sup>8</sup> For the painting and its patronage cfr. Di Provvido 2005, pp. 148-151; Capriotti 2016, pp. 35-38.

<sup>9</sup> The frescoes could perhaps be attributed to the local painter Simone di Giovanni Corvi, documented in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, but still devoid of works of comparison (on this painter see Coltrinari 2009, p. 55; Castellana 2014, p. 49; Coltrinari 2016b, p. 21, note 41).

<sup>10</sup> Coltrinari 2016a, pp. 48-51.

<sup>11</sup> See Tiziano 1988; Gentili 1992; Gudelj 2010.

<sup>12</sup> See contributions by Giuseppe Capriotti and Anita Ruso in this volume.

Given the small number of the found artworks related to Schiavoni collective patronage in the Marche, the results of the research seem rather modest. Nevertheless, the art world in the region between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries was strongly characterized by the presence of the Schiavoni masters who had moved from the Eastern to the Western side of the Adriatic sea, many of them permanently, significantly contributing to the image of many local towns.

## 2. *Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico in Fermo, 1462*

An interesting case of inquiry is based on a document of great importance both for the history of art in Marche region and for the exchanges between the two coasts. This is a parchment in the State Archive of Fermo, recording the commission for the portal and the rose window of the church of Santa Maria della Carità in Fermo. It was signed in Palazzo dei Priori by master Antonio di Eustachio da Fermo, the responsible one for the church at the time, and Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico, on July the 16<sup>th</sup>, 1462<sup>13</sup>.

This kind of documents is rare given its date and the richness of details about the commission. The first part of the document concerns the supply of materials for the commissioned work. Master Piero committed to bring and unload in the port of Fermo all the «fine and polished» white stones (*albe, fines et gentiles*) of the same quality (not marble) like those of the exterior of the cathedral of Fermo, necessary for the realization of the portal and the rosette window of the church. Master Antonio would be responsible for the task of bringing the stones from the seaside to the church. Moreover, master Piero committed himself to execute the rose window with twelve small columns, with carving and features shown on a paper drawing, which was left in the hands of the church officials. Above the portal, Giorgio would have carved a Madonna with the mantle and two angels on her sides as set by Battista di Giacomo di Ser Antonio and Master Cristoforo di Ser Mainardo from Venice, who both lived in Fermo.

The sculptures and the assembly of the statues would have been entirely carried out by Giorgio, except for the necessary scaffolding, which was the responsibility of both the church and the hospital. The fee of the Dalmatian master is 130 Venetian golden ducats, to be paid in three installments: the first due as soon as Giorgio brings the stones to the port of Fermo, the second in the middle of the work and the rest at its completion. The common clause in this kind of contracts is also interesting, with the cities where master Piero was declared available to be summoned for possible legal disputes: there are six cities of the territory of Marche (Fermo, Monterubbiano, Ascoli, Recanati, Macerata, and Ancona) and then Venice, Naples and the Duchy of Tuscia.

<sup>13</sup> Archivio di Stato di Fermo (ASF), Fondo opere pie di Fermo, Pergamene, n. 3, 144. See the documentary appendix below.

The geography of the centers stated by Giorgio in the legal guarantee clause is very interesting: Monterubbiano, a town near Fermo, still preserves a polyptych by a Venetian master, Giacomo di Lorenzo, who was active in about 1430<sup>14</sup>. Ascoli, as mentioned before, was economically wealthy, which welcomed both works of art and artists coming by sea. Ascoli also had a Schiavoni community with their own confraternity dedicated to St Blaise. Recanati was the seat of the biggest trade fair in the Adriatic, while Macerata had the general Curia of the Marca of Ancona. Ancona was finally the maritime city *par excellence*, where Giorgio da Sebenico (Juraj Matejev from Šibenik) and dozens of Dalmatian sculptors and stone cutters were working at the time<sup>15</sup>.

As stated in the document, the listing of the towns of Venice, Naples, and Tuscia seems to draw a path of an Italian circumnavigation, probably linked to the trade of Istrian stone. We know that Giorgio di Matteo da Sebenico, in addition to the transport and trade of the Istrian stone, also marketed other goods and sold a load of cheese in Palermo<sup>16</sup>.

We can make many observations here: Piero di Giorgio is an artist-entrepreneur who cared about the transport of stones; a characteristic that associates him to his great contemporary and compatriot, Giorgio di Matteo da Sebenico, who in those years worked in Ancona in prestigious artistic sites. The commission is agreed upon by making use of a drawing and it is under the supervision of two Venetians: since they are called “masters”, they might have been artists, even if we are not sure about it. However, it is important that the supervision was entrusted to two Venetians: the prevailing taste in Fermo was the one for the “Adriatic” culture, irradiated by the Serenissima and developed on both the Adriatic coasts<sup>17</sup>.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, artistic relations between Fermo and the Dalmatian coast were particularly intense, thanks to the presence of Luca Turriani da Fermo, Augustinian friar and archbishop of Zadar (Zara) from 1400 to 1420, a great art patron. Turriani probably calls the architect Nuzio Ucinelli from Fermo to work in Zadar; the latter from 1401 to 1413 is the head of a workshop made up of Italian and Dalmatian artists and even attended by Cristoforo from Wien. Ucinelli in 1401 undertakes the task of completing the chapel of San Simeone Giusto in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Zadar and he is at the same time the leading hand, the main master of the cathedral of Fermo where, according to Fabio Mariano, he is the author of the leaf decoration frames of the two side portals of the church<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> For the painting see F. Marcelli, Cat. 9 in Liberati 1999, p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> For Ancona see De Marchi, Mazzalupi 2008.

<sup>16</sup> See Ercolino 2001.

<sup>17</sup> For the artistic culture in the fifteenth century Fermo see De Marchi, Franco 2000; Papetti 2006, Coltrinari 2012, pp. 24-26; Coltrinari 2014. For the “Adriatic culture” see Zampetti 1988, pp. 316-319 and 2000; De Marchi 2008, in particular pp. 67-86.

<sup>18</sup> See Mariano 2003, p. 15; Coltrinari 2012, pp. 24-26.

In 1420 the sculptor Andrea di Giorgio da Ragusa was commissioned an altar by friar Antonio di Biagio, prior of the convent of Sant'Agostino in Fermo, and the recipient of a box full of books sent to his hometown by the deceased archbishop Turriani<sup>19</sup>.

### 3. *A hypothesis for Piero di Giorgio: the portal of the Mount of Piety in Fermo*

Going back to our 1462 document, the church of Santa Maria della Carità, annexed to one of the largest hospital in the town of Fermo, stands at the foot of Girfalco, the acropolis of the city (figs. 4-5): today it is an 18<sup>th</sup>-century building, the result of the reconstruction by the architect Pietro Augustoni<sup>20</sup>.

However, adjoining to the church still stands one of the greatest examples of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century sculpture, the portal of the Mount of Piety, portraying Our Lady of Mercy (fig. 6). It is clearly the result of the re-assembling of pre-existing pieces: Alessandro Marchi, studying the portal in 2006, noticed the inconsistency of the supporting pillars where Istrian stone blocks are irregularly alternated with local sandstone elements. The scholar has rightly thought of a rather late restoration, which took place between the nineteenth and the twentieth-century, reassembling pieces of different origins. In my opinion, even the solution of the Gothic two-lights windows may not be congruent with the rest of the work<sup>21</sup>.

On the door frame, there is a time-worn writing that says: MONS PIETATIS (mount of piety). A lancet arch with leaf decoration typical of the international Gothic, topped by the figure of God Father blessing, surrounds the opening (fig. 7).

On the top of the portal, there is a lunette with the image of *Our Lady of Mercy* (fig. 8): the Virgin holds her cloak opened with her hands, accepting six figures on each side under it. On the left, there are men and on the right women: among the men, the closest one to the Virgin brings a smaller figure to Mary, perhaps a child. The bottom of the relief with the Virgin of Mercy is decorated with a curtain.

In 1906 Carlo Grigioni found in the State Archive of Fermo the commission contract for the altar of the chapel of St Venus in the church of Santa Maria della Carità with the sculptor Giacomo di Giorgio referred as «Schiavone stonemason», living in Fermo: the sculptor had to make the altar similar to

<sup>19</sup> Walcher 2005, docc. 213-214, pp. 148-149; Coltrinari 2012, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> For the church see Trebbi, Filoni Guerrieri 1890, pp. 150-151; Maranesi 1944, pp. 159-161.

<sup>21</sup> Marchi 2006, pp. 61-65.

another one already built in the church of San Domenico in Fermo<sup>22</sup>. Grigioni, therefore, attributed the church portal to this Schiavone master, followed by most of the later scholars, who then dated the portal in about 1480. Adolfo Venturi and Luigi Serra thought about some followers of Giorgio da Sebenico<sup>23</sup>. In 2006, Alessandro Marchi challenged this thesis, observing how the stylistic features of sculpture, such as the almost three hundred-years-old figure of Our Lady, the dresses of the kneeling figures and the stylistic features of the foliage indicate a date before 1450<sup>24</sup>.

In my opinion, the Virgin of Mercy may be the sculpture which was originally on the main door of the church, later reused in the portal of the Mount of Piety. In the 1462 contract, the iconography described (the Madonna with the mantle) is, in fact, that of the Virgin of Mercy. It is true that in the document there were two angels holding the cloak, while in the sculpture they are not present, however, it is possible to attribute this difference to a change during the execution.

Master Piero di Giorgio, who is the proved author of the portal of the church of Santa Maria della Carità, is the plausible candidate for a work that reminds us so much of the models by Giorgio di Matteo da Sebenico (fig. 9), but less finished and less naturalistic, indicating a follower of the great master.

As we have already said, we know that two “national” confraternities were established in the church of Santa Maria della Carità: one of the Albanians which had a chapel dedicated to St Venus, and, as mentioned before, has commissioned an altar to a Schiavone sculptor in 1487, and the Schiavoni confraternity. Unfortunately, we do not know the patron saint of the latter nor the date of its foundation.

A document dated on May the 14<sup>th</sup> 1464 tells us that one of the most important people in the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Carità asked the Municipality of Fermo some wheat as a gift to pay for the stones purchased in Schiavonia for the door of the church<sup>25</sup>. This document states that the portal was in fact realized and it also mentions the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Carità as involved in the project. It is unlikely that this was the Schiavoni brotherhood, but the coincidence of the Schiavoni artists working in the churches which were the reference for the immigrant community coming from the east side of the Adriatic sea is important and it probably not completely casual.

<sup>22</sup> Grigioni 1906.

<sup>23</sup> Venturi 1908, p. 1010; Serra 1934, p. 220; see also Maranesi 1944, p. 159.

<sup>24</sup> Marchi 2006, pp. 63-64.

<sup>25</sup> ASF, Archivio del comune di Fermo, Consigli e Cernite, vol. 16 (1464-1465), c. 10v: «Quarto super petitione oratenus facta per dominum Johannem Augustini unum ex capitibus fraternitatis Sancte Marie petentem sibi concedere tractam tanti grani ut sufficiat ad solutionem lapidum emptorum in Slavina pro porta et oculo dicte ecclesie Sancte Marie».

*References / Riferimenti bibliografici*

- Barchi G. (2010), *Confraternite di albanesi e slavi a Jesi tra XV e XVI secolo*, «Quaderni storici esini», 1, pp. 7-28.
- Calcagni D. (1711), *Memorie istoriche della città di Recanati nella Marca d'Ancona date in luce dal padre Diego Calgani della Compagnia di Gesù e presentate all'illustrissimo magistrato d'essa città*, in Messina: nella stamparia di D. Vittorino Maffei.
- Capriotti G. (2016), *The Cauldron of St. Venera and the Comb of St. Blaise. Cult and Iconography in the Confraternities of Albanians and Schiavoni in Fifteenth Century Ascoli Piceno*, in *Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities in Italy*, «Confraternitas. Journal of the Society for Confraternity studies», Special Issue, 27, n. 1-2, pp. 30-45.
- Castellana S. (2014), *Recanati 1510: Lotto e i suoi satelliti*, «Rivista d'arte», 48, n. 4, pp. 47-83.
- Coltrinari F. (2012), *La storia dell'arte a Fermo attraverso le collezioni della pinacoteca civica: dal museo al territorio fra conservato e perduto*, in *Pinacoteca comunale di Fermo. Dipinti, arazzi, sculture*, edited by F. Coltrinari, P. Dragoni, Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, pp. 23-59.
- Coltrinari F. (2014), *Fermo città adriatica: nuovi documenti su Vittore Crivelli e altri artisti fra Venezia, la Dalmazia e le Marche nella seconda metà del '400*, «Arte Marchigiana», n. 1, pp. 35-62.
- Coltrinari F. (2016a), *Loreto as an Illyrian Shrine: The Artistic Heritage of the Illyrian Confraternities and College in Loreto and Recanati*, in *Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities in Italy*, «Confraternitas. Journal of the Society for Confraternity studies», Special Issue, 27, n. 1-2, pp. 46-61.
- Coltrinari F. (2016b), *Un dipinto di Antonio da Faenza per Recanati e il frate "prospettico" Giovanni Antonio da Camerino. Osservazioni sulla fortuna dei maestri romagnoli nelle Marche del '500*, «Il Capitale culturale. Studies on the value of cultural heritage», 13, pp. 11-35.
- Coltrinari F. (2017), *Gli Schiavoni e la Santa Casa di Loreto fra '400 e '500: la confraternita, gli architetti, le maestranze e i materiali fra tradizioni storiografiche e verifiche documentarie*, «Ars Adriatica», 7, pp. 181-194.
- De Marchi A. (2008), *Ancona, porta della cultura adriatica. Una linea pittorica, da Andrea de' Bruni a Nicola di maestro Antonio*, in *Pittori ad Ancona nel Quattrocento*, edited by A. De Marchi, M. Mazzalupi, Milano: Motta, pp. 15-95.
- De Marchi A., Franco T. (2000), *Il gotico internazionale da Nicolò di Pietro a Michele Giambono*, in *Pittura veneta nelle Marche*, edited by V. Curzi, Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, pp. 53-85.
- Di Provvido S. (2005), *Le opere*, in *Pietro Alamanno. Un pittore austriaco nella Marca*, edited by S. Papetti, S. Di Provvido, Milano: Motta, pp. 77-185.
- Ercolino M.G. (2001), *Giorgio di Matteo da Zara*, in *Dizionario biografico*

- degli italiani*, vol. 55, < [\(Zagreb 2008\), Zagreb: s.e., pp. 81-92.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giorgio-di-matteo-da-zara_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>.</p>
<p>Fabiani G. (1958), <i>Ascoli nel Quattrocento</i>, 2 voll., Ascoli Piceno: Società Tipolitografica Editrice.</p>
<p>Gentili A. (1992), <i>La pala Gozzi di Tiziano: Venezia tra Ancona e Ragusa</i>, «Venezia Cinquecento», 2, 3, pp. 89-97.</p>
<p>Grigioni C. (1906), <i>Documenti. Maestro Giacomo di Giorgio Schiavone, scultore del sec. XV</i>, «Rassegna Bibliografica dell'arte italiana», IX, n. 6-8, pp. 121-122.</p>
<p>Grimaldi F. (1993), <i>La historia della chiesa di Santa Maria de Loreto</i>, Loreto: Tecnostampa.</p>
<p>Gudelj J. (2010), <i>Ponuda kakva se ne odbija: narudžba Tizianove pale Luja Gučetića za franjevačku opservantsku crkvu u Anconi</i>, in <i>Umjetnost i naručitelji: zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa )
- Liberati G., edited by (1999), *Il gotico internazionale a Fermo e nel Fermano*, catalogo della mostra (Fermo, Palazzo dei Priori, 28 agosto – 31 ottobre 1999), Livorno: Sillabe.
- Maranesi F. (1944), *Guida storica e artistica della città di Fermo. Seconda edizione riveduta ed ampliata*, Fermo: Stab. Coop. Tipografico 1944, ed. anastatica, Fermo: Andrea Livi editore 2002.
- Marchi A. (2006), *Gli «sculti monumenti». Per un catalogo della scultura a Fermo tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, in Papetti 2006, pp. 55-67.
- Mariano F., edited by (2003), *La Loggia dei mercanti in Ancona e l'opera di Giorgio di Matteo da Sebenico*, Ancona: Il lavoro editoriale.
- Mazzalupi M. (2008), *Ancona alla metà del Quattrocento: Piero della Francesca, Giorgio da Sebenico, Antonio da Firenze*, in *Pittori ad Ancona nel Quattrocento*, edited by A. De Marchi, M. Mazzalupi, Milano: Motta, pp. 224-245.
- Natalucci M. (1978), *Insedimenti di dalmati, slavi e albanesi in Ancona*, in *Le Marche e l'Adriatico orientale: economia, società, cultura dal XIII secolo al primo Ottocento*, Atti del Convegno (Senigallia, 10-11 gennaio 1976), «Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche», pp. 93-111.
- Papetti S., edited by (2006), *L'Aquila e il leone. L'arte veneta a Fermo, Sant'Elpidio a Mare e nel Fermano. Jacobello, i Crivelli, Lotto*, catalogo della mostra (Fermo, Pinacoteca civica; Sant'Elpidio a Mare, Pinacoteca civica, 24 marzo – 17 settembre 2006), Venezia: Marsilio.
- Sebastiani E. (1996), *La Compagnia del Popolo degli Schiavoni ad Ancona nel XV secolo*, in *Stranieri e forestieri nella Marca*, Atti del XXX convegno di studi storici maceratesi (Macerata, 19-20 novembre 1994), Macerata: Centro di studi storici maceratesi, pp. 519-525.
- Sensi M. (1978), *Fraternite di slavi nelle Marche: il secolo XV*, in *Le Marche e l'Adriatico orientale: economia, società, cultura dal XIII secolo al primo*

- Ottocento*, Atti del Convegno, (Senigallia, 10-11 gennaio 1976), «Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche», pp. 53-84.
- Sensi M. (2003), *Slavi nelle Marche tra pietà e devozione*, in *Stranieri e forestieri nella Marca*, Atti del XXX convegno di studi storici maceratesi (Macerata, 19-20 novembre 1994), Macerata: Centro di studi storici maceratesi 1994, pp. 481-506, ried. in Idem, *Santuari, pellegrinaggi, eremiti nell'Italia centrale*, 3 voll., Spoleto: Fondazione di studi sull'Alto medioevo, 2003, vol. III, pp. 919-944.
- Serra L. (1934), *L'arte nelle Marche*. vol. II. *Il periodo del Rinascimento*, Roma: Arti grafiche Evaristo Armani.
- Tiziano. *La pala Gozzi di Ancona. Il restauro e il nuovo allestimento espositivo* (2010), catalogo della mostra (Ancona, Pinacoteca civica, 23 aprile – 30 ottobre 1988), Casalecchio sul Reno: Gragif edizioni.
- Toccaceli F. (1991), *San Germano, una chiesa di Schiavoni: appunti e documenti per una storia della parrocchia fra Quattrocento e Ottocento*, Camerano: Cassa rurale ed artigiana S. Giuseppe.
- Toccaceli F. (1999), *San Germano degli Schiavoni*, Camerano: Comune di Camerano.
- Trebbi F., Filoni Guerrieri G. (1890), *Erezione della chiesa cattedrale di Fermo a Metropolitana*, Fermo: Stabilimento tipografico Bacher, ed. anastatica, Fermo: Andrea Livi editore 2003.
- Venturi A. (1908), *Storia dell'arte italiana*. Vol. 6. *La scultura del Quattrocento*, Milano: U. Hoepli.
- Walcher M., ed. (2005), *Giuseppe Praga. Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Zara dal Medioevo al Settecento*, Trieste: Istituto Regionale per la Cultura Istriano-Fiumano-Dalmata.
- Zampetti P. (1988), *Pittura nelle Marche*. I. *Dalle origini al primo Rinascimento*, Firenze: Nardini.
- Zampetti P. (2000), *Carlo Crivelli, Nicola da Ancona, Giorgio Schiavone e la "cultura adriatica"*, in *Adriatico: un mare di storia, arte, cultura*, Atti del convegno (Ancona, 20-22 maggio 1999), edited by B. Cleri, 2 voll., Ripatransone: Maroni, pp. 113-120.



*Appendix*

Fig. 1. Pietro Alamanno, *Polyptych of the Schiavoni*, 1489, Ascoli Piceno, Pinacoteca Civica



Fig. 2. (Simone Corvi da Recanati?), *Frescoes with The Virgin, Angels, Saint George killing the dragon, Saint Jerome*, 1510 ca, Recanati, church of Santa Maria di Castelnuovo

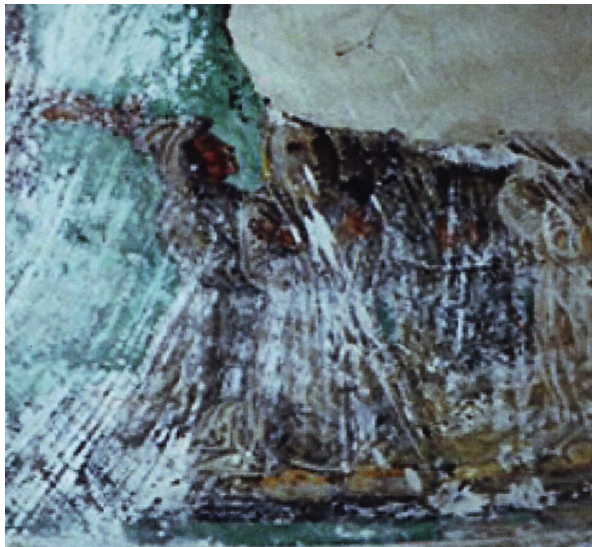


Fig. 3. (Simone Corvi da Recanati?), *The members of the Schiavoni Confraternity of Saint George*, detail of fig. 2

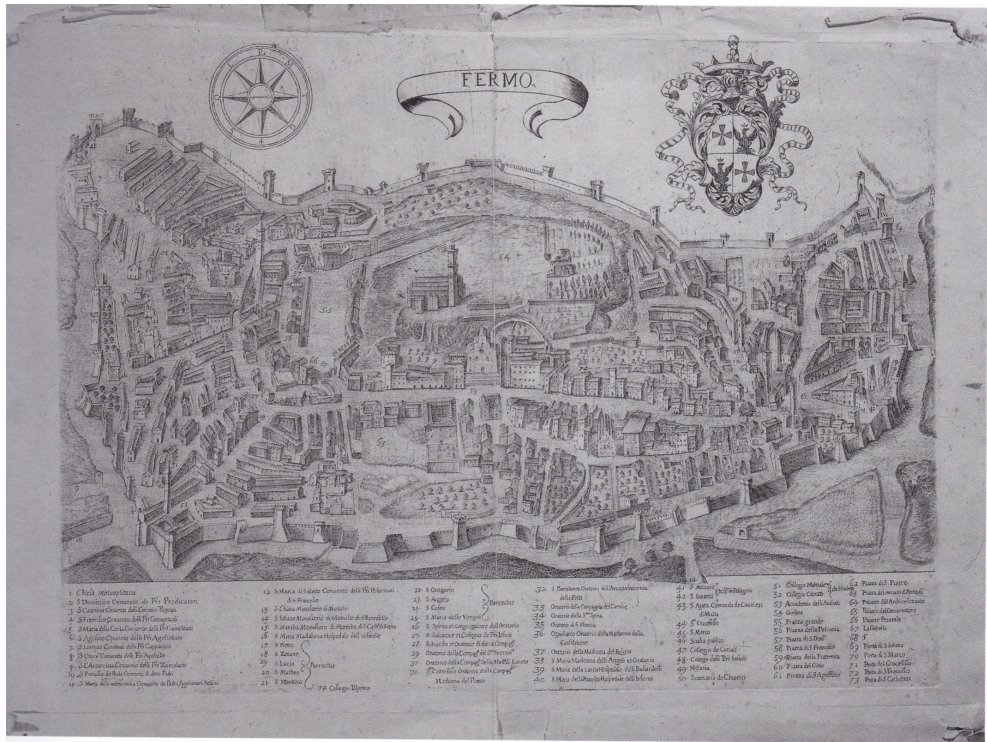


Fig. 4. Map of the city of Fermo, 18<sup>th</sup> century, Fermo, Biblioteca civica “Romolo Spezioli”, Fondo disegni e stampe

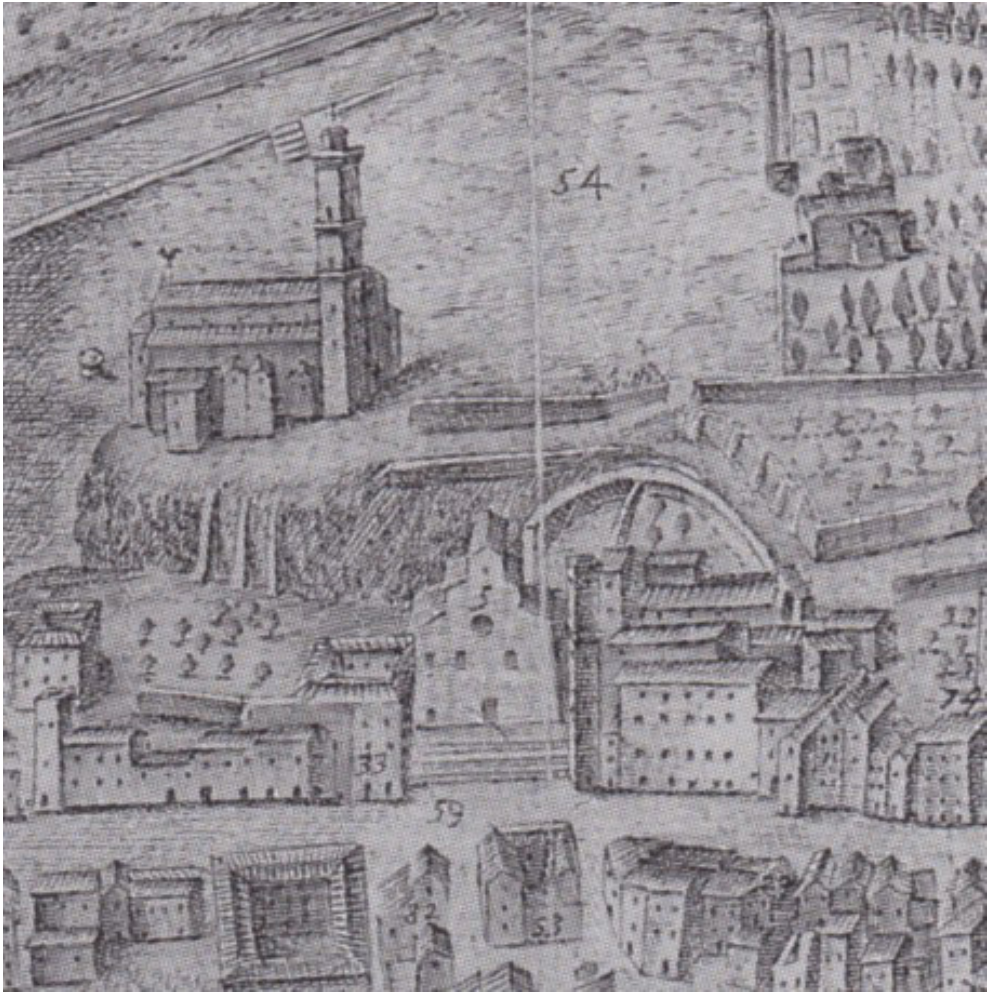


Fig. 5. *Map of the city of Fermo*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, Fermo, Biblioteca civica "Romolo Spezioli", Fondo disegni e stampe, detail with the church of Santa Maria della Carità (number 5)



Fig. 6. *Mount of Piety*, Fermo



Fig. 7. *Portal of the Mount of Piety, Fermo*



Fig. 8. Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico, *Our Lady of Mercy*, 1462, relief now in the portal of Mount of Piety, Fermo

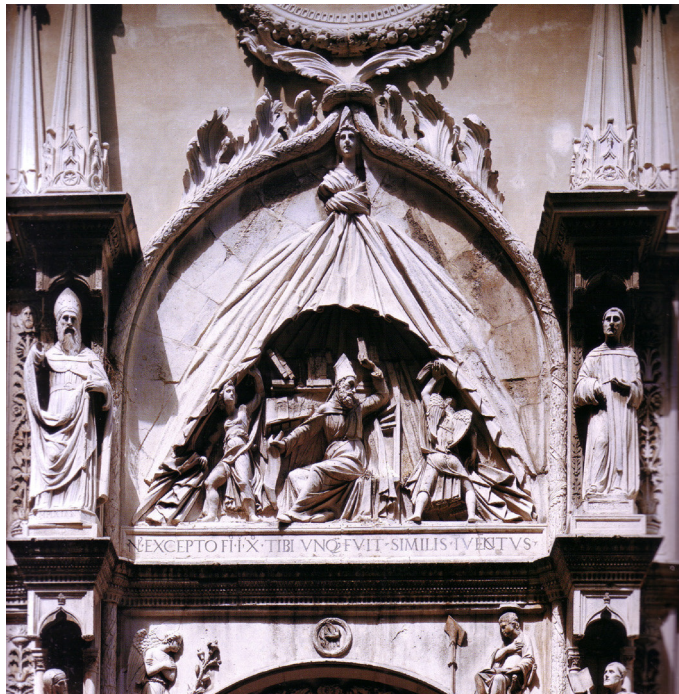


Fig. 9. Giogio di Matteo da Sebenico, Portal of the church of Sant'Agostino, detail, Ancona, church of Sant'Agostino

*Documentary Appendix*

## Document 1

Archivio di Stato di Fermo, Fondo opere pie di Fermo, pergamene, n. 3, 144

In dei nomine amen, anno milleximo quadragesimo sexagesimo secundo, indictione decima, tempore [...] Pii secundi et die decimasexta mensis julii dicti anni, presentibus Johanne Nicole de Firmo, ser Peructio Dominici cancellario comunis Firmi et ser Angelo Nicole de Castro Petrituli comitatus Firmi et nunc habitatori Firmi, testibus ad hec habitis et vocatis.

Hoc presens publicum instrumentum [...] pateat evidenter qualiter coram me notario infrascripto et testibus supradictis personaliter constituti magister Antonius Eustachii de Firmo, ut syndicus [...] hospitalis ecclesie Sancte Marie de La Carità de Firmo, de cuius sindicato plene patet et constat manu quondam ser Antonutii Benedicti de Firmo nunc premortui, notarii publici [...] cum presentia, consensu et voluntate nobilium virorum Bonjohannis Augustini Cichi Messure de Firmo et ser Ludovico Mactei Cicchi de dicta civitate Firmi, capitum dicti hospitalis ecclesie Sancte Marie de la Carità, ibidem presentium [...] ex una parte et magister Pierus Georgii de Sibinico de partibus Sclavonie ex alia parte [...] devenerunt ad infrascriptum pactum, conventionem et concordiam, videlicet quod dictus magister Pierus [...] promisit et convenit supradicto magistro Antonio sindico predicto [...] hinc ad unum annum proxime futurum et abinde in posterum ad omnem dicti hospitalis et dicti magistri Antonii dicto nomine et suorum in dicto hospitali successorum vel cui ipse commissionem, petitionem, requisitionem et compellum adportare et conducere seu apportari, conduci et scharcari facere ad portum dicte civitatis Firmi omnes et singulas lapides albe, fines et gentiles et de ea bonitate quemadmodum sunt lapides posite a parte exteriori in ecclesia Sancte Marie episcopatus Firmi, qui lapides non intelligatur nec sint de marmore itaque sint suffitientes ac boni et albi et de ea bonitate ut sunt lapides dicte ecclesie Sancte Marie episcopatus Firmi. Et hoc pro fatiando porta magna cum una rosa dicte ecclesie et hospitalis Sancte Marie de la Carità, omnibus et singulis sumptibus et expensis dicti magistri Pieri cum pacto et conditione inter eos habito et reservato, videlicet quod primum dictus magister Perus conduxerit et scharcari fecerit dictos lapides ad dictum portum dictus magister Antonius dicto nomine teneatur et obligatus sit conducere et apportare et conduci et apportari facere ad dictam ecclesiam et hospitale Sancte Marie de La Carità omnibus et singulis dicte ecclesie et hospitalis Sancte Marie de La Carità sumptibus et expensis, quos lapides sic conductos ad dictam ecclesiam et hospitale dictus magister Pierus promisit et convenit dicto magistro Antonio ibidem presenti et ut supra stipulanti laborare et intagliare pro dicta porta magna cum dicta rosa fatienda super dictam portam cum duodecim posas columpnarum cum hiis designis, intaglis et



lavoris prout et sicut et quemadmodum dicta porta et rosa fatienda designata in quodam foleo carte bambacine, quod foleum est penes dictum syndicum et capita, de quibus designis et intaglis plene est informatus magister Baptista Jacobi de Firmo, prout dicte partes asseruerunt, cum hoc autem pacto inter eos habito videlicet quod dictus magister Pierus teneatur et obligatus sit intagliare et facere de dictis lapidibus unam imaginem gloriose Virginis Marie cum manto et cum duobus angelis a lateribus dicte imaginis Virginis Marie de ea amplitudinem prout declaraverunt et sentiaverunt dictus magister Baptista Jacobi ser Antonii et magister Cristoforus ser Maginardi de Venetiis et nunc habitatores dicte civitatis Firmi, quam imaginem Virginis Marie cum dictis duobus angelis dictus magister Pierus tenebatur et obligatus sit ponere supra dictam portam, quam portam cum dicta rosa sic intagliata et laborata dictus magister Pierus teneatur et obligatus sit et sic per sollepnem stipulationem promisit riçare, laborare, murare et componere omnibus et singulis ipsius magistri Pieri sumptibus et expensis, cum pacto et conditione quod dictus magister Antonius dicto nomine teneatur et obligatus sit et sic per sollepnem stipulatione promisit dare et consignare dicto magistro Piero quatricos sive stangas et tabulas pro armando et pro armandis fatiando, tempore quo dictus magister Pierus voluerit dictam portam cum dicta rosa riçare, murare et componere sumptibus et expensis dicti hospitalis et ecclesie Sancte Marie de La Carità. Et hoc pro eo quia dictus magister Antonius Eustachii dicto nomine [...] promisit et convenit supradicto magistro Piero ibidem presenti, stipulanti et recipienti pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus dare, solvere et cum effectu numerare omni occaxione et exceptione remota, ducatos centum triginta auri venetos boni auri et puri auri, iusti et legalis ponderis pro mercede et salario ipsius magistri Pieri infra hoc terminos, videlicet unam tertiam partem dicti denari quam primum dictus magister Pierus conduxerit dictos lapides ad dictum portum Firmi, item unam tertiam partem dicti denarii ad medietatem dicti laborerii facti et conducti per dictum magistrum Pierum et aliam tertiam partem dicti denarii videlicet residuum dicti pretii finito et completo toto dicto laborerio dicte porte et rose et ab inde in posterum, ad omnem dicti magistri Pieri et suorum heredum et successorum et cui ipse commiserat petitionem [...] quibus supra promiserunt et convenerunt dicte partes se realiter et personaliter conveniri, cogi, constringi et compelli quolibet tempore iuridico et feriato [...] in curia domini potestatis et domini capitanei civitatis Firmi, Montis Rubiani, Esculi, Rechaneti, Macerate, Ancone, Venetiarum, in curia generali provintie Marchie Ancone, Neapoli, Ducatus Tusie et ubique locorum [...] de quibus omnibus et singulis firmiter attendentis observandis et adimplendis predicte partes et qualibet ipsarum promiserunt et obligaverunt dicte partes hinc inde, videlicet dictus magister Antonius dicto nomine, cum presentia, consensu et voluntate dictorum capitum dicto magistro Piero ibidem presenti ut supra [...] omnia et singula bona dicti hospitalis mobilia et stabilia presentia et futura et dictus magister Pierus dicto hospitali [...]

Actum Firmi videlicet in palatio comunis Firmi solite residentie magnificorum dominorum priorum dicte civitatis, videlicet in quadam caminata aperte superiori dicti palatii posita in contrata sancti Martini iuxta plateam comunis ante ab uno latere viam comunis et alios fines, et ego Ludovicus Matheutii de Firmo publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius [...] scripsi et publicavi [...] [other handwriting] Priores populi et communis civitatis firmane [...] fidem facimus testamur et impartimus qualiter vir egregius ser Ludovicus notarius supra rogatus fuit et est publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius [...] [on verso] 1462, n° 1. Instrumento d'obbligo a favore dell'hospedale di portare le pietre di marmo da Sibinico fatta da maestro Pietro di Giorgio.

**JOURNAL OF THE SECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE**  
Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism  
University of Macerata

**Direttore / Editor**  
Massimo Montella

*Texts by*

Giuseppe Bonaccorso, Laris Borić, Giuseppe Capriotti,  
Francesca Coltrinari, Jasenka Gudelj, Ines Ivić,  
Neven Jovanović, Ana Marinković, Daniel Premerl,  
Anita Ruso, Danko Šourek, Tanja Trška, Anatole Upart

<http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/index>

**eum** edizioni università di macerata



ISSN 2039-2362  
ISBN 978-88-6056-565-5

Euro 25,00