

The paper deals with the attribution of the Telamons-satyrs from exedra in Zadar public garden called Perivoj kraljice Jelene, as well as the fragments of an architrave with the herald shield Fanfogna which are situated in the lapidarium of Narodni muzej Zadar. The telamons were originally placed on the façade of the former Fanfogna palace, across the façade of the former church of S. Maria Maggiore in Zadar. Based on the stylistic and morphological analysis, the telamons are attributed to the 16th century Paduan workshop lead by Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi. Furthermore, on the basis of the Grotesque iconography and morphological characteristics, four parts of the architrave from the lapidarium of Narodni muzej in Zadar are recognized as a part of the same decorative programme which originates from the 16th century Northern-Italian artistic circles. It is the period of decadence of quantity and quality of the production of the once fertile Dalmatian stonemasons' workshops, which were no longer capable of maintaining the previously set standards in sculpture and architectonic decoration, and therefore more ambitious commissioners were oriented towards workshops in Venice and in Veneto. The archive research shows that the commissioners of this, iconographically unusual and unexpected decorative programme are recognized in the distinguished members of the family Fanfogna in the 16th century: one of Zadar's eminent humanists and lawyers, Pietro Fanfogna, and his brother, soldier and *cavaliere* of St. Mark's, Francesco.

RENAISSANCE TELAMONS OF THE FORMER FANFOGNA PALACE IN ZADAR – AN ATTRIBUTION TO THE PADUAN WORKSHOP OF VINCENZO AND GIANGIROLAMO GRANDI

In 1829¹, Austrian general Ludwig Franz von Welden inaugurated in Zadar the earliest public garden on the eastern Adriatic coast. This public garden was built within the still fortified town, on 16th century bastion Pon-

¹ MIRNA PETRICIOLI, *Gradski perivoj u Zadru*, «Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji – Petriciolijev zbornik II», 36 (1996), pp. 543-553.

ton projected in 1537 by Michele Sanmicheli² and was used during following decades as the popular gathering place, an open public salon where one could enjoy fresh air and an open view to both Zadar archipelago and the hinterland mountains. Much of the architectural setting of the garden has been destroyed, but Giuseppe Sabalich gave a detailed description in his 1897 *Guida archeologica di Zara*³ from which one can assume that Welden had conceived the garden according to current Romanticist principles of landscape architecture, and had included several buildings which, by their historical and exotic references, formed a rather unique and innovative urban space in the 19th century Dalmatia. Except for the pseudo-Moorish café, minute Venus's temple and two Chinese pagodas, the park was also partly realized as an archaeological park, containing Roman and mediaeval inscriptions, reliefs and several fragments of Zadar historical architecture. For example, the inaugural inscription is chiselled into a heraldic shield on the fragment of the archbishopric palace's *fiesta romana*, probably made after Donatello's drawings⁴, and café guests were seated among Gothic and Renaissance capitals. Furthermore, the tip of the pentagonal bastion was dominated by an exedra which contained a small archaeological collection⁵ of Roman busts, several Latin and Glagolitic inscriptions, two Roman reliefs, heraldic insignia, friezes and cornices, two St. Mark's lions and the bench set on Gothic and Renaissance capitals. Sabalich also noticed an architrave «*proveniente dal distrutto edifizio dei Fanfogna a S. Rocco che arieggia quello di una porta da S. Maria delle Zattere a Venezia*», discussed later in this article. The open exedra façade is articulated by two piers with

² ANA DEANOVIĆ, *Il contributo dei Sanmicheli alla fortificazione della Dalmazia*, «Castellum», 7 (1968), pp. 37-49; IVO PETRICIOLI, *Renansna tvrđava in Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, Prošlost Zadra III*, Zadar 1987, pp. 277-278; ANDREJ ŽMEGAČ, *Zadarske utvrde 16. stoljeća*, «Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti» 27 (2003), p. 109.

³ GIUSEPPE SABALICH, *Guida archeologica di Zara*, Zadar 1897, pp. 242-324.

⁴ IVO PETRICIOLI, *Prilozi poznavanju renesanse u Zadru*, «Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio historije, arheologije i historije umjetnosti» 3 (1964/1965, 1966/1967), pp. 85-86; PAVUŠA VEŽIĆ, *Nadbiskupska palača u Zadru*, «Peristil» 22 (1979), pp. 24-28; RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, *Prilog proučavanju škrinje sv. Šimuna i pojava renesanse u Zadru*, «Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti», 29 (2005), p. 88.

⁵ GIUSEPPE SABALICH, *Guida archeologica di Zara*, cit., pp. 245-255.

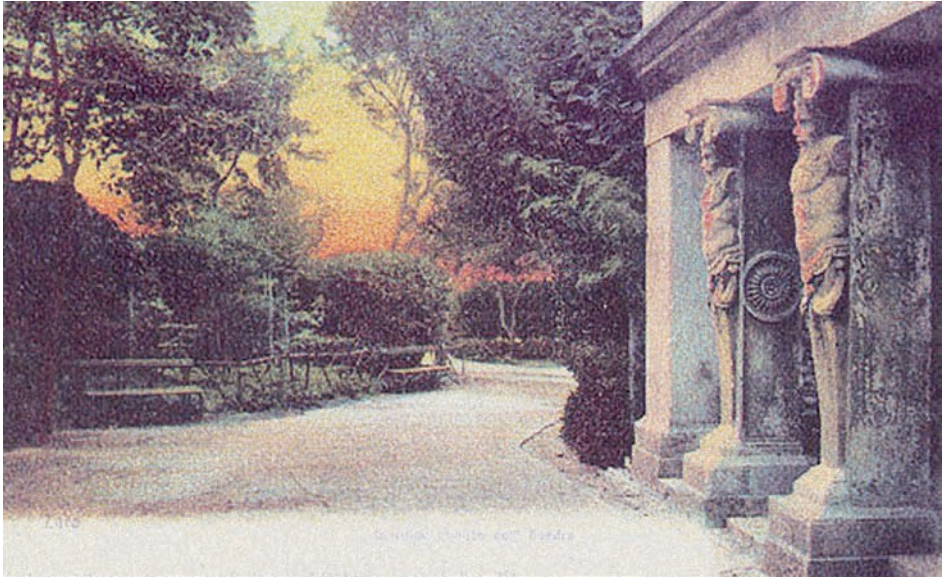


Fig. 1: Exedra in Zadar public garden (postcard)

large high relief telamons in the form of satyrs⁶. Sabalich claims that the telamons were originally placed on the outer entrance (sic!) of the former Fanfogna palace⁷, situated near St. Roch's chapel, i.e. in the vicinity of the famous Zadar church of S. Maria Maggiore. Sabalich's information in *Guida* are generally trustworthy, but since he doesn't mention any sources, possible doubt⁸ in the Renaissance dating of the telamons is dismissed by the stylistic and morphological analysis presented later in this article. Except for that, even a superficial comparison with the telamons and caryatids in-

⁶ IVO PETRICIOLI, *Vrijeme baroka in Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, Prošlost Zadra III*, Zadar 1987, p. 545. Author notes telamons within the description of Zadar domestic architecture from 16th to 18th century, citing Sabalich's information on their original place.

⁷ GIUSEPPE SABALICH, *Guida archeologica di Zara*, cit., p. 245: «Stavano un tempo ai due lati dell'ingresso principale esterno del grande edificio Fanfogna, in piazzetta s. Rocco, presso le Mura».

⁸ Initial doubts may be raised due to the unexpectancy of such monumental architectural sculpture in the 16th century Dalmatia.



Fig. 2: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi? - Telamons from former Fanfogna palace in Zadar

stalled on 19th and early 20th century pseudo-architecture speaks in favour of dating Zadar telamons into the 16th century⁹.

Besides, several documents claim that a house owned by Fanfogna family did exist opposite the church façade of St. Maria Maggiore. This Romanesque church was destroyed, together with the nearby buildings, to give place to the erection of St. Roch's bastion in 1570¹⁰. The mere fact of the destruction of an important church¹¹ - which had been treasuring, during

⁹ These telamons are chiselled in limestone, and those made in the 19th century were cast in cement. Furthermore, our telamons lack overly decorated and saccharine sentimentality found on pseudo-style telamons and caryatids from the facade of destroyed City café or those that are today in the garden wall of a house in Puntamika quarter. Additional evidence, based on their stylistic analysis further in this article.

¹⁰ VITTALIANO BRUNELLI, *Le opere fortificatorie e la Compagnia degli Artiglieri del comune di Zara*, «Rivista Dalmatica», IV (1908), I, Zadar 1908, p. 246.

¹¹ PAVUŠA VEŽIĆ, *Crkva Sv. Marije u Zadru*, «Diadora» 8 (1976), pp. 119-139.

previous three centuries, the most popular and politically important relics of st. Simeon the Prophet - indicates the extremely difficult historical circumstances in Zadar at the time¹². Except for the church, of which only St. Roch's chapel built after 1508 and the southernmost Quattrocento façade pilaster survived, several other buildings were sacrificed to the new bastion called *terrapieno*, i.e. the houses that occupied the area of bastion's new ground plan set exactly on the church axis¹³. In recreating Cinquecento vista of the area (today unrecognizable due to WW2 bombardments) one should also understand that this was a highly respectable quarter located in the immediate neighbourhood of Zadar civic centre with, then only recently rebuilt, the town Loggia and Gran Guardia and several local aristocracy *palazzettos*, such as Civallesi, Pasini, etc¹⁴. Fanfogna family was one of the oldest and most respected



Fig. 3: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi? Telamon from former Fanfogna palace in Zadar

¹² TOMISLAV RAUKAR, *U sjeni turskih ratova (1500-1573) in Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, Prošlost Zadra III*, Zadar 1987, pp. 175-222.

¹³ The earliest report on the destruction of the church is given by Lorenzo Fondra in his 1686 chronicle: LORENZO FONDRA: *Istoria della insigne reliquia di san Simeone profeta che si venera in Zara scritta da Lorenzo Fondra*, Zadar Research Library, ms. 22601- 57, f. 51. 19th century chronicle edition was enriched by data taken from church's mansionarius Giorgio Tragurita who claims that besides the church seven houses owned by *collegium* have been destroyed and nine other houses whose incomes were partly enjoyed by the *collegium*. Houses were destroyed on March 1st, 1571. See: LORENZO FONDRA, *Istoria della insigne reliquia di san Simeone profeta che si venera in Zara*, Zadar 1855, p. 180.

¹⁴ IVO PETRICIOLI, *Ostaci stambene arhitekture romaničkog stila u Zadru*, «Radovi Instituta JA u Zadru», 9 (1962), p. 136.; IVO PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra u srednjem vijeku*, «Radovi instituta JA u Zadru», 11-12 (1965), p. 152. Author mentions earlier published documentary evidence that a house with a tower stood across the church in 1193.

families in Zadar¹⁵ whose members were particularly appreciated for their contribution to the Venetian military service in defence against the Ottoman invasion which had at the time reached Zadar district. Several family members were, for such deeds, appointed the title of *cavaliere de S. Marco*¹⁶, and in 1675¹⁷ Francesco Fanfogna with the title of *conte*. *Regestae* of the Fanfogna family documents, written in the mid-19th century by Giovanni Antonio Fanfogna¹⁸, contain transcriptions of several documents related to the destruction of the family house that once stood across S. Maria Maggiore, indicating names of its owners and probable commissioners of its 16th century rebuilding or at least a significant redecoration (Appendix 1). They were brothers, sons of St. Mark's *cavaliere* Gregorio Fanfogna: Pietro, Paduan doctor of both laws and his brother Francesco Fanfogna, appointed *cavaliere* in 1558¹⁹.

Two Zadar telamons²⁰ are chiselled in high relief on the limestone piers and are presented as satyrs with ionic capitals now carrying the exedra façade architrave. Even though recognition of the fine details of chisel work isn't entirely possible due to the several layers of white paint applied through time, and in spite of sculpture's severe frontality, the distinguished quality of the sculptural concept and the execution is conspicuous.

¹⁵ GIOVANNI ANTONIO FANFOGNA, *Storia della famiglia dei Conti Fanfogna ritratta dagli atti di famiglia, dalle lapidi che trovansi, dalla tradizioni e da autentici attestati*, manuscript in Research library in Zadar, ms. 613; IVAN DANILOV, *Obitelj zadarska de Fanfogna*, «Narodni koledar», Zadar 1870, pp. 116 – 142; CARL G. F. VON ROSENFELD, *Der Adel des Kownighreichs Dalmatien*, Nürnberg 1873, p. 42; JAKOV STIPIŠIĆ, *Regesta pergamena iz zbirke obitelji Fanfogna Garagnin u Muzeju grada Trogira*, «Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU», 20 (2002), pp. 289-321; 21 (2003), pp. 279-319; AA.VV., *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, 4, Zagreb 1998, p. 131-132.

¹⁶ The earliest member of Fanfogna family with the title of *cavaliere* was Nicolò in 1520, than to his son Francesco in 1558, and Francesco's son Girolamo in 1646. – AA.VV., *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, cit.

¹⁷ JAKOV STIPIŠIĆ, *Regesta pergamena iz zbirke obitelji Fanfogna Garagnin u Muzeju grada Trogira*, cit., p. 293.

¹⁸ GIOVANNI ANTONIO FANFOGNA, *Storia della famiglia dei Conti Fanfogna ritratta dagli atti di famiglia, dalle lapidi che trovansi, dalla tradizioni e da autentici attestati*, cit, F.II, f.73.

¹⁹ Ivi., F. II, f. 7.

²⁰ Dimensions of each relief: 266 x 45 x 23 cm. Considerable damages of the lower and back parts of pilasters may have been caused by the heavy bombardment in WW2, but even earlier, during the destruction of Fanfogna palace. Today, they are filled with cement and debris.

The satyrs' bodies consist of heads on armless torsos, set on the trapezoid bases with the overall appearance quite frontal and static - a feature which is further emphasized by a somewhat distant, detached and pensive gaze similar to that of the several examples of kindred sculptural works, considered later in the article, expressing the creatures' melancholy evoked by recollection of irremediable loss of their homeland Arcadian environments. Considerably large ionic capital astragals are laid on the satyrs' high foreheads thickly grown with sharp, *staccato* tufts of hair among which two barely visible and flat horns are set above the large sharply pointed satyrs' ears. The deep shadows appearing among the tufts are created by drilled perforations, and also applied on the beards and around the pointed ear shells. Their high foreheads are enlivened by sensibly softened modelling of wrinkles and carefully detailed strong eyebrows, suggesting the senescence of, otherwise viral, creature. Pupils, set within large eyes, stare above and far and may have originally been coloured with black *niello* imitation²¹. Both satyrs' noses have been destroyed and fragments of metal bars are protruding on those places. Their bulky, closed lips emerge below the elongated moustaches that end in undulating locks which merge below the shoulders with the sinuously rhythmicized beard locks deliberately stylized to contrast the uncultivated clusters of hair. Shallow, thin and manifold sinuous locks of beard are spread throughout the broad chests and are shadowed by the arrays of drilled perforation. Broad thoracic and abdominal muscles are geometrized into rectangular pillows which, together with the specific forms of beard, indicate deliberate and emphasized stylization of sculpture in service of architectural ornament. The sinuous lower line of the abdominal muscles is followed by the apron zone, in which "decent and decorative" features are also opposed to the upper zone of "wilderness and nakedness." Their apron belt is decorated with tendrils in the upper and arrays of flowers and doubled spirals in the lower level. The apron is hanging on the middle and two lateral knots and folded in thick and elegant, yet unnatural and stylized folds. The piers are decorated on the lateral sides of the apron level with two massive fluted rosettes. From the middle knot, the apron front end

²¹ Present layer of white paint is recent, but comparison with the kindred sculpture opens such possibility.

falls below, into the zone of the trapezoid pilaster that satyrs' lower bodies are transformed into.

Except for the two telamons, there are four fragments²² of an architrave preserved in the lapidarium of Narodni muzej in Zadar that have been part of the Fanfogna house decoration. The fragments were once part of the portal or *balconata* architrave and are marked with Fanfogna²³ coat of arms carried by two whimsical satyrs whose bodies' lower parts are transformed into foliage, while the architrave's lateral parts are decorated with thickly



Fig. 3: A fragment of Fanfogna palace architectural decoration in the lapidarium of Narodni muzej in Zadar

chiselled tendrils swirled around circular bulky foliage. The satyrs' heads are emphatically caricatured with swollen lips and fleshy ears and ruffled, backward swayed hair, while their abdomens and hands are formed with swollen sinuous contours. All the curves are, except for underlining caricatured features, subjected to prevailing undulated rhythm of the whole. Another architrave that once belonged to Fanfogna house decoration is lost today, but noted in the guide of the former Zadar Archaeological museum in St. Donatus under the catalogue n.o. 171: «A large architrave, broken on its right side, with racy contorted leaves and flowers, with hybrid animals and birds. In the middle there are two satyrs from whose lower parts grow plant

²² Dimensions: 59 x 33 x 23 cm and 55 x 33 x 23 cm; Fragments are unpublished, inventory number 434. Sofija Petricioli, author of *scheda*, noted that before entering the Narodni muzej the still unbroken architrave was exhibited in public garden exedra. This architrave has been recorded by Sabalich as part of the archeological collection within the exedra (see f. 7). His comparison with S. Maria delle Zattere fails in Venetian work being somewhat inelastic and formal. Also, it seems that the four Zadar fragments belonged to two architraves with different iconographical schemes: one with Fanfogna coat of arms and other with the monsters. However, it is obvious that architrave(s) and the telamons shared destiny after the palace's destruction, most probably in one of the family's houses until von Welden moved them to the public garden.

²³ CARL G. F. VON ROSENFELD, *Der Adel des Kownighreichs Dalmatien*, cit., T. 5.



Fig. 4: A fragment of Fanfogna palace architectural decoration in the lapidarium of Narodni muzej in Zadar

ornaments with Fanfogna coat-of-arms»²⁴. It is important to notice that these four (two in lapidarium and two lost) are the only known 16th century satyrs' *registemmi* in all of Venetian Dalmatia, but for its iconographical uniqueness, the third and the fourth lapidarium fragments²⁵ are even more peculiar. On the left side of the third fragment, otherwise fully decorated with the same type of foliage, there is a dragon's head with open jaws devouring a grapelike bunch laid on the leaves. The dragon's elongated neck is transformed into tendrils curved around fleshy foliage. The monster's head is curved similarly to satyrs' bellies and the contours are in the same way subjected to the general undulated rhythm of the composition. On the far right of the third fragment a strange hybrid monster is represented, with its right side destroyed, making it rather difficult to understand its concept: its horned lion's head is frontal, but set on what seems to be the back

²⁴ GIOVANNI SMIRICH, *Fuehrer durch das K.K. Staatsmuseum in S. Donato in Zara*, Wien 1912, p. 76: «Groesser Renaissancefries (rechts abgebrochen), bestehend aus schwungvoll gewundenen Blattranken und Blumen, dazwischen fantastische Mischwespen und Voegel. In der Mitte halten zwei Satyrn, deren Unterleib in Pflanzenornamentik ausleuft, das Wappen der Zaratiner Familie der Fanfogna.»

²⁵ Dimensions: 61 x 33 x 23 cm and 66 x 33 x 23 cm, inventory number 434.

side of the body with dragon-like scales and its lower body bent at right angle and transformed into leafy structure. Among the two monsters the thick foliage identical to that of the two fragments with Fanfogna coat-of-arms is repeated. Again, the leaves' tips borders are occasionally deepened with drilled perforations. The fourth fragment is badly damaged: except for the foliage, the monster-like features are hard to discern. This fragment is also decorated on the lateral side.

Like the above mentioned satyrs *registemmi*, these monsters (as well as the hybrid animals and birds from the lost architrave) are typologically and morphologically derived from the Grotesque decorative programme which is - except for several, but somewhat gentler examples, found on the territory of Dubrovnik Republic²⁶ - impossible to find in the 16th century Dalmatia due to the considerable restraint of the amount and quality of local stonemasons' workshops which culminated during the late-Mediaeval period. Complicated political circumstances of Dalmatian territory bordering with the Ottoman Empire led to economical and social crisis which was further reflected on the local artistic production²⁷, resulting in the decreased commissions and discontinuity of former routine quality and readiness on the part of *lapicidae* to accept and apply new artistic impulses. During the 16th century, (especially in Zadar, the province's capital) major commissions come from Venetian representatives and are mostly related to architectural decoration of public buildings with stylistic elements derived from Sansovinian and Sanmichelian forms and often executed under the supervision of Venetian builders and *lapicidae* who settled temporarily in Dalmatian towns. It is only after the Lepanto victory, when the crisis seemed to alleviate, that communal commissions, such as that for the ambitious project for the new church of St. Simeon in Zadar, were started (even though that particular project was never accomplished due to the lack of finances and politically influenced decisions)²⁸. Comparative Dalmatian material relevant to decoration of Fanfogna palace - the use of satyrs' figures, caryatids

²⁶ IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Preobrazbe rječnika kamene ornamentike u Dubrovniku XVI. stoljeća in Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske - Drugi Zbornik dana Cvita Fiskovića*, Zagreb 2008, pp. 209-242.

²⁷ Overview of Renaissance sculpture and architectural decoration in Croatia: MILAN PELC, *Renesansa*, Zagreb 2006, pp. 277-410.

²⁸ VLADIMIR MARKOVIĆ: *Škrinja sv. Šimuna i arhitektura u Zadru oko 1600.*, «Peristol», 48 (2005), pp. 95-108.

and accompanying Grottesque decoration - is scarce. One example is that of a caryatid on the drawing of a fireplace in *Korčula notebook*, a repertoire of stonemason's patterns dated around the year 1600²⁹, obviously derived from similar examples found in Veneto fireplaces. As already mentioned, Grottesque motives appeared in Dubrovnik, but the carriers of this particular artistic stream are French and Flemish artists who settled in The Republic of Dubrovnik and whose stylistic influences did not influence Dalmatian production. Therefore, the origin of the concept and the execution of Fanfogna telamons and two Grottesque architraves are to be sought in Venice and Veneto, the major source of political, spiritual and artistic influences in the 16th century Dalmatia. Telamons flanking portals with comparative typological features can be found in Venice; one example is that of Marciana portal produced by Vittoria's workshop³⁰, and somewhat earlier example is embodied on the garden wall in the background of Tintoretto's *Miracle with the slave* from Scuola di S. Marco's Sala capitolare cycle, painted in 1548-1549³¹. Tintoretto represented four telamons, of which middle two flanking the portal are frontally set and the lateral two are slightly turned towards the middle section, similarly to two Marciana telamons. Questions of the source and the transfer of this decorative programme into Veneto is still open, but recent researches are mainly considering Raphael's workshop³² as the place of origin, and, except for Sansovino, Giulio Romano whose Mantuan decoration has been recognized as crucial for the transfer of new iconographical and formal ideas. However, except for rare examples of large-scale telamons, most of the satyrs in the 16th century Veneto appear on fireplace pilasters. One of the earlier examples are satyrs on the palazzo Corner fireplace, signed by Jacopo Sansovino, and installed during the palace's recon-

²⁹ CVITO FISKOVIĆ, *O starim dalmatinskim kaminima*, «Bulletin Razreda za likovne umjetnosti», 1 (51) (1981), p. 65.

³⁰ NORBERT HUSE, WOLFGANG WOLTERS, *The art of Renaissance Venice*, Chicago 1990, pp. 168-169; Wolters cites G. Zorzi, claiming that the newly discovered records prove that Vittoria was aided by Lorenzo Rubini and Gian Antonio Vicentino.

³¹ CARLO BERNARDI (ED.), *L'opera completa del Tintoretto*, Milano 1966, T. III; PETER HUMFREY, *Venezia 1540-1600* in "La pittura del Veneto, Il Cinquecento" (ed. Mauro Lucco), vol. II, Milano 1998, pp. 468-469.

³² DANIEL PREMIERL, *Podrijetlo i maniristička preobrazba all'antica motiva i oltar Imena Isusova u crkvi sv. Dominika u Trogiru*, «Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti» 28 (2004), pp. 96-113.

struction, executed in the 1540ies by Michele Sanmicheli³³. Other Venetian fireplaces with telamons-satyrs appear somewhat later, like those from the Doge's Palace in Stanza dei Tre Capi, Sala della Bussola, as well as that in villa Garzoni in Pontecassale; all executed by Danese Cattaneo and Pietro da Salò³⁴. At any rate, the features and forms of those telamons are considerably different from those of Zadar satyrs, and are derived out of personal styles of Sansovino's workshop masters. The appearance of particular stylistic features proves that even on that level of sculptural production usually set in between the qualitative stratum of mere architectural decoration and that of independent sculpture, the individual style is perceptibly present in formal execution; this notion will be important in discerning of the origin of Zadar satyrs which resulted in their setting into the group of high relief satyrs produced around the middle of the 16th century by Paduan workshop of Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi³⁵ for commissioners in Lombardy and Veneto.

Since the complete *oeuvre* and stylistic definition of this workshop isn't widely known to Croatian (and neither European) scholars, from their heterogeneous production, here I will present a short chronological review of

³³ PAUL DAVIES, DAVID HEMSOLL, *Michele Sanmicheli*, Milano 2004, pp. 46, 239; LOREDANA OLIVATO, LIONELLO PUPPI, *Mauro Codussi*, Milano 2007, p. 204; Curious fact, that Michele Sanmicheli was, during these years, engaged on southeastern part of Zadar fortifications is, most probably, a mere coincidence.

³⁴ BRUCHE BOUCHER, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, vol. I, New Haven and London 1991, p. 153; Other suggestions point to the collaboration of Sansovino with young Vittoria: see LUISA ATTARDI, *Il camino Veneto del Cinquecento*, Vicenza 2002, pp. 105-109.

³⁵ Literature on Vincenzo (1488 or 1489 - before 2. 8. 1578) and Giangirolamo Grandi (1508 - 1560), whether of synthetical nature or dealing with particular phases or works, FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVI)*, Trento 1967; ERICE RIGONI, *Testamenti di tre scultori del Cinquecento in L'arte rinascimentale di Padova*, Padova 1970; SARAH BLAKE MCHAM, *The chapel of St. Anthony at the Santo an the Development of Venetian Renaissance sculpture*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 67-69; FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi a Trento, aggiunte al catalogo*, Paragone, A. XLV., Nuova Serie 44-46, 1994; BRUNO PASSAMANI, *Uno taiapreda paduano*, in *Il Castello del Buonconsiglio, percorso nel Magno Palazzo* (a cura di Enrico Castelnuovo), vol I, Trento 1995, pp. 297-311; FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Le decorazioni a stucco del Magno Palazzo*, in *Il Castello del Buonconsiglio, percorso nel Magno Palazzo*, (a cura di Enrico Castelnuovo), Trento 1995, pp. 223-235; FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi in La bellissima maniera, Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, exhibition catalogue, Trento 1999, p. 185 - 205; LUCA GABRIELLI, *Il Magno Palazzo del cardinale Bernardo Cles, Architettura ed arti decorative nei documenti di un cantiere rinascimentale (1527 - 1536)*, Trento 2004.

their stone³⁶ sculpture and architectural decoration in which crucial stylistic and morphological features relevant for the attribution of Zadar examples can be recognized. The stonemason's workshop of Grandi family had been active in Vicenza during Quattrocento, but in 1507³⁷ Vincenzo settled in Padua where in collaboration with his nephew Giangiolamo, he played a crucial role in their production - and where he soon accepted the classicizing decorative language which had been disseminated in the humanist atmosphere of this university town since the period of Squarcione's and Donatello's antiquarian trends³⁸. Vincenzo's change of style is already visible in his earliest Paduan works: low-relief profiles for the façade of Candi³⁹ house, that for the (destroyed) house of Doctor Annibale Ruggeri near Duomo and the house of canon Luca Viaro in Via Tadi⁴⁰. However, Vincenzo's personal style is already readable in his first individual commission, the monument of bishop Antonio Trombetta⁴¹, set on Santo's inner façade wall. Vincenzo was commissioned in 1521⁴² to execute the monument's architectural frame and its decoration, while the bishop's bronze bust was commissioned from Riccio⁴³. Figural and decorative elements of this monument testify a rather strong perseverance of Lombardesque Quattrocento decoration, but also Vincenzo's acceptance of new Cinquecento classical language together with the emergence of new interest for understanding of the inner logic of figural structure and formation of personalized style visible in telamons car-

³⁶ Even though within Giangiolamo's bronze corpus there is a number of kindred, mainly decorative forms.

³⁷ FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVI)*, cit., p. 9.

³⁸ A notion illustrative for our understanding of Vincenzo's inclusion into Paduan artistic and humanist circles is that of him being the baptismal godfather to Palladio in 1508. He will stay in contact with Palladio for all of his life which is proven by letter from 1563. See: FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi a Trento, aggiunte al catalogo*, cit., p. 82.

³⁹ ERICE RIGONI, *Testamenti di tre scultori del Cinquecento*, cit., p. 224; FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVI)*, cit., p. 9.

⁴⁰ FRANCESCO CESSI, *ivi.*, p. II.

⁴¹ Trombetta is the commissioner of Riccio's famous Easter candelabre: DAVIDE BRONZATO, *Da Donatello a Tiziano Aspetti. Centocinquant'anni di scultura in bronzo a Padova*, in *Donatello e il suo tempo, Il bronretto a Padova nel Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Padova 2001, p. 23

⁴² ERICE RIGONI, *Testamenti di tre scultori del Cinquecento*, cit., photo on T. 17; BRUNO PASSAMANI, *Uno taiapreda paduano*, cit., p. 301.

⁴³ ERICE RIGONI, *Testamenti di tre scultori del Cinquecento*, cit., p. 227.



Fig. 5: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi - Trombetta monument in Santo, Padua

rying the architectural frame on their bent body contours and, particularly, their geometrized abdominal muscles formed similarly to those of Zadar telamons' torsos. Such forms indicate the synchronization of two tendencies: that for the plastic consistency with one of the obvious decorative sensibility, appropriate for forms perceived as the elements of architectural decoration. Also, in this early work, a general notion of classicizing nobility of expression is already an important component of overall design. There is no doubt that this monument initiated considerable rise of Vincenzo's reputation among Paduan stonemasons and commissioners, which will further be crucial for the invitation made in 1531 by the Tridentine bishop Bernard Cles who had, in the previous few years, started the enormous project of rebuilding his Castello del Buonconsiglio⁴⁴. Vincenzo will leave Padua for Trento in company of his nephew Giangirolamo, with whom he had previ-

⁴⁴ LUCA GABRIELLI, *Il Magno Palazzo del cardinale Bernardo Cles, Architettura ed arti decorative nei documenti di un cantiere rinascimentale (1527 - 1536)*, cit., 13 *passim*.

ously worked on several previous Paduan commissions. The Tridentine years have been decisive for Vincenzo and Giangirolamo's artistic maturity not only because of their engagement on the castle decoration and the magnificent *cantoria* in S. Maria Maggiore but also for their advanced acceptance of a new formal language - that of a Roman grotesque - which they most probably received through Mantuan stucco masters who previously worked under the supervision and after the patterns of Giulio Romano in Mantuan palazzo del Tè⁴⁵. Vincenzo and Giangirolamo's first assignment⁴⁶, one for which they have originally been invited, was the execution of the fireplace, reconstructed today in its original place⁴⁷, in the Tridentine castle's *Sala grande*⁴⁸. The fireplace architrave is carried by high-relief telamons in the forms of old, drunken satyrs; their heads decorated with flowers and ribbons and crowned with ivy wreaths, while on the architrave's methopae a course of low relief satyrs' heads with caricatured grimaces are



Fig. 6: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi - Fireplace telamon in Sala Grande, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento

⁴⁵ FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Le decorazioni a stucco del Magno Palazzo*, cit. 1995, p. 224; LUCA GABRIELLI, *ivi*.

⁴⁶ Some authors - BRUNO PASSAMANI, *o.c.*, pp. 208-209 - accept suggestion given by FRANCESCO CESSI, (*cit.*, pp. 20-21) that Grandis have executed, or at least finished, Castello's Porta di S. Vigilio. Elegant pilasters with slender moulding and ionic capitals may be seen as close to the pilasters of Zadar telamons.

⁴⁷ FRANCESCO CESSI, *ivi*, p. 20-22; FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi*, *cit.*, pp. 185-186; This fireplace has been dismantled in unknown period and assembled in 1924 by Giuseppe Gerola who believed that it was a fireplace built by Vincenzo and Giangirolamo for the Hall of Charles V in Gualdi palace in Vicenza. However, this fireplace is not documented.

⁴⁸ BRUNO PASSAMANI, *o.c.*, p. 302-304.



Fig. 7: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi
- Fireplace telamon in Sala del Basso del
torrione in Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento

chiselled. The countenances of satyrs-telamons are emphatically expressive in their knitted brows and open mouths. However, even more than several physiognomic resemblances (such as details of hair, ears, brows and muscles), morphological features are relevant for their formal linking with Zadar telamons. Tridentine satyrs' hair has been formed with distinctive *staccato*, disobedient tufts among which arrays of drilled perforations can be seen. Similar perforations have been applied in several other works by Vincenzo and Giangirolamo as well as in Zadar satyrs. This sculptural treatment had often been used by Quattrocento sculptors⁴⁹ by which a stronger plasticity and sharper *chiaro-scuro* effect was obtained,

and is one of those features which Vincenzo retained from his Quattrocento sculptural roots. Beard locks of satyrs in Tridentine *Sala grande* are shorter than those in Zadar but considerable similarity in the decorative rhythm of sinuous tufts is obvious. Thoracic and abdominal muscles are hidden by cardinal Cles's emblem but comparative geometrized tendencies are visible in forms of Trombetta and Zadar telamons, though here somewhat subdued. Noted differences can easily be explained by smaller dimensions and their display on the level of viewer's eyes, which demands emphasized expressiveness and more pedant elaboration of anatomical and decorative details.

⁴⁹ Also used by earlier masters, e.g. Arnolfo di Cambio, but generally in Tuscan sculptural production. In Dalmatia are often seen in works by Donatello's pupil Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino. See: LARIS BORČIĆ, *Another sculptural work by Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino in Zadar*, «Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino» 77 (2006), pp. 114-122.

The present Tridentine museum's permanent collection (*Monumenti e collezioni provinciali*) also exhibits fragments of the second fireplace attributed to Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi, which was probably made for the ground floor room, so called Camera del basso del torrione⁵⁰. These



Fig. 8: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi - Fireplace telamon in Sala Grande, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento

fragments' attribution to Vincenzo and Giangirolamo is based on their stylistic and morphological analysis, since typologically, telamon and caryatid differ from *Sala grande* satyrs. One of the interesting aspects of this sculpture is that of their countenances which emanate noble melancholy, suggested by Francesca de Gramatica to express *ponderatio*, pensive sorrow for the Antiquity suitable for a *studiolo*, original purpose of this room⁵¹. This feature can be taken as the starting point in our understanding of Zadar telamons' distant gaze where similar emotion is conceived, possibly one of quiet

mourning after the long perished homeland. Such notion has, in the example of the Tridentine *studiolo* telamon, determined emphasized elegance of almost feminine gentleness and carefully contrapuncted impostation of the caryatid. In spite of the obviously deliberate lack of Grandi's usual energetic lines and forms, the sculptural methods noted with the previous works by the Grandis are evident: treatment of thick tufts, softer but still present tendency towards the geometrization of masses, thoughtful impostation as well as the concept of figures in general. Also, deeper shadows have been suggested by drilled perforations between locks of hair and beard, apron folds, and even on the egg-and-dart and flutes of the ionic capitals. Besides that, particular attention should be given to the Grottesque forms applied on the figures'

⁵⁰ FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi a Trento, aggiunte al catalogo*, cit., p. 84.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

bases which show influences of Mantuan stucco masters who mediated the Grotesque decorative programme previously adopted from Giulio Romano.⁵² Phytomorph hybrid animal creatures blow tendriled trumpets turned into strange beasts with elongated necks while other beasts with widely open jaws are set to devour the tendrils. All of the forms and the decoration are subdued to the dominant elongated sinuous rhythm and similar motives appeared on previously described fragments in Zadar lapidarium⁵³. Finally, *niello*-like technique applied on Tridentine grotesque bases may have been used for eye pupils and other parts of Zadar telamons.

Nevertheless, the most persuasive argument for the attribution of Zadar satyrs to Vincenzo and Giangiolamo Grandi is grounded on the unpublished bust of the satyr, also exhibited in the Tridentine museum of Castello del Buonconsiglio and attributed to Vincenzo and Giangiolamo by Lia Camerlengo in museum's *scheda*⁵⁴. Even more than with the previous examples, frontality of unfinished bust's head and torso, physiognomic details, but also conspicuous morphological features testify this sculpture's closeness to Zadar telamons. Admittedly, the Tridentine head is slightly turned aside, but the smaller dimension of this work implies the original installation on the level of viewer's eyes which asserts the need for the movement and expression not found in their Dalmatian relatives. However, a decisive and energetic cut, thick curly hair assembled of minute tufts divided by the drilled perforation, particular modelling of cheeks, decorative arrangement of sinuous beard locks spread on chests and geometricized forms of thoracic and abdominal muscles formed almost identically to those of Zadar satyrs undoubtedly bring Dalmatian telamons into the circle of Vincenzo and Giangiolamo Grandi. Within the overall corpus of kindred satyrs made

⁵² FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi*, cit., p. 185. Author has pointed out similarities in classical impostation with the telamons in Giardino Segreto of Mantuan Palazzo del Tè.

⁵³ Even though Zadar fragments show difference in the thickness and *horror vacui* similar to some other Grandi designs, e. g. those of cantoria in S. Maria Maggiore in Trento as well as some other bronze works by Grandis, FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVII)*, cit., pp. 102-111.

⁵⁴ *Ufficio Castello del Buonconsiglio - Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, Sezione Opera d'arte - Patrimonio, Numero inventario 1, Mun194*; I am cordially thankful to ms. Lia Camerlengo for procuring *scheda* as well as on other material related to this research.

during the 16th century in Veneto, there are no examples closer to Zadar satyrs than this Tridentine bust, rightfully attributed to the Paduan masters. Furthermore, it seems that the design of unique decorative patterns of Zadar lapidarium fragments should also be linked to Vincenzo and Giangirolamo's Tridentine experiences since similar monsters with elongated necks swirled around fleshy leaves are found on the third and the fourth Zadar fragments as well as (most probably) on the lost museum architrave⁵⁵ of St. Donatus. The ultimate connection with Grandis' style can be found in the sinuous lines of bellies of registemmi's satyrs which will also appear in the works of their second Paduan sojourn.



Fig. 9: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi - Limestone herm from Castello del Buonconsiglio

During their stay in Trento (1531-1541) Giangirolamo turned towards the work in bronze, since he is the author of bronze decoration and figures on Tridentine *cantoria* in S. Maria Maggiore, and has also made several bronze artefacts for cardinal Cles⁵⁶. Even during their second Paduan period, the majority of the workshop's activities will be oriented towards the bronze production, but several limestone and marble works supply further arguments in favour of the suggested attribution of Zadar sculpture. One of their most important commissions of the second Paduan period is that from the curators of San Antonio for the front west pilaster of the S. Antonio chapel decorated with multitiered low relief candelabrum with figures of elaborated iconography with pagan ref-

⁵⁵ FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Le decorazioni a stucco del Magno Palazzo*, cit., reproductions on pp. 228, 229, 231, 232, 233; LUCA GABRIELLI, *Il Magno Palazzo del cardinale Bernardo Cles, Architettura ed arti decorative nei documenti di un cantiere rinascimentale (1527 - 1536)*, cit., p. 206.

⁵⁶ FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVI)*, cit., p. 58 *passim*.



Fig. 10: Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi - Fireplace telamon in Sala del Basso del Torrione in Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento

erences⁵⁷. Particularly interesting is the pilaster strip with Giangirolamo's (signed 1546) depiction of excellently foreshortened drunken Noah lying at the foot of the grape vine with naturalistic snails, birds and an intermingled snake. Noah's bulging figure is formed similarly to Zadar architrave satyrs-*registemmi*, particularly in caricatured outline of his bloated belly. In this context, it is also worth to single out the tomb of Simeone Ardeo dated in 1548-1549⁵⁸, also in Santo, where pilaster telamons have been chiselled with decisive cut and developed sense of plasticity, already noted on the fireplace in Tridentine Sala Grande and in Zadar telamons. Besides that, Ardeo coat of arms' shield type and its phytomorph *putti-registemmi* could be seen as variation of Zadar examples. Kindred forms are executed in Giangirolamo's bronze works⁵⁹. Yet another Grandis' monument dated into this period is that of Paduan university law professor Giovanni Antonio de Rossi (Rubeis), today in the noviciate cloister of Santo. The commis-

⁵⁷ FRANCESCO CESSI, *ivi*, pp. 36-45; SARAH BLAKE MCHAM, *The chapel of St. Anthony at the Santo on the Development of Venetian Renaissance sculpture*, cit., pp. 67-69.

⁵⁸ FRANCESCO CESSI, *Vincenzo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi, scultori (secolo XVI)*, cit., pp. 48-49.

⁵⁹ FRANCESCO CESSI, *ivi*, pp. 21-39; BRUNO PASSAMANI, *Uno taiapreda paduano*, cit., pp. 310-311; FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA, *Vincezo e Gian Gerolamo Grandi*, cit., pp. 192-203.

sion is documented into 1545⁶⁰. Even though less formal similarities with Zadar sculptures are evident here, the commission's circumstances put it in the context of the humanist circles⁶¹ around the university cathedra of law, where Pietro Fanfogna received his doctorate degree.

In the end, this attribution should be encircled with a hypothesis on the circumstances which probably led to the commission of Fanfogna family from Vincenzo and Giangirolamo Grandi. In numerous relative examples the dissemination of humanist thought and new classicizing forms in Dalmatia was carried out by Republic representatives, church prelates and members of Dalmatian aristocracy, and almost all former Paduan students⁶². Literary and artistic experiences acquired in and around their Alma Mater had determined their taste expressed after their return to hometowns, and in several cases even the later commissions from



Fig. II: Giangirolamo Grandi - Noah on the front western pilaster of Santo's chapel (af. F. Cessi, 1967)

⁶⁰ ERICE RIGONI, *Testamenti di tre scultori del Cinquecento*, cit., pp. 228-229.

⁶¹ WOLFGANG LOTZ, *Architecture in Italy 1500 - 1600*, 1995, p. 164.

⁶² MIRKO GRMEK, *Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi*, «Ljetopis JAZU» 62 (1957).

Paduan artists and workshops⁶³. Even during the troubled 16th century, when social and economical crisis resulted with the decrease of commissions and artistic activities, there are examples of enthusiastic members of aristocracy who commission paintings, sculpture and architectural decoration to embellish their homes and family altars. In the case of brothers Pietro and Francesco Fanfogna, particularly interesting is the fact that Pietro, doctor of both laws, former Paduan student, stands out as one of the most distinguished humanists in the 16th century Zadar. His library contained, among other important works of local historiography, the 14th century history written by Paulus de Paoli and the 16th century Zadar chronicle by Francesco Grisogono⁶⁴. Pietro Fanfogna was also one of the curators of St. Francis' monastery, a service traditionally held by the family⁶⁵. He had expressed his pride of the famous family ancestors on Latin inscription⁶⁶ dated in 1555 which is placed on the Franciscan church's lateral portal opening towards the cloister which was at the time being rebuilt. This cloister's sober and purified classicizing design, whose author had not yet been discerned by the scholars⁶⁷, may have been the fruit of Pietro's artistic interests and contacts he had cherished with the artistic circles of Venice or Veneto. Thus, his need to adorn his house's façade with unique and quite unusual for Dalmatia of the time - colossal telamons-satyrs, caricatured satyrs-registemmi and Grottesque dragons, beasts and birds - is not quite so surprising from an aristocrat of classical education and cultivated humanist interests.

⁶³ It is also worth to notice that several painters from Veneto and other regions settle in 16th century Dalmatia, e.g. Pisan Nicolò Bracio and his cousin Lorenzo Luzzo from Feltre, Paduan Bernardo Ricciardi. Even larger number of Italian painters are found in 16th century in Republic of Dubrovnik. See: MILAN PELC, *Renesansa*, cit., pp. 484-495.

⁶⁴ VITTALIANO BRUNELLI, *Storia della Città di Zara dai tempi più remoti sino al MDCCCXV*, Venezia 1913, p. 14; AA. VV. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, cit.

⁶⁵ GIOVANNI ANTONIO FANFOGNA, *Storia della famiglia dei Conti Fanfogna...*, cit., F2, fol. 75

⁶⁶ ET DECIO PRIAVO PROAVO ABAVO ATAVO TRITAVO ET MAJORI PETRUS FANFONEUS IU. UTR. DOCT. HUIUS AEDIS AC TOTIUS MINORITARUM OBSERVANTIUM ORDINIS GENERALIS PROCURATOR PORTAM INSTAURAVIT ET SIBI POSTERISQUE SUIS VIVENS M.P. CURAVIT MDLV.

⁶⁷ Even though similar pure classicizing forms appear in Zadar on several public buildings and inscriptions of the period, commissioned by Venetian representatives.

Since documentary evidence related to the rebuilding of Fanfogna house hasn't yet been discovered, precise dating isn't possible, but the period of the fifth, or even more probable, the sixth decade of the 16th century is the time when the Grandi workshop as well as Pietro Fanfogna are in full vitality⁶⁸ and public recognition. Hypothetically, if Marciana portal really did serve as inspiration⁶⁹, then the *ante quem non* date is 1553⁷⁰, certainly during the second Paduan sojourn of Vincenzo and Giangirolamo. Another date which further establishes the lowest chronological point around the year 1550 is Tintoretto's depiction dated in 1548-1549⁷¹. Unfortunately, this monumental Zadar palace was soon destined to be ruined, so its ambitious Renaissance façade lasted for no more than three decades. The preserved registries (see appendix) testify of the great loss brothers Fanfogna had suffered not only in losing their house for which they insisted to be settled for⁷², but also in privately financed espionage and military endeavours, even the loss of a child. Nevertheless, telamons and parts of its architectural decoration have been preserved, probably in the nearby new Fanfogna palace (probably built after 1571), and then - after 1829 - in Welden's public garden exedra where they may have been taken as an inspiration for the installation of several pseudo-style telamons and caryatids on public and private 19th century façades in Zadar⁷³, a number of which exceeds that of similar decoration found in other Dalmatian towns of the period.

⁶⁸ Pietro died in 1600; CARL G. F. VON ROSENFELD, *Der Adel des Koenigreichs Dalmatien*, cit., p. 42.

⁶⁹ As a possible reference to Pietro's worthy library kept within the house?

⁷⁰ NORBERT HUSE, WOLFGANG WOLTERS, *The art of Renaissance Venice*, cit.

⁷¹ See f. 31.

⁷² It seems that Francesco and Pietro shared the house: «[...] *tanto che saremo fratelli satisfati*».

⁷³ Most of them have been destroyed in WW2 bombardment, but old photographs and postcards bear witness of the 19th and 20th century telamons on City Café, house west of the cistern on Campa, and former villa in Voštarnica (today in the garden wall of house in Puntamika, information of its origin before the bombardment was given by the present owner of the house).

Appendix I

Literal transcript after Giovanni Antonio Fanfogna, *Storia della famiglia dei Conti Fanfogna ritratta dagli atti di famiglia, dalle lapidi che trovansi, dalla tradizione e da autentici attestati*, manuscript in The Research Library in Zadar, ms. 613; F. II, f. 8 and 9 (relevant parts bolded and underlined by L. Boric):

“Venezia, 23. Luglio 1578, n.o 20

Qui sotto annotarò per memoria tutta la servitù e spese fatte dall’Exelso et Glorioso Dominio Veneto per in ora presente così in aver come in dar.

La Serenissima Republica Veneta mi die dar che al tempo della prima Guerra gli agidar condur le alterane(?) a Obrovaz con due barche, alle spese mie, come appar per la fede de’ Rappresentanti d’Esso Glorioso Dominio.

Item die dar per la servitù fattagli a caval più de cinque anni senza premio alcuno nè stipendio veruno.

Item die dar quando mi mandarono al Zancacchi de Hlivno per le cose pubbliche andai alle spese mie, senza premio alcuno, anzi con grande pericolo della vita, come appare per le Fede Pubbliche.

Item die dar per aver armato alle spese mie un Brigantino con compagni 26 alle spese mie senza premio alcuno, come appar per le Fede Pubbliche.

Item die dar per una Fregata, qual armai alle spese mie per far Servitù alla Serenità sua come appar per la Feda delli Rappresentanti della Sua Serenità.

Item die dar per la servitù honorata, qual gli feci essendo suo Capitano spese del mio nel star alle sculle(?) et nella Compagnia Ducati 2000: per li qual fui anche sforzato vender una Possessione.

Item die dar per tenir le spie delli progressi degli Turchi così per Mar come per Terra, essendo a Parga, come appar per le Fede Pubbliche spesi Cecchini 50 et una Vestura di Damasco verde qual donai a Mehmed Cias, qual mi dette la nova che la Armata da intrar nel Golfo, come appar per la fede Pubblich.

Item die dar per uno mio fiolo, che essendo ammalato con Petecchie a morte nella casa mia fu cacciato per forza d’essa casa per metter soldati drento, et così il 3.o giorno morse.

Item die dar per un altro fiolo, qual ho perso alli suoi servitij questa guerra.

Item die dar per una casa qual me la gettarono a terra, la qual valeva più de 1500 ducati.

Item die dar per li terreni vignati ed arativi oltre il Porto di Zara de valuta di Ducati 500 delli quali terreni io pover il veva semenato col formento,

che non volsino aspetar in sin che li ricogliese, se no con tutto il formento lo ripostarono nella fabbrica per terrapienar la loro fortezza.

Item die dar quando andai Ills.mo Nostro Marco Minio menaj alle spese mie 60 homini ai servicci loro et (...) alquanti jorni come appar per le fede pubbliche.

1578. adi 23 Luglio

Il Glorioso Dominio controscritto die aver Ducati 230 li quali gli remasi debitor facendogli le Calcine, per li quali sono venuto alli piedi loro, che mi dovessero far graziar tiar una Casa mia per stima et manco il quarto per satisfar il dito mio debito overo che la Sua Serenità mi facci questa Grazia a far che li paghi Ducati 10 all'Anno insino tutto il mio debito, et loro per la sua solita Clemenza mi hanno fatto grazia, che paghi Ducati 20 all'anno tanto che saremo fratelli satisfati.

RENESANSNI TELAMONI NEKADAŠNJE PALAČE FANFOGNA U ZADRU – ATRIBUCIJA PADOVANSKOJ RADIONICI VINCENZA I GIROLAMA GRANDIJA

Prilog donosi atribuciju telamona-satira iz egzedre u zadarskome Perivoju kraljice Jelene te fragmenata arhitrava s grbom Fanfogna koji se nalaze u lapidariju zadarskoga Narodnoga muzeja. Telamoni su izvorno bili ugrađeni na pročelju uništene palače Fanfogna, nasuprot pročelju nekadašnje crkve Sv. Marije Velike u Zadru. Telamoni se na temelju tipološke i morfološke analize atribuiraju padovanskoj radionici 16. stoljeća koju vode Vincenzo i Giangirolamo Grandi. Nadalje, temeljem groteskne ikonografije i morfoloških karakteristika, četiri ulomka arhitrava iz lapidarija Narodnoga muzeja u Zadru prepoznato je kao dio istoga dekorativnoga programa koji izvire iz sjeverno-talijanskih umjetničkih krugova 16. stoljeća. Riječ je o vremenu u kojemu dolazi do pada količine i kvalitete produkcije nekoć plodnih dalmatinskih kameno-klesarskih radionica, koje više nisu u stanju održavati prethodno postavljene standarde u skulpturi i arhitektonskoj dekoraciji, pa se ambiciozniji naručitelji usmjeravaju prema radionicama u Veneciji i Venetu. Temeljem arhivskih istraživanja naručitelji ovog ikonografski neobičnog i neočekivanog dekorativnog programa prepoznaju se u istaknutim članovima obitelji Fanfogna u 16. stoljeću: uglednom zadarskom humanistu i pravniku Petru Fanfogni i njegovom bratu, vojniku i *cavalieru* Sv. Marka, Frani.

I TELAMONI RINASCIMENTALI DELL'EX PALAZZO FANFOGNA DI ZARA - ATTRIBUZIONE ALL'OFFICINA PADOVANA DI VINCENZO E GIANGIROLAMO GRANDI

L'articolo tratta l'attribuzione del telamone-satiro dell'edera del parco zaratino dedicato alla regina Elena e dei frammenti dell'architrave con lo stemma della famiglia Fanfogna, situati nel lapidario del Museo civico. I telamoni erano originariamente murati nella facciata dell'ex palazzo Fanfogna, di fronte alla facciata dell'ex chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore di Zadar. In base all'analisi tipologica e morfologica, i telamoni vengono attribuiti ad un laboratorio padovano del Cinquecento gestito da Vincenzo e Giangirolamo Grandi. In seguito all'iconografia grottesca e alle caratteristiche morfologiche, quattro frammenti dell'architrave provenienti dal lapidario del Museo civico di Zadar vengono riconosciuti come parte dello stesso programma decorativo che proviene dai circoli artistici dell'Italia settentrionale del Cinquecento. Si tratta di un'epoca in cui avviene un calo quantitativo e qualitativo della produzione nelle officine dalmate di lavorazione del marmo, che non sono più in grado di mantenere gli standard prestabiliti nella scultura e nella decorazione architettonica per cui i committenti di rilievo si rivolgono alle officine venete. In base alle ricerche archivistiche, i committenti di questo insolito programma iconografico decorativo vengono riconosciuti nei membri di riguardo della famiglia Fanfogna del sedicesimo secolo: il distinto umanista e giurista zaratino Pietro Fanfogna e suo fratello Francesco, militare e *cavaliere* di san Marco.