

Višnja Bralić

Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, Zagreb

The Cult of Saint Euphemia, the Patron Saint of Rovinj, and the Venetian Politics of Co-creating Local Identities in Istrian Communities in the 15th Century

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Abstract

This article discusses how Venice, in its political representation, valued the relation with the sacred as one of the main strategies for strengthening its political power in Istrian communities. Through associations with the cults of local saints, the Republic participated in the (co)creation of local memory and identity as evinced in the cases of St. Nazarius, the patron saint of Koper, and St. Euphemia, the patron saint of Rovinj. A new impetus was given to their cults in the 15th century after the restitution of their relics as attested by commissions of several liturgical objects made in the Venetian botteghe. The restitution of the relics

of St. Euphemia in 1401, here confirmed by the archival research, is a rare documented case in Venetian political and religious practices. The growth of devotion to the saint was prompted by the return of the body, but also by the Venetian custom of developing cults in a coordinated manner, encompassing liturgical celebrations, legends and their visual expressions. This article sheds new light on the role of Venetian officials in the promotion of the cult of St. Euphemia and the authorship of the key illuminations in the Rovinj Illuminated Codex.

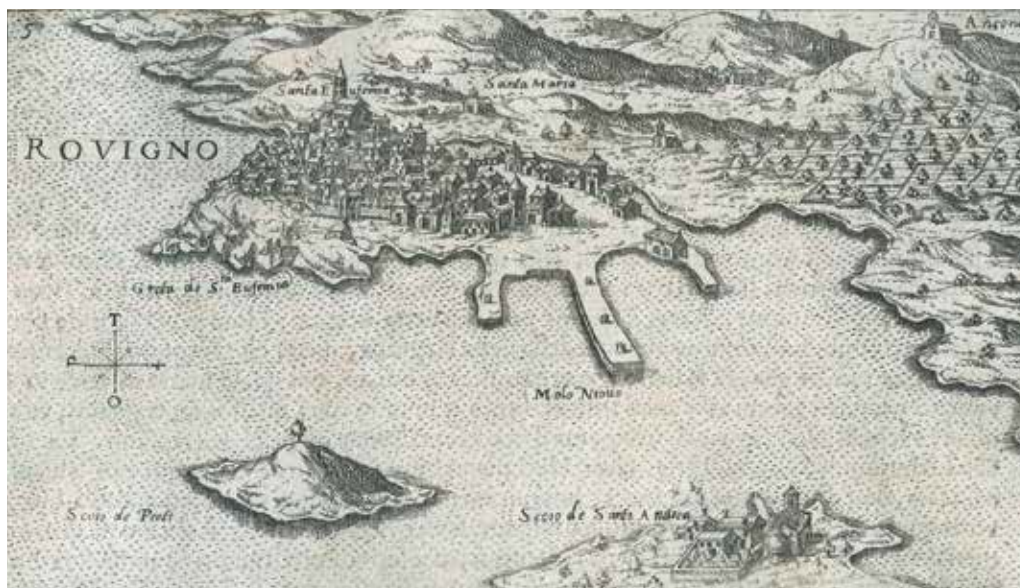
Keywords: Venice, Istria, St. Euphemia, St. Nazarius, St. Maximus, Rovinj (Rovigno), Koper (Capodistria), Novigrad (Cittanova), The Rovinj Illuminated Codex, *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie*, miniatures, Pico Master, the reliquary of St. Euphemia, the Sesto family workshop

Sacred power in the Venetian territories

The Republic of Venice conveyed its political power through a complex iconography of state representation which was embedded in all aspects of its political, religious and cultural life.¹ The image of the *Serenissima* as an ideal political entity derived from a network of shared values and commonly understood meanings among its patriciate and *popolo*. Using an array of motifs and ideologically-based themes in visual messages, Venice reaffirmed and reinterpreted the idea of the Republic that not only enjoyed heavenly protection and guidance but “was created directly by God”.² As pointed out by David Rosand, the myth of the “divine republic” and her perfection originated in the “Venetian identification with the Annunciation, that date in March that saw the conception of a divine savior and, four centuries later, the foundation of a political savior”.³ By associating the image of the Virgin Mary with a whole series of political allusions

and ambivalent meanings, and connecting the Evangelist’s winged lion to the political domination and the power of the Doge, Venice clearly established the ecclesiastical basis of the State.⁴ Marino Sanudo’s expression “*Santa Republica*” is evidence of how Venice, in its political representation, valued the relation with the sacred in order to profit from it.

While expanding its territories from Lombard cities in the north to the eastern Adriatic coast and the Greek islands in the south in the 15th century, the Republic became a heterogeneous state composed of a large number of individual political entities: cities, rural communes, and feudal jurisdictions. Entangled in a dense web of complicated administrative relations, the strategy of local communities was to defend their own identity and autonomy, guaranteed by the acts of *dedizione* issued when they became part of the *Serenissima*. Venetian patricians, who were appointed by the Great Council to govern provinces and numerous subject cities, *castella* and *terre* for a certain period of time, mostly had to follow



1. Natale Bonifacio (?), *View of Rovinj (Rovigno)*
Natale Bonifacio (?), *Veduta Rovinja*

local rules and customs, which were defined in the communal statutes.⁵ However, statutory regulations and ordinances, as well as the rights and functions of existing Community Councils, were substantially reduced by the wide power of the state officials (*rettori*).⁶ Ermanno Orlando's research on relations between Venice and *podesteria* in the *Dogado* during the 13th and the 14th centuries demonstrated that these divisional governments were in many ways microcosms of the central government and that this system had the effect of creating "other Venices". The devastating consequences of the War of Chioggia (1379 – 1381) accelerated the centralisation and hierarchisation of Venetian power in peripheral communities.⁷ The same political mechanisms and power structures existed in *podesteria* (rektorates) in Istria, particularly from the beginning of the 15th century, when Venice concluded its conquest of Istrian territories, including the towns of Labin and Buzet in 1420. In fact, in Istria there were more Venetian administrators and governors of all ranks than in any of its other Mediterranean colonies.⁸ On the other hand, public spaces and churches remained stages for everyday life, where communal identity continued to be expressed and was revived under Venetian rule with new expressions of civic pride while maintaining the older, especially religious traditions.⁹ Simultaneously, Venice was heightening its political power by visualising diverse aspects of the myth of Venice as a way of integrating subject communities politically, legally and socially, thus creating local identities marked by ambiguity. The government officials – *dogi*, *provveditori* and numerous *rettori*, *podestà* and *capitani* – endeavoured to enhance their presence, shape public opinion and communicate the ideals and aspirations of the *Serenissima* through commissioned artworks. One of the few examples of state and personal representation by a Venetian official in public spaces on the eastern Adriatic coast is preserved in the City Hall in Rovinj. The 1584 wall painting is a comprehensive program with the allegorical depiction of Venice as Justice,

the virtues of Prudence (*Prudentia*), Truth (*Veritas*) and Temperance (*Temperantia*), as well as the Virgin as *Regina coeli* accompanied by the patron saints of the city, Saints George and Euphemia (Fig. 2). The fresco painting was commissioned by the *podestà*, Scipione Benzoni, who enlarged the core themes with a personal expression of gratitude to his ancestor, Giorgio Benzoni, the founder of the powerful aristocratic family from Crema to whom the doge Michele Steno granted the status of nobility at the beginning of the 15th century.¹⁰ Michele Steno, as will be discussed further, was particularly important for Rovinj as well, due to his role in the development of the cult of St. Euphemia.

The cult of relics and the Venetian political strategies toward Istria

One of the main strategies in the development of the Republic was the construction of a civic religion where relics of the early Christian martyr saints played a key role.¹¹ In the early history of Venice, when the Venetians were settling in the lagoons, they were refugees striving to overcome the dispersion and dislocation of cults and relics from the places where they were originally venerated. They had to relocate them by carrying, inventing or abducting them from other places, and ultimately, they had to negotiate their ownership.¹² In this process of constructing Venetian civic identity, legends of St. Mark the Evangelist, the main patron of the City, were of paramount importance. Mark's evangelizing visit to Aquileia, before his journey to Rome and Alexandria, his apostolic mission and martyrdom in Alexandria, and the discovery of his relics and their transportation (*translatio*) to Venice at the beginning of the 9th century were the basis for the construction of collective memory in the Republic's formative period.¹³ The activity of the Evangelist in Aquileia was not, however, documented in early textual sources or



2. Wall painting, 1584, City Hall, Rovinj
 Zidna slika, 1584., Gradska vijećnica, Rovinj

archaeological finds, but through a fabricated narrative that served as a foundation myth of the patriarchate of Aquileia, and later of the state of Venice.¹⁴ As it developed, through the legend of the predestination, Venice was designated as chosen by God's grace to be Mark's preselected city.¹⁵ The predestination narrative had its ramifications in Istria, as well. Especially interesting is the episode from the legend of St. Hermagoras, where the apostolic mission of St. Mark is extended to the provinces of Venetia and Istria.¹⁶ The legend was reiterated in the 18th century manuscript *Memorie sulla Chiesa Collegiata di Rovigno* by the canon Simone Basilisco, in which he gives priority to St. Mark in converting the communities of the entire Istrian peninsula, due to the Evangelist's personal presence in Trieste.¹⁷

The translation of St. Mark's relics to Venice initiated a strong symbolic identification between the city and its patron saint. It also encouraged further accumulation of holy relics through negotiations and theft (*furta sacra*). Once a relic was acquired by entrepreneurial individuals and groups of citizens, the development of a local cult could begin, *inter alia*, by means of recording the protagonists and events that happened during the translation of the relic.¹⁸ As Michael Angold summarized the social value of such endeavours, the hagiography had a greater appeal than history as a way of articulating the Venetian sense of identity.¹⁹

Among the relics brought to Venice were also *memoria* of Istrian martyrs and bishops such as St. Maurus, a bishop and martyr of Poreč,²⁰ and St. Servulus, the main patron saint of Buje and copatron of Trieste.²¹ Ancient Istrian cults had a second life in the church of San Canziano in the Cannaregio Quarter, replenished with new arrivals of Istrian relics in the late 14th and in the 15th century.²² The integral uncorrupted body of St. Maximus, the martyr and presumed bishop of Emon(i)a (Novigrad in Istria) is still venerated in the same church. According to Flaminio Corner, a member of the noble Badoer family, who lived in the *parrocchia* of San Canziano, had the opportunity to obtain or steal the relic, which he donated to his church sometime after 1451.²³

Achieving political power by strengthening relic cults was an established medieval practice in 15th-century Venice. The

symbolic confirmation of authority through association with cults of local saints is attested in Istrian cities as well, where the main goal was to participate in the (co)creation of local memory and identity. We can follow these developments through the Venetian officials' and bishops' commissions of holy shrines, reliquaries and liturgical books for the celebration of patron saints in Koper, Poreč, Pula and Rovinj, from the second half of the 14th to the 18th century, but particularly in the 15th century.

In this context, historical circumstances surrounding St. Nazarius, the patron saint of Koper (Capodistria), are well-documented.²⁴ The commission of the richly decorated marble *arca* of St. Nazarius, a masterpiece of Venetian *Trecento*, was not only the result of the community and its bishop's devotional needs, but also of the Republic's political motivation to obtain the favour of the local citizens through the glorification of their patron. Guido Tigler attributed the sarcophagus to Enrico, the *proto* of the Palazzo Ducale, and dated it to shortly after the city's second rebellion against Venice in 1354. A commission given to such a highly placed artist suggests that St. Nazarius' *arca* was a diplomatic gift from Venice to one of its "colonies" and a conciliatory act by the Venetian government toward the local community.²⁵ After the body had been stolen by the Genoese in 1380 during the War of Chioggia, a Venetian merchant of Capodistriian origin, Giacomo di Languschi, was engaged in prolonged and complicated negotiations with the archbishop of Genoa, Pileo de' Marini, to restitute the stolen saint, a restitution which was wholeheartedly supported by the bishop of Koper, Geremia Pola.²⁶ According to the correspondence published by Nicolò Manzuoli, the negotiations started in 1421, and came to a conclusion in 1422, no doubt due to Giacomo's persistence and willingness to cover all expenses.²⁷ With the *Serenissima's* permission, the journey back to Koper could proceed. The relics were temporarily retained in Venice to receive a proper send-off, and after a solemn liturgy in the church of San Girolamo, led by the Venetian bishop Marco Lando and assisted by the Bishop of Nin, Nazarius' relics were finally returned to *Iustinopoli* in the same year. Immediately following these events, the illuminated Antifonarium was commissioned for the cathedral.²⁸ The representations of

saints are closely connected with the local devotional tradition. St. Nazarius, the first bishop and the holy patron of the city, is given prominence by featuring him twice: he is depicted as a young bishop holding a model of the city (fol. 42r) and as an elderly bishop who is giving a blessing while standing above his cathedral along with the text “*dedicatio templi*” (fol. 88v). Although the decoration is limited to just six historiated initials, the codex contains the contributions by three miniaturists active in Venice at the time. The most distinct is the author of St. Jerome and St. Nazarius as an old man, strongly influenced by Maestro di San Michele, who was active in the Camaldolese scriptorium on Murano.²⁹

Another strong example of consolidation of Venetian authority in Istria by association with the cult of relics of Istrian patron saints in the 15th century is the case of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon, the early Christian martyr and co-patron saint of the city of Rovinj. As in Koper, so in Rovinj, the veneration of St. Euphemia was given a new impetus by historical events connected to the abduction and restitution of the saint’s relic, as attested by commissions of several liturgical objects made in the Venetian *botteghe*.

The Rovinj Illuminated Codex

The Rovinj Illuminated Codex, also known as *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie*, is an exceptionally valuable hagiographical source for evaluating changes in the cult of Rovinj’s patron saint while tracing the identity and memory formation of an early medieval commune in Istria up to the 15th century.³⁰

The manuscript on vellum was initially kept in the sacristy of St. Euphemia’s church.³¹ The oldest part consists of 20 folios (f. 6 – 25), of which 18 (f. 6r – 23r) are written in Gothic minuscule rotunda. There were several alterations, later additions and repairs done to the Codex. According to the inscription on folio 30r, the texts were bound together in 1640, when its wooden boards were restored using a new leather covering richly decorated with gold.³² The manuscript has been tentatively dated to the 13th, 14th and 15th century as the work of a Venetian scriptorium.³³ Giuseppe Cuscito proposes that the oldest texts of the manuscript were compiled from various sources and martyrologies so as to validate the local tradition but without a recourse to an older local source.³⁴

The manuscript begins with *Passio Sancte Euphemie, Virginis et Martiris* (f. 6r – 9v), with the usual motifs found in medieval hagiographic sources describing the life and martyrdom of the early Christian saint from Chalcedon (Fig. 3).³⁵ The *Passio* is followed by *Translatio Corporis beate Euphemie* (f. 10r – 12r), which recounts a legend about the transfer of the relic to Rovinj.³⁶ The significance of this narrative construct needs to be considered in the light of the purpose of such texts in the construction of collective memory and identity since “the particular elements or *topoi* have their origin in the ‘mental fabric’ of the society”.³⁷ The story takes place within the fortified settlement inhabited by local protagonists “at the time of Emperor Otto”. According to the narrative, the stone sarcophagus containing the body of the saint left its former

place because of infidels (a reference to the troubled history of her body in Byzantium). A challenging journey started during a storm, and after many perils, the sarcophagus sailed “into its predestined port to an island along the slopes of the “Mount called Red” (*Montis, qui Rubeus uocabatur*).

After gathering the crowd (*exiit uniuersus utrisque sexus populus*) and many unsuccessful attempts to move the sarcophagus, it was unanimously decided to move it to the top of the mount as a result of the God’s Virgin (Euphemia’s) intervention and the instructions given to the pious widow, and with the help of two heifers. The identity of the relic and its miraculous powers were confirmed in the episode of punishment and miraculous healing of the “unworthy one” who attacked the crowd. After the rumour spread, the clergy and the people of Pula came in great haste and lifted the lid of the *arca* where they saw the body of the blessed virgin and martyr of Christ Euphemia, intact and decorated with cloaks. The document found with the body undeniably confirmed “the glorious victory of the Blessed Euphemia through her martyrdom and suffering”. Gifts were offered in honour of the saint, and it was decided to build a large building, a basilica which could accommodate many pilgrims.

The Codex uses a common hagiographical sequence for the authentication of relics consisting of martyrdom (*passio*), discovery of relics (*inuentio*), removal to a new site (*translatio*) and, sometimes, as is the case in Rovinj, the consecration of the building that housed them (*dedicatio*). The *translatio* is the key text in this hagiographical dossier because it defines Rovinj as a preordained city which received the body of the Blessed Eufemia. Through many episodes featuring pious local protagonists, the early medieval city is represented as a community with a common purpose in the political context of the Holy Roman Empire. Rovinj is designated as *castrum* and described as a fortified settlement situated on a mount: “The relic came ashore along the cliff, directly on some mound along the wall of the said mount, on the exterior side of the fortification” (*iuxta murum predicti montis extra castrum*).

As Trpimir Vedriš points out in his analysis of Dalmatian translations, when relics, after having defeated all obstacles, finally enter the urban settlement, the city is described, in spiritual and social terms, as a “place of joy and order” in contrast with the danger and insecurities of the external, non-urban world.³⁸ Usually, the main role in translation narratives is given to the bishops who move the relics to episcopal sees. Although saints reveal themselves to the pious and humble, it is the bishop who directs and becomes an interpreter of the saint’s will.³⁹ Since there is no historical evidence that Rovinj was a bishopric (nor is there such information in the legend), the negotiations over Euphemia’s relics take place between the community of hermits from the Island of Prayers (*Insula Orationum*) and the rest of the people. The *topos* of the pious, humble and powerless who discover and carry out the translation is, however, used in the legend and described in detail. Furthermore, the perceived strength and the ambitions of the community are reflected in their decision to undertake the large project of building the new church with an eye for the importance it may have for the whole bishopric.⁴⁰



3. The Pico Master (attrib.), *Rovinj Illuminated Codex* (also known as *Translatio corporis beate Euphemiae*), c. 1475–1485, fol. 6r, University Library, Pula

Picov Majstor (prip.), *Rovinski iluminirani kodeks (tzv. Translatio corporis beate Euphemiae)*, oko 1475.–1485., fol. 6r, Sveučilišna knjižnica, Pula

The original legend reflects the earliest period of formation of civic consciousness,⁴¹ even though we cannot be certain of the date of this redaction which most likely coincides with illuminations in the Codex (to be addressed in continuation), or shortly earlier. Apart from the *passio* and *translatio* of St. Euphemia, the Codex introduces into the collective memory other saints venerated in Rovinj through the *Passiones* of St. Ursula, to whom a church was dedicated on the Rovinj hill, and of St. George, the first titular and patron saint of Rovinj. The *passio* of St. James the Mutilated, an early Christian martyr from Persia, who is not, in contrast, venerated in Rovinj and of whom no memory exists in Istria, is rather enigmatic.⁴²

The second quinternion of the oldest part of the Codex ends with the *Translation of the Body of the Holy Virgin and Martyr Euphemia from the Famous City of Venice to Rovinj and Laying in Her Sarcophagus (Translatio corporis Alme martiris (et) virginis Euphemiae ab inclita urbe Veneta Rubinum et in propria archa depositi)*.⁴³ It is the most significant part of the manuscript insofar as it demonstrates that the restitution of St. Euphemia's relic was used as a strategy for strengthening Venetian rule in Istria. The text recounts the history of

Euphemia's abduction by the Genoese and how the entire Genoese war booty was recaptured after the Venetian victory in the War of Chioggia. The body of St. Euphemia, which was in the conquered galleys, was then taken to the San Canziano church in Venice, where it "remained for almost thirty years". According to the text in the Codex, representatives of Rovinj pleaded for permission and eventually the Venetian Senate decreed the return of the body. The author of the text stated that it happened on the 18th of May 1401 "during the reign of a virtuous man, Sir Giustiniani Giustiniano".⁴⁴

In *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae*, Marino Sanudo lists the bodies that used to be in Venice and confirms that the body of St. Euphemia was indeed in San Canziano, but without specifying the exact length of time.⁴⁵ The return of the relic to Rovinj was the result of substantial negotiations between the representatives of the Rovinj Commune and Venetian authorities, concluded by senate decree on the 6th of May 1401.⁴⁶ The names of *ser* Alvise Giustiniani and *consiliario* Michele Maripetro who pleaded for the petition in front of the Senate are listed on the text margins. From the Senate decision we learn that the body of St. Euphemia was transferred from Chioggia to the San Canziano church by the Venetian nobleman Saraceno Dandolo, the first *podestà* in the reconquered and devastated Chioggia.⁴⁷ Rovinj faithful petitioned for the return arguing that the church of their patron saint is the main church built in her honor (*ecclesia sua est ecclesia principalis et sub nomine et vocabulo sancte predictae facta*). Furthermore, they believe that it would be pious and just that the body is returned to them (*dictum corpus eisdem fidelibus nostris restituere et dare et pium et iustum sit*) and therefore supplicate the doge that their petition be put to vote by the members of the Senate. Defending the honour of the Republic, members voted in favour of the petitioners and agreed to reconstitute a part of the body of St. Euphemia to the Rovinj faithful (*deffendendo nostrum honorem vadit pars corpus sancta Eufomie [sic] predictae eisdem fidelibus nostris detur et restituatur*). It was indeed a rare success in the history of the diplomatic relations between the Venetian Republic and its subject territories. More often than not, such requests were unsuccessful as in the case of the city of Kotor's repeated requests to the Venetian Senate to return the relic of their patron St. Triphon, abducted by Vittore Pisani on August 14th, 1378.⁴⁸ Note, however, that the Senate decision was passed by only one vote and that their decision was facilitated by claims that citizens of Rovinj are "fidelibus nostris (...) ad terram nostram Rubini".

The 19th-century local historiographers Antonio Angelini, Pietro Kandler and Tomaso Caenazzo, even though they do not agree on the year when the relic was returned, provide information on an important folk legend dating back to the 15th century.⁴⁹ This legend describes the complicated journey of the sacred body from Venice to Rovinj. A sudden sea storm threatened the return, but the boat with its passengers and the relic was miraculously saved by divine intervention in the Val Saline Bay, near Rovinj. A few years later, a votive church was dedicated to St. Euphemia and the transfer of the body from Venice was celebrated on the 18th of May with annual ceremonial processions.⁵⁰ This legend was included in the calendar of liturgical celebrations in



4. The Pico Master (attrib.), *Detail of the incipit with St. Euphemia*, fol. 6r
Picov Majstor (prip.), Detalj incipita s prikazom sv. Eufemije, fol. 6r

Rovinj, which commemorated three more important dates in the cult of the holy protector: the 16th of September (the day of her martyrdom), the 13th of July (the day the relic arrived), and the 13th of March (the miraculous transfer of the marble *arca* from the central nave to the new chapel of the church in 1684).⁵¹ The fame of St. Euphemia's relic in Rovinj was also recognized by Felix Fabri, the Dominican pilgrim from Zurich who visited the relic of the saint in Rovinj on his way to the Holy Land (1480 – 1483) and noted that “her entire body lies there buried in the great marble tomb, which tomb the superior of the cathedral [*sic!*] opened for us, and showed us the corpse”.⁵²

Undoubtedly, the growth of the devotion to St. Euphemia was prompted by the return of the body, but even more by the Venetian custom of developing cults in a coordinated manner, encompassing liturgical celebrations, legends and their visual expressions.

Miniatures in the Rovinj Illuminated Codex

Despite the publication of the facsimile in 2000, the miniatures in the Rovinj Illuminated Codex did not inspire any art historical inquiries. However, the comparative analysis of stylistic and artistic features of the miniatures (fol. 6r – 23r), helps us to determine the period and the place of its creation.

The incipit is the most elaborately decorated page in the manuscript with skilfully executed phytomorphic motifs on its borders: flowers, convoluted leaves and tendrils, and the so-called *bottoni dorati* (stylized golden flowers of dipsacus), surrounded by spiral flourishes in delicate penwork. The floral and gold dot borders of the incipit are complemented with a goldfinch, painted in the upper right corner of the margin (Fig. 3). The initials are also decorated with delicate phytomorphic motifs (*litterae florissae*) on a gilded background (Figs. 5, 6).⁵³ St. Euphemia is portrayed on the bottom edge of the incipit within a medallion with an intense blue background, wearing the clothes of a pious woman and holding the palm of martyrdom and a book. The medallion is encircled in a laurel wreath and flanked

by a symmetrical decoration of thick, convoluted leaves and tendrils on a gilded background (Fig. 4). The lively colours, intense blues and greens are contrasted with the cyclamen pink and red to form a vivid and harmonious whole. This type of floral border originates in Ferrara, in the circle of the *Bible of the Borso d'Este* miniaturists (1455 – 1461), and thereafter was frequently used in other north Italian cities as well as in Venice in the second half of the 15th century.⁵⁴ The intensity and specific contrasts of vivid colours, and especially the minimal facial features of St. Euphemia, point to the style of a Venetian miniaturist known as the Master of the Pico Pliny, abbreviated as the Pico Master.⁵⁵

According to Lilian Armstrong, after an assumed training in Ferrara, the Pico Master's uninterrupted activity in Venice can be traced from about 1469 to the 1490s.⁵⁶ The diversity and the quantity of the works attributed to him indicate the involvement of several assistants as well. A number of incunables and manuscripts painted by the Pico Master at the end of the 1480s and in the 1490s suggest that the artist “may have had a quasi-official status at the Ducal chancellery in Venice” and was probably the best-known miniaturist in Venice.⁵⁷

For the comparison with the Rovinj Codex, several painted manuscripts and incunabula dated to the second half of the 1470s and the beginning of the 1480s are potentially significant, such as the work by Nicolaus de Auximo *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, an incunabulum published in Venice in 1474,⁵⁸ Raimundus de Vineis de Capua's *Liber divinae doctrinae*, a manuscript from 1475⁵⁹ and the *Stams/Kneussel Book of Hours*, a manuscript dated to 1482.⁶⁰ Holy figures depicted in these works have some distinctive features, such as large, heavy-lidded eyes on thin, oval faces, and fragile hands with long pointed fingers, which betray the hand of the Pico Master and can be recognized in the figure of St. Euphemia as well.⁶¹

The Pico Master's opus has recently been enlarged with several manuscripts and illuminated incunabula attributed to him in Croatian collections.⁶² Among them the closest to the Rovinj Codex are the illuminated initials from the incunabulum *De Civitate Dei*, printed in Venice in 1475,⁶³ and miniatures from the *Second Vrbnik Missal*, a manuscript from the late 1470s.⁶⁴ Formal similarities can be also seen in



5.–6. The Pico Master (attrib.), *Illuminated initials on fol. 10r and 12r Picov Majstor (prip.)*, Iluminirani inicijali na fol. 10r i 12r

the painted incipits of Venetian officials' documents known as *commissioni*. They were created by the Pico Master mainly during the reign of the doge Agostino Barbarigo, such as the *commissione* to Giovanni Pietro Ghisi as *podestà* of Vodnjan (Dignano) (1488),⁶⁵ but there are also earlier examples such as the *commisione* to Nicolò Mauzzo as Captain of the Gallies of Aigues-Mortes (1478).⁶⁶

The miniaturist of the Rovinj Illuminated Codex, here identified as the Pico Master, indicates that the commission was entrusted to one of the best known and versatile miniaturists in Venice in the last third of the 15th century. Although the textual part of the Codex could be slightly earlier, the consolidation of Euphemia's hagiographical dossier has to be dated in the late 1470s or in the 1480s.

The view of the city

While encouraging identifications between the city and St. Euphemia in various ways, Rovinj *podestà* also strived to emphasize their personal role as the *Serenissima's* officials in promoting the veneration of the holy protector. A clear example is an imaginary *veduta* of Rovinj on folio 5v of the Rovinj Illuminated Codex, which was bound in the manuscript in a later period (Fig. 7). The watercolour drawing on vellum spreads over the entire page, and on the recto of the same folio, there is an inscription: "Sancte Georgi, ora pro me Dominum Yesum Christum / Sancte Georgi", written in humanist minuscule.⁶⁷ Modern day scholars overlooked its artistic, historical and symbolical significance and mostly considered it as an "inaccurate rendering" of Rovinj which belongs to "a late period".⁶⁸ The idealized depiction of the fortified city on the hill-island is dominated by the church with a Venetian-type bell tower. A few houses on a lower part of the hill, behind the city gate, and a lot of trees cut into triangular shapes within the city walls suggest a small community protected by its fortifications in times of insecurity. On the other hand, the symmetrical circular structure with monumental double walls and turrets, and the fortified city gates, indicate that the artist envisaged a well-ordered, har-

monious and protected city. The imposing size of the church and its dominant position on the top of the hill reveals its importance as the house of the martyrs and protectors of the city, the Saints George and Euphemia. The image fits well into the idea of a city at a time when walls and churches were the key features of an urban landscape, paralleling the idea of the city as a safe environment in the translation texts.⁶⁹

This sketchily depicted landscape with the fortified urban settlement was, however, inspired by late medieval and Renaissance depictions of the ideal city. The coat of arms of the patrician Soranzo family on the main city gates eloquently visualizes Venetian rule embodied in the appointed *podestà*. The symbolic presence of the governor as the representative of the Republic is a guarantee of Good Government under divine protection, acting in synergy with holy patrons. The pictorial characteristics of this image as well as the Soranzo family coat of arms suggest that last decades of the 15th century, when members of the Soranzo family were recorded as being in Rovinj, could be the possible time when this miniature was created. Francesco di Gasparo Soranzo is recorded as the Venetian governor in Rovinj in 1468, Alvise di Remigio Soranzo in 1473,⁷⁰ while Lodovico Soranzo holds the same position twice, in 1484 and in 1487.⁷¹ In light of this evidence, the view of the city seems to have been painted at approximately the same time as the rest of the miniatures in the Codex, even though the drawing cannot be connected to the Pico Master.

The reliquary of St. Euphemia

The reliquary of St. Euphemia is probably the most important evidence of the symbolic confirmation of the Venetian Republic's authority in the relic veneration context. The reliquary is preserved in the treasury of the parish church in Rovinj and is mentioned in bishops' pastoral visitations during the 17th and the 18th centuries, and in 19th century parochial inventories (Fig. 8).

Luisa Crusvar connects this magnificent gilded silver reliquary to the "Venetian gothic architectural style" and dates



7. *View of Rovinj*, Rovinj Illuminated Codex (also known as *Translatio corporis beate Euphemiae*), c. 1468–1487, fol. 5v, University Library, Pula Veduta Rovinja, *Rovinjški iluminirani kodeks (Translatio corporis beate Euphemiae)*, 1468.–1487., fol. 5v, Sveučilišna knjižnica, Pula

it between 1420 and 1430. Stylistic characteristics and decorative motifs, most evident in the knob fashioned like a gothic building with niches enclosing tiny statuettes of saints, make it comparable to works made by the productive Venetian workshop of the Sesto family.⁷² The most prominent members of the family *bottega*, Giacomo's sons Bernardo and Marco, were credited with minting coins and

medals, and in the more general sense with the renewal of Venetian goldsmith production in the first decades of the 15th century.⁷³ Erich Steingräber attributed to members of the Sesto family important liturgical objects in the treasury of San Marco, such as the reliquary of the Holy Blood, a gilded silver chalice, and the reliquary of Saint Mark's thumb.⁷⁴ A commission by such a highly placed workshop



8. The Sesto family workshop (attrib.), *Reliquary of St. Euphemia*, 1401–1413, Treasury of the parish church of St. George and St. Euphemia, Rovinj

Radionica obitelji Sesto (prip.), Relikvijar sv. Eufemije, 1401.–1413., Riznica župne crkve sv. Jurja i sv. Eufemije, Rovinj

makes it possible to assume that the reliquary, as in the case of the *arca* of St. Nazarius, was a diplomatic gift from Venice to the community of Rovinj.⁷⁵ The reliquary, however, should be dated from 1401 to 1413, during the rule of the Venetian doge Michele Steno, whose coat of arms is placed on the hexafoil base of the reliquary. The period of his rule also coincides with the time when the relic was returned. The second coat of arms is that of the Loredano family and it most likely stands for a member of this patrician family from which the city governor was appointed. His name was unfortunately not recorded in the incomplete lists of *podestà* from the beginning of the 15th century. The public character of the gift was also highlighted with the official symbol of the Republic – the winged lion of St. Mark – which, along with Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, adorns the base of the reliquary (Figs. 9, 10). Thus, this reliquary should be regarded as a valuable state gift by which Venetian authorities marked the sacred act of returning the relic and symbolically inscribed their presence on the relic of the holy patron. In this manner, they contributed to the co-creation of Euphemia's cult locally and reminded their subjects of their benevolent act of restitution.



9.–10. The Sesto family workshop (attrib.), *Reliquary of St. Euphemia*, 1401–1413, details of the hexafoil base

Radionica obitelji Sesto (prip.), Relikvijar sv. Eufemije, 1401.–1413., detalji šesterolisne baze

In summary, the restitution of the relic of St. Euphemia decreed by the Senate on the 6th of May 1401, here confirmed by the archival research, is a rare documented case in Venetian political and religious practices. As in the case of St. Nazarius in Koper, the revival of Euphemia's cult was realised in the interaction between the local community and the Venetian authorities. Both restitutions prompted a series of events and artistic commissions.

The gift of the elaborate silver reliquary and the consolidation of Euphemia's hagiographical dossier in the Rovinj Illuminated Codex should be regarded as a diplomatic act intended to earn the trust of the local community. Following the restitution, and typically for Venice, which developed the cults of saints in a coordinated and purposeful manner, the revival of Euphemia's cult provided the opportunity to mark the body of the saint with state, family and personal insignia. In such a manner, Venice aimed to change the perception of its presence while imposing its rule in Rovinj as the fulfilment of Justice – the cornerstone concept of the Myth of Venice. Venetian government officials emphasized Venice's dominance, while claiming that her supremacy was benevolent and respectful of local remembrance and its history. Consequently, not only was the veneration of St. Euphemia strengthened, but the *Serenissima* succeeded in merging Venetian religious practices with local customs and traditions while articulating its political agenda in the process.

Appendix

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 45, 6 maggio 1401, fol. 77v

[on text margins]

Ser Aloysius Iustiniano pro Michaelae Maripetro consiliarius

Die sexto maii

Capta

Cum comparuerint ad presentiam nostri domini aliqui fideles nostri de Rubino reverenter exponentes nomine comunitatis sue Rubini quod tempore adversitatis guerre ianuensis nuper preterite, dum Ianuenses caperent terram illam abstulerunt corpus beate Eufomie (*sic*) et conduxerunt illud Clugiam, quod a septingentis annis circa dicti fideles nostri habuerunt in suum caput, ut omnibus est manifestum, et quod postea tempore recuperationis Clugie per nobilem

virum ser Saracenum Dandulo dictum corpus conductum fuit Venetias et positum in ecclesia Sancti Canciani, et humiliter supplicant ut dignetur nostrum dominum, considerato quod, ut supradictum est, sancta Eufomia (*sic*) predicta est eorum caput et in dicta terra ecclesia sua est ecclesia principalis et sub nomine et vocabulo sancte predictae facta, dictum corpus eisdem fidelibus nostris restituere et dare et pium et iustum sit complacere dictis nostris fidelibus in suis iustis requisitionibus habita consideratione per quem modum corpus predictum fuit inde extractum et conductum Clugiam, videlicet per guerram. Deffendendo nostrum honorem vadit pars corpus sancte Eufomie (*sic*) predictae eisdem fidelibus nostris detur et restituatur, ita quod illud possint conducere ad terram nostram Rubini, ut primo erat.

De parte 38

Contraria 6

Non sincera 31

Notes

*This paper is an extended and elaborated version of work presented at the conference *The Power of Media. Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, June 13–15, 2018).

1
WOLFGANG WALTERS, *Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale. Aspetti dell'autocelebrazione della Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Venezia, 1987; LIONELLO PUPPI, *Nel mito di Venezia. Autocoscienza urbana e costruzione delle immagini: saggi di lettura*, Venezia 1994; DAVID ROSAND, *The Myths of Venice. The figuration of the State*, Chapel Hill and London, 2001; IAIN FENLON, *The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven and London, 2007.

2
Rhetorical formulations such as “Questa santissima & delle mani D’iddio veramente fondata Republica (...)” became common in Venetian orations. STAALÉ SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic, in: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 5 (1974), 55, 140, 143.

3
DAVID ROSAND (note 1), 13.

4
On the appropriation of the image of Virgin, see: ANDRÉ JEAN-MARC LOECHEL, Le Rappresentazioni della comunità, in: *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, vol. IV, Il Rinascimento: politica e cultura*, (eds.) A. Tenenti and U. Tucci, Roma, 1996, 603–721.

5
These documents were not only legal codes, but also political symbols and memories of previously autonomous communities. See for example *Statuta Communis Polae / Statut općine pulske*, kritičko izdanje s faksimilom izvornog iluminiranog rukopisa (1500), (ed.) M. Križman, Pula, 2000; *Statuti municipali della città di Parenzo in Istria*, Trieste, 1846; *Statuti municipali di Rovigno*, Venezia, 1851.

6
Dorit Raines points out that office holding was at the same time considered a service rendered by the patricians to the Republic as the best form of government, and contrary to the Venetian myth, specific office “meant not only a position of power but in most cases a lucrative job”. DORIT RAINES, Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in Cinquecento and Seicento Venice, in: *Studi Veneziani*, 22 (1991), 137–194, 138.

7
ERMANNORLANDO, *Altre Venezie: Il dogado veneziano nei secoli XIII e XIV (giurisdizione, territorio, giustizia e amministrazione)*, Venezia, 2008, 373–396.

8
ERIN MAGLAQUE, *Venice’s Intimate Empire: Family Life and Scholarship in the Renaissance Mediterranean*, Ithaca – London, 2018, 88. See also: GAETANO COZZI, La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia, in: *Stato, società e giustizia nella Repubblica veneta (sec. XV–XVIII)*, Roma, 1980, 15–152, 43–46.

9
For the municipal tradition in Rovinj, see: EGIDIO IVETIĆ, Epoca Veneta, in: *Rovigno d’Istria*, (ed.) F. Steiner, Trieste, 1997, 110–118, 111–113.

10
Information about the commissioner is recorded on the wall painting below the coat of arms of the doge Michele Steno: GE-ORGIVS BENZONO CREME PANDINI / MISANI ET AGNADELLI COMES, ET D(OMI)N(V)S / CREATVS FVIT NOB. VEN. A SERENIS(SIM)O / MICHELE STENO MCCCCVII / SCIP. BENZ. RUB. PRAET. GRATITUDINIS GRATIA EREXIT / MDLXXXIV. The Venetian podestà Scipione Benzoni (Crema, 1554–1619) holds the office in Rovinj between the 24th of October 1582 and March 1584. VIŠNJA BRALIĆ, Slike mletačkog cinquecenta u Rovinju i njihovi naručitelji, in: *Pontes Adriatici: mreža kulturnih razmjena na Jadranu*, (eds.) N. Maraković and T. Turković, Zagreb, 2018, 157–162.

- 11
See: IAIN FENLON (note 1), 9–149; DAVID ROSAND (note 1), 47–95.
- 12
ANA MUNK, *Patrocinia multa erant habentes: The State, the Parrocchia, and the Colony – Relic Acquisition in Medieval Venice*, in: *Cuius Patrocinio Tota Gaudet Regio. Saint's Cults and the Dynamics of the Regional Cohesion*, (eds.) S. Kuzmová, A. Marinković and T. Vedriš, [Bibliotheca Hagiographica, Series Colloquia 3], 2014, 153–191, 155–156.
- 13
IAIN FENLON (note 1), 9–10.
- 14
Mark's apostolic visit to Aquileia is recorded in the legend of St. Hermagoras, the first bishop of Aquileia, whose jurisdiction included the provinces of Venetia and Istria at the time of the legend. For the legend of St. Hermagoras and its origins see: RAJKO BRATOŽ, *Il cristianesimo aquileiese prima di Costantino fra Aquileia e Poetovio* [Ricerche per la storia della Chiesa in Friuli 2], Udine and Gorizia, 1999, 41–67.
- 15
For later Venetian additions see: IAN FENLON (note 1), 12–16; THOMAS E. A. DALE, *Relics, Prayer and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral*, Princeton and New Jersey, 1997.
- 16
RAJKO BRATOŽ (note 14), 47–48.
- 17
“E per verità il merito della conversione di tutta l'Istria è stato attribuito al zelo di due apostoli di S. Marco dal medesimo qui spediti a predicare in sua voce il Santo Evangelio, allorché egli da Trieste, ove si ritrovava per continuare la predicazione in persona per tutta la provincia, è stato richiamato a Roma da S. Pietro (...)”. The author's sources were the *Atti Capitolari*, Vol. III and the manuscript Raccolta Memorie Angelini from the Archive of the Rovinj Collegiate. TOMASO CAENAZZO Senior, *Del prodigioso approdo del Corpo di S. Eufemia Calcedonese in Rovigno*, Appendice II, in: *Atti e Memorie della Società istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 1/3–4 (1886), 303–344, 331.
- 18
ANA MUNK (note 12), 157–158.
- 19
MICHAEL ANGOLD, *The Venetian Chronicles and Archives as Sources for the History of Byzantium and the Crusades (992–1204)*, in: *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, (ed.) M. Whitby, Oxford, 2007, 59–94, 69–70.
- 20
For the cult of Saint Maurus in Venice, see: FLAMINIO CORNER, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello*, Padova, 1758, 210–211, 605.
- 21
For the cult of Saint Servulus in Venice, see: FLAMINIO CORNER (note 20), 488–492. Other saints of Grado-Aquileian origin had a long and prolific life in medieval Venice as well, thus establishing an “impression of seamless continuance between Venice and Istria as a homeland and place of origin for its Church”; ANA MUNK (note 12), 156.
- 22
MARINO SANUDO, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493–1530)*, critical edition, (ed.) A. Caracciolo Aricó, Milano, 1980, 157, 160.
- 23
FLAMINIO CORNER (note 20), 269–270. The acquisition of relics by the entrepreneurial Venetians (from different social strata) for their parish churches was a well attested practice in medieval Venice, see: ANA MUNK (note 12), 178–184.
- 24
GUIDO TIGLER, *Das Grabmal des heiligen Nazarius in der Kathedrale von Koper*, in: *Gotika v Sloveniji*, (ed.) J. Höfler, Ljubljana, 1995, 159–171; MARIA WALCHER, *L'arca di san Nazario nel Duomo di Capodistria*, in: *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, n. s. 44 (1998), 87–110; GIORGIO FOSSALUZZA, *Scultura gotica in Istria: un antesignano percorso tra presenze e modelli di Venezia e del Centro Europa*, in: VANDA EKL, *La scultura gotica in Istria*, Italian edition, (eds.) G. Fossaluzza and M. Walcher, Trieste, 1999, 9–48, 19–24.
- 25
GUIDO TIGLER, *Precisazioni sull'arca di san Nazario*, in: *Arte in Friuli, arte a Trieste*, 21–22 (2003), 49–62, 60.
- 26
NICOLÒ MANZUOLI, *Vite et Fatti de' Santi et Beati dell'Istria con l'Invenzione de' loro Corpi et come si Rihebbero le Reliquie del Beato Nazario Confalone et protettore nostro, et di S. Alessandro Papa, dalli Genovesi*, Venetia, 1611, 7–17.
- 27
“Ne bisogna che quella Communità faccia altra spesa, per ch'io intendo con la mia propria facoltà di supplire tutte le spese, Et per che le beatissime Reliquie ritornino nel suo deposito non sparagnerò ne anco à fatica alcuna per conseguir un tanto merito. Sarò dunque pronto et apparecchiato per eseguire quanto ella delibererà; acciocché anco alla Communità, dalla quale riconosco parte dell'origine, io possa fare cosa grata.” NICOLÒ MANZUOLI (note 26), 8.
- 28
The name of the scribe, Nazario di Iustinopoli, is stated in the colophon. Tiziana Franco connects him with the name Nazarius diaconus iustinopolitanus, the local priest from the bishop's circle; TIZIANA FRANCO, *Antifonario*, in: *Dioecesis Iustinopolitana: l'arte gotica nel territorio della diocesi di Capodistria*, (eds.) J. Grobovšek, J. Jeraša, S. Štefanac and A. De Marchi, Koper/Capodistria, 2000, 262–265, cat. 65.
- 29
See: TIZIANA FRANCO, *Attorno a un corale di Capodistria e al Maestro di San Michele di Murano*, in: *Hortus Artium Medievalum*, 4 (1998), 161–168.
- 30
For the importance of relics and translation legends, as well as their contribution to the sense of identity, protection and economic stability of communities in the Middle Ages see: PATRICK J. GEARY, *Furta Sacra. La trafugazione delle reliquie nel Medioevo (secoli IX–XI)*, translated by Eugenia Fera, Milano 2000, 12–16. For the usage of these narratives in research into early medieval urban history and representations of the cities see: TRPIMIR VE-DRIS, *Martyrs, Relics, and Bishops: representations of the City in Dalmatian Translation Legends*, in: *Hortus Artium Medievalum*, 12 (2006), 175–185.
- 31
The Codex is mentioned in the *Archivio Capituli Rubini* in the 19th century and today it is kept in the University Library in Pula as *Manuskript na pergameni s crtežom crkve sv. Eufemije u Rovinju, 14. ili 15. stoljeće*, Sveučilišna knjižnica u Puli, S. l. (s.n.), sig. 439561.

32

For a detailed technical analysis and pages added at the later date (fol. 1–5 and fol. 26–31), see: MARINO BUDICIN, Iluminirani rovinjski kodeks: bilješke uz prvo integralno izdanje, in: *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie. Jubilarno izdanje u povodu 1200. obljetnice prenošenja moći sv. Eufemije u Rovinj*, (eds.) M. Budicin and A. Kliman, Pula, 2000, 94–103.

33

Local historiography in the 19th century dated and interpreted the Rovinj Codex in various ways. Pietro Kandler considers it a 15th-century work and believes that the narrative was composed on the basis of the local tradition at the same time. Tomaso Caenazzo Senior and Bernardo Benussi date the manuscript to “the 14th-, maybe 13th-century”. PIETRO KANDLER, Dall’approdo del corpo di S. Eufemia in Rovigno, in: *L’Istria*, 4/47 (1849), 185–187, 185; TOMASO CAENAZZO Senior (note 17), 303, 311; BERNARDO BENUSSI, *Storia documentata di Rovigno*, Trieste, (1888) 1977, 306. For an overview of recent research and interpretation see: GIUSEPPE CUSCITO, Il culto di Santa Eufemia e l’inabissamento della fantomica Cissa nella tradizione rovinigese, in: *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie* (note 32), 68–81. Trpimir Vedriš considers the Translation of St. Euphemia “an allegedly early medieval legend” preserved in a 13th-century manuscript; TRPIMIR VEDRIŠ (note 30), 177, 186.

34

GIUSEPPE CUSCITO (note 33), 69.

35

For the sources see: FRANJO ŠANJEK, Sveta Eufemija Kalcedonska. Povijesni prilozi o životu i štovanju, in: *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie* (note 32), 82–92; RAJKO BRATOŽ (note 14), 97–99; TOMASO CAENAZZO Junior, S. Eufemia di Rovigno, in: *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 44 (1932), 245–263, 251–254.

36

St. Euphemia of Chalcedon is mentioned in the text of the passio. In the translatio legend, however, she is called the Blessed Euphemia, virgin and martyr, which 19th- and 20th-century historiography took as evidence for the existence of a local Early Christian martyr connected with the legend of Cissa. TOMASO CAENAZZO Junior (note 35), 255–263. There is no archaeological evidence for such a hypothesis, unlike the case of St. Maurus, the martyr and bishop of Poreč. For the relation between the legend of St. Eufemia, the Aquileian martyr baptised with other local virgins (Dorothea, Tecla and Erasma) by St. Hermagoras and the cult of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon in Aquilea, Grado, Trieste and Rovinj see: BRATOŽ (note 14), 90–100, especially notes 181, 184 and 190.

37

TRPIMIR VEDRIŠ (note 30), 176.

38

Ibid., 178–179.

39

Ibid., 179.

40

The mention of the “clergy and people of Pula” implies the bishopric of Pula.

41

The legend dates the translation to the 10th century, in the time of Emperor Otto (probably Otto I), but the year 800 is mentioned in the translation text as well, and it is preserved in the local tradition. Gaetano Benčić argues that the cult of St. Euphemia takes a strong local hold only in the first half of the 13th century, quoting the first known record of the church of St. Euphemia dating to

1252. GAETANO BENČIĆ, Culto dei santi patroni e costruzione dell’identità delle città costiere istriane nel medioevo (X–XIV sec.), in: *Religio, fides, superstitions: o vjerovanjima i pobožnosti na jadranskom prostoru* (7. Istarski povijesni bijenale), (eds.) M. Mogorović Crljenko and E. Uljančić-Vekić, Poreč, 2017, 110–132, 129, note 108 and 111.

42

It is very likely that the Persian martyr was confused with Saint James the Apostle, whose church in Rovinj testifies to the cult of this saint; TOMASO CAENAZZO Junior (note 35), 250–251.

43

Folio 24 r and v. The text referring to the theft and restitution of St. Eufemia’s relic is written in humanist minuscule. It was added to empty pages at the end of the oldest part of the Codex. See: MATE KRIZMAN, *Translatio corporis Beate Eufemie*. Priprava kritičkog izdanja i prijevoda, in: *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie* (note 32), 104–112, 110.

44

Giustiniano Giustiniani was recorded as a Rovinj podestà in 1410. BERNARDO BENUSSI (note 33), 331. The incomplete list of the governors of Rovinj at the end of the 14th- and the beginning of the 15th-century leaves open another possibility, that Giustiniano Giustiniani was holding the same office in 1401 as well.

45

MARINO SANUDO (note 22), 160.

46

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 45, 6 maggio 1401, fol. 77v. See: Appendix. I would like to thank Prof. Giorgio Fossaluzza for the transcription of the Latin text. A brief summary of the text is published in TOMASO LUCIANI, *Senato Misti, Cose dell’Istria*, in: *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, 5/3–4 (1889), 265–318, 297.

47

Saraceno Dandolo was son of Marco *quondam* Pietro, inhabitant of the San Canziano parrocchia. MICHAEL KNAPTON, ad vocem Dandolo, Saraceno, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 32 (1986). <[48](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/saraceno-dandolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/></p>
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NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ, Un gruppo dei reliquiari trecenteschi da Cattaro a Venezia e Chioggia, in: *Letteratura, arte, cultura tra le due sponde dell’Adriatico / Književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana*, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa, (eds.) G. Baldassarri, N. Jakšić and Ž. Nižić, Zadar, 2008, 219–237.

49

See: PIETRO KANDLER, Fasti Istriani, Fasti sacri, in: *L’Istria*, 5/4, 1850; GIOVANNI RADOSSI – ANTONIO PAULETICH, Le chiese di Rovigno e del suo territorio di Antonio Angelini – con note ed aggiunte, in: *Atti del Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno*, 10 (1979–1980), 313–406, 382–384; TOMASO CAENAZZO Senior (note 17), 319–320, note 1.

50

“Anno 1406 li 18 Maio. Fo consacrata la niova Giesetta di S. Fumia in Saline da Pre Andrea qm. Matio Prep(osito) e Can(onico), fabbricata et erecta in memoria et reverentia del so arrivo da Venetia et etiam per lo miraculo (Libr. De Ministracion di S. Euphemia).” TOMASO CAENAZZO Senior (note 17), 320. On the church bell tower, the year 1596 was recorded. GIOVANNI RADOSSI, ANTONIO PAULETICH (note 49), 382. Recent archaeological excavations confirmed the existence of the Romanesque church, rebuilt and redecorated multiple times in the

period from the 15th until the 17th century. DAMIR MATOŠEVIĆ, Sv. Eufemija, in: *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 3 (2006), 266–268, cat. 142.

51

Intorno la vita, il martirio ed il culto della vergine Calcedonese Santa Eufemia, Rovigno, 1891, 76–77.

52

Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti peregrinationem, I, 1480–1483, (ed.) K. D. Hassler, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1843, 151–152; *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483 A.D.)*, vol. 1, translated by A. Stewart, London, 1896, 169. <<https://archive.org/details/libraryofpalesti07paleuoft/page/168>>.

53

See: fol. 6r and 6v, 10r, 12r, 17r and 20v. The illuminated initials (*litterae feriales*) with rich penwork ornament on fol. 7–8 in the manuscript are depicted in red and blue ink.

54

LILIAN ARMSTRONG, Il maestro di Pico: un miniaturista veneziano del tardo Quattrocento, in: *Saggi e memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, 17 (1990), 7–39; republished as The Pico Master: A Venetian Miniaturist of the late Quattrocento, in: LILIAN ARMSTRONG, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, vol. 1, London, 2003, 233–338, 242.

55

The artist was named after his illumination of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, created in 1481 for the well-known Italian humanist, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 54, 2003), 233–234. Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt has proposed that this anonymous miniaturist is Bartolomeo del Tintore, documented in Bologna in the late 1450s but according to L. Armstrong this identification is still open to discussion. LILIAN ARMSTRONG, Information from Illumination: Three Case Studies of Incunabula in the 1470s, in: *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, (eds.) B. Wagner and M. Reed, Berlin, 2010, 51–64, 55, note 34. ULRIKE BAUER-EBERHARDT, 'Et hi tres unum sunt': Bartolomeo del Tintore, Bartolomeo di Benincà da Ferrara und der 'Maestro di Pico', in: *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 5 (2000), 109–118. See also: NATAŠA GOLOB, Brevir škofa Žige pl. Lamberga in Bartolomeo del Tintore, alias Picov Mojster, in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n.s. 51 (2015), 21–53.

56

The Pico Master started his career as a manuscript illuminator, but his workshop was specialized in incunabula illuminations. The Pico Master also designed woodcuts to illustrate many Venetian publications in the 1490s. It is likely that he returned to Ferrara where he illuminated a few manuscripts until about 1505. LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 54, 2003), 233–234.

57

"Four copies of Marco Antonio Sabellico's *Decades rerum venetarum*, decorated by the Pico Master and printed in 1487, bear the arms of distinguished noble Venetian families. The Barbarigo copy with the arms supported by the Lion of St. Mark and crowned by the Ducal corna, suggests that the copy was prepared for the doge himself." LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 54, 2003), 265.

58

Nicolaus de Auximo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, Venezia: Franz Renner and Nikolaus de Frankfordia 1474. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. Ven. 494, fol. 2. See: also *Biblia*

Latina, incunabulum published in Venice in 1480, London, British Library, C9b12, fol. 1; LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 54, 2003), 243, 259, 285, 300.

59

LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 54, 2003), 320. See the initials on fol. 5r and 6v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 182. <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/>>.

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LILIAN ARMSTRONG, Stams, Stiftsbibliothek, web-based inventory of illuminated manuscripts, for the Otto Paecht Archiv am Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Wien: "Stams, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 44, *The Stams/Kneussl Hours* by the Pico Master" (with Martin Roland). <<http://paecht-archiv.univie.ac.at/ki/stams.html>>.

61

For further comparisons see: LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 55), 51–64, 55–56.

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MILAN PELC, Picov Majstor i kodeksi zadarskog opata Deodata Veniera, in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 36 (2012), 113–124.

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An incunable edition of St. Augustine's *The City of God (De Civitate Dei)* was printed in Venice by Nicolas Jenson in 1475. Kraj na Pašmanu, Franciscan Monastery of St. Domnius, Ink. 4, fol. 17r. BOJAN GOJA, Maestro di Pico i iluminacije u inkunabuli *De Civitate Dei* (Nicolas Jenson, Venecija, 1475.) u samostanu Sv. Duje u Kraju na Pašmanu, in: *Ars Adriatica*, 4 (2014), 235–250.

64

FRANCESCA TONIOLO, Manoscritti miniati di area Veneta e Padana nelle biblioteche della Croazia: alcuni esempi dal XIII al XVI secolo, in: *Književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana* (note 48), 201–218, 212–214.

65

Venezia, Biblioteca di Museo Correr, Fondo Cicogna 2270; Rip.o Commissioni; ms. III 320. <<http://www.nuovabiblioteca-manoscritta.it/Generale/ricerca/AntepremaManoscritto.html?codiceMan=44461>>.

66

HELENA KATALIN SZÉPE, *Venice Illuminated: Power and Painting in Renaissance Manuscripts*, New Haven and London, 2018, 2, 164.

67

MARINO BUDICIN (note 32), 94.

68

TOMASO CAENAZZO Junior (note 35), 250, n. 2; GIUSEPPE CUSCITO (note 33), 69. See also: MARINO BUDICIN (note 32), 96.

69

TRPIMIR VEDRIŠ (note 30), 179.

70

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Segretario Voci*, reg. 6, 18th December 1468, f. 65r and reg. 6, 9th March 1473, f. 65r. <<http://rulersofvenice.org/search>>.

71

For Lodovico Soranzo see: PIETRO KANDLER, Alcuni Podestà veneti in Rovigno ed alcune memorie patrie contemporanee, in: *L'Istria*, 6/12 (1851), 51–52; BERNARDO BENUSSI (note 33), 332.

72

LUISA CRUSVAR, Il tesoro della chiesa di S. Eufemia: aspetti, problemi, opere, in: *Rovigno d'Istria*, (ed.) F. Steiner, Trieste, 1997, 250–272, 254–258.

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ALAN M. STAHL – LOUIS WALDMAN, The Earliest Known Medalists: The Sesto Brothers of Venice, in: *American Journal of Numismatics*, n. s. 5/6 (1993–1994), 167–188, 187–188, note 67.

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ERICH STEINGRÄBER, Opere occidentali dei secoli XV e XVI, in: *Il tesoro di San Marco*, vol. 2: *Il tesoro e il museo*, (ed.) H. R. Hahnloser, Firenze, 1971, 175–197, 177–178, 180–182, cat. 172–174.

75

“La probabile menzione di Bernardo in qualità di testimone nel testamento dello scultore Pier Paolo dalle Masegne, datato 1404, fa supporre che a tale data l'orefice fosse già ben inserito nel tessuto artistico della città. (...) Ulteriore testimonianza del prestigio sociale della famiglia è l'elezione di Marco a vicario della Scuola grande di S. Marco, ruolo in cui è documentato nel 1430.” MANLIO LEO MEZZACASA, Sesto (da Sesto), in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 92 (2018), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sesto_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sesto_(Dizionario-Biografico)>).

Sažetak

Višnja Bralić

Kult sv. Eufemije, zaštitnice Rovinja i venecijanska politika sukreiranja lokalnih identiteta u istarskim zajednicama 15. stoljeća

Mletačka Republika složenom je ikonografijom državne reprezentacije, utkanom u sve vidove političkoga, vjerskog i kulturnog života, stoljećima vizualizirala svoju političku moć. Povijesnim predajama, ideološkim porukama i simboličkim motivima potvrđivao se iznova znameniti mit o Veneciji i reinterpreterala srednjovjekovna ideja o Republici koja ne samo da je uživala nebesku zaštitu i vodstvo već je i sama bila djelo Božjeg nauma.

U članku se tumači važan vid političke reprezentacije *Serenissime* obilježen odnosom države prema svetom kroz kultove relikvija svetaca. Relikvije su bile moćno sredstvo oblikovanja individualnih i grupnih identiteta u venecijanskom društvu. U 15. stoljeću ostvarivanje političke moći putem kultova relikvija nije bila samo uvriježena srednjovjekovna praksa već i društvena obaveza za venecijanske predstavnike vlasti. Uz održavanje memorije kultova istarskih svetaca i mučenika, kao i povremene krađe relikvija (*furta sacra*) iz gradova na istočnojadranskoj obali poput Novigrada, Zadra i Kotora, sukreiranje kultova relikvija svetaca bila je jedna od glavnih strategija učvršćivanja političke moći na području »venecijanskog Commonwealtha« ostvarena raznovrsnim oblicima reprezentacije. Mramorni sarkofag svetog Nazarija, jedno od remek-djela venecijanskoga trećentističkog kiparstva, naručeno je, primjerice, nakon pobune građana Kopra protiv venecijanske vlasti 1354. godine, kao diplomatski dar i pomirbeni čin državne uprave prema lokalnoj zajednici. Jačanje kulta koparskog zaštitnika potvrđeno je novim umjetničkim narudžbama i neposredno nakon što je ukradena relikvija iz Genove preko Venecije vraćena u Koper 1422. godine. Preporod kulta sv. Eufemije u Rovinju nastao je također u interakciji između lokalne zajednice i venecijanske uprave. Relikvije sv. Eufemije, pohranjene nakon Chioggianskog rata u crkvi San Canzian u Veneciji, vraćene su u Rovinj odlukom venecijanskog Senata 1401. godine. Rijedak čin restitucije relikvije u povijesti Venecije, potvrđen arhivskim istraživanjem, obilježen je i prigodnim državnim darom – pozlaćenim srebrnim relikvijarom sv. Eufemije s

grbom dužda Michelea Stena i podestata iz obitelji Loredan kojim Republika ističe ideale pravednosti i miroljubivosti vlasti. Javni karakter dara, ali i političke dominacije izražen je lavom sv. Marka na šesterolismnom podnožju relikvijara. Relikvijar je pripisan istaknutoj venecijanskoj zlatarskoj radionici obitelji Sesto, vezanoj uz državnu kovnicu novca. S artikulacijom pobožnosti i štovanja relikvije svete zaštitnice grada neposredno je povezan i Rovinjski iluminirani kodeks okvirno datiran od 13. do 15. stoljeća, koji se danas čuva u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Puli. Minijature kodeksa u članku se povezuju s djelima Picova Majstora, najistaknutijega venecijanskog minijaturista posljednje četvrtine 15. stoljeća, čime se dovršetak hagiografskog dosjea sv. Eufemije može preciznije datirati u sedamdesete ili osamdesete godine 15. stoljeća.

Tijekom 15. stoljeća mletački upravitelji uspostavljaju čvrstu simboličku identifikaciju između grada i njegove zaštitnice, što potvrđuje i imaginarna veduta Rovinja na naknadno uvezanom listu Rovinjskog iluminiranog kodeksa. Skicozno naslikan krajolik s utvrđenim gradom, kojim dominira crkva njezinih svetaca zaštitnika, nadahnut je kasnosrednjovjekovnim prikazima idealnoga grada. Grb venecijanske obitelji Soranzo na glavnim vratima rječito vizualizira venecijansku upravu otjelovljenu u imenovanom upravitelju. Simbolička prisutnost upravitelja kao predstavnika Republike jamstvo je dobre vladavine i božanske zaštite koja djeluje u sinergiji sa svetim zaštitnicima grada.

Ističući poštovanje prema povijesti i lokalnoj memoriji grada, Republika je poticanjem kulta relikvije sv. Eufemije uspjela sjediniti venecijanske vjerske prakse s lokalnim običajima i tradicijama, artikulirajući istodobno svoje političke ciljeve.

Ključne riječi: Venecija, Istra, sv. Eufemija, sv. Nazarije, sv. Maksim, Rovinj, Koper, Novigrad, Rovinjski iluminirani kodeks, *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie*, minijature, Picov Majstor, relikvijar sv. Eufemije, radionica obitelji Sesto

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