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Trška, Tanja

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Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country:

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

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

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

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Jasenka Gudelj

Venetian Painters and Dalmatian Patrons: Minor Masters in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni between Collective and Individual*

Tanja Trška**

Abstract

The decoration of the *sala superiore* of the Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, executed throughout the final decades of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, coincided with a period of economic prosperity of the Dalmatian confraternity. The decorative programme of the *sala superiore*, considered in the light of the *scuola*'s status of a "small" confraternity (*scuola piccola*), reflects not only collective aspirations of the Dalmatian community within the vibrant Venetian society, but also individual desires of its members to leave a permanent

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** Tanja Trška, Senior Research Assistant, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Art History, Ivana Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia, e-mail: ttrska@ffzg.hr.

I am grateful to dott. Aldo Sigovini, Guardian Grande of the Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, for his help and interest in my research.

mark in the history of their confraternity. The subject matter of canvases adorning the *sala superiore* reveal an eagerness to provide an unambiguous visual connection with the confraternity members' Dalmatian origin, but their stylistic features remain strongly linked to the Venetian painterly tradition of the 16th and early 17th century.

La decorazione della sala superiore della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, eseguita fra gli ultimi decenni del XVI e la prima metà del XVII secolo, coincide con un periodo di prosperità economica della confraternita dalmata. Il programma decorativo della sala superiore, considerato alla luce dello status di *scuola piccola* della confraternita, riflette non solo le aspirazioni collettive della comunità dalmata all'interno della vivace società veneziana, ma anche le aspirazioni individuali dei suoi membri di lasciare un segno permanente nella storia della confraternita. I soggetti delle tele che ornano la sala superiore rivelano l'intento di istituire un inequivocabile collegamento visivo con l'origine dalmata dei membri della confraternita, mentre i loro tratti stilistici rimangono fortemente legati alla tradizione pittorica veneziana del XVI e dell'inizio del XVII secolo.

Among the numerous confraternities that shaped the religious and social life of Venice in the age of the *Serenissima*, a distinct group of charitable associations was formed by the ones whose members belonged to "stranieri" or "foresti"¹. Listed among the *scuole piccole*, the Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone (historically also referred to as Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni) was founded in 1451 with the purpose of providing spiritual and charitable support to "Dalmati et altri Schiavoni" who arrived to Venice from the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, mainly from Dalmatia under Venetian rule (fig. 1)². Today named Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, it remains one of the few Venetian confraternities still active in the religious and social life of the city, next to four still existent *scuole grandi* (Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Scuola Grande dei Carmini and Scuola Grande di San Teodoro)³.

Founded on 19 March 1451 in the church of St John the Baptist of the Knights Hospitaller (San Giovanni Battista del Tempio) in the Venetian *sestiere* of Castello⁴, the confraternity received official recognition from the Council of Ten on 19 May of the same year⁵. Along with the permission to erect an altar dedicated to their patron saints below the belfry of the church of San Giovanni

¹ On *scuole nazionali*, see Ceriana, Mueller 2014, with previous bibliography.

² For a survey of the artistic heritage of Venetian confraternities, see Pignatti 1981; for *scuole piccole*, see Ortalli 2001; Vio 2004.

³ Key contributions for the history of the Scuola remain Perocco 1961 and 1964, and numerous studies by Lovorka Čoralić collected in Čoralić 2001 and 2003; see also Vallery 2011.

⁴ The date of the foundation of the Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone is often stated as 24 March 1451: Perocco 1961, p. 67; Perocco 1964, p. 18; however, the 18th century transcription of the *Mariogola* reads: «Fu incominciada questa benedetta Scuola contando gl'anni dello Signore Nostro Giesù Christo Mille, e quatro, e cinquanta uno adi 19 Marzo in questa benedetta Chiesa da Misser San Zuanne del Tempio» – Venice, Archivio di Stato (henceforth ASV), *Proveditori di comun*, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole – Castello, f. 579r.

⁵ ASV, *Proveditori di comun*, reg. P, f. 580r.

del Tempio⁶, the Prior of Knights Hospitaller Lorenzo Marcello granted the Dalmatian confraternity the right to convene in the hospice belonging to the Priory, already existent in 1358 and dedicated to Saint Catherine⁷. This space, used for both religious services and reunions of confraternity members, was shared with almost a century older Scuola di San Giovanni Battista (founded in 1358 under the invocation of Madonna of Mercy and St John the Baptist)⁸ until the Napoleonic suppression in 1806 and final closure of the older confraternity in 1827⁹.

Gradual interventions in the interior of the old Hospice of St Catherine begun at the beginning of the 16th century and included the narrative cycle by Vittore Carpaccio, originally painted between 1502 and 1507 for the *sala superiore* of the old meetinghouse¹⁰, and were terminated in 1551 with the construction of the new façade, entirely financed by the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni and designed by Giovanni Zon¹¹, master builder (*proto*) of the Venetian Arsenal from 1539¹². The interior decoration, concentrated mainly on the large hall on the first floor intended for official gatherings of confraternity members, continued in the second half of the 16th century. In 1564 the Guardian Grande advanced a proposal to construct a simple wooden ceiling and stalls, which was followed by the 1565 decision of the general chapter to secure two hundred ducats for their execution¹³. The year 1586, recorded in the inscription which dates the wooden stalls commissioned at the time of Guardian Grande Vettor Tromba, can be considered *terminus post quem* for the paintings placed high on the walls below the wooden ceiling (figs. 2-4).

The decoration of the *sala superiore* of the Scuola, carried out throughout the final decades of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, coincided with a period of economic prosperity of the Dalmatian confraternity: in an entry of the confraternity's *mariegola* dated 6 July 1606, the confraternity members thanked the Lord and their patron saints for the recent increase of the *scuola's* income¹⁴. This encouraged not only significant modifications of the interior of

⁶ The agreement with the Prior Lorenzo Marcello conceded the confraternity a space «sotto el campanil di essa chiesa, per fundar, drizar, et fabricar uno altare ad Nome di Santissimi martiri Zorzi, et Trifon e fare una capella, et adornar quella à spese de ditta scuola e fraternità, e scuola nostra»; Perocco 1964, p. 209.

⁷ On the Hospice of St Catherine, see Luttrell 1970; Semi 1983, pp. 83-85.

⁸ «Madona di santa Maria de Umiltà et sier Zuane Battista». A transcription of the *mariegola* (*Matricola della Scuola di S. Giovanni Battista in S. Giovanni del Tempio*) is in ASV, *Proveditori di comun*, reg. P, ff. 546r-576r. On Scuola di San Giovanni Battista, see Vio 2004, pp. 129-132.

⁹ Perocco 1964, p. 44, n. 24.

¹⁰ For Carpaccio's cycle, see Pallucchini 1961; Perocco 1964; for narrative cycles in Renaissance Venice, see Fortini Brown 1989.

¹¹ Zucchetta 2006.

¹² Concina 1984, p. 103.

¹³ Perocco 1961, p. 80.

¹⁴ «Essendo augmentate nella Scuola nostra per la Dio gratia, e delli Nostri Gonfalonari M.o San Zorzi, e M.o San Triphon le intrade» ASV, *Proveditori di comun*, Reg. P, f. 631v.

the meetinghouse, namely the entire decoration of the *sala superiore*, but also the commission of the new altarpiece for the confraternity's altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio, painted by Matteo Ponzone in the second decade of the 17th century and now preserved in the church of Madonna dell'Orto in Venice¹⁵.

Paintings commissioned for the *sala superiore* in the course of several decades of the 17th century reflect a strong shift in perspective from collective to individual. Each painting contains a portrait of the donor, most likely an individual who held a prominent position in the governing bodies of the *scuola*. Differences in style, quality and subjects suggest that there was no unified iconographical programme guided by a single programmatic idea: the only unifying element seems to be the format of the canvases determined by the position of the wooden stalls along each wall, and, naturally, the members' evident desire to leave a permanent mark in the meetinghouse of their confraternity, often complemented by an unambiguous visual connection with their Dalmatian origin.

The stylistic features of canvases in the *sala superiore* remain linked to the Venetian painterly tradition of the 16th and early 17th century¹⁶. The earliest dated painting in the series was formerly attributed to Andrea Vicentino, whose connections to the Dalmatian confraternity are corroborated by a written testimony: Vicentino was present as witness at the signing of the contract for the decoration of the coffered ceiling of the *sala superiore*, stipulated with woodcarver Zuane de Bastian in 1604, which encouraged proposals of his authorship of several canvases, including the painted ceiling¹⁷. The painting representing *Christ calming the waves*, dated 1607 on the rectangular box with votive candles painted in front of the portrait of a confraternity member, has been convincingly associated with the Greek painter active in Venice Antonio Vassilacchi called l'Aliense¹⁸. His connection to the Scuola is testified by Marco Boschini, who in his *Miniere della Pittura* mentioned a now lost processional banner executed by l'Aliense and decorated with figures of the confraternity's patron saints¹⁹.

Another early painting in this setting, dated 1609, represents a continuation of the narrative scheme proposed a century earlier by Carpaccio's cycle now in the *sala inferiore*: the scene of martyrdom of a saint in a traditionally

¹⁵ Prijatelj 1970, p. 33; Pallucchini 1981, p. 86; Trška 2016.

¹⁶ The most detailed contribution on the paintings in the *sala superiore* remains Rizzi 1983 (reprinted in Rizzi 2016). Several paintings have been attributed to Marco Vecellio by Nina Kudiš in an unpublished paper presented at the 2012 *Dani Cvita Fiskovića* conference in Orebić. I am grateful to Prof. Kudiš for this information.

¹⁷ Perocco 1964, pp. 203-204. Ceiling paintings have traditionally been attributed to Andrea Vicentino, with the exception of Juergen Schulz who advanced the authorship of Padovanino. Schulz 1968, p. 84.

¹⁸ Oil on canvas, 100 × 254 cm. Perocco 1964, pp. 198-199; Rizzi 1983, p. 14.

¹⁹ Boschini 1664, p. 192.

conceived composition packed with numerous figures and narrative details, such as spectators on a balcony in the background, which seems to draw on Carpaccio's predilection for detailed rendering of an *istoria*, although much less skilfully²⁰. Besides the date, an inscription on the painting also provides information on the name of its commissioner, Mondo di Battista who served as Guardian Grande in 1609²¹, portrayed holding a set of keys. A still unresolved monogram, inscribed below the body of the reclining saint, consists of letters «CDRF» which might suggest the unknown painter's initials, with the letter F indicating the customary *fecit*. As for the identity of the saint, the scene has been proposed as martyrdom of Saint George²², although the scene of martyrdom with the saint subjected to flagellation and beating does not allude to decapitation as the distinct element in St George's hagiography, or martyrdom by flaming torches or wheel with sharp knives which, according to the *Golden legend*, the saint was put through²³. Instead, the somewhat generic rendering of the scene of martyrdom packed with figures of torturers and spectators in military attire might allude to the martyrdom of St Tryphon, whose life has not been recorded in the *Golden Legend* but sources mention his being beaten with clubs, shown broken below the saint's reclining body. Illustrations in the illuminated manuscript containing the *Legenda de miser san triphone conphalone et protectore dela zitade de Cataro*, dated 1446 and now preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana, represent a rare visual testimony of the *passio* of St Tryphon and include the scene of the saint tied to a column and whipped and beaten with clubs²⁴. The unknown author of the painting has been associated with the activity of painters of Cretan origin active in Venice, often influenced by prints of German provenance²⁵. Although the insistence on solid line and detailed rendering of figures and landscape in the background might suggest a graphic model, the use of Mannerist colour, the arrangement of muscular figures seen from the back and occasional attention for soft rendering of draperies do find parallels in the works of Venetian painters of the period: the figure of the scourger standing next to the reclining saint's head is comparable to the flagellator seen from the back in Aliense's *Flagellation* (before 1594) painted for the church of Santa Croce in Belluno, today in SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice²⁶.

Closer to the tradition of Venetian *Cinquecento* are certainly the two paintings grouped by Alberto Rizzi under the common name of «Maestro del

²⁰ Oil on canvas, 100 × 283 cm.

²¹ Perocco 1964, p. 233.

²² Rizzi 1983, p. 24.

²³ de Voragine 1995, I, pp. 240-241.

²⁴ Marcon 1999, pp. 123, 131.

²⁵ Rizzi 1983, p. 24.

²⁶ Pallucchini 1981, I, p. 45.

San Trifone»²⁷, the *Madonna and Child with St George and St Tryphon*²⁸ and *Madonna and Child with St Christopher and a confraternity member*²⁹. The two canvases are undoubtedly testimonies of the continuation of Titian's manner practiced by his numerous followers well after the master's death, especially in the rendering of figures of Madonna and Child. Both paintings include portraits of prominent confraternity members, probable donors of the two respective paintings, but appear in different relations to figures of saints. In a conventional, symmetrical compositional scheme centred around the image of the Madonna unfolding the white veil below the Child's body – reminiscent of Titian's solutions for the *Altarpiece of St Nicholas* now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and much repeated by members of his *bottega*³⁰, the donor of the *Madonna and Child with St George and St Tryphon* is partially deprived of his role of a spectator and is instead shown as an active (or semi-active) participant in the scene, in the guise of the Scuola's patron Saint George. It is reasonable to assume that the donor was depicted as St George because he was named after the saint; however, his identity cannot be determined with certainty due to the illegibility of the coat of arms painted on the pillar behind him. In the period corresponding to the decoration of the *sala superiore*, the only Guardian Grande named George was «Zorzi de Nadal de Sebenico, cappeller», elected in 1607, 1613 and again in 1620³¹. Unlike the donor of this painting whose identity is yet to be determined, the coat of arms and the view of the city of Rab with three church belfries shown in the background of the *Madonna and Child with St Christopher and a confraternity member* identify the sitter as Nicolò de Dominis de Arbe (fig. 5), Guardian Grande of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in 1596 and again in 1606³², which permits to advance a more precise dating of the canvas. The presence of Saint Christopher, patron saint of the island of Rab, on the right-hand side of the painting is once again a reference to Nicolò de Dominis's place of origin. Nicolò de Dominis belonged to the prominent noble family from Rab, patrons of a monumental late 15th-century palace in the city of Rab important for the introduction of early Renaissance architectural decoration³³. Apart from ties to other Dalmatian cities such as Šibenik (fig. 6)³⁴, De Dominis family seems to have had multiple connections to

²⁷ Rizzi 1983, pp. 15, 16.

²⁸ Oil on canvas, 100 × 250 cm.

²⁹ Oil on canvas, 100 × 240 cm.

³⁰ Tagliaferro *et al.* 2009, pp. 222 and ss.

³¹ Perocco 1964, p. 233. In 1613 he was listed as «Zorzi di Nadali», and in 1620 as «Zorzi de Nadal». Nadal (Natale) is a common first name in Šibenik and here probably indicates the name of Zorzi's father, while the Nadal family does not appear among the noble families in Šibenik (Galvani 1883).

³² Perocco 1964, p. 233; Vallery 2011, p. 153. Rizzi 1983, p. 16, identifies the coat of arms as belonging to the Soranzo family.

³³ Domijan 2001, pp. 176-179; Bradanović 2011.

³⁴ Galvani 1883, pp. 94-100.

the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni: around the time of execution of the majority of paintings in the *sala superiore*, the confraternity commissioned a new altarpiece for their altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio, painted by Matteo Ponzone, relative of the Dalmatian-born Archbishop of Split Marco Antonio de Dominis who was succeeded at the archiepiscopal see of Split by the painter's brother Sforza Ponzone in 1616. The overall compositional layout of the painting associated to Nicolò de Dominis in the *sala superiore* remains rather simple, but here, again, the typology of Madonna and Child echoes the widely accepted models of Titian's *bottega* in which Rizzi recognized the manner of Cesare Vecellio³⁵.

Titian's models were followed and interpreted in another painting conceived as a direct statement of the donor's origin: the canvas representing the *Crucifixion* and the *Conversion of St Paul and the donor* in front of the view of the city of Zadar³⁶. The central scene of the *Crucifixion* derives from Titian's altarpiece of the same subject painted for the church of St Domenico in Ancona (1557-1558)³⁷, especially in the figure of St John seen almost from the back, his hands widely spread, as well as in the posture of the grieving Virgin. In Ancona, the crucifix is embraced by St Dominic, while that role in the painting in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni is assigned to Mary Magdalen, whose embrace bears resemblance to a woodcut by Giuseppe Salviati produced in Venice in 1556, which has in turn been associated to Titian's *Crucifixion* in Ancona³⁸. The calm and serene posture of the donor is contrasted to the violent, dynamic action on the right-hand side of the composition showing the *Conversion of St Paul*, which suggests the unknown painter's acquaintance with Mannerist solutions of contemporary painters such as Aliense's *Conversion of St Paul* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Reims (especially in the figure of Christ appearing from the sky), despite the apparent simplicity of his own style. The scene of the *Conversion of St Paul* might indicate the name of the donor portrayed at the left side of the painting: a name that stands out is that of Paolo de Stefano who served as Guardian Grande in 1582 and again in 1588 or 1589³⁹, and became remembered as one of the benefactors of the Scuola degli Schiavoni. In 1582 he appealed to the general chapter for a permission to construct a family tomb in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio in front of the Dalmatian nation's altar of St George, later adorned by Matteo Ponzone's altarpiece. His request was approved by a majority of votes, but it was specified that the *scuola* should bear no expense for the said tomb and that all costs should be covered entirely by Paolo de Stefano. The Guardian Grande was granted permission to have his family name written on the tomb, but was not allowed to place a coat of

³⁵ Rizzi 1983, p. 16.

³⁶ Oil on canvas, 100 × 238 cm.

³⁷ Rizzi 1983, p. 15.

³⁸ L. Attardi, cat. 31, in Villa 2013, p. 234.

³⁹ Perocco 1964, p. 233; Vallery 2011, p. 153.

arms of any kind or make any other modifications⁴⁰. Furthermore, in the same year, 1582, he arranged for the restoration of the confraternity's processional banner and donated a new, richly ornamented carpet to be placed in church on ordinary mass days, while in 1589, he provided for the gilding of a cross which decorated an indulgence he himself obtained in Rome and donated a finely embroidered cover for a large chalice used at the altar⁴¹. The case of Paolo de Stefano represents an eloquent example of the dynamics of collective and individual in the organization of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni: the sole permission to construct a family tomb in front of the confraternity altar suggests the importance of Paolo de Stefano in the life of the confraternity, but his possible ambitions of self-promotion were effectively toned down with the general chapter's requirement to omit the family coat of arms from the tomb placed in front of the Scuola's collective property.

Painted further in the 17th century, another group of paintings in the *sala superiore* revolves around the name of «Maestro dell'Annunciazione degli Schiavoni» proposed by Alberto Rizzi⁴², which consists of a total of four paintings named after the *Annunciation with two donors*⁴³ placed on the altar wall, the other three representing *The Holy Trinity with saints and donors*⁴⁴, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Dominic and donors*⁴⁵ and *Madonna of the Rosary with donors*⁴⁶. Approximately the same time of execution of these paintings is suggested by the matching attire of a total of ten portrayed members of the confraternity, as well as by similar setting in all paintings, regularly featuring figures of saints painted against a brown, but still heavenly background. The dating is close to the middle of the 17th century, as suggested by the only dated painting of the group, the *Holy Trinity with saints and four donors* which bears the year 1645.

The remaining three canvases, attributed to the late school of Palma il Giovane (*Madonna and Child with St Roch and Sebastian and donor Giorgio Pallavicino*, 1631)⁴⁷, Giuseppe Heintz il Giovane (*The Holy Trinity with the Virgin and saints and a donor*)⁴⁸ and Gaspar Rem (*St George, St Tryphon and St Jerome*)⁴⁹ respectively are perhaps most illustrative of the inhomogeneity of paintings in the *sala superiore* of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni. In what seems to have been an ambitious decorative programme for the *sala superiore*, members of the confraternity must have had in mind similar endeavours commissioned

⁴⁰ Discussed in detail in Trška 2016.

⁴¹ Perocco 1961, p. 98.

⁴² Rizzi 1983, pp. 19, 22-23.

⁴³ Oil on canvas, 100 × 94 cm.

⁴⁴ Oil on canvas, 100 × 252 cm.

⁴⁵ Oil on canvas, 100 × 252 cm.

⁴⁶ Oil on canvas, 100 × 96 cm.

⁴⁷ Oil on canvas, 100 × 252 cm.

⁴⁸ Oil on canvas, 100 × 250 cm.

⁴⁹ Oil on canvas, 100 × 283 cm. For attributions see Rizzi 1983.

by other *scuole*, especially those listed under *scuole grandi*, but evidently did not mirror their decision to employ a single artist to execute the entire decoration. More famous examples obviously come to mind – Tintoretto’s grandiose canvases for the Scuola Grande di San Rocco and Scuola Grande di San Marco, but also Palma il Giovane’s position as official painter for the Scuola di San Fantin and his series of paintings executed for that confraternity in 1600⁵⁰. The collective investments of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni seem to have remained limited to the period between roughly 1500 and 1600, from the commission of Carpaccio’s narrative cycle now in the *sala inferiore* to the contract for the new coffered ceiling of the *sala superiore*. From that moment on, one can notice a distinct shift from collective to individual, reflected not only in the lack of collective investments (an important exception being Matteo Ponzone’s altarpiece commissioned in the second decade of the 17th century) but also in the pronounced desire to leave a personal mark in the premises of the meetinghouse⁵¹. Various modes of representing collective and individual past, with references to specific places, events, and protagonists significant for the history of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni reflect the desire of the confraternity members to define their position and ensure their visibility within their adopted Venetian environment. Aspirations of the Dalmatian community in Venice were certainly collective when it came to venerating Dalmatian saints and accentuating their origin, but in the 17th century came to be realized as individual commissions from individual painters, connected, as it seems, only by their belonging to the Venetian artistic environment.

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⁵⁰ Pignatti 1981, p. 190.

⁵¹ For the dynamics of public and private in Venetian context, see Mackenney 1998.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Venice, Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone



Fig. 2. Venice, Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, view of the *sala superiore*



Fig. 3. Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, view of the *sala superiore*



Fig. 4. Venice, Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, view of the *sala superiore*



Fig. 5. Unknown painter, *Madonna and Child with St Christopher and a confraternity member*, detail with portrait of Nicolò de Dominis and view of Rab, Venice, Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone



Fig. 6. Coat of arms of the De Dominis family, Šibenik, Gogala Palace

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

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