

## Izvorni znanstveni rad

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### **Slikar Tripo Kokolja – povodom tristote obljetnice smrti (1713. – 2013.)**

U povodu tristote obljetnice smrti slikara Tripe Kokolje (Perast, 1661. – Korčula, 1713.) autor analizira njegovu djelatnost u rodnoj Boki i na dalmatinskoj obali. Skiciraju se okolnosti Kokoljina školovanja u Veneciji uz prepoznavanje mogućih utjecaja te definiraju stilske odlike njegova stvaralaštva. Ukazuje se na odlučujuću ulogu nadbiskupa Andrije Zmajevića i rodnog Perasta u njegovu angažiranju oko oslikavanja unutrašnjosti svetišta Gospe od Škrpjela. Raspravlja se i o njegovim ciklusima fresaka, oltarnim palama i portretima u Boki kotorskoj te o ciklusu slika u dominikanskoj crkvi u Bolu na otoku Braču koji je nastao neposredno prije Kokoljine smrti u Korčuli 1713. godine. Uspoređuje ga se s njegovim suvremenicima (posebno je indikativan Petar Mattei u Dubrovniku) te se definira njegov položaj u baroknoj umjetnosti na hrvatskoj obali krajem 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća.

**Ključne riječi:** Tripo Kokolja; slikarstvo; Perast; Gospa od Škrpjela; Boka kotorska; Korčula; Bol; Andrija Zmajević; barok.

## Original Scientific Paper

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### **Painter Tripo Kokolja – A Tricentennial Observation of his Death (1713 – 2013)**

On the tricentennial of the death of painter Tripo Kokolja (Perast, 1661 – Korčula, 1713), the author analyses his work in his birthplace, the Bay of Kotor, and on the Dalmatian coast. The circumstances of Kokolja's schooling in Venice are outlined, his possible influences are recognised, and the stylistic characteristics of his work are defined. The decisive role of the artist's birthplace of Perast and Archbishop Andrija Zmajević in his engagement as painter of the interior of the Our Lady of the Rocks (*Gospa od Škrpjela*) sanctuary are pointed out. His cycle of frescoes, altarpieces, and portraits in the Bay of Kotor are discussed, as is his cycle of paintings in the Dominican church in Bol on the island of Brač, which Kokolja painted just before his death in Korčula in 1713. He is compared with his contemporaries (Petar Mattei of Dubrovnik is especially indicative), and his position in Baroque art on the Croatian coast at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is defined.

**Key words:** Tripo Kokolja; painting; Perast; Our Lady of the Rocks; Bay of Kotor; Korčula; Bol; Andrija Zmajević; Baroque.



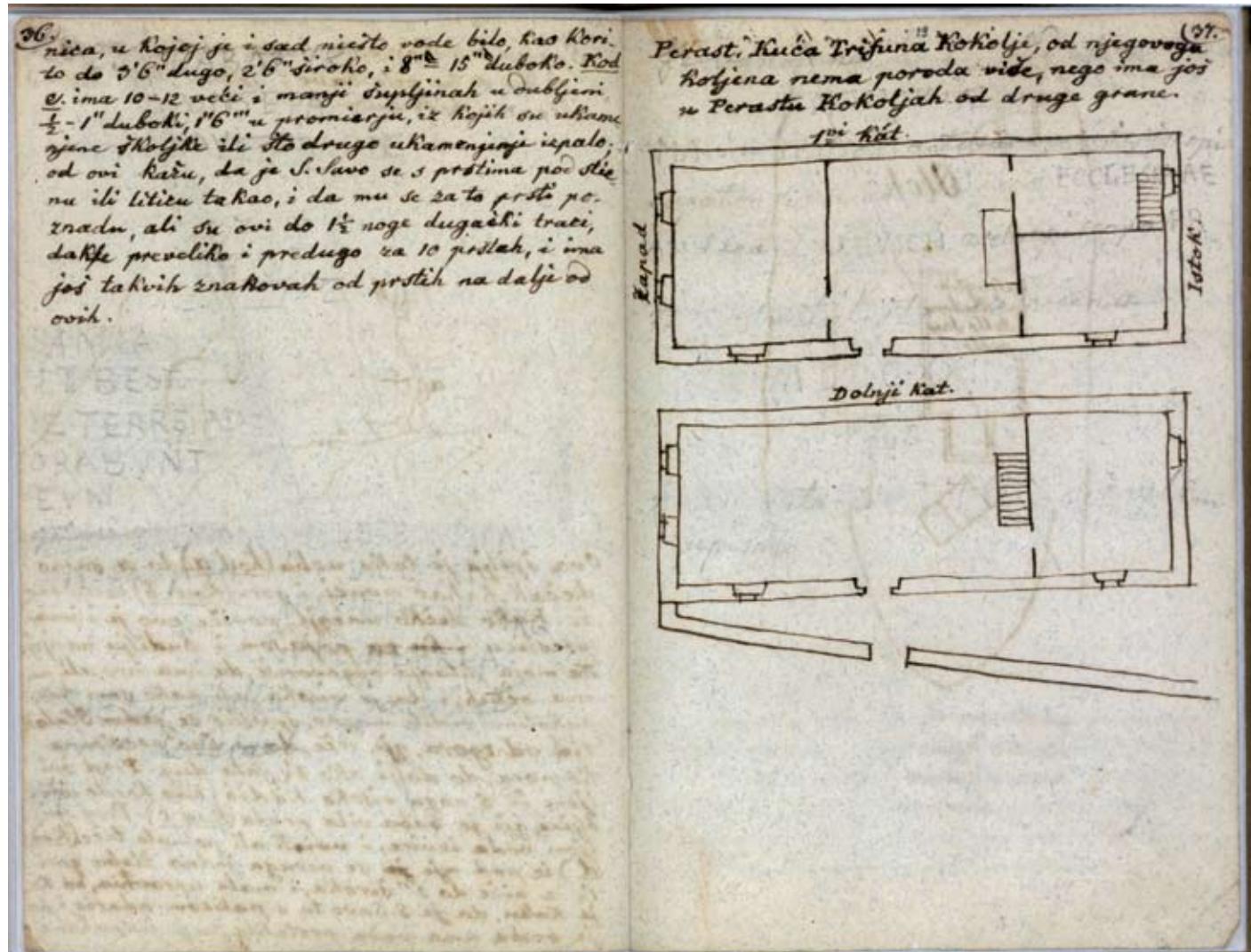
Crkva Gospe od Škrpjela, unutrašnjost, pogled prema svetištu,  
Perast

Church of Our Lady of the Rocks, interior, view towards the  
shrine, Perast,

Od svih hrvatskih slikara koji su živjeli i stvarali tijelom 17. i 18. stoljeća Tripo Kokolja (Perast, 28. veljače 1661. – Korčula, 18. listopada 1713.) najbolje je istražen i proučen. Začuđuje da se njegovo ime ne spominje u kronikama peraških pisaca 17. i 18. stoljeća, iako su ga neki od njih izravno poznавали dok su drugi mogli prenijeti podatke što su se sačuvali u gradu nakon njegove smrti. Taj manjak izvornih svjedočanstava nadoknađen je tijekom 19., 20. i 21. stoljeća, kada su o njemu pisali i lokalni pisci i brojni povjesničari umjetnosti.<sup>1</sup> Usprkos tome ostale su brojne nejasnoće i nepoznanice, u prvom

Of all Croatian painters who lived and worked in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, the best researched and studied is Tripo Kokolja (Perast, 28 February 1661 – Korčula, 18 October 1713). It is surprising that his name is not mentioned in the chronicles of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century writers from Perast, even though some of them knew him personally, while others could have reported information about him that had survived in the city after his death. This lack of primary sources was compensated for during the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries in the work of local writers and numerous art historians.<sup>1</sup> Despite this, numer-

Mijat Sabljar, Kuća Tripe Kokolje u Perastu



Mijat Sabljar, House of Tripo Kokolja in Perast

redu vezane uz njegovo školovanje te uz stilske odlike njegove umjetnosti.

U prvom redu treba reći da je Kokolja djelovao u malom, pograničnom Perastu, pomorskoj i vojnoj utvrdi u gluho doba mletačko-turskih ratova i gusarenja koji su neprestano prijetili Boki kotorskoj. On je živi svjedok nemirnih vremena i ambicioznih stanovnika koji su se s golemim žarom, pa i razumijevanjem, trsili da u svoju sredinu unesu relevantna umjetnička djela. Gotovo je neshvatljivo da su imali toliko povjerenje u svoga mladog sugrađanina te su mu povjerili da oslika unutrašnjost svetišta Gospe od Škrpjela. Svojom je prisutnošću i djelovanjem u Boki afirmirao umjetničko stvaralaštvo u okolnostima kada su se granice Venecije i Turske mijenjale u neposrednoj blizini njegova rodnoga grada. Oslobođanjem Risan 1684. i Herceg Novoga 1687. od turske vlasti započelo je gospodarsko uzdizanje Perasta, što je *uvjetovalo potreban osjećaj društvene stabilnosti i poleta koji potiču podizanje građevina koje imaju značenje kolektivnih simbola*.<sup>2</sup> Na akumuliranom pomorsko-trgovačkom kapitalu grad dobiva izgled kakav je sačuvan sve do danas s brojnim crkvama i reprezentativnim palačama lokalne aristokracije. Ne smije se smetnuti s uma da je crkva Gospe od Škrpjela, zavjetno svetište peraške komune stradavala u gusarskim napadima, ali osobito u potresu 1667. godine. Sigurno je sve to ponukalo nadbiskupa Andriju Zmajevića (Perast, 1628. – 1694.) da angažira mladoga slikara da ostvari količinom i ikonografskim programom golem slikarski projekt u crkvi koja je Peraštanima bila najvažnije svetište. Da bi uopće mogao pristupiti tako zahtjevnim obvezama, slikar je morao steći određeno znanje: jednoglasno se misli da je boravio u Veneciji, gdje je učio u radionici nekoga slikara i gdje je upoznao i proučio djela velikih majstora 16. i 17. stoljeća. Jedan od ranijih pisaca o Kokolji, Peraštanin Vicko Balović, zapisao je da je učio *u najboljim školama*.<sup>3</sup> Ako zanemarimo lokalne pohvale, ostaje neosporno da je mletačko slikarstvo temeljno za njegovo stilsko formiranje.

ous things remain unclear or unknown, especially connected to his schooling and the stylistic characteristics of his art.

Kokolja worked in the small border town of Perast, a maritime and military fortress in the dark times of piracy and the Venetian-Turkish wars, which presented a constant threat to the Bay of Kotor. He bore living witness to turbulent times and ambitious residents who, with enormous zeal and even understanding, strove to bring relevant works of art into their surroundings. It is nearly inconceivable that they had such trust in their young fellow citizen, entrusting him with the task of painting the inside of the sanctuary of Our Lady of the Rocks (*Gospa od Škrpjela*). His presence and work in the Bay of Kotor affirmed his artistic creations in a time when the borders of Venice and Turkey were changing in the immediate vicinity of his birthplace. The liberation of Risan in 1684 and Herceg Novi in 1687 from Turkish rule marked the outset of a period of economic growth for Perast, which was *made possible by a necessary feeling of social stability and enthusiasm that stimulated the construction of buildings that served as collective symbols*.<sup>2</sup> The city built the appearance it still retains today, with numerous churches and representative palaces of the local aristocracy, on a foundation of capital from seafaring and trade. It must be kept in mind that the church of Our Lady of the Rocks, a votive sanctuary of the Perast commune, which had been damaged in pirate attacks, was even further damaged in an earthquake in 1667. This certainly inspired Archbishop Andrija Zmajević (Perast, 1628 – 1694) to engage the young painter on a painting project, enormous in size and in the scope of its iconography, in a church that was the most important sanctuary to the citizens of Perast. In order to even approach such a demanding obligation, the painter had to obtain specific knowledge: it is unanimously believed that he spent time in Venice, where he studied in the workshop of an unknown painter and encountered and studied the works of

Tematika Kokoljinih slika u crkvi Gospe od Škrpjela dobro je poznata. Sve slike na bočnim zidovima, na zidu iznad trijumfalnog luka svetišta i na kasetiranom drvenom stropu jednobrodne crkve slave i veličaju Bogorodicu kojoj je svetište posvećeno i u kojoj se čuva čudotvorna slika Bogorodice s Djetetom iz 15. stoljeća.<sup>4</sup> Ikonografski priručnik za Kokoljino slikarstvo bio je *Crkveni ljetopis* nadbiskupa Andrije Zmajevića napisan oko 1675. godine, neposredno prije početka Kokoljina rada na osliku unutrašnjosti crkve.<sup>5</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je Kokolja počeo rad na škrpjelskim slikama oko 1685. godine, ali su tom ciklusu vjerojatno prethodila druga slikarova djela na temelju kojih je i odlučeno da se angažira u tako složenom projektu. Možda su škrpjelskom osliku prethodile slike u franjevačkom samostanu i crkvi sv. Ante, dok je rad na freskodekoraciji u palači Zmajević teško datirati jer su freske toliko oštećene da ne pružaju nikakva pouzdana uporišta. Sva ostala djela u Boki (Perast, Dobrota, Kotor, Prčanj, Kumbor) mogla su nastati u vrijeme prije Kokoljina napuštanja Boke i preseljenja u Korčulu, gdje je i umro.

Osim toga treba pretpostaviti da je slikar naručiteljima i upraviteljima svetišta pokazao pripremne studije i skice koje su predočile izgled budućih djela i zamišljene cjeline.

Njegove su slike prepoznate u Dubrovniku, Korčuli, Hvaru i Bolu na otoku Braču. S mnogo se opravdanja misli da je Perast napustio nakon ubojstva Vicka Bujovića 1709. godine jer je taj događaj narušio skladne prilike u gradu prouzrokovane sukobom utjecajnih obitelji Bujović, Zmajević i Štukanović. Tu komunalnu napetost nije mogao izbjegći ni slikar jer je s njima bio prijateljski i profesionalno povezan. S braćom Bujović mijenjao je i kuću u zapadnome dijelu Perasta za drugu u Penčićima iznad crkve sv. Nikole koja još postoji i koju je u svojim putnim bilješkama sredinom 19. stoljeća nacrtao Mijat Sabljarić, dok su Zmajevići potakli i u cijelini omogućili njegov slikarski angažman u crkvi Gospe od Škrpjela, u obiteljskoj palači i kape-

the great masters of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of Kokolja's earliest chroniclers, Vicko Balović of Perast, wrote that Kokolja had studied *in the best schools*.<sup>3</sup> If we ignore local praise, it remains indisputable that Venetian painting was foundational for his stylistic formation.

The thematics of Kokolja's paintings in the church of Our Lady of the Rocks are well known. All of the paintings on the side walls, on the wall above the triumphal arch of the sanctuary, and on the coffered wooden ceiling of the single-nave church celebrate and exalt the Madonna, to whom the sanctuary is dedicated. The miraculous 15<sup>th</sup> century painting *Madonna and Child* is also kept in the sanctuary.<sup>4</sup> The iconographic handbook for Kokolja's painting was the *Church Chronicle* of Archbishop Andrija Zmajević, written around 1675, directly before Kokolja began painting the church interior.<sup>5</sup> It is assumed that Kokolja began work on these paintings around 1685, however this cycle was likely preceded by other works on the basis of which he was chosen for this complex project.

It is possible that the paintings at Our Lady of the Rocks preceded paintings in the Franciscan monastery and church of St. Anthony, while his work on the fresco in the Zmajević palace is difficult to date, as the frescoes are so damaged that they do not offer any reliable information. All of his other works in the Bay of Kotor (Perast, Dobrota, Kotor, Prčanj, Kumbor) could have come about before Kokolj moved from the Bay of Kotor to Korčula, where he later died.

Aside from this, it should be assumed that the painter showed preparatory work and sketches of the appearance of the future works and conceptual whole of the sanctuary to its managers and to those who had ordered the work.

His paintings have been recognised in Dubrovnik, Korčula, Hvar, and Bol on the island of Brač. It is justly thought that he left Perast after the murder of Vicko Bujović in 1709, as this event disturbed the harmonious circumstances in the city



Strop, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast  
Ceiling, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast

Navještenje, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast

The Annunciation, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast



Pohođenje Marije Elizabeti, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast

The Visitation, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast



Poklonstvo pastira, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast

Adoration of the Shepherds, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast



Poklonstvo kraljeva, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast

Adoration of the Magi, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast



Radoslav Tomic: Slikar Tripo Kokolja – povodom tristote obljetnice smrti (1713. – 2013) / Painter Tripo Kokolja – A Tricentennial Observation of his Death (1713 – 2013)

li Gospe od Ružarija. Ne smije se zaboraviti da je Vicka Bujovića i portretirao.

Polazište njegove umjetnosti bili su Jacopo Tintoretto i Paolo Veronese, u prvom redu Tintoretto. Ali takva formulacija pretpostavlja dodatno objašnjenje. Kokolja se u svojoj skromnoj likovnoj kulturi i u izrazu koji pokazuje nedorečenosti i slabosti predstavlja kao majstor koji smiono i hrabro rješava brojne slikarske probleme oslanjajući se na velike slikare prošlosti pokazujući na taj način da se formirao i da pripada mletačkoj slikarskoj formaciji koja se upravo u njegovo vrijeme oslanjala na vlastitu tradiciju gradeći na tim temeljima novu, baroknu poetiku. U crkvi Gospe od Škrpjela Kokolja je morao graditi zamršene kompozicije na platnima različita formata, od kvadratnih polja s portretima proroka i sibila do golemih, vodoravno izduženih kompozicija u gornjim dijelovima crkvene lađe te šesterostrañih, osmerostranih i križnih polja na stropu crkve. Najveće poteškoće pokazuju u oblikovanju prostora, što nije isključivo posljedica ugledanja na raznovrsne predloške iz mletačkoga slikarstva nego je uzrokovano i vlastitim nesigurnostima koje mu nisu dopuštale da ujednačeno i konzistentno riješi različite perspektivne projekcije uvjetovane ne samo slikanim sadržajima nego i položajem slika u crkvenom interijeru te njihovom ulogom u izgradnji oslikane cjeline. Jer pojedina kasetna polja logično raspoređena na zidovima i svodu crkve imala su zadatak ne samo da predoče konkretnu temu nego i da se „uklope“ i integriraju u cjelinu i na ikonografskoj i na stilskoj razini. Gledajući Tintoretta, u prvom redu njegove cikluse u Duždevoj palači i u *Scuola Grande di San Rocco*, mogao je vidjeti kako se oblikuje slojevita scenografija na platnima različita formata i različita smještaja u interijeru velikih dvorana. Ta djela prikazuju brojne sadržaje s mnoštvom likova raspoređenih u složenim prostornim planovima. Radnjama ne nedostaje dramatskih naglasaka, smionih i inventivnih rješenja perspektive i svjetlosnih akcenata koji kreiraju ne samo složene narativne cjeline nego i njihov

through conflict between the influential Bujović, Zmajević and Štukanović families. The painter was unable to escape this communal tension, as he was tied to all of these families through friendship and business. He also exchanged a house in the western part of Perast for another in Penčići above the Church of St. Nicholas (which still stands today and which was drawn by Mijat Sabljar in his 19<sup>th</sup> century travel notes) with the Bujović brothers, while the Zmajević family impelled and enabled the entirety of his engagement as painter in Our Lady of the Rocks, in the family palace, and in the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary. It should not be forgotten that he also painted Vicko Bujović's portrait.

The starting point of his art was first and foremost the work of Jacopo Tintoretto, as well as that of Paolo Veronese. This statement, however, presupposes an additional explanation. Kokolja, in his modest artistic culture and his truncated and weak expression, presents himself as a master who boldly and bravely solves numerous problems by relying on the great painters of the past, showing thusly that he belongs to the Venetian artistic formation, which was at the time relying on its own tradition and building new, baroque poetics upon these foundations. In Our Lady of the Rocks, Kokolja had to build intricate compositions on canvases of various formats, from rectangular fields with portraits of prophets and prophetesses to enormous, horizontally stretched compositions in the upper parts of the nave and six-sided, eight-sided and cross-shaped fields on the church ceiling. The greatest difficulty was in designing the space — a difficulty not only the consequence of Kokolja having followed examples of various patterns from Venetian painting, but also of his own insecurities, which did not allow him to consistently solve various perspective projections that were defined not only by the content of the paintings but by their position within the church interior and their role in the construction of the painted whole. One individual

duhovni horizont.<sup>6</sup> Tako cjelovita rješenja Kokolja nije znao postići. Oblikujući temu *Smrt Bogorodice* na južnom zidu škrpjelske crkve, Kokolja je nastojao doslovno prenijeti na veliko platno događaj kako ga je opisao nadbiskup Andrija Zmajević u svom *Ljetopisu*. Pretrpana kompozicija s 42 figure andela govori zapravo o njegovu nastojanju da velikim brojem likova a ne naracijom razriješi složeni kompozicijski zadatak i scenografiju s likovima Bogorodice, dvorkinjā, apostolā i anđelā. Statičnost likova i zatvorenost kompozicije svojstvena je i pjesniku Zmajeviću i slikaru Kokolji. Monotonija, gomilanje i nizanje motiva odlika je upravo provincialne sredine koja narativnu strukturu zamjenjuje dekoracijom i ponavljanjem likova. Na platnu *Odbijanje darova Joakima i Ane, Navještenje Joakimu i Bogorodica Bezgrešnog začeća* postavljenom na sjevernom zidu crkve Kokolja je smiono pokušao oblikovati poliscensku kompoziciju s tri paralelne radnje. Ali rezultat je polovičan jer slikar nije uspio integrirati u jedinstvenu cjelinu navedene teme koje su ostale odvojene i međusobno nepovezane. Sukcesivno nizanje i adiranje tema i motiva rezultat je ne samo njegove likovne kulture nego i želje naručitelja da u doslovnom smislu prikaže i predviđa vjernicima na istom platnu brojne događaje koji posjeduju unutarnju, teološku povezanost, ali je njihovo likovno objedinjavanje teško postići.

Pri ocjeni njegove umjetnosti potrebno je usporediti ga s majstорима koji su većim brojem slika prisutni u provincialnim sredinama Istre i Dalmacije. Suvremenik mu je u obližnjem Dubrovniku slikar Petar Mattei (oko 1670. – 1726.), koji s Kokoljom pokazuje niz načelnih sličnosti. Obojici školovanje nije dokraja istraženo i poznato; vjeruje se naime da je Mattei boravio u Veneciji i Napulju, gdje se susreo s umjetnošću Luke Giordana (u čijoj je radionici navodno boravio), dok je i Kokolja učio u radionici nekog do danas neidentificiranog mletačkog majstora. Kod Matteija se može uočiti Giordanov utjecaj, ali je njegove poticaje kombinirao s mletačkim suvremenim slikarstvom i umjetnošću

coffer logically placed on the walls and arch of the church was not only intended to present a specific theme, but also to “fit” into the integrated whole, both on the iconographic and stylistic level. Looking at Tintoretto, firstly at his cycle in the Ducal Palace and the *Scuola Grande di San Rocco*, Kokolja could have seen how to form a layered scenography on canvases of various formats placed variously in the interior of a large hall. These works are full of content, with many figures distributed in complex spatial plans. The plot is filled with dramatic accents, bold and inventive perspective and lighting accent solutions that create not only a complicated narrative whole, but also their spiritual horizon.<sup>6</sup> Kokolja, however, did not know how to reach such a holistic solution. In designing the theme of the *Death of the Madonna* on the southern wall of the church of Our Lady of the Rocks, Kokolja attempted to literally transfer the events as described by Archbishop Andrija Zmajević in his *Chronicle* onto a large canvas. The overcrowded composition, with its 42 figures of angels and scenography with the figures of the Madonna, maids, apostles and angels, speaks to his very attempt to use a large number of figures to solve his complex compositional task instead of using narration. The static nature of the figures and the closed composition is typical of both Zmajević as a poet and Kokolja as a painter. Monotony and motives amassed and strung together are characteristic of provincial settings, which attempt to replace narrative structure with decoration and the repetition of figures. On the canvas of *The Refusal of the Gifts of Joachim and Anne*, *The Annunciation to Joachim*, and *The Madonna of the Immaculate Conception* placed on the northern wall of the church, Kokolja boldly attempts to shape a polyscenic composition with three parallel plots. The result is only partially successful, however, as the painter does not succeed in integrating the themes into a whole, which instead remain separate and unconnected. The successive stringing together and addition of themes and motifs is

baroknog klasicizma u Rimu, u prvom redu s oltnim palama Carla Maratte. Njegov suvremenik Tripo Kokolja neposredno je vezan uz mletačka slikarska iskustva 16. i 17. stoljeća. Na pojedinim slikama može se naslutiti da je poznavao i pratio umjetnost svojih suvremenika, predstavnika *tenebroso* slikarstva naglašeno naturalističkih usmjerenja. U prvom redu riječ je o Antoniju Zanchiju (1631. – 1721.), koji je 1662. godine otvorio slikarsku akademiju u Veneciji, gdje je zauzimao istaknuto mjesto okružen brojnim narudžbama ne samo iz sredine u kojoj je živio nego i sa šireg europskog prostora. Njegova slika *Abraham podučava Egipćane astrologiji* (Venecija, Santa Maria del Giglio) iz šezdesetih godina mogla je biti poticajna za Kokolju kada je slikao bradate proroke naboranih lica, kompaktnih, teških tijela, izravno i neposredno osvijetljenih snažnim svjetлом koje naglašava njihovu ekspresivnost i dramatski karakter. Za *Scuola Grande di San Rocco* Zanchi je 1666. naslikao monumentalnu kompoziciju *Kuga u Veneciji 1630. godine* s mnoštvom likova u različitim pokretima, planovima i grupama, dopunjenu nizom detalja. Ostvario je na tom platnu barokni teatar s jasnom narativnom potkom u složenoj kompozicijskoj strukturi. Treba naglasiti da su se Zanchijeve brojne slike nalazile u mletačkim crkvama, pa ih je mladi Kokolja mogao gledati i istraživački studirati te naučiti kako se slikaju monumentalni herojski likovi žena i muškaraca od kojih su brojni stari, naborani, sijedi, bradati i zamišljeno ozbiljni, što će potom i on sam ponavljati u crkvi Gospe od Škrpjela. U traganju za uzorima i predlošcima može se upozoriti na činjenicu da Kokoljin prikaz Libijske sibile (na slici *David i Libijska sibila*) s cvijećem u kosi asocira na likove ženā sa slike *Škola akta* Ludovica Davida (Lugano, 1648. – Rim, 1720.), koji je od 1667. do 1684. boravio u Veneciji.<sup>7</sup> Takav tip žene s cvijećem u kosi prikazuje i Antonio Servi (? – 1706.) na slici *Veličanje načelnika Giulija Gabrielija* (1677.) u svetištu La Rotonda (Rovigo).<sup>8</sup>

the result not only of his artistic culture, but also of the desire of the patron for a literal portrayal of numerous events on one canvas that are internally and theologically connected but difficult to unify on canvas.

In evaluating his art, it is necessary to compare him with other masters represented in provincial parts of Istria and Dalmatia with a large number of paintings. Painter Petar Mattei (cca. 1670 – 1726) was Kokolja's contemporary in Dubrovnik, and they display a number of basic similarities. The history of neither of their educations has been researched thoroughly; it is believed that Mattei lived in Venice and Naples, where he encountered the artwork of Luca Giordano (in whose workshop he supposedly worked), while Kokolja studied in the workshop of an unknown Venetian master. Giordano's influence is visible in Mattei's work, however Mattei's influence is combined with Venetian modern painting and Baroque Classicist art from Rome, mostly the altarpieces of Carlo Maratta. His contemporary Tripo Kokolja is directly connected with 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Venetian painting. Individual paintings show that he was aware of and followed the art of his contemporaries, the representatives of *tenebroso* painting with an emphasized naturalistic focus. First and foremost among these is Antonio Zanchi (1631 – 1721), who opened a painting academy in Venice in 1662, where he took an influential position and was surrounded by numerous orders both from the region where he lived and from farther afield in Europe. His painting *Abraham Teaching Astrology to the Egyptians* (Venice, Santa Maria del Giglio), painted in the 1660's, could have been an influence on Kokolja's painting of a bearded prophet with a wrinkled face, compact, heavily built, directly lit with a strong light that accents his expressiveness and dramatic character. In 1666, Zanchi painted a monumental composition entitled *The Plague in Venice* for the *Scuola Grande di San Rocco*. It is a painting with numerous figures in various movements, depths, and groups,

Ipak sve su to samo asocijacije što mogu pomoći da se slikar na pouzdaniji način situira u onovremeno slikarstvo, da se postavi u relaciju sa svojim suvremenicima koje je vidio i na čijim je djelima učio. Usprkos tome još uvijek ne znamo odgovore na brojna pitanja koja pred istraživače postavlja njegovo slikarstvo. U prvom redu nije utvrđeno je

abundant in detail. On this canvas, he created a Baroque theatre with a clear narrative flow in a complex compositional structure. It should be accentuated that Zanchi's numerous paintings were found in Venetian churches, and so young Kokolja could have seen and studied them, learning how to paint monumental, heroic figures of men and women,

Kralj David i libijska proročica, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast

King David and the Libyan Sibyl, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast





Košara s cvijećem, Gospa od Škrpjela, Perast  
Basket with flowers, Our Lady of the Rocks, Perast

li se u svom radu koristio grafičkim predlošcima uz pomoć kojih je oblikovao složene kompozicije i raspored likova na širokim pozornicama. Nije poznato je li radio pripremne crteže i skice, kartone i studije ili je izravno slikao na platnu. Nijedan njegov crtež nije sačuvan, ali nisu sačuvani ni mogući crteži Petra Matteija ili Mateja Ponzonija dok je boravio i slikao u Splitu. Je li posjedovao bilježnicu s crtežima slavnih djela što ih je video u Veneciji? Je li slikao prema živim modelima? Postoji predaja da je u liku svećenika na slici *Odbijanje darova Zaharija i sv. Ane* prikazao nadbiskupa i mecenu Andriju Zmajevića, ali ostaje nepoznato je li i na drugim likovima možda skicirao svoje suvremnike, prijatelje i znance ili je ponavljaо ustaljene tipove ljudskih lica što ih je naučio slikati gledajući tuđa rješenja. Ne smije se zaboraviti da je u Perastu sačuvan njegov *Autoportret* te portreti Vicka Bujovića i Frane Viskovića koji mu se opravdano pripisuju.

Kokolja je bez sumnje bio ambiciozan slikar. Kao mladić upustio se u oslikavanje unutrašnjosti svetišta koje je lokalnoj zajednici predstavljalo sakralni prostor primarnoga značenja. Taj je oslik bio velik izazov ne samo po količini djela nego i po složenosti slikarskih problema koje je trebao na primjereno način ostvariti. U lokalnoj sredini, koliko je poznato, nije imao uzora, pa je njegov odlazak u Veneciju uključivao ne samo učenje u radionici nekoga majstora nego je to bila i prilika da upozna

many of whom are old, wrinkled, grey-haired and absorbed in thought, which he would later repeat in the church of Our Lady of the Rocks. In search of the exemplars he modelled his work on, it can be noted that Kokolja's portrayal of the Libyan sybil (on the painting *David and the Libyan Sybil*) with a flower in her hair is reminiscent of one of the women from *School of the Nude* by Ludovico David (Lugano 1648 – Rome 1720), who lived in Venice from 1667 to 1684.<sup>7</sup> Antonio Servi (? – 1706) also painted this same type of female figure with a flower in her hair in his 1677 painting *The Exaltation of Giulio Gabrieli* (*Veličanje načelnika Giulija Gabrielija*) in the La Rotonda church in Rovigo.<sup>8</sup>

These are all nothing more than associations that might help a painter situate himself more reliably in the painting of the time, to place himself in relation to his contemporaries whom he has seen and whose works he has learned from. Despite this, researchers are still faced with numerous unanswered questions about his paintings. Most importantly, it has not been confirmed if he used graphic models to shape his complex compositions and the layout of his figures on wide stages. It is not known whether he made preparatory drawings and sketches, cartoons and studies, or if he painted directly on canvas. None of his drawings have survived, however neither have those of Petar Mattei, nor have those of Matteo Ponzone from his time living and painting in Split. Did Kokolja have a notebook of drawings of the famous works he saw in Venice? Did he paint using live models? Tradition holds that the figure of the priest in the painting *The Refusal of the Gifts of Joachim and St. Anne* is that of archbishop and patron Andrija Zmajević, however it remains unknown if other figures possibly portray his contemporaries, friends and acquaintances, or if he simply repeated well-established types of human faces he had learned to paint by observing the works of others. It must not be forgotten that Kokolja's *Self Portrait* has survived in Perast, as have portraits of Vicko Bujović and

i prouči zidne oslikane cjeline u Duždevoj palači, crkvama i bratovštinskim dvoranama. Taj se utjecaj mletačke tradicije prepoznaje ne samo u pojedinačnim djelima nego i u koncepciji cjeline koja prepostavlja oblaganje crkvenog interijera velikim oslikanim površinama koje pred vjernike iznose ulomke iz Marijina i Kristova života.

Kokoljin opus izvan Gospe od Škrpjela manje je ambiciozan. Oltarne pale u bokeljskim crkvama konvencionalna su ostvarenja na kojima primjenjuje prokušana rješenja i preuzima ikonografijom zadane obrasce kao na prikazima Gospe od Ružarija u Kotoru i u Prčnju. Na kraju životnoga puta spominje se u dokumentima i djelima u Bolu na otoku Braču. U tamošnjoj dominikanskoj crkvi strop ispod pjevališta 1712. – 1713. godine oslikao je *slikar Tripun*, kako je zabilježen u dokumentima. Program što ga je prema želji naručitelja naslikao sastoji se 12 kva-

Frane Visković that are justly attributed to him.

Kokolja was, without a doubt, an ambitious painter. As a young man, he found himself painting the interior of a church that was the most important religious space of the local community. This work was a great challenge, not only in terms of the quantity of work, but in terms of the complexity of the problems the painter had to face and solve appropriately. As far as is known, he had no role models in his immediate vicinity, and so his departure to Venice meant not only the chance to study in a master's workshop but to acquaint himself with and study murals in the Ducal Palace, churches, and guild halls. The influence of the Venetian tradition is not only visible in his individual works, but in the conception of the whole represented by the panelling of the church interior, with its large painted surfaces that presented the faithful with

Antonio Zanchi (1631–1722.), Slavne žene Staroga svijeta, Palazzo Barbaro, Venecija



Antonio Zanchi (1631–1722), Famous Women of the Old World, Palazzo Barbaro, Venice



Oslik pjevališta, dominikanska crkva, Bol (o. Brač)  
Choir illustration, Dominican church, Bol (island of Brač)





dratnih polja s portretima dominikanskih svetaca te većim središnjim osmerostranim poljem na kojemu je naslikana *Apoteoza sv. Dominika*. Figuralne prikaze svetaca okružio je slikama mrtvih priroda (košarama cvijeća) ponavljujući taj motiv sa stropa Gospe od Škrpjela.<sup>9</sup> U tom ciklusu Kokolja nije pokazao novosti u slikarskim postupima niti je otkrio tragove umora. To se može objasniti jednostavnošću programa u kojemu nema narativnih kompozicija ni velikih površina koje je trebao oblikovati dosljedno i uvjerljivo. Još i danas vrijedi zapažanje Krune Prijatelja da je *kratko školovanje u metropoli, a dug boravak u provinciji uvjetovalo neujednačenost, koja izbija kao glavna karakteristika slikareva djela.*<sup>10</sup> Kokolji se upravo u provinciji, u Perastu, pružila jedinstvena prilika da naslika velik broj djela u crkvi koja je lokalnoj zajednici bila najvažnija. Radio je freske u palači Zmajević i u crkvama sv. Ivana i sv. Ane u istom gradu te u kapeli na Bujovićevu posjedu u Kumboru, dok je za brojne oltare naslikao pale različita sadržaja.<sup>11</sup> Time se obistinjuje misao Ljube Karamana da nadaren provincijalni majstor, nedotjeran u formi ali jakog izraza, upravo u toj sredini, izvan središta, dobiva mogućnost da slobodnije interpretira likovne teme.<sup>12</sup>

chapters from the lives of Mary and Christ.

Kokolja's opus aside from Our Lady of the Rocks is less ambitious. His altarpieces in churches in the Bay of Kotor are conventional creations in which he applies tried and true solutions and adopts iconography within a given framework, as in his portrayals of Our Lady of the Rosary in Kotor and Prčanj. At the end of his life's path, he is mentioned in documents and works in Bol on the island of Brač, where documents show that a "painter Tripun" painted the roof below the choir in the Dominican church there in 1712 – 1713. The programme, painted according to the wishes of the orderer, is composed of 12 square fields with portraits of Dominican saints and a larger central eight-sided field on which the *Apotheosis of St. Dominic* is painted. The figural portrayals of the saints are surrounded by still life paintings (baskets of flowers), a motif repeated from the roof of Our Lady of the Rocks.<sup>9</sup> In this cycle, Kokolja did not display any novelty in his painting methods, nor did he show any signs of fatigue. This can be explained through the simplicity of the programme, which lacks a narrative composition or large surface that would have had to be shaped consistently and convincingly. Even today, Kruso Prijatelj's observation on Kokolja still holds: *a brief education in the metropolis and a long residence in the provinces unavoidably brought inconsistency, which comes to the surface as the main characteristic of the painter's work.*<sup>10</sup> In the provinces, in Perast, Kokolja was offered the unique opportunity to paint a large number of works in a church that was most important to the local community. He painted frescoes in the Zmajević palace and in the churches of St. John and St. Anne in the same city, and in the chapel at the Bujović family estate in Kumbor, while he painted numerous altarpieces of various content.<sup>11</sup> This serves as the realization of Ljubo Karaman's idea that a gifted provincial master, unpolished but strongly expressive, finds the possibility to interpret artistic themes more freely in such a provincial setting.<sup>12</sup>

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- 4 S. Brajović, Gospa od Škrpjela: Marijanski ciklus slika, Perast, 2000.
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- 6 G. C. Argan, Storia dell'arte italiana 3, Firenze, 1986., 189-199.
- 7 La pittura nel Veneto. Il Seicento 1, Milano, 2000., str. 86, f. 98.
- 8 R. Pallucchini, La Pittura Veneziana del Seicento 2, Milano, 1993., str. 951, f. 1139.
- 9 K. Prijatelj, Slike Tripa Kokolje u Bolu, Brački zbornik 2, Split, 1954., 100-104; isti, Vraćajući se bolskim slikama, Spomenica dominikanskog samostana u Bolu 1475-1975., Bol – Zagreb, 1976., 367-370.
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- 11 K. Prijatelj, Slikar Tripo Kokolja (1661-1713), Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 287, Zagreb, 1952., V. Marković, Zidno slikarstvo 17. i 18. stoljeća u Dalmaciji, Zagreb, 1985., 114-125; G. Brajković, Freske Tripa Kokolje u crkvi sv. Ane u Perastu, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 27, Split, 1988., 305-311; R. Vujičić, Novootkrivene freske Tripa Kokolje, Umjetnički dodiri dviju Jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. stoljeću, Split, 2007., 153-157.
- 12 Lj. Karaman, O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva, Zagreb, 1963., 26-27.
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