

A RELIEF OF FORTITUDE AND THE “TAROCCHI OF MANTEGNA” IN DUBROVNIK

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Djelomično oštećeni reljef Snage koji se čuva u Gradskom muzeju Rupe u Dubrovniku izvorno je ukrašavao pročelje gradske vijećnice koja je srušena 1863. godine. Na temelju proučavanja arhivske građe o povijesti vijećnice, kip se treba datirati između 1489. i 1491. godine. U skladu s tim vjerojatno ga treba pripisati kiparu Leonardu Petroviću. Uz to se prototip lika Snage dovodi u blisku vezu sa grafikom B:36 (nazvanoj Snaga) iz E - serije takozvanih “Tarocchi di Mantegna” koji se datiraju oko 1465. godine. To navodi na zaključak da je neki dubrovački humanista nabavio seriju čuvenih “Taroccha” u Italiji i donio je u Dubrovnik krajem 15. stoljeća.

Recent publications on Renaissance sculpture in Dubrovnik have with good reasons highlighted a hitherto little known relief of Fortitude (now in: Gradski Muzeji “Rupe”, Lapidarij). This figure deserves particular attention not only because of its secular iconography but also due to its inherently significant provenance.¹ The piece belonged formerly to the sculptural decoration of a two-storey building to the left of the Rector’s Palace which housed till the suppression of the Ragusan Republic in 1806 the meetings of Dubrovnik’s legislative *Consilium maius*.²

- ¹ The figure (100 x 43 cm) was carved out in high relief from a single rectangular block of stone. It is worth noting that the relief surface shows traces of gilding. See I. Fisković, Kiparstvo, in: Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. stoljeća (Exhibition Catalogue), Zagreb 1987, pp. 146, 337, cat. no. k/17; idem, Skulptura u urbanističkom usavršavanju renesansnog Dubrovnika, Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku, XXVI, 1988, pp. 40-41; idem, Renesansno kiparstvo, in: Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture / Thousand Years of Croatian Sculpture (Exhibition Catalogue), Zagreb 1991, pp. 65, 71, cat. no. 2. Re.
- ² Official documents of the period refer to this palace as *Palatium maioris consilii*; in Croatian it

On the basis of old photographs, Frano Martecchini's cardboard model, a water

colour of Niccolo Nardeli and detailed architectural drawings taken between 1839 and 1853 (Dubrovnik, State Archives) it could be determined beyond doubt that Fortitude topped one of the finials of the two ogival lateral windows in the upper storey of the main facade facing the street "Prid Dvorom". The corresponding window on the other side was crowned by the complementary allegorical figure of Justice, now lost, while the niche above the central *trifora* contained a statue of the seated St. Blaise.³ In his role as the patron saint of the city the latter was clearly regarded as the focal point of reference within a coherent "civic programme" in which the place of honour was given to the two cardinal virtues warranting strong and just government. Hence there can be little doubt that thematically and structurally Fortitude and Justice formed from the outset integral parts of the facade decoration.

This fact may help us to establish their date with some accuracy. Though on stylistic grounds the relief of Fortitude has been tentatively dated as early as mid 15th century its original placement in the upper storey of the "senate-house" bespeaks a considerably later date.⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that the council-hall (recorded on this spot already in the 14th century) was indeed given new shape by the architect Onofrio di Giordano della Cava in the 1440s, there is some evidence that in 1463 it was likewise gravely damaged by the devastating gunpowder explosion in the nearby Rector's Palace.⁵

is normally called "Vijećnica" (i.e. Council-hall). It burnt down in 1817 and was completely demolished in 1863. For its building history see *M. Rešetar*, Dubrovačka "Vijećnica", *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, n.s. XV, 1928, pp. 43-48; *C. Fisković*, Nekoliko dokumenata o našim starim majstorima, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, LII, 1935-1949 (1950), pp. 199-203; *L. Beritić*, Ubikacija nestalih građevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, X, 1954, 48-50; *S. Benić*, Tragom zaboravljene dubrovačke Vijećnice, *Zbornik radova iz dubrovačke prošlosti u počast sedamdesetogodišnjice dubrovačkog konzervatora Lukše Beritića*, Dubrovnik 1960, pp. 89-105; *P. Veramenta-Paviša*, Sažetak studije o rekonstrukciji stare gradske vijećnice, *Dubrovački horizonti*, XV, 23, 1983, pp. 12-16; *C. Fisković*, Za obnovu Dubrovačke vijećnice, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, XXV, 1985, pp. 109-119; *M. Planić-Lončarić*, Organizacija prostora - Urbanizam, in: *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. Stoljeće*, Zagreb 1987, p. 293 cat. no. U/13. Though Dubrovnik was governed in day to day affairs by the elected members of the *Consilium minus* and the *Consilium rogatorum*, the "Great Council" was, in Francis Carter's words, "the ultimate basis of the state... composed of all nobles above twenty (later eighteen) years of age... it ratified all the laws of the republic it gave the final decision for peace or war". See *F. W. Carter*, Dubrovnik (Ragusa). A Classic City-State, London-New York 1972, pp. 113-114; for detailed discussion of the Ragusan governmental structure see *K. Vojnović*, O državnom ustrojstvu republike Dubrovačke, *Rad JAZU CIII (Razredi filološkičko-historički i filozofičko-juridički, XXXII)*, Zagreb 1891, pp. 24-67.

³ See *C. Fisković*, o.c. (1950), pp. 202-203, Figs. 2-3; *S. Benić*, o.c. (1960), pp. 92-96, Figs. 4, 12.

⁴ For early dating see *I. Fisković*, o.c. (1987), p. 337; *idem*, o.c. (1991), p. 71.

⁵ For the gunpowder explosion of 1463 and the rebuilding of the complex that followed see, for example, *H. Folnesics*, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV.*



Relief of Fortitude, Dubrovnik, Gradski Muzeji "Rupe"

In any event, we know from a document signalled by Milan Rešetar that on June 20, 1489 the Ragusan government authorized the demolition of “the facade of the meeting-house for the *Consilium maius*”, which was in the following years replaced by a new structure possibly constructed by Paskoje Miličević, the state-engineer of the Republic between 1466 and 1516.⁶ Further evidence regarding its exterior decoration is provided by the contract of April 12, 1491, published by Cvito Fisković, according to which Radivoj Bogosalić and Leonard Petrović promised to supply the stone revetment, entablature mouldings and merlons *pro tota faciata nova sale nove* and to deliver a statue of the seated St. Blaise *bene factam et bene proportionatam’ ad laudem cuiuslibet boni magistri*.⁷ In these circumstances it is, then, more than likely that the figure of Fortitude was installed in the final phase of the well documented building campaign. Though it clearly postdates 1489, our relief could therefore not have been carved much later than in the spring or early summer of 1491.

Moreover, the same document may shed some light also on the as yet unresolved question of authorship. Both Radivoj Bogosalić and Leonard Petrović belong to the better-known local stonemasons in Dubrovnik. Theoretically either of the two could have therefore been responsible for the figure in question. For that reason it is certainly not irrelevant that - when recorded independently - Bogosalić’s name is associated exclusively with decorative sculpture.⁸ Only the much younger Petrović was demonstrably capable of carving human figures as well. His style is exemplified in Dubrovnik by the fully documented portals of the churches of the Holy Apostles (1497-8) and of the Franciscans (1498-99).⁹

Jahrhunderts in Dalmatien, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der k.k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege, VIII, 1914, pp. 106-122; *Lj. Karaman*, Umjetnost u Dalmaciji XV. i XVI. vijek, Zagreb 1933, pp. 64-68; *J. Tadić*, O dubrovačkom Dvoru (Uz knjigu Dr. Lj. Karamana “Umjetnost u Dalmaciji”, Obzor, 10. VII. 1934, s.p.; *B. Glavić*, Knežev dvor, in: Dubrovački festival 1950, pp. 25-32; *H. McNeal Caplow*, Michelozzo at Ragusa: New Documents and Revaluations, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXXI, 1972, pp. 113-114; *J. Höfler*, Die Kunst Dalmatiens. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance (800-1520), Graz 1989, pp. 232-237; idem, Michelozzo di Bartolomeo i njegov krug u Dubrovniku, in: Likovna kultura Dubrovnika u 15. i 16. stoljeću (= Znanstvena izdanja MGC, II); Zagreb 1991, pp. 108-110.

⁶ For the decision of the *Consilium rogatorum* to pull down the facade see *M. Rešetar*, o. c. (1928), p. 45; *L. Beritić*, o. c. (1956), p. 49. For attribution of the facade to Paskoje Miličević see *M. Planić-Lončarić*, o. c. (1987), p. 293; *I. Fisković*, o. c. (1988), p. 41. For Miličević’s life and work see *L. Beritić*, dubrovački graditelj Paskoje Miličević, Split 1948.

⁷ *C. Fisković*, o. c. (1950), pp. 215-216, document no. XI.

⁸ See *C. Fisković*, Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku, Zagreb 1947, pp. 57-63 and passim; *D. Kečkemet*, s.v. Bogosalić, Radivoj, in: Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti, I, Zagreb 1959, p. 420; *I. Fisković*, s.v. Bogosalić, Radivoj, in: Likovna enciklopedija Jugoslavije, I, Zagreb 1984, p. 150 (with bibliography).

⁹ For Petrović and his oeuvre see: *C. Fisković*, o. c. (1947), pp. 128-133 and passim; idem, Dokumenti o radu naših graditelja i klesara XV - XVI stoljeća u Dubrovniku (= Izdanje Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu, III), Split 1947, pp. 6-7, note 25; *D. Beritić*, Reljef Leonarda Petrovića u Dubrovniku, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, XIII, 1961, pp. 216-226, Pl. 44-47; *I. Fisković*, Srednjovjekovna skulptura u samostanu Male braće, in: varii auctores,

However, despite this circumstantial evidence favouring the attribution of Fortitude to Leonard Petrović, his authorship does not seem to be validated by comparisons with his unequivocally authenticated works.¹⁰

In contrast to Petrović's statically postured figures of robust saints Fortitude is agitatedly balancing her feet on a narrow ledge reaching with her left hand for the fractured column while her right hand - now broken off - was boldly thrusting outwards into the space. Further discrepancies occur in the treatment of details. For example, the shallow parallel folds of her gown seem to bear no direct parallel to the bulky plasticity of Leonard's drapery style. Last but not least, Fortitude appears iconographically more sophisticated and "up to date" than Petrović's conservative repertory of gothicizing figure-types. Perhaps most striking in this respect is her hybrid pseudoantique costume that consists of a loose undergarment and a cloak cast over a breast-plate armour in the form of stylized face of a lion. In addition she wears a cap shaped as a trophy-head of the same animal.

On reflection, these structural differences evince the conclusion that Fortitude is either to be assigned to another artist or that her posture and costume were appropriated from an artistically much superior model. The clumsy chiselwork, which accords rather well with Petrović's summary handling of details, speaks in favour of the latter solution. Thus it should not come as a complete surprise that the pictorial source for the whole figure can be positively identified in a sheet from the famous series of early Italian prints known as the "Tarocchi of Mantegna".¹¹

As is well known the fifty "Tarocchi", which may or may not have been intended for a card-game, are numbered and divided into five groups marked by capital letters A, B, C, D and E. As pointed out by Jean Seznec "their proper order... reproduces the order assigned by

Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, Zagreb-Dubrovnik 1986, pp. 491-492, Figs, 17-21a; idem, o. c. (1987), p. 341; *J. Höfler*, o. c. (1989), pp. 279-282, Fig. 243.

¹⁰ It may be worth noting that already in 1488 Leonard Petrović is documented as author of figurative sculpture in the contract for the lost marble tabernacle in the cathedral completed in 1491, see *C. Fisković*, o. c. (1947), p. 130.

¹¹ Generally on the "Tarocchi" see, for example: *P. Kristeller*, Die Tarocchi (= Graphische Gesellschaft, II), Berlin 1910; *H. Brockhaus*, Ein edles Geduldspiel: "Die Leitung der Welt oder die Himmelsleiter" die sogenannten Taroks Mantegnas vom Jahre 1459-60, in: *Miscellanea di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di I. B. Supino*, Firenze 1933, pp. 397-416; *A. M. Hind*, Early Italian Engraving, London 1938, pp. 221-244; *L. Donati*, Le fonti iconografiche di alcuni manoscritti urbinati della Biblioteca Vaticana; osservazioni intorno ai cosiddetti "Tarocchi del Mantegna", *La Bibliofilia*, LX, 1958, pp. 48-129; *J. A. Levenson*, Masters of the Tarocchi, in: *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (exhibition catalogue), Washington D. C. 1973, pp. 81-89; *A. C. Ambesi*, I Tarocchi del Mantegna, *L'Esopo*, XII, 1981, pp. 49-63; *G. Giovannoni*, Mantova e Tarocchi del Mantegna (Exhibition Catalogue), Mantova 1987; *L. Beaumont-Maillet - G. Lambert*, Suite d'Estampes de la Renaissance italienne dite Tarots de Mantegna ou jeu du gouvernement du monde au Quattrocento vers 1465, Garches 1985; *C. Cieri Via*, I Tarocchi cosiddetti del "Mantegna": Origine, significato e fortuna di una ciclo di immagini, in: *Le carte di corte. I. Tarocchi: Gioco e magia alla corte degli Estensi* (Exhibition Catalogue), Ferrara 1987, pp. 49-77; *R. Budde*, ed., "Tarocchi". Menschenwelt und Kosmos. Ladenspelder, Dürer und die "Tarockkarten des Mantegna" (Exhibition Catalogue), Köln 1988, pp. 39-47 and passim (with comprehensive bibliography).

theology to the universe. Placed edge to edge they form, as it were, a symbolic ladder leading from Heaven to earth.”¹² The second group (B: 31-40) comprising personifications of “Cosmic Principles” includes the three theological (B: 38-40) and four cardinal virtues (B: 34-36). The figure of Fortitude (B: 36), sub-titled *Forteza*, matches the relief from the senate-hall of Dubrovnik not only in her posture, costume and attributes but even in the treatment of drapery folds (Fig. 2).¹³ The relief substantially differs from the print only in the shape of the capital crowning the broken column. Accordingly we can reach the conclusion that one of the “Tarocchi of Mantegna” was around 1490 used as visual aid by a local Dubrovnik artist. Needless to say this previously unknown fact has wide-ranging implications.

First of all the relief from the council-hall of the Ragusan senate provides another telling piece of evidence for rapid diffusion of the “tarocchi” beyond Italian peninsula and sheds new light on the manifold possibilities of their application as handy iconographic guides.

Even though the relief on Dubrovnik does not belong to the earliest copies after the “Tarocchi” it is more than marginally important in other respects, particularly regarding its respective medium and function.¹⁴ Among the numerous copies and derivations from the “Tarocchi” identified thus far only a few examples occur in the plastic arts.¹⁵

Though the relief in question is a modest work of a provincial stone-cutter it gives some idea of the creative process in which a two-dimensional graphic model was transformed into a three-dimensional image that functioned virtually as sculpture in the round. Evidently, the sculptor strived to adapt Fortitude’s precarious posture to multiple views. In order to achieve this he deliberately avoided stressing the dynamic curve of her slim body swiftly bending backwards in frontal view. The characteristic twist of the “Tarocchi”-Fortitude was fully exploited only in the left-hand side-view, which, however, discloses her head *en face* not in profile.

¹² *J. Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Bollingen Series, XXXVIII), Princeton 1972, p. 139.

¹³ For this figure in particular see: *A. M. Hind*, o. c. (1938), p. 238, cat.no. 36a, Pl. 355; *J. A. Levenson*, o. c. (1973), p. 133, no. 49; *L. Beaumont-Maillet - G. Lambert*, o. c. (1985), p. 50; *C. Cieri-Via*, o. c. (1987), pp. 67-69; *R. Budde*, o. c. (1988), p. 110, cat.no. 103.

¹⁴ The Dubrovnik relief is clearly based on the figure of Fortitude as she appears in the original “E-Series” of the “Tarocchi” datable around 1465. Single figures from this set were copied separately as early as 1467; see *J. A. Levenson*, o. c. (1973), p. 86, note 21. In the derivative “S-Series”, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 84-86, the leonine head-gear characteristic of the “E-Series” Fortitude was replaced by an ornate helmet; for reproduction see *M. Zucker, ed. Early Italian Masters (= Illustrated Bartsch 24, Formerly vol. 13 (part. 11), New York 1980., p. 135; 53 (182).*

¹⁵ Generally on the copies after the Tarocchi in various media see for example: *A. M. Hind*, o. c. (1938), pp. 231-233; *L. Donati*, o. c. (1958), *passim*; *R. Budde*, o. c. (1988), pp. 65-74. *A. M. Hind*, o. c. p. 232, lists only two examples of “Tarocchi” copied in sculpture: a relief in the Museo Civico of Bologna (No. 615) with figures of the “Beggar” (E: 1) and the “Gentleman” (E: 5), and a woodcarving after the “Beggar” (E: 1) in Milan, St. Ambroggio. To these Jean Seznec added the bronze figurine of Apollo on the Tomb of St. Sebaldu (1508-1519) in Nürnberg modelled after the print D: 20; see *J. Seznec, Apollo and the Swans on the Tomb of St. Sebaldu*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, II, 1938, p. 75, pl. 14 c-d.



Fortitude, "Tarocchi of Mantegna", sheet E: 36, E-Series (after Levenson, 1973)

Still, despite the obvious efforts invested in adapting the chosen pictorial model to his own medium, the sculptor did not seem to have mastered with absolute confidence all the formal problems inherent in this task. For that reason it is difficult to resist the impression that he did not find the “Tarocchi” style congenial to his personal idiom. It follows that the sheet B: 36 was in all probability not copied for intrinsically artistic reasons. Hence it seems doubtful that a copy of the “Tarocchi”-Fortitude reached Dubrovnik separately through “artistic channels” as a workshop-utensil.

It is by far more likely that the print was made available to the sculptor by a learned advisor whom the Ragusan government officials presumably entrusted with the choice of allegorical imagery appropriate for the newly constructed facade of their council-hall. If so, we can assume with confidence that some Ragusans knew that the “Tarocchi of Mantegna” constituted a series of interconnected images with clearly defined meaning and purpose. The educated public fully aware of this context could have been, in turn, expected to appreciate the semantic subtleties of Fortitude’s iconography.¹⁶ In view of the fact that the “Tarocchi” appeared “on the market” as early as around 1470, it is certainly not improbable that one integral set reached Dubrovnik by 1490.¹⁷ Seen from this angle, the relief of Fortitude turns out to be an important testimony to vivid intellectual exchange between Dubrovnik and the leading cultural centres of early Renaissance Italy.

As is well known these mutual contacts have intensified from mid 15th century onwards and had sporadically some impact on the visual arts.¹⁸ It is in this regard of some

¹⁶ Fortitude is easily identifiable by her costume and standard attributes. It has been observed already by *C. Cieri Via*, o. c. (1987), pp. 67-69, and *R. Budde*, o. c. (1988), p. 110 that the latter allude to Samson (the broken column) and Hercules (the lion’s head as helmet). This two-fold reference to the Biblical *exemplum* of fortitude on the one hand, and a comparable hero of pagan mythology on the other, was summed up a century later by Cesare Ripa in the following comment on fortitude and her representatives: *Forti si dicono Sansone, e David Re nelle sacre lettere, forte si dice Hercole nelle favole de’ Poeti* (*C. Ripa*, *Iconologia*, Padua 1611, p. 181). For the iconography of Fortitude in general see for example: *R. Van Marle*, *Iconographie de l’art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, II: *Allégories et symboles*, Le Haye 1832, pp. 1-111, passim; *M. Evans*, s.v. Tugenden, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, Freiburg im Breisgau 1972, coll. 361-279, speciatim 377. For her meanings in the Christian context see *G. Sette*, s.v. Fortezza, in: *Enciclopedia cattolica*, V, Città del Vaticano 1950, coll. 1537-1539.

¹⁷ The humanist poet Ludovico Lazzarelli, who described some of the “Tarocchi of Mantegna” in his poem *De imaginibus gentilium deorum* written before 1471, reportedly purchased his set of prints in Venice in *una Bottega di Librajo*; see *L. Donati*, o. c. (1958), p. 50 and passim.

¹⁸ For brief history of the 15th century Ragusan humanism see, for example: *C. Jireček*, *Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte*, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXI, 1899, pp. 399-542, speciatim 437-451; *I. Božić*, *Pojava humanizma u Dubrovniku*, *Historijski pregled*, I, 1955, pp. 6-18; *V. Čaldarović*, *Kulturni lik Dubrovnika u XV. stoljeću*, *Dubrovnik*, III, 1-2, 1957, pp. 7-13; *S. Škunca*, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus poeta Ragusinus (saec. XV.)* (= *Seminarium di Studi Superiori*, sezione Storia e Filologia, vol. IV, Edizioni Francescane), Romae 1971, pp. 29-42. Specifically for humanistic themes in the visual arts see: *I. Fisković*, *O značenju i porijeklu renesansnih reljefa na portalu Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, XXVI, 1986-87, pp. 195-228; idem, o. c. (1988), pp. 29-65; *S. Kokole*, *Ciriaco d’Ancona v*

interest that precisely in the 1480s and the early 1490s, the government of Dubrovnik was eager to attract leading Florentine humanists as teachers of classical languages and literature. In 1483 the Ragusans tried to hire Angelo Poliziano, in 1487 they invited his rival Bartolomeo della Fonte (*Fontius*), and in 1490 Demetrius Chalcondyles.¹⁹ Unfortunately, none of them was at the time able to accept the post. But the fact that these famous scholars were invited and offered lucrative salaries is by itself a sufficient proof that *studia humanitatis* have become the educational goal for many Dubrovnik's patricians. We should not forget that in the second half of the 15th century a number of Ragusan noblemen studied in Italy, befriended some of the celebrated *letterati* of the period and eventually became orators and poets of renown themselves. Is it then not possible that one of these got interested in the "Tarocchi" and brought them back home?

Since in the more recent scholarship a tentative agreement has been reached that the iconographic programme for the "Tarocchi of Mantegna" was "the work of a humanist in the Ferrarese court circle" and that the prints are stylistically akin to paintings of the Ferrarese School, one wonders whether they could have come to Dubrovnik directly from Ferrara.²⁰ In view of this possibility it is of considerable interest to discover that some Ragusan humanists had actually been in direct contact with their colleagues at the court of d'Este. In 1478 *Bartolomeo Lugari* (Lukarić) sent his son named Borso (!) to study in Ferrara with Marco Galeotto. In 1479 Ivan Gučetić (*Ioannes Gottius*) dispatched to Ferrara a volume of his poems hoping for a review by Battista Guarino.²¹ Last but not least, also

Dubrovniku: renesančna epigrafika, arheologija in obujanje antike v humaističnem okolju mestne državnice sredi petnajstega stoletja, *Arheološki vestnik* (= Šašalov zbornik), XLI, 1990, pp. 663-697; idem, *Venera i Mars na portalu Kneževog dvora. O porijeklu prvog mitološkog prizora "all'antica" u kiparstvu ranorenesansnog Dubrovnika*, in: *Likovna kultura Dubrovnika 15. i 16. stoljeća* (= Znanstvena izdanja MGC, II), Zagreb 1991, pp. 122-126.

- ¹⁹ For the invitation to Poliziano see *P. Kolendić*, *Izbor Andela Policijana za rektora u Dubrovniku*, *Zbornik radova SAN XVII: Institut za proučavanje književnosti 2*, Beograd 1952, pp. 9-17, speciatim p. 14, note 14. For the offer to Della Fonte and his Latin letter, in which he apologizes for not being able to accept the post *ad iuventutem Ragusiensem erudiendam humanitatisque artibus informandam* see *ibid.*, p. 16, note 27 and *C. Marchesi*, *Bartolomeo della Fonte*, Catania 1900, p. 78. For the decision of *Consilium Rogatorum* of 4 August 1490, to hire Chalcondyles *pro magistro scholarum ad docendum litteras Graecas et Latinas* see *S. Škunca*, o. c. (1971) p. 36, note 16.
- ²⁰ For the Ferrarese origin of the "Tarocchi" see in particular: *G. Gombosi*, *A Ferrarese Pupil of Piero della Francesca*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, pp. 66-78; *J. A. Levenson*, o. c. (1973), p. 89; for further bibliographical references see note 12.
- ²¹ See *G. Bertoni*, *Relazioni letterarie fra umanisti a Ferrara e a Ragusa*, in: *Zbornik iz dubrovačke prošlosti Milanu Rešetaru o 70-oj godišnjici života* (= "Dubrovnik" knjiga II), Dubrovnik 1931, pp. 227-228. In addition it may be of some relevance that already in 1474 a certain Luca de Ragusa is recorded in Ferrara as *magister logicae*; see *S. Škunca*, o. c. (1971), p. 54, note 33. Ivan Gučetić, for whom see *C. Jireček*, o. c. (1899), pp. 452, 516-518, *S. Škunca*, o. c. (1971), pp. 152-153, 184-189, wrote - "if we can trust the reports of his contemporaries - poetry and prose in Greek, Latin and "Illyrian" (i.e. Croatian) and was undoubtedly the leading Ragusan humanist of his generation. His work was praised even by Poliziano"; see *P. Kolendić*, o. c.

Ilija Crijević (*Aelius Lampridus Cervinus*) - the best Ragusan Latin poet of the period - is recorded in Ferrara as a young student in 1482.²²

Of course, unless additional documentary evidence comes to light, we will never know for certain when exactly and by which route the "Tarocchi of Mantegna" reached Dubrovnik. But one thing is certain: identification of the pictorial source for the relief of Fortitude is not significant only in narrowly art historical terms. Seen in broader historical perspective, this figure personifying spiritual strength and endurance is another evocative witness to this city's deserved - though all too often forgotten - place of honour in Renaissance Europe as the most exposed enclave of Western civilization in the Balkans.

(1952), p. 11, note 3. Moreover, it is worth noting that Gučetić held important public offices at the time of the reconstruction of the council-hall; see *C. Jireček*, o. c. (1899), p. 452.

- ²² *P. Kolendić*, Krunisanje Ilije Crijevića u akademiji Pomponija Leta, Zbornik radova SAN X: Institut za proučavanje književnosti 1, Beograd 1951, pp. 65-66 and passim; *S. Škunca*, o. c. (1971), pp. 47, 50-52, note 28. In 1483 Crijević transferred to Rome where he was crowned *poeta laureatus* in the following year. By 1487 he returned to Dubrovnik; see *ibid.*, p. 89.

RELJEF SNAGE U DUBROVNIKU I MANTEGNINI "TAROCCHI"

Stanko Kokole

Djelomično oštećeni reljef Snage koji se čuva u Gradskom muzeju Rupe u Dubrovniku izvorno je ukrašavao pročelje gradske vijećnice koja je srušena 1863. godine. Na temelju proučavanja arhivske građe o povijesti vijećnice, kip se treba datirati između 1489. i 1491. godine. U skladu s tim vjerojatno ga treba pripisati kiparu Leonardu Petroviću. Uz to se prototip lika Snage dovodi u blisku vezu sa grafikom B:36 (nazvanoj Snaga) iz E - serije takozvanih "Tarocchi di Mantegna" koji se datiraju oko 1465. godine. To navodi na zaključak da je neki dubrovački humanista nabavio seriju čuvenih "Taroccha" u Italiji i donio je u Dubrovnik krajem 15. stoljeća.