

Juraj Dalmatinac – *Caritas* (1451.) i ženski akt u quattrocentu

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Povijest umjetnosti oslanja se i formira na dvije paralelne struje istraživanja. Jedna komponenta utvrđuje stvarne i povijesne činjenice, sabire podatke o djelima u prostoru i vremenu, a druga se bavi njihovom interpretacijom i valorizacijom. Prvoj je cilj sastaviti što cjelovitiji i pouzdaniji inventar likovne baštine čovječanstva,¹ a druga vidi povijest umjetnosti kao povijest ljudskog duha,² odnosno istražuje u svakom pojedinom djelu individualnu umjetnikovu inventivnost i kreativnosti, pa dosljedno tomu smatra da je je ključni problem povijesti umjetnosti »čitanje« umjetničkog djela, interpretacija.³ A budući da je jedno od temeljnih svojstava istinskog umjetničkog djela slojevitost smisla

Autor argumentira tezu da je skulpturalna grupa Caritas Jurja Dalmatinca na pročelju Loggia de' Mercanti u Anconi (1451.) individualno i originalno djelo prelomnog značenja u razvoju ranorenesansne skulpture u Europi. Nakon ikonografske i strukturalne analize, te komparacije s kipovima Milosrđa i aktovima u talijanskoj skulpturi 14. i 15. st. iscrpno analizira Jurjev inovacijski pristup, napuštanje tradicijskog ikonografskog tipa i oblikovanje realističkog akta žene s pet putta, kao genre prizor dječje igre veranja po tijelu žene. Juraj je majstorski riješio oblikovanje akta, modelaciju i pokret dječjih likova i psihološku karakterizaciju njihovih lica. Autor smatra izvorištem Jurjeva nadahnuća skulpturu Jacopa della Guercia (Acca Larentia), a analizom kasnijih aktova quattrocenta (Rizzo), kao i oblikovanja teme Caritas u renesansi i manirizmu 16. st., pa i u baroka, dokazuje da Jurjev pristup nije imao sljedbenika (osim možda Domenika iz Firence), niti je po kvaliteti bio ponovno dosegnut.

¹Svesci *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte*, koje su 30-ih godina XX. stoljeća objavljivali Talijani ili *Inventar Monumental* što su ga 60-ih godina na poticaj Malrauxa poduzeli Francuzi, samo su dva od nepreglednog mnoštva uzornih primjera takvih nastojanja.

²Max Dworak, »Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte«

³H. Sedlmeyr, *Probleme der Interpretation, der Wahrheit und der Zeit u: Kunst und Wahrheit*, München, 1958, 87-159

i značenja, svjesni smo da nikada nema kraja produ-
bljavanju poniranja u bitak svakog pojedinog likovnog
djela i proširivanju poimanja njegova značenja u pro-
storu i vremenu. To je i temeljni kriterij vrednovanja
likovnih remek-djela: prepoznavamo ih po tomu što
se, kao duhovna tvorba, bez obzira na tvar u kojoj su
sazdana, ne »troše« vremenom, nego im se osložnjava
značenje i produbljuje smisao. Svako umjetničko dje-
lo je spomenik, memento, zapis za budućnost, jer često
suvremenici ne uoče vrijednost, niti mu odgonetnu smi-
sao. Nepregledan je broj spomenika koje su generacije
povjesničara umjetnosti uvijek iznova »čitale«, doslov-
no stoljećima, i stoga su i gotovo sva naša čitanja i
naše interpretacije, redovito - reinterpretacije.

Smatrao sam potrebnim da na početku sažmem i
ponovim ovih nekoliko općepoznatih teza, budući da
mi je namjera da jedno gotovo nepoznato, a svakako
nepriznato likovno djelo rane renesanse pokušam
novim čitanjem i interpretacijom vrednovati tako da
se može svrstati među antologijska djela skulpture
quattrocenta. Želim naglasiti da ne smatram svoj pri-
stup izuzetnim, niti dosadašnje zanemarivanje djela iči-
jim propustom: naprosto, dogodilo se da ga nitko na-
kon A. Venturija nije pogledao na takav način. Možda
bismo mogli navesti dva razloga za to.

Prvo, da nije nastalo u velikim centrima kulture Ita-
lije, niti u žarištu ranorenesansne skulpture, Firenci ili
Padovi – gdje se očekuju prodori novih zamisli i dosezi
novih mogućnosti – nego u Anconi, na istočnoj perife-
riji apeninskog poluotoka, u provinciji Marche koja
se rijetko uopće spominje među regijama umjetnosti
quattrocenta, pa je teško i pomisliti da bismo tamo mog-
li naići na neko izvorno djelo izuzetno visoke kvali-
tete.

Drugi je razlog vjerojatno što je ova izrazito rene-
sansna skulptura utopljena u bogato dekoriranu fasa-
du raščlanjenu isključivo kasnogotičkim arhitekton-
skim elementima, pa se njezin smireni volumen gubi u
glasnom i svjetlom – sjenom razigranom okolišu orna-
menta venecijanskog gotico fiorito stila.⁴

Treći je razlog možda u činjenici da autor djela nije
talijanski majstor, nego je došao iz Šibenika, dakle po-
tječe sa suprotne, hrvatske jadranske obale, odnosno
iz druge mediteranske periferijske sredine i što je pri-
padnik jedne male nacije, također obično zaboravljene
u velikim pregledima povijesti europske umjetnosti.
Zaboravljene između ostalog i stoga što još uvijek –
nakon stotinipedest godina postojanja hrvatske po-
vijesti umjetnosti kao znanstvene discipline⁵ i smjene
nekoliko generacija stručnjaka i brojnih istaknutih zan-

stvenika, te obimne biblioteke njihovih knjiga i priloga,
većina, čak i vrhunskih europskih i svjetskih povje-
sničara umjetnosti, specijalista za quattrocento i ranu
renesansu ne smatra logičnom obvezu da poznaju (i
citiraju) znanstvene studije i rasprave objavljene na hr-
vatskom jeziku.

Namjera mi je, dakle, da temeljitom analizom, inter-
pretacijom i valorizacijom pokušam dokazati, da je
trodimenzionalna skulpturalna grupa *Caritas* (Milo-
srde) Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca iz 1451. godine na
Loggia de' Mercanti (Trgovačkoj loži) u Anconi, jedno
od izuzetnih djela u povijesti postanka europske rene-
sance, koje nije bilo prepoznato i vrednovano, te je
ostalo do danas neuočeno i nepriznato.

Grupa Milosrde Jurja Dalmatinca i skulptura quat- trocenta u Italiji

Tumačenja i spoznaje što ih ovdje objavljujem, raz-
vio sam postupno otkrivajući slojevitost ovog djela,
proučavajući ga u nekoliko navrata tijekom posljednjih

⁴ Zbog uskoće ulice teško je sagledati cjelinu fasade pa se Jurjev projekt kompozicije fasade najbolje očitava na arhitektonskom snimku što ga je objavio Frey, D., *Der Dom von Sebenico und sein Baumeister Giorgio Orsini*, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes, Bd.VII, Wien, sl. 68. Na pročelju su još tri skulpture personifikacija Kreposti u odgovarajućim nišama prvoga kata, riješene na tradicijski način sa svojim atributima u rukama: Nada sa sidrom, Snaga sa stupom i Umjerenost s (otpalom) vagom.

⁵ I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889) utemeljitelj je hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti kao znanstvene discipline, a njegov »Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih« (1858) prelomno je djelo temeljeno na istraživanju arhivskih izvora i analizi spomenika.

⁶ Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa u Šibeniku objavljen je sedam godina kasnije. U sklopu mog izlaganja o potrebi reinterpretacije i revalorizacije prvog desetljeća Jurjeva opusa u deset teza, citirani je ulomak iz 6. teze AKT I PORTRET, str. 46-47. R. Ivančević, *Prilozi problemu interpretacije djela Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca, Deset teza o razdoblju 1441-1452*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 3-6, 1979-1982, str. 25-64. U okviru pete teze SLOBODNA SKULPTURA, također je bilo rečeno: »Ako je u razvoju skulpture specifično za umjetnost renesanse oslobađanja zavisnosti od arhitekture, njezino usklađivanje a zatim i osamostaljenje u prostoru, što je zapravo simbolički izraz oslobađanja humanističkog individue od srednjovjekovne zavisnosti /socijalnog okvira, »zakona kadra«, onda je i broj i vrijednost slobodno, cjelovito, trodimenzionalno oblikovanih skulptura u opusu nekog majstora jedno od mjerila njegove pripadnosti renesansi. Taj zadatak rješavao je Juraj sredinom 15. st. kreativno i originalno, no to u srazmjeru sa značenjem i vrijednošću ostvarenja nije bilo nipošto dovoljno ni cjelovito valorizirano u ukupnom zbroju prikaza njegova djela. U Jurjevima skulpturama koje, s obzirom na metodu oblikovanja možemo tretirati kao potpuno zaobljene, trodimenzionalne volumene (bez obzira što im je većinom namijenjeno mjesto u arhitektonskoj niši), osim formalnog dometa zaobljavanja, oblikovanja sa svih strana i za sve vizure, iskazuje se jedno novo, humanističko doživljavanje i poimanje ljudskog tijela, što je druga i možda još važnija razina značenja.« (str. 42). I kasnije, govoreći o »galeriji slobodno stojećih Jurjevih skulptura« istakao sam da je akt Milosrda »nesumnjivo najzaobljeniji Jurjev kip, odnosno grupa, trodimenzionalno oblikovan u kontinuitetu iz svih vizura, saglediv isključivo u pokretu i kretanju /promatrača/ (str. 44).

četdesetak godina. Tezu koju ovdje zastupam, definirao sam i objavio sam prvi put u referatu na simpoziju posvećenom Jurju Matejevu Dalmatincu u Šibeniku 1975. godine.⁶ Već tada sam izrekao temeljne komponente svoje interpretacije i visoku ocjenu djela, što ću citirati kao uvod u iscrpniju analizu i argumentaciju koja slijedi:

»Potražimo li analogije za ženski akt /renesansnu temu *par excellancel* u punoj skulpturi quattrocenta, iznendit će nas izuzetnost Jurjeva »Milosrđa« (1451.) ne samo u usporedbi s dotad postojećim nesumnjivo slabije kvalitete – što je ispravno istakao C. Fisković⁷ – nego i po izuzetnosti »mješovite« kompozicije akta sa skupinom putta, dječjih aktova /takoder renesansne teme *par excellence*, o čemu sam govorio ranije na istom mjestu/, kojoj nema analogije u europskoj ranorenesansnoj skulpturi.« Cvito Fisković je točno ocijenio da je Jurjeva skulptura bolja od venecijanskih, »ali ako proširimo usporedbu i na cjelokupnu europsku skulpturu prve polovice 15. stoljeća teško ćemo naći bolje oblikovan ženski akt u prirodnoj veličini«, a još teže

ovako homogenu grupu žene s petoricom dječaćića. I ove dječje likove možemo tretirati kao pune skulpture, a komponirani su tako da izvanredno prikazuju sve faze pokreta u uspinjanju i spuštanjem djece po živom tijelu žene u eliptičnom uzlazno-silaznom tijeku. Za ovu kiparsku cjelinu, zaista nema predložka, ona je Jurjeva invencija. A potražimo li uzore za pojedine komponente, ne možemo se ne podsjetiti kako su, iako živo pokrenuti, poneki putti na Donatellovoj Kantoriji u nezgrapnim i neprirrodnim pozama, a djeca na reljefima Robbie (oba djela 30-ih godina 15. stoljeća) dosadno, uredno i bezživotno poredana. A i sve su to samo reljefi, a Jurjevo je »Milosrđe«, zaista trodimenzionalna figuralna skupina.

Glave dječaka možemo definirati i kao psihološke portrete: plačno lice »Ljutka« koji se drži ženina skuta uz nogu, blaženo lice onoga što se domogao obraza žene, a vrhunac je izvanredni detalj zgrčenog izraza lica dječaka kojemu drugi stoji nogom na glavi. Ovaj jedinstveni prizor »dječjih igara« nema pandana u skulpturi quattrocenta. Ukazujući na raznolikost, uvjerljivost i životnost dječjih pokreta, upozorio sam na jednu bitnu značajku: »pokret je način na koji postoji Jurjeva skulptura. Studija pokreta /takoder tipična preokupacija ranorenesansnih umjetnika / bila je majstorova preokupacija, analiza pokreta u njegovim skulpturama pokazuje obilje /realistično/ zaustavljenih kretanja i odsustvo bilo kakve sheme ili manire...«⁸

Naglašavajući da nije riječ o skulpturi, nego o skulpturalnoj grupi, zapravo o jednom *genre-prizoru* sa šest sudionika, pokušat ćemo argumentirati tezu da u razvoju skulpture quattrocenta u Italiji Jurjeva grupa *Caritas*, nastala točno u sredini stoljeća, nije samo jedna u nizu, nego predstavlja inovaciju, invenciju i kreaciju po tri kriterija: ikonografije, kompozicije i oblikovanja, što će biti predmet daljnje raspave.

Caritas u trecentu

Potražimo li u povijesti talijanske srednjovjekovne umjetnosti uporabu ženskog akta u okviru tematike Kreposti ili Vrlina, bez obzira na temu Milosrđa, moći ćemo posegnuti do prvog desetljeća 14. stoljeća i Giovanni Pisana. U sklopu veoma složenog i bogatog ikonografskog programa njegove propovjedaonice za katedralu u Pisi (1310.) među likovima vrlina koje kao karijatide nose *Eccelsiju* Giovanni je svrstao i jednu skulpturu ženskog akta.⁹ Ona je ovdje personifikacija Umjerenosti, a oblikovana je po uzoru na antičku Venus Pudica.¹⁰ No, u 14. se stoljeću provlači misao i o

⁷ C. Fisković, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, Zagreb, 1963, str. 24

⁸ Funkciju i ulogu pokreta u skulpturi Dalmatinca analizirao sam u nastavku izlaganja, na istom mjestu, iscrpnije na primjerima putta i anđela koji odgrću zavjese na oltaru sv. Staša i bl. Arnira u Splitu, te na luneti portala crkve sv. Augustina u Anconi. Smatrao sam i smatram, da u posljednjem primjeru hipertrofija pokreta sveca i anđela nema oslonca ni u temi, niti u radnji, nego je neposredan izraz individualnosti kipara, njegova temperamenta i karaktera, Jurjeve, tipično renesanse, istraživačke strasti, u ovom slučaju studije pokreta. I zbog toga sam, uz ostalo, smatrao da ga možemo uvrstiti među »problematičare quattrocenta«. (10. teza, n.dj., 55-60)

⁹ Witztum-Volbach, n. dj., tb. VII. Ovdje je također upozoreno, na oscilacije ikonografskih značenja, jer »lik žene s blizancima na grudima što stoji nad personifikacijama četiriju Vrlina«, nije Caritas, »nego personifikacija Pise, alegorija sasvim u duhu vremena probudenog humanizma«, isto, str. 141

¹⁰ Vidi: E. Panofski, *Umetnost i značenje, ikonološke studije*, Beograd, 1975, str. 127, sl. 113. Panofsky smatra da je u likovnim umjetnostima renesanse ideju »gole Istine« s teološkog na svjetovni plan prenio i promovirao L. B. Alberti u Traktatu o slikarstvu (1436.) govoreći o Apelesovoj kleveti (Lukijan): »poslije Kajanja, pojavila se jedna mlada djevojka, sramrežljiva i stidljiva (pudica), po imenu Istina«. Budući da se istina nema čega stidjeti, to se moglo odnositi samo na njezinu nagost. Panofski upućuje na ženski akt tipa *Venus Pudica* kao personifikaciju Istine na Botticelijevoj alegoriji Klevete i naglašava da će *Nuda veritas* postati će »jedna od najpoluamnijih personifikacija renesanse«. Za *Venus Pudica* vidi: P. P. Bober – Rubinstein, R., *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, New York, 1986, str. 61, sl. 14, druga su dva tipa *Venera iz kupelji (Mazarin)*, koja se sličnom gestom lijeve ruke pokriva tkaninom ili *Venus Felix* s Amorum koja to isto čini desnom (sl. 15 i 16). Vidi također repliku *Venus felix* u bronci (32 cm), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Beč; Pope-Hénnessy, n.dj., sl. 127. Prema podacima kod Bobera, od mogućih antičkih uzora *Venus Pudica* (sada u Münchenu, Gliptoteka) spominje se krajem 15. stoljeća, ali *Venus* na kupanju (Mazarin) otkrivena je tek 1509. godine, pa nije mogla biti predložak kiparima quattrocenta. *Venus Felix*, piše Amico Aspertini, postavljena je u Vatikanski Belvedere također 1509., pa otada datira mogućnost njezina znatnijeg utjecaja u umjetnosti cinquecenta, bez obzira gdje se ranije nalazila.

ženskom aktu kao personifikaciji »gole istine«. ¹¹ U tom smislu, upozorava I. Fisković da bi i ankonitansko Milosrđe predstavljeno ženskim aktom trebalo ikonografski tumačiti kao »poistovječeno s Istinom«. ¹²

Standardna ikonografija Milosrđa (*Caritas*), kao jedne od sedam kreposti u srednjovjekovnom ciklusu Kreposti (Vrlina) i Mana ¹³ obuhvaća redovito dva lika: ženu i dijete. Odjevena u dugu haljinu, žena sjedi ili stoji i drži dijete ili dvoje djece u naručju. Ponekad ih doji i stoga ima obnažene grudi, ali ako stoje uz nju može ih držati i za ruke ili im položiti ruke na glave. ¹⁴ Dvoje djece prikladnije je od jednoga i stoga da se grupa na prvi pogled razlikuje od Bogorodice s djetetom, a u prizoru dojenja »blizanaca« nudi se mogućnost simetričnog rješenja kompozicije. Mramorna skulptura *Caritas* učenika Giovanni Pisana, Tina da Camaino (1321.) prikazuje odjevenu ženu kako sjedi, podupire rukama na koljenima dva dječaka, jednog golog, drugog u košuljici, koje doji bujnim grudima što vire kroz proreze na haljini. ¹⁵ Na reljefu Giottova firentinskog Campanila (1334-37.), među tri teološke vrline Ljubav je prikazana je kao žena koja sjedi, u desnoj ruci drži posudu (jajoliku bocu), a u lijevoj dijete u povelju, dakle daje mu mlijeko, umjesto da ga doji. U pravokutnoj niši na pročelju Loggia dei Lanzi u Firenci, dovršenoj 1391., klesao je Luca Giovanni da Siena *Caritas* kao sjedeći lik odjevene žene, koja doji golo dijete koje joj kleči na lijevom koljenu držeći se za dojku što viri iz odgrnute haljine. ¹⁶

Od najstarijih srednjovjekovnih primjera do Jurja postoje samo varijante ustaljenih tipova, ali nema razvoja. Sve te starije tradicijske ikonografske sheme skulpture trecenta u Italiji – koje će se ponavljati do kraja quattrocenta, a često će se udaljiti i od gotičkog humanizma, realizma i emotivnosti prizora i biti suzdržanije i formalnije ¹⁷ – Juraj Dalmatinac je točno na polovici prvog renesansnog stoljeća kreativno negirao svojom skulpturalnom grupom *Milosrđa* u Anconi.

Jurjev prevrat u ikonografiji Vrline Milosrđa (1451.)

Pravi prevrat i lom kontinuiteta izveo je, prije svega brojem dječjih likova: umjesto jednog djeteta ili dvoje djece prikazao je čak pet golih dječaka. ¹⁸ Zatim je, umjesto obnaženih grudi ili golog poprsja žene, što je bio najsmioniji tip prije Jurja, izveo je cijeli i to stojeći akt žene. Time se Jurjevo Milosrđe izdvaja iz konteksta prethodnih skulptura tematskog kruga Vrlina i uklapa se u temu razvoja ženskog akta u skulpturi, dakle uz srednjovjekovnu Evu i antičku Veneru. Napokon, ali

možda najvažnije, transponirao je tradicijsku simboličku kompoziciju u živi genre – prizor. Promjenio je pritom i sadržajno, ikonološki, tradicijom utvrđeni odnos između žene i djece: umjesto dotadašnjeg izražavanja zaštitničkog odnos žene prema nemoćnoj djeci, Juraj je različitim stavovima i gestama, pa i izrazom lica djece postigao da ona postanu aktivni sudionici prizora, nosioci radnje, izražavajući svoju emotivnu privrženost i ljubav prema ženi, kao uzvraćanje za njezinu brigu i ljubav.

Trostruki broj djece, od dotada uobičajenog, u Jurjevom prikazu Milosrđa ne bi značio sâm po sebi toliko, da autor nije ujedno proveo integriranje svih sudionika u psihološki motiviranu i logički povezanu grupu djece koja se drže »uz ženine skute« ili se pripijaju uz njezino nago tijelo ili je grle oko vrata naslanjajući »obraz na obraz«. Izraz lica Jurjevih putta veoma je živ i raznolik, uvjerljivo si oblikovani, a mogu se definirati kao veoma rani dječji psihološki portreti. Dovoljno je pogledati plačno lice i namršteno čelo dječaka desno dolje, koji je očito uvrijeđen što je ostao na dnu i drži se grčevito ženina skuta uz nogu (prema odgovarajućem tipu u priči o sedam patuljaka mogli bismo ga nazvati Ljutko) i usporediti ga s blagim izrazom lijevog putta koji mu se pomirljivo obraća, vjerojatno s utjehom da će i on doći na red. Ili blaženi osmijeh onoga koji je obgrlio vrat i mazno prislonio »obraz uz obraz« žene, uporediti s izrazom napora na licu lijevoga koji se uspinje (ili spušta) uz bedro žene držeći se podlaktice. No, kulminacija ekspresije (i ne bez humora) je zgrčeno lice dječaka desno, uz grudi žene, kojemu onaj najviši stoji stopalom na obrazu. Ne možemo se oteti dojmu da to ne radi samo radi uporišta, nego namjerno svom snagom odguruje onoga

¹¹ Isto

¹² Pozivajući se na J. Hall, *Dictionary of subjects and symbols in art*, 1974, str. 336-337, osim Milosrđa – Istine, autor smatra da ostale tri personifikacije na Trgovačkoj loži predstavljaju »likove građanskih Vrlina«: Pravdu (sjedinjenu sa Snagom), Nadu (s Vjerom) i Razboritost. I. Fisković, *Juraj Dalmatinac u Anconi*, Peristil 27-28/1984-85, str. 134-135

¹³ To nije jedna od tri teološke vrline Vjera, Ljubav (!) i Nada, iako se obično isto naziva – Caritas. Među personifikacijama Vrlina na grobnici dužda Niccolò Trona (1479-80.) u S. Maria dei Frari izveo je Antonio Rizzo čak tri lika Caritas: *Caritas - Amor Dei*, dakle teološka vrlina, drži u lijevoj ruci malu posudu (svjetiljku) s plamenom, *Caritas* u smislu milosrđa drži veću, jednostavnu zdjelu, a *Caritas - Amor proximi* s obje ruke u plaštu poput pregače nosi obilje voća. Vidi: Schulz...A. Rizzo, sl. 87-90, 100, 103

¹⁴ U »Iconologie de Ripa«, prvom ilustriranom izdanju (1603.) fiksirana je ikonografija Vrline Milosrđa prema spomenutim verzijama: »la Charite

pod sobom, da se ne bi i on domogao nježnog lica žene. Uz to treba napomenuti da su pokreti djece »penjača« izuzetno vjerno uočeni i prirodno uvjerljivo riješeni. Unatoč pomnom istraživanju nisam uspio naći ništa ne samo u povijesti teme kreposti Milosrđa, nego i najopćenitije u temi žene i djece što bi kao genre-prizor moglo biti dostojni pendant ovom dječjem »alpinizmu« po nagom tijelu lijepe, mlade žene.

Mislim da je trebalo istaknuti sve ove autentične životne pojedinosti iz dječjeg ponašanja na Jurjevoj grupi, jer je moguće zamisliti i veću grupu djece svrstanu uz noge, recimo – kao što se likovi vjernika sklanjaju pod plašt u ikonografskom tipu Bogorodice zaštitnice – a da se ništa bitno ne bi promijenilo. Možemo petpostaviti, također, da bi prosječni majstor riješio kompoziciju s petero djece tako da bi stavio dvoje u ruke žene, a troje smjestio uz noge itd. Već bi i to bila inovacija, ali, svjesni smo da bi takvo (mediokritetsko) rješenje kompozicije impliciralo sadržajno neprihvatljivu poruku o privilegiranoj (ili više voljenoj) djeci u naručju i zapostavljenoj djeci uz noge. U Jurjevoj koncepciji stupanj prisnosti žene i djece ne ovisi o njoj, nego o djeci, o naporu ili vještini koju su uložili da joj se približe.

Vrijednost Jurjeve inovacije je u nedvosmislenosti, novom humanijem značenju, istinskoj životnosti i potenciranoj emotivnosti genre prizora. Dok bi se lik s jednim ili s dvoje djece moglo tumačiti i kao odnos majke i djece, petero (!) dječaka iste dobi, evidentno nisu njezina djeca, nego naprosto djeca. Ovdje nije riječ o majčinskom odnosu – biološki prirodnom i sociološki uvjetovanom – nego o istinskom milosrđu, ljubavi i brizi za tuđu djecu. A to je bitna moralna karakteristika Vrline Milosrđa.

recueille ou allaité des enfants«. Vidi: Reau, L., *L'icôno-graphie de l'art chrétien*, I/188

¹⁵ Vidi: R. Olson, R. J. M., *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1997, sl. 18

¹⁶ Vidi: Vitzthum, G. – Volbach, W.F., *Die Maledrei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien*, Potsdam, 1924, sl.141 kao što, na primjer, Mino da Fiesole za grobnicu Pape Julija II u (1474) u staroj bazilici sv. Petra u Rimu prikazuje Caritas sasvim odjevenu, kako podržava golo dijete na lijevom koljenu.

¹⁷ Kao, na primjer, Mino da Fiesole koji za grobnicu Pape Julija II u (1474) u staroj bazilici sv. Petra u Rimu prikazuje Caritas sasvim odjevenu, kako naprosto drži golo dijete na lijevom koljenu.

¹⁸ Napomenimo još jednom da su i dječji likovi u prikazima Milosrđa često odjeveni i to i prije i poslije Jurjevog kipa.

¹⁹ Vidi: Ivančević, R., *Uvod u ikonologiju*, u: Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva, IV. izd., Zagreb, 90-91

²⁰ Ugleda se po tome na tip Venere iz kupelji (Mazarin).

Jurjevo rješenje ove srednjovjekovne kršćanske ikonografske teme znači karakterističan obrat u duhu ranorenesansne humanizacije. Ono svjedoči o sudbinskoj povezanosti među ljudskim bićima, psihološkoj složenosti u individualizaciji svakog sudionika, životnoj istini o ljubavi i skladu njihova međusobna odnosa, te optimističkom sadržaju, radosti i ideji ljepote svega ljudskog koju ostvaruje. Jurjeva skulpturalna grupa ujedno je izvrstan primjer renesansne ikonografske metode simulacije: njegovo Milosrđe nije posvećeno propagiranju karitativne djelatnosti što se obavlja kao jedan od zadataka čestita života dobrih kršćana, nego je originalna poema i strastvena himna međusobne ljubavi skrbne žene i djece o kojoj brine.¹⁹

No, znamo da ništa u povijesti kulture i umjetnosti nije sasvim novo, pa tako, unatoč neosporne izuzetnosti Jurjevog Milosrđa, iako nema formalnog uzora ni predloška, moramo i za njega potražiti prethodnika.

Jacopo della Quercia, Acca Larentia – Caritas seminuda

Po mom saznanju postoji samo jedno starije djelo, koje možemo ocijeniti kao potencijalnu prefiguraciju, ne u doslovnom smislu rješenja, nego po duhu i metodi pristupa, po smionoj inovativnosti i visokoj oblikovnoj kvaliteti ostvarenja. To je skulptura stojećeg ženskog lika s dva djeteta Jacopa della Querciae za glasoviti zdenac Fonte Gaia u Sieni (1419.), najveću fontanu talijanskog trecenta. Žena je prikazana kao poluakt, ogrnuta plaštem samo s leđa i ispod trbuha gdje ga pridržava desnom rukom.²⁰ Na lijevoj ruci drži dječaka koji joj vršcima prstiju dodiruje lijevu grud, dok drugi dječčić, uz noge, poskakuje i pruža ruke prema gore pozivajući je gestom da i njega uzme u naručaj. Prije ikonografske analize trebalo bi reći da je ova skulptura jedno od onih djela u povijesti umjetnosti koja se svojom individualnošću, ljepotom i snagom uzdižu do apsolutne vrijednosti i opiru stilskim i kronološkim kategorijama. Nježno mladenačko lice, male djevojačke grudi, meko modelirani trbuh i vitki struk, kao i majstorski lomovi nabora draperije, imaju malo srodnosti s tadašnjom gotičkom skulpturom (iako pripadaju ozračju gotičkog idealizma i mekog stila), ali bi se jednako tako mogli svrstati i među djela grčke helenističke skulpture ili francuskog rokoka. Ono po čemu je Jacopovo djelo jedini inovacijski pandan i po kvaliteti jedina dostojna prefiguracija Jurjeve grupe Caritas, je realizam oblikovanja, uz visoku plemenitost i emotivnost, te

životnost i psihološku karakterizaciju grupe, time da su djeca aktivni nosioci radnje, kao što će biti i kod Jurja. Sve to kulminira u nježnom dodirivanju dojke prstićima jednog djeteta i živahnom skoku i emotivno nabijenom prosvijedu drugoga.²¹

U ikonografskom smislu Jacopo je također izveo humanistički obrat jer ova grupa nije Caritas, nego ilustracija legende o Romulu i Remu. Ali, umjesto tradicijskog prikaza vučice koja doji djecu, Jacopo je prebacio temu iz mitološkog okružja divljeg ispremiješanog svijeta životinja i ljudi u humano okružje, jer je prikazao drugi dio legende kad ih je posvojio pastir Faustul i povjerio svojoj ženi Acci Larentiji, koja ih je odgajala s dvanaesticom svojih sinova.²² U sadržajnom smislu ovo je tipično djelo milosrđa, samo konkretizirano na dva poznata dječaka iz antičke mitologije. Jacopo je pretvorio šturu legendu u lirski prizor mlade žene, zapravo djevojke (nipošto majke 12 sinova!) u prisnom dodiru s dvoje djece. U cjelokupnoj povijesti talijanskog kiparstva do 15. stoljeća, ova se skulptura može izdvojiti kao jedina prefiguracija Jurjeve grupe, koja će naslijediti isti duh realizma i lirske emotivnosti, ali s odraslijom ženom, a uobičajenu alegoriju s dvoje djece razviti u »prizor iz života« s pet dječaka. Jacopova Caritas ostat će predložak bez obzira da li ju je Juraj ikada vidio ili ne. Iako je vjerojatnije da je poznavao Jacopov kiparski rad, jer su izvornost, ljepota i vrijednost skulptura della Querciae za zdenac u Sieni bile odmah prepoznate od suvremenika. Zato je i dobio nadimak »Jacopo della Fonte«.²³

No, nakon što smo razmotrili ono što je prethodilo po kriteriju srodnosti ili sličnosti, cilj nam je utvrditi što je u Jurjevoj grupi Milosrđa originalno, novo i nepovijetljivo, te mu istražiti značenje i smisao. Kad je riječ o nagom ljudskom tijelu – uz portret i pejzaž navažnijoj temi ranorenesanse umjetnosti – ona je u Jurjevu opusu zastupana predstavnicima obaju rodova i svih uzrasta. Ali dok je temi nage djece, putta, prisutnih u gotovo svim njegovim djelima, bilo posvećeno znatno više pozornosti u znanosti, kao i nagih muškaraca prikazanih na reljefima splitskih oltara: tri muška akta u Bičevanju Krista na sarkofagu Sv. Staša ili na sarkofagu bl. Arnira u svećevnoj kapeli, u prizoru Arnirova martirija u 12. stoljeću, gdje je kao kulminaciju metode simulacije Juraj prikazao čak i seljake koji su ga kamenovali – kao aktove (preuzete s antičkih sarkofaga), skulptura ženskog akta iz Ancone nije bila cjelovito interpretirana, ni adekvatno valorizirana u srazmjeru sa svojom izuzetnom vrijednošću i značenjem.^{23a}

Kao što je rečeno, Jurjev će ikonografski prevrat u prikazu teme Caritas ostati bez odjeka u Italiji i to ne samo u kiparstvu, nego također i u povijesti umjetnosti, u opsežnim pregledima skulpture quattrocenta i monografijama talijanskih, europskih i američkih povjesničara umjetnosti. I u znanstveno najpouzdanijim pregledima povijesti umjetnosti 15. stoljeća malo će tko i spomenuti Jurja, a kamo li da bi pokušao odrediti mjesto njegove figuralne grupe Milosrđa s pet putta u razvoju stare teme, kao i po likovnom dometu u interpretaciji ženskog akta, dječjeg tijela i pokreta u okviru skulpture quattrocenta u Italiji i Europi.

Jurjev realistični ženski akt raskida s gotičkom tradicijom shematskog i stiliziranog prikazivanja nagog ženskog tijela, teme koja je tijekom srednjeg vijeka bila dopuštena jedino u liku Eve u sklopu ikonografije Prvog grijeha. Pri tome se Juraj nadovezuje na ranorenesansna nastojanja obnove skladnog oblikovanja ženskog akta u antici.

U talijanskom quattrocentu spomenuti tradicijski gotički pristup, u kvalitetnoj izvedbi, ali tipičnoj stilizaciji možda najbolje predstavlja kip *Eve* Antonia Rizza u Cortileu duždeve palače u Veneciji. U tomu se slažu gotovo svi stručnjaci koji pišu o skulpturi 15. stoljeća.²⁴ No, uvijek nanovo treba istaknuti, da iako se Rizzova Eva redovito citira među primjerima početaka rano

²¹ Vidi: Olson, *n. dj.*, sl. 38, str. 54-56. Autorica točno primjećuje: »The group is psychologically integrated...«. Stoga nas čudi, da nakon što je to bilo uočeno kod Jacopa, nitko nije to isto primijetio ili rekao za Jurjev prizor Milosrđa. No, s druge strane, upravo nakon takva čitanja Jacopove skulpturalne grupe, smatram da neće biti problema u prihvaćanju teze o dubljoj srodnosti s Jurjevom: dovoljno ih je interpretirati jednakom pomnjom.

²² Vidi: V. Zamarovski, *Junaci antičkih mitova*, Zagreb, 1985, str. 296 (Romul).

²³ U nekoliko sam navrata upozorio da je nepojmljivo i neprihvatljivo pisati biografije umjetnika temeljeći svoje sudove isključivo na eksplicitnim podacima iz povijesnih izvora. Prvo, zato jer nam od ukupnog broja izvora koji su postojali, vrijeme sačuva često samo neznatni dio i to obično po hirovitom izboru slučaja. Drugo, zato što jedan podatak, uvijek sadrži i implicitne sadržaje, koji zaslućuju jednaku pozornost i uvažavanje znanstvenika. Tako, u našem slučaju, budući da je u nizu dokumenata dokazan dulji stalni boravak Jurja Dalmatince u Veneciji, sasvim je nepojmljivo da arhitekt i kipar njegova kova ne bi svratio i u nedaleku Padovu i dobro upoznao njezine spomenike. Jednako tako, po analogiji s »nepojmljivom lakoćom putovanja« na temelju poznatih dokumenata, kad je tijekom jedne godine znao posjetiti i desetak gradova na hrvatskoj i talijanskoj strani Jadrana, neobično bi bilo da nije pohodio i neke koji nisu zabilježeni, a posebno treba pridodati i one lokalitete koji se nalaze usput ili su u blizini spomenutih. Po jednom dokumentu baš iz Ancone pouzdano znamo da je Juraj putovao jašući svoga konja. Arhivski podaci svjedoče, također, da je u okružju Ancone, Juraj boravio u Riminiu, Fanu, Civitanova, Fermu, Tolentinu, Urbinu i Gubbiju. Povežemo li ta dva

renesansne skulpture u Veneciji, nastala je tek poslije 1470.,²⁵ dakle najmanje dva desetljeća nakon Jurjeva akta Milosrda, a po nekim autorima i tridesetak godina kasnije! Rizzov gotički tip žene, uskih ramena, malih grudi, natečena trbuha, stiliziranih uvojaka veoma duge kose, upućuje na izvore u flamanskom slikarstvu od Van Eycka na dalje, a traje u slikarstvu tijekom gotovo cijelog quattrocenta. Taj kontinuitet gotičkog akta može se uočiti i u skulpturi 15. stoljeća sjeverne Europe. Dovoljno je pogledati pri kraju stoljeća još potpuno gotičku stilizaciju *Eve* Tilmana Riemenschneidera na portalu Bogorodičine crkve u Würzburgu (1493.), oblikovno i stilski srodnu Rizzovoj. Uz isti ikonografski tip stidljive geste ruke sa smokvinim listom među bedrima, ista su uska ramena, majušne grudi, izduženi trup, spuštenu trbuh, ovoidna glava, poluotvorene oči i ornamentalna stilizacija uvojaka preduge kose. Svim tim gotičkim aktovima u kiparstvu, osim tvrdoće i bezživotnosti modelacije tkiva (poput drvenih skulptura, što vrijedi i za slikarstvo), zajednička je i disproporcionalno mala glava u odnosu na tijelo.

No, gotovo svi navedeni primjeri bezživotnih gotičkih aktova, kao velik broj drugih istog tipa, nastali su nekoliko desetljeća, pola stoljeća, pa i kasnije nakon Jurjeva Milosrda. Možda je lakše shvatiti veličinu Jurjeva pothvata, ako se podsjetimo što je on zapravo mogao vidjeti prije no što je koncipirao i isklesao svoj doživljaj ljepote ženskoga tijela. Aktove koje je mogao

vidjeti u zavičaju nije teško ocijeniti, jer su bila samo dva na cijeloj hrvatskoj obali Jadrana: Radovanova *Eva* na portalu trogirске katedrale (1240.) i *Eva* Bonina iz Milana na sjevernom portalu šibenske katedrale (1427.). U oba primjera riječ je o simplificiranom volumskom oblikovanju prema antičkom predlošku *Venere pudicae*, s jednom rukom pod grudima, a drugom sa smokvinim listom među bedrima. Boninovu gotičku Evu morao je vidjeti Juraj prije odlaska u Veneciju, netom isklesanu. No, iako je nastala dva stoljeća nakon trogirске skulpture, ona djeluje gotovo kao replika romaničke Radovanove, tek s nešto malo više naturalističkih pojedinosti. A Juraj će svoj po svemu nepojmljivo razvijeniji akt klesati samo dvadesetak godina nakon Boninove! Za uvid u stanje Jurjeva polazišta treba naglasiti da kad govorimo o Boninu, nije riječ o predstavniku zaostale ili uspavane periferne dalmatinske sredine (kako se često o njoj govorilo), nego o kiparu koji je došao iz Milana, jednog od najrazvijenijih žarišta umjetničke djelatnosti sjeverne Italije u to doba. Primjer dviju dalmatinskih skulptura Eva dokazuje kako se malo toga promijenilo u monumentalnoj skulpturi tijekom dvaju stoljeća na širokom prostoru od sjeverne Italije do srednje Dalmacije, odnosno u cijelom jadranskom bazenu. Time se samo još jasnije očitava koliki je bio kreativni iskorak Jurjev.

Jurjev akt Milosrda između srednjovjekovne Eve i antičke Venere

Jurjeva gola i bosonoga Caritas čvrsto stoji na desnoj nozi, dok joj je lijeva opuštenu u kontrapostu i prislonjena koljenom na desnu. Takav položaj nogu prirodno uvjetuje spuštenu lijevu kuk, a time i nagib trbuha na tu stranu. To kipar kompenzira blagim nagibom toraksa na suprotnu, njezinu desnu stranu i napokon završava opet u kontrapunktu okretom i nagibom glave ulijevo. Dosljednom provedbom tih blagih pomaka pojedinih dijelova tijela u suprotnim smjerovima negirana je bilo kakva simetrija i postignut prirodno opušten položaj tijela. Igra suprotstavljenih smjerova dopunjena je i odnosom ruku. Desna ruka savijena pod pravim kutem, prirodno je položena na trbuh – na gornji blago zaobljeni dio, a ne dolje s namjerom da pokrije »stidno« mjesto, kao antičke Venere i njihove kasnije replike – a lijevom opuštenom niz bedro podržava donji dio plašta, koji se provlači kroz prste. Plašt se u stvari jedva nazire i to samo iza tijela: čini se da je prebačen preko desnog lakta i pada do poda, a drugi dio je vjerojatno provučen iza leđa i pre-

podatka, smatram da je veća je vjerojatnost da je tada posjetio i Sienu, grad glasovit po umjetnicima i spomenicima, nego da je to propustio.

²³ Na srodnost Jurjeva Milosrda i kipa *Acca Larentia* Jacopa della Quercia na Fonte Gaia u Sienu prvi je upozorio V. Gvozdanović, *The flSchiavone in Vasari's Vita od Brunelleschi*, *Commentari*, 27(1976), str. 22-23. Nakon dovršenja mog teksta, na to me je upozorio sam autor, koji ga je prevodio na engleski, na čemu mu iskreno zahvaljujem, jer mi je taj prilog bio promakao. Naglašavajući da je to još jedan primjer »toskanskih veza« Jurja Dalmatinca, Gvozdanović ističe srodnost položaja desne ruke i motiv djeteta koje se penje po tijelu žene, a smatra da postoji još veća srodnost s likom Eve i djece na Quercinu reljefu Rad Adama i Eve na portalu San Petronio u Bologni (1434.). Autor podsjeća da su na moguće ugledanje Jurja na Jacopa ukazali i M. Salmi, *Arte italiana*, Firenca, 1942, vol. I, str. 69 i G. Marchioni, *Aggiunte al Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, *Bolletino d'Arte* 45, 1961, str. 76, a da njegovu hipotezu o Jurjevu poznavanju umjetnosti Bologne Niccolo dell' Arca (C. Gnudi, *Nunove ricerche su Niccolo dell'Arca*, Rim, str. 29-30).

²⁴ Vidi, na primjer, iz različitih kulturnih krugova: Schubring, P., *Die italienische Plastik des Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1919; Planischig, L., *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Beč, 1921; Seymour, C.J., *Sculpture in Italy 1400-1500*, London, 1966; Pope – Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, New York, 1985

²⁵ »...all stylistic indices point to a date in the early 1470s«. Schulz, A. M., *Antonio Rizzo Sculptor and Architect*, Princeton, 1983, str.32

bačen preko lijevog ramena, ali je pokriven likovima dvojice dječaka, pa se vidi samo spomenuti kraj plašta povučen kroz prste. On pada dijagonalno na ženino stopalo, a prihvaća ga putto uz njezinu desnu nogu i njime se ogrće. Ovako jasna i logična statika tijela, dopunjena je mekom, prirodnom, realističnom modelacijom punog i čvrstog tijela mlade žene. Sumarno modelirane noge odlikuju se lijepo zaobljenim bedrima, kojima su s unutrašnje strane naznačena tri manja nabora. Na napetom i čvrstom, blago svedenom trbuhu, pomno je modelirano mišićno tkivo koje izdvaja središnji od obodnoga dijela. Jednako meko je razlučen neznatno izdignuti prsni koš, odnosno profil rebara na kojem se izdižu grudi, poput dviju hemisfera s naglašenim ispupčenim bradavicama uleknute sredine.

Uz oblikovanje tijela Jurjeve Caritas podjednako je važno i volumsko oblikovanje glave, odnosno karakter lica i način češljanja i modelacije kose. Nasuprot dugih stiliziranih uvojaka gotičkih Eva, mlada naga žena u Jurjevoj koncepciji ima kratku, ali bujnu valovitu kosu, raspoređenu u žive, nemirne, raznolike pramenove. Nekoliko malih i tanjih pramenova pada joj na čelo, kao što se još tanji i nježniji kratki pramenovi pripijaju uz obraz od čela do kraja uha. Glavni dio kose zabačen je unazad i naglašeno voluminozan, s pramenovima u nekoliko ispremiješanih razina. Lice mlade žene je individualno, klasičnog, razmjerno velikog ravnog nosa, punih usana i blago svedenih nadočnih lukova, a sve je meko modelirano i ogranički povezano u živi izraz portretne snage. Obrisi usta i jedna meka okomita bora što se spušta od nosa uz rub usana možda najviše odudaraju od idealizirane tipizacije i daju karakternu oznaku licu. Iako metoda oblikovanja pramenova kose podsjeća na »školovanje« na antičkoj skulpturi, iako je nos klasičnog profila, ovo lice je prije svega i iznad svega realistički portret u duhu renesansnih htijenja.²⁶ Svakako je u tome otišao dalje i od još uvijek idealiziranih lica renesansnih Madona, na primjer.

Nakon pomnije analize lica Jurjeva Milosrda, usporedba s glavom Rizzove Eve još je poučnija i još uvjerljivije svjedoči o nepremostivom ponoru što dijeli ovo Jurjevo djelo od duha i forme gotičke umjetnosti. Tvrda modelacija i sve što o gotičkoj skulpturi govore istraživači u različitim varijantama, ali slažući se uvijek u bitnom, pa i u pojedinostima, nema ništa zajedničko s glavom Jurjeva Milosrda. Tipično gotičko, a prisutno i u Rizzovoj Evi što je »glava relativno mala... ramena su spuštena i veoma uska... proporcije dijelova tijela su izdužene... natkoljenice su preduge u odnosu na potkoljenice... stopala izdužena i uska.«²⁷ Tomu bismo

mogli dodati nespretno istaknuto kvrgavo koljeno noge u kontrapostu u usporedbi s prirodno priklonjenom i prislonjenom lijevom nogom na desnu kod Jurjeva akta. Usporedbe bi se mogle još detaljnije provesti, ali i ovo je dovoljno da s punim uvjerenjem ponovimo kako je Jurjevo Milosrde prekida s tradicijom gotičke stilizacije, ali se ne uklapa niti u likovno pasivnu, imitativnu obnovu antičkih uzora, nego predstavlja kreativan ranorenesansni pristup, realistički prikaz nagog tijela jedne mlade žene s glavom portretnih karakteristika, odnosno individualnim licem koje odiše životnom snagom.

Uporedni pogled na slikarstvo

Kao što sam svojedobno pišući o Jurjevu oklopljenom vitezu na konju, također na pročelju Trgovačke lože koji simulira grb grada Ancone u poredbenu analizu uključio i slikarstvo – u prvom redu Uccella²⁸ – tako smatram da bi i skulpturu Milosrda trebalo uporediti sa starijim i suvremenim slikarskim rješenjima iste teme, jer to pomaže objektivnosti povijesne prosudbe, kao i valorizacije. U kompariranju Jurjeva opusa s poznatim i priznatim djelima quattrocenta koja tvore okosnicu razvoja umjetnosti rane renesanse, važno je uvijek spomenuti i datume, jer samo na taj način možemo objektivno ocijeniti domete nekih njegovih djela, a često će nas iznenaditi neke kronološke relacije, njemu u prilog. Prvi je renesansni akt u monumentalnom talijanskom slikarstvu Masacciova Eva u prizoru Izgona iz raja (1427.) slikanom 23 godine prije Jurjeva akta. No, Masacciova je glavna preokupacija bila potresna ekspresija očaja i boli na licu, a ženski akt, dobro proporcioniran, modeliran je sumarno i pojednosavljeno, i nije prikladan za usporedbu s Jurjevim realizmom. Uz brojne primjere kontinuiteta u oblikovanju tipičnih gotičkih tvrdih aktova na identičnoj razini kao u kiparstvu (Signorelli, na primjer), svojevrsni je pomak Botticelijeva Venera koja smjenjuje gotički model ženskim tijelom u koje je udahnut zbiljski život. Ali, i ovdje se nameće pitanje kronologije o kojoj se ponekad ne

²⁶ O životnom realizmu i portretnoj uvjerljivosti u opusu Jurja Dalmatinca vidi: Ivančević, R., *Šibenski portreti Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca (1443)*, Peristil 42-43, 1999-2000, str. 41-76

²⁷ Ulomci opisa kod Schulzove, n.dj.

²⁸ Ivančević, R., *Problem...*, n.dj., str.44

vodi računa. Naime, u trenutku kad Juraj kleše svoju »Veneru« u Anconi Bottticeli je bio navršio tek pet godina života, a njegov zanosni akt Venere »iz morske pjene rođene« koji će postati simbol firentinskog renesansnog slikarstva, nastati će čak tri desetljeća kasnije (1482.). No, ni tada se na Sandrovoj slici žena još uvijek neće potpuno osloboditi i samouvjereno i slobodno otkriti – kao u Jurjevoj skulpturi, iako je on bio mitološkom temom znatno skućeniji – nego će bujnim pramenom svoje duge kose lijevom rukom pokriti »stidno« mjesto po konvenciji antičke Venere iz kupelji. Sljedeći pomak odigrat će se tek u idućem, 16. stoljeću s Giorgioneovim aktovima: stojećim aktom žene na »Koncertu u prirodi« (1510.) i aktom na enigmatičnoj slici »Zemaljska i nebeska ljubav« (1511-18.), a naročito s otmjenim aktom Venere, koja se takmiči s Ticianovom Venerom Urbinskom (1538) u Uffizima. Bliži Jurjevu tipu žene je akt na »Zemaljskoj i nebeskoj ljubavi«, ali su grudi znatno bolje modelirane. No, s ovim smo aktom daleko od rane renesance prve polovice stoljeća, jer on obilježava već klimaks klasične renesanse (nastao 70 godina nakon Jurjeve skulpture, dok je Urbinska Venera čak 90 godina kasnija). Pa ipak, iako smo već duboko u 16. stoljeću, tek oni po razini životnosti kao da se nalaze u okruženju kojemu pripada i Jurjev akt

Osvrnemo li se na njemačko renesansno slikarstvo 16. stoljeća, naići ćemo na Cranacha koji svojim brojnim aktovima nikada nije prekoračio granicu gotičke stilizacije: disproporcionirano izduženih vretenastih tijela, u izvijenoj S-krivulji, tankih nogu, s malim grudima, modeliranih poput drvenih (lakiranih) figurica. To svakako nisu tijela »od krvi i mesa« poput Jurjeva akta. Iako nam se čini, možda nepravedno, da je tu granicu bilo lakše premostiti u slikarstvu, nego u skulpturi.

Još krajem quattrocenta (1499) Dürer u svojoj grafici »Napastovanje... (ili San doktora)« ne dosiže sklad ženskog tijela Jurjeva akta Milosrđa iz 1451: modelacija gornjeg dijela tijela je dobra (iako mišičavi trbuh više liči na muški) i grudi su dobro oblikovane (ali kao

da su pripadale nekom manjem liku), no koljena su neprirodno malena u odnosu na bedra, a potkoljenice prekratke i pretanke, što je opća pojava kod gotičkih aktova. Tek početkom cinquecenta, nakon boravka autora u Italiji, Dürerova će Eva (1509.) imati lijepo oblikovano i dobro proporcionirano tijelo, ali s prestrnim i prevelikim ramenima i premalenom glavom, a Lukrecija (1518.), uz znatno bujnije tijelo, ponovit će tu istu grešku na gotovo groteskan način. A sve se to zbiva više od pola stoljeća nakon Jurjeva Milosrđa. Pa ipak, nitko ne pomišlja da zbog gotičkih natruha isključi Dürera iz antologije renesansnih slikara, iako se mnogi suzdržavaju da Jurja uključe među ranorenesansne kipare quattrocenta. Međutim, obzirom na svoj obimni i kvalitetni kiparski opus u desetljeću 1441-1451., kakvih nema mnogo ne samo u petom desetljeću 15. stoljeća u Europi, nego tijekom cijele prve polovice stoljeća, Juraj Dalmatinac nepobitno pripada drugoj generaciji ranorenesansnih kipara quattrocenta. Priznavanje i prihvaćanje te povijesne istine može se odgadati, ali se ne može izbjeći.

Osvrnemo li se konkretno na sudbinu teme Milosrđa u slikarstvu, susrest ćemo u doba manirizma, na primjer, kod Salvatiija *Caritas* naslikanu kao kitnjasto odjevenu i napirlitanu damu s draguljima, jedne otkrivene dojke i s tri gola dječaka, no to više nije iskreni doživljaj i emotivno nabijena priča iz života, kao kod Jurja, nego samo blazirana afektacija.

Postjurjevska rješenja teme Caritas

Renesansne skulpture *Caritas* nastale nakon Jurjeve, ponavljat će konvencionalna rješenja, obično s redukcijom broja djece na jedno, a češće isključivanjem čak i simboličkog prikaza humanog odnosa žene i djeteta i svodenjem kompozicije na atributivnu metodu predstavljanja Milosrđa, kao lijepo odjevene žene sa zdjelom u ruci.²⁹ Time se svo bogatstvo Jurjevog humanističkog, životnog i realističnog pristupa ovoj temi svodi na aluziju na skromni »milodar«, na besplatni obrok jela. Mogli bismo cinično, ali s punim opravdanjem reći: umjesto vreline iskrene ljubavi, koja zrači iz Jurjeve grupe, kasniji renesansni kipari nude zdjelu mlake juhe. Cijeli kompleks pitanja oko milosrđa kao ljubavi, svoden je time na jednu jedinu šturu obvezu: »nahraniti gladne«. To je sadržajna redukcija i emotivno osiromašenje čak i u odnosu na izvorno humanizirane prizore gotike, kao što smo vidjeli kod Tina da Camaina ili Andrea Pisana. Tip *Caritas* sa zdjelom ikonografski nije nov, jer ima prefiguracije u gotičkoj umjetnosti.

²⁹ Vidi, na primjer, skulpturu *Caritas* među vrlinama na grobnici Tron Antonia Rizza ili na grobnici Giustiniani, dovršenoj nakon 1466., prema A. M. Schulz djelo pomoćnika Nikole Firentinca (Schulz, A. M., *Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Venetian Sculpture of the Early Renaissance*, New York, 1978, sl. 42)

Lik Santa Reparata sa zdjelom u ruci (Arnolfo di Cambio, oko 1300.), na primjer, također je i alegorija Milosrđa namijenjena za fasadu katedrale (Opera del Duomo, Firenca).

Oko 1520. izvodi A. Busti (ili Bambaia) Caritas kao potpuno odjeveni ženski lik sa simetrično ovješnim naborima tkanine. Otkirvena je samo desna dojka, a dijete koje drži na poodlaktici snažno gestikulira. Uskoro će se pojaviti Michelangelovi mišićavi ženski aktovi Zore i Noći u grobnici Medici (1531.), a potom brojni maniristički. U tom nizu, od Jacopa della Quercia do Michelangela ne znam kako se može napisati iole pouzdanu i objektivnu povijest interpretacije ženskog akta u europskoj renesansnoj skulpturi, a da se ne spomene mjesto i uloga skulpturalne grupe nage mlade žene s njezinih pet dječaćića, Jurja Dalmatinca?

Spomenimo i Gianbolognu (Giovanni da Bologna) koji riješava skulpturu Caritas kao odjevenu ženu s dva dječaka, ponavljajući ikonografsku invenciju i kompozicijsku osnovu Jacopa della Querciae. U naglašenijem pokretu mogao bi se nazrijeti daleki odraz dinamike izvorne Jurjeve grupe.³⁰ No, bitna je razlika dvaju stilskih govora – renesansnog izraza Jurjeva i manirističkog Gianbologne – u tome, što u pokretima i stavovima Jurjevih dječaka koji se veru po tijelu žene dominira renesansna tektonika i ravnoteža sile i tereta, dok dječak što ga lijevom rukom podržava Giovanijeva Caritas »visi« u tipično manirističkom nestabilnu položaju i izaziva u gledatelja nelagodu i sumnju da bi svakog trena mogao »skliznuti« na tlo. Kao jedva vidljiv trag početnog impulsa Milosrđa iz Ancone, ali u sasvim drugom sustavu i rječniku oblika kasnog manirizma, mogla bi se citirati figuralna grupa žene, ovaj put ponovno akta, s tri dječaćića A. de Vriesa, *Psiha s pandorinom kutijom*, nastala 1593. godine. Po neprirodnoj izduženosti, ali i otmjenosti, kao i po nemirnoj kompoziciji likova i pokreta, te vertikalnom uzgonu grupe, jer je prikazana kako leti put Olimpa »nošena od tri kupida«, ova je brončana grupa trijumf manirizma.

Tema Caritas s tri dječaka nastavit će se i u baroku. U baroknoj će se skulpturi još izrazitije razviti pokret, ali patetičan i prenaplašen – nasuprot Jurjevu renesansnom energetskom skladu i humanom i emotivnom naboju – poput grupe Caritas Pietra Berninija, na Monte di Pietà u Napulju.³¹ Po diktatu stila tri su dječaka (odraslija, mršavija) tijelima i udovima komponirana u dvije suprostavljene dijagonale: od lijevo dole do sredine desno i otuda pod kutem opet gore lijevo. Jednostavno je prikazan gornji dječak s prirodnom gestom

prema izrezu na haljini žene, kao i onaj što stoji uz noge s ispruženom rukom da dohvati njezinu ruku. Ali zato se onaj što se oslanja na njezin lijevi bok razmahao pretjerano izduženim udovima u ničim opravdanoj akrobatskoj pozi, gleda u nebo, desnu ruku pruža do njezinih grudiju, a uz to kao da se jedva održava i »klizi« (poput spomenutog u Giambolognae).

Kad je riječ o ženskom aktu u renesansnoj skulpturi, bez obzira na temu – a to je trag koji bismo također trebali bar malo pratiti nakon Jurja – doslovnu preradu Venus felix izveo je krajem 15. stoljeća u bronci P. J. Alari Bonacolsi. Ali ponovno je modelacija tijela tvrda, a uz stidljivo pokrivanje, ni akt nije cjelovit, jer su noge zagnute tkaninom. Tek na prelazu u klasičnu renesansu, pola stoljeća nakon Jurja, susrest ćemo se s lijepim, humaniziranim i realističnijim aktovima u skulpturama, recimo, Christofora Solarija (1501.) na Milanskoj katedrali ili Andrea Sansovina (1505.) u S. Maria del Popolo u Rimu.

Zanimljivo je, da jedina skulptura koja se po više komponenata može dovesti u direktniju vezu s Jurjevom invencijom nije iz quattrocenta, nego je nastala stotinjak godina kasnije i to u Francuskoj. To je skulptura Caritas, također vezana uz arhitekturu, ali nije na profanom, nego na sakralnom objektu, crkvi Saint-Pantaléon u Troyesu, i nije u niši, nego prislonjena uz pilastar i poduprta konzolom.³² Također je riječ o skulpturalnoj grupi žene s golim dječacima u raznim pozama, ali ih nema pet nego tri i ženski lik je odjeven u dugu haljinu, otkrivenih grudi. Dublja veza s Jurjevom skulpturom Milosrđa očituje se u živim pokretima djece i njihovom različitom odnosu prema ženi, ali inventivnoj (ne imitativnoj) autentičnoj i psihološki motiviranoj radnji: onaj koji joj sjedi na lijevoj ruci drži s obje ruke dojkicu i siše, drugi kleči sa strane uz lijevu nogu, okrenut prema gledatelju, ali se natraške pokušava zavući pod široku suknju i njom pokriti, a treći se s druge strane drži uz njezino bedro i kao da se pokušava uspeti, dok ga ona odozgo promatra i gladi po glavi. Autor je Domenico del Barbieri, zvani Dominique le Florentin

³⁰ Università di Bologna, visina 173 cm; Pope-Hennessy, n.dj. tb. 140

³¹ Isto, tb. 270

³² Vidi: *Sculpture, The Great Tradition ...*, III, Köln, 1996. U poglavlju manirizam (G. Bresc-Bautier), slika i tekst str. 108-109

³³ Isto, str. 149

³⁴ Vidi: Frey, D., n.dj. i Prelog, M., *Dva nova flputta« Jurja Dalmatinca i problem*

(1506-1570.) čime je zapamćeno i podvučeno njegovo podrijetlo. Autor ga navodi u poglavlju putujućih umjetnika («Itinerant artists»), uz umjetnike koji dolaze u Francusku nakon Sacco di Roma (1527.) i firentinske građanske revolucije i restauracije Medicija (1530.), u grupi već formiranih majstora koji su obilježeni »by initial, especially Tuscan, training«. ³³ Obzirom na pridjev Firentinac uz ime, smatra se, logično, da je i likovni utjecaj, odnosno umjenost iz koje se Domenico razvio bila firentinska, pa bi dosljedno tomu i ovo njegovo djelo pripadalo firentinskom ozračju. Ali ne samo u Firenci, nego i šire, u Toskani, nema skulpture nalik ovoj, dok se, naprotiv, po spomenutim osobinama, može govoriti o genezi Barbieroeve figuralne kompozicije iz Jurjeva Milosrđa, a to znači iz Ancone, iz pokrajine Marche.

Hommage strukturalnoj analizi

U talijanskoj monumentalnoj skulpturi kronološki i po tipu javne skulpture najbliže su Jurjevim Vrlinama na pročelju Trgovačke lože četiri Vrline na vrhu trijumfalnog luka Alfonsa Aragonskog u Napulju, započetom nekoliko godina kasnije, a završenom petnaest godina kasnije (1453-1468). Iako na prvi pogled ova četveročlana grupa kipova u arkadnom nizu skladnih ranorenesansnih niša djeluje stilski mnogo »naprednije« (prema bogato dekoriranim kasnogotičkim nišama ankonitanske lože), u ikonološkom pogledu svi su likovi tradicionalniji od Jurjevih, pa i oblikovno, što posebno vrijedi za Milosrđe. Nasuprot Jurjevu kombiniranju raznolike odjeće (Snaga u odori rimskog legionara) i izrazitih atributa (veliko sidro Nade), ovdje su svi likovi u jednakim i dugim haljinama. To također vrijedi i za kompoziciju, jer sve Vrline stoje ukočeno, frontalno i gledaju pred sebe, bez žive raznolikosti zaokreta tijela i nagiba glava tipičnih za Dalmatinca. No, svakako, najveći je raspon između Jurjeve invencije akta Milosrđa s dječacima i bezživotnim personifikacijama iste vrlina na aragonskom luku, djelu Isaije od Pisae,

renesansne komponente u njegovoj skulpturi, Peristil 4, Zagreb, 1961, str. 46-60

³³ Vidi: Ivančević, R., *Mješoviti gotičko renesansni stil Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca*, Fiskovićev zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 21, Split, 1980, str. 355-380, pa u nizu priloga sve do monografije *Šibenska katedrala*, Šibenik, 1998

odjeveni ženski likovi, uniformirani, bez ikakva životna i emotivna odnosa, stereotipna poput stotinu puta ponovljenih skulptura.

Usporedbu četiriju vrlina anconitanske lože i aragonskog luka smatram paradigmatičnom za problem odnosa morfološke i strukturalne analize u povijesti umjetnosti. Zbog niša u stilu glasnog i napadnog gotico fiorita, Jurjeve su Vrline bez ikakva promišljanja bile svrstane u kasnogotičku stilsku kategoriju, kao što se Vrline Isaie da Pisa u antikizirajućim nišama redovito citiraju kao neosporni glasnici rane renesanse u Italiji. Pri tome nisu uopće uočene, niti interpretirane dvije bitne komponente Jurjevih Vrlina: u skulpturalnom pogledu one volumski dvotrećinski istupaju iz niša, niše im nisu okvir, nego pozadina, »zalede«. U oblikovnom smislu one su tipično ranorenesansna kreativna prerada gotičke tipologije ugledanjem na antičke uzore (najdemonstrativnije u rimskoj legionarskoj odjeći Snage s kacigom u obliku lavlje glave, najtipičnijim Heraklovim atributom). A o istinski revolucionarnom obratu i reinterpretaciji Milosrđa u duhu (a ne u formi) antičke božice ljepote Venere, mislim da smo dovoljno rekli u ovom prilogu, gdje je prvi put interpretirana na taj način iako je sve što je rečeno evidentno na prvi pogled. Ovo sljepilo za očigledne fenomene i formalno stilsko etiketiranje skulpture na temelju njezina dekorativna okvira, moguće je samo onda kad morfološki kriterij zasjeni sve ostalo i onemoguću nepristrano i otvoreno promatranje integralnog djela.

Juraj Dalmatinac i regionalne škole quattrocenta

No, pozivanjem na eventualni Jurjev utjecaj na Domenico del Barbiera otvorili smo pitanje: kako ćemo definirati Jurjev opus? Prevladavaju definicije, po kojima se njegovo djelo u cjelini veže isključivo po njegovu pouzdanu početku – to jest, uz venecijansku kasnu gotiku. Osobno sam oduvijek bio na strani onih znanstvenika koji su smatrali, poput D. Freya i M. Preloga, da je Juraj od samog početka umjetnik, koji u svom djelu povezuje kasnogotičke i ranorenesansne stilske odlike, odnosno kreativno povezuje venecijanski kasni gotico fiorito u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji s firentinsko-padovanskom ranorenesansnom komponentom u figuralnome reljefu i skulpturi. ³⁴ U svojim sam priložima, na temelju strukturalne analize nastojao dalje razviti i argumentirati tezu da je bitno svojstvo Jurjeva djela *mješoviti gotičko renesansni stil*, odnosno kreativna sinteza tih dvaju stilskih govora koji su u to doba simultano trajali u jadranskom prostoru. ³⁵ Međutim, mislim

da je Juraj umjetnik koji se razvijao i da ga, nakon početaka, moramo redefinirati kao samostalnog umjetnika, koji se otcijepio od svojih uzora i kasnije više daje, no što je primio. Posebno bi trebalo pomno promotriti, reinterpetirati i revlorizirati djela u vrhunskom trenutku njegova razvoja i kulminaciji kvalitativnog dosega, kojemu pripada i skulpturalna grupa Caritas u Anconi, 1451. godine.

Znamo da je Juraj nakon prvih poticaja u pristupu graditeljstvu i klesarstvu u djetinjstvu u rodnome Zadru, pravoj riznici umjetničkih spomenika,³⁶ otišao u Veneciju (oko 1420.?) gdje se formirao u okviru radionice braće Bon i okružju lokalnog stila gotico fiorito i razvio u istaknuta kipara i vjerojatno samostalna arhitekta i projektanta na Porta della Carta (oko 1438.), jer su ga kao takova Šibenčani pozvali da se vrati u zavičaj i nastavi gradnju ranije započete katedrale, koja je bila zapala u teškoće i obustavljena. Juraj se, prema ugovoru s nadstojnicima gradnje, 1441. vratio u Šibenik i iznova projektirao i gradio istočni dio katedrale s upisanim transeptom i pretpostavljenom kupolom. No, nakon intezivnog desetljeća rada u Šibeniku, gdje je samostalno inventivno projektirao i izveo krstionicu, i donje dijelove istočnog produženja katedrale, a smiono postavio sakristiju na stubove, kao i u Splitu gdje je izveo dva oltara s ciborijima i dvije palače, bio je pozvan kao istaknuti i slavni arhitekt i kipar u Anconu gdje je u šestom desetljeću quattrocenta projektirao i sa suradnicima (Andrijom Alešijem i Petrom Pribislavljićem) izveo dva najznačajnija pročelja toga doba u gradu: trgovačke lože i franjevačke crkve, te lunetu portala crkve sv. Augustina.

No, ukoliko se prihvati geneza ili barem poticaj Jurjeve skulpturalne grupe Milosrđa na mnogo kasniju Caritas Domenica del Barbiera pitamo se: o kakvom je utjecaju riječ, odnosno kako ćemo ga nazvati? Mislim da je u toj fazi, sredinom stoljeća, podjednako krivo i površno govoriti o venecijanskom, kao i o firentinskom karakteru Jurjeve umjetnosti, nego je riječ o Jurju kao samostalnom i zreлом umjetniku koji pripada *dalmatinsko-ankonitanskom* krugu. Dalmatinskom po podrijetlu umjetnika i njegovoj originalnom i inventivnom pristupu skulpturalnim zadacima, kao i rješavanju odnosa skulpture i arhitekture razvijenom u petom desetljeću quattrocenta na djelima u Šibeniku i Splitu. Odavna se zalažem da se napokon prizna postojanje tih njegovih djela i da se, zbog specifičnosti i visoke razine ostvarenja uvrste u povijest umjetnosti rane renesanse u Europi, tijekom 15. stoljeća – kad još

nema izrazitijih spomenika toga stila u većini europskih zemalja – kao *srednjedalmatinska arhitektonsko-kiparska škola*.³⁷ A govorimo o ankonitanskom krugu po podrijetlu jedinog djela na koje se Domenico mogao ugledati u Italiji, Jurjeve grupe Milosrđa u Anconi.³⁸ Naravno, Domenico je možda slijedio i neki drugi, nama nepoznati trag, ali pouzdano možemo reći da taj trag nije bio vezan s Firencom.

Napokon, recimo da istraživanje podrijetla poticaja za Jurjevu kreaciju akta Milosrđa s grupom dječaka, pogled unazad, kao i odjeci njegove invencije u kasnijem razvoju renesanse skulpture, te napokon sudbina ove skulpturalne grupe u znanstvenoj literaturi dokazuju da je potrebno definitivno prekinuti s ignoriranjem njezina postojanja i uvrstiti ovo djelo u povijest umjetnosti, među antologijska ostvarenja skulpture quattrocenta u Italiji i Europi. Ona na jedinstven način obuhvaća problem putta, ženskog akta i portreta u tematskom smislu, a humanizacije i trodimenzionalnog oblikovanja u likovnom smilu. Jer, bez obzira na priznanje ili zaborav, s punim pravom joj pripada to istaknuto i nezamjenjivo mjesto u povijesti europske kulture i umjetnosti renesanse. Od njezina nastanka 1451. godine do danas.

Epilog

Sudbina ankonitanskog Milosrđa Jurja Dalmatinca u povijesti talijanske umjetnosti toliko je nepojmljiva i bizarna da se ne možemo zaustaviti na razini usporedbe morfološke i strukturalne analize, nego moramo pokušati istražiti moguće druge razloge ili dublje uzroke ovog fenomena. Da bismo zaključili raspravu o sudbini likovne baštine grada Ancone i djela Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca u povijest talijanske umjetnosti, vra-

³⁶ Po bezbrojnim analogijama u biografijama srednjovjekovnih i renesansnih majstora i gotovo pravilu prelaska zanata *s oca na sina*, dok se drukčije ne dokaže, jedino je razborito pretpostaviti da i Juraj potječe iz takve obitelji i u krugu klesara i graditelja mu treba tražiti podrijetlo. Za to postoje i neke zanimljive indicije, ali nedovoljne da bi ih se moglo ozbiljno uzeti u obzir.

³⁷ Toj školi pripadaju još Andrija Aleši, koji će Jurjev će poticaj nastaviti u trogirskoj krstionici (1467.) i Nikola Firentinac, koji će, iako dolazi iz samog žarišta toskanske renesanse, prihvatiti Jurjeva »dalmatinska« načela sinteze arhitekture i skulpture i dovesti ih do vrhunca u svom projektu (1468.) kapele-mauzoleja biskupa (12. st.) i lokalnoga sveca Ivana Trogirskog, prigrađene romaničkoj katedrali. Mislim da ona po koherentnosti svojstava i stila podjednako zalužuje taj naziv, kao i sve ostale odavno priznate »škole« quattrocenta u Italiji poput ferarske, urbinske, lombardske ili u Njemačkoj

timo se na početak. Bilo bi površno, pa i neistinito reći da visoka ocjena koju smo dali ankonitanskoj *Caritas* nije bila poznata i ranije. Prvi ju je objavio, ni više ni manje, nego utemeljitelj moderne talijanske povijesti umjetnosti Adolfo Venturi. U duhu svoje brilijantne likovne intuicije i svojim nenadmašnim lapidarnim stilom interpretirao je i valorizirao Jurjevo Milosrđe na samom početku 20. stoljeća na način, za koji se zalažemo i mi danas, na početku 21. stoljeća.

Nakon što je ukazao na općepoznatu venecijansku genezu Dalmatinčeva stila, Venturi konstatira da su »oblici što potječu iz umjetnosti radionice Bon kod Jurja toliko evoluirali da im nema usporedbe u cijeloj Italiji, niti u cijelom 15. stoljeću«. ³⁹ I danas, stotinu godina kasnije, smatramo da je neoboriva ova Venturijeva teza, naavno, samo kad je riječ o *gotičkoj komponenti* Jurjeva opusa. Kad je, pak, riječ o drugoj, *renesansnoj komponenti* Jurjeve skulpture, za istinsku i utemeljenu valorizaciju dovoljno je također samo citirati doajena talijanske povijesti umjetnosti. Nakon što je analizirao i visoko ocijenio Jurjev reljef u luneti portala crkve San Agostino u Anconi, posebno obzirom na kompoziciju i ekspresiju pokreta, Venturi nedvosmisleno podvlači »*la novita dell'opera di Giorgio*«, a zatim tvrdi da je Juraj skulpturom »Carita, sulla loggia de' Mercanti«, u *aktu* koji se čini kao da je *inspiriran kapitolinskom Venerom, preteča majstora cinquecenta*, sa *ženstvenošću* koju kasnije nalazimo tek u Leonardovoj Ledi. ⁴⁰ Potom još opisuje lirski odnos mlade žene i pet »genietta« priljubljenih uz njezino tijelo. Što bi se još moglo reći i što se može iskazati jasnije i odlučnije o Jurju kao *inventivnom kreativcu, inovatoru*, koji se kao *autentični renesansni majstor ugleda na antiku*, a po doseg *realizma* (ženstvenosti) je *preteča umjetnosti klasične renesanse 16. stoljeća*, kako ga definira

kasnije, u 16. stoljeću kao, na primjer, rajnske ili dunavske škole.

³⁸ Nisam imao vremena istražiti biografiju ovog kipara prije odlaska u Francusku. Ali, za mogućnost njegova boravka u Anconi i susreta s Jurjevom skulpturalnom grupom *Caritas*, vrijedi isti račun vjerojatnosti, koji sam spomenuo u vezi s pretpostavkom da je Juraj posjetio Sienu (vidi bilj. 16).

³⁹ Vidi: A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milano, 1908., str. 997

⁴⁰ Isto, str. 1000, 1002

⁴¹ »Ma kako bila pozitivna ocjena koju bismo tako dali Jurjevu djelu, ne bismo mogli doseći cjelovitiji i objektivniji sud, jer time izbjegavamo da ga odredimo tamo gdje mu je mjesto. A samo u njegovu vremenu i prostoru možemo Jurja ocijeniti kako zaslužuje.« (Vidi: R. Ivančević, *Prilozi problemu interpretacije...* (1975, str. 28)

autor. Venturi ga čak uspoređuje s Leonardom, no moram se ograditi od ove posljednje ocjene ma kako las-kava bila, jer smatram da je svaka »ekstemporacija« u povijesnoumjetničkoj valorizaciji (poput »kasnogotičkog baroka« ili »protorenesanse Giotta«) površna, a da, naprotiv, autentični umjetnik može steći najvišu ocjenu samo interpretacijom njegova djela u okviru vremena i prostora u kojem je djelovao. ⁴¹ Stoga ne bih govorio o njemu kao o prethodniku 16. stoljeća, nego bih se zadovoljio jednostavnom istinom da je *Juraj u skulpturalnoj grupi Milosrđe inventivno, kreativno i cjelovito izrazio neke od filozofskih, kulturnih i likovnih tendencija i ideala sredinom 15. stoljeća u Italiji i to na originalan i individualan način čemu u tom trenutku u europskoj skulpturi ne nalazimo ništa slično.*

Nakon svega, pitanje koje vapi za odgovorom glasi: kako je bilo moguće da se citirana utemeljena prosudba Venturija naprosto *ignorira*? (Nije mi poznato da je itko detaljnom analizom pobio sve tri postavke Venturijeva suda). Kako je bilo moguće da se, unatoč snazi što i danas zrači iz same skulpture, kao i argumentirane valorizacije jednog od utemeljitelja znanstvene povijesti umjetnosti u Italiji, ovaj javni spomenik u Anconi (trajno prisutan u urbanoj slici grada i svima dostupan), stavi na crnu listu i, što je još gore, da se uporno, tijekom cijelog 20. stoljeća umjesto njega, u svim popularnim pregledima, ali i stručnim monografijama, kao uzor ranorenesansne skulpture uporno preslikava, iz knjige u knjigu, venecijanska skulptura A. Rizza *Eva*, koja je stilski retardirana, likovno mediokritetska, ikonografski epigonska, a nastala je barem dva desetljeća kasnije?

Da li je odgovor tako jednostavan da je sadržan u slijedećem pitanju: može li itko zamisliti i može li itko čiste savjesti tvrditi, da bi nešto tako apsurdno bilo moguće da je obratno? Da je Rizzova *Eva* nastala u Anconi, a Jurjevo *Milosrđe* u Veneciji? U ime dostojanstva ljudske prosudbe i u ime ugleda naše struke, povijesti umjetnosti kao znanstvene discipline, biti ću zahvalan svakome tko iznese neko drugo, logično i uvjerljivo rješenje ove enigme. Do tada, nažalost, možemo samo s tugom konstatirati da se nekadašnja politička i ekonomska supremacija Serenissime u jadranskom bazenu i srazmjerno tomu podcjenjivanje ostalih jadranskih komuna (a istina je da joj je u renesansi ekonomski i umjetnički jedini pandan bio Dubrovnik, odnosno također Republika dubrovačka na suprotnom jugoistočnom dijelu jadranskog mora) – nastavilo da danas u povijesti umjetnosti. Kako je nekoć iz Metropole Venecije i Ancona bila viđena kao »provincija« i

»periferija«, tako je i njezina kulturna baština ostala ponižena i zaboravljena do danas.

No, dok bi se takav stav mogao tumačiti tradicionalizmom i konzervativizmom, pa i emotivnim kampanilizmom nekih talijanskih autora, ostat će zauvijek nejasno zašto su takva stajališta nekritički prihvatili i ostali autori koji su pisali o skulpturi quattroceta u Italiji (njemački, austrijski, slovenski, francuski, pa čak i američki) kod kojih bismo očekivali racionalnu distancu i objektivniji pogled iz drukčije i dalje perspektive?

Ovaj sam prilog (za koji sam osnovne teze objavio pred četvrt stoljeća) odavno namjeravao objaviti u jednom talijanskom znanstvenom časopisu. No, kako se za to nije pokazala prilika, odlučio sam ga objaviti u Peristilu, ali s integralnim prijevodom na engleski, tako da izbjegnem uobičajene »jezične barijere«, zbog kojih mnogi strani autori (svaka čast iznimkama) naprosto ignoriraju znanstvene priloge hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti. Objavljujem ga s nadom da će se napokon skinuti *damnatio memoriae* s ovog remek-djela rane renesanse u Anconi. Mislim da je došlo vrijeme ne samo da talijanski znanstvenici nepristrano prihvate sve autentične vrijednosti talijanske kulturne baštine – pa i one koje su nastale na periferiji središnjih strujanja umjetnosti – nego i da kulturna javnost Italije spozna da kad je riječ o novom renesansnom odnosu prema ljudskom tijelu, u duhu maksime »ništa ljudsko nije mi strano«, u povijesti talijanske skulpture quattrocenta ima neusporedivo većih vrijednosti no što je to Rizzova Eva. Također se nadam da bi ovaj prilog mogao doprinjeti da se uvaži povijesna istina da uz najveća središta i žarišta umjetnosti poput Venecije, Milana, Firence ili Rima, i talijanske pokrajine posjeduju vrhunska antologijska djela europske povijesti umjetnosti, na koja mogu s pravom biti ponosni, jer nisu »zalutala«, niti su se slučajno tamo »našla«, nego ih je odnjegovala i omogućila visoka razina kulture u sredini koja ih je naručila i prepoznala. A to je naročito važno i, rekao bih, sudbonosno za smione projekte i prevratnička djela poput Jurjeva *Milosrda*. Dapače, otvoreno je pitanje da li bi u nekom većem središtu s »ortodoksnijim« zalcima i stručnijim sucima o umjetnosti nešto slično bilo uopće dopušteno? Sjetimo se sramote što je pred kulturnom javnošću Europe Firentinci nose do danas, jer nisu dopustili Brunelleschiju da dovrši svoj genijalni projekt (1436.), strukturalistički jedinstvene crkve Santo Spirito s četiri apsidiole i četiri portala na glavnoj fasadi trobrodne bazilike (!),

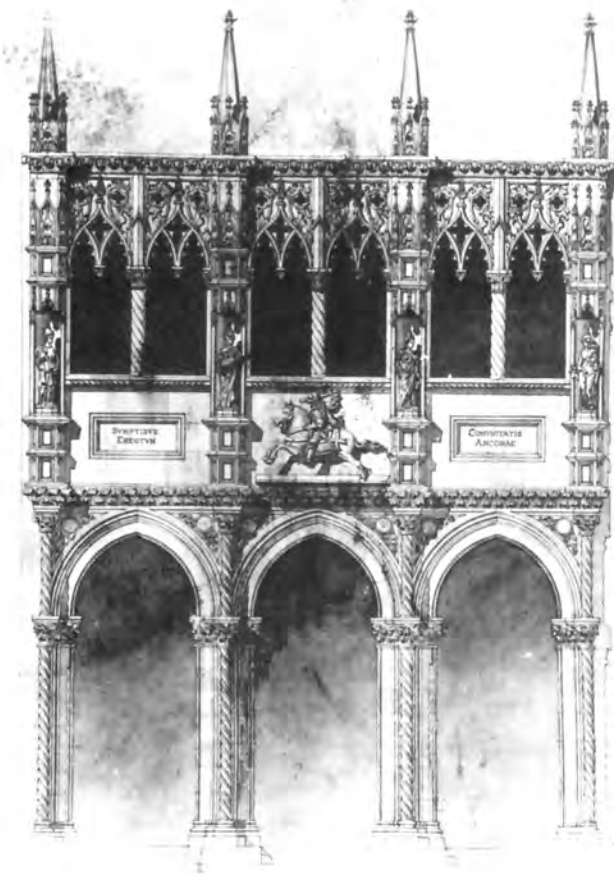
jer naprosto nisu bili dorasli tome, niti su znali prevladati tisućljetne konvencije tipa bazilikalne crkve.⁴²

Slučaj Jurjeva *Milosrda* – koje nije bilo manje revolucionarno na području skulpture, nego Filippovo za Santo Spirito u arhitekturi petnaest godina ranije – uklapa se u tezu poznatog hrvatskog povjesničara i teoretičara umjetnosti o dijametralnoj suprotnosti između pojma »provincije« (ovisne o nekom centru) i »periferije« (dovoljno udaljene da bude samostalna), po njezovoj definiciji »glavna je prednost periferijske sredine *sloboda stvaranja* koju daje umjetniku, što je često ne bi imao u centru«.⁴³

U tom smislu se – poput Šibenika (1441.) ili nešto kasnije Trogira (1468.) – *središnom 15. stoljeća i Ancona nedvojbeno dokazala kao periferijska sredina dostupnija individualnoj umjetničkoj kreativnosti i slobodnija od likovnih predrasuda i konvencija, no što je to bila, vidjeli smo, Firenca u to doba.*

⁴² Vidi: F. Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti*, Milano, 1980.; G. Fanelli, *Brunelleschi*, Firenze, 1985, str. 69-75

⁴³ Vidi: Lj. Karaman, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti* (1963), Zagreb, 2001.; također: R. Ivančević, *Ljubo Karaman e la nozione dell'arte provinciale, dell'arte di frontiera e dell'arte periferica*, u: *La Scuola Viennese di storia dell'arte*, a cura di M. Pozzetto, Atti di XX Convegno ICM, Gorizia, 1996, str. 183-193



3. Trgovačka loža u Anconi, situacija

Gore desno:

1. Juraj Dalmatinac, gornji dio pročelja Trgovačke lože (Loggia dei Mercanti), 1451., Ancona

2. Nacrtno pročelje Trgovačke lože u Anconi (crtež D. Frey)



Lijevo:
4. Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac, skulpturalna
grupa Milosrđe, 1451., na pročelju
Trgovačke lože, Ancona



5. Detalj putta uz glavu žene



6. Detalj dvaju putta uz noge



7. Detalj glave Milosrđa s puttom



8. Detalj putta uz grudi Milosrđa kojemu gornji stoji nogom na glavi



9 i 10. Antonio Rizzo, *Eva*, oko 1470, dvorište Duždeve palača, Venecija



11. Antonio Rizzo, *Eva*, detalj glave



12. Giovanni Pisano, Prudentia, 1302-1310, uz postolje propovjedaonice katedrale u Pisi



Desno:

13. Luca Giovanni da Siena, Caritas, 1391, Loggia dei Lanzi, Firenca

14. Tino da Camaino, Caritas, 1321, Opera del Duomo, Firenca



15. Jacopo de la Quercia, *Acca Larentia s Fonte Gaia*, 1419, Siena

16. Praxitel, *Afrodita Knidska*, antička replika, Vatikanski muzej, Rim





17. Tilman Riemenschneider, *Eva s portala kapele Bogorodice*, 1491-1493, Mainfränkisches muzej, Würzburg



18. *Venus felix i amor*, 2. st., s portretnom glavom iz doba Antonina, Belvedere, Vatikan.



19. P. J. Alari Bonalcosi, *Venus felix*, kopija, oko 1497., Kunsthistorisches museum, Beč

20. i 21. Bonino da Milano, *Eva*, 1427, sjeverni portal katedrale, Šibenik





Gore:
22. Antonio Rizzo,
Caritas, 1480.,
grob dužda Nicollò
Trona, *Maria dei
frari*, Venecija

23. Asistent
Niccolo Fiorentino
(?), *Caritas*, grob
Giustiniani,
Musemu of Art, El
Paso, Texas



24. A. Busti (*il
Bambaia*), *Caritas*,
oko 1520.,
Victoria&Albert
Museum, London

25. Domenico del Barbieri (*Dominique Florentin*), crkva
sv. Pantaleona, Troyes



26. Gianbologna, Caritas



Gore desno:

27. Pietro Bernini, Caritas, Monte di Pietà, Napulj

28. Adrien De Vries, Psiha s Pandorinom kutijom nošena od tri kupida, 1593





29. Albrecht Dürer,
San doktora, 1499,
Philadelphia
Museum of Art



31. Albrecht Dürer, Samoubojstvo Lukrecije, detalj,
1518., Stara pinakoteka, München



30. Albrecht Dürer,
Eva, 1507, Prado,
Madrid



32. Lucas Cranach, Lukrecija, 1518., Akademie der
Bildenden Künste, Beč



33. i 34. Trijumfalni luk A. Aragonskog, Castelnuovo, Napulj i detalj Vrlina Isaia da Pisae



Radovan Ivančević
Juraj Dalmatinac*, the Caritas of 1451, and the Female Nude of the Quattrocento
(Integral translation)

History of art is based upon and follows two parallel lines of research: One of them establishes material and historical facts in space and time, the other one deals with interpretation and evaluation. The former has as its goal to collect as complete and reliable an inventory of mankind's artistic heritage as possible¹; the latter deals with art history as a history of human spirit². In each individual work of art it searches for the artist's individual invention and creativity, and, consequently, sees art history as a question of reading a work of art, of its interpretation³. As one of the key characteristics of any true work of art is its multi-layered, complex sense and meaning, we must admit that there is no end to this digging into a work of art and its essence, and to the widening of its meaning in space and time. This is also the basic criterion of judging masterpieces: regardless of the material they are made of, they do not waste away with time, but their meaning becomes more complex and their sense deeper. Every work of art is a monument, a memento, a note for the future, even though its contemporaries often fail to grasp its value, or its meaning. The list of monuments read over and over by generations of art historians is endless, and, therefore, most of our interpretations are, in fact, reinterpretations.

I believed it was necessary to mention and sum up those well-known thoughts at the beginning of this article, since my intention is to highlight an almost unknown, and definitely unrecognized work of the Early Renaissance, and, by a new reading, place it among the anthological sculptures of the period. I do not consider this to be an exceptional approach. Nor do I see the lack of interest in the work as a failure. Simply, nobody (after A. Venturi) has looked at the work in the way I am proposing. There may be two reasons for that. It was not created in one of the great cultural centers of the Renaissance Italy, such as Florence or Padua, where one expects new breakthroughs and realization of new potentials, but in Ancona, on the eastern edge of the Appenine peninsula, in the province of the Marche, which is, as a region, only rarely mentioned in the history of the Quattrocento art. Few would expect to find an exceptional work there. The second reason may be that this truly Renaissance sculpture has been immersed within a facade bearing rich Late Gothic architectural decor, so that its quiet volume gets lost within the loud Venetian fiorito Gothic ornament and its restless lights and shadows⁴. There may be a third reason, too, and that is that the author was not an Italian, that he came from Šibenik on the opposite, Croatian, side of the Adriatic; from another Mediterranean rim zone, and from a small nation usually left out of large art history surveys. Left out, among other things, also because, after 150 years of existence of art history as a scholarly discipline in Croatia⁵, after several generations of scholars including some truly distinguished ones, after volumes and volumes of books and articles, even by some outstanding scholars of the European and World mainstream, top experts in the Quattrocento, nobody seems obliged to read and quote scholarly studies in Croatian language.

My intention is, therefore, to thoroughly analyze, interpret and evaluate, and thus to demonstrate that the three-dimensional sculptural group of the Caritas by Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac (George Mathew's Dalmatian), made for the Loggia dei Mercanti in Ancona in 1451, is an exceptional work in the history of the European Renaissance; a work so far unrecognized and insufficiently valued, yet deserving more careful study and evaluation.

Interpretations and insights published here are a result of gradual realization, over some forty years, of the complexity of the work. The ideas presented were for the first time elaborated in a paper read at the Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac symposium in Šibenik in 1975⁶. At that time I presented the basic components of my thinking as well as a high evaluation of the work. I will quote this as an introduction to a more thorough analysis which follows.

»Should we look for analogies of the female nude – a Renaissance theme *par excellence* – among the works in round of the Quattrocento, we may be surprised by the exceptional quality of Juraj's Caritas (1451), not only in comparison with what had been produced (and undoubtedly inferior)... as correctly pointed out by C. Fisković... but also by an exceptional 'mixed' composition including a group of the putti – another Renaissance theme *par excellence* – about which I spoke earlier, which has no analogy in the European Early Renaissance sculpture.« Cvitō Fisković was right when he judged the sculpture to be better than those made in Venice⁷.

»Even if we extend the field of comparison to the entire European sculpture of the first half of the 15th century, we would be hard pressed to find a better female nude of natural size;« and even harder if we tried to find such a homogenous group of a woman with five baby boys. These boys could also be seen as sculptures in round, and they were conceived so as to represent all the phases in upward and downward movement of their little bodies over the body of the woman in an elliptical up-and-down flow. There are no models available for such a sculptural group, it is Juraj's own invention. Should we look for comparisons for individual components of the work, we would not fail to notice how some of putti on Donatello's Cantoria in Padua, display awkward and unnatural poses, and how some of the Robbia's boys (thus, works from the 1430ies) are boringly lined up in a lifeless manner. And all this in a mere relief, whereas Juraj's group is a sculpture in round!

The boys' heads may be seen as psychological portraits: a tearful face of a »Grumpy« holding onto the woman's leg; a blessed expression of the one who reached her cheek; and, most of all, a wonderful detail of the facial cramp in the expression of the boy whose head serves as a support for the feet of a more fortunate little companion. This unique representation of »Children's Play« has no equivalent in the sculpture of the Quattrocento. Emphasizing the diversity, realism, and vitality of children's movements, we pointed out one crucial feature: *the motion is the modus of existence in Juraj's sculpture*. The study of motion – a typical Early Renaissance preoccupation – also preoccupied George the Dalmatian. An analysis of movement in his works reveals a wealth of realistically suspended motions with an utmost absence of any scheme or convention⁸.

Emphasizing that we are dealing not with a sculpture but a sculptural group – a genre scene with six participants, we will try to argue that in the development of the Quattrocento sculpture in Italy Juraj's Caritas (made exactly in the middle of the century) is not just one in a sequence, but it represents an innovation, invention, and a new creation according to three criteria: of iconography, of composition, and of form. This is the topic of the lines to follow.

Caritas in the Trecento

If we search the history of the Italian medieval sculpture for the use of a female nude within the context of the representations of the Virtues (not necessarily just of the Caritas), we may go as far back as the first decade of the 14th century, and the art of Giovanni Pisano. Within his very complex and iconographically rich program for the Pisa Cathedral pulpit (1310), we find, among the caryatides supporting the Ecclesia, one female nude⁹. Here, she stands for the Temperance, and her model is an ancient Venus Pudica¹⁰. The 14th century also developed the concept of a nude female figure standing for »the Naked Truth«¹¹. I. Fisković has argued that the Anconitan Caritas, represented as a naked woman, could also be seen as »equal to Truth«¹².

The standard medieval iconography of the Charity (Caritas), as one of the seven virtues in the cycle of Virtues and Vices¹³ regularly includes two figures: a woman and a child. Wearing a long robe the woman stands (or sits) holding one or two children in her arms. Sometimes she is represented in the act of nursing, revealing her breasts. If the children stand by, she may hold their hands, or place her hands on their heads¹⁴. Two children representations seem more appropriate so that the group may be easily distinguished from a Virgin

and the Child, and, in case of the nursing variant, the nursing of »the twins« makes the composition neatly symmetrical. The marble Caritas by Giovanni's pupil, Tino da Camaino (1321) holds two boys on her knees, one naked, one wearing a tunic, in the act of nursing. The woman's rich breasts protrude through the cuts in her robes¹⁵. On a relief of Giotto's Campanile of the Florentine cathedral (1334-1337), there is a representation of Love shown as a seated woman holding a vessel, an egg-shaped bottle, in her right hand, a baby in swaddling clothes in her left; thus, she offers a bottle, rather than nursing the baby. In a rectangular niche on the facade of the Florentine Loggia dei Lanzi (completed in 1391) Luca Giovanni da Siena showed a Caritas as a seated, fully dressed woman nursing a naked child kneeling on her left knee and grabbing a breast showing underneath a fold in the robe¹⁶.

From the earliest medieval examples to the work by Juraj Dalmatinac there is no development, just some typological variations. All those older traditional iconographic schemes to be repeated up to and throughout the Quattrocento, often rather formal and restrained, and, thus, even departing from the Gothic humanism, realism and emotionalism, will find their creative negation in Juraj's Anconitan work¹⁷.

Juraj and a Revolution in the Caritas Iconography (1451)

Juraj performed a true break with the past, a revolution, first of all by the number of children. Instead of one or two, he has five naked boys¹⁸. Next, he used a full-scale nude, going far beyond the naked breast, or a naked bust – which is as far as his predecessors dared to tread. By doing so, Juraj excluded his Caritas from the context of the previous cycles of Virtues and Vices, crossing over to the area of the history of female nude in sculpture, thus to the medieval Eve and the Antique Venus. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he changed the nature of the scene, from a traditional symbolic composition to a genre scene. He also changed in terms of content and iconology the traditional relationship between the woman and children: instead of the traditional protective relationship, Juraj, by varying poses and gestures, and even expression of the children, made them active participants in the scene, true actors expressing their devotion and love for the woman offering them her love and care.

The tripling of the number of children in Juraj's Caritas by itself would not signify so much, had Juraj not integrated all the participants into a unique psychologically motivated and logically interconnected group hanging upon the woman's »coat tails«, or to her naked body; or embracing her »cheek to cheek.« The facial expressions of Juraj's putti are very lively and diverse, so convincing that they could be seen as children psychological portraits. It is enough to look at the tearful and frowning face of the boy at the lower right, who obviously feels offended for being left at the bottom, and desperately holds to a fold of the woman's skirt (among Snow White's dwarfs, he would be Grumpy); and compare it with the tender and conciliatory look of the putto to his left telling probably his companion that his turn would eventually come. Or the blessed smile of the boy cheek to cheek around the woman's neck, or with the effort displayed by the face of the one on the left who is climbing (or descending) along her hip hanging on to the woman's forearm. But the climax in subtlety (not without a touch of humor) is represented by the cramped face of the boy to the right, along the woman's breast, whose cheek serves as a stepping stone for the boy at the top. The latter does not seem to be doing this inadvertently, but with full force, trying to push his competitor down, preventing him thus from reaching the woman's tender face. We may add that the motions of the »climbing children« have been very well observed and rendered very convincingly. In spite of serious efforts I have been unable to find anything comparable to this »child alpinism« over a beautiful young female body, be it within the context of the Caritas representations, be it within a more general context of women and children as a genre scene.

I believe it was important to stress all those authentic, lifelike details in the behavior of Juraj's children, as it is possible to imagine an even larger group of figures along the woman's feet, as in, for example, the representations of Our Lady of Mercy, without any particular innovation. An average master may have solved the problem of five children by placing two of them into the woman's arms, and three along her feet. This would have been an innovation in itself, but such a mediocre solution would imply a discrimination between the privileged children »up there,« and the underprivileged ones in the lower zone. In Juraj's concept the level

of intimacy between the woman and children does not depend on her, but on the children, and their ability and effort to reach her.

The value of Juraj's innovation lies in its unambiguous message, in a new, more human approach, true lifelikeness, and heightened emotional verve of a genre scene. Whereas a representation with one or two children could be explained as a relationship of a mother and her children, a scene involving five little boys of the same age, clearly defines them not as her children, but as children in general. This is not a question of a mother/child relationship, biologically based and sociologically determined, but of a true act of charity, love, and care for somebody else's children; which is the key moral characteristic of the Virtue of Charity.

Juraj's solution of a medieval Christian iconographic theme represents a typical turn-around in the spirit of Renaissance humanism. It is a witness of an essential bond among human beings, a psychological individuality of each participant, a vital truth about the love and harmony of their interrelationships, and of an optimistic message of joy and beauty of everything human. Juraj's group is also an excellent example of the Renaissance iconographic method of simulation: his *Caritas* is not dedicated to promoting charitable activity which is a life task of every good Christian, but an original poem and a passionate hymn to the mutual love between a caring woman, and the children she is caring for¹⁹.

Yet, we know that in the history of culture and art nothing is absolutely new. So, in spite of a definite uniqueness of Juraj's work, having no formal models or sources, we nevertheless must look for possible predecessors.

Jacopo della Quercia, Acca Larentia, Caritas Semi Nuda.

As far as I have been able to establish, there is only one earlier work, which may be seen as a potential pre-figuration, not in terms of a direct model, but in terms of spirit and method of approach, of bold innovation, and of high artistic quality. This is the standing figure of a woman with two children by Jacopo della Quercia for the famous Sienese fountain, the *Fonte Gaia*, made in 1419, for this biggest Italian fountain of the Trecento. The woman is shown as a semi-nude, wearing a mantle over her back and around her stomach, where she holds it with her right hand²⁰. In her left arm she holds a boy touching her left breast with the tips of his fingers. The other boy prances around her feet, stretching his arms upwards and inviting the woman to take him into her arms too. Before we embark upon an iconographic analysis, we should say that this work is among those in the history of art which by its individuality, beauty, and power rise to an absolute level of quality and defy any attempt at stylistic or chronological classification. Her youthful face, small young maid's breasts, softly modeled belly and narrow waist, as well as the masterfully treated draperies, have little to do with the Gothic sculpture of the time (although, in principle, they belong to the sphere of the Gothic of the »soft style«), and could, equally well, place the work among those of Greek Hellenistic sculpture or the art of the French Rococo. What makes Jacopo's group the only innovational forerunner and the only worthy anticipation of Juraj's *Caritas* is the realism along with a high degree of nobility and expressiveness of the form, and the group's vitality and psychological characterization achieved by making the children participate in the action, just as Juraj would do. The peak effect is achieved by one of the boys tenderly touching the woman's breast with the tips of his little fingers, and the other's lively prancing and emotionally charged request to be picked up²¹. Iconographically, Jacopo has also created a humanist turn-around, as the scene is not a *Caritas*, but a representation the legend of Romulus and Remus. By choosing to disregard the traditional scheme with a she-wolf, and, therefore, abandoning the world in which humans and animals intermix, and by showing the second part of the legend, Jacopo opted for the world of human environment in which the boys are nursed by *Acca Laurentia*, the wife of the shepherd *Faustulus* who had found them, and who raised them along with their twelve sons²². In terms of the content, this is a typical act of mercy, however typified by an exemplum of two well-known boys from the Classical Antiquity. Jacopo has changed a stark legend into a story of a young woman, in fact a maid, not a mother of twelve sons, in an intimate relationship with two babies. In the entire history of Italian sculpture up to the 15th century, this is the only sculpture that could be singled out as pre-figuring Juraj's group. The latter would inherit the spirit of realism and lyrical emotions, but it would introduce a more mature woman while changing an allegory with two children into a lively genre scene with five little boys. Jacopo's *Caritas* remains a model, regardless of whether Juraj saw it or not. It is, however, highly probable that Juraj knew Jacopo's work, as the originality, beauty, and quality of della Quercia's

sculptures for the Siena fountain were immediately recognized, and the author was nicknamed »Jacopo della Fonte«²³.

Having established the features which by the criterion of kinship and similarity appear to anticipate Juraj's group, we must now also establish what in Juraj's Caritas was original, new, and unique, and explore its sense and meaning.^{23a} When talking about a naked human body – along with the portrait and landscape a key theme of the Early Renaissance art – it should be noted that in Juraj's oeuvre it is represented by both sexes and all the ages. Whereas his putti, present in almost each of his works, were amply discussed in literature (the same being true of his male nudes such as the three figures in the Flagellation on the sarcophagus of St. Anastasius in Split Cathedral; or on the sarcophagus of the Blessed Arnir, a local 12th century martyr from Split, in his chapel, where Juraj, in an ultimate act of simulation represented as ancient nudes even the peasants who stoned the martyr), the female nude from Ancona has never been thoroughly interpreted, or adequately evaluated in a ratio to its exceptional value and meaning.

The Gothic Eves

As already stated, Juraj's revolutionary representation of the Charity would remain isolated in Italy not only in sculpture, but it would also remain neglected by art historian, both in voluminous surveys of the Quattrocento sculpture, and in innumerable monographs by Italian, European, and American scholars. Even in the most thorough surveys of the 15th century art we hardly find a word on Juraj. Of course, we find even less concerning Juraj's Charity with Five Boys group, and its place in the interpretation of nude female body, and of a child's body and its motion within the sculpture of the Quattrocento in Italy and in Europe.

Juraj's realistic female nude breaks up with the Gothic tradition of schematic and stylized representation of the naked female body, a theme allowed during the Middle Ages only in the representations of the Eve within the iconography of the Original Sin. By breaking away from the tradition, Juraj is tied to the Early Renaissance striving to revive the harmony of the representation of a female nude.

Within the Italian Quattrocento sculpture the just mentioned traditionalist Gothic approach, in a quality rendering, but with typical stylizations, is perhaps best represented by the Eve by Antonio Rizzo in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace in Venice. On that, most of the experts on the 15th century sculpture seem to be in agreement²⁴. Yet, one must always re-emphasize that, whereas, Rizzo's Eve is seen as an example of the beginning of the Renaissance in Venice, she was made only after 1470²⁵, thus at least two decades after Juraj's nude Charity, or, according to some scholars, even three decades later. Rizzo's is a Gothic type of a woman, with narrow shoulders, small breasts, swollen belly, and stylized locks of very long hair. Her sources are to be sought in Flemish painting, from Van Eyck on, and are known from many examples throughout the 15th century painting. This continuity of the Gothic nude can be seen in the 15th century Northern European sculpture. It is enough to take a glance at the still fully Gothic stylization of the Eve by Tilman Riemenschneider on the portal of Our Lady's church at Würzburg (1493), in form and style close to Rizzo. We find the same iconographic type of shy gesture of the hand with the fig leaf between her thighs, the same narrow shoulders, tiny breasts, elongated body, lowered belly, ovoid head, half-closed eyes, and the ornamental stylization of the hair which strikes the viewer as too long. All those Gothic nudes share, in addition to hardness and lifelessness (as if made of wood, which applies also to painted examples), a disproportionately small head in relation to body.

All those examples of listless Gothic nudes, as well as many others, were made several decades, even half a century after Juraj's Charity. We may better grasp Juraj's greatness if we try to visualize what he was able to see before he conceived and executed his vision of the beauty of a female body. The nudes he could see at home are easy to account for. There were only two: Master Radovan's Eve on the portal of Trogir Cathedral (1240), and the Eve on the northern portal of Šibenik Cathedral, carved by the Bonino da Milano in 1427. In each case we have a simplified volumetric representation of an Antique Venus Pudica, holding one hand underneath the breasts, the other on the fig leaf between her thighs. Juraj must have seen Bonino's Gothic Eve just completed, before his departure for Venice. Although it was made almost two centuries later, Bonino's sculpture appears as a replica of the work Radovan in Trogir, only with some additional realistic detail. Juraj would carve his

much more advanced work just two decades after Bonino! For a better insight into Juraj's starting points one must emphasize that in the case of Bonino we are not dealing with an artist from a sleepy Dalmatian rim land (as it often used to be called), but with a sculptor from Milan, one of the leading centers of Northern Italian art of the time. The case of the two Dalmatian Eves shows how little had changed in two centuries in a wide area from Northern Italy to Central Dalmatia, in other words, in the entire Adriatic basin. This only further highlights the magnitude of Juraj's creative leap.

Juraj's nude Caritas between a Medieval Eve and an Antique Venus

Juraj's naked and barefoot Caritas stands firmly on her right foot, while her left leg is relaxed in a contraposto as its knee leans against the right leg. Such a position of legs naturally calls for lowering of the left hip, and, consequently tilting of the stomach in the same direction. The sculptor has compensated for this by a gentle incline of the thorax to the statue's right side finishing the composition off by a counterpoint of a head turning and leaning to the left. By a consistent use of these gentle body shiftings in opposing directions he has denied any symmetry and de-emphasized the naturally relaxed position of the body. This play of opposed directions is continued by the relationship between the arms. The right arm is bent under a 90 degree angle, and naturally presses against the belly, its upper, gently rounded part. It does not seek to cover the pudenda, as the Ancient Venuses and their successors do. With her left hand, hanging down her hip, she is holding the rim of a mantle running through her fingers. The mantle falls down to her right foot where it is captured by the putto next to her right leg, who wraps himself with the mantle. This clear and logical static of the body is reinforced by a soft, natural, and realistic modeling of a full and firm young female body. Summarily executed legs are distinguished by beautifully rounded hips bearing three small folds on the inside. The firm and gently curving belly displays carefully modeled muscle tissue which serves to distinguish the center from the periphery. Equal sensitivity is revealed in rendering the slightly raised chest, i.e., the profile of the ribs supporting the breasts, rising like two hemispheres bearing prominent nipples with sunken centers.

In addition to the shaping of the body of the Juraj's Caritas, it is equally important to pay attention to the modeling of the volume of the head, to the character of the face, and the way of combing and modeling hair. As opposed to long stylized locks of Gothic Eves, Juraj's young naked woman features short but thick and wavy hair divided into lively, restless, and varied curls. A few small and thin locks fall over her forehead, and even smaller and gentler curls line her cheek from forehead to ear. The main body of hair, prominently volumetric, is thrown back with locks on several intermixed levels. The face of the young woman is individualized, with a classical, rather large straight nose, full lips, and gently curving arches above the eye-sockets. All this has been softly modeled and organically linked into a lifelike portrait of considerable power. The outline of the mouth and a single, soft, vertical wrinkle descending from the nose along the corner of the mouth is probably the key sign of the artist's departure from the world of idealized types, and it is primarily responsible for endowing the face with individual character. Although the method of carving hair indicates antique models, although the nose displays a classical profile, this face is first of all a realistic portrait in a true spirit of the Renaissance²⁶. In that Juraj, however, goes beyond the still idealized expressions of Renaissance Madonnas.

After this analysis of the face of Juraj's Caritas, a comparison with Rizzo's Eve is even more instructive testifying to an unbridgeable chasm dividing Juraj's work from the spirit and form of Gothic art. The hard modelation and everything the scholars usually in many variants (but agreeing upon the essential) attribute to Gothic sculpture, has nothing to do with the head of Juraj's Caritas. Typically Gothic, and quite obvious in the case of the Eve is a relatively small head, lowered and narrow shoulders, elongated body proportions (the upper part of the leg is disproportionately long in comparison with the lower), the feet are long and narrow²⁷. We may also add the awkwardly protruding knee in the contraposto pose, as opposed to the left leg naturally leaning against the right in the case of Juraj's nude. One could go even further, but we believe that the above analysis amply demonstrates that Juraj's Charity fully breaks up with the tradition of Gothic stylization, while, at the same time, it is in no way a passive, imitative resurrection of ancient models. Rather, it represents a creative Early Renaissance approach, a realistic image of a young naked female body, of a head with portrait characteristics, i.e., a face of an individual endowed with living power.

Writing some time ago about Juraj's armored knight on horseback also of the facade of the Loggia dei Mercanti (standing for the coat-of-arms of the city of Ancona) I proposed to compare it also to works of painting, first of all Uccello's²⁸; so also I now propose to compare the sculpture of Charity to both earlier and contemporary solutions of the same theme in painting, as this could underline the objectivity of our historical judgment and valorization. In comparing Juraj with the well-known key works of the Quattrocento, it is always very important to have dates in mind. This is the only way we could objectively judge the significance of some of his works; which leads to some pleasant surprises in Juraj's favor. The first Renaissance nude in the Italian monumental painting is Masaccio's Eve in the scene of the Expulsion from Paradise, painted in 1427, 23 years before Juraj's work. Masaccio's main preoccupation was the expression of grief and pain, whereas the nude body, albeit well-proportioned, was modeled in a simplified and summary way, and is not appropriate as a comparison for Juraj's realistic achievement. There are numerous examples of hard, Gothic, nudes, just like in sculpture (e.g., Signorelli), a departure from which, to some extent, is represented by Botticelli's Venus, a naked female body endowed with true life. But we must recall the chronology: when Juraj carved his Caritas, Botticelli was five years old, and his fascinating Venus born of the sea froth, a symbol of Florentine painting, would be made three decades later (1482). And even then, in Sandro's painting, the woman would not fully and confidently reveal herself, but would cover, with a rich lock of her hair, the pudenda in the manner of an ancient Bathing Venus. The next step would be made only in the next century, with Giorgione's nudes: the standing nude in »The Concert in Nature« (1510), and the nude in the enigmatic painting »The Heavenly and Earthly Love« (1511-1518), and especially the elegant nude Venus in the Uffizi, a worthy competition to Titian's »Venus of Urbino« (1538). The figure of the woman in »The Heavenly and Earthly Love« is closer to Juraj, but the breasts are represented in a much better way. Yet, with this nude we are well out of the Early Renaissance of mid-15th century, and well into the peak of the Classical Renaissance (the work postdates Juraj by seventy years, whereas Titian's Venus is even ninety years later!). Although we are well into the 16th century, these nudes seem to belong to the same circle as Juraj's Caritas if judged by the criterion of lifelikeness.

In German Renaissance painting, Cranach never stepped out of the Gothic world in his numerous representations of female nudes. Their bodies are disproportionately long, they design an »S« curve, their legs are thin, breasts small – they strike us as varnished wooden figurines. These are not »flesh and blood« bodies of Juraj's art. It may be unfair to claim the following, but it seems to us that the border between the two worlds should have been easier to cross in painting.

At the very end of the Quattrocento (1499), Dürer's print »The Temptation« (or »The Doctor's Dream«) does not achieve the same level of harmony of a naked female body as Juraj's group half a century before. The forming of the upper part of the body is good (although the muscular belly may appear like a man's), the breasts are shaped well (but they appear as if they belonged to a smaller figure), but the knees are unnaturally small in comparison to the thighs, and the lower legs too short and too thin – which is a general feature of Gothic nudes. Only by the beginning of the Cinquecento, and after a trip to Italy, would Dürer fashion his Eve (1509) as a nicely shaped and well-proportioned body, yet with too steep and too large shoulders, and a head which is too small; his Lucrece (1518) is a lush body which, however, repeats the same mistake in an almost grotesque way. And all this happens more than half a century after Juraj's Charity. Still, nobody dreams of excluding Dürer from the canon of Renaissance painting, while equally nobody seems willing to include Juraj into the canon of Quattrocento sculpture. Given his extensive and high quality opus between 1441 and 1451, not easy to match in Europe in the same decade, or even in the entire first half of the century, Juraj Dalmatinac undoubtedly belongs to the second generation of the Early Renaissance Quattrocento sculptors. Recognition and acceptance of this historic truth could be postponed, but not avoided.

If we pursue the fate of the Charity theme in painting even further, we come across a mannerist painting by Salviati in which Charity is shown as a gaudily attired and bejeweled lady, with one breast showing and three naked boys, a blasé affectation rather than a genuine experience and emotional lifelike story as told by Juraj many a decade earlier.

Renaissance sculptures of the Caritas made after Juraj's follow conventional solutions. The number of children is often reduced to one. Even a symbolic reference to human relationship is often absent, and the Charity is identified by attributes as a well-dressed lady holding a dish in her hand²⁹. Juraj's rich, humanist, lifelike and realistic approach was replaced by references to modest alms, a free lunch. We might say somewhat cynically, but not without justification: instead of the virtue of true love radiating from Juraj's group, later Renaissance sculptors take us to a soup kitchen. The entire complex of charity as love was reduced to one single goal: to feed the hungry. This represents a reduction in content and an impoverishment even in comparison to the early examples of the humanized Gothic art of Tino da Camaino and Andrea Pisano. The type of the Caritas with a dish is not new too, and there are pre-figurations in Gothic art. The figure of Santa Reparata with a dish by Arnolfo di Cambio (ca. 1300) is, for example, also an allegory of Charity made for the facade of the Florentine cathedral (Florence, Opera del Duomo).

Bambaia (A. Busti) fashioned his Caritas in 1520 as a fully dressed female figure covered by symmetrically arranged draperies. Only the right breast is showing, and there is an energetically gesticulating child on her forearm. Soon this work will be followed by Michelangelo's muscular female nudes of Dawn and Dusk from the Medici tombs (1531), and by numerous Mannerist renderings. In that sequence, running from Jacopo della Quercia to Michelangelo, how can one write a history of female nude in the European Renaissance sculpture, without taking into consideration the sculptural group of a young woman with five little boys by Juraj Dalmatinac?

Let us mention also Gianbologna (Giovanni da Bologna) who represents the Caritas as a fully dressed woman with two boys, recalling the iconographic invention and compositional scheme of Jacopo della Quercia. An increase in motion may be seen as a distant reference of Juraj's group³⁰. But one must not fail to notice a difference in style – Juraj's Renaissance language, and Gianbologna's Mannerist stylistics. In the poses and movements of Juraj's boys climbing over the woman's body we observe the principles of Renaissance tectonics, of a balance of force and load, whereas the boy held by the left hand of Giovanni's Caritas »hangs« unstably in a typically Mannerist position producing in the viewer a sense of unease as the boy may slip and fall to the ground any moment. As a barely noticeable reflection of the Ancona Charity, albeit in a totally different system and in the vocabulary of Late Mannerism, one may quote a group consisting of a nude woman with three boys, a Psyche with the Pandora's Box by A. de Vries (1593). By its unnatural elongation, but also by elegance, this bronze group composed of restlessly moving figures flying upwards to Olympus, whereto it is being carried by three cupids, is a triumph of Mannerist art.

The theme of a Caritas with three boys continues into Baroque. The Baroque vision would increase the motion even further, making it pathetic and overemphasized, as opposed to Juraj's Renaissance reconciliation of energies and human emotional charge. In the Caritas group by Pietro Bernini at Monte di Pietà in Naples³¹ we find, as dictated by the style of the time, three rather grown-up and rather skinny boys, whose bodies and limbs form two intersecting diagonals, from bottom left to the right-center, and then, again, under a different angle, upwards to the left. Representation of the top boy reaching in a natural way toward a slit in the woman's dress, and of the boy at the bottom reaching for her hand clash with the third boy along her left hip, all agitated in an acrobatic pose (totally unjustified), waving his over-elongated limbs and gazing heavenwards, stretching his right hand toward the woman's breasts, while barely keeping his balance and slipping (like his Gianbologna forerunner).

If we consider the female nude in the Renaissance after Juraj, regardless of the theme, and this is a line we should at least somewhat pursue, we should take note of a literal reworking in bronze of a »Venus Felix« by P. J. Alari Bonacolsi (end of the 15th century). The body forms are again rather hard, the pudenda are hidden, and the legs wrapped in drapery. Only at the beginning of the Classical Renaissance, half a century after Juraj, do we meet fine, humanist, and realist female nudes in the sculptures by Christoforo Solari for the facade of Milan Cathedral (1501), and Jacopo Sansovino at Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (1505).

It is interesting that the only later sculpture which could be for a number of reasons more directly linked to Juraj's work does not date from the Quattrocento but was made 120 years later, in France. It is a sculpture of

a Caritas, like Juraj's group within an architectural setting, not secular but religious, at the church of Saint-Pantaléon at Troyes. It is not in a niche but leans against a pilaster standing on a bracket³². It is a sculptural group of a woman in a long dress and bare breasts, and three boys. A deeper link with Juraj's invention is revealed by the lively motion of the children and their different attitudes toward the woman, which are based on an inventive (not imitative) psychologically motivated activity: the one sitting on the left arm grabs the breasts with both of his hands and nurses. The one along the woman's left foot faces the viewer but at the same time he is backing up trying to crawl under the woman's skirt. On the other side, the third boy hangs onto her hip as if trying to climb while she looks at him from above stroking his hair. The author of the group is Domenico del Barbieri, a.k.a. Dominique Fiorentin (1506-1570) which tells us of his origin. He is listed in the chapter on the itinerant artists, among those who came to France after the Sacco di Roma (1527), and the Florentine democratic revolution, and the Medici restoration (1530), as a fully formed master marked »by initial Tuscan, training«³³. Judging by the attribute »Florentine« along his name one may conclude that the art milieu in which Domenico was formed was that of Florence. But there is no sculpture like this one in Florence, or, for that matter, in the entire Tuscany, whereas on the basis of its characteristics one may suggest that the source of Domenico's group was Juraj's Caritas in Ancona, in the province of the Marche.

An Hommage to Structural Analysis

The four Virtues at the top of the triumphal arch of Alphonse of Aragon in Castelnuovo in Naples are closest to Juraj's virtues at the Loggia dei Mercanti in Ancona both in terms of chronology and the type of public sculpture. The arch was begun a few years after Juraj's work in Ancona, and completed some fifteen years later (1453-1568). Although this group of four statues within harmonious Renaissance niches may strike one initially as more »advanced«, as opposed to the rich Late Gothic decor of the Anconitan loggia, iconologically the figures are more traditional than Juraj's, and also stylistically. As opposed to Juraj's combining of various types of dress (e.g., the Strength dressed as a Roman legionary), and clearly stated attributes (anchor in case of the Hope), in Naples all Virtues wear the same type of long dress. The same applies to the composition as they all stand in a rigid frontal pose gazing in front of themselves, without the lively variety of Juraj's attitudes and body motions. Of course, the biggest difference is between Juraj's fresh invention in the case of the Caritas, and the listless personification on the Naples arch made by Isaia da Pisa, who recalls hundreds of stereotyped Virtues.

This comparison of the interpretation of the Virtues in Naples and Ancona is in my opinion paradigmatic for the problem of relation between structural and morphological analysis in art history. Thanks to the niches in a loud and aggressive gothic fiorito style, Juraj's Virtues were automatically pushed back into the Late Gothic category, whereas the Virtues by Isaia da Pisa, in classical niches, were hailed as heralds of a new style in that part of Italy. Two essential components of Juraj's Virtues have been thus overlooked: as sculptural volumes they step out two-thirds of the way from their niches which do not act as a frame but as background. Formally, they all represent a creative, Renaissance, reinterpretation of Gothic typology achieved by looking back at Antiquity (most obviously so in the representation of the Strength in a legionary's costume wearing a helmet with a lion's head, an attribute of Hercules). To say nothing of the truly revolutionary reinterpretation of the theme of Charity in the spirit (and not just in the form) of ancient Venuses, a reinterpretation which was for the first time fully revealed by this study. This blindness for obvious features of a sculpture and its stylistic labeling on the basis of its frame is possible only if morphological criteria outshine everything else and make an impartial and open-minded integral approach of the work impossible.

Juraj Dalmatinac and Regional School of the Quattrocento – Art and Architecture

By claiming a possible influence by Juraj upon Domenico we have opened a question of how to define Juraj's opus. So far it has been argued that his work should be tied to his documented beginnings, i.e., to the Venetian Late Gothic. Personally, I have always sided with those scholars who, like D. Frey and M. Prelog, believed that, from the very beginnings, Juraj was an artist combining Gothic and Renaissance forms, the late

Venetian »gotico fiorito« decor with a Florentine-Paduan Early Renaissance component in his reliefs and statues³⁴. In my studies I have also tried, on the basis of structural analysis, to develop and support a thesis that an essential aspect of Juraj's art is a mixed Gothic-Renaissance style, a creative synthesis of those two stylistic languages existing side by side in the Adriatic basin³⁵ during the 15th century.

I also think that Juraj kept developing as an artist and that, after his beginnings, we must redefine him as an independent artist who seceded from his sources and later on gave more than he had received. In particular, one should study, reinterpret and re-evaluate the works at the peak of his career, to which the sculptural group of the Charity in Ancona also belongs.

We know that Juraj, having received the first impulses in architecture and sculpture in his native city of Zadar, a true treasury of artistic monuments³⁶, left for Venice (after 1420). There he was formed as an artist within the circle of the Buon brothers and the atmosphere of the local gotico fiorito style. Within that context he grew to become an outstanding sculptor and most likely an independent architect and designer on the Porta della Carta (around 1438). As such he was invited by the city of Šibenik to return to the native shores and to continue the project of the city's cathedral, a project which has reached a temporary dead end. According to the contract with the supervisors of the building, Juraj returned to Šibenik in 1441, and produced a new design for the eastern end with an inscribed transept, and, presumably, a dome. What followed was a decade of intense work. In Šibenik where he used his invention in designing and executing the baptistery and the lower section of the three apses; where he boldly placed the sacristy on columns. In Split, Juraj completed two altars with ciboria, and two palaces. And then, as a distinguished and famous architect and sculptor he was invited to Ancona to carry out (with his assistants, Andrija Aleši and Petar Pribislavić) the two most important facades of the sixth decade of the Quattrocento in that city – of the Loggia dei Mercanti, and the Franciscan church, as well as the lunette relief of the church of St. Augustine.

If we accept that Juraj's Caritas influenced at least as a stimulus or inspiration the much later group by Domenico del Barbieri, we must raise the question: what kind of influence it was, and how to call it? I think that it is, in that phase, around the middle of the century, totally wrong to speak of a Venetian or Florentine character of Juraj's art. We must, rather, see him as a mature and independent artist of the Adriatic-Anconitan circle. Or Dalmatian, on the account of Juraj's origin, and his original and inventive approach to architectural and sculptural commissions of the fifth decade of the 15th century in Šibenik and Split. For quite some time I have been proposing that these works be recognized and, because of their specific character and high quality, be included into the history of Early Renaissance art in Europe, in the 15th century, at the time when there were still no prominent monuments of this style in the majority of European lands, and that they be classified as a Central Dalmatian School of Architecture and Sculpture³⁷. We can also speak of the Anconitan circle due to the origin of the only work Domanico could get inspired by in Italy, the Caritas from Ancona³⁸. Domenico could, of course, have followed some other, to us unknown trail, but it is certain that that trail did not lead through Florence.

Finally, we must state that our investigation of sources for Juraj's sculpture of the Caritas with the five boys, a look backwards as well as a look at the echo of his creation in later periods of Renaissance sculpture, and the fate of the sculpture in the scholarly literature, all advocate to terminate ignoring this sculpture's existence and to include it into the canon of sculptural history and among anthological works of Quattrocento sculpture in Italy and Europe. In a truly unique way, the sculptural group includes the problems of the putti, of the female nude, and of the portrait – in thematic sense, and of humanization and three-dimensional modeling in terms of form. Regardless of recognition or oblivion, it fully deserves this distinguished place in the history of European culture and of the Renaissance art. From its creation 1451. until today.

Epilogue

The fate of the Anconitan *Caritas* by Juraj Dalmatinac in the Italian art history is so incomprehensible and bizarre that we cannot just stop at the level of comparing morphological and structural analysis, but we must search for deeper reasons for such a phenomenon. In order to conclude this discussion of the fate of the fine arts heritage of the city of Ancona and the opus of Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac within the Italian art history let us

go back to the beginning. It would be erroneous and untrue to claim that a high mark given to Juraj's *Caritas* was not accorded earlier. The first to publish the sculpture was Adolfo Venturi, the founder of the modern Italian art history. In the spirit of his brilliant visual intuition and in the best tradition of his lapidary style, he characterized the group, at the beginning of the 20th century, much in the same way as we have proposed to do at the beginning of the 21st.

Having noticed the well-known origins of Juraj's art within the Buon workshop in Venice, Venturi pointed out that in Juraj's art the Buon forms evolved so far away from their source that they are in fact without analogy in the entire Italy, or in the entire 15th century.³⁹ Today, one hundred years later, we maintain that Venturi's thesis remains valid, inasmuch as the Gothic component of Juraj's art is concerned. For the other, Renaissance component, it suffices to read the doyen of Italian art history, too. Having analyzed and having given a high mark to Juraj's relief in the lunette of the portal of San Agostino in Ancona, Venturi underlines that, especially in terms of composition and the expression of motion, one should stress »la novita dell' opera di Giorgio«; next, passing on to the *Caritas*, (»Carita sulla loggia de' Mercanti«), which Venturi considers to have been inspired by the Capitoline Venus, he claims that that female nude was truly a forerunner of the Cinquecento in terms of its feminine grace not to be encountered again before Leonardo's *Leda*.⁴⁰ He also describes the lyrical relationship between the young woman and the five »geniotti« holding onto her body. What else could one say, in such a clear and determined way, about Juraj as a creator and innovator who looks at Antiquity as a true Renaissance master, and by his realism (and a successful image of femininity) foreshadows the classical art of the 16th century? Venturi even compares Juraj to Leonardo, a comparison I cannot accept as flattering as it is, since I consider any extemporal valorization (such as »The Gothic Baroque«, or »Giotto's Proto-Renaissance«) to be superficial, while strongly believing that any authentic artist must seek high marks only within his own time and space.⁴¹ Therefore, I would not speak about anticipations of the 16th century, but, rather, I would satisfy myself with a simple truth, i.e., that Juraj, in his *Caritas* expressed certain philosophical, cultural, and visual tendencies and ideals of the Italian mid-15th century in an inventive, creative and complete way, producing a sculpture without analogy in the European sculpture of his time.

Finally, the question which cries for an answer is: how was it possible to ignore the quoted evaluation by Venturi (and it seems to me that nobody ever refuted with valid arguments Venturi's conclusions)? How was it possible that, in spite of the power emanating from the sculpture even today, and in spite of a well-founded valorization by the founder of the modern Italian art history, this public monument (permanently under the public's scrutiny) finds itself on a »black list«? Or, even worse, to be replaced, as a model Early Renaissance sculpture, in all popular surveys as well as expert monographs, by Rizzo's *Eve*, a Venetian work stylistically *retardaire*, formally mediocre, iconographically unoriginal, and at least two decades later!?

Could the answer be contained in the following supposition, namely, could anyone conceive that something as absurd could have happened if the situation had been reversed? If Rizzo's *Eve* had been made in Ancona, and Juraj's *Caritas* in Venice? In the name of the dignity of human judgment, and of reputation of art history as a scholarly discipline, I would be grateful to anyone who might propose a different, more logical, and convincing solution of this enigma. Until such an answer is formulated, we must continue believing, regrettably, that the political and economic supremacy of the Serenissima in the Adriatic (the only economic and cultural competitor being the Republic of Dubrovnik) has continued to influence art history until the present day to the detriment of other Adriatic cities. As Ancona used to be seen from the metropolitan Venetian vantage as a provincial backwater, so also her cultural heritage has remained neglected and humiliated. However, whereas one may possibly expect such a position on the part of Italian art historians as an aspect of emotional »Campanilismo«, it is much more difficult to understand why such an attitude has been also common to other scholars who wrote about the Italian Quattrocento sculpture – German, French, Austrian, Slovene, even American – as one would expect all those to have more distance and being without prejudices. I have intended to publish this contribution, the basic theses for which I published a quarter of a century ago, in an Italian art history journal. However, as there has been no good opportunity to do so, I am publishing it in the *Peristil*, in Croatian and English (integral translation), in order to avoid the »language barrier«, due to which many foreign students (with few notable exceptions) simply ignore the work of Croatian art historians. I am publishing it in a hope that it may remove the »damnatio memoriae« from this masterpiece of the Early Renaissance

sculpture in Ancona. In my opinion it is time for Italian scholars to accept all authentic monuments of their own cultural heritage, including those created in peripheral milieus; so that the Italian public may realize that, when the Renaissance attitude toward the human body is discussed in terms of the maxim »nothing human is foreign to me«, there are values by far surpassing Rizzo's sculpture of Eve. I also hope that it may be realized that, in addition to main centers and foci of art such as Florence, Venice, Rome, or Milan, Italian provincial centers also possess supreme works of art, of which they could be rightly proud. Those works did not get there by mistake, but they were fostered and generated by high cultural aspirations of a milieu which recognized and commissioned valuable works of art. This is, I should say, especially important for such revolutionary works as those by Juraj Dalmatinac. It is even legitimate to ask if something like this would have been possible in some »major« center, in front of the eyes of more »orthodox« judges and connoisseurs of art. Let us just recall the stain born by the Florentines until today for not having allowed Filippo Brunelleschi to complete his superb project (1436) of structurally unique building of the church of Santo Spirito with four apsidioles and four portals on the main facade of a three-aisled basilica. They were not ready for such an innovation, nor were they able to overcome millennial conventions of basilican type of church.⁴²

The work by Juraj the Dalmatian which was equally revolutionary in sculpture as Filippo's was in architecture fifteen years earlier, fits with the thesis of the well-know Croatian historian and theoretician of art Ljubo Karaman concerning a distinction between the concept of »province« (depending on a certain center) and »periphery«, distant enough from such a center to be able to act independently. The main advantage of such a peripheral milieu is »to foster artistic freedom often unknown at the center itself«.⁴³

In those terms peripheral centers of the 15th century art, such as Šibenik (1441), and slightly later Trogir (1468), and, of course, Ancona (1451), proved to be more conducive to individual artistic creativity, and freer of prejudice than Florence itself.

* The name of Juraj Dalmatinac is an art history problem deserving a few words. The only authentic inscription naming the artist is carved into the northeastern pilaster-strip of Šibenik Cathedral. In Latin, it runs as follows: »HOC OPUS CVVARUM FECIT GEROGIUS MATHEI DALMATICUS 1443«. This is, thus, his unique »signature« the name authenticated by the author himself. When his name is written in other languages the only acceptable approach is translating from Latin. So in Croatian scholarly literature we write *Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac*, or in English *George Matthew's Dalmatian*, in German *Georgius von Matheus aus Dalmatien*, in French *George de Mathieu le Dalmatien*, in Italian *Giorgio di Matteo Dalmata*, etc. I propose that this principle be consistently applied by scholars from now on.

However, in Italian scholarly literature, one usually uses a name deriving from Juraj's main work, the Cathedral of Šibenik – *Giorgio da Sebenico*. The problem with this name is that it leads to an erroneous conclusion that George was born in Šibenik, whereas, if we wanted to indicate his place of origin, we should say *Giorgio da Zara* (*George from Zadar*). The name *Giorgio da Sebenico* is as erroneous as calling *Leonardo da Vinci*, *il Leonardo da Milano*« (after his painting of the Last Supper). Finally, the error turns into a forgery when the name *Giorgio da Sebenico* is quoted within an English, German, French, or any other language context, as the implication is that we are dealing with an Italian, rather than a Croatian artist.

¹ Such volumes as *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte*, published by the Italians since the 1930ties, or the *Inventar Monumental* published by the French in the 1960ties on the initiative of André Malraux, are just two examples in an endless line of such laudable attempts.

² M. Dworak, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*.

³ H. Sedlmeyr, «Problem der Interpretation, der Wahrheit und der Zeit» in *Kunst und Wahrheit*, Munich, 1958, pp. 87-159.

⁴ As the street is very narrow Juraj's facade cannot be properly experienced as a whole, so one is referred to an architectural measured drawing by Frey. D. Frey, *Der Dom von Šibenico und sein Baumeister Giorgio Orsini*, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes*, vol. VII, Vienna, plate 68. There are three more sculptures of Virtues on the facade, represented in a more traditional way, placed in the niches and carrying traditional attributes: Hope with an anchor, Strength with a pillar, and Temperance with a balance (obliterated).

⁵ I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889) was the founder of art history as a scholarly discipline in Croatia. His *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* (Dictionary of Yugoslav Artists, 1858) was a crucial work for investigation of archival materials and monuments analysis.

⁶ The Acts of the Šibenik symposium were published seven years later. Within the context of my presentation on the need for reinterpretation and revalorization of the first decade of Juraj's opus, in ten theses, I have quoted from the sixth: «The Nude and the Portrait.» pp. 46-47. R. Ivančević, «Prilog problemu interpretacije djela Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca, deset teza o razdoblju 1441-1452» (A Contribution to the Problem of Interpretation of the Work of Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac, Ten Theses for the Period 1441-1452), *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 3-6 (1979-1982): 25-64. Within the fifth thesis, «Free-Standing Sculpture» I also said: «If in the history of sculpture the Renaissance signifies its liberation from architecture, its harmonizing with and then stepping freely into space, which is, in fact, a liberation of a humanist individual from the medieval dependence on the social framework («the law of cadre»), then the number and quality of free-standing, complete, and three-dimensional sculptures in the opus of an artist could be a measure of his belonging to the Renaissance. This task was solved by Juraj around the middle of the 15th century in a creative and original way; this, in regard to the significance and the value of his work was never sufficiently valued in the sum total of presentations of his opus. In Juraj's sculptures, which, according to the method of carving, we may consider to be fully rounded, three-dimensional volumes (regardless of the fact that they were mostly meant for architectural niches), in addition to the formal achievement of full roundness experienced from all the angles, one also discovers a new, humanist experience and concept of the human body. Which is another and perhaps a «higher level of meaning» (p. 42). Later, when speaking of «a gallery of free-standing Juraj's sculptures» I emphasized that the nude Charity is certainly Juraj's «most rounded» statue, or a group, shaped and seen as three dimensional from every point of view, and fully experienced only by a moving viewer» (p. 44).

⁷ C. Fisković, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, Zagreb, 1963, p. 24.

⁸ I have analyzed the function and the role of movement in Juraj's work in elaborating the above mentioned point, primarily on the example of the putti holding the screens at the Altar of St. Staš in Split Cathedral, and of the Altar of the Blessed Amir, originally in Split, as well as on the lunette of St. Augustine in Ancona. I have always considered the exaggeration of the Saint's and the angels' movement in the last example to be an expression of the sculptor's individuality, rather than a function of the theme or the action. Juraj displays a typically Renaissance penchant for exploration, this time of movement. For this reason I have maintained that he could be included among the «problem solvers» of the Quattrocento (the 10th thesis, op. cit., pp. 55-60).

⁹ Witzum-Volbach, op. cit., table VII. The authors also warn about the oscillation of iconographic meanings, since «the figure of the woman with the twins on her breasts standing above the personification of the four Virtues,» is not Caritas, «but a personification of the city of Pisa, an allegory compatible with the spirit of nascent humanism» op. cit., p. 141.

¹⁰ See E. Panofsky, *The Meaning in Visual Arts*, fig. 113. Panofsky thinks that the idea of «the naked truth» in the art of the Renaissance was transferred from the religious to the secular level and promoted by L. B. Alberti in his *Treatise on Painting* (1436), wherein he speaks about Apeles' calumny (Lucian): «After Remorse, there appeared a young maiden, shy and restrained, called Truth.» As Truth has nothing to be ashamed of, the words could refer only to her nudity. Panofsky points out the female nude of the Venus Pudica type in Botticelli's allegory of Calumny, stressing that the Nuda Veritas would be «one of the most popular personifications of the Renaissance.» For Venus Pudica also see: P. P. Bober, and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, New York, 1986, p. 61, fig.14. The other two types is the Bathing Venus (Mazarin) covering herself with a piece of cloth using a similar gesture of the left hand, and Venus Felix with an Amor, doing the same with her right hand (figs. 15 and 16). See also a replica of a Venus Felix in bronze (32 cm) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; Pope-Hennessy, op. cit., fig. 127. According to Bober, among possible sources the Venus Pudica (now in the Pinacothek in Munich) was mentioned by the end of the 15th century, but the Bathing Venus (Mazarin) was discovered only in 1509, and could not have served as a model for Quattrocento artists. A Venus Felix, according to Amico Aspertini, was placed in the Vatican Belvedere also in 1509, so one can assume its subsequent influence on the art of the Cinquecento, wherever it may have been before.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Quoting J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 1974, pp. 336-337, the author claims that in addition to the Charity (Truth) there are three other civic virtues represented on the Loggia dei Mercanti – Justice (combined with Strength), Hope (Faith), and Good Judgment. See I. Fisković, «Juraj Dalmatinac u Anconii» *Peristil* 27-28 (1984-85): 134-135.

¹³ This is not one of three theological virtues (Faith, Love/?, and Hope), although its is also usually called Caritas. Among personifications of Virtues on the tomb of Doge Niccolo Tron (1479-80), Andrea Rizzo placed as many as three figures of Charity: Caritas – *Amor Dei*, a theological virtue holds in her left hand a small lamp with a flame; Caritas in s sense of charity holds a larger, simple dish; and Caritas – *Amor proximi* forms her mantle like an apron filled with fruit. See Schulz, A. M., *Andrea Rizzo*, figs. 87-90, 100, 103.

¹⁴ In *Iconologie de Ripa*, first illustrated edition (1603), the iconography of Charity was fixed according to the mentioned versions: «La Charité recueille et allaite des enfants.» See Reau, L., *L'iconographie de l'art chretien*, I/188.

¹⁵ See Olson, R., *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1997, fig. 18.

¹⁶ See Vitzthum, G., and Volbach, W. F., *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien*, Potsdam, 1924, fig. 141. For example, Mino da Fiesole shows Charity as a fully dressed woman holding a naked child on her left knee on the tomb of Pope Julius II (1474) in the old basilica of St. Peter in Rome.

¹⁷ For example, Mino da Fiesole who shows Charity as a fully dressed woman holding a naked child on her left knee on the tomb of Pope Julius II (1474) in the old basilica of St. Peter in Rome.

¹⁸ Let as also mention that the children are also frequently dressed, before and after Juraj's work.

¹⁹ See R. Ivančević, «Uvod u ikonologiju» (Introduction to Iconology) in *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simboličke zapadnog kršćanstva*, 4th edition, Zagreb, 2000, pp. 90-91.

²⁰ Thus being conceived after a Bathing Venus (Mazarin).

²¹ See Olson, op. cit., fig. 38, pp. 54-56. The author correctly notes that «the group is psychologically integrated.» Therefore it is surprising that, after this had been noticed and said in the case of Jacopo, nobody was ready to apply the same to Juraj. On the other hand, after such reading of Jacopo's group, I see no problem of applying the same yard stick to Juraj. All it takes is to analyze both of them with the same attention.

²² See V. Zamarovski, *Junaci antičkih mitova* (Ancient Mythical Heroes), Zagreb, 1985, p. 296 (Romulus).

²³ I have warned several times that it is unacceptable to write artists' biographies based exclusively on the historical data. First, because of all the sources available, the time has preserved just a random few. Second, since a piece of information always contains also implicit contents, which also deserve a full attention by scholars. So, in our case, Juraj Dalmatinac is fully documented as having been in Venice for a long period of time, and it would be inconceivable that an artist of his format would not have visited the nearby Padua, and studied its monuments. Equally so, in connection with the «inconceivable lightness of travel» based on documents available showing that Juraj visited a dozen cities on the Adriatic coast – both Italian and Croatian – it would have been strange if he had not also visited some that were not mentioned, in particular those sites which were along his travel route. From a document, exactly from Ancona, we learn that Juraj traveled on horseback. Documents also indicate that, around Ancona, Juraj visited Rimini, Fano, Civitanova, Fermo, Tolentino, Urbino and Gubbio. If we put the two pieces of information together, I believe it is more likely he also visited Siena famous for its artists and monuments.

^{23a} Similarities between Juraj's *Caritas* and Jacopo della Quercia's sculpture of Acca Larentia at the Fonte Gaia in Siena were for the first time pointed out by V. Gvozdanović (V. P. Goss) in «The 'Schiavone' in Vasari's *Vita* of Brunelleschi», *Commentari* 27 (1976): 22-23. This was indicated to me after my text had been completed by the author himself, who translated my text into English. For this I am sincerely grateful. As I was unaware of his study. Emphasizing that this is yet another «Tuscan connection» in the opus of Juraj Dalmatinac, Gvozdanović points out similarities in the position of the right hand and the motif of a child climbing the woman's body, and he also believes that there is even more similarity between Juraj's creation and the figure of Eve in Quercia's relief of the Labors of Adam and Eve on the portal of San Petronio in Bologna (1434). The author reminds us that the possibility of Jacopo's influence on Juraj has been mentioned also by M. Salmi, *Arte Italiana*, Florence, 1942, vol. I, p. 69, and by G. Marchioni, «Aggiunte al Palazzo Ducale di Urbino», *Bolletino d'Arte* 45 (1961): p. 76, as well as a hypothesis of Juraj's familiarity with the art of Niccolò dell'Arca (C. Gnudi, *Nuove ricerche su Niccolò dell' Arca*, Rome, n.d., pp. 29-30).

²⁴ For various cultural circles see, for example: Schubring, P., *Die italienische Plastik des Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1919; Planischig, L., *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921; Seymour, C. J., *Sculpture in Italy, 1400-1500*, London, 1966; Pope-Hennessy, J., *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, New York, 1985.

²⁵ «...All stylistic indices point to a date in the early 1470s.» Schulz, A. M., *Antonio Rizzo – Sculptor and Architect*, Princeton, 1983, p. 32.

²⁶ About the lifelike realism and convincing portrait characteristics in the opus of Juraj Dalmatinac (heads on the three apses of Šibenik Cathedral) see: Ivančević, R., «Šibenski portreti Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca (1443)» *Peristil* 42-43 (1999-2000): 41-76.

²⁷ Parts of the description quoted by Schulz, op. cit.

²⁸ Ivančević, R., «Problem...», op. cit. p. 44.

²⁹ See for example the *Caritas* among the sculptures at the Tron tomb by A. Rizzo, or the Giustiniani tomb (completed after 1466), according to A.M. Schulz a work of an assistant to Nikola Firentinac. Schulz, A. M., *Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Venetian Sculpture of the Early Renaissance*, New York, 1978, fig. 42.

³⁰ Università di Bologna, height 173 cm., Pope-Hennessy, op. cit, fig. 140.

³¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 270.

³² See: *Sculpture – the Great Tradition*, III, Cologne, 1996. In the chapter on Mannerism (G. Bresc-Bautier), figure and text on pp. 108-109.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³⁴ See: Frey, D., op. cit., and Prelog, M., «Dva nova 'putta' Jurja Dalmatinca i problem renesansne komponente u njegovoj skulpturi» (Two New Putti by Juraj Dalmatinac and the Problem of the Renaissance Component in His Art), *Peristil* 4 (1961): 46-60.

³⁵ See: Ivančević, R., «Mješoviti gotičko-renesansni stil Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca» (Mixed Gothic-Renaissance Style of Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac) in *Fiskovićev zbornik, I. Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21(1980): 355-380, as well as numerous other studies leading up to the monograph on Šibenik Cathedral, Šibenik, 1998.

³⁶ By innumerable analogies in biographies of medieval and Renaissance artists and the rule of sons succeeding their fathers, it is reasonable to search, unless proven differently, for Juraj's roots in a family of stone masons and builders. There are some interesting indications supporting such a supposition, but as yet insufficient to take them fully into consideration.

³⁷ To the same school belong also Andrija Aleši who would continue Juraj's teaching in the Baptistery of Trogir Cathedral (1467), and Nikola Firentinac who, albeit from the very heart of the Tuscan Renaissance, would carry Juraj's Dalmatian principles of integration of architecture and sculpture to their peak in his project of the mausoleum chapel (1468), attached to the Romanesque cathedral, of Bishop Ivan of Trogir (12th century), locally revered as Saint (named Orsini chapel), I do believe that the coherency of style and its characteristics fully justifies calling this group of artists a «school», like others long recognized «schools» of the Quattrocento in Italy, e.g., of Ferrara, Urbino, Lombardy...; or, later, in the 16th century in Germany: The Rhine School, the Danube School.

³⁸ I did not have time to explore the biography of that artist before his moving to France, but the probability that he had visited Ancona and seen Juraj's *Caritas* group is as high as that of Juraj's having visited Perugia (see note 16).

³⁹ See A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1908, p. 997.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1000,1002.

⁴¹ As positive as such an evaluation of Juraj's work may be, it would not lead us toward a more complete and objective judgment, as it would place it out of context. Juraj can be truly judged as he deserves only within his own time and place (see R. Ivančević, *Prilozi problemu interpretacije...*, 1975, p.28).

⁴² Vidi: F. Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti*, Milano, 1980.; G. Fanelli, *Brunelleschi*, Firenze, 1985, str. 69-75

⁴³ See Lj. Karaman, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2001; also, R. Ivančević, *Ljubo Karaman e la nozione dell'arte provinciale, dell'arte di frontiera e dell'arte periferica*, in *La Scuola Viennese di storia dell'arte*, a cura di M. Pozzetto, *Atti di XX Convegno ICM*, Gorizia, 1966, pp. 183-193.