

## A PAINTING BY BALDASSARE D'ANNA IN OPRTALJ AND ITS FAMOUS MODELS

by Nina Kudiš, Reka

The works by Baldassare d'Anna located in Istria have attracted far less attention from art historians than those in Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> At present we know of two certain works by d'Anna, both of them signed, located in the Croatian part of the peninsula of Istria - a painting behind the main altar of the parish church in Hum representing the *Virgin in Glory and Two Saints* and a painting on the main altar of the parish church in Optrtalj representing *Saint George and the Dragon*. New attributions are therefore to be expected.<sup>2</sup> The rather interesting composition of the latter work, especially when compared to other paintings by the same author, prompted me to discuss it briefly in a recent paper. I identified its model as the famous painting of the same subject by Tintoretto, now in the National Gallery in London.<sup>3</sup> Still, some new observations have made it necessary to return to this topic once again.

<sup>1</sup> G. Gamulin, Pabirci za maniriste, *Peristil*, 20, Zagreb 1978, pp. 63-65; G. Gamulin, Prijedlozi za slikarstvo renesanse i manirizma u Veneciji, *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 10, Zagreb 1986, p. 76; A. Horvat-R. Matejčić-K. Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 1982, pp. 547-8; about d'Anna's painting in Izola (Slovenia) cf. Tomaž Brejc, *Slikarstvo od 15. do 19. stoljeća na Slovenski obali*, Koper 1983, pp. 55-6, 124, 219. About the works by the same painter in Dalmatia cf. K. Prijatelj, Slike Baldassare D'Anna u Dalmaciji, *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji*, III, Zagreb 1975 and the same article published in *Arte Veneta*, XXI, 1967 under the title Le opere di Baldassare d'Anna in Dalmazia; cf. also an article by Z. Demori-Staničić, Još jedno djelo Baldassarea d'Anna u Dalmaciji, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti*, 21, Split 1980 and the notes.

<sup>2</sup> In the article Dva priloga slikarstvu prve polovice XVII. stoljeća u Istri (Two Contributions to the Early 17th Century Painting in Istria), *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 32, Split 1993 (the issue is a tribute to professor Kruso Prijatelj)(Kudiš), I discussed a possible work by d'Anna situated in the former parish church in Mutvoran, on the altar of St. Simon. However, the deplorable state of the painting prevents any definite conclusion. Only recently I discovered another almost certain d'Anna in the parish church in Roč (only a few kilometres from Hum). It represents *Madonna of the Rosary* and is situated to the right of the main altar.

<sup>3</sup> Kudiš: "The way d'Anna transposed Tintoretto's composition on the painting in Optrtalj is very interesting - it was done in conformity with the demand of conceptual clarity. Regardless whether the transformation took place on the print that served as the model, in the process of painting or through a combination of two prints, it only consists in the change of place and orientation of St George on horseback and the Dragon... It is almost

The subject of St George and the dragon, frequent in the Italian art of the 15th and 16th centuries, retained a conventional form from Donatello's relief on the facade of the church Or San Michele in Florence onwards. It was defined by the figures of the riding saint, the princess and the dragon with variable spatial interaction, represented in landscape. In most cases they are simply arranged in a line that runs from left to right, even though Paolo Uccello made an early attempt to articulate the story spatially by showing St George on horseback with bold foreshortening (in the National Gallery, London). Uccello's lesson was charmingly interpreted by Giovanni Bellini in a *predella* of the *Incoronation of the Virgin* (Museo Civico, Pesaro).<sup>4</sup>

The Venetian tradition of painting is familiar with the motif of St George and the Dragon, as well as representations of a saint on horseback (Giambono's beautiful *St Chrisogono* in the church of S. Trovaso), but the interpretation by Carpaccio in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (dated by inscription in 1507) is the most famous pre-Tintoresque treatment of the theme (pl. 57). It is, in fact, the first of the three episodes of the *istoria eroica* of St George narrated according to *Legenda Aurea*. The scene of the battle takes place in the foreground and we see the combatants in profile. In the background there is Silena (or Selene).

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impossible to imagine a more elucidating example than the one at hand that would corroborate the hypothesis about the conceptual nature of pictorial representation, present even in the case of renaissance or baroque painting. In his painting Tintoretto considered the relative conceptual clarity to be redundant because the story was very well known to everybody, so he looked for a new, unexpected view that might resemble the image of the real world in a more accurate way. The author of the print or Baldassare d'Anna are inclined towards conceptual clarity in the same way as were the mediaeval masters, damaging thus the perspective congruency and proportions, that is, the realistic representation of space. The means are different, but with minor artists the understanding of the basic processes at work in the visual representation remained very similar to the one that dominated mediaeval art."

<sup>4</sup> For the evolution of the motif in Central Italy and its typology there are two paintings of considerable importance, both of them in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, one by Raphael and the other by Sodoma. Here we may observe two basic variations on the popular subject. *St George* by Raphael rides a horse that is rearing on its hind legs, its body slanted diagonally in the represented space, thus enhancing the illusion of threedimensionality and depth, its back (as well as the rider's) turned to the observer who witnesses the battle taking place in the middle distance, from behind the saint's back. The unobtrusive figure of the praying princess is situated in the background. *St George* by Sodoma rides a horse that is almost parallel to the horizontal border of the painting. It is oriented to the right, allowing the observer to admire the great knightly skill of the saint seen in full face. Accordingly, the rider occupies the middle distance while the dragon and the princess stand in the foreground. Cf. *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1979, Vol I, pp. 391-2, 433. The painting by Raphael (28.5 x 21.5 cm) is signed and dated between 1504 and 1506. The author of the catalogue states that Leonardo's *Battle at Anghiari* served as the model for this painting. According to the same author a rather unusual compositional aspect is present in the work by Sodoma (137.8 x 97.6 cm) - an angel in the sky, a motif shared only with the famous painting by Tintoretto. It is important to stress, though, that in the latter painting there is the image of God instead. According to Venturi, the painting with the same subject by Dosso Dossi repeats the composition by Raphael in a more vigorous way. Cf. A. Venturi: *La pittura del cinquecento*, Milano 1928, Vol. III (Venturi), p. 944.

represented not as any Near-Eastern town but composed of several characteristic buildings, some of which are very accurate interpretations of the existing monuments: the church of S. Ciriaco in Ancona, the gates of Bab el-Futuh in Cairo, the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>5</sup> It has also been suggested that the author used the heraldic iconography here because of the importance of the representation: the motif of St George and the Dragon was the emblem of the Dalmatian community as well as the *Scuola*.<sup>6</sup>

Using just a few moves of crucial importance, Tintoretto in his masterpiece of around 1560<sup>7</sup> transformed the common disposition of the scene (present also in the painting by Carpaccio) in order to achieve a brilliant and startling spatial solution charged with emotion (pl. 58). Now the saint and the dragon occupy the middle distance leaving the foreground to the gracious fleeing princess whose gesture also interprets the emotional significance of the scene.<sup>8</sup> Here we can trace the traditional renaissance conception translated into the mannerist vocabulary. Surprisingly enough, there seems to exist an analogy between this painting and a painting by Sodoma with the same subject: the unique case of the presence of an angel (in the older painting), that is, God the Father (in the more recent painting), who observes the scene from on high, and the compositional role of the landscape and the representation of a fortified town that repeats and underlines the direction of the action.<sup>9</sup>

Obviously, Tintoretto's beautiful painting of a lesser size, which might have never been exposed to veneration in a church,<sup>10</sup> became the model for many paintings of the same subject executed in Venice during the 17th century. The *pala* from Optralj (pl. 60) corroborates this hypothesis but now we are also able to point to the intermediate painting between the famous model and its rather clumsy interpretation. The picture in question is the only known painting by Sebastiano Casser representing, of course, *Saint George and the Dragon* and it is located in San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (pl. 59). Casser, a painter of German origin, the

<sup>5</sup> P. Fortini Brown: *La pittura nell'eta di Carpaccio*, Venezia 1992, pp. 225-232. The author also points out that Carpaccio uses the representations of the Holy Sepulchre, the town of Rama and Alexandria by Erhard Reeuwich published in 1486 and she concludes: "La lezione essenziale che si ricava e il riconoscimento del modo in cui Carpaccio elabora continue citazioni architettoniche: l'artista era in grado di raffigurare un ambiente orientale credibile e di grande respiro solo grazie a costanti manipolazioni e rispettivi adattamenti delle figure e dell'architettura."

<sup>6</sup> *Le Scuole di Venezia*, Milano 1981, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> R. Pallucchini, P. Rossi, *Tintoretto, Le opere sacre e profane*, Milano 1990, Vol. I (Pallucchini & Rossi), pp. 53, 175-6. The author stresses that the painting reveals the influence of Veronese to a considerable extent. A. Venturi (Venturi, p. 1011) mentions another Venetian Cinquecento painting with the same subject, Bordon's *St George* in Galleria Vaticana. He claims that Titian's influence may be seen in the figure of the princess while the rest of the painting reveals a taste for rich, overadorned manner.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the function of the so called *diciotore* in mannerist paintings. W. Sypher, *Rinascimento, manierismo, barocco*, Padova 1968, pp. 166-167.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. note no. 4. The identity of the fortified town in the painting by Tintoretto is a very intriguing subject, especially in view of the painter's reluctance to travel: it may be completely imaginary, or as is the case with Carpaccio's Silena, a combination of popular representations of any town.

<sup>10</sup> Pallucchini & Rossi, p. 175.

pupil, follower and brother-in-law of Domenico Tintoretto, was considered already by Ridolfi and Boschini to be not only the fortunate heir of Tintoretto's *bottega* and name but also a *virtuous* painter. The painting, very probably executed at the beginning of the 17th century, was described by Brunetti in an illuminating manner in 1920: "Il quadro è in pessime condizioni di conservazione, ma, tuttavia, l'influsso tintorettesco appare evidentissimo. Esso si rivela nella tecnica e nella composizione, e, soprattutto, in questa. La figura della Principessa, che occupa l'angolo inferiore sinistro del quadro, è simile nelle movenze, come nel colore delle vesti e nell'espressione, a quella del mirabile S. Giorgio che uccide il drago ch'è nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, e che appartiene al miglior periodo del Maestro veneziano. Nel quadro del Casser essa, però, troppo oppressa dal gigantesco cavallo che le incombe e che occupa quasi tutto il primo piano. Ha sapore tintorettesco anche il gruppo di spettatori a sinistra del S. Giorgio, come pure il volo d'angeli che sovrasta la scena. Lo sfondo, una città turrita, è in condizioni miserevoli. Tutto rivela un diligente imitatore di Jacopo, senza però alcuna traccia di originalità."<sup>11</sup> It is precisely this lack of originality or, better, this inclination to more obvious and therefore simplified solutions that induced the lesser artist to place the actors in more violent and extremely dramatic spatial relations, thus reducing the metaphoric stratification of the representation. The most interesting aspect of this transformation appears in the attitude of the Princess Cleodolinda: the elegant and charming gesture of Tintoretto's Princess, as if caught in slow-motion, presenting renaissance *decorum* at its best, has been transformed into a violent torsion of the body and vigorous swing of the left hand - here we have a young woman fleeing for her life forgetting all the niceties. Still, the painting by Casser differs from its model in two important points: St. George on horseback is facing the observer and the rearing horse is boldly foreshortened; furthermore, the grim urban landscape illuminated by infernal red light from the setting sun does not follow the main compositional line of direction.<sup>12</sup>

D'Anna's interpretation (pl. 60) of the same subject clearly repeats the composition by Casser but it is almost certain that he did so by using a print (the author of which must surely also have been aware of the painting by Tintoretto): the composition is reversed as if seen in a mirror and in the background there is a fortified town very much like the one we have seen in Tintoretto's painting.<sup>13</sup> This reversal has a curious effect on the attitude of St George, probably present already in the print - in order to handle the lance with his right hand, he has to thrust it in a

<sup>11</sup> C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Venetia 1648 (D. F. von Hadeln, ed., Vol. I, Berlin 1914, Vol. II, Berlin 1924), Vol. II, pp. 262-3; Thieme Becker *Lexikon*, Leipzig 1912, Vol. VI, p. 128; M. Brunetti, *La continuità della tradizione artistica nella famiglia del Tintoretto*, *Studi di arte e storia*, Vol. I, Venezia 1920, pp. 270-1, note no. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Apart from using the famous painting by his father-in-law as the model, Casser might have used some preparatory sketches as well.

<sup>13</sup> Its baroque appearance is probably due to the later intervention. In the lower righthand corner there is the signature: *BALDISSETTA D'ANNA P.* In the 18th century the painting was cut to fit the new frame (the present dimensions are 250 x 125 cm) and was very probably heavily repainted at the same time. Cf. A. Santangelo, *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia, Provincia di Pola*, Roma 1935, p. 174.

most awkward way, over the horse's neck. The spatial relations between d'Anna's St George, princess and dragon are oversimplified and thus clumsy, so the whole looks rather flat and unreal. Above St. George there are illuminated clouds that probably functioned as a frame for the image of God destroyed when the painting was fitted to the new frame in the 18th century. Generally, the painting is of relatively high quality compared to several works by the same author located in Dalmatia. Although much darkened and repainted, it reveals harmoniously combined colours dominated by mauve and dark green accents. The fleeing princess in an elaborate and richly adorned dress, still showing the original painted surface, represents one of the most successful chapters in d'Anna's work outside Venice. A thorough restoration of this painting might offer some answers to the rather complex problem of the discrepancy in quality and also in the treatment of the painted surface and colours between the paintings attributed to Baldassare d'Anna in Scuola di San Fantino and those scattered all over Dalmatia and Istria.<sup>14</sup>

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In order to conclude this short discussion of d'Anna's painting in Oprtalj and its famous models, I would like to mention one more painting of considerable quality that can be considered part of this sequence. It is *Saint George and the Dragon* by Matej Pončun (Matteo Ponzoni) dated to the fifth decade of the 17th century<sup>15</sup> and situated on the third altar in the left aisle of San Giorgio Maggiore (pl. 61). It replaced the painting by Casser and represents an almost baroque interpretation not only of the same subject, but also of the same compositional conception - the Princess, the Dragon, the hovering angels are very similar and the sides are not reversed. For his composition Pončun observed the older painting that he had near at hand but he also made use of a beautiful and very popular xylograph of the same subject by Giuseppe Scolari (pl. 63), of which D. Rosand and M. Muraro write: "In essa lo Scolari raggiunse il pieno dominio espressivo e tecnico dei suoi mezzi grafici. Attribuito a Tiziano da Papillon e da altri, il disegno di quest'opera può essere invece considerato una variante del *Marco Curzio* affrescato dal Pordenone sulla facciata del palazzo d'Anna..."<sup>16</sup> Scolari, originally from Vicenza, was a member of the Venetian *Mariegola* of painters from 1592 to 1607. He is supposed to be Maganza's pupil but under strong influence of Titian's art, both xylography and painting; he was one of the few xylographers who invented and cut their compositions. His works are characterised by powerful expressionism, dynamic forms and violent contrast of light and shade and dramatic tension: "Ogni forma delle sue vivaci composizioni partecipa del *pathos* del tema e del soggetto;

<sup>14</sup> P. Zampetti: *Guida alle opere d'arte a S. Fantin e Ateneo veneto*, Venezia 1973, pp. 25-7, 37-39; R. Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Seicento*, Milano 1981, Vol. I (Pallucchini), pp. 54-5; C. Limentani Virdis, *La famiglia d'Anna a Venezia, contatti col Pordenone, Tiziano e Tintoretto*, *Il Pordenone, atti del convegno internazionale di studio*, Pordenone 1985, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> Pallucchini, p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> M. Muraro and D. Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del cinquecento*, Venezia 1976 (Muraro & Rosand), p. 153. The dimensions of the xylography are 524 x 359 mm.

attraverso linee vorticose e bagliori improvvisi si concreta il messaggio espressivo; sono essi che danno la misura palpitante di vita di ogni imagine".<sup>17</sup> In the painting by Pončun the saint on the rearing horse is not bent forward and charging to pierce the dragon as in Casser's representation, but instead he looks towards heaven acquiring a triumphant attitude derived in detail, not only in form but also in the content of expression from the triumphant but also terrified *St George* by Scolari. Thus, it seems that the baroque aspect of the painting is more an interpretation of Scolari's expressive manner than the sign of the *new style*.

It is no wonder that Ponzoni used parts of Casser's composition for the painting that was destined to replace it, but it should be pointed out that for his early *pala* (about 1615) now in S. Maria dell'Orto (pl. 62), he used Casser's *St George* and not the popular xylography by Scolari.<sup>18</sup>

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This brief survey of the problem of a compositional conception popular in Venice at the beginning of the 17th century bears out the hypothesis of the relative conceptuality of the great majority of the paintings that were executed in the late 16th and 17th centuries even though they are considered to be the peak of the realistic (naturalistic) tradition of West European art. In the paintings by Casser, d'Anna and even Pončun, the compositional and narrative focus suffered a major change: for Tintoretto the very well known and almost redundant figure of St George was only a pretext for a refined and witty game with space and the figure of protagonist (or protagonists), while the minor masters had to adhere to the simplicity and clarity rules in order to bring home to the uneducated spectators the whole story without narrative abbreviations of any type.<sup>19</sup> The achievements of the minor artists, compared to the brilliant as well as amazing solution offered

<sup>17</sup> Muraro & Rosand, pp. 150-2.

<sup>18</sup> Pallucchini, Vol. I, p. 86, illustration Vol. II, p. 529; K. Prijatelj, Omiške oltarske pale oko Palme Mladega (Le pale di Omiš intorno a Palma il Giovane), *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 24, Split 1984, reprinted in K. Prijatelj: *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1989, pp. 63-9. In his article Prijatelj discusses a painting situated in the parish church in Omiš and attributes it to Pončun. It represents the Virgin with St. George, St. Helen and a donor and the author states that the saint on horseback, similar to the one on Pončun's painting in S. Giorgio Maggiore, bears a resemblance to the horsemen in works by Palma il Giovane. As far as the typology of garments and the painterly technique are concerned it is easy to agree with this opinion, but the attitude of St George and also the horse, must surely derive from the same source as St George in the painting by the same author in S. Maria dell'Orto. Cf. S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane, L'opera completa*, Milano 1984 and, by the same author *Palma il Giovane, 1548-1628, Disegni e dipinti*, Milano 1990, especially p. 134, 160 and 165 for the specific knightly garments.

<sup>19</sup> In the case of Pončun the clarity principle may be connected to the new ideas advocated by the reformed Church. Cf. R. Wittkower: *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, Harmondsworth 1973, pp. 21-2; *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, Bari 1960-3, especially Paleotti's Discorso (Vol. II) and Borromeo's *Instructiones* (Vol. III).

by Tintoretto, can surely divert, but they do more - they fully reveal the pattern of thinking that gradually reduced, flattened (both literally and figuratively) and simplified a complex pictorial conception, only to restore it, sometimes, in the vocabulary of another style, perhaps transformed beyond recognition.



## SLIKA BALDASSARA D'ANNA V OPRTLJU IN ZNAMENITI VZORI ZANJO

Nina Kudiš, Reka

Dela Baldassara d'Anna, ki se nahajajo v Istri, so pritegnila veliko manj pozornosti umetnostnih zgodovinarjev kakor njegova dela v Dalmaciji.<sup>1</sup> Za zdaj zanesljivo poznamo dve d'Annovi deli v hrvaški Istri, obe podpisani. Eno se nahaja za glavnim oltarjem župnijske cerkve v Humu in predstavlja blaženo *devico Marijo in dva svetnika*, drugo je slika na glavnem oltarju župnijske cerkve v Oprtlju, na kateri je upodobljen sv. Jurij z zmajem. Zato je pričakovati, da bodo odkrili še nove slike omenjenega avtorja.<sup>2</sup> Precej zanimiva kompozicija slednjega dela, še posebej, če jo primerjamo z drugimi deli istega avtorja, me je spodbudila h kratki razpravi, ki je bila pred kratkim objavljena. Ugotovila sem, da je bila vzor slavna Tintorettova podoba iste zgodbe, zdaj v Nacionalni galeriji v Londonu.<sup>3</sup> Vendar so nove ugotovitve pokazale potrebo, da se ponovno vrnem k tej temi.

<sup>1</sup> G. Gamulin, Pabirci za maniriste, *Peristil*, 20, Zagreb 1978, pp. 63-65; Grga Gamulin, Prijedlozi za slikarstvo renesanse i manirizma u Veneciji, *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 10, Zagreb 1986, p. 76; *Barok u Hrvatskoj* (A. Horvat, R. Matejčić, K. Prijatelj), Zagreb 1982, pp. 547-8; o d'Annovih slikah v Izoli (Slovenija) cf. Tomaž Brejc: *Slikarstvo od 15. do 19. stoljeća na Slovenski obali*, Koper 1983, pp. 55-56, 124, 219. O delih istega slikarja v Dalmaciji cf. Krunka Prijatelj, Slike Baldassare D'Anna u Dalmaciji, *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji*, III, Zagreb 1975 in isti članek objavljen v *Arte Veneta*, XXI, 1967, z naslovom Le opere di Baldassare D'Anna in Dalmazia; cf. tudi članek Z. Demori-Staničić, Još jedno djelo Baldassara d'Anna u Dalmaciji, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti*, 21, Split 1980 in pripombe.

<sup>2</sup> V članku Nina Kudiš, Dva priloga slikarstvu prve polovice XVII. stoljeća u Istri, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 32, Split 1993 (od tod citirano Kudiš, Dva priloga) (izšlo v počastitev profesorja Krunka Prijatelja), sem razpravljala o možnem delu d'Anne iz župnijske cerkve v Mutvoranu, na oltarju sv. Simeona. Vendar pa obžalovanja vredno stanje podobe ovira, da bi prišli do končnih sklepov. Pred kratkim sem odkrila še eno, skoraj gotovo d'Anovo delo v župnijski cerkvi v Roču (le nekaj kilometrov od Huma). Prikazuje *Rožnovensko Madono* in se nahaja desno od glavnega oltarja.

<sup>3</sup> Kudiš, Dva priloga: "Način, kako je d'Anna transponiral Tintorettovo kompozicijo na sliki v Oprtlju, je zelo zanimiv - prilagodil se je zahtevam jasnosti zasnove. Ne glede na to, ali je bila preobrazba storjena že na grafiki, ki jo je imel za predlogo, ali je prišlo do nje med slikanjem ali pa s kombinacijo dveh grafik, je edina spremembra usmeritev sv. Jurija na konju in zmaja... Skoraj nemogoče si je zamisliti boljšo razlag, ki bi lahko podprtla hipotezo o konceptualni naravi upodobitve, prisotne celo v renesančnem ali baročnem slikarstvu. V svojih podobah je Tintoretto štel relativno jasnost zasnove za

Zgodba sv. Jurija z zmajem, pogosta v italijanski umetnosti 15. in 16. stoletja, je od Donatellovega reliefsa na fasadi cerkve Or San Michele v Firencah dalje obdržala konvencionalno obliko. Določale so jo figura svetnika na konju, princese in zmaja z različno prostorsko interakcijo, predstavljeno v pokrajini. V večini primerov so preprosto razporejeni v vrsti od leve proti desni, čeprav je Paolo Ucello že zgodaj skušal prostorsko razčleniti zgodbo tako, da je prikazal sv. Jurija na konju v drzni perspektivi (v Nacionalni galeriji v Londonu). Ucellov primer je imenitno upodobil Giovanni Bellini v predelli *Marijinega kronanja* (Museo Civico, Pesaro).<sup>4</sup>

V beneški slikarski tradiciji je motiv sv. Jurija z zmajem dobro znan, prav tako tudi upodobitve svetnika na konju (Giambonov lepi *Chrisogono* v cerkvi S. Trovase), vendar je najbolj znana obravnava te zgodbe pred Tintoretтом Carpacciova interpretacija v Scuoli di san Giorgio degli Schiavoni (datirana z napisom 1507) (sl. 57). Dejansko gre za prvo od treh epizod *Istorie eroice* sv. Jurija, po *Legendi Aurei*. Scena bitke je v ospredju, bojevnike vidimo v profilu. V ozadju je Silena (ali Selena), upodobljena ne kot katerokoli bližnjevzhodno mesto, ampak sestavljen iz številnih značilnih stavb, od katerih so nekatere natančni posnetki obstoječih spomenikov: cerkve S. Ciriaco v Anconi, vrata Bab el- Futuh v Kairu, Sveti Grob.<sup>5</sup>

nepotrebno, saj je zgodba bila vsem dovolj znana, zato je iskal nov, nepričakovani način, ki bi lahko ustrezal natančni podobi resničnega sveta. Avtor grafike ali pa Baldassare d'Anna sta naklonjena jasnosti zasnove tako kot srednjeveški mojstri, zato pa sta poškodovala doslednost perspektive in sorazmerja, se pravi, realistično podajanje prostora. Sredstva so drugačna, vendar pa je pri manj pomembnih umetnikih razumevanje osnovnih procesov, veljavnih pri vizualni predstavitvi, zelo podobno tistem, kakršno je prevladovalo v srednjeveški umetnosti."

<sup>4</sup> Za razvoj motiva v osrednji Italiji in njegovo tipologijo sta zelo pomembni dve podobi, obe sta zdaj v National Art Gallery v Washingtonu. Ena od njiju je Rafaelova, druga Sodomova. Tu lahko opazimo dve osnovni variaciji priljubljene teme. Rafaelov *sv. Jurij* jezdi na konju, ki se vzpenja na zadnjih nogah, s telesom pošumno v diagonali prostora in tako poveča iluzijo tridimenzionalnosti in globine. Konjski hrbet kakor tudi hrbet jezdeca sta obrnjena proti gledalcu, ki je priča bitki, ki divja v središču, za svetnikovim hrbotom. Zadržana figura princese, ki moli, se nahaja čisto v ozadju. Sodomov *sv. Jurij* jezdi na konju, ki stoji skoraj paralelno z vodoravno mejo slike. Usmerjen je proti desni in tako omogoča gledalcu, da občuduje veliko viteško spretnost svetnika, ki ga vidi v obraz. V skladu s tem jezdec zavzema sredino, medtem ko zmaj in prinsesa stojita v ospredju. (*Catalogue of the Italian paintings*, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1979, Vol. I, pp. 391-2, 433.) Rafaelova slika (28,5 x 21,5 cm) je podpisana in datirana med 1504 in 1506. Avtor kataloga trdi, da je bil model za to podobo Leonardova *Bitka pri Aghiariju*. Po mnenju istega avtorja je v Sodomovem delu (137,8 x 97,6 cm) prisoten nekoliko nenavadni kompozicijski aspekt - angel na nebu, motiv, ki ga ima samo še slavna Tintoretova podoba. Vendar je treba poudariti, da je v poznejših upodobitvah namesto angelja upodobljen Bog. V svojem delu A. Venturi (*La pittura del cinquecento*, Milano 1928, Vol. III, p. 944; od tod citirano Venturi: *La pittura*) trdi, da obstaja podoba na isto temo, ki jo je naslikal Dosso Dossi in ponavlja Rafaelovo kompozicijo na bolj prodoren način.

<sup>5</sup> P. Fortini Brown: *La pittura nell'età di Carpaccio*, Venezia 1992, pp. 225-232. P. Fortini Brown tudi poudarja, da Carpaccio uporablja upodobitve Svetega Groba, mestni Rama in Aleksandrija avtorja Erharda Reuwicha iz leta 1486 in sklepa takole: "La lezione essenziale che si ricava e il riconoscimento del modo in cui Carpaccio elabora continue citazioni architettoniche: l'artista era in grado di raffigurare un ambiente orientale credibile e di grande respiro solo grazie a costanti manipolazioni e rispettivi adattamenti delle figure e dell'architettura."

Tu naj bi autor uporabil heraldično ikonografijo zaradi pomembnosti upodobitve: motiv sv. Jurija z zmajem je bil emblem tako dalmatinske skupnosti kakor tudi *Scuole*.<sup>6</sup>

Le z nekaj značilnimi potezami je Tintoretto v svoji mojstrovini, nastali okoli leta 1560,<sup>7</sup> spremenil običajno dispozicijo prizora (prisotno tudi v Carpacciovih upodobitvih) in s tem dosegel imenitno in osupljivo, čustveno nabito rešitev (sl. 58). V njej sta svetnik in zmaj v središču podobe in prepustita ospredje očarljivi bežeči princesi, katere gibi prav tako izražajo čustveno pomembnost prizora.<sup>8</sup> V tem primeru lahko zasledimo tradicionalno renesančno zasnovano prevedeno v manieristični besednjak.

Zveni sicer presenetljivo, vendar kaže, da obstaja analogija med to podobo in podobo enake vsebine, ki jo je naslikal Sodoma: gre za edinstveno prisotnost angela (v starejši podobi), se pravi, Boga Očeta (v mlajši podobi), ki z višine opazuje prizor, in kompozicijsko vlogo pokrajine in upodobitev utrjenega mesta, ki ponavlja in poudarja smer dogajanja.<sup>9</sup>

Očitno je Tintorettova podoba, ki bi zaradi manjših dimenzij morda nikoli ne bila izpostavljena češčenju v cerkvi,<sup>10</sup> postala vzor za številne upodobitve iste zgodbe, naslikane v Benetkah v 17. stoletju. Pala iz Oprtla (sl. 60) podpira to hipotezo, vendar pa zdaj poznamo podobo, ki je bila posrednik med slavnim vzrom in njegovim precej nerodnim posnetkom. Gre za edino znano sliko Sebastiana Cassera, ki predstavlja, seveda, sv. Jurija z zmajem in se nahaja v cerkvi San Giorgio Maggiore v Benetkah (sl. 59). Casser, slikar nemškega porekla, učenec, naslednik in svak Domenica Tintoretta, je bil po Ridolfijevem in Boschinijevem mnenju ne le srečni dedič Tintorettove *bottege* in imena, ampak tudi pošten slikar. Podoba, naslikano zelo verjetno v začetku 17. stoletja, je lepo opisal Brunetti leta 1920: "Il quadro è in pessime condizioni di conservazione, ma, tuttavia, l'influsso tintorettesco appare evidentissimo. E' esso si rivela nella tecnica e nella composizione, e, soprattutto, in questa. La figura della Principessa, che occupa l'angolo inferiore sinistro del quadro, è simile nelle movenze, come nel colore delle vesti e nell'espressione, a quella del mirabile S. Giorgio che uccide il drago ch'è nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, e che appartiene al miglior periodo del Maestro veneziano. Nel quadro del Casser essa, però, è troppo oppressa dal gigantesco

<sup>6</sup> Le Scuole di Venezia, Milano 1981, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> V delu R. Pallucchini, P. Rossi: *Tintoretto, le opere sacre e profane*, Milano 1990, Vol. I (od tod citirano Pallucchini & Rossi), pp. 53, 175-6, avtorja poudarjata, da je v podobi zaslediti precejšen vpliv Veronesega. A. Venturi (Venturi: *La pittura*, p. 1011) omenja še drugo sliko beneškega cinquecenta na isto temo: Bordonejevega sv. Jurija v Vatikanski galeriji. Trdi, da je moč zaslediti Tizianov vpliv pri figuri princese, medtem ko preostali del podobe kaže nagnjenje k bogati, pretirano okrašeni maniri.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. funkcijo tako imenovane *dicitore* pri manierističnih podobah. W. Sypher: *Rinascimento, manierismo, barocco*, Padova 1968, pp. 166-167.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. op. 4. Identiteta utrjenega mesta v Tintorettovi podobi je zelo zanimiva tema, še posebej, če poznamo slikarjev strah pred potovanjem. Lahko da je popolnoma imaginarno, kot je to pri Carpacciovih Sileni, kombinaciji znanih predstavitev katerega koli mesta.

<sup>10</sup> Pallucchini & Rossi, p. 175.

cavallo che le incombe e che occupa quasi tutto il primo piano. Ha sapore tintorettesco anche il gruppo di spettatori a sinistra del S. Giorgio, come pure il volo d'angeli che sovrasta le scene. Lo sfondo, una città turrita, è in condizioni miserevoli. Tutto rivela un diligente imitatore di Jacopo, senza però alcuna traccia di originalità."<sup>11</sup> Prav to pomanjkanje izvirnosti, ali bolje, ta nagnjenost k bolj očitnim in zato poenostavljenim rešitvam, so spodbudile manj pomembnega slikarja, da je postavil udeležence v bolj silovite in skrajno dramatične prostorske odnose ter tako zmanjšal metaforično slojevitost upodobitve. Najzanimivejši vidik te transformacije srečamo v drži princese Kleodolinde: elegantna in očarljiva kretnja Tintorettove princese, ki, kot bi bila ujeta v časovno lupo, predstavlja renesančni decorum v njegovi najimenitnejši obliki, se je spremenila v krepak zasuk telesa in močan zamah leve roke. Imamo mlado žensko, ki beži, da bi si rešila življenje in pozablja na vso spodobnost. Vendar pa se Casserjeva podoba razlikuje od svojega vzora v dveh pomembnih značilnostih: sv. Jurij je naslikan *en face*, vzpenjajoči se konj pa v drzni perspektivi. Tudi pusta mestna pokrajina, ki je osvetljena s peklenško rdečo svetlobo zahajajočega sonca, ne sledi glavni smeri kompozicije.<sup>12</sup>

D'Annova interpretacija (sl. 60) iste zgodbe jasno ponavlja Casserjevo kompozicijo, vendar je skoraj gotovo za predlogo imel grafiko, katere avtor je tudi gotovo vedel za Tintorettovo sliko: kompozicija je namreč obrnjena, je njena zrcalna podoba. V ozadju je utrjeno mesto, ki je zelo podobno Tintoretovemu.<sup>13</sup> Ta obrat se nenavadno odraža na sv. Juriju, kar je morda bilo videti tudi na grafiki. Da bi lahko držal kopje v desni roki, mora zabosti zmaja na zelo neroden način - čez konjski vrat. Prostorsko razmerje med d'Annovim sv. Jurijem, princeso in zmajem je zelo poenostavljen in zato okorno, tako da je celota videti precej ploska in nerealistična. Nad sv. Jurijem so osvetljeni oblaki, ki so najbrže imeli funkcijo okvirja za Boga, ki je bil izgubljen, ko so sliko dali v nov okvir v 18. stoletju. V celoti je slika v primerjavi z mnogimi deli istega avtorja, ki se nahajajo v Dalmaciji, relativno zelo kvalitetna. Kljub temu, da je precej potemnela in je bila večkrat prebarvana, kaže harmoničnost v kombinaciji barv, med katerimi prevladujejo škrlnati in temno zeleni poudarki. Bežeča princesa v umetelnih bogato okrašeni obleki še vedno kaže prvotno poslikano površino in predstavlja eno najbolj uspešnih poglavij v d'Annovem delu izven Benetk. Temeljita restavracija podobe bi lahko dala odgovore na dokaj zapletena vprašanja v zvezi z razhaja-

<sup>11</sup> C. Ridolfi: *Le meraviglie dell'arte*, Venetia 1648 (D. F. von Hadeln, ed., Vol. I, Berlin 1914, Vol. II, Berlin 1924), Vol. II, pp. 262-3; Thieme-Becker Lexikon, Leipzig 1912, Vol. VI, p. 128; M. Brunetti, La continuità della tradizione artistica nella famiglia del Tintoretto, *Studi di arte e storia*, Vol. I, Venezia 1920, pp. 270-1, op. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Razen da je uporabil slavno podobo svojega tasta za model, je Casser morda uporabil tudi nekaj prej narejenih skic.

<sup>13</sup> Baročni videz je morda nastal zaradi poznejšega posega. V desnem spodnjem kotu je podpis: BALDISSERA D ANNA P. V 18. stoletju so sliko obrezali, da se je prilegal novemu okvirju (zdajšnje dimenzijs so 250 x 125 cm) in zelo verjetno so jo temeljito prebarvali. Cf. A. Santangelo: *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia, Provincia di Pola*, Roma 1935, p. 174.

njem v kvaliteti pa tudi v obdelavi poslikane površine in barv med podobami, ki jih pripisujejo Baldassaru D'Anni v Scuola di San Fantino in tistimi, ki so raztresene po Dalmaciji in Istri.<sup>14</sup>

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Na koncu te kratke razprave o d'Annovem delu v Oprtlju bi rada omenila še eno dokaj kakovostno podobo, ki jo lahko štejemo za del te sekvence. To je sv. Jurij in zmaj Mateja Pončuna (Matteo Ponzoni), datiran v peto desetletje 17. stoletja<sup>15</sup> in se nahaja na tretjem oltarju v levi ladji cerkve San Giorgio Maggiore (sl. 61). Podoba je nadomestila Casserjevo sliko in predstavlja skoraj baročno interpretacijo ne le iste vsebine, ampak tudi iste kompozicijske zasnove. Princesa, zmaj in lebdeči angeli so zelo podobni in podoba ni obrnjena. Pri tej upodobitvi je Pončun sledil starejši predlogi, ki jo je imel pri roki, istočasno je uporabil tudi lep in zelo priljubljen lesorez na isto temo, ki ga je naredil Giuseppe Scolari (sl. 63), o čemer pišeta D. Rosand in M. Muraro naslednje: "In essa lo Scolari raggiunse il pieno dominio espressivo e tecnico dei suoi mezzi grafici. Attribuito a Tiziano da Papillon e da altri, il disegno di quest'opera può essere invece considerato una variante del *Marco Curzio* affrescato dal Pordenone sulla facciata del palazzo d'Anna..."<sup>16</sup> Scolari, doma iz Vicenze, je bil član beneške slikarske *Mariegole* od 1592 do 1607. Domnevajo, da je bil Maganzov učenec, vendar pod močnim vplivom Tiziana, tako njegovih lesorezov kakor tudi slikarstva; bil je eden redkih lesorezcev, ki so sami risali in rezali svoje podobe. Za njegova dela je značilen krepek izraz, dinamične oblike in siloviti kontrasti svetlobe in sence ter dramatična napetost: "Ogni forma delle sue vivaci composizioni partecipa del pathos del tema e del soggetto; attraverso linee vorticose e baglieri improvvisi si concreta il messaggio espressivo; sono essi che danno la misura palpante di vita di ogni immagine."<sup>17</sup> V Pončunovi podobi sv. Jurij na vzpenjačem se konju ni sklonjen naprej v napadu, da bi prebodel zmaja, kot v Casserjevi upodobitvi, ampak zmagoslavno gleda proti nebu, kar se izraža v detaljih, ne le v oblikah, ampak tudi v vsebinah izraza zmagoslavnega, a vendar prestrašenega Scolarijevega sv. Jurija. Tako kaže, da je baročni aspekt podobe bolj interpretacija Scolarijeve izrazne manire kakor znamenje novega stila.

Ni čudno, da je Ponzoni uporabil dele Casserjeve kompozicije za podobo, ki naj bi nadomestila njegovo delo, vendar pa je treba poudariti, da je za to zgodno palo (okrog 1615), zdaj v cerkvi S. Maria dell'Orto (sl. 62), za vzor imel Casserjevega sv. Jurija in ne Scuolarijev lesorez.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P. Zampetti: *Guida alle opere d'arte a S. Fantin e Ateneo veneto*, Venezia 1973, pp. 25-7, 37-39; R. Pallucchini: *La pittura veneziana del Seicento*, Milano 1981, Vol. I, pp. 54-5; C. Limentani Virdis, La famiglia d'Anna a Venezia, contatti col Pordenone, Tiziano e Tintoretto, *Il Pordenone, atti del convegno internazionale di studio*, Pordenone 1985, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> Pallucchini, Vol. I, p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> M. Muraro in D. Rosand: *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del cinquecento*, Venezia 1976 (od tod citirano Muraro & Rosand), p. 153. Dimenzije lesoreza so 524 x 359 mm.

<sup>17</sup> Muraro & Rosand, pp. 150-152.

<sup>18</sup> Pallucchini, Vol. I, p. 86, ilustracija Vol. II, p. 529; K. Prijatelj, Omiške oltarske pale oko Palme Mladjega (Le pale di Omiš intorno a Palma il Giovane), *Prilozi povijesti*

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Ta kratek pregled problema kompozicijske zasnove, popularne v Benetkah v začetku 17. stoletja, podpira hipotezo relativne konceptualnosti velike večine podob, ki so jih izdelali v pozrem 16. in v 17. stoletju, čeprav jih štejejo za vrhunec realistične (naturalistične) tradicije v evropski umetnosti. V Casserjevih, d'Anno-vih in celo Pončunovih podobah je kompozicijsko in pripovedno žarišče doživel veliko preobrazbo. Za Tintoretta je bila dobro znana in skoraj odvečna podoba sv. Jurija le pretveza za prefinjeno in duhovito igro s prostorom in figuro protagonista (ali protagonistov), medtem ko so manj pomembni mojstri morali upoštevati pravila enostavnosti in jasnosti, da bi lahko neukim gledalcem jasno pokazali celotno zgodbo, brez kakršnihkoli pripovednih okrajšav.<sup>19</sup> V primerjavi z brilijantnimi kakor tudi nepričakovanimi rešitvami, ki jih je ponudil Tintoretto, lahko dosežki manj pomembnih umetnikov zavajajo, celo več: popolnoma razkrijejo način mišljenja, ki je postopno reduciralo, sploščilo (dovesedno in figurativno) ter poenostavilo kompleksno slikovno zasnovo, in jo potem zopet postavijo, včasih v govorici drugega stila, morda celo spremenjeno do nespoznavnosti.

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*umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 24, Split 1984, ponatis v K. Prijatelj: *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1989, pp. 63-9. V svojem članku razpravlja in pripisuje Pončunu sliko, ki se nahaja v župnijski cerkvi v Omišu. Prikazuje Devico Marijo s sv. Jurijem, sv. Heleno in donatorjem. Avtor trdi, da je svetnik na konju, ki je podoben svetniku na Pončunovi podobi v S. Giorgio Maggiore, podoben tudi konjenikom v delih Palme Milajšega. Kar zadeva tipologijo oblačil in slikarsko tehniko, je moč soglašati s to trditvijo, vendar pa drža sv. Jurija in konja gotovo izhaja iz istega vira kot sv. Jurij na sliki istega avtorja v cerkvi S. Maria dell'Orto. Cf. S. Mason Rinaldi: *Palma il Giovane, L'opera completa*, Milano 1984, in istega avtorja *Palma il Giovane, 1548-1628, Disegni e dipinti*, Milano 1990, še posebej str. 134, 160 in 165 glede značilnih viteških oblačil.

<sup>19</sup> V primeru Pončuna je načelo jasnosti morda povezano z novimi idejami, za katere se je zavzemala cerkev. Cf. R. Wittkower: *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, Harmondsworth 1973, pp. 21-2; in *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, Bari 1960-3, posebej še Borromeove *Instructiones* (vol.3) in Paleottijev *Discorso* (Vol. 2).