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RENAISSANCE ART IN DALMATIA AND HUNGARY

In the late Middle Ages, Hungary and Dalmatia completed that geographic arch along which, due to a number of circumstances that are quite familiar, the western world was separated from the eastern world. The artistic development of these two countries in the 15th century had reached a considerable degree of cohesion, even though they were not part of the same political entity. Each turned towards the Renaissance in its own way, under specific conditions, and this period — furthermore — was implanted in them earlier and matured more than it did in many other sections of the old continent. This phenomenon is so significant that it deserves an analysis going far beyond the scope of this paper; we, here, can stress it only as a key, pivotal problem. The same problem requires examining the very nature of the Renaissance as a cultural revival with its most evident reflections in the realm of art, taking into account all its complex social circumstances. On this occasion we will limit ourselves to a comparative presentation of the situation and scope of Renaissance art in Dalmatia and Hungary towards at least partial resolution of this problem. From this it is possible to extract more fundamental conclusions on the role and place of their joint territory in the over-all history of European culture; we are therefore especially interested in the internal relations of its development. This joint territory discloses an attachment shared by both countries to the sources of the Italian Renaissance which proved to be stronger in some areas ideationally and in some areas formally. Along with historically attested association between Hungary and Dalmatia, then, tendencies to merge with even broader expanses of identical spiritual membership are disclosed. This is why the innovations of the 15th century from the eastern

Adriatic to the central Lower Danubian Basin are quite interesting with their contacts and exchanges.

When casting light on a certain interaction of creative work — already quite well covered in literature — in this peripheral zone of the Catholic world, it is indispensable to explain the quality of the historical living in that area during the decisive phases of forming awareness on the entirety of European civilization. Dalmatia and Hungary certainly made their notable contribution to this, but it seems that a taut interlacing with the revived integral culture of the West was especially important for reinforcement, and even proof of their true identity at a time when their survival was being threatened by the expansion of Turkish forces across the Balkans. It was on their borders that the Latin world of the 15th century was experiencing its contraction, and on their territory that changes in traditional horizons had to be most radically externalized. It truly can be proved that this surfaced in these areas prior to surfacing in France, Germany or England. The adoption of the progressive tenets of Renaissance style can be grasped, in the context of the over-all circumstances governing southeastern Europe as a conditional necessity for adequate maintenance of the contemporary system of life. Maintenance or at least attempts at maintaining stride with the forms of expression of the most recent innovative forces in the West was an attempt at proving, both externally and internally, that there was a cultural kinship with those who considered themselves and proved to be motivators of attested civilization. In Dalmatia it seems that this was merely one of the stages in a continuity of objective creativity going on since the Middle Ages and to the measure of genuine needs and possibilities of the land and the people. In Hungary, however, this was more an expression of the self-awareness of the subjects of an over-all progress within the entire system of exceptionally productive tendencies to assert the actual historical moment.

In spite of some common characteristics, through the process of accepting Renaissance art, both countries displayed a vital individuality. It is therefore important to separate these two aspects in delineating the artistic profile of Renaissance Hungary and Renaissance Dalmatia, finding their basis in the socio-political furrows of the development of each individually. Although both were under the same crown up to the late 14th century, Hungary was an independent and powerful state much longer and more lastingly, with the authority of its own king. And under the known circumstances he was acknowledged as king of all Croatian regions as well, which certainly contributed to the cohesion of the entire territory. Dalmatia, as one of these regions, did not, however, have a clearly defined political entity, and even under the administration of Venice after 1420 the fragmented nature

of the urban communes was retained in the coastal province. Dubrovnik, among them, acquired and enjoyed independence as the only city-state in the Slavic south. Furthermore, within the continental, first great state, centralism was maintained with a powerful feudal order, while in Dalmatia the communal system of small urban communities evolved, under foreign domination. What's more, Hungary belonged to the Central European cultural sphere in terms of its geographical location and centuries of growth. It expanded in this direction during the 15th century in terms of territory, while it oriented more towards Italy in intellectual matters, with which it earlier had been more closely tied in dynasty. Dalmatia, in contrast, part of the Mediterranean sphere in the Adriatic basin, managed to build up a joint communion with Italy through the centuries. Knit together with the dense threads of the life that connect close neighbors, this communion became quite natural and almost unbreakable. And from these orientations, the contacts of the two countries on the rim of the Balkans during the Renaissance period acquired an even greater importance since Hungary was realizing its inclinations towards the south through Croatia, and Dalmatia. The ethnic aspect of these ties did not play a crucial role, although interference on the part of Hungarian, Croatian and Italian elements in the centers of activity we discuss must not be ignored.

Due to Italy's immediate vicinity, the Renaissance surfaced earlier in Dalmatia — first in the architecture and sculpture as the traditionally leading branches of artistic activity there. An extensive exchange of people and goods went on over the Adriatic, and creative artists and their work were a significant part of this. This grew even more intense when the bulk of the orders were assumed by the strengthened bourgeois class which had meanwhile focused its more important economic and intellectual interests on the Apennine Peninsula, feeling that the undercurrents predominating there were the best support for their own social breakthrough. Responding to these needs, and demands, Italian artists came to the shore of the Balkans, and even more Slavic young men went off to schooling in Italian cultural centers. Most of them returned with fresh insights and contributed to the maturation of Humanist circles, closely following new innovation, becoming catalyzers of the Renaissance ascent. It was, then, predominantly local figures who promoted contemporary artistic expression on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The first Renaissance forms appeared relatively early, which is especially significant — as of the fourth decade of the Quattrocento, although the morphology of *gotico fiorito* still predominated with a general mediocrity in posing and resolving the tasks. This imposing taste had come from Venice and inundated most of the regions under the sovereignty of the *Serenissima*; in Dalmatia it was tempered by a surge from the prevailing Gothic ascent, directed

by the rule of the Angevin royal line. It is important to stress this in order to better grasp the lasting connection with Hungary which had similar, at least underlying beginnings for its further artistic progress. For through the existing Hungaro-Croatian Kingdom, which Dalmatia was a part of from 1102 until 1409 when Ladislavus of Naples sold it to Venice, a tradition of mutual ties was built up which was maintained, like an echo, to the full flourishing of Renaissance art.

The economic prosperity of the politically-centered 14th century was undoubtedly a pre-requisite to the acceptance of the most mature impulses of western art in the delineated zone of southeastern Europe, in the 15th century. Social circumstances laid the groundwork for the breakthrough of more modern forms, and the reception of the more progressive artists; this is confirmed by the fact that the first testimony of Renaissance style in the Adriatic environs appeared in Dubrovnik. During the restoration here of the Rector's Palace following an explosion in 1435, there were changes in the more classic vocabulary of architectural-sculptural form though still within the concept of a transitional or mixed Gothic-Renaissance style. This is to the credit, primarily, of Petrus di Martino da Milano, who was in the service of the Republic from 1431 to 1456. His works that did survive the catastrophic earthquake, although medieval tasks of urban topography, confirm his leaning in the direction of the new realism. He proved this even more following his departure for Naples, where he came forth as one of the designers and contractors for the famed Aragonian Triumphal Arch, with a concept and articulation based on antique ideal models. Since Francesco Laurana from Zadar worked with him there, it is assumed that they had first tried their hand in Dubrovnik. But they were unable to make that leap in quality mid that traditional spiritual climate which could guide everything to the new expression, so certain stylistic retardation of the Dubrovnik monuments can be interpreted as constraint on the part of those ordering the work, as to more modern notions. While recognizing in this the distinguishing characteristics of provincial art, one need not forget that most of the monuments built during these years in Italy as well were marked by a Gothic-Renaissance expression; the only city to truly free itself of the burdens of the immediate past was Florence. Dubrovnik was also coming forth as a Humanist center which drew various figures such as Cyriacus Anconitanus and others. Thus the stage was set for inviting even more famous artists to Dubrovnik, among whom Michelozzo Michelozzi stood out in particular, between 1462 and 1464. In this crowded setting, however, true results were still lacking. The Renaissance had to become a concept of life and reality as a whole, otherwise it appeared only sporadically in art.

In the rest of Dalmatia, the new undercurrents were even slower in conquering artistic production, which was widely drawn to attractive Gothic art. Fresh input arrived in 1441, with the extensive opus of Georgius di Mathei known as Dalmaticus, as fresh as that available in Venice, the place that this industrious artist was schooled in. He was born on the outskirts of Zadar, and that year he returned to his native region creating original architectural and sculptural works. His temperament clearly went beyond the conventions of contemporary art, and with his talent he unquestionably reached the upper bounds of the artistic state in Europe at the transition from the Middle Ages to the new age. He also trained a number of masters who spread his instructions towards purifying Renaissance stylistics, however, which was not attained in a fully defined form until the end of the Quattrocento. The next step was provided by a Florentine, a poorly known pupil of Donatello's. This was Nicolo de Giovanni who worked from 1466 to 1505 in most of the regional cities. He continued the building of the Sibenik Cathedral, picking up on the forms from the time of Georgius Dalmaticus, and completed the chapel of the city patron of Trogir, the blessed Ivan Orsini, with Andrea Allesi from Durachio. Under his guidance, an exceptionally valuable harmony was achieved through a remarkable bond of classically inspired architecture and the sculpture of an energetic realism. Dalmatia came closer to the mainstream of the European Renaissance through this, providing it with at least an episodal contribution. And the corresponding climate had been set in the province for the day, manifested in other ways — in a range, from literary work with Humanist leanings in Latin and Croatian, to the elaborate summer residence culture of original architecture or urban endeavors designed in the spirit of the new order. Iohannes Duknović, a sculptor of world renown, was one from the chain of works and artists who spread the Renaissance to the Lower Danubian Basin. Clearly Dalmatia, open as a coastal region to influences from many quarters, had set its own path during the process of reaching the Renaissance. It began earlier than it did in most of the European regions, outside the Italian cradle of the style, but it unfolded within what were still medieval tasks set without individual important patrons of the arts and most of the work was still done in workshops. Many works with their provincial undertones had not crystalized stylistically in the sense of the aesthetic renaissance; quite concrete Gothic tenets were still in force, both in terms of the themes themselves, and the creative motivation, to the end of the century.

The artistic endeavor in Hungary was far purer and more stylistically delineated, since it went on under entirely different conditions. The Renaissance there was the outcome, in the second half of the century of a programmed state renovation led by Mathias Corvin, elevating the country to a leading Central Euro-

pean power. He surrounded himself in Buda with learned men and select Humanists, developing a most significant patronage of the arts which went far beyond, in quantity and quality, all earlier and later experiences in this part of the world. He was first motivated in this direction by his teacher and chancellor Ivan Vitez of Sredna, a Croat schooled in Padua who became the first figure at the court. And when Mathias married Princess Beatrice of the Aragon line, he did all he could to elevate his environment to a model of the best in Italy. With these objectives in mind he organized a superbly equipped library that he expanded constantly (one of the four richest in the Europe of his day!) as the basis for his own erudition and that of his counsellors, but he also contacted artists and procured artwork from the leading European centers. His seat became the focal point of artists of all sorts from a number of countries, so that the political centralism of his ambitious personality gave birth to exceptional fruit on the cultural and artistic levels as well. Mathias used the "studia humanitatis" to model a political inspiration into superior forms, in which he fully succeeded, with the application of a broad instrumentary. His active commitment to and participation in various branches of art and cultural training in general reached a scope that is rarely met. A number of European Humanists wrote to Corvin and about Corvin, without knowing him personally which implies that he was respected and accepted among the superior ranks of the Latin culture of his times. This is understandable when one notes that artistic creativity, on the basis of universal literary learning turned to antique mythology and classical iconography in his court centers. His greatest achievements remained in the function of elevating the king, identifying him with Roman deities and emperors, a title to which Mathias pretended. And such long-range themes, of course, enabled the corresponding morphology of tested postulates.

The complete awareness of Corvin's orientation towards the Renaissance is evidenced in the fact that he created the strongest cultural ties with Tuscany in the first part of his inspired reign. Bypassing his familiar ties with Naples, ignoring his sound relations with Rome, and Venice, so important for trade and so near-by, this selection is proof of the ruler's profound contact with the spiritual fermentation of that period. In spite of the fact that he was entangled in wars on the soil of Italy, he considered this antique land a model entity in terms of culture, although one must remember to perceive this as ideological support for his personal program. According to this program he effected a change in general views, so secular themes calling on the centuries-old heritage of Europe were foregrounded. And in spite of his alliance with the papacy, the identification of faith, even when faced with threats of Islam, remained less important in terms of this heritage. For the course of directed

creativity, however, it is also important that the monarch's leanings led to a break with Central European traditions, deeply respected on the continent from which many of those came who carried out the plans. Numerous Hungarian builders, stonemasons, miniature painters, goldsmiths and other masters of artistic craft rose to the new expression, working at the same time for church prelates as the first supporters of Humanism and patrons of artists, and for the minor aristocracy and citizenry which, as opposed to the higher-level nobility, acquiesced to the given social order. Among his ideational founders, originally from domestic circles, and educated in Italy, an increasing resistance to Corvin's autocratism began to surface with time, but this did not alter the course of artistic ascent in Hungary. The self-assured king, with the support of the most learned individuals, was able to select complete solutions and models from the Lower Danubian Basin that had been previously tested and proven elsewhere. The Hungarian Renaissance lacked in the issues of a creative germination, but, in terms of its substantial and formal foundations it is unquestionably one of the purest within the manifestational scope of the legacy of the late Quattrocento. And Mathias himself was persistently on the level of contemporary issues in his artistic preoccupations, which guaranteed value for everything. Agile foreigners maintained predominance, of whom the architect Climenti Camicia and engineer Aristotel Fioravanti were most engaged in projects and supervised work on buildings that were richly embellished with decorative sculpture on the most refined classic models. Works by Filippo Lippi, Verrocchio and others were bought and ordered, but also the conceptions and models of Alberto Filarete, Benedetto da Maiano, Rossellini etc. were imported, and along with the accompanying spiritual climate, a synthesis of the contemporary morphology of antiquing manners was realized. On this basis, the successes and reverberations of royal undertakings left their traces from upper Croatia to Poland, lending a completely new framework to the artistic scope of the Renaissance in that otherwise quite deadened space.

The creative nucleus around Corvin burgeoned, without connection to the immediate traditions, just as the king himself was not burdened with dynastic origins. The son of a hero who made his name defending Belgrade from the Turks, he inevitably connected his views on the old and the new, forged through his personal experience, with modern outlooks which acquired a scholarly foundation such as he established, once he came into power. The people in the court and at most of the church centers held genuine convictions on the necessity of changing the world and re-organizing it by turning it back to its most firm Roman roots, to augment its endurance when faced by the onslaughts of Islam. And they found a common language, even though

Corvin outdid all expectations in which his social ideals were extinguished. For art, however, this was — as in Italy with the establishment of tyrannies — very inspirational, and thus the aspiring king dedicated himself more fully to art than he did to the exact sciences. The artists in his service acted as executors of a broadly founded conception, and it is no wonder that the first names, with whom the king was in contact did not appear in Hungary. Quite the contrary, in the course of the powerful modernization, local workshops began to function with a mutual exchange of experience, in which the tendency was towards considerable uniformity. The fact that the king was well informed on artistic creativity, his sober judgment of developmental lines was the insurance that the mainstream of events did not succumb to possible negative consequences. The fact that most of his efforts were focused on building his residences attests to his contemporaneity with the current events in the West, and coincides with clarified concept of his intentional renovation of the framework of life. He thus applied modern typological solutions, counting on a predominantly symmetrical measurement of mass and space in the new buildings in Buda, with open planning in the summer palace in Visegrad. He embarked on building fortifications with an equally up-to-date experience, and he devoted especial attention to sculpture, with an almost imperial inspiration. Unfortunately all this must be judged on the basis of excavation and fragments with which a full picture of the state of affairs can only be reconstructed. In intensity the situation was truly exceptional, but therefore difficult to maintain and impossible to repeat. Founded on the will and might of a ruler who had no historical or dynastic background, all the major achievements rapidly disintegrated following his death. Corvin did not leave enough effective force behind him to resist the Turkish incursions, and as a result most of the Renaissance works that had originated on the territory of Hungary were demolished by the 16th century.

Dalmatia also experienced a lag in artistic development as the last decades of the Quattrocento arrived, due to the fact that the cities under Venetian occupation no longer embarked on extensive or inspirational undertakings. Although art work by no means died out, the smooth interaction between patron and master that had lent the province its advantage of early acceptance of Renaissance innovation was interrupted. The weakening of social demand for artistic work was caused by political movements on the Adriatic and the Balkans. Cramped in terms of territory by the Turkish incursions, and economically sapped by the Venetian restrictions placed on the economy, Dalmatia was no longer capable of building and equipping new structures in the finished medieval urban nuclei. Some were completed anyway, according to previously agreed on design, while for

others the necessary communal and individual forces were lacking that could renovate them according to the tastes crystalizing in the neighboring areas of the West. The most talented artists, therefore, began leaving their homeland in growing numbers. Georgius Dalmaticus gave more in the second phase of his work to Ancona than he did to the Slavic coastline. The jobs there were contracted by his less competent pupils and followers. The master workshops began to assume supremacy over the individual, while, for example, painter Georgius Schiavone or medalist Paulus Ragusinus left their best work in Italy. Renowned Luciano and Francesco Laurana, and Niccolo dell'Arca completely deserted their native birthplaces on the Croatian coast. The most significant works from the middle of the century on this coast mark a transition from the Early Renaissance, still under the yoke of the Gothic spirit of established approaches, to the mature achievements of style, but purely classical endeavors are quite rare. Painting can serve as an illustration of how far behind the spirit of the times the area was lagging. As a genre it is the most bound in principle to the private art patron, and indicatively it retained the strongest Late Gothic echoes. And sculpture, though morphologically more advanced, in the finest traditions of the Mediterranean area, still had not gone far from the symbols of the Late Middle Ages, predominantly bound to religious subject matter and sacral buildings. Of all that had been attained in the Eastern Adriatic, theme is more interesting than form, and this area therefore remains almost completely outside the issues of high style such as were the crux of focus in Corvin's Hungary.

And while Hungary with all its favorable pre-requisites was keeping in stride with the leading centers of Renaissance culture, Dalmatia was the first to sense crisis in artistic creativity, due to changes in the political scene of southeastern Europe. Certain phenomenon of the late 15th and early 16th century do remain, however, completely original as a source of expression of the society of the day under the given circumstances. The most complex among them is certainly the construction of patrician villas on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic, which managed to hold its freedom balancing between the Turks and Venice. The almost two hundred such buildings are not monumental in scope, but, on the contrary, were built to human measure and a vital, practical organization of space and architecture, as a genuine expression of local society and Humanist views. Along with a return to nature, gleaned as a lesson from antique instructions on how to live, they express the self-awareness of the individuals who strive to forge an approach to leading life within the overall collective rule of the small state. These villas outside the medieval walls of the fortified city are situated in open stretches of landscape, but also connected to land holdings.

They were outfitted with terraces and loggias, fish ponds and courtyards, parks and warehouses — with a variety that was to reflect the complexity of the cosmos. This is the ideational basis upon which Corvin built his great residence in the north, in Buda, arranged the summer palace in Višegrad, fortified burgs and embellished palaces, while in the south, this was expressed in a more condensed form, in a measure that was individually smaller, literally of a private scope. Scattered in large numbers, these villas enabled the participants in administration to acquire a full sense of security and the advantages of survival in this world, in this republic, organized as an oligarchy. In comparison with the population of the cities located in Venetian Dalmatia, where art was still focused on sacral and communal poles, the enlightened individual was in the foreground in free Dubrovnik. Clearly, with such foundations, the Renaissance was proclaimed quite assuredly on the periphery of Christianity, for its values were entrenched in space and delineated in time through immediate cognitional experience. This made it all the easier to establish the contact between the Croatian coast and the Hungarian Lower Danubian basin, of a great historical importance, which can not be negated.

A number of mid-15th century documents prove the revitalization of age-old connections between Eastern Adriatic cities and the Hungarian court, which continues to retain its centripetal role in distributing spiritual forces. The citizens of Dubrovnik insisted on this especially, mostly due to a desire to restrain Venetian pretensions to the entire Adriatic, and others for the same of creating a joint front to the Turkish threat. Cultural and artistic movements were merely an accompanying component to certain political efforts which were expressed concretely in a greater orientation of Dalmatia towards Hungary than the other way around. Well known facts on the work of coastal goldsmiths at the King's court should be seen in this light, since this was also a means for political views and customs. For Mathias' coronation, gifts fashioned by goldsmiths Živko Gojković and Stjepan Martinić were sent from Dubrovnik, and on the occasion of his wedding, even more lavish gifts were made in workshops of six other masters, headed by the most famous, Ivan Progonović. Similar events gain in importance when one knows that in Buda at the same time was Petar Zamanja — a theological writer and librarian of Corviniana, Toma Baseljić — a historian and theology teacher, Srefain Bunić — a philosopher, and other learned figures from Dubrovnik. Ivan Gazulić, the astrologist, sent his scholarly writings to Ivan Česmički — the most significant Humanist among the Croats of Corvin's circle, known under the name of Janus Panonius. Mantegna even made his portrait, and Panonius wrote most acclamatory verses on his painter's skill. At Corvin's court the largest number of Humanists were

from Croatia, and there they established bridges between the cultures and contemporary insights. And throughout all this, eminent individuals from the Adriatic area played a vital role in the last phases of the Renaissance period in the political center of the Christian southeast. Acquainted with the prevailing circumstances, A. Cortese-Dalmata from Zadar wrote of the king's victories over the Turks, and the court librarian Jerolim from Zadar acquired valuable, old books from Greece and Turkey. Ingeniarius Paskoje Miličević, the most versatile practician of technical vocations from the Dubrovnik Republic gave council on several occasions and supervised the reinforcement of royal fortresses on the borders of Herzegovina and Bosnia, fulfilling the purpose for which he had been invited by Mathias to Hungary. The last head of the Budim scriptorium of the royal library was a man from Dubrovnik once more — Felix Petančić, a polyglot attributed with knowledge of painting skills related to book design. He wrote descriptions of the conditions prevalent among the Turks and in the frontier areas.

Along with all these historically memorable, and culturally effective connections, the work of Dalmatian stone masons in Hungary deserves special mention. The primacy in terms of number and expressiveness of certain individual creative craftsmen, highly esteemed by Corvin and his contemporaries in the second phase of Renaissance reign is still to be established. Ivan Duković certainly was at the forefront, having previously made a name for himself in Rome under the name of Iohannes Dalmata. He left the eternal city before it assumed the leading position in the development of Italian art. His arrival in Buda through Trogir can be explained by the existing connections between his native town and the northern court, and the artist's membership in the Renaissance currents ruling in central Italy, Dalmatia, and in Hungary. Duknović learned the most as fellow craftsman with great Tuscans in Lacium. The knowledge and excellence he brought with him were all the more superior then, around 1485, to the previous achievements, and the grateful king conferred on him a noble title and feudal holdings in Slavonia, along with written commendations. He worked quite a bit in service to the sovereign, but only a few works have been attributed to him so far from the ruins. Comparative analysis with discoveries in Dalmatia has definitively confirmed that he is author of a dynamically shaped little fountain in Višegrad with a sculpture of Heracles grappling with a monstrous Hydra. This is a direct association on Corvin's struggles with the Turks, and it is embellished with royal coats of arms as confirmation of the importance of the order, done in delicate carving. The full maturity of his sculptural modelling with temperamental articulation of the surface is confirmed once again with fragments of the altar from the Corpus Christi church in Díosgyőr which is

although considered to be one of the most magnificent Renaissance sculpture in the East. His influence, with its genuine characteristics of the Roman Renaissance, somewhat more severe and hard in detail, can be seen in a number of places, and there can be no doubt that he expanded his influence, continuing work based on that of earlier sculptors whose individual expressiveness was weaker. In his work, Renaissance sculpture in Hungary reached its culmination, but also — it seems — its apogee: Duknović returned to Italy following the King's death, unable to make use of the gifts he had been granted. But the sculptors' direct or indirect traces have been gradually uncovered, from Zagreb to Esztergon, fulfilling the last gleams of style in the stone monuments of the area.

This then discloses the framework for the work of a strong group of Dalmatian stone workers at Corvin's court. It consisted of the masters: Ivan Grubanić from Trogir with his pupil Petar Busaninov, Luka known as "della Festa" from Split, Franjo Radov from Zadar, Mihovil Puhier from Hvar, Marin Vladić from Brač and other less well known masons and carvers. For most of them it can be said that they acquired their first training in the trade, and their insight into style in their native land, following the path laid out by Niccolo de Giovanni, who contributed the central line of development to sculpture along the coast at the end of the Quattrocento. It is not necessary to tie them directly in with Duknović, since he mainly appeared on his own from Rome, through Trogir to Buda, and was not particularly involved in the coastal workshops. Undoubtedly some of these masters, having come out of Dalmatia, met with the full vocabulary of the Renaissance when they arrived in Pannonia, which had flourished under the earlier guidance of mostly anonymous Tuscans. With the most recent attempts at recognizing the works of these masters in Buda and other centers, it is clear that they managed more as skilled executors of previously planned designs than innovators to contribute what they did to the last flourishing of the Renaissance. Their success varied, depending, of course, on their competence, but it is rather difficult to draw conclusions as to this on the basis of the archeological discovery of monuments from the 15th century. Various attempts do lead to a more secure definition of their over-all role of experiential summation of influences from a number of sources. It seems that more active than the others was, Master Luka from Split, who acquired the nickname "della Festa", on the basis on the motif of Renaissance garlands he often used in architectural sculpture on representative sections of the Budim palace. Of the questions that still await a solution, the most mysterious seems the phenomenon of sculptor Jakov of Trogir, whose great bronze sculptures of Heracles and Apollo were carried off by the Turks to Istanbul, according to written sources, where they

were also noted by later travelers. In Dalmatia he has been successfully identified in archival documents as Jakov Stafilić, but the entire problem is not yet resolved, since this was probably an artist of considerable skill and capability. It is also unclear just what the artistic scope was of his most frequently mentioned countryman Ivan Grubanić, who died in Buda after years of working there. All these masters together prove that Renaissance Dalmatia sensed ties with the Hungarian centers whither many craftsmen educated in Humanism went, when they could not secure the kind of working conditions in their own environment that the North was willing to offer. In this manner, artists found ways of expressing themselves on the very level of the age with a greater fullness.

In the final decade of the 15th century, faced with the imminent collapse of the state following Corvin's death, Croatian masters began to return to their native land. L. della Festa started working once more in Split, M. Puhiera returned to Zadar, and P. Busaninov went to Šibenik and Rab, while Duknović retired to Venice, artistically a more attractive spot, and to Ancona, with which Corvin had maintained excellent relations. In this manner the Renaissance on the Adriatic received its final input of fresh strength, and the hundred-year old cycle of mutual contacts between the most protruding points of Western Christianity drew logically to a close. Several superb sculptures by Duknović in Trogir mark a level of Renaissance style that was never attained on the Balkans. In his native town, of course, the artists fit in with a group of other authors or the monuments of the earlier origins, but at the same time Dubrovnik turned down his offer for employment. Obviously the Republic, preoccupied with the need to maintain its socio-political system when faced with growing tensions, had no need for a sculptor who was of the quality of the Roman curia who had employed him until then. The only person able to respond to Duknović's quality and might was Corvin, and the sculptor's fate is illustrative of the space in question. Upon his return to Slavic lands, he went from Dalmatia to Hungary, opening the way for a whole generation of masters of mature Renaissance style from the same coast. Working as stonemasons they found considerable employment in Buda and near-by towns, working on the architectural sculpture of that style that had been entrenched there through the influence of Tuscany. This is especially confirmed with the works of the so-called "Master of marble Madonnas" under the influence of Desiderio da Settignano and other of his followers, anonymous as of yet, from the first generation of great Renaissance sculptors. The Dalmatian masters absorbed this existing work and went on to work in the same spirit with overtones of their traditional motifs that they had brought with them from the legacy of G. Dalmaticus, N. Fiorentino

and A. Alessi. But when the orders on the continent began to run thin, they came back to the coast and were almost lost, since their traces in the impoverished legacy from the transition between the 15th and 16th centuries were pale. It is essential, however, that they reflected more strongly at the points that had functioned up to that point as connections between Hungary and Italy. And all of Dalmatia absorbed the last glimmers of the more powerful continental Renaissance through them, maintaining its own artistic continuity as a consequence.

This contention applies in part to Split and Šibenik as cities which managed to maintain a somewhat greater vitality due to the fact that they kept more open to the inland areas. In the former, there are hints of work that may have come from L. della Festa's workshop, but it is interlaced with portions of N. Fiorentino's followers, while in Šibenik, more definite traces of P. Busaninov have been attested with archival material. This master, however, expanded his activity to Rab, shaping the portal of the Cathedral and the façade of the Franciscan church as his most significant work. He proved his far from meagre competence, but also the maturity of his sculptural repertoire in classical variations, that only Hungary knew. The insights and learning of Tuscany did not come to the forefront on the Adriatic in such pure form, and so it doesn't interfere that Master Petar interwove them with his provincial digressions. In recognizing the origins of his qualities, it is possible to envision the finale of the described artistic circle. And this is exceptionally important in the Kvarner, where there are other monuments which stand out somewhat from the work of the same period in Dalmatia. Aside from this there is a greater density of creative work at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, which is explained by the prevailing political circumstances. Mainland Croatia was reduced to a narrow corridor running from Pannonia to Velebit due to pressure from the Turks, and this is the very route that the masters took when coming down from Hungary to the Mediterranean. This is why there are a few sculptures in Senj which are undoubtedly the work of the Buda circle of Tuscan sculptures, since Senj was conferred the status of a free king's city by Corvin and was his main port towards Italy. And Bribir Vinodolski, near-by (where Felix Petančić was in 1517, just about when Julije Klović — known as Clovio Croata — came to Venice from this area) houses the work of an anonymous follower of that "Master of marble Madonnas" who had played a pivotal role in Buda. Neighboring Rab experienced a larger peak in the late Renaissance of historically and stylistically clarified sources. And in this way it is established how and when the ascent of the Renaissance came to an end in the spatial arch along the border with the incursive Turks. At the same time it is possible to see that the

activity of the Dalmatian artists was at least as important to Hungary as it was for Dalmatian art that they had been in Hungary. The mutual parts of the region, tied through centuries-old routes and modern tendencies, confirm their entity, which was expressed on the level of culture even at times of political upheaval.

RENEŠANSA U DALMACIJI I UGARSKOJ

Rezime

Zahvaljujući osobenim istorijskim uslovima, uticaj renesanse u jugoistočnoj Evropi posebno je bio izražen u Ugarskoj i Dalmaciji. Razlog tome leži u naglašenoj zapadnjačkoj orijentaciji umetničkog razvoja, na koji su uticali česti i mnogobrojni kontakti s italijanskom kulturom. Zato se u obema zemljama mogu uočiti neke opšte sličnosti u početnom procesu širenja uticaja renesanse, čak i ako se zanemari činjenica da su istočna jadranska obala i centralni deo transdunavske oblasti dotad bili deo iste političke celine. Međutim, razlike u društvenim sistemima kontinentalne države i mediteranske provincije, snažno su obeležile recepciju i širenje stila renesanse, te su, stoga, postignuća na tom polju proučavana zasebno. Između stilova XV i XVI veka postoji razlika, uprkos dobro poznatoj činjenici da su neki umetnici u Ugarskoj stigli iz Dalmacije, ili pretpostavci da je izvestan broj dalmatinskih majstora, aktivno uključenih u promovisanje umetničkog izraza u svojoj zemlji, bio obrazovan u Ugarskoj. Zapažanja i zaključci koji se iz toga mogu izvući samo pokazuju da su univerzalni renesansni elementi vizuelnog izraza služili kao osnova osobenog razvoja u umetnosti tih zemalja.

Počev od sredine XV veka, renesansna umetnost u Ugarskoj uvodi sveže elemente u nov kulturni razvoj, što ga je promovisao humanistički krug oko Matije Korvina, a zahvaljujući naporima ovog znamenitog vladoca taj razvoj je stekao sva obeležja dvorske umetnosti. Zahvaljujući toj činjenici, ugarska renesansa predstavlja poseban fenomen u istoriji evropske umetnosti, osobito stoga što su u njoj delali čuveni toskanski umetnici, crpeći sa samih izvora klasičnog stila. Među umetnicima aktivnim u panonskim centrima nalaze se dobro poznati majstori iz hrvatskog primorja (I. Duknović, J. Statilić, I. Grubanić, F. Petančić i drugi). Dolazili su na Korvinov poziv, kao majstori čija su dela postala već dobro poznata u Italiji, mada su se njihovi kontakti s Italijom ostvarivali poglavito preko njihovog zavičaja (posebno, putem: Buda—Zagreb—Senj—Ancona—Rim). Veruje se da je neposredniji dodir uspostavljen s nezavisnim gradom-državom Dubrovnikom, dok je venecijanska vlast nad Dalmacijom u izvesnoj meri poremetila tradicionalne veze između balkanske primorske oblasti i zaleđa. Značajnije je, međutim, to što su se odgovorni za promovisanje kulturnog razvitka na tom području i za naručivanje umetničkih dela okrenuli Italiji, zanemarujući kulturnu razmenu kakva je ranije, tokom srednjega veka, postojala.

Dalmacija je rano uvela renesansne forme u arhitekturu, skulpturu i slikarstvo, zahvaljujući svom povoljnom geografskom položaju (u odnosu na italijanske centre), ali je sporije integrisala sve inovacije u tradicionalnu umetnost. Ta usporena recepcija poglavito je bila posledica komunalnog društvenog sistema, koji je preovladavao u primorskim gradovima, a koji nije raspolagao sredstvima ugarskog kraljevskog dvora koja bi mu omogućila brz i intenzivan preporod. Međutim, zahvaljujući prisustvu malobrojnih stranih majstora, uglavnom iz Italije, i lokalnim umetnicima školovanim u naprednijim zapadnim centrima, umetnički ukus i likovni

izraz su se, počev od četvrte decenije *quattrocenta*, postepeno menjali. Mnogobrojni spomenici, koji su nikli duž čitave obale, svedočili su o različitim stupnjevima razvoja sve do kasnog XVI veka, pokazujući da su mala urbana naselja u potpunosti prihvatila taj stil. U stvari, tradicionalni oblici provincijske umetnosti dostigli su vrhunac u to doba, dajući niz remek-dela, da bi krajem *quattrocenta* postepeno izgubili snagu. Lokalno poručena dela, međutim, još su sledila glavne linije razvoja likovne umetnosti i još su bila pod snažnim italijanskim uticajem. Tako je prvi vek renesansne umetnosti u Dalmaciji bio uglavnom obeležen radovima domaćih majstora i pojavom većeg broja svetski poznatih umetnika, dok je, tokom sledećeg veka, usled nepovoljnih političkih i ekonomskih prilika, domaća umetnost opadala, mada je tražnja umetničkih predmeta i kreativnog rada još postojala. I dok su u Ugarskoj zamrle kulturne aktivnosti i propadalo sve što je tokom renesanse postignuto, Dalmacija se, zahvaljući turskoj invaziji, još izraženije okrenula Italiji. Zato se i renesansa na različite načine ispoljila u te dve zemlje jugoistočne Evrope.