

RELIEFI V SV. PETRU NAD DRAGONJO IN DELAVNICA PIETRA LOMBARDA

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Vasica Sv. Peter nad Dragonjo doslej ni bila znana po kakem pomembnejšem umetnostnem spomeniku.¹ Vaška cerkev, podružnica fare v Krkavčah, je slogovno dokaj neizrazita stavba, katere preprosta fasada je po vsej verjetnosti nastala v drugi polovici 18. stoletja. Nedvomno starejši od same fasade pa je relief cerkvenega patrona sv. Petra nad portalom. Na reliefu iz belega istrskega kamna, ki meri 109 x 51 cm,² je v plitki školjčni niši frontalno upodobljen sedeči prvak apostolov s škofovskim pokrivalom na glavi ter s ključi v levici, medtem ko z desnico blagoslavlja (sl. 28).

Notranjost cerkve je bila močno osiromašena ob radikalni, a nestrokovni restavraciji okrog leta 1960, ko so zamenjali strop in odstranili baročne stranske oltarje. Vseeno pa se je nekaj kosov starejše opreme ohranilo. Obiskovalčevo pozornost pritegnejo predvsem trije reliefi: v ladijski steni sta vzdana reliefa z upodobitvijo sv. Janeza Krstnika in sv. Pavla (sl. 29, 30, 31, 32). Merita po 120 x 42 cm, stoječa svetnika pa sta upodobljena v enakih školjčnih nišah kot sv. Peter. Sv. Janez Krstnik je oblečen v kratko ogrinjalo in kaže z desnico proti križu, ki ga je nosil v levici, medtem ko je sv. Pavel oblečen v dolgo tuniko, prek katere nosi še težak plašč. V levici drži zaprto knjigo, v desnici pa navzgor obrnjen (a žal odlomljen) meč. Poleg omenjene poškodbe imata obe figuri polomljena stopala, sv. Janez Krstnik tudi nekoliko poškodovan nos, sicer pa sta reliefa dobro ohranjena. Nad vhodom v zakristijo je relief z doprsno upodobitvijo *Madone z detetom* (sl. 33). Iz njegove oblike jasno razberemo, da je prvotno krasil trikotni timpanon; v višino meri nekaj čez 40 cm, njegova prvotna širina pa je bila okrog 130 cm, medtem ko meri danes v širino 65 cm. Marija z obema rokama drži sedeče

¹ Po 2. svetovni vojni so vasico preimenovali v Raven in ji vmili prvotno ime šele spomladi 1992. Sicer so italijanske različice imena S. Pietro da Mata, S. Pietro d'Amata ali S. Pietro dell'Amata. Čeprav je uradno ime te vasice v piranskem zaledju Sveti Peter, uporabljam tu zaradi lažje predstave o lokaciji kraja ter zaradi nevarnosti zamenjave z drugimi kraji podobnih imen nekoliko prirejeno različico imena Sv. Peter nad Dragonjo.

² Zdi se, da je bil relief v spodnjem delu nekoliko skrajšan in da je bila prvotna višina okoli 120 cm.

dete, ki se z desnico oklepa materinega vratu, medtem ko si je skrčeno levico z izteg-njenimi prstki položilo na prsi.

Vsi štirje reliefi že na prvi pogled kažejo svoj renesančni značaj in visoko kvaliteto, zato je toliko bolj zanimivo vprašanje o njihovi provenienci, prvotni namembnosti ter seveda problem avtorstva in datacije. Strokovni javnosti so bili naši reliefi doslej praktično neznan: le Emilijan Cevc jim je namenil kratek odstavek v svojem pregledu plastike na Slovenskem med gotiko in barokom. Zapisal je, da so reliefi menda prišli v cerkev iz Kopra, kapiteli pripadajočih pilastrov pa posnemajo oblike, kakršne je bil uvedel že Alberti. O samih figurah ni napisal prav veliko: le o sv. Petru je menil, da je kljub renesančnim prvnam formuliran bolj ali manj v duhu primorske gotike konca 15. stoletja.³ V Cevčevem zapisu je zanimivo predvsem dvoje: podatek, da so prišli reliefi iz Kopra ter opis pilastrov, ki jih danes ob reliefih ni. To delno pojasnjujejo zapiski konservatorjev, ki jih hranita republiški in piranski zavod za spomeniško varstvo. Iz njih razberemo, da so bili reliefi pred restavracijo na stranskih oltarjih, vendar v teh zapiskih, med katerimi je nekaj Zadnikarjevih, večina pa nepodpisanih, naletimo le na skop podatek brez navedbe vira, da so bili oltarji *menda* prineseni iz Kopra. Več povedo stare fotografije cerkvene notranjščine: na njih vidimo, da sta bila reliefa sv. Janeza Krstnika in sv. Pavla kot nekakšni "krili" sekundarno nameščena ob baročni severni oltar, medtem ko je bila Madona, tedaj še v trikotnem timpanu, popolnoma neorgansko vzdana nad atiko južnega (sl. 34). Če so stranska oltarja torej prinesli iz Kopra, to ne velja nujno tudi za naše reliefe. Dokumentacija na zavodih za spomeniško varstvo nam delno pojasnjuje tudi problem pilastrov, ki jih omenja Emilijan Cevc: ohranjene so njihove fotografije, ki so nastale po odstranitvi oltarjev iz cerkve, same pilastre pa bi morda odkrilo sistematično brskanje po skladovnici kamnitih fragmentov za cerkvijo, če se seveda v teh dolgih letih niso porazgubili po zasebnih zbirkah (sl. 35). Po fotografijah lahko sodimo, da so se ohranili vsaj trije pilastri s kapiteli: dva sta reliefno okrašena z motivom bogato razčlenjenih kandelabrov, na tretjem pa je serpentinasto zavita vitica z upodobitvijo ptiča na vrhu (sl. 36, 37). Fotografije notranjščine cerkve pred nesrečno obnovo nam pokažejo tudi, kje so bili pilastri pred odstranitvijo iz cerkve: v obeh stranskih oltarjih so rabili kot okvir za slike, poleg njih pa sta bila tam še dva renesančno profilirana zidca. Tistega z motivom trakov, ki se prepletata in tvorita rozete, bo treba še najti, medtem ko je nekaj več kot meter dolg fragment drugega z listnim frizom in kanelurami na ograji ob cerkvi. Sklepamo lahko, da so bili vsi ti deli na baročnih oltarjih uporabljeni sekundarno. Oba stranska oltarja sta bila iz 17. stoletja (na južnem je bila celo letnica 1670), njuni slike, ki sta še ohranjeni, pa sta skromna izdelka iz 19. stoletja. Do neke mere je mogoče tudi sklepati, kdaj so bili omenjeni deli vgrajeni v baročne oltarje. Kot bomo videli nekoliko pozneje, je precejšnja verjetnost, da je bil to nekdanji glavni oltar v cerkvi. Ker je slika sedanjega glavnega oltarja datirana z letnico 1801, je ena od možnosti, da bi bili reliefi vgrajeni v stranske oltarje oziroma nad portal ob izgubi prvotne funkcije.

³ E. Cevc: *Kiparstvo na Slovenskem med gotiko in barokom*, Ljubljana 1981 (od tod citirano Cevc: *Kiparstvo*), p. 18.

Ne potrebujemo posebno veliko domišljije za ugotovitev, da so vsi štirje reliefi prvotno pripadali isti celoti, katere del so bili tudi preostali kamnoseški izdelki. S precejšnjo gotovostjo lahko sklepamo, da je šlo za reliefni triptih z upodobitvijo sv. Petra v sredini, s sv. Pavlom na levi ter s sv. Janezom Krstnikom na desni. Arhitekturni okvir oltarja so sestavljali štirje pilastri, oba omenjena zidca, trikotno atiko, katere okvir se bo morda še našel, pa je krasila podoba Madone. To je bil torej dokaj preprost oltarni nastavek, kakršni pa so bili v poznem 15. stoletju v Italiji in v sosednjih deželah dokaj pogosti. Če se bo v prihodnje posrečilo najti vsaj nekaj manjkajočih delov, bi bila vsekakor smiselna rekonstrukcija prvotnega stanja.

Že na prvi pogled nas preseneti zrelorenesanci značaj reliefov in visoka kvaliteta raven njihove izvedbe. V našem spomeniškem gradivu jim ne najdemo prave paralele: le pilastri s svojo reliefno dekoracijo nekoliko spominjajo na tiste, ki, sekundarno uporabljeni, sestavljajo podboje obeh južnih portalov koprške stolnice ali na tiste v frančiškanski cerkvi v Piranu.⁴ Ta primerjava hkrati nakazuje smer, v kateri moramo iskati izvor naših reliefov. Nedvomno so nastali v neposredni odvisnosti od kiparskega ustvarjanja zgodnje renesanse v Benetkah, n drobnejša analiza pa bo pokazala, da gre celo za izdelek delavnice Pietra Lombarda, poleg Antonia Rizza vodilnega kiparja poznega beneškega quattrocenta.⁵ O tem nas prepričajo tako figure kot arhitekturno okrasje.

Frontalna upodobitev sedečega sv. Petra se je zdela Emilijanu Cevcu zasnovana v duhu primorske gotike, vendar najdemo prav taki upodobitvi neposredne paralele v opusu Pietra Lombarda in njegovega kroga. Dekoracija kapele Giustiniani v beneški cerkvi S. Francesco della Vigna je nastala v več fazah v delavnici Pietra Lombarda in njegovih sinov.⁶ Upodobitev sedečega sv. Hieronima v osrednji niši oltarnega nastavka v osnovnih potezah močno spominja na našega sv. Petra in ni dvoma, da imata figuri isto slogovno izhodišče (sl. 38). Razlika nastopa predvsem v tehniki, saj je sv. Hieronim izveden v visokem reliefu, sv. Peter pa v plitkem. Bljžja po tej plati je našemu reliefu upodobitev sv. Hieronima v firenškem Museo Bardini, ki jo novejša literatura pripisuje Lombardovemu sodobniku in občasnemu sodelavcu Giovanniju Buoru (sl. 39).⁷ Prostorska razmerja so pri obeh reliefih praktično identična, zelo podobno pa se gubata oblačila obeh figur, čeprav ima Peter čez do tal segajočo tuniko še težak plašč. Značilno gubanje tunike med kolena pride tako do izraza le v ozkem razporku plašča. Na firenški relief spominja tudi gubanje oblačila pri tleh, pri tem pa moramo ob nekaterih detajlih (oči, usta, roke) vendarle ugotoviti, da ne gre za izdelek iste roke. Kljub temu najdemo tudi Petrovi glavi, katere oblikovanje je pogojeno z ikonografijo

⁴ N. Šumi: *Arhitektura XVI. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966, pp. 23-24.

⁵ Umetnik se je rodil v Caroni okrog leta 1435 in umrl leta 1515. Za najosnovnejše podatke o njem cf. J. Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance sculpture*, New York 1985¹ (od tod citirano Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance*), pp. 89-95, 338-340, 368.

⁶ O kapeli je doslej podrobneje pisala A. Markham Schulz (*The Giustiniani Chapel and the Art of the Lombardo*, *Antichità viva*, XVI/27, 1977, pp. 27-44).

⁷ R. Munman, *The Sculpture of Giovanni Buora: A Supplement*, *Arte Veneta*, XXXIII, 1979 (od tod citirano Munman, *The Sculpture*), pp. 19-20.

tega svetnika, paralelo v opusu Pietra Lombarda: podobno glavo ima *sv. Marko* ob nagrobniku doža Pietra Moceniga (ok. 1476) ali bradata stoječa figura ob Madoni v luneti nagrobnika doža Niccolòja Marcella iz okrog 1481 (oba nagrobnika v cerkvi SS. Zanipolo).⁸

Sv. Pavel je skorajda vzoren primer "lombardovske" celopostavne svetniške upodobitve. Kar zadeva stojni motiv, srečujemo v opusu Pietra Lombarda dva osnovna tipa kontraposta, ki variirata predvsem v položaju počivajoče noge. Ta je pri nekaterih kipih rahlo skrčena, pri *sv. Pavlu* pa tako kot pri nekaterih drugih diagonalno iztegnjena. Značilni figuri tega tipa sta upodobitvi *vstalega Kristusa in umrlega doža na nagrobniku Pietra Moceniga* ter kip *sv. Pavla* na enem od stranskih oltarjev v beneški cerkvi S. Stefano (sl. 40).⁹ Vse omenjene figure veže z našim *sv. Pavlom* tudi sistem draperije: le-tega označuje predvsem težko ogrinjalo, ki pada z rame proti nasprotnemu boku in ustvarja globoke in mestoma rahlo zalomljene pahljačaste gube, med katerimi ostajajo skoraj gladke površine. Naj za primerjavo naštejemo le nekaj ključnih del Pietra Lombarda. Na prvem mestu velja opozoriti na že omenjenega *sv. Pavla* iz cerkve S. Stefano, mojstrovo lastnoročno, a žal ne datirano delo. Enak sistem draperije najdemo tudi na *vstalem Kristusu* in na enem od atlantov na Mocenigovem nagrobniku (sl. 41), na kipu ene od kreposti na nagrobniku Niccolòja Marcella (sl. 42), na kipu *Boga očeta* na nagrobniku škofa Giovannija Zanettija (Treviso, stolnica, ok. 1485) (sl. 43)¹⁰ ter pri dopasnih podobah evangelistov v pendentivih pod kupolo cerkve S. Giobbe iz časa kmalu po 1470.¹¹ Sicer pa je Lombardo razvil tak sistem draperije že na samem začetku svoje kariere na upodobitvi *Madone* na nagrobniku Antonia Rossellija v Padovi (Il Santo) iz časa okrog 1464-67.¹² Tudi Pavlov obraz ne predstavlja posebnega problema in ga zaznamujejo značilne "lombardovske" poteze, kot je na primer iz dveh polovic simetrično sestavljena brada. To velja tudi za poudarjene ličnice in nekoliko shematično oblikovane oči. Vse naštetje značilnosti ima tudi že nekajkrat omenjeni kip istega svetnika v cerkvi S. Stefano, le da je kot eno najkvalitetnejših Lombardovih del izdelan mnogo bolj detajlno. Na enak obrazni tip bi naleteli tudi pri drugih bradatih figurah Pietra Lombarda in njegovega kroga, in to celo pri tako profiliranih mojstrih, kot je Giovanni Buora.

⁸ G. Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo a Venezia, *Arte Veneta*, IX, 1955 (od tod citirano Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo), pp. 44 (fig. 50)-46.

⁹ L. Planiscig, Deux reliefs en marbre de Pietro Lombardi, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1930 (od tod citirano Planiscig, Deux reliefs), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ R. Munman, The Lombardo Family and the Tomb of Giovanni Zanetti, *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, pp. 28-38; M. Ceriana, Osservazioni sulla Cappella Maggiore del Duomo di Treviso e sulla committenza del vescovo Giovanni da Udine, *Venezia Arti*, 5, 1991, pp. 134-144.

¹¹ J. McAndrew: *L'architettura veneziana del primo rinascimento*, Venezia 1983 (od tod citirano McAndrew: *L'architettura*), pp. 137-145.

¹² Doslej najbolj podrobno o padovanskem obdobju umetnika A. Moschetti, Un quadriennio di Pietro Lombardo a Padova, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XVI, 1913, pp. 1-99, XVII, 1914, pp. 1-43; G. Lorenzoni, Dopo Donatello: Da Bartolomeo Bellano ad Andrea Riccio, *Le sculture del Santo di Padova*, Vicenza 1984, pp. 97-98.

Sv. Janez Krstnik nosi v skladu s svojo ikonografijo krajše ogrinjalo, katerega modelacija pa se popolnoma ujema z Lombardovim slogom. Čeprav nekoliko poenostavljena, ima ta figura vse bistvene značilnosti kipa stoječega sv. Hieronima, podpisanega dela Pietra Lombarda, ki je v beneški cerkvi S. Stefano pendant sv. Pavlu (sl. 44).¹³ Tudi Krstnikova glava je oblikovana na način, ki je blizu Lombardovemu in jo lahko primerjamo z dolgočasimi figurami, kot je npr. *Imago Pietatis* na nagrobniku doža Pasquala Malipiera iz okrog 1468,¹⁴ *vstali Kristus* na Mocenigovem nagrobniku ali *vstali Kristus* z nagrobnika Agostina Barbariga.¹⁵

V opusu Pietra Lombarda, njegove delavnice in njegovega širšega kroga so tudi številne podobe Marije z detetom. Njihova poglobljena značilnost je - še posebej v primerjavi s sočasnimi florentinskimi izdelki - dokaj preprosta zasnova z jasno prepoznavnim Marijinim ovalnim obrazom čistih, a dokaj posplošenih oblik. Podobno velja tudi za glave malega Jezusa s pogosto nekoliko zabuhlim obrazom ter malce daljšimi lasmi na tilniku. Oblačilo je ponavadi oblikovano preprosto z vzporednimi navpičnimi gubami. Naša Madona je torej le še ena različica "lombardovskega" tipa Madon in jo je mogoče primerjati z marsikatero med njimi, čeprav ne gre za neposredno kopijo katere od Lombardovih. Poleg značilnih obraznih tipov je posebej zanimiv položaj deteta, ki po eni strani spominja na relief v londonskem Victoria & Albert Museumu,¹⁶ hkrati pa tudi na *Madonno delle Biade* v Doževi palači ter na *stoječo Madono* v cerkvi SS. Vito e Modesto v Spinei di Mestre: slednji dve sta bili v novejšem času pripisani Giovanniju Buoru.¹⁷ Prav tako je bila Buoru pripisana *Madonna* v beneškem Seminarju Patriarcale, ki je tako po značaju celote kot po izdelavi detajlov še najbližja naši Madoni in bi bila lahko celo delo iste roke (sl. 45). Seveda pa bi bilo treba v tem primeru ponovno preveriti atribucijo Giovanniju Buori.¹⁸

Zvezo z Lombardovo delavnico potrjujejo tudi arhitekturni elementi, ki so nekoč pripadali oltarju v Sv. Petru. Kot že rečeno, sta dva pilastra okrašena z bogato razčlenjenimi kandelabri. Gre za motiv, ki je značilen tako za florentinski kot za severnoitalijanski quattrocento in tako sam po sebi ne dokazuje ničesar. Toliko bolj pa je zato zanimiva serpentinasta vitica, ki je krasila drugi par pila-

¹³ Planiscig, *Deux reliefs*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ Dobra reprodukcija v: T. Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*, Milano 1969 (od tod citirano Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*), p. 53, tav. XXXV.

¹⁵ Danes je ta relief v Scuoli Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. Cf. A. Markham Schulz, Pietro Lombardo's Barbarigo Tomb in the Venetian Church of S. Maria della Carità, *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honour of H. W. Janson*, New York 1981, pp. 171-192.

¹⁶ Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo, p. 49.

¹⁷ A. Markham Schulz, Giovanni Buora Lapidista, *Arte Lombarda*, 65, 1983 (od tod citirano Schulz, Giovanni Buora), pp. 55-56.

¹⁸ Schulz, Giovanni Buora, pp. 64-68: relief je prišel v Seminario Patriarcale iz podrte cerkve S. Cipriano na Muranu. Žal Schulzova bolj natančno kot podobnosti z Buorovi mi deli opisuje za Benetke prav nič presenetljiv ikonografski motiv spečega deteta. Dodam lahko le, da na reliefu ni opaziti nekaterih za Buora značilnih "morellijevskih" prvin, kot je npr. izdelava rok s sredincem in prstancem, ki sta tesno drug ob drugem, medtem ko sta kazalec in mezinec nekoliko razmaknjena.

strov: spodaj izhaja iz snopa akantovega listja in se vije proti vrhu na tak način, da med posameznimi zavoji nastajajo najrazličnejši cvetovi, na vrhu pa sedi ptič. Vitice so v zgodnji renesansi sicer pogost okras pilastrov, vendar so take z vsemi opisanimi sestavinami posebej značilne prav za delavnico Pietra Lombarda. V nekoliko zreducirani obliki (brez ptiča na vrhu) jih srečamo že na Lombardovem prvem beneškem delu, nagrobniku doža Pasquala Malipiera (SS. Zanipolo) iz okrog 1468,¹⁹ najbolj značilne vitice tega tipa pa krasijo pilastre portalov cerkva S. Giobbe (po 1470) (sl. 46) in S. Maria dei Miracoli (1481-89) (sl. 47).²⁰ Ti pilastri se od naših razlikujejo le po nekoliko bolj prefinjeni izvedbi ter po položaju ptiča na vrhu, ki ima razprte peruti. O kapitelih pilastrov je zapisal kratko misel že Cevc, ko jih je primerjal z Albertijevimi v loži Rucellai v Firencah.²¹ Gre za kapitele z akantovim listjem ob straneh ter z volutami, ki se na sredi v obliki lire spuščajo skoraj do dna kapitela. Ta oblika v resnici izvira iz Albertijevega ali Michelozzovega kroga, vendar je doživela v številnih različicah največjo popularnost prav v Benetkah. Naši kapiteli so malce poenostavljeni: manjka običajna palmeta med volutama, čeprav bi po precej grobi površini kamna na tistem mestu lahko sklepali, da je bila kdaj pozneje morda odklesana.

Posebno pozornost si zasluži zidec, ki je pred nesrečno restavracijo rabil kot spodnji del okvira slike in ga je krasil preplet dveh trakov. Čeprav je ta ornament florentinskega izvora in naletimo nanj že v delih Brunelleschija in njegovih naslednikov,²² ne moremo trditi, da bi bil eden najbolj razširjenih motivov, v Benetkah pa ga je sploh uporabljala le Lombardova delavnica. Najdemo ga npr. na dvoriščnem portalu Scuole Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista (sl. 48) in na Ca' Gussoni.²³ Prav tako kot pojav tega motiva je zanimiva tudi njegova lokacija: v obeh omenjenih primerih zaznamuje talni zidec, to pa tudi namiguje na njegovo nekdanje mesto na oltarju v Sv. Petru. S precejšnjo gotovostjo lahko sklepamo, da je bil tudi tu služil v funkciji nekakšne predele. Kar zadeva arhitekturo oltarja, ostaja odprto le vprašanje preklade nad nišami: brez dvoma je bil zanj uporabljen še ohranjeni fragment, žal pa po ohranjenih oz. dokumentiranih sestavinah ne vemo natanko, ali je šlo za preprosto preklado ali pa morda za bolj razvit arhitrav z dvema zidcema.

Zaradi sorazmerno lahko prepoznavnega sloga delavnice Pietra Lombarda ostankov oltarja v Sv. Petru ni bilo težko uvrstiti v ta krog, nekoliko bolj pa se zaplete pri poskusu natančnejše atribucije in datacije. Čeprav je bil Pietro Lombardo ob Antoniu Rizzu eden vodilnih kiparjev poznega quattrocenta v Benetkah, je njegovo življenje in delo za zdaj dokaj slabo raziskano. Čeprav je bilo o njem napisanega že kar veliko, še vedno pogrešamo predvsem izčrpno monografijo s

¹⁹ Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*, p. 52, tav. XXXIV.

²⁰ McAndrew: *L'architettura*, passim.

²¹ Cevc: *Kiparstvo*, p. 18.

²² Najdemo ga npr. na Buggianovi prižnici v S. Maria Novella ter na nekaterih drugih delih Brunelleschijevih naslednikov. Cf.e.g. F. Borsi - G. Morolli - F. Quinterio: *Brunelleschiani*, Roma 1979, passim.

²³ McAndrew: *L'architettura*, pp. 148, 216. O Ca' Gussoni tudi Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo, p. 36.

kritičnim katalogom.²⁴ Jedro Lombardovega opusa, ki ga predstavlja veliko zaporedje doževskih nagrobnikov, je načrtano sorazmerno jasno, zato pa so toliko bolj težavne atribucije in datacije številnih "obrobnih" del, s čimer je povezan tudi problem identifikacije posameznih mojstrov v delavnici Pietra Lombarda, njegovih sodelavcev in naslednikov. Novejše raziskave kažejo, da je Pietro vodil svojo delavnico nekako do konca devetdesetih let 15. stoletja, potem pa sta vodstvo prevzela sinova Tullio in Antonio,²⁵ ki predstavljata s svojim klasicizmom enega vrhov beneškega kiparstva časa okrog leta 1500: o njiju je tudi veliko več literature kot o očetu. Vendar se problem Lombardove delavnice nikakor ne konča pri njegovih sinovih: iz skopih arhivskih virov in zgodovinskih pričevanj namreč vemo, da je imel mojster vedno veliko pomočnikov in učencev, pa tudi sicer so bile Benetke v zadnji četrtini 15. stoletja dobesedno preplavljene z lombardskimi kiparji in kamnoseki. Znana je pritožba beneških mojstrov iz leta 1491, ko so tarnali, da jim *Milanexi*, ki jih je bilo v mestu menda 126 in so imeli kakšnih 50 učencev, odžirajo posel in sprejemajo v uk samo svoje rojake.²⁶ Če jih je bilo v resnici le za četrtno toliko, kot poročajo viri, je ob takem številu težko identificirati posamezne mojstre. Kljub temu je že v dvajsetih letih Leo Planiscig poskušal rekonstruirati umetniško osebnost mojstra, ki se je ob reliefu na portalu Lombardove cerkve S. Maria dei Miracoli podpisal Pyrgoteles.²⁷ Žal poskus ni bil preveč prepričljiv in avtor se je tezi celo sam odrekel.²⁸ Mnogo uspešnejša pa je bila rekonstrukcija kiparskega opusa Giovannija Buora, ki postaja tako ena najoprijemljivejših osebnosti Lombardovega kroga.²⁹

Z vidika tega ekskurza v ustvarjanje Lombardovega kroga je naše reliefe nekoliko lažje oceniti. Njihova kvaliteta seveda ne dosega Lombardovih najboljših lastnoročnih del (npr. *sv. Pavel* in *sv. Hieronim* v c. S. Stefano), je pa vendarle dovolj visoka, da izključuje možnost nastanka zunaj ožjega Lombardovega kroga

²⁴ Temeljni deli o umetniku sta: P. Paoletti: *L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venezia 1893, passim; L. Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Wien 1921 (od tod citirano Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer*), pp. 41-80. Med novjšimi študijami velja omeniti pregledni članek Mariacherja (Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo), sicer pa je vsa pomembnejša literatura do 1985 zbrana v pregledu J. Pope-Hennessyja (Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance*), pp. 338-340, 368.

²⁵ Najpomembnejšo študijo o razvoju in delovanju Lombardove delavnice je prispeval M. Maek-Gerard (Die "Milanexi" in Venedig: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lombardi-Werkstatt, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 1980, pp. 105-130 [od tod citirano Maek-Gerard]).

²⁶ O konfliktu poroča že A. Sagredo: *Sulle consorterie delle arti edificative in Venezia*, Venezia 1856, p. 283. O dogodku razpravlja tudi Maek-Gerard, p. 111.

²⁷ Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer*, pp. 177-206. Verjetno gre za mojstra, ki ga v dokumentih srečujemo z imenom Zuan Zorzi Lascaris in je bil morda v resnici grškega porekla.

²⁸ L. Planiscig, Pietro Lombardo ed alcuni bassorilievi veneziani del '400, *Dedalo*, X, 1929/30, pp. 461-481.

²⁹ R. Munman, Giovanni Buora: The "Missing" Sculpture, *Arte Veneta*, XXX, 1976 (Munman, Giovanni Buora), pp. 41-61; Munman, The Sculpture; Schulz, Giovanni Buora.

ali celo zunaj Benetk.³⁰ Izključena je tudi kakršnakoli povezava s sinovoma Tulliom in Antoniom, saj na figurah ni opaziti klasicizirajočih prvin. Več podobnosti je z Buorovimi deli, ki smo jih nekajkrat vključili tudi v neposredne primerjave, vendar ima omenjeni mojster nekaj "morellijevskih" prvin (roke, modelacija obrazov), ki jih pri naših figurah ni. Tudi draperija je pri njegovih celopostavnih figurah (npr. *apostoli* v Montebelluni³¹) drugačna: čeprav je bil mlajši od Pietra Lombarda, se Buora v nasprotju s Tulliom in Antoniom ni usmeril v klasicizem, marveč je le nekoliko mehčal Pietrovo sistem draperije. Kot so pokazale že primerjave, so naše figure najbližje prav Pietrovem slogu, in to delom, ki so nastala nekako v času med 1470 in 1490. Njihov avtor ostaja torej za zdaj anonimen, vsekakor pa gre za človeka iz ožjega Pietrovega kroga. Natančnejše raziskave bodo nemara prepoznale njegovo roko še na kakem drugem spomeniku, pri tem pa bo morda odigrala določeno vlogo tudi njegova osebna nota: obrazi so namreč modelirani sorazmerno mehko in brez ostrih kontur, ki so značilne za Pietra Lombarda.

Slogovni značaj figur nam daje tudi osnovno orientacijo pri dataciji. Glede na to, da se navezujejo na Pietrovo zrelo obdobje ter da reliefi nimajo značilnosti sloga Tullia in Antonia Lombarda oziroma Giovannija Buora, lahko sklepamo, da so nastali v osemdesetih ali devetdesetih letih, vsekakor pa še pred letom 1500. S kakšno slogovno retardacijo tukaj ne smemo računati, saj je očitno, da je delo nastalo v Benetkah v ožjem Lombardovem krogu.

Ostanki oltarja v Sv. Petru niso edino delo Lombardovega kroga na vzhodni obali Jadrana. Poleg že omenjenih pilastrov v Kopru in edikule v piranski frančiškanski cerkvi moramo omeniti še kip *Justicije* v koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju. Že pred leti je Emilijan Cevc opozoril na lombardovske prvine pri tem kipu, hkrati pa tudi na izrazito konservativne elemente.³² To tudi otežuje datacijo, pri kateri moramo upoštevati tudi možnost retardacije, saj ne gre za delo Lombardovega ožjega kroga ampak slejkoprej za posnemovalca, če ne celo za lokalnega mojstra. Dekoracija fasade v Osoru na otoku Cresu je bila nedavno pripisana Giovanniju Buoru, nastala pa je verjetno neposredno pred letom 1498, ko je bila cerkev posvečena.³³ Nedvomno gre tu za delo, ki je bilo že ob naročilu namenjeno osorski katedrali, naključni import pa je, kot kaže, skupina *Oznanjenja* iz Pule, ki jo je Ivan Matejčić pred kratkim tesno povezal s Pietrom Lombardom.³⁴ Posebno

³⁰ Tudi v samih Benetkah naletimo na dela ožjega Lombardovega kroga, ki po kvaliteti zaostajajo za našimi reliefi. Tak primer so nekateri kipi z nekdanje korne pregraje cerkve S. Stefano. Večina omenjenih kipov doslej ni doživela podrobnejše strokovne obravnave, njihove fotografije pa so dosegljive v fototeki Kunsthistorisches Instituta v Firencah.

³¹ Munman, Giovanni Buora, pp. 50-51.

³² E. Cevc: *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1963, pp. 296-298. Nastanek kipa je Cevc postavil že v čas okrog 1465-70.

³³ S. Štefanac, O arhitekturi i kiparskim ukrasima osorske katedrale, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 26, 1986/87, pp. 263-286; idem, Le sculture di Giovanni Buora a Ossero, *Venezia Arti*, 3, 1989, pp. 41-45.

³⁴ I. Matejčić, Ranorenesansna grupa Navještenja iz Pule, *Peristil*, XXXIII, 1990, pp. 53-60; *Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture = Thousand years of Croatian Sculpture*, Muzejski prostor, Zagreb 1991, p. 74 (kat. 28. Re) [r.k.].

vabljava je Matejčičeva misel, da gre morda za dele Barbarigovega nagrobnika v beneški cerkvi S. Maria della Carità, ki je bil leta 1807 razstavljen. Če bo teza obveljala, bo potrebno upoštevati tudi novoodkrte arhivske dokumente, ki pričajo o vodilni vlogi Giovannija Buora in Bartolomea di Domenico Duca pri izdelavi nagrobnika.³⁵

Tudi ob oltarju iz Sv. Petra se zastavlja vprašanje, ali gre tudi tu le za naključen import. Pri nas pač nismo vajeni, da bi se kvalitetno umetniško delo znašlo v skromni podružnici kako drugače kot po naključju, vendar obstaja prav v tem primeru precejšnja verjetnost, da gre v resnici za nekdanji glavni oltar v cerkvi. S patrocinijem cerkve se sklada že ikonografija oltarja s podobo sv. Petra v sredini, na nekdanj pomembno vlogo vasice Sv. Peter pa nakazujejo skopa zgodovinska pričevanja. V Valierovi vizitaciji iz leta 1579 najdemo resda zgolj omembo cerkve,³⁶ nekoliko bolj izčrpna pa je Naldinijeva *Corografia* iz leta 1700, ki poroča, da je bila vasica nekoč pomemben utrjen kaštel. Omenja tudi cerkev in tri oltarje v njej, vendar jih žal ne opisuje detajlno.³⁷ Sicer pa v literaturi preberemo še en ne docela preverjen, a toliko bolj zanimiv podatek: v bližini vasi je stal kaštel Čuklja (it. Zuccole), ki je bil tako kot večina ozemlja okrog Sv. Petra v lasti znane koprške rodbine Vergerijev.³⁸ Leta 1546 se je tja zatekel tudi Peter Pavel Vergerij, znani simpatizer protestantizma in prijatelj Primoža Trubarja.³⁹ Rodbina Vergerijev je dala prvega pomembnega moža že na začetku 15. stoletja: Peter Pavel starejši je imel tesne stike s pomembnimi humanisti svojega časa,⁴⁰ žal pa vemo bolj malo o generaciji, ki je živela med smrtjo starejšega (1444) in rojstvom mlajšega Petra Pavla (1498).⁴¹ Kljub temu ni izključeno, da bi imela prav omenjena rodbina zasluge za nastanek oltarja. Zdi se verjetno, da bi bili Vergeriji celo naročniki: na

³⁵ B. Roeck, Zu Kunstaufträgen des Dogen Agostino Barbarigo (1419-1501), *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 55/1, 1992, pp. 1-34. Poseben problem predstavlja Bartolomeo di Domenico Duca, ki je pogosto sodeloval z Buoro (cf. Schulz, Giovanni Buora, pp. 69-72), ni pa podatkov o tem, da bi deloval tudi samostojno. To otežuje identifikacijo umetnika, ki je morda avtor katerega od kipov, ki jih sicer pripisujejo Buoru.

³⁶ A. Lavrič: *Vizitacijsko poročilo Agostina Valiera o koprski škofiji iz leta 1579 = Istriae visitatio apostolica 1579: Visitatio Iustinopolitana Augustini Valerii*, Ljubljana 1986, p. 103.

³⁷ P. Naldini: *Corografia ecclesiastica o sia descrizione della città, e della diocesi di Giustinopoli detto volg. Capo d'Istria*, In Venezia 1700, p. 420.

³⁸ *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije I: Zahodni del Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1968, p. 243.

³⁹ A. Tommasich, Famiglie capodistriane esistenti nel secolo XVI, *La Provincia dell'Istria*, XX, 1886, pp. 6 ss., 37-38. Po teh podatkih naj bi bil kaštel Čuklja na tem mestu že od 13. stoletja. Za najosnovnejše podatke o Vergerijih cf. *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, 13, Ljubljana 1982, pp. 407-409.

⁴⁰ O Petru Pavlu starejšem piše z velikim spoštovanjem že leta 1483 Marin Sanudo (*Itinerario di Marin Sanudo per la Terraferma Veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII*, Padova 1847, p. 148 ss.).

⁴¹ Tudi najnovejša literatura o Petru Pavlu Vergeriju mlajšem ugotavlja, da ni povsem pojasnjena niti sorodstvena zveza med Petrom Pavlom starejšim in Petrom Pavlom mlajšim, o generaciji med njima pa doslej praktično ni znanih podatkov. Tako tudi ena najnovejših in najizčrpnějšíh študij: A. Jacobson Schutte: *Pier Paolo Vergerio e la riforma a Venezia 1498-1549*, Roma 1988, p. 29.

to delno namiguje tudi izbor svetnikov, saj njihova imena ustrezajo tradicionalnim imenom pri Vergerijih (Janez Krstnik je bilo ime bratu Petra Pavla mlajšega). Seveda nimamo nikakršnih neposrednih dokazov, ki bi tezo potrdili, vendar se zdi povsem verjetno, da bi prišlo kvalitetno beneško delo v vaško cerkev kot donacija pomembne in humanistično izobražene rodbine, ki je imela za nameček v kraju in okolici pomembno posest.

V skromni beri kvalitetnih spomenikov zgodnje renesanse na naših tleh imajo reliefi v Sv. Petru nedvomno velik pomen in jih ne bi smeli obravnavati mačehovsko. Čeprav po vsej verjetnosti niso nastali na naših tleh, jih moramo ob možnosti, da so bili naročeni in izdelani prav za to cerkev, sprejeti kot enakovreden del naše kulturne dediščine. K temu nas toliko bolj zavezuje njihova kvalitetna raven, saj je dovolj visoka celo po kriterijih, s katerimi ocenjujemo dela delavnice Pietra Lombarda. Naši reliefi tako predstavljajo tudi prispevek k dopolnitvi opusa tega pomembnega beneškega umetnika poznega 15. stoletja.

THE RELIEFS AT SVETI PETER NAD DRAGONJO AND THE WORKSHOP OF PIETRO LOMBARDO

By Samo Štefanac, Ljubljana

The village of Sveti Peter nad Dragonjo in Istria has not previously been known for any important work of art.¹ The village church, filial to the parish church at Krkavče, is an insignificant building in terms of style with a simple façade and probably dates from the second half of the 18th century. Undoubtedly older than the façade is the relief of *St Peter*, the patron saint of the church, in a shallow shell-topped niche above the portal. It is made of white Istrian stone and measures 109 x 51 cm.² The apostle is shown sitting *en face*, crowned with a mitre, holding the keys in his left hand and making a sign of blessing with his right (pl. 28).

The interior was greatly impaired by a drastic and incompetent renovation around 1960, when the old ceiling was replaced and the Baroque side altars were removed. However, some of the old features have been preserved. Three reliefs attract the visitor's eye: two of them are in the nave wall and represent *St John the Baptist* and *St Paul*, respectively (pls. 29, 30, 31, 32). Each of them measures 120 x 42 cm. Both reliefs are located in shell-topped niches like that of *St Peter*, and each saint is shown standing. *St John the Baptist* wears a short cloak and points with his right hand to a cross on the left. *St Paul* is dressed in a long tunic and heavy coat and holds a closed book in his left hand and an upturned sword (unfortunately broken off) in his right. Apart from the damage to the sword, the feet of both figures are broken and the nose of *St John the Baptist* is damaged. Otherwise both reliefs are well preserved. Above the entrance to the sacristy is a relief showing a half-length *Virgin and Child* (pl. 33). Its shape clearly indicates that its original location was the tympanum: it is over 40 cm high, while its original width was around 130 cm as opposed to the present width of 65 cm. The *Virgin* holds the seated *Child* with both hands while the *Child's* hand clings to her neck. His left hand rests on his chest with fingers splayed.

¹ After the Second World War the village was renamed Raven. The original name was restored in spring 1992. Italian variants of the name are S. Pietro da Mata, S. Pietro d'Amata or S. Pietro dell'Amata.

² The relief seems to have been shortened slightly in the lower section and the original height was about 120 cm.

The questions of the provenance, original purpose, authorship and age of the four reliefs are all the more interesting for their Renaissance character and high quality, which are evident at first sight. Until now the reliefs have been virtually unknown to scholars: they have been addressed only by Emilijan Cevc in a short paragraph in his survey of sculpture in Slovenia between the Gothic and Baroque periods. Cevc claims that the reliefs were probably brought to the church from Koper (Capodistria), and that the capitals of the pilasters copy the formal innovations of Leon Battista Alberti. He says little about the figures other than that the figure of St Peter, despite its Renaissance elements, is fashioned largely in the spirit of Gothic art in the Istrian region at the end of the 15th century³. Cevc's discussion contains two main points of interest: the suggestion that the reliefs are from Koper and the description of the pilasters which no longer accompany the reliefs. This is explained in part by the conservators' notes, preserved in the National and Piran Institutes of Monument Conservation, which reveal that the reliefs were situated in the side altars before the renovation. These notes, some by Marijan Zadnikar but most unsigned, are rather scant and do not cite a source for the claim that the altars may have come to St Peter's from Koper. The photographs of the interior of the church before renovation are more revealing: they show that the reliefs of St John the Baptist and St Paul were installed secondarily on either side of the Baroque north altar as "wings", while the Virgin, at that time still in the triangular tympanum, was inappropriately built into the wall above the attic of the south altar (pl. 34). If the side altars were indeed brought here from Koper, this is not necessarily true of the reliefs. The documentation preserved at the institutions of monument conservation to some extent elucidates the problem of the pilasters mentioned by Cevc, since photographs of them dating from after the removal of the altars from the church have been preserved. A systematic search of the stone fragments behind the church might yield the pilasters themselves if they have not become part of private collections (pl. 35). It can be inferred from the photographs that at least three pilasters with capitals were preserved: two of them are decorated in relief with the motif of richly articulated candelabra while on the third can be seen a floriation with the image of a bird on top (pls. 36, 37). The photographs of the church from before the unfortunate renovation also show the location of the pilasters before their removal: in both side altars they served as framing for the pictures. In addition, there were two cornices with Renaissance mouldings. The one with the guilloche has yet to be located, but the second, a fragment more than a metre in length with a leaf frieze and fluting, has been found on the fence running alongside the church. It can be concluded that all these fragments came into secondary use when included into the Baroque altars. Both side altars date from the 17th century (the year 1670 can be seen on the south altar), whereas the paintings, which have been preserved, are modest products of the 19th century. It is also possible within limits to determine when these fragments were built into the Baroque altars. As will become clear later, it is highly probable that this was

³ E. Cevc: *Kiparstvo na Slovenskem med gotiko in barokom*, Ljubljana 1981 (Cevc: *Kiparstvo*), p.18.

once the main altar in the church. Since the painting of the present main altar is dated 1801, one possibility is that the reliefs were built into the side altars or above the portal after they had been deprived of their primary function.

It does not require a great deal of imagination to establish that all four reliefs originally belonged to a single whole which also incorporated the remaining stone artefacts. In all likelihood there was a triptych with St Peter in the middle, St Paul on the left and St John the Baptist on the right. The architectural framework of the altar consisted of four pilasters and the two cornices mentioned earlier, while the triangular tympanum, the frame of which might still be discovered, was ornamented with the relief of the Virgin Mary. This was a rather simple altarpiece of the kind that was frequently used in Italy in the late 15th century. If at least some of the missing parts were to be found, a reconstruction of the original state would in any case be sensible.

The Renaissance character of the reliefs and the excellent quality of the work are immediately apparent. They have no parallel in Slovenia, although the pilasters with their relief ornamentation are reminiscent of those used secondarily as doorposts for the two south portals of Koper Cathedral and of those that can be seen at the Franciscan church in Piran.⁴ This comparison points to the origin of the reliefs discussed. They are without doubt directly related to the sculpture of the early Renaissance in Venice and a detailed analysis will show that they were made in the workshop of Pietro Lombardo, the leading sculptor, after Antonio Rizzo, of the Quattrocento in Venice. Both the figures and the architectural decoration militate towards this view.

According to Emilijan Cevc, the frontal figure of the seated *St Peter* was executed in the spirit of Gothic art in Istria, but there are two direct parallels in the work of Pietro Lombardo and his circle. The decoration in the Giustiniani chapel in the church of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice was made in stages in the workshop of Pietro Lombardo and his sons.⁶ The seated *St Jerome* in the central niche of the altarpiece strongly resembles our *St Peter* and there is no doubt that the two figures share the same stylistic principles (pl. 38). The difference is mainly one of technique, as *St Jerome* is in high relief while *St Peter* is in low relief. In this respect, the relief of *St Peter* is closer to *St Jerome* in the Museo Bardini in Florence, which recent scholarship attributes to Lombardo's contemporary and occasional collaborator Giovanni Buora (pl. 39).⁷ The spatial relationships are all but identical. In both reliefs there are similar folds in the clothes of each figure, although *St Peter* wears a heavy coat over the ankle-length tunic. The pronounced fold in the tunic between the knees is visible only through the narrow opening in

⁴ N. Šumi: *Arhitektura XVI. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966, pp. 23-24.

⁵ The artist was born in Carona around 1435 and died in 1515. Cf. J. Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, New York 1985 (Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance*), pp. 89-95, 338-340, 368.

⁶ The chapel has been discussed in detail by A. Markham Schulz (*The Giustiniani Chapel and the Art of the Lombardo*, *Antichità viva*, XVI/27, 1977, pp. 27-44).

⁷ R. Munman, *The Sculpture of Giovanni Buora: A Supplement*, *Arte Veneta*, XXXIII, 1979 (Munman, *The Sculpture*), pp. 19-20.

the front of the coat. The creasing of the garment just above the floor is also reminiscent of the relief in Florence, although several details (eyes, mouth, hands) show that it was not done by the same hand. There are nevertheless parallels with St Peter's head, which conforms to conventional iconography of the saint, in the work of Pietro Lombardo: similar heads are found on the figure of *St Mark* on the tomb of the doge Pietro Mocenigo (c. 1476) and the bearded figure standing next to the Madonna in the lunette of the tomb erected to Niccolò Marcello from c. 1481 (both tombs can be seen in the church of SS Zanipolo).⁸

St Paul is all but exemplary of a full-length saint figure in the manner of Lombardo. With regard to the standing position, there are two basic types of *contrapposto* in the work of Pietro Lombardo, which differ mainly in the disposition of the resting leg. In some examples it is slightly bent, while in others, as in that of *St Paul*, it is diagonally extended. Characteristic figures of this type are the *Resurrected Christ* and the *dead doge* on the tomb of Pietro Mocenigo and the statue of *St Paul* in one of the side altars in the church of S. Stefano in Venice (pl. 40).⁹ The abovementioned figures are all further related to that of *St Paul* by the system of drapery, which chiefly consists in a heavy cloak falling from the shoulder towards the opposite hip, thus creating deep, and in some places slightly broken, fan-shaped folds with almost even surfaces in between. For the sake of comparison, we could enumerate a few key works by Pietro Lombardo. Certainly the most important is the statue of *St Paul* in S. Stefano in Venice, created by the master himself but bearing no date. The same system of drapery is seen on the *Resurrected Christ* as well as on one of the atlantes on Mocenigo's tomb (pl. 41), on a statue of one of the Virtues on the tomb of Niccolò Marcello (pl. 42), on the statue of *God the Father* on the tomb of Bishop Giovanni Zanetti (Treviso Cathedral, c. 1485) (pl. 43)¹⁰ and on the half-length figures of the evangelists in the pendentives below the cupola of the church of St Giobbe from c. 1470.¹¹ Lombardo developed this system of drapery at the very beginning of his career in his *Virgin Mary* on the tomb of Antonio Roselli in Padua (Il Santo), which dates from c. 1464-1467.¹² Paul's face presents no difficulties either, with its features characteristic of Lombardo such as the beard of two symmetrical halves, the emphasised cheekbones and the somewhat schematically executed eyes. These characteristics are all visible

⁸ G. Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo a Venezia, *Arte Veneta*, IX, 1955 (Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo), pp. 44 (fig. 50)-46.

⁹ L. Planiscig, Deux Reliefs en marbre de Pietro Lombardi, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1930 (Planiscig, Deux Reliefs), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ R. Munman, The Lombardo Family and the Tomb of Giovanni Zanetti, *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, pp. 28-38; M. Ceriana, Osservazioni sulla Capella Maggiore del Duomo di Treviso e sulla committenza del vescovo Giovanni da Udine, *Venezia Arti*, V, 1991, pp. 134-144.

¹¹ J. McAndrew: *L'architettura veneziana del primo rinascimento*, Venezia 1983 (McAndrew: *L'architettura*), pp. 137-145.

¹² The most detailed study so far on the Paduan period of the artist cf. A. Moschetti, Un quadriennio di Pietro Lombardo a Padova, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XVI, 1913, pp. 1-99 and XVII, 1914, pp. 1-43; G. Lorenzoni, Dopo Donatello: Da Bartolomeo Bellano ad Andrea Riccio, *Le sculture del Santo di Padova*, Vicenza 1984, pp. 97-98.

on the statue, mentioned here several times already, of the same saint in the Venetian church of S. Stefano. This type of facial representation is present on other bearded figures by Pietro Lombardo and his circle, and even in the work of such prominent artists as Giovanni Buora.

In accordance with conventional iconography, *St John the Baptist* wears a short cloak. It is executed in a style which conforms to that of Lombardo. Although the figure is simplified, it shows all the basic features of the standing saint, *St Jerome*. The work bears the signature of Pietro Lombardo. It represents St Paul's counterpart in S. Stefano in Venice (pl. 44).¹³

The head of St John the Baptist is also reminiscent of Lombardo's style and is comparable to the long-haired figures such as *Imago pietatis* on the tomb of the doge Pasquale Malipiero from c. 1468¹⁴, the *Resurrected Christ* on Mocenigo's tomb, or the *Resurrected Christ* on the tomb of Augustino Barbarigo.¹⁵

The work of Pietro Lombardo, his workshop and his wider circle also includes several representations of the Virgin and Child. Their main characteristic when compared to contemporary Florentine works is a relatively simple conception with a distinctively oval shape to the Virgin's face composed of pure but generalised forms. The same is true of the head of the infant Jesus, which frequently shows a swollen face and relatively long hair at the neck. The garment is usually simple in form with parallel vertical folds. Our Virgin, then, is another variation on a Lombardo type and is comparable to, but is not a direct copy of, others from Lombardo's workshop. Apart from the characteristic facial types, the pose of the Child is especially interesting. On one hand it resembles the relief at the Victoria & Albert Museum¹⁶ while on the other it is reminiscent of the *Madonna delle Biade* in the Doge's Palace and of the standing *Madonna* in the church of SS. Vito e Modesto in Spinea di Mestre, both of which have recently been ascribed to Giovanni Buora.¹⁷ The *Madonna* at the Seminario Patriarcale has likewise been attributed to Buora. The character of the work both as a whole and in terms of detail has much in common with our Madonna and it may even be the work of the same person (pl. 45). In this light, the attribution to Giovanni Buora¹⁸ should be

¹³ Planiscig, *Deux Reliefs*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ A good reproduction is found in: T. Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*, Milano 1969 (Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*), p. 53, tav. XXXV.

¹⁵ Today this relief is in Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. Cf. A. Markham Schulz, Pietro Lombardo's Barbarigo Tomb in the Venetian church of S. Maria della Carità, *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honour of H. W. Janson*, New York 1981, pp. 171-192.

¹⁶ Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo, p. 49.

¹⁷ A. Markham Schulz, Giovanni Buora Lapicida, *Arte Lombarda*, 65, 1983 (Schulz, Giovanni Buora), pp. 55-56.

¹⁸ Schulz, Giovanni Buora, pp. 64-68: the relief came to the Seminario Patriarcale from the demolished church of S. Cipriano on Muran. Unfortunately Schulz devotes more effort to describing the iconographic motif of the sleeping child (not unusual for Venice) than she does to writing about the similarities in Buora's works. It can only be added that the relief does not show any of the "morellian" elements typical of Buora, such as the hand with the middle and third fingers held together while the forefinger and little finger are splayed.

reconsidered. The connection with Lombardo's workshop is further confirmed by the architectural elements which were once part of St Peter's altar. It has already been mentioned that the two pilasters are richly ornamented with candelabra. The motif is typical of both the Florentine and the North Italian Quattrocento and does not in itself constitute proof of the link with Lombardo. The floriation on the second pair of pilasters, however, is much more interesting. It grows out of a tuft of acanthus leaves at the bottom, then climbs in twists and turns with various flowers in between and a bird perched at the top. In the early Renaissance floriations were a frequent embellishment to pilasters, but the kind described here is especially characteristic of Pietro Lombardo's workshop. They can be seen in a somewhat reduced form (with no bird at the top) in Lombardo's first Venetian work, the tomb of the doge Pasquale Malipiero (SS Zanipolo) from around 1468.¹⁹ However, the most important floriations of this type decorate the pilasters at the portals of St Giobbe (after 1470) (pl. 46) and Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1481-1489) (pl. 47).²⁰ These pilasters differ from ours only in their slightly finer execution and in the posture of the bird at the top, which has outspread wings. The capitals of the pilasters are mentioned by Emilijan Cevc, who compares them with those by L. B. Alberti in the Loggia Rucellai in Florence.²¹ These capitals are decorated with acanthus leaves at the sides and with volutes sweeping down the middle in the shape of a lyre and almost reaching the bottom of the capital. This form in fact originated in the circles of Alberti and Michelozzo, but it was in Venice that its numerous variations became most popular. Our capitals are somewhat simplified: the usual palmette between the volutes is missing although the rather rough surface of the stone suggests that it may have been chipped off later.

The cornice which served as the lower part of the picture framework until the regrettable renovation, and which was decorated with a guilloche, merits individual consideration. Although this ornament is of Florentine origin and exists in the works of Brunelleschi and his successors,²² it cannot be said to have been among the most popular motifs. In Venice it was used only in Lombardo's workshop. It is present, for instance, on the portal of the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista (pl. 48) and on Ca' Gussoni.²³ As interesting as the presence of the motif is its location: in both examples it is on the plinth, a fact which hints at its former position in the altarpiece of St Peter's church. It most probably served as a kind of predella. With regard to the architecture of the altarpiece, the only question to remain open is that of the constructional element above the niches. The preserved

¹⁹ Pignatti: *Il Quattrocento lombardo*, p. 52, tav. XXXIV.

²⁰ McAndrew: *L'architettura*, passim.

²¹ Cevc: *Kiparstvo*, p. 18.

²² It occurs, for instance, on Buggiano's pulpit in the church of S. Maria Novella and in other works by Brunelleschi's successors. Cf. e.g. F. Borsi - G. Morolli - F. Quinterio: *Brunelleschiani*, Roma 1979, p. 28 et passim, repr. 86. Similarly decorated are the ribs of the cupola in the church of S. Spirito, which was built around 1480 by Salvi d'Andrea (ibid., repr. 339-341).

²³ McAndrew: *L'architettura*, pp. 148, 216. On Ca' Gussoni see also Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo, p. 36.

fragment must have been used as an architrave, but it is unfortunately impossible to tell from the preserved and documented parts whether there was a simple architrave or a fully developed entablature.

Because of the distinctive style of Pietro Lombardo's workshop, it was not difficult to attribute the remains of the altarpiece in St Peter's church to that circle. However, supplying a more precise attribution and dating is less easy. Although Pietro Lombardo was, along with Antonio Rizzo, one of the leading sculptors of the late Quattrocento in Venice, his life and work have yet to be researched adequately. Much has been written on the subject, but an extensive monograph with a critical catalogue is still lacking.²⁴ The nucleus of Lombardo's work, his many tombstones for the Doges' tombs, is clearly visible. Ascertaining the origins and dates of numerous "marginal" works, however, poses a more formidable problem, involving the identification of individual masters in Pietro Lombardo's workshop, his collaborators and successors. Recent research has shown that Pietro was in charge of the workshop until some time in the late 1490s when his sons Tullio and Antonio took over,²⁵ whose classicist works are among the peaks of Venetian sculpture from the period around the turn of the sixteenth century. A great deal more has been written about them than about their father. However, the question regarding Lombardo's workshop does not end with his sons. It is evident from the scant archival sources that the master always had numerous assistants and apprentices. Moreover, Venice was flooded with Lombard sculptors and stonemasons towards the end of the 15th century. It is well known that in 1491 the Venetian master sculptors complained that the *Milanexi* - of which there were 126 in the city, with about 50 apprentices - were endangering their livelihoods by accepting only their native people as apprentices.²⁶ Even if there were in fact only half as many as the sources indicate, their numbers make it difficult to identify the individual masters. In the early 1920s Leo Planiscig nevertheless attempted to reconstruct the artistic personality of the sculptor who signed himself *Pyrgoteles* on the relief on the portal of Lombardo's church S. Maria dei Miracoli.²⁷ Unfortunately, his conclusions were unconvincing and he subsequently renounced

²⁴ Two basic works on the artist are: P. Paoletti: *L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venezia 1893, passim; L. Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Wien 1921 (Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer*), pp. 41-80. Among recent studies the survey by Giovanni Mariacher deserves mentioning (Mariacher, Pietro Lombardo), while the more important literature up to 1985 is cited in the survey by J. Pope Hennessy (Pope-Hennessy: *Italian Renaissance*, pp. 338-340, 386).

²⁵ The most important study on the development and work of Lombardo's workshop has recently been published by M. Maek-Gerard (Die "Milanexi" in Venedig: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lombardi-Werkstatt, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 1980 (Maek-Gerard), pp. 105-130).

²⁶ The conflict was documented by A. Sagredo: *Sulle consorterie delle arti edificative in Venezia*, Venezia 1856, p. 283. The events are also discussed by Maek-Gerard (Maek-Gerard, p. 111).

²⁷ Planiscig: *Venezianische Bildhauer*, pp. 177-206. This is probably the master mentioned in the documents by the name of Zuan Zorzi Lascaris, who may have been of Greek origin.

them.²⁸ Much more successful was the reconstruction of the sculptural work of Giovanni Buora, who has thus become one of the best-known members of Lombardo's circle.²⁹

In the light of this excursion into the creative world of Lombardo's circle our reliefs are now more easily assessed. Their quality, of course, does not match that of the best work sculpted by Lombardo himself (*St Paul* and *St Jerome* in the church of S. Stefano, for example). On the other hand, it is high enough to exclude any attribution outside Lombardo's immediate circle, or even outside Venice.³⁰ Any connection with his sons Tullio and Antonio should also be excluded, since the sculptures lack any classicist elements. They show more similarity to works by Buora with which direct comparisons have already been made here, but Buora displays certain "morellian" elements (in the hands and the modelling of faces) absent in our figures. The drapery on his full-length figures (e.g. the apostles in Montebelluna³¹) is also different: although younger than Pietro Lombardo, Buora did not lean towards classicism like Tullio and Antonio, but used a softer system of drapery than Pietro Lombardo. Comparison has shown that our figures are close to Pietro's style, particularly the works created between 1470 and 1490. The author remains anonymous, although he certainly belonged to Pietro's immediate circle. Perhaps his authorship will be discerned in some other sculptural work displaying elements which are peculiar to his style; his faces are composed of relatively soft forms, with none of the sharp contours typical of Pietro Lombardo.

The stylistic character of the figures also provides a basic indication of their date of origin. Given that they date from Pietro's mature period and that the reliefs are irreconcilable with the style of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo or with that of Giovanni Buora, it can be assumed that they were made in the 1480s or 1490s, and certainly before 1500. Stylistic retardation must be excluded in this instance, since it is obvious that the work is the product of Lombardo's immediate circle in Venice.

The remains of the altarpiece at St Peter's church are not the only work by Lombardo's circle on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Apart from the pilasters in Koper mentioned above and the chapel in the Franciscan church in Piran, we must also mention the statue of *Justice* at the Regional Museum in Koper. Some years ago, Emilijan Cevc drew attention to the lombardesque qualities of the sculpture while also pointing out its markedly conservative features.³² This makes it more

²⁸ L. Planiscig, Pietro Lombardo ed alcuni bassorilievi veneziani del' 400, *Dedalo*, X, 1929/30, pp. 461-481.

²⁹ R. Munman, Giovanni Buora: The "Missing" Sculpture, *Arte Veneta*, XXX, 1976 (Munman, Giovanni Buora), pp. 41-61; Munman, The Sculpture; Schulz, Giovanni Buora.

³⁰ In Venice itself one can come upon works by Lombardo's immediate circle which do not compare with our reliefs in quality. Such examples are certain sculptures from the former choir partition in the church of S. Stefano. Most of these statues have not been professionally discussed in detail. Photographs of them can be seen at the photothèque of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence.

³¹ Munman, Giovanni Buora, pp. 50-51.

³² E. Cevc, *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1963, pp. 196-298. E. Cevc put the date of origin at around 1465-1470.

difficult to determine the date of origin, since the possibility of retardation must also be considered in view of the fact that it is not the work of Lombardo's circle but of an imitator or even a local sculptor. The sculptural decoration of the cathedral façade at Osor (Ossero) on the island of Cres (Cherso) has recently been attributed to Giovanni Buora. It must have been carried out immediately before 1498 when the church was consecrated.³³ The work was undoubtedly commissioned explicitly for Osor Cathedral. The group of the *Annunciation* in Pula (Pola), however, is simply an uncommissioned import. Its close link to Pietro Lombardo was established recently by Ivan Matejčić,³⁴ whose suggestion that it may have formed part of Barbarigo's tomb in the church of S. Maria della Carità, dismantled in 1808, is especially interesting. If this suggestion is confirmed it will be necessary to account of the newly-discovered documents which attest to the leading role of Giovanni Buora and Bartolomeo di Domenico Duca in the production of the tomb.³⁵

Is the altar of St Peter's church also merely an uncommissioned import? In this country, art of high quality rarely ends up in a modest succursal church unless by accident. In this case, however, it is quite probable that the altar was once the main altar of the church. The *patroncinium* accords with the iconography of the altarpiece, with St Peter's image in the middle. Moreover, the historical sources, albeit scant, indicate that the village of Sveti Peter nad Dragonjo was once important. It is true that in Valiero's *Visitatio* of 1579 the church was barely mentioned,³⁶ but Naldini's *Corografia* of 1700 is more exhaustive in its account of the village as a fortified settlement. Naldini also mentions the church and three altars, but does not give a detailed description.³⁷ There is another interesting but unverified piece of information in the existing literature: in the vicinity of the village there was a castle called Čuklja (Zuccole), which was owned by the well-known Vergerio family from Koper.³⁸ In 1546 Pier Paolo Vergerio, a well-known Protestant sympathiser, took refuge in the castle.³⁹ The Vergerii produced their

³³ S. Štefanac, O arhitekturi i kiparskim ukrasima osorske katedrale, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 26, 1986/87, pp. 263-286; idem, Le sculpture di Giovanni Buora a Ossero, *Venezia Arti*, 3, 1989, pp. 41-45.

³⁴ I. Matejčić, Ranorenesansna grupa Navještenja iz Pule, *Peristil*, XXXIII, 1990, pp. 53-60; *Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture - One Thousand Years of Croatian Sculpture*, Muzejski prostor, Zagreb, 1991, p. 74 (kat. 28, Re) [r.k.].

³⁵ B. Roeck, Zu Kunstaufträgen des Dogen Agostino Barbarigo (1491-1501), *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 55/1, 1992, pp. 1-34. Bartolomeo di Domenico Duca, who frequently co-operated with Buora (cf. Schulz, Giovanni Buora, pp. 69-72), represents a separate issue. However, there are no data on his work as an independent artist, which makes it difficult to identify the artist who may be the author of some of the sculptures attributed to Buora.

³⁶ A. Lavrič, *Vizitacijsko poročilo Agostina Valiera o koprski škofiji iz leta 1579 - Istriae visitatio apostolica 1579: Visitatio Iustinopolitana Augustini Valerii*, Ljubljana 1986, p. 103.

³⁷ P. Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica o sia descrizione della città, e della diocesi di Giustinopoli detto volg. Capo d'Istria*, In Venezia 1700, p. 420.

³⁸ *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije I: Zahodni del Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1968, p. 243.

³⁹ A. Tommasich, Famiglie capodistriane esistenti nel secolo XVI, *La Provincia dell'Istria*, XX, 1886, pp. 6 ss., 37-38. According to these data the castle of Čuklja has stood on this site since the 13th century. For basic information on the Vergerii cf. *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, 13, Ljubljana 1982, pp. 407-409.

first important scion at the beginning of the 15th century. This was Pier Paolo the elder, who was closely connected with the famous humanists of his time,⁴⁰ but unfortunately little is known about the generation between his death in 1444 and the birth of Pier Paolo the younger in 1498. It is nevertheless possible that the Vergerii arranged the import of the original altar. They may even have commissioned it, since the choice of saints corresponds to names traditionally favoured by the family (the brother of Pier Paolo the younger was named John the Baptist). While there is no direct corroboration, it seems probable that the high-quality Venetian work came to the village church as a donation from this important family with humanist sympathies which owned important property in the village and its environs.

⁴⁰ As early as 1483 Marin Sanudo wrote with great respect about Pier Paolo the elder: *Itinerario di Marin Sanudo per la Terraferma Veneziana nell'anno MCCCCCLXXXIII*, Padua 1847, p. 148.

⁴¹ The latest literature on Pier Paolo Vergerio confirms the hitherto unclarified kinship between Pier Paolo the elder and Pier Paolo the younger, and there is virtually no information on the generation between these two members of the Vergerii. Cf. one of the most recent and exhaustive studies by A. Jacobson Schutte: *Pier Paolo Vergerio e la riforma a Venezia 1498-1549*, Roma 1988, p. 29.