

Kukuljević's *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists and Cultural History*

Ivan Kukuljević and the idea of cultural history

"In my opinion, this last historical material has the same importance as the first, and the political activity of a nation can only be properly assessed if its social and cultural life are known, and without this final historical material cannot be done. Many phenomena in the political history of a nation are incomprehensible to us, and we cannot know their causes if we fail to consider the local religious, social and cultural relations between all classes of that nation".¹ These words were written by Ivan Kukuljević in 1873, in a newspaper article in which he pleaded for institutional coordination and systematization of the collection and publication of historical sources, while stressing the role of that type of historical material which is normally designated as the cultural or artistic heritage, which during Kukuljević's career began to rapidly gain importance as a stronghold for identity in the formation of historically aware national communities. By 1873, Kukuljević had already been active for over thirty years, and had already published most of his works in the fields of cultural and literary history and art history – not only the monumental *Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* (Lexicon of South Slavic Artists), the first bibliographic lexicon for the South Slav lands, but also poetry anthologies in which the Early Modern poetry of Dalmatia and Dubrovnik were first treated as part of the Croatian national literary heritage, or even the series of monographs on old hillforts and fortified towns (boroughs) in continental Croatia.

Kukuljević developed his taste for the artistic heritage and *belles-lettres* already in his youth, when, as recounted by his biographer Tadija Smičiklas, his imagination and passion were fired by historical literature and Romantic poetry during his schooling at the military academy in Krems.² In line with the spirit of the time, in which national sentiment actually constituted an essential motivation for creative efforts and there were aspirations to see art as the subliminal expression of the national spirit, the young Kukuljević would, during the next several years of service as an officer in Vienna and then Milan, manage to not only rapidly master the relevant historiographic literature concerning the past of the South Slav peoples, but also develop a sensibility for all manner of monuments and artworks in which he sought to recognize the Slavic creative genius. Such an appreciation of the cultural and artistic heritage, which sees artworks and architectural monuments through the prism of a specific national character, should serve as the basis for assessing not only Kukuljević's general embeddedness in the worldview of Romanticism, but also the indirect influence of entirely specific philosophical concepts. Regardless of his lack of systematic education in this regard, the echoes of Herder's ideas can clearly be seen in the mental outlook that inspired Kukuljević to deal with history and the cultural heritage, particularly if one bears in mind that

1 Kukuljević:1873:1.

2 Smičiklas:1892:6.

Ivana Mance

Kukuljevićev *Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih i kulturna povijest*

Ivan Kukuljević i ideja kulturne povijesti

“Po mojem mnjenju je ovaj posliednji historički materijal isto tako važan ko i prvi i političko djelovanje jednoga naroda može se samo onda dobro oceniti, ako se njegov socijalni i kulturni život poznaje, a to bez ovog posliednjeg historičkog materijala nije moguće. Mnogi pojav u političkoj historiji naroda nam je nepojmljiv, mi mu ne znamo uzroka, ako se neobazremo na ondašnje vjerozakonske, socijalne i kulturne odnošaje svih razreda naroda.”¹ Napisao je to Ivan Kukuljević 1873. godine, u novinskom članku u kojem pledira za institucijsku koordiniranost i sustavnost u sabiranju i publiciraju povijesnih izvora, ističući pritom ulogu one vrste povijesnog materijala koja se uobičajeno imenuje kao kulturna i umjetnička baština, a koja će upravo tijekom Kukuljevićeva radnog vijeka ubrzano početi dobivati na važnosti kao identitetsko uporište u formiranju povijesne svijesti nacionalnih zajednica. Te 1873. godine Kukuljević je već više od trideset godina aktivan i već je bio objavio većinu svojih djela na području kulturne i književne povijesti te povijesti umjetnosti – ne samo monumentalni *Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, prvi biobibliografski umjetnički leksikon za područje južnoslavenskih zemalja, već i pjesničke antologije u kojima se dalmatinskom i dubrovačkom ranonovovjekovnom pjesništvu prvi put pristupa kao hrvatskoj nacionalnoj književnoj baštini ili pak niz monografskih studija o starim gradinama i burgovima na području kontinentalne Hrvatske.

Senzibilitet za umjetničku baštinu i lijepu književnost Kukuljević je razvio još za mladalačkih dana, kad tijekom školovanja na vojnoj akademiji u Kremsu, kako svjedoči njegov biograf Tadija Smičiklas, raspiruje maštu i strasti povijesnom beletristikom i romantičarskom poezijom.² U skladu s duhom vremena, u kojem upravo nacionalni sentiment predstavlja bitnu motivaciju stvaralačkog pregnuća, a umjetnost se teži vidjeti kao sublimni izraz nacionalnog duha, mladi Kukuljević će tijekom sljedećih nekoliko godina časničkog službovanja u Beču i Milanu uspjeti ne samo ubrzano ovladati historiografskom literaturom koja se tiče povijesti južnoslavenskih naroda, već i razviti senzibilitet za svekolike spomenike i umjetnička djela, u kojima nastoji prepoznati slavenski kreativni genij. Na osnovi takvog vrednovanja kulturnoumjetničke baštine, koje umjetnička djela i graditeljske spomenike identificira na temelju specifične nacionalne pripadnosti, valja utvrditi ne samo Kukuljevićevu općenitu usađenost u svjetonazorski romantizam, već i indirektni utjecaj sasvim određenih filozofskih koncepta. Bez obzira na izostanak sustavne naobrazbe, u mentalnom raspoloženju koje potiče Kukuljevića na bavljenje poviješću i kulturnom baštinom jasno se uočavaju odjeci Herderovih ideja, osobito ima li se na umu da je recepcija Johanna



1 Kukuljević:1873:1.

2 Smičiklas:1892:6.

the reception of Johann Gottfried Herder³ was quite momentous and stimulating.⁴ Abandonment of the cult of Classical art as an absolute value and advocacy for the relative evaluation of artistic phenomena and forms inside the specific context of national and regional – vernacular – cultures would leave a deep impression on not only the primary interpreter of Herder's ideas among the Slavs, Ján Kollár, but also on other Slavic philologists who mainly studied in Jena and other German university hubs. If one takes into account the influence that Kollár and his works had on the young Kukuljević, it is clear that these texts of Herderesque inspiration certainly also influenced the formation of his general views on culture and the arts and their role in national emancipation. Although Kukuljević's later work would move away from the Herderian *Geistgeschichte*, and approach historiographic positivism rooted in the direct examination of primary sources, there can be no doubt that his initial motivation rested on the epistemological point of departure that he shared with writers such as John Ruskin⁵ and Jacob Burckhardt⁶ – he certainly read the latter's works, for he cited them and owned them in his personal library⁷

The 'Lexicon of South Slavic Artists': the first national art lexicon

Thus, Kukuljević's preoccupation with the artistic heritage set forth from this foundation. His intent to show the world that the Slavs have a culture and art of which they can be proud, expressed already in his youth, would lead Kukuljević to spend the next roughly two decades in the pioneering collection of materials for a national history of art. Smičiklas wrote that Kukuljević had already compiled the alphabetical index for this *Slovník umjetníků jugoslávských* in 1840,⁸ but he still had to expend great effort from then until 1858, when that major work began to be published in instalments. As Kukuljević himself acknowledged, the task was quite painstaking: "Living in a city in which the municipal libraries had not a single work about art, I had to first procure an entire library of art books. What I couldn't acquire, I had to seek in foreign libraries and in distant countries. When I wanted to become familiar with the some work of any great artist, I had to seek it in a foreign country, or request a description of this same work from foreign persons. And what I could not find in libraries, nor in galleries, nor in the countries of our peoples nor in foreign countries, I had to dig out from beneath the deep dust of neglected archives."⁹ His search was long conducted primarily in libraries; residing as a young officer and then immediately after his discharge from military service in Milan, Venice and Vienna, Kukuljević tirelessly investigated scholarly and other types of sources in order to find data on art and architecture, stylistic phenomena and historical periods. His correspondence from these major cities, which he published in the magazine *Danica* between 1840 and 1842, lucidly illustrate the scope of his interests and his working methods.¹⁰ Although the focus was on narrative sources and written materials for South Slavic history, Kukuljević even then demonstrated a clear notion of urban wholes



³ Johann Gottfried Herder (Mohrungen, Eastern Prussia, 25 Aug. 1744 – Weimar, 18 Dec. 1803), German philosopher and writer, one of the central personalities of German Romanticism. His philosophical thought greatly influenced the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement, and his understanding of literature and other artistic phenomena as forms of expression essentially determined by the language and cultural identity of a specific community signified a change in the until-then aesthetically normative understanding of literary and artistic creativity. He gathered the oral poetry of different nations, so that in one of his collections the first translation (by Goethe) of *Hasanaginica* was published. He is considered the founder of the philosophy of history. Key works: *Kritische Wälder*, 1769; *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, 1772, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, I-IV, 1774–1791; *Völkslieder*, I-II, 1778 (*Stimmender Völkerin Liedern*, 1807), etc. HE 4:2002:532.

⁴ For more on this theme, cf. Prelog:1924:83-106; Stanić:1997: 65-76.

⁵ John Ruskin (London, 8 Feb. 1819 – Bratwood, Coniston, Lancashire, 20 Jan. 1900), English art critic and painter. He was a dominant personality in the Victorian era, a central art theorist of that time. He viewed art within its wider social context, interpreting from it general social and political achievements of specific periods, and of communities and nations. Key works: *Modern Painters*, I-V, 1843-1860; *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, I-III, 1851-1853; *The Stones of Venice*, I-III, 1851-1853, etc. ELU 4: 1966:143; Kultermann: 2002: 97-99.

⁶ Jacob Burckhardt (Basel, 25 May 1818 – 8 Aug. 1897), Swiss cultural and art historian, one of the most distinguished personalities in the field of art history in general. He approached artistic phenomena by interpreting them in their broader social and cultural context, deriving from them a general picture of specific cultural-historical epochs. His evaluation of the Italian Renaissance as a watershed era of European civilization is considered a pioneering work to this day. Key works: *Zeit Konstantins des Großen*, 1853; *Der Cicerone, eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 1855; *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 1860, etc. ELU 1:1959:541; Kultermann:2002: 108-144.

⁷ Kukuljević: 1867:45.

⁸ "Gradja za istoriju umětnostih u děržavah ilirskih". Smičiklas: 1892: 64.

⁹ Kukuljević:1858: s.p. (Foreword).

¹⁰ Kukuljević:1841; Kukuljević:1842a; Kukuljević:1842b; Kukuljević: 1842c.

Gottfrieda Herdera³ upravo u slavenskom svijetu bila poticajna i produktivna.⁴ Napuštanje kulta antičke umjetnosti kao apsolutne vrijednosti i zalaganje za relativno vrednovanje umjetničkih pojava i oblika unutar specifičnoga konteksta nacionalnih i regionalnih, vernakularnih kultura, ostavit će dubok dojam ne samo na glavnog interpreta Herderovih ideja među Slavenima, Jána Kollára, već i na druge slavenske filologe koji mahom studiraju u Jeni i drugima njemačkima sveučilišnim centrima. Uzme li se u obzir utjecaj koji su Ján Kollár i njegovo djelo imali na mladoga Kukuljevića, jasno je da je lektira herderovskog nadahnuća pouzdano utjecala i na formiranje njegovih općenitih nazora o kulturi i umjetnosti, odnosno njihovoj ulozi u nacionalnoj emancipaciji. Premda će se Kukuljevićev kasniji rad udaljiti od herederovski zasnovane *Geistgeschichte*, a približiti se historiografskom pozitivizmu zasnovanome na neposrednoj autopsiji izvorā, neosporna je činjenica da ga njegova početna motivacija postavlja na epistemološka polazišta koji dijeli s autorima poput Johna Ruskina⁵ i Jacoba Burchardta⁶ – djela potonjega zasigurno čita, citira i posjeduje u vlastitoj biblioteci.⁷

Slovník umětníků jugoslávských – první národní umětnický leksikon

Na takvim pretpostavkama otpočinje dakle Kukuljevićevo bavljenje umjetničkom baštinom. U mladosti iskazana nakana da svijetu dokaže da i Slaveni imaju kulturu i umjetnost kojom se mogu ponositi, Kukuljevića će u sljedećih dvadesetak godina uputiti na pionirsko prikupljanje građe za nacionalnu povijest umjetnosti. Smičiklas piše da je načrt odnosno abecedni imenik za svoj *Slovník umětníků jugoslávských* Kukuljević imao već 1840. godine,⁸ no do 1858. godine, u kojoj to kapitalno djelo počinje izlaziti u svescima, čekalo ga je još mnogo truda. Kako i sam priznaje, posao je bio krajnje mukotrpan: „Živeći u gradu gdje u občinskim knjižnicah nijednoga djela, što o umjetnostih govori, našo niesam; morao sam si ponajprije sám nabaviti čitavu knjižnicu umjetničkih knjigah. Što nabaviti mogao nisam, morao sam poći tražiti u inostrane knjižnice i u daleke zemlje. Kad sam se htjeo upoznati s izvornim umotovorom budikojega slavnoga umjetnika, morao sam ga tražiti u tudjoj zemlji, ili moliti za opisivanje istoga umotvora inostrane ljude. A što niesam našo ni u knjižnicah, ni u galerijah, ni u zemljah domaćih, ni iznostranih, to sam izkapati morao iz dubokih prašinah zanemarenih pismohrah“. Njegova potraga dugo se vremena odvijala prvenstveno u knjižnicama; boraveći kao mladi časnik te neposredno po otpustu iz vojničke službe u Milanu, Veneciji i Beču, Kukuljević neumorno pretražuje stručnu i drugu različitu literaturu ne bi li našao podatke o umjetnicima južnoslavenskog podrijetla, stječući pritom osnovnu naobrazbu o umjetnosti i graditeljstvu, stilskim fenomenima i povjesnim razdobljima. Dopisi iz spomenutih metropola koje objavljuje između 1840. i 1842. u *Danici* evidentno pokazuju raspon interesa i način rada;¹⁰ premda su mu u fokusu narativni izvori i pisana građa za južnoslavensku povijest, Kukuljević već tad obrazuje jasnu predodžbu o urbanim cjelinama i kulturnom pejzažu, spremno reagirajući na svaki materijalni trag na osnovi kojeg može zaključivati o prešućenom udjelu slavenstva

3 Johann Gottfried Herder (Mohrungen, Istočna Pruska, 25. VIII. 1744. – Weimar, 18. XII. 1803.), njemački filozof i književnik, jedna od središnjih osobnosti njemačkog romantizma. Njegova je filozofska misao znatno utjecala na književni pokret *Sturm und Drang*, a njegovo razumijevanje književnosti i drugih umjetničkih fenomena kao izraza bitno određenih jezikom i kulturnim identitetom specifične zajednice predstavlja bitnu promjenu u dotad estetički normativnom razumijevanju književnoga i umjetničkog stvaralaštva. Sabirao je usmeno poeziju različitih naroda, pa je tako u jednoj od njegovih zbirki objavljen i prvi, Goetheov prijevod *Hasanaginice*. Smatra se osnivačem filozofije povijesti. Ključna djela: *Kritische Wälder*, 1769.; *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, 1772.; *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, I. – IV., 1774. – 1791.; *Volkslieder*, I. – II., 1778. (*Stimmender Völkerin Liedern*, 1807.), itd. HE 4:2002:532.

4 O temi više usp. Prelog:1924:83-106; Stančić:1997:65-76.

5 John Ruskin (London, 8. II. 1819. – Bratwood, Coniston, Lancashire, 20. I. 1900.), engleski pisac o umjetnosti i slikar. Bio je dominantna ličnost viktorijske ere, središnji teoretičar umjetnosti u tom razdoblju. Umjetnost je razumijevao u širem društvenom kontekstu, simptomatski iz nje iščitavajući opća društvena i politička postignuća određenog razdoblja odnosno zajednice ili naroda. Ključna djela: *Modern Painters*, I. – V., 1843. – 1860.; *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, I. – III., 1851. – 1853.; *The Stones of Venice*, I. – III., 1851. – 1853., itd. ELU 4: 1966:143; Kultermann:2002:97-99.

6 Jacob Burchardt (Basel, 25. V. 1818. – 8. VIII. 1897.), švicarski kulturni povjesničar i povjesničar umjetnosti, jedna od najistaknutijih autorskih osobnosti na području povijesti umjetnosti općenito. Umjetničkim pojavama pristupao je tumačeći ih u širem društvenom i kulturnom kontekstu, odnosno izvodeći iz njih općenitu sliku određenih kulturno-povijesnih epoha. Njegovo vrednovanje talijanske renesanse kao prijelomnog doba europske civilizacije smatra se i danas pionirskim. Ključna djela: *Zeit Konstantins des Großen*, 1853.; *Der Cicerone, eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 1855.; *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 1860., itd. ELU 1:1959:541; Kultermann:2002:108-144.

7 Kukuljević:1867:45.

8 „Gradja za istoriju umětnostih u děržavah ilirskich“. Smičiklas:1892:64.

9 Kukuljević:1858:s.p. (Predgovor).

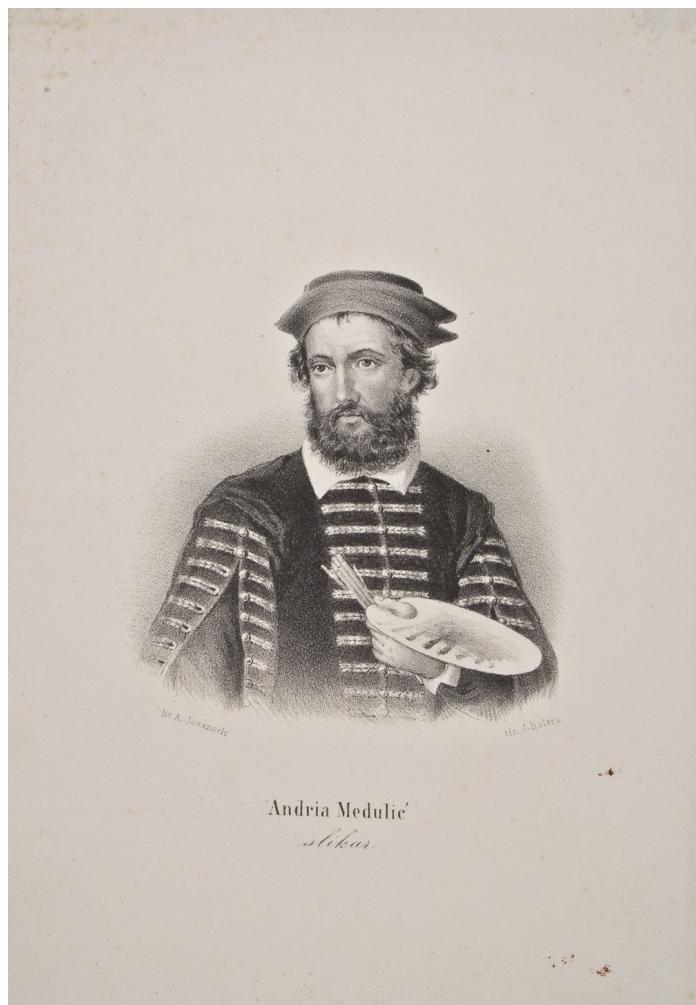
10 Kukuljević:1841;Kukuljević:1842a; Kukuljević:1842b; Kukuljević: 1842c.

and the cultural landscape, readily responding to each physical trace on which basis he could draw conclusions on the concealed share of the Slavs in the heritage of the Western cultural sphere. Already during these first travels, Kukuljević began to develop a network of associates who assisted him in his research, which he would continue to do in the subsequent period, primarily during the period of activity within the framework of the Society for South Slavic History. In that same correspondence, he did not hesitate to mention the books that he managed to purchase or otherwise procure. Kukuljević's passion as a bibliophile also went back to the years of his military education; his biographer wrote that the young Kukuljević would only pay the 20-kreutzer membership fee for the newly-established Slavic society if the money was used to purchase "the latest Slavic books".¹¹ From that year, 1839, until 1867, when he published the catalogue of his book collection, Kukuljević's organized efforts in the gathering of books resulted in a library that had over fifteen thousand manuscripts and published titles, classified into several categories: a resource without which any work in the field of historiography is unthinkable, but which in and of itself serves as testimony to above-average intellectual effort and active engagement.



Andrija Medulić
litografirao Anastas Jovanović
tiskao J. Haller
Beč, 1858.
kat. br. 5.12.

Andrija Medulić
lithographed by Anastas Jovanović
printed by J. Haller
Vienna, 1858
cat. no. 5.12



Within this aforementioned catalogue of Kukuljević's library, a separate section is in fact dedicated to art history, of which Kukuljević, judging by his introductory remark, was particularly proud: "This sub-section of the library contains over one thousand books written in various languages, and was procured by its owner at great cost when he began writing his Lexicon of South Slavic Artists and could not find collections of books and sources necessary to write about the history of art anywhere in the Triune Kingdom. Since the lives of South Slavic artists were very closely allied to the history of Italian and German art of all schools, when compiling his collection, the owner had to take into consideration all better works on all of these schools to the extent possible and within the limits imposed by his means".¹² Truly, in line with its genre, *Slovnik umjenika jugoslavenskih* is largely a bibliographic feat. The quantity and range of literature that Kukuljević collected and utilized to write this work were not only

11 Smičiklas:1892:14.

12 Kukuljević:1867:44.

u baštini zapadnoga kulturnoga kruga. Već tijekom tih prvih putovanja Kukuljević počinje izgrađivati mrežu suradnika koji će mu pomagati u istraživačkom radu, što će nastaviti činiti u sljedećem razdoblju, poglavito u doba djelovanja u okviru Društva za povjesnicu jugoslavensku, a u istim dopisima ne propušta navesti i knjige koje uspijeva kupiti ili nabaviti. I Kukuljevićeva bibliofilska strast seže u godine vojničke izobrazbe; njegov biograf piše da mladi Kukuljević članstvo u novoosnovanom slavjanskom društvu uvjetuje članarinom od dvadeset krajcara namijenjenih za kupnju „najnovijih slavjanskih knjiga“.¹¹ Od te 1839. godine do 1867.. kad objavljuje katalog svoga knjižnog fonda, Kukuljevićevi će organizirani napor u sabiranju knjiga rezultirati knjižnicom koja će brojiti oko petnaest tisuća rukopisnih i publiciranih naslova, razvrstanih u više kategorija – kapital bez kojeg je svaki rad na području historiografije nezamisliv, no koji i sam po sebi predstavlja svjedočanstvo jednoga natprosječnoga intelektualnoga napora i operativnog angažmana.

Unutar spomenutoga kataloga Kukuljevićeve knjižnice upravo je povijesti umjetnosti posvećen zasebni odjeljak, na koji je Kukuljević, sudeći po uvodnoj opaski, bio posebno ponosan: „Ovaj podrazred knjižnice, iznosi preko jedne tisuće knjigah pisanih u različitim jezicima, te je velikim troškom vlastnika, nabavljen onom prilikom, kad je isti počeo pisati svoj Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih, neimajući u čitavoj trojedinoj kraljevini sbirke knjigah i izvorah, potrebitih za pisanje istorije umjetnosti. Budući da život jugoslavenskih umjetnikah u tjesnom savezu stoji s povjestnicom umjetnosti talijanske i njemačke svih školah, to je dakako vlastnik morao pri sastavljanju svoje sbirke, po mogućnosti i po dozvoljenju svojih sredstvah, obzir uzeti na sva bolja djela o svih rečenih školah“.¹² Doista, u skladu sa svojim žanrovskim profilom, *Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* uvelike je biobibliografski pothvat. Količina i raspon literature koju je Kukuljević sabrao i upotrijebio za pisanje tog djela nije samo impozantna nego i pionirska; ne samo inozemnu stručnu literaturu koja se odnosi na umjetnost drugih naroda, već i širok raspon različitih naslova druge vrste u rasponu od starije historiografije do suvremenih putopisa i regionalnih topografija, Kukuljević je prvi put upotrijebio u statusu izvora za južnoslavensku povijest umjetnosti. U situaciji u kojoj ne postoji nacionalni baštinski korpus kao prethodeća, već kao postojeća činjenica, Kukuljevićev se zahvat stoga djelomično sastoji u tome da iz tuđinskih korpusa i tradicija izlučuje umjetnike i umjetnička djela te ih prisvaja u novu nacionalnu, južnoslavensku umjetničku baštinu. Što je popis literature ispod natuknice o pojedinom imenu duži, to je težina njegove akvizicije veća; umjetnici koji su već bili historizirani u okviru talijanske povijesti umjetnosti poput, primjerice, *Schiavona*, odjednom postaju vodeći junaci južnoslavenskoga umjetničkog Panteona o kojima se već stoljećima piše i čita širom europskoga kulturnog prostora. Juraj Ćulinović,¹³ Andrija Medulić odnosno Andrea Schiavone,¹⁴ Federiko Benković,¹⁵ Martin Rota Kolunić¹⁶ i ostali o kojima je povijest umjetnosti već izrekla svoj sud, idealno potvrđuju Kukuljevićevu tezu o konstitutivnom slavenskom doprinisu univerzalnom umjetničkom kanonu. Među njima najvažniju ulogu Kukuljević je dao sitnoslikaru Juliju Kloviću,¹⁷ o kojem je prvi članak napisao još kao mladić u *Danici*, a trideset godina poslije i raskošno opremljenu monografiju.¹⁸ Klović, po svojoj visoko estetiziranoj umjetničkoj maniri, pogoduje Kukuljevićevu ukusu zasnovanom na eklektičkom poimanju stila, a kao umjetnik koji realno jest bez

11 Smičiklas:1892:14.

12 Kukuljević:1867:44.

13 Juraj Ćulinović (Giorgio Schiavone, Skradin, 1433. ili 1436. – Šibenik, 6. XII. 1504.), slikar talijanske renesanse, dalmatinskog podrijetla. Djelovao mahom u Italiji (Padova); pripisuje mu se pala *Blažene Djevice Marije s djetetom* u samostanu sv. Lovre u Šibeniku. EHU I.:1995:174; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.30:48.

14 Andrija Medulić Schiavone (Andrea Meldola, Andrea Schiavone, Zadar ili Nadin, oko 1500. – Mletci, 1563.), venecijanski slikar i grafičar dalmatinskog podrijetla, jedan od najznačajnijih predstavnika venecijanskog manirizma. EHU I.:1995:560-561; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.24:357-359.

15 Federiko Benković (Bencovich Schiavon, Dalmacija (?), 1677. – Gorica, 8. VII. 1753.), istaknuti slikar talijanskog baroka, dalmatinskog podrijetla. Školovao se u Bologni i Veneciji; djelovao u Bogni, Veneciji, Pommersfeldenu, Würzburgu. EHU I.:1995:76-78; Saur:1994:Bd.8:609-610.

16 Martin Kolunić-Rota (Martinus Rota Sibenicensis, Šibenik, oko 1532. – Beč, 1582. ili 1583.), istaknuti bakrorezac i kartograf kasne renesanse, dalmatinskog podrijetla. Djelovao u Rimu, Veneciji i Beču. EHU I.:1995:445-447; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.29:82.

17 Julije Klović (Juraj Julije Klović Hrvat / Georgius Julius Croata, Grižane u Vinodolu, 1498. – Rim, 5. I. 1578.), slikar-minijaturist hrvatskog podrijetla, najpoznatiji predstavnik kasnorenescansne minijaturne umjetnosti. Atribuira mu se više raskošno iluminiranih kodeksa: *Beatissimae Mariae Virginis Officium* ili tzv. Grimanijev kodeks (London, British Museum), *Komentar poslanice sv. Pavla Rimljana* (1537 – 1538., London, Soane's Museum), *Stanze sopra l'impresa dell'Aquiladi Eurialo d'Ascoli* (Beč, Albertina, 1543.), *Officium Virginis* ili tzv. *Casolov Farnese* (1546., New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library) i drugi. Pripisuju mu se i minijature drugog dijela *Misala Jurja Topuskog* iz riznice zagrebačke katedrale (1524. – 1526.). EHU I.:1995:435-437; Saur:1998:Bd.19:602-604.

18 Kukuljević:1847; Kukuljević:1878.

imposing but also pioneering. Not only foreign scholarly literature pertaining to the arts of other nations, but also a broad range of different titles of other types, from older historiography to contemporary travelogues and regional topographies, were used by Kukuljević for the first time as sources for the history of South Slavic art. In a situation in which there was no body of the national heritage as a precedent, but rather only as an existing fact, Kukuljević's undertaking therefore partially consisted of extracting artists and artworks from those foreign sources and traditions and claiming them for a new national, South Slavic, artistic heritage. The longer the list of references under a given entry on an individual name, the greater the weight of his acquisition; artists who had already been historicized within the framework of Italian art history as, for example, any whose names included the designation *Schiavona*, suddenly became the leading heroes of the South Slav artistic Pantheon about whom much had been written and read throughout the European cultural space for centuries. Juraj Ćulinović,¹³ Andrija Medulić, i.e., Andrea Schiavone,¹⁴ Federiko Benković,¹⁵ Martin Rota Kolunić¹⁶ and others about whom art history had already passed judgement ideally confirmed Kukuljević's theory on the constitutive Slavic contribution to the universal artistic canon. Among them, Kukuljević accorded the most important role to the miniaturist painter Julije Klović,¹⁷ about whom he wrote his first article as young man in the pages of *Danica*, and then, thirty years later, a lavishly appointed monograph.¹⁸ Klović, with his highly aestheticized artistic manner, suited Kukuljević's taste, based on an eclectic notion of style, but as an artist who truly had no peer in his discipline, he offered the Slavs an opportunity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the greatest: "There are few painters, besides Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Titian and Leonardo da Vinci, who are as highly esteemed by the entire learned and artistic world as Klović".¹⁹

Nevertheless, artists such as Klović are a minority in the *Slovnik*; most of the names that received longer or shorter entries in this first national lexicon were in fact brought to the light of day for the first time by Kukuljević, which gives the *Slovnik* a value that other, similar lexicographic works simply lack. As already noted, the program of his research for *Slovnik* implied not only the compilation of scholarly art history literature, but also targeted searches through different types of sources from which he could independently draw data on potential artists and their works – from the most diverse literature which did not have a specialist character to archival materials which Kukuljević systematically researched in his ambition to rescue potential artists of Slavic origin from historical oblivion, and to match existing artworks with an artist's name. Research into archival materials primarily served Kukuljević to include the Dalmatian architectural and artistic heritage into the body of South Slav art; in his aspiration to bring Dalmatia into the domain of the Croatian national identity, Kukuljević took several study visits there in the 1850s, working in communal and ecclesiastical archives, where he sought data in various archival materials that could be used to include as many possible known Dalmatian monuments under the name of some master artist in the *Slovnik*. Kukuljević's research in Dalmatian archives was truly methodologically ground-breaking: not only did he discover in the reams of notary and church documents the names of individual masters or even define the works of those who were already known, such as Juraj Dalmatinac (Georgius Mathaei



13 Juraj Ćulinović (Giorgio Schiavone, Skradin, 1433 or 1436–Šibenik, 6 Dec. 1504), Italian Renaissance painter of Dalmatian origin. Worked mainly in Italy (Padua); the pall entitled *Blessed Virgin Mary with Child* in the St. Lawrence Monastery in Šibenik is attributed to him. EHU I:1995:174; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.30:48.

14 Andrija Medulić Schiavone (Andrea Meldola, Andrea Schiavone, Zadar or Nadin, ca. 1500 – Venice, 1563), Venetian painter and etcher of Dalmatian origin, one of the most notable representatives of Venetian Mannerism. EHU I:1995:560-561; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.24:357-359.

15 Federiko Benković (Bencovich Schiavon, Dalmatia (?), 1677 – Gorica, 8 July 1753), distinguished Italian Baroque painter of Dalmatian origin. Schooled in Bologna and Venice; worked in Bologna, Venice, Pommersfelden, Würzburg. EHU I:1995: 76-78; Saur:1994:Bd.8:609-610.

16 Martin Kolunić-Rota (Martinus Rota Sibenicensis, Šibenik, ca. 1532 – Vienna, 1582 or 1583), distinguished Late Renaissance copper engraver and cartographer of Dalmatian origin. Worked in Rome, Venice and Vienna. EHU I:1995:445-447; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.29:82.

17 Julije Klović (Juraj Julije Klović Hrvat/Georgius Julius Croata, Grižane in Vinodol, 1498 – Rome, 5 Jan. 1578), illuminator of Croatian descent, best known representative of Late Renaissance miniature art. Many resplendently illuminated codices are attributed to him: *Beatissimae Mariae Virginis Officium* or the so-called Grimani Codex (London, British Museum), *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (1537-1538, London, Sloane's Museum), *Stanzesopra l'impresa dell'Aquila di Eurialo d'Ascoli* (Vienna, Albertina, 1543), *Officium Virginis* or the so-called *Farnese Hours* (1546, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) and others. The miniatures in the second part of the *Missal of Juraj Topuski* from the treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral (1524-1526) have also been attributed to him. EHU I:1995:435-437; Saur:1998:Bd.19:602-604.

18 Kukuljević:1847; Kukuljević:1878.

19 Kukuljević:1858: 155.

takmaca u svojoj disciplini, Slavenima pruža mogućnost stati uz bok najvećima: „Malo ima slikara, osim Rafaela, Mihaljangjela, Koregia, Ticiana i Leonarda da Vincia, o kojima bi sudio jednako dobro sav učeni i umjetni svjet, kao što sudi o Kloviu“.¹⁹



Pa ipak, umjetnici poput Klovića u *Slovniku* su u manjini; veći dio imena koja su u našem prvom nacionalnom leksikonu dobila svoju dužu ili kraću natuknicu Kukuljević je prvi izvukao na svjetlo dana, što *Slovniku* daje vrijednost kakvu druga slična bioleksikografska djela nemaju. Kao što je već napomenuto, program njegovoga istraživanja za *Slovinik* podrazumijeva je ne samo kompiliranje stručne povijesnoumjetničke literature, nego i ciljanu potragu kroz različite vrste izvora iz kojih je mogao samostalno crpiti podatke o potencijalnim autorima i njihovim djelima – od najrazličitije literature koja nema specijalistički karakter do arhivske građe koju Kukuljević sustavno istražuje u težnji da potencijalne autore slavenskog podrijetla izbavi od povijesnog zaborava, odnosno da postojećim spomenicima pridruži autorsko ime. Istraživanje arhivske građe Kukuljeviću je prvenstveno poslužilo da u korpus južnoslavenske umjetnosti uključi dalmatinsku graditeljsku i umjetničku baštinu; u težnji da Dalmaciju pridruži domeni hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta, Kukuljević u nekoliko navrata ondje studijski boravi tijekom pedesetih godina, radeći u komunalnim i crkvenim pismohranama, gdje u raznovrsnoj arhivskoj građi traži podatke koji bi mu mogli poslužiti da pod imenom nekog majstora u *Slovinik* uvrsti što više poznatih dalmatinskih spomenika. Kukuljevićevo istraživanje dalmatinskih arhiva bilo je doista metodološki prevratničko: ne samo da je u notarskim i kaptolskim kvadernama otkrio imena pojedinih majstora ili pak definirao opuse onih već poznatih poput Jurja Dalmatinca, nego je i prvi put uopće taj tip građe bio sustavno korišten u statusu izvora za povijest umjetnosti. Pritom je i sam Kukuljević bio svjestan da je konačni rezultat njegova napora neizvjestan: dok će imena nekih autora uvrštenih u *Slovinik* na koje nailazi u izvorima zauvijek ostati bez pridruženih opusa, mnoga

19 Kukuljević:1858:155.

Dalmaticus), his efforts also marked the first time this type of material was systematically used as a source for art history. All the while, Kukuljević himself was aware that the ultimate result of his efforts was uncertain: while the names of many artists incorporated into the *Slovnik* that he found in the sources would forever remain without their accompanying body of works, many others whom he was the first or among the first to mention later experienced an undeniable change of fortune: Ivan Duknović,²⁰ Nikola Firentinac,²¹ Nikola Božidarević,²² Horacije Fortezza²³ – to mention only a few of the better known – would only have their body of works ascertained after Kukuljević's time, filling an entire, then not yet written, chapter about Renaissance art in the Croatian lands. The entries on these artists in the *Slovnik* are relatively short or even very scant, but “knowing well that among other nations often just the simple name of a previously unknown artists all at once greatly illuminated the history of art when his neglected work comes to light; I held that it was my duty to record every name which even in the slightest seemed to be of any importance”.²⁴ Certainly, many of the inaugurated artistic personalities in the *Slovnik* had fulfilled their missions. Many architectural monuments which even today form the picture of Dalmatia, or more specifically its urban cores, entered the national lexicon under the name of a local artist, or at the very least an artist who made his home here: the baptistery of the Trogir cathedral and the Chapel of Blessed John of Trogir were thus classified as works by the Albanian Andrija Aleši,²⁵ the monumental portal of that same remains forever linked to the personage of Master Radovan,²⁶ and its campanile to the names Matija Gojković and Trifun Bokanić;²⁷ the architectural fixtures of Split's cathedral have been attributed to Andrija Buvina,²⁸ Bonino

20 Ivan Duknović (Ioannes Dalmata, Giovanni da Traù, Trogir, ca. 1440 – ?, after 1509), Renaissance sculptor of Dalmatian origin. He worked in Rome, at the court of Matthias Corvinus in Hungary (Visegrad, Diósgyör), in Trogir and Venice. He is considered responsible for bringing the qualities of the Italian Renaissance to the Central European Danubian basin. EHU I 1995:222-223; Saur:2007:Bd.55:3-6.

21 Nikola Ivanov Firentinac/Nicolo of Florence (Florence, ? – Šibenik, 1505), Italian sculptor and architect. He was trained in Donatello's circle. He spent much of his career in Dalmatia (from 1467 onward). In Trogir he mainly worked in collaboration with Andrija Aleši: on the baptistery of the Trogir cathedral and the Chapel of Bl. John of Trogir, which are largely deemed his works, and then on the tomb of I. Sobota (Sobotic) in the Church of St. Dominic (the relief *Mourning*, ca. 1470), the town loggia, on many palaces (architectural sculpture), etc. He also worked in other Dalmatian cities: Split, Zadar, Šibenik, Hvar, Orebici. Besides the Chapel of Bl. John in Trogir, his most important architectural/sculptural efforts pertain to the completion of the St. James Cathedral in Šibenik (master builder, 1475-1505), for which he created stylistically and technically innovative solutions in the dome/vault zone and the façade. EHU I:1995:631-634.

22 Nikola Božidarević (Nikola Dubrovčanin, probably Kotor, ca. 1460 – Dubrovnik, 1518), the most distinguished representative of Renaissance painting in Croatia. He was educated in Dubrovnik and Venice. His best-known preserved works are: the triptych in Bundi's chapel in the Dominican church in Dubrovnik, the *Annunciatino* for the Dominican church in Lopud (1513), the altar pall of Đordić with the motif *sacraconversazione*, the polyptych in the church in Danče (*Blessed Virgin Mary with Child among the Angels, St. Gregory and St. Martin*). EHU I:1995:114-116.

23 Horacio (Orazio) Fortezza (Šibenik, ca. 1530 – between 10 and 14 May 1596), gold engraver and miniaturist, distinguished representative of the goldsmithing arts with Renaissance features in Croatia. His works can be found in international collections (British Museum in London, Museo Nazionale di Bargello in Florence, Museo Correr in Venice) and in Šibenik. EHU I: 1995:256; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.12:226-227.

24 Kukuljević: 1858: s.p. (Foreword).

25 Andrija Aleši/ Andrea Alessi di Durazzo (Durrës, 1420/25 – Split, 1504/05), Croatian sculptor and architect of Albanian origin. He spent most of his career in Dalmatia, first as an associate of Juraj Dalmatinac, and then Nicolo of Florence. His most important preserved sculptural works are the sculpted decorations on the baptistery in the Trogir cathedral (relief of *The Baptism of Christ* above the portal, the relief of *St. Jerome in the Cave*), while some of his works are also preserved in the town of Rab and in Split. EHU I:1995:4.

26 Radovan (13thcent.), the most important artistic personality of medieval Croatian sculpture. He left his name and the year of construction (1240) in the lunette of the portal of the Trogir cathedral, which has been largely ascribed to him, and which is the most important work of sculpture in Dalmatia in the transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic. Stylistically, the portal is associated with Venetian sculpture of the first half of the 12th century, and some scholars have recognized his hand in individual parts of the central portal on St. Mark's Basilica in Venice. EHU II:1996:128-130.

27 Matija Gojković (15th cent.), architect and sculptor, worked in Trogir; after the Venetian conquest he worked on the restoration of the Trogir cathedral's campanile (1422), building it a second floor, on which the architectural sculpture bears the features of late Gothic forms; Trifun Bokanić (Pučića on Brać, 4 Apr. 1575 – Trogir, 3 Sept. 1609), sculptor and architect. He built the last floor of the Trogir cathedral's campanile (1597-1603), completing the entire structure with the Renaissance forms.

28 Andrija Buvina (first half of 13th cent.), wood engraver and painter. He worked in Split. The Romanesque doors of the Split cathedral are his sole preserved work (1214), although Thomas the Archdeacon also referred to him as a *pictora*. The cathedral doors are double, each containing 14 relief scenes from Christ's life. Because of their stylistic and iconographic consistency, they are considered a prime example of early Romanesque sculpture, and they are among the rare preserved artworks of this type in general. EHU I:1995:140-141.



od onih koja među prvima ili prvi spominje kasnije će imati itekako dobru fortunu: Ivan Duknović,²⁰ Nikola Firentinac,²¹ Nikola Božidarević,²² Horacio Fortezza²³ – da spomenemo samo neke od najpoznatijih – tek će u vremenu nakon Kukuljevića dobiti vlastite opuse, ispisujući tad još nenapisano poglavlje renesansne umjetnosti na području hrvatskih zemalja. Natuknice uz imena ovih umjetnika u *Slovniku* su razmjerno ili čak krajnje oskudne, no „znaajući dobro kako je kod inieh naroda često i golo ime, prije sasvim nepoznatog umjetnika, najedankrat silno razsvietlilo zgodopis umjetnosti, kad se naime njegov od prije zanemarenim umotvor na vidilo izneo; držao sam za moju dužnost, svako ime zabilježiti, koje mi se i malo činilo od budi koje važnosti“.²⁴ Dakako, mnoga od inauguriranih umjetničkih osobnosti već su u *Slovniku* ispunila svoju misiju; mnogi arhitektonski spomenici koji i danas predstavljaju sliku Dalmacije, odnosno njezinih gradskih jezgri, ušli su u sastav nacionalnog leksikona pod imenom nekog od domaćih ili bar udomaćenih umjetnika; krstionica trogirske katedrale i kapela bl. Ivana Trogirskog tako su uvrštene u opus albanskog majstora Andrije Alešija,²⁵ monumentalni portal iste crkve ostao je trajno povezan s osobom majstora Radovana,²⁶ a zvonik s imenima Matije Gojkovića i Trifuna Bokanića;²⁷ arhitektonsku opremu splitske stolne crkve potpisuju Andrija Buvina,²⁸ Bonino da Milano²⁹ i Juraj Dalmatinac; u opusu potonjeg majstora našao se i dubrovački Knežev dvor, dok su se pojedine partie dubrovačkih zidina i sakristija franjevačkog samostana skrasili uz ime Paskoja Miličevića.³⁰ Premda posrijedi nisu starijoj historiografiji

- 20 Ivan Duknović (Ioannes Dalmata, Giovanni da Traù, Trogir, oko 1440. – ?, poslije 1509.), renesansni kipar dalmatinskog podrijetla. Djelovao u Rimu, na dvoru M. Korvina u Ugarskoj (Višegrad, Diósgyör), u Trogiru i Veneciji. Smatra se zaslužnim za prenošenje značajki talijanske renesanse na područje srednjoeuropskog Podunavlja. EHU I.1995:222-223; Saur:2007:Bd.55:3-6.
- 21 Nikola Ivanov Firentinac (Firenca, ? – Šibenik, 1505.), talijanski kipar i arhitekt. Školovan u Donatellovom krugu. Veliki dio radnog vijeka proveo je u Dalmaciji (od 1467.). U Trogiru je uglavnom radio u suradnji s A. Alešijem: na krstionici trogirske katedrale i kapeli bl. Ivana Trogirskog, koja se većim dijelom smatra njegovim djelom, zatim na grobnici I. Sobote (Sobotić) u crkvi sv. Dominika (reljef *Oplakivanje*, oko 1470.), gradskoj loži, na više palaća (arhitektonska plastika), itd. Djelovao je i u drugim dalmatinskim gradovima: Splitu, Zadru, Šibeniku, Hvaru, Orebiciima. Osim na trogirskoj kapeli bl. Ivana, najvažniji arhitektonsko-skulptorski angažman odnosi se na dovršenje šibenske katedrale sv. Jakova (protomajstor 1475. – 1505.), za čiji je svodnu i kupolnu zonu te pročelje donio stilski i tehnički inovativna rješenja. EHU I.:1995:631-634.
- 22 Nikola Božidarević (Nikola Dubrovčanin, vjerojatno Kotor, oko 1460. – Dubrovnik, 1518.), najistaknutiji predstavnik slikarstva renesanse u Hrvatskoj. Školovao se u Dubrovniku i Veneciji. Najpoznatija sačuvana djela: triptih u Budićevoj kapeli u dominikanskoj crkvi u Dubrovniku, *Navještenje za dominikansku crkvu u Lopudu* (1513.), oltarna pala ob. Đordić s motivom *sacraconversazione*, poliptih u crkvi na Dančama (Bl. Dj. Marija s djetetom među andelima, Sv. Grgur, Sv. Martin). EHU I.:1995:114-116.
- 23 Horacio (Orazio) Fortezza (Šibenik, oko 1530. – između 10. i 14. V. 1596.), zlatar graver i minijaturist, istaknuti predstavnik zlatarske umjetnosti renesansnih obilježja u Hrvatskoj. Radovi mu se nalaze u svjetskim zbirkama (British Museum u Londonu, Museo Nazionale di Bargello u Firenzi, Museo Correr u Veneciji) te u Šibeniku. EHU I.:1995:256; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.12:226-227.
- 24 Kukuljević:1858:s.p.(Predgovor)
- 25 Andrija Aleši (Drač, 1420./25. – Split, 1504./05.), hrvatski kipar i graditelj albanskog podrijetla. Već i dio radnog vijeka proveo je u Dalmaciji, isprva kao suradnik Jurja Dalmatinca, potom Nikole Firentinaca. Najvažnija sačuvana ostvarenja skulpture su i skulpturalna dekoracija krstionice trogirske katedrale (reljef *Kristovo krštenje* iznad portala, reljef *Sv. Jeronim u šipili*), a djela su mu još sačuvana u Rabu i Splitu. EHU I.:1995:4.
- 26 Radovan (XIII. st.), najznačajnija autorska osobnost srednjovjekovnoga hrvatskoga kiparstva. Ime uz godinu gradnje (1240.) ostavio je zapisano u luneti portalu trogirske katedrale, koji mu se velikim dijelom i pripisuje, a koji predstavlja najznačajnije djelo kiparske umjetnosti u Dalmaciji na prijelazu iz romanike u gotiku. Stilski portal se povezuje s venecijanskom skulpturalnom plastikom prve polovice XIII. stoljeća, a neki autori njegovu ruku prepoznaju i u pojedinim dijelovima središnjeg portala bazilike sv. Marka u Veneciji. EHU II.:1996:128-130.
- 27 Matija Gojković (XV. st.), graditelj i klesar, djelovao u Trogiru; nakon mletačkih osvajanja radi na obnovi zvonika trogirske katedrale (1422.), dozidavajući mu drugi kat, čija arhitektonска plastika nosi obilježja kasnogotičkih oblika; Trifun Bokanić (Pučišća na Braču, 4. IV. 1575. – Trogir, 3. IX. 1609.), klesar i graditelj. Sazidao zadnji kat zvonika trogirske katedrale (1597. – 1603.), dovršivši zvonik oblicima renesansnih značajki.
- 28 Andrija Buvina (prva pol. XIII. st.), drvorezbar i slikar. Djelovao u Splitu. Romaničke vratnice splitske katedrale jedino su sačuvano djelo (1214.), premda ga Toma Arhiđakon spominje i kao *pictora*. Vratnice katedrale čine dva krila s po 14 reljefnih prizora iz Kristova života. Zbog svoje stilске i ikonografske konzistencije vrhunski su primjer drvene ranoromaničke plastike, i među rijetkim su sačuvanim umjetninama svoje vrste uopće. EHU I.:1995:140-141.
- 29 Bonino da Milano (Bonino di Jacopo da Milano, ? – Šibenik, svibanj 1429.), talijanski kipar iz Lombardije. Velik dio svoga radnog vijeka proveo u Dalmaciji. Radio je u Korčuli (skulpture na portalima katedrale i crkve sv. Petra), Dubrovniku (većina radova stradala u potresu, očuvan npr. lik viteza na Orlandovom stupu) i Splitu. Najznačajnija sačuvana djela su kapela sv. Dujma te oltar i ciborij sv. Dujma u splitskoj katedrali (1427.). EHU I.:1995:109; Saur:1996:Bd.12:560-561.
- 30 Paskoje Mihov Miličević (?., oko 1440. – Dubrovnik, 1516.), graditelj. Vjerojatno je bio Michelozzijev učenik za vrijeme majstorovog rada u Dubrovniku. Od 1446. do 1516. bio je službeni graditelj i inženjer Republike. Projektirao je bastion pod kultom sv. Luke u dubrovačkoj luci (1470.), dubrovačku luku i lukobran (1485.), luku i lukobran Malog Stona (1491.). Radio je na izgradnji utvrda u Dubrovniku i Stonu.



da Milano²⁹ and Juraj Dalmatinac; the works of the latter master also include the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, while individual sections of Dubrovnik's walls and the sacristy of the Franciscan monastery are embellished with the name Paskoje Miličević.³⁰ Although these masters were not unknown to older historiography, Kukuljević was the first to attempt a comprehensive reconstruction of their activities, so that the entries on, for example, Andrija Aleši or Juraj Dalmatinac constitute the most complete (up to that point) monographic studies on their life and work. The differences between Kukuljević's conclusions and current knowledge on these architects is primarily epistemological in nature: while we today have a different way of viewing the status of authorship in the historical phases of a monument, for Kukuljević that instance of creative intervention was the central methodological tool with which he could attach the national spirit onto the monumental heritage.



The Conversion of St. Paul
unidentified engraver
(probably Camillo Graffico)
after an engraving by Cornelis Cort done
after a drawing by Julije Klović, 1589
cat. no. 5.17

Preobraženje sv. Pavla / Obraćenje sv. Pavla
neutvrđeni bakrorezac
(vjerojatno Camillo Graffico)
prema bakreazu Cornelisa Corta
rađenom po crtežu Julija Klovića, 1589.
kat. br. 5.17.

Besides the famed *Schiavona* and Dalmatian masters and architects, who certainly made the main contribution to the Croatian national heritage, many other masters and artists also found their place in the *Slovnik*. Encompassing the entire South Slavic territory from Bulgaria to Steiermark and Friuli, the *Slovnik* thus also contains the architects

29 Bonino da Milano (Bonino di Jacopo da Milano, ? – Šibenik, May 1429), Italian sculptor from Lombardy. He spent most of his career in Dalmatia. He worked in Korčula (sculptures on the portals of the cathedral and the Church of St. Peter), Dubrovnik (most of his works were destroyed in an earthquake, a knight on Orlando's Column has been preserved, though) and Split. His most important preserved works are the Chapel of St. Dominicus and the altar and ciborium of St. Dominicus in the Split cathedral (1427). EHU I:1995:109; Saur:1996:Bd. 12:560-561.

30 Paskoje Mihov Miličević (? ca. 1440 – Dubrovnik, 1516), architect. He was probably a pupil of Michelozzi during that master's work in Dubrovnik. From 1446 to 1516 he was the Republic's official architect and civil engineer. He designed the bastion under the Tower of St. Luke in Dubrovnik's harbour (1470), as well as the harbour and jetty (1485), and the harbour and jetty in Mali Ston (1491). He worked on the fortifications in Dubrovnik and Mali Ston.

nepoznati majstori, Kukuljević je prvi pokušao što cijelovitije rekonstruirati njihovu djelatnost, pa natuknice, primjerice, o Andriji Alešiju ili Jurju Dalmatinцу predstavljaju dotad najpotpunije monografske studije o njihovu životu i radu. Razlike između Kukuljevićevih zaključaka i današnjih spoznaja o ovim graditeljima prvenstveno su epistemološke naravi: dok na status autorstva u povijesnim mijenama spomenika danas ipak gledamo drugačije, za Kukuljevića je instanca autorske invencije bila središnja metodološka alatka pomoći koje je mogao spomeničkoj baštini udahnuti nacionalni duh.

Osim proslavljenih *Schiavona* i dalmatinskih majstora i graditelja, koji nesumnjivo predstavljaju glavni doprinos hrvatskoj nacionalnoj baštini, u *Slovniku* su, međutim, mjesto našli i mnogi drugi majstori i umjetnici. Obuhvaćajući južnoslavenski prostor od Bugarske do Štajerske i Furlanije, u *Slovniku* će se tako naći i graditelji srednjovjekovnih srpskih manastira i kraljevskih zadužbina te slikari ikona, kao i mnogi majstori koji potpisuju zidne oslike i oltare po sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, Istri i Kranjskoj; među njima će se opet naći i neka za hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti značajna imena poput kipara Ivana Komersteiner³¹ i Francesca Robbe³² ili pavlinskog slikara Ivana Rangera.³³ Uz graditeljstvo i lijepu umjetnost, u *Slovniku* će biti zastupljen i umjetni obrt – graditelji orgulja i ljevači zvona, veziljke i maketari, zlatari i knjigotiskari, kartografi i strojari te majstori drugih primijenjenih umijeća. Posebnu kategoriju predstavljaju i glazbenici, pa *Slovnik* tako predstavlja i prvu muzikološku publikaciju koja je u formi leksikona pokušala sabrati znanja o hrvatskoj glazbi. Ipak manje sistematičan i iscrpan negoli na području povijesti umjetnosti, izbor skladatelja, glazbenika i glazbenih teoretičara koji se našao u *Slovniku* uvelike odražava Kukuljeviću dostupne izvore, pa će, osim imena koja je crpio iz njemačkih biobibliografskih glazbenih leksikonova, među zastupljenima veću grupaciju predstavljati, primjerice, Dubrovčani koje preuzima iz Appendinijeva djela i Crijevićeva rukopisa.³⁴ Napokon, valja se osvrnuti i na vremenski raspon koji *Slovnik* obuhvaća. Leksikon je povjesno inkluzivna forma, pa Kukuljević poseže u prošlost najdalje što može: ne samo da u obzir uzima osobe iz razdoblja antike, čije nasljeđe predstavlja vrijedan kulturni supstrat za razvoj slavenskog svijeta, nego uvrštava čak i osobe iz mitske prošlosti – činjenica da se na osnovi mjesta rođenja u leksikonu južnoslavenskih umjetnika našao, primjerice, i sâm Orfej (Trakija), svjedoči prvenstveno o ideji o kulturnopovijesnom kontinuitetu regije i težnji da se afirmira njezin doprinos zajedničkoj europskoj tradiciji. Gornju vremensku granicu *Slovnika* odredili su pak Kukuljevićevi suvremenici; valja naglasiti da se među njima našla i skupina žena, odnosno umjetnica, prvenstveno slijedica, u čemu valja prepoznati liberalne vrijednosti koje je i Kukuljević svjesno želio podržati uvrstivši ih u nacionalni leksikon.³⁵

31 Ivan Komersteiner (?., sredina XVII. st. – Zagreb, 1694./95.), kipar i drvorezbar. Djelovao je u Ljubljani i Zagrebu, gdje je imao i radionicu. Radio oltarnu plastiku za zagrebačku katedralu (oltar sv. Ladislava, oltar sv. Marije) i za druge crkve u Zagrebu i okolici. Njegov rad nosi obilježja ranoga baroknog stila, čiji je i najistaknutiji predstavnik u domeni kiparstva na području sjeverne Hrvatske. EHU I.:1995:448-449; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.21:256.

32 Francesco Robba (Venecija, oko 1698. – Zagreb, 24. I. 1757.), talijanski kipar. Školovan se u Veneciji, no radni vijek proveo je u Ljubljani (1721.– 1751.) i Zagrebu (1751./52.). Škulptura mu nosi izrazite odlike razvijenoga baroknog stila koji združuje venecijanska i rimske stilске inačice. Najznačajnija Robbina ostvarenja su oltari u crkvi sv. Jakova u Ljubljani, oltari u crkvi sv. Katarine u Zagrebu (sv. Ignacija Loyole, 1728. – 1729., Majke Božje Loretske za istoimenu kapelu u crkvi sv. Katarine, danas na mjestu glavnog oltara), oltari sv. Barbare (1732.) i sv. Katarine za zagrebačku katedralu (1738.), oltar sv. Križa za zagrebačku katedralu (1756., danas u crkvi sv. Križa u Križevcima). U Ljubljani radio je oltare za više crkava, kao i javne fontane (Fontana triju kranjskih rijeka, 1741.), ali i drugdje na području Slovenije i Donje Austrije. EHU II.:1996:169; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.28:412.

33 Ivan Krstitelj Ranger (Götzens u Tirolu, 19. VI. 1700. – Lepoglava, 27. I. 1753.), slikar, pavlinski redovnik. Školovan u Tirolu, a od 20-ih godina XVIII. st. djelatan na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske. Posvetio se prvenstveno zidnom slikarstvu, razvivši prepoznatljiv slikarski stil kasnobaraknih obilježja. Oslikao je niz pavlinskih (Lepoglava, Štrigova, Olimje, Remete) i franjevačkih crkava (Varaždin, Krapina, Križevci), ali i župnih crkava i svetišta (Belec, Donja Voća, Višnica). Radio je i slike na dasci, a sačuvan je i manji broj slika na platnu. Unatoč kvalitativnim oscilacijama, Rangerovo slikarstvo spremno je usvajalo stilске stećevine slikarskog baroka, u čijem srednjeeuropskom pejzažu zauzima istaknuto mjesto. EHU II.:1996:133.-135; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.28:413-414.

34 Primjerice, Benko Babić, Sekundo Brunjolić, Franjo Gučetić, Nikola Radović i drugi. Kukuljevićev izvor su Appendinijeve *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei* (Dubrovnik, 1803.); s Crijevićevim rukopisima susreo se radeći u arhivu dominikanaca u Dubrovniku tijekom putovanja 1856., a sam je posjedovao i prijepis I. M. Matijaševića i A. Agića (u *Jugoslavenskoj knjižnici* djelo je navedeno u kategoriji "Rukopisi" / 4. „Povjesnica književnosti“, pod br. 9; Kukuljević:1867:11). O muzikološkim sadržajima *Slovnika* usp. Franković:1982 i Franković:1988.

35 Kukuljević uoči izlaska *Slovnika* u *Luni* objavljuje prilog pod naslovom *Die jetzt lebenden Malerinnen der Südslaven*, u kojem donosi biografije većine u *Slovnik* uvrštenih slikarica (Franjica Daubachy-Doljska Brlić, Katarina Ivanović, Tereza Lipić (Lippich), Ana Mraović, Amalija Oblak-Hermannstahl, Josipa Strauss, Karolina Vojković). Usp. Kukuljević:1856.

of the medieval Serbian monasteries and royal endowments and icon painters, and many other masters who signed frescoes and altars in north-western Croatia, Istria and Carniola. Among them there were, once again, some names important to Croatian art history, such as the sculptor Ivan Komersteiner³¹ and Francesco Robba³² or the Pauline painter Ivan Ranger.³³ Besides architecture and the fine arts, the *Slovnik* also contains the artistic crafts: organ-builders and bell-founders, embroiderers and model-makers, goldsmiths and bookbinders, cartographers and engineers and other masters of applied arts. Musicians were a special category, and the *Slovnik* was thus also the first musicological publication which, in the form of a lexicon, constituted an attempt to gather knowledge on Croatian music. Although less systematic and exhaustive than for the field of art history, the selection of composers, musicians and music theorists contained in the *Slovnik* largely reflected Kukuljević's available sources, so, with the exception of the names which he drew from German bibliographic music lexicons, among those present a larger group consisted of, for example, the Dubrovnik natives he found in Appendini's works and Crijević's manuscripts.³⁴ Finally, it would be worthwhile to also consider the time span encompassed by the *Slovnik*. The lexicon has a historically inclusive form, so Kukuljević went as far back into the past he could: not only did he take into consideration persons from Antiquity, whose legacy served as a valuable cultural substratum for the development of the Slavic world, he even included persons from the mythical past – the fact that, based on his place of birth (Thrace), Orpheus himself was included in a lexicon of South Slavic artists primarily testifies to the idea of cultural/historical continuity in the region and the aspiration to affirm its contribution to a common European tradition. The upper chronological boundary of the *Slovnik* was determined by Kukuljević's contemporaries; it is noteworthy that they also include a group of women, mainly painters, which should be seen as a reflection of the liberal values Kukuljević consciously wanted to uphold by including them in a national lexicon.³⁵

Despite the fact that today's art history in many ways counters, amends and supersedes Kukuljević's *Slovnik*, its value is uncontested. This work makes it possible to follow the development of scholarly learning in this discipline; precisely due to its specific aspects, it helps in the critical discernment of then contemporary scholarly positions. Its cultural significance is even greater: the groups of names that Kukuljević first included in the national lexicon of South Slav peoples today are today constituent components of the Croatian national artistic heritage and essential strongholds of its cultural identity.



- 31 Ivan Komersteiner (? , mid-17th cent. – Zagreb, 1694/95), sculptor and wood engraver. He worked in Ljubljana and Zagreb, where he also had a workshop. He made the altar sculptures for the Zagreb cathedral (altar of St. Lawrence, altar of St. Mary) and for other Churches in Zagreb and its surroundings. His work bears the traits of the early Baroque style, and he was its most distinguished representative in northern Croatia in the field of sculpture. EHU I:1995: 448-449; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.21:256.
- 32 Francesco Robba (Venice, ca. 1698 – Zagreb, 24 Jan. 1757), Italian sculptor. He was educated in Venice, but he spent his career in Ljubljana (1721-1751) and Zagreb (1751/52). His sculpture bears notable qualities of the high Baroque style, merging the Venetian and Roman stylistic variants. Robba's most significant work was the altar in the Church of St. James in Ljubljana, the altar in the Church of St. Catherine in Zagreb (St. Ignatius Loyola, 1728-1729, Blessed Virgin of Loreto for the chapel of the same name in the Church of St. Catherine, today at the site of the main altar), the altars of St. Barbara (1732) and St. Catherine for the Zagreb cathedral (1738), the altar of the Holy Cross for the Zagreb Cathedral (1756, today in the church of the Holy Cross in Križevci). In Ljubljana he made altars for many churches, as well as public fountains (Fountain of the Three Carniolan Rivers, 1741), but also elsewhere in Slovenia and Lower Austria. EHU II:1996:169; Thieme-Becker:1999: Bd.28:412.
- 33 Ivan Krstitelj Ranger/Johann Ranger (Götzens in Tyrol, 19 June 1700 – Lepoglava, 27 Jan. 1753), painter, Pauline monk. Educated in Tyrol, he worked in north-western Croatia since the 1720s. He was primarily dedicated to frescoes, developing a recognizable style with late Baroque features. He painted a series of Pauline (Lepoglava, Štrigova, Olimje, Remete) and Franciscan churches (Varaždin, Krapina, Križevci), but also parish churches and shrines (Belec, Donja Voća, Višnjica). He also painted on boards, and a small number of his paintings on canvas have been preserved. Ranger's painting readily acquired the stylistic achievements of the Baroque, and he had a distinguished place on its Central European stage. EHU II:1996:133.-135; Thieme-Becker:1999:Bd.28,413-414.
- 34 For example, Benko Babić, Sekundo Brunjolić, Franjo Gučetić, Nikola Radoičić and others. Kukuljević's source was Appendini's *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de'Ragusei* (Dubrovnik, 1803); he encountered Crijević's manuscripts while working in the Dominican archives in Dubrovnik during his travels in 1856, and he possessed a transcript of I. M. Matijašević and A. Agić (in *Jugoslavenska knjižnica*, the work is cited in the manuscripts category ("Rukopisi")/4. "Povjesnica književnosti" (Literary History), under no. 9; Kukuljević:1867: 11). On the musicological content of the *Slovnik*, cf. Franković:1982 and Franković: 1988.
- 35 Ahead of the publication of the *Slovnik*, Kukuljević released an article in the periodical *Luna* under the title "Die jetzlebenden Malerinnen der Südslaven" in which he included the biographies of most of the women painters encompassed in the *Slovnik* (Franjica Daubachy-Doljska Brlić, Katarina Ivanović, Tereza Lipić (Lippich), Ana Mraović, Amalija Oblak-Hermannstahl, Josipa Strauss, Karolina Vojković). Cf. Kukuljević:1856.

Unatoč tome što bi današnja povijest umjetnosti Kukuljevićev *Slovnik* u mnogočemu pobila, ispravila ili dopunila, njegova je vrijednost neprijeporna. Na temelju tog djela moguće je pratiti razvoj znanstvene spoznaje na području ove discipline; upravo zbog svojih specifičnosti, ono pomaže u kritičkom razlučivanju aktualnih znanstvenih pozicija. Njegovo je pak kulturno-istorijsko značenje još veće: grupe autorskih imena koje je Kukuljević prvi uvrstio u nacionalni leksikon južnoslavenskih naroda danas predstavljaju konstitutivni dio hrvatske nacionalne umjetničke baštine i bitna su uporišta njezina kulturnog identiteta.

Oproštaj Serežana
Vjekoslav Karas
1856.
kat. br. 5.18.

Seresson's Farewell
Vjekoslav Karas
1856
cat. no. 5.18



Materijalna spomenička baština kao izvor za nacionalnu povjesnicu

Premda predstavlja nesumnjivo najvažnije ostvarenje na području kulturne povijesti, *Slovnik* neće biti jedino mjesto sabiranja Kukuljevićevih istraživanja spomeničke baštine. U mladosti formiran interes za materijalne prežitke prošlosti te ostvarenja lijepih umjetnosti, tijekom godina će postati sastavni dio organiziranog rada na području prikupljanja izvora za nacionalnu povijest, pa će po osnutku Društva za povjesnicu jugoslavensku i starine (1850.) upravo toj istraživačkoj dionici biti posvećeni zasebni napor. U programu koji definira djelatnost Društva, područje kulturne povijesti i povijesti umjetnosti bit će definirano kroz nekoliko kategorija,³⁶ a u društvenom časopisu *Arkv*, kao središnjoj publikaciji namijenjenoj prezentaciji sabrane građe i istraživanja, *Umjetnost i starine* predstavljat će stalnu rubriku. U toj će rubrici tijekom više od desetljeća i pol izlaženja *Arkv* Kukuljević preliminarno publicirati neke od natuknica rađenih za *Slovnik*, no i druge, o njemu neovisne priloge, prvenstveno u svrhu pružanja osnovne informacije o nekom umjetničkom djelu ili spomeniku – primjerice, o zavodu sv. Jeronima u Rimu, čakovečkoj zbirci predmeta obitelji Zrinski ili Vekeneginoj grobnici u zadarskoj Sv. Mariji.³⁷ U *Arkv* će prvi put predstaviti i jedan do danas zagonetan spomenik – tzv. Višeslavovu krstionicu. O tom predmetu obaveštava ga jedan od njegovih stalnih suradnika, prefekt venecijanske knjižnice Giuseppe Vallentinelli, pa će Kukuljević već tijekom putovanja u Veneciju i Beč 1853. godine svratiti u Muzej Correr da ga razvidi.³⁸ Premda s vremenom neće postati sigurniji u povjesni identitet Višeslava, Kukuljević će ostati pri zaključku da „svakako spada ovaj umotvor među najznamenitije i najstarije umotvore jugoslavenskog krstjanstva“,³⁹ čime je započela sudbina tog predmeta u kontekstu hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja. Općenito, tijekom djelovanja na čelu Društva Kukuljević će, osobito u prvoj polovici pedesetih godina, intenzivirati obilaske terena odnosno svoja putovanja; na njih će odlaziti s uvijek preciznim istraživačkim zadacima, provodeći vrijeme uglavnom u obilasku arhiva, knjižnica i galerija, no uz to

³⁶ Primjerice, kategorija *k*) obuhvaća „sve plastičke umotvore nalazeće se u našoj domovini, naime na starinske grčke, rimske i slavenske napise, spomenike, orudje, novce, oružje, posude, kipove, stupove, slike, pečate itd.“, u kategoriji *l*) bit će zasebno istaknuti „svi proizvodi srednjega veka, po imenu na proizvode umjetne ljevanje i rezane, kao što se nalaze u starinskim crkvama i gradovima, zatim oružje, barjake, pokućstvo, grbove, različite urese itd.“, u kategoriji *m*) „obrazzi slavnih ljudih, slike gradova, městah, razvalinah, samostanah, crkvah, sgradah, starinske nošnje“, itd. Kukuljević:1851c:237-240.

³⁷ Usp. Kukuljević:1851a, Kukuljević:1851b, Kukuljević:1859.

³⁸ Kukuljević:1853:618-619.

³⁹ Kukuljević:1857:392.

The physical monumental heritage as a source for national history

Although it undoubtedly constitutes the most important achievement in the field of cultural history, the *Slovnik* was not the only product of Kukuljević's research into the monumental heritage. Over the years, his interest in the physical remnants of the past and the creations of the fine arts which emerged in his youth grew into organized work to gather sources for national history, so that upon the establishment of the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities (1850), special efforts were dedicated to precisely this research segment. In the program document which defines the Society's activities, cultural history and art history are defined through the prism of several categories,³⁶ and in the Society's journal *Arkviv*, as its central publication intended to present collected materials and research, "Art and Antiquities" was a regular section. Over the course of the roughly decade and a half that *Arkviv* was published, this section featured some of Kukuljević's preliminary entries written for the *Slovnik*, as well as other contributions independent of it, primarily intended to offer basic information on a specific artwork or monument: for example, the St. Jerome Institute in Rome, the collection of items of the Zrinski family in Čakovec, or Vekenega's Tomb in the Zadar Church of St. Mary.³⁷ A monument that is still considered enigmatic to this day, the so-called Baptistry of Višeslav, was first published in *Arkviv*. Kukuljević learned about this object from one of his constant collaborators, the prefect of the Venetian library, Giuseppe Vallentinelli, so that during his travels to Venice and Vienna in 1853, Kukuljević visited the Museo Correr to inspect it.³⁸ Although the passage of time would not bring any more certainty to the historical identity of Višeslav, Kukuljević maintained his conclusion that "this artwork is among the most significant and oldest artistic products of South Slavic Christianity",³⁹ which signified the commencement of this artefact's destiny in the context of Croatian medievalism. In general, during his work as the Society's head, particularly in the first half of the 1850s, Kukuljević increased his field tours and travels. He always embarked on them with precisely defined research tasks, mainly spending his time in archives, libraries and galleries, but also, naturally, touring actual monuments and urban units. During all of his travels, Kukuljević kept journals and took notes, on which basis he regularly submitted reports on his work to the Society and the public at large. But these reports were much more than mere dry statements of information. Implying as they did a minimum narrative account on "one of ours" in foreign lands searching for the vestiges of the national past, Kukuljević's travel reports, as noted by Smičiklas, were enthusiastically received as reading material, which aroused "pride that the Croatian nation has such a son, who, over the course of five months, on the most arduous journeys and in the remotest places, and in the largest archives, conducts investigations and through great fortune and tireless effort, sheds new light on the history of the Croatian nation".⁴⁰ Besides testimony on the course of Kukuljević's research, these reports are also particularly interesting today because they paint a picture of the cultural landscape which Kukuljević formulated during his travels and then presented to readers. In this regard, his travels in Dalmatia in 1854 and 1856 are particularly significant: the impression of this region's cultural identity which Kukuljević made an effort to develop was directly motivated by the already noted desire to integrate Dalmatia into the Croatian identity sphere, and as such it constituted an essential novelty in comparison to the until then predominant notion of the Dalmatian cultural landscape, built primarily on the cult of the monuments of Antiquity which brought it worldwide fame. Kukuljević countered such an image of Dalmatia with a new one, which portrayed the province as the cradle of Croatian national identity, as the historical territory of the Croatian medieval state; Kukuljević was the first to attempt to observe medieval monuments in the Dalmatian landscape, visiting Zadar, Nin and Trogir, and generally attempt to place in the forefront those classes of monuments which, in his opinion, intimated the region's national character to a greater degree.⁴¹ His visit to Dalmatia in 1856 was part of a larger journey that also encompassed the Albanian littoral, Corfu and Italy, and which was largely undertaken with the intention of gathering additional data for the *Slovnik*; based on the journal from these travels,

36 For example, category *k*) encompasses "all sculpted artworks located in our homeland, namely ancient Greek, Roman and Slavic texts, monuments, implements, coins, weapons, pottery, statues, columns, paintings, stamps, etc.;" category *l*) particularly highlights "all products of the Middle Ages, specifically artfully cast and cut products, such as can be found in old churches and cities, and then weapons, banners, furniture, coats of arms, various adornments, etc.;" category *m*) encompasses "the personages of famous people, pictures of cities, towns, ruins, monasteries, churches, buildings, antique attire, etc." Kukuljević:1851c: 237-240.

37 Cf. Kukuljević:1851a, Kukuljević:1851b, Kukuljević:1859.

38 Kukuljević:1853:618-619.

39 Kukuljević:1857:392.

40 Smičiklas:1892:48.

41 Cf. Mance: 2015:



naravno obilazeći i same spomenike te urbane cjeline. Tijekom svih svojih putovanja Kukuljević će voditi dnevниke i bilješke, na temelju kojih će redovito podnosići Društvu i javnosti izvješća o obavljenom poslu. No, ta će izvješća uvijek biti i mnogo više od puke informacije; podrazumijevajući bar minimalni narativni zaplet o našijencu koji po tuđini traga za prežicima nacionalne prošlosti, Kukuljevićeva će putna izvješća, kako svjedoči Smičiklas, biti rado čitano štivo, koje je budilo „ponos da narod hrvatski imade takova sina, koji kroz pet mjeseci na najtrudnijim putevima i u najzakutnjim mjestima, i u velikim arkivima srećom i neumornom marljivošću pretražuje i donosi nove luči historiji naroda hrvatskoga“.⁴⁰ Osim svjedočanstva o tijeku Kukuljevićevih istraživanja, ta su nam izvješća danas posebno zanimljiva i stoga što odaju sliku kulturnoga krajolika, koju Kukuljević tijekom putovanja oblikuje te potom podastire čitateljstvu. U tom smislu osobito su značajna putovanja poduzeta u Dalmaciju 1854. i 1856. godine – predodžba o kulturnom identitetu te regije koju će se Kukuljević potruditi izgraditi izravno je motivirana već spomenutom težnjom za integracijom Dalmacije u hrvatski identitetski prostor, i kao takva predstavlja bitnu novost u odnosu na do tada dominirajuću sliku dalmatinskoga kulturnog pejzaža, izgrađenu prvenstveno na kultu antičkih spomenika, koji su joj i donijeli svjetsku slavu. Takvoj slici Dalmacije Kukuljević će suprotstaviti novu, koja pokrajinu prikazuje kao kolijevku hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta, odnosno povijesni prostor hrvatske srednjovjekovne države; Kukuljević će prvi pokušati u dalmatinskom pejzažu uočavati srednjovjekovne spomenike, posjećujući Zadar, Nin i Trogir te općenito nastojeći u prvi plan istaknuti spomeničke slojeve koji, prema njegovu mišljenju, u većoj mjeri sugeriraju nacionalnu pripadnost regije.⁴¹ Posjet Dalmaciji 1856. bio je dio većeg putovanja koje je podrazumijevalo i albansko primorje, Krf i Italiju, a koje je velikim dijelom bilo poduzeto s namjerom prikupljanja dodatnih podataka za *Slovnik*; na temelju dnevnika s tih putovanja 1873. Kukuljević će objaviti i putopis *Putne uspomene*, štivo koje i danas nudi izravan uvid u prostornu imaginaciju iz vremena hrvatskoga nacionalnog romantizma. Kukuljevićev doživljaj hrvatskoga kulturnog pejzaža neće međutim biti ograničen samo na Dalmaciju; on će redovito putovati i kontinentalnom Hrvatskom, a jedna od tema koja će mu u njezinu pejzažu privlačiti najveću pozornost bit će stari gradovi i utvrđenja. I za tu temu Kukuljevićevo se srce zagrijalo još u mladosti, kad putujući prema Primorju u mašti pokušava zazvati krajolik hrvatske prošlosti obilježen posjedima plemićke obitelji Frankopan. Taj će interes s vremenom postati sustavan, što, između ostalog, treba dovesti i u vezu s imenovanjem za carskoga konzervatora za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju (1855.),⁴² ta će ga dužnost obvezivati da izluči spomenike koji iziskuju konzervatorsku skrb i stručno istraživanje, pa kroz šesto i sedmo desetljeće Kukuljević kontinuirano u periodičnom tisku i novinama objavljuje monografske prikaze starih gradova, gradina i burgova.⁴³



Fotografske slike iz Hrvatske,
Slavonije i Dalmacije, 1870.
Ivan Standl
kat. br. 5.26.

Photographic Images of Dalmatia,
Croatia and Slavonia, 1870
Ivan Standl
cat. no. 5.26

40 Smičiklas:1892:48.

41 Usp.Mance:2015:

42 Usp. Jurman Karaman:1953/54.:

43 Kao samostalne priloge Kukuljević je objavio prikaze o Slunju, Ozlju, Samoboru, Susedgradu, Drežniku, Senju, Trakoščanu, Brinju, Krapini, Velikom Kalniku, itd.

in 1873 Kukuljević published the travelogue entitled *Putne uspomene* (Travel Memoirs), a text which even today provides a direct glimpse into the spatial imagination from the time of Croatian national Romanticism. Kukuljević's envisioning of the Croatian cultural landscape was not, however, limited only to Dalmatia, as he also regularly traversed continental (inland) Croatia, and an aspect to which he accorded the most attention there was the old boroughs and fortresses. This theme had also already fired Kukuljević's heart as a youth, when, while travelling toward the Croatian Littoral, he tried to imagine the landscape of the Croatian past marked by the estates of the Frankopan family of nobles. This interest became systematic with time, which, among other things, should be brought into connection with his appointment as the imperial preservationist for Croatia and Slavonia (1855);⁴² this duty bound him to focus on monuments requiring preservationist care and scholarly research, so throughout the sixth and seventh decades of the 19th century, Kukuljević continually contributed monographic overviews of old castles, hillforts and boroughs in newspapers and other periodicals.⁴³ It seems that Kukuljević intended to consolidate all these research results into a comprehensive work with a topographic character, i.e., a publication he described as a "historical description of Croatia, Slavonia and Srijem with all old fortified towns, hillforts, ruins, excavations, monasteries, notable churches, chapels, antiquities and other important sites".⁴⁴ However, he later abandoned the idea of such a comprehensive work, instead publishing a book in 1867 under the title *Njekad gradine i gradovi u kraljevini Hrvatskoj* (Some Hillforts and Fortified Towns in the Kingdom of Croatia), collecting several monographic studies on old towns; some of these overviews were nonetheless later included in a photo-monograph by Ivan Standl in 1870.⁴⁵ Although the character of Kukuljević's studies of old towns and boroughs denotes them as primarily historiographic, and only secondarily as art history contributions, they stood at the onset of a branch of research that would further deal with the history of physical space and urban development and so they constitute a pioneering achievement in the illumination of the cultural-historical landscape of continental Croatia. The general interest in medieval monuments also directed Kukuljević to consider sacral architecture, but the discrepancy between his Romantic notions and the then existing state of preserved structures, on which the medieval layer rarely defined their final appearance, inevitably discouraged Kukuljević, who was guided by a taste that preferred stylistically uniform buildings – in the Gothic style if possible. Kukuljević contemplated few major sacral structures in continental Croatia without some regret over its lack of stylistic uniformity. Despite something of a lack of predisposition to view such monuments in their historical continuity, Kukuljević's studies on two churches in Zagreb with a notable Gothic layer are nonetheless worthwhile: the Church of St. Mark and the cathedral, about which he published an extensive independent study entitled *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka* (The Cathedral of Zagreb), which even today serves as a valuable source on its state prior to its restoration by architect Herman Bollé.⁴⁶



Work on literary history

Kukuljević's work in the field of literary history and related topics should be distinguished as a separate field of his endeavours. Besides underscoring that Kukuljević worked as a "collector and publisher of monuments for political and cultural history", Smičiklas immediately stressed that he was a "collector and publisher of poets and writers", as well as a "collector of bibliographies as the groundwork and foundation for literary history".⁴⁷ Kukuljević's interest in literary history also went back to his youth and the formative raising of his awareness of his own linguistic identity. It should not be overlooked that the young Kukuljević was initially illiterate in the Croatian language. The great effort he invested in developing his own literacy on the one hand, and discovering the early medieval literary tradition in the vernacular on the other, undoubtedly resulted in the impression of collective linguistic self-imposed oblivion, which he would attempt to rectify in all fields of his work from that point forward. His work methods and presentation of results corresponded to that in his other fields of interest: this entailed the primary collection and classification of materials and their publication, while research was normally articulated in the form of author biographies. Already in 1844 he prepared and published *Trublja slovinska* (Slavic Trumpet) by Vladislav Menčetić, accompanied by an introductory text and biography, while in 1846 he published

42 Cf. Jurman Karaman:1953/54.

43 Kukuljević published overviews of Slunj, Ozalj, Samobor, Susedgrad, Drežnik, Senj, Trakošćan, Brinje, Krapina, Veliki Kalnik, etc. as independent studies.

44 Smičiklas: 1892:67.

45 Standl: 1870.

46 Kukuljević: 1856b.

47 Smičiklas:1892: 57.

Čini se da je sva ta istraživanja Kukuljević namjeravao objediniti u sveobuhvatnom djelu topografskoga karaktera, odnosno publikaciji koju je opisao kao „historički opis Hrvatske, Slavonije i Sriema sa svim gradovi, gradinami, razvalinami, obkopi, manastiri, znamenitimi crkvami, crkvišči, starinami i ostalimi znamenitostimi“,⁴⁴ no da je od tako obuhvatnog djela ipak odustao, objavivši 1867. publikaciju koja pod naslovom *Njeke gradine i gradovi u kraljevini Hrvatskoj* sabire nekolicinu monografskih studija o starim gradovima; dio tih prikaza uvrstit će pak u fotomonografiju Ivana Standla iz 1870. godine.⁴⁵ Premda su po svom karakteru Kukuljevićeve studije starih gradova i burgova prvenstveno historiografski, a tek sekundarno i povijesnoumjetnički doprinos, one stoje na početku jedne grane istraživanja koja će se nadalje baviti poviješću prostora i urbanog razvoja te u cjelini predstavljaju pionirsko postignuće u obrazovanju kulturnopovijesnoga krajolika kontinentalne Hrvatske. Općeniti interes za spomenike srednjovjekovlja Kukuljevića će usmjeriti i na sakralnu arhitekturu, no diskrepancija između njegovih romantičnih predodžbi i postojećeg stanja očuvanih građevina, gdje srednjovjekovni sloj rijetko definira konačni izgled građevine, za Kukuljevića će neminovno biti obeshrabrujuća – određen ukusom koji preferira stilski unisonu građevinu, po mogućnosti u gotičkom stilu, Kukuljević će malo kojem značajnom sakralnom spomeniku u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj pristupiti bez žala zbog nepostojeće stilske cjelovitosti. Unatoč manjku predispozicija za sagledavanje spomenika u njegovu povijesnom kontinuitetu, ipak valja vrednovati Kukuljevićeve studije o dvjema zagrebačkim crkvama s izraženim gotičkim slojem – crkvi sv. Marka i katedrali, o kojoj je objavio opsežnu samostalnu studiju pod naslovom *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka* i koja danas predstavlja vrijedno svjedočanstvo o njezinu stanju prije Bolléove restauracije.⁴⁶

Književnopovijesni rad

Kao zasebno područje Kukuljevićeve rada treba izdvojiti i njegov rad na području književne povijesti i njoj bliskih tema. Uz to što je naglašava da Kukuljević djelovao kao „sabiratelj i izdavatelj spomenika za političnu i kulturnu historiju“, Smičiklas odmah potom ističe da je bio „sabiratelji i izdavatelj pjesnika i pisaca“, kao i „sabiratelj bibliografije kao priprave i temelju historije književnosti“.⁴⁷ Kukuljevićevo zanimanje za književnu povijest također seže u mladalačke dane i konstitutivno je buđenju svijesti o vlastitom jezičnom identitetu. Ne valja pritom zaboraviti da je mladi Kukuljević u hrvatskom jeziku isprva nepismen; velik napor uložen u vlastito opismenjivanje s jedne i otkrivanje ranonovjekovne književne tradicije na verakularu s druge strane, nesumnjivo je rezultiralo dojmom o kolektivnom jezičnom samozaboravu, koji će otad pa nadalje na svim područjima svoga djelovanja nastojati ispraviti. Metoda rada i prezentacija rezultata odgovaraju onima na ostalim područjima interesa: posrijedi je primarno sabiranje i klasifikacija građe te njezino publiciranje, dok se istraživanja uobičajeno artikuliraju u formi autorskih životopisa. Već 1844. priprema i izdaje *Trublju slovinsku* Vladislava Menčetića, s pridruženim uvodnim tekstrom odnosno biografijom, a 1846. objavljuje antologiju pod naslovom *Narodne pjesme puka horvatskoga* koja sabire pjesme na sva tri hrvatska narječja – djelo koje se danas smatra prvom etnološkom publikacijom – u čijem predgovoru pisac pledira za znanstveni pristup u istraživanju i prezentaciji usmene književne baštine te ujedno naglašava vrijednost takvog materijala kao kulturnopovijesnog dokumenta koji može „poslužiti za neko ogledalo narječjah, te za upoznavanje duha, čutih i načina mišljenja mnogo rasprostranjenoga naroda harvatskoga“.⁴⁸ U iduća dva desetljeća uslijedit će antologije ranonovjekovnog pjesništva dubrovačkoga, hvarskoga i splitskoga kruga: 1856. izlaze *Pjesnici hrvatski XV. vjeka*, 1867. *Pjesnici hrvatski XVI. vjeka*, pri čemu Kukuljević u međuvremenu i pojedinačno objavljuje prikaze autorskih osobnosti iz obiju zbirki u periodici. Iste godine Kukuljević pokreće i Akademijinu ediciju *Stari pisci hrvatski*, čija prva knjiga o Marku Maruliću u Kukuljevićevoj redakciji i s opširnom uvodnom studijom predstavlja prvu u težnji cjelovitu prezentaciju književnikova života i djela. Spomenuti uvodni tekst *Marko Marulić i njegovo doba* smatra se jednim od Kukuljevićevih najboljih ostvarenja, u kojem se djelo jednog autora teži povezati sa širim društveno-povijesnim procesima,⁴⁹ uspjevši čak približiti se modelu *Geistgeschichte*, odnosno povijesti duha kao načelnom idejnom polazištu njegova interesa za kulturne proizvode, umjetnost i književnost. Napokon, iste, 1867. godine izlazi i knjiga *Književnici u Hrvatah iz prve polovine XVII. veka s ove strane Velebita*; za

44 Smičiklas:1892:67.

45 Standl:1870.

46 Kukuljević:1856b.

47 Smičiklas:1892:57.

48 Navod prema: Filipan:2001:276.

49 Šicel:1998:288-289.



an anthology entitled *Narodne pjesme puka horvatskoga* (Folk Songs of the Croatian People) which collected songs in all three Croatian dialects – thus making it a work that is today considered the first ethnographic publication – and in which, in the foreword, Kukuljević appealed for a scholarly approach to research into and presentation of the oral literary heritage and simultaneously underscored the value of such material as a cultural-historical document which may “serve as a reflection of dialects and to engender familiarity with the spirit, sensibilities and ways of thinking of the quite dispersed Croatian people”.⁴⁸ The next two decades would see the publication of anthologies of medieval poetry of the Dubrovnik, Hvar and Split circles, as *Pjesnici hrvatski XV. vjeka* (Croatian Poets of the 15th Century) was released in 1856, and *Pjesnici hrvatski XVI. vjeka* (Croatian Poets of the 16th Century) in 1867, while in the meantime Kukuljević also individually published overviews of the individual personalities from both collections in periodicals. In that same year, Kukuljević also launched the Academy’s series *Stari pisci hrvatski* (Old Croatian Writers), in which the first book about Marko Marulić, edited by Kukuljević with an extensive introductory study, constituted the first aspiration to comprehensively present this writer’s life and works. The aforementioned introductory text, entitled “Marko Marulić i njegovo doba” (Marko Marulić and His Times) is considered one of Kukuljević’s finest achievements, in which he attempted to link a writer’s works to broader socio-historical processes,⁴⁹ managing to even approach the model of *Geistgeschichte*, i.e., a history of ideas as the principle notional point of departure for his interest in cultural production, art and literature. Finally, in that same year, 1867, the book *Književnici u Hrvatah iz prve polovine XVII. vijeka s ove strane Velebita* (Croatian Writers on This Side of Velebit in the First Half of the 17th Century) was published. As opposed to the anthologies of Dalmatian and Dubrovnik poetry, this work was exclusively a historical overview of the literature of north-western Croatia in the Croatian language (largely in the Kajkavian dialect), but also in Latin, a tradition that Kukuljević was also the first to incorporate into the body of Croatian national literature. Although structured in the customary form of a collection of writer biographies classified by genre, this was actually once more a series of cultural-historical studies, in which an attempt was made to interpret the works of a given writer against the backdrop of political and cultural history. Individual persons in this Croatian literary pantheon acquired symbolically distinguished places – for example, Petar and Katarina Zrinski or Juraj Križanić. They, like certain historical figures who were covered in a structurally similar work entitled *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova* (Notable Croats of Times Past), would remain the main heroes and heroines of national history who represented – according to Kukuljević’s convictions – fundamental values: national awareness and resistance to foreign hegemony, Pan-Slavic unity, the creative force of individuals and, finally, intimate loyalty to the spirit. In the collection of biographies *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova*, published in 1886, most of the persons included had also left behind them considerable bodies of literary works, and these together with their other activities also embodied Kukuljević’s national-enlightenment value paradigm: Ivan Česmički, Antun Vrančić, Stjepan Konzul, Dinko Zavorović, Juraj Habdelić and others. Although the next generation of historians already had some misgivings about this form of presenting knowledge, interpreting it as the highlighting of great moments from the past for the purpose of offering popular models rather than critical historical narration, it is worth bearing in mind that Kukuljević intentionally selected precisely this form. Setting the national emancipation of the broadest social layers as the ultimate objective of his research efforts, Kukuljević, in the words of historian Nada Klaić, “although as aware as Franjo Rački of the nature of scholarly discourse, spent his life gathering grain to make bread for his people”.⁵⁰

Kukuljević’s forays into the history of art, literature and culture were doubtlessly not only pioneering, but also, in fact, grandiose: regardless of the differences that separate his approach from the contemporary practices we deem scientifically relevant in the corresponding disciplines, Kukuljević was the first Croatian historian who promoted the cultural heritage in the broadest extent, from architectural monuments to everything we refer to as intangible cultural goods, to the status of an irreplaceable type of historical resource that not only demands adequate attention and care, but also a specialist form of treatment that is capable of understanding what they have to say. Kukuljević’s research in this regard stood at the inauguration of most modern scholarly disciplines: from archaeology and epigraphy, art history and architectural history, through ethnography to literary history – and none of these scholarly disciplines can bypass Kukuljević’s name when considering their own beginnings in the Croatian historical context. The themes which Kukuljević revealed and the materials which he gathered are in the focus of interest in all of these fields, and when one contemplates their disciplinary scope, it is truly difficult to conceive of a time when they could have all been under the intellectual purview of a single individual.

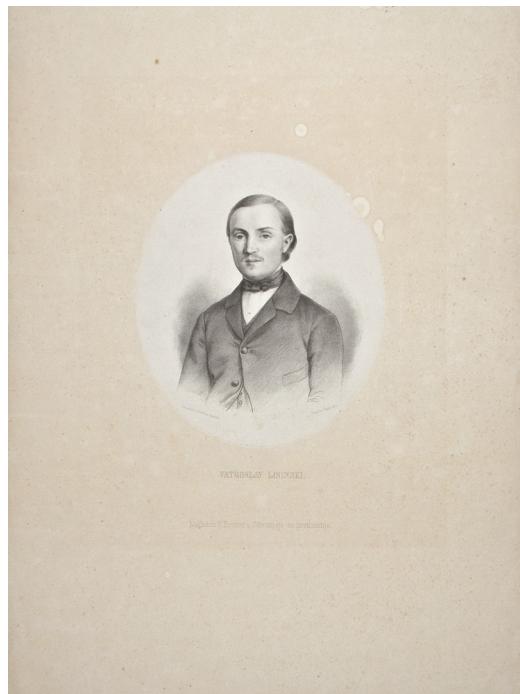
48 Cited according to: Filipan: 2001: 276.

49 Šicel: 1998: 288-289.

50 Klaić: 1986: 8.



razliku od antologija dalmatinskoga i dubrovačkog pjesništva, ovo je djelo isključivo povjesni pregled književnosti sjeverozapadne Hrvatske na hrvatskom, pretežno kajkavskom, ali i na latinskom jeziku, čiju tradiciju Kukuljević također prvi uključuje u korpus hrvatske nacionalne književnosti. Premda je strukturirano u uobičajenoj formi zbirke biografija pisaca klasificiranih prema spisateljskom žanru, posrijedi je zapravo opet niz kulturnopovijesnih studija, u kojima se djelo pisca nastoji protumačiti na pozadini političke i društvene povijesti. Pojedine osobe u tom su hrvatskom književnom Panteonu dobine simbolički istaknuto mjesto – primjerice Petar Zrinski i Katarina, Juraj Križanić; oni, kao i neke od povijesnih osoba koje će obraditi u po strukturi srodnom djelu *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova* postat će glavni junaci i junakinje nacionalne povjesnice koji predstavljaju, prema Kukuljevićevom uvjerenju, temeljne vrijednosti – nacionalnu svijest i otpor tuđinskoj hegemoniji, sveslavensko zajedništvo, stvaralačku snagu pojedinca i, napokon, intimnu odanost duša. U zbirci životopisa *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova* izdanoj 1886. većina zastupljenih osoba također je ostavila znatnije književne opuse te svojim djelom i djelovanjem također utjelovljuju Kukuljevićevu nacionalno-prosvjetiteljsku vrijednosnu paradigmu: Ivan Česmički, Antun Vrančić, Stjepan Konzul, Dinko Zavorović, Juraj Habdelić i drugi. Premda će već iduća generacija povjesničara na taj oblik prezentacije znanja gledati s podozrenjem, tumačeći ga isključivo kao izdvajanje sjajnih momenata iz prošlosti u svrhu pružanja popularnih uzora ali ne i kao kritičku povijesnu naraciju, valja imati na umu da je Kukuljević upravo takvu formu odabrao namjerno. Postavivši kao krajnji cilj svojih istraživačkih napora upravo nacionalnu emancipaciju najširih društvenih slojeva, Kukuljević je, riječima Nade Klaić, „premda je isto tako dobro kao i Rački znao što je to znanstvena rasprava“, „čitav život skupljao zrnca da zamijesi pogaću za svoj narod“.⁵⁰



Vatroslav Lisinski
litografirao Dragutin Župan
tiskano u litografskom zavodu J. G. Bacha, Leipzig
izdao V. Prettner, Zagreb, 1850.
kat. br. 5.16.

Vatroslav Lisinski
lithographed by Dragutin Župan
printed at the Lithographic institute of J.G. Bach in Leipzig
published by V. Prettner in Zagreb, 1850
cat. no. 5.16



Nesumnjivo, Kukuljevićev iskorak na području povijesti umjetnosti, književne i kulturne povijesti bio je ne samo pionirski, nego upravo grandiozan: bez obzira na razlike koje njegov pristup dijele od današnjih, koje smatramo znanstveno relevantnima u nadležnim disciplinama, Kukuljević je bio prvi hrvatski povjesničar koji je kulturnu baštinu, u najširem opsegu od graditeljskih spomenika do svega što nazivamo nematerijalnim kulturnim nasljeđem, promovirao u status nezamjenjivog tipa povijesnih izvora koji traže ne samo adekvatnu brigu i skrb, nego i specijalistički tip bavljenja koje zna razumjeti ono što oni imaju za reći. Kukuljevićeva istraživanja utoliko stoje na početku većine modernih znanstvenih disciplina – od arheologije i epigrafike, povijesti umjetnosti i povijesti arhitekture, preko etnologije do književne povijesti – i nijedna od navedenih znanstvenih disciplina ne može zaobići Kukuljevićovo ime u promišljanju o vlastitim počecima u hrvatskom povijesnom kontekstu. Teme koje je Kukuljević otkrio i gradivo koje je skupio još uvijek se nalaze u središtu interesa znanstvenih istraživanja na svima navedenim područjima, i ima li se na umu njihova disciplinarna protežnost, doista je teško predstaviti si da su uopće ikad mogle biti u intelektualnoj nadležnosti jednog čovjeka.