

## THE PALACE OF DUKE SANDALJ HRANIĆ IN DUBROVNIK

NADA GRUJIĆ AND DANKO ZELIĆ

**ABSTRACT:** The palace of Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik was built between 1420 and 1432, as result of the reconstruction and adaptation of three older buildings granted to the duke by the Ragusan government in 1405, and subsequently in 1419, as part of the agreement for his cession of “half of Konavle”. The palace stood on the site of today’s *Poljana*, in the vicinity of the Rector’s Palace, its eastern front facing the port and the main, western overlooking the apse of the Romanesque cathedral. Based on the published and newly found archival evidence, this article casts light on the architectural shaping of the palace’s exterior, as well as organization and design of the interior. Also examined are the circumstances that contributed to the finalisation of the building lavishly funded by the city government. The authors highlight the background of the building project and its main protagonists—the government bodies that passed the decisions, the officials responsible for their implementation, engineers and masters commissioned to design, build and carve architectural ornaments, execute the decoration of the interior. Special attention is focused on the connections between Sandalj’s palace and other prominent private and public buildings in the city, as well as on the information on its later use, repairs and reconstruction from the close of the fifteenth century to 1667, when the building suffered irreparable damage in the Great Earthquake.

**Key words:** Dubrovnik, Residential architecture, 15th century, Gothic, Bonino da Milano, Alegreto Bogavčić

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Having earned a seemingly minor place in the narratives of the complex and centuries-long history of Dubrovnik, the role of Sandalj Hranić in the early fifteenth-century history of the city remains virtually unrivalled. The trace Duke Sandalj Hranić left in the Republic's history by ceding his "half of Konavle" had its tangible counterpart, a specific sign within the city area: a magnificent palace at the main square, in the immediate vicinity of the Rector's Palace and the cathedral, destroyed in the Great Earthquake of 1667.

The palace of Sandalj Hranić has rightly raised the interest of many researchers.<sup>1</sup> Some were attracted by the historical context and the reasons underlying its construction, others by the names of the masters commissioned for this project,

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<sup>1</sup> The first study dealing with Sandalj's palace was published by Vladimir Čorović, »Palača Sandalja Hranića u Dubrovniku«. *Narodna starina* a. II, vol. 6, no. 3 (1923): pp. 263–264. Despite a panoramic approach, mainly accounted by the (culture-historical) profile of the publication, Čorović's text is based on fairly solid knowledge and interpretation of archive evidence (for which he did not provide collocations), with a few minor errors. In the period between two World Wars the palace is discussed in the works of Risto Jeremić and Jorjo Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, vol. I. [Biblioteka Centralnog higijenskog zavoda, vol. 33; Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije i balkanskog poluostrva, vol. IX]. Beograd, 1938: pp. 18, 25 (note 26) and J. Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku*. Dubrovnik: Turistički savez u Dubrovniku, 1939: p. 18.

The first art historian to write on the palace was Cvito Fisković, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1947: pp. 58, 103, and later a more comprehensive study abounding in useful references to until then unknown archive data was published by Lukša Beritić, »Ubikacija nestalih građevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 10 (1956): pp. 81–83. Valuable contributions to the history of the palace have been made by Milan Prelog, »Dalmatinski opus Bonina da Milano«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 13 (1961): pp. 3–8; C. Fisković, »Dalmatinski majstori u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni«, in: *Srednjovjekovna Bosna i evropska kultura*. Zenica: Muzej grada, 1962: pp. 162–263; Vojislav J. Đurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola*. [Posebna izdanja SAN, knj. 363; Odeljenje društvenih nauka, knj. 45]. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1963: p. 254; C. Fisković, »Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca u Splitu«. *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* [Novi Sad] 3 (1967) 173–174, along with Nada Grujić, »Balatorij u dubrovačkoj stambenoj arhitekturi XV. stoljeća«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 37 (1997–1998): pp. 140–145, 151–153. Palace's architecture has been further discussed in Nada Grujić's lecture »Arhivski dokumenti i restitucija stambene arhitekture Dubrovnika: nekoliko primjera 15. stoljeća« (Archive documents and residential architecture of Dubrovnik: several fifteenth-century examples), submitted at the *11th Days of Cvito Fisković*, in September 2008 in Orebići.

With regard to the most recent and at the same time most extensive contribution on the palace of Sandalj Hranić—in a book by Duško Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače*. [Posebna izdanja SANU, knj. 646; Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 24]. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000: pp. 98–100, one should warn that the text is based on data in older scholarly literature which the author often interpreted inappropriately. Many of his conclusions are contradictory to the evidence presented in the published archive documents, whereas in his interpretation of the building chronology and architectural features of the palace Živanović not only repeats the errors appearing sporadically in older texts, but also makes a whole series of new ones.



Cistern crown with the coat of arms of Sandalj Hranić  
(Lapidarium of the Society of the Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquity)

particularly Bonino da Milano. The interpretations of the architectural design of this building, drawn from the archival sources, tend to confine mainly to its exterior. This study also includes the analysis of the position of Sandalj's palace within the urban fabric as well as the organization and decoration of its interior, based primarily on the documents dating between 1420 and 1432, that is, a period of most intense works.

Archive sources abound in data related to the works on the palace. Although it is by far the best documented Ragusan building of its kind, most recent research into archival material has rooted out a host of until now undetected

information which either supports or to a notable extent refutes the conclusions submitted by older scholars. Decisions concerning the project and the course of works are best traced in the minutes of the Minor Council, some important decisions being occasionally passed on the *Consilium Rogatorum*. Contracts with stonemasons and craftsmen commissioned for the project have been recorded in the chancery and notary registers, and valuable data has survived in the documents pertaining to official communication between Ragusan government and Sandalj—charters, letters and briefs or instructions issued to envoys. Apparently, palace-related issues were high on the agenda of the intense diplomatic contacts between the two sides. Equally, when delicate political matters were at stake, the Ragusans valued Sandalj's opinion concerning the project, respected his requests and kept him informed of their own positions as the works progressed. Also analysed are the contracts recording the commission of the architectural sculpture for other buildings in which the elements of Sandalj's palace are mentioned as models. With regard to the latter, it should be noted that research has provided solid proof concerning the origin of the cistern head with the coats of arms of the Kosača family (today housed at the lapidarium of the Society of the Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquity),<sup>2</sup> carved in the first half of the 1420s. According to the documents, the cistern head was part of the original interior of Sandalj's palace, and, apparently, represents its only surviving material remains. Lastly, source material related to the building after Sandalj's death (1435) has also been examined, including the period until its destruction in the Great Earthquake of 1667, particularly the documents pertaining to its repairs between 1495 and the end of the sixteenth century.

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, in return for concessions and favours done or expected, the Ragusans—besides lavish gifts in money, valuables, fabrics and food—awarded citizenship and sometimes even the noble status to the lords of the neighbouring lands.<sup>3</sup> Given that property ownership was a prerequisite of patrician status, that is, membership of the Major Council, the Ragusans also granted them landed possessions outside the city and houses in Dubrovnik. Before Sandalj Hranić the houses had been granted to the Sankovići brothers (Duke Radič and *Župan* Beljak, 1390),<sup>4</sup> Bosnian king Tvrtko II, Duke (later *Herceg*) Hrvoje

<sup>2</sup> Pavao Anđelić, »Grbovi hercega Stjepana Vukčića Kosače na kruni jedne kućne cisterne u Dubrovniku«. *Tribunia* 1 (1975): pp 83–90.

<sup>3</sup> Jovanka Mijušković, »Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva u Srednjem veku«. *Glas SANU* 246 (1961): pp. 89–130.

<sup>4</sup> Duke Radič Sanković was admitted into the Ragusan nobility by decision of the *Consilium Rogatorum* in 1399 (*Reformationes*, ser. II, vol. 31, f. 136v). All archival documents cited in this text are kept at the State Archives in Dubrovnik.

Vukčić (1399) and Duke Radoslav Pavlović (1427).<sup>5</sup> The roots of this practice undoubtedly coincide with the fragmentation of the broader political scene following the death of King Louis I of Anjou (1382). In Dubrovnik's hinterland a group of barons emerged as independent rulers of their estates, their mutual relations, as well as their relations with nominal sovereigns—either Bosnian or Hungarian-Croatian kings—having become highly dynamic and unpredictable. The power and influence of certain noble clans rested mainly on their effective capacity to control their own territory rather than on the nominal feudal hierarchy. Dubrovnik, a medieval city commune, which, at the time, was trying to consolidate itself territorially, was faced with a difficult political and diplomatic challenge: how to control such complex political developments, yet, on the one hand, continue to act in its own safety, economic and territorial interests, and on the other, carefully observe the changing power balance in the hinterland but also on the wider political scene.

The benefits, however, were mutual. Dubrovnik was a "safe haven" where family treasure could be deposited or refuge sought. Many a lord ruled in the hinterland, yet Dubrovnik, with its stable government system and consistent politics, was there to last; in 1433 Dubrovnik dispatched envoys to remind one of Radoslav Pavlović's men (from whom they expected certain favours in exchange for citizenship) that *la nostra Signoria, over comunità, mai non muore, come fano li signori*.<sup>6</sup>

Of all the hinterland lords, Sandalj—from his first arrival in the city in 1394 until death in 1435—remained by far the most trusted Ragusan ally, the stability and continuity of their relations being mirrored in the chronology of the palace's reconstruction. Mutual benefit had grown over the years into mutual respect, benevolence and even friendship. From time immemorial—as the Ragusan envoys reported to Sandalj in 1428—the city had never been a greater friend with a baron than it was with him.<sup>7</sup> The friendship was much more than mere protocol; Sandalj turned to the Ragusans for various services, and they never hesitated to put their ships at his disposal, or provide him with the service of master builders, physicians, goldsmiths, painters, etc.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: pp. 80–81.

<sup>6</sup> Nicola Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. II. Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur, 1899: p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> ... *che veramente, dapoi che fu fondata la cita di Ragusa non e memoria che cosi perfecta amista et benevolencia abia abuto con alcun signor quanto con la Vostra Signoria* ... (N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: p. 243).

<sup>8</sup> For information on this see: C. Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII. do XVII. stoljeća«. *Staro-hrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, vol. 1 (1949): pp. 210–211, 218–219; V. Đurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola*: pp. 253–256, 258–259.

The practice of granting honours and estate to feudal lords was not a Ragusan invention; in the transformation process from commune to territorial state (*dominium*) the Venetian *Signoria* resorted to a similar practice by granting patrician status and representative residential buildings to the magnates and dukes deemed important to the state.<sup>9</sup> Venice made the best of the same pragmatic methods in expanding its influence, and later domination over Dalmatia. Thus in 1396 Sandalj Hranić was granted Venetian citizenship, and in 1411 noble status.<sup>10</sup> That same year he was confirmed ownership of a palace in Zadar (granted to him as early as 1406, before the institution of the Venetian rule),<sup>11</sup> in 1423 ownership of a house in Kotor,<sup>12</sup> and lastly, in 1429, he was given a palace in Venice.<sup>13</sup>

In the communication between the Ragusans and the barons who were granted noble status the houses were always referred to as “palaces”, or, more accurately, *polače*, the latter being a generic term for a nobleman’s house, often as part of an expression *polača s mistom* (meaning the house and the plot on which it stands), a confirmation and warrant of the property’s lasting and hereditary character. In the Ragusan documents written in Latin, however, a patrician house was simply referred to as *domus* (the term *palatium* was reserved exclusively for *palatium regiminis*, or the Rector’s Palace), without the attribute of continuous and full possession, since it was implied. Given the symbolism of palace as a sign of patrician status, an important common feature of these buildings—which truly distinguished them as “noble palaces”—was the fact that they had been previously owned by notable patricians. Thus in order to emphasize the legitimacy of the donations, the names of patricians, the last noble residents of the palaces granted to Sandalj Hranić in 1419, and to Radoslav Pavlović in 1427, are given special

<sup>9</sup> For instance, in 1381 Venetian authorities came into possession of one of the palaces of the Pesaro family (today known as *Fondacho dei Turchi*) in order to grant it to the Marquis d’Este, cf. Juergen Schulz, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice*, University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004: pp. 153–154.

<sup>10</sup> *Listine o odnošajih između južnog slavenstva i Mletačke republike* (hereafter: *Listine*), ed. Šime Ljubić, vol. IV. [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, hereafter: MSHSM, vol. 4]. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (hereafter: JAZU), 1874: p. 378; *Listine VI* [MSHSM, vol. 9]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1878: pp. 127–128.

<sup>11</sup> This palace was previously owned by Damjan de Nassis, see *Listine IV*: p. 378; *Listine VI*: pp. 168, 199–200. In 1413 Sandalj files a protest because soldiers were stationed in the house, see *Listine VII* [MSHSM, vol. 12]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1882: p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> *Listine VIII* [MSHSM, vol. 17]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1886: p. 247.

<sup>13</sup> In *Privilegium donationis domus magnifici domini Sandalii*, issued by Doge Francesco Foscarei on 14 June 1429, see *Listine IX* [MSHSM, vol. 21]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1890: pp. 35–36, the palace is described as *domus (...) in contrata Sancte Trinitatis, que fuit viri nobilis Nicholai Mauroceno quondam frater Gasparini*.

prominence in the respective charters, despite a considerable time gap between the death of the previous owners and the very act of donation. The last nobility to dwell at Pavlović's palace (in the meantime owned by Džore Bokšić) were the members of the Vukasović family, which died out in 1370, whereas Sime de Gradi died during the outbreak of plague known as the Black Death back in 1348.

The location, size and furnishing of the residences donated to the barons—newly admitted members of the nobility and honorary members of the Major Council—befitted, of course, the status of their new owners. The state of these buildings required, however, smaller or larger adaptations, subsidised by the commune.<sup>14</sup> In terms of scale, duration and cost, the works on the palace of Sandalj Hranić greatly surpassed all adaptations undertaken on the houses of the Bosnian king, Hrvoje Vukčić and Radoslav Pavlović.

Duke Sandalj first visited Dubrovnik in 1394. It was then that he received a considerable gift in money,<sup>15</sup> and was granted Ragusan citizenship before 1397.<sup>16</sup> Sandalj helped the Ragusans in 1399 by persuading the Bosnian king Ostoja to grant to Dubrovnik the lands of Primorje.<sup>17</sup> In the war waged for this territory from 1400, he defeated Radič Sanković in 1404, and persuaded King Tvrtko II to confirm Ostoja's charter in 1405.<sup>18</sup> In exchange, Sandalj and his brother Vukac were granted membership of the Ragusan nobility and rewarded Sanković's estates—land in Primorje and a house in the city.<sup>19</sup> It stood on the town square (*Platea communis*), in a row of houses south of the Rector's Palace. Before being granted to the Sanković brothers in 1390,<sup>20</sup> and after the

<sup>14</sup> L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: pp. 80–83.

<sup>15</sup> *Annales Ragusini Anonymi, in: Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, ed. S. Nodilo. [MSHSM, vol. 14; Scriptorum, vol. 1]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1883: p. 50; Nicolò Ragnina, *Annali di Ragusa*, ibidem: p. 241.

<sup>16</sup> This is based on a letter the Ragusans addressed to him on 15 November 1397, Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*. Knjiga I, Dubrovnik i susedi njegovi, Prvi deo. [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i kulturu srpskog naroda, vol. I.29]. Beograd–Sr. Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1929: pp. 253–254.

<sup>17</sup> Jovan Radonić, »Der Grossvojevode von Bosnien Sandalj Hranić Kosača«. *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XIX (1897): pp. 393–394; Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: pp. 420–423.

<sup>18</sup> On the course of these events see Josip Lučić, »Stjecanje, dioba i borba za očuvanje dubrovačkog Primorja«. *Arhivski vjesnik* 11–12 (1968–1969): pp. 135–141; here published, on pp. 192–193, 197, 199, are also the instructions given to Ragusan envoys in the negotiations with Sandalj in 1404 and 1405.

<sup>19</sup> The charter issued on 3 July 1405 is published in Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: pp. 265–267.

<sup>20</sup> *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390–1392*. ed. Nella Lonza and Zdravko Šundrica. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. VI]. Zagreb–Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2005: pp. 85, 116.

death of its last owner, nobleman Iunius de Cassiça (c. 1380), it housed a notary office and the chancellor's apartment.<sup>21</sup>

On the possible repairs of the "old" Sandalj's house shortly after its donation, in the ensuing 1405, no evidence has survived.<sup>22</sup> By the end of 1406, the Ragusans informed him about the insignia (*znamenje*) he demanded to be put up on the door of his *polaća*,<sup>23</sup> while in May 1407 three noblemen of the Minor Council were chosen to supervise the works on the palace.<sup>24</sup> Considering that only the acquisition of wood material was explicitly mentioned on that occasion, the works were most likely confined to the roof, and possibly the interior. The house was again on the Council's agenda in the spring of 1408: vertical extension was excluded, renovation being limited to the essential masonry and woodwork.<sup>25</sup> In January 1409 it was decided to place the staircase inside the building, also to leave the stairs leading to the upper hall where they were, and lastly, to vault in stone the part of the ground floor occupied by the kitchen.<sup>26</sup>

The sources provide no further evidence on Sandalj's house in Dubrovnik prior to 1419, when the duke sold his half of Konavle to the Ragusans in exchange for 12,000 ducats, an estate in Župa worth 3,000 *perperi*, a yearly tribute of 500 *perperi*, in addition to two houses in the city.<sup>27</sup> Addressing the Ragusans in a charter confirming his "donation" in June 1419, Sandalj declared: "You gave me another [two] palaces with the plots in the city, previously owned by your nobleman Sime Gradić, those palaces being close to that other palace of mine, adjoining it. And you promised me to arrange them both at your expenses, beautifully and honourably".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Odluke veća Dubrovačke republike*, I, ed. Mihailo Dinić. [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, III.15]. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1951: p. 226.

<sup>22</sup> Council deliberations for 1404, 1405 and 1406 have not been preserved.

<sup>23</sup> ... *lista vaše počtene priazni primismo i što nama pisaste u jednom kakovo znamenje hoćete da vi se postavi na vratijeh vaše polaće, takozni će se i vršiti*. (Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: p. 269)

<sup>24</sup> *Reformationes*, vol. 33, f. 20v (13 May 1407), cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> *Reformationes*, vol. 33, f. 50v (24 March 1408), cited in N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: p. 116.

<sup>26</sup> *Reformationes*, vol. 33, f. 85v (22 February 1409), cited in N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> *Acta Consilii Maioris*, ser. VIII, vol. 2, f. 2r (30 June 1419). Charter in favour of Sandalj, dated 29 June 1419, published in: Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: pp. 298–301.

<sup>28</sup> *I daše mi i darovaše i druge polaće u Dubrovniku s mistom, koje polaće bile su prvo njih vlastelina Simeta Gradića, a jesu tej polaće blizu onej druge moje polaće, sdruže se zajedno. I obitovaše mi stratiti od svojih pinezi, napraviti i narediti tej polaće, obi krasno, lipo i slavno i častno*. (Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: p. 295).



The houses of Sime de Gradi, contiguous to the house of Iunius de Cassiça that had been earlier granted to Sandalj, are mentioned in the will of this nobleman who died during the pestilence of 1348, from which it is evident that it was a 'semi-detached' building—one house was facing the public square, and the other was overlooking the sea, or rather the harbour.<sup>29</sup> The fact that from 1419 the complex of Sandalj's palace consisted of three older buildings is corroborated by the information found in *Liber afflictuum thesaurarie* (established in the late 1420s), the register of real property bequeathed for charitable purposes and governed by the state treasurers (treasurers of St. Mary).<sup>30</sup> Since all three parts of the palace belonged to the treasurers' property fund, the Ragusan government—having decided to grant them to Sandalj Hranić—took upon itself a permanent obligation of paying annual rent. Furthermore, two houses of Sime de Gradi had undoubtedly been joined together before being granted to Sandalj; until 1419 they were rented to the apothecary Zanin Salimbene.<sup>31</sup>

The works on the joining together and reconstruction of the older buildings as well as the furnishing of the palace started in 1421 and were completed in 1432. The original project programme, defined on the Minor Council at the end of 1420, was based on the proposition submitted by three patricians chosen for this assignment. The Minor Council passed most of the decisions in the later course of reconstruction. Their implementation was supervised by the officials responsible for communal works, who exercised considerable autonomy on this post (as evidenced by the formulations: "let them act as they please", "as they deem of benefit for the commune" etc.). The programme of reconstruction and adaptation was subject to change over the mentioned period and extended, so that the final scope of the works and the total investment by far exceeded the original concept.

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<sup>29</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, ser. X.1, vol. 5, f. 63v. Sime de Gradi decided that houses be given to Anica, daughter of Miho de Luca as dowry if she married Fele, son of Matheus de Grede; otherwise, Anica was to receive a disbursement of 400 *perperi*, and the houses were to be leased out and the rent donated to charity. See also Irmgard Manken, *Dubrovački patricijat u 14. veku*. [Posebna izdanja, knj. 340]. Beograd: SANU, 1960: p. 282.

<sup>30</sup> *Comun de Ragusio tien ad afficto doe case de ser Sime de Gradi e terça de ser Zugno de Cassiça, qual fo date a voivoda Sandalle in MCCCCXVIII ... agosto, in perpetuum, al anno pp. LXV* (*Libri afflictuum*, ser. XLVII, *Liber afflictuum thesaurarie*, s. n., f. 161r).

<sup>31</sup> As a "house of Duke Sandalj that we have taken over from the Treasurers" the house of Sime de Gradi is mentioned in the decision of the Minor Council from 1423 (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, ser. V, vol. 3, f. 61v), by which the window grilles Zanin placed on the windows overlooking the sea were to be returned to his son.

### *The palace within the medieval urban fabric*

The Palace of Sandalj Hranić in its entire volume was located on the site of today's *Poljana Marina Držića*,<sup>32</sup> in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral, Rector's Palace and the town-gate called *Vrata od Ponte* (*porta pontis lignorum*) that led from the harbour to the town square (*platea communis*).

Until 1432 the quay between Ponta gate (*Vrata od Ponte*) and the Pier Tower (*kula od Mula*) was made of wood, and so was the Ponta pier.<sup>33</sup> The rector's galley landed at this pier, and according to an established custom, this was also the spot where most distinguished guests arriving by sea were greeted.<sup>34</sup>

The space of *Poljana Marina Držića* emerged after the Great Earthquake; the fronts of the buildings which, opposite the main portal of the Baroque cathedral, today close the eastern side of this square were constructed along the axis of an older medieval city wall towards the harbour. That wall was actually constituted by the harbour fronts of several houses in a row, among which were the ones granted to Sandalj, the owners of some being mentioned in the sources as early as in the fourteenth century. On the earlier residential buildings on this site we can only speculate, bearing in mind that due to the rising sea level over the centuries, the waterfront (harbour and the defence walls) was subject to change.<sup>35</sup>

Urbanistic importance of a part of the agglomeration built along the best protected, southern part of the harbour (in older documents known as "the inner sea") is also reflected in the archaeologically established continuity of constructing

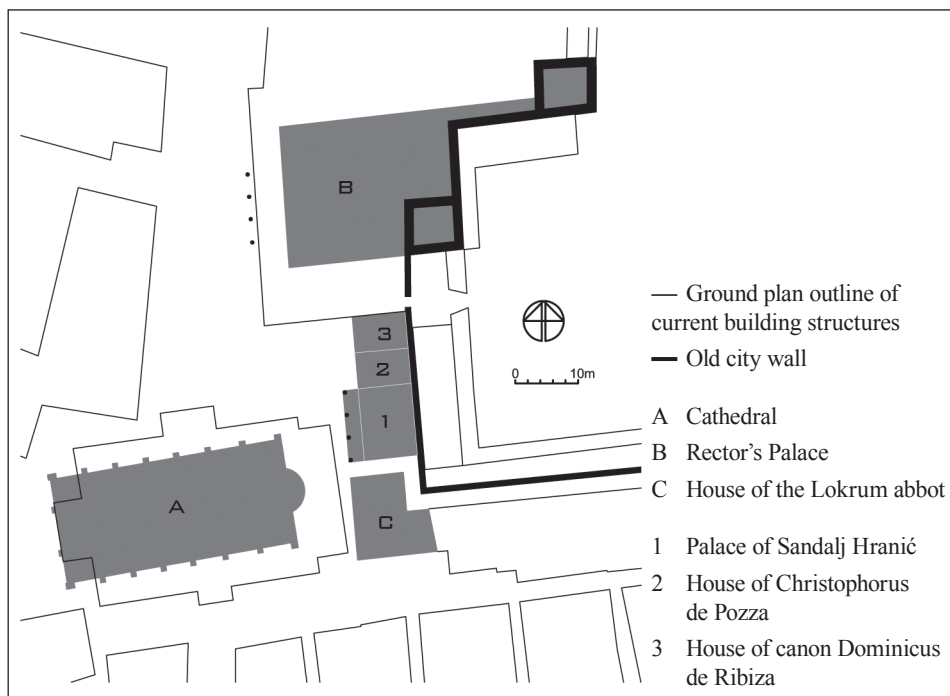
<sup>32</sup> In the mentioned text on the palace V. Ćorović has made no reference to its location. A close estimate of the position was suggested by J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 28, and accurately described by L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 81.

<sup>33</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja grada Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: JAZU, Odjel za likovne umjetnosti, 1955: p. 53.

<sup>34</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Antun Ničetić, *Povijest dubrovačke luke*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1996: pp. 66–69.

In the early Middle Ages the area surrounding the cathedral was swampy, as evidenced by some church and tower names: Tower of the swamp gate (*Turris portae paludi*), the remains of which have been found beneath the church of SS Cosmas and Damianus, as well as the church of St Saviour of the Swamp (*Sancti Salvatoris de palude*), mentioned from the thirteenth century onwards opposite the Rector's Palace.



The buildings on the site between the cathedral, Rector's Palace and the house of the Lokrum abbot during the construction of the palace of Sandalj Hranić (1420–1432)  
(drawing: Ivan Tenšek, B.A.E.)

monumental fortification and religious buildings, from Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages to the Romanesque period.<sup>36</sup> In the instructions to their envoy to Sandalj in 1430, the Ragusans stated that the duke's house was located *nel più bello logo de la cita*.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore Sandalj's palace was one of the houses that, until the 1470s, with their harbour facing fronts constituted a section of the medieval city wall between the old (Romanesque) Pier Gate (*Vrata of Ponte*) and *Pustijerna*, or, more precisely, the site where *domus monasterii Lacrome* is mentioned as

<sup>36</sup> Josip Stošić, »Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku«, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*. [Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, vol. 12]. Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1988: pp. 15–38; Ivica Žile, »Arheološki nalazi unutar perimetra povijesne jezgre grada Dubrovnika«. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 23–24 (1999–2000): pp. 336–346.

<sup>37</sup> *Lettere di Levante*, ser. XXVII.1, vol. 10, f. 140v.

early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The houses joined together into a palace stood to the north of the residence of the Lokrum abbot. Without archaeological probings, on the original architectural layout on this site, within which the already mentioned houses of Sime de Gradi and Iunius de Cassiça were located, we can only speculate. There were probably two rows of buildings, constructed on smaller and unequal plots, one row facing the sea and the other overlooking the square next to the cathedral sanctuary.<sup>39</sup>

Because of the openings in the lower sections of their harbour fronts, the houses stretching along the old city wall towards the harbour are often mentioned in the decisions of the Ragusan councils from the mid-fourteenth century on. In 1345 it was ordered that all doors and openings facing the sea were to be walled up, from the house of Nicolaus de Bucchia to *Pustijerna*,<sup>40</sup> the same being ordered in 1364 regarding the doorway on the house of Sime de Gradi.<sup>41</sup> Similar decisions, serving mainly as defensive measures against enemies or smugglers, also appear somewhat later, before and after the building of Sandalj's palace.<sup>42</sup> In 1427 its first floor windows were taken as an explicit example of how the windows of the other houses *supra portum* should be barred.<sup>43</sup> Given the fact that the city wall was made up of the houses' harbour fronts, there is no doubt that they had several floors. According to the documents, however, the medieval city wall

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<sup>38</sup> *Monumenta Ragusina, Libri reformationum*, vol. V, ed. J. Gelcich. [MSHSM, vol. 29]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1897: pp. 51–52, 55. The church of SS Cosmas and Damianus was also part of this complex, cf. Igor Fisković, »Crkvice Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u središtu Dubrovnika«. *Dubrovnik* N.S. 8/4 (1997): pp. 267–268.

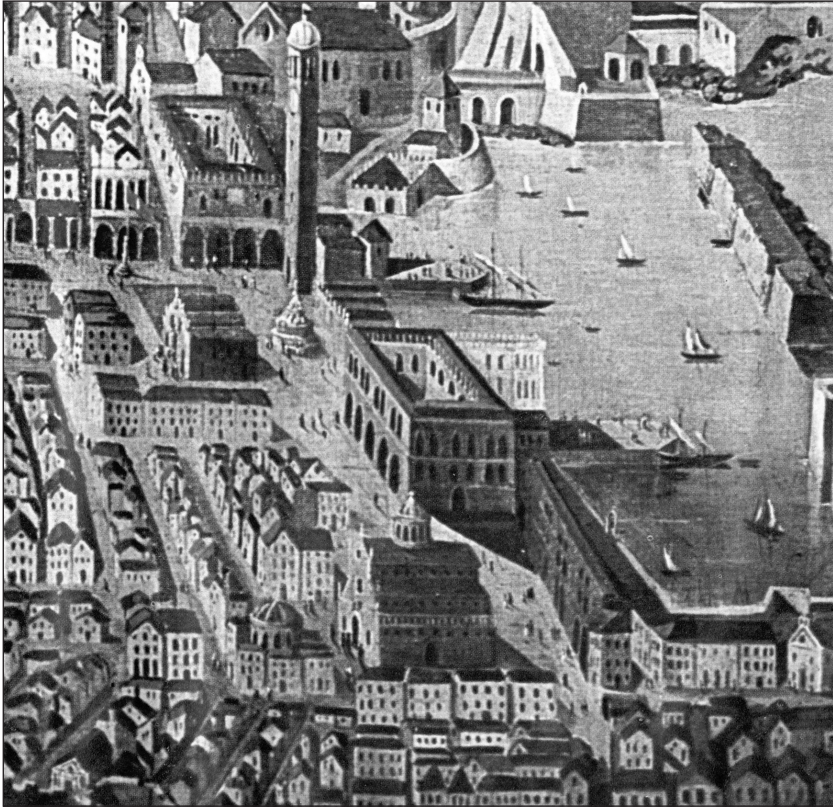
<sup>39</sup> In 1345 next to the old *Vrata od Ponte* stood the house of Nicolaus de Bucchia (L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 23). In 1435 the house of canon Dominicus de Ribiza is mentioned on this site (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, ser. III, vol. 6, ff. 4v, 5v), and in 1440 the canon's storeroom on its ground floor, next to which a vault between the south wing of the Rector's Palace and the old *Vrata od Ponte* was built (L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 62; N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano della Cava i Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«, in: *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*, ed. Predrag Marković and Jasenka Gudelj. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2008: p. 21). In 1448 the house of Christoforus de Pozza is mentioned on the waterfront, as the *Consilium Rogatorum* permitted him to pierce two windows protected with iron bars in the city wall (L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 67). This house was to the north of Sandalj's palace.

<sup>40</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 23.

<sup>41</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> *Liber viridis*, ed. Branislav M. Nedeljković. [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, III.23]. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1984: c. 2, pp. 3–4 (March 1358), c. 4, p. 4 (October 1358); c. 17, pp. 10–11 (October 1360); L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: p. 90 (January 1463).

<sup>43</sup> *Acta Consilii Maioris*, vol. 3, f. 171 r.



A row of buildings south of the Rector's Palace on a perspective view of Dubrovnik before the earthquake, detail (Dubrovnik, Franciscan Monastery)

bordering the harbour was not of the same height,<sup>44</sup> nor did it have defensive corridors at all sections.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the wall was founded on a lower level, similar, no doubt, to the equally lower level of the paved southern part of the

<sup>44</sup> In a verdict brought in 1254 by the Ragusan rector Marsilio Zorzi concerning a dispute over a part of the ancient city wall corresponding to the southern side of the harbour, it reads: *antiquus murus per altum mensurando a petra viva que est sub ipso muro vadit decem brazolarum* (~5 m); *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, vol. IV, ed. Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1906: pp. 547–548. The wall in question was built on a rock in the eastern part of *Pustijerna*. However, by the Romanesque *Vrata od Ponte* the wall rises up to 9 m.

<sup>45</sup> In 1420 the *Consilium Rogatorum* issued an order for the building of stairs and defence corridors in all the wall sections lacking them (such, for instance, was the section next to the Rector's Palace), and in 1462 the Minor Council ordered the officials to wall up the passage in the city walls above the port gates with brick and limestone in order to obstruct entry to the terrace of the Rector's Palace armoury, see L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: pp. 42, 86.

communal square in the fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Thus there is reason to believe that the ground floor levels of the houses built between the harbour and the communal square stood below the level of the today's paving of *Poljana Marina Držića*.

Regrettably, the available sources fail to provide exact data on the total number of houses that once stood between the Rector's Palace and the residence of the Lokrum abbot, nor do they give the answer to the question whether the house of Iunius de Cassiça also stretched in depth as far as the city wall. If so, there is ground to assume that the joining together of the houses oriented towards the square with those facing the port due to their walled up doorways—as illustrated by the two houses of Sime de Gradi—is a paradigm into which the house of Iunius de Cassiça may have fitted.

The already complex space organisation of the south end of the communal square was subject to radical transformation less than a decade after the completion of Sandalj's palace, first by the extension of the southern wing of the Rector's Palace (1440),<sup>47</sup> then by shifting the old Romanesque Ponta gate to the position of the so-called Inner Ponta gate (*Unutrašnja vrata od Ponte*, 1464),<sup>48</sup> by the construction of a new city wall between the Rector's Palace and Pier tower (1470–1477),<sup>49</sup> and lastly, by opening the so-called Outer Ponta gate (*Vanjska vrata od Ponte*, 1476).<sup>50</sup>

The Palace of Sandalj Hranić may be discerned on several representations of the city dated before the 1667 Great Earthquake. On the panoramic views of the city, such as the one housed at the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik,<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Next to the Romanesque *Vrata od Ponte*, from the outer side of the wall, a paving at a level of –80 cm below that of today and in front of the south-east tower of the Rector's Palace was discovered in 1981; brick paving undertaken on this part of Placa in 1360 (L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: p. 26) has been found at a depth of around –40 cm.

<sup>47</sup> N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> The old, Romanesque Ponta gate, repaired in 1441, was walled up once the new gate was opened in 1464 (the so-called "inner") gate, cf. L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: pp. 63, 95.

<sup>49</sup> A decision on the construction of a new wall in the harbour from 1470 mentions all the houses stretching along the ancient city wall, see L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 99.

<sup>50</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 103.

<sup>51</sup> C. Fisković, »Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca«: p. 174 (note 6); Vedrana Gjukić-Bender, »Prikazi Dubrovnika u slikarstvu«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 38 (1999–2000): p. 232.



Plan of Dubrovnik from the end of sixteenth century, detail  
 (Archivio di Stato di Torino, Biblioteca antica, Manoscritti, Architettura militare...,  
 vol. V, ff. 244v-245r, from: Ilario Principe, »Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz  
 XVI.-XVII. st.«. *Dubrovnik* N.S. 2/1 (1990): 191-202)

it is depicted within the row of houses between the Inner Ponta gate, on the northern side, and the residence of the Lokrum abbot on the southern side. For the convenience of perspective and full representation of the flank façade of the Rector's Palace, the true depth of these buildings, including Sandalj's palace, is somewhat reduced,<sup>52</sup> in addition to an unfaithful representation of the relation of its façade and the subsequently attached (at the time when these paintings were made a partially closed) portico. The evidence gathered from the documents

<sup>52</sup> The house façades south of the Rector's Palace were shifted towards the sea thus enabling a full view of the south front of the Rector's Palace.

seems to correlate more directly with the depiction of the palace on a city map from the sixteenth century, kept at the Turin State Archives,<sup>53</sup> showing the ground plan of the most important buildings as well as their characteristic architectural features. Among them, opposite the sanctuary of the Romanesque cathedral stands Sandalj's palace with a portico up front and a passage separating it from the house of the Lokrum abbot. Although the Turin map offers a valuable insight into the spatial organisation in that part of the city before the Great Earthquake, it cannot serve as a truly reliable source for determining the ground plan dimensions of the palace.<sup>54</sup>

In any case, the above-mentioned representations, supported by the archival data, confirm that Sandalj's palace had two fronts: the western facing the cathedral and the eastern facing the harbour. To the north was the house of Christoforus de Pozza, and to the south a vaulted passage.

### *The architecture of the palace*

The scanty evidence on the works undertaken on the "old" Sandalj's house between 1407 and 1409<sup>55</sup> cannot help reconstruct its architectural structure. From the decision on locating the staircase inside and not outside the house one is unable to determine whether the building had originally been equipped with an outdoor staircase leading to the residential space on the upper floors or it was merely one of the reconstruction options submitted for discussion. Equally obscure are the conclusions by which the stairs that led to the hall should remain on their original position, or that the kitchen area located on the ground floor be vaulted. The joining together of the house (once two houses) of Sime de Gradi in 1419 to the old Sandalj's house marked the beginning of large-scale works aimed at creating a unique and representative building in terms of function, ground plan and design.

The documents concerning the architectural concept of Sandalj's palace contain several kinds of information: data related to the adaptation of the three older houses, information illuminating the reconstruction of the then existing walls, and evidence pertaining to the sections constructed *ex novo*. Due to scarce knowledge

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<sup>53</sup> Ilario Principe, »Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz XVI.– XVII. st.«. *Dubrovnik* N. S. 2/1 (1991): pp. 191–202.

<sup>54</sup> This is based on comparison with other buildings the dimensions of which are known, either preserved, as with the Rector's Palace, or established on the basis of archaeological research, as in the case of the Romanesque cathedral.



of the “previous state”, the complete proposition, i.e., adaptation plan submitted by the officials in 1420, which served as basis for discussion on the Minor Council, cannot be reconstructed with exactitude. In fact, the conclusions contain only the details in which the proposition was modified.

### *The façade facing the cathedral*

The proposition submitted by the officials was, concerning the main façade, almost fully accepted. The decision from October 1420 mentions, namely, only the portal (the existing one or either that submitted in drawing) which, according to plan, was to be “three or four stairs” southward.<sup>56</sup> The concept of the façade is more clearly discerned from the data recorded in July 1421, when Andreas de Menze and Iunius de Bona, members of the Minor Council, were appointed to commission Alegreto, the stonemason, to carve the doorways, windows and *ballatorium* for Sandalj’s house.<sup>57</sup> The number and position of the openings on the main façade is visible from the contract by which Alegreto soon commissioned the carved components from stonemason Antun.<sup>58</sup> Master Antun promised to make the stone elements for the frame of the main entrance, equal in dimensions to the front doorway of the house of protovestiary Džore, elements for the four-light window, for two Saracenic windows flanking the *quadriphora*, three smaller Saracenic windows for the first floor, also modelled after the ones on the house of protovestiary Džore and lastly, all the necessary elements for the *ballatorium*—consoles, pavement slabs and the fence.<sup>59</sup> A new door on the

<sup>55</sup> See notes 24–26.

<sup>56</sup> ... *de faciendo fabricare domum voivode Sandalii ad terrenum sicut est designata preter quod de tirando portam versus pelagus per tres aut per quatuor scalinas (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 2, f. 149a, r; 6 October 1420), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: pp. 263–264 (erroneously dated); L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.*

<sup>57</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 2, f. 204v (17 July 1421).*

<sup>58</sup> This document is cited in R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi I*: pp. 18, 25 i C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 58, and published in: N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: pp. 151–152.

<sup>59</sup> ... *io maistro Anthonio son tenuto dare per la porta dele petre zoe de misura a quel modo como la porta de Zore prothobistiar et anchora una balchonata com tre colonne et ancho sarasine due qual stano a duy ladi de la balchonada senza appozi et ancho sarasine tre pizoli del primo palmento como e a chasa del detto Zore prothobistiar. Et anchora per uno balatore ch’ io le dia denti trentasey de pietre zoe de mezo brazo a quadro zaschuno, de qualli denti trentasey siano denti deseocto de palmi quatro, l’altra mitade de palme zinque. Et anchora piange deseocto et zaschuna pianga de per se habia la largeza de palmi tre et longeza de palmi quatro et la grosseza mezo pe. Et anchora per li pilastri et le colonelle per lo detto ballathoro zo che serano de bisogno. Et anchora li archetti che serano de sopra quanto serano de bisogno ... (Diversa Notariae, ser. XXVI, vol. 13, f. 189r; 2 August 1421).*

façade opposite the sanctuary of the Romanesque cathedral was planned to be opened on the ground level, on the first floor three smaller Saracenic windows, in the second-floor zone a four-light window in the middle, flanked by a larger Saracenic window on each side,<sup>60</sup> and the *ballatorium* at the top.

Only a few days following this commission, on 6 August 1421, the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided that the main façade wall was to be completely knocked down and built anew (*ut faciem anteriorem domus de versus ecclesiam que stantur pro voyvoda Sandalia tota equetur solo et reficiatur de novo*), this new decision marking a shift from partial interventions and small-scale renovations.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the old front walls were an obstacle to achieving the desired impression of the palace's representativeness. The Minor Council soon appointed two of its officials to supervise the implementation of this decision, authorising them to commission all the necessary works either from master Antun or from other stonemasons and masters.<sup>62</sup> In August, timber was procured for these works in Senj,<sup>63</sup> and in October the officials for communal works were ordered to gather the stone material "from the house and for the house" which, in the meanwhile, had been stolen, sold or borrowed;<sup>64</sup> this information undoubtedly confirms that for the building of the new façade older stone material was also used. The order issued for the payment to be made to master Antun in March 1422 is probably related to the pulling down of the façades of the two older houses and rebuilding of the new palace front,<sup>65</sup> that is, an order issued to the armoury officials to lend ropes and beams necessary for the mounting of stone to the officials for communal works, who, in the shortest term possible, were to embark upon construction.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The term, referring to single-bay windows with pointed arches, appears in Ragusan written sources in the first half of the fourteenth century. At the time most windows of this type were two cubits (~1 m) wide, at the end of the century they became wider, measuring up to 3 cubits (~1.5 m), while their height varied from 2.30 to 3.19 m. Some were equipped with consoles and *auriculi*, or with mantels (*cum* or *senza mantelletis*). Two windows of this kind (*fenestre due chiamate serachine*), of exceptional dimensions (nearly 2 m wide, and almost 8 m high) and ornaments, were carved by Pietro di Martino da Milano in 1440 for the Rector's Palace, cf. N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: pp. 34–35, doc. 4.

<sup>61</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 52v (6 August 1421).

<sup>62</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 210v (11 August 1421).

<sup>63</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 212v (12 August 1421), cited by V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264 (erroneously dated).

<sup>64</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 221r (20 October 1421).

<sup>65</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 254v (7 March 1422).

<sup>66</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 256r (16 March 1422).

On the design of the *balchonata*, a four-light window whose prototype, the window on the house of Džore Bokšić, was also destroyed in the Great Earthquake, there are no archival data. In 1425 its upper part was filled with glass and barred,<sup>67</sup> and a contract from 1423 refers to its tracery as a model for the tracery of a two-light window for the house of Stefano de Volzigna.<sup>68</sup> Of all the openings on the main façade of Sandalj's palace, most often commissioned were the windows modelled after the Saracenic windows on the first floor, hence the most details about them.<sup>69</sup> From the contract between master Alegreto and Dobrašin Radinović who, in 1424, for Luka Brajković made four Saracenic windows *cum mantelletis*, in design and quality similar to the windows on the first floor of Sandalj's house, we learn, for example, that unlike the latter they should have two consoles and two *auriculi*, the opening of each window being 9 spans (~2.30 m) high and 4 spans (~1.02 m) wide.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 215r (17 April 1425), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

<sup>68</sup> ... *io Radich Bratoradovich petraro me obligo a Stefano de Volzigna a far una balchognata di colonna una per mezzo et lavorada di scarpello ben et pulido et la dicta balcognata che sia lavorada a crosetto como quella ala casa di Bratossavo orexe et la dicta croxetta che sia relevata como la bancognata (!) di Sandagl et lo capitello dela cologna dela dicta balcognata che sia intaglato in octo chantoni et le misglen (?) che sia intaglata come e le finestre saraxine del dicto Sandagl ... (Diversa Cancellariae, ser. XXV, vol. 42, f. 201v; 1 November 1423).*

The tracery of Sandalj's four-light window is described in greater detail in a contract from 1492, by which, for the house of Franciscus Benessa, a group of stonemasons was commissioned to make *unam balconatam cum duabus fenestris sarachinis que balconata sit ad similitudinem balconate domus communis que dicitur comitis Stephani videlicet arcus intus et extra et parastatas et columnas sicut sunt in domo ser Antonii et ser Clementis Marini de Goze (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 89, ff. 91v-92; 25 October 1492).*

<sup>69</sup> For instance, in 1424 Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Bogosalić were commissioned by Antun de Butcho *facere, laborare et construere sex fenestras saracinas cum pragis et omnibus opportunis fulcitas ... ac illius magnitudinis et forme quibus et prout sunt fenestre domus voyvode Sandagl que sunt in primo palmento ipisus domus... (Diversa Notariae, vol. 14, f. 69v);* Ratko Ivančević and Radoje Pribilović promised in 1427 the representatives of Živko Radosaljić known as Kastrat *tres fenestras sarachinas sicut sunt ille que sunt in domo voivode Sandalii ad primum palmentum (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 44, ff. 98r-98v).*

<sup>70</sup> ... *Magister Allegretus et magister Dobrassinus lapicide ... promiserunt Luce Braichovich dicto Bon (...) fenestras quatuor saracenas cum mantelletis illius forme et qualitatis cuius et qualis sunt fenestre domus voyvode Sandagl primi palmenti. Et de pluri habere debeant duos dentes et duas auriculas intalliatas pro qualibet earum, que fenestre pro qualibet earum sint altitudinis palmarum nouem in lumine et latitudinis palmarum quatuor in lumine (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 42, ff. 255v-256r),* cited in: C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 114.

In residential architecture, *mantelleti* are wooden screens around a staircase (R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi I*: p. 11). It is possible, however, that on the Saracenic windows these shelters were actually wooden bars (as depicted, for example, on the painting of Vittore Carpaccio *The dream of St Ursula*), or even carved *transenna*, in Islamic architecture known as *masharabiyya* (Deborah Howard, *Venice & The East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000: p. 159).

In 1426 the same two masters were commissioned by Ivan de Luca to carve two Saracenic windows *cum intaglis et fogliaminibus* similar to those on the windows on the first floor of Sandalj's palace, only a span taller.<sup>71</sup>

From the contract of April 1422, by which Brajko Bogosalić was commissioned to carve three *balchoncelli*,<sup>72</sup> i.e. small two-light windows,<sup>73</sup> for the front façade, we learn, however, that Sandalj's palace had three floors, the third floor never being mentioned until then.<sup>74</sup> The idea of extending the front façade with a third storey must have been related to the earlier mentioned decision on the pulling down of the front wall and its rebuilding. In terms of size and quality, the *balchoncelli* were to pattern after those decorating the house of Martolus de Zammagna, while the mouldings of their window-sills were to be designed after those of the Saracenic windows of the lower floor. Sandalj's palace third floor windows are recurrently mentioned as models,<sup>75</sup> explicitly described in one commission as positioned *subtus canaliam*, that is, below the cornice itself.<sup>76</sup>

The gilt and colouring also contributed to the impressive appearance of the main façade: in 1425 the Minor Council ordered the officials *quod deaurari faciant cum auro et cum azuro et coloribus a parestata porte domus Sandalii superius et de aurando etiam cimerium et arma*,<sup>77</sup> the latter referring to a sculpted coat of arms affixed to the harbour front. In 1426, while expecting Sandalj's arrival, the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided, among other things, to commission an additional gilded *cimerium* for the Palace's principal front.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, ff. 70v–71r.

<sup>72</sup> ... *balchoncellos tres de bona petra et bene laboratos pro domo quam fieri faciunt pro voivoda Sandagl pro tertio solario dicte domus de illa magnitudine et qualitate prout sunt illi balchoncelli qui sunt in domo ser Martoli de Zammagno et pro eodem pretio quo costiterint dicti ipsi balchoncelli dicti ser Martoli ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 42, f. 31r; 6 April 1422).

<sup>73</sup> On this type of window see R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi I*: pp. 9–10 and C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 65–66. More details on these windows are provided by other sources. For instance, in 1417 Dobrašin Radinović was commissioned to carve for the house of canon Matheus de Giorgi *duos balchonicellos cum colupnis fulcitis (...) cum dentibus et auribus* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 41, f. 156r).

<sup>74</sup> In literature the palace is regularly referred to as a two-storey building.

<sup>75</sup> In the contracts cited in notes 208–211.

<sup>76</sup> See note 209.

<sup>77</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 215r (17 April 1425), cited in: L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>78</sup> ... *de schulpendo unum cimerium et ornando eum cum auro in facie domus ipsi voivode que respicit versus ecclesiam Sancte Marie ...* (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 288v; 3 February 1426), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

### *The ballatorium*

The palace was crowned by a stone *ballatorium*.<sup>79</sup> As specified in 1421,<sup>80</sup> for this *ballatorium* master Antun was commissioned to carve thirty-six stone consoles, square in section, each side equivalent to half an ell, of which eighteen consoles were to be four and eighteen five spans long, eighteen slabs three spans wide, four spans long and half a span thick, in addition to all the necessary balusters and small arches for the fence.

Precise measurements and notably an identical number of the double consoles and the slabs which they support indicate that the *ballatorium* encircled a rooftop open loggia (*liagò*) from all four sides. Assuming that the walls to which the consoles were jointed were around 60 cm thick, they enclosed a rectangular space measuring 3 x 2.4 m,<sup>81</sup> the outer measurement of the *ballatorium* fence being 5.63 x 5.12 m, certainly after it had been decided in 1422 that the stone slabs should extend the consoles by half a foot or 17 cm.<sup>82</sup> The construction of Sandalj's *ballatorium* resembles the crowning of some towers; the crenellation being replaced by a perforated fence which may sometimes be found at the top of city towers or

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<sup>79</sup> Dissonant opinions surround the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace. According to some authors, the stone *ballatorium* was positioned within the house, i. e., in the main hall (R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi* I: p. 18; D. Živanović, *Dubrovačke kuće i polače*: p. 98), yet it is generally assumed that the *ballatorium* was "on Sandalj's palace" (V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 263; C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 58, 103; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: pp. 81–83; M. Prelog, »Dalmatinski opus Bonina da Milano«: pp. 3–8; N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: pp. 140–143).

Although from the beginning of the fifteenth century the houses in Dubrovnik were known to have wooden *ballatorii* in their halls, no data to support the existence of such a *ballatorium* in the hall of Sandalj's palace have been found.

<sup>80</sup> See notes 58 and 59.

<sup>81</sup> The length of the upper consoles is 5 spans (~1.28 m), lower 4 spans (~1.02 m); the slabs measure 3 x 4 spans (~0.76 x 1.02 m). Considering that approximately one third of the console had to be built into the wall, the slabs being laid on the consoles according to a pattern determined by their length, the width of the walking area was around 80 cm, and as such falls under the term *ballatorium* and justifies its use, cf. N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: p. 150. The interpretation of the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace given in the latter article has been corrected here: the total length of the elements commissioned for the *ballatorium* apparently add up to 18.5 m, which exceeds the assumed width of the front façade and excludes any assumption that the whole façade ended with the *ballatorium*.

<sup>82</sup> ... *Et planche ponende supra dentes domus ipsius pro ballatorio sint porrecte et posite adeo quod extra ipsos dentes excedant per medium pedem et hoc ad hoc ut ballatorium sit amplius* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 19r; 15 October 1422), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

bell towers.<sup>83</sup> No evidence has been traced on a similar construction erected on any other house in the then Dubrovnik. For this reason the solution applied may rightly be considered exceptional and even innovative. The realisation was doubtless a complex one: by the end of 1422, the officials for communal works were ordered to entrust master Bonino da Milano<sup>84</sup> with its construction and to finally complete the *ballatorium* by the beginning of the next year.<sup>85</sup>

The *ballatorium* encircled a quadrangular open loggia referred to as *liagò* in a 1425 document;<sup>86</sup> it was decorated with painted coats of arms,<sup>87</sup> similar to the ones displayed at the communal loggia.<sup>88</sup> No other details about the pavilion are cited, yet there is reason to believe that some parts were made of wood.

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<sup>83</sup> The ground plan measures of the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace tend to resemble the bell tower fence of the Korčula cathedral of a much later date (the work of Marko Andrijić from 1482), see Goran Nikšić, »Marko Andrijić u Korčuli i Hvaru«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 37 (1997–1998): pp. 191–228. Among the possible models discussed in this article is the bell tower in Soleto (Apulia), built from the end of the fourteenth century on, as well as the bell towers in Abruzzi and Umbria where similar fences also feature (p. 204, notes 31–33). However, such constructions appear elsewhere, also north of the Alps, as on the church bell tower in Heilbronn.

As suggested in this article, the *ballatorium* was constructed in such a way that all the commissioned slabs, including the corner ones, were of equal size: in that case all their joints could have rested on the consoles only if the latter had been jointed to the wall radially. Confirmation of such construction has been found on Sicily: Porta Marina di Siracusa (fifteenth century), Pietraperzia (Enna; seventeenth century).

<sup>84</sup> ... *quod ballatorium de lapide construendum in domo Sandagl officiales laboreriorum debeant commicti magistro Bonino de Mediolano ut illud faciat* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 31v; 14 December 1422), cited in V. Čorović, »Palača«: p. 264; C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 58; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

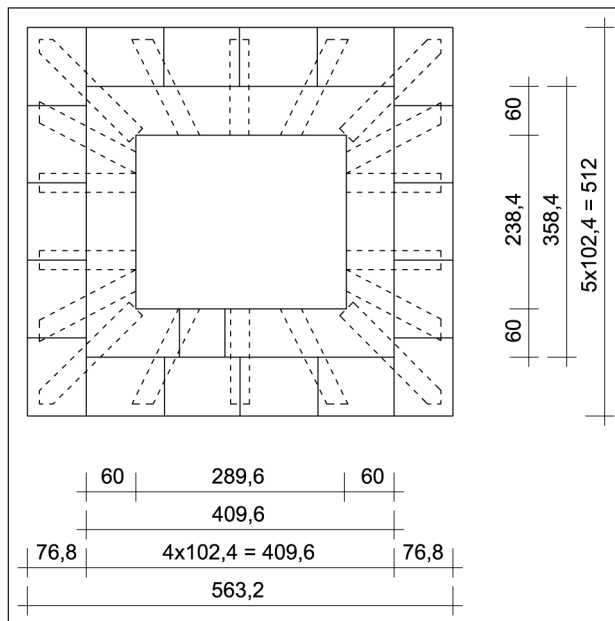
<sup>85</sup> *Captum fuit de dando libertatem officialibus laboreriorum comunis quod possint aptari et poni facere primas scalas in domo voivode Sandagl de petra et secundas et tertias scalas de lignamine et ballatorium et fieri facere portas quarumcunque fenestrarum dicte domus laborando predicta laboreria prout eis videbitur melius et utilius pro comuni. Et quod fieri faciant unam fenestram in camera primi solarii versus marinam sarachinam ferratam* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 44r; 27 January 1423).

<sup>86</sup> The term *liagò* (derived from the Greek word *heliakon* = place exposed to the sun) emerged in Venetian architecture in the twelfth century, and described a rooftop loggia with one side open; it was usually made of stone or wood, cf. Giorgiana Bacchin Reale and Elisabetta Pasqualin, »Dal liagò all'altana«, in: *Le altane di Venezia*. Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 1989: p. 15–19.

In the architecture of Dubrovnik *liagò* also stands for rooftop open loggia: in 1442 for his house in the city Iunius de Gradi had commissioned three columns with capitals carved, two pillars and cornices modelled after the *liagò* of his house in the Ploče suburb (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 57, f. 14r).

<sup>87</sup> ... *de aurando etiam cimierium et arma et de pingendo ipsa que sunt in liago domus ipsius voivode Sandalii* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 215r; 17 April 1425).

<sup>88</sup> According to Philippus de Diversis, in the mid-fifteenth century in the communal loggia ... *in summitate videlicet in muro et trabibus figunt magnates tabulas cum eorum armis, et presertim Francigenae, et Anglici ac Teotonici principes Ragusio transeuntes ad sepulcrum sanctum Domini* (Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, ed. Zdenka Janeković-Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: p. 152).



Ground plan of the construction and floor surface of the *ballatorium* (drawing: Ivan Tenšek, B.A.E.)



Rooftop loggia of Sandalj's palace (left of the Fortress of St John) painted by Nikola Božidarević, c. 1500 (detail from the triptych at the Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik)

Sandalj's *liagò* was not the only of its kind in the city, yet it owed its uniqueness to the ornate *ballatorium*. Rooftop loggias were usually built at the house corners, being supported by the outer load-bearing walls, and in this particular case it is logical to assume that Sandalj's *liagò* stood above the principal façade; contrarily, had it been erected above the east front, i.e., above the city wall, it would have represented an obstacle to the city's eventual defence.

The *liagò*, like several others, is visible on Božidarević's painting of Dubrovnik,<sup>89</sup> some non-extant constructions of this kind are mentioned in fifteenth-century documents, and some have been preserved.<sup>90</sup> These roofed, shady and airy loggias that usually offered magnificent view, in Dubrovnik, as elsewhere in Europe, contributed to the quality of life in the closely-knit medieval urban space, having also become a notable status feature of larger houses and palaces.

### *The harbour front*

Unlike the western front facing the square and the cathedral, the eastern façade, facing the harbour, is scantily documented. Since it was part of a city wall, it had fewer openings. The windows on the first floor were barred even before the house of Sime de Gradi had been given to Duke Sandalj.<sup>91</sup> With the new window frames these bars were replaced by new ones. Apparently, in the early 1423 a new Saracenic window with bars was commissioned for one of the rooms on the first floor.<sup>92</sup> In 1424 two *lower* windows are explicitly mentioned, no doubt in the first-storey zone, that were to be gilded.<sup>93</sup> As early as in 1420, for two second-storey rooms two new Saracenic windows were planned, between which was to be posted a gilded stone *cimerium*,<sup>94</sup> a sculpted coat of arms, presumably composed of a shield, veiled helmet and the crest. In October 1422 the officials were ordered

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<sup>89</sup> A detail of the triptych painted by Nikola Božidarević around 1500 (Dubrovnik, Dominican Monastery).

<sup>90</sup> The house at the southern end of *Pobijana* street also had it, the remains of its construction are still visible at the top of the stairs used by the Baroque complex at the southern end of the insula between the streets of Braće Andrijića and Đuro Baljivi.

<sup>91</sup> See note 31.

<sup>92</sup> See note 85.

<sup>93</sup> *Captum fuit de inaurando illas duas infimas fenestras domus voivode Sandagl versus portum Ragusii* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 136v; 6 April 1424), cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>94</sup> ... *Et in duabus cameris dicti palmenti secundi fiant due fenestre saracine ad arma et cum cimero deaurato in medio ipsarum fenestrarum* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 149a, r; 6 October 1420), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača« (incorrectly dated), 263–264; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.



to commission a stonemason who would carve the arms according to a design they had.<sup>95</sup> In the contract signed with Bonino da Milano, dated 19 October 1422, a drawing is mentioned, made by the master himself and signed by a notary.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, *cimerium* was of a monumental size: it was to measure six and a half cubits (~3.33 m) in both height and width.<sup>97</sup> When it was completed in March 1423, the *Consilium Rogatorum* reconsidered its future position, suggesting that it be put up on the palace's principal façade instead of the one overlooking the sea. However, the original concept prevailed.<sup>98</sup> This decision testifies to the importance attached to the east façade and the impression the palace was expected to make when viewed from the sea. In 1422 the east façade was completed by mounting a stone gutter that was to carry the water into the cistern,<sup>99</sup> the gutter elements (*gorne*) were supported by corbels, no doubt finely carved like their counterparts on the principal front.<sup>100</sup> There also followed a decision to raise the city wall next to Sandalj's palace so that the two constructions level in height, which would make the palace's roofing easier.<sup>101</sup> This was probably the spot where the water started to leak and caused damages, on account of which the first repairs on the palace were undertaken in 1434.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>95</sup> ... *de dando libertatem ser Nicole de Prodanello et sociis officialibus laborerierum comunis possendi se concordare cum magistro qui debet facere cimerium in domo Sandalii (...) quod laborerium fieri debeat secundum designamentum quod habent dicti officiales laborerierum (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 19r; 15 October 1422), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.*

<sup>96</sup> ... *Magister Boninus de Mediolano lapicida ad presens habitator Ragusii super se et omnia bona sua promisit et se (omnia bona sua promisit) et se obligavit ser Georgio de Caboga et ser Iohanni Ma. de Cereva officialibus laborerierum comunis presentibus et nomine comunis recipientibus laborare unum cimerium cum arma voivode Sandagl (supra portam cancell.) pro domo que construitur per comune pro dicto voivode ad illam similitudinem et formam secundum quod apparet per unum designamentum in uno foleo factum per ipsum magistrum Boninum in quo foleo scriptum est nomen mei Benedicti notarii quem debet remanere penes dictum magistrum Boninum pro similitudine laborerii habenda (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 42, f. 74v; 19 October 1422).*

<sup>97</sup> *Duos cimerios de arma* which Ratko Ivančić in 1427 carved for the palace of Duke Radoslav Pavlović (*Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 44, f. 147r*) were considerably smaller: 1.28 x 1.28 m.

<sup>98</sup> *Prima pars est de ponendo cimeralem armam lapideam nunc perfectam in domo Sandagl ex parte portus Ragusii. Capta per XXII; contra: V. (Secunda pars est de ponendo illam in domo predicta ex parte anteriori, videlicet versus ecclesiam sanctae Mariae. cancell.) (Acta Consilii Rogatorum, vol. 3, f. 144v; 1 March 1423).* The document cited in: L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>99</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 8r (26 August 1422), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.*

<sup>100</sup> See note 212.

<sup>101</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 13v (1 October 1422), cited in L. Beritić, Utrvdenja: p. 43.*

<sup>102</sup> *Captum fuit quod officiales laborerierum (...) debeant aptari fecisse uti expedit in domo voivode Sandagl ubi aqua damnum faciebat soffite ipsius domus de versus levantem et in camera picturam quam destruxit aqua (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 6, f. 127r; 17 April 1434), cited in N. Jorga, Notes et extraits: p. 319.*

### *Interior organization*

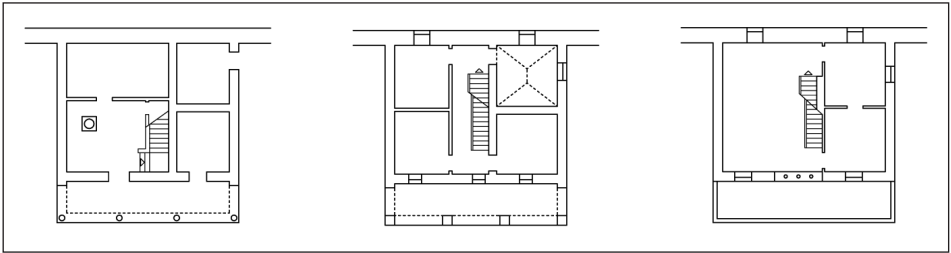
Although in their letter to Sandalj from 1429<sup>103</sup> the Ragusans stated that they had torn down the old houses *fin alli fundamenti*, in actual fact, they only dismantled their façades. It is however beyond question that the interior layout of the new building had been predetermined by the existing walls and that the changes in palace's interior were not, as it might seem, all that radical. This is particularly true of the ground floor where the load-bearing walls could not be pulled down without causing direct damage to the walls on the first and second floor. Although from the documents today available we cannot establish with certainty which of the older load-bearing or partition walls in the interior have been preserved, the fact that on both the first and the second floor there exist two mutually adjoining rooms suggests that they used the existing spaces—that is, the perimetric walls of the two smaller houses of Sime de Gradi, and that “Sandalj's old house” would occupy larger premises or simply divide this area with thinner partition walls. Such a division of the interior space of the new palace may be anticipated from the very first building instructions issued in 1420.<sup>104</sup>

Fourteenth-century houses that were joined together and adapted to form Sandalj's palace had storage rooms and/or shops on its ground floors, most probably separated from the narrow entrance halls from which the staircases led to the residential parts upstairs. Reorganisation of the ground floor space resulted primarily from a need to arrange a representative entrance hall. The earlier mentioned decision from 1420—on the shifting (of the existing or newly designed) door “for about three or four stairs” southwards—must have referred to the main portal. The entrance hall was to occupy much of the ground floor space. The cistern was located below it;<sup>105</sup> it

<sup>103</sup> ... *Et guardando la casa che fu promessa alla vostra signoria, quella che fu de ser Sime di Gradi, perche non ne parse esser ben sufficiente, guardando all' amor vostro facessimo ghetar quella et la vostra che era li appresso fin alli fundamenti et rilevar di novo con tucti quelli adornamenti et conciamenti che ne fu possibile ...* (*Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 63r; 23 May 1429), cited in N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: pp. 249–250 and V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

<sup>104</sup> ... *Et primum palmentum dicte domus fabricetur sicut est designatum. Et secundum palmentum fabricetur sicut est designatum. Et in duabus cameris dicti palmenti secundi fiant due fenestre saracine ad arma et cum cimero deaurato in medio ipsarum fenestrarum. Et in duabus cameris prope scalam secundi palmenti fiant due porte videlicet in unaquaque ipsarum una porta. Et in meçanino dictarum camerarum fiat una porta per quam eat de una camera in aliam. Et domus antiqua Sandalii erigatur sicut domus ser Sime de Gradi que est data dicto Sandalio ita quod dicta domus antiqua Sandalii erecta coequetur domui dicti quondam ser Sime de Gradi ...* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 149a, r; 6 October 1420), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača« (incorrectly dated), 263–264; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>105</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2 f. 149a, r (5 December 1420); cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: 264.



Schematically outlined ground plan of the ground floor (a), first floor (b), second floor (c) (drawing: Ivan Tenšek, B.A.E.)

was the building of the cistern that marked the beginning of the works in the spring of 1421.<sup>106</sup>

The stone staircase between the ground floor and first floor was built in the course of 1423, between the end of January<sup>107</sup> and mid-October, when a stone balustrade was commissioned.<sup>108</sup> Stairs must have been built into the wall between the two older houses,<sup>109</sup> their opposite ends resting upon a reinforcing wall. The number and height of the stairs is not known, yet the information about the width of the staircase—around 1.5 m—we learn from a decision brought in 1422, by which it was confirmed that the staircase would in width measure “as much as the space left for its construction allows, that is, six spans”.<sup>110</sup> Vertical communication from the first floor to the upper levels was secured by wooden stairs, most likely

<sup>106</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 181r (4 March 1421), cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82.

<sup>107</sup> See note 85.

<sup>108</sup> ... *Magister Allegretus de Bugolin lapicida promisit (...) facere in domo dicti voyvode ad schalam existentem in ipsa domo apozium de collonellis lapidis Curzole et boni et sufficientis ac bene ordinati et laborati, talem etiam et in tali modo et ordine qualis et quo est apozium factum in domo dicti ser Mathei de Gradi ad schalam suam. (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 42, f. 196r; 19 October 1423).*

<sup>109</sup> Thus located staircase facilitated direct access to several rooms on the upper floors; by placing it along one of the outer walls, some rooms would necessarily serve as passage. Depending on the position and size of the entrance space, i.e., entrance hall, the staircases of the then Dubrovnik houses leading from the ground floor to the first floor were always made of stone, usually L-shaped: the first, shorter flight, composed of merely a few steps, was located along the façade wall, while the next leaned on the load-bearing wall. Such a solution, confirmed on a number of fifteenth-century houses, may have also been employed on Sandalj's palace.

<sup>110</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 24v (6 November 1422), cited in V. Čorović, »Palača«: p. 264. The stairs ordered in 1388 for the house of Džore Bokšić were 5 ½ spans long (~1.37 m); those which Nikola Radinović made in 1424 for the house of Martolus de Binzola were 2 ½ cubits (~1.25 m) long (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 42, f. 242v). For Sandalj's palace, however, the length of stairs is not specified, although we know the width of the staircase. By comparison, the stairs between the ground and the first floor of Ranjina's and Kaboga's houses at Pustijerna were 1 m wide.

not as wide: on the first floor certain space had to be left next to them allowing access to the rooms, whereas on the second floor the stairs could have been located inside the hall, separated from it by a reticular wooden fence.<sup>111</sup>

Eventually, a shed occupied part of the ground floor; in 1425 it was decided that a shed with mangers and everything needed for horse keeping be adapted below the kitchen.<sup>112</sup> The shed was probably accessed from the passage between the Palace and the house of the Lokrum abbot.<sup>113</sup>

The documents mention two rooms on the first floor. For the room facing the harbour a Saracenic window with bars (probably instead of an older window) was commissioned in 1423.<sup>114</sup> That same year it was decided that one room on the first floor, that same room in all likelihood, “should remain as it is” and that above the bed a canopy (*ghabia*) be installed and that the other room be furnished in exactly the same manner (with bed and *ghabia*).<sup>115</sup> The term *ghabia* or *cabia* appears in the documents in two meanings, both related to the furnishing of the palace’s interior: it is mentioned when referring to the bed, “caged in” from all sides by a *ghabia*, but the term is also used to describe a wooden ceiling mounted over the entire room.<sup>116</sup>

As earlier mentioned, also on the first floor, above the shed on the ground floor, was a kitchen. In 1422, the wooden ceiling in that room was to be replaced by a vault.<sup>117</sup> Since vaults can rest only on load-bearing walls, the kitchen could have occupied one quarter of the storey level, its vaulted ceiling being buttressed by the outer and inner load-bearing walls. The following year it was upon the officials to decide “if possible and if to their liking” to open a window on the kitchen,<sup>118</sup> most probably on the wall facing the passage between the Palace and the house of the Lokrum abbot.

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<sup>111</sup> Reticular fenced stairs (*scala cum rete*) are mentioned by R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi I*: p. 11. A famous staircase of this kind dating from the fourteenth century embellished the Venetian palace Ca’ d’Agnello (now at Ca’ d’Oro).

<sup>112</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 220r (30 April 1425).

<sup>113</sup> *Porta domus voyvode Sandalii que est prope domum domini abbatis Lacromene* is mentioned in a contract from 1429 (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 46, f. 66r).

<sup>114</sup> See note 85.

<sup>115</sup> ... *quod in domo voivode Sandagl camera que est in primo palmento stet prout nunc stat et quod officiales laborerorum faciant fieri supra lectum unam gabiam et similiter faciant in alia camera unum lectum cum gabia* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 71v; 26 May 1423).

<sup>116</sup> It was doubtless a suspended ceiling—similar to the ceiling of a somewhat later date preserved at the church of Our Lady of Šunj on the Island of Lopud, painted in blue and decorated with golden stars.

<sup>117</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 19r (15 October 1422), cited in V. Čorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

<sup>118</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 71v (26 May 1423).

According to the documents from 1420, on the second floor there were four rooms.<sup>119</sup> Apparently, it was then that for “the two rooms facing the harbour” two Saracenic windows with coats of arms were commissioned, and also decided that each of “the two rooms next to the staircase” be closed with a door, plus a door in the wall separating them. A closer analysis of the written evidence shows that there were actually three rooms, one of which being mentioned in either context. In December 1422 it was decided that the wall between the two rooms (surely the one next to the staircase) be pulled down and that they be joined together and covered by a single ceiling construction (*ghabia, cabia*).<sup>120</sup> The decision, however, was revoked the very same day, and it was agreed that the space obtained once the wall was knocked down be again divided into two parts with a wooden partition wall and a door in it.<sup>121</sup> The fact that on the second floor a hall and two adjoining rooms (one overlooking the harbour and the other facing the square) really existed is also confirmed later in 1427, when master Ivan Ugrinović was commissioned to paint and decorate *illam cameram cum saleta ante ipsam cameram que est in sala magna*, that is, a room and anteroom on the second floor.<sup>122</sup>

On the same occasion it was ordered that on the second floor, *in camera construenda in sala*, a floor be constructed above the flat ceiling, which means not above the kitchen’s vaulted ceiling. No doubt a decision from December 1422 also concerned the second floor, instructing that in each of the two rooms (no indication of the storey) a “cage” (*ghabia*) be made above the bed,<sup>123</sup> Marko Rusković being commissioned to make them both in the same month: one *ghabia* was to be hung above the entire room *in sala* (on the second floor), and the other was square shaped, each side measuring ten ells (5.12 x 5.12 m); the

<sup>119</sup> See note 104.

<sup>120</sup> *Captum fuit quod in camera construenda in sala domus Sandagl palmentum debeat fieri super planam guberti. Et quidam murus qui est inter duas cameras debeat proici in terram et facere unam cameram solam ex dictis duabus cameris et debeat fieri in ipsa camera unam cabiam per totam cameram. (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 31v; 14 December 1422).*

<sup>121</sup> *Eodem die post prandium corepta fuit pars predicta quod ubi dicit quod ex duabus cameris debeat fieri unica, captum fuit quod murus predictus debeat proici in terram et nichilominus debeant remanere due camere inter quas debeat fieri unum travatorium cum ianua (ibid.)*

<sup>122</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 204v (24 November 1427), this document is cited in Karl Kovač, »Nikolaus Ragusinus und seine Zeit, Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Malerei in Ragusa im XV. und der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts«, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 11 (1917) Beiblatt, col. 43, and published in J. Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII–XVI v.*, vol. I (1284–1499). [Građa, knj. 4, Istoriski institut, knj. 3]. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka 1952: doc. 177, pp. 72–73.

<sup>123</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 28v (1 December 1422).

carpenter was also commissioned to make two beds with benches for the two rooms.<sup>124</sup> In May 1423, when it was decided to furnish the two rooms on the first floor with beds, it was agreed that the two rooms on the second floor be redecorated so that one would serve as bedroom and the other as *anticamera*.<sup>125</sup> Such functional distinction of indoor space marked a higher standard of living as befitted the owner's status: the room in which one sleeps is completely private, whereas the *anticamera* functions as a reception room.<sup>126</sup> The rooms on the second floor were certainly representative. *Piano nobile* is distinguished by larger windows on the façade and their symmetrical distribution. There is no evidence on the space arrangement of the third floor.

Therefore, the basic ground plan was asymmetric on all floors, the function of particular rooms on the upper floors being determined by a tendency to separate the bedrooms from, for example, the kitchen on the first floor and the hall on the second. This leads to a conclusion that the staircase ran through the centre of the new palace, and not along the perimetric side walls. On the basis of the available data, one may, however, reconstruct the number of rooms on each floor, yet, due mainly to the asymmetry of the ground plan, the relation of one space to another cannot be established with exactitude. Namely, not a single known document has provided evidence on whether Sandalj's old house (the house of Iunius de Cassiça) was located to the south or to the north of the two houses of Sime de Gradi with which it was joined together, and between which a perpendicular load-bearing wall must have existed, conditioning a bipartite layout.

The documents offer little information on the vertical measures of Sandalj's palace. The instructions regarding the carving of "the small Saracenic windows" for the first floor testify to a much lower height of this level in comparison with the second floor, pierced with the largest windows. The windows on the third floor, however, are again of somewhat lesser height, positioned immediately

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<sup>124</sup> ... *Marchus Ruschi marangonus promisit officialibus laboreriorum facere in domo Sandagl unam ghabiam in camera que est in sala dicte domus, videlicet per totam dictam cameram, similitudinis illius ser Marini de Zriva que est in primo palmento. Item promisit perficere in domo Sandagl predicta unam aliam ghabiam longitudinis brachiorum decem et latitudinis brachiorum decem ac etiam duas lectieras cum banchis in dictis duabus cameris ut erit necesse ... (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 42, f. 93r; 29 December 1422).*

<sup>125</sup> ... *Et quod in secundo solario ille due camere actentur et in una unum lectum ponatur et alia remaneat pro anticamera ... (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 71v; 26 May 1423).*

<sup>126</sup> The term *anticamera* emerges in Italy at about the same time, cf. Peter Thornton, *Interni del Rinascimento italiano 1400–1600*. Milano: Leonardo editore, 1992: pp. 294–295.

<sup>127</sup> See note 209.

below the cornice,<sup>127</sup> which indicates a lesser height of the storey itself. Given the height of the subsequently built portico and the standard window heights in the second and third storey sections, one may conclude the following: with the ground floor of approximately 3 m high, the first floor slightly more than 2 m, the second floor by far the tallest, at least 4 m high, and the third floor with a somewhat lower ceiling, the palace reached 12 m in height, which seems plausible, considering the heights of the old and new city wall. The assumed vertical measures (at least of the ground floor and the first floor) do not deviate from the storey heights in the earliest existing Ragusan interiors of the fifteenth century.<sup>128</sup>

### *Interior furnishings*

The reconstruction project focused equally on both the exterior and the interior; the palace was furnished according to the highest standards of Dubrovnik's residential architecture of the time. The carved stone cistern head dominated the entrance hall. Although its commission contract has not been preserved, it is mentioned as a model in two commissions from 1426, that is, 1427,<sup>129</sup> and hence there is no doubt that the already mentioned cistern head in the lapidarium of the Society of the Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquity belonged to the original decoration of the palace.<sup>130</sup> The fact that all the four sides of the well head are decorated with carved coats of arms indicates that it was awarded a central position in the entrance hall. Furthermore, a stone staircase that led from the entrance hall to the first floor

<sup>128</sup> In the western wing of the Rector's Palace, which has retained its vertical division from the fifteenth century, the height of the ground floor level is 3.05 m, the mezzanine (first floor) 3.20 m. In the second half of the fifteenth century, in Ranjina's house, the height of the ground floor level was 2.60 m, the first floor 2.70 m, in the house Tudžić-Bučić, the ground floor was only 2.40 m high, and the first floor 2.25 m.

<sup>129</sup> The stonemasons Radić Bratoradić and Brajko Bogosalić promised to Matteo Viterbi from Messina *unum puzale illius magnitudinis, mesure et sexti sicut est illud in domo voivode Sandalii et in quatuor angulis dicti puzalis sculpere teneatur quatuor clipeos sive schutos cum arma dicti Mathei ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 5v).

Nikola Radinović was commissioned by Ivan de Marcho to make *pozale unum de laborerio schieto cum armis et zimeriis ipisus Iohannis de bono opere et lapide de Curzola, illius magnitudinis cuius est pozale voivode Sandagl ...* (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 88r).

<sup>130</sup> Inv. no. 139. Writing on this stone monument which, having been relocated, stood in the Tudžić Palace in the mid-1970s, at the corner of Placa and Kunićeva ulica (Kunićeva 1), Pavao Anđelić, »Grbovi hercega Stjepana Vukčića Kosač«: pp. 86–90, rightly concludes that it originated from the Palace. As for whom of the two owners the it was made— for Sandalj Hranić or for his successor, *Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača*— on the basis of heraldic argumentation, Anđelić has decided in favour of the latter.

had a parapet made of stone balusters (*apozium de collonellis lapidis*) commissioned in October 1423 from Alegreto Bogavčić.<sup>131</sup>

The halls of Dubrovnik houses were usually provided with carved stone wash basins, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents commonly referred to as *schaffa* or *pillum*.<sup>132</sup> The wash basin for Sandalj's palace was also commissioned in 1423 from Alegreto Bogavčić, modelled after the basin the same master had earlier carved for the hall of Matheus de Gradi house.<sup>133</sup>

According to the decision from 1424, the palace interior, part of it at least, was paved in brick (*lapides cocti*).<sup>134</sup> Finally, in one of the second-storey rooms a latrine was built, as decided by the *Consilium Rogatorum* in 1431.<sup>135</sup> The fact that the sewage outlet had been built after the house had been completed—or rather, without a prior design which would leave a wide channel in one of the walls—leads to a conclusion that the sewage system was solved by building a console supported outlet most likely on the southern flank wall.

The fact that upper floor stairs were made of wood, and that wood was used to partition rooms but also for floors and ceilings, shows the importance of this material in the articulation of residential space in the fifteenth century. Wood was widely used for the interior equipment: in 1423 the officials were instructed to commission the shutters for all windows according to their best judgement and purpose.<sup>136</sup> That same year a larger quantity of wood was ordered from Venice, of various sort (pine, fir, oak), and of carefully specified

<sup>131</sup> See note 108.

<sup>132</sup> N. Grujić, »Zidni umivaonici XV. i XVI. stoljeća u stambenoj arhitekturi dubrovačkog područja«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 23 (1999): pp. 63–82.

<sup>133</sup> ... *Magister Allegretus de Bugolin lapicida promisit (...) facere et fabricare in domo voyvode Sandagl unam pillam sive schaffam de bono et pulcro lapide et bono opere talem qualis est schaffa quam alias fecit in domo ser Mathei de Gradi in sala sua ... (Diversa Cancellariae, vol. 42, f. 196r; 19 October 1423).*

Although apart from the price of 25 *perperi* we have no other details about Sandalj's wash basin, a stone basin carved in 1424 by Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Bogosalić at a price of 27 *perperi* for Iohannes de Bona, modelled after the one they had made for the house of Vitus de Resti, might serve as analogy (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 42, f. 254v). This *schaffa de piera*, only 2 ½ cubits tall (~1.28 m) and 2 ¼ cubits (~1.15 m) wide, had a frame *con lista intorno con intagli belli pulidi*. The basins of this period were regularly topped by a pointed arch.

<sup>134</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 118r (1 February 1424). On the use of brick for the paving of the Ragusan interiors cf. C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 50–51.

<sup>135</sup> ... *de faciendo unum conductum in domo voivode Sandagl in camera in sala expensis nostri comunis (Acta Consilii Rogatorum, vol. 5, f. 38v; 3 October 1431).*

<sup>136</sup> See note 85.



measures: for the shutters of the smaller windows, for the front door, for making laths for the lattice fence (*pro cantinellis pro rete*).<sup>137</sup> The order included 145 boards, their total length being 425 m. Pine boards 51 cm wide and 3 m long for double shutters correspond to the standard measures of the smaller Saracenic windows commissioned for the first floor; for all the larger windows and the four-arched window folding shutters were probably made. Pine was ordered for the outer »front door«, and fir for the inner door. Fir boards over 7 m long were probably used for ceilings. Pine was also used to make the laths for the lower parts of the windows, yet they were most commonly used for making staircase fences.<sup>138</sup> Quantitative information of this kind is valuable for establishing the number and size of the openings, often omitted in the contracts with stonemasons; equipment and the materials commissioned are also an eloquent testimony to the artistic culture of that time.

With regard to furniture in Sandalj's palace, information on beds and *ghabia* has been traced, several rooms in the house having been furnished with these cage-like constructions above and around the bed. At the time, *ghabie* were not supported by posters and the bed itself, but were attached to architectural structures (ceiling and walls) or were freestanding.<sup>139</sup> Their production was neither simple nor cheap, and for this reason they represented a separate item on the Minor Council's agenda. Apart from being functional, the furnishing of households with such wooden constructions was also a sign of the notable social status.

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<sup>137</sup> *Captum fuit de dando licentiam officialibus laboreriorum comunis quod possint mittere Venetias acceptum infrascripta lignamina pro fulcimento domus voivode Sandagl, videlicet et primo pro fenestris portis parvis tabulas quadraginta de arice largas brachio uno pro qualibet et longas brachiis sex pro qualibet et grossas digitis duobus. Et tabulas quinque pro porta magna de arice largas brachio uno pro qualibet, longas brachiis sex et grossas digitis tribus pro qualibet. Tabulas quinquaginta de arice de tagluola pro cantinellis pro rete que sint nitide sine groppis. Tabulas triginta de tagluola de albeto largas brachio uno, grossas digitis duobus, largas brachiis sex pro qualibet. Tabulas viginti de albeto largas brachii quinque, largas digitis II, longas brachiis 14. Tabulam unam de nuce longam brachiis 13 in tribus petiis largam brachio ⁊, grossam quarta parte unius brachii de Ragusio ... (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 3, f. 50v; 1 March 1423).*

<sup>138</sup> Thus fenced stairs (*scala cum rete*) are cited by R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi* I: p. 11.

<sup>139</sup> *Ghabia* or *caipa* (*cabia*) in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century is related to bed, and by the end of the fifteenth century the term tends to be used in relation to the ceiling. On this in the Ragusan houses see R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi* I: p. 19. It is not until the close of the fifteenth century that the first four-poster beds with canopy emerged. Until then a horizontal metal framework of rectangular shape was fixed to the ceiling (beams) and walls, supporting a tentlike drapery (canopy) and curtains, cf. P. Thornton, *Interni*: pp. 121–137.

Lastly, colour equally contributed to the luxurious decoration of the interior. Gilt and azure were recurrently ordered from Venice during the renovation of palace from as early as 1423.<sup>140</sup> On the eve of Sandalj's arrival in Dubrovnik, at the beginning of 1426, the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided that, should the duke desire, the ceiling of one room be painted and decorated with stars,<sup>141</sup> which, apparently, was done in the bedroom on the second floor. In May next year, the officials were again ordered to commission gilt and stars from Venice,<sup>142</sup> and in November *magister Zaninus* (painter Ivan Ugrinović) was commissioned to paint and decorate *illam cameram cum saleta ante ipsam cameram que est in sala magna*,<sup>143</sup> the room and anteroom on the second floor of Sandalj's house, his work including *ponendo et fingendo stellas aureatas et omnes alias picturas et ornamenta ... non intelligendo figuras*.<sup>144</sup> In early 1428 it was ordered that the painting and decorating be completed,<sup>145</sup> and in June 1429 Ugrinović was paid out.<sup>146</sup> On the basis of the information found in the mentioned documents, it is clear that the gilt stars, procured in Venice, were made in relief and fixed to the panelled ceiling, and not only gilded on the blue background.

Gilt and azure were not only intended for the interiors. The *cimerium*, relief coat of arms commissioned for the harbour-facing façade in 1422 from Bonino da Milano and affixed between the two Saracenic windows on the second floor in 1423, was also gilded. In 1424 two lowest windows on the same façade were also gilded,<sup>147</sup> yet it is not certain which parts of the windows were decorated

<sup>140</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 63r (21 April 1423); *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 87r (3 May 1427), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264, and C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 59.

<sup>141</sup> ... *de pingendo celum unius camere domus sue et cum stellis deauratis (...) si ipse voivoda volet* (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 288v; 3 February 1426), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264; L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>142</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 87r (3 May 1427).

<sup>143</sup> This concerns the room with *anticamera*, mentioned in the decisions from 1423 (see note 125). In the documents cited in the notes 120, 122, 124 and 135, the term *sala* or *sala magna* does not only refer to the hall itself but to *piano nobile* as a whole.

<sup>144</sup> J. Tadić, *Grada*: doc. 177, pp. 72–73.

<sup>145</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 142r (24 February 1428).

<sup>146</sup> Information on this has been drawn from a note added to the text of the contract on 8 June 1429.

Master painter Ivan Ugrinović was commissioned for similar work in other patrician houses; in 1427 he decorated with gilt, paint and stars the canopy (*baldachin*) above the bed of Georgius de Gozze, and subsequently, painted the room ceiling in azure. Next year he painted in gold and azure three room walls. In 1444 he also painted and gilded the interior of the house of Dragoje de Sorgo, and in 1450 the house of Iunius de Gradi, see J. Tadić, *Grada* I: doc. 174, pp. 70–71; doc. 314, pp. 144–145; doc. 379, p. 179 and V. Đurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola*: pp. 43, 254.

<sup>147</sup> See note 93.

with gold paint—the bars or the stone frames. Eventually, in 1425 the upper part of the portal was also gilded and painted in azure and other colours.<sup>148</sup>

### *The arcaded portico*

Shortly before Sandalj's arrival in Dubrovnik in 1426, the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided to propose to the duke the building of *unum archivoltum sicut est illud ante palatium regiminis*.<sup>149</sup> Apparently, the front of the Rector's Palace had an added construction at the time, described as *volta cum columnis quatuor et cum terraçia de super*, built in compliance with the decision of the Minor Council in 1420.<sup>150</sup> Although during his stay in Dubrovnik in 1426 Sandalj agreed to the construction of *archivoltum*,<sup>151</sup> the building faced a delay. In May 1428 *officiales ad fieri faciendum lobiam ante domum voivode Sandagl* were appointed,<sup>152</sup> yet according to the instructions issued to the envoys soon dispatched to the duke, the former, among other things, were to apologise to him for the delays on the palace and explain that the furnishing, painting and decoration of the interior had not been finished because of the pestilence in Venice the year before that made some necessary acquisitions impossible. The envoys were also instructed to present the reasons why the promised *loggieta* had not been built: cost-cutting was not the reason, but because of its height, it would obscure “the

<sup>148</sup> ... *quod deaurari faciant cum auro et cum azuro et coloribus a parestata porte domus Sandalii superius ...* (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 215r; 17 April 1425), cited in: L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 82. Gilded, that is, painted was also the front door of the house of Džore Bokšić. When that house was granted to Duke Radoslav Pavlović, Ivan Ugrinović (having completed the works on Sandalj's palace), was entrusted in 1428 with gilding the *cimerium* above the door of Pavlović's palace and painting the door in the manner it used to be painted earlier (*pingendo dictam portam cum omnibus picturis quibus dicta porta olim erat antiquitus picta*). Cf. J. Tadić, *Grada I*: doc. 181, p. 75; K. Kovač, »Nikolaus Ragusinus«: p. 34; V. Đurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola*: p. 258.

<sup>149</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 288v (3 February 1426), cited in V. Čorović, »Palača«: p. 264 and L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>150</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 109v. In 1434 the Minor Council ordered that *logia que est ante hostium cancellarie nostre* be reconstructed (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 6, f. 106v). The loggia was probably destroyed in the fire of 1435, and was most likely removed during the reconstruction of the Rector's Palace supervised by Onofrio di Giordano della Cava. The remains of the bases of its four columns were found during archaeological excavations in 1982, cf. N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: pp. 17, 20.

<sup>151</sup> Assumed upon a document dated 10 June 1428 (*Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 91v; 10 June 1428). The planned construction in front of Sandalj's palace was first referred to as *archivoltum*, and then as *loggieta*, or *logia* (cf. *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 6, f. 106v; 4 February 1434). Other documents related to the building of portico tend to use the terms *lobia* or *logieta*, commonly used in the fifteenth century.

<sup>152</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 158r (4 May 1428), cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

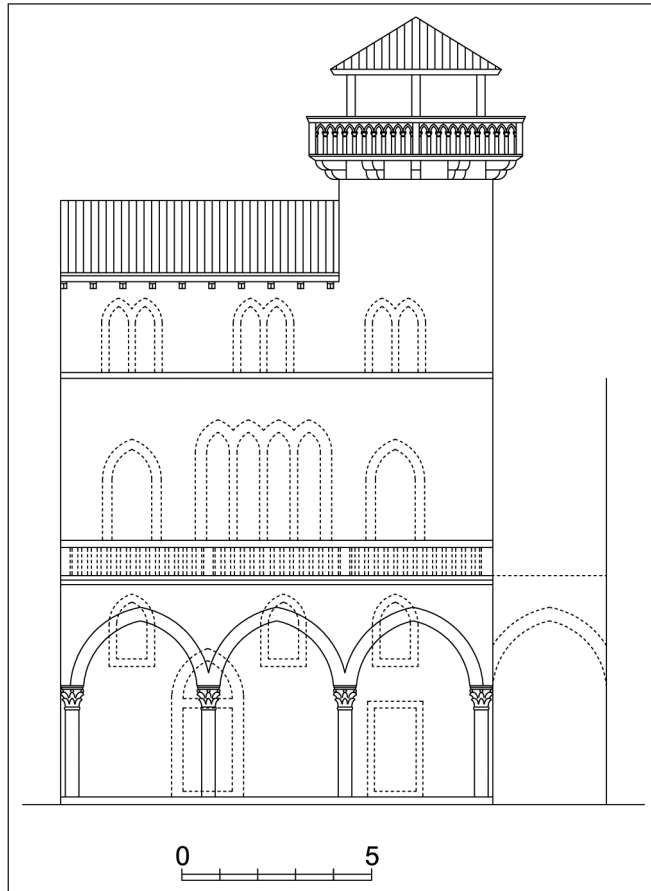
beauty of the doors and windows on the first floor, reduce the house's good light and become a gathering place of the city's paupers and low life".<sup>153</sup> The Ragusans were equally prepared to explicate all these arguments to one of Sandalj's men on the spot, and should the duke still persist on the fulfilment of their promise, the envoys were to yield to his demand. The duke obviously insisted on the portico, and in early August 1428 the officials were ordered to engage stonemasons for a term not longer than a year and a half, and at a price which should not exceed 1,000 *perperi*.<sup>154</sup> A week later, *lo lavoriero della loggia con le colonne e con apogio davanti la casa del magnifico voivoda Sandagl* was commissioned from the stonemasons Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović.<sup>155</sup> Judging by the description

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<sup>153</sup> ... *Al facto della sua casa dice che lli conciamenti et pinture et ornamenti dentro di casa gia gran tempi sarebbe compliti se non fuisse che per la mortalita da Vinexia questo anno passato non si posse avere le cose bisognose, ma da poi avemo tucto acomplimento quel che fa mestier et gran parte di quelli lavorieri son compiuti et pero manca di tucti et tuta fiada si lavora. Et per lo facto della loggieta che lla sua signoria ne disse che voleva si facesse avanti la sua casa gli dice che la caxon perche non e facta non e perche noi vogliamo schifare alguna spesa che troppo magior la voremmo fare a suo contentamento, ma perche la sua casa si guasta et prima la belleça della porta se asconde, di poi si guasta le fenestre del primo palmento, poi ancora si lieva la luce della casa, quarta che di sotto vuole esser receptaculo di poveragla et de ogni sporciçia. Et con queste raxoni combattete con lui se 'l puo essere che 'l sia contento di non farla. Ma se pure el sta duro et voi gli dite che gli piaça di mandare qua uno di suoi a confer con noi et al dare queste raxoni vedendo lo luogo. Et se a lui parera che lla si debia fare, sia con Dio; daremo ordene di far taglar le piere. Et che ella si faça al piu tosto che si potra, benche le pietre non si potra aver si tosto. Et se gli parera che non si debia, deliberera come gli parera ...* (*Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 91v; 10 June 1428). The document cited in N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: pp. 243–244 and V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

<sup>154</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 181r (3 August 1428), cited in V. Ćorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

<sup>155</sup> ... *Ratcho Ivancevich et Nicola Radinovich tagliapietre prometteno di far compiutamente lo lavoriero della loggia con le colonne e con apogio davanti la casa del magnifico voivoda Sandagl come dira qui appresso. Et prima comença le fondamenta de colonne. Le colonne quatro grosse per tondo braza due e uno quarto, come quelle appresso el regimento, longhe braza quatro e meço. Capitelli quatro alti brazo uno e uno quarto et larghi per quadro brazo uno e uno sexto, intagladi e sfogladi come quelli appresso el regimento. Archi e la lista come quelli appresso el regimento. Et del capitello fina la lista d'abasso e con la lista braza tre e uno quarto. Pianche tante quante bisognera copriri tucto lo lavorier, longhe le pianche braza quatro e meço, larghe da braza uno e meço in due, grosse le pianche quarta parte de uno brazo. Et che sieno le dicte pianche de quella piera come le pianche dello apogio di Sandagl di sopra. Et che siano incastrate al mancho due dita. Et lo apogio vuol che sia per longheza di tucta la casa con colonnelle come quelle della terraça sopra 'l cortivo a casa di fioli di ser Luca di Bona, intagladi et forniti di tucto come quelli della dicta casa de ser Luca. La dicta loggia debbe esser larga dal muro della casa fino alla colonna braza quatro et uno octavo per terra di sotto. El decto lavorier debbe esser longo tanto quanto e longa tucta la casa con lo archo fin al canton della casa de messer l'abate della Croma ...* (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, ff. 265v–266r; 10 August 1428). The document is cited in C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 58–59, and published in N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: pp. 152–153.



The front elevation (reconstructed): marked by a continuous line are the elements the dimensions of which were specified in contracts, by a broken line the elements specified only by the basic designs (drawing: Ivan Tenšek, B.A.E.)

of the stone elements specified in the contract, it seems that the original concept had undergone certain alterations: a portico with terrace along the whole façade was commissioned (*el decto lavorier debbe esser longo tanto quanto e longa tucta la casa*). The stonemasons were to carve the pedestals of the columns, four columns of  $2 \frac{1}{4}$  cubits (~1.15 m) in circumference, like the ones in front of the Rector's Palace,  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  cubits (~2.30 m) high; four capitals  $1 \frac{1}{4}$  cubits (~64 cm) high, with sides  $1 \frac{1}{6}$  cubits (~60 cm) wide, carved and ornamented with foliage, similar to the capitals of the Rector's Palace. The arches and mouldings were also to be modelled after those of the Rector's Palace. The distance between the capital and

the top of the arch was specified at  $3 \frac{1}{4}$  cubits (~1.65 m). Stone slabs were also commissioned— $4 \frac{1}{2}$  cubits (~2.30 m) long, between  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  (~75 cm) and 2 cubits (~1 m) wide,  $\frac{1}{4}$  cubit (~13 cm) thick—for the portico terrace, the same kind of stone as the one used for the construction of the *ballatorium*, jointed (*incastrate*) with joints measuring two digits at least. The fence was to be as long as the whole façade, with carved balusters like the ones on the terrace above the courtyard of the house of the sons of Lucas de Bona.<sup>156</sup> According to the terms of the contract, the depth of the portico, from the wall of the house to the columns, was to measure  $4 \frac{1}{8}$  cubits (~2.10 m), the portico was to be as long as the house itself, with an arch reaching up to the corner of the house of the Lokrum abbot. The masters guaranteed that all elements apart from the slabs would be made of stone from the island of Kamenjak. The work on the portico was long past the deadline; although by the end of 1429 the columns were erected,<sup>157</sup> Ratko Ivančić's deadline was twice extended until May 1430.<sup>158</sup>

Judging by its height of nearly 5 m, the sum of its vertical elements, there is no doubt that the portico corresponded to the zones of the palace's ground floor and first floor. It is noteworthy, however, that the contract makes no reference to the vaults. According to the design, the portico was to be covered with slabs whose shorter sides were to be built into the façade wall. Such a decision, i.e., a departure from the conventional solution with vaults, must have resulted from inability to coordinate the vault support on the façade wall with the positions of the first storey windows. A similar solution with massive monolithic stone slabs had, perhaps, been earlier employed on the similar structure adjoining the front of the Rector's Palace.

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<sup>156</sup> They were carved by Ceccho from Monopoli in 1390 according to the designs of Iohannes from Siena, cf. R. Jeremić - J. Tadić, *Prilozi I*: p. 16. Some carved elements for the house of Luca de Bona were the work of master Iohannes from Vienne: on 26 January 1390, with Iohannes from Siena as warrantor, he was entrusted with the carving of slabs like the ones on the stairs in the courtyard of the house of the family Volcassio (the house later known as the house of Džore Bokšić) and consoles like the ones on the Saracenic windows of Lampre de Cerva (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 29, f. 56v), cf. Vinko Foretić, »Jean de Vienne – un maître français du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Dubrovnik et à Korčula«. *Annales de l'Institut français de Zagreb* 10-11 (1946–1947): p. 91.

<sup>157</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 273v (29 October 1429).

<sup>158</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 5, f. 16r (9 February 1430); *Acta Consilii Maioris*, vol. 4, f. 73r (10 February 1430); *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 5, f. 26r (28 March 1430); *Acta Consilii Maioris*, vol. 4, f. 82v (30 March 1430).

*Officials, builders and stonemasons*

In the course of reconstruction, attention should be drawn to the role of the officials, especially those chosen *ad hoc*, that is, appointed exclusively for the project of Sandalj's palace in the planning stages (1420–1421) and in the final stages (1428–1432). Given the nature of the assignment, it is understandable that they came from the patrician rank and were apt for this task in terms of knowledge, ability and experience, but also good references from either public or private building projects. Frequently mentioned as models for certain parts of Sandalj's palace are the houses with which the officials were well acquainted or even owned by them.

The task of defining the character and scope of the project, or rather, the formulation of adaptation and reconstruction proposal the Minor Council entrusted to Nicolaus de Poza, Nicolaus de Goze and Natalis de Proculo in 1420.<sup>159</sup> For commissioning master Alegreto in 1421, Andreas de Menze and Iunius de Bona, members of the Minor Council, were appointed.<sup>160</sup> Following the decision of demolishing and rebuilding the front façade, Natalis de Proculo and Iunius de Bona were entrusted to engage master Antun and other masters. After a longer period in which the regularly posted officials (officials for communal works) were responsible for the construction and supervision, the officials assigned particularly for Sandalj's palace were posted again with the building of portico. In May 1428, the following *officiales ad fieri faciendum lobiam ante domum voivode Sandagl* were appointed—Jacobus de Georgio, Antonius de Goze and Iunius de Gradi.<sup>161</sup> These three patricians signed a contract with Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović, and probably had some doing in the decision to abandon the building of the originally planned loggia like the one that stood in front of the Rector's Palace at the time, and build a column supported loggia with a terrace along the façade's entire length. The role of Iunius de Gradi should be noted here, since he was recurrently chosen as official for the building of Sandalj's palace in 1429, 1431 and 1432,<sup>162</sup> while

<sup>159</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 106r (23 January 1420). On pain of a fine, the officials were twice ordered (on 23 July and 23 November) to complete the proposition and the list of expenditures concerning the works as soon as possible and submit them to the Minor Council (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 141v; *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 148r).

<sup>160</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 204v (17 July 1421).

<sup>161</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 158r (4 May 1428), cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>162</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 4, f. 216v (15 January 1429); *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 5, f. 133v (2 August 1431); *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 5, f. 184r (15 March 1432).

between 1435 and 1440 we find him amongst the officials responsible for the works on the Rector's Palace, during its large-scale reconstruction after the fire.<sup>163</sup> While on this duty, in 1439, for the stonework on the loggia of the Rector's Palace, he commissioned Ratko Ivančić, a master who, together with Nikola Radinović a decade before, had worked on the loggia of Sandalj's palace.<sup>164</sup> The name of Iunius de Gradi is frequently traced in archival documents from the 1420s, dealing mainly with various stonemasonry and construction works.<sup>165</sup>

No doubt for the works on Sandalj's palace the best masters available in Dubrovnik were commissioned. *Magister lapicida* Alegreto Bogulinov/Bogavčić was engaged at an early stage for the stonework on the main façade and the *ballatorium*. Apparently his carving experience tipped the scales, although his "engineering", or rather "architectural" skill deserved equal attention; according to the decision of the Minor Council's from July 1421, he was working on the church of St Blaise, yet on 14 August, it was decided that an arch be built in the arsenal according to his design.<sup>166</sup> Despite scanty evidence on his role in the first stage of the works, it seems that Alegreto himself (also commissioned in 1423 to carve for Sandalj's palace the staircase balustrade and a wash basin)<sup>167</sup> carved the window frames in 1421/1422. The difference between the sum of 900 *perperi* which the Minor Council disbursed *pro portis, fenestris et ballatoriis de petra opportunis in domo Sandagl*, and 300 *perperi*, the amount Alegreto promised to pay to stonemason Antun for supplying the stone elements is noteworthy. A closer reading of the contract reveals that the latter was commissioned roughly carved stone elements (*Tute queste pietre che siano spontate ala punta de pichio*), most likely only a part of the stone elements needed for the frames

<sup>163</sup> See N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: pp. 33–38, 41, 43, 44.

<sup>164</sup> N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: p. 13.

<sup>165</sup> In 1424 on behalf of the commissioner he partly paid out master Alegreto for the works on the house of Luka Brajković (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 42, f. 256r); in 1425 he bought stones for construction works (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 43, f. 183r), and in 1426 a larger quantity of bricks (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 1r). In 1427 as one of the procurators of Živko Radosaljić Kastrat he signed a contract with Ratko Ivančić and Radoje Pribilović for various carved elements for Radosaljić's house, among which were also three Saracenic windows modelled after the ones on the first floor of Sandalj's palace (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 98r–98v), and in 1428 for the stonework on his own house he engaged Nikola Radinović (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 166r–166v), etc.

<sup>166</sup> *Captum fuit de fieri faciendo in arsenate comunis unum alium arcum secundum illum modum et illam formam que data fuit per Allegretum lapicidam qui laborat laboreria domus voivode Sandagl ... (Acta Minoris Consilii, vol. 2, f. 211v).*

<sup>167</sup> See notes 108 and 133.



(considering that there is no mention of the Saracenic windows on the second floor façade facing the sea, the frames of interior doorways etc.). Lastly, the decision of August 1421 explicitly states that Alegreto *works* on Sandalj's palace.

In the art historical literature the life and work of this Ragusan master may be said to be neglected. Due to the fact that Alegreto is most commonly the Latin/Italian translation of male names beginning with Rad- (although his has never been recorded other than Alegreto), and also the resembling surname, i.e., patronymic,<sup>168</sup> he has been mistakenly identified with his contemporary, Ragusan stonemason and builder Radin (Radun, Radon) Bogetić.<sup>169</sup> Since both of them are mentioned in the contract concerning the flag for the confraternity of the Ragusan stonemasons commissioned in 1428 from the painter Ivan Ugrinović, it is certain that they are two different persons.<sup>170</sup> Alegreto was unquestionably one of the most distinguished Ragusan masters of the 1420s, testified by the fact that, apart from having been entrusted with the works on palace in the first, most intense stage of its construction, he was commissioned for other public works,<sup>171</sup> but also numerous private buildings.<sup>172</sup>

Apart from the preparation of stone elements for the architectural decoration, *magister* Antun (Marojević) was also engaged on the works involving the rebuilding of the main façade. In the Ragusan archive sources Antun can be

<sup>168</sup> In the sources always entitled as *magister*, he is also mentioned as: *Alegretus de Ragusio taiapetra* (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 13, f. 60r), *Alegrettus Bogullini tayapetra* (*ibid.*, f. 189r), *Allegretus de Bugolin lapicida* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, sv. 42, f. 196r); *Allegretus lapicida* (*ibid.*, f. 255v), and in the second half of the 1420s most commonly as *Allegreto* (or *Allegretus*) *Bogavcich* or *Bogavzich* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, ff. 93r, 113r; vol. 46, f. 238v; *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 273r).

<sup>169</sup> For Alegreto's name in the form of *Radivoj Bogetić* see C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 58, 103, 114. Name citations on pp. 38, 54, 87 and 115–116 in the same work refer, apparently, to Radin (Radon, Radun, Radoje) Bogetić. However, the standard reference books contain only the entry "Bogetić, Radivoj", which gives information on the work of both stonemasons drawn from the above-mentioned work of C. Fisković, cf. *Enciklopedija likovne umjetnosti*, vol. I. Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1959: p. 417 (author Duško Kečkemet); *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. II. Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod 'Miroslav Krleža', 1989: p. 76 (author Ivan Matejčić); *Enciklopedija hrvatske umjetnosti*, vol. I. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1995: p. 103 (author D. Kečkemet).

<sup>170</sup> J. Tadić, *Građa* I: doc. 183, p. 76.

<sup>171</sup> For details on the works in the arsenal for which he was commissioned individually (in 1421 and 1424) or with Dobrašin Radinović (1425) see L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja*: pp. 43, 46, where referred to as "master Alegretti".

<sup>172</sup> Cf. documents cited in notes 70, 71, 209, 215, 227.

traced from the beginning of the century,<sup>173</sup> as, for example, in 1417, when he was commissioned to carve the windows after the ones on the palace of Džore Bokšić.<sup>174</sup> That same year he delivered the stone for Orlando's Column, the statue of Orlando being carved by Bonino da Milano.<sup>175</sup>

Of the Ragusan stonemasons, the documents pertaining to Sandalj's palace also mention Brajko Bogosalić, who was commissioned in 1422 to make the *balchoncelli* for the third floor of the principal façade. Bogosalić was the only among the stonemasons not bearing the *magister* title, in his later works some of the elements of Sandalj's palace being mentioned as models.

Based on earlier archive research, the name of Bonino da Milano has also been associated with the works on Sandalj's palace. Along with the work on the choir of the church of St Blaise, the statue of Orlando and the outer frame of the southern portal of the Dominican church, his sculpted *cimerium*, the large relief coat of arms affixed on the sea-facing front of the palace, documented by a contract undetected by older researchers,<sup>176</sup> may be added to the catalogue of the authentic Dubrovnik works of this master. Based on a decision from the end of 1422,<sup>177</sup> the scholars also tended to attribute to him the "authorship" of the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace; in favour of this is a recently submitted assumption that does seem indicative: the stone *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace is the only in a series of similar constructions that is recorded in the Ragusan sources under this particular term.<sup>178</sup> Employed by the Ragusan commune from 1417 on, Bonino may have also contributed to the definition of the initial programme or adaptation project of Sandalj's palace. Nevertheless, as regarding the *ballatorium*, the extant archive sources, given that the stone material was ordered in 1421 and supplied the next year (when major changes took place regarding the original project), do confirm only his work on the assembly of the previously prepared stone elements.

<sup>173</sup> C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: pp. 37, 52, 61.

<sup>174</sup> C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 103.

<sup>175</sup> C. Fisković, »Fragments du style roman à Dubrovnik«. *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* I (1954): p. 137; C. Fisković, »Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca«: p. 175; M. Prelog, »Dalmatinski opus«: p. 194; Ilija Mitić, »Orlandov stup u Dubrovniku«. *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 10–11 (1966): pp. 237–238; Igor Fisković, »Skulptura u urbanističkom usavršavanju renesansnog Dubrovnika«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku* 26 (1988): pp. 33–35.

<sup>176</sup> See note 96.

<sup>177</sup> See note 84.

<sup>178</sup> N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: pp. 140–143.

### *The residents of Sandalj's palace*

By 1424 the palace was completed to a degree that allowed it to become one of the residences of most distinguished guests of the Republic.<sup>179</sup> For the accommodation of notable visitors, the Ragusan authorities usually chose the most representative buildings, regardless of whether they were private property or that of the church.<sup>180</sup> The highest ranking visitors were honoured to stay at the Rector's Palace. On his arrival in Dubrovnik in 1426, Sandalj, too, was invited to stay at the Rector's Palace, "which had always hosted most distinguished lords and most cordial friends of Dubrovnik".<sup>181</sup> The heralds dispatched to meet him were instructed to offer him once again the lodgings at the Rector's Palace should he wish to stay at his own residence.<sup>182</sup> That was Sandalj's last visit to Dubrovnik, and that was when he paid a visit to his own palace.<sup>183</sup> As to where he decided to stay is unknown.

The first information on the distinguished guests housed at Sandalj's palace dates from the end of 1424. On his return from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Erik VII, king of Denmark, made a stop at Dubrovnik.<sup>184</sup> His accommodation was discussed at the *Consilium Rogatorum*, and, having denied the proposition to house him at Sandalj's palace, he was hosted at that of the Rector.<sup>185</sup> Among

<sup>179</sup> Cf. J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: pp. 30, 157.

<sup>180</sup> The palace of marquis d'Este in Venice (Fondaco dei Turchi) was used for similar purposes, as Byzantine emperors were among its guests in the first half of the fifteenth century, cf. J. Schulz, *The New Palaces*: p. 154.

<sup>181</sup> The decisions on the reception and honouring of the duke in Dubrovnik (*Provisiones faciende pro recipiendo et honorando voyvodam Sandagl venturum Ragusium*) were passed on the *Consilium Rogatorum* on 20 January 1426. On this occasion, the following was also decided: ... *che se mandi sei zentilomeni elletti in pregado che non sia de consiglio pizolo com la gallea li quali sia a ricever voyvoda Sandagl, allegrandosi de sua sanita e del suo dignarsi a venir a casa sua, a Ragusi. Et offerandoli lo palazo del regimento per sua habitacion in la qual sempre so receptadi li grandi signori e cordialissimi amisi de Ragusi...* (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 280r), cf. also J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: pp. 114–117.

<sup>182</sup> ... *E sel volesse abitar a casa sua replicasi una altra volta che se degni de vegnir al palazo del regimento. Se l'altra volta se escusasse o recusasse, acetosi lo suo voler* (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 280r)

<sup>183</sup> As evidenced by a quotation ... *quando la vostra signoria fu a Ragusa in la dicta sala laudando disse che la signoria di Ragusa a facto piu che non promisse ...* in a letter the Ragusans sent to him in 1429 (*Lettere di Levante*; sv. 10, f. 63r).

<sup>184</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: pp. 157–158; Mladen Ibler, »Putovanje skandinavskog kralja Erika VII. Pomeranskog kroz Hrvatsku 1424.–1425.«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): pp. 121–132.

<sup>185</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 228v.

the guests of Sandalj's palace at the time were the counts of Senj, Anž and Nikola Frankopan, who were travelling as members of the king's entourage.<sup>186</sup> In 1436, en route to the Holy Land, Austrian archduke Friedrich V of the Habsburgs (later Emperor Friedrich III) also stayed at the palace.<sup>187</sup>

The palace was leased out even during Sandalj's lifetime. As early as 1426, the owner himself came forward with this proposition, yet the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided to apologise to him and "refuse to take the key of his house".<sup>188</sup> However, the evidence that the authorities changed their mind and in the ensuing years rented the house has been found in the decision of the Minor Council from October 1431, by which the lessee, tailor Alegreto, was to be disbursed for having accommodated in one of the rooms the Turkish envoy Alibeg and ambassador of the Hungarian king for a period of four months.<sup>189</sup>

Judging by the evidence, neither of the two—Duke Sandalj nor his successor Duke/Herceg Stjepan—had ever actually stayed at their palace. As the Ragusans have it, the house hosted their subjects and was therefore (e.g. in 1501) called *domus in qua dabatur hospitium hominibus voivode Sandalis*, or *domus in qua dabatur hospitium hominibus ducis Stephani*.<sup>190</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, it was commonly known as *Hercegovina*, that is to say the possession of Herceg Stjepan.

### Costs

With regard to the expenditures the commune secured for the renovation of the barons' houses in the City, it should be noted that these means—although, particularly when Sandalj's palace is concerned, were far from modest—were actually insignificant compared with the gifts, services and money offered to them, the members of their families and subjects.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>186</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 3, f. 183r; cited in J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 158.

<sup>187</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 162.

<sup>188</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 275r.

<sup>189</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 5, f. 150r. For the decision of July 1431 on the accommodation of the Turkish envoy see *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 5, f. 23r.

<sup>190</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 28, f. 258r–v; the document cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>191</sup> For example, for the expenditures of ambassadorial missions which the Republic dispatched to the magnates entered in *Liber debitum communis Ragusii*, see Mihailo Dinić, »Jedna dubrovačka arhivska knjiga petnaestog veka«. *Istorijski časopis* 12-13 (1961–1962 [1963]): pp. 16–21.

In view of the official expenditures for Sandalj's palace, it has been earlier mentioned that the houses joined together into the palace had not been bought, but the commune took upon itself the obligation of annual lease payment, as instructed by the late owner's last will.<sup>192</sup> Although the agreements with Sandalj Hranić provide no explicit data on the value of the houses granted to him in 1405 (Iunius de Cassiça) and in 1419 (Sime de Gradi), for the latter, however, an indirect piece of information has been preserved. As a reward for granting to Dubrovnik the lands of Primorje, in 1399 King Ostoja and Duke Hrvoje were apparently promised, among other things, the houses in the city, each worth 1,500 ducats.<sup>193</sup> Once the agreement came into effect, the list of the buildings offered to them contained seven houses.<sup>194</sup> One of them was the house of Sime de Gradi, which means that its value approximated the amount stated.

The preserved data on the expenditures for the reconstruction and adaptation of Sandalj's palace between 1421 and 1432 are incomplete. Many works specified in the council decisions (the dismantling and rebuilding of the main façade wall, mounting of the gutter, roof, *ballatorium*, much of the works in the interior, etc.) have left no further trace in the written sources; it is certain that they were funded from the budget allocated to the officials for communal works, in addition to the materials acquired outside Dubrovnik (wood, gilt, azure), or were either borrowed or given for the palace from the state property (wood material for the interior decoration and the scaffolds, brick tiles for the paved floors).<sup>195</sup>

A comparison between the prices on the Dubrovnik market in the 1420s and the ones stated in the surviving contracts of the masonry and carpentry commissioned for Sandalj's palace shows that the latter by far exceeded the

<sup>192</sup> The expenditures the commune was due to pay to the treasurers every year on account of the property granted to Sandalj, we find in a recapitulation decreed by the *Consilium Rogatorum* in 1422: *Et pro domo que fuit olim ser Sime de Gradi data dicto voivode Sandagl pro factis Canalis solvi debeant ad manus dominis thesauriorum epitropis dicti olim ser Sime yperperi trigintaquinque ad rationem anni ... Et quod pro alia domo que fuit olim Iunii de Casiza et postea data Radiçio et nunc data dicto voivode Sandagl pro eam precium solvi debeant ad manus thesauriorum yperperi vigintiquinque ad rationem anni ... (Acta Consilii Rogatorum, vol. 3, f. 79v; 16 March 1422). Annual rent for Sandalj's house thus amounted 60 *perperi* (35 for the house, i.e., houses, of Sime de Gradi and 25 for the house of Iunius de Cassiça. The sum entered in the *Liber afflictuum thesaurarie*, see note 30, is 5 *perperi* higher.*

<sup>193</sup> N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: pp. 73–74; J. Lučić, »Stjecanje, dioba i borba za očuvanje«: p. 125.

<sup>194</sup> *Reformationes*, vol. 31, f. 126v.

<sup>195</sup> Of the money spent for Sandalj's palace the book *Liber debitorum communis (Officiales rationum, ser. XVIII, vol. 2)* contains only two entries concerning the building of the loggia, that is, the period in which the officials were chosen for the duty *ad hoc*: in 1428, 200 *perperi* were spent (f. 89v; cf. also M. Dinić, »Jedna dubrovačka arhivska knjiga«: p. 26), and 650 *perperi* in 1431 (f. 97v).

average. The production of the stone frames for the openings on the main façade and the elements of the *ballatorium*, commissioned in 1421 from master Alegreto, cost 900 *perperi*, the sum by far exceeding those in the contracts of the other houses. All the other entered amounts were, of course, the result of the circumstances that governed the prices and the current relationship between the supply and demand on the local masonry and construction market. The large *cimerium*, the work of Bonino da Milano, was commissioned at a price of 55 *perperi*, the same price as the stone wash basin commissioned from master Alegreto, while the price of the staircase balustrade was 35 *perperi*, also Alegreto's work. According to the contract, the *balchoncelli* carved by Brajko Bogosalić cost as much as the ones made for Martolus de Zammagna, cited as their models. For filling with glass and mounting of the metal bars on one part of the *balchonata* an expenditure of up to 30 *perperi* was allowed. For two canopied beds in the second-storey rooms Marko Rusković, for the work only, received 85 *perperi*; the materials were to be supplied by the officials. In the specification of the wood for the window shutters, main door, staircase fence, etc. that was to be acquired in Venice in 1423, the value of the material, however, is not cited. For the purchase of gilt and azure in Venice in 1423 a sum of 150 *perperi* was provided, for the palaces of Sandalj and Radoslav Pavlović 50 ducats in 1427, and a year later, in 1428, the officials were allowed to exceed the expenditures regardless of the cost for the finishing of the painting and gilt work on both palaces. For decorating the bedrooms and anterooms on the second floor with stars, paintwork and ornaments painter Ivan Ugrinović, for the work only, received 55 *perperi* in 1427. Finally, the arcaded portico in front of the palace was commissioned in 1428 from Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović at a price of 1,000 *perperi*.<sup>196</sup>

The sums provided by the documents in which some of the architectural elements of Sandalj's palace (of course, the ones for which no contracts have survived) are mentioned as models may serve merely as orientation, since the fees of certain stonemasons approximated to their skill. This is true, for example, of the prices of the two cistern crowns commissioned after the one in Sandalj's palace in 1426 from Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Bogosalić (5 ducats, or 15 *perperi*), as well as in 1427 from Nikola Radinović (25 *perperi* together with additional components).<sup>197</sup> The frames of two doorways on the ground floor of Sandalj's palace are mentioned as models for two doorways at a price of 35 *perperi*

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<sup>196</sup> In a letter to Sandalj from 1429 (*Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 63r) the Ragusans state that the costs for loggia would come to 2.000 *perperi*!

<sup>197</sup> See note 129.

each, or 65 *perperi* in 1429, for the ones carved by Ratko Ivančić. It seems that the first commission included only the preparation of the stone elements, and that the price of the completed frame must have been much higher.<sup>198</sup>

*The place of Sandalj's palace in the representative architecture of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth century*

The architectural solution of the complex of Sandalj's palace—interior organisation of space, distribution of content and function—is the result, on the one hand, of the concrete spatial determinants, more accurately, limitations stemming from the urban context and the existing architectural structures (two, i.e., three older houses), and on the other, of the level of architectural conception determined by the evolution stage of the long, continuous development of the Dubrovnik urban house.

In terms of detail design, of which the available sources provide a host of concrete evidence, Sandalj's palace, like almost any representative residential building in Dubrovnik of the time, may be viewed as a link between the older and newer buildings. Indeed, the architecture of a fifteenth-century city gave an impression of uniqueness; Philippus de Diversis wrote that the houses in the city look as if "they had all been built of the same material, by the same builder and virtually at the same time".<sup>199</sup> In the practice of contracting and registering the work of stonemasons and builders—in which the legal, social or technological components are practically impossible to distinguish—commissioning after existing models has created a fine grid that connected various buildings with affiliated architectural conceptions, markedly in the articulation of the façade, and details of the architectural decoration.

As earlier mentioned, underlying the general conception of the façade of Sandalj's palace 1420/1421 was the house of Džore Bokšić († 1399/1400), protovestiary of the Bosnian kings and one of the wealthiest Ragusans of his day,<sup>200</sup> thoroughly readapted and decorated with new stonework some thirty

<sup>198</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 46, f. 61r, f. 66r.

<sup>199</sup> F. de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*: pp. 44, 143.

<sup>200</sup> V. Foretić, »Jean de Vienne«: pp. 83–96; M. Dinić, »Dubrovčani kao feudalci u Srbiji i Bosni«: *Istorijski časopis* 9–10 (1959): 139–149; Desanka Kovačević, »Žore Bokšić – dubrovački trgovac i protovestijar bosanskih kraljeva«. *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 13 (1962 [1963]): p. 306.

years before.<sup>201</sup> In view of the investment costs, ornamentation diversity and quality of production, that building unquestionably surpassed the average representative residential buildings in the city, reflecting at the same time the mastery of both the local or foreign craftsmen who were engaged to work on it.

As models for the elements of Sandalj's palace the contracts also mention other representative buildings. The *balchoncelli* on the third floor of the main façade were commissioned in 1422 from Brajko Bogosalić after those on the house of Martolus de Zammagno.<sup>202</sup> Columns, capitals, arches and the cornice of the loggia were commissioned in 1428 from Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović after certain elements of the existing loggia in front of the Rector's Palace, while the fence posts above the loggia terrace were to be modelled after the ones on the house of the sons of Luca de Bona.<sup>203</sup> A similar practice is witnessed in the contracts for the most dominant elements of the interior of Sandalj's palace. Master Alegreto was entrusted to carve the staircase balustrade and the basin like the ones he had previously made in the house of Matheus de Gradi,<sup>204</sup> while the contract with carpenter Marko Rusković specifies that the *ghabia* in the bedroom on the second floor of Sandalj's palace be modelled after that on the first floor of the house of Marinus de Zriva.<sup>205</sup>

The sources provide reliable evidence on the distinctive elements of Sandalj's palace, the design of which could not imitate the details of architectural decoration of the existing buildings. This is best illustrated by the *ballatorium* and the *cimerium* posted on the sea-facing façade. Unlike the other elements commissioned on the same occasion, the *ballatorium* elements are exhaustively specified, whereas for the design of the *cimerium* explicitly stated is a drawing on a paper leaf, supplied by Bonino da Milano himself.

Indeed, the carved elements of the architectural decoration of Sandalj's palace are frequently mentioned as models in contracts. The most employed among them

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<sup>201</sup> On behalf of Džore Bokšić, in 1388 Ivan from Siena commissioned from master Ivan from Vienna the carved elements for its façades (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 27, f. 150r–v; excerpts from this document were published by V. Foretić, »Jean de Vienne«: pp. 88–89), as in 1393 Ceccho from Monopoli from Ratko Miličević from Korčula (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 30, f. 34v; 10 June 1393; *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 30, f. 193r; 20 February 1393). From a contract specifying the commission of one larger and one smaller four-light window (*cum tribus collumpnis*) on Džore's house in 1393, it is evident that they were made after the existing four-light windows on the house of Marinus de Gozze and two Saracenic windows after the ones on the new house of Lampre de Cerva; for this reason the contract specifies neither the measures nor the ornament details.

<sup>202</sup> See note 72.

<sup>203</sup> See note 155.

<sup>204</sup> See notes 108 and 133.

<sup>205</sup> See note 124.



were the Saracenic windows of the first floor. Similar ones were carved by Alegreto and Dobrašin Radinović in 1424 for Luka Brajković, in 1426 for Ivan de Luca, in 1424 Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Radosalić carve them for Antun de Butcho, and in 1427 Ratko Ivančić and Radoje Pribilović made them for Živko Radosaljić Kastrat.<sup>206</sup> Two windows of this design were commissioned in 1436 from the brothers Radin and Radoje Pribilović for the Rector's Palace.<sup>207</sup> The *balchoncelli* on the third floor of the main façade of Sandalj's palace were copied by Brajko Bogosalić for Pasqualis de Resti in 1425,<sup>208</sup> by Alegreto Bogavčić and Dobrašin Radinović in 1427 for Laurentius de Goze,<sup>209</sup> the brothers Radoje and Radin Pribilović in 1428 for Zupanus de Bona,<sup>210</sup> and Radin Pribilović also in 1429 for Blasius de Gradi.<sup>211</sup> The gutters, i.e. the roof cornices after the ones on Sandalj's palace were carved in 1424 by the stonemasons Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Bogosalić for Marinus de Sorgo and for Luka Brajković.<sup>212</sup> The details of the four-light window and the Saracenic windows of Sandalj's palace are mentioned in the commission of a two-light window entrusted to Radić Bratoradović for Stephanus de Volzigno.<sup>213</sup> The well heads modelled after the one at the palace were carved in 1426 by Radić Bratoradović and Brajko Bogosalić for Matteo de Viterbi from Messina, and next year by Nikola Radinović for Ivan de Marcho.<sup>214</sup> Alegreto Bogavčić carved many elements of the interior similar to the ones he had earlier made in Sandalj's palace, for example, the wash basin for which in 1426, together with Dobrašin Radinović, he had ordered stone from Brajko Bogosalić.<sup>215</sup>

The commissions that directly refer to Sandalj's palace tended to multiply in the years immediately after the construction, and later, understandably, began to ebb. However, as many as forty years later, in 1492, Franciscus de Benessa was

<sup>206</sup> See notes 69–71.

<sup>207</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 49, f. 299v; the document published in N. Grujić, »Onofrio di Giordano«: p. 42 (note 15).

<sup>208</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 43, f. 121r.

<sup>209</sup> ... *Allegretus Bogavcich et Dobrassin Radinovich promiserunt (...) ser Laurentio Mar. de Goze (...) balconcellos quatuor secundum formam illorum qui sunt subtus canaliam domus voivode Sandagl ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 113r).

<sup>210</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 216r.

<sup>211</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 46, f. 90v.

<sup>212</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 42, f. 254r; f. 254v.

In 1428 Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović promised to the commune officials to carve for the house of Duke Radoslav Pavlović *canalia momladi (...) ad similitudinem canalium domus voivode Sandalii ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 261r).

<sup>213</sup> See note 68.

<sup>214</sup> See note 129.

<sup>215</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 93r.

to commission for his house *unam balconatam ... ad similitudinem balconate domus communis que dicitur comitis Stephani*<sup>216</sup> as well as *solarium* which, judging by the elements (consoles and slabs), though of somewhat altered proportions, was to be modelled after the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace; for its perforated fence (*apodium strafortatum*) it was also explicitly required that it resembled the one on the house of Sandalj's successor Herceg Stjepan.<sup>217</sup>

The architectural elements of Sandalj's palace are mentioned, lastly, after 1427 as models in the contracts for the decoration of the palace of Radoslav Pavlović, formerly the house of protovestiary Džore, which, owing to the circumstances, remained connected in a specific way to Sandalj personally and his palace.

Namely, as early as 1419, the house of protovestiary Džore had been promised to Petar Pavlović as part of the reward for the "other" half of Konavle.<sup>218</sup> After Petar's death in 1420, Sandalj was promised a house owned by the nuns of St Mary of Angel, once the property of the Volchasso/Vukasović family, if the Ragusans managed to buy from him Petar's half of Konavle.<sup>219</sup> This was even formulated in a charter which never came in effect, since Radoslav Pavlović, Petar's younger brother, got hold of the land.<sup>220</sup> After long-drawn-out negotiations, in 1427 Radoslav finally agreed to sell his half of Konavle to the Ragusans yet under equal terms the Republic had earlier offered to Sandalj.<sup>221</sup> Džore's house was also part of this reward,<sup>222</sup> objectively of much greater value than that of Sandalj—in 1427 estimated at the price of 12,000 *perperi*, or 4,000 ducats<sup>223</sup>—forcing thus

<sup>216</sup> ... *Item nouem planchas bonas et solidas cum savazis ab extra que planche habeant pro qualibet earum brachia tria et quartum uni brachii de longitudine et brachia duo de latitudine et sunt integre omnes. Item ad dictum solarium debeant facere apodium strafortatum sicut est in domo comitis Stephani superscripti, seu comunis (...)* *Item dentes triginta sex cum capitibus leonum pro solario ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 89, ff. 91v–92r). The documents cited in: N. Grujić, »Balatorij«: p. 144, and for the transcription we are indebted to Zdenka Janeković-Römer.

<sup>217</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the term *ballatorium* was replaced by the term *solarium* in the documents.

<sup>218</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 2, f. 11v.

<sup>219</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 2, f. 114v; *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 2, f. 130v.

<sup>220</sup> Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I: pp. 309–313. This document led V. Ćorović (»Palača«: p. 263) to conclude that the house of the nuns of St Mary was the third house to be granted to Sandalj. Leaning on Miklošič's transcription of the same document (*Monumenta serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*, ed. Fr. Miklosich. Wien: Guilelmus Braumüller, 1858: p. 297), Ćorović cites baron *Vuk Sović* as the former owner of that house.

<sup>221</sup> Esad Kurtović, »Motivi Sandaljeve prodaje Konavala Dubrovčanima«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 38 (2000): p. 111.

<sup>222</sup> Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, I: p. 595.

<sup>223</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 4, f. 4r.

the Ragusans into lengthy diplomatic manoeuvres and considerable expenditures so as to humour Sandalj accordingly.<sup>224</sup>

The palaces of Sandalj and Radoslav thus became part of the same context—a complex of magnates' houses in the city<sup>225</sup>—and the issues of their adaptation and decoration one of the battlegrounds between the two rivals, but also a serious test of the credibility of the Ragusan policy. It is in these circumstances that one should seek the reasons for building a truly monumental arcaded portico in front of Sandalj's palace. At the same time, through his envoys, Radoslav insisted on an increase in the Ragusan investments in his house. By following the principle of equidistance in this thorny situation, the authorities decided to play safe, and for Radoslav's house commissioned in 1428 a roof cornice after the one on Sandalj's palace from masters Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović,<sup>226</sup> and in 1430 Alegreto was entrusted with carving a wash basin identical to the one that the same master had carved in 1423 for Sandalj's palace.<sup>227</sup>

### *Sandalj's fruitless efforts to extend the palace*

According to the surviving sources, as early as 1425, the duke, through his envoys, tried to obtain consent from the Ragusan authorities to buy one of the neighbouring houses with an intent of extending his own.<sup>228</sup> This issue was twice on the agenda of the *Consilium Rogatorum* in July 1429, and was ultimately denied in November of the same year with an excuse.<sup>229</sup> The outbreak of the

<sup>224</sup> On the cash payments secretly disbursed to Sandalj and his wife see E. Kurtović, »Motivi Sandaljeve prodaje«: pp. 113–114.

<sup>225</sup> The problems caused by the commune's inability to have any influence on their use further added to the perception of these buildings as separate, in the legal sense, a coherent property complex. Absent owners deemed it their right to offer their houses to be used by certain Ragusans without the government's knowledge or consent. This issue was on the agenda of the *Consilium Rogatorum* in the beginning of 1412 (*Reformationes*, vol. 34, f. 160v), this domain finally being regulated by a separate law in 1413 (*De domibus dominorum et denariis eorum non accipiendis ad lucrum*), cf. *Liber viridis*: c. 136, pp. 98–99.

<sup>226</sup> *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 261r, cf. note 212.

<sup>227</sup> *Magister Alegretus ... promisit ... ser Martolo de Georgio et ser Marino Ra. de Goze, officialibus communis ad hoc deputatis ... unam scaffam de bono lapide de Curzola de Camignago illius magnitudinis, qualitatis, forme et laborerii quibus laborata et facta est scaffa illa que est in domo voyvode Sandagl et hoc pro ponendo ipsam scaffam in domo voyvode Radossavi ...* (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 46, f. 157v).

<sup>228</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 3, f. 246v.

<sup>229</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 4, f. 111v-112r, f. 124v.

Konavle War in 1430, however, forced the Ragusans to reconsider their positions, because of their possible military alliance with Sandalj against Radoslav Pavlović. Namely, due to his attack on Dubrovnik, Radoslav was deprived of the Ragusan noble status and the house in the city and Sandalj demanded that his house be granted to him or otherwise his own house be extended and adapted to match it. The Ragusans replied that he could not count on Radoslav's house, yet they were willing to spend 6,000 *perperi* for the extension and decoration of his house.<sup>230</sup> Such an offer was not to Sandalj's satisfaction, and he was determined to have a house that would measure up to that of his rival. The Ragusan envoy dispatched to Sandalj was instructed to inform him that his house was located in the most beautiful part of the city, where a single plot of land was worth more than three plots in the quarter where Radoslav's house stood or elsewhere in the city.<sup>231</sup> Consequently, a compromise was reached by promising to buy a house for Sandalj next to his palace (from the envoy's brief we learn that it was owned by Christophorus de Pozza<sup>232</sup>) and, once the works started, additional 4,000 *perperi* were to be invested in its furnishing and decoration, on condition that the alliance be made.<sup>233</sup> The agreement, however, never came into being, yet upon duke's request, the extension of his house was again on the agenda of the *Consilium Rogatorum* at the beginning of 1431.<sup>234</sup> In February 1433 his petition for the purchase of the neighbouring house was finally denied.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> *Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 134r.

<sup>231</sup> ... *Alla parte della casa, dove il dice che vole che sia agrandita e di quella valuta quanto quella di Radossav, se fosse in quello logo chi e la sua, li dicete che per noi avanti ne pareva esser per assai detto et offerto. Et avegna che assai si lassa in nostra stima et volunta nientemancho perche muy sempre desideramo con li amici vivere in pace et intendere et rimovere ogni cason la qual potesse susitar scandalo et anchora per conservar la bona amicitia, che meglio voglia dire e dichiarare la sua intencion e quello che'l vole over vorava che facessimo, perche altramente non bene lo possiamo intendere digandoli et avisandolo che uno pezeto di teren li dove e la casa sua, la qual e nel piu bello logo de la cita, piu valeria che tria tanta che fosse dove e la casa di Radossav, over in altra parte della cita* (Letter to Benedictus Mar. de Gondola, envoy to Sandalj, *Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, ff. 140v–141r; 27 May 1430)

<sup>232</sup> *Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 151v; 10 June 1430.

<sup>233</sup> ... *in quello a noi e possibile non ne ritraghemo di honorarlo come principal consigliere de Ragusa et caro amico, gli dicete che deli quatro milia yperperi che 'l rechiede per ornarla li agetiamo et siamo contenti quando comenzara lavorar. Intendendo tutto questo sopradetto sempre comprandosi la liga* (Letter to Benedictus de Gondola, an envoy dispatched to Sandalj; *Lettere di Levante*, vol. 10, f. 151v; 10 June 1430)

<sup>234</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 4, f. 266v–267v.

<sup>235</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 5, f. 125v.

*The palace after Sandalj's death (1435–1667)*

After the death of Sandalj Hranić in 1435, the palace was inherited by his nephew, Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, who was on hostile terms with Dubrovnik most of his life. On account of the war waged against Dubrovnik in the period 1450–1454, he was deprived of the noble status and his house in the city confiscated.<sup>236</sup> When in the negotiations of 1451 he demanded that his house be returned to him, he was replied that it had been granted to him as a reward for Konavle, and since he was in the possession of Konavle, it was not appropriate to own the house as well.<sup>237</sup> With hostilities abandoned, the house was returned to the Herceg, who paid his first and last visit to Dubrovnik in 1466, only a few months before his death. As to whether he stayed at his own house or, more likely, at the Rector's Palace, there is no evidence.<sup>238</sup>

The construction of the new city wall—which, by the decision from 1470, was to reach the height of 16 ells (~8.2 m)<sup>239</sup>—greatly affected the situation surrounding Sandalj's palace. The wall completely obstructed the view of the harbour, while between the old and the new wall there emerged a space, the use of which was forbidden at first.<sup>240</sup> From a decision of the Minor Council we learn that the eastern side of the roof of Sandalj's palace was jugged out below the arches supporting the rampart in-between the walls,<sup>241</sup> helping us thus to define the height of the palace itself. In 1505 the Minor Council decided that all those having windows *sub variches*, which could allow access to the antemural area, were to bar them or wall them up. A similar decree was also issued in 1509.<sup>242</sup> Yet in 1517, in-between the walls at Ponta, a house was built

<sup>236</sup> J. Mijušković, »Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva«: p. 96.

<sup>237</sup> Sima M. Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba*. [Posebna izdanja Srpske akademije nauka, knj. 376; Odeljenje društvenih nauka, knj. 48]. Beograd: Naučno delo, 1964: p. 160. During their visits to Dubrovnik in the 1450s, the sons of Herceg Stjepan (who sided with Dubrovnik in the conflict and against their father), did not stay in the palace. The eldest son, Duke Vladislav, in 1453 stayed at the Rector's Palace, cf. J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 122, whereas during the visit of Duke Vlatko in 1454 the Ragusans prepared the archbishop's palace, although he ultimately stayed at the Rector's Palace, cf. J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: pp. 124–125. Their visits to Dubrovnik after Herceg's death in 1466 took place in secret.

<sup>238</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 132.

<sup>239</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 99.

<sup>240</sup> In 1477 it was decided to put up a wooden grating between the private houses and the new wall so as to prevent passage, see L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 104.

<sup>241</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 110.

<sup>242</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: pp. 118, 120.

in which communal gun-powder was produced,<sup>243</sup> while in 1522, outside the Ponta Gate, a roof was built with an intent to shelter the artillery.<sup>244</sup>

According to the evidence from the end of the fifteenth century, certain parts of Sandalj's palace had been used for purposes other than representative. Although as late as 1624 the successors of Herceg Stjepan still received from the Republic the so-called "Konavle tribute",<sup>245</sup> by the end of 1492 the palace was mentioned as communal property, or as one of the communal houses (*domus communis que dicitur comitis Stephani*).<sup>246</sup> In support of this is the information that, by the regulations governing the rent of communal property, its ground-floor space had been rented out that same year. In the Register of the communal real property the palace is entered as *la casa di comun la qual fo di olim voyvoda Sandagl avanti Sancta Maria*.<sup>247</sup> Judging by the annual rent (16 *perperi*), the first of the ground-floor spaces was the largest and, being referred to as *magazeno over botega*, probably had its own entrance from the Square. The other two rooms were entered into the Register as storerooms (*magazeni*). The first of the two, rented out for 5 *perperi*, is described as being *in cortivo*, while the other, rented out for 6 *perperi* and 1 *grosso* a year, as *posto sotto varichos*, which means that it was entered from the passage between the palace and the house of the Lokrum abbot, or, less likely, between the old and new city wall. Possibly, this may have been the former shed.

By the end of the fifteenth century, a school occupied the upper parts of the building. In 1495 the Minor Council decided that "on the house once owned by Sandalj" the *solarium* (*ballatorium* terrace) be repaired and its structure corseted, so as to prevent the solarium from crumbling and causing injury to either master Marin or his pupils.<sup>248</sup> It was upon the officials to decide whether to have some of the wooden partition walls removed in order to enable better space usage.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> For this house, as ordered by the Minor Council, the officials responsible for the building of the new granary and customs house were to give 10 cubits of the old stone gutters from the old Sponza building, cf. L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 125.

<sup>244</sup> L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja*: p. 127.

<sup>245</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: 136.

<sup>246</sup> In the document referred to in note 216.

<sup>247</sup> *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13.–18. st.)*, II, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, VII/2]. Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2007: p. 290.

<sup>248</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 25, f. 179r; cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>249</sup> The partition wall (*travatorium*) in question probably divided two rooms of the second floor, constructed according to the decision of 14 December 1422, see note 121.

In February 1501, the necessary repairs on the house were discussed again: on the *Consilium Rogatorum* three officials were chosen for the repairs of the stone gutters, cistern and other imperative interventions.<sup>250</sup> In April, Blaž Andrijić, Nikola Radivojević known as Maranić and Petar, son of Marko Andrijić, promised to deliver within four months the carved elements for the repairs on the portico: two columns without capitals, in dimensions and carving technique resembling the extant columns, four stone slabs 10 spans (~2.54 m) long and 4 spans (~1.04 m) wide, of equal thickness as those on the terrace; these slabs were to be jointed (*incastrade*) like the rest of the slabs and treated from both sides. Two arches missing on the northern side were to be made after the existing ones and the corner (*cantonata*) was to be closed in from all sides by square stone blocks, in the same fashion as the other corner of the portico. The masters also promised to prepare all the necessary members for the terrace fence after the existing ones, while the cornice below the fence was to be made of the same block as the fence, not separate. For the upper *solarium* (i.e., *ballatorium*) they would carve the necessary elements of the perforated fence in three parts, modelled after the rest of the fence on the upper solarium.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>250</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 28, f. 258r–v; cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>251</sup> ... *Blasius Andriich, Nicolaus Allecreti dictus Maranich et Petar, filius Marci Andriich, omnes de Curzola lapicide (...) promiserunt (...) officialibus deputatis ad reparationem domus in qua dabatur hospitium hominibus ducis Stephani (...) dare et consignare (...) infrascripta laboreria de scarpello de petra de Corzula bona, alba, solida et pulchra absque macula et de bono et pulchro magisterio ad laudem boni lapicide pro dicta reparatione voltarum dicte domus, videlicet, columnas duas pro dictis voltis absque capitellis de grossicie, longitudine et morello aliarum columnarum veterum dictarum voltarum precio ducatorum trium in totum pro dictis duabus columnis; planchas quatuor de palmis decem in longitudine et palmis 4 in latitudine et de grossicie aliarum plancharum que ad presens sunt in solarario dictarum voltarum, incastratas prout sunt dicte planche ipsarum voltarum et sint laborate ab utraque parte precio ducatorum septem cum dimidio in totum pro dictis quatuor planchis. Arcus duos qui propter ruinam deficiunt in dictis voltis a parte tramontane de morello et forma aliorum arcuum dictarum voltarum nec non cantonatam totam cum omnibus petris de cursu ab omnibus partibus sicut est alia cantonata dictarum voltarum quos arcus cum dicta cantonata et omnibus aliis petris de cursu debent dare fornitos de omnibus necessariis precio ducatorum quinque in totum. Apodia omnia necessaria pro solarario inferiori dictarum voltarum de laborerio et morello aliorum apodiorum que ad presens sunt in dicto solarario et de pluri quod lista sub dictis apodiis sit in uno pecio cum apodiis et non separata, precio yperperorum trium pro singulo brachio dictorum apodiorum. Apodia omnia necessaria de straforo in tribus peciis pro solarario superiori dicte domus de laborerio et morello aliorum apodiorum que ad presens sunt in dicto solarario superiori ad rationem grossorum triginta pro singulo brachio dictorum apodiorum ... (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 80, ff. 111v–112r), cited in C. Fisković, Naši graditelji: p. 150.*

The repairs, related mainly to the portico, do not bring into question the quality of its construction as much as the original idea to cover the loggia with stone slabs of large dimensions, thus implying considerable weight. The difference in length between the slabs covering the porch employed for the construction (~2.30 m) and later for the repair (~2.54 m) suggests that the ends of the four new slabs were built into the façade wall deeper, in order to reduce the thrust on the columns.

In 1520 the city was struck by an earthquake. Given the extensive damage on the southern part of the neighbouring Rector's Palace, it may well be assumed that a similar fate had befallen Sandalj's palace. In March 1525, the Minor Council decided that on Sandalj's house a decayed column and an arch of the portico be again repaired.<sup>252</sup>

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the palace became the residence of the Turks, maintained and cared for by the communal officials chosen to this post.<sup>253</sup> In 1571 the Minor Council ordered the officials for communal works to furnish "the house in which the Turks reside" with everything necessary, and to install iron bars on the window opposite the church of St Mary.<sup>254</sup> In order to enhance the comfort of the Turks' residence, in 1581 the *Consilium Rogatorum* ordered that the house known as *Hercegovina* be equipped with running water from the Rector's Palace.<sup>255</sup>

Lastly, from 1638 *la casa grande del comune detta Herzegovina posta appresso il domo* was rented out as one of the communal houses.<sup>256</sup> By the decision of the *Consilium Rogatorum* of 15 April that same year, the repairs of the roof and the palace's wall were the responsibilities of the lessee.<sup>257</sup> The house was again rented out in 1643, 1653 and in 1660, when it is last mentioned in the Register of the communal real property before the Great Earthquake.<sup>258</sup>

<sup>252</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 35, f. 94v; cited in L. Beritić, »Ubikacija«: p. 83.

<sup>253</sup> J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: p. 28.

<sup>254</sup> *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 50, f. 115v; for this information we are indebted to Vesna Miović.

<sup>255</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 66, f. 133v.

<sup>256</sup> *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, II: p. 306.

<sup>257</sup> *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 95, ff. 170v–171r.

<sup>258</sup> *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, II: p. 306.



## Conclusion

In terms of scope and investment, the palace of Sandalj Hranić is by far the most significant building project undertaken by the Ragusan commune in the 1420s. The earliest evidence on the works on Sandalj's palace, however, clearly shows that most of its elements were commissioned after the components of other local buildings. For this reason but also the fact that it was designed by adapting older buildings, in the initial project of Sandalj's palace one should not seek an integral, let alone innovative architectural solution; it is more of an amalgam of the best architectural features Dubrovnik had to offer in the early 1420s, considered most appropriate for a "patrician palace", naturally, within the framework set by the Minor Council and the officials appointed to this task, but also the stonemasons, masters and builders commissioned to bring this project to success.

As with the majority of representative Ragusan houses of the fifteenth century, the local architectural models played a key role, not only in the design of details but also in the general conception of the main façade. Apparently, the house of Džore Bokšić, thoroughly renovated in the early 1390s, was most frequently modelled after. A thirty-year gap between these two buildings is indicative of the continuity of the once canonised forms and solutions in the residential architecture of Dubrovnik; in support of this conclusion is also the fact that the elements of the *ballatorium* of Sandalj's palace were among the commissions for the house of Franciscus de Benessa some seventy years later.

During the twelve years of the palace's construction, furnishing and decoration, the original plan was greatly altered and extended due mainly to a series of circumstances which we have tried to elucidate in this article. In addition to certain improvements aimed at obtaining better living conditions, two decisions passed in the course of its construction should be noted, because they contributed decisively to the monumental appearance of the building. The first decision—by which the façades of the older houses on the Square were to be pulled down and built anew instead of renovated, passed by the *Consilium Rogatorum* in August 1421—affected, moreover, the very nature of the project; until then characterised as adaptation, the project gained all the features of reconstruction. The decision from 1428 marked the second turning point: an arcaded portico of the length of the entire main façade was to be built. Thus the final result greatly departed from the original concept.

Given the reputation and the status of its owner, as well as considerable (public) expenditures for the reconstruction, adaptation and furnishing, the palace of Sandalj Hranić may be viewed as a unique achievement of residential architecture

in Dubrovnik. Its representative design, prominent urban position and the fact that by 1424 it was already used for housing high-ranking guests of the state also distinguished it as a public building from the very beginning. Therefore, apart from the context of other representative residential buildings which served as the palace's models (and vice versa), Sandalj's palace may also be viewed within the context of connections which relate it to the most significant public buildings of the Ragusan commune—the Rector's Palace and Sponza. With regard to the former, it should be noted that a loggia adjoining the principal façade planned in 1426 was to be modelled after a similar construction attached to the front of the Rector's Palace (built in 1420). The decision from 1428 involved the building of a portico the length of the entire main façade of the palace. Apart from some of its architectural elements—pillars, capitals, arches and cornices—the loggia of the Rector's Palace was no longer mentioned as a model for Sandalj palace's portico. It was completed in 1432, two years before the loggia in front of the Rector's Palace collapsed.<sup>259</sup> In 1435, however, the Rector's Palace was destroyed by fire. Reconstruction soon followed, and besides the fact that the Saracenic windows on the first floor of the main façade of Sandalj's palace were mentioned in 1436 as models of some windows on the Rector's Palace, more importantly, on the building of its new entrance porch in 1439 we trace three protagonists who had built the porch on Sandalj's palace—an official Iunius de Gradi and masters Ratko Ivančić and Nikola Radinović. Further, the portico built in front of the Sponza in 1518 also resembled that of Sandalj's palace, porticoes also being built along the southern façades of the six blocks of communal houses west of Sponza.<sup>260</sup> Although the possibility that these buildings had been equipped with porticoes even before the construction of Sandalj's palace should not be ruled out, its portico, according to the data currently available, is their earliest certainly dateable monumental prototype.

The fact that neither Sandalj nor his successor Herceg Stjepan had ever actually stayed at their palace is only seemingly paradoxical: similar to the houses of other magnates in Dubrovnik, Sandalj's palace was primarily a symbolic residence of

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<sup>259</sup> See note 150.

<sup>260</sup> The portico in front of Sponza is the work of Nikola and Josip Andrijić, cf. C. Fisković, *Dokumenti o radu naših graditelja i klesara XV.–XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku* (Izdanje Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu, 3), Split: Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju, 1947: pp. 11, 24–25 (note 69). On porticoes of the communal houses see L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak*: p. 19; C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 60 and D. Zelić, »*Utilitas et lucrum* – općinske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku«, in: *Umjetnost i naručitelji*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj. [Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića, vol. III]. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti and Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010: pp. 9–24.

its owner. Ownership of property in the city was one of the imperatives of the noble status, the very notion of the house having a host of symbolic implications. In diplomatic communication between Sandalj and the Ragusans, whom they addressed as *primo consiglier et cittadin nostro*, the word *casa* denotes not only duke's palace in Dubrovnik, but is also used metaphorically, as a synonym for home, i.e., homeland. While addressing Sandalj, especially when stressing their expectations of him to act to the benefit of Dubrovnik, the Ragusans, as a rule, referred to their city as his home, that is, his home and homeland (*Ragusa casa vostra, Ragusa casa et patria vostra*). The envoy, dispatched in the beginning of 1426 carrying an official invitation to Sandalj to visit the city, was instructed the following: *Et da poi lo salute, lo dobiate convitar a vegnir a veder Ragusa casa sua et quella casa che li sui fratelli et amici zentilhomini de Ragusa anno aparichiato ala sua signoria*.

Careful wording and compliments with which the Ragusans described to Sandalj his house surpassed the routine courtesies of diplomatic protocol. The house was truly located on the most beautiful position in the city (*nel più bello logo della citta*), where the land was "three times as worth as in other parts". The statement that "for the love of Sandalj" they had the older houses, the one granted to him in 1419 as well as that given to him earlier, demolished and built anew, *con tutti quelli adornamenti et conciamenti che ne fu possibile*, might seem somewhat exaggerated, yet—in the light of the newly found evidence—it does contain a grain of truth, as the façades of the older buildings facing the square were actually knocked down and a new, all-embracing main façade built. The house was furnished and decorated with a magnificence rivalling that of a Rector's palace. This beautiful edifice (*bello edificio*)—the Ragusans wrote to Sandalj—catches the eye of distinguished lords and foreign visitors arriving in Dubrovnik en route for the Holy Land,<sup>261</sup> enquiring about its owner. The Ragusans reply that the house belongs to him, a worthy friend of their city, and that the sight of this edifice, lasting testimony of Sandalj's amity towards Dubrovnik, fills them with great joy. It is indisputable that during his visit to Dubrovnik in 1426 the duke himself could witness the excellence of the works done, praising the Ragusan authorities for having accomplished even more than they had promised.

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<sup>261</sup> N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*: p. 249, established that the house was located in *Via del Sepolcro*, thus implying the existence of a street under the same name in Dubrovnik; this mistake was repeated by V. Čorović, »Palača«: p. 264.

Regardless of costs and effort, the Ragusans fulfilled their promise to Duke Sandalj from 1419—that they would “arrange his palaces at their expenses, both beautifully and honourably”. Until its destruction in 1667, the palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić remained a lasting testimony of a perfect friendship between them, and a unique, remarkable building in the monumental landscape of the city.