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BAROQUE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RECTOR'S PALACE IN DUBROVNIK

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ABSTRACT: The Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik has hitherto been evaluated mainly in terms of its predominant Gothic and Renaissance phases of construction. However, comprehensive research on Dubrovnik's Baroque architecture has demonstrated that a revalorisation of the Baroque phase of the Rector's Palace is due. This re-evaluation has been stimulated by research on archival documents in the State Archives of Dubrovnik (particularly the *Libro della Fabbrica del Palazzo Publico* of 1685-1704), which has brought to light hitherto unpublished information on the reconstruction of this building following the earthquake of 1667. The rebuilding of the Palace took place in several phases, an examination of which reveals changes in relations between the Senate and the state architects, as well as how these changes were reflected in the nature of the work itself. During the initial period, members of the Senate produced models of reconstruction incorporating the restoration of the Palace's Gothic-Renaissance appearance. However, the arrival in Dubrovnik in 1689 of an architect of international renown—the Sicilian Tommaso Napoli—opened a new phase of reconstruction, whereby the Palace acquired a Baroque stamp.

The Rector's Palace - symbol of the independent statehood of the Republic of Dubrovnik and one of the city's finest buildings - has hitherto been evaluated

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mainly in terms of its predominant Gothic and Renaissance phases of construction. Although its essential characteristics have been treated in all studies of the Rector's Palace (those by Milan Rešetar, Božo Glavić, Edda Portolan, and Nada Grujić),¹ the Baroque reconstruction that followed the 1667 earthquake has remained in the background in terms of stylistic valorisation. The reason for this lies partly in the very nature of that reconstruction: following the earthquake, the damaged Gothic-Renaissance palace was at first simply renovated, and only later did it acquire more pronounced Baroque features. However, this imbalanced approach by researchers to the Palace's multi-layered history is also a reflection of what was, until recently, the accepted view, one in which greater emphasis was placed on evaluating Dubrovnik's medieval and Renaissance legacy than that of the Baroque.

Thus, following more recent research into Dubrovnik's Baroque sacred and secular architecture, which has revealed its stylistic and typological specificity and the high architectural quality of both individual buildings and the epoch as a whole, the need has arisen for a revalorisation of the Baroque phase of the Rector's Palace as well. This altered approach has been stimulated particularly by the latest research on archival documents in the State Archives of Dubrovnik,² which has brought to light hitherto unpublished information about the intensive reconstruction work on the Palace during the last three

¹ Hans Folnesics, »Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts in Dalmatien«. *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institütes der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 8 (1914): pp. 106-120, 195; Milan Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«. *Nova doba* 19 (1936): p. 14; Božo Glavić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, Rim 1936 (the manuscript filed at the archive of the Dubrovnik City Museum); Božo Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«. *Čovjek i prostor* 7-8 (1950): pp. 60-65; Nada Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*, research report of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, Zagreb 1981; Edda Portolan, »Izveštaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 25 (1985): pp. 121-159; Marija Planić-Lončarić, »Dubrovnik Knežev dvor«, in: *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, catalogue of the exhibition, Zagreb: MTM, 1987: pp. 292-293; Nada Grujić, *Knežev dvor*, in: *Obnova Dubrovnika 1979-1989*, Dubrovnik: Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika, 1989: pp. 71-74; Vlaho Benković, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku nakon obnove godine 1984. Jedan pogled u prošlost i sadašnjost«, *Dubrovački horizonti* 26/18 (1986): pp. 72-80; Nada Grujić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2003-2004): pp. 149-170. My thanks to the curator of the Dubrovnik Museum, Vedrana Gjukić-Bender, for providing me with access to documentation on the Rector's Palace (Tomo Tudisi's report on reconstruction of the Palace from 1795, and the study produced by protomaster Roko Vuličević in 1843), as well as to curator Pavica Vilać for her assistance during my tour of the Palace interior.

² Archival research was performed by Relja Seferović, as part of a project by the Institute of History of Art in Zagreb.

decades of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. A thorough examination of the resolutions adopted by the Senate (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*) and the Minor Council (*Acta Consilii Minoris*) has added considerably to previous knowledge regarding the role of the Senate and the Dubrovnik government in carrying out the Palace's reconstruction, which had already begun in 1667. Likewise, a survey of the materials contained in the *Libro della Fabbrica del Palazzo Publico* has enabled the tempo of the main building activities during the period between 1685 and 1704 to be ascertained, as well as the names of the many master craftsmen who performed them. In this way, not only have the individual builders and stonecutters who were responsible for rebuilding the Palace and for work on other contemporary building projects in the city emerged from anonymity, but the origin of certain Baroque innovations that were subsequently used on other landmarks of Dubrovnik architecture has been illuminated. In this regard, the newly-discovered roles of Sicilian architect Tommaso Napoli and Neapolitan sculptor Nicola dello Gaudio in the Palace's Baroque transformation emerge as especially significant.

The earthquake of 6 April 1667 also befell the Rector's Palace, a complex structure which had preserved traces of its transformation from a medieval castle (*castellum*) into a luxurious Gothic-Renaissance palace, the finest such building not only in Dubrovnik but on the entire eastern Adriatic coast.³ During this process, it was the Neapolitan architect Onofrio della Cava who, from 1435 to 1442, left the deepest mark on the Palace, lending it the basic features of its spatial organisation, namely, its several wings surrounding an inner courtyard.⁴ The building of assembly halls for the Major and Minor Councils and the *Consilium rogatorum* (later the Senate), as well as the Rector's apartment, a courtroom, a chancellery, a notary's office, gaols, and an armoury, defined the basic ground plan arrangement. This was facilitated by enlarging the building's dimensions, above all by extending the oldest, southern wing near the Rector's Tower, as well as articulating the seaward eastern wing and the northern wing by the Town Hall.⁵ In terms of design, the most significant work dating from this period was the building of the grand portico, located between the two corner towers of the western wing, and the inner atrium; these were features that all later reconstructions sought to imitate, beginning with

³ N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: p. 1.

⁴ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14; B. Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«: p. 60.

⁵ N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: pp. 3-14.



Dubrovnik, Rector's Palace (photograph: Nenad Gattin)

the one which followed a gunpowder explosion in 1463.⁶ For although a new project had been drawn up on that occasion by the Florentine architect Michelozzo, the Senate would not even consider it; and so the Palace was partially restored to its former state, with some undamaged older parts being reused.⁷ At the same time, by lowering the structure to its present two-level height (with mezzanine), extending the southern wing, recessing the western façade and, in particular, replacing the upper-floor window apertures with biforia, as well as adding Renaissance sculptural elements, the Palace took on some quite different characteristic.⁸ Further alterations resulted from the earthquake of 1520, which, among other things, damaged the eastern wing containing the Rector's apartment;⁹ the damage caused by lightning¹⁰ that

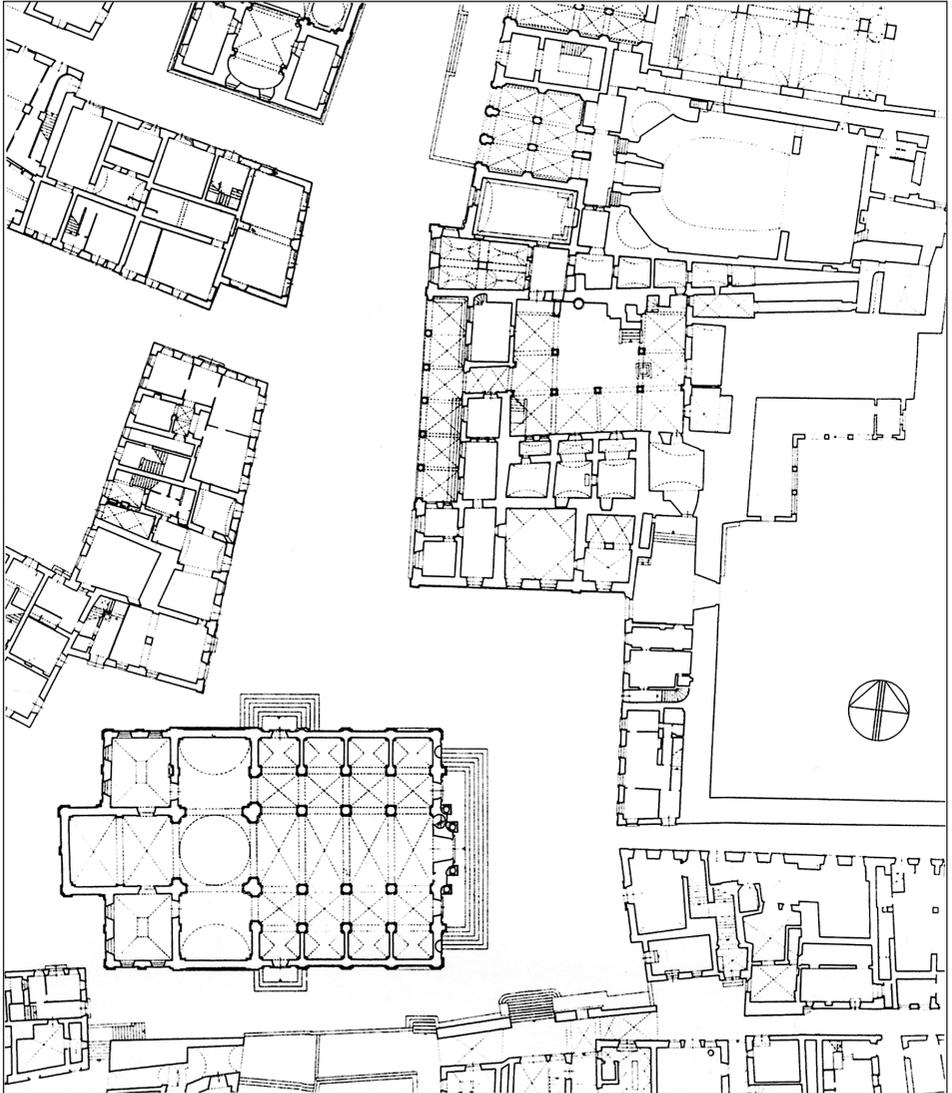
⁶ B. Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«: p. 60; N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: p. 11.

⁷ B. Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«: p. 60.

⁸ N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: p. 14.

⁹ N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor*, in: *Obnova Dubrovnika 1979-1989*: p. 72.

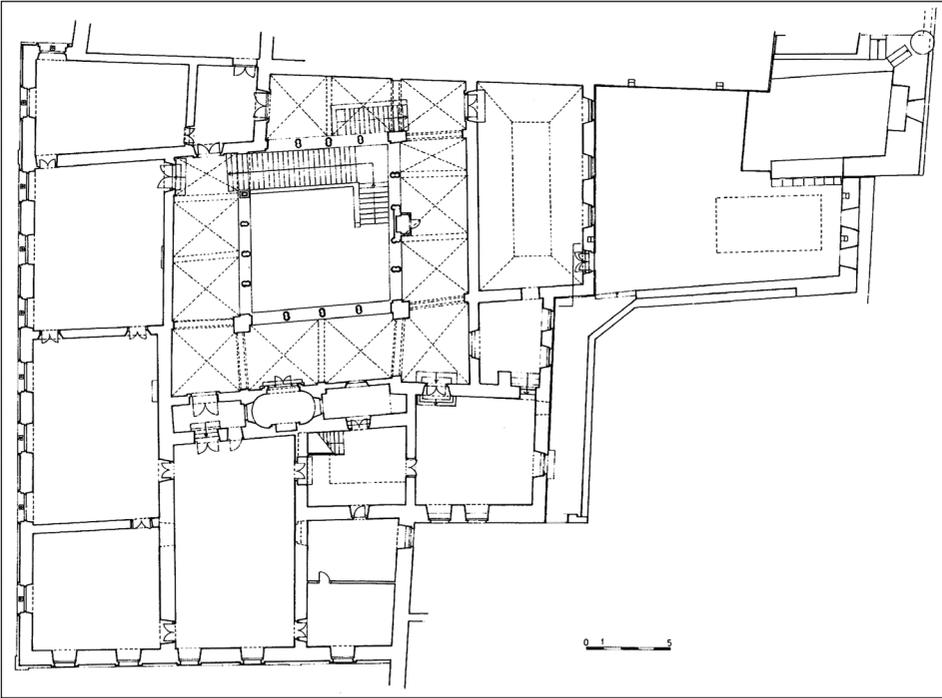
¹⁰ N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: p. 14.



Dubrovnik, section of the city map showing Rector's Palace
(architectural projection: Ivan Tenšek)

struck the southern wing containing Onofrio's armoury in 1610; and, finally, the earthquake of 1667, with all its destructive consequences.

The scope of this latest significant incident of damage to the Palace, in which the Rector himself perished, has been analysed in detail in certain



Rector's Palace, plan of the first floor (reconstruction project: Petar Kušan)

publications on this topic, above all those by Milan Rešetar.¹¹ Besides the roof and upper floor, the vaults and columns of the atrium and a large part of the western façade were also damaged, with the same fate meeting the neighbouring Town Hall as well. Thus not only did the Rector's official residence and all the offices need to be temporarily relocated outside the Palace, but all three councils began meeting in Revelin Fortress.¹² What has, however, remained on the margins of research conducted hitherto is the relationship between the Senate and the planners (state architects) in conceiving the Palace's reconstruction, as well as an analysis of the consequences of changes in this balance of power, which gradually shifted in favour of the latter.

¹¹ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

¹² M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14. In 1669 the Senate already had its own premises within the Palace or in its vicinity, for its decree of that year regarding the clean-up of debris ordered that all such material be cleared away from the entrance to the Palace facing Ulica od puča, adding that the width of this street was not to exceed that of the Senate Hall.

*Period of domination by the Senate**First phase of reconstruction - drafting models and restoring the façades and interior*

Although certain partial resolutions concerning reconstruction of the ground-floor notary's office (November 1667) or repairs to the roof (March 1668) had been made earlier,¹³ this period commenced on 7 June 1668 with "Article 23", which specified "reconstruction of the Palace in such a manner that His Excellency the Rector and his entire family may dwell therein, with arches to be built in the courtyard, in accordance with the model to be drafted and approved by the Senate".¹⁴ This resolution was quickly followed, on 12 July of that same year, by the selection of supervisors¹⁵ for reconstruction of the Palace (Sebastijan Zamagna, Sigismund Gondola and Martolica Cerva),¹⁶ as well as the allocation of funds and the setting of wages for the architect, Francesco Cortese,¹⁷ who had just arrived from Rome¹⁸ on the recommendation of the first foreign consultant on reconstruction of the city following the earthquake, military engineer Giulio Cerutti.¹⁹

As state architect, Francesco Cortese was active in the overall rebuilding of the city, and so was undoubtedly also involved in restoration of the Rector's Palace, as the city's most significant edifice, albeit the documents evidencing regular bimonthly wage payments make no special mention of the architect's contributions.²⁰ Yet it is indisputable that funds for renovating the Rector's bedchamber were disbursed during Cortese's period of service (May 1669),²¹

¹³ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

¹⁴ *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* (hereafter: *Cons. Rog.*), series 3, vol. 116, f. 92v (all the unpublished documents are filed at the State Archives of Dubrovnik). This article was linked to earlier general resolutions concerning reconstruction (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 116, f. 6v). At the same time, it was decided to reconstruct the Major Council Hall, including rebuilding a wall which had already collapsed, and renovating the roof.

¹⁵ Translated literally, "officials" (*officiales*); yet the term "supervisors" is certainly more appropriate.

¹⁶ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 116, f. 113r.

¹⁷ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 116, f. 113v. Cortese's bimonthly wage amounted to 44 ducats and 10 groschen. *Acta Consilii Minoris* (hereafter: *Cons. Min.*), series 5, vol. 83, f. 42v.

¹⁸ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak grada posle velikog zemljotresa 1667. g., Arhivska grada (1667.-1670.)*, Beograd: Naučno delo, 1960: p. 318.

¹⁹ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 115, ff. 128v-129r.

²⁰ *Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, ff. 35v, 42v, 53v, 62v, 70r, 82v, 93v, 100v, 110v, 118v, 129r, 138v, 146r, 149v.

²¹ *Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, f. 71v.

and that building work continued two months later in the area near the Ponta Gate (i.e. the gate to the harbour, located at the south-eastern corner of the Palace).²² That these plans were actually carried out, and that intensive work was going on at the Palace at this time, is proved by a newly-discovered contract with a stonemason from Ancona, Marino Lucinus, who, on the recommendation of Stjepan Gradi, took part in work on the Palace from August 1669 to July 1670.²³

However, the very fact that the Senate entrusted these building activities to the supervisors, via whose representative - Sigismund Gondola - the financing of the reconstruction was also administered,²⁴ indicates the architect's subordinate role, which was probably equivalent to that of a consultant (and not a planner). Moreover, the Senate was not always satisfied with the still young Cortese even in such a role.²⁵ Thus, in 1669, it deferred the erection of columns and arches pending the arrival of a "skilled engineer" (according to Milan Rešetar, this was the Dubrovnik army captain Giorgi),²⁶ who, a year later, issued instructions to the supervisors on reinforcing the columns and arches with iron.²⁷ Although most researchers on the Palace hitherto have

²² M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14. It was also decided to consult with experts regarding the Major Council Hall (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 117, f. 63rv).

²³ In July 1670 Marino Lucinus confirmed receipt of his annual wage from the reconstruction supervisors, Sebastijan Zamagna and Sigismund Gondola, in an amount corresponding to that promised him by Stjepan Gradi (*Diversa de foris*, series 34, vol. 106, ff. 29r-30r).

²⁴ In July 1668 it was resolved that Gondola and his clerks should be paid 200 ducats as compensation for reconstruction of the Palace (*Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, f. 29v). In March 1669 it was resolved to pay Gondola 500 ducats (drawn from Genoese funds) for construction work at the Palace (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 116, f. 187r; *Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, ff. 63v, 64r). Further payments followed: 200 ducats in May 1669 for the Rector's bedchamber (*Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, f. 71v), 300 ducats in July (f. 83r), the same amount in October (f. 94v) and in November (f. 101v), 200 ducats in January 1670 (f. 113r), the same amount in March (f. 120r), 300 ducats in May (f. 131r), two payments of 200 ducats each in July (ff. 137v, 138r, 139v), and again 200 ducats in both August and October of 1670 (ff. 143r, 147r). In July 1671 it was resolved to pay 200 ducats to newly-appointed supervisor Marko Bassegli (f. 199r).

²⁵ The Dubrovnik government wrote of Cortese's arrival as follows: "Engineer Cortese has arrived, whom we expect to satisfy us in all respects, although he has not hitherto had occasion to demonstrate his talent. He is a modest youth, courteous in demeanour and reserved in speech." (R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak grada posle velikog zemljotresa 1667. g.*: p. 344). A certain dissatisfaction with Cortese is evident from the Senate's letter to Stjepan Gradi seeking a new architect; they stress that he should send them a person with practical and not just theoretical knowledge.

²⁶ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

²⁷ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 117, f. 170r.

believed that these plans concerned the atrium,²⁸ it is more likely that they referred to the portico (given that the entire atrium was later completely rebuilt, so that it would not even have been necessary to reinforce it with iron).

Cortese's brief engagement, which was marked by the approval of the reconstruction model drafted by the supervisors,²⁹ ended with his sudden death.³⁰ His last wages were paid out in November 1670,³¹ and at the very end of that year (30 December) the Senate contacted its representative in Rome, Stjepan Gradi, with a request that he find a new architect.³²

Upon the arrival from Rome of the experienced Genoa-born architect Paolo Andreotti, with whom the Senate signed a contract in May 1671,³³ plans for reconstruction of the Palace seem to have been infused with a new optimism. Following the selection of a new team of supervisors headed by Marko Bassegli,³⁴ the Senate resolved that all offices should be moved back to the Palace by December of that same year, to be followed one year later by the Rector himself.³⁵ A reconstruction model was again approved at the beginning of 1672, and funds for the reconstruction were enlarged. In August of that year all public works apart from the rebuilding of the Palace, the Cathedral, and the Church of St Clare were halted.³⁶ Although only repairs to the Palace's façade—"from the corner of the Minor Council Hall to the column which has remained standing" (1672)³⁷—were recorded during Andreotti's tenure, such an ambitiously conceived plan (regardless of the fact that it was completely implemented only much later) undoubtedly involved renovation of its interior

²⁸ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14. In this case, the Senate's resolution would not have been carried out, for the atrium began to be built only in 1685, while the entries relating to repair of the façade are dated 1672 and 1675.

²⁹ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 117, f. 170r.

³⁰ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak grada posle velikog zemljotresa 1667. g.*: p. 576.

³¹ See note 20.

³² The Senate instructed the Minor Council to write to Stjepan Gradi (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 118, f. 111v).

³³ *Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683.*, ed. G. Körbler. [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, vol. XXXVII]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1915: p. 186. In May 1671 Andreotti's wage was fixed at 20 ducats per month, and it was decided that he should be allowed to live rent-free in a house on Kovačka ulica (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 118, f. 198r).

³⁴ *Cons. Min.*, vol. 83, f. 199r.

³⁵ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

³⁶ *Ibidem.*

³⁷ *Ibidem.*

as well. This particularly concerns the southern wing (where work had already begun under Cortese), as well as the western wing, whose façade was renovated in 1675; in May of that year the Senate ordered the supervisors and experts to repair that part of the structure which was leaning towards the Placa,³⁸ i.e. the northern side. Despite previously-held ideas that work on the Palace had only begun in earnest after 1685,³⁹ the intensity of rebuilding activities during this early period is likewise confirmed by the relatively large expenditures made by the Senate via the Minor Council,⁴⁰ as well as the architectural features of the southern and western wings themselves.

Alongside restoration of the façade's Gothic-Renaissance sculptural elements, as ordered by the Senate, efforts were also made to preserve, as much as possible, the older interior structures defining the spatial distribution of the ground floor and mezzanine.⁴¹ Although the rooms here mostly retained their earlier functions—on the ground floor, the notary's office and chancellery (northern section of the western wing) and the gaols (eastern and southern), as well as the turnkey's lodgings in the eastern mezzanine—several significant



Rector's Palace, atrium (photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ B. Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«: p. 60.

⁴⁰ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14. In February 1672 the Senate earmarked 3,000 ducats for repair of the Palace, while in May of that year the amount was raised to 4,000 ducats per annum; this represented, in any event, a considerable increase over the 1,400 ducats allocated in 1670 (the sum of all the payments made to Gondola; see note 24). In November 1685, however, the amount was reduced to 1,500 ducats for the current year, and 1,000 ducats for the following two years (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 127, ff. 288v-289r).

⁴¹ The most interesting in this respect was the historically stratified southern wing, the oldest part of which had been built as an extension of the south-eastern Rector's Tower. It was connected to it by narrow rooms (probably from an earlier arcade) leading to the atrium on all three floors, while on the southern side it was later widened to include Onofrio's armoury and the former portico by the Ponta Gate (N. Grujić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine«: pp. 162-163).



Rector's Palace, grand staircase in the atrium
(photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

changes took place. Namely, Onofrio de la Cava's fateful armoury was removed from the Palace, thus freeing the central premises of the southern wing for other uses: the courtroom on the ground floor was extended,⁴² while on the southern mezzanine an assembly hall was later built for one of the councils. According to Božo Glavić, this belonged to the Minor Council, while more recent research by Nella Lonza indicates that the Senate Hall was located in the southern wing, while that of the Minor Council was situated on the elevated ground floor of the Town Hall.⁴³

On the upper floor, already damaged by lightning fifty years before the earthquake, some of the older walls were removed, including those of the corner towers (the oldest, south-eastern one, as well as the north-western and south-western ones), thus permitting a new distribution of space.⁴⁴ In any case,

⁴² The civil court (*consulatus*) in the eastern part of the southern wing is mentioned as early as 1604 (E. Portolan, »Izvjestaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 126).

⁴³ Nella Lonza, »Svakodnevnica Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku u XVIII. stoljeću«, *Otium* 2/1-2 (1994): p. 5. The criminal court was probably located in the mezzanine of the southern wing.

⁴⁴ E. Portolan, »Izvjestaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: pp. 139-154.

the broadest, southern wing was characterised principally by a central hall running along its entire width (from atrium to façade)⁴⁵ and flanked by side rooms (the eastern one of which was the Rector's bedchamber), thus recalling the spatial disposition of Dubrovnik's Gothic-Renaissance summer residences. In contrast, the narrower, stately western wing took the form of a series of identically-formed halls more typical of Dubrovnik's Baroque period.⁴⁶

The newly-created sculptural elements of the southern and western wings formed part of this traditional conception, their profiling linked to the stylistic vocabulary of the late Renaissance and early Baroque. While use was made of the Renaissance type of linear profiling (the stone portals in the north-western part of the ground floor),⁴⁷ the courtroom portal and the large windows on the upper level of the southern façade display a type of symmetrical plastic profiling which came into use towards the end of the sixteenth century, and was, as such, a common means of articulating window frames and doorjambs immediately following the earthquake.⁴⁸ The interior portals terminate in the usual cushion friezes with acanthus leaves and profiled wreaths, while the windows of the southern façade, which replaced the older biforia following this or that event of destruction (1610 or 1667), have elegant, interrupted triangular pediments and distinctive bases with geometrical motifs.⁴⁹

This restoration, which maintained all the essential elements of the Gothic-Renaissance phase of construction (the portico and biforia on the main façade), brought the first period of reconstruction of the Palace to a close. With the most important façades - the southern and western ones, both facing the central

⁴⁵ This hall, which had perhaps been constructed even prior to the 1667 earthquake, was soon rebuilt as a two-part structure (E. Portolan, »Izvještaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 145).

⁴⁶ The dating of the partition walls to the period of reconstruction following the earthquake is confirmed by their organic connection to a wall abutting the inner side of the façade, which was built because the earthquake had caused the façade to lean (E. Portolan, »Izvještaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 142).

⁴⁷ One stone portal is found at the entrance to the former archive, which forms part of the Town Hall, while a second leads north from the archive below the former Major Council Hall (the latter is concealed by eighteenth-century painted cabinets).

⁴⁸ We also find them on the façades of the group of buildings that faces the Rector's Palace (Pred Dvorom), where the written sources also indicate Cortese as the planner. See Katarina Horvat-Levaj, »Francesco Cortese - projektant palače Zamanja u Dubrovniku (1669.)«. *Peristil* 45 (2002): pp. 107-122.

⁴⁹ Similar windows are also found on the Palace façades facing the Ponta Gate, as well as on the eastern façade facing the city walls and bastion (although here it is partly a case of sculptural elements added subsequently).

urban spaces - restored to a greater or lesser degree, and with the interior partially redesigned, reconstruction of this exceptional structure seems to have ceased for more than ten years. Following Andreotti's departure in 1674 (the result of a dispute with the Senate), and during the tenure of Dubrovnik's next state architect, Pier Antonio Bazzi (likewise from Genoa), in 1677-1678,⁵⁰ the written sources indicate, most importantly, that the Rector was still residing outside the Palace (in a state-owned house on the Placa).⁵¹ Reconstruction regained momentum only in 1685, when the Senate decided first to send the councillors and supervisors to determine what needed to be built in the Rector's Palace,⁵² and then, at the end of that year, to begin keeping the *Libro della Fabbrica del Palazzo Publico*,⁵³ the source of abundant new information previously mentioned here.

Second phase of reconstruction - rebuilding the atrium

After a decade-long pause, work commenced on what was, in terms of both construction and design, the most demanding operation in reconstructing the Rector's Palace: the rebuilding of the atrium. This is a two-level arcade whose lower level, with its high columns, arches and cross vaults, encompasses the ground floor and mezzanine of the Palace, while the upper gallery, which has double columns and arches half the width of those below, as well as cross vaults, is at the same height as the stately first floor. Since building the atrium was first and foremost a task for stonecutters (making stone columns, arches and portals), most of the older records in the *Fabbrica* are connected with carvers. In this regard, the new archival information has a twofold significance. On the one hand, some new names—Jerolim Mirošević of Korčula, Nicola Morigini (Morosini), Petar Baron—may now be added to already familiar ones like Jerolim Scarpa and Nicola of Naples (the latter's surname—dello Gaudio—having also been discovered). One particularly interesting new finding is the

⁵⁰ Kruno Prijatelj, »Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«, in: *Zbornik radova posvećen sedamdesetogodišnjici Vladimira Tkalčića*, II. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1958: pp. 117-156.

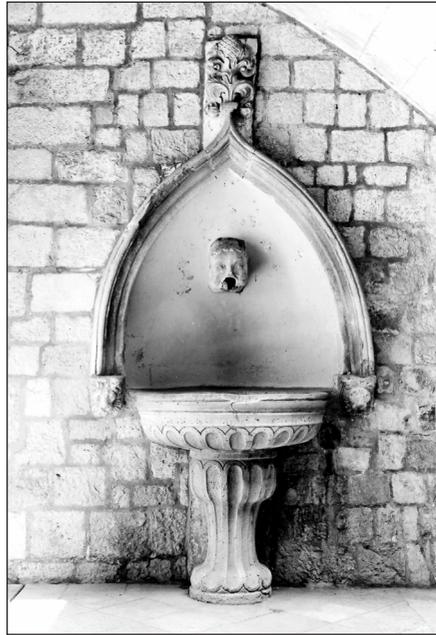
⁵¹ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 122, f. 40rv.

⁵² *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 127, f. 147rv.

⁵³ Series 7, *Fabbriche*, vol. 124. The first entry was made on 1 December 1685, and the last on 31 December 1704. Besides the Rector's Palace in a strict sense, the documents also encompass work on the Town Hall, and partly on the Arsenal as well. At the time the *Fabbriche* series began to be kept, the supervisors for reconstruction of the Palace were Savin Menze, Stjepan Tudisi and Luka Gozze (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 127, ff. 288v-289r).

appearance of Dubrovnik architect Ilija Katičić—known for his later work on completing the Cathedral, as well as for other buildings in Dubrovnik and Perast (on the Bay of Kotor, today in Montenegro)—among the stonecutters.⁵⁴ On the other hand, there is the fact that individual stonecutters, during their several years of involvement in rebuilding the atrium and the surrounding premises of the Palace, at first carved traditionally, in the spirit of Gothic-Renaissance replicas, but later adopted a Baroque manner, thereby indicating a change in the way the reconstruction was being led, that is, the aforementioned emergence of an architect-planner.

Leaving aside a reference to the completion of a crown (on the city wall by the eastern wing), which was carried out by Šimun Glamazalo and Juraj Stella towards the end of 1685,⁵⁵ the first entries in the *Fabbrica* are connected with the carving and erecting of columns and arches, which also demanded special preliminary technical work. Payments for carving these columns and arches, as well as for laying the foundations of the columns and mounting pulleys to raise them, were recorded from December 1685 to October 1687.⁵⁶ The columns and arches were carved by Jerolim

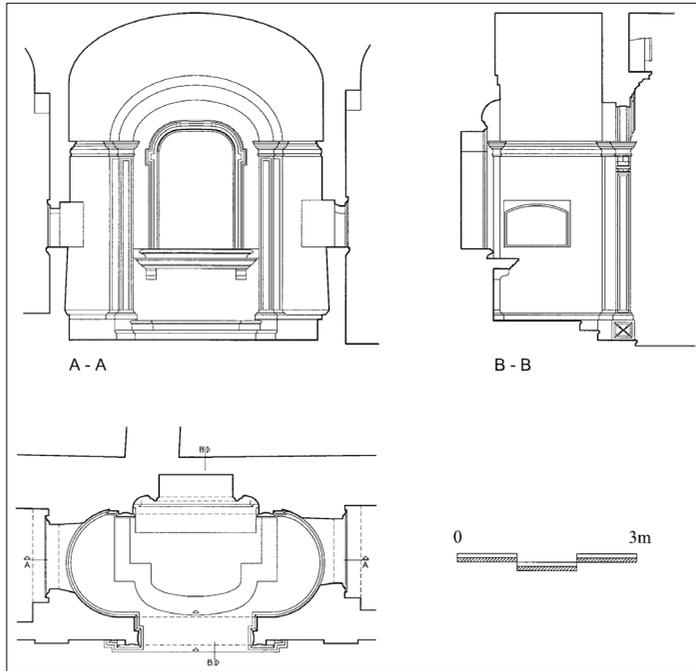


Rector's Palace, fountain
(photograph: Krešimir Tadić)

⁵⁴ K. Prijatelj, »Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«: p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Libro della Fabbrica del Palazzo Publico* (hereafter: *Fabbrica*), f. 2r.

⁵⁶ In December 1686 a certain Frano and his fellow woodworkers were paid for making a pulley and raising three columns and other stone elements (*Fabbrica*, f. 15v). In January 1687 Jakov Antunov of Komolac was paid for digging the foundations of some columns and clearing away debris (*ibidem*). A month later, Marko Boškov and Frano Vickov of Mljet were paid for some stakes which had been used in erecting the columns (f. 16v). Reconstruction of the Minor Council Hall took place concurrently with that of the atrium, for in May 1686 Matko of Postranje was paid for transporting some lime used in both these locations (f. 11r). Parallel reconstruction activities in the Palace are also evidenced by the payment made to Antun Karabuća for the purchase of some Venetian larch to make windows and doors (f. 16v).



Rector's Palace, chapel, plan, elevation and cross section
(architectural projection: Ivan Tenšek, Ivana Valjato-Vrus)

Scarpa,⁵⁷ who was joined by Nicola of Naples in February 1687.⁵⁸ Completion of work on the atrium's lower arcade was facilitated by a Senate resolution of 23 July 1687, which ordered that all stone-carvers be obliged to work at the Palace until the vaults were completed.⁵⁹ Following this, the upper gallery was

⁵⁷ In December 1685 Scarpa was paid for six columns (made with a chisel), including their pedestals and capitals; this refers to the lower arcade (*Fabbrica*, f. 4r). Scarpa was again paid for columns and other stonework in May 1686 (f. 10v), while in February 1687 he (together with Nicola of Naples) received payment for unspecified stonework (f. 16r). Jerolim Scarpa, whose relative Ivan Krstitelj Scarpa had erected the bell-tower of the parish church in Perast, had a house in Dubrovnik near the Church of St Roch. In 1681 the chancellor Kristofor Vlaichi had ceded to Scarpa in permanent lease the foundations of a house destroyed in the earthquake, which was located east of St Roch's and north of part of Vlaichi's house in Ulica od presvetog Dominika. The "leaseholder" soon began building a home on these foundations (*Diversa Cancellariae*, series 25, vol. 215, f. 130r). Jerolim Scarpa's house is also mentioned in later records at this same location (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 217, ff. 27v-28r).

⁵⁸ *Fabbrica*, f. 16r.

⁵⁹ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 129, ff. 7v-8r. A penalty of 100 ducats was to be imposed on any supervisor yielding the services of stonecutters to another person, as well on persons making use of these services.



Rector's Palace, chapel,
alter niche (photograph:
Katarina Horvat-Levaj)



Rector's Palace, chapel, window
(photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

constructed,⁶⁰ with payments made during 1689 indicating that Ilija Katičić took part in the work as well.⁶¹

This imposing atrium undoubtedly resulted from the implementation of the previously-approved reconstruction models, which aimed at re-establishing the Palace's pre-earthquake appearance. Although some changes were surely made in certain of its details,⁶² and perhaps even in its proportions, the overall impression is that of a Renaissance structure. The profiling of the semicircular

⁶⁰ Glavić dates the upper gallery to the period between 1689 and 1691. N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: pp. 14-15.

⁶¹ In March 1689 Ilija Katičić was paid for digging some holes for stonework elements (*Fabbrica*, f. 29v). Katičić is mentioned later, this time as the sculptor of a stone altar in the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Pustijerna quarter (built at the behest of Frano Ragnina), in a document recording the stonemason's oath that Ragnina had indeed donated money for this altar (*Diversa de foris*, vol. 123, ff. 9v-10v). Katičić had a house in Ulica od Sigurate, which he had received in dowry from his wife Margareta, daughter of Matej Tilli (*Diversa de foris*, vol. 124, ff. 69v-70v).

⁶² Most authors accept Cvito Fisković's opinion that the earlier columns of the atrium's upper gallery had been octagonal, based on a document from 1520 in which Petar Andrijić undertook to produce "six eight-sided columns for the upper vaults and round ones for the lower". (C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1947: p. 153) However, Glavić's research points to a possibly different conclusion: a contract from 1440 refers to round double columns in the upper gallery (E. Portolan, »Izvještaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 152), while the ordering of only 16 columns for the upper gallery during post-earthquake reconstruction (instead of the 24 required) leads to the conclusion that some older columns had been partly reused (and these, given the foregoing, would have had to be round as well). According to Glavić, the information connected with Andrijić may have referred to the loggia of the Rector's apartment in the eastern wing. (E. Portolan, *ibidem*).

arcades and the form of the columns, in particular the carved vegetation on the capitals, a type of decoration which is repeated on the consoles of the ground-floor vaults and the capitals of the upper-floor pilasters, particularly contribute to this impression.

However, a herald of new forms is already visible in the fountain on the lower level of the atrium (located beneath the “grand stairs”). According to the *Fabbrica*, in October 1687 Nicola of Naples and Ilija Katičić were paid for producing two pieces of stonework: the arch over the fountain and a half-column.⁶³ Repeating the fountain's fifteenth-century form,⁶⁴ and within the traditional scheme of a central mascarón bordered by a pointed arch with consoles in the form of lion's heads, there appears a round basin on a foot in the form of a floral calyx, with a fluted articulation later found in the lunette of the Baroque portal of the Rector's chapel.

For this reason, and regardless of the fact that reconstruction of the Palace took place continuously, with parallel activities (stonecutting, masonry) developing simultaneously, the completion of the atrium in the late 1680s and early 1690s may also be regarded as the conclusion of that phase of the Palace's reconstruction characterised by the implementation of the Senate's “restoration” models. That a great deal of building work had been completed is confirmed by the new financial incentives and new prohibitions introduced by the Senate with regard to the employment of masons (1689-1690),⁶⁵ as well as the sizeable sum paid to Karlo Valon and the “common labourers” at the beginning of 1691 for no less than 1,643 and a half working days,⁶⁶ that is, a full five years' work on rebuilding the Palace; the precision with which these days were calculated attests to a completely finalised phase of construction.

⁶³ *Fabbrica*, f. 22v.

⁶⁴ According to Glavić, the carving of the fountain was commissioned in 1452 by Vladislav Boljojević (N. Grujić, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku, analiza razvoja i stanje*: p. 81). Some of the sculptural elements of the present-day fountain probably derive from the older one.

⁶⁵ In October 1689 it was resolved that 100 ducats be disbursed for reconstruction of the Rector's Palace, and new supervisors were appointed: Nikola Saraca, Vladislav Bucchia and Mato Pozza (*Cons. Min.*, vol. 86, f. 118v). In January 1690 the Senate allocated 500 ducats for reconstruction of the Palace, drawing these funds from money earmarked for the renovation of a breakwater and the building of an armoury (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 130, f. 167v). That same year, it was forbidden that masons involved in reconstruction of the Palace be dismissed by only one of the supervisors, under a penalty of 200 ducats. If someone were to employ a mason from the Palace on his own building site, he would have to pay a fine of 100 ducats, with the proceeds going towards reconstruction of the Palace. (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 130, ff. 29v-30r).

⁶⁶ *Fabbrica*, f. 51r.

Therefore, following the payment made to Giovanni Bonomelli for reinforcing the roof frame,⁶⁷ new decisions could begin to be made regarding the date of the Rector's return to his residence in the Palace (September 1689, March 1690, etc.).⁶⁸ However, the transition between these two decades also marked the beginning of a new era in the Palace's reconstruction, one which lent it a recognisably Baroque manner of expression.

Period of domination by the architect Tommaso Napoli

Third phase of reconstruction - designing the Rector's chapel and the atrium portals

In 1689 the Sicilian architect and Dominican friar Tommaso Maria Napoli arrived in Dubrovnik to assume the function of state architect. Hitherto it has been assumed that he was invited principally in order to bring construction of the Cathedral to a finish⁶⁹ (in July the Senate decided to pay his travel expenses from Rome, and set his annual salary⁷⁰). For this reason, the *Fabbrica's* evidence of payments to the "reverend architect" Tommaso Napoli in connection with the chapel in the Rector's Palace⁷¹ sheds much new light not only on the role this renowned architect played in Dubrovnik, but also on his work as a whole, which ranged from Sicily and Rome to Vienna and the frontiers of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁷²

⁶⁷ *Fabbrica*, f. 38r.

⁶⁸ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 130, ff. 29v-30r, 165v.

⁶⁹ Kruno Prijatelj, »Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«: p. 124.

⁷⁰ Kruno Prijatelj, »Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«: p. 148; *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 130, f. 91v. This annual salary amounted to 100 ducats. However, in November 1690 it was raised to 200 ducats; it is understood that this pertains to the time following Napoli's arrival in Dubrovnik (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 131, f. 57r).

⁷¹ Kruno Prijatelj (»Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«: p. 124), had already mentioned (acknowledging Cvito Fisković for the information) that Tommaso Napoli produced a Holy Sepulchre and certain brass objects for the Rector's chapel. Yet the two gifts bestowed on the "reverend architect" for the Christmas and Easter holidays, together with a gift from the archbishop for the chapel's consecration, indicate a certain greater involvement by him (*Fabbrica*, f. 55v).

⁷² After leaving Dubrovnik, Napoli entered the service of Eugene of Savoy, for whom he designed some fortresses, and then returned to Sicily (Salvatore Boscarino, *Sicilia barocca: Architettura e città 1610-1760*. Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1986: p. 206.



Rector's Palace, chapel portal in the atrium
(photograph: Nenad Gattin)



Rector's Palace, portal of the Council
Hall in the atrium
(photograph: Nenad Gattin)

In March 1690 the Minor Council disbursed fifty ducats for the appointing of the chapel, while on 18 May 1691 the *Fabbrica* records its consecration by the archbishop and, concurrently, a gift made by him to the “reverend architect”.⁷³ Brother Tommaso was also paid for executing a tomb for Holy Thursday (May 1691) and brass screens for the chapel (June 1692).⁷⁴ It must be emphasised that attribution of the chapel to Napoli is not weakened by the fact that the payment records make no mention of him as the builder, for this part of his duties was covered by the state wage assigned to him by the Senate. Besides these indirect sources, attribution of the project to Napoli is also suggested by the chapel's architectural features, which are, quite simply, so progressive in terms of style that, based on the information currently available, no one in the Dubrovnik of that time could have conceived them apart from him.

⁷³ *Cons. Min.*, vol. 86, f. 135v; *Fabbrica*, f. 55v.

⁷⁴ *Fabbrica*, ff. 55v, 61v.

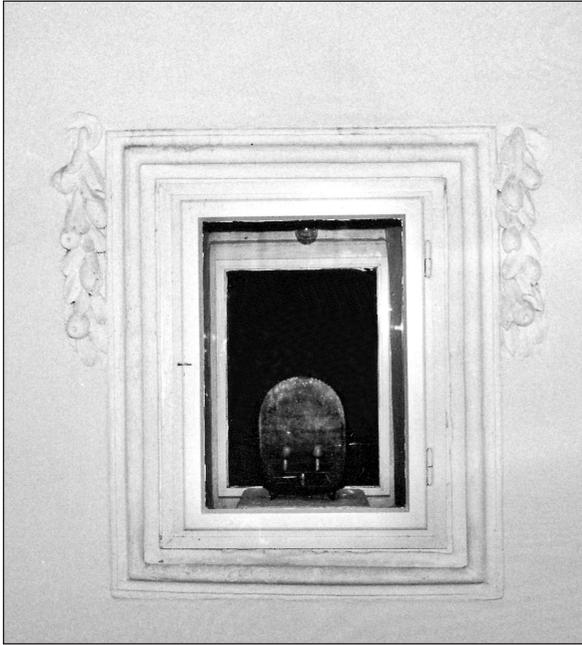


Rector's Palace, inner staircase in the atrium (photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

The Rector's chapel is of modest dimensions, yet its oval ground plan is unique in Dubrovnik. Although there had been earlier proposals to situate it within the Rector's bedchamber,⁷⁵ in the end it was given a prominent, if spatially rather confined, location in the middle of the upper floor of the southern wing, in the narrow space between the central hall and the atrium arcade. This spatial limitation was, however, overcome by the aforementioned oval formation of its shorter side walls⁷⁶ and the well-conceived articulation of its interior, which opens out splendidly onto the atrium. The high-arching portal, with its segmented lintel, occupies the entire width of the level part of the longer side, while opposite it stands a segmentally terminated altar niche.

⁷⁵ In March 1671 it was proposed that a vacant bedroom be used for the Rector's chapel (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 118, ff. 161v-162r). This proposal was rejected in favour of using the room to store weapons. Certain evidence from the fourteenth century indicates that an earlier chapel (consecrated to St Mark) may also have stood on the location of the present one (N. Grujić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine«: p. 164).

⁷⁶ The curved walls reach up only to the cornice, above which there is a rectangular space below the barrel vault, indicating either that the project was left unfinished, or that some later damage occurred.



Rector's Palace, window above the inner staircase
(photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)



Sorgo Palace, Držićeva poljana 3, portal on the ground floor, detail
(photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

The inner edges of the portal and altar niches are accented by embossed (steplike) stone pilasters with coffers, whose bases and profiled capitals continue in the skirting and the dividing cornice that run along the chapel's oval sides. The segmented form of the arch in the altar niche is echoed by the compressed upper rim of the stone frame of a former altar painting, which is built into the wall above a stone mensa on consoles and articulated by asymmetrical sculptural profiling. This innovation (in relation to traditional symmetrical profiling) was also employed in articulating the chapel's segmentally terminated side windows, which face the Palace's chambers. The concave forms of the niches and side walls stand in contrast to the convexly-formed altar steps, which occupy nearly the entire space below the chapel's barrel vault. Stucco decorations made in 1696 also constituted an integral part of this original spatial conception; more will be said about these below.

In its form, the chapel's portal is in harmony with the articulation of its interior, yet here the same basic elements - pilasters with embossed, coffered surfaces, the profiling of their capitals, a segmented arch - are complemented by rich decoration. The contours of the pilasters, with their stepwise articulation, are shaped by sizeable upright volutes situated below the capitals, with the same motif repeated in smaller scale within the lunette, and again on the outer side above the bases (which are adorned with "X" patterns on an embossed foundation). Volutes likewise articulate both the segmented lintel and the interrupted pediment, which is set on a cornice with dentils, and in whose centre stands the Dubrovnik coat of arms flanked by cavetti (whose flutings resemble those of the aforementioned fountain). The festoons of fruit hanging down from and alongside the volutes on the surface of the pilasters are particularly effective.

The six stone portals of the atrium arcade,⁷⁷ which lead to the premises on the upper floor of the Palace and the adjoining Town Hall (the Major Council Hall), result from the same conception. They display a repertory of ornamentation identical to that of the chapel portal, but are inferior to it with regard to their dimensions and form. Their symmetrically profiled doorjambs rest on bases identical to those of the chapel portal, while the motif of volutes and garlands is found here around the lintel: a profiled cornice forming a central field with a garland, upon which rests a segmented pediment with dentils, the difference in width between the cornice and the base of the pediment being visually unified by volutes. On the Town Hall portal, there stands a plaque in place of a garland, with the well-known inscription: "OBLITI PRIVATORUM PUBLICA CURATE".⁷⁸ An even greater reduction is found on the stone portals leading between the halls on the upper level of the southern and western wings, whose doorjambs are articulated by means of a profiling and slanting similar to that of the atrium portals, yet without the accompanying decorative elements.

By all accounts, the single-flight stone staircase in the northern wing was also executed as part of these building activities, as is evidenced by the skilfully

⁷⁷ During reconstruction of the Palace following the 1979 earthquake, certain parts of the portals were re-carved. One of them (in the south-eastern corner of the atrium) differs from the others by its traditional form (bases, jambs, architrave and cornice), yet is also characterised by marked asymmetrical plastic profiling, while next to it there is a small window with a stone frame. Given that this portal has been damaged, and that its position and dimensions distinguish it from the others, it was either put in place somewhat earlier, or else made subsequently.

⁷⁸ "Forget private matters and tend to public concerns."

carved Baroque balusters running along it on the upper level of the atrium, or the small window facing the staircase on the mezzanine, whose frame harmoniously unites the profiling of the chapel windows and the festoons of the chapel portal.

The spatial features of the Rector's chapel testify to the influence of the milieu from which Tommaso Napoli came, i.e. Rome, where the oval was a characteristic form in seventeenth-century sacred architecture. Ground plans of this shape were frequently used by Carlo Fontana in the many chapels he added to older churches;⁷⁹ and Napoli had gained his formative experience in the circle of this leading Roman architect,⁸⁰ with whom representatives of Dubrovnik had also come into contact via Stjepan Gradi.⁸¹ Although the chapel of the Rector's Palace had neither forerunners nor followers in Dubrovnik, it heralds Napoli's later work; namely, the villas he built in Sicily,⁸² whose predominant trait is likewise an oval ground plan, now further enriched by his experience in Central Europe.

This meeting of Rome and the architect's native Sicily may also be felt in the design of the sculptural elements, which, as in some of Napoli's later works, aspire at once to a classicising of the Baroque and the pronounced Baroque decorativeness typical of southern Italy.⁸³ Certain individual motifs, such as festoons and garlands, and particularly the manner in which the fields on the atrium portals (containing garlands or an inscription) were made, recall earlier Roman and Neapolitan architecture (the *palazzi*), while features of the then-current Roman imitation of mannerist architecture have been noted here by foreign authors as well.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*. Harmondsworth-New York: Penguin Books, 1980³: pp. 373-376.

⁸⁰ According to Angheli Zalapì, *Palazzi of Sicily*, Köln: Könemann, 2000: p. 140, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a time when Bernini's architecture had a "great resonance", particularly in the work of Carlo Fontana, with whom Napoli had ties.

⁸¹ Carlo Fontana proposed Bernini's associate Pier Antonio Perrone to head the reconstruction of Dubrovnik's Cathedral. But Perrone did not go to Dubrovnik, for the post had already been filled by Bazzi (Kruno Prijatelj, »Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture«: p. 123). It cannot be ruled out that Tommaso Napoli's later arrival in Dubrovnik may also have been on Fontana's recommendation.

⁸² Villa Valguranera (1714) and Villa Palagonia (1715); S. Boscarino, *Sicilia barocca*: pp. 206-209.

⁸³ Gaetano Cantone, *Napoli barocca*. Bari: Laterza, 1992.

⁸⁴ According to Erik Neil, Napoli's later works in Sicily (Villa Palagonia) were also inspired by Roman late mannerist architecture (the Villa Farnese in Caprarola), which was a key point of reference during the pontificate of Clement XI (A. Zalapì, *Palazzi of Sicily*: p. 150).

Similarities may likewise be found between certain plastic elements in the chapel and in other buildings constructed according to plans by Tommaso Napoli or under his supervision in Dubrovnik itself. Thus the form and profiling of the stone frame of the altar pale correspond to the windows in the central nave of the Cathedral; in May 1691 *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* recorded that the Senate had approved “the reverend architect’s idea that windows be made in the cross vault of the Cathedral”.⁸⁵ Likewise, the most effective sculptural motifs in the Rector’s chapel and the portals of the Palace’s atrium, such as festoons and garlands, appear in Dubrovnik architecture in a somewhat simpler form; for instance, the monumental Sorgo Palace built opposite the Cathedral. Here, too, the written sources confirm Tommaso Napoli’s role as planner: in 1691 the Senate halted construction work until Napoli completed his project, so that work on the palace should not obstruct Cathedral Square.⁸⁶ However, despite the high quality of the carved elements found on the portals of the chapel and the halls of the Palace’s atrium, a certain “provincial stiffness”, especially in the manner in which the volute motif was applied to the chapel portal’s pilasters, stands in evident contrast to the dynamic Baroque curves seen in the profiling of the chapel’s interior and altar niche. This ambivalent impression may be interpreted as the result of modifications in the forming of architectural plastic elements that the sculptor himself could have introduced.

With regard to the previously-mentioned south-Italian orientation of the decorative repertory, which is especially pronounced on the chapel’s portal, we may conclude that the person in question here was the Neapolitan stonecutter Nicola dello Gaudio, as is also suggested by the written evidence. Namely, a stonecutter known as Nicola of Naples appears in the *Fabbrica*’s payment records from 1687 to 1689. Further payments were recorded during the time the chapel was being completed (February 1691), when, among other activities related to stonework, the carving of an oval window for the chapel is particularly notable; here mention is made of a stonecutter called Nicola dello Gaudio.⁸⁷ Proof that this is one and the same person is provided by another document from that time: a contract from June 1690 between Nicola dello Gaudio, “stone-carver of Naples, married in Dubrovnik”, and the Korčula stonecutters Nicola Morosini (Morigini) and Jerolim Mirošević, who were to produce and deliver

⁸⁵ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 131, f. 144v.

⁸⁶ *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 131, f. 229r.

⁸⁷ *Fabbrica*, f. 51v.



Sorgo Palace,
Držićeva poljana 3,
the front facing
the Cathedral
(photograph:
Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

a number of carved architectural elements (columns, *balconatas*, gutters and consoles) from the Korčula quarry, based on models submitted by Gaudio.⁸⁸

These Korčula stonecutters are also mentioned in the *Fabbrica*, so it is likely that they participated in the rebuilding of the Palace, specifically the completion of the atrium and the making of the interior portals, in a similar manner, i.e. by carving in the quarry according to submitted designs. In 1691 Jerolim Mirošević was mentioned along with Nicola dello Gaudio in a record of payment for stonework,⁸⁹ while in 1693 Mirošević and Morigini were paid for making no less than thirty-two stone frames in the Palace, as well as twenty small columns, eleven small pilasters, and three wall cornices.⁹⁰ Yet the more demanding decorative portals were carved by Gaudio together with other stonecutters, such as Petar Baron, who was paid for “a frame and a decorative

⁸⁸ *Diversa de foris*, vol. 123, ff. 266r-267r.

⁸⁹ *Fabbrica*, f. 53r. The Korčula stonecutter Mirošević was paid on several occasions (via the clerk Damjan Drašković) for stonework commissioned for the building project.

⁹⁰ *Fabbrica*, f. 63. The stonecutters were paid in arrears for all work done up to the date of payment.

ornament for the double door of a room” in 1691,⁹¹ and who also produced the chapel font in 1696.⁹² The information that Jerolim Scarpa and his co-workers carved and raised some columns above the Minor Council staircase in 1693 can no longer be made to correspond with its present-day form, as the balustrade of the staircase in the atrium’s southern mezzanine (hitherto interpreted as the “Minor Council Stairs”) is of more recent date.⁹³

⁹¹ *Fabbrica*, f. 52r.

⁹² *Fabbrica*, f. 67r. This font has not survived.

⁹³ *Fabbrica*, f. 64r. Scarpa was paid for 65 days’ work on making the columns above the stairs (as well as repairing two windows in the chapel), which indicates that this was a much larger staircase than that hitherto regarded as the “Minor Council Stairs”, lined by ten balusters made according to the model of the “grand stairs” in the atrium. If we accept Nella Lonza’s hypothesis, that the Minor Council Hall was located on the elevated ground floor of the Town Hall, then this payment would have to relate to some other staircase, perhaps the one in the Palace’s northern wing, which the Rector used to descend to the Minor Council, or else a staircase within the Town Hall itself (N. Lonza, »Svakodnevnica Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku u XVIII. stoljeću«: p. 11). Generally speaking, the archival evidence regarding the location of the Minor Council Hall can be interpreted variously. Thus the report that the Palace windows were glazed in 1692, which mentions five windows in the Minor Council Hall and two outside it (f. 62r), suggests a space larger than the central hall of the southern mezzanine, unless the entire mezzanine is being referred to. This number of windows might also correspond to those of the Town Hall itself - two windows on the ground floor to the south, i.e. “outside the Minor Council Hall” (these were latticed in 1691; f. 51v), and five on the elevated ground floor to the north, as may be seen on old drawings of the Town Hall (Slavomir Benić, »Tragom zaboravljene dubrovačke Vijećnice«, u: *Beritićev zbornik*. Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1960: pp. 89-105). Concerning the existence of a separate (outside) entrance to the Minor Council Hall, we find the following reference from 1722 in the *Cerimoniale*: “...when he had reached the small square (*piazza*) before the door of the Illustrious Minor Council, the captain of the guard of honour opened it with a single movement, whereupon the Monsignor ascended. ... When he appeared, the Rector and the councillors arose...” (*Leges et Instructiones*, series 21.1, vol. 8, *Cerimoniale* I, f. 167r). However, besides the ground floor of the Town Hall (as seen on the old drawings), this entrance could also be in the portico of the Palace (to the south). Its location in the Town Hall is suggested by the following, due to the mention of a walkway before the secretary’s office (the *Segretaria*): “Then the archbishop and the councillors arrived at the walkway before the secretary’s office... At this time, the captain of the guard of honour opened the door of the Illustrious Minor Council” (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 170r). The existence of a secret staircase (*scala secreta*), whereby the Rector could descend to the Minor Council, may also be interpreted variously. According to Glavić (E. Portolan, »Izvjestaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 125), this staircase led between the ground floor and the mezzanine in the south-western part of the Palace (traces of which were found during reconstruction after the 1979 earthquake). According to Lonza (»Svakodnevnica Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku u XVIII. stoljeću«: p. 5), this was an interior staircase in the northern wing: “...The Rector, on returning from the mass or from vespers, was accompanied to the large staircase in the courtyard of the Rector’s Palace, which is exposed. Thus he ascended to the Palace, unlike on other days, when he returned by the secret stairs leading to the Minor Council” (*Cerimoniale* II, f. 65r). A hidden (secret) staircase is found in the north-western part of the Palace’s ground floor.

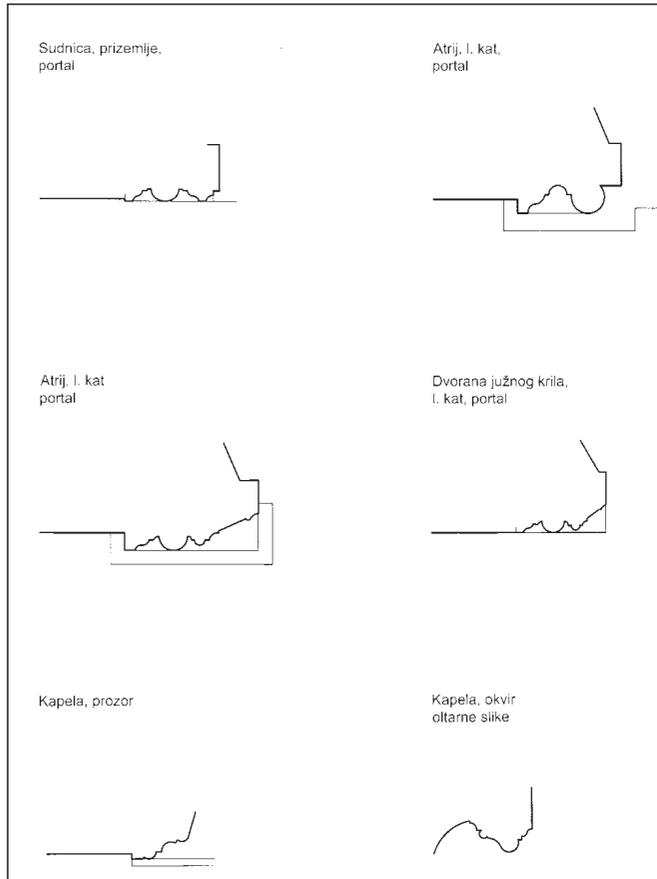


Cathedral, window of the nave (photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

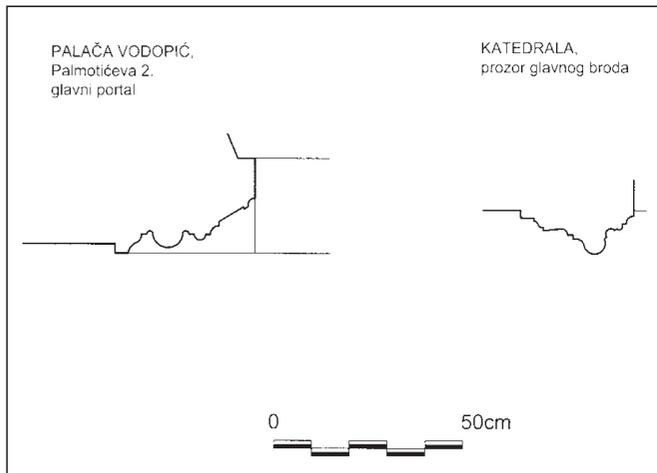
Finally, in contrast to the ground plan and spatial organisation of the Rector's chapel, which remained an isolated example in Baroque Dubrovnik, the chapel's plastic elements, as well as the design of the atrium portals neighbouring it, contributed to the overall enrichment of Dubrovnik's sculptural vocabulary, in which, under these new stimuli, the stereotypical reiteration of Renaissance and early Baroque models was gradually abandoned. In this regard, however, the simpler elements predominated, such as the formation of bases, the use of embossing, or the application of asymmetrical plastic profiling in articulating doorjambs and window frames in residential architecture,⁹⁴ while such distinctive motifs as segmented pediments, volutes and garlands were reserved for elite structures, above all works of sacred architecture and their fittings (stone altars). It is highly likely that the leading role in disseminating these innovations was played by none other than Nicola dello Gaudio, whose career did not end with the completion of the Palace; rather, as already mentioned, he married and settled in Dubrovnik, appearing in later documents as a

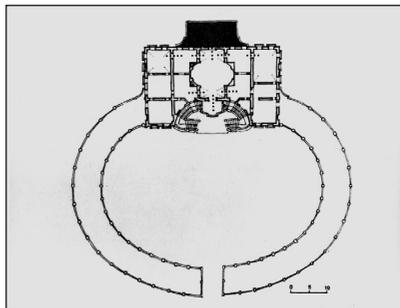
⁹⁴ A type of profiling identical to that found on the portals of the atrium and those leading between the halls on the first floor of the Rector's Palace may also be seen on the staircase portals in Sorgo Palace on Cathedral Square and the main portal of Vodopić Palace on the Placa.

Rector's Palace,
cross sections of
characteristic profiles
(architectural
projection:
Ivan Tenšek,
Ivana Valjato-Vrus)



Comparative
examples of profiles
(arhitectural
projection:
Ivan Tenšek,
Ivana Valjato-Vrus)





Bagheria, Sicily, Villa Vaguarnera, designed by Tommaso Napoli, the front (from: S. Boscarino, *Sicilia Barocca*)

Bagheria, Sicily, Villa Palagonia, designed by Tommaso Napoli (from: S. Boscarino, *Sicilia Barocca*)

purchaser of carved stone elements from Korčula.⁹⁵

According to all of this, it was the domination of architect Tommaso Napoli, along with the concurrent stone-working activities of Nicola dello Gaudio, which lent the Rector's Palace its distinct Baroque stamp. Although this period could have lasted until the end of the century, when, following travels to Habsburg Empire, we again encounter Napoli performing state duties in the Dubrovnik region (this time the regulation of the Ljuta River in Konavle⁹⁶), it appears that the principal architectural activities resulting in the Baroque transformation of the Palace had been carried out by 1692 or 1693. Construction of the interior was completed at that time as well: in 1692 partition walls were built in the eastern wing of the Palace, which (as the last to be reconstructed)

⁹⁵ Nicola dello Gaudio owned property in Dubrovnik: in 1690 he rented a house in Provaljena ulica (today called "Buža" or Boškovićeua ulica; *Diversa de foris*, vol. 123, ff. 280r-281r). He and his wife Flora were given a lease on some property in Šumet by the Benedictines of Lokrum (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 218, f. 12rv). In 1692, along with the order already mentioned (see note 88), Nicola dello Gaudio paid Nicola Giorgio Marsegli 61 ducats, to be transferred to Nicola Morosini of Korčula for some columns that were to be transported to Dubrovnik by boat. It is possible that this order was connected with the Rector's Palace (*Diversa de foris*, vol. 125, ff. 133v-134r).

⁹⁶ *Cons. Min.*, vol. 87, f. 229v.

lost its former official character;⁹⁷ and that same year the entire Palace and Town Hall were fitted with glass,⁹⁸ so that the Rector and the Senate could finally return to their official premises.⁹⁹ Finally, it should be mentioned that Napoli's significance for the Palace's Baroque reconstruction was also demonstrated indirectly by one ambitious undertaking that followed his definitive departure from Dubrovnik, namely, the building of the "grand stairs" in the atrium in 1704 (by the stonecutter Dominik).¹⁰⁰ For here, as in the previous period of domination by the Senate, there was again a revival of earlier motifs and their application in combination with contemporary architectural elements: the Baroque balusters of the banister of this two-flight staircase are set on bases with traditional (Gothic-Renaissance) rosettes.

Fourth phase of reconstruction - appointing the interior

Although work on designing the Palace's interior had been going on continuously since the very start of post-earthquake reconstruction, in parallel with the building activities, it was pursued more intensively only in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The *Fabbrica* contains the names of many painters, stucco-workers and carpenters, yet little of their work has survived. Whatever had not fallen victim to age was destroyed in the various adaptations carried out during the nineteenth century,¹⁰¹ while later reconstruction following

⁹⁷ *Fabbrica*, f. 60r. In February 1692 Petar Jaja and his co-workers were paid for partition walls in the room facing the city harbour. In June they were paid for building the Collegium hall in the Palace (f. 61r). After the earthquake, the premises of the guard of honour were located on the upper floor of the eastern wing, in place of the former Rector's apartment. A terrace was made on the adjacent bastion.

⁹⁸ In January 1692 Nicola Remedelli was paid for glazing twenty-six windows: nine on the façade of the Palace, two inside the Palace, one in the hall outside the kitchen, one in the room facing the city harbour, three in the notary's office, five in the Minor Council Hall, two outside the Minor Council Hall, and three in the Major Council Hall (*Fabbrica*, f. 56r). In June of that same year Remedelli also fitted the chapel windows with glass (f. 62r).

⁹⁹ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ B. Glavić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku«: p. 60. Dominik was paid for making small columns, bases and cornices (*Fabbrica*, f. 68v). This stonecutter also appears later in the records (in connection with the sale of a house in 1716 and 1717; *Cons. Min.*, vol. 90, ff. 71r, 95r, 110v). In November 1703 he was paid 40 ducats for completing work on the staircase (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 138, f. 212v).

¹⁰¹ Lorenzo Vitelleschi, *Povijesne i statističke bilješke o dubrovačkom okrugu, 1827.*, ed. Vinicije B. Lupis. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik and Historijski arhiv Dubrovnik, 2002: pp. 77-79. In 1843 Roko Vuličević, a builder by trade, produced a study on the reconstruction of the Rector's Palace following the earthquake; the manuscript is contained in the archive of the Dubrovnik City Museum.



Rector's Palace, Court Hall, stucco (photograph: Katarina Horvat-Levaj)

the earthquake of 1979 also made its “contribution” towards the removal of Baroque fittings (in order to better present the exhibits of the Dubrovnik City Museum). Likewise, the razing and modern rebuilding of the adjacent Town Hall in 1864 meant the irrevocable loss of the grandly-appointed Major Council Hall. For this reason, it is impossible to analyse the Baroque interior design as a revalorisation of the older Gothic and Renaissance phases or the affirmation of a new style, as was the case with architectural and sculptural activities in the Palace. Nonetheless, we shall present some basic information regarding the organisation of the Palace's interior, as recorded in the *Fabbrica*.

The Major Council Hall had already been appointed in 1690, when Giovanni Vincenti brought iron rings for the ceiling hooks, wall coverings, and other such items from Venice.¹⁰² The following year, Matija Nijemac and Giovanni Glifano of Pisa decorated several doors in the Town Hall.¹⁰³ The timbered ceiling of the Town Hall was added later, as the wood for making it had been purchased only in 1692.¹⁰⁴ One especially interesting piece of information from

¹⁰² *Fabbrica*, f. 50v.

¹⁰³ *Fabbrica*, f. 52r. This apparently refers to metal decorations (chains), for Glifano is also mentioned in connection with the making of some metal lattices for the windows of the Minor Council Hall (f. 51v).

¹⁰⁴ *Fabbrica*, f. 61r. Various objects for appointing the Town Hall were also purchased in 1693 (f. 64v).

Rector's Palace,
earlier frescoes
in the chapel
(photo archives of the
Dubrovnik Museum)



1694 reveals that the hall also had pillars to support its wooden ceiling.¹⁰⁵

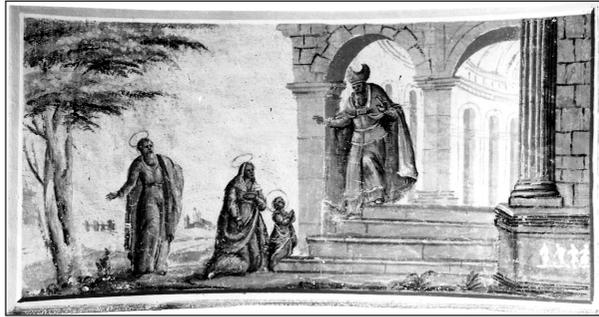
The Minor Council Hall was decorated during 1693 and 1694: Josip Leoni painted a picture of St Blaise¹⁰⁶ (apparently an easel painting, for mention is also made of a carved wooden frame), Kozmina saw to the gilding,¹⁰⁷ and Francesco Riciardi contributed plaster decorations and a painting.¹⁰⁸ Evidently,

¹⁰⁵ *Fabbrica*, f. 66r. At the end of 1694 Francesco di Tomaso was paid for coating some columns in the Town Hall with lead. Given the earlier minor tasks performed by Tommaso Napoli (making brass screens), and the various ways in which his name was written (e.g. “the reverend father F. Tomasi”, f. 55v), it cannot be ruled out that this also refers to the architect.

¹⁰⁶ *Fabbrica*, f. 62r. The surname Leoni appears in other sources: in 1693, on the occasion of the painter Josip’s arrival in Dubrovnik, and in 1715, when his widow is mentioned (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 133, f. 38v; *Cons. Min.*, vol. 90, f. 35r).

¹⁰⁷ *Fabbrica*, f. 64v.

¹⁰⁸ *Fabbrica*, f. 66r.



Rector's Palace, detail of the chapel fresco depicting 'The Presentation of Mary in the Temple' (photograph: Krešimir Tadić)



Vlaichi Palace, Od Sigurate 7, fresco detail on the hall ceiling (photograph: Milan Drmić)

then, the hall's ceiling in particular had been sumptuously adorned; in the context of Dubrovnik as a whole, it represented an early example of the application of stucco, which was to be widely used only in the rococo period of the later eighteenth century.

In 1691 the ceiling of the Rector's bedchamber was also painted by Lupi,¹⁰⁹ while in 1696 the Rector's chapel was decorated with "plaster objects" by Master Bianchi and an altar painting by Josip Leoni.¹¹⁰ It is worth noting that this appointing of the chapel, which immediately followed its construction,

¹⁰⁹ *Fabbrica*, f. 51v. Probes made by restoration experts revealed, however, only simple paintwork (small bluish branches) on the ceiling beams (E. Portolan, »Izvještaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 146).

¹¹⁰ *Fabbrica*, f. 67r. Since the making of the stuccowork in this small chapel required eight days (for Bianchi and his co-workers), plus another four days (for the assistants), the decoration work was apparently more extensive, perhaps covering all of the (now blank) wall surfaces.

was, by all accounts, carried out in accordance with plans by Napoli. However, not only have the original Baroque decorations not survived, but even their classicist-style replacements from the end of the following century were completely destroyed during rebuilding work after the most recent earthquake (1979).

An essential part of the interior fittings consisted of objects made by various artisans, such as the bronze mascarons and knocker on the main door, the work of Master Ubaldini from 1691, or the items of furniture (cabinets and benches) made by the carpenter Baretta and decorated in 1692 by the painter Josip, all of which have survived to this day.¹¹¹

The fitting of the Palace interior continued throughout the entire eighteenth century, in accordance with changes in taste and new requirements for living space.¹¹² Thus the late Baroque's striving for greater comfort led to certain rooms being adapted (in order to create passageways), while changes in the spatial disposition also resulted in the making of new portals, one of which,

¹¹¹ *Fabbrica*, ff. 52r, 57r, 60v, 61r, 62r. Among Baretta's activities, those in the period from May 1681 to February 1682 include the coffered doors in the rooms facing the harbour and the door outside the chapel, the door and windows of the turnkey's lodge, the benches in the hall, the large cabinet in the hall outside the kitchen, and the town clerks' desks, as well as repairing the roof of the Collegium hall, which had threatened to collapse. Josip painted the benches and the dishware cabinet. In June 1692 Marko Baeni upholstered twelve chairs with gold-embroidered material.

¹¹² In 1707 the supervisors for reconstruction of the Rector's Palace were paid 150 ducats, with further payments to them recorded in 1708, 1709, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1737, and 1738. New supervisors were appointed in 1719, and again in 1736; and so forth (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 141, ff. 5r, 194v, 247v; vol. 142, f. 82rv; vol. 149, f. 86r; vol. 157, ff. 64v-65r; vol. 158, ff. 18v-19r, 147v; *Cons. Min.*, vol. 90, ff. 120v, 146v, 148r, 192r). In terms of building activities, there is record of a discussion concerning reconstruction of the small sea-facing loggia and the gaols in 1730; that same year the Senate disbursed funds for the replacement of glass panes, while in 1737 the wall by the kitchen was raised (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 154, f. 212v; vol. 155, f. 147v; vol. 157, ff. 196v-197r). In 1760 glass was replaced once again, in 1761 the secretary's office was rebuilt, and in 1762 the gaols were renovated (*Cons. Rog.* vol. 172, ff. 233v-234r; vol. 173, ff. 162v, 169r). Among activities in the Palace interior, a Senate decree of 1739 ordered that the proceeds from fines be used to purchase furniture, while that same year the supervisors were given no less than 500 ducats to acquire damask for the chairs. It was also decided to remove the picture in the reception hall and have a new one painted, depicting the Crucifixion and St Blaise (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 159, ff. 15v-16r; vol. 159, ff. 67v-68r). Further disbursements were made in 1756 (86 ducats for appointing the reception hall) and in 1765 (for renovating the walls in the secretary's office; *Cons. Rog.*, vol. 169, f. 185v; vol. 170, f. 36v; vol. 176, f. 217r). In 1777 funds were allocated yet again to replace window glass, shutters and sedan chairs, with the one in the reception room to be re-upholstered in damask silk (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 186, f. 139v).

in the upper-floor atrium arcade, was rendered in stucco (following the example of the surrounding masonry).¹¹³ One further elegant touch was lent to the atrium by finishing the clock above the Republic's coat of arms (1766) with a small open belfry. Among the more significant activities in the eighteenth century was the appointing of the Senate Hall (concerning which the *Fabbrica* contains no entries), which at first formed part of the ground-floor courtroom (1726),¹¹⁴ and later was moved to the first floor of the eastern wing. More typical of the activities undertaken at this time, however, was work on the wall surfaces, particularly the plaster ceilings with their stuccowork, with the exposed timbers of the Gothic, Renaissance and early Baroque periods (set on consoles or stone cornices) being sealed over. Among such examples, the rich decorative work in the vault of the courtroom on the ground floor of the southern wing (still the dominant feature of this space today) is outstanding for its quality; in 1787 stuccowork was also added in the notary's office.¹¹⁵

Further building activities were being planned at the end of the century. In 1795 the Minor Council commissioned a plan and list of expenses for reconstruction of the Palace from Tomo Tudisi.¹¹⁶ Besides replacing the outworn brick pavings and window shutters, the plan also incorporated several aesthetic and functional changes, which, however, were generally not implemented. Tudisi's recommendation that all the friezes and cornices of the interior portals be removed, "as these are no longer employed in tasteful buildings", is particularly indicative of the late Baroque and classicist stylistic orientation of that time; this was actually done on the portals of the upper-level halls (which

¹¹³ This stuccoed portal was replaced by a stone replica during reconstruction following the 1979 earthquake.

¹¹⁴ Ivan Proculo, Marin Bonda and Božo Saraca were appointed as supervisors for building the courtroom, which had already been designated as the Senate Hall (*Cons. Min.*, vol. 91, f. 265v).

¹¹⁵ N. Lonza, »Svakodnevnica Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku u XVIII. stoljeću«: p. 6.

¹¹⁶ Already in 1776 the Senate had charged the Minor Council with obtaining an expert opinion regarding reconstruction of the Rector's Palace, "drawing on the services of the noble Tomo Tudisi to that end". New reconstruction supervisors were chosen the following year (*Cons. Rog.*, vol. 185, ff. 54v; vol. 186, 140r). Tudisi's study is contained in the State Archives of Dubrovnik: *Manuali pratici del Cancelliere, Memoriae*, series 21.3, vol. 13 *Tudisi Tom. Parere sul ristauo del Palazzo dei rettori*, while a translation (by Edda Portolan) is found in the archive of the Dubrovnik Museum. Tudisi's report was preceded in 1790 by the commissioning of a model for reconstruction of the Palace (Master Supilo), while in 1795 the Senate allocated 8,000 ducats for the appointing of the Palace and 6,000 ducats for new furniture. M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14.

were also covered in black and white marble).¹¹⁷ In terms of rebuilding and adapting space, the most radical plans were those connected with appointing the Rector's apartment and demolishing the chapel (so as to provide light to the halls behind it); it was proposed that a new chapel be built in the new Senate Hall in the eastern wing ("which is not used anyhow"). Fortunately, the Baroque chapel remained intact architecturally; moreover, it was decorated at this time with some fine classicist frescos depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary (set amongst classical architecture and landscapes) as well as wall ornaments, on which are found both "reminiscences" of Baroque stuccowork and the tapering tendrils and garlands of classicism. A comparison between these decorations and the painted chests in the notary's office (particularly the manner of depicting treetops and ancient ruins)¹¹⁸ permits attribution of these frescos to the same (as yet unknown) painter. Based on some striking similarities, the wall paintings in the hall and vestibule of Kristofor Vlaichi's palace (at Od Sigurate 7)¹¹⁹ may likewise be ascribed to this artist, who was paid for repair work at the Rector's Palace in 1799.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ It is, therefore, necessary to correct Portolan's hypothesis, i.e. that the portals originated from before the 1667 earthquake, since their lintels had been damaged, and were marbled immediately thereafter, together with the floors in some of the rooms (E. Portolan, »Izvještaj o nalazima pri obnovi Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku«: p. 141). For it is clear that the lintels were damaged when the upper cornices were removed, while the custom of marbleising portals is likewise typical of late eighteenth-century Baroque classicism, as Dubrovnik interiors of that time testify (e.g. the new findings in Kerša Palace at Od Sigurate 1).

¹¹⁸ The paintwork of the cabinets in the notary's office differs from that of the built-in cabinets in the former archive of the Republic, which was done by Andrea Pignatelli, state painter from 1785 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. N. Lonza, »Svakodnevnica Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku u XVIII. stoljeću«: p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Katarina Horvat-Levaj, *Barokne palače u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Institut za povijest umjetnosti and Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2001: pp. 117-119.

¹²⁰ M. Rešetar, »Sadašnji dubrovački Dvor«: p. 14. Kristofor Vlaichi thus confirmed his family's tradition in connection with the Palace, as his ancestor of the same name had ceded a ruined house to the stonemason Jerolim Scarpa more than a hundred years earlier (see note 57).