

## THE STUDY ROOM (*STUDIO*) IN THE RAGUSAN HOUSES OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

NADA GRUJIĆ

**ABSTRACT:** Woodwork contracts made in the period 1425-1435 provide valuable evidence on the interior space and decoration of the Ragusan houses. The furnishing determined the purpose of each room in the house, among which was a *studio* or study. This word may denote a separate room as well as a piece of furniture consisting of a writing desk, seat and bookshelves. A parallel has been established between the Ragusan houses of the period—where the study room was usually on the first or on one of the upper floors— with the house of a “perfect merchant” as described in the treatise of a Ragusan Benedikt Kotrulj from 1458. With regard to terminology, he distinguishes a “common scriptorium appropriate for business affairs” (*scriptore* or *scrittoio comune*), which is on the first floor, from a “small scriptorium” (*scriptoreto separato* or *studiolo aparte*), which is in the “bedroom or adjoining”, its purpose being to accommodate those “who take pleasure in books”.

**Keywords:** Dubrovnik, residential architecture, Gothic houses, first half of the fifteenth century, study room, *studio*, Benedikt Kotrulj.

Quite a number of archival documents pertaining to the furnishing of the Ragusan houses of the first half of the fifteenth century mention the word *studio* (sporadically also *studietto*). From the context itself it is difficult to ascertain whether the word relates to a room or a piece of furniture. The

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**Nada Grujić, retired professor of the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Art History. Address: Svačićev trg 15, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia. E-mail: nada.grujic@zg.t-com.hr.**

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contemporary Italian sources prove to be just as obscure on this: the words *studio*, i.e. *scrittoio* refer, namely, to the entire room but also to a piece of massive furniture consisting of a desk, seat and sometimes book chest, surrounded by bookshelves, scrolls and other miscellaneous items. The meaning of the word also varied with the city: in Florence the room fitted for this purpose was called *scrittoio*, and the writing desk *studiolo*; by contrast, in Venice *studiolo* was a room, while *scrittore* was a writing desk.<sup>1</sup> A somewhat clearer light on this problem might be cast by Benedikt Kotrulj (Benedetto Cotrugli) and his description.

The *Book on the Art of Trade (Libro del arte della mercatura)* by Benedikt Kotrulj<sup>2</sup> is an undisputable contribution to economic sciences—commercial science in particular,<sup>3</sup> but it has also been awarded a prominent place among the treatises on architecture written in the fifteenth century. Apparently, Kotrulj was the first to describe the living space of a specific type of business-minded people—merchants. Leon Battista Alberti,<sup>4</sup> who is considered to be the pioneer

<sup>1</sup> Peter Thornton, *Interni del Rinascimento italiano 1400-1600*. Milano: Leonardo Editore, 1992: pp. 230, 298, 391. In the interpretation of terminological differences the author leaned on the research and PhD thesis of Dora Thornton, *The Study Room in Renaissance Italy, with Particular Reference to Venice, circa 1560-1620* (London University, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Benedikt Kotrulj, *Libro del arte della mercatura — Knjiga o vještini trgovanja*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Much has been written on Kotrulj's life and work as philosopher, scientist, merchant, lawyer and diplomat, on the importance of his treatise, and his exceptional contribution to economics. Rikard Radičević, »Predgovor«, in: Beno Kotruljević, *O trgovini i savršenom trgovcu*, ed. Rikard Radičević and Žarko Muljačić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1985: pp. 5-116; Nenad Vekarić, »Dubrovački rod Kotrulj«, in: *Dubrovačanin Benedikt Kotruljević: hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist XV. stoljeća*, ed. Vladimir Stipetić. Zagreb: HAZU and Hrvatski računovođa, 1996: pp. 33-52; Ljerka Schiffler, »Praktično-etička dimenzija 'Savršenog trgovca' B. Kotruljevića«, ibidem: pp. 161-169; Benedikt Kotruljević, *Knjiga o umijeću trgovanja*, ed. Ž. Muljačić: ch. 13, translated by Karmen Milačić. Zagreb: Binoza press, 2005; Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Benedikt Kotrulj u potrazi za savršenim trgovcem«, in: B. Kotrulj, *Libro del arte della mercatura*: pp. 15-93.

A wide range of topics testifies to the broad scope of knowledge and interests of this great humanist: *De uxore ducenda* he dedicated to Vuk Bobalio, while Francesco Maria Appendini also attributes to him the work *Della natura dei fiori*. He is the author of an unfinished work *De navigatione*, written in 1464, brought to light by Darko Novaković, »Prvi hrvatski udžbenik plovidbe«. *Vjesnik (Danica)* of 18 March 1995; idem, »Novopronađeni rukopis Benedikta Kotruljevića«, in: *Dubrovačanin Benedikt Kotruljević*: pp. 19-32; Benedikt Kotruljević, *De navigatione / O plovidbi*, ed. Damir Salopek. Zagreb: Ex libris, 2005; Vladimir Stipetić, »'O plovidbi' Benedikta Kotruljevića«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 43 (2005): pp. 266-271 (review of the edition of 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, ed. Giovanni Orlandi and Paolo Portoghesi. Milano: Polifilo, 1966.

of sociological stratification in the theory of architecture, wrote about the merchant's house with a store, and the location of the stores in the city.<sup>5</sup> Instead of a shop, the house of Kotrulj's merchant has a warehouse and a *scriptorium* at his home; the interior is decorated after an established type of the patrician houses of the time in which the accumulated wealth is ostentatiously displayed. Kotrulj's layout of the rooms may be correlated with that suggested by Alberti for a higher stand, that is, for the nobility.

Given the similarity of Kotrulj's and Alberti's views in various fields, it should be noted that Alberti's treatise *De re aedificatoria*, written from 1442 to 1452,<sup>6</sup> even prior to its publication in 1485, was a work widely admired in the humanistic scholarly circles and of great influence on both the architects and commissioners. It is possible that Kotrulj had acquainted himself with Alberti's earlier works while studying in Italy. From 1451 he lived in Naples, and it may well be assumed that as a representative and envoy of King Alfonso V of Aragon he moved in courtly circles.<sup>7</sup> Lorenzo Valla was Alfonso's lector and secretary from 1436 to 1447, and before the renovation of Castelnuovo Alfonso himself took interest in Vitruvius' treatise *De architectura*. The court of Naples was one of the most brilliant Renaissance centres and a meeting place of the most famous humanists, and during the reign of Alfonso's son Ferrante the Royal Library also housed the manuscript of Filarete's treatise on architecture. As to when exactly Kotrulj embarked upon his *Libro del arte della mercatura* we do not know, but at the end of the text he states that he completed it in 1458 at Castel Serpico, where he retreated from the epidemic of plague which raged in Naples. However, it was not until 1573 that the work was published in Venice under an altered title: *Della mercatura e del mercante perfetto*, which served as basis for the first Croatian translation by Žarko Muljačić. The discovery of

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<sup>5</sup> Filarete, who composed his treatise on architecture between 1461 and 1464, distinguishes several types of private houses: palaces for the nobility, houses for commoners and artisans, and those for people of the lower stratum. Antonio Averlino detto Il Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, ed. Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi. Milano: Polifilo, 1972. According to other tractators, the merchant belongs to the upper class, and he chooses the palace model as befits his status and taste. The examples of this type of merchant houses have been comparatively well preserved and studied in Milan, displaying ambitious modifications in both space and furnishings. Cf. Aurora Scotti, »Milano«, in: *La maison de ville à la Renaissance*. Paris: Picard, 1983: pp. 71-75.

<sup>6</sup> Alberti's first five books—of relevance to our topic—were written between 1442 and 1444. Gérard Donati, *Leon Battista Alberti, vie et théorie*. Bruxelles: Mardaga, 1989: pp. 19-22. According to Paolo Portoghesi, the first five books were written from 1443 to 1445.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, »Benedikt Kotrulj u potrazi za savršenim trgovcem«: pp. 29-56.

Kotrulj's manuscripts of 1485 in Milan, and 1475 on Malta testifies to the fact that his work had been previously known not only in Dubrovnik but in Italy as well.<sup>8</sup>

None of the treatises written up to the end of the fifteenth century paid that much attention to the merchant's house as that written by Benedikt Kotrulj. Some similarities with his text may be traced, however, in the treatise by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, started after 1482 and completed by 1492.<sup>9</sup> The houses of his merchants, like those of Kotrulj, were to have rooms utilised for business affairs, beautiful and spacious, with decorated benches *da far conti*, one or more rooms for the grain warehouse; these rooms for the storage of goods and sale negotiation were to be separated from those occupied by the family. All this, though elaborated in much greater detail, was already to be found in Kotrulj's text, and undisputedly, in 1458, he was the first to describe the house of a merchant.

A Ragusan merchant of the fifteenth century departs from the social figure of the medieval merchant of the Italian cities as described by Armando Saporì,<sup>10</sup> and grows into a character of the Renaissance merchant described by Alberto Tenenti.<sup>11</sup> In his study of the Renaissance merchant, the latter asserts that such type of man and his activity has been most clearly defined by Leon Battista Alberti and Benedikt Kotrulj.<sup>12</sup> Renaissance merchants were renowned for their

<sup>8</sup> Two manuscripts have been found in Florence: manuscript S of 1485 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), and manuscript M (Biblioteca Marucelliana) which is incomplete. A most recent discovery of manuscript R on Malta is most faithful to the original, and was copied in 1475 by Marin Rafaeli, a Ragusan merchant. Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Rukopisi izdanja "Knjige o vještini trgovanja"«, in: B. Kotrulj, *Libro del Arte dela Mercatura*: pp. 15-28.

<sup>9</sup> Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di Architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. Corrado Maltese. Milano: Polifilo, 1967: pp. 342-344. In the second book of his treatise, Francesco di Giorgio distinguishes five types of private houses: the fourth type belongs to merchants and the fifth to the nobility. In the earlier, autographed text of the codex *S. IV*. (Biblioteca Comunale di Siena), the houses of the nobility and merchants fall into one group. The correction entered into the text of the codex *Magliabechiano II.I.141* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze), in which the division and distinction between the two strata are clearly defined, is also of utmost significance in terms of sociological interpretation.

<sup>10</sup> Armando Saporì, *Il mercante italiano nel medioevo*. Milano: Jaca book, 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Alberto Tenenti, »Le marchand et le banquier«, in: *L'Homme de la Renaissance*, ed. Eugenio Garin. Paris: Seuil, 1990: pp. 223, 238.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 213-249. By comparing Kotrulj's text on the villa with that of Alberti from 1434, Tenenti remarks that Kotrulj, though writing on this topic almost thirty years after Alberti, still harboured reservations about this type of country lifestyle. L. B. Alberti, *Opere volgari (Libri della Famiglia, Cena familiaris, Villa)*, ed. Cecil Grayson. Bari: Laterza, 1960; B. Kotrulj, *Libro del Arte dela Mercatura*: p. 499. For more details on Kotrulj's view of the villa concept see: Nada Grujić, »Benedikt Kotruljević o vili«, in: *Kultura ladanja, Zbornik radova sa znanstvenih skupova "Dani Cvita Fiskovića" održanih 2001. i 2002. godine*, ed. Nada Grujić. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti u Zagrebu and Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta, 2006: pp. 41-50.

great capital investments in real property, city houses and country villas. The property brought them status but also pleasure until then accessible only to the nobility. Frequent travels, meetings and acquaintances, exchange of opinion and acquired knowledge helped shape more open and more critical individuals, more refined than most of their fellow-citizens. Thus it is not surprising that *studio* occupied such an important place in their houses. Ragusan merchants also caught the attention of Filip de Diversis in his description of Dubrovnik (*Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclitae civitatis Ragusii*) from 1440. While depicting three types of merchants, he states: “Most distinguished are those who trade in gold, silver, lead, wax, grains, corals, pepper, cloths, as well as woollen, silk gold embroidered and cotton scarlet, and similar goods of great value. All this is also done by the patricians whom I call the greatest merchants, although some live off rents, and they are a few. The responsibility and duty of these merchants, besides trade, is to govern the city, secure prosperity and protect (...) Rarely can the merchants wealthier than these be found in many towns (...) The plentitude of money is almost unbelievable, whether assizing the treasury of the Republic or the huge assets of the citizens, patricians and commoners alike.”<sup>13</sup>

Additionally, in the first chapter of Book Three (*On merchant's occupation and dignity*), Benedikt Kotrulj emphasises: “Benefit, prosperity and preservation of the state owe greatly to merchants, whereby we always bear in mind the famous merchant whom we have exalted and praised in this work of ours and not a common and ordinary merchant.”<sup>14</sup> Regardless of the type of merchant described, they all had their business and living facilities ‘under the same roof’. In the houses of the Ragusan ‘ordinary merchants’ located in the northern part of the city (in the area of Prijeko), the store on the ground floor was connected to the workshop or warehouse, while the upper floors were used as living space.

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<sup>13</sup> [*Mercatores*] *quidam supremi aurum, argentum, plumbum, caeram, triticum, coralia, piper, pannos, lanae, sirice, et auri, ac bobicis cremexinum, et huiusmodi multi valoris mercaturas operantur emendo, et vendendo. Quae omnia agunt etiam nobiles, quos mercatores supremos appello, tamen si aliqui ex redditibus tantum vivant, qui tamen pauci sunt. Horum nobilium cura et offitium est praeter mercantias urbem regere, augere, et conservare [...]. Pauci enim ditiores eis mercatores in multis urbibus reperiuntur. [...] Est fere incredibilis pecuniarum copia, sive thesaurum reipublicae, sive civium nobilium, et plebeiorum opulentiam magnam si voluero describere. Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: pp.156, 170, 174.*

<sup>14</sup> *La utilitate, lo comodo e la salute dele Republice prociede grandissima [sic!] dalo mercante, parlando sempre non di mercante plebei et vulgari, ma de mercante gloriosso, lo qualle instituimo comendato in questa nostra opera. B. Kotrulj, *Libro del Arte dela Mercatura*: p. 435.*

Further up the social ladder were wholesale merchants who negotiated the buying and selling of goods which they often stored in the houses. The majority of these houses have been preserved in the south-eastern part of the city, in Pustijerna, but they also stood in the central part of the city, in the *sexterium* of St Blaise. The fact that the Ragusan aristocracy was also based on trade has been underlined by both de Diversis and Kotrulj. That is why in architectural terms a wealthy commoner merchant's house can hardly be distinguished from that of his patrician counterpart. Likewise, the interior woodwork and furnishings of the houses of both groups tended to resemble in great detail.

Like many prosperous merchants throughout Europe who in the fifteenth century commissioned the best masters and craftsmen, Ragusan merchants followed the same practice. Their houses stood out in terms of style novelties. With regard to both appearance and furnishings, a merchant's city house was designed to display his thriving business and the family's prestige. Examples of this in Dubrovnik were the ambitiously built and decorated houses of the members of St Anthony confraternity which gathered well-off Ragusan commoner citizens—mostly rich merchants, some of them members of the non-noble patrician lineages, but also foreigners who were employed in government service. In the first half of the fifteenth century, merchants such as Luka Brajkov, Antun Butko, Nalko Nalješković amassed sizable wealth which they invested in building houses.<sup>15</sup> They commissioned skilled masons, stonemasons and carpenters, carefully chose the models for the design of the facades and interior decoration. Kotrulj, himself a notable member of the *Antunini*, was familiar with the houses of his fellow members, particularly with the house of Nalko Nalješković whose daughter, Nikoleta, he married in 1443. Therefore, one may rightly say that Kotrulj's text "on the merchant's house" brought little novelty to his fellow-citizens.

The first chapter of Book Four Kotrulj entitled *Dela casa (On the house)*.<sup>16</sup> The description commences with a list of advantages of the house's location for business running and the importance of the "beautiful appearance of the house", notably the entrance which was to impress strangers. Further, he focuses

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<sup>15</sup> On the Ragusan confraternity of St Anthony, see: Z. Pešorda Vardić, »"Pučka vlastela": Društvena struktura dubrovačke bratovštine Sv. Antuna u kasnom srednjem vijeku«. *Povijesni prilozi* 33 (2007): pp. 222, 230, 232; eadem, *U predvorju vlasti - Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 2012: passim, especially pp. 171-174. A perceptive account of the social setting, family relations and characters of the Ragusan *Antunini* has been given by Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Maruša ili suđenje ljubavi*. Zagreb: Algoritam, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> B. Kotrulj, *Libro del Arte dela Mercatura*: pp. 290-291.

his attention on the use and furnishing of the rooms. Here, we single out the parts related to Kotrulj's *scriptorium*.<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that between the printed edition of Kotrulj's work from 1573 and the new transcription by Zdenka Janeković Römer based on the 1475 manuscript, no doubt closer to the original date of the work, there are certain differences as regards the usage of terms. Addressing the reader, at the beginning of the chapter Kotrulj states: "On the first floor a house should have a *scriptorium* (1475: *uno scriptorio*; 1573: *un scrittorio*) suitable for your work, furnished so as to be able to sit from all sides, and separate so that the strangers who come to negotiate business with you do not intrude on the household members."<sup>18</sup> The chapter closes as follows: "He who enjoys in books should not keep the books in the common *scriptorium* (1475: *scriptore comune*; 1573: *scrittoio comune*), but ought to have a small *scriptorium* (1475: *scriptoreto separato*; 1573: *uno studiolo a parte*) within the bedroom or at least adjoining, so as to be able to pursue reading if the time should abound, a leisure worthy of honour and praise."<sup>19</sup> The word *studio* appears neither in the manuscript from 1475 nor in the edition of 1573, this being the only term traced in the Ragusan documents to designate both the room and the writing desk. With regard to *studio*'s position in the house, the documents clearly indicate that it was located either on the first floor or next to the bedroom on one of the upper floors.<sup>20</sup>

Given the general layout of rooms on each floor and their size, Ragusan houses of Kotrulj's day remain within the bounds of conventional typology. A merchant's house distinguished itself from the rest merely by its characteristic

<sup>17</sup> A broader analysis of the usage of each room has been presented in an article: Nada Grujić, »Kuća 'savršenog trgovca' po Benediktu Kotruljeviću«. *Dubrovnik N.S.* 6/4 (1995): pp. 198-212.

<sup>18</sup> The manuscript from 1475 reads: ... *de havere nel primo solaro un scriptorio abile ale faciendo tue et destro, che d'ogni banda se possa sedere et che sia separato sença dare impacio ala famiglia di casa, per li forestieri che vengono a contare teco*. The edition from 1573 reads: ...*dee hauere nel primo solaro un scrittorio abile alle facende tue, & desco che d'ogni banda si possa sedere, & e che sia separato, senza dar impaccio alla famiglia di casa, per li forestieri che uengono a contrattare teco*.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript from 1475 reads: *Et chi si dilecte di lictere non de tenere li libri nel scriptore comune. De havere scriptoreto separato acto acio in camera dove dorme o ad minus apresso la camera sua, per possere studiare quando tempo li avança. Et questo e glorioso et laudabilissimo exercicio*. The edition from 1573 reads: *Et chi si diletta di lettere, non dee tenere li libri nello scrittoio comune. Dee hauere uno studiolo a parte, in piu remoto luoco della casa, il quale potendo esser uicino alla camara dove dorme e cosa ottima, & salubre, per poter piu comodamente studiare quando il tempo gl'auanza, & questo e glorioso & laudabile essercitio*.

<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that *studio* was sometimes located near the staircase or at its top. Mentioned in the Rucellai Palace is a *camera a meza schala overo scriptoio*, the design of which probably included Alberti (1440-1450). P. Thornton, *Interni*: pp. 297-298.

*stranj* (wine cellar) and the warehouse on the ground floor. Some similarities between Kotrulj's description and the houses in Dubrovnik fall within a general pattern developed well before the fifteenth century. Some solutions, however, belong to the traditional house model typical of the whole Mediterranean, or, more precisely, of the Romanised space, whereas others are characteristic of a population group which translates a certain functional division into spatial. The essential value of Kotrulj's text for the study of residential architecture lies in his attempt to attach a specific function to every space in the house. His insistence on separating the 'public' space in the house from the private by far remains a greater innovation in the theory of architecture than it might have been accomplished in practice in his time. Apart from a large hall and, of course, a kitchen, the rooms in fifteenth-century houses were not strictly defined in terms of use: their function was essentially determined by the wooden fittings built by carpenters.<sup>21</sup>

The carpenters fitted the house with the floor and roof constructions, frames for outer and inner doors, as well as window shutters. They made fireplace canopies, doors and shelves for fitted wardrobes, the fences of staircase and *ballatorium* (commonly known as *balatur* in the Dubrovnik area). They received commissions for the characteristic fifteenth-century fittings: wooden wall panels (*armature* and *spalliere*),<sup>22</sup> benches with back fixed to the wall, beds

<sup>21</sup> On Ragusan carpentry in the previous centuries, see Josip Lučić, *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku do početka XIV stoljeća*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu and Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1979: pp. 41-45.

<sup>22</sup> According to the documents, *armatura* was a wooden construction or beam used for displaying various items (plates, mirrors, decorative kerchiefs, made of silk or painted, towels), and the nails on which they were suspended—*pironi (peroli) de armatura*. Cf. Verena Han, »Drveni gotičko-renesansni vijenac iz Tudizićeve palače u Dubrovniku«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 10 (1956): pp. 133-136. *Armature* were decorated with painted flowers, gilt leaves and family crests: in 1522 Nikola Kristov Caboga commissioned an *armatura* 38 ells long (around 19 m) *cum suis pirolis sive zappis, rosis et aliis fornimentis necessariis et opportunis* (Jorjo Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII-XVI v.*, vol. II. Beograd: SAN, 1952: pp. 104-105, 114-115), while in 1521 his brother Frano commissioned the painting of *spalliere*, which covered the lower parts of the walls. *Spalliere* were usually hung behind the dining-room bench, made either of wood, horizontally spread fabric or leather. Verena Han, »Upotreba dekorativne kože u renesansnom Dubrovniku«. *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 4-5 (1956): p. 247. The specific way of designating the position at which the *armatura* and *spalliere* would be posted has, until now, been noted only in the summer residence of Klement Gučetić in Rijeka Dubrovačka (Nada Grujić, »Ljetnikovac Klementa Gučetića u Rijeci dubrovačkoj«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 11 (1987): pp. 132-133). A headboard for the daybed *spalliere* is cited in an inventory of a Florentine household from 1500 (*un letto d'albero, un lettucio simile, con isspalliere dipinte atachate insieme e chornicone in tutto*). Ann Matchette, »To have and have not: the disposal of household furnishings in Florence«. *Renaissance Studies* 20/ 5 (2006): p. 701.



framed with benches,<sup>23</sup> beds skirted and caged-in with a so-called *gabia*,<sup>24</sup> in addition to writing desks fixed together with shelves and seats. The woodwork that developed through the construction of wooden houses and advanced in the building of ships, choir benches and altars, has also proved itself in the interior decoration of residential buildings. The commissions of wooden fittings for private houses may be traced in the documents from the end of the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>25</sup> Carpenters of all crafts are cited under a common term *marangoni*. In Venice (as well as in Ferrara and Modena), *marangoni* were divided into four groups.<sup>26</sup> The first three corresponded with the Ragusan framers, furniture makers and woodcarvers. As a rule, woodwork contracts are exhaustive, since every room is mentioned separately, along with the description of the future furnishings. Close reading will reveal a host of data on both the commissioners and craftsmen. In this article our attention will focus only on those parts of the contracts in which the word *studio* is mentioned.

Of all the houses from the first half of the fifteenth century that have not survived to date, the house of the rich merchant Luka Brajkov deserves particular attention, though only three of its contracts are extant (building contract, contract of the facade design, and that of the interior decoration). The house was built in an era rightly described by de Diversis as the time in which “all those in a position build magnificent houses”. Luka Brajkov (*Luca de Braicho*,

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<sup>23</sup> Ragusan contracts with carpenters fail to provide details on the furniture, probably because all the objects were made after a common pattern with which both the carpenters and their commissioners were familiar. For instance, details on the design of a bed and *studio* with shelves have been traced in a document from 1477, published by Sofija Sorić, »Proces između zadarskog trgovca Venturina i marangona Alegreta Velikog u razdoblju od 1477. do 1482. godine«, in: *Umjetnost i naručitelji, Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića održanog 2008*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2010: pp. 25-36. Apart from the here mentioned Zadar case, a 1480 contract between *marangon* Jakov Kosičić and Jeronim Šimunić from Šibenik, clearly illustrates that the latter's house was to be furnished with a bed caged-in from two sides and above by bedsteads. By the bedside there would also be a *studio* for sitting and writing equipped with shelves. I kindly thank Emil Hilje for having drawn my attention to this document.

<sup>24</sup> The term *gabia* (*cuipa, caipa*) signifies a wooden ‘cage’ with a bed installed in it. The terms *camera incaypada*, *camere inchabiade*, *camere incaipade* stand for fully wood-panelled rooms. Risto Jeremić and Jorjo Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, vol. 1. [Biblioteka Centralnog higijenskog zavoda, vol. 33]. Beograd, 1938: pp. 18-19.

<sup>25</sup> Cvito Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*. Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1955: pp. 13-14.

<sup>26</sup> Structural woodwork was done by *marangon di fabrica*; *marangon de noghera* made massive furniture of oak and other valued wood; *marangon de soaze* made frames and tabernacles, and *remesseri* did inlays. P. Thornton, *Interni*: p. 101.

*dictus del Bon*) was an established and well-to-do merchant, admitted into the confraternity of St Anthony in the early 1430s. He married Maruša, daughter of the apothecary Giovanni Salimbene, who arrived in Dubrovnik from Venice, and was member of the same confraternity.<sup>27</sup> For his house in Pustijerna Luka Brajkov picked a prestigious location—flanked by the houses of the patricians Luka Bona and Vuk Babalio.<sup>28</sup> Novak Pripković and Marko Rusković were commissioned for the woodwork in 1426. Among the many items listed in the contract, on the first floor—whose layout included two rooms, a small hall and a kitchen—they agreed to fit a room with a *studio* and a bench in front of the bed, and that the *studio* be as wide as the house (*Al primo palmento... una camera cum uno studio e la bancha dinanti lo letto e llo studio per la largeza de la caxa, la camara incaypada com una cagnolada e sopra lo letto con una cagnolada e di fuora duo cagnolade*). Besides the great hall, on the second floor there was a room and another *studio*: both rooms were panelled in wood (*In la sala in camara... studio e la camara tutte inchaypade, dentro letto duo cagnolade di fora tre cagnolade e duo gerbavize per largeza di tutta camara e una napa allo camin*).<sup>29</sup> Therefore, on the first floor the *studio* is in the room, and on the second the *studio* refers to the whole room.<sup>30</sup>

On account of the fashion in which it was furnished, the house of Luka Brajkov was soon to become a model, at that time of equal importance as the palace of Sandalj Hranić. Ivan Luca, member of the middle-ranked nobility

<sup>27</sup> I am indebted to Zdenka Janeković Römer and through her to Zrinka Pešorda Vardić for the data on Luka Brajkov.

<sup>28</sup> The location is confirmed by a settlement between Luka Brajkov and Vuk Babalio on the partition wall between their houses (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 225v; 22 February 1428; State Archives in Dubrovnik, hereafter: SAD). The location of the house may also be gleaned from a contract signed with the carpenters (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 13v-14r; 29 June 1426; SAD). The house of the Babalio family stood by the southern city wall facing the sea: the tower next to the house of Savin Babalio was repaired in 1519 and converted into a salt warehouse (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 35, f. 104r; SAD). For more details see chapter »Unutar četiri zida«, in: Nada Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska - ogranak Dubrovnik, 2013: pp. 133-145.

<sup>29</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, ff. 13v-14r; 29 June 1426; transcribed by Danko Zelić. The contract was published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 371-372.

<sup>30</sup> The *studio*'s position in the house is additionally clarified by a special type of window referred to as *de studio*. In his doctoral thesis *Renesansna skulptura i arhitektonska plastika u Zadru* (Zadar, 2010: pp. 237-239), Laris Borić has established that the Zadar houses of the latter half of the fifteenth century had small square windows, in the documents referred to as *de studio*. The samples of this window type have survived on the first floor of the Grisogono-Vovò house (in which the *studio* was next to the great hall), on the second floor of the Nassis house, as well as on the Soppe house. In a contract from 1489, Saladin Soppe engaged Petar Meštrićević to make two windows *de studio*.

whose name in the former generation featured in some trade companies,<sup>31</sup> in 1427 commissioned Marko Rusković for the woodwork in his house.<sup>32</sup> As agreed, everything was to be done in the same manner as in the house of Luka Brajkov (*al modo chomo e fatta de Luca de Braicho ne piu ne men*): on the first floor, Marko was to furnish the room with a bed, in addition to benches with carved frames as in the most beautiful room on the first floor of the house of Luka Brajkov; in this room he would also make a *studio* or wardrobe to Ivan's taste, and the room door as in the house of Luka Brajkov (*Anchora al primo palmento una camara con una litera e banchi apresso el letto e li scanti intagladi chome a Luca detto de Braicho al primo palmento la quale e piu bella. Anchora nela detta camera uno studio overo armero chomo piazera al detto Iohanni e la porta in detta camera chome a Luca de Braicho in chantinella*).<sup>33</sup> In this case, as in the house of Luka Brajkov, the word *studio* clearly denotes a piece of furniture.

While repairing the house at the northern end of *Pobijana ulica* in Pustijerna inherited from his father,<sup>34</sup> Tomo Sorgo commissioned Marko Rusković for the woodwork in 1428. Judging from the number of the contracted ceilings, the house had three floors. One room on the first floor was to be fitted with a partition wall, door, bed, *studio*, benches and a fireplace canopy, and the whole room panelled in wood like “the most beautiful room” in the house of Luka Brajkov (... *item nella detta casa tre camere zoe una al primo solaro fornita de travatura, porta e letto e studio e banchi e una napa de caminata e incaipada come nella casa di Luca di Braicho la piu bella e minatura nella detta camera dove sera bisogno*).<sup>35</sup> And while in Sorgo's house only one *studio* is mentioned, for the house whose erection was started that same year by Đivko Milinović (*Milienovich*), Marko Rusković was commissioned to make two *studios*.<sup>36</sup> One

<sup>31</sup> Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*. [Posebna izdanja, vol. CCCXL]. Beograd: SANU, 1960: pp. 290-292.

<sup>32</sup> In 1422 Marko Rusković was commissioned to make two *ghabie* and two beds for the rooms on the second floor of the palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić (*Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 42, f. 93r; 29 December 1422)

<sup>33</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 141r-141v; 12 October 1427; transcribed by Danko Zelić. The contract was published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 373-374.

<sup>34</sup> The building of a new cistern was commissioned in 1427, as well as new masonry window-frames among which one triple window (*Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 44, f. 106v-107r; 8 February 1427. *Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 44, f. 132v).

<sup>35</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 271v; 5 September 1428; transcribed by Danko Zelić. The contract was published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 375-376.

<sup>36</sup> Stonemasons Radoje and Radin Pribilović were commissioned for five one bay windows of the so-called Saracenic type and a triple Gothic window on the facade of the house (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 264v; 5 August 1428).

room on the first floor was to be entirely panelled in wood and furnished with a *studio*, a fireplace, and a bed framed by benches (*Alo primo palmento bisogna a far una camera tuta incaypata e dappresso uno studio e la lietera intavolata e atorni li banchi e una caminata in la detta camera*). On the third floor, too, one room would be entirely panelled in wood and furnished with a *studio* and a bed skirted with benches; everything was to be done as in the house of Luka Brajkov (*Alo terzo palmento la prima una camara tuta incaypata con uno studio e la litiera intavolata et atorno li banchi... e tuto altro lavorier dela ditta casa a parition delo lavorier dela casa de Luca de Braycho*).<sup>37</sup> In 1430 Antun Butko commissioned carpenter Pribislavić for all the woodwork in his house to be modelled after the furnishings in Luka Brajkov's house, among which were two *studios*.

The house of Vlaho Gradi, also in Pustijerna, had three *studios*: commissioned for the woodwork were Živko Kosmačević and Radoslav Brajković in 1431. Of the two rooms on the first floor, one was a *studio*; the plan of this floor also included a kitchen and a small hall (*saleta*), which the carpenters were to furnish with benches with back like the ones at the Rector's Palace; new floor was to be made above the storeroom, a bed and benches, and the whole room panelled in wood; a *studio* would be in it, and in the small hall a beautiful fireplace canopy (*In camera far uno pavimento sopra orio, in la prima camera una letera et banchi quanti fara de bisogno com li apozi come e detto di sopra e incaipar tuta la detta camera e lo studio per far zo che sera di bisogno e far napa in saleta che sia bela*). The second floor housed a large hall (*sala*) and next to it a room with a bed and benches along the walls; for this room a *studio* was to be furnished with everything required (*Segondo pavimento zoe la sala, in la detta sala far... una travatura dela camera, nela deta camera una lettiera con li banchi quanti sera de bisogno intorno la camera e incaipar tuta la camera e far uno studio ordenato secondo sera de bisogno*). On the third floor there were three rooms: one was to be used as a closet (*salvaroba*) and the remaining two rooms would have a *studio* each and a bed with a bench in front and canopy above the bed (*Terzo pavimento far novo... al dito pavimento travature per tre camare, zioe una savaroba e le doe cum le lethiere e cum li studi e incaypar solamento sopra li leti e far bancha avanti li leti*).<sup>38</sup> Of the three *studios* in the house of Vlaho Gradi only one, that on the first floor, may be identified with

<sup>37</sup> *Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 46, f. 99r; 16 December 1429; transcribed by Danko Zelić. The contract was published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 380-381.

<sup>38</sup> *Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 46, f. 250v-252r; 1 January 1431; transcribed by Danko Zelić. The contract was published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 384-385.

the room Kotrulj describes as *scriptorio* or *scriptore comune*. The other two *studios* in this house were actually writing desks which, according to the fashion of the day, were in various ways fixed to the bench, shelves and the bookcase.

The contracts between masons, stonemasons, carpenters and wealthy citizen-merchants, such as Nalko Nalješković (*Natal de Dobrich de Nale*), reveal a number of highly skilled masters, high level of craftsmanship in the shaping of architectural elements and interior decoration, and the layout of rooms typical of that period. In the chapter *De masarie et superlectili* (*On furniture and household items*), Benedikt Kotrulj, Nalješković's son-in-law, wrote: "As I have said, the house should be decorated as much as necessary, in a manner befitting and appropriate for private and public life, because many foreigners call on the merchant's house throughout upon various business".<sup>39</sup> Most of the houses that Nalješković cites in his commissions as models for his own were owned by the well-off *Antunini*: Antun Butko, Giorgio Brugnolo, Lovro Gozze Fiffa, Martol Zamagna.<sup>40</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth century Nalješković's house was no exception: other merchants, whether patricians or commoners, built their houses following a more or less similar design, such as Nikola Gondola, Župan Bona. Specific elements of the house, such as wine cellars and grain warehouses, reveal the owner's occupation, because even the most successful merchants wished to store their goods as close as possible.<sup>41</sup>

Nalko Nalješković started the construction of his new house in 1428; it was a corner house, whose two fronts faced the communal streets and the other two overlooked the back yard.<sup>42</sup> Ratko Ivančić (1428) as well as Radoje and Radin Pribilović (1429) were commissioned for the stonemasonry.<sup>43</sup> In terms of design, Nalješković modelled after three houses in *Crevljarska ulica*, today *Od Puča*: the house of Antun Butko (doors of the wine cellar and yard, as well

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<sup>39</sup> *Et come disse de havere l'ornamento tanto quanto li bisogna e ben ordinato et assestato de vivere in casa et politico, perche in casa delo mercante multi forestieri ci acapitano per li traffichi diversi d'ogni parte*. B. Kotrulj, *Libro del arte dela mercatura*: p. 303.

<sup>40</sup> Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*: pp. 147-149, 161-165.

<sup>41</sup> Kotrulj mentions wine cellars (*canave di vino*), granaries (*granari di grano*) and a horse stable (*stalle da cavalli*). In 1425 part of the ground floor of the palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić was adapted into a horse stable: it was well equipped for horse keeping, including the mangers and rings to tie up the horses (*Acta Consilii Minoris*, vol.3, f. 229r). Nada Grujić and Danko Zelić, »The Palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik«. *Dubrovnik Annals* 15 (2011): p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 293v-294r; 22 October 1428; transcribed by Danko Zelić. Cited in Cvito Fisković, *Naši graditelji kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1947: p. 54. A full version published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 377-378.

as the windows above the door),<sup>44</sup> the house of Nikola Gondola (cornice between the floors, two Saracenic windows and a *trifora* on the second floor),<sup>45</sup> and the house of Martol Zamagna (wine cellar door).<sup>46</sup> Architectural elements on the houses of Tomo and Župan Bona (wine cellar door) also served as models,<sup>47</sup> Giorgio Brugnolo (windows),<sup>48</sup> Luka Brajkov (two Saracenic windows and a carved wash basin against the hall wall), Lovro Gozze Fiffa (*ballatorium* in the hall)<sup>49</sup> and Antun

<sup>43</sup> In 1428 and 1429, for the two facades of his house Nalješćević commissioned carved frames for the main entrance, two doors for the wine cellars and one for the yard, three two-light windows and three one-light windows, six Saracenic windows (four for the first floor and two for the second floor), a *trifora*, two additional Saracenic windows, plus a cornice with consoles. Therefore, apart from the entrances into the wine cellars and the yard, it appears that one of the facades was designed after a common pattern: four Saracenic one-light windows on the first floor, on the second floor a *trifora* between two Saracenic one-light windows, and on the third three two-light windows. Many examples—from the houses of Džore Bokšić and Sandalj Hranić to those of Luka Brajkov and Vlaho Gradi—testify that on the floor housing the grand hall the stonemasons flanked a *trifora* or *quadrifora* by two Saracenic windows.

<sup>44</sup> Antun Butko made his fortune by trading in grain. For his new house in *Crevljarska ulica* he commissioned three smaller double Gothic windows called *balchoncelli*, another two windows called Saracenic (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 14, f. 62r-62v; 17 February 1424), along with six Saracenic windows like the ones on the first floor of the house of Sandalj Hranić (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 14, f. 69v; 1 March 1424). For the woodwork he engaged Pribislav Bogdanović to be made ... *como e la casa de Lucha de Braicho posta in Pusterla...* (*Diversa Notarie*, vol. 16, f. 227v-228r; 26 August 1429). The house of Antun Butko adjoined the house of Toma and Župan Bona (*Diversa Notariae*, vol. 15, f. 267v; 19 August 1428).

<sup>45</sup> Nikola and his brother Marin, sons of Nifik Gondula, were building a house in 1399 in *Crevljarska ulica*, between the present-day street of Marojica Kaboga and *Uska ulica* (Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovnu umjetnost JAZU, 1958: p. 22). However, that house must have been renovated, since the house of Nikola Gondula in *Crevljarska ulica* is mentioned as new in 1427 (*Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. 44, f. 98r-98v; 12 January 1427).

<sup>46</sup> The house of Martol Zamagna stood between the house of his father Stjepan and that of Ivan Lucari; it partly overlooked *Crevljarska ulica* (*Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 44, f. 212r-212v; 8 December 1427), had four floors (*Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 44, f. 146v; 8 May 1427) and a *quadrifora* (*Diversa Notarie*, vol. 15, f. 273r-273v; 16 September 1428). Martol Zamagna also commissioned Novak Pripković for the woodwork (*Diversa Cancellarie*, vol. 46, f. 106v; 29 November 1429).

<sup>47</sup> Toma and Župan were the sons of Marin Bona. Toma traded in lead from Bosnia, and in 1422 acted as Aragon consul to Dubrovnik (Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. II. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: p. 109).

<sup>48</sup> Giorgio Floramonte Brugnoli, nobleman of Mantua, arrived in Dubrovnik around 1420; he worked as merchant and teacher. His son, Galeazzo, was engaged in the production and sale of cloths, and was one of the most prominent creditors of cloth trade. Z. Janeković-Römer, *Libro del Arte dela Mercatura*: p. 113.

<sup>49</sup> This is Lovro Gozze Fiffa, son of Martol, who in 1418 commissioned seven Gothic windows, which stonemason Antun (who worked together with Alegreto on the palace of Sandalj Hranić) agreed to decorate in the same manner as those gracing the house of the rich merchant Džore Bokšić. C. Fisković, *Naši graditelji*: p. 103.

Dobroslavić (well head and fireplace canopy in the small hall).<sup>50</sup> Stonemasons were engaged for the stone furniture: a garlanded well head for the entrance hall, for the small hall on the first floor a fireplace decorated with angels carrying the coat-of-arms, and for the grand hall on the second floor a “large and beautiful” built-in washbasin. In 1435 Nalko signed a contract with the carpenters Ilija Ratković and Vitko Radetić:<sup>51</sup> they were to make the doors for all rooms and halls as well as for the *studios*, storerooms and kitchens (*Et serar tutte le porte che serano dele camere e sale e studii e camarete e cusine in cantinelle*). On the second floor, next to the grand hall, was a room completely panelled in wood; above its ceiling or ‘cage’ the masters were to build a mezzanine with a small bed, small writing desk and a bench, with small stairs in the floor (*E che in la camara della sala gli debiano fare uno pavimento sopra cabia com una lettiera piccola et uno studietto com bancheto et in lo detto pavimento una schaleta*).<sup>52</sup> They were also to make an additional *studio* in one of the third-floor rooms (*Ancora uno studio in una dele camere in terzo palmento*).

Instead of occupying a separate room, the *studio* often stood in the bedroom. Both Luka Brajkov and Vlaho Gradi had one *studio* on the first floor, and another above the room adjoining the hall on the second floor—that is, next to the bedroom. This layout corresponds to Kotrulj’s description of a merchant’s house in which a “small scriptorium” ought to be made either in the bedroom or close to it. This passage drew the attention of Peter Thornton, an expert in historic interiors, who emphasises that it was not in the passages about the erudite or mighty, but in those dedicated to business people that Kotrulj made a clear distinction between a public and private *scriptorium*.<sup>53</sup> Kotrulj refers to them as *scriptore comune* and *scriptoreto separato*. The latter was designed to secure privacy, secluded from the household activities and street noise. *Studio* or *studiolo* or *scrittoio* sometimes appear under the term *camerino*, used in the early fifteenth century as a designation for modestly furnished small rooms for keeping books, family and business papers, with an addition or two such as hourglass, pen, ink etc. Unlike the rest of the house, these small rooms,

<sup>50</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 16, f. 208r; 18 April 1433. *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 21, f. 110r; 6 March 1437.

<sup>51</sup> *Diversa Notariae*, vol. 20, f. 32v-33r; 2 July 1435. The contract is mentioned by R. Jeremić and J. Tadić, *Prilozi*: p. 20, note 25. Transcribed by Danko Zelić and published in N. Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu*: pp. 386-387.

<sup>52</sup> This commission evidently concerned a nursery. The building of a floor above the ceiling resulted in a mezzanine which is sometimes referred to as *stanza di sopra* or *soffitto*, because it was built on the ceiling of the room below.

<sup>53</sup> P. Thornton, *Interni*: p. 296.

decorated with various prized possessions and interesting items, offered much-needed tranquillity to their learned owners.<sup>54</sup> Petrarch, too, compares his *studiolo* with solitude (*solitudo*), and the portrayals of Petrarch in his study are among the earliest: in the 1470s he was painted by Altichiero and Avanzi in Padua,<sup>55</sup> and is believed to be depicted on a drawing from 1400 which illustrates the Italian translation of his *De viris illustribus*.<sup>56</sup>

*Studio* (i.e. *scriptore*) from the time when Kotrulj wrote his treatise can be seen on two paintings of *St Jerome in his study*: one is the work of a Neapolitan painter Colantonio dating between 1445 and 1450, while the other was painted somewhat later by Antonello da Messina.<sup>57</sup> Though a valuable testimony of the *studio* of that time, the fact that they represent St Jerome and St Augustine, two Latin church fathers in their monastic cells, tell more of the origin of the room itself. The spreading of the cult of St Jerome contributed to the propagation of this theme throughout northern Europe and Italy: to be found in Naples from 1441 is *St Jerome in his study* (part of the lost Lomellini triptych) painted by Jan van Eyck, which undoubtedly influenced the earlier mentioned painters.<sup>58</sup> In iconographic terms, the representation of St Jerome in the *studio* follows the Late Antiquity theme of a scholar engaged in writing, revived with pictorial representations of Petrarch in the mid-fourteenth century. Until the middle of the fifteenth century the paintings showing richly decorated *studios* are sparse,<sup>59</sup> although in 1460 Filarete wrote that the *studietto* of Piero de' Medici in Florence

<sup>54</sup> While writing on the family in 1427, Alberti suggested that husbands forbid their wives to set foot in the *studio* (Elizabeth Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House*. London: V&A Publications, 2006: p. 76).

<sup>55</sup> The fresco cycle depicting the classical giants in the *Palazzo dei Carraresi* (*Sala dei Giganti*) by Altichiero da Zevio and Jacopo Avanzi, was based on Petrarch's work *De viris illustribus*. Since the hall was restored in the mid-sixteenth century, it is difficult to establish whether Petrarch's *studio* was painted after the study he had in a close-by villa among the Euganean hills (Arquà).

<sup>56</sup> Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt (according to: P Thornthorn, *Interni*: p. 13).

<sup>57</sup> Colantonio's painting is in Naples (Museo di Capodimonte), the painting by Antonello da Messina, believed by some to be painted in Naples between 1455 and 1460, or during the master's sojourn in Venice in 1475, is in London (National Gallery).

<sup>58</sup> Bernard Aikema, »Pittura veneziana del XV secolo e *ars nova* dei Paesi Bassi«, in: *Il Rinascimento a Venezia e la pittura del Nord ai tempi di Bellini, Dürer, Tiziano*, ed. Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown. Venezia: Bompiani, 1999: pp. 212-217.

<sup>59</sup> Exception is a miniature by Jean Le Tavernier (c. 1458) depicting King René of Anjou surrounded by books in his study which opens onto the garden, thus suggesting the king's interest in gardening and botany (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I). Lucia Impelluso, *Giardini, orti e labirinti*. Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2005: p. 27.



was *hornato di degnissimi libri et altre cose degnie*. With time, the word *studio* (*studiolo*) tended to change its meaning: from the original term designating a cabinet used for keeping valuables, the meaning soon broadened and included a room with a miscellany of objects: collections of rarities, medals, clockworks, astronomic and musical instruments, sculptures, jewellery etc. Such were the famous *studioli* of Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino and of Isabella d'Este in Mantua which in the second half of the fifteenth century blended two traditions—that of the monastic cell and secular treasury. These interiors greatly appealed to painters but also to many visitors who left their vivid accounts.<sup>60</sup>

Although not mentioned explicitly in the archival sources, there is reason to assume that in the fourteenth century the houses of the Ragusan merchants, patricians and commoners alike, had rooms in which business deals were negotiated and documents kept—what Kotrulj referred to as *scriptorio comune*. The close of the Middle Ages was marked by an increasing need for privacy<sup>61</sup> which, with the development of residential architecture, resulted in interiors more suitable to the daily needs of their owners. It eventually brought to the separation of a room whose purpose and design may well fall within what Kotrulj termed as *scriptoreto separato* (according to the manuscript from 1475), that is, *studiolo a parte* (according to the edition from 1573).

Not a single *studio* from fifteenth-century Dubrovnik has survived to date, but there is evidence to indicate its position as in the Luccari house in Pustijerna (*Bandureva ulica* 3). It was on the third floor, probably next to the bedroom; a small square window at the back of the house has a moulded frame decorated with a coat-of-arms, its size and shape resembling that of *de studio* type. In the sixteenth century, the *studio* was already fully furnished to suit its special purpose: the *studio* of Luka Sorgo must have been remarkable, since in his will of 1572 he bequeathed it to Miho Monaldi, Ragusan philosopher, mathematician and poet.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> From the end of the fifteenth and very beginning of the sixteenth century date the paintings *St Jerome in his study* by Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Vision of St Augustine* by Vittore Carpaccio, *Cleric in his study* by Lorenzo Lotto (E. Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House*: pp. 70-92). Among the most popular and most visited places in the early-sixteenth century Venice were the *libreria* of Marin Sanudo, the collections of Marcantonio Michiello and Andrea Odoni, and in the second half of the same century the *studii delle anticaglie* in the palaces of the Grimani and Vendramin families. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice, Art, Architecture, and the Family*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005: pp. 217-235.

<sup>61</sup> Philippe Braunstein, »Approches de l'intimité, XVe-XVe siècle«, in: *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. II, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby. Paris: Seuil, 1986: pp. 605-607.

<sup>62</sup> Jorjo Tadić, *Dubrovački portreti*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1948: p. 297.