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On the Trail of a Peripatetic Vitruvian Reader: New Insights on Giovanni Battista Fontana in the Late Seventeenth-Century Eastern Adriatic*

Na tragu Vitruvijeva putujućeg čitatelja: nove spoznaje o djelovanju Giovannija Battiste Fontane na istočnom Jadranu krajem 17. stoljeća

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ABSTRACT

This article revolves around a copy of Vitruvius's *De architectura* once owned by the master builder Giovanni Battista Fontana. Firstly, it proposes the identification of this individual as the elder brother of the Ticino-born architect Carlo Fontana through a comparative analysis of handwritten samples from different archives. Secondly, it attempts a tentative reconstruction of Giovanni Battista Fontana's career in the Eastern Adriatic. Old and newly discovered sources from state and monastic archives indicate that Fontana arrived in the Eastern Adriatic via Rome and settled in Korčula. From 1670 to the end of the century, he participated in various building projects in Kotor, Zadar, Cres, and Perast. His copy of Vitruvius plays a central role in the argumentation, as the material evidence of use detected in its pages provides insight into his reading interests and practices. Thus, it greatly contributes to the reconstruction of his *corpus* of works and architectural language. The article portrays a peripatetic master builder characterized by a high degree of mobility between his homeland in Ticino and the Eastern Adriatic via Rome, Ancona, and Dubrovnik, with a marked skill in combining the classical language of architecture with the local style of Korčula stonemasonry.

Keywords: Giovanni Battista Fontana, Vitruvius, Kotor Cathedral, Bujović Palace in Perast, Franciscan convent in Zadar, Franciscan convent in Cres

SAŽETAK

U središtu članka nalazi se primjerak Vitruvijeve rasprave *De architectura* koji je nekoć posjedovao majstor graditelj Giovanni Battista Fontana. Autor ga najprije identificira kao starijeg brata arhitekta Carla Fontane iz Ticina kroz komparativnu analizu rukopisnih uzoraka iz različitih arhiva. Slijedi preliminarna rekonstrukcija karijere Giovannija Battiste Fontane na istočnom Jadranu. Stari i novootkriveni izvori iz državnih i samostanskih arhiva pokazuju da je Fontana stigao na istočni Jadran preko Rima i nastanio se u Korčuli. Od 1670. do kraja stoljeća sudjelovao je u raznim graditeljskim pothvatima u Kotoru, Zadru, Cresu i Perastu. Njegov primjerak Vitruvija igra središnju ulogu u argumentaciji, jer materijalni tragovi korištenja na stranicama knjige omogućuju uvid u Fontanine čitateljske interese i praksu, doprinoseći rekonstrukciji njegova graditeljskog korpusa i arhitektonskog vokabulara. Članak prikazuje Giovannija Battistu Fontanu kao putujućeg majstora graditeljstva s visokim stupnjem mobilnosti između domovine u Ticinu i istočnog Jadrana preko Rima, Ancone i Dubrovnika, s izrazitom vještinom kombiniranja klasičnog jezika arhitekture i lokalnog stila korčulanskog kamenoklesarstva.

Ključne riječi: Giovanni Battista Fontana, Vitruvije, kotorska katedrala, palača Bujović u Perastu, franjevački samostan u Zadru, franjevački samostan u Cresu

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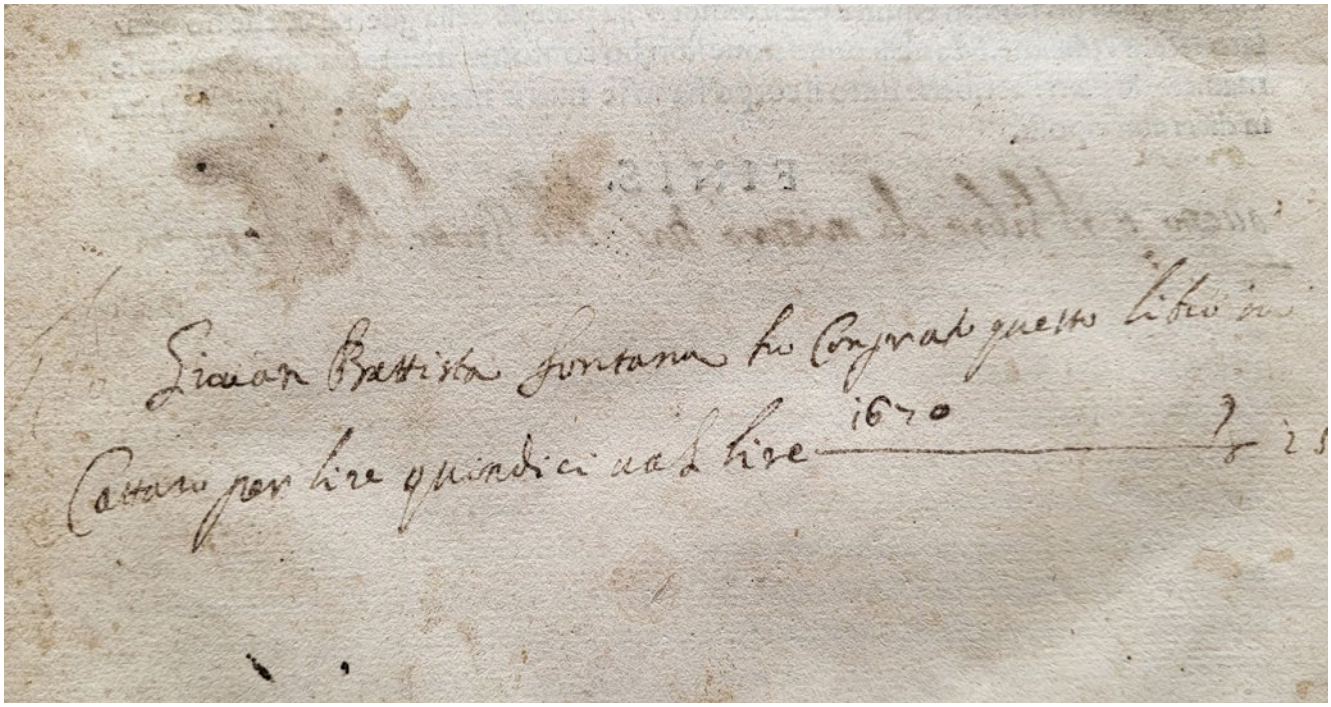


1.
Vitruvius, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535, sheet CXv (© University of Zadar Research Library, photo: M. Zornija)

Vitruvije, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535., f. CXv

Since the Renaissance, books have been indispensable tools for architects. In addition to other professional instruments such as pens, rulers, squares, and compasses, books often appear in depictions of architects. The book that is here in focus is typically identified as Vitruvius's *De architectura*, the sole surviving ancient Roman treatise on architecture. Following its rediscovery in the Renaissance, this text stimulated a radical transformation of architecture into a learned discipline.[1] From that point on, architects utilised books for learning, training, and designing, producing a substantial corpus of other written works, to such an extent that a new literary genre emerged: the architectural treatise.[2] As evidenced by the 1523 Lyon edition of Vitruvius by Lucimborgo da Gabiano,[3] this genre proved to be lucrative for publishers, who invested significant efforts and resources in producing large-format, lavishly illustrated volumes for a relatively limited audience.

This article revolves around a copy of Vitruvius's *De architectura* in the Zadar Research Library, Croatia, which bears a note of ownership by a certain Giovanni Battista Fontana. First, through a comparative analysis of the handwriting style in different archival sources, I would like to propose a possible identification of this individual as an architect active in the Eastern Adriatic during the 17th century. Secondly, I would like to offer a tentative reconstruction of Fontana's career, confirming the recent correction of the architect's name,[4] which since the 19th century has been known by scholars as Giovanni Battista Fonta or Fonte.[5]

As recent studies on Vitruvius copies owned by scholars and architects such as Daniele Barbaro, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and Vincenzo Scamozzi have shown,[6] material evidence of ownership and use found on book pages can contribute greatly to the reconstruction of the owner's theoretical knowledge and practical skills. The methodical analysis of marginalia and other signs in books allows us to understand how readers actually used books and which parts and chapters they were interested in.[7] Together with other data from primary sources and the physical materiality of the buildings, books that belonged to architects provide important insights into their work and personalities.

1. The book and its owners

The centrepiece of this study is a copy of the Italian translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* by Francesco Luci, better known as "Durantino", published in Venice in 1535 by the printer Niccolò d'Aristotele de' Rossi, called "Zoppino".[8] Brothers Giovanni Antonio and Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio published the *editio princeps* of this work in 1524 in Venice.[9] Durantino's was the second Italian translation of Vitruvius after Cesare Cesariano's sumptuously illustrated but expensive and rare folio edition printed in Como in 1521.[10] It was an eclectic venture – Durantino took the text from Cesariano and the illustrations from the Latin edition of 1511 by fra' Giocondo[11] – but the number of copies, the power and distribution of the Venetian presses, and the smaller and cheaper size made it a fairly successful and common product among Renaissance architects. As Francesco Benelli has shown, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger owned two differently annotated copies of the same edition by Durantino, one in Rome and the other in Parma.[12] This book remained a standard reference for architects until the publication of Daniele Barbaro's translation in 1556.[13]

The copy under examination, held in the Rare Books Collection of the Research Library in Zadar with the shelf mark R-234, bears three different handwritten notes of ownership:

1. Master Niccolò: *questo è il libro di mistro Nichollo protto di mara[n]goni*;

2. Giovanni Battista Fontana: *Io Giovan Battista Fontana ho conprato questo libro in / Cattaro per lire quindici val lire _____ £ 25 / 1670* (Fig. 1);

3. Anton Duplančić: *Ex libris Antonii Duplancich Jadrensis / an.[no] 1806*.[14]

The name of Anton Duplančić explains the current location of the book. In fact, Anton may have been a relative, possibly the father of Vicko Duplančić, the first librarian of the Zadar Civic Library, which was opened in 1855 with a donation from Pietro Alessandro Paravia and later became the Research Library. At the beginning of 1856, the library administrators chose Vicko from among eight applicants for the post of librarian because of his vast literary culture – and because he refused to accept a salary. He began to compile a catalogue of the library's holdings, but in 1862, following an impeachment, he suddenly fled to Milan to avoid incrimination. Although neither Anton nor Vicko Duplančić are recorded as donors, it is possible that the latter, in his hasty flight, left behind some family books that were later incorporated into the holdings of the Zadar Civic Library.[15] The precise circumstances surrounding Anton's acquisition of the book remain unclear.

According to his note, Master Niccolò, the first recorded owner of the book, held a high position in shipbuilding. In the Arsenal of Venice, the *proto dei marangoni* was responsible for designing and constructing ship hulls,[16] as well as overseeing hundreds of other craftsmen and *proti* of *calafati*, *alboranti*, and *remeri*.[17] Consequently, it seems reasonable to posit that Niccolò served as the master carpenter in a state shipyard in the Adriatic, perhaps in Venice, Hvar, Korčula, Corfu, or even in Dubrovnik.[18] Although it may seem anomalous, there are a number of reasons why a prominent shipbuilder may have owned a copy of Vitruvius's *De architectura*.

Besides being a seminal source for classical architecture, Vitruvius also provides valuable insight into ancient Roman technical knowledge. In the last three books, he covers disciplines relevant to shipbuilding and navigation, such as hydraulics, astronomy, and mechanics,[19] which constituted the cornerstone for reforming the Venetian Arsenal in the first half of the fourteenth century.[20] A century later, a group

of technicians and noblemen led by Vettor Fausto initiated a conceptual shift in understanding shipbuilding as a branch of architecture: after civil and military, it was naval architecture.[21] Furthermore, it is worth recalling that a constant exchange of technical knowledge occurred between shipbuilding and other construction activities. In both Venice and Dubrovnik, masters and head carpenters contracted by the state to work in the Arsenal often transitioned to more remunerative crafts, such as building,[22] contributing to the design and assemblage of the largest trusses to span churches and meeting halls, and also borrowing instruments and machines from the shipyards.[23] The wooden ceilings of churches such as Santo Stefano and San Giacomo dall'Orio in Venice or the Cathedral of Ancona still testify to the application of shipbuilding techniques in religious architecture across the Adriatic.[24]

2. Giovanni Battista Fontana: Identification

The limited information about the life and activities of Master Niccolò makes it challenging to precisely locate him in time and space. However, the evidence on the second recorded owner of this copy of Vitruvius, Giovanni Battista Fontana, is much more copious. Fontana purchased the book in Kotor (Cattaro) in 1670, paying a sum considerably below its true value: 15 lire, as opposed to the 25 lire it was worth. It is unclear whether Fontana purchased the book directly from Niccolò or through an intermediary, and the circumstances surrounding its arrival in Kotor remain unknown. Despite the strategic importance of the Kotor Bay for the Venetian fleet, there were no state-run shipyards in the area. Nevertheless, skilled carpenters were regularly dispatched from Venice to Kotor, particularly during wartime, to repair Venetian vessels anchored in the bay.[25]

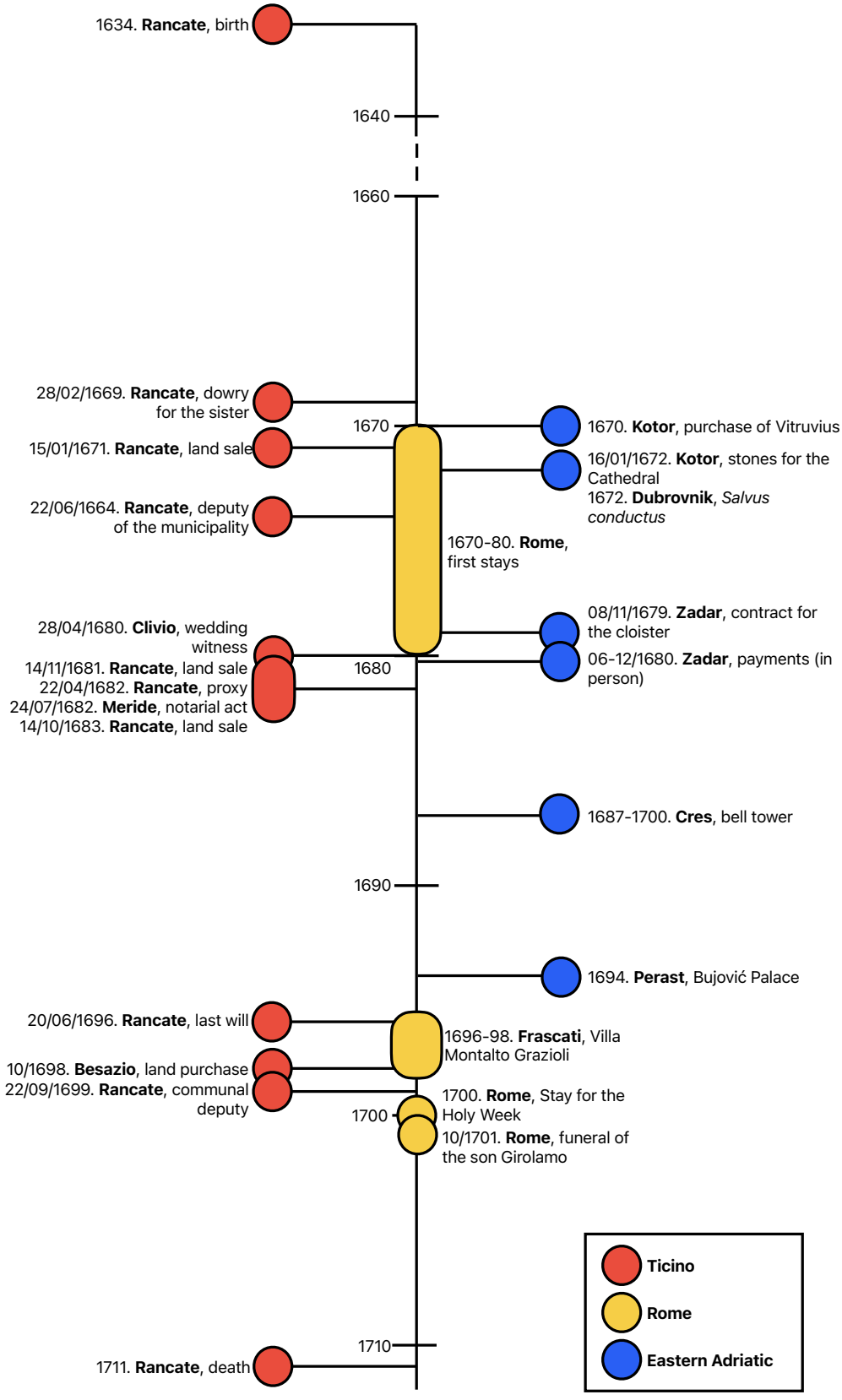
Due to its strategic location, Kotor was a pivotal marketplace for the book trade during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It served as a nexus between the Venetian routes along the Eastern Adriatic, facilitating the distribution of books printed in and traded through Venice along the Balkan routes, reaching as far as Belgrade via prominent monasteries such as Cetinje, Nikolj-Pazar, Goražde, and Mileševa. In these locations, small and short-lived presses printed church books in Cyrillic and Glagolitic types for the internal market. However, no information is available regarding bookshops and booksellers in Kotor during the seventeenth century.[26] Given the discounted price paid by Fontana, it is plausible that he purchased the book from its previous owner, or rather from the heirs of an owner whose assets were sold following his demise.

The family name Fontana suggests a potential link to the renowned dynasty of architects and engineers from Ticino, active across Europe. Members of different branches of the Fontana family worked in Rome, Naples, and some eastern European regions, such as Moravia, Galicia, and Russia, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Indeed, an examination of the extensive genealogical records of the Fontana family branches reveals multiple individuals named Giovanni Battista during the second half of the seventeenth century.[27] Giovanni Battista Fontana of the Novazzano branch is the most prominent and well-documented among them. He appears in archival sources in Ticino and on some building projects in Rome. Nevertheless, other less well-known individuals with the same name, from other villages in Ticino – Cabbio, Muggio, and Mendrisio – also make occasional appearances in the sources.[28]

Giovanni Battista Fontana (1634–1711) was born in Brusata, a hamlet near Novazzano, and died in Rancate. He was the youngest of the three elder brothers of the renowned architect Carlo Fontana.[29] In contrast to Carlo, who had taken up residence in Rome at a young age, Giovanni Battista was a peripatetic architect who alternated between the Pontifical State and his home region. In families with a history of migra-

Table 1.
Chronological table of the known data on Giovanni Battista Fontana and his works (Guarneri 2024)

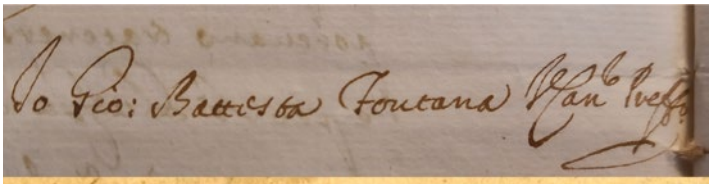
Kronološka tabla poznatih podataka o Giovanniju Battisti Fontani i njegovim djelima



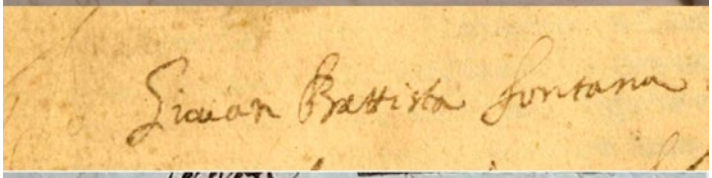
2.
Comparative table of signatures by Giovanni Battista Fontana (Guarneri 2024)

Usporedna tabla potpisa Giovannija Battiste Fontane

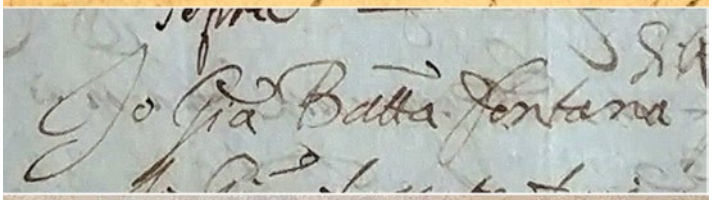
a. 663. Corfu Report from Butrint



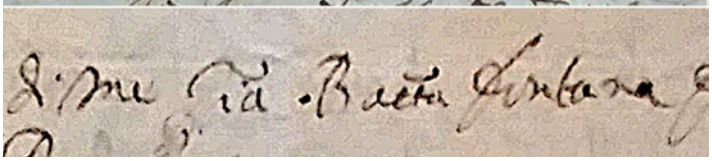
b. 1670. Kotor Vitruvius book copy



c. 1682. Meride Notarial act



d. 1696. Rancate Autograph will



tion, the eldest son was often responsible for maintaining ties to the homeland and legally representing the family and siblings working abroad. As the elder brothers Leonardo and Marsilio died before 1659 and the younger brother Carlo relocated to Rome, Giovanni Battista was compelled to assume the role of family caretaker and was unable to settle permanently in Rome. A dozen notarial acts and other documents confirm his presence in Ticino in 1669, 1671, 1674, 1680, 1681, 1683, 1691, 1696, 1698, and 1699.[30] The aforementioned primary sources from Rome attest to his presence in the Pontifical State during the 1670s, from 1696 to 1698, and again in 1700–1701 (Table 1). The most significant architectural project attributed to Giovanni Battista in Rome is the renovation of the Villa Montalto Grazioli in Frascati, where he allegedly supervised the construction site.[31] His son, Girolamo, is also known to have worked in Frascati, contributing to the design of the façade of the local cathedral.[32]

The analysis of Giovanni Battista Fontana's handwritten samples provides some insight into the identification of this individual. In particular, a comparison between the handwritten note in the Vitruvius copy at the Research Library in Zadar and the archival documents preserved in the State Archive in Ticino may establish whether Carlo Fontana's brother was the same Giovanni Battista who purchased the book in Kotor. In addition to the note of ownership in Vitruvius, dated 1670, his signature appears in a 1682 notarial act and his autograph will of 1696.[33]

The documents in question exhibit a close but not identical handwriting style, thereby necessitating a meticulous analysis (Fig. 2). The signatures in the Ticino acts of 1682 and 1696 (Fig. 2.c-d) are almost identical, whereas the name written on the last page of Vitruvius displays slight variances (Fig. 2.b). Firstly, the form of the name differs: in the notarial acts, the name is abbreviated as *Gio. Batta*, whereas the purchaser of Vitruvius wrote his name in full, *Giovan Battista*. Secondly, although there are notable differences in the capitals "G" and "B", the capitals "I" in "Io" and "F" in "Fontana", as well as other, smaller letters such as "a", "n", and "t", exhibit close similarities.

When comparing these handwriting samples, two key factors must be considered. Firstly, the names in the notarial act and last will are official signatures, written

3.
Topographical view of the Butrint Bay, 1663 (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci dei rettori, Corfù, folder 30)

Topografski prikaz Butrintskog zaljeva, 1663.

before a notary, while the name in the Vitruvius copy is not. This could explain the use of the abbreviated versus the full name. Secondly, the age of the samples must be taken into account: they span different stages of Giovanni Battista's life. In 1682, when he signed the notarial act, he was 48 years old, while in 1696, when he wrote the will, he was 62. The third sample, the note of ownership in the Vitruvius copy of 1670, may have been written when he was 36. Such a long time span makes it possible that his handwriting evolved due to age or other factors, as is documented in other cases, such as Andrea Palladio's handwriting, which underwent a sudden change in 1550, particularly in the way he wrote the letter "e".[34]

A fourth handwriting sample comes from the Venice State Archives, which preserves a drawing of the Butrint Bay (Fig. 3), Albania, with a report signed by Giovanni Battista Fontana and dated Corfu, September 14, 1663.[35] Although the geographical and temporal framework is consistent with the purchase of Vitruvius in Kotor in 1670, the signature style and the half-abbreviated form *Gio: Battista* differ from the other known documents (Fig. 2.a). The title *V.e Canc.to Pref.to* following the signature indicates that Fontana held a position in the Venetian administration of Corfu, possibly as a state clerk or chancellor, as other documents in the folder corroborate.[36]

The Venetian documents are related to an espionage mission during the Candian War and operations in Dalmatia and Albania.[37] The Venetian governor of Corfu, Nicolò Michiel, sent Fontana to Butrint to inspect a triangular Ottoman fortress under construction,[38] today known as the Venetian Fortress.[39] Fontana estimated the height of the wall to be between one and a half and two *passi* (2,61-3,48 metres)[40] and noted that the enemy was beginning the process of *incamisar il suo forte*. The use of such technical language and the height estimation suggest familiarity with military architecture and surveying practice, skills typically not possessed by a clerk. Hence, it is likely that Fontana took with him an unknown surveyor, who estimated measures, produced the drawings, and contributed to writing the report.

Upon closer examination, the handwriting styles of the note in the Vitruvius copy and the archival documents in Ticino appear consistent, while the documents from

Venice related to the Butrint expedition are not. In particular, the handwriting style and the professional profile of the Giovanni Battista Fontana serving the Venetian Republic in Corfu do not match those of the Ticino architect, suggesting the existence of another individual with the same name. Based on the consistent documents alone, the following pages will review both old and new sources pertaining to Giovanni Battista Fontana in the Eastern Adriatic, Rome, and Ticino, to determine whether the dates of these various works align with the known life events of Carlo Fontana's brother.

3. Kotor

It is certain that Giovanni Battista Fontana was in Kotor in 1670, where he purchased the copy of Vitruvius that is now in Zadar. This raises the question of why an itinerant architect from Ticino, who lived between his homeland and Rome, would have come to Kotor. The most plausible explanation, as proposed by Borić and Gudelj,[41] is the 1667 earthquake, which had a significant impact on the Dubrovnik region and also affected Kotor. As in Dubrovnik, the widespread destruction caused by the earthquake created a demand for professionals at various levels in the building trade.[42] It is therefore reasonable to assume that an itinerant architect such as Giovanni Battista Fontana might have arrived in the area in search of work. Similarly, it is also plausible that Vitruvius's book reached Kotor by other masters involved in the reconstruction.

In the aftermath of the earthquake that struck on April 6, 1667, the Venetian government took prompt action to provide assistance to the affected towns in southern Dalmatia. They dispatched boats laden with food supplies, military personnel, and craftsmen skilled in various trades. The initial reports from Kotor, conveyed to the *Provveditore generale in Dalmazia e Albania* in Zadar, Caterino Cornaro, detailed the collapse of the two public palaces and the clock tower in the civic square, the façade and bell towers of the Cathedral, and approximately half of the houses in the town, as well as significant damage to churches and monasteries, barracks, armouries, and other military structures. Of particular concern to the Venetian authorities were breaches in the city walls caused by the earthquake. In his report to the Venetian authorities on April 12, Cornaro expressed concern that these breaches might invite an easy assault by the Turks.[43] The gravity of the situation prompted Cornaro to take immediate action, departing Zadar for Kotor to personally inspect the damage. In his report to Venice, he wrote:

(…) conduco meco quel maggior numero di muradori et marangoni, che sono stati possibili havere [...] ho anco spedito due vasselli per il carico di calcine con ordine che immediate debban seguirmi.[44]

Cornaro arrived in Kotor on April 20, and by April 22, he was already reporting to Venice about *l'arrivo hiersera al tardi dell'ingegner Moretti*, and that *è giunta pur anco la maggior parte delle maestranze, co i proti, che ho fatto venirvi da Zara, e da Spalato*. He noted that all these men were inspecting buildings throughout the town.[45] Among the craftsmen who came to Kotor, Cornaro mentions *proti* and *marangoni*. In fact, before leaving for Kotor, Cornaro estimated that, besides *biscotto* and *formento*, the local population needed *legname, cioè scorzi, e ferramenta*, because *si doveran fare quartieri di tavole*.[46] In order to construct temporary wooden barracks, services of a skilled craftsman were indispensable, such as the head carpenter Master Niccolò.

To gain insight into the actual reconstruction works undertaken in Kotor after the 1667 earthquake, one can refer to the report submitted to the Venetian Senate

by the *Provveditor estraordinario a Cattaro*, Giacomo Loredan, at the conclusion of his term in 1669. Here, Loredan lists various works carried out on Kotor's city walls, ramparts, and bastions. These interventions appear to correspond with passages in Vitruvius's book marked by a reader. In several instances, Loredan notes that he has ordered the closure of various breaches in the city walls:

Per la caduta della torre Pelegrina in montagna l'ho fatto novamente costruire col serro di due brecchie contigue da una e l'altra parte delle sudetta torre con muro in calzina stabilendoli doppia diffesa alta e bassa. [...]Poco discosto [...], ho stessamente fatto serrar con buona muraglia altra brechia. [...]S'è pure serrata altra brechia alquanto lunga al posto Contarini con facitura di muraglia ganciata.[47]

In Book I of Vitruvius, its owner folded the upper corners of seven consecutive sheets, marking chapters one through five. These chapters discuss the fundamental principles of architecture, including the selection of locations for urban settlements or buildings, and the construction of city walls and towers.[48] In Chapter V, Vitruvius provides detailed guidance on building foundations and masonry techniques suitable for the city walls, as well as the positioning and design of towers and other defensive structures.

The reader of this copy of Vitruvius seems to have devoted particular attention to the description of ancient Roman masonry techniques, as presented in Book II, Chapter VIII. An engraved "X" on the right margin indicates a passage in which Vitruvius warns of a specific issue in stone masonry, when porous stone blocks absorb too much water in mortar, leading to the later weakening of the wall.[49] To circumvent this issue, Vitruvius recommends using harder stones or, if not available, employing the *opus testaceum* method with interlocking external surfaces made of squared red stone blocks and an inner layer of mortar reinforced with ground bricks. In the Kotor region, a renowned reddish limestone was extracted for local purposes and, to some extent, for exportation. In addition to brownish and greyish variants, it constituted the primary local building material in Kotor. However, its porous structure rendered it less durable and unsuitable for sculpture, which is why Korčula stone gradually replaced the local stone in architectural and sculptural elements, although the latter remained in use for the city walls.[50]

Furthermore, the use of brick powder aligns with the established local technique, as evidenced in Dubrovnik, of adding red clay to mortar to confer hydraulic properties.[51] This practice was particularly beneficial in maritime contexts and in constructions that were in direct contact with water, as Loredan notes in his report speaking about the works *dalla parte della fiumara nelle fortificationi esteriori* and towards *la riva marina*. Loredan was aware of the local building techniques, since he mentions that he procured sufficient red clay for future use, especially in the city walls along the marina: *Ho pure fatto seguire buona condotta [...] di terra rossa per le muraglie, perché in caso di bisogno sia pronto così necessario materiale*.[52]

Concerning the Marina Embankment, Loredan elucidates the specifics of both definitive and provisional restoration works. The earthquake caused a major part of the embankment to collapse into the sea, resulting in significant challenges for mooring ships and accessing the main city gate, Porta Marina. To construct a new mole, he ordered to fill the gap created by the earthquake with remnants of the demolished buildings and close it with a new wall. Again, this required the use of mortar with hydraulic properties.[53] In regard to the two breaches in the section of the city walls in question, he was only able to implement a provisional solution by constructing dry stone walls. Nevertheless, he emphasized the necessity for constructing a permanent masonry structure in that location:

Terminata che sia la costrutione dell'accennata toretta Soranzo riesce d'importanza che si dia mano alla ristauratione delle due brechie alla marina sopra il porto serrate di presente con muro a secco, con buona muraglia fondamentata con palificate nel sito proprio che deve essere fabricata.[54]

The reference to *palificata* or wooden piling for foundations, so typical and familiar to a Venetian nobleman like Loredan, also recalls Vitruvius's chapter about harbour structures (V 12). Here the Roman author explains the design of piers and embankments to protect ships, as well as the construction techniques that make it possible to build structures on water. The text provides a comprehensive account of the process of constructing wooden pilings, delineating each step in meticulous detail. It can be observed that the readers of the Zadar Vitruvius have marked this relevant passage with a folded corner, indicating their focus on that specific section (Fig. 4).[55]

Another connection between the building works described in Loredan's report, and the material evidence of use in Vitruvius's book, concerns water cisterns. Loredan wrote:

In castello et alla piazza magna ho fatto rinovar in aggiustata forma le due cisterne rissentitesi notabilmente nel passato terremoto colla crepatura de vasi: opera molto necessaria a quella parte per il commodo dell'acqua.

While Kotor's natural water spring adjacent to the Gordicchio Gate provided a reliable source of water for the city, the cisterns also played a strategic role. As in Venice and many other locations in the Eastern Adriatic, subterranean cisterns with a central well collected, purified, and stored rainwater for the benefit of both citizens and, in particular, military personnel. The owner of this Vitruvius copy was obviously interested in water management, as nearly the entire eighth book shows markings of folded corners. The text also addresses the quality of rainwater, the means of determining whether it is drinkable, and building aqueducts and wells, providing instructions on constructing a water cistern to collect rainwater. Additionally, Durantino's 1535 edition includes an illustration (Fig. 5).

This analysis demonstrates that the topics highlighted in the copy of Vitruvius that belonged to masters Niccolò and Fontana correspond to the knowledge required for the reconstruction of Kotor following the 1667 earthquake, as described by Loredan in his report. A significant number of the technical recommendations expounded by Vitruvius and highlighted by the reader were, in fact, incorporated into the reconstruction of Kotor's city walls and infrastructure. This lends support to the hypothesis that this book copy was in circulation and utilised in Kotor prior to its purchase by Giovanni Battista Fontana in 1670. However, it remains unclear who used this copy in the years 1667–1670, whether it was Master Niccolò or another individual.

No evidence indicates that Giovanni Battista Fontana was engaged in any capacity by the Venetian Republic in Kotor before or after the acquisition of Vitruvius in 1670. An examination of the Venetian Senate records from 1667 to 1671 found no mention of his involvement.[56] However, the documents do indicate the presence of other professionals engaged in repairing and redesigning Kotor's city walls, including the engineer Tomaso Moretti from Brescia, also referenced by Cornaro in 1667.[57] In contrast to Moretti, Fontana did not participate in the reconstruction works promoted by Venice in the period 1667–1671.

Given the lack of evidence indicating that Fontana reached Kotor via Venice or in service of the Venetian government, it is plausible that he originated from Rome. Historical records show that assistance following the 1667 earthquake was provided

QVINTO LVI

Ma ſe per lo inchinare,ouero per lo empito del mare aperto le ordinate rocche non potrāno eſſere cōtenute,allhora da quella terra,ouero dalla crepidine il puluino molto forte ſi debbe fare : & eſſo puluino nella vguale pianura murare manco , che della mezza pte. Lo altro,che e vicino alla ripa:habbia il lato ichinato: e poi ad eſſa acqua, & alli lati al puluino li margini ſi debbono fare quaſi de ſei piedi vguali a quella pianura,laquale e ſcritta di ſopra. Allhora quella ichinatione ſia impita di arena,e fatta eguale con lo margine , e con la pianura del puluino : & poi di ſopra eſſa equalita la Pila molto grande ſi fara:& iui ſia edificata:& quando eſſa ſara fatta, ſia laſciata nō manco de duoi meſi: accio che perfettamēte habbia a ſeccare. Ma allhora il margine, ilquale ſoſtene la arena ſia tagliato di ſotto : coſi la arena dalle onde ſommerſa,fara nel mare la precipitatione della Pila.

a

b

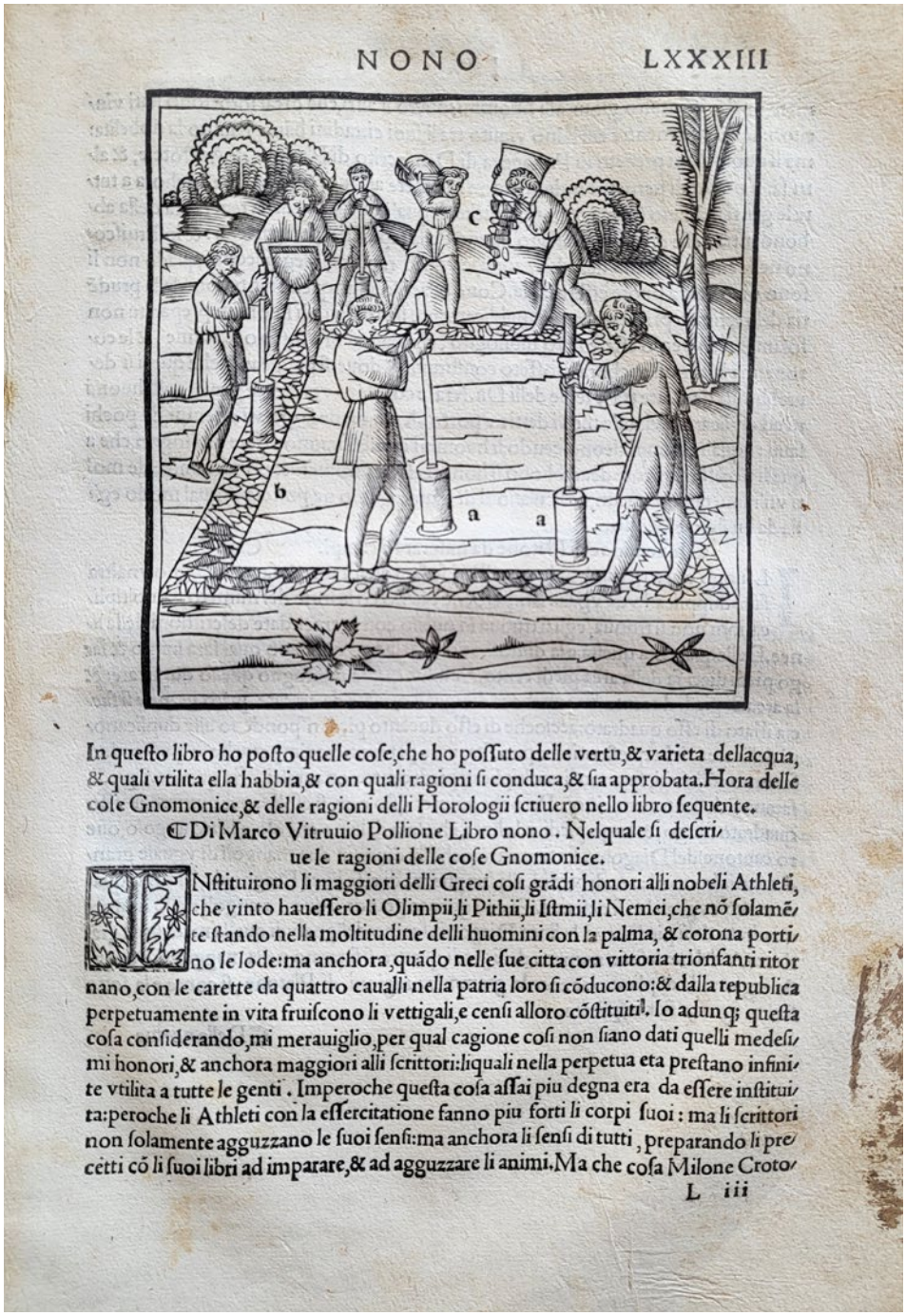
c

E con queſta ragione ogni volta che biſognera,ſi potra fare la vſcita nella acqua. Ma in quelli luoghi doue non naſce la poluere,con queſte ragioni ſi dcuranno fare,che le rocche doppie de tauole reportate luna con laltra,e con le catene colligate in eſſo luogo, ilquale ſera finito,ſieno fatte:e tra le ordinate tauole la creta con li meroni di her/

4.
Vitruvius, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535, V 12, sheet LVIr (© University of Zadar Research Library, photo: M. Zornija)

Vitruvije, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535., V 12, f. LVIr

not only by Venice but also by the Pontifical State. In light of the long-standing connection between Dubrovnik and Ancona,[58] members of some prominent Ragusan families, such as the Gučetić and the Sorkočević, sought refuge in Ancona following the devastation, as Cornaro observed.[59] Moreover, he noticed that Ragusan nobility held considerable sums of money in financial institutions within the Pontifical State. These funds were utilized for the procurement of materials and labourers for the reconstruction efforts. In a letter dated May 9, he wrote:


NONO LXXXIII

In questo libro ho posto quelle cose,che ho possuto delle vertu,& varieta dellacqua, & quali vtilita ella habbia,& con quali ragioni si conduca,& sia approbata.Hora delle cole Gnomonice,& delle ragioni delli Horologii scriuero nello libro sequente.

¶ Di Marco Vitruuio Pollione Libro nono. Nelquale si descriue le ragioni delle cose Gnomonice.

INstituirono li maggiori delli Greci cosi grādi honori alli nobeli Athleti, che vinto haueſſero li Olimpii,li Pithii,li Istmii,li Nemei,che nō solamēte stando nella moltitudine delli huomini con la palma, & corona portino le lode:ma anchora,quādo nelle sue citta con vittoria trionfanti ritornano,con le carette da quattro caualli nella patria loro si cōducono:& dalla republica perpetuamente in vita fruiscono li vettigali,e censi alloro cōstituiti. Io adunq; questa cosa considerando,mi merauiglio,per qual cagione cosi non siano dati quelli medesimi honori,& anchora maggiori alli scrittori:liquali nella perpetua eta prestano infinite vtilita a tutte le genti. Imperoche questa cosa assai piu degna era da essere instituita:peroche li Athleti con la essercitatione fanno piu forti li corpi suoi: ma li scrittori non solamente agguzzano le suoi sensi:ma anchora li sensi di tutti, preparando li precetti cō li suoi libri ad imparare,& ad agguzzare li animi.Ma che cosa Milone Croto/

L iii

5.
Vitruvius, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535, VIII 6, sheet LXXXIIIr (© University of Zadar Research Library, photo: M. Zornija)

Vitruvije, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535., VIII 6, f. LXXXIIIr

A Fiume pensan mandar vassello, per trasportarli legname, e d'Ancona ha quel governatore eshibito maistranze, operarij e tutto quel più che fino che capitino ordini positivi da Roma, li sij concesso [...] poter per le presenti occorrenze valersene.[60]

In a subsequent communication dated May 22, he reiterated the same point:

In Ancona hanno scritto per ingegnieri che colà si conducono, per riportar la città e dar la norma di quello dovrà farsi, e solo il nettar le strade e levar le roine porterà spesa e tempo infinito.[61]

The expression *dar la norma*, to give a regulation, implies that besides workforce, qualified architects and engineers were summoned in Ancona to sail to Dubrovnik and plan the future reconstruction of the city.

This passage calls to mind the Roman engineer Giulio Cerruti, who initially journeyed to Dubrovnik with the objective of devising a new urban design for the city. Subsequently, a number of architects from the Italian peninsula made significant contributions to the reconstruction of Dubrovnik. This network of "architecture and diplomacy", as Gudelj has aptly described it, was centred around San Girolamo degli Illirici in Rome. It also involved the Ragusan abbot Stefano Gradi (Stjepan Gradić), librarian at the Vatican, the architect Pier Andrea Bufalini, who was responsible for the new Cathedral project in Dubrovnik, and even Carlo Fontana, who was directly consulted. His collaborator, Tomaso Maria Napoli, later worked for nine years in Dubrovnik.[62] It seems reasonable to suggest that, as part of his brother's connections, Giovanni Battista Fontana could have probably reached Dubrovnik via Ancona and then moved to Kotor in search of profitable work.

Even though Fontana may have purchased his copy of Vitruvius in 1670 in Kotor, the notarial acts signed by him in Ticino indicate that he only temporarily stayed there. On February 28, 1669, he arranged a dowry for his sister Isabella, while on January 15, 1671, he sold a plot of land on behalf of his mother and brothers, Carlo and Giovanni Pietro (Table 1).[63] It appears that Fontana, like numerous other peripatetic professionals from Ticino, followed a cyclical pattern of activity: working abroad during the building season from spring to autumn, and returning home during the winter to manage family affairs.

Additional archival evidence indicates that Fontana was indeed successful in securing employment in Kotor after purchasing Vitruvius. The building accounts of St Tryphon's Cathedral record his name on January 16, 1672 (1671 *more veneto*): *per tre zornade al protto Fontana [...] intorno le piere servirono per la base della fabrica*. As it can be inferred from the previous entries, Fontana was preparing the stone blocks for the construction of the new façade and bell towers of the Cathedral. On March 22, 1670, stones for the new façade were ordered in Korčula at the price of fifty sequins, and on October 2, a certain Tripković from Korčula delivered at Kotor port ninety-six blocks, which porters took to the construction site. By January 3, 1672 (1671 *more veneto*), the area for the new bell towers had been cleared, and on January 20, some peasants brought other stones for the foundations.[64]

From a stylistic perspective, the new façade and bell towers of St Tryphon's Cathedral exhibit characteristics that can be linked to the classical language of architecture endorsed by Vitruvius, as well as Renaissance and Baroque architecture, particularly in Rome (Fig. 6). Firstly, the bell towers display rustic quoin stone blocks with a thin, flat strip along the outer edge and rounded projecting surfaces. Similar rustications are also visible on the pilasters and window arches. While the stone originated from Korčula, these features are not typical of Korčula's stonemasons. Conversely, other elements, such as the decoration of balustrades and friezes, broken pediments on the windows, and the upper cornices adorned with shells and small heads, are representative of the local style. The rustication of building corners is a feature that can be observed in very few cases of Renaissance palaces and villas in Dubrovnik.[65] Indeed, this element is quite rare in the architectural heritage of southern Dalmatia and the Kotor Bay. This motif can be traced back to Renaissance Rome, particularly in palaces from the early sixteenth century designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.[66] It later spread to other regions and became a hallmark of Roman architecture, continuing throughout the Baroque period.

Secondly, the upper portion of the right bell tower exhibits a remarkable array of classical architectural elements that are unparalleled in the rest of the cathedral or

6.
Façade of St Tryphon's Cathedral, Kotor (photo: author)

Zapadno pročelje katedrale Sv. Tripuna, Kotor

7.
Right belfry of St Tryphon's Cathedral, Kotor (photo: author)

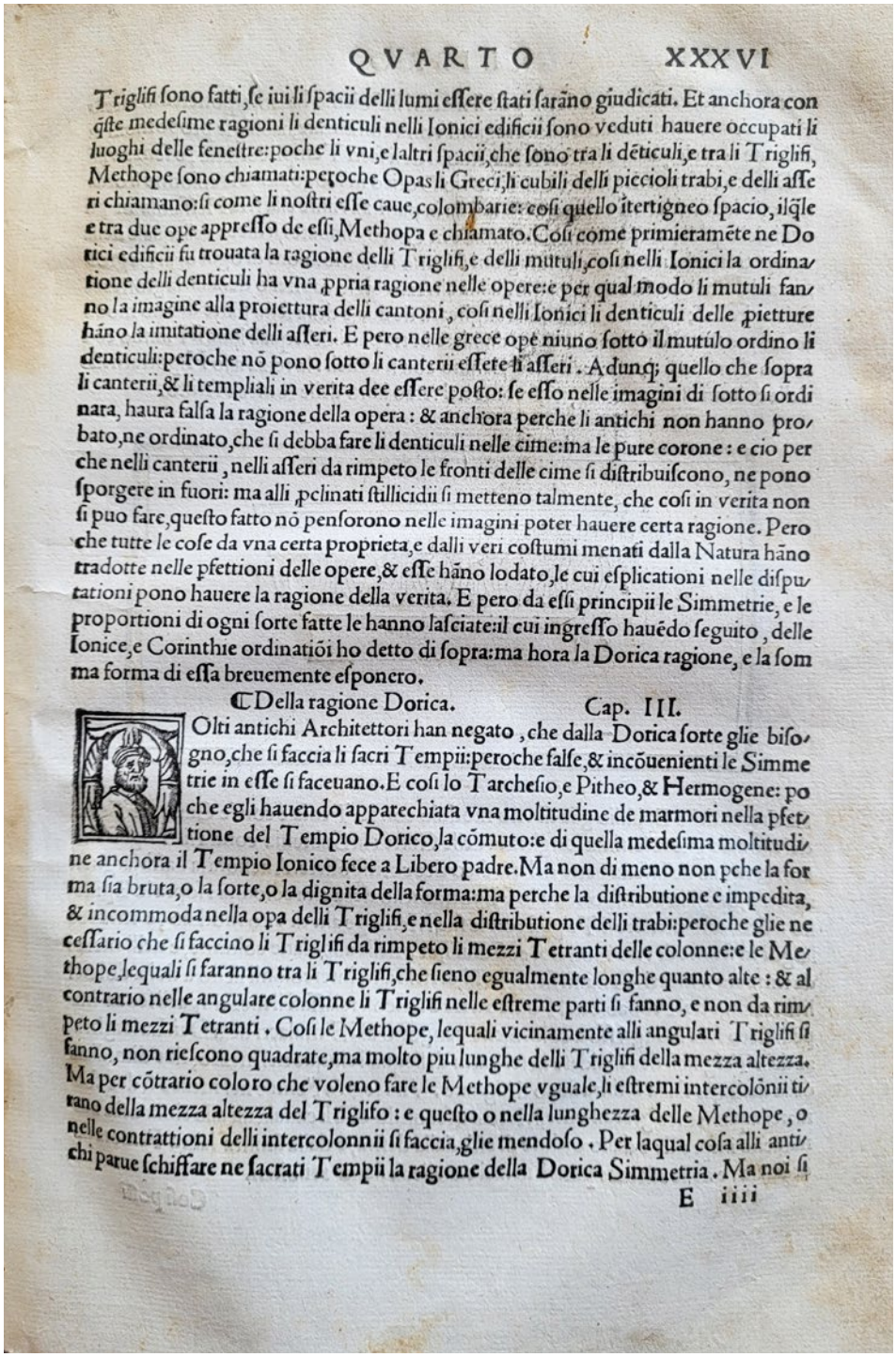
Desni zvonik katedrale Sv. Tripuna, Kotor

the city (Fig. 7). The belfry opens on all four sides with arches, supported by pilasters and framed by an architectural order of Doric half-columns bearing the entablature. The composition is stylistically correct, with well-proportioned elements. The Doric half-columns stand on pedestals, and the shafts show entasis. The frieze displays a sequence of triglyphs and metopes. The pedestals are aligned with a balustrade that features classical balusters, differing from those observed in the lower windows and the terrace above the main entrance. Nevertheless, despite the strong classical design, some execution flaws are noticeable. For example, the triglyphs have a series of thin grooves in lieu of the customary two, and the entablature does not project above the capitals of the half-columns. Instead, it slightly projects on the external side of the half-column, which results in the restriction of the metope and the bending of the subsequent triglyph.

These are not merely minor imperfections; the design suggests that this classical composition was created by someone well-versed in the classical language of architecture, likely the same person who owned that copy of Vitruvius's *De architectura* that circulated in Kotor around 1670. The copy signed by Fontana displays markings of a folded corner at the very beginning of the chapter *Della ragione dorica* (IV 3), wherein Vitruvius presents the Doric order with illustrations (Fig. 8). Another folded corner appears in the middle of the chapter on the various types of temples (III 2), precisely at the point explaining column entasis and narrowing towards the top. Given the absence of any evidence suggesting that another architect with comparable knowledge of classical architecture was active in Kotor at the time, the attribution of the belfry design to Giovanni Battista Fontana appears to be well-founded. However, considering the implementation of his design, it seems likely that he did not exercise direct control over the construction process.

8.
Vitruvius, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535, IV 3, sheet XXXVIr (© University of Zadar Research Library, photo: M. Zornija)

Vitruvije, *Di architettura*, In Vinegia: per Nicolo de Aristotele detto Zoppino, 1535., IV 3, f. XXXVIr



QVARTO XXXVI

Triglifi ſono fatti, ſe iui li ſpacii delli lumi eſſere ſtati ſarãno giudicati. Et anchora con ąſte medeſime ragioni li denticuli nelli Ionici edificii ſono veduti hauere occupati li luoghi delle fenettre: poche li vni, e laltri ſpacii, che ſono tra li dẽticuli, e tra li Triglifi, Methope ſono chiamati: peroche Opas li Greci, li cubili delli piccioli trabi, e delli aſſe ri chiamano: ſi come li noſtri eſſe caue, colombarie: coſi quello itertigneo ſpacio, ilq̃le e tra due ope appreſſo de eſſi, Methopa e chiamato. Coſi come primieramẽte ne Do tici edificii fu trouata la ragione delli Triglifi, e delli mutuli, coſi nelli Ionici la ordina tione delli denticuli ha vna ppria ragione nelle opere: e per qual modo li mutuli fan no la imagine alla proiettura delli cantoni, coſi nelli Ionici li denticuli delle pietture hãno la imitatione delli aſſeri. E pero nelle grece opẽ niuno ſotto il mutulo ordino li denticuli: peroche nõ pono ſotto li canterii eſſere li aſſeri. Adunq; quello che ſopra li canterii, & li templiali in verita dee eſſere poſto: ſe eſſo nelle imagini di ſotto ſi ordi nara, haura falſa la ragione della opera: & anchora perche li antichi non hanno pro bato, ne ordinato, che ſi debba fare li denticuli nelle cime: ma le pure corone: e cio per che nelli canterii, nelli aſſeri da rimpeto le fronti delle cime ſi diſtribuiſcono, ne pono ſporgere in fuori: ma alli ꝓclinati ſtillicidii ſi metteno talmente, che coſi in verita non ſi puo fare, queſto fatto nõ penſorono nelle imagini poter hauere certa ragione. Pero che tutte le coſe da vna certa proprieta, e dalli veri coſtumi menati dalla Natura hãno tradotte nelle pfettioni delle opere, & eſſe hãno lodato, le cui eſplicationi nelle diſpu tationi pono hauere la ragione della verita. E pero da eſſi principii le Simmetrie, e le proportioni di ogni ſorte fatte le hanno laſciate: il cui ingreſſo hauẽdo ſeguito, delle Ionice, e Corinthie ordinatiõi ho detto di ſopra: ma hora la Dorica ragione, e la ſom ma forma di eſſa breuemente eſponero.

¶ Della ragione Dorica. Cap. III.

Olti antichi Architettori han negato, che dalla Dorica ſorte glie biſo gno, che ſi faccia li ſacri Tempii: peroche falſe, & incõuenienti le Simme trie in eſſe ſi faceuano. E coſi lo Tarcheſio, e Pitheo, & Hermogene: po che egli hauendo apparechiata vna moltitudine de marmori nella pfet tione del Tempio Dorico, la cõmuto: e di quella medeſima moltitudi ne anchora il Tempio Ionico fece a Libero padre. Ma non di meno non pche la for ma ſia bruta, o la ſorte, o la dignita della forma: ma perche la diſtributione e impedita, & incommoda nella opa delli Triglifi, e nella diſtributione delli trabi: peroche glie ne ceſſario che ſi faccino li Triglifi da rimpeto li mezzi Tetranti delle colonne: e le Me thope, lequali ſi faranno tra li Triglifi, che ſieno egualmente longhe quanto alte: & al contrario nelle angulare colonne li Triglifi nelle eſtreme parti ſi fanno, e non da rim peto li mezzi Tetranti. Coſi le Methope, lequali vicinamente alli angulari Triglifi ſi fanno, non rieſcono quadrate, ma molto piu lunghe delli Triglifi della mezza altezza. Ma per cõtrario coloro che voleno fare le Methope vguale, li eſtremi intercolõnii ti rano della mezza altezza del Triglifo: e queſto o nella lunghezza delle Methope, o nelle contrattioni delli intercolonnii ſi faccia, glie mendoſo. Per laqual coſa alli anti chi parue ſchiffare ne ſacrati Tempii la ragione della Dorica Simmetria. Ma noi ſi

E iiii

After January 1672, Fontana's name disappears from the building accounts of the Kotor Cathedral. In the same year, he submitted an application for a *salvum conductum* in the neighbouring Republic of Ragusa, and the matter was discussed in the Minor Council:

P.[rim]a pars e.[st] de concedendo salvus conductus ad sex menses Jo.[hann]is Batt. [ist]ae Fontanae prout supplicatus est ab eo.[67]

The source does not specify the reason for the request. Given the nature of the *salvum conductum* and the six-month term, it is plausible that it was for a passage or brief stay in the territory of the Ragusan Republic, *en route* from Kotor to Rome via Ancona. Scholars have located Fontana's first short stays in Rome during the 1670s.[68] Rather than for building works, which the sources do not corroborate, these could have been brief stops along the way between Ticino and the Eastern Adriatic.

In the following years, construction works on the exterior of St Tryphon's Cathedral continued. The building accounts indicate that the middle cornice and balusters for the terrace were produced by Korčula stonemasons around 1674–1676,[69] indicating that the construction of the bell towers likely took place at a later date. According to the documents that were partially published by Ivo Stjepčević in 1938, Fontana did not receive any additional payments from St Tryphon's Cathedral. However, further research will only be able to confirm this assumption once the Kotor diocesan archive becomes accessible. Based on the currently available evidence, it appears that Fontana alternated periods of work in Kotor with periods spent at home in Rancate. His journey route included Dubrovnik, Ancona, and Rome.

4. Zadar

After 1672, there is a dearth of documented evidence attesting to the presence of Giovanni Battista Fontana in the Eastern Adriatic. Available sources indicate that he resided in Ticino in 1674, acting as deputy for the municipality of Rancate.[70] Scholars have established that he played a more prominent role in Roman construction activities, particularly at the Villa Montalto Grazioli near Frascati, now much altered during the extensive renovation following its acquisition by the Odescalchi family in 1783.[71] However, a recently discovered archival source provides evidence that between 1679 and 1680, Fontana was once again in the Eastern Adriatic, working on the cloister of the Franciscan convent in Zadar.

On November 8, 1679, Fontana entered into a contractual agreement with Fra' Francesco da Zara, the Prior of the Franciscan Convent in Zadar, for the restoration of the cloister (Appendix). The following day, Fontana received a deposit of 500 lire from Giuseppe Canova, acting on behalf of the *Sindaco Apostolico* Orazio Lantana. Bernardino di Veglia, who served as the *Vicario*, was also present at the agreement alongside Fontana and Francesco da Zara.[72] While all three parties used a formula indicating that they signed personally – *mano propria Zambatta fontana confermo quanto di sopra* – the handwriting remains consistent throughout the document. This suggests that the document is not the original signed by the parties, but one of the two copies produced for them, as explicitly stated in the contract. Therefore, comparing the handwriting in this document with Fontana's other signatures is not a fruitful avenue of inquiry.

The *verso* of the contract records the following payments to Fontana during the subsequent year 1680: April 5, July 21 and 31, October 12 and 26, November 6, and December 16.[73] Upon closer examination, the first of these dates seems inconsistent with the documents that record Fontana's presence in Ticino: while he was receiving remuneration for the cloister in Zadar on April 5, he was also present at a wedding in Clivio, in the Italian part of Ticino, acting as a witness on April 28.[74] However, a closer look at the payment records provides key information that clarifies the issue. Unlike other payments, which were recorded using the simple formula *ho ricevuto a buon conto lire [...]*, the April 5 payment employs a more complex statement:

Et di più ho riceputo a conto suddetto reali trenta per mano di fra' Pietro di Curzola Laicho, li quali mi furono mandati sotto li cinque Aprile 1680 val ___ £ 300[75]

This indicates that Fontana did not personally receive the payment; instead, Pietro di Curzola collected the money on his behalf and delivered it to him on April 5. This detail supports the conclusion that Fontana was absent from Zadar on that date, probably in Ticino, and returned in the summer of 1680 to oversee the construction works, drawing the remaining payments in person.

Another important detail for reconstructing Fontana's activities in the Eastern Adriatic is the way in which the contract identifies him: *Signor Zambattista Fontana Romano habitante a Curzola*.[76] On the one hand, the word *Romano* means that this master, originally from Ticino, presented himself as Roman rather than Lombard or Swiss, indicating either that he reached the Eastern Adriatic via Rome or that he was emphasizing his Roman connections. This is another element that supports the identification of Giovanni Battista Fontana as a member of the Fontana family active in Rome. On the other hand, this line reveals that the base of his activity in the Eastern Adriatic was the island of Korčula. It is worth noting that the stones used in the reconstruction of the Kotor Cathedral in 1671–1672, in which Fontana was involved, also came from Korčula. Similarly, the contract for the Franciscan cloister specifies that *pietra Curzolana* was to be employed *per dette opere*.

Although Korčula stone was a widely traded commodity in the middle and lower Adriatic basin,[77] the stone supply in Zadar traditionally relied on closer quarries on the mainland and the Kornati Islands.[78] It is unclear whether Fontana usually engaged in trade or merely carved the Korčula stone; however, it is evident that he found a favourable working environment in the region. He established a temporary residence in Korčula and presumably managed his operations in the Eastern Adriatic from there. The contract of 1679 stipulates that the stone for the cloister was sourced from a quarry in Korčula owned by the convent's prior, Fra' Francesco da Zara. The convent was responsible for covering the costs of transporting the stone from the quarry to the seashore, where Fontana's team of stonecutters cut and dressed the stone before shipping it to Zadar. The convent was also in charge of all other building materials, such as *Calcina, Sabbia, terra rossa, cogoli, over giarina, quadri per il Salizzo, legname, tavole, chiodi, chiavi, et altri apprestamenti, li quali faranno di bisogno per detta fabrica*, and their delivery to the cloister.[79] Fontana, on his part, was only responsible for completing the work inside the cloister with the building materials provided by the convent.

According to the contract, Fontana's tasks included replacing deteriorated elements and rebuilding defective parts. First, he was to replace three columns, along with their bases and capitals, in the wing adjacent to the church and replace the doors leading into the church in the same spans. Second, he was tasked with removing the existing gutter system around the cloister and installing a new, similar one, *con bon construttione acciò porti l'acqua da tutte quattro le parti, senza che possi penetrar abbasso l'acqua come fa al presente, con grandissimo danno*. Third, he had to remove the floor of the terrace above the vaults and repave it with the right inclination to direct rainwater *secondo l'arte e professione commanda*. Finally, he was to replace the *listone* between the columns, as well as plaster and repair all the broken parts in the vaults, columns, capitals, and bases.[80]

The contract further stipulated that the stone blocks used in the restoration had to be perfectly cut and joined, *in modo che l'acqua cadente sopra il detto Salizzo, non possa penetrare alli volti, che vi sono sotto né restino sogetti all'imperfettione, che di presente patiscono*. The cloister vaults had clearly suffered from water infiltration, which likely necessitated Fontana's intervention. The cloister was originally designed by Girolamo Cataneo from Ancona in 1536 and completed by Ivan Stijić and Ivan Trifunić in 1556. It is worth noting that the building contract signed by Cataneo specified the use of local stone from Zapuntel on Molat Island.[81] Therefore, the insistence on wa-

9.
Cloister of the Franciscan Convent, Zadar (photo: author)

Klaustar franjevačkog samostana, Zadar

terproof masonry work and the switch to higher-quality stone from Korčula clearly constituted technical measures to improve the building and mend previous defects.

The contract also required that the elements produced by Fontana and assembled in the building had to be *di simil fattura* as the previous ones. It was a mimetic intervention, in which Fontana's task simply consisted of substituting deteriorated stone elements with identical new ones. As a result, it is practically impossible to discern his intervention in the cloister of today's Franciscan Convent in Zadar. All the columns along the north-eastern side, adjacent to the church, look exactly the same (Fig. 9), as do the other elements substituted by Fontana.

It is important to note that the convent underwent significant renovations and additions during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as restoration works following World War II and further reconstructions in the latter half of the twentieth century.[82] This implies that Fontana's work in the cloister may have been destroyed or significantly altered over the last two centuries. In any case, although his intervention is today barely perceptible, the construction works in the Franciscan Cloister in Zadar represent a hitherto unknown phase in the activity of Giovanni Battista Fontana in the Eastern Adriatic.

5. Cres

In the early 1680s, Fontana had to spend more time in Ticino to manage family matters, but by the end of the decade, he was back to work in the Eastern Adriatic (Table 1). A plaque bearing an inscription credits him with the design of the bell tower adjacent to the Franciscan convent in the town of Cres, on the island of the same name in the Kvarner Archipelago (Fig. 10). In 1687, the belfry was in a state of ruin and at risk of collapse, posing a danger to the church. This is recorded in a document preserved in the convent archive, which also mentions that *proto* Giovan-

10.
Bell Tower of the Franciscan Convent, Cres (photo: author)

Zvonik franjevačkog samostana, Cres

ni Battista Fontana proposed to reconstruct the tower according to his own design.[83] The construction of the belfry spanned a considerable length of time, from 1687 to 1700.[84] Although the upper octagonal lantern with the small dome was added in 1754 and has undergone modern restoration, the bell tower up to the belfry still corresponds to Fontana's original design.

This commission for the Franciscan friars recalls Fontana's work in Zadar, while the architectural style of the Cres bell tower echoes elements of the façade of St Tryphon Cathedral in Kotor. Archival documents record that Fontana was working on the nearby island of Krk in 1687 when the Franciscans summoned him to Cres for a consultation on the bell tower. This situation is reminiscent of the building contract for the Zadar cloister, where a certain *fra' Bernardino da Veglia Vicario* acted as witness. He could have been the connection facilitating Fontana's new commissions from the Franciscan order in the Eastern Adriatic.

Notably, the Cres bell tower features rusticated quoin stone blocks similar to those on the two bell towers of the Kotor Cathedral. However, the ashlars in Cres have sharp edges and flat surfaces, in contrast to the gently curved profile of the same elements in Kotor, and they are made of local stone rather than stone from Korčula. In any case, this fundamental element of Roman Renaissance and Baroque architecture, which is strikingly absent from the Eastern Adriatic, represents a distinctive feature of Fontana's architectural language. The double windows of the belfry also feature rusticated pilasters and arches, although these differ somewhat from the single windows on the bell towers of the Kotor Cathedral. The capitals are entirely distinct, and the sculpted heads, serving as keystones, represent a further innovation in Fontana's repertoire, differing from the corbels found on the single windows of the bell towers in Kotor.

The increasingly complex profile of the cornices divides the bell tower shaft into different storeys. The lower cornice is a simple *torus*, while the second level features a *cyma recta*. At the third level, a capital-like moulding with echinus and abacus is observed. Finally, two complete entablatures with a tripartite architrave, a plain frieze, and a cornice with a markedly protruding fascia on block modillions encase the belfry. Despite the reduction in decorative elements, this composition is canonical for the Corinthian entablature, again evoking Fontana's copy of Vitruvius. However, it should be noted that Vitruvius only explains Ionic and Doric entablatures. Similar simplified Corinthian entablatures appear in other architectural treatises, such as those by Serlio and Palladio, suggesting that Fontana may have consulted additional sources in designing these architectural elements.

6. Perast

The final evidence of Giovanni Battista Fontana's presence in the Eastern Adriatic emerges in the following decade in the Kotor Bay, where his activity began more than thirty years earlier with the purchase of Vitruvius. The Bujović Palace in Perast (Fig. 11) bears three inscriptions on different façades, providing a detailed account of the construction process, the completion in 1694, and the names of the patrons and the designer.

Southern, main façade:
XPV.S NO BISCVM. STATE
VINCENTII ET IOANNIS BVIOVICH
FRATRVM MVLTIS. ACVALIDIS NEXI-
BVS IVNCVSSUAE ET AMICORVM COM-
MODITATI AEDIFICAVIT AMOR
ANNO DO. MDC.XCIIII.

Eastern façade:
CASTRO NOVO A. SERENISS. VENETORVM
REP. EXPVGNATO FRATRES VNANIMES HANC
DOMVM AEDIFICARE CAEPERVNT IN TERTIMONIVM
QVAE FIDELITATIS ERGA PRINCIPEM AMORIS IN PAT-
RIAM MONVMENTO POSTERIS RELICTO
NVLLVM SINE CVRA ET LABORE
PRAECLARVM FIERI OPVS.

Western façade:
DOMVS EX CELSO DIV. IN SUO
SPLENDORE DVRATVRA SPRITVM
DOMESTICORVM SINCERVM PROVI-
DVM MODICA NON SPERNENTEM
HUMILEMQVE REQVIRIT
IOAN. BAP. FONTA P.M. OPVS.[85]

However, the attribution of the Bujović Palace to Giovanni Battista Fontana has been the subject of debate, as the inscription merely states *Ioan. Bap. Fonta*. Based on this, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and Kruno Prijatelj interpreted the name as "Gio-

11.
Bujović Palace, Perast
(photo: author)

Palača Bujović, Perast

vanni Battista Fonta," assuming that the architect was Venetian, although no Venetian records support this claim.[86] Nevertheless, later scholarship accepted this interpretation, reiterating the name Giovanni Battista Fonta or Fonte in articles and even in current entries in biographical dictionaries.[87] In the most recent contributions on the palaces of Kotor Bay, this interpretation has been corrected to "Fontana". Finally, Borić and Gudelj have proposed that this designer could be the same architect Giovanni Battista Fontana who purchased a copy of Vitruvius in Kotor in 1670.[88]

In addition to the designer's name, the series of three inscriptions commemorates the patrons and their achievements. The distribution of the inscriptions follows a precise programme, with each façade dedicated to a specific theme. The inscription on the southern, main façade mentions the brothers Vicko and Ivan Bujović. The eastern side, facing the town centre, celebrates the brothers' military successes, while the western side, facing the outskirts, names the designer. In order to comprehend the rationale behind the arrangement of the inscriptions, it is essential to consider how the town's urban layout has evolved over the past two centuries. The Bujović Palace is situated at the westernmost edge of the town. Unlike other towns with city walls, Perast lacked a clear demarcation between urban and rural areas, so the Bujović Palace stood at the point where the town ended and the road to Risan began.

As is evident from the Austrian cadastral map (Fig. 12), the seafront road, constructed in 1912, did not exist at the time, and the Bujović Palace directly faced the sea. The main thoroughfare traversing the municipality from west to east ran behind the first row of buildings, creating a distinctive layout seen in Bujović and other

12.
Austrian Cadastral Map, Perast (source: arcanum.org)

Austrijska katastarska karta, Perast

palaces in Perast. In order to accommodate this public street, a covered passageway opens at the northwestern corner of the palace, leading to a courtyard. In addition to the rear façade of the Bujović Palace, which features a land entrance, other properties owned by the Bujović family surround this space, imparting a semi-private character to this public area. As a result of the typical expansion of the properties of Perast noble families beyond the public street, it became a common practice to construct bridge passages connecting the waterfront palaces with the second row of buildings. The Austrian cadastral map and the presence of jagged stone blocks on the northeastern corner indicate that a bridge once connected the Bujović Palace with the Bujović houses at the back, even before the construction of the modern addition with the staircase.

This layout suggests that the inscriptions on the western and eastern façades were clearly visible to the citizens of Perast walking along the main public street, while the names of the patrons and the purpose of the building for the convenience of friends, inscribed on the southern, main façade, could only be seen from the sea. The inscription's placement on the main façade above the sea entrance and its praise of the Bujović brothers' hospitality indicate that it was intended for guests approaching the palace by boat.

A Russian nobleman's travelogue offers an illustrative account of this custom. In 1697, Tsar Peter the Great sent Pyotr Andreyevich Tolstoy to Venice to study Venetian shipbuilding techniques and maritime defence strategies against pirate attacks and Ottoman naval forces. Over the next three years, Tolstoy undertook extensive travels throughout the Adriatic and Italy, visiting the Bay of Kotor in 1698, just a few years after the construction of the Bujović Palace. On June 11, he met Vicko Bujović in Herceg Novi. Bujović persuaded him to visit Perast as his guest, and transported Tolstoy on his ship to the Bujović Palace, where his brother, Ivan, had already prepared lodgings for the visitor. Tolstoy stayed in Perast until June 19, enjoying walks through the town and boat excursions in the bay with his hosts. Although he did not provide a detailed description of the palace, he emphasised the luxurious furnishings.[89] From the available evidence, it can be inferred that Vicko and Ivan resided in adjacent but separate properties – Vicko in the palace on the waterfront and Ivan in the houses behind the courtyard. Tolstoy's diary provides insight into how visitors arrived at the palaces in the Bay of Kotor by boat, and praises the hospitality of the Bujović family, as proclaimed by the inscription on the palace façade.

Vicko Bujović (1660–1709) was a merchant, sailor, and soldier who served the Venetian Republic in a number of capacities. His most notable achievement was leading a Perast squad in the successful siege of Herceg Novi in 1687, a strategic victory that enabled the Venetians to reclaim the city from the Ottoman rule after two centuries. The inscription on the eastern façade of the Bujović Palace commemorates this event. In 1694, Vicko was appointed captain of Perast, and in 1695, he was designated governor of a flotilla tasked with patrolling the Venetian commercial routes in the region to deter pirate attacks, as Tolstoy vividly describes. In recognition of Vicko's contributions, the Venetian government bestowed upon him the title of the feudal earl (*conte feudatario*) of Kumbor, situated near Herceg Novi. According to a local tradition, they also rewarded him with money to build his palace and sent an architect from Venice for the purpose,[90] though no evidence in the Senate decisions confirms this information.[91] As documented in historical sources, he exercised autocratic control over Perast, which resulted in a certain degree of discontent among the local population. Consequently, in 1708, an uprising led to his deposition, and the following year, he was assassinated, presumably at the behest of the Zmajević and other prominent local families who felt threatened by his growing influence.[92]

The Bujović family had strong connections with both Venetian authorities in the Kotor Bay and Venice itself. Vicko's brother, Ivan, is interred in San Giovanni in Bragora in Venice, the parish church of a district with a significant Dalmatian population represented in the nearby confraternity dedicated to San Giorgio degli Schiavoni.[93] Vicko was appreciative of the arts, both a patron and a close friend of Tripo Kokolja, the most renowned painter of the seventeenth century in the Kotor Bay region, who also acted as his wedding witness. Kokolja painted the sole surviving portrait of Bujović (Muzej grada Perasta). However, archival records indicate that he was also the patron of a series of paintings for the parish church in Kumbor.[94] Bujović's surviving written works are modest in number and include a technical text on navigation and naval conduct, as well as a few official letters. Upon his death, the poet Petar Kanavelić of Korčula composed a poem in his honour.

The exact circumstances surrounding the Bujović family's initial contact with Giovanni Battista Fontana remain unknown. However, the decision to commission a foreign architect for the design of their new palace in Perast aligns with Vicko's ambitious personality and his desire to elevate himself above the local ruling class. From an architectural standpoint, Vicko's endeavour proved to be a success. The Bujović Palace still stands out among the numerous noble residences that populate the small town of Perast. This is not due to its size, as both the Smekja Palace on the waterfront and the Zmajević Palace on the hillside are of a more imposing scale,[95] but because of its distinct architectural tradition. Finally, the building's strategic positioning within the compact town and its intricate interplay with the maritime landscape and the surrounding thoroughfares serve to accentuate its singularity.

The most distinctive feature of the Bujović Palace is the front porch with five arches on rusticated pilasters. Originally oriented directly towards the sea, this porch enhanced the visual prominence of the water entrance. In addition to its welcoming function, the porch also served a practical purpose, providing support to a wide upper terrace, from which Bujović could monitor the Kotor Bay. As Katarina Horvat-Levaj notes, terraces were a typical architectural feature of residential buildings in southern Dalmatia and the Kotor Bay.[96] In Dubrovnik, where urban fabric was particularly dense, terraces of aristocratic palaces often extended to neighbouring buildings with bridges over public streets. This was particularly the case during the reconstruction following the 1667 earthquake, when many buildings collapsed. In most cases, terraces were constructed above warehouses or covered docks to support the commercial activities of the local aristocracy. However, the Bujović Palace does not follow this pattern and is the sole building in the area to feature a terrace on a vaulted porch.

This design partially replicates the typical structure of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Roman villas in the Castelli area, which Fontana would have been familiar with. While the two symmetrical projecting wings are absent in Perast, the vaulted porch with an upper terrace was a common architectural feature in villas belonging to Roman cardinals and popes. As depicted in a fresco painting, even Villa Montalto Grazioli exhibited this architectural configuration prior to the eighteenth-century modifications (Fig. 13).[97] It seems plausible to suggest that Fontana may have had Roman precedents in mind when interpreting Bujović's commission.

The rusticated pilasters and arches of the front porch are another rare example in local architecture. The rustication with alternating ashlars is also visible in the palace's quoins. The gently curved outline of the ashlars is identical to that of the bell towers in the Kotor Cathedral, and the stone blocks are made of Korčula stone. While this is not uncommon in the Kotor Bay area, it provides further evidence of Fontana's involvement.

13.
Antonio Carracci (attributed to), fresco in the Sala di Eliseo, Villa Montalto Grazioli, Frascati (photo: author)

Antonio Carracci (atribuirano), freska u Sala di Eliseo, Villa Montalto Grazioli, Frascati

The fluted half-columns at the centre of double windows in the Bujović Palace represent another unusual element in the local architectural culture. While the profiles of other windows and doorframes are consistent with the style of Korčula stonemasons, exhibiting similarities to those in Perast, Kotor, Dubrovnik, and Korčula itself, the fluted column shafts are a rare feature and may be indicative of a connection with Vitruvius's discussion on the topic, as evidenced by the reading marks in the relevant chapter in Fontana's copy. Finally, it is worth noting that the piling technique marked in Vitruvius was undoubtedly essential for constructing the Bujović Palace directly on the seashore.[98] Once again, material evidence of use in Fontana's book copy supports the identification and understanding of his architectural achievements.

7. Epilogue

In his later years, Fontana began signing his buildings, such as the Cres bell tower and the Bujović Palace. The reason for this is unclear. Perhaps, by the late 1680s and 1690s, Fontana had become such an established and renowned foreign artist that he felt worthy of signing his works. It could also mean that these buildings were the only ones for which he provided his own design, rather than reconstructing them according to their previous appearance. Fontana may have adopted this practice in Perast, where numerous palaces display a multitude of varying inscriptions. Ancient examples were also known and emulated during the Renaissance. For instance, despite the mistaken identification of Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo, who signed the Arco dei Gavi in Verona, with Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, Serlio expressed doubts about this in his *Terzo libro* (Venice, 1537).[99]

The first instances of signed buildings in the Renaissance appeared just in the Eastern Adriatic: the Šibenik Cathedral, signed by Giorgio Dalmata (Juraj Dalmatinac) in 1443, and the fountain at the end of the Dubrovnik aqueduct, marked by Onofrio di Giordano della Cava with an inscription by Ciriaco d'Ancona in 1446.[100] Recent

scholarship has shown that signed buildings were rare in Renaissance Florence and Rome but rather common in the Adriatic basin, with examples in Veneto, Romagna, and Marche.[101] Fontana may have been familiar with this Adriatic tradition.

In conclusion, this review of Giovanni Battista Fontana's works in the Eastern Adriatic reveals his notable ability to adapt to the local architectural culture. Having gained experience on Roman Baroque construction sites, like his younger and more celebrated brother Carlo, Giovanni Battista took up residence in Korčula. Between 1670 and his death, he oversaw numerous building projects across a vast area from Cres to Kotor. Like many stonemason workshops in Korčula, he supplied stone for building works in southern Dalmatia, but his contributions extended far beyond this. Indeed, he was able to secure commissions in locations that were beyond the reach of Korčula masters.

Despite his residence in Korčula, Fontana was a peripatetic master builder, characterised by a high degree of mobility. As the eldest son, he was obliged to return regularly to Ticino to manage the family business on behalf of his mother and younger brothers. Consequently, he was compelled to undertake seasonal migrations on an annual basis, spending winters in Ticino and working abroad – specifically in Rome and the Eastern Adriatic – during the spring, summer, and autumn.

The buildings associated with his name demonstrate a combination of two distinct characteristics. Firstly, they exhibit a bold and learned use of the classical language of architecture, surpassing the repertoire of the local masters. Secondly, they display a proclivity towards integrating classical forms with non-canonical elements derived from the Korčula stonemasonry tradition. Albeit diluted with local forms, his work evinces an awareness of Roman architectural traditions. His designs are recognisable; they subtly stand out while still blending seamlessly with the local architectural context. The data presented here corroborate findings from Roman sources, which indicate that Fontana was a master builder rather than an architect. His primary responsibility was managing and overseeing construction sites, as well as coordinating the local workforce, allowing them considerable autonomy in terms of artistic expression and style. During his thirty-year career in the Eastern Adriatic, Fontana experienced one of the pivotal issues of Renaissance architecture in the Italian Peninsula and the Adriatic: the confrontation between Lombard or Ticino masters and the Dalmatian ones.

APPENDIX

Building contracts between Fra' Francesco da Zara and Giovanni Battista Fontana for the restoration of the cloister in the Franciscan Convent in Zadar, November 8, 1687.

(Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96)

[**c. 1r**] *Adì 8 Novembre 1679 – Zara*

Colla presente scrittura si dichiara, et vogliono le parti infrascritte, che habbi forza e vigor di publico instrumento, non ostante ogni legge, e statuto il contrario disponesse, al favor de quali per patto espresso hanno renuntiato come il M.R. Padre fra' Francesco da Zara Pressidente del Convento de M.R. Padri Minori osservanti di d. Fran.co di questa Città istessa, et il Sig.r Zambattista Fontana Romano habitante a Curzola sono divenuti alli infrascritti patti, et accordi, per agiustar il Claustro del Convento predetto nel modo come nella presente scrittura sarà dichiarato.
Primieramente dovrà esso D.no Zambattista levare e rimettere tre collone del Claustro di questo Convento dalla parte verso la Chiesa colle loro basi e capitelli, e rimettere le porte quattro delli volti tra esse collone, che di presente sono in stato cadente.
Si deve anco levare tutto il Canale, o gorna, che gira attorno il med.o Claustro, e rimetterne un'altro di simil fattura di pietra viva, con bon construttione acciò porti l'acqua da tutte quattro le parti, senza che possi penetrar abbasso l'acqua come fa al presente, con grandissimo danno.
Dovrà anco levar tutto il Salizzo, che si ritrova al presente sopra il volto di esso Claustro, e poi fare il suo battuto con buona materia, e buona construtione, con darli il suo Declivio competente a sua proportione, secondo l'arte e professione commanda, e poi doppo fatto il suo astrigo, overo battuta, dovrà porvi sopra il suo Salizzo di quadri di Pirano, lissati, over rotati ad acqua, e poi tagliati con il suo stampo a giusta misura, acciò vadino uniti, e che bene si commettano uno coll'altro, in modo che l'acqua cadente sopra il detto Salizzo, non possa penetrare alli volti, che vi sono sotto ne restino sogetti all'imperfettione, che di presente patiscono. Doverà di più dare la sua curva alli volti tutti del detto Claustro, prima guezza, e poi sottile con unire li volti stessi, e compitamente agiustarli dove havessero patito fin hora.
[**c. 1v**] *In oltre dovrà rimettere il listone tra una collona, et altra dove sono le basi delle dette collone, e stuccare, o in altro miglior modo agiustare alcuna rottura ne volti, e capiteli, et altro collone, o basi, ove ricercasse il bisogno.*
Per le qual spese tutte si dichiara, che esso M.R. Padre Pressidente per nome dal Convento non sia sottoposto, ne obligato a spesa alcuna. Ma solamente promette, et si obliga a spese del Convento med.o dare la Calcina, Sabbia terra rossa, cogoli, over giarina, quadri per il Salizzo, legname, tavole, chiodi chiavi, et altri apprestamenti, li quali faranno di bisogno per detta fabrica et esso D.no Zambattista sarà tenuto fare detta fabrica, et opera tanto di muratore, quanto di taglia pietra, come Garzoni, over manuali, mistri muradori, mistri di tagliapietra, con dare le dette collone, che devonsi remetter, le basi, e capitelli loro, il canale, over gorna della qualità, et fattura, come al presente s'attrova in opera, e così le listine, il tutto di pietra Curzolana per dette opere, che tutte siano nette di terra, di machia et salda; Ma però che siano condotte al litto del mare alla pedrera di Corzola dove si fano, et esso M.R.P. per nome del Convento sia tenuto farle condur dalla propria pedrara di Corzola, in questa Città di Zara a spese del med.mo Convento, et così tutti li altri matteriali necessarij alla detta fabrica, niun eccettuato, in modo, che tutto sia pronto entro esso Claustro, dove deve farsi l'opera soprad.a.

Le quali fatture, et opere tutte, così quella di taglia pietra, come di muratore, manuali, e servitori per detta opera promette, et si obliga esso Sig. Zambattista fare con ogni buon modo, maniera, e forma, e che sia stagna, sicura et stabile, e scoprendosi alcun difetto, specialm.te che li volti, o gorne non fossero ben stagne, sia egli Sig.r Zambattista obligato a sue spese redurle a tutta perfettione, sia anco il med.mo obligato di apuntare tutti li lavori di tagliapietra per tutta la prossima ventura Quadragesima, [**c. 2r**] *a che siano pronto al carico, col quale egli dovrà imbarcarsi con detti matteriali, e portarsi a Zara per incominciare, et andar poi continuando l'opera sino la total perfettione, salvo però giusto impedim.to di sua indispositione, et malatia, che N.ro Sig.re lo guardi, o d'impedim.to in servitio publico.*
Et all'incontro esso M.R.P. Francesco Presidente per nome del Convento promette, e si obliga contare al d.to Sig. Zambattista per sua mercede, et di tutti li operarij muratori, e taglia pietra, e manoali così il med.mo contentante reali doicento quaranta dico – 240 qual denaro dovrà esserli somministrato, secondo al med.mo farà bisogno per detta opera.
Le qual cose tutte, esse parti vicendevolm.te promettono osservar e mantener sotto obligatione di tutti li beni loro mobili, e stabili, pregando me Gio: Dottor a far doi scritture consimili, per esser ambo dalle parti stesse sottoscritte, et dalli sottoscritti testimonij, per esser dette scritture conservate una per parte per la sua pontual osservanza.
Di più sia ottenuto di dare la charta alle quattro faciade del d.to Claustro così parimente sia ottenuto di dar la charta al capitolo dove è la capella di S. Carlo, così anco sia otenuto di dar il Tarazzo attorno al Claustro secondo comandan le dette feriate, che rispondono sopra il salizzo di detto claustro acciò sia stagno.
Io Zambattista fontana prometto, et affermo di osservare quanto si contiene nella d.ta scrittura obligando se stesso, e chadauno de miei beni in qual si voglia luogo esistenti mano propria Zambatta fontana confermo q.nto di sopra.
Io fra' fran.co di Zara Presidente Confermo q.nto di sop.a
Io fra' Bernard.n di Veglia Vicario Confermo q.nto di sop.a

[**c. 2v**] *Adi 12 Ottobre 1680 ho riceputo a buon conto lire doicento dico ___ £ 200*
Adi 26 Ot.re 1680 ho riceputo a buon conto lire doicento dico ___ £ 200
Adi 6 9.bre ho riceputo a conto come sopra lire cento dico ___ £ 100
Adi 16 X.bre 1680 ho riceputo a bon conto lire cento dico ___ £ 100

Adi 9 Novembre 1679
Confesso io sottoscritto di haver havuto, et effettivamente ricevuto dal Do. Gioseppe Chanova interveniente dal Sig. Oratio Lantana Sindicho Apostolico procuratore del sud.to Convento de Minori Osservanti reali cinquanta da lire dieci l'uno, li quali s'intendono a conto, et chaparra della presente fatture, et fabrica, come nella presente scrittura appare obligandomi di mandare da Corzola una Cautione ampla dal Sig.r Vincenzo Sanicij in virtù del obligo val ___ £ 500
1680 Io sudetto ho ricevuto lire cento a conto delle mie fatture come sopra va ___ £ 100
Io Zovan Batta fontana confesso, et affermo d.to di sop.a mano prop.a
Et di più ho riceputo a conto sud.to reali trenta per mano di fra' Pietro di Curzola Laicho, li quali mi furono mandati sotto li cinque Aprile 1680 val ___ £ 300
di più ho riceputo a bon conto come sopra ___ £ 104
Adi 21 luglio 1680 ho riceputo a buon conto come di sopra lire cento, et doi, soldi dodici val ___ £ 102:12
Adi 31 luglio ho riceputo a buon conto come di sopra lire trecent dico ___ £ 300

_____
£ 1406:12

ENDNOTES

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[31] SAVERIO STURM, Giovanni Battista Fontana, in: *Studi sui Fontana* (note 27), 430.

[32] UGO DONATI, *L'opera degli artisti ticinesi in Europa*, vol. I: *Artisti ticinesi a Roma*, Bellinzona: Istituto editoriale ticinese, 1942, 376.

[33] Archivio di Stato del Canton Ticino, Bellinzona, Notarile, Lobbia 3023, June 20, 1696, GIOVANNI BATTISTA FONTANA, Will; Oldelli 2853, July 4, 1682, apprenticeship contract.

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[35] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci dei Rettori, Corfù, 30, September 14, 1663, GIOVANNI BATTISTA FONTANA, report of the expedition in Butrinto.

[36] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci dei Rettori, Corfù, 30, September 18, 1663, GIOVANNI BATTISTA FONTANA, tender for the administrative posts in Corfù.

[37] GAETANO COZZI, LUCA BRUNIERA, ROGER CHARLES ANDERSON, *Guerra di Candia (1645–1669): una sconfitta di grande successo*, Venice: Consiglio regionale del Veneto, 2013; BRUNO MUGNAI, ALBERTO SECCO, *La guerra di Candia 1645–69*, s.l.: Soldiershop, 2011.

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[40] According to early modern Venetian units of measure, one *passo*, or step, equals five *piedi*, or feet. One foot is 0.347735 metres long.

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[43] GRGA NOVAK, Mletački izvori o potresu u Dubrovniku i Kotoru 6. travnja god. 1667., *Starine*, 55 (1972), 5–37: 6–8, doc. I.

[44] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 15, doc. V.

[45] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 23, doc. XI.

[46] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 9, doc. I.

[47] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 33, doc. XVII.

[48] VITRUVIUS POLLIO, *Di architettura* (note 14), I 1 – I 5, sheets IIIr-VIIIr.

[49] VITRUVIUS POLLIO, *Di architettura* (note 14), II 8, sheet XVIIr, right margin, line 5.

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[51] CRISTIANO GUARNERI, INES IVIĆ, Books, Buildings and Construction Techniques: Materiality of Architectural Knowledge in the Republic of Ragusa during the Early Modern Period, *RIHA Journal*, forthcoming.

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[53] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 33: *l'ho fatto alzare a segno proportionato col rovinazzo della città, serrata sopra l'acqua col suo muretto e coll'apertura di diversi canaleti per l'esito dell'acque piovane della città*.

[54] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 34, doc. XVII.

[55] VITRUVIUS POLLIO, *Di architettura* (note 14), V12, sheet LVIr.

[56] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, Registri, Numbers 132–137; Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci, Provveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche, folder 332.

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[58] EGIDIO IVETIC (note 18), pp. 218–222.

[59] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), 15, doc. IV.

[60] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 27, doc. XIV.

[61] GRGA NOVAK (note 43), p. 29, doc. XV.

[62] JASENKA GUDELJ (note 42, 2011).

[63] STEFANIA BIANCHI, ANTONIO TRAPLETTI (note 28), 50, footnote 36.

[64] IVO STJEPČEVIĆ, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, Split: Štamparsko poduzeće "Novo doba", 1938, 71–72, footnote 52.

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[67] Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Cons. Rog. 119, sheet 108v.

[68] SAVERIO STURM (note 31).

[69] IVO STJEPČEVIĆ (note 64), 72, footnote 56.

[70] In that year he served as a deputy of the Rancate municipality: STEFANIA BIANCHI, ANTONIO TRAPLETTI (note 28), 50, footnote 36.

[71] SAVERIO STURM (note 31).

[72] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96, contract between Giovanni Battista Fontana and Francesco da Zara for restoring the cloister, November 8, 1679.

[73] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96, payments to Giovanni Battista Fontana for restoring the cloister, April 5 – December 16, 1680, sheet 2v.

[74] STEFANIA BIANCHI, ANTONIO TRAPLETTI (note 28), 50, footnote 36.

[75] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96, payments to Giovanni Battista Fontana for restoring the cloister, April 5, 1680, sheet 2v.

[76] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96, contract between Giovanni Battista Fontana and Francesco da Zara for restoring the cloister, November 8, 1679, sheet 1r.

[77] JASENKA GUDELJ, CRISTIANO GUARNERI, Materiali e costruzione nell'Adriatico, in: *Geografia e storia dell'architettura. Il Rinascimento* (ed. Francesca Mattei), Rome: Carocci, forthcoming.

[78] JOŠKO BELAMARIĆ (note 50), 93–94.

[79] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Zadru, IV / 96, contract between Giovanni Battista Fontana and Francesco da Zara for restoring the cloister, November 8, 1679, sheet 1v.

[80] Ibid., sheets 1v–2r.

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[82] JUSTIN VINKO VELNIĆ, Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru: povijesni prikaz njegova života i djelatnosti, in: *Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru*, Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru, 1980, 25–101.

[83] Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Cresu, folder C3, *sub anno*.

[84] LARIS BORIĆ, JASENKA GUDELJ (note 4), 70.

[85] IVAN ZDRAVKOVIĆ, Bujovićeva palata u Perastu i njena restauracija, *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 4–5 (1956), 355–372, here 356–357, footnote 4.

[86] IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI (note 5); KRUNO PRIJATELJ (note 5).

[87] IVAN ZDRAVKOVIĆ (note 85); MILOŠ MILOŠEVIĆ, I caratteri stilistici nelle Bocche di Cattaro, in: *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del Sud* (ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti), Florence: Olschki, 1983, 141–161; LOVORKA ČORALIĆ (note 5); SAŠA BRAJOVIĆ (note 5); SAŠA BRAJOVIĆ, TATJANA KOPRIVICA (note 42), 154–155.

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[89] PËTR A. TOLSTOJ, *Putešestvie stolnika P.A. Tolstogo po Evrope (1697–1699)*, Moscow: Neuka, 1992, sheets 73v-76r.

[90] SAŠA BRAJOVIĆ and TATJANA KOPRIVICA (note 42), 154.

[91] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, Registri, No. 157–160 (years 1691–1964).

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[95] RADOJKA ABRAMOVIĆ, JELENA KARADŽIĆ (note 88), 57–58, 63–65.

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