

The Sicilian Architect Tommaso Maria Napoli and the Baroque Cathedral of Dubrovnik

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Abstract

The design of the Dubrovnik Cathedral (1671-1713) – a monumental three-nave basilica with a dome over the crossing – was commissioned, thanks to Abbot Stjepan Gradić, from the Roman architect Andrea Bufalini. Among the leaders of construction, which lasted for over four decades, the Sicilian architect Tommaso Maria Napoli stands out. During his nine-year stay in Dubrovnik (1689-98) he was the only one who engaged in radical changes in the design. Through his changes to the vaulting and lighting of the main nave and sanctuary, as well as the introduction of terraces above the side chapels, he gave the building better proportions, and moreover he balanced its volume by enriching the Cathedral with the plastic expressiveness characteristic of Sicilian architecture at that time. Napoli was the only architect involved in the construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral who had an international reputation, from his native Sicily, to Naples, Rome, and the Habsburg Monarchy. This makes his inventive corrections to Bufalini's design even more significant.

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Introduction

- [1] The distinctive city-monument of Dubrovnik is world famous primarily for its historical centre built in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance within the impressive fortification perimeter, which earned the city the coveted status on the UNESCO list of world heritage. However, no less valuable is the Baroque transformation of the medieval-plan city, which the independent government of the Dubrovnik Republic managed to create during the reconstruction of the city after the catastrophic earthquake of 1667. With the calculated politics of the Senate – "Vijeće umoljenih" (*Consilium Rogatorum*) and the skilful help of diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, especially Abbot Stjepan Gradić in Rome, architects and engineers from Italy were employed on this all-encompassing task. Through their collaboration with local builders the city successfully returned to function in a relatively short period of time, and gained a new Baroque countenance. Many of the Italian architects arrived as relatively anonymous people, for whom the Dubrovnik engagement was the height of their career. Others became affirmed experts, but they did not succeed their full potential before they left Dubrovnik, which proved to be just a way

station in their careers.¹ However, one architect demonstrated a high level of artistic talent throughout the important centres of the European Baroque and proved to be an indispensable part of the formation of Dubrovnik's Baroque architecture. This was the Sicilian architect and Dominican, Tommaso Maria Napoli, and the present day monument with which he made his strongest mark is the most exceptional Baroque building in Dubrovnik, its Cathedral.

[2] In academic literature Tommaso Napoli was recognised first and foremost for his architectural works in Bagheria near Palermo – the Valguarnera and Palagonia villas, which have been highly esteemed by art historians such as Rudolf Wittkower, as examples of the Sicilian contribution to the development of the European Baroque.² Christian Norberg-Schulz characterises Napoli as an inventive genius, architect, and mathematician whose plans of the Sicilian villas represent original variations of the usual concepts of Baroque garden palaces.³ Salvatore Boscarino explains the complexity of Napoli's Villas through the influences of his numerous trips to Rome, Dalmatia, Austria, and Hungary.⁴ One step further in this regard was made by Erik Henry Neil, who made a monographic presentation of the life and work of the distinctive architect, with works not just from the beginning and end of his career in his hometown of Palermo, but also in the wider expanse of Europe, from Naples and Rome to Vienna and the border areas of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, where – accompanying Eugene of Savoy – Napoli gained experience designing fortifications.⁵ Thanks to Neil's collaboration with Croatian art historians⁶ his monograph included the Dubrovnik segment of Napoli's works that occurred during his nine-year term as a state architect.⁷ The aim of this article is to draw attention to the results of recent research connected to the role that Tommaso Napoli played in the reconstruction of the building of the Dubrovnik Cathedral after the earthquake of 1667, shedding new light on both the architect and the Cathedral.

¹ For more on this see: Kruno Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture" [Documents for the history of Baroque architecture in Dubrovnik], in: *Tkalčićev zbornik II*, Zagreb 1958, 117-156.

² Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, Baltimore 1958, 265.

³ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Late Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, London 1980, 174; Paolo Portoghesi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica*, Roma 1968, 175. See also: "Tommaso Maria Napoli", in: *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani, Enciclopedia online*, www.treccani.it.

⁴ Salvatore Boscarino, *Sicilia barocca, Architettura e città 1610-1760*, Roma 1986, 206-210.

⁵ Erik Henry Neil, *Architecture in Context: The Villas of Bagheria, Sicily*, Dissertation Harvard University 1995, 38, 167-170; Erik Henry Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli, 1659-1725, Un architetto Domenicano e il suo mondo*, Palermo 2012.

⁶ Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 124, 148-149; Katarina Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku" [Tommaso Napoli in Dubrovnik], in: *Umjetnički dodiri dviju jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [The artistic impact of two Adriatic coasts in the 17th and 18th centuries], Collection of works from the academic conference held on 21 and 22 November, 2003, Split, on the occasion of the 5th anniversary since the death of Kruno Prijatelj, ed. Vladimir Marković and Ivana Prijatelj-Pavičić, Split 2007, 31-52.

⁷ Neil, *Tommaso Maria Napoli*, 25-33.

- [3] Due to its imposing volume and spatial organisation as a three-nave basilica with a transept and a dome over the crossing, and the importance of its role as the church of the Dubrovnik Archdiocese and the Dubrovnik Republic, the Baroque Cathedral of the Assumption (1671-1713) has long drawn the attention of researchers. The information on the commission of the cathedral design and its ongoing construction are, therefore, well known: in 1671 Stjepan Gradić ordered the design from the Roman architect Andrea Bufalini, with the approval of the Senate. At first, the construction was led by Roman architects Paolo Andreotti (1672-74) and Pietro Antonio Bazzi (1677-78), subsequently by the Sicilian architect Tommaso Maria Napoli (1689-98) and finally the Dubrovnik builder, Ilija Katičić (1704-13).⁸ However, one question has remained unresolved: during the construction that lasted over four decades, was the Cathedral created according to the original Roman design, or did the individual architects change anything?
- [4] Research at the State Archives in Dubrovnik, which began over ten years ago,⁹ shed light upon the aforementioned dilemma by showing that the only leader of construction that engaged in radical, characteristic and stylistic changes to the design was Tommaso Napoli. Given that the building of the Cathedral was organised and financed by the Dubrovnik Republic, every great change had to be approved at Senate meetings, and the decisions on changing "the Roman archetype" are recorded in the *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* but only during the period when the Sicilian was construction leader. Moreover, since the *Acta Sanctae Mariae Maioris* holdings included the "measures and estimates" (*misura e stima*) for all of the stone elements for the architectural sculptures on the exterior and interior walls of the original Cathedral, which Stjepan Gradić added to accompany the design by Andrea Bufalini, a precise comparison between the designed and completed cathedrals could be accomplished. With comparative research in Rome and Sicily, Napoli's changes to the Bufalini design are placed in their appropriate context.

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Stjepan Gradić and Andrea Bufalini – designing the Cathedral (1671-1673)

- [5] The main incentive for constructing the new Baroque Cathedral was the previously mentioned earthquake that hit Dubrovnik on 6 April 1667. While other sacral and public buildings, despite heavy damage, remained in such a state that they could be restored, "the pride of the city of Dubrovnik", the Romanesque Cathedral church, was

⁸ For more on this see: Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 121-126; Kruno Prijatelj, "Barok u Dalmaciji" [The Baroque in Dalmatia], in: Anđela Horvat, Radmila Matejčić, and Kruno Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj* [The Baroque in Croatia], Zagreb 1982, 713-716; Vladimir Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale" [The design and construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* [Journal of the Institute of Art History] 36 (2012), 83-92.

⁹ The research was performed in the framework of the project by the Institute of Art History in Zagreb: Architectural Croatian heritage from the 16th to the 18th century, led by Katarina Horvat-Levaj. The archival research was done by Relja Seferović and Ante Šoljić. The results were published in: Katarina Horvat-Levaj, "Arhitektura barokne katedrale" [The architecture of the Baroque Cathedral], in: *The Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in Dubrovnik*, ed. Katarina Horvat-Levaj, Dubrovnik – Zagreb 2014, 121-211.

instantaneously turned into rubble.¹⁰ However, from this tragedy happier circumstances emerged: in Rome, the people of Dubrovnik had a world-renowned compatriot, a man of great culture and well developed political connections, a priest, diplomat, and scientist – Stjepan Gradić (Stefano Gradi, Dubrovnik, 1613 – Rome, 1683).¹¹ Therefore, Abbot Gradić was the first man to whom the people of Dubrovnik went for help, asking him to intervene on their behalf with the Pope and sympathetic statesmen. Gradić immediately engaged himself in every manner possible to help Dubrovnik,¹² and within the wide spectrum of his efforts towards the reconstruction of the city, from raising funds to sending craftsmen and builders, his main task was the construction of a new cathedral (Fig. 1).



1 The Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin, Dubrovnik, view from the north with the city bell-tower and the church of St. Blaise in the foreground (photo: P. Mofardin)

[6] As could be expected, Stjepan Gradić chose the designer for the Cathedral in Rome. It was the previously mentioned architect, engraver, and geographer, Andrea Bufalini (Pietro Andrea, Pier Andrea Buffalini).¹³ Although he was without a great opus (at least not one that is known), he was part of the prestigious *Congregazione dei Virtuosi al*

¹⁰ Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* [The urban development of Dubrovnik], Zagreb 1958, 27.

¹¹ Stjepan Krasić, *Stjepan Gradić (1613-1683) život i djelo* [Stjepan Gradić (1613-1683) his life and works], Zagreb 1987, 110-111. See also: "Stefano Gradi", in: *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani, Enciclopedia online*, www.treccani.it.

¹² Already by 30 April 1667, Gradić sent the people of Dubrovnik an extensive letter of encouragement and concrete advice. Georgius Körbler, "Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683." [Letters from the Abbot Stjepan Gradić from Dubrovnik, to the Dubrovnik Republic's Senate from 1667 to 1683], in: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. XXXVII, Zagreb 1915, 103-107.

¹³ The main documents on the design of the Cathedral that mention Bufalini are published in: Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 133-149.

Pantheon, and a member of the Academy of St. Luke, where he also became a professor.¹⁴ In addition, Bufalini was connected with the Croatian fraternity of St. Jerome in Rome, who gathered in the church *San Girolamo degli Schiavoni (dei Croati)*, during the period when Gradić was the head of their chapter.¹⁵ However, the key criterion why Gradić chose Bufalini was certainly in accordance with the postulate he had often pointed out, that "the commissioner is the first architect of the building",¹⁶ with the possibility of participating in the creation of the design. This included the implementation of his fundamental idea that the Cathedral should be, as was the previous cathedral, a three-nave building with a dome, while respecting the limitations laid down by the Senate, that the Baroque Cathedral should be based on the foundations of the Romanesque one. Thanks to Gradić's numerous textual interpretations of the design, made in 1671 and then elaborated over the next two years, we can today reconstruct its entire appearance with great certainty, despite the fact that the wooden models (maquettes) with which it was presented have long since disappeared.

[7] Bufalini's conceptual design of the Cathedral, unanimously accepted by the Senate at the beginning of 1672,¹⁷ was accompanied by Gradić's study *Istruzione per la fabbrica del Duomo di Ragusa*, where alongside the explanation of the design and the description of the construction he also gave instructions for the sequence of construction.¹⁸ Although the building began in spring of the same year¹⁹ under the leadership of the architect and surveyor Paolo Andreotti, who was also chosen in Rome by Gradić,²⁰ the collaboration of the design partners Gradić and Bufalini continued. Firstly, unsatisfied with the way

¹⁴ *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 15, München – Leipzig 1997, 65. For more on "the virtuoso of Pantheon" see: Giuseppe Bonaccorso and Tommaso Manfredi, *I virtuosi al Pantheon 1700/1758*, Roma 1998.

¹⁵ Krasić, *Stjepan Gradić*, 93.

¹⁶ Gradić himself cites this in his texts: The State Archives in Dubrovnik (hereon referred to as: SAD), *Acta Sanctae Mariae Maioris* (hereon referred to as: ASMM), *Atti relativi all'edificazione della Cattedrale di Ragusa, Stefano abate Gradi*, 17th century, vol. VII, doc. 802, 1667-1685 (hereon referred to as: *Stefano abate Gradi*), f. 8-11.

¹⁷ SAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* (hereon referred to as: *Cons. Rog.*), 119, f. 47r; Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 146.

¹⁸ SAD, ASMM, *Stefano abate Gradi*, f. 1-7; the document is published in: Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 133-139. With the introductory explanation on the importance for Dubrovnik of restoring the Cathedral church, Gradić showed his intentions for the design immediately from the outset: the foundations of the old cathedral should be used as much as possible for the new cathedral, which should be elegant and consistent with the laws of new architecture, which are "after the oblivion of the middle ages and from the remains of old buildings and the writings of the ancient Greeks and Roman writers came Bramante, Rafael, and Michelangelo". However, the new age and probably the needs of the post-Council of Trent liturgy influenced the expansion of the three-nave cathedral with side chapels, which exceeded the width of the older building, so in these changing circumstances Gradić explained the role of the old foundations, which would serve as the backbone of the main nave and the side aisles.

¹⁹ On 2 April the Senate ordered the overseers of the construction to inspect the site and, if everything was satisfactory, "to immediately begin with construction". SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 119, f. 100.

²⁰ Gradić made the contract with Andreotti in Rome on 25 April 1671. Körbler, "Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683.", 186-187.

Andreotti did "the measurements and estimates" of the stone elements, which coated the exterior and interior surfaces of the walls in the course of construction, Stjepan Gradić made another extensive study: *Discorso sopra l'apalto delle cave di travertino*,²¹ where in his discussion on the method of measuring and choosing stone, he assessed all of the stone elements of the Cathedral, giving their dimensions in Roman "palmus" (palm length).²² The most demanding parts of the Cathedral, the main façade and dome²³ after much fine-tuning became the subject of separate detailed designs, which were also sent from Rome to Dubrovnik in 1672 and 1673, accompanied by Gradić's explanations and measurements of the stone elements.²⁴

[8] Therefore, the Dubrovnik Cathedral was designed as a three-nave vaulted basilica with a transept and a dome over its crossing, with four pairs of side chapels and two sacristies (one sacristy and a reliquary) and a rectangular sanctuary (Fig. 2). Arcades on square pillars divide the cathedral aisles, while massive and elaborate piers on a trapezoid plan under the dome form the oblique angles of the centralized crossing (Fig. 3, 4). The floor of the Cathedral was designed at an elevated level so stairs lead up to the numerous entrances: three portals on the main façade at the axis of each aisle, and two side portals.

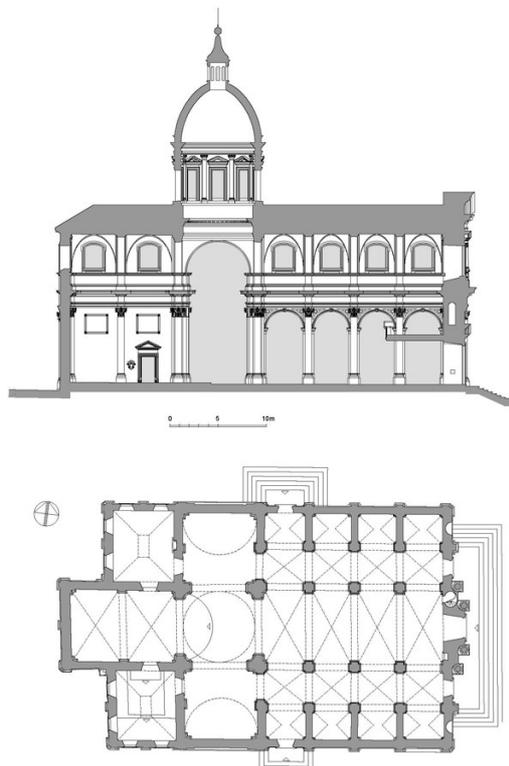
[9] The classic spatial conception of the Cathedral is evident in its articulation into three classical orders with linear mouldings of the portals and windows. The large order of Corinthian pilasters dominates the space, and partitions the pillars of the nave and the crossing as well as the walls of the transept and sanctuary. It is topped with continuous entablature and attica on which, according to the design, the barrel vaulting was meant to rest. The space of the cross-vaulted lower aisles and the chapels is articulated by a small order of Tuscan pilasters that support the arcade. The façades are divided in the same way, since in his instructions Gradić specially emphasised the need to unify the exterior and interior sculptural elements, so that the finishing cornice should be at the same level on the exterior and the interior (Fig. 5).

²¹ Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 140-144.

²² Hence he encompassed the zones of the aisles, chapels and sanctuary in the documents, in two variants marked with the letters *A* and *B* – travertine (*A*) or rustic travertine (*B*). Document *C* deals in detail with the sanctuary, citing the depth of its foundations and the floor-plan dimensions, together with the sacristies (the sacristy and the reliquary). SAD, ASMM, Stefano abate Gradi, Document A: *Nota delle misure della fattura nella superficie di ciascuno pello di travertino da mettersi in opera nella fabrica della Chiesa*, f. 15-17; Document B: *Nota del travertino rustico che va in ciascuno de pelli della fabrica della Chiesa*, f. 18-19. Document C: *Nota delle partite che vanno in ciascuna parte della fabrica della Tribuna e Sacristie della Chiesa*, f. 20-23.

²³ *Notizie della facciata del Duomo di Ragusa; Spese fatte a Roma a servizio della fabbrica del Duomo de Ragusada marzo nell'anno 1672 a tutto novembre 1673*. SAD, ASMM, Stefano abate Gradi, f. 97-98; the documents are published in: Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 144-146.

²⁴ SAD, ASMM, Stefano abate Gradi, f. 24, 112. In order for the façade design to be properly executed, the maquette of the façade was supplemented with maquettes of Corinthian capital and detail of the cornice.



2 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, floor plan and longitudinal cross section (architectural drawing: I. Tenšek, I. Valjato-Vrus)



3 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, view towards the sanctuary (photo: P. Mofardin)



4 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, central nave and transept (photo: P. Mofardin)



5 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, arcades and the great order of pilasters in the main nave (photo: P. Mofardin)

[10] The complexity of the articulation and ornamentation accentuate the main façade with wider sections comprising the lower zone, and a narrower upper section with gables (Fig. 6). The emphasis on the central axis of the façade follows the double overhang stressing the central field with the main portal as well as the gradual increase in the sculptural qualities of the supports; from the pilasters to the free standing Corinthian columns (Fig. 7). The upper floor was supposed to be divided by composite pilasters and window-aediculae were successfully used to emphasise the central zone. The difference in width between the upper and lower parts of the façade was bridged by volutes, while stone balustrades, with pedestals for sculpture, can be found above the side chapels, extended above the entablature and over the sacristy along the side façade, thus – according to the design – concealing the roof. The monumental dome also emphasises the uniformity of the exterior and interior shaping, with composite pilasters on the high drum, and with an elegant lantern.



6 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, view of the main façade and the northern side façade (photo: P. Mofardin)



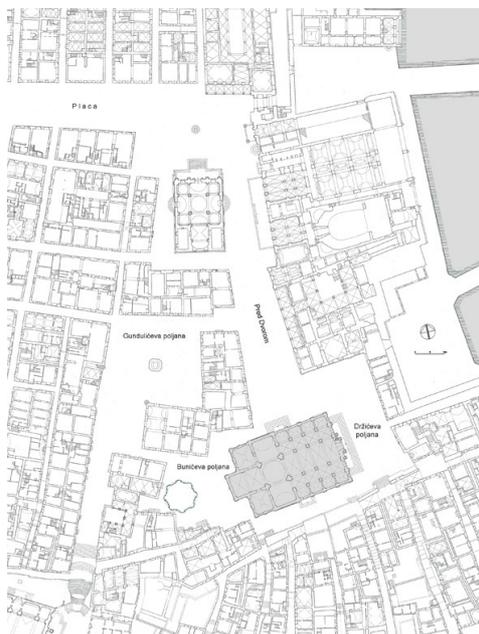
7 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, main façade, the expanding sculptural articulation of the façade design towards the central section (photo: P. Mofardin)

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Paolo Andreotti and Pietro Antonio Bazzi – constructing the Cathedral according to the design (1672-1680)

- [11] A comparison between the described and the completed cathedral shows that in the period between 1672 and c. 1680 the construction was carried out according to Bufalini's design, approximately up to the height of the great Corinthian order, including the vaulted aisles and side chapels. Although it was not possible to completely adhere to the design even in this phase, we can assume that the changes were more due to technical than design reasons. As Bufalini designed the Cathedral in Rome, without his own evaluation of the situation on the ground, but rather on the basis of a ground plan of the

construction site sent to him from Dubrovnik,²⁵ problems were encountered in "putting the design into practice" at the very foundation stage.



8 Dubrovnik, the central space of the city with the square around the Cathedral, as conceived after the earthquake in 1667, layout at ground level (architectural drawing: I. Tenšek, I. Valjato-Vrus)

[12] The first change was passed at the beginning of construction in April 1672, which included a provision from the Senate that "the façade should be turned towards the east"²⁶ (Fig. 8). Namely, as was customary in the Middle Ages, the Romanesque Cathedral had a sanctuary in the east while the main façade faced west, towards a small square with irregular contours (Bunićeva poljana) and with a baptistery and an unfinished gothic bell-tower, which was spared in the earthquake.²⁷ The reorientation of the Baroque Cathedral arose from a new sensibility for space, because the extent of destruction on the eastern side was such that it enabled the formation of a wider square²⁸ (Držićeva poljana) open towards the Rector's Palace Square (Pred Dvorom) and the main street (Placa – Stradun), and connected with the port by a city gate. Although the decision to form a larger Cathedral square was of great importance, it also caused certain difficulties in the construction of the foundation, since the heavy Baroque façade with projections

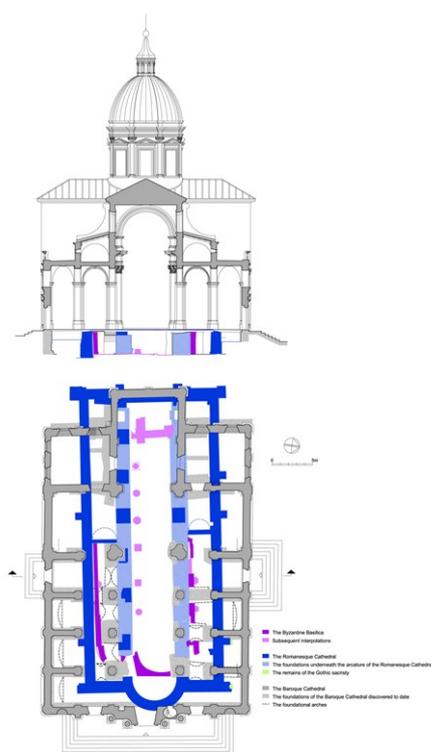
²⁵ The library of the monastery of the Friars Minor, manuscript no. 327, f. 63v; Krasić, *Stjepan Gradić*, 177.

²⁶ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 119, f. 100.

²⁷ After the earthquake, the baptistery lost its original purpose and was turned into Chapel of St. John the Baptist. It was torn down by decree of Austrian authorities in 1830. Lukša Beritić, "Ubikacija nestalih građevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku" [The site of disappeared building monuments in Dubrovnik], in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 10 (1956), 71-72.

²⁸ It is unknown if Stjepan Gradić had influenced the decision to reorientate the Cathedral. However, the formation of the Cathedral square in place of the destroyed houses was certainly facilitated by the ruling, issued one year after the earthquake, that anyone could begin a construction on the site of a destroyed and abandoned house if its owner has not begun reconstruction within two months. More on this ruling in: Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, 31.

and columns had to be placed on top of the semi-circular apse of the earlier sanctuary instead of on the strong bearing wall of the Romanesque façade. In addition, the first construction leader, Paolo Andreotti, abandoned the key decree of the Senate that the new Cathedral should be completely founded on the old (Fig. 9).²⁹ The reason for this could have been structural, i.e. he may have thought that the new foundations were safer than the old ones, but it could also have been down to aesthetic sensibility, because by rotating the axis of the Cathedral by a few degrees towards the south he managed to make the corners of the new Cathedral right angles, and to better assimilate the façade with the surrounding environment. At the same time, probably because of the size of the Romanesque structure, Andreotti failed to meet Gradić's request that the identical architectural elements of the exterior and interior walls be on the same level, putting the interior plinths and bases on a higher level instead.



9 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, the foundations of the Baroque Cathedral in relation to the Romanesque Cathedral, layout and transverse cross-section with a view towards the sanctuary (architectural drawing: I. Tenšek, I. Valjato-Vrus)

[13] However, despite these changes, or perhaps precisely because of them, Gradić considered Andreotti – an experienced Roman surveyor who had even been hired by

²⁹ The eastern façade wall of the Baroque Cathedral just touched the top of the semi-circular Romanesque apse, because the length of the building was increased. Only the northern Baroque pillars partly matched the foundations of the pillars between the Romanesque aisles, and the piers of the dome are only partly based on the eastern pillars of the previous church.

Carlo Rainaldi³⁰ – to be "the best architect for the execution of the design".³¹ The construction progressed well during the first two years. In accordance with Gradić's directions, raising of the walls was closely followed by stone panelling and the erection of ornamentation and architectural elements including plinths, bases, pilasters, framed openings, as well as the exterior façade of finely carved rectangular blocks – *pelle piane*. The rhythm of the production is evident from Andreotti's signed expenditures for a number of stonemasons.³² The Senate, however, was less forgiving: after accusing the first construction leader of disobedience, and after a series of conflicts, in April 1674 Paolo Andreotti went to Rome for a vacation, from which he never wanted to return.³³ The construction was quickly halted, and Gradić once again found himself in Rome with the task of finding a new leader of construction. He even consulted Carlo Fontana, and in the end arranged to employ the relatively unknown Pietro Antonio Bazzi.³⁴

[14] Bazzi arrived in Dubrovnik at the beginning of 1677, and considering the work achieved on the Dubrovnik Cathedral during Andreotti's tenure, we can assume that the construction of the walls and their travertine coating had reached the level of the capitals. The Corinthian capitals were the most demanding aspect of masonry in the Dubrovnik Cathedral, and they were its main decoration. Therefore, as we can see from the special model of a "large" capital made at Bufalini's recommendation, the designer gave much attention to this element so that, in Gradić's words, "this type of decoration would be carried out carefully and with the given measures"³⁵ (Fig. 10). However, Bazzi soon came into conflict with the Senate, this time because of payment, and after a year,

³⁰ Andreotti's name appears in Rainaldi's accounts (1652-55) for the addition of the side chapels with the early Christian church *San Lorenzo in Lucina*. Other leading artists were also involved in this Baroque renewal, like Cosimo Fanzago and Gianlorenzo Bernini. Later Rainaldi was assigned as a surveyor on other tasks, like the new building *Sant' Agnese in Agona* (1653) in Piazza Navona, which received the recognisable stamp of Francesco Borromini. He was also employed by the distinguished Roman family, Pamphili, and he proved to be an expert for "measurements and estimates" (*misura e stima*) in legal processes. *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 628. In the aforementioned lexicon there are two Paolo Andreottis, one is a Roman architect and surveyor, and the other is the architect who led the construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral, with a note that this may be the same person. The professional profile of Paolo Andreotti engaged in Dubrovnik, visible from Gradić's letters and documents, supports this when it writes that Andreotti considered himself both an architect and surveyor, with a skill for *misura e stima* (measurements and estimates) (see Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 140-144), which clearly shows that they were the same person.

³¹ Körbler, "Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683.", 259.

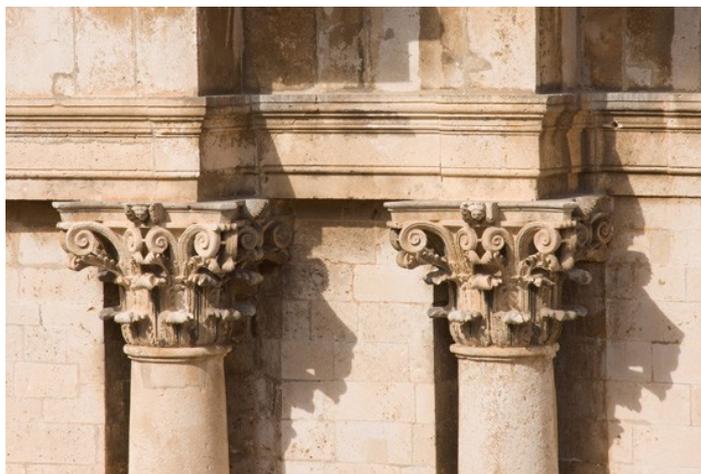
³² SAD, *The inheritance of Niko Gjivanović* [Ostavština dum Nika Gjivanovića], RO-166, *Računi o gradnji dubrovačke katedrale 1672-1673* [Receipts on the construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral 1672-1673], vol. 10.

³³ Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 147.

³⁴ SAD, *ASMM*, 17th century, vol. VII, doc. 629; Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 123, 148. For now, in Rome, only one sculptor with the same name is known, who in 1666 carved the capitals on the southern bell-tower for the church of *Sant' Agnese*. *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 29. Given that Andreotti was employed at this building it is likely that this is the same person.

³⁵ SAD, *ASMM*, *Stefano abbate Gradi*, f. 24, 112.

in February 1678, he left Dubrovnik.³⁶ The Cathedral was once again left without a construction leader, but for some time the works continued under the leadership of local craftsmen, which is demonstrated by certain discrepancies in some elements and their more traditional forms. For example, the arched windows of the side chapels are at odds with the barrel vaulting,³⁷ and archaic rosettes edged with geometric designs are modelled alongside the Corinthian capitals of the pilasters in the main nave.³⁸



10 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, the capitals of the columns on the façade (photo: M. Drmić)

[15] Despite this the construction once again quickly came to a halt, and the fact that they did not even try to find another architect in Rome highlights the difficult situation in Dubrovnik caused by political problems with the Ottoman Empire. When we add to this that Stjepan Gradić – the main initiator of all of the efforts in the construction and financing of the Cathedral – died in 1683, it is understandable that after Bazzi's departure it took more than a decade before the conditions would be right for Dubrovnik to once again invite an architect from Rome. The construction of the Cathedral took off in a new period, by then it was the era of the Late Baroque, with a new, more than established person in the role of construction leader, which is reflected in the substantial interventions in Bufalini's design.

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Tommaso Maria Napoli – altering the Cathedral design (1689-1698)

[16] After decades of crisis a new era in the history of the construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral began in 1689, with the architect Tommaso Maria Napoli (1659-1725), a

³⁶ The case finished in 1680 when Bazzi's acknowledgement was settled. Körbler, "Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683.", 326, 395, 399, 401, 413; SAD, *Diversa de foris*, 115, f. 57v-58v.

³⁷ The reason for the disparity of the window arches with the vaulting, that is, with the arches of the chapels, lies in the aforementioned fact that Gradić's instructions were not respected. They specify that the bases of the exterior and interior pilasters should be on the same level, although the expert manager of the construction could have corrected the said matter easily by changing the height of the pilasters.

³⁸ Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 90.

Dominican from Palermo. Although the circumstances of Napoli's arrival are shrouded in a veil of secrecy because there were no more letters from Stjepan Gradić to the Senate, it would appear that Gradić was also indirectly responsible for this highly successful choice. Given that Napoli was a student or a follower of Gradić's acquaintance and consultant Carlo Fontana in Rome,³⁹ it is most likely that it was Fontana who recommended this talented Sicilian architect to the people of Dubrovnik.

[17] Immediately upon his arrival in Dubrovnik Tommaso Napoli joined the Dominican monastery.⁴⁰ By the decision of the Senate of 13 July 1689 he was awarded a yearly wage of 100 ducats, in addition to his travel expenses from Rome.⁴¹ However, already in November 1690 the Senate retroactively raised his wage to 200 ducats,⁴² and his special status is also evidenced by the permission given to him to stay in the archbishop's residence.⁴³

[18] The reason for this is definitely the professional reputation that this thirty year old had managed to achieve before his arrival in Dubrovnik, although his masterpieces, the Late Baroque villas Valguarnera (1712) and Palagonia (1715) in Bagheria near Palermo, which earned him a place in anthologies of the European Baroque,⁴⁴ were built later. After Napoli had joined the Dominican order in his home city (1676), he first studied architecture and mathematics at the Dominican seminary in Palermo with the architect Andrea Cirrincione, then continued his studies in Naples (1679-80), and subsequently finished them in Palermo (1682).⁴⁵ He was appointed as the secretary and reader for the monastery of St. Dominic in Palermo, and after the death of his mentor he became the leader of the restoration of a well-known architectural complex with a three-nave basilica and extended side chapels, like the Dubrovnik Cathedral.⁴⁶ Sources from 1687-88 record his stay in Rome, where he published his treatise *Utriusque Architecturae Compendium* with geometric formulas for polygonal fortresses, and a special chapter devoted to palaces and their stairways as central areas.⁴⁷ The aforementioned topic announced his future direction, which he would in part realise in Dubrovnik, while the dedications of two copies of his treatise clearly speak of his Roman schooling and life plans. One copy of the

³⁹ Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 317; Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 19-25.

⁴⁰ Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 332.

⁴¹ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 130, f. 91v; document published in: Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 124; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 34.

⁴² SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 57r; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovnik", 34.

⁴³ Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 332.

⁴⁴ Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 265; Norberg-Schulz, *Late Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 174.

⁴⁵ Tommaso Maria Napoli was born in Palermo on the 16th of April 1659 to Domenico and Giovanna di Napoli, and died on 12 June 1725. His Christian name was Francesco Tommaso Antonio di Napoli, and he was given the name Maria upon joining the Dominican order. Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 9-18; look also at: Portoghesi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica*, 175.

⁴⁶ Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 11.

⁴⁷ Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 19-24.

treatise was dedicated to Carlo Fontana,⁴⁸ who influenced other Sicilian architects in the circle of the Academy of St. Luke, like Filippo Juvarra, as well as architects from central Europe, like Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt. The other copy Napoli dedicated to the Neapolitan general Antonio Caraffa,⁴⁹ who was in service in Hungary, thus paving the way to his career as a military engineer in the service of Eugene of Savoy, which had begun with a trip to Vienna and his involvement in liberation Mohács, Osijek (1687), and Belgrade (1688).⁵⁰ The next year Tommaso Maria Napoli was invited to Dubrovnik.

[19] Although the construction of the Cathedral was undoubtedly the primary task of Dubrovnik, it would appear that while Tommaso Napoli was the state architect of the Dubrovnik Republic the most urgent task was finishing the Gothic / Renaissance Rector's Palace, which was also badly damaged in the earthquake. Immediately involving himself in the renovation, Napoli enriched the traditional concept of local craftsmen with expressive Late Baroque architectural sculpture, as well as with the distinctive oval Rector's Chapel, dedicated in 1691.⁵¹ The completion of the renovation and the return of the Rector to the Palace brought another important task which was entrusted to Napoli: converting the Rector's former temporary residence, the first municipal house on Placa (between Zlatarska and Kovačka Streets), into the temporary residence of the archbishop.⁵² Finished in 1691,⁵³ the residence housed Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini (archbishop 1689-93),⁵⁴ and soon afterwards Napoli himself (1694), as it comprised of two individual apartments. When the construction of the Cathedral was resumed after a pause of an entire decade, it was necessary to implement certain preparations, as we can read from the decisions of the Senate, who at a meeting held in January 1690 decided that at the next meeting "there will be no discussion on anything other than the construction of the Cathedral and armoury",⁵⁵ so that they could choose the stewards of

⁴⁸ Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 19-24.

⁴⁹ Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 19-24.

⁵⁰ The fact that his thesis *Breve Trattato dell' Architettura Militare Moderna Cavato da' più insigni Autori* published in 1722 in Palermo was dedicated to Prince Eugene of Savoy, shows his connection with the great military leader. Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 23, 38.

⁵¹ Katarina Horvat-Levaj and Relja Seferović, "Baroque Reconstruction of the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik", in: *Dubrovnik annals* 10 (2006), 87-122.

⁵² Katarina Horvat-Levaj, "Nadbiskupska palača – zaboravljeni spomenik dubrovačke barokne arhitekture" [The Archbishop's Palace – the forgotten monument of Baroque Architecture in Dubrovnik], in: *Sic ars deprenditur arte*, Collection of papers in honour of Vladimir Marković, ed. Sanja Cvetnić, Milan Pelc, and Daniel Premerl, Zagreb 2009, 268-269.

⁵³ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 130, f. 29v-30r; 131, f. 134r, 194r, 241r; Horvat-Levaj, "Nadbiskupska palača," 284.

⁵⁴ The Archbishop Lucchesini also invested in the refurbishment of the residence on the Placa. Tanja Trška Miklošić, "Obnove nadbiskupskih posjeda u vrijeme nadbiskupa Giovannijsa Vincenza Lucchesinija" [The restorations of the archdiocesan property in the time of the Archbishop Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini], in: *Peristil* 56 (2013), 143-154.

⁵⁵ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 130, f. 165v; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 34.

the construction,⁵⁶ and not until one year later, on 16 January 1691, they decided to entrust the restoration of the Cathedral to them.⁵⁷

[20] However, Tommaso Napoli was an ambitious architect with the experience of building a similar basilica in Palermo, and with a knowledge of Roman and Neapolitan Baroque sacral architecture, which had changed greatly in the twenty years since the emergence of Bufalini's design. So he wanted to intervene in the unrealised design of the upper zones of Dubrovnik Cathedral, which, of course could not happen without the approval of the Senate (Fig. 11). As early as 1691, on the meeting of 5 May "the father architect" proposed that window openings should be made in the "cross vaulting" (i.e. the main nave and sanctuary), which was accepted with eleven votes (seven votes were cast against the motion).⁵⁸ With haste, on 19 June, the Senate had to decide between the completion of the "cross vaulting in the Cathedral according to the architect's opinion" or keeping "the archetype created in Rome".⁵⁹ They chose Napoli's proposed change of Bufalini's barrel vault with a cross vault by twelve votes to seven. Other than these important changes to the vaulting and lighting, about which there are written decisions, the Cathedral itself – through a comparison between the constructed building and Gradić's analyses ("measures and estimates") of Bufalini's design – shows that Napoli's interventions in the upper part of the Cathedral were far more radical (Fig. 12).



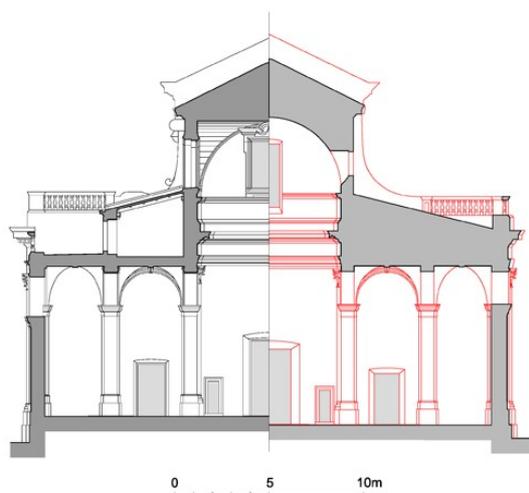
11 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, the upper zone of the Cathedral with terraces above the side chapels, made according to the design of Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)

⁵⁶ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 130, f. 167.

⁵⁷ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 88r.

⁵⁸ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 144v; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 34.

⁵⁹ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 165v; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 34.



12 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, Napoli's changes to Bufalini's design, transverse cross-section with a view towards the main façade, completed state (left), reconstructed original design (right) (architectural drawing: I. Tenšek, I. Valjato-Vrus)

- [21] The differences between the planned design and the constructed Cathedral are noticeable at the level of the entablature, for which Gradić gave precise measurements, insisting that the interior and exterior should be made to be at the same level.⁶⁰ However, the interior entablature in the nave, transept and sanctuary is lower, and the entablature on the main façade is raised, while on the side façades it is reduced to the architrave, on top of which rests the balustrade. The reason for the changes of the interior entablature is connected to the reduction in the height of the main nave of the Cathedral, which was achieved by reducing the attica. With the slight decrease of the architrave and cornice with indentations (the frieze remained the same as in the design) and the more noticeable lowering of the wall above the entablatures, Napoli made the attica almost a metre lower than it had been designed (Fig. 13). The attica, interspersed with pilasters above the curved entablature over the large order of Corinthian pillars, serves as a base for the stone transverse arches of the cross vaulting (Fig. 14).⁶¹ Through the introduction of this more modern type of vaulting, which covered the two-bay sanctuary as well as the four-bay nave, the walls were freed up to enable much larger windows to be punched into the walls than it would have been possible with barrel vaulting.

⁶⁰ SAD, ASMM, *Stefano abate Gradi*, f. 24, 117. This intervention was already brought into question in the time of Andreotti with the placement of the interior and exterior pilasters on different levels, but while the cause of the aforementioned changes were technical, Napoli's changes were primarily made for aesthetic reasons.

⁶¹ The height of the vault – the designed and the applied – remains the same.



13 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, view of the attica and clerestory windows in the main nave modelled according to the design of Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)



14 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, cross vaulting in the main nave constructed according to the design of Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)

[22] The original appearance of the source of light for the main nave and the sanctuary of the Dubrovnik Cathedral is the greatest unknown factor of Bufalini's design, because Gradić does not mention it at all, neither in his measurements nor in his directions for the construction of the vaulting. Although the Senate approved Napoli's "opening" of the windows through the cross vaulting of the Cathedral, it is difficult to imagine that Bufalini had not foreseen clerestory windows in the basilica, they must have just been significantly smaller. Napoli's tall windows were placed in the axis of the bays – four pairs in the nave and two pairs in the sanctuary. Not only did they bring light into the Cathedral space, but their segmented lintels and sculpturally moulded stone frames indented with "ears" (from the interior and exterior sides) enriched the otherwise classical concept of architectural sculpture in the style of the Late Baroque (Fig. 15). Napoli gave special attention when making the interior stone frames of the upper rectangular window in the main façade (which was an integral part of the design), as well as its counterpart

on the back wall of the sanctuary. In addition to the moulded stone frames with "ears", typical Late Baroque decorative details adorned the lintels, with textile motifs and garlands inserted into the central segment of the pediment (Fig. 16). Along with the prominent local masons like Jerolim Skarpa and Ilija Katičić, the artistry in these skilfully carved details was probably also demonstrated by the Neapolitan mason Nicolao dello Gaudio, who worked as Napoli's associate on similar projects in the Rector's Palace.⁶² This new sculptural repertoire was supposed to cover the portal of the Cathedral, as it seems evidenced by the decision of the Senate from 1693 to approve the design of the door.⁶³ Considering that all of the portals of the Cathedral have linear mouldings and classical pediments in line with Bufalini's design, Napoli's recommendation in this section was probably not realised.



15 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, clerestory window from the main nave (photo: P. Mofardin)



16 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, window in the sanctuary with sculptural details made according to the design by Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)

⁶² For more on this see: Horvat-Levaj and Seferović, "Baroque Reconstruction of the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik", 99, 110-111.

⁶³ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 132, f. 223v.

[23] Napoli's intervention in Bufalini's design influenced the formation of the exterior of the upper part of the Cathedral just as radically. The main innovation were the terraces above the side chapels and the sacristy, as opposed to the single awning roofs covered with fluted balustrades envisaged in the design.⁶⁴ But while the side balustrades needed to be raised above the entire entablature in Bufalini's design,⁶⁵ and therefore on the higher level like the balustrades on the main façade, Napoli put them on the appropriate lower level, removing the frieze and cornice. In order for the balustrades of the terraces to be in harmony with the main façade, the façade entablature was raised (to the height of the balustrade), although between those two elements there was an obvious clash that could not be covered, not even with decorative elements of corning with ovulus – angular cones put between the dents.⁶⁶ The construction of terraces above the vaulted side chapels created a need for articulating the walls that formed attics above the side aisles, which were, like the interior attica in the nave, articulated with pilasters and a narrow finishing cornice. Once again, we can recognise the hand of the local craftsman in the small transenne and the mascarones between them (Fig. 17).



17 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, view of the terraces and the upper area with buttresses for the vaulting, made according to the design by Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)

[24] In addition to introducing the terraces, undoubtedly inspired by the Sicilian architectural tradition that began with the already mentioned Dominican church in Palermo, Tommaso Napoli made a strong mark on the exterior appearance of the upper part of the nave, where he placed powerful buttresses with an effective appearance in the shape of a simple volute between the newly formed large windows. With special attention he designed the buttress-volutes in line with the main façade (Fig. 18, 19). The fact that it was formed in such a way that "on top they had a rich geometric bunch of large leaves,

⁶⁴ SAD, ASMM, *Stefano abate Gradi*, f. 23.

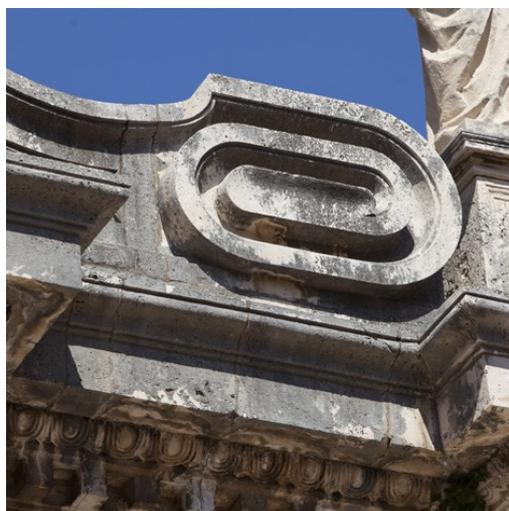
⁶⁵ In all descriptions of the masonry elements of the exterior of the Cathedral, Gradić has a whole entablature above the large order of Corinthian pilasters. SAD, ASMM, *Stefano abate Gradi*, f. 16v, 19, 20.

⁶⁶ In the same way, numerous side balustrades of the sacristy and reliquary rest on the architrave, while their back wall balustrades are on a higher level.

with their ends laid like a snail, stretched and gently twisted as though they were made of putty"⁶⁷ clearly places the construction in the Late Baroque period, and speaks of the southern Italian roots of the author. The upper façade zone itself, between those volutes, was made according to the original design with the slight difference that instead of the planned composite order⁶⁸ the Corinthian order was applied.



18 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, buttresses from the vaulting of the main nave made according to the design by Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)



19 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, façade volute made according to the design by Tommaso Napoli (photo: P. Mofardin)

[25] Parallel to the modernisation of the design, the opportunity also arose for Napoli to intervene in the immediate surroundings of the Cathedral – the square in front of the façade (Držićeva poljana). At that time, opposite the Cathedral, in the former *sub varicos* row by the port, Luka Junijev Sorkočević (Sorgo) restored his Renaissance palace. In addition to expanding to the neighbouring medieval houses in the row, Sorkočević also

⁶⁷ Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 83-92, 89.

⁶⁸ The Composite order on the upper level of the façade is mentioned by Gradić in *Notizie della facciata del Duomo di Ragusa*. SAD, ASMM, Stefano abbate Gradi, f. 97-98.

intended to expand the residence into the free space in front of the Cathedral. For this reason by the beginning of 1689 the Senate had already entrusted the Small Council with the job to ensure that the construction would not inflict "any kind of damage to the square in front of the Cathedral".⁶⁹ By the end of 1691 the construction was suspended, and Napoli was entrusted to rework the palace design,⁷⁰ on the condition that it did not take any space from the square.⁷¹ Without going into the attribution of Napoli's changes to the interior arrangement and furnishing of Sorokočević's reduced palace here, it is worthwhile to note the significance of its newly designed entrance façade. With the design of the façade that incorporated characteristic *bossage* dropping down to the corners, with the elaborate stylised rustic portal, and French windows with balustrades, Napoli formed an elegant backdrop to the square opposite the Cathedral reminiscent of the façades of Roman palaces.

[26] Despite the successful transformation of the design of the Cathedral and its urban surroundings,⁷² the Sicilian architect did not succeed in completing the Dubrovnik Cathedral. Moreover, his new interpretation of the upper area of the building was not finished, because it did not include the transept. Whether the reason for this was a lack of funds, or maybe his frequent absence from Dubrovnik, remains an unanswered question. Although in his work biography he later emphasised with pride his role as the state architect of the Dubrovnik Republic,⁷³ at that time Tommaso Napoli had greater ambitions, connected to an even more powerful client, and that was the Habsburg Court. In October 1690, merely a year and a half after he had assumed his responsibilities in Dubrovnik, he received an invitation to come to one of the largest "royal" Dominican monasteries in Europe – Soriano in Calabria – to finish the task commissioned by the Emperor himself.⁷⁴ In 1691, the year when corrections to Bufalini's design were approved and the construction of the Cathedral intensified, there was no written record of Napoli leaving Dubrovnik, but already by August of the next year the Senate had given the architect permission to be absent from Dubrovnik for the whole month of January, 1693.⁷⁵ In October 1693 Napoli was allowed to relocate for two months to Vienna in

⁶⁹ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 130, f. 5v; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 42.

⁷⁰ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 229r.

⁷¹ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 131, f. 230r-v.

⁷² According to Erik Neil, the similar scenographic resolution will appear later in Napoli's refurbishment of the square – *Piazza Imperiale* – in front of the church *San Domenico*. Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 62-63.

⁷³ For example, at the time of taking up the position of military architect for the Palermo Senate in 1712. Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 316.

⁷⁴ This is apparent in the letters that the prior of the "Royal monastery" Fra Antonio Condometti sent to the people of Dubrovnik on 25 October 1690, asking them to give Napoli leave to go to Soriano for two or three months. It also mentions that Napoli as a gift to the "miraculous" painting of St. Dominic had to hand over two banners confiscated at the base of Belgrade. SAD, *ASSM*, 17th century, vol. IV, doc. 427; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 33. The monastery in Soriano with two churches and five cloisters was badly damaged in an earthquake in 1783.

⁷⁵ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 132, f. 113r.

service of the Emperor's resident, and during that time he was still paid.⁷⁶ Following this in January 1695⁷⁷ and November 1696⁷⁸ permission was given for three- and four-month absences without pay. The last decision brought forward by the Senate on this matter was on 18 March 1698, approving Tommaso Napoli's absence from "the region under our authority" until the next decree. After that there was no news about the Sicilian architect, so it can be concluded that he never returned to Dubrovnik from Vienna, that is, from the Habsburg Monarchy.⁷⁹ This is also implied by the decision to pay his remaining salary, and by the division of his belongings remaining in the Dubrovnik Dominican Monastery.⁸⁰ Regardless of the fact that during his nine-year stay in Dubrovnik Tommaso Napoli was not solely dedicated to tasks in Dubrovnik, he made a strong mark on the Baroque architecture of that city in the last decade of the 17th century, both in the sacral and the secular fields. Through his consistent intervention and with the enrichment of sculptural expression he gave the most representative Baroque building in Dubrovnik – the Cathedral – its better proportions and a more articulated form.

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Ilija Katičić – returning to the Bufalini design and the completion of the Cathedral (1704-1713)

[27] After the departure of Tommaso Maria Napoli, the Senate did not entrust the leadership of the construction of the Cathedral to Italian architects, leaving the honour of the completion of the Cathedral to a local builder, the *protomagister* Ilija Katičić (1647-1728).⁸¹ Whether Ilija Katičić had been included in the construction of the Cathedral earlier, during the time of Tommaso Napoli, remains unknown, but in a letter to the Senate towards the end of the works in November 1712, when seeking payment he states that he invested a lot of effort in order to not only continue the restoration, but to fix that which had been done badly earlier.⁸² The fact is that the construction of the Cathedral remained without its expert architect, and so the contractors found themselves

⁷⁶ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 133, f. 22r, 108v.

⁷⁷ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 134, f. 160v.

⁷⁸ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 135, f. 25r-v.

⁷⁹ Data from the decision of the Small Council stating that Ivan Rafaelov Gučetić (Gozze) should go with the "father architect" to Konavle to perform the regulation of the Ljuta stream and other fast streams implied the employment of Tommaso Napoli in Dubrovnik in 1700. SAD, *Acta Consilii Minorum* (hereon referred to as: *Cons. Minus*), 87, f. 229v; Horvat-Levaj, "Tommaso Napoli u Dubrovniku", 48. But with an insight into the respective decision by the Senate, which preceded it, it is apparent that this was about an unnamed "Jesuit father architect". SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 136, f. 202v-203r.

⁸⁰ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 135, f. 197v-198r, 218r. SAD, *Diversa de foris*, 130, f. 56r-v.

⁸¹ Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 124. It was about the builder and sculptor from Dubrovnik, working on the renewal of numerous public buildings after the earthquake. More on this: Katarina Horvat-Levaj, "Ilija Katičić u baroknoj obnovi Dubrovnika i Perasta – nove spoznaje o životu i djelu dubrovačkog graditelja i klesara" [Ilija Katičić in the Baroque reconstruction of Dubrovnik and Perast – new realisations on the lives and works of the Dubrovnik builders and masons], in: *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* [Annals of the Institute for historical sciences HAZU in Dubrovnik] 44 (2006), 189-218.

⁸² SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 144, f. 94r-95v.

before two unfinished designs – the original Bufalini design and the subsequent Napoli design – this resulted in certain discrepancies and mistakes, which is evidenced by the decision of the Senate in June 1705 that those responsible for the restorations should remove “the shortcomings found in the aforementioned construction”.⁸³ Whether all of the listed shortcomings could, indeed, be removed is difficult to say, because even today there are obvious inconsistencies in the areas that Napoli left unfinished, which is particularly visible in the upper zones of the sanctuary façade.⁸⁴



20 The Cathedral, Dubrovnik, cross vaulting in the nave and sanctuary made according to the design by Tommaso Napoli, and the barrel vaulting in the transept made in the time of Ilija Katičić according to the design of Andrea Bufalini (photo: P. Mofardin)

[28] The clash between the two designs – Bufalini's and Napoli's – or, rather, the return to Bufalini after Napoli, is also evident in the vaulting of the transept, made after the vaulting in the main nave was finished.⁸⁵ Although the interior transept entablature and attica were uniformed with the main nave and the sanctuary (that is, made according to Napoli's design), not only did the vaulting remain barrel, but there was no logical articulation of the vault with transverse arches on the attica pilasters, and the lighting came through large thermal windows at the ends of the transept with dimensions equal to the vaulting and with the appearance equal to the windows in the side chapels (Fig.

⁸³ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 139, f. 182r-v; Horvat-Levaj, "Ilija Katičić u baroknoj obnovi Dubrovnika i Perasta", 200.

⁸⁴ At the rear side of the sanctuary above the Corinthian pilasters the whole entablature is reduced to the architrave, but above this are two attics with pilasters, and the central pilaster of the upper attic awkwardly interrupts the large rear window of the sanctuary. The culmination of the confusion are the exterior buttresses for the vaulting in the sanctuary, erected on the rear wall of the sacristy and the reliquary (where they were supposed to be according to Bufalini's design), hitting the edges of Napoli's side windows to the sanctuary. These bright openings had to be reduced because of the problems on the exterior.

⁸⁵ The fact that the walls of the transept rest on the outer buttresses of the vaults in the nave implies that the upper part of the transept was made after the main nave.

20).⁸⁶ The impressive dome, distinguished by classical elements akin to the lower areas of the Cathedral, also demonstrates the return to Bufalini's design.⁸⁷

- [29] Subsequently, after the completion of the construction of the Cathedral, on 29 January 1713 there was the ceremonial entrance of the Rector, and the blessing of the Cathedral, performed by Archbishop Andrea de Robertis.⁸⁸ The Senate repaid Ilija Katičić with the prestigious title "protomagister of all public buildings", and presented him with the award of fifty ducats and a lifelong salary.⁸⁹ In honour of the main instigator of the whole project – Abbot Stjepan Gradić – the Senate ordered a carved inscription on the façade:
TEMPLUM HOC DEIPARAE ASSUMPTAE SACRUM ADSIDUA CURA INS. ABB. STEPHANI GRADII SENATUS RAG. DE PUBLICO A. D. MDCLXXIV AEDIFICARE COEPIT ATQUE A. MDCCXIII PERFECIT.

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The Roman and the Sicilian contexts of the Dubrovnik Cathedral

- [30] When commissioning the design of the Dubrovnik Cathedral in Rome, Stjepan Gradić had the intention of building a modern monument in his native town. It was to be founded on the highest achievements of Italian architecture, following in the footsteps of the High Renaissance artists, with a stylistic commitment to the classical vein of the Roman Baroque, and so he chose the architectural form of a three-nave basilica with side chapels, a transept and a dome, in accordance with the expectations of the Senate that the new building ground-plan should follow the older cathedral. He also chose designer Andrea Bufalini, who with his theoretical knowledge could fulfil all of these requirements.
- [31] The commission of the three-nave church in the cradle of the Baroque – in the leading city of art and architecture, at the time towards the end of the High Baroque when current spatial dispositions were far more complex⁹⁰ – was anything but modern from today's perspective. Moreover, the preceding Early Baroque period favoured single-nave sacral buildings with side chapels, in accordance with the longitudinal churches common in sacral architecture during the renewal following the Council of Trent. It was within this type, in the famous Roman Jesuit church *Il Gesù* (1568), that Vignola made his important spatial innovation that opened the door to the Early Baroque and its specific centralised longitudinal churches. Through the articulation of the nave with a large order of pilasters

⁸⁶ It is difficult to imagine that Napoli did not foresee the unified design of the vaults and lighting of the main nave and transept, and therefore the return to Bufalini's design probably delineates the construction after his departure.

⁸⁷ The architrave and cornice bear testament to the hands of local craftsmen as the slightly over-condensed cymatia show the "provincial" manner. Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 90.

⁸⁸ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 144 f. 112r-v.

⁸⁹ SAD, *Cons. Rog.*, 144, f. 94r-95r, f. 123v; SAD, *Cons. Minus*, 89, f. 208v; Horvat-Levaj, "Ilija Katičić u baroknoj obnovi Dubrovnika i Perasta", 204-205.

⁹⁰ For more on this see: Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 143-259; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Architettura Barocca*, Milano 1979, 68-126.

and a continuous entablature over which rose a barrel vaulting with lunettes, he directed the movement along the axis towards the dominant dome above the crossing, which by skewing the corners gave the central focus to the longitudinal space.⁹¹

[32] With the gradual acceptance of the aforementioned stylistic innovations, traditional three-nave basilicas were built during the 16th and 17th centuries throughout Italy,⁹² including Rome.⁹³ Amongst them, because of its exceptional similarity to the Dubrovnik Cathedral, the most interesting church is from the Florentine colony, *San Giovanni dei Fiorentini*.⁹⁴ After a number of unbuilt variations on central plans, construction began of a three-nave basilica with side chapels, according to the design of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1567). The aisles were finished by Giacomo della Porta (1583-92), and the transept, sanctuary, and dome by Carlo Maderno (1598-1618).⁹⁵ In accordance with the period of the beginning of construction, the articulation of the main nave with Corinthian pilasters and an entablature without reversal is still modest and flat in the Renaissance fashion, while Maderno's crossing is clearly more sculptural, with slanted piers interspersed by graduated pilasters (Fig. 21, 22). Alongside the Roman Florentine church, another possible model for the Dubrovnik Cathedral, or validation for the "modernity" of its three-nave concept, could be found in the church of Santi Ambrogio e Carlo (*San Carlo al Corso*), which was built in the immediate vicinity of the Croatian Brotherhood of St. Jerome at precisely the same time that Gradić and Bufalini worked together on the design of the future Cathedral. This national church of the Lombardians, built by Onorio Longhi and Martino Longhi the Younger (1612), obtained a clear imprint of the High Baroque by Pietro da Cortona's completion of the sanctuary and the dome (1668-69).⁹⁶ Other than by its uniquely monumental dimensions, San Carlo is impressive for the sculpturality of its interior articulation with projected entablatures above the Corinthian pilasters running along the pillars in the nave, and the bevelled corners of the piers

⁹¹ For more on this see: James S. Ackermann, "The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design", in: *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, New York 1972, 15-28; Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien 1540-1773, Die Baudenkmäler der römischen und der neapolitanischen Ordensprovinz*, vol. 1, Wien 1986, 165-171.

⁹² Nadia Pazzini Paglieri and Rinangelo Paglieri, *Chiese Barocche a Genova e in Liguria*, Genova 1992, 16, 18, 46-48; Anthony Blunt, *Architettura barocca e rococò a Napoli*, Milano 2006, 55, 59; Silvana Savarese, "Francesco Grimaldi e la transizione al Barocco. Una rilettura della Capella del tesoro nel Duomo di Napoli", in: *Barocco Napoletano, Centri e periferie del Barocco*, vol. II, ed. Gaetana Cantone, Roma 1992, 115-136.

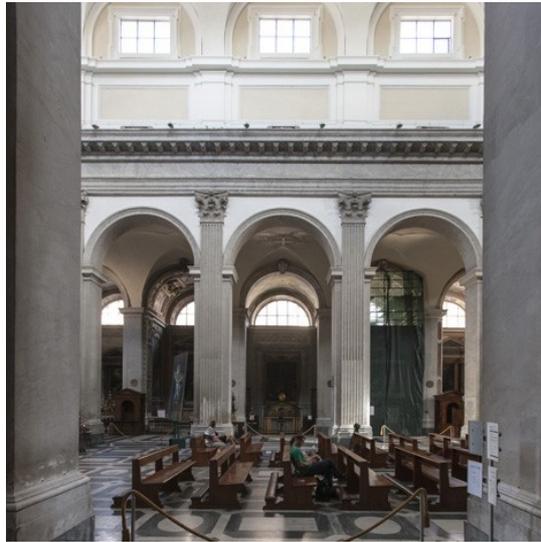
⁹³ The French national church of *San Luigi dei Francesi* (1518) has this three-nave arrangement with side chapels, designed in the Renaissance vein, with panelled Ionic pilasters in the main nave. It was finished in 1589 by Domenico Fontana and Giacomo della Porta. Roberta Bernabei, *Chiese di Roma*, Milano 2007, 115.

⁹⁴ Vladimir Marković maintains that Stjepan Gradić chose this church as a model for the Dubrovnik Cathedral. Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 83-92. On the possible Roman influences see also: Prijatelj, "Barok u Dalmaciji", 716.

⁹⁵ Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1500-1600*, New Haven 1995, 101-102; Herbert Siebenhüner, *S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rom (1518-1534 und 1582-1614)*, Berlin 1956, 172-191.

⁹⁶ Bernabei, *Chiese di Roma*, 34.

supporting the dome over the crossing – elements that Bufalini adopted in the Dubrovnik Cathedral.



21 The church of *San Giovanni dei Fiorentini*, Rome, view towards the aisle and side chapels (photo: P. Mofardin)



22 The church of *San Giovanni dei Fiorentini*, Rome, view of the crossing with the dome (photo: P. Mofardin)

[33] An analysis into the façade of the Dubrovnik Cathedral also shows the similarities of Bufalini's design with contemporary Roman architecture. Appropriately for the basilica, the façade belongs to a two-level type with a wider lower and a narrower upper section. This specifically Italian invention, which began its development in the Early Renaissance, received the Baroque impulse by two Roman churches: the previously mentioned *Il Gesù*, the façade of which was designed by Giacomo della Porta (1573-75), with an increased sculptural intensity in the central part, and *Santa Susanna* by Carlo Maderno (1603), where the movement of the structure in the vertical and horizontal direction is even clearer, and the emphasis on the central axis is even stronger.⁹⁷ At the time of the

⁹⁷ Norberg-Schulz, *Architettura Barocca*, 13; Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1500-1600*, 122; Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 111.

construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral this scheme was interpreted in the High Baroque manner – emphasising the size and verticalism, with an increased significance of columns – in Rainaldi's façade of the church *Sant'Andrea della Valle* (1661-1665).⁹⁸ The façades of the aforementioned Roman churches (all single-nave with side chapels), made like the Dubrovnik façade in travertine, are characterised, alongside the classical orders, by the niches and portals for sculptures, while the unavoidable elements of their upper levels became the distinctive window aediculae with balustrades in the parapet tier.

[34] Variations of the two-level façades in the Roman churches of the period are numerous, and amongst them, thanks to the enrichment of the three-nave spatial organisation with the side chapels, the Dubrovnik façade is one of the more complex (and rarer) variations, as the integration of the upper and lower tiers of the façade was more difficult to achieve due to the great difference in width.⁹⁹ Although the façade concept is interpreted parallel to the doyen proto-Baroque architecture, like Vignola and his façade on the Roman church *Santa Maria dell'Orto* (1566-67), it doesn't achieve such recognisable stylistic developments towards Baroque accents in the central axis, as is the case with the façades of single nave basilicas with side chapels.¹⁰⁰ It were precisely these problems that Bufalini overcame in an original way by introducing side balustrades on the main façade, that extended along the lateral façades, and there were only a few important Roman parallels with balustrades in that position at the time. Although the issue of the covered balustrades was not unheard of in the Roman sacral architecture of the 17th century, this motif was re-inaugurated by Carlo Rainaldi when he put a representative balustrade on two levels along the imposing rear side of the basilica *Santa Maria Maggiore* (1669-75).¹⁰¹ An additional incentive for the application of the balustrade at the Dubrovnik Cathedral could have been another Rainaldi's church, *Gesù e Maria al Corso*: its façade with balustrades above the lower side areas was built at exactly that time (1672-75).

[35] Finally, the dome of the Dubrovnik Cathedral also bears distinctly Roman features. As he did with the façade, Bufalini deviated from the traditional dome, characteristic of the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque basilicas, which served him as a model in planning the spatial organisation of the Cathedral. Emerging in the shadow of the unsurpassable dome of St. Peter's Basilica by Michelangelo, the Roman domes of the 16th and 17th century –

⁹⁸ Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 111. In this context, the façade of the church *Santi Luca e Martina* (1635-69) by Pietro da Cortona should also be mentioned.

⁹⁹ As can be seen in certain examples, such as the Roman church *Santa Maria della Consolazione* (1583-1606) by Martino Longhi the Older. Bernabei, *Chiese di Roma*, 163.

¹⁰⁰ Moreover most of the three-nave Roman churches with side chapels start to resolve the problem of the difference in the width of the upper and lower levels with a larger, more scenic, and wider upper level, as is for example demonstrated in *Santa Maria in Vallicella* by Martin Longhi the Older (1605).

¹⁰¹ The reflections of such procedures can also be found in the works of his collaborators, like Gregorio Tomassini (the unrealised design for the church of *San Salvatore*) and later Carlo Fontana himself (the portico in front of the façade of the basilica of *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, 1702). Vladimir Marković thinks that Bufalini served as a template for Tomassini's unrealised design. Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 89.

including the prototypical church *Il Gesù* – still had octagonally shaped exterior.¹⁰² The Dubrovnik dome, however, has the more demanding curved exterior shape of the drum, finding more similarities with the form and articulation of the dome of the church *Sant'Andrea della Valle*.¹⁰³

[36] Thus, if we consider the Dubrovnik Cathedral in the wider context of Italy, we must evaluate it as a classic interpretation of a classical architectural type, in which, in accordance with his academic status, architect Andrea Bufalini expertly and properly included the main Early Baroque achievements in transformation of the longitudinal type: the centralisation of space with an emphasis on the crossing with dome, and the articulation of the façade with an expansion of the architectural sculpture towards the central axis. There was a long practice of this architectural expression in Rome proper – where similar churches were built and finished at the time (by then it was the High Baroque) – and especially in other parts of Italy. It was an indication that the design of the Dubrovnik Cathedral was not a Renaissance/Early Baroque anachronism in the age of the High Baroque, but rather part of a strain of the Roman Baroque, to which the forthcoming Baroque Classicism, with Carlo Fontana as its most distinguished proponent,¹⁰⁴ brought further legitimacy.

[37] However, because of his different approaches to the individual parts of the Cathedral, from the traditional treatment of the nave and aisles (if we have in mind the barrel vaulting and the small clerestory windows that were designed), to the Baroque crossing and façade and the original instalment of the balustrades, Bufalini's design left some issues open. Namely, a certain conservatism in the design of the interior required corrections, while simultaneously the innovation in the arrangement of the balustrades called for further inventive procedures. The fact that in the key moment of the construction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral, on the eve of progressing to the formation of the upper zones, the renowned architect Tommaso Maria Napoli was hired for the role of construction leader, resulted in its successful reworking. The time when those re-workings took place (the last decade of the 17th century, when Roman architecture had already entered the Late Baroque period) on the one hand, and the places of origin and education of the architect (Sicily and Naples) on the other hand, gave the Dubrovnik Cathedral a new stylistic and regional expression.

[38] Tommaso Napoli intervened in the weakest point of Bufalini's design, which was the overly narrow and poorly lit main nave. By reducing the height of the elongated manneristic attica whilst replacing the barrel vaulting with cross vaulting in order to open space for large windows, he significantly improved the proportions and lighting of the

¹⁰² Siebenhüner, *S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rom*, 189.

¹⁰³ Prijatelj, "Dokumenti za historiju dubrovačke barokne arhitekture", 126.

¹⁰⁴ For more on him see: *Studi sui Fontana, una dinastia di architetti ticinesi a Roma tra Manierismo e Barocco*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Giuseppe Bonaccorso, Roma 2008.

Cathedral interior. However, although this basically functional intervention did not necessarily have to bring about new stylistic features, because cross vaulting and large clerestory windows had already been used in Italian architecture for many years, in designing the openings Napoli did not miss the opportunity to make a strong dynamic mark in the Late Baroque style. In certain sculptural details, like the textile garlands, we can see the reflections of the architect's year-long training in Naples (1679-80) at the time when that city was indisputably dominated by then recently deceased Cosimo Fanzago, whose imaginative decoration remained unsurpassable.¹⁰⁵



23 The church of *San Giuseppe dei Theatini*, Palermo, view of the terraces above the side chapels (photo: K. Horvat-Levaj)



24 The church of *San Domenico*, Palermo, view of the aisles merging into the terraces above the side chapels (photo: K. Horvat-Levaj)

¹⁰⁵ Cantone, *Napoli barocca*, Roma – Bari 1992, 102.

- [39] A more radical transformation was achieved in the voluminous composition of the upper area of the Cathedral, when Tommaso Napoli introduced the terraces above the side chapels and the sacristy. Furthermore, considering the Sicilian tradition of covered terraces in sacral buildings, from the Romanesque period (when the Saracens introduced them) to the Baroque, with the monumental examples of the cathedrals in Catania, Noto, and Piazza Armerina,¹⁰⁶ it would be almost impossible that, upon finding a design with balustrades around almost the entire cathedral, Napoli would make a roof instead of terraces. However, the talented Sicilian architect did not stop at this relatively simple change, but rather with skilful changes he enlivened the whole upper section of the Cathedral. Specifically, unlike the usual Roman practice of equally (or close) high side aisles and side chapels under unified single-awning roofs, for a Sicilian church of that type in the 17th century it was characteristic to have a greater difference between the heights of the chapels and the aisles, so that the side aisle windows would open up towards the terraces above the chapels, which is nicely visible not just at the Dominican church in Palermo, where Tommaso Napoli had worked (1686), but also in the somewhat older Theatine church in the same city (Giacomo Besio, 1612-45) (Fig. 23, 24). Since he could not raise the aisles that had already been built, Napoli enlarged them externally, while at the same time reducing the position of the balustrades by reducing the entablature. Then, masterfully, he gave the whole composition a Baroque expression through the application of powerful buttresses. Parallels for his design of the compressed volutes of the façade can be found in Sicily and Naples.¹⁰⁷
- [40] Thus formed, the Dubrovnik Cathedral received the stamp of distinction within the framework of the Italian Baroque three-nave basilicas. It can be compared to any similar Italian building, not just because of the quality of its spatial organisation and sculptural articulation, but because of the original combination of Roman and Sicilian features it has hence found its place in the development of Italian Baroque architecture. Through the simultaneous unification of the stylistic expression of two different Italian regions, the Cathedral is a witness to the political and amicable relations of the Dubrovnik Republic with the eternal city of Rome and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Tommaso Maria Napoli himself returned to the theme of longitudinal churches only in the later part of his life and career (1711-25), when he finished the church that started his journey as an architect – *San Domenico* in Palermo. His efforts at this time, which were primarily concentrated on the construction of one of two façade bell-towers and the urban solution of the square in front of the church, dominated by a column with the statues of Mary and

¹⁰⁶ Boscarino, *Sicilia barocca*, 131-133, 140-141, 176.

¹⁰⁷ Marković, "Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale", 89. More about the façades of Sicilian Baroque churches see in: Marco Rosario Nobile, *Le Chiese madri di Sicilia, Le facciate delle Chiese madri nella Sicilia del Settecento*, Palermo 2000.

the Habsburg patrons, were enriched by the experiences that he gained in the central European circle, with the protagonists of the Viennese High Baroque architecture.¹⁰⁸

Translation by Rebecca McKay

¹⁰⁸ Neil, *Tomaso Maria Napoli*, 43, see note 72.