

SHORT-LIVED *OPERA BELLA E BUONA*: THE 1564 CHANCEL SCREEN OF THE CHURCH OF ST ROCH IN DUBROVNIK

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Dedicated to professor Igor Fisković, the paper discusses the lost chancel screen made for the church of St Roch in Dubrovnik in 1564. Its design is considered and its graphic reconstruction proposed on the basis of the data in two contracts stipulated between the officials of the lay confraternity of St Roch and Jacob de Spinis, a sculptor of French origin resident of Dubrovnik. Although completed and placed in its position in due time, the chancel screen of St Roch was soon to be removed. The author analyses the probable reasons for that and raises some broader issues relating to the enclosures in the minor churches of Dubrovnik.

Keywords: *Dubrovnik, Religious architecture, Sixteenth century, Chancel screen, Confraternities*

One of professor Igor Fisković's merits is his comprehensive account of the choir enclosures that once stood in mendicant churches along the east Adriatic coast, particularly in friars' churches of Dubrovnik.¹ The 1564 contract for the (lost) chancel screen of the church of St Roch, the seat of the homonymous Dubrovnik lay confraternity, is, however, in many respects a unique piece of evidence concerning the specific kind of liturgical furniture in the minor local churches of the pre-Tridentine era. The aims of this paper are therefore to examine the shape and position of the St Roch chancel screen, to propose its hypothetical (graphic) reconstruction, discuss its meaning within the church space and, ultimately, the reasons for its removal.

St Roch is a sixteenth-century church. Its construction was decided upon in 1526, when the city was struck by one of the most disastrous plagues in its history. Among other immediate measures that were taken, the Great Council of Dubrovnik made a vow to build a shrine dedicated to a saint whose intercession was considered to be most needed.² The provision was repeated during the outburst of plague in 1533,³ but it was not before 1544/45 that construction works began. In actual fact,

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¹ I. FISKOVIĆ, *O unutrašnjem uređenju samostanskih crkava na istočnoj obali Jadrana*, in *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 39, Split, 2001–2002, pp. 227–269.

² (...) *de construendo et fabricando expensis comunis nostri unam capellam sub vocabulo et honorem et laudem Dei et gloriosi confessoris Sancti Rochi ut eius meritis et intercessione clementia Divina repellat a nobis suam iram et flagellum pestilentie*. Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Fond Dubrovačke republike (hereafter: DAD), ser. III – Acta Consilii Rogatorum, vol. 38, f. 191v (December 15th 1526), mentioned by R. JEREMIĆ, J. TADIĆ, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika I*, Belgrade, 1938, p. 93.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

in 1542 the initiative was taken over by the recently established confraternity of St Roch. Shortly after the supplication expressing their willingness to build the edifice had been accepted by the Senate,⁴ the brethren were granted a building site – approximately three quarters of a narrow rectangular insula in the vicinity of All Saints church – hitherto occupied by four ruinous houses.⁵ The perimeter of the building lot would dictate the size and proportions of the church, its front overlooking the All Saints street being approximately 6.5 metres and its sides 15 metres long.⁶

According to a late sixteenth-century account in the confraternity's book of statutes and ordinances,⁷ the construction took thirteen years to complete. That testimony was corroborated by the documentary evidence gathered by Cvito Fisković.⁸ In 1544 the confraternity's officials commissioned stone material for the walls and three portals; in 1553 carved stone elements for the frame of the apse opening were ordered. Allegedly, by the year of 1556, the total expenditure reached 1359 ducats (500 of which were provided by the Commune), and, in 1558, a further shipment of building stone was agreed upon, seemingly for the walls of the apse. Moreover, Cvito Fisković had the great merit of drawing attention to Latin inscriptions on the lateral (east) façade of the church which have earned it most of its fame: in the last decade of the sixteenth century someone, probably the then church rector, chiselled into the wall two curious admonitions to those who had been disturbing his peace by playing ball in front of the building, reminding them that they would eventually die.⁹

The architecture of the church, however, perhaps due to its austere, restrained outer appearance, has never aroused much scholarly interest. Besides the smooth, undecorated ashlar walls and flat corner pilasters, the most prominent feature of its exterior is a classically designed frame of the main entrance portal. As regards the shape of the interior, it is a simple elongated rectangular hall, ending in a large opening of a flat, niche-like barrel-vaulted apse. An unknown historian of the confraternity noted that after the construction had been finished, up to the year of 1592 additional 300 ducats were spent on the works in the interior: plastering of the walls, floor paving, the carved stone chancel screen (*coro di scarpello*) and, eventually, on the singers' balcony (*balatore*).¹⁰ However, with the exception of a modestly decorated frame of the large apsidal opening as well as the ambry in the side wall of the apse (probably one of the last ones before the Tridentine practices were introduced), nothing of the original interior furnishing survives. Nevertheless, the data recorded in two commissioning contracts, for *il choro della chiesa* and *le sedie di dretto del choro*, registered in the public notary book in 1564,¹¹ allow for the discussion of its most remarkable feature: the chancel screen. The confraternity officials

⁴ K. VOJNOVIĆ, *Bratovštine i obrtne korporacije u Republici Dubrovačkoj od XIII. do konca XVIII. vijeka, sv. 1, Bratovštine dubrovačke*, Zagreb, 1899, p. 123.

⁵ On 16th March 1543 the confraternity officials received *unum casale (...) pro construenda et inibi fundanda ecclesia Sancti Rocchi, situm et positum intus civitatem Racusii in via Sancti Domini, ab oriente, occidente et ab austro iuxta viam comunem, ab aquilone iuxta casale fratrum Sancti Dominici (...)*, DAD, ser. XXVI – Diversa notariae, vol. 107, f. 129r, mentioned by K. KOVAČ, *Nikolaus Ragusinus und seine Zeit*, in *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalspflege* XI, Beiblatt, Vienna, 1917, p. 65, and partially transcribed in *Grada o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku. Knj. 2, 1500–1601*, J. TADIĆ (ed.), Belgrade, 1952, p. 170 (doc. 1116).

⁶ Subsequently the street adopted its present name *Za Rokom*.

⁷ Relevant parts of the manuscript (DAD, ser. XXII.1 – Fratrie, vol. 20) were transcribed by K. VOJNOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–125.

⁸ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb, 1947, pp. 96–97.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 96. The inscriptions read:

EGO VOS ANIMADVERTO LVDENTES P.(ILLA) and
PAX VOBIS. MEMENTO MORI QVI LVDETIS PILLA. 1597.

¹⁰ K. VOJNOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹¹ DAD, ser. XXVI – Diversa notariae, vol. 117, ff. 29v–30r (January 14th, 1564), see *Appendix*. The document was first mentioned by V. J. ĐURIĆ, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola*, Belgrade, 1963, p. 185 (note 91), and transcribed by C. FISKOVIĆ, *Les artistes français en Dalmatie du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle*, in *Annales de l'Institut français de*

decided to assign both tasks to Jacob de Spinis (*magister Iacobus Gallus sculptor*), a prominent Dubrovnik mid-sixteenth-century French-born sculptor.¹²

Separating the upper part of the hall-like nave from the rest of the church space, the chancel screen of St Roch (fig. 1) was a rather elaborate construction, made *secondo la forma del disegno presentato*, that is, in compliance with the (lost) drawing that had been supplied as part of the agreement. The description of the screen, written in the vernacular and inserted into the Latin text of the contract (registered in January 1564, see Appendix, I), is fairly detailed, containing the names of all characteristic parts as well as their measures given in cubits (*brachia*; approximately 0.51 metres) and/or inches (*onze*; approximately 4.25 centimetres).

The description begins with a central arched doorway (*la porta del choro*), 1.105 metres wide *in luce* and 2.21 metres high. It was flanked by a pair of pillars, rectangular in section (~21 × 15 centimetres), the arch resting on semi-columns (projecting for ~13 centimetres). The entablature (*l'architravo col friso e la cornice*) above the doorway was 42.5 centimetres high. Regarding the decoration, it was explicitly agreed that the reverse (the internal) sides would be carved in the same fashion as the ones visible from the church.

The screen was raised on a podium (*poggia del choro*) also spanning the entire breadth of the nave, measuring (in depth) ~1.15 metres and elevated by two stairs, each 17 centimetres high, at the front end.

The chancel screen had two symmetrical lower wings which were two metres long. The base moulding (*cornice de basso*) of each had to be thirteen centimetres high, *secondo la base del pillastro grande*, that is, equaling the height of the base of central pillar(s), while the upper triple entablature, consisting of a cornice, perforated frieze and an architrave (*la cornice, lo frexo traforato con l'architravo*), had to be twenty-eight centimetres high. Between the horizontal mouldings (*fra le due cornici*) on either side there were three sculpted panels (*li quadri*) with rounded tops, reaching the height of 1.36 me-

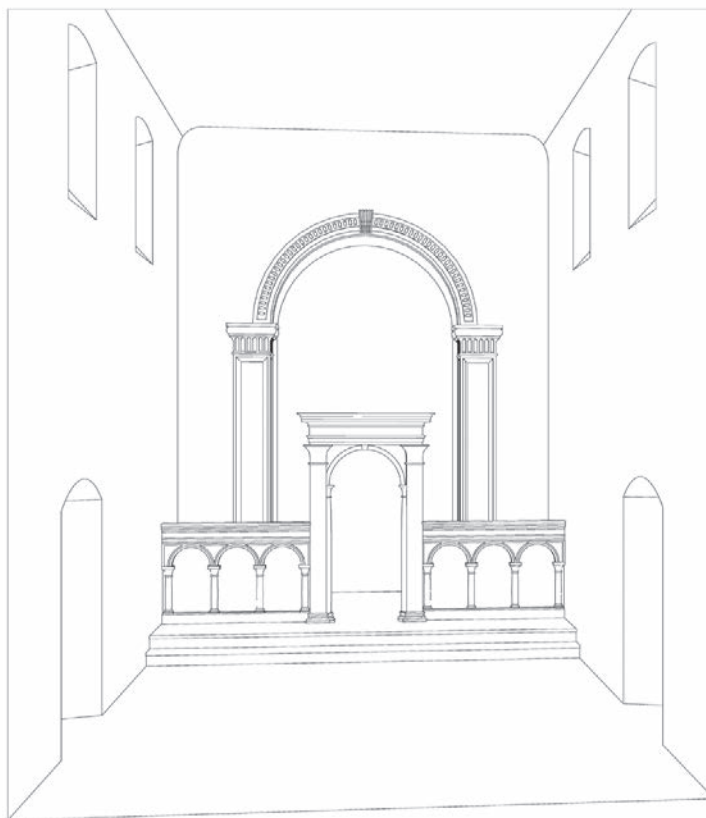


Fig. 1 The interior of the church of St Roch after the completion of the chancel screen (in 1564), schematic reconstruction, graphics by Danijela Šapina, Institute of Art History, Zagreb

Zagreb, 2^{ème} série, 14–17, Zagreb, 1964–1965, pp. 38–39. Due to the fact that the work had to be finished by the forthcoming Easter (2nd April), it can be presumed that the agreement was concluded sometime in the previous year. DAD, ser. XXVI – Diversa notariae, vol. 117, f. 48v (May 4th 1564), see Appendix. The document was transcribed by C. FISKOVIĆ, *Artistes français en Dalmatie*, in *Annales de l'Institut français de Zagreb* 10–11, No. 28–29, Zagreb, 1946–1947, pp. 20–21 (note 6).

¹² The archival data concerning the activity of Jacob de Spinis in Dubrovnik were assembled and commented upon by Cvito Fisković, see C. FISKOVIĆ, *Les artistes français en Dalmatie du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–39. The sculptor's surviving oeuvre has been recently scrutinised and his impact on the local artistic scene reevaluated by Igor Fisković, see I. FISKOVIĆ, *Preobrazbe rječnika kamene ornamentike u Dubrovniku 16. stoljeća*, in *Renaisance i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske* (Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića II), Zagreb, 2008, pp. 209–242.

tres. Divided by balusters (*colonne balaustri*), panels contained the relief effigies of six saintly figures. The two innermost ones – archangel Gabriel on the left and Virgin Mary on the right – made up the iconographic scene of the Annunciation; the central bays of wings involved images of St Jerome (left) and St Blaise (right), the chief patron saints of Illyricum and the city of Dubrovnik respectively, while the outermost panels were decorated with images of the two most venerated plague saints – St Sebastian (left) and the titular saint of the confraternity and the church St Roch (right). At the very end of the contract, apparently upon the instigation of the commissioners, a clause was added which stated that the effigies should be carved in medium relief (*di mezzo relevo*).

Inasmuch as the drawing that complemented the text is missing, the graphic reconstruction of the chancel screen proposed here is not entirely unambiguous. Particularly equivocal are the remarks *computati li scalini* and *con li scalini sicom'e di sopra detto*, concerning the heights of the doorway opening and of the sculpted panels. That is to say, it is not clear whether the respective numerical values comprised the height of the stairs at the front of the screen podium or not; in the former case resulting in a central opening that would be not high enough, unless the dimension given was not that of the summit but of the rectangular part of the arched doorway. Different readings, therefore, impose alternative variants of elevation and the proportions of the screen in its entirety. Moreover, several features remain unmentioned and/or unspecified, in particular the details regarding the joints between the relief panels, balusters and spandrels of the side wings as well as the shape of their top mouldings, including the perforations on the friezes.

As regards the position of the chancel screen in the church, no traces survive whatsoever. The commissioning contract for the benches inside the chancel (registered in May 1564) reveals, however, that those two stone slabs 1.53 metres long, each resting on three corbels (*modiglioni*), were supposed to be *incastrate*, i.e. inserted, presumably along the furthest parts of the side walls, between the screen and the rear wall. Thus, assuming that the length of the benches corresponded with its depth, the surface of the chancel area (excluding the apse) was approximately eight metres square. If the enclosure was mounted on the rearmost edge of the podium (*poggia del choro*), as suggested here, it can be inferred that the stairs of the actual chancel platform are in the exact position of the stairs, i.e. the front, of the podium executed in 1564.

It is beyond doubt that the chancel screen and the benches were completed and installed in the course of 1564. On 5th September the sculptor acknowledged the reception of the entire stipulated amount – forty-five ducats for the screen, augmented by additional two ducats promised to him as a gift should he accomplish to deliver ‘beautiful and good work’ (*opera bella e buona*). On 10th December he was paid off for the stone benches.

Nine years later, in the autumn of 1573, St Roch was visited by Apostolic Visitor Giovanni Francesco Sormani, Bishop of Montefeltro. His report, however, does not mention either the screen or the benches.¹³ As a matter of fact, although the Tridentine reforms are deemed to have been decisive for the eventual disappearance of all kinds of church enclosures, it seems that the themes (*puncta visitationis*) of the first-post Tridentine visitation to Dubrovnik did not include that topic. Thus, apart from the choir screens in the cathedral and the collegiate church of St Blaise, the visitor did not mention but a (wooden!) screen in the church of St Stephen.¹⁴

In its present state (fig. 2), the church of St Roch has two symmetrically arranged door frames flanking the apse, a feature that was certainly not part of the initial project. Up until the early nineteenth century, when the confraternity was abolished and both doorways were walled up, the one to the right of the apse led to the sacristy, and its counterpart to the adjacent house of the confraternity. None of them is, however, attested in the aforementioned documents, and a closer examina-

¹³ Archivio segreto vaticano, Archivum S. Congregationis Concilii, Visitationes apostolicae, 28, 1573 Ragusina visitatio apostolica, ff. 616v–621v.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 577v.

tion of their stone frames clearly reveals that both were subsequently inserted. Accordingly, in the report of 1573 visitation, the sacristy is recorded as 'new' (*sacrarium novum*).¹⁵ As confirmed by the inscription (*SACRARIVM*) above its entrance, there can be no doubt that the visitor was referring to the room on the right-hand side of the apse. In any case, the side openings on the rear wall of the church imply that the confraternity, meanwhile, managed to come into the possession of the adjacent, northernmost part of the city block, hitherto owned by Dominican friars,¹⁶ and to build the house for its own needs, contiguous to the church. The doorway(s) thus inevitably necessitated the removal of the chancel benches and, eventually, the chancel screen.

Regarding the precise sequence of events, it is important to notice that by 1573 at the latest, the church and the building(s) in the northern part of the city block were connected by means of a passage leading through the sacristy: having found out that some brethren,

together with the officials and the church's chaplain occasionally had meals in the sacristy, the visitor ordered that its 'outer' door be walled up.¹⁷ After that passage had been closed, a new one could be opened only on the other side of the apse. Thus, apparently, the decisive reason for the removal of the screen lied in the fact that it was inappropriate for the (new) passage between the church and the confraternity's house to be placed in front of the high altar. Moreover, I would argue that the screen had been disassembled before the opening to the left of the apse was made; judging from the dimensions and the design of its upper mouldings, it can be inferred that the frieze and the cornice are in fact the reused parts of the entablature that previously crowned the central arched doorway of the chancel screen or, in other words, its only surviving elements.

Apart from the issues of design and position, the short-lived chancel screen of the church of St Roch deserves further reflection concerning its meaning and functions. Although no material evidence survives therein, the late medieval sources of Dubrovnik confirm the presence of similar structures in four major city churches, all officiated by priestly congregations – the cathedral by its canons, St Blaise by members of its collegiate chapter, St Francis and St Dominic by friars. As a matter of

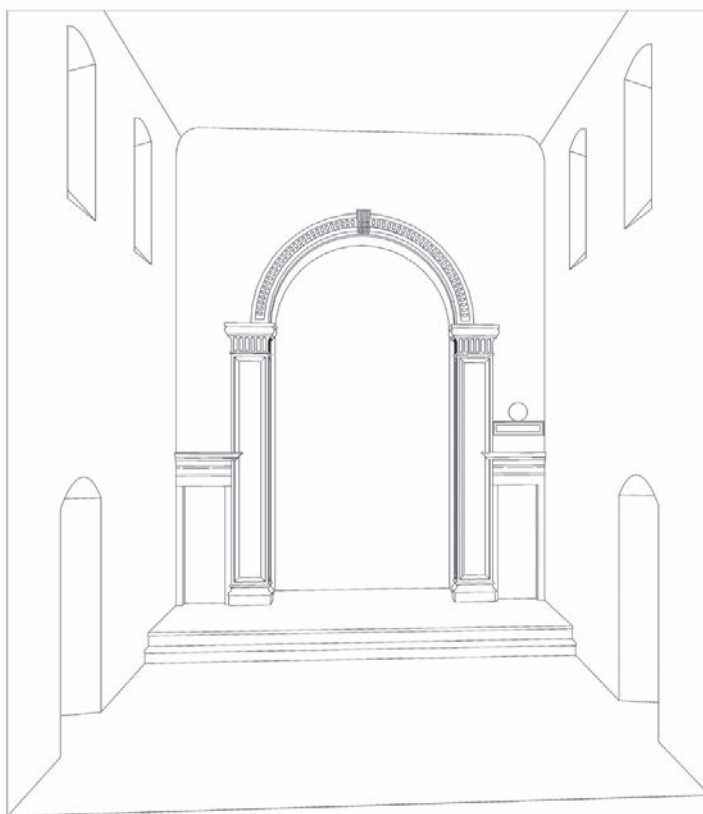


Fig. 2 The interior of the church of St Roch after the removal of the chancel screen, graphics by Danijela Šapina, Institute of Art History, Zagreb

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 617v.

¹⁶ See note 5.

¹⁷ (...) *Visitavit successive sacrarium novum cum hostio per quod unde exiunt et ibi reperit aliqui solitos esse comedere capellatum et priorem societatis et confraternales. Decevit dictum hostium claudendum esse muro tuto infra unum mensem et amplius ibi per predictos in futurum comedendum non esse sub pena scutorum 25 ad pias causas applicaturorum (...).* 1573 Ragusina visitatio apostolica, *op. cit.*, f. 617v.

fact, throughout the east Adriatic region, from the early Middle Ages onwards the enclosures were prominent parts of many church interiors, including those of the smallest scale.¹⁸ In late medieval Dubrovnik accordingly, along with choir precincts in major buildings, different enclosures existed in a number of small-scale ones, regardless of their original (or secondary) purpose, the seats of small monastic communities, confraternities or private churches.

Among those recorded or known so far, the nearest to that of St Roch was the screen commissioned in 1470 for the then newly built church of St Sebastian.¹⁹ Located in the immediate vicinity of the Dominican church and financed by the Commune, the building was a token of collective gratitude for the cessation of the plague that broke out in 1463. The contract for the chancel screen, though, does not contain a single detail regarding its shape or decoration,²⁰ as if the term that was used – simply: *chorus* – had been commonly understood as referring to a typical item, which needed no further explanation. Since both buildings were of approximately equal width, their enclosures were of the same length and, surprisingly, perhaps, despite the time span of almost a century, remained nearly at the same price.

Although no sculpture in Dubrovnik has been interpreted by scholars as such, I would argue that two fifteenth-century relief stone slabs with arcades and effigies of the saints (fig. 3), now on display in the Museum of the Franciscan Convent in Dubrovnik,²¹ are indeed parts of a lost chancel enclosure or, to be more specific, its side wings. Their provenance remains unknown but two of their common traits, also relevant for the discussion about the St Roch screen, deserve to be emphasised: they are monolithic, i.e. not assembled from separately carved parts, and the measures and proportion of the arched fields correspond with the matching features of the St Roch chancel screen as interpreted here.

Yet the St Roch chancel screen certainly differed from its antecedents in Gothic-style churches (e.g. St Sebastian) in the use of classical architectural elements. The sculptor's different background, i.e. his classical training, is discernible in his vocabulary, particularly in the technical terms used in the contract (*cornice, frexo, architravo* etc.). The fact that the text was complemented by a drawing, presumably delineated by the sculptor himself, might also suggest that he was not merely the executor but the author of the design as well. Be that as it may, the unexpected amount of information



Fig. 3 The fragments of fifteenth-century side wings of the chancel screen of an unknown Dubrovnik church (Museum of the Franciscan Convent in Dubrovnik), photo by Ivan Viđen

¹⁸ Apart from the constructions still preserved, the fragments of chancel screens are indeed the most distinguishable part of material findings in archeological excavations of early Medieval church architecture in the region.

¹⁹ As regards the church of St Sebastian, see C. FISKOVIĆ, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*, op. cit., p. 127.

²⁰ DAD, ser. XXVI – *Diversa notariae*, vol. 54, f. 36r (January 9th, 1470).

²¹ Published in I. FISKOVIĆ, *Srednjovjekovna skulptura u samostanu Male braće*, in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, J. V. VELNIĆ (ed.), Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 1985, p. 483, figg. 12–13.

regarding the appearance and measures of the St Roch chancel screen could be indicative not just of its rather uncommon shape but arguably of the absence of an adequate model or 'prototype'. It is very likely that after 1470, i.e. the St Sebastian chancel screen, no similar constructions were manufactured in Dubrovnik; in actual fact during the second half of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century the city saw only several new churches built. The most conspicuous (and a well-documented) one, the church of the Holy Saviour (*Sveti Spas*), was erected during the third decade of the sixteenth century.²² Like the churches of St Sebastian and St Roch, it was also initiated by the Commune as an ex-voto, in memory of its deliverance from the devastating earthquake of 1520.

It is a fact that all three churches mentioned above were built as the fulfillment of a public vow. Since there was no chancel screen in the church of the Holy Saviour, the idea that those constructions would serve in some kind of commemorative public rituals must be rejected. On the other hand, the possibility that chancel screens were required in confraternal churches for the reasons of liturgy should not be dismissed, even though none of the sources contains any information about (possibly distinct) practices of the confraternities of Dubrovnik therein. The truth is that from the sixteenth century onwards St Sebastian housed the confraternity of artillerymen (first attested in 1505), but it remains unclear what group of the pious was originally envisaged to be its 'user' and who was supposed to officiate it.

In conclusion, the reasons for the erection of the chancel screen in St Roch – as opposed to the enclosures in the city's major churches, which were required because they were officiated by priestly congregations – were not primarily, if at all, of liturgical but mostly of practical nature. To be more specific, at the outset, the confraternity did not possess adequate space for its regular gatherings (*capitoli*) other than the church itself. Thus the enclosure was a solution for separating the area of the sanctuary from the nave that was also used for non-liturgical activities. In reference to what has already been said, the reasons of decorum as well as of tradition should definitely not be disregarded. Therefore, although isolated – perhaps the last of its kind in Dubrovnik and by that very circumstance, a unique work – the chancel screen in St Roch belonged to a series of similar constructions stemming from a generic type of liturgical furniture, rooted in the tradition of Pre-Romanesque chancel enclosures.

Appendix: The documents

I

January 14th 1564. The contract between master Jacob the French, sculptor, and the representatives of the confraternity of St Roch for the chancel screen to be delivered before the forthcoming Easter is registered in the public notarial book.

Die XIII ianuarii 1564.

De voluntate, consensu et licentia nobilis ser Orsatti Hieronimi de Crieva qui est unus ex confratribus ecclesie Sancti Rochi civitatis Racusii et magistri Iacobi Galli sculptoris infrascriptum conventionis chirographum super structura chori ecclesie Sancti Rochi celebratis accedente consensu Petri Traiani Calossevich prioris, Florii lanaris et Antonii Carmignolæ officialium dicte confraternitatis et Rochi Fasani ac sociorum dicte societatis confratrum hic registratum fuit, cuius tenor sequitur in hunc modum: Io magistro Iacopo Francese sculptore per conventionem havuta col magnifico ser Orsatto Hieronimo de Crieva, uno delli fratelli de Sancto Rocho, et Piero de Traiano Calossevich, priore della ditta confraternita, et Antonio de Marino Carmignolo et <Florio lanaro> li officiali della ditta confraternita sono venuto con essi loro ivi presenti, stipulanti et accettanti alla infrascritta conventionem

²² C. FISKOVIĆ, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*, op. cit., pp. 141–165.

per far il choro della chiesa di Santo Rocho secondo la forma del disegno presentato. E cussi me obligo di fare lo ditto choro a tutte le mie spese nel modo sera qui di guiso dechiarito e dar lo ditto choro del tutto ispedito dal opera mia di qua per Pascha prossime futura secondo la forma, regula e misure, tanto per il choro e schalini, quanto la porta, secondo sera qui de giu dichiarito. E prima fu convenuto che la porta del choro habbi de esser larga braccia due et onze due in luce e debbe esser alta braccia quattro et onze 4, computati li scalini, la quale porta habbi di essere tanto di fuora, quanto di dentro lavorata secondo per il disegno appare per la parte di fuora.

Il pillastro habbi essere di largheza overo in faccia di onze cinque e di grossezza habbi essere onze tre e mezzo.

Lo pilastrato quale tiene l'arco de ditta porta habbi essere largo onze tre.

L'architravo col frixo e la cornice habbi essere di onze 10 in altezza e le sue spalete habbino essere conformi al altezza predetta.

La poggia del choro con li schalini habbino essere di braccia due, onze 3.

Li due schalini habbino essere alti onze 8 tutti dui, ad onze quattro per cadauno.

La cornice de basso secondo la base del pillastro grande ha di essere alta onze tre.

La cornice, lo frexo traforato con l'architravo sia alto onze sie e mezza et de longhezza habbi essere da uno canto al'altro braccia quattro, manco una onza per cadauna parte.

Li quadri posti fra le due cornici habbino rande al altezza di due bracci et onze 8 con li scalini sicom'e disopra detto.

Le colonne balaustri habbino essere fra li quadri secondo la forma del disegno.

Le figure se hanno ponere nelli quadri sono queste: prima la figura de Santa Maria e dal altra parte l'angelo annunciatore presso la porta de ponente e la Nostra Donna da levante.

Doppo la Nostra Donna Santo Biaggio, al incontro Santo Hieronimo, doppo Santo Rocho e dal altro canto Santo Sebastiano.

Et io magistro Iacopo sopraditto me obrigo con tutti i mei beni di compire la ditta opera posta in Santo Rocho a tutte le mie spese per sin a Pascha prossime futura.

Per la qual opera sopraditta lo dito priore, officiali e confraternita de Santo Rocho, obligando tutti li beni di essa fraternita, promissero al ditto magistro Iacopo ivi presente, stipulante et accettante dare e pagare scudi di ducati quaranta cinque e facendo ditto magistro Iacopo opera bella e buona che la fraternita in segno de buono servitio gli hebbe de piu donare ducati d'oro due. Item fu dechiarito che le figure quali se hano ponere nelli sei quadri debbino essere di mezzo relevo e cussi fu pattuito e convenuto. Renunciando.

Die dicto. Magister Iacobus Gallus sculptor sponte contentus et confessus fuit se habuisse et recepisse a suprascriptis Troiano priore, Florio lanario et Marino Carmignola officialibus ducatos auri decem pro parte et ad bonum computum operis suprascripti. Renunciando.

Die XVII aprilis 1564. Magister Iacobus contrascriptus sponte confessus fuit se habuisse et recipisse a contrascriptis officialibus confraternitatis Sancti Rochi ducatos auri decem in duabus vicibus ab bonum computum operis contrascripti. Renunciando.

Die XI augusti 1564. Magister Iacobus praescriptus sponte confessus fuit se habuisse et recipisse a suprascriptis oficialibus scutatos auri quinque pro resto operis contrascripti. Renunciando.

Die V septembris 1564. Magister Iacobus Gallus contrascriptus sponte contentus et confessus fuit se habuisse et recepisse a Traiano Caloscevich priore confraternitatis Sancti Rochi contrascriptos scutatos quadraginta quinque et de pluri scutatos auri duos sibi promissos pro bono opere. Renunciando.

(DAD, ser. XXVI – Diversa notariae, vol. 117, ff. 29v–30r)

II

May 4th 1564. The contract between master Jacob the French, sculptor, and the representatives of the confraternity of St Roch to deliver two stone benches for the inside of the chancel is registered in the public notarial book.

Die IIII maii 1564.

De voluntate et consensu Troiani Calossevich prioris confraternitatis Sancti Rochi et Florii lanarii offitialis et magistri Iacobi Galli sculptoris infrascriptum chirografum descriptum in folio papyraceo vernaculo sermone hic descriptum fuit pro dictarum partium cautelam et securitate cuius exemplum tale est:

Accordio fatto infra Troiano Calossevich priore della confraternita de Santo Rocho e Florio lanaro offitiale da una parte e magistro Iacopo Francese ivi presente quali convenero in questa forma per fare le sedie di dretto del choro della chiesa di Santo Rocho.

Et prima sei modiglioni, tre per cadauna parte e banda, lavorate con el scartozzo per le bande et abbasso la zampa di leone, con le sue soaze abasso a modo de pedate, circondando al intorno per de sotto, come me li avette mostrato in la forma, con le sue tavole di pietra alte onze due e mezzo, con le sue soaze, longe braccia tre, di uno pezzo e piu se bissognera, di largheza onze 8, e serano incastrate nel choro come meglio al magistro parera e tutto s'ha di fare per el pregio de scudi d'oro diecesette. L'altezza del sedere ha di essere di braccio uno, onza una, con li modiglioni e tavoloni.

Promittentes dicte partes observare omnia contenta in suprascripto chirographo et contra ea non venire per se aut aliquam aliam interpositam personam. Renuntiando.

Die 28 septembris 1564. Magister Iacobus Gallus contrascriptus sponte dixit et declaravit se pro parte contrascriptorum scutatorum decem et septem habuisse et recepisse in duabus vicibus scutatos auri tresdecim, videlicet scutatos decem iam a quondam ser Francisco Parisio notario et a Rocho Phasiano aromatario et nuper scutatos tres a Traiano Caloscevich. Renuntiando.

Die X decembris 1564. Magister Iacobus Gallus suprascriptus sponte confessus fuit recepisse a Traiano priore Sancti Rochi scutatos quatuor pro integra solutione sui operis.

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OPERA BELLA E BUONA KRATKOGA VIJEKA – OGRADA SVETIŠTA CRKVE SV. ROKA U DUBROVNIKU IZ 1564. GODINE

U tekstu se analiziraju arhivske vijesti o ogradi svetišta bratovštinske crkve sv. Roka, najbolje dokumentiranoj a, s obzirom na promjene koje će uslijediti provedbom zaključaka Tridentskog crkvenog sabora, zacijelo i posljednjom izvedenoj konstrukciji te vrste u Dubrovniku.

Odluka o tome da se šezdesetak godina poslije gradnje sv. Sebastijana unutar gradskih zidina podigne zavjetna crkva posvećena drugom najvažnijem zaštitniku od kuge – sv. Roku – donesena je u Velikom vijeću 1526. godine, ubrzo poslije izbijanja jedne od najsmrtonosnijih kužnih epidemija u dubrovačkoj povijesti. Ispunjavanje zavjeta započelo je tek 1542. godine, kada zadaću preuzima novoutemeljena bratovština Sv. Roka. Odlukom Vijeća umoljenih dodijeljeno joj je zemljište u ulici Svih Svetih (danas: *Za Rokom*), a gradnja crkve, financirana dijelom javnim novcem a dijelom sredstvima koje su prikupili bratimi, potrajat će do 1556. Osmam godina poslije, u siječnju 1564. godine, predstavnici bratovštine ugovorili su izradu ograde svetišta s majstorom Jakovom de Spinisom, kiparom francuskog podrijetla koji je u Dubrovnik oko 1550. stigao iz Venecije.

Opisi i dimenzije karakterističnih dijelova kamene konstrukcije ograde svetišta zabilježeni u ugovoru (koji se donosi u prilogu teksta) omogućili su shematsku (grafičku) rekonstrukciju tog najistaknutijeg dijela opreme interijera Sv. Roka. Postavljena na podiju uzdignutom za visinu dvaju stuba, ograda (koja se u ugovoru naziva jednostavno: *il choro*) u središtu je imala vrata završena lukom oslo-njenim na polustupove, prislonjenim uz masivne stubove pravokutnog presjeka koji su nosili završno gređe. Između stubova okvira središnjeg otvora i bočnih zidova crkve protezala su se niža bočna krila ograde. Prednje plohe su im bile raščlanjene stupićima koji su nosili arkadu, a u šest lučno završenih polja (po tri na svakoj strani) nalazili su se klesani reljefni likovi svetaca: lijevo i desno od središnjeg otvora arkandeo Gabrijel i Bogorodica, dionici prizora Navještenja, u središnjim poljima likovi svetih zaštitnika Ilirika i grada Dubrovnika, sv. Jeronima (lijevo) i sv. Vlaha (desno), a u krajnjim poljima dvojice najčešće zazivanih zaštitnika od kužne pošasti – sv. Sebastijana (lijevo) i sv. Roka (desno). Bočna krila imala su profilirane baze i, jednako kao i središnji okvir vrata, bila završena trodijelnim gređem. Točan položaj ograde u prostoru crkve bilo je moguće utvrditi zahvaljujući podatku o dimenzijama kamenih klupa u svetištu koje su još iste, 1564. godine, također naručene od Spinisa; ograda je bila udaljena od apsidalnog zida crkve tri lakta (otprilike 1,5 m), što znači da je ograđeni prostor pred svetištem (ne računajući apsidu) imao površinu od otprilike 8 m².

Zabilježbe o tome da je majstoru u cijelosti isplaćen ugovoreni iznos a povrh toga i nagrada od dva dukata koju su mu predstavnici Bratovštine obećali bude li njegov rad ocijenjen "lijepim i dobrim" (*opera bella e buona*), otklanjaju svaku sumnju u to da je ograda u predviđenom roku bila doista dovršena i postavljena na svoje mjesto. Devet godina poslije, međutim, potkraj 1573., u izvješću svog pohoda Dubrovniku, apostolski vizitator Giovanni Francesco Sormani ogradu svetišta u Sv. Roku ne spominje. Premda se ne može kategorički ustvrditi da je ograda uklonjena već prije njegova dolaska, važno je istaknuti da se u istom dokumentu prvi put, i to kao "nova", spominje sakristija crkve sv. Roka. Posrijedi je neprijeporno prostorija dostupna putem otvora vrata na zidu svetišta, desno uz apsidu (evidentno probijena poslije dovršetka gradnje crkve), na što upućuje i natpis SACRARIVM, uklesan na ploči nad spomenutim vratima. Postojanje sakristije, a potom i pojava još jednog, zrcalno (lijevo od trijumfalnog luka apside) postavljenog otvora jednakih dimenzija (koji je prostor crkve povezivao sa susjednom bratovštinskom kućom), svjedoče da je Bratovština u međuvremenu uspjela doći u posjed preostalog (sjevernog) dijela bloka koji je u vremenu gradnje crkve bio u vlasništvu Dominikanaca. Na temelju analize kamene plastike, u tekstu se, štoviše, postavlja hipoteza da je gređe iznad potonjeg otvora vrata sastavljeno od sekundarno upotrijebljenih dijelova završnog gređa nad središnjim vratima (prethodno demontirane) Spinisove ograde svetišta.

U nastojanju da se pronikne u razloge naručivanja i postavljanja ograde svetišta u crkvi sv. Roka, u završnom su dijelu teksta spoznaje o njoj promotrene u kontekstu arhivskih vijesti o manjim du-

brovačkim crkvama, poglavito onima građenim u 15. i 16. stoljeću. Osim činjenice da je riječ o elementu opreme crkvenih prostora čije tradicije sežu duboko u rani srednji vijek, ukazuje se i na to da ograde svetišta u naznačenom vremenu zacijelo nisu bile "nužni" dijelovi interijera zavjetnih crkava u Dubrovniku, budući da ju crkva Sv. Spasa, izgrađena u trećem desetljeću 16. stoljeća, u znak zahvalnosti gradske zajednice za izbavljenje od potresa 1520., nije imala. Osim toga, ne postoje ni ikakve indicije da bi ograde svetišta bile podizane zbog specifičnih zahtjeva liturgije u bratovštinskim crkvama. Ogradu svetišta imala je, naime, i crkva sv. Sebastijana, izgrađena poslije kuge sredinom druge polovice 15. stoljeća, premda, koliko je poznato, nije bila namijenjena da bude sjedište neke od bratovština. Stoga se zaključuje da je ograda kojom je svetište crkve sv. Roka bilo odijeljeno od prostora njezine lađe naručena i postavljena u prvom redu zato što je prostor crkve – dakako, prije no što će biti dovršena bratovštinska kuća – osim za liturgijske svečanosti, služio i kao mjesto održavanja kapitula (plenarnih sastanaka) i drugih okupljanja članova Bratovštine.

Ključne riječi: *Dubrovnik, sakralna arhitektura, 16. stoljeće, ograda svetišta, bratovštine*