

THE VENETIAN IMPACT ON URBAN CHANGE IN DALMATIAN TOWNS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The analysis in this paper focuses on the question of how the constructed environments in Dalmatian towns expressed their ties with Venice in the first half of the fifteenth century. Particular emphasis has been accorded to the (re)construction of town citadels and count's palaces in Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir and Split.

Key words: Dalmatian towns, Republic of Venice, public buildings, fifteenth century, urban history, citadel, governmental palace

BENEŠKI VPLIV NA URBANE SPREMEMBE V DALMATINSKIH MESTIH V PRVI POLOVICI 15. STOLJETJA

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek analizira v kolikšni meri je grajeni prostor dalmatinskih mest odraz njihovih odnosov z Benetkami v prvi polovici 15. stoljetja. Poseban poudarek je namenjen (re)konstrukciji mestnih kaštelov in knežjih palač v Zadru, Šibeniku, Trogiru in Splitu.

Ključne besede: dalmatinska mesta, Beneška republika, javne stavbe, 15. stoljetje, urbana zgodovina, kaštel, komunske palače

L'INFLUENZA DI VENEZIA SUI CAMBIAMENTI URBANI DELLE CITTÀ DALMATE NELLA PRIMA METÀ DEL XV SECOLO

SINTESI

L'analisi presentata in questo saggio è volta a stabilire se gli assetti urbani delle città dalmate riflettano, nella prima metà del XV secolo, lo stretto legame con Venezia. Particolare attenzione è posta sulla (ri)costruzione dei castelli urbani e dei palazzi dei conti di Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir e Split.

Parole chiave: città dalmate, Repubblica di Venezia, edifici pubblici, XV secolo, storia urbana, castello, palazzi comunali

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an overview of how the constructed environments in Dalmatian towns expressed their ties with Venice in the fifteenth century, based on the example of four communes: Zadar/Zadar, Šibenik/Šibenik, Trogir/Trogir and Split/Split in the first decades after the Venetian conquest. The central question concerns the relationship between the old—that is, what Venice found in the Dalmatian towns—and the new; the relationship between Venice and local communities in the period that ensued and how this was reflected in the urban structure (especially citadels and governmental palaces).¹ Not all Dalmatian towns have preserved their appearances from the fifteenth century.² For this reason archaeological, pictorial and historical (archival) research—and indeed an interdisciplinary approach—are of supreme importance. Different types of written documents are to be used for this research: the archival material drafted by or addressed to the Venetian authorities of Dalmatia (general series of the Senate, Maggior Consiglio, Council of Ten).³ The rich collection of sources in the Croatian archives (especially the State Archive of Zadar) enhances the foundation of our understanding of Venetian–Dalmatian relations prior to 1500. This extensive material contains a great deal of information on repairs, construction, use and patronage of public and private buildings, on (fears of) military revolts, military questions, and the oversight of the local authorities. It would also be important to follow the trail of Venetian officials in Dalmatian towns to whom responsibility and oversight of public works were entrusted (*Dispacci*). However, most of the dispatch series in the Archivio di Stato in Venice begin in the 1530s.⁴ It is also important to study narrative sources from later periods to supplement incomplete information. Pictorial representations are very important for the study of fortifications (old maps, *vedute*, etc). These postdate the fifteenth century but they contain essential information about the material conditions and appearance of the towns under analysis here.

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- 1 There are no systematic studies that focus specifically on the Venetian influence on urban development in Dalmatian towns (such as Maria Georgopoulou's study on Crete; Georgopoulou, 2001).
 - 2 Due to later reconstructions, frequent demolitions and new buildings, the old medieval urban core of the largest town and the provincial seat, Zadar, was less preserved. On the other hand, Trogir, the smallest of these four towns, managed to preserve much of its medieval core.
 - 3 Local counts (because of their duties) had much engagement with, and great knowledge of, the individual towns, as they oversaw the entire territory or region.
 - 4 *Dispacci antichi di ambasciatori, rettori ed altre cariche e lettere antiche, 1321-1599*, Archivio di Stato, Venice. *Provveditori alle fortezze* were established in 1542. J.R. Hale, *The First Fifty Years of a Venetian Magistracy: The Provveditori alle Fortezze*, in *Renaissance. Studies in Honour of Hans Baron*, a c. di A. Molho e J.A. Tedeschi, Firenze 1971, pp. 499-529. Still, much of the missing content can be found in other series of documents (Ilardi, 1962, 73; della Rocca, 1959), such as the deliberations of the Senate – this series of registers contain relevant instructions, correspondence and resolutions relations (the content of the dispatches are summarized in the beginning of deliberations and then the Senate's reply follows. (Only the replies have been preserved.) The records of the Collegio also contain data on relations with officials and ambassadors.



The loggia in Trogir, 20th c.

THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

The Dalmatian communes on the eastern Adriatic coast were subjected to constant Venetian pressure since early medieval times: its towns, ports and islands enabled Venetian ships to sail safely and find shelter, services and supplies. Venice depended on the Adriatic because it connected the Republic with its overseas possessions and the Levant (especially after the pillage of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire on the Bosphorus). It was necessary that the entire Adriatic enhanced the glory of *La Serenissima* as dominance over the Adriatic gulf was rooted in the political culture of Venice, and it was central to the Venetian mythology (including the Ascension Day ceremony in which the doge “married the sea”) (Tenenti, 1973; Benyovsky, 2002/2003, Descendre, 2007, 55-74; Vivo, 2003, 159-176 Arbel, 1996, 947-985; Schmitt-Israel, eds. 2013; Arbel, 2013, 137).

Venetian efforts at domination of the eastern Adriatic began in the year 1000 with a naval expedition commanded by Doge Pietro II Orseolo, who first established control over the Adriatic as the “Gulf of Venice”. In subsequent centuries, Venice exerted influence as a commercial and maritime power on the Adriatic, and was periodically in a position to establish its authority over Dalmatian towns (Ortalli – Schmitt, eds. 2009). But in 1358, all Venetian possessions in Dalmatia were returned to the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom and were thus once more integrated into their Croatian hinterland (Budak, 1997, 181-201; Gruber, 1903; Gruber, 1906). However, the situation was to become unstable in the last decades of the 14th century. After 1382, when the King Louis I died without male heirs, Sigismund of Luxemburg, his son-in-law and Sigismund’s cousin Ladislaus of Naples enforced their previous struggle for the Hungarian crown. Exploiting this conflict, Venice re-established

its rule over the Dalmatian coast during the first half of the fifteenth century. On 9 June 1409, Hungarian king Ladislaus sold the towns of Zadar and Novigrad (Novegradi), the island of Pag (Pago) and all rights of Dalmatia to Venice for 100,000 ducats. The way for Venice's formal and definitive entry was thus opened (*Santa intrada*). La Serenissima gradually expanded its government (either willingly or by force) to the Eastern Adriatic seaboard, including all major towns and islands (Ančić, 2009; Raukar, 1982; Mueller, 1996, 31). Still, until 1420 there was still a struggle between Venice and Sigismund of Hungary over a part of Dalmatia, and some Dalmatian towns supported the king and expected his aid against Venetian conquest (Benyovsky Latin, 2009; Rački, 1868, 94, 100).⁵ In 1420, Venetian domination was imposed over towns and islands all the way down the coast, with the exception of the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and, north of Senj (Segna), the fief of the Frankopans, a Croatian family of magnates. Dalmatia, a province stretching from the island of Krk (Veglia) to the island of Korčula (Curcula) – currently part of Croatia – was a part of Venetian territory on the East Adriatic seaboard (from Istria to Albania), and called *Colfo* or *Culphum* (Raukar, 1982, 54; Mueller, 1996). The province was under the rule of Venetian officials who governed each Dalmatian commune, and they were directly subordinated to the doge. The decisions of the Venetian government were to be executed in the same manner throughout the entire area of the *Stato da mar* (from the Adriatic to the Levant) (Schmitt, 2009, 77-101). Venetian administrative organization differentiated between two main components of its state – the city of Venice and the rest of its territory, in which the *terre da mar* were among the most important (Sander, 2011, 73; O'Connell, 2009, 2, 31).⁶

At the turn of the fifteenth century, conditions for the expansion of Venetian territory – an ambition that arose from the centuries-long desire for domination – were optimal. As a result of military actions and diplomacy at the turn of the fifteenth century, *La Serenissima* doubled both its territory and population. The fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were a period when the Republic assumed its most complete form. Urban communes in the Eastern Adriatic were vital parts of the systematically organized territorial state (empire) (Povolo, 2000, 491-519; Martin – Romani, 2000, 12; Paladini, 2000). Venetian expansion in the fifteenth century was also motivated by a desire to increase the economic wealth.⁷ The commercial interests of Venice in the fifteenth century not only encompassed Levantine luxury goods, but also a monopoly over trade in the Adriatic and the distribution of salt, grain and lumber (Mallett - Hale, 2006, 7). To keep its position as a major emporium for international trade between the northern Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean in

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- 5 In 1409 the Venetians called on Trogir and Šibenik to recognize their rule and subjected these towns to economic isolation to hasten their capitulation. Venice banned its ships from entering these towns and trading with them. It took a three-year siege for Šibenik, weakened by internal unrest, to declare defeat in 1412. In early 1419, the Venetians sent Captain Marco Miani to Trogir and Split with instructions to prevent the entrance of all ships into these towns, and to treat Venetian ships that broke that rule as enemy vessels.
 - 6 From the sixteenth century onward, there were several territorial units within the larger regional authority of the *provveditore generale*. In the sixteenth century, the residence of the *provveditore generale in Dalmazia e Albania* was in Zadar, and there were regional magistracies established, such as the *generale della Cavalleria* and the *Provveditore alle Isole della Dalmazia* (Benjamin Arbel, 2013 151; Ortalli, 2002)
 - 7 For economic reasons, a monopoly on important products, such as wheat and salt, was introduced. Local procedures for permitting the sale of these products to Venice at fixed prices were introduced.

the fifteenth century, Venice had to control a strategic network of harbours and ports (Gertwagen, 2002, 373). Venice relied on all parts of the *Stato da mar*: there were many opportunities for provisioning passing fleets, where Venetian nobles could hold salaried governmental posts and tax revenues could be collected (Mueller, 1994, 30; Lane, 1933, 219-239). Human resources were also recruited for the advancement of Venice: Dalmatian towns provided sailors for ships and labourers to build fortifications (Krekić, 1996).

With the exception of the *Terraferma*, the Venetian Republic was exclusively maritime in the fifteenth century, and therefore characterized by relatively uniform problems and needs. However, the Venetian state was neither geographically or geopolitically coherent. Because of its territorial diversity, the policies differentiated between the centre and peripheries, but the legal and administrative systems, the networks of power (Gozzi, ed., 1980; O'Connell, 2009), the system of fortifications and the state symbols (Calabi, 1991, 862) unified the territory. The fusion of Venice with the *Stato da mar* was further prevented by the unique Venetian position in the area – its location, security, political longevity and the stability of its institutions.

AUTHORITY AND PROPERTY

Urban changes in Dalmatian towns in the early decades of the fifteenth century revealed the Venetian intention of emphasizing its sovereignty and protection, as well as its efforts to bring local needs in line with the aspirations of the metropolis. As A. Tenenti pointed out, Venice had always regarded Adriatic “as ‘its own’ gulf in the most possessive sense of the term, that is, an integral part of its jurisdiction” (Tenenti, 1973, 29). At the onset of the fifteenth century, the concept of *comune Veneciarum* was replaced by the concept of *Dominium* (Ortalli et al., 2007, I, 360). At the local level, the newly acquired Dalmatian towns retained many of their distinctive traits, including some elements of self-government (town councils, statutes etc.)⁸ (Šunjić, 1967, 97; Chittolini, 1970). However, the fifteenth century signified a shift in the relationship between the central authorities and members of the local elites, as the power of the latter were considerably curtailed. Gradually, the Venetian presence created new loyalties (and new conflicts): the Venetians relied on some of the local patriciate and *popolani* (Novak, 1965). Although the urban patriciate partially headed resistance to Venetian rule, circumstances gradually changed. Although the urban patriciate partially headed resistance to Venetian rule, circumstances gradually changed because of complex situation with the competition between Ladislaus and Sigismund for the throne.⁹ Some local noblemen increased their social standing by participating in the Venetian government (for instance, the patrician families Detrico¹⁰ Begna¹¹ and Matafari¹²). The “loyal” patricians were officially treated just like the citizens

8 However only regulations and decisions that complied with Venetian policies were retained, as elsewhere in the *Stato da mar*.

9 Some of these families such as Matafari were among the greatest adherents of the Anjou dynasty before.

10 Simone Detrico received *grazia* award for his loyalty in Zadar (he was later appointed the count of Trogir (DT, I, 41).

11 Simone Begna (DT, I, 68).

12 For instance, the Zadar count Venier (who composed the Zadar *Catasto*) had close family connections with

of Venice (Pederin, 1990, 14; Gligo, 1996, 9). Their position was partly reflected in the locations of their palaces in the towns. The Cippico grand palace (a typical *sopracomiti* family of Venetian Dalmatia) in Trogir represents a surviving example of the influence of Venetian architecture on residential architecture in the fifteenth century.¹³



The Papalić “Little Palace”, Split

Among the buildings that promoted Venice’s political authority and presence in Dalmatia were structures central to the exercise of control, such as military structures (especially citadels in the fifteenth century) and governmental (count’s) palaces. Immediately

the Zadar noble family Matafari.

13 Even if state directives did not regulate construction techniques, there were trends: the “vernacular” architecture of Venice must have been a constant point of reference. Other examples in Split include the Papalić Little Palace, the D’Augubio Palace, the palace in Domaldova Street and Grisogono Palace in the Peristil (Kečkemet, 2004, I, 154). In Zadar there are only partial elements preserved: the balcony of the Ghirardini Palace, the Nassi Palace, the Petrizio Palace, etc. (Petricioli, 2005, 155).

after the conquest, Venice launched the restoration of ruined Dalmatian towns, but it only restored public buildings and priority structures such as fortifications. The cost of repairs to private houses and towers was most likely borne by private individuals¹⁴ (Lucio, 1647, 449-469; DAZd-AT, 66/33, 39v).¹⁵ The Venetian authorities invested great care into constructing fortifications, a project that was adapted to suit Venetian military and political interests. Other (public) urban spaces too began to signify the presence of a new authority in their appearance (with symbols of St. Mark). The new government played a decisive role in certain elements of urban transformation, but not all changes were the result of its will alone. Venetians recognized almost all of the previous property relations in Dalmatian towns (Ljubić, 1886, 30, 72, 94).¹⁶ It did not include urban space and buildings of “public” (e.g. Venetian) interest.¹⁷ For examples, the property around the palaces of the Zadar count and captain were “communalized”: houses became state property and the former owners received estates outside the town in exchange. These owners were “loyal” Zadar patricians who assisted in the “voluntary surrender of the town”.¹⁸ Recognition of old property rights excluded opponents of Venetian rule. The estates of ‘disloyal’ locals, supporters of the Hungarian king prior to the 1409-1420 conquest, were confiscated and used for Venetian purposes (AHAZU-10, 20, 39-42; Ljubić, 1882, 303; Ljubić, 1886, 105-106).¹⁹ Most of these assets were eventually sold to locals (Ljubić, 1886, 29-31).²⁰ In Dalmatian towns, most of the urban real estate in the first half of the fifteenth century was owned by local, albeit ‘loyal’, individuals and families. There were no colonists in Dalmatia, but the government ruled through local elites (O’Connell, 2013; O’Connell, 2004).²¹

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- 14 In the fifteenth century, the Venetian architectural tradition only partially influenced private construction projects. During rebuilds, old architectural elements were often left, from different periods.
- 15 So, for instance, the Trogir tower of St. Nicholas became uninhabitable—described by contemporaries as ‘open, falling to pieces and in the worst possible condition’—following Venetian bombardment in 1420.
- 16 In Trogir too, the Venetians recognized old property rights in the city: all noblemen and *popolani*, religious and lay persons, were entitled to keep their pre-1420 positions and enjoy their movable and fixed assets.
- 17 (Benyovsky Latin, 2009) In Trogir, it did not include ‘certain towers or large houses’ in towns, which were supposed to be placed at the disposal of the new government (Lučić, 1979, 929). The latter referred to Trogir, Split and Šibenik. In Trogir, after 1420, all urban towers had to be lowered to the height of the city walls.
- 18 The fifteenth-century Zadar cadastre contains interesting data on Venetian property in the city in the early decades of the fifteenth century. The list of property shows which were the “Venetian properties” in the town.
- 19 Their estates outside the city were frequently bequeathed to ‘loyal’ citizens. For instance in 1420, the Venetian government confiscated the estates of its former opponents in Trogir. On 16 October 1420, Count Simone Detrico decided that all confiscated estates, land and buildings would become communal property, and that the commune would lease those. But the money received from selling those assets no longer belonged to the council, but to Venice.
- 20 Except in the cases of the fiercest Venetian opponents, such as the bishop and the captain, most of the exiled individuals were allowed to return to the city. First, however, they had to introduce themselves to the Doge.
- 21 Although most of the *Stato da mar* territories were not inhabited predominantly by Venetians, they were governed by them (Tenenti, sense, 18). On Crete, moreover, Venice sent colonists who established deep roots there and retained ties to Venetian society (Veneto-Cretan patriciate) (O’Connell, 2009). Those Venetians settled entire city quarters and were the chief owners or the urban space.



Cippico Grand Palace in Trogir on the main square (photo: Joško Ćurković)

In addition to the incorporation of Dalmatian towns in the *Stato da mar* in the fifteenth century, many local factors contributed significantly to the changes that took place and their tempo. Only in some cases, organized demolitions and new construction were instigated by the Venetian administration. Political authority over towns was exercised by the control of important structures in the town (such as fortifications) that signified political legitimacy. The occupation or rebuilding of such structures erased the memory as well as the symbols of the previous ruler. The focus of renovation was the construction of the fortifications, because they were the foundation of security, and the public buildings that were needed for administration of a town.

CITADELS (CASTELLI)

Venice was quite preoccupied with fortifications in all parts of its state. The main concern in the Dalmatian towns, as in the towns of the *Terraferma*, was the citadels.²² They had to ensure defence and surveillance of eastern Adriatic maritime routes. Their main role was to serve as steadfast strongholds against enemies. For this reason, funds were allocated for these purpose from both the centre and local chambers. Local communities were expected to provide all labour and contribute to the costs of constructing local fortifications (Mallett, Hale, 2006, 88). In Dalmatian towns, local income often could not contribute much, so Venice assumed the costs of most fortification works (ASV, Senato Delib. VIII, 174v). For instance, the count of Trogir received 1000 ducats *pro complemento castris Tragurii* (ASV, Senato Misti, LVII, 212v). Moreover, certain wealthier Venetian towns were obliged to provide for military costs in Dalmatian towns (in 1476 the *camera* of Padua had to contribute to the military expenses of Trogir; in 1481 the *camera* of Verona did the same for Šibenik and the *camera* of Brescia for Split) (ASV, Senato Mar, IX, 111v; X, 67v, 86, 92v, Šunjić, 1967, 158-9). It seems that Zadar had less financial problems (DT, I, 5).

The construction of Venetian citadels (*castelli*) was one of the most visible urban changes in Dalmatian towns in the early fifteenth century. Citadels as the headquarters of foreign army first appeared in Dalmatian towns after the arrival of Venice in the fifteenth century. There were earlier attempts in this direction,²³ but these attempts ultimately failed: a royal stronghold in the town would have disturbed the existing balance and undermined municipal liberties (Benyovsky Latin, 2009). When Venice arrived in the fifteenth century, circumstances were dramatically different. Soon after establishing Venetian rule, its officials were charged with finding the best locations for future citadels. Finally, in most cases, citadels were located in the outskirts of a given town and on the locations of the old towers.

22 In Verona, for instance, it was the main preoccupation of the Venetians to create a walled enclave (using the old tower) that would serve a large contingent of Venetian infantry.

23 For instance, in Trogir in the early fifteenth century the Hungarian King Ladislaus of Naples tried to erect a citadel to accommodate his army, which had allegedly defended the city from enemies.



The Castello fort in Zadar (Model in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, Croatia)

In Zadar there were two main citadels built on the sites of the old towers – one on the north near the harbour (*Castello*)²⁴ and the other in the south (*Citadella*) near the moat (Petricioli, 1965; Praga, 1936). Suggestions to reuse the old towers to accommodate the army already appeared in 1409.²⁵ The major chief military engineers were responsible directly to Venice, as in other towns in the *Stato da mar*. The construction of towers and entrances with draw bridges was planned as well (Šunjić, 1878, 5-6; Brunelli, 1913, 215-250, Praga, 1936). The old towers were rebuilt to serve new needs: the *Citadella*, in the southern corner of the town, was first fortified in 1409. Portions of the older fortifications were used for the eastern and southern walls of the *Citadella* (with a tower at the corner). The northern and the western walls were connected to these walls (Vežić, 1990, 14). Defensive towers and bridges were foreseen for the *Citadella*. During the period between 1435 and 1437, houses for the military garrison were built there (Gusar - Vujević, 2008).

²⁴ The citadel next to the harbour entrance was rebuilt after the Venetian siege of Zadar in 1346.

²⁵ The plan proposed by the engineer Leonardo Mozenigo, Fantino Michael and Antonio Contareno to build a fortification near the existing tower in the eastern part (*a parte levantis in uno angulo civitatis, ubi est quedam turris vocata Babiarum*) was implemented. (The area of Zadar where the Venetian fortification was about to be built was called Babe).



Model of Zadar, in the Museo Storico Navale in Venice, 1570.

Venice suggested that the tower at the entrance to the Zadar harbour should be turned into the main residence for its army (Ljubić, 1878, 56-57; Ljubić, 1882, 205; ASV, Senato, Misti, 48, 123; Petricioli, 2005, 16; Fisković, 1959, 34; Raukar – Petricioli – Švelec, 1987, 129; Deanović, 1988). In 20 November 1414, it was decided that the walls of the other Zadar citadel (*Castello*) had to be doubled in size: a crenellation had to be built, and the canal around the citadel had to be deepened, widened, and encircled with a wall (so that it would be 5 feet thicker and as much as 40 feet wider) (Ljubić, 1878, 154-158).²⁶ A later enactment, dated 11 June 1415, however, specified that the wall should be just six feet wider, possibly due to a lack of funds (Ljubić, 1882, 104, 192, 205; Petricoli, 1966, 127; Alačević, 1901-1903, 76; Hilje, 2011, 111). Documents from 1423 mention more works on the *Castello* (Alačević, 1901.-1903., 76).²⁷

26 A new rectangular tower was to be constructed inside the supporting wall of the citadel and on the location of an existing but unstable round tower. The walls were supposed to be 10 feet thick and 6 feet wide and 10 feet taller than the citadel walls.

27 In the *Museo Storico Navale* in Venice, the model of the citadel is from the sixteenth century (Petricoli, 1956/1957, 101-124).



The model of Zadar Citadel (Castello), Museo Storico Navale, Venice ca. 1570

Three other Dalmatian towns requested a ban on a permanent garrison for the Venetian army after they came under Venetian rule, because it signified the genuine, physical presence of a foreign ruler in the town. Thus, many documents testify to pledges from *La Serenissima* that no citadels for the Venetian army would be built within these towns. For instance, in Šibenik it was decided that ‘a citadel would be built only if the town council decides to do so’. After the Venetians entered Šibenik in 1412, an eighteen-clause contract between the town and Venice (Doge Michael Steno) was signed. The contract specified the conditions of the town’s surrender (30 October 1412). The sixth clause promised a complete demolition of the Petar Misligien (*Mišlin*) Fortress that defended the town against Venice, and that the location of a new Venetian fort would be outside both the town and the district (Barbarić, Kolanović, 1986, 193-212, 197; Ljubić, 1882, 261; Ćuzela, 2005, 31). In the early years of Venetian rule in Šibenik, the Venetians repaired nothing but the small defensive towers near the entrance into the town harbour (1414) and the count’s palace. Yet soon afterwards their attention shifted to the town citadel. Venice used its diplomacy to persuade the citizens of Šibenik that a citadel was of essential importance to the safety of the town. In the end, the citizens of Šibenik abandoned the clause and ‘begged’ the Doge to build a citadel in Šibenik. The erection of this fortress began as early as 1416, when the Doge sent 600 ducats to renovate the *castrum Sibirici*, or the Citadel of St Michael.²⁸ It was erected on the location of the older tower, the so-called Petar Misligien Fortress. The old tower was obviously not entirely demolished prior to the Venetian renovation project.²⁹ The documents show the obvious importance accorded to a link between the new citadel and the sea, so that both the army and supplies could

28 As early as 3 November 1416, the Venetian Senate concluded that the citadel was completed and that it now needed weaponry.

29 The internal space of the citadel was filled with earth to prevent enemies taking hold, while a platform for artillery was constructed in the eastern part. Venice decided that the captain of the Colfo Giacomo Trivisano should leave Zadar on 4 May 1417 and, together with the captain of the city and the master builder Giacomo Celega, inspect the state of the Šibenik citadel and arrange its completion.



Hohenberg – Braun, 1576: Sebenico

be transported via the naval route if necessary (Ljubić, 1882, 156, 225, 230-233; Ćuzela, 2005, 31, 34; Grubišić, 1974, Šibenik, 136-137).

When Trogir was conquered, the flag of Saint Mark was symbolically raised on the main square and on each tower. Construction of the Camerlengo citadel began soon afterward. The representatives of Trogir in Venice also argued that the urban space was too small to accommodate a citadel, and that the construction costs would impoverish the town.³⁰ Venice refused to listen to the town council's pleas and went ahead with the project. Doge Mocenigo promised to build a citadel (*facere forticilia*) in 'his' Trogir that would be to the 'benefit and security' of the town.³¹ The *provveditore* Pietro Loredano was charged with finding a site for the future citadel.³²

30 In Trogir, Venetian attacks in 1419 damaged many private residences, public buildings and city fortifications with towers. In a note dated 6 September 1420, the Venetian sea captain Laurentino Victuri, who had been sent from Venice to assess the situation in Dalmatian towns described the Trogir town walls as old and in poor condition.

31 A Zadar nobleman loyal to Venice Simone Detrico was appointed the count of Trogir (1420–1421). In 1420, Detrico sailed together with Pietro Loredano into the conquered town.

32 He asked the Doge Francesco Foscari to send to Trogir an engineer who could help make the best decision. The Doge sent the commanders of Venetian galleys, Paolo Pasquali, captain of the Colfo, Nicolo Trevisano and Bartolo Lombardo to access the island from all sides and decide on the best location for the citadel, the purpose of which was the defence of the city in its weakest parts. According to Loredano, the citadel

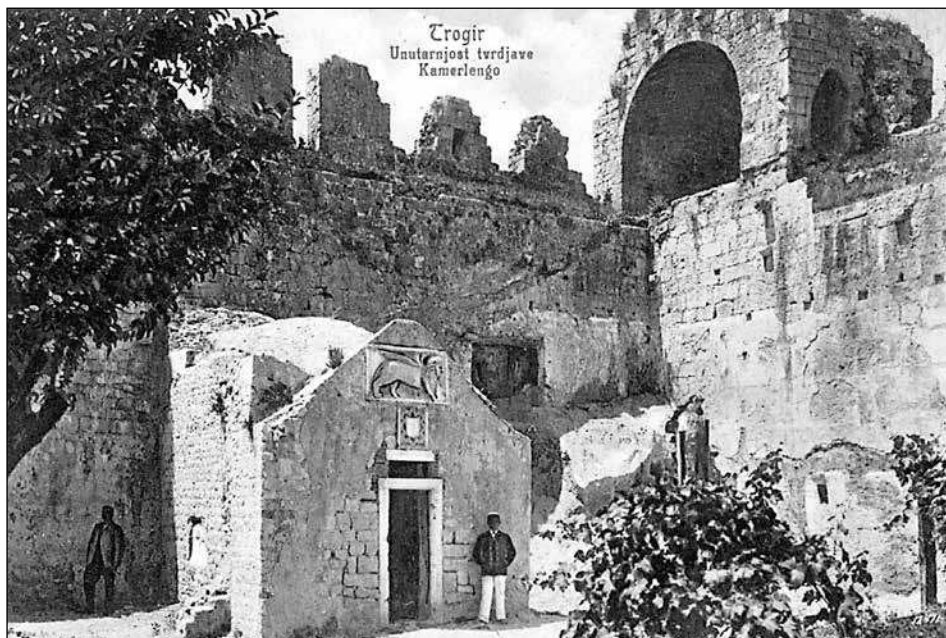


The Camerlengo in Trogir today (photo: Joško Ćurković)

Finally, the citadel was built on the south-western part of the town at the location of the old polygonal ‘tower of chains’ which became the backbone of the new structure (the tower was probably damaged during the earlier Venetian attacks on the town) (Ljubić, 1886, 29, 46; Lucio, 1674, 439; Lučić, 1979, 1000-1001; AHAZU-8, 35; AHAZU-9, 113-116, AHAZU-10, 21, 25-30).³³ Construction in Trogir was organized by Count Simone Detrico. The Camerlengo citadel, finally, had a trapezoidal floor-plan and a monumental polygonal tower in the south-western section, with smaller square towers in the north-western and south-eastern sections.³⁴

was supposed to be built in the east, rather than the west of the harbour, where an old tower that closed the harbour with an iron chain had been situated. Loredano explained that on the west side there were too many tightly packed houses.

- 33 Following discussions about the site of the citadel, on 1 September 1420 it was agreed that the Trogir citadel would be built in the *burgus* near the town harbour (south-western part of the island upon which Trogir is situated). To build a citadel, the tower that formed part of the southern wall of the New Town had to be demolished, because a new tower closer to the future citadel was planned. It was also important to renovate this part of the town wall, facing west, as the deep sea made this location easily accessible to enemy vessels.
- 34 A small chapel adjoined the internal western wall of the Camerlengo. A stairway led from the chapel to the top of the Camerlengo.



The chapel in the Camerlengo of Trogir, 20th c.

As in Trogir, the Split delegates requested that Venice not keep an army garrisoned in or near the town, and to refrain from building a citadel. The Venetians agreed, saying that there was indeed no need “as the genuine loyalty you have displayed to our rule will be your citadel”. In the treaty formalizing Split’s surrender to Venice, the citizens of Split inserted a clause whereby they prohibited the erection of a Venetian citadel in the town or its environs. As early as the end of 1420, the Venetians responded to the “new pleas of Split’s delegates” who, apparently, demanded a citadel that would protect the town.³⁵ Venice went so far as to emphasize that “although building a citadel is not necessary for the sake of protecting La Serenissima” they would nonetheless heed the plea and build it. It also promised to respond certain pleas related to debts. When speaking to the citizens of Split, the Venetians rather diplomatically made all decisions “to the benefit of Split and in accordance with the wishes of the citizens of Split.” In their explanation, the primary reason for building a citadel is clear: “for the advancement and safety of our state, it is necessary to build a citadel in our town of Split, at the site where the Convent of St. Clare once stood (later it was built at another location).” (Ljubić, 1886, 275; ASV-Secreta Cons.

35 The response has been preserved as ‘Responses of the Venetian government to requests by Split noblemen regarding changes and additions to the privilege’. *Correctiones et additamenta privilegii Spalatensibus concessi sub die 9. iulii 1420.*

Rog. VIII, 126; Gligoet al, 1996, 9, 14, 17, 100-102; Kečkemet, 1956, 267-303).³⁶ Finally, the citadel was built on the south-western waterfront and was integrated into the town walls. It closed access into the harbour.

For its construction, two ancient towers on the west-facing wall of the Diocletian's Palace were demolished, so they could not serve as a stronghold in any potential inner conflict against Venice. In a document dated 1431 the materials for the construction of the Split citadel are mentioned (Marasović, 2013, 254, 263). Other documents indicate that construction of the citadel was completed by either 1435 or 1441, because they mention the import of arms and equipment for the citadel, and the appointment of a castellan. It is possible that construction of the Split citadel continued until 1450/1451 (ASV-Senato, Mar, III, 46).³⁷ Finally, the citadel was built in the form of an irregular pentagon with three north-facing towers, with dimensions similar to the citadel in Trogir. Only the central northern tower has been preserved to the present, but surviving plans and archaeological excavations (Marasović, 2013; Čerina, 2009) provide an indication of the way that the citadel looked.³⁸ Just like other towns, the citadel in Split declined in importance in the sixteenth century when the Ottoman threat from the sea vanished.³⁹

A few Venetian architects and engineers were involved in several Dalmatian towns: one of them was Lorenzo Picino, mentioned as *magistri Picini ingenarii nostri i prothoingenarius ducalis dominii Venetorum* in 1422 and 1425 (Hale, 1993, 18-19).⁴⁰ The same *magistrum Pizinum* was asked to inspect the citadel at the entrance to the Zadar harbour in 1414 and the citadel of Trogir in 1421 and 1425 (Marković, 2010, 154; Ljubić 1886, 182).⁴¹ The *protomagistri* were often locals: they oversaw preparations of the terrain, supervised construction works, and recruited master builders and workmen. For instance, on 8 September 1420 a local Trogir *protomagister* named Marin Radojev and three other stonemasons were supposed to prepare the stone material for the construction of the Camerlengo citadel – *fabrica del castelo* (AHAZU-9, 113-116).⁴² These craftsmen

36 In Split, the first proposal was to build the citadel at the site of the St Clare convent, in the south-eastern corner of the palace, accompanied by a request for construction of a passage from the citadel to the sea. Venice promised to send the necessary funds. Yet construction of a citadel did not proceed immediately, or at the site selected originally. The change of plans was caused by a combination of circumstances that included wars and outbreaks of the plague.

37 Yet documents from 1449 indicate that even though the Venetian Count Marco Memmo rebuilt parts of the city wall, the Split representatives claimed that the walls were still in poor condition (*...in multi logi muri sono antiquissiu, minazando ruina*), seeking help for repairs from Venice (*...infortir et miter in forteza li muri e le turi*)... The commune of Split was presented to Venice as poor and not capable of financing construction of the walls, so Venice introduced measures for it. MSHSM vol. 21, 290-4 (ASV, Senato. Mar. vol. III. c 46)

38 Also, the public building cadastre compiled in the eighteenth century, contains a description of the Split citadel (Duplančić, 1994, 140-141). Some of the buildings probably existed in the fifteenth century as well: military garrison houses, warehouses, chapels, and the castellan's residence.

39 It was finally destroyed in the nineteenth century during the brief period of French rule.

40 Picino was known for the construction of the fortifications at Lido in 1413. He conducted reconstruction of the citadel in Verona by 1428.

41 This is not the same person as Laurentius Pencinus Lapida who worked on the Šibenik cathedral.

42 *Simonis Detrico comitis cum Prothomagistro de fabricando fortificio conventio. Die 8 septembris 1420.*



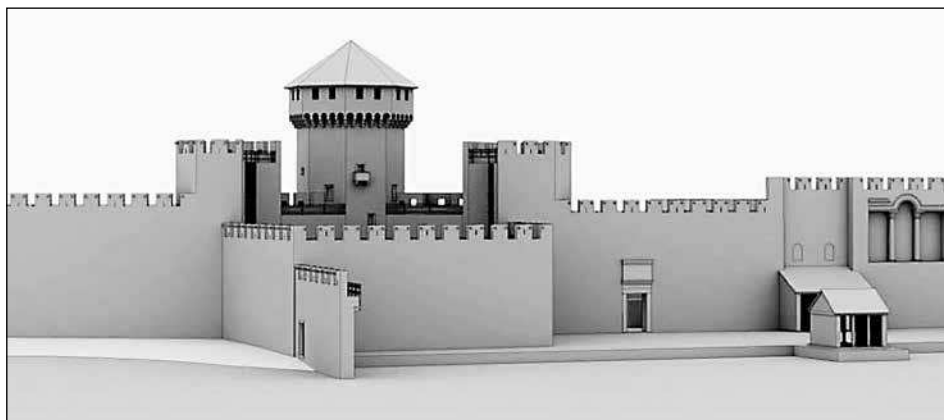
The Citadella fort in Zadar (Model in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, Croatia)

also circulated from one Dalmatian town to another. For instance, in 1435 the count of Trogir requested master builders Simone Bilsich and Mate Allegretti from Zadar to build the foundation for a moat (*fundamentus fovee*) on the east side of the Camerlengo, in the direction of the town. The same builders constructed, by 1437, the cistern of the Camerlengo (DAZd-AT, 67/1, 64-64v). The foreman of the ‘workshop’ that built the port might have been the Trogir head master Marin Radojev (DAZd-AT, 67/3, 114v).⁴³

Frequently construction diverged from plans: epidemics or the economic resources of local communities determined the length and scope of a given construction project for lack of the money. Decisions were made and changed and often the scope of construction was cut back to fit the reduced budget or due to local influences. For instance, on 27 July 1421, Venice sent two syndics, Andrea Fuscola and Marco Miani, first to Zadar and then to Šibenik. They announced the continuation of construction of the citadel to the Šibenik count. (The need to connect the citadel to the sea was re-emphasized.) “Should the count say that these construction works cannot be completed due to a lack of money, you should

43 A 1438 contract specifies someone named Marin buying stone to build foundations for the bank in the port.

tell him that we are indeed surprised: the town income should be used for these purposes as the new routes would be used by Murlachi, as everyone knows” (Ljubić, 1886, 99, 103).⁴⁴ The discussions between the Venetian governors, the Venetian senate, and engineers in the field shows the number of different social groups that had a role in planning and carrying out architectural interventions.



Presumed appearance of the Split citadel in 1441, according to K. Marasović, in: Marasović, 2013, 260.

The citadels were necessary in Dalmatian towns for the accommodation of the Venetian army and weaponry (ASV Senato, Mar, X, 194; Senato, Terra, VIII, 53; Šunjić, 1962, 263-264). They contained the commander’s lodgings, soldiers’ quarters and warehouses (ASV, Senato, Mar, X, 194; Senato, Terra, VIII, 53; Senato, Misti, LVII, 164). The chief military commander was the count (*comes et capitaneus*)⁴⁵ but the citadel was governed by a castellan (*comestabile*) who was the commander of the military units stationed in the citadel and the financial supervisor of revenues (*camerlengo*). The castellan was elected in the Venetian council for a term of two – later extended to four – years, and he commanded units of 25 soldiers (Ljubić, 1890, 144; ASV, Collegio, Notatorio, IX, 157; ASV, Senato, Delib., IV, 35; ASV, Senato, Mar, I, 47; IV, 123). He was responsible for his citadel *sub pena perdendi capitis*, and could not leave his post without permission (ASV, Collegio, Commissioni, VI, 97). Permanent fortifications were seen as a substi-

44 Yet the citadel was still unfinished and its construction and adaptation to new circumstances, as well as its furnishing with weaponry, would take a while. Šibenski diplomatarij, 230.

45 In the Dalmatian towns, commanders (*capitaneus*) were in charge of defence: in Split, Trogir and Šibenik the count (*comes*) was also a captain and it was only Zadar where two separate appointments – captain and count – were made.

tute for large standing forces in the fifteenth century (Mallett, Hale, 2006, 92). In Trogir, for instance, the count tried to persuade Venice that completion of the Camerlengo citadel would minimise the costs of defence and the number of the soldiers (ASV, Senato, Misti LVIII, 54, 113).

The soldiers were foreigners, mostly Italian mercenaries (*stipendiarii*). In the fifteenth century, Venice had to rely on the foreign mercenaries.⁴⁶ Zadar was the military centre of Dalmatia with the largest garrison (200-250 soldiers) (ASV, Senato, Delib., IV, 48; XXIII, 131; Senato, Mar, V, 67; VIII, 93; Šunjić, 1962, 147).⁴⁷ In Zadar there was a significant *sondottiere* cavalry force (a small company of men-at-arms commanded by *condottiere* captain). A patrician official who had held this post in Zadar in the 1430s and 1440s was Bernardo Morosini (Mallett, Hale, 2006, 45). In 1409, there were 200 cavaliers in Zadar (ASV, Senato, Delib. IV, 48; Šunjić, 1962, 256), in 1454 and 1466 120 cavaliers (ASV, Senato, Mar, V, 67; VIII, 93; Šunjić, 1962, 256-257).



Alessandro Ganassa, Traù, Archivio di Stato Venezia, P. Fortez, b. 82, d. 105, DS 13/17.

In 1417, the Šibenik citadel had become ready to accommodate as many as 60 Venetian soldiers. Yet by 1419 their number had dropped to 40, partly because of consolidation of the situation in the town, and partly due to the declining danger from the hinterland (Novak, 1976, 154; Kolanović, 1995, 56; Ljubić, 1882, 276).⁴⁸ In 1414, Zadar helped the military when Croatian Ivan Nelipić attacked Šibenik from the hinterland (Ljubić, 1882,

46 The population of the Venetian Republic could not support the war efforts with its own soldiers.

47 In 1435 and 1437, the construction of a house to accommodate the garrison in the Zadar citadel was discussed (DT, I, 170/194).

48 In addition to the fortress, the Venetian garrison in Šibenik was accommodated in the large and small tower by the sea (*turris magna et parva portus Sibenici*) and at the mainland gates (*porta terre firme*).

164-9). The number of the soldiers depended primarily on external circumstances. During an Ottoman incursion in 1468, Šibenik asked for new 500 soldiers and Venice decided to send 300 (ASV, Senato, Mar, VIII, 192; Ljubić 1891, X, 419).

After the erection of the Split citadel, the building accommodated Venetian soldiers headed by the castellan. In Split there were 100 soldiers (Listine, VIII, 24) and in the time of Ottoman threat in the 1470s and 1480s there were many more soldiers - roughly 200-250 (Šunjić, 1967, 151; ASV, Senato, Mar, XI, 96). In times of peace the number of soldiers dropped again (in 1520 the military personnel in Split consisted of a commander and only 14 soldiers (Marasović, 2013, 263).

A space for the accommodation of soldiers and a large cistern were built in Trogir's citadel Camerlengo too. As many as 350 mercenaries resided in the Camerlengo in 1420. In comparison to other towns, this number is unusually high and may be related to the resistance mounted by Trogir. Yet as early as the following year the number of mercenaries fell to 150. Supporting a large number of soldiers was much too expensive for the town (Šunjić, 1967, 144).⁴⁹ In 1434, it was decided that only 100 of the 140 soldiers should stay (Ljubić, 1886, 107; Ljubić, 1890, 144).⁵⁰

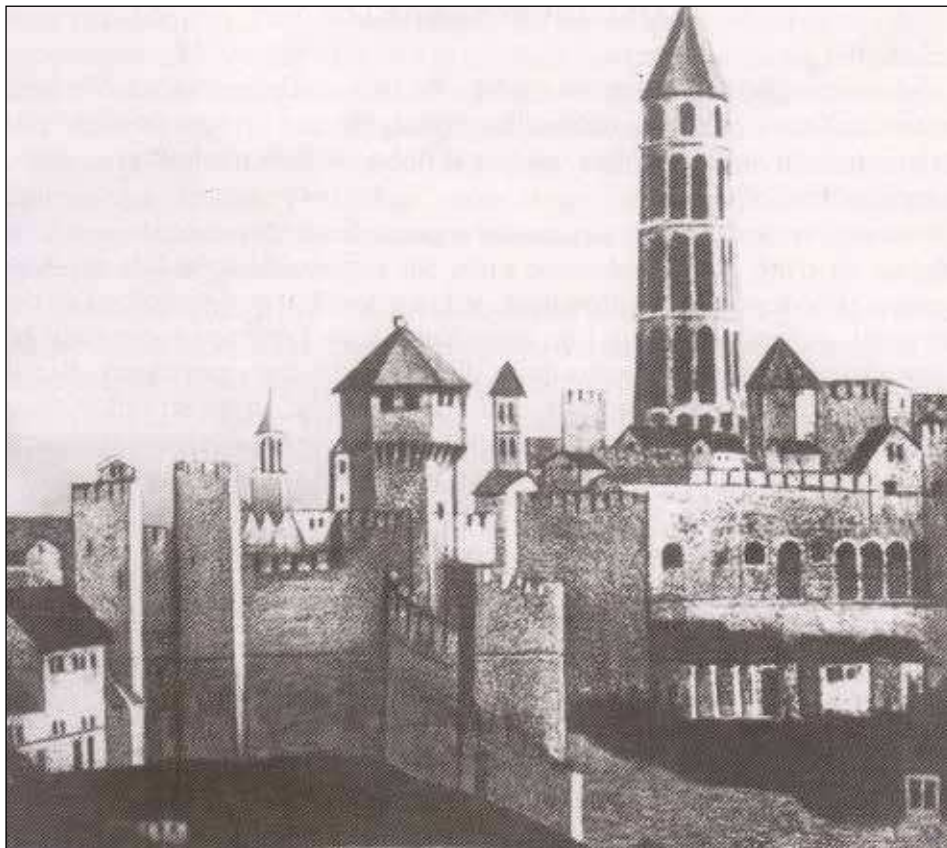
The Venetian citadels in Dalmatian towns played two main roles: they served as the seats of the conquerors and of the defenders. After much considerations about the site of the citadels, extant towers were reused to rebuild the citadels to meet new needs. They were reused for practical reasons, but there may have been political motives as well: not building a new citadel but simply refurbishing pre-existing fortifications. This sort of re-use could also be found in the case of governmental palaces as well. It would appear that the citizens of the Dalmatian towns had no choice, but to play along the wishes of Venetian government, after being "persuaded" that the towns needed defence. Venice decided to build or renovate fortresses to accommodate its army regardless of the earlier promises – actually, it was the first construction project inside towns. The construction of a citadel was rationalized as due to sorely needed renovations, following the destruction that occurred during the invasion of the towns.

The sites of the citadels on the outskirts of the towns enabled separate defence for the Venetian army. In Zadar, with two citadels (*Castello* and *Citadella*), a diagonal military-strategic axis controlled the town centre (Petricioli, 1965, 118; Ljubić, 1878, 155).⁵¹ In 1423, the Venetian council received an application by the count of Zadar to approve additional fortifications that would secure the citadel even more (but in the first place from within the town). There were plans to build a wall with a moat and crenellation that would additionally protect the Castello citadel and the harbour (as well as the nearby urban neighbourhoods). The additional fortifications were supposed to have

49 In 1432, the count of Trogir persuaded the Venetian government that it made much more sense to complete the citadel, because that would reduce military expenses and the number of soldiers.

50 The chief military commander was the count, and the Camerlengo was governed by a castellan (*comestabile*), who was elected by the Venetian council for the period of two – later extended to four – years. He commanded units of 25 soldiers.

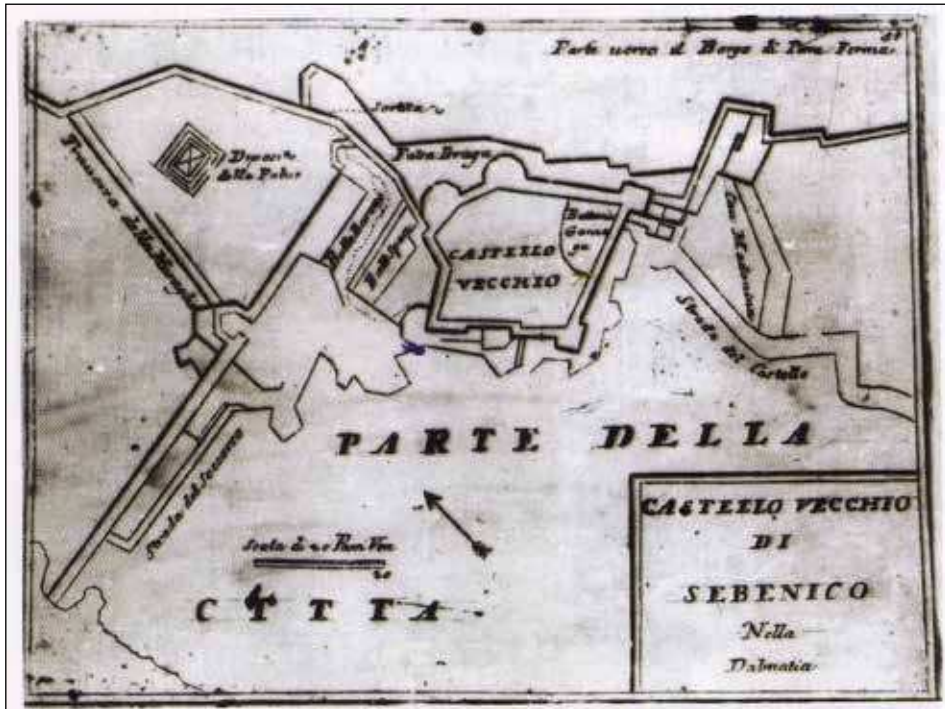
51 In 1414, construction of a new citadel to accommodate the Venetian army as well as the demolition of Citadella came under discussion (the latter, however, never took place).



Girolamo di Santa Croce: Spalato, 1549.

the shape of a wide arc and to extend from the gate of Saint Demetrius (*a porta sancti Dimitrii siue Brusata*), east of the Castello citadel, following a straight line from the south-western wall. In this way, the application suggested that the fortification could accommodate the entire garrison and all of the local Venetians, but would not allow the citizens of Zadar to stay inside (Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, 1980, III, 130). Another, similar wall was supposed to enlarge the Citadella in the south-western part of the town fortifications, by encircling the citadel and the captain's palace (Ljubić, 1886, 266).⁵² While both proposals were rejected, this decision demonstrates the relationship between the Venetians and locals. In 1437, Venice decided to build a moat filled with wa-

⁵² Extending behind the apse of the church of St Stephen with a wall the length that was supposed to be 31 fathoms. This application was received on 11 March 1424.

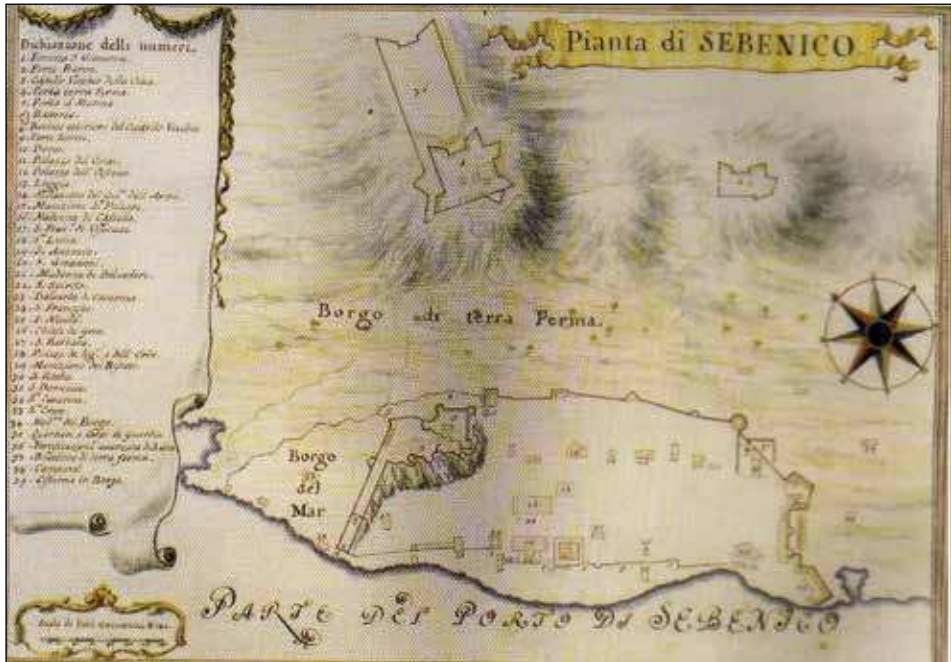


V. Coronelli, *Sebenico*, 1688

ter around the citadel. Therefore the nearby houses were torn down (Hilje, 2011). This demonstrates the intention for it to serve as a stronghold against the internal rebellions and not only external attacks. According to the 1421 Zadar cadastre (Antoljak, 1949, 391-404),⁵³ a major share of the land plots in the area called *Babe* around the *Citadella* was owned by the Venetian government. The government then leased these sections to artisans who owned wooden cottages on them (*edificium de lignamine*). Many of them probably took part in the building of the *Citadella*, probably as diggers, blacksmiths, etc.⁵⁴ The security of both Zadar's *Castello* and *Citadella* was insured by the *ducale*

53 The cadastre was compiled following the order of Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, who, by way of Count Nicola Veneri and Captain Marko Dandolo, ordered the Zadar chancellor to compose *unum inventarium de omnibus bonis et possessionibus nostri communis existentibus in districtu nostro Jadre, None, Aurane et Novigradi* (30 September 1421). According to the cadastre, in 1410 the city had 7,549 residents; in 1460, 7,280 (plague), while in 1500 Zadar had just 5,740 residents.

54 The Zadar government forcibly exchanged some other houses located at strategic site in town: for instance, two brick houses covered with shingles in the St Mary area (near the east city walls) that the commune obtained in exchange from Simone de Begna. There are also examples such as exchanges of the plots near the captain's and count's palaces. The cadastre furthermore mentions two more sections: one was situated



Juster, 1708: *Pianta di Sebenico*

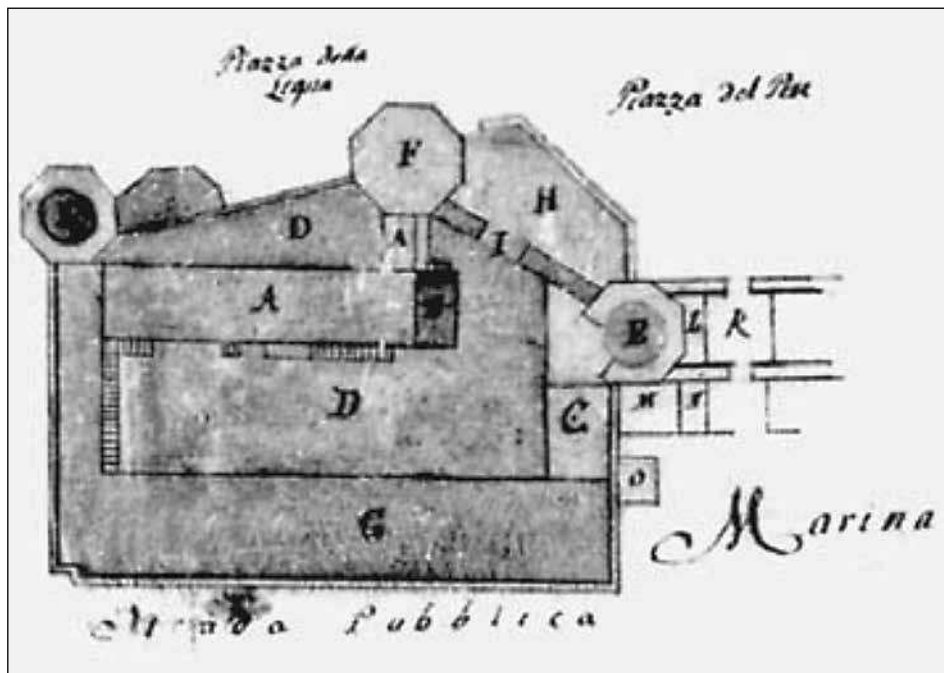
dated 1458, according to which all residents of the town and the districts were prohibited from entering the citadels. They were furthermore not to be recruited into the army (Petricioli, 1965, 118). In 1454 some buildings were demolished *pro fabricam fossi ... prope Citadellam* (Ljubić, 1891, 41; DT, I. 136).

In Šibenik, as early as the time of P. Misligien, the western, seaside town wall was constructed. It was argued that another *barbakan* ('double wall') was needed, as it made possible an isolated and defensible route from the citadel to the sea, which was of great importance to the Venetian army.⁵⁵ Thus, in the early decades of the fifteenth century, through the construction of a 'double wall' the coastal side of Šibenik came to be isolated from traffic providing a defensible route from the citadel to the sea and linking the citadel to the harbour.⁵⁶ The seventeenth-century town maps describe that communication as

next to the abattoir doors. In addition, the cadastre mentions an empty section in the area of St. Mary, near the communal palace in Zadar.

55 The configuration of the terrain was inconvenient, as the citadel was located on a hill. The nineteenth-century descriptions of Emperor Francis I mention stairs that connected the citadel to the sea, but as there are no traces of these stairs, it is likely that they were made of wood.

56 It is possible that a military route of this kind existed in Trogir as well. These fortifications in both towns were linked to the towers of the count's palaces.



F. A. Kurir: *Split citadel, 1798, Marasović, 258*

strada del soccorso.⁵⁷ All of these new buildings were supposed to reinforce and secure the western side of the town. The eastern side was supported by reinforcement of the tower of St Francis (in the east) and the waterfront near the count's palace.

The citadel in Split was built outside the walls of Diocletian's palace in the harbour. It faced the sea, yet its position was excellent for overseeing the town. The three towers facing the town suggest that the role of the citadel in the town may have also been intended to facilitate the possible evacuation of the army.

The Trogir citadel was also supposed to occupy a strategically key position that allowed monitoring the entrance into the town, as well as the entire town, from the sea (Lučić, 1979, 946-947). The western shore facing the moat was filled with earth and levelled. Following the Venetian conquest in 1420, part of the New Town was proclaimed public.⁵⁸ The reason for the exchange was explained as *pro securitate castris* (DAZd, AT,

57 A southern wall, closing the double wall from the sea side, was built next to the sea. The construction of a wall from the upper gate to the sea, formed by a double wall, began as early as 1417, although some documents mention 1421, when the construction site was visited by the Venetian syndics, A. Fuscola and M. Miani. Ljubić, 1886, 99.

58 To ensure sound surveillance of the area around the Camerlengo, each construction project had to be

67/2, 216 v; 67/3, 10v, 108v; Benyovsky, 2002/2003).⁵⁹ The sections around the Camerlengo that became ‘public property’ were later leased; in this way the population around the citadel could be controlled. Also, in peacetime, leasing these sections supplied the town with a steady income (DAZd, AT, 67/5, 41, 152).⁶⁰ Moreover, in 1420 Loredano ordered demolition of the wall between the old town centre and the New Town of Trogir (AHAZU-10, 30; Lučić, 1997, 997; Kovačić, 1997/1997, 112).⁶¹ Although the reason for this demolition was strategic, in the Doge’s letter of 1421 to the count of Trogir, it is explained that the wall separated noblemen from the *popolani*.⁶² The conditions were thus created for Trogir to establish a consolidated defence system.⁶³ No private buildings were to be constructed near the new fortifications in Trogir (DAZd-AT, 67/5, 177v).⁶⁴

The appearances and the locations of the citadels were determined by the Venetian aspiration to control the town and the maritime insignia of the Republic. The construction of a citadel in many ways affected the appearance and property relations in the area that surrounded it. Their iconography was supposed to symbolize Venice and its representatives. In Zadar, the relief of the winged lion of St. Mark was incorporated in the façade of the “Little Armoury” of the citadel (*castello*).⁶⁵ The northern face of Split’s citadel tower

approved by the count. To make room for the Camerlengo, some of the wooden cottages were demolished and their owners were given substitute housing or money (DAZd-AT, 67/1, 65v). Some of the privately owned land sections in the New Town were purchased or exchanged with their owners, also in the interest of better defence and control of the area.

- 59 For instance, following the erection of the Camerlengo, in 1438 the count ordered that Petromila, a daughter of Nikola Perdusich, in exchange for her section *in civitate nova apud castrum Tragurij* should receive a plot of the same size elsewhere in the New Town.
- 60 Occasionally previous owners took their former sections under lease. The New Town accommodated an increasing number of immigrants from the District as well as other regions. For instance, in 1451 the count coerced a Trogir nobleman into selling him a section; later the same nobleman leased that section, now ‘communal’, for the period of 29 years.
- 61 The wall that separated these two neighbourhoods may be seen in the nineteenth-century Trogir cadastre. Archaeologists have confirmed the direction of the ca. 140 meter-wall between the old centre and the former Suburbia (New Town) (long ca. 140 m).
- 62 In the words of the Doge, this wall not only separated two different urban zones, but also two socially and politically disparate groups. Yet complete social and urban integration failed to take place and these two parts of the town remained separate. This was reflected not only in the population structure, appearance and function of the urban space, but also their separate names.
- 63 Yet the wall was supposed to be demolished only after the fortification of the ‘tower of chains’. While there was no formal social division in Trogir, the New Town was socially different from the old centre. This is probably the reason why the above-mentioned letter from the count emphasized that the wall between the new and the old parts of the town separated aristocrats from plebeians. The two parts of the town remained different even after the demolition of the wall—not just in terms of the appearance and function of the urban space, but also with regard to the population structure.
- 64 The 1443 ducale ordered that no building should be erected at a distance of less than 40 cubes, and the location called Oprah (in the far west) had to remain empty. In the New Town, construction was not permitted near St. Dominic nor St. Mary. The Monastery of St. John the Baptist owned a plot of land facing the Church of St. Dominic (near the New Town gates), but the section had to be placed at disposal of the communal authorities. The section was surrounded by other communal real estate, from its southern and western sides, while the eastern boundary was formed by the (by then dilapidated) wall dividing the old centre and the New Town.
- 65 Possibly made by the artists around the famed Juraj Dalmatinac/Giorgio da Šibenik (Hilje, 2011, 111).

contained a relief of the lion of St Mark with a book (destroyed after the First World War). The sides had coats of arms that probably belonged to counts who ruled at the time of the tower's construction. In Šibenik, the Venetian Calbo family immortalized its presence twice by placing its coat of arms on the town gates: first during the rule of Antonio Calbo (1486-1489) and then a century later under Giovanni Calbo. On the south side of the Camerlengo in Trogir, near the gate, the Venetian lion of St. Mark with an open book was engraved into the stone. Below the lion, coats of arms of Pietro Loredano, Count Magdaleno Contarini and Doge Francesco Foscari can be seen.⁶⁶ The symbol of St. Mark can be found in all towns under Venetian rule at much higher frequency than any other symbol of political power dating from the pre-Venetian period as a testament to the integrated space of Venetian Dalmatia. It was at the same time a state and religious symbol, representing the subjugation of the town to Venice, but also even more so the protective role of Venice and the unity of the Venetian state (Crouzet-Pavan, 2005; Georgopolou, 2001, 120.-121).⁶⁷

The isolated character of Venetian citadels was strengthened by decrees and regulations which reflected relations with local communities. Castellans and soldiers were not allowed to leave the citadel without permission or have any relations with the locals (ASV, Senato, Mar I, 47; II, 183v; III, 173v).⁶⁸ Venice had security concerns over local residents serving as soldiers, questioning the loyalty of such locals and neighbouring regions. A decree from 1423 stipulated that all Šibenik soldiers who were either of Slavic origin or married to women from neighbouring villages or from Albania had to leave the citadel. However, there were "Dalmatians" as well as "Slavs" in the Venetian army, probably due to a shortage of soldiers. In 1473, the Venetian administration was hiring Greek and Albanian mercenaries in Dalmatian towns (Šunjić, 1962, 282, 278-283; ASV, Senato, Mar, IX, 160v). Women, except for the commander's wife, were not welcome in the citadel.⁶⁹ However, there are many cases which show assimilation with locals. As early as 1429, some soldiers from the Camerlengo were members of a local confraternity.⁷⁰ A decree dated 20 November 1420 prohibited the soldiers who rented houses in Trogir to assume ownership of these houses. Later, Venetian soldiers from Trogir began to pursue

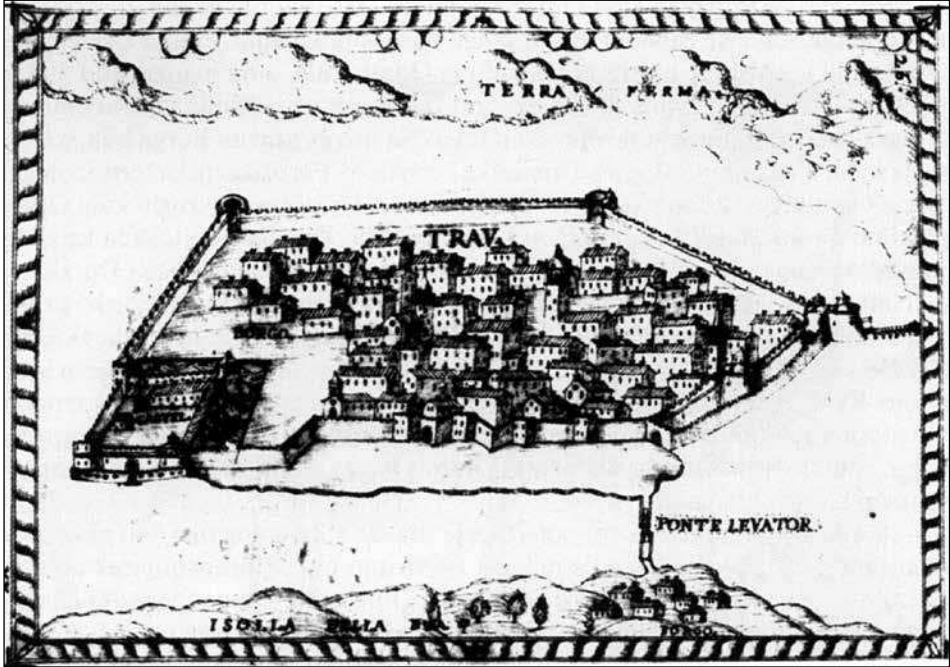
66 The symbol of St. Mark in the Eastern Adriatic has received little attention overall after Rizzi's *I leoni di Venezia in Dalmazia*. Unfortunately, few Venetian lions have survived the destructions of the 1930s, when they were perceived as a symbol of pro-Italian politics (Jareb, 2007; Praga, 1932; Rizzi, 2005).

67 In the fifteenth century, the Lion of St. Mark and the doge became associated in a relationship "that transformed delegation of power to power sharing." (Pincus, 2002, 89-137, 117).

68 Separate water tanks inside the Šibenik citadel were renovated in 1454 in Šibenik, and today they are the only surviving parts of the dilapidated citadel (Kolanović - Barbarić, eds., 1986, 292). In Šibenik, the chapel of St. Michael was located inside the citadel. This chapel gave the citadel its name, *castrum sancti Michaelis* (Ljubić 1874, 13). Prior to the arrival of the Venetians, the chapel retained the painting of Our Lady of the Citadel, venerated by the citizens of Šibenik. Later the painting was moved to the cathedral because the chapel was later limited to use only by the army (Čuzela, 2005, 37).

69 The only exception was the blacksmith Cvitan, who was allowed to stay but without his wife. The explanation that in Ostrovica (settlement in the district) a soldier's wife opened the gate of the citadel to the enemy, was hardly convincing.

70 The castellan Blasius Laurentius, captains Guiglelmus and Petrus de Mediolano, as well as Toma, the son of a mercenary.

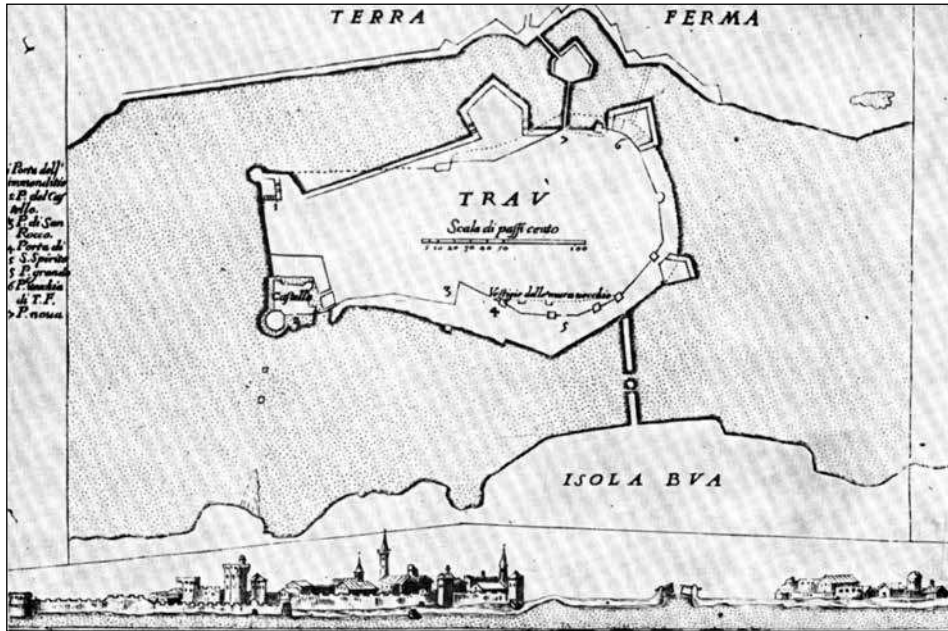


Angello degli Oddi, Traù, 16th century

diverse occupations.⁷¹ It seems that soon after Venice came to power in Trogir in 1420, and against all prohibitions, some soldiers did assimilate, purchasing real estate and marrying local women (Šunjić, 1967, 145; Ljubić, 1886, 107). The similar examples can be found in Šibenik (Birin, 2012, 107).

The role of the Venetian army as a defence force became more evident as the Ottoman threat from the hinterland increased. The growing threat of Ottoman incursions led to a completely new appraisal of urban fortifications. The initial Ottoman raids possibly played a role in the gradual change in public opinion of the Venetian army and citadels inside the towns. The position of the citadels and the zones under strict Venetian control in the Dalmatian towns allowed for separate defence against all possible enemies: internal but also, even more so, external. At the beginning of the Quattrocento, growing Ottoman power troubled the Venetians very little. However, as early as 1414, the first Ottoman raiders arrived in the Šibenik hinterland via Bosnia (Barbarić-Kolanović, 1986, 292-293;

71 For instance the mercenary (*stipendiarius*) Marcheto, a son of the late Giacomo of Siena, worked as a tailor in 1468, while Marco from Venice became a resident (*habitor*), and leased a section of land and began working on it (DAZd, AT, 68/8, 8, 123).



Johannes Lucio, 17th c., Trogir

Novak, 1976, 146).⁷² The swift renovation of the Šibenik citadel was also important because the Croatian-Hungarian army was still in the hinterland.⁷³ In reply to this request, the Venetian authorities ordered that each count of Šibenik had to erect one new tower. A corridor inside the town wall also had to be constructed (Lucio, 1674, 460; Ljubić, 1890; 276-281, 322-327, 354-355; Ljubić, 1891, 33-34; ASV, Senato. Mar., IV. c. 7).⁷⁴

72 Ottoman incursions in the Šibenik area are mentioned again. Construction of the citadel continued in 1440 under Count Giacomo Donado. Parts of the wall are still described as made of wood. In 1450, the city suffered a major outbreak of the plague. Another outbreak, in 1456-57, had dire consequences for the population of Šibenik. In 1454, the tower facing the sea in the citadel, which needed a roof, was renovated, and two cisterns for soldiers were constructed.

73 For this reason, the side-doors of the Franciscan monastery that formed part of the fortifications were mentioned as potential sources of peril. The addition of a wall to the citadel continued in 1432, when the Venetian government allowed the count of Šibenik, Moisi Grimani, to improve the town's safety. It is likely that the wall that was built then is the wall bearing the coat of arms of the Šibenik count between 1430 and 1432 (the lower section of the same wall contains the coat of arms of Count Biaggio Dolfin). Later, in the mid-fifteenth century, the fortification system was oriented toward the hinterland for the same reason: for instance, fearing attacks by the Croatian Ban Peter, the citizens of Šibenik appealed to Venice to construct ten new towers on the northern city wall.

74 In 1449, four noblemen were appointed to supervise construction. Yet the towers were never built, and the only construction works that did take place were repairs to three old towers on the northern wall in the 1450s. The seventeenth-century historian Ivan Lučić described the coastal fortifications in Šibenik: *tuttavia*

In the late 1440s and the beginning of the 1450s, Christophorus Marcello and Francisco Michiel, the counts of Šibenik, asked Doge Francesco Foscarini to increase the number of towers and to provide sufficient armour to defend against the Ottomans. Ljubić, 1890, 358-362; Romano, 2007). Ottoman attacks are mentioned in Trogir as early as 1417, and were mentioned again in 1434 and 1441. On 3 April 1424, Pietro Loredano ordered the repair of towers and bridges toward the hinterland, so in the same year a workshop was organized and tasked with the construction of fortifications, while labourers were recruited (AHAZU-10, f. 30-36; 25-30).⁷⁵ The bridge facing the mainland, destroyed in 1420, was replaced with a new wooden drawbridge (Lucio, 1674, 449) but only after the completion of the Camerlengo in 1437 (Lučić, 1979, 999-1000). In 1463, Venice decided that the count of Split had to prepare fortifications for potential Ottoman attacks (ASV, Secreta cons. Rog. XXI, 161).⁷⁶ Pursuant to Doge Christoforo Mauro's decision of 1469, Zadar became the official centre of Dalmatian defence against Ottomans (DT, II, 743).

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Venice was a maritime republic that built citadels facing the sea. The waterfront position of the citadels emphasized the Venetian maritime character and its strategic goals. Hence, most of the investment went into the construction of fortifications facing the sea.⁷⁷ The shift from sea-facing fortifications to landward ones in the late fifteenth and then sixteenth century reflected changing Venetian priorities, but also changing local priorities (defence against the Ottomans). From the latter half of the fifteenth century, the fortifications facing the north (hinterland) became a priority for the Venetian government, while those facing seawards lost their significance.⁷⁸ The citadels began to lose their importance and began to decay.⁷⁹ Furthermore, changes in military technology required the construction of stronger bastions so medieval citadels and towers ceased to be useful.⁸⁰ The ballistic power of the new artillery made most of the old fortifications obsolete. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, fortifications were modified in response to the new effectiveness of artillery. The architectural features on permanent Venetian fortifications in the latter half of the fifteenth century

in Sibenico ancora rimangono alcuni pezzi di mura deboli, e basse, che vengono ad unirsi con le case private.

75 Venice ordered the recruitment of labourers among residents of the town and District in order to renovate the city wall. A ducale dated 12 December 1442 ordered the excavation of a canal around the city. The *popolani*, however, tried to exempt themselves from this duty, arguing that recruitment did not apply to them.

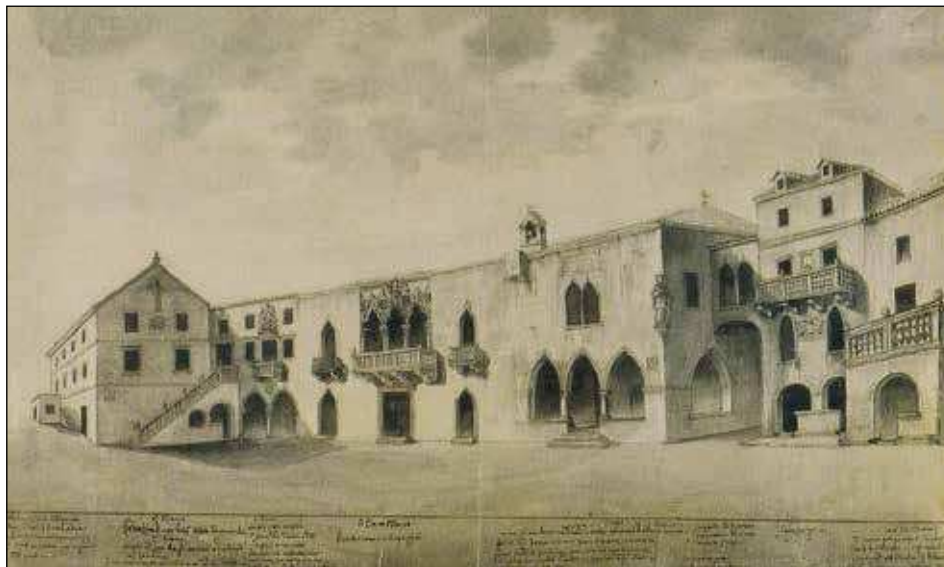
76 The public labour was to be divided among the citizens of Split.

77 For instance, there were no more than three towers on the northern wall in fifteenth-century Šibenik (between the Great Gate and Citadel).

78 The transition to the sixteenth century marked a turning point, for after the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 the naval threat from the sea decreased while the growing Ottoman threat in the hinterland shifted the focus of defence.

79 When the Ottomans took Negroponte in 1470, the Venetian Empire was riven by threats and serious losses (Tenenti, 1973, 24-25). At this time, the hinterland of the Dalmatian towns was threatened by Ottoman incursions, which resulted in Venetian-Ottoman wars from 1479 to 1573. The coastal Dalmatian towns never fell under Ottoman dominion, but their hinterlands were reduced to a very thin belt under Venetian rule (Madunić, 2012, 31; *Annali Veneti*, 167 - year 1499).

80 For instance, reports from the beginning of 1470s mentioned that in the Dalmatian capital of Zadar (*that was caput totius Dalmatie*), the fortifications were in poor condition: *muri civitatis a parte terre ... tendunt in ruinam* (ASV, Senato, Mar, X, IX, 41, X, 66).



Split, 19th century count's palace

included the thickening and scarping of walls and the construction of ravelins to make the fortifications less vulnerable to artillery (Hale, 90). In spite of the immense cost, Venice built some impregnable fortresses during the sixteenth century (as in Zadar or Šibenik) (Tenetni, 1973, 28; Deanović, 1988; de Benvenuti, 2006).

GOVERNMENTAL PALACES

Another clear indicator of Venetian influence in Dalmatian towns was the renovation and reconstruction of communal palaces, the seats of new counts (captain-counts).⁸¹ The appearance of the palace had to symbolize a good and well-organized government, as well as subjugation to the Republic. The residence of a Venetian official was a part of the public space, typically located in the urban core (usually in the old communal palace). Following the conquest of Dalmatian towns in the fifteenth century, Venice immediately began to restore priority buildings, in the first place the town fortifications. Usually, after troops were garrisoned in the towns, other public buildings were rebuilt or erected. In addition to these, the new Venetian authorities accorded special attention to the repair of communal palaces. Investment in public buildings was particularly evident during the sixteenth century (Calabi, 1986).

Restoration of the communal palace in Zadar began soon after the conquest: the town

81 In the fifteenth century there were 42 counts in Zadar alone, and 38 in Split and Trogir; Šunjić, 99.

was very important to the entire region: it was the first town that came under Venetian rule and had a highly sensitive position in the newly-conquered land, where the governor was supposed to 'stabilize' the territory. Even before the establishment of the *provveditore generale in Dalmazia e Albania* in the sixteenth century (DT, III, 1081), Zadar had some authority over Venetian officials in Dalmatia:⁸² in 1450 it was declared the chief town in Venetian Dalmatia by Doge Francesco Foscarini (DT, I, 327; Arbel, 201, 152; Novak, 1965). As early as 1410, the Venetian Senate sent 400 ducats for the renovation of Zadar's communal palace (*palatium comitatus et habitations comitis nostri Jadre*). The count's palaces were also meant to be well furnished and secure sites for Venetian officials. The palace was located east of the great square, near the church of St Stephen (ASV, Misti. 48, 139). Count Giacomo Trivisan and Captain Nicolò Venier oversaw the palace's repair in 1414 (Pederin, 1990, 15). The Zadar cadastre of 1421 described the communal palace as "made of stone, covered with shingles, with an office, warehouses, cellars, two animal sheds and detainment cells inside". Repairs were also conducted in the period between 1422 and 1440 (Ljubić, 1878, 85; Ljubić, 1886, VIII, 125; DT, I, 171, 192, 349, 406, 440). For instance, in 1431 the Senate approved 100 libras for this renovation (DT, I, 114). Later, the captain's palace was erected near the count's palace. The new government set aside a site where this house could be built:⁸³ some of the land was confiscated from Zadar's "disloyal" citizens⁸⁴ (Antoljak, 1949, 375, 390-393).

In Šibenik, the count's palace remained at the same site as the former communal palace.⁸⁵ However, it was separated from the connected town walls and turned into an independent citadel that could defend itself. In the fifteenth century, the communal palace in Šibenik had a courtyard with a cistern, a large tower, communal salt warehouses with entrances on the coast, rooms for the town council and a suite for the count (Ljubić, 1886, VIII, 140-141).⁸⁶ Because of the construction of the cathedral, in 1432 the western façade of the palace underwent alterations (repairs of the palace were mentioned in the period beginning in 1422/23 and extending to 1437/40.) In 1442, two shops (owned by

82 *...attamen quam regimen spectabilitam vestrarum Jadre est caput totius Dalmatie ubi si quid mandatum in Dalmatia est ibi esse debet* Šunjić, 100 DAZ, Arhiv Korčule, VII, 18/0, 50.

83 Several other buildings near the count's palace (close to St Stephen's church) were owned by Venice and obviously used for officials (1421): eight stone houses (west of the church) for tax collectors. In 1454, another house near the captain's palace, surrounded by houses previously owned by Simone de Begna and now by Venice, was mentioned. That house used to be owned by *quondam domina Zuvica de Berberio*. It was exchanged, in 1429, for an estate in the District, which had been confiscated from a rebel. Sources furthermore mention, in 1454, another state-owned house obtained in 1428 from the original owner, Emilio de Begna, in exchange for land in the District (formerly owned by rebels). The Venetian authorities had a shop near the church of St Peter. A house in the area St. Vitus was obtained from Ser Gabriele de Nosdrogna in exchange for other real estate (Antoljak, 1949, 413-414).

84 The owners of nearby houses were offered to exchange their land for property elsewhere (the owners were "loyal"): three houses near the palace were purchased by Venice from Simone de Begna. Similarly, *Cressius Civadelis's* house, with its courtyard and animal stables, was exchanged.

85 The palace went through numerous alterations over the centuries, beginning with its first mention in 1292. Following the Venetian attack in 1378, the palace and the nearby coastal fortifications underwent alterations.

86 Repairs of the palace were mentioned in the period beginning in 1422/23 and ending in 1437/40.

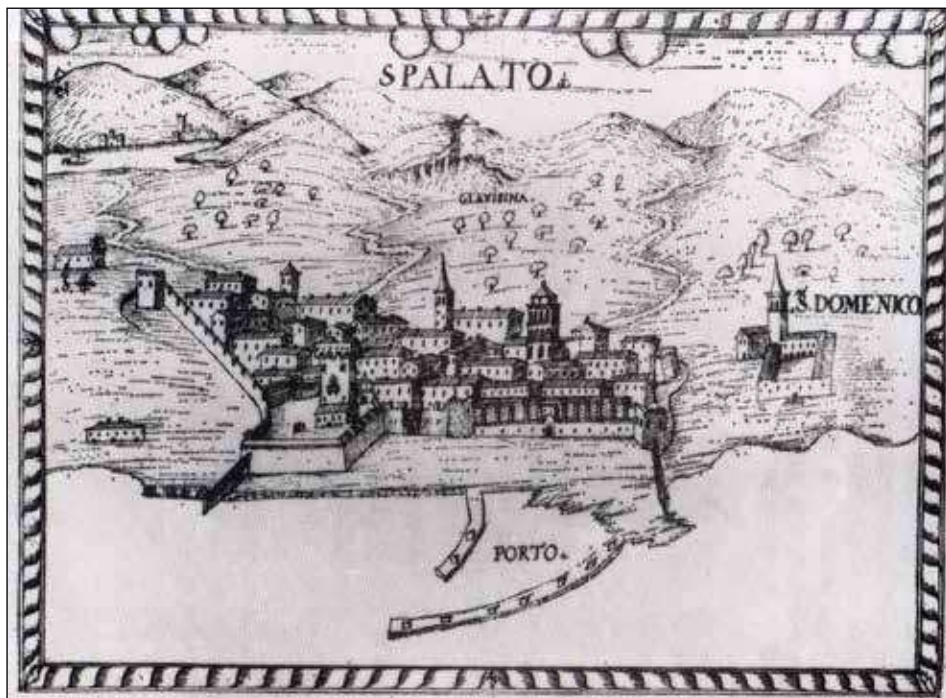


The count's palace in Trogir today (photo: Joško Ćurković)

the chancellor) were demolished, as well as another palace wall (Ljubić, 1886, 140-141; Zelić, 2008, 63; SK 259-262). In the fifteenth century, the count's palace in Šibenik had a courtyard with a cistern (Ljubić, 1886, 141), a large tower, communal salt warehouses with entrances on the coast, rooms for the town council and an apartment for the count. The south-eastern corner accommodated the palace chapel (Zelić, 1999, 145-149).

The governmental palace in Split was located on the south-western part of the square. In 1431, the town council requested that the Venetian government repair the communal palace, and the request was swiftly approved (Novak, II, 1961 441). The first floor housed the count's residence, and the second floor the gaol, guards' rooms, and an office. Unfortunately, in the early nineteenth century the former palatial complex was demolished, and all that remains are old urban landscape maps and prints showing the former palace.

Much material evidence indicates that during the conquest of Trogir, the Venetian fleet attacked from the east much more than from other directions. For this reason, the eastern side of the old town centre, which was also the location of the most important public and religious buildings, suffered the most under Venetian bombardment. So when Venice came to power, most of the investment went into the construction of the town square, especially the renovation of the count's palace (AHAZU-10, 23, 37). The Trogir council requested from the Venetians the reconstruction of "the communal palace tower" that was destroyed during Venetian attacks, as inexpensively as possible (AHAZU-9, 95; Lučić, 1979, 994,



Angelo degli Oddi, Spalato 1584

1001).⁸⁷ Fifteenth-century sources describe some rooms in the Trogir communal palace⁸⁸ (DAZd, AT, I/13, 15v; 67/3, 9, 29, 48v, 51v, 52v, 136v, 143v, 168; AT, 67/ 2, 45; 67/3, 174).

The fact that Venice arrived in Dalmatia in the fifteenth century at a time when the towns had already assumed their form necessarily limited Venetian urbanization to renovation and adaptation. In most Dalmatian towns, Venice adapted extant communal palaces and reused them without major modifications, for this was cheaper. But the history of their sites also made these palaces reminders of Venetian dominion and its legacy. To disassociate buildings with their past, the Venetian authorities arranged for minor architectural details that gave them a Venetian façade – in their appearance, symbols, function or name (count’s instead of communal palace). That strategy linked the physical and historical revision of the buildings and the institutions they reflected (as was the case with town citadels). The reuse of these buildings, as well as political structures and institutions, by the new rulers demonstrated that Venice “lawfully inherited Dalmatia”. In towns in the State, such as those on the island of Crete, Venice also adapted extant communal

87 Possibly the tower of St. John.

88 For instance, a large hall in which the judge’s table was placed.

palaces for its counts (Georgopoulou, 2001, 94–100).⁸⁹

Numerous public offices and administrative bodies were accommodated in the theses palaces: usually the local councils met in the count's palaces. However, many lower-ranking officials were accommodated separately. A house for officials near the count's palace in Trogir was leased in the fifteenth century, as documented in 1426 (Pederin, 1987, 101–177, 60, 163). In Zadar, residences for other officials were located near the count's palace. For instance, the *camerarius* lived in the house confiscated from the “disloyal” Filippo de Georgiis and Zoilo de Nassis.

The residence of a Venetian official was a part of the public space. It was typically located in the urban core, next to the loggia where communal political and legal life proceeded. Venice made sure that the Venetian representative occupied a communal rather than private house. Because these residences were first and foremost public property, Venetian councils made sure they did not become monuments to any particular count (by decorating them with family insignia). For this reason, counts were not allowed to repair nor add to their palaces without the explicit permission of the Venetian senate. (If they were allowed do so, they had to use paint only rather than have these carved in stone.) Unauthorized repairs to buildings where individual rectors resided were punished, as they signified privatization of the palace (Ljubić, 1876, 150).⁹⁰ Venice attempted to define public spaces using collective symbols rather than individual monuments. This ensured that the Venetian lion had no competition. Instead of individual Venetian rulers, the lion of St. Mark was emblazoned on public buildings, fortifications and town gates (O'Connell, 2009, 60). But this policy was not entirely successful—even though the lion of St. Mark occupied a highly visible place, the insignia of individual counts and families were present in the public space (as was the case with the citadels).

The well transferred from Zadar count's palace to the Franciscan cloister in the nineteenth century bears the coat of arms of the count who ruled between 1410 and 1419 (Stagličić, 1982, 75–80). The well of the Šibenik count's palace cistern still bears the insignia of both the Venetian Republic and the Donado family (Count Jacob Donado 1429–1431) (Ljubić, 1882, 242). The well from the internal palace courtyard bore the coat of arms of Count Jacobus Donà (1439–1441). As early as 1426, six years after the conquest of Trogir, the repair of the Trogir count's palace began under Count Giacomo Barbarigo (1426–1428) (AHAZU-10, 37).⁹¹ The count's coat of arms may be found on the well in the Trogir palace courtyard, reconstructed in the fifteenth century. The iconography on the Trogir loggia (1471) is of interest here, as the symbols of Venetian officials, coats of arms of the local elite and old church patrons are featured together with the state symbol⁹² (Ivančević, 1991; Anderle, 2002).

89 In Negroponte, Thiriet suggests, the Venetian state inherited a palace from the Ghisi.

90 Similar examples may be found in other parts of the Venetian state, such as the island of Crete. (For Cretan examples, see Georgopoulou, 2001, 54.) On the island of Corfu, state inquisitors ordered the removal of all such insignia.

91 (*Die 8. Augusti 1426. Comitibus Traguriensis Domus in Platea destructae a bombardis locatio*).

92 The largest sculpture of the lion of St. Mark in Dalmatia (not preserved), showed the Venetian lion with two figures in relief: the lions of St. Mark with the lions of St John of Trogir and St Lawrence, the diocesan patron saint, to the side, and the coats of arms of the local nobility below (by Niccolò Fiorentino).



The loggia in Traù, 20th c.

CONCLUSION

The Venetian Republic in the fifteenth century was very fragmented and lacked geographic coherence. Therefore, a more or less uniform legal and administrative system as well as standardized systems of fortifications and urban organizations became necessary.⁹³ Very different parts of the state also had to be kept together by the repute of the city of Venice: its location, security and the political stability of its institutions.⁹⁴ Venetian authority accorded great care to the construction fortifications, a project that was adapted to suit Venetian military and political interests. Other urban spaces also began to signify the presence of a new master by their appearance, particularly the main squares in towns and the public buildings that exhibited the symbols of the new Venetian suzerain. In addition to the incorporation of Dalmatian towns in the *Stato da mar* in the fifteenth century, other

93 This is why all units of measurement in the entire territory were standardized, as well as the currencies that regulated local markets and fomented Venetian trade.

94 Indirectly, Venice standardized its territory through its system of measurements, institutions and legal norms (Zlatkov, 2007, 172).

factors contributed significantly to the changes that took place. These include political developments in the hinterland, and especially the appearance of the Ottomans, changes in local society, etc. Venice did not exclusively impose its own agenda on the architectural environment without regard for local input: there were a multiplicity of voices that went into constructing Dalmatian towns. The relationship between Venice and the parts of its *Stato da mar*, including Dalmatia, was complex and often bidirectional.⁹⁵



The Camerlengo di Trogir

MLETAČKI UTJECAJ NA URBANE PROMJENE U DALMATINSKIM

⁹⁵ See Lovorka Čoralić's numerous, which discuss by and large the presence of Croats (Slavs) in Venice (rather than other way around). They mostly deal with the 1500-1800 period; *U gradu Sv. Marka*, Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2001.

GRADOVIMA U PRVOJ POLOVICI 15. STOLJEĆA

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SAŽETAK

Krajem 14. i početkom 15. stoljeća, za Mletačku Republiku okolnosti za proširenje teritorija i utjecaja bile su optimalne, a rezultat višestoljetne težnje za dominacijom. Končno, Dalmacija je postala je u 15. stoljeću dio mletačkog teritorija na istočnoj obali Jadrana koji se nazivao Colfo. U gradovima Zadru, Šibeniku, Trogiru i Splitu, mletačka se vlast ubrzo konsolidira, a situacija postupno smiruje. Budući da je mletačka država geopolitički bila nekoherentna, bio je važan standardizirani sustav fortifikacija i urbane organizacije. Na lokalnim razinama, pak, novostečeni dijelovi države sačuvali su mnoga samosvojna obilježja. Urbane promjene i izgradnje tijekom prvih desetljeća 15. stoljeća pokazuju mletačku težnju da istakne svoju suverenost i zaštitu, ali i napore da se domaće potrebe usklade sa strateškim i gospodarskim željama metropole. Venecija je nakon osvojenja gradova gradila kaštele na rubu grada, što je omogućivalo izdvojenu obranu. Krajem 15. stoljeća se pojavljuje osmanska opasnost te se težište obrane usmjerava prema obali. Nakon dolaska mletačke vlasti, osim u fortifikacije, osobito se ulaže u popravak kneževih palača. Vizualni znak mletačke političke, lav. Sv. Marka, vlasti bio je prisutan svugdje u javnom prostoru.

Ključne riječi: dalmatinski gradovi, Mletačka Republika, javne građevine, 15. stoljeće, urbana povijest, kaštel, komunalne palače

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