



**POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF URBAN SPACES  
AND TOWN TYPES THROUGH THE AGES.  
MAKING USE OF THE HISTORIC TOWNS ATLASES IN EUROPE**

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**POLITISCHE FUNKTIONEN STÄDTISCHER RÄUME  
UND STÄDTETYPEN IM ZEITLICHEN WANDEL.  
NUTZUNG DER HISTORISCHEN STÄDTEATLANTEN IN EUROPA**

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Irena Benyovsky Latin

## Governmental Palaces in Eastern Adriatic Cities (13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

### Introduction

This paper<sup>1</sup> traces the emergence, appearance, and function of governmental palaces in Eastern Adriatic cities during the medieval period. The primary focus is on the chosen cities in present-day Croatia (from Pula in Istria to Dubrovnik in southern Dalmatia, including the cities of Rab, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, and Split), but also some other examples (from today's Croatia and Slovenia). The paper follows the specific political constellations in which palaces were built – particularly the relationship between the communal and central authorities, which differed from one period and region to another. In the period that this paper focuses upon (13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.), the Eastern Adriatic was an area of interest for various political entities: Venice, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Hungarian kings who had inherited the Croatian throne, and the Croatian magnates. Palaces were seats of (more or less) autonomous communal governments or of those who represented the central authorities. They were also seats of the local city councils – with the representatives of urban nobility.

Cities in the Eastern Adriatic (*Fig. 1*) differed as to the time and circumstances of their foundation, which understandably influenced their spatial organization, including the position of their administrative and governmental buildings.

1 This study was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation as part of the project “Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elites and Urban Space,” Nr. IP-2014-09-7235.



Fig. 1: Map of the Eastern Adriatic. Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

Some had continuity from the Antiquity (among those to be addressed here, these include Pula, Zadar, Trogir, and Rab) and the continuity of the seat of governance was often crucial there. Some had inherited the ancient urban core, yet adapted it to suit their needs (Split), with the communal square often located outside of the old town. There were also cities built *ex novo* in the medieval period (e.g. Šibenik, Korčula), where a communal square with administrative buildings had yet to be built. Besides the inherited history, spatial organization was influenced by the city's size: whereas Zadar and Dubrovnik were relatively large in the High/Late Middle Ages (ca. 5.000–8.000 inhabitants), others were small (ca. 2.000–4.000). The body of preserved written sources is not equal in all of them: whereas Zadar, Trogir, and Dubrovnik have systematic archives from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, other cities are much more deficient in this respect. Some cities have an excellently preserved urban core that facilitates present-day research on their historical spatial organization and architecture (e.g. Trogir, Šibenik, or Split) while others have suffered major devastation and restructuring (especially Zadar and Dubrovnik).<sup>2</sup>

2 Nevertheless, even in those cities that escaped devastation (earthquakes, fires, warfare), the preserved public palaces have been largely restructured, often completely during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries; Darka

## Communal palaces as a reflection of communal autonomy

The earliest communal palaces in the Eastern Adriatic were built in the Central Dalmatian cities of Trogir, Split, and Šibenik, and in the Istrian cities of Pula and Koper.<sup>3</sup> The first group of cities acknowledged the rule of Hungarian-Croatian kings before the first decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the second group acknowledged the rule the Patriarchate of Aquileia before the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> The main driving force of autonomy were the urban elites (urban nobility), in whose hands the communal functions were concentrated. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the communal system developed in the cities of the Eastern Adriatic under the influence of the Italian ones. The sources mention consuls as the secular administrators, mandate officials elected by the new, autonomous commune.<sup>5</sup> Same as in Italy, the *potestates* soon emerged as well: they were foreign professionals without personal connections in the city, which was supposed to ensure effective governance and protect the city's autonomy.<sup>6</sup> With time, the city councils evolved (Major

BILIĆ, Krasanka MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Obnova i održavanje javnih palača u Dalmaciji tijekom 17. i 18. stoljeća/ Sul restauro e la manutenzione dei palazzi pubblici in Dalmazia durante il XVII e XVIII secolo* [Renovation and maintenance of public palaces in Dalmatia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 43: 2016, pp. 335–360; Stanko PIPLOVIĆ, *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljeću* [Trogir's architecture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century], Split 1996; Darka BILIĆ, *Sudbina kneževе palače u Šibeniku u pozno doba Mletačke Republike* [The fate of Count's Palace in Šibenik during the decline of the Venetian administration], *Peristil* 56: 2014, pp. 177–188; Duško KEČKEMET, *Rušenje Komunalne i Kneževе palače u Splitu* [Demolition of the Communal and Count's Palace in Split], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 4/5: 1978/79, pp. 287–302.

- 3 Bernardo BENUSI, *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Venice and Rovigno 1997, pp. 262–263; Darko DAROVEC, *Pregled istarske povijesti* [An overview of Istrian history], Pula 1996, pp. 41–43.
- 4 The entire 13<sup>th</sup> century was marked by warfare between the patriarch and Venice over the Istrian legacy; eventually, the margraves (patriarchs) renounced at it for an annual payment, by means of peace treaties with Venice; D. DAROVEC, *Pregled istarske povijesti* (fn. 3), 1996.
- 5 The limits of the consul's legal position are also visible in the briefness of their service: up to one year or considerably less, without the possibility of re-election. The consuls relied on their informed assistants, and often they were legal experts themselves (*sapientes*). In the Eastern Adriatic, consuls are found in Dubrovnik as early as 1168 and in Zadar in 1174; somewhat later in Split (1223, but in the shade of the count) and Trogir (1269). In Dalmatia, consular government did not have such continuity as it did in Italy; it emerged later and alternated with the typologically younger forms of administration; cf. Željko RADIĆ, *Neki aspekti kontrole upravitelja srednjovjekovnih gradova s osvrtom na splitsko statutarno pravo* [Some aspects of the governor's control in medieval cities, with reference to the statutory law of Split], *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu* 42: 2005, pp. 185–203.
- 6 In the Eastern Adriatic, they also did not completely substitute other forms of administration. At the time of the Hungarian-Croatian kings, the *potestates* co-existed with the electoral counts, but during the Venetian rule countship was considered incompatible with it; cf. Ž. RADIĆ, *Neki aspekti kontrole* (fn. 5), pp. 185–203.



Council, Minor Council, and the Senate),<sup>7</sup> and in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century the first city statutes were compiled.<sup>8</sup>

As a result of political history, Dalmatian cities enjoyed administrative autonomy, guaranteed by King Koloman in 1107.<sup>9</sup> From the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, cities were governed by counts appointed by election, largely Croatian magnates from the hinterland, loyal to the king.<sup>10</sup> Besides the counts, the cities were governed by the *potestates* who, unlike the counts, lived in the city.<sup>11</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> century chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon wrote that Grgur of Bribir, a Croatian magnate and the count of Split, was involved in many affairs and could not reside in Split permanently. Therefore, in 1239, at Thomas' initiative, the citizens of Split decided to exchange the countship system for that of *potestates* (*Regimen Latinorum*). When Garganus de Arscindis was appointed to that office,<sup>12</sup> he took the house of the local nobleman Grubeša (who was the elected count in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century) "pro publico palatio et pro hospitio suo."<sup>13</sup>

- 7 Members of the city councils gradually took over control in the city, parallel to the decline of the importance of the community of citizens. The early medieval notion of the community was transformed into a system of governance over them. There was thus an increasing need of building a communal palace as the seat of the urban elite. Cf. Irena BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir: Space and society], Zagreb 2009, 49.
- 8 Cf. *Splitski statut iz 1312. godine: povijest i pravo. Povodom 700. obljetnice. Zbornik radova sa međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanog od 24. do 25. rujna 2012. godine u Splitu* [The Statute of Split from 1312: history and law (Conference proceedings, Split, 2012), ed. by Ž. RADIĆ, MARKO TROGLIĆ, MASSIMO MECCARELLI, LUDWIG STEINDORFF, Split 2015.
- 9 Including the promise that he would confirm the count elected by the city (the clergy and the people). Cf. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), pp. 21–22. In Dalmatian communes, the degree of autonomy was a result of political history, geopolitical position, and the process of emergence of a patrician class. Already in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, some Dalmatian towns (Trogir, Zadar, and Rab) were granted royal (Hungarian-Croatian king's) privileges, which guaranteed their ancient autonomy. However, such royal privileges could not create local autonomy in Dalmatian towns: it was rather the method by which the existing autonomy was recognized (and perhaps restricted or increased) by the rulers. Cf. Neven BUDAČ, Tomislav RAUKAR, *Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka* [Croatian medieval history], (Zagreb 2006), pp. 212–213; István PETROVICS, *Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages: Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts of the Arpadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region*, *Chronica* 5: 2005, p. 5.
- 10 Thus, count Domald of Trogir (from the Croatian clan of Nelipić) owned a house with a tower assigned to him by the commune in 1243. The counts largely came from the Croatian family of Šubić from Bribir, who had their centres in the fortified towns of the Dalmatian hinterland (Modruš, Ostrovnica, Bribir, Knin, Klis) and were independent of the royal authority. In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1227), a so-called *corte di Spalato* is mentioned in Split, which may have been the count's see I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 23.
- 11 As a form of administration, *potestates* mostly complemented and occasionally supplemented the electoral counts.
- 12 The first systematic legal code was compiled at the time (1240).
- 13 The local nobleman Grubeša, count of Split in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, lived in a house that was later, in 1239, inhabited by *potestas* Garganus from Ancona. The following *potestà*, count Ivan of Krk, held an



The palace was supposedly located at the Peristyle (inside Diocletian's Palace), opposite the cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace.<sup>14</sup> These first public palaces were built under the influence of the Italian ones. They reflected the economic and financial growth of the city and were the seats either of some form of democratic governance or of the representative of a sovereign authority, as well as municipal administration.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1250s and 1260s, following the reforms of the Hungarian-Croatian king Béla IV, members of the Bribir family were deposed as the counts in the Dalmatian cities under his control and the office was substituted through that of the *ban* (the Counts of Bribir may have become *potestates*). In Split, the king replaced the *potestas* through Archbishop Ugrin and then through the *ban* of Slavonia. However, the *bans* did not stay in the city either, for which reason the office of *potestas* was reintroduced. In Split, Guido of Modruš is documented as holding that post in 1257 and living at the “*hospitium domini potestatis*.”<sup>16</sup> From 1267, the “*lozia spatensis*” is mentioned in the documents.<sup>17</sup> It may have been part of the palace at the Peristyle (on the ground level): an assembly hall and the *potestas*' rooms would have been on the upper floor. In Šibenik, the commune assigned some rooms (“*hospitium ad manendum*”) to *potestas* Valentin Petrov (of Trogir) in 1270, along with his salary.<sup>18</sup>

assembly at the same public palace (*in palatio publico*); cf. D. KEČKEMET, *Romanička loža u Splitu* [The Romanesque loggia in Split], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 8: 1954, pp. 96–110, here p. 98.

- 14 From the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Split expanded to include the western suburb, which, according to Thomas the Archdeacon, burned down in 1244 during the Hungarian-Croatian king's attack on the city (allegedly around 500 wooden houses). Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text by Olga PERIĆ, ed., transl. and annotated by Damir KARBIĆ, Mirjana MATIJEVIĆ-SOKOL, James ROSS SWEENEY, Budapest, New York 2006, ch. 45, pp. 344–345. These may have been land plots intended for lease. After the fire, this area was restructured and transformed into a new town, surrounded by a fortification line. It was there that a new communal palace, separate from the cathedral, would be built in the new square of St Lawrence.
- 15 Colin CUNNINGHAM, *For the Honour and Beauty of the City: The Design of Town Halls*, [in: *Siena, Florence, and Padua: Art, Society, and Religion 1280–1400*, ed. by Diana NORMAN. 2 vols, New Haven, CT and London 1995, vol. 2, pp. 29–53, here p. 29; Italo MORETTI, *I palazzi pubblici*, [in: *La costruzione della città comunale italiana (secoli XII–inizio XIV)*, Pistoia 2009, pp. 67–90, here pp. 69–70; Elisabeth CROUZET-PAVAN, *La cité communale en quête delle-même: la fabrique des grand espaces public*, [in: *La costruzione (ibidem)*, pp. 91–130, here pp. 106–117.
- 16 The *potestates* brought their administration with them; *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (hereafter: CD), ed. by Tadija SMIČIKLAS, Mirko KOSTRENIĆIĆ, Emil LASZOWSKI, Zagreb 1907, p. 107.
- 17 At that time (mid-13<sup>th</sup> c.), a new city square emerged in the new western part of Split, outside the walls of Diocletian's Palace, soon to become the new communal square. (The so-called *Platea Sancti Laurentii* was named after a church that is no longer extant.) Cf. Grga NOVAK, *Povijest Splita* [History of Split], vol. 1, Split 1957), pp. 503–507.
- 18 *Monumenta Traguriensia: Notae seu abbreviaturae cancellariae comunis Tragurii* (hereafter: MT), I/1, ed. by Miho BARADA, Zagreb 1948, p. 265.



The *potestas* of Trogir lived in a house that is mentioned in the 1270s as “*domus comunis*.”<sup>19</sup>

Besides a residence for the governor, the cities increasingly needed a building to house the city council and the administration. Before the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the city councils met in the open square or in churches,<sup>20</sup> and in the 1270s the first communal palaces were built. When the royal power over the Dalmatian cities weakened, the count’s office was again occupied by the magnates from the surrounding areas, mostly the Counts of Bribir (the Šubić family).

Pavao of Bribir, a Croatian magnate, was the count of Trogir in 1272, the year in which the first communal palace (“*palatium comunis*”) was built in the eastern part of the main square. The bishop and the *potestas* confirmed its position, and the latter (as was the case in Italian cities) was often in charge of the public works in the city<sup>21</sup> (as attested for Trogir in 1270).<sup>22</sup>

The locality chosen for Trogir’s communal palace (fig. 2 & 2a) had been a site of governance since Antiquity, but had acquired a sacral character in the early medieval period. In 1274, contracts were already signed “in palatio comunis.”<sup>23</sup>

- 19 In 1271, the consuls of Trogir rented this house for the communal *rivarius* (near the monastery of St John), who was to perform his work for the commune on the ground floor. In Trogir, the Counts of Bribir held the *potestas* office in the period of royal reforms, as the city used its good relations with the king (having offered him refuge when he fled the Mongols) to assert its communal autonomy and when the first professional notary arrived to the city; I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 51.
- 20 In the earliest notarial records from Trogir (1264–1271, before the palace housing the chancery was built), most contracts were signed in the main square (*in plathea comunis*), often in front of the churches of St Mary and St Lawrence; MT (fn. 18), I/1, 16, 55, 81, 144, 145, 171, 173, and 177–178. In Piran, council meetings in churches are mentioned: in 1232 and 1268 in St George’s church, and in 1270 in St Stephen’s; cf. Giuseppe CAPRIN, *L’Istria nobilissima*, Trieste 1905–1907, p. 204. In Trogir, the community of citizens (*universa communitas*) is mentioned until the 1270s, and it probably included only prominent citizens. In 1271, the *generale consilium* was held at St Lawrence’s church (even though there was a *domus comunis* at the time); MT (fn. 18), I/1, 116. In Zadar, before the communal palace was constructed, the council met in the cathedral sacristy (1101) or at the monastery of St Chrysogonus (1190); cf. Ivo PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra u srednjem vijeku* [The appearance of Zadar in the Middle Ages], Radovi instituta JAZU u Zadru 11–12: 1965, pp. 161–165; *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, ed. Franjo RAČKI (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, 7), Zagreb, 1977, p. 155; CD (fn. 16), II, 157. St Peter’s church in Zadar, mentioned from the 12<sup>th</sup> century in the main square, also served for the citizens’ assemblies. The earliest information on city assemblies in Split comes from 1085; G. NOVAK, *Povijest Splita* (fn. 17), I, p. 275. Decisions often had to be ratified by the (arch)bishop, who still had considerable authority in the city.
- 21 Cf. Enrico GUIDONI, *Appunti per una storia dell’urbanistica nella Lombardia tardo-medievale*, [in:] *Lombardia. Il territorio, l’ambiente, il paesaggio*, Milano 1980, pp. 109–126.
- 22 *Monumenta Traguriensia: Notae* (fn. 18), p. 218 (24. febr. 1290. *Potestas uel rector tenebatur lege integulari et murari facere 30 passus de uis communis in civitate, incipiendo a porta portus ueniendo versus portam pontis. Alevietur hic potestas Stefanus ab hoc onere. 3, a.*)
- 23 Trogir’s *potestas* and council were the ones to decide upon the construction and urban planning (confirmed by the bishop), and they decided that the church of St Stephen in the square was to be demo-



Fig. 2: Trogir (1. Cathedral; 2. St Lawrence Square; 3. Governmental palace; 4. St Mary de platea; 5. Loggia; 6. St John the Baptist; 7. Old city gate towards terra ferma; 8. City gate towards island of Čiovo; 9. Wall between the Old and the New town; 10. St Mark tower; 11. Camerlengo citadel). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.



Fig. 2a: Trogir's Communal Palace today (Photo by Joško Ćurković).



In the same year, a private house was exchanged for the old “domus comunis”, which served as a residence for the *potestas* Presta de Cotopagna.<sup>24</sup> Apparently, a complex of governmental and administrative buildings emerged in Trogir’s main square (in 1300, the commune broadened the square belonging to the chapter behind the cathedral’s apse). Next to the palace, a municipal loggia was built before 1299, north of St Martin’s church. The early medieval square in Trogir was surrounded by churches: the cathedral to the north, St Stephen’s to the east, and St Mary’s and St Martin’s to the south. Next to St Mary *de platea*, there was an old baptistery, on which there are almost no data in the records. The construction of the communal palace and the loggia crucially changed the appearance of the square, as well as its function.

The communal palace of Split (*fig. 3 & 3a*) is mentioned in a document from 1277,<sup>25</sup> interestingly also during the countship of Pavao of Bribir (1273–1277), formerly the count of Trogir.<sup>26</sup>

The new Statute of Split (1312), compiled by *potestas* Percival from Fermo, mentions the completion of the communal palace, possibly in the new St Laurence’s Square (outside Diocletian’s palace).<sup>27</sup> It was the time when the new city walls were built around the western suburb. (However, the chronology of the construction of Split’s communal palace is not reliable.<sup>28</sup>) Besides the fact that Pavao of Bribir was the count of both Trogir and Split at the time when the communal palace was built, one should take into account the possible influence of the *potestates* on the emergence

lished to make place for the new construction (next to the palace, a house was still being rented in 1272 to serve the communal needs.).

24 It is not accidental that a nobleman from Zadar would hold this office, but rather an attempt at controlling the politics of Zadar, which was ruled by Venice at the time (In the period from 1311–1313, Ban Pavao of Bribir managed to conquer the Venetian Zadar for a short time.). On the ground level, at the corner of the palace, there was the communal prison, built in 1306.

25 CD (fn. 16), VI, pp. 201. The citizens of Split used it to elect a representative who would sign a peace treaty with Trogir.

26 CD (fn. 16), VI, pp. 201–203.

27 The Statute of 1312 mentions that the *potestas* and his men must take their oaths on the Gospel Book in public or before the council (*in publico arengo vel palatio seu consilio*), which Zdenka Janeković Roemer considers as evidence on the gradual transfer of authority from the citizen assembly to the general council (SS, II, 16; cf. Zdenka JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Splitski statut: ogledalo razvoja komune / Split’s Statute: A Mirror of Communal Development*, [in:] *Splitski statut* (fn. 8), p. 76, which in 1334 would be closed to include only noblemen.

28 Cvito FISKOVIĆ, *Izgled splitskog Narodnog trga u prošlosti* [The appearance of People’s Square in Split in the past], *Peristil* 1: 1954, pp. 71–102; Ljubo KARAMAN, *O nekadašnjim upravniciima i o staroj vijećnici grada Splita* [On the former governors of Split and the old city hall], *Novo doba: Split 1927*; Jerko MARASOVIĆ, *Sklop građevina na istočnoj strani Narodnog trga u Splitu* [The building complex at the eastern side of People’s Square in Split], *Kulturna baština* 39: Split 2013, pp. 325–344; G. NOVAK, *Gradski bedemi, javne zgrade i ulice u srednjovjekovnom Splitu* [The bulwark, public buildings, and streets in medieval Split], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3: Zagreb 1949, pp. 103–115.



Fig. 3: Split (1. Cathedral; 2. Peristyle; 3. First Public Palace / Loggia; 4. St Lawrence Square; 5. Communal palace; 6. Count's palace; 7. Citadel). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

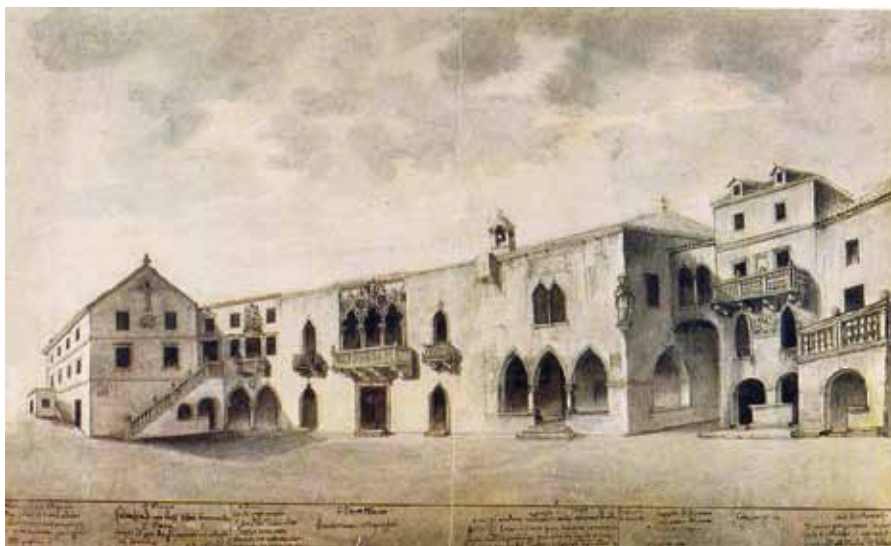


Fig. 3a: Complex of the Split Palaces in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. – Archive of the Department of Protection of Cultural Heritage in Split.



of communal palaces.<sup>29</sup> In the Dalmatian cities that this paper focuses on, *potestates* (and their deputies, the captains) largely originated from Italian communes<sup>30</sup> (some of them from Venice),<sup>31</sup> more rarely from other Dalmatian cities (mostly from Zadar, controlled by Venice at the time),<sup>32</sup> and occasionally they were Croatian magnates from the hinterland.<sup>33</sup>

Šibenik belongs to the group of cities that was founded (by the Croatian king) in the Middle Ages and had no ancient predecessor. Thus, the square in which its communal palace was built emerged only in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> It was located near a tower of the fortifications, but remained disconnected from it until the Venetian conquest. Also, the old Šibenik loggia was built in the late 13<sup>th</sup> or the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, opposite the northern façade of the Cathedral, at the site of the Renaissance loggia, though its dimensions were certainly smaller than those of the successive structure.<sup>35</sup>

29 Angelica ZOLLA, *I palazzi comunali nelle città padane (secc. XII–XIV)*, [in:] *L'urbanistica di Modena medievale (X–XV seolo). Confronti, interrelazioni, approfondimenti*, ed. by Enrico GUIDONI, Catia MAZZERI, Modena 1999, pp. 35–51.

30 The Statute of Split was compiled in 1312 by Percevalle da Fermo, who originated from the province of Marche, same as Garganus; cf. Gherardo ORTALLI, *Split: Statutes and their long-term Force. Between Legal Weight and Political Value*, [in:] *Splitski statut* (fn. 8), p. 119.

31 Thus, the first *potestas* of Split was Garganus de Arcindis from Ancona (1239–42), but later on *potestates* often came from other Italian cities or were Croatian noblemen. Thus, in 1243/44 the *potestas* was Bernard from Trieste, in 1273 Rogerius Lupi from Fermo, in 1289 Renald de Cerebotti from Ancona, and in 1290 Ugerius from Ancona. The election procedure is described in a document from 1287, where Trogir's captain Roger de Todinis from Ancona suggested to the city council that the future *potestas* should be elected by the city of Fermo and submitted a list of suitable candidates (Palmiero de Falco, a former *potestas* of Trogir, was asked for advice); cf. Damir KARBIĆ, *Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bibrirskih knezova Šubića: Prilog poznavanju međusobnih odnosa hrvatskih velikaša i srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih komuna* [The relations between urban nobility and the Counts Šubić of Bribir: A contribution to our knowledge on the relations between the Croatian magnates and medieval Dalmatian communes], *Povijesni prilozi* 35: 2008, pp. 43–58.

32 The circulation of *potestates* was also lively among the Dalmatian cities: thus, in the cities controlled by the king they could come from the cities ruled by Venice, such as Zadar (which was perhaps related to the policy of the Bribir clan) or from the cities under the same sovereign power. In Šibenik, the *potestates* came from Trogir two years in a row, which resulted in some similarities between the two cities, not only in urban development, but also in their institutions, regardless of the differences in their historical legacy. In 1270, the *potestas* of Šibenik was Valentin Petrov, and in 1271 Nikola Jakovljević Vodouaro, both from Trogir; Cf. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 137.

33 D. KARBIĆ, *Odnosi gradskoga plemstva* (fn. 31), pp. 43–58.

34 In the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the *publicum parlamentum* held its sessions *ante ecclesium Sancti Jacobi*. It was only when this church became a cathedral in 1289 and a *palatium communitatis Sibenicensis* was built in 1292 that the square obtained the name *platea comunis*. Nevertheless, until the 15<sup>th</sup> century the sacral and the secular, north-eastern part of the square in Šibenik remained physically separated.

35 Danko ZELIĆ, *O Gradskoj loži u Šibeniku* [On the town loggia in Šibenik], *Ars Adriatica* 4: 2014, pp. 299–312.

In Istrian cities, there was also a continuity of self-government from the earlier period, but during the 13<sup>th</sup> century the communal representatives<sup>36</sup> had to struggle to maintain it against the central authorities (in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was the Patriarch of Aquileia, who ruled from 1209 as the margrave of Istria and a feudal lord),<sup>37</sup> who used internal strife and conflicts between the cities to their own benefit.<sup>38</sup> In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the margraves granted some concessions to the Istrian cities in terms of autonomy and the *potestates* were elected from the Venetian, Friulian, and Istrian urban nobility.<sup>39</sup> The first statutes emerged, e.g. in Koper (1239) and Piran (1274).<sup>40</sup> These were the surrounding conditions in which the first communal palaces were built.

In Koper, the earliest communal palace in the Eastern Adriatic was built in 1269, at the southern side of the central square.<sup>41</sup> The city was a fief of the Patriarchy of Aquileia, yet became an autonomous municipality with its own counts (which it remained until 1278, when it acknowledged Venetian sovereignty). A plaque has been preserved that informs us that the building (also called *praetorium*) was commissioned by the city governor Marino Mauroceno (Morosini), son of Angelo Mauroceno “to the glory of the city.” The plaque mentions the construction of two more buildings, two large wells (one in the court of the *praetorium* and another in the municipal garden), and an open loggia between the two palaces.<sup>42</sup>

36 The documents mention consules, rectors, *potestates*, and captains. cf. Milan PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici* [Poreč: The city and its monuments], Zagreb 2007, p. 32.

37 The Patriarchate of Aquileia was one of the largest Italian states during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and extended its political control over a region that included the central part of Istria (together with Trieste, Carinthia, Styria, and Cadore). However, during the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Patriarchate faced the increasing power of Venice.

38 The patriarch was also supported by its suffraganes, the local bishops (of Pula, Koper, and Novigrad), often in conflict with the commune.

39 Antonio Stefano MINOTTO, *Documenta ad Forumiulii, Istriam, Goritiam, Tergestum spectantia*, 1, Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria 8: 1892, pp. 3–47. After the death of Patriarch Montelongo in 1274, the patriarchy declined. In 1251, Koper and Poreč managed to obtain an imperial confirmation of their autonomy, while other cities and towns were granted the privilege of electing their own governors (in 1261, Milje i Piran created the captain's office); cf. M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), p. 35.

40 D. DAROVEC, *Pregled istarske povijesti* (fn. 3), p. 97.

41 According to some sources, the city council decided to build a *palazzo comunale* as early as 1254; G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 198. The city started its urban rise in the early medieval period, when the population of Trieste, with the approval of Emperor Justinian, found refuge before the Langobards in the former Roman town of Aegida/Capris (when it was called Justinopolis, later Capodistria). In the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, it experienced faster urban development with the foundation of the bishopric.

42 G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 199; Niccolò DEL BELLO, *Capodistria, la Piazza del comune nel secolo XV*, *Pagine istriane* 11–12: 1905, pp. 245–247 and pp. 256–264.



In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Istrian town of Pula was ruled by the local patrician family of Sergii on behalf of the Patriarch of Aquileia (they received a fortress as a fief, after which they were called Castropola). It was the Sergii who finished the communal palace in 1296 (the construction would have started earlier),<sup>43</sup> which is documented by a plaque stating that the palace was the seat of two councils and the court.<sup>44</sup> The western façade, as in the previous period, included that of Augustus' temple. Diana's temple was largely demolished (perhaps because it was already derelict) and only its northern façade remained preserved (and partly the western one).<sup>45</sup> The palace in Pula was built next to the main square, the former ancient forum.<sup>46</sup> The project included two ancient temples and the pre-existing Romanesque buildings (with a tower) situated between them. Thus, the construction incorporated everything that was possible and demolished only what was necessary to enlarge it towards the square, in accordance with its administrative functions. The existing tower was preserved as it was important to the palace (*turris comunis*).<sup>47</sup> Little has been left of the original palace, but an older drawing allows us to conclude that it was an L-shaped building with one of its wings turned towards the main square, the former forum (the southern façade) and the other eastwards, towards the street. The ground floor opened up towards the square with a five-arcade loggia,<sup>48</sup> with a tower above it.<sup>49</sup>

43 "Cominciava il giorno del dugentesimo e sessantesimo lustro dal parto di Maria, ed era preside della patria Bartolomeo, erede dell'avito cognome patavino dei Vitreo (o dei Vitrei), quando fu costruita questa veneranda sede dei consigli e luogo del giudizio. Se questi due uffici saranno sorretti da saggio ministro non avverrà che l'alma pace abbandoni il popolo. Quindi la concordia riscaldi i cittadini unanimi perchè i divisi viscerim non vizino il capo sano..."; G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 213; Pietro KANDLER, *Indicazioni per riconoscere le cose storiche del Litorale*, Trieste 1855, p. 33. Kandler rejected the previous hypotheses and dated the construction around 1275.

44 John Mason NEALE, *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a Visit to Montenegro*, London 1861, p. 88; Camillo DE FRANCESCHI, *Il Comune polese e la signoria dei Castropola*, Poreč 1905, pp. 325–326.

45 In Antiquity, a curia was located between the two forum temples, at the site of the present-day communal palace.

46 Attilio KRIZMANIĆ, *Komunalna palača – Pula. Razvitak gradskog središta kroz dvadeset jedno stoljeće* [The communal palace of Pula: The evolution of the city centre through twenty-one centuries], Pula 1988;

47 C. DE FRANCESCHI, *L'antico palazzo del Comune di Pola e la sua ricostruzione*, *L'Indipendente* 9784: Trieste, February 13, 1906; IDEM, *Il Comune polese* (fn. 44), pp. 325–327. G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), pp. 207–218; P. KANDLER, *Cenni al Forestiero che visita Pola*, Trieste 1845, pp. 26–27; *Notizie storiche di Pola*, ed. by Tomaso LUCIANI, P. KANDLER, Carlo DE FRANCESCHI, Poreč 1876, pp. 158–160 and pp. 216–220.

48 "Lobia, Logia comunis Polae, logia palatii comunis Polae, la loggia del palazzo del comune di Pola"; cf. C. DE FRANCESCHI, *L'antico palazzo* (fn. 47), *passim*.

49 The Communal Palace in Pula reflects the various functions of municipal administration, but is also a symbol of communal autonomy, expressed in its monumental decoration; cf. B. BENUSSI, *Statuto del Comune di Pola*, Parenzo 1911, pp. 107–449, here pp. 107–109, and pp. 481–499; Josip STOŠIĆ,



In the cities that recognized the sovereignty of the Hungarian-Croatian king or of the patriarch and enjoyed some sort of autonomy in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, public buildings emerged early: loggias, municipal houses, and from the 1270s also communal palaces. They were intended for the public officials, the citizen's assembly, and the administration. Those buildings were regularly located in the central city square, and in case of cities with continuity from Antiquity, in the former forum. In the cities where there was no such continuity, a new square gradually evolved. In these cases, urban expansion ran parallel to the development of communal institutions, and the city walls were shifted to include new areas, which made it possible to create a new city square. Such a square then became a new social and political centre of secular authority, and a communal palace with a city hall dominated it.

### Residences for Venetian governors

Eastern Adriatic cities were under constant Venetian pressure from the early medieval times: their harbours and the islands made it possible for Venetian ships to sail safely and find shelter, services, and supplies.<sup>50</sup> The outcome of the Fourth Crusade turned Venice into a leading Mediterranean power in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, with profound changes in the political, territorial, and economic goals of the Serenissima, whose strategy was to maintain a sea route from the northernmost point in the Adriatic down to the Levant.<sup>51</sup> Eastern Adriatic cities thus had a special significance for Venice due to their excellent strategic position. In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Venetian sovereignty was either reasserted or newly established in the cities of northern Dalmatia (Osor, Krk, Rab), central and southern Dalmatia (Zadar, Dubrovnik, and briefly Dyrrachium).<sup>52</sup> In the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the Venetians conquered Korčula

*Kiparska radionica općinske palače u Puli* [The sculptural workshop of the Communal Palace in Pula], Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti 8–9: 1966, pp. 24–45, here: p. 24 and pp. 28–29.

50 The Venetian efforts at dominating the Eastern Adriatic began in the year 1000 with a naval expedition commanded by Doge Pietro II Orseolo, who was the first to establish control over the Adriatic as the “Gulf of Venice”.

51 Generally, see: Alberto TENENTI, *The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Renaissance Venice*, ed. by J. R. HALE, London 1973, pp. 17–46; Bariša KREKIĆ, *Venezia e l'Adriatico*, [in:] *Storia di Venezia, vol. 3: La formazione dello Stato Patrizio*, ed. by Giorgio CRACCO, Girolamo ARNALDI, A. TENENTI, Rome 1996, pp. 51–85; *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra tredicesimo e diciottesimo secolo / Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by G. ORTALLI, Oliver J. SCHMITT, Wien 2009); Reinhold MUELLER, *Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia*, [in:] *Quattrocento Adriatico. Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. by Charles DEMPSEY, Bologna 1996, pp. 9–57.

52 Rab was continuously controlled by Venice from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Zadar was conquered in 1204, after several short-lived defences, and Dubrovnik came under the Venetian rule in 1205. Zadar was very rebellious, and Dubrovnik as well.



and in the final decades of the century, after repeated attempts, the cities in Istria and central Dalmatia (Hvar). The autonomy of these cities declined:<sup>53</sup> they lost the right to elect the governor of their communal administration and had Venetian patricians appointed to that position instead. The new Venetian governors – counts<sup>54</sup> (should not be conflated with the electoral counts in Dalmatian cities) – were appointed by the communal authorities.

However, the Venetian authority was not organized in the same way everywhere; its form depended on the existing local circumstances and the degree of autonomy that the cities had enjoyed previously. In some places, a direct government was established, with officials appointed for a period of two or three years, while in others a feudal system was implemented: mostly the Venetian patricians were given fiefs and helped consolidate the Venetian rule in return by engaging in trade or defence. In some Eastern Adriatic cities, individual Venetian or local (Croatian) patrician families acquired hereditary appointments and owned private estates (Krk, Osor, Korčula); elsewhere they obtained lifetime offices (Rab). Some cities had the system of (usually) two-year appointments – although this often meant that a few powerful families alternated on the position (Dubrovnik, Zadar, Hvar).<sup>55</sup>

In the cities ruled by Venice, safety of the appointed officials and protection against rebellion was the absolute priority. The fortifications were usually under the jurisdiction of the central authorities from the very beginning of Venetian dominance.<sup>56</sup> The

53 The cities' governors had to be Venetian patricians, and the (arch)bishop was also appointed from Venice. Further control was ensured by the election of the highest administrative bodies, the judges, and the Minor Council. A major administrative reform was carried out when the Venetians became the sovereign rulers of Dubrovnik in 1205. The Venetians now controlled the appointment of the highest officials and the count himself was a Venetian. The Statute of 1272 indicates that he appointed (with a one-year mandate) his deputy, five judges, and six members of the Minor Council from those who were "by origin and family ties from the city of Dubrovnik." The Minor Council and the count then appointed all other officials, including the Major Council; cf. Nenad VEKARIĆ, *Udio plemstva u stanovništvu Dubrovnika u trenutku zatvaranja vijeća 1332. godine* [The ratio between nobility and the overall population in Dubrovnik at the time of closing the council (1332)], Rad HAZU 48: 2011, pp. 31–46; *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272 / Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno MCCLXXII*, ed. by Nella LONZA, Dubrovnik 2012, L. I, c. 3. Cf. also: Vinko FORETIĆ, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808* [History of Dubrovnik before 1808], vol. I, Zagreb 1980, p. 122.

54 In Dalmatia and Istria, the prevailing title was "count" (*comes, conte*), which shows that this office was more firmly rooted than that of the *potestas* (but the Venetian sources mostly use the term *podestà*).

55 In Rab, counts from the Morosini family established a hereditary rule, although not completely because of the city's previous autonomy), while in Zadar and Dubrovnik the counts were appointed with a mandate of up two to three years (but they were often from the same family, or even the same persons).

56 After the devastation of Zadar in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, the fortifications could be repaired (from 1205) only with the approval of the Doge, the count, or the council; cf. *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, vol. 1, ed. by Šime LJUBIĆ, Zagrabiae 1876); *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva*

existing bulwarks (located at the city margins) were reused and restructured to serve as seats for the count and his entourage.<sup>57</sup> In Dubrovnik, the fortified area of the so-called *castrum* was used, separated from the city (there a new Romanesque cathedral was built in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>58</sup>

In Zadar and Dubrovnik, the (arch)episcopal palace near the cathedral was the most representative building in the city before the construction of the Count's Palace, and could serve, for example, to accommodate the Doge during his visit.<sup>59</sup> At that time, fortresses were obviously not suitable for representative purposes or the count's lodgings, and the commune was expected to pay the rent for a house that was worthy of being a residence for the count and his family.<sup>60</sup> On the contrary, during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Zadar's count Domenico Morosini and his son Ruggerio (later the count of Osor) owned their own house with a tower rather than renting one, but after the Venetians left the city, it passed into the hands of a local nobleman.<sup>61</sup>

*i Mletačke republike I (960–1335)* [Documents on the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic I (960–1335)], ed. Š. LJUBIĆ (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium), Zagreb 1868, pp. 20–1, doc. 31 (hereafter: *Listine I*).

- 57 In Zadar, a *castrum* is mentioned that the Venetians allegedly conquered in their attempts at subduing the city during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and in Dubrovnik there was a fortress (*castrum*) from the pre-communal period that was suitable for accommodating the count and the army, since it was located near the harbour, in a fortified area separated from the city. Cf. Stjepan ANTOLJAK, *Vladarski dvor (palača) i kraljevske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Zadru (s posebnim osvrtom na doba Arpadovića i Anžuvina)* [The Count's Court (Palace) and the royal houses in medieval Zadar, with a special focus on the Arpadian and Angevin times], Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 17: 1984, pp. 55–76, here p. 62. The position of this fortress with regard to the city may be compared to the situation in Southern Italy during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, where such structures served to defend the city from outside attacks as well as internal strifes, i.e. to control the city, which is the reason why they were positioned marginally, outside the city; cf. Francesca BOCCHI, *The Topography of Power in the Towns of Medieval Italy*, [in:] *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe: The European Historic Towns Atlas Project*, ed. by Anngret SIMMS, Howard B. CLARKE, Farnham 2015, pp. 65–86, here pp. 82–83.
- 58 The (arch)bishop was to be appointed from Venice according to the new agreements, similar to the count.
- 59 In Zadar, this was decreed as early as 1204, and in Dubrovnik in 1252 (the contract of 1205 has not been preserved, but the one from 1232). *Listine I* (fn. 56), 20–21, doc. 29 and 30; 46, doc. 75. In Dubrovnik, the archiepiscopal palace was likewise the most representative building of all and remained so until the late 1270s. A contract from 1253 (after the last rebellion) established that the Doge, should he come to the city, was to be accommodated “in domo archiepiscopali.” As late as 1272, the time of the Statute of Dubrovnik, the archiepiscopal palace was the place where the municipal administration assembled for the rector's investiture. Obviously, there was still no other suitable locality in the city or the *castrum*, although the latter started to be called *castellum* at that time (1272).
- 60 In Zadar, this was decreed as early as 1204, and it may be presumed that the situation was similar elsewhere.
- 61 CD (fn. 16), II, p 261–262, d. 246.



In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, rented houses also had to be located next to the city walls and near the fortress: in Zadar (*fig. 4 & 4a*), for example, Count Giovanni Michiel lived in a house next to the city walls and St Stephen's church in 1237.<sup>62</sup>

In 1247, it was decided that Count Angelo Mauroceno (Morosini) should stay at the house of the local (Croatian) nobleman Damijan Varikaša.<sup>63</sup> Apparently, the house was representative enough and at a good location, since it was rented by the following counts as well until 1278 (from 1279, Damijan's heirs lived in a house next to the fortifications and St Stephen's, perhaps the same one). In Dubrovnik, the Venetian counts may also have lived in rented houses from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. In today's Držićeva Poljana, the area north of Pustijerna and south of the *castrum*, there was a complex of two houses owned by the nobility in which the Venetian count and the judges lived until 1283.<sup>64</sup> Investing in fortifications and additional defence structures was crucial in rebellious cities (Zadar being a particularly prominent case,<sup>65</sup> but also Dubrovnik during the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). In Zadar, at the time of Doge Giacomo Tiepolo,<sup>66</sup> and following the rebellions of 1239 and 1242,<sup>67</sup> the fort of Zadar (*castellum Jadere*) was to be repaired and reinforced.<sup>68</sup>

Venice tried to impose its sovereignty upon Istria throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but succeeded only in its final decades. The first city to recognize it was Poreč (1267), followed by Umag (1269), Novigrad (1269–70), Sveti Lovreč (1271),<sup>69</sup> briefly Pula (in

62 During the first decades, the counts of Dubrovnik and Zadar came from the two branches of the Dandolo family.

63 The count was allowed to have two councillors as his assistants.

64 *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. II, ed. Josip LUČIĆ (Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. II, Zagreb 1984) (hereafter: MHR, II), doc. 1142, p. 282; doc. 1278, p. 322; MHR II, doc. 1279, p. 323.

65 Nada KLAJČ, I. PETRICIOLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages before 1409], vol. 2, Split 1976, p. 284; I. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra* (fn. 20), pp. 170–171; *Listine I* (fn. 56), 61, doc. 88, p. 61; Emil HILJE, *Mletački kaštel u Zadru* [The Venetian *castrum* in Zadar], *Ars Adriatica* 1: 2011, pp. 109–116.

66 Doge Tiepolo appointed his sons to the office of counts in especially rebellious cities: even before 1243, when his sons became the counts of Osor and Krk, he sent his son Pietro to the rebellious Osor (in 1236) and then to the rebellious Treviso (in 1237). He also sent his other son Giovanni to Dubrovnik in 1237 (after the agreement with Venice in 1236).

67 Venice tried to impose its rule on Zadar, but the city's nobility still reinforced its most important communal institution – the Major Council.

68 In 1243, Count Michael Morosini came with an entourage of ten armed men from Venice; *Listine I* (fn. 56), 61, doc. 88. I. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra* (fn. 20), pp. 161–165. In 1247, the construction of this fortress is mentioned. Supposedly, it was the one on the corner, even though a *castrum* is positively mentioned there only in 1289, referred to as the *castrum novum* (it is still a matter of scholarly debate); *Listine I* (fn. 56), 68, doc. 96.

69 In the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Venice created a special institution called “societas Paysanatici terrarum,” with its seat in Sv. Lovreč (S. Lorenzo al Leme, San Lorenzo del Pasenatico), intended to control (especially) the extraurban area and ensure its military cohesion with the city. Its head was a captain appointed by the Venetian Senate for a one-year mandate. The first captain was Marino Badoer

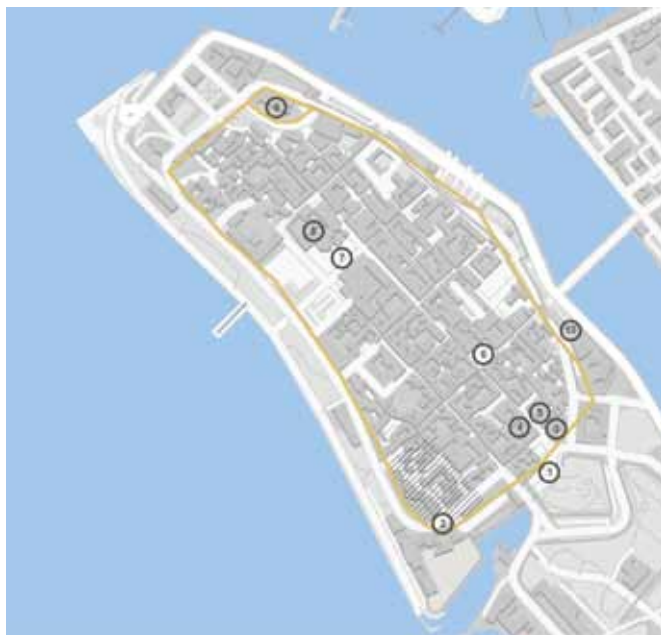


Fig. 4: Zadar (1. Quintagonal power (Captain's tower); 2. Babarum (round tower); 3. Rented house for the count; 4. Count's palace; 5. St. Stephen's church; 6. Communal square (with loggia and St. Platon's church); 7. Square in front of the cathedral; 8. Cathedral and the bishop's palace; 9. North-western citadel; 10. Arsenal). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.



Fig. 4a: The Provveditore's Palace in Zadar, 19<sup>th</sup> century. – Photo, today in the Scientific library in Zadar; published in: D. BILIĆ – K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Obnova i održavanje javnih palača* [fn. 2], pp. 335–360.



1271, but it was conquered by Venice only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>70</sup> Motovun (1276),<sup>71</sup> Koper (1278) and Piran (1283) in present-day Slovenia, and Rovinj. In the newly conquered cities, it was decreed at once that a house for the count's lodgings should be provided (probably rental). Thus, in Umag it was decreed as early as 1269 that the count (*podestà*) was to receive a salary and a “domum pro sua habitacione sine fictu.”<sup>72</sup> In Sveti Lovreč, a similar decision was made in 1271,<sup>73</sup> and in Novigrad in 1270.<sup>74</sup>

In the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, representatives of the central authority were accommodated in rented houses, but with time the commune built its own public palaces for the accomodation of the counts. In Poreč, which was conquered in 1267, Count Marco Michieli<sup>75</sup> commissioned the construction of the Count's Palace as early as 1270.<sup>76</sup>

(1301–2), with his seat in Poreč and his garrison in Sv. Lovreč (in 1304, the captain's seat was moved to Sv. Lovreč). The captain also had judicial authority. Regulations concerning the captain's office (1312–28) mention the houses for the accommodation of the captain and his family (*abitazione per ili Capitano e suoi*), see: (B. BENUSSI), *Commissioni dei dogi ai podestà Veneti nell'Istria*, Atti e memorie 3: 1887, pp. 95–96: “Preterea a comunibus supradictis – debes habere domos pro habitacione tua, et tue familie. Et pro equis tam tuis propriis quam de conestabularia – quando ad ipsorum terras ibis”; [in:] *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria e Dalmazia (1289–1361)* (hereafter: CDIC), ed. by A. RIZZI, Rome 2015, p. 88.

70 In 1271, the *castrum* of Sv. Lovreč passed into the Venetian hands and a *potestas* came to the city for two years, where he was granted a salary and a residence; cf. Luigi MORTEANI, *Storia di Montona*, Archeografo triestino (hereafter: AT) 17: 1891, p. 507, and 18: 1892; Giacomo Filippo TOMMASINI, *De Commentariis storici-geografici della Provincia dell'Istria*, AT 4: 1837, p. 192.

71 Roberto CESSI, *Deliberazioni del Maggiore Consiglio di Venezia* (hereafter: DMC), vol. II, Bologna 1931, p. 66, doc. 88.

72 DMC (fn. 71), II, p. 58, doc. 56. The building of the municipal administration (Municipio) was demolished in fire in 1924. It was situated in the northern area of the city square, and was supposedly not built specifically as a count's palace; instead, an existing palace seems to have been selected for this purpose when the city was conquered by Venice; Andrea BENEDETTI, *Umago d'Istria nei secoli*, vol. 1, Trieste 1973, p. 101; Narcisa BOLŠEC FERRI and Branka MILOŠEVIĆ, *Baština Umaga i okolice* [The heritage of Umag and its surroundings], Umag 2012). According to Benedetti, the earliest relief of the Venetian lion in a circular frame was from 1296. The city loggia was located at the western front of the communal palace, towards the city square. According to the Statute, on Mondays and Fridays the *potestas* and the judges proclaimed verdicts there.

73 DMC (fn. 71), II, p. 61, doc. 67: “... pro istis duobus primis annis electio sui potestatis fieri debeat per dominum Ducem et suum Concilium, cui dabuntur de salario libre CC annuatim et domus pro eius habitacione.”

74 DMC (fn. 71), II, p. 59, doc. 68: “... item quod ille, qui electus esset, deberet esse per duos annos et habere debeat libras ccccl per annum et domum, et debeat esse cum illo capitulari, quod videbitur domino Duci et suo consilio, qui tenere et habere debeat duos equos, quatuor pueros et unum notarium suis expensis.”

75 He was a son of Giovanni, the count of Zadar, who closely cooperated with Doge Giacomo Tiepolo.

76 This is known from a transcript of the inscription on the palace: “Questo palazzo fu fabricato dal podestà, ancor giovane, chiamato Marco, uomo prudente ed amabile per la dolcezza e la nobilità dei modi con cui trattava i suoi cittadini. Era figlio di ser Giovanni, conte di Zara del casato dei Michiel. Imploriamo Gesù, che regna nei celli, affinché ča tutela divina difenda sempre la casa di Cristo dalle

This early date of the palace's construction may be linked to the conflicts between the count and the bishop (whose seat was located next to the Euphrasian Basilica).<sup>77</sup> The Count's Palace in Poreč was not built in the former forum (later *Piazza di Marafor*), but next to the city walls and the tower, like other palaces under the Venetian rule.<sup>78</sup> It is interesting to note that the same Marco Michieli was the count of Zadar at the time when it was decided there (1278) that the counts should no longer live in a rented house. It may be presumed that the construction of the Count's Palace was planned as a permanent residence of Zadar's count. Nevertheless, the earliest data on the Count's Palace in Zadar come from a later period.<sup>79</sup> The same Marco Michieli was the count of Rab when the construction of the Count's Palace and the Arsenal was commissioned.<sup>80</sup> The circulation of counts or members of the same Venetian families in the Eastern Adriatic certainly implies transfer of knowledge and experience, not only from the centre to the margins, but also transversally.<sup>81</sup>

The palace of Rab (*fig. 5 & 5a*) was built in 1283, similar as most count's palaces in the Eastern Adriatic.

armi nemiche. Allora era l'anno milleduecento settanta. La curia e il palazzo noi raccomandiamo al potente Signor che tutto regge." Cf. G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 201. The position of the palace, which is no longer extant, can be discerned (its rear wall) in Valla's drawing of the city from 1755; in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century narrative sources, it is mentioned next to the tower and the city gate, turned with its front towards the square and the loggia. Caprin describes the front façade with the windows overlooking the square and an external staircase leading to the first floor, with a coat-of-arms of the Michiel family. Cf. P. KANDLER, *Codice diplomatico istriano* (hereafter: CDI), vol. II, Reprint by Tipografia Riva 1986, doc. 353 and 354, pp. 282–585.

- 77 The *potestates* of Poreč were in conflict with the bishop in 1270 and later. Cf. M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), p. 80.
- 78 M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), p. 40. "Il Palazzo, costruito dai Veneziani, non era ricco di fregiamenti, ma aveva l'aspetto signorile. Si congiungeva mediante un liagò o terrazzino coperto, poggiato la tutella divina difendeva sempre la casa di Cristo dalle armi nemiche. Allora era l'anno milled della porta, alla grande torre del molo." G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 199.
- 79 In the same year of 1278, it was decided that the *castellum Jadre* should be built. It is possible that the *Babarum* Tower was transformed into a *castrum* at the time, since the sources refer to it as the *castrum novum* in 1281 (next to St Sylvester's church). This was also the time when the first official notary arrived in Zadar: it was Henrik, who was active until 1296.
- 80 The commune promised to return the debt (2.436 *librae*). The oldest part is the southern wing, with its façade turned towards Donja Street and a tower in the east. Later on, other parts were added (the eastern wing, then the western and northern ones) to create an inner courtyard. In the following years, 1284 and 1286, it was documented that the commune was sponsoring the construction of the Count's Palace, and the count's plaque on the southern façade (1287) has been preserved. At the same time, the cathedral was renovated; Dušan MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island. The Fall and Rise of the Rab Nobility*, Zagreb 2012, p. 150.
- 81 Doges' sons were regularly sent to certain cities, where they must have implemented ideas that were conceived in Venice. In some cities, members of the same patrician families alternated in various offices (ambassadors, army commanders, city governors) and certainly used their stay to improve their careers. Some families counted on these offices for financial reasons.



Fig. 5: Rab (1. Governmental palace; 2. Loggia; 3. Bishop's palace; 4. Arsenal). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.



Fig. 5a: Postcard with the Count's Palace in Rab. – Photo: R. Verderber, 1928.



This may have been a result of some general decree from Venice (there are examples elsewhere in the Venetian territory linked to public works).<sup>82</sup> After the death of Doge Contarini in 1280, Giovanni Dandolo came to occupy the office. He stemmed from a traditional family and wanted to emphasize the dignity of the Venetian Doge and his administration. For instance, in 1278, when the city of Hvar acknowledged Venetian sovereignty, it was decided that a house should be built to accommodate the Venetian count. The house for the count and his counsellors was nevertheless built only in 1282, along with the city walls.<sup>83</sup> The Istrian city of Piran decreed in 1283<sup>84</sup> that the count should be given a “domum pro habitatione sue (...) e sue familie.” In 1283, a house for the count’s counsellors is mentioned in Zadar, and in 1289 the Senate of Zadar (*consilium rogatorum*) met “in loggia domus nostri comitatus.”<sup>85</sup> (It is not certain whether this refers to a porch within the Count’s Palace.) The situation in Dubrovnik was comparable. In 1283, houses for the Venetian count were no longer rented in today’s Držićeva Poljana,<sup>86</sup> and a “locia domini comitis” is mentioned in the same year.<sup>87</sup> It is possible that the *castrum/castellum* was transformed into a Count’s Palace at the

82 Thus, the *bailo* of Constantinople, first installed there in 1265, owned a separate house only from 1277; cf. Arzu ÖZTÜRKMEN, *From Constantinople to Istanbul: Two Sources on the Historical Folklore of a City*, *Asian Folklore Studies* 61/2: 2002, pp. 271–294. In Negroponte, finances for the construction of the fortification system were granted in 1283, and in Coron for the arsenal in the same year. In 1288, the Major Council of Venice decided that (rental) houses should be built on public land along the main street; cf. Maria GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 60–62 and p. 77.

83 DMC (fn. 71), III, p. 8: “Cum potestas Farre et consiliarii domum ibi non habeant ad habitandum pro comuni, nec enim sit fortilitia in Farra, vadit pass uod, pro fienda domo, ubi habitare debeant predicti potestas et consiliarii, et fortilitia, dentur eis de nostro comuni libre unuaginta omni mense ad annum de quibus debeant facere laborare domum predictam, sicut eis bene videbitur, et etiam fortilitiam fieri, et possint etiam expendere in predictis denarius, uos accipient de bestiis banizatorum alienis, ui erunt circa libras quadragintas.”

84 DMC (fn. 71), III, 17. CDI (fn. 76), nr. 404, p. 705: “Cui potestati, dare volumus omni anno pro suo salario libras sexcentas venetas parvorum de illa moneta quae pro tempore curet in dicta terra Pyrani, cui et dabimus domum pro habitatione sua, et suae familiae, et insuper prata pro facere fieri faenum pro suis equis, qui potestas habere debeat equos tres, et servitores quatuor, et quod ipsa banna, quae hinc retro erant in potestate dictae terrae, venire debeant in comune Pyrani.”

85 I. PETRICIOLI, *Umjetnička baština Zadra* [The artistic heritage of Zadar, Zagreb 2005, p. 194.

86 Both were “cum volta” and sold to real-estate retailers: Filip Veroci and Furlan Bazilij from Venice. Cf. MHR (fn. 64), II, doc. 1142, p. 282; doc. 1278, p. 322; doc. 1279, p. 323.

87 There are no preserved data on its construction, but it should be noted that the city suffered a great fire in 1297. It is known that the new loggia was built at the new church of St Blaise in 1356 (opposite the Rector’s Palace), but the old loggia is mentioned as late as 1362. The sources tell of an old loggia, demolished in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which was situated in front of the western façade of the Rector’s Palace: it was an annexed structure with four columns, vaults, and a terrace; cf. Nada GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435* [Rector’s Palace in Dubrovnik before 1435], *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40: 2003–2004, pp. 149–170.



time and the archiepiscopal palace lost its status as the most representative building in the city.<sup>88</sup> The original defence fortress was oriented towards the cathedral and the old town, but the new façade was opened up towards the west, where a new part of the city (*burgus*) was developing. In 1303, the fortress is mentioned in the sources as a *palatium* or *pallazzo maior* with balconies and arched windows, probably a three-storey structure.<sup>89</sup> The seat of Dubrovnik's government in the 13<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was built according to models imported from Venice (*fig. 6 & 6a*).<sup>90</sup>

Counts' palaces built under Venetian rule were always built on the margins of the city, next to the fortifications and the tower, obviously for safety reasons. They were often next to the city gate (towards the seafront or the harbour) and the new (fortified) suburbs, which were built in a planned manner (with land division into plots, often owned by the commune and intended for lease). For instance, the new palace in Rab supposedly evolved from a tower within the city walls. Originally, the palace was located at the pier in a well-protected city harbour (filled in later on). This palace was located between the old town and the *burgus*.<sup>91</sup> The Count's Palace in Zadar, formerly a rented house, was located next to the city gate towards the mainland, where an entire district evolved in a later period, controlled by the municipal administration. This building complex contained a pentagonal structure linked to the fortifications

- 88 At the time of the Statute, in 1272, the *castrum* was not representative enough: for the Count's investiture, the Archiepiscopal Palace (*archiepiscopatum*) was where the municipal administration met. In 1282, the archbishop sold a house owned by the archdiocese and located in front of the cathedral entrance, and in 1283 he sublet another one to a merchant from Venice (afterwards the bishop and his canons mostly met in the Archiepiscopal Palace). Cf. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Notes on Urban Elite, Churches and Ecclesiastical Immovables in Early Medieval Dubrovnik*, [in:] *Religiongeschichtliche Studien zum östlichen Europa. Festschrift für Ludwig Steindorff zum 65. Geburtstag, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Östlichen Europa*, ed. by Martina THOMSEN, Stuttgart 2017, pp. 38–39.
- 89 In Dubrovnik, it was only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century that the *castellum* started to be called Communal Palace: *palatium*, i.e. *pallazzo maior*. *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum* (hereafter: MR), vol. I (*Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, X), Zagreb 1879, p. 239. N. GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor* (fn. 87), p. 153. According to the sources, it had balconies. In 1296, there was a great fire in Dubrovnik, which probably damaged the palace, as Venice sent some aid in the same year. *Listine I* (fn. 56), 188, doc. 273. However, as late as 1314 the sources mention that Venice allowed the import of stones to repair the *castrum Ragusii*, as according to Count Petrus Geno it was “in ruinam”. Ten *miliaria lapidum* were sent for its repair. *Listine I* (fn. 56), doc. 435.
- 90 The fire of 1296, which destroyed a large part of Dubrovnik's *burgus*, made it possible to plan the city in a modern way, with the so-called double rows. This type of spatial organization may have been influenced directly by Venice (e.g. the area of San Lio) or may have reached Dubrovnik from other Italian cities through the count or the notary. cf. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, IVANA HANIČAR BULJAN, *Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's Burgus (13<sup>th</sup> Century)*, [in:] *Mapping Urban Changes*, ed. by Ana PLOŠNIĆ ŠKARIĆ, Zagreb 2017, pp. 154–183.
- 91 The *burgus* was probably created in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and may have also been a planned area, comparable in its organization to those of Dubrovnik and Zadar (with land plots for lease). It was probably fortified in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and may have been intended for lease, judging from its regular grid.



Fig. 6: Dubrovnik (1. Castrum; 2. Rented house for the count; 3. Town's Hall; 4. Cathedral; 5. Arsenal; 6. St. Blaise Church (and the new Loggia); 7. The Old town; 8. The western city gate; 9. The old eastern city gate; 10. The new eastern city gate; 11. Main Placa street (the border between the old and the new burgus, later in the center of the town). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.



Fig. 6a: Detail from early 17<sup>th</sup> century veduta (unknown author): n. 25 = City Hall; n. 26 = Rector's Palace. – Today in the Franciscan friary in Dubrovnik.



and a tower to the south. Apparently, a suburbium evolved near the fort, owned by the commune and divided into plots intended for lease (this is where Zadar evolved beyond its ancient perimeter).

The position of the Count's Palace in Hvar is likewise marginal with respect to the urban texture and linked to the fortifications. In Piran, the Count's Palace was also built next to the city gate and the new suburbs, which were then surrounded by a new defence line.<sup>92</sup> In Korčula, conquered in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the Count's Palace was built at the very entrance to the city.<sup>93</sup> The city was created *ex novo* at the site of an older settlement and planned according to the newest urban principles – with the main street and access lanes leading to the individual land plots. The city was given to the deserving Venetian Marsilio Zorzi as a hereditary fief, so he fortified the city and positioned his seat on its margin, next to the tower and the city walls. Korčula served as a symbol of his status as a feudal lord, yet also displayed organized Venetian governance and functioned as an instrument of control.<sup>94</sup>

The (earliest) palace in Poreč (fig. 7 & 7a) was located in the (ancient) city centre at the end of the *cardo*, where a new square developed next to the city gate leading to the harbour.<sup>95</sup>

According to some researchers, the area east of the palace, yet still within the ancient perimeter, was ruralised in the early medieval period<sup>96</sup> (as a matter of fact, documents from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century refer to it as *burgus*).<sup>97</sup> In the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century,

92 The building had a Romanesque-Gothic façade decorated with numerous coats-of-arms and tomb plaques. The Palace was connected to the Loggia by means of a passage, which was demolished together with the rest of the building in 1877. Only two years later, the Communal Palace obtained its final, present-day appearance. Cf. P. KANDLER, *Palazzo dei Podesta di Pirano*, L'Istria VII: 1852, p. 74; Breda KOVAČ and Miroslav PAHOR, *O zgodovinskem in arhitektonskem razvoju Tartinijevega trga v Piranu* [On the historical and architectural development of Tartini's Square in Piran], *Kronika, časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 7/1: 1960, pp. 22–26.

93 The cathedral square in the centre was created subsequently, after the foundation of the bishopric.

94 At the site of a previous settlement, Zorzi founded a new city defined by the main street dividing it into an eastern and western half: the narrow streets descending from the main street towards the bulwarks were access lanes to family estates. The new city was surrounded by a 750 meters bulwark, and the Count's Palace with the *turris comitis* was located next to the city gate towards the mainland; Joško BELAMARIĆ, *Osnutak grada Korčule* [Foundation of the city of Korčula], Zagreb 2005.

95 On the urban development of Rab, see Miljenko DOMIJAN, *Rab, grad umjetnosti* [Rab, the city of art], Zagreb 2001; IDEM, *Rab u srednjem vijeku* [Rab in the Middle Ages], Split 2004.

96 Ivančević is of the opinion that the eastern part of Poreč, although built on ancient foundations, was an area of wooden architecture in the early medieval period, where the commoners lived and the houses were probably rental; Radovan IVANČEVIĆ, *Odnos antičnog i srednjovjekovnog rastera Poreča* [The relationship between the ancient and medieval urban grids of Poreč], *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 6–7: 1963–1964, pp. 5–12.

97 Namely, a transcript of an inscription from 1249/50 tells of large-scale construction works in the city, including the construction of the bulwark, as well as a *burgus* east of the *cardo* ("burgum edificavit...").



Fig. 7: Poreč (1. Quintagonal tower; 2. „Round tower“; 3. Episcopal complex; 4. Governmental palace; 5. Loggia). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

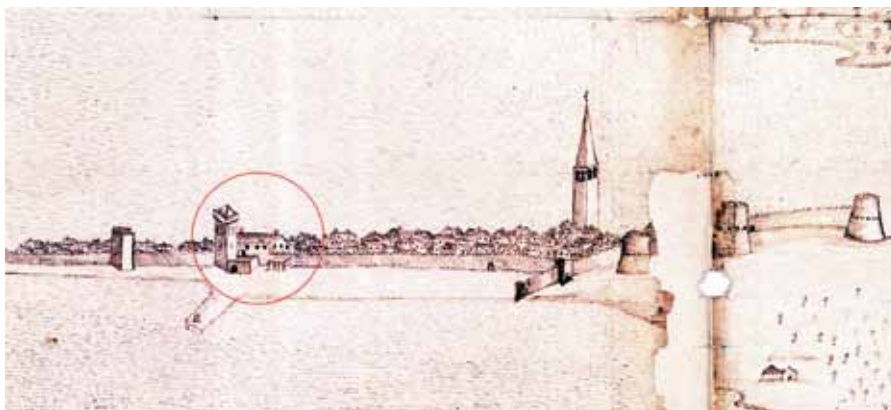


Fig. 7a: Detail from a Poreč veduta of 1681 with the Count's Palace, published in: Marino BUDICIN, *Aspetti storico urbani nell'Istria Veneta* (Collana degli Atti CRSR, n. 16), Trst – Rovinj 1998, p. 135.

muros cum turribus versus burgum”). The sources only mention some large constructions in 1249, but there is no mention of an older communal palace at the site of the later Count's Palace; cf. M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), p. 71.



new medieval city walls were built, with towers and city gates. Similar to the situation in Zadar, a pentagonal tower was built next to the mainland gate; it was connected to the fortification,<sup>98</sup> which indicates the Venetian model of urban planning. According to the narrative sources, there was a loggia in front of the Count's Palace.<sup>99</sup> In Poreč as in Dubrovnik, the Count's Palace was located at the newly created main square, so the loggia was close to it.

Because of their function, loggias had to be situated in the main square – in the midst of the commune's economic and social life. They were probably sites where contracts were put down in writing and where the city's administration communicated with the citizens.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, the city loggia in Rab (first mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century but it may have existed earlier) was not located near the palace but at the main square.<sup>101</sup> This loggia may have served for the meetings of the city council before the construction of the city hall next to the Count's Palace.<sup>102</sup> In Zadar, besides the loggia adjacent to the Palace – on the margins of the city – another loggia at the *platea comunis* is mentioned as well.<sup>103</sup> Zadar's church of St Peter the New is mentioned from the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>104</sup> opposite the loggia where the council of citizens met.<sup>105</sup>

98 The tower was enlarged in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; cf. M. PRELOG, *ibid.*, p. 206.

99 G. CAPRIN, *L'Istria* (fn. 20), p. 201.

100 This was the time when the administration increased: in the late 1270s, secular official notaries arrived in Zadar, Dubrovnik, and other cities, together with the counts. One should also take into account the possible impact of notaries on urban planning, especially its administration, and perhaps the organization of public space. The first statutes were compiled in the cities under the Venetian rule, mirroring the cities' strife to achieve autonomy, but also Venice's need to consolidate its sovereignty. cf. Bariša KREKIĆ, *Developed Autonomy: The Patricians in Dubrovnik and Dalmatian Cities*, [in:] *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300–1600*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 185–215, here p. 186; cf. N. LONZA, *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272: Between Legal Code and Political Symbol*, in: *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272* (fn. 53), pp. 7–25; the codification of Zadar's statute was completed in 1305, but it had probably started as early as the 1260s.

101 It was probably at the site of the present-day one, built in 1509.

102 This was the time when the councils were closed to include only patricians – in Rab, the closure was announced in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, around 1290, when the statute defined the council's membership; cf. D. MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility* (fn. 80), p. 62 and pp. 240–241.

103 It was located at the site of the present one, built in 1565. I. Petricioli has indicated some sources that still mention the city loggia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (with the attribute *magna* or *comunis*). Cf. I. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra* (fn. 20), p. 162. It is not known how the 13<sup>th</sup>-century loggia looked like, but a note of Paulus de Paulo from 1398 mentions that it had pillars. The "Gran guardia", as may be inferred from its name, was constructed for the garrisons at the site of the older building that belonged to the church of St Peter the New.

104 The church was demolished in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

105 Thus, in Negroponte the loggia housed the chancery: M. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (fn. 82), p. 102.

## Counts' palaces versus communal palaces in the 14<sup>th</sup> century

The late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were a period of rise for the Croatian magnate family of Bribir in Dalmatia – members of the family were (elected) counts in Šibenik, Trogir, and Split. In 1311, Ban Pavao even managed to conquer the Venetian Zadar for a short while, but his son Mladen II was too weak to hold it and in 1313 Zadar was again ruled by Venice.<sup>106</sup> In the peace treaty, the city had to promise that the Venetian count would reside in the palace and the houses that he had at his disposal before the war.<sup>107</sup> Following the death of Pavao I, the influence of the Counts of Bribir weakened elsewhere as well.<sup>108</sup> Owing to these circumstances and the absence of strong royal power, Dalmatia felt an increased pressure from the Venetians.<sup>109</sup>

Venice managed to impose its sovereignty over a number of Dalmatian cities: in 1322, Šibenik and Trogir accepted its “protection”, in 1327 it was Split, in 1331 Pula, and in 1339 Nin.<sup>110</sup> By the end of the 1340s, the Venetians ruled over the entire Eastern Adriatic: Istria and Dalmatia from Krk and Osor to Dubrovnik.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, their rule was short-lived as the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century was a difficult period for the Republic: besides internal instability, it was struck by a plague epidemic, in 1348 followed by wars against its rival Genoa (1350–1355 and again 1378–1381). At the same time, conflicts with Hungary started, as the latter gained power and exerted pressure on the Eastern Adriatic (from 1344). Venice's weakness was used by the cities to rebel

106 After Pavao's death in 1312, Mladen managed to rule only until 1313, when the city returned to the *regimen Latinorum*, with foreigners as its governors – Konrad Simeonov from Ancona governed the city for two years with Mladen as the count.

107 “Item quod comes Jadre, qui per tempera erit, habere debeat pro sua habitations palacium et domes, quod et quas habebat comes, qui erat ante presentem guerram”; *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 266, d. 420.

108 This decline in the power of the Bribir family was also due to their internal rivalry.

109 For instance, as Venice intervened increasingly into the Dalmatian affairs, in Trogir it supported those who had been against Mladen II, such as the city's *potestas*, Matej Zori. *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 277, doc. 431. In 1314, “the Venetians appointed Ban Mladen and his brother, Count Gjuro, and Count Pavao their citizens.” It is possible that the *potestates* were the ones to support Venice as they were also patricians of Zadar. Thus, in Šibenik the *potestas* was a patrician of Zadar in 1307, with the approval of Venice. *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 223, doc. 337.

110 At the time when Venice regained control over the Dalmatian cities, it also gained (permanent) control over Pula. In 1331, the citizens rebelled and killed some members of the Castropola family and expelled others from the city. The new communal palace became the seat of the Venetian count (*conte di Pola*), who ruled the city in the name of the Serenissima and was a Venetian citizen – the first one was Bertuccio Michiel.

111 Besides the area of Skradin and Omiš, held by the Bribir, and the territory between Zrmanja and Cetina rivers, controlled by the Croatian magnate Nelipac. In this period, Stjepan II Kotromanić, the ban of Bosnia, shifted the borders of Bosanska Banovina westwards, conquering the areas between Dubrovnik and Neretva, Cetina and Neretva, and the counties of Imota, Duveno, Hlivno, and Glamoč. However, the Venetian rule over Dalmatia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century was short-lived because of the rise of Louis of Anjou and his campaign to the south, as well as the death of Count Nelipac in 1344.



against its sovereignty: Rab in 1319, Zadar in 1345–1346, Kotor in 1348. Nevertheless, Venice maintained its rule until 1358. During the Venetian administration in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, most statutes obtained their final redactions (and the older ones are mostly lost).<sup>112</sup> The communities demanded of Venice to guarantee that their statutes would continue to have legal force.<sup>113</sup> According to the sources, however, the council met far more rarely.<sup>114</sup> In this period, the position of Venetian counts changed to some extent, as they became more isolated from the local community: they were not allowed to create personal ties with the local population or have own estates.<sup>115</sup>

The consolidation of Venetian rule in the wider Eastern Adriatic area was mirrored in the transformation of governmental palaces. The communal palaces built in the period before the Venetian rule are mentioned in Split,<sup>116</sup> Trogir, and Šibenik<sup>117</sup> during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century:<sup>118</sup> they do not change their designation in the contracts that these cities signed with Venice in 1322.<sup>119</sup> (In 1322, one of the decrees in the contracts with Trogir and Šibenik explicitly stated that the count should receive the keys of the city and that his seat would be in the communal palace.) But the documents preceding the Peace of Zadar (1358) mostly mention both terms: “communal palace” and “count’s palace”. At that time, the existing communal palaces were enlarged, or new ones built (next to the old ones) to separate the functions of the count’s seat and the old city hall. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, local nobility played an important role in the cities’ politics, regardless of the Venetian sovereignty.

In Trogir, the palace complex was enlarged northwards and eastwards (towards the fortifications).<sup>120</sup> The complex was to serve as the seat and the living quarters of

112 The new redactions no longer mention the *potestates* and elected counts as they were replaced by the Venetian counts, a system that negated communal self-governance. Cf. Ž. RADIĆ, *Neki aspekti kontrole* (fn. 5), pp. 185–203.

113 G. ORTALLI, *Split: Statutes* (fn. 30), p. 123.

114 E.g. in Split: Z. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Splitski statut* (fn. 27), pp. 69–91, here p. 85; N. LONZA, *Splitski statut i praksa odlučivanja u Velikom vijeću sredinom 14. stoljeća / The Statute of Split and the Decision-Making Process on the Split Major Council in the Mid-Fourteenth Century*, in: *Splitski Statut* (fn. 8), pp. 151–173, here p. 154.

115 For instance, when the rebellion in Rab was suppressed, Andrea Michieli was appointed as count of Rab in 1320 (for the lifetime, same as his predecessors). Unlike the previous period, the count was not supposed to make special contacts or have property on the island. Andrea was the count of Rab at the time when the city was still important to Venice (He had played an active role in the wars against the Hungarian king.). In his time, the final major redaction of Rab’s statute was produced, which defined the relations between the commune and the count; cf. D. MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility* (fn. 80), p. 151.

116 *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 368, doc. 545.

117 “Tragurii in palatio communis”; *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 276, doc. 428.

118 “Actum est in civitate Sybinici in palacio communis”; *ibidem*.

119 *Listine I* (fn. 56), p. 336, doc. 514; p. 330, doc. 512.

120 In 1341, Trogir’s bishop demanded the *platea contigua ecclesie Traguriensis* and the *palatium comitatus*, i.e. property that had been “wrongfully taken away” from the Chapter before the Venetian rule; I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 53.



the Venetian count with his family and household, but he was not allowed to alter the building without the permission of the council.<sup>121</sup> The communal palace still housed the city's administration and the notary, and the city council (restricted to the patriariate in 1340) met in the central hall. Eventually, the governmental and communal palace were linked and transformed into a building complex with an inner courtyard. With the beginning of Venetian governance in Trogir, the loggia changed its function as well. The Statute of 1322 mentions it as a place where "comes vel socius eius" could preside besides the palace, representing the government of the commune and implementing its laws.<sup>122</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the square was increasingly secular in nature.<sup>123</sup>

Similar to Trogir, the Count's Palace in Šibenik was built as a separate building next to the communal palace, as the sources mention both the *palatium communitatis* and the *palatium comitatus*. The term *palatium comitis* is first mentioned in 1333 and probably refers to the tower next to the old communal palace, i.e. those parts of the present-day complex that were included in the coastal section of the city walls.<sup>124</sup> In this restructuring, a courtyard with a cistern and auxiliary structures was built as well. The council met "in sala magna" on the second floor (in documents from 1333),<sup>125</sup> and in 1341 the *consilium generale* met "in palacio communis."<sup>126</sup> The north-

121 CDIC (fn. 69), p. 157; I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7).

122 The loggia also served as the custody, guarded by the communal sentinels. According to the *Statute of Trogir*, women were forbidden to enter both the communal palace and the loggia, even as witnesses – in such cases, it was decreed that they should give their testimony in the church of St Mary on the main square, and noblewomen in their own houses. Clearly, the notion of public buildings was rather limited, since the idea of "public" was subject to the social customs. I. BENYOVSKY, *Trogiški trg u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [Trogir's square in the High Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi* 16/16: 1997, pp. 11–32.

123 In 1333, the commune bought some houses located between the square and the new cathedral cemetery, after which a "building housing a grammar school on the ground floor and a drugstore with a salt depot on the upper floor" was built in their place; BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 153.

124 The street running between the southern side of the block and the coastal section of the fortifications was covered in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the Count's Palace was connected to the Tower, the strongest fortified structure at the city's coastal front.

125 The city council of Šibenik never met in the loggia; instead, they held their meetings in the large hall (*sala magna*) on the second floor of the Communal/Count's Palace, which is first mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1333), i.e. during the first Venetian administration; D. ZELIĆ, *O Gradskoj loži u Šibeniku*, (fn. 35), pp. 299–312.

126 *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike II (1336–1347)* [Documents on the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic II (1336–1347)], ed. Š. LJUBIĆ (Zagreb 1870) (hereafter: *Listine II*); *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike III (1348–1403)* [Documents on the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic III (1348–1357)], ed. Š. LJUBIĆ (Zagreb 1872) (hereafter: *Listine III*); *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike IV (1358–1403)* [Documents on the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic IV (1358–1403)], ed. Š. LJUBIĆ (Zagreb 1874) (hereafter: *Listine IV*), pp. 133–134.



eastern part of the square was defined by the old cathedral of St James and the communal palace to the south, the old city loggia from the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the north, and some private houses and palaces to the west and east.

In Split, a separate palace for the count (“palatium commitis [!] ubi potestas manebat”) was likewise built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century near the Comunal Palace, but demolished during the Venetian occupation of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Possibly, the earliest walls around the new part of Split were closer to the count’s palace than they were in the later period. The Count’s Palace of Split was demolished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and only a building with a loggia from a later period has been preserved. The Communal Palace served for the city council, which was officially restricted to the patriciate in 1334.<sup>127</sup> The sources mention a “sala magna superiori palacio communis” in 1337.<sup>128</sup> In Pula, when the city came under the Venetian rule in 1331 and the Sergii family was exiled, the communal palace also became the seat of the Venetian count: the possessions of the Castropola family were confiscated and the count was given the *hospicio*.<sup>129</sup>

In those cities that were under Venetian rule continuously from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, counts’ palaces were also restructured in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: it was the time when communal institutions developed and the local nobility was still powerful.<sup>130</sup> Although originally intended to serve as count’s residences and the seats of Venetian dominance, the counts’ palaces were soon enlarged with additional rooms, wings, or loggias to form a complex suitable for governance, assembly of the council and administration.<sup>131</sup> In Dubrovnik, north of the *castrum* (the count’s seat) there was a *domus comunis* mentioned already in 1291.<sup>132</sup> Soon, north of the Count’s Palace,

127 T. RAUKAR, ‘*Consilium generale*’ i sustav vladanja u Splitu u XIV. stoljeću [The “*Consilium generale*” and the system of governance in Split during the 14<sup>th</sup> century], *Historijski zbornik* 37: 1984, pp. 87–103.

128 The dungeons must have been situated near the communal palace, as the Statute decrees that the guards of the communal loggia should also guard the prisoners in the communal dungeons (in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a special prison building was constructed). G. NOVAK, *Povijest Splita* (fn. 17), 1, pp. 503–507; D. KEČKEMET, *Romanička loža* (fn. 13), p. 98.

129 CDIC (fn. 69), pp. 98–99; *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia. Regesti. vol. II*, Venice 1878, p. 189, doc. 373. In 1351, a *palazzo comunale* is mentioned in Pula.

130 By the late 13<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the city councils had been restricted to urban nobility (according to the hereditary principle) in almost all Eastern Adriatic cities.

131 A document from 1283 mentions a *logia domini comitis* as *logia comunis – ante plateam comunis*, which may refer to its public function. From 1281, a *camerlengaria* is mentioned in the public square next to the *castrum*, and the city *fondaco* was built in front of it; cf. N. GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor* (fn. 87), p. 13.

132 “*Domus comunis de supra que est ad latus muri civitatis a capite doane usque ad caput domus cere.*” In the same year, some shops are mentioned next to the tower by the *castellum*, linked to the bulwark that may have protected the suburbs before the new one was built (“*stationem comunis sub turre castelli ante portam fundici*”); cf. *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13–18. st.) / Libri domorum et terrenorum comunis Ragusii deliberatis ad affectum (saec. XIII–XVIII)*, vol. 1, ed. by I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, D. ZELIĆ, Zagreb, Dubrovnik 2007, p. 133.

the passage through the fonticus was bridged by the hall of the Major Council at the level of the first floor (in 1301, a “sala comunis Ragusii” is recorded).<sup>133</sup> Sources reveal investment in both – the Count’s Palace and the city hall: a document from 1329 mentions the Count’s Palace as a building with biforas, i.e. balconies, and the first floor is first mentioned in 1348.<sup>134</sup> In 1344, there is a reference to the new hall of the Major Council, which was painted in its interior.<sup>135</sup> Eventually, individual buildings were grouped to form an inner courtyard (but it was only in the Angevin period that the palace was transformed into a homogeneous building complex).<sup>136</sup>

In Rab, Count Andrea Michieli continued the restructuring of the palace commissioned by his father, Count Marco Michieli: in 1334, the palace and the *turris comunis*, which probably housed the prison, were renewed.<sup>137</sup> The building complex has remained preserved to the present day and shows that it originally consisted of several palaces built in various periods. The oldest palace (south wing) was the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Count’s Palace, enlarged by adding buildings for administration and the city council, which evolved at the time.<sup>138</sup> These buildings gradually turned into a complex with an inner courtyard, which obtained its final shape in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. After Andrea Michieli, the count of Rab was Giovanni Gradenigo, who held the same office in Trogir and Split (1357). The cities, united under the Venetian administration in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, were thus increasingly influenced by each other.<sup>139</sup>

133 N. GRUJIĆ, *Arhitektura Kneževa dvora u doba renesanse: obnove u 15. i 16. stoljeću* [Architecture of the Rector’s Palace in the Renaissance: Renewals in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries], [in:] *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku: Utvrda, palača, muzej*, Dubrovnik 2016, pp. 35–71; EADEM, *Knežev dvor* (fn. 87), p. 28, pp. 158–160. The council was officially closed to include only noblemen in 1332, but as elsewhere, it was the outcome of a longer process; N. VEKARIĆ, *Udio* (fn. 53), pp. 31–46.

134 C. FISKOVIĆ, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji* [The first known builders of Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik 1955), p. 103.

135 Igor FiskoVIĆ, *Dubrovačko slikarstvo i društveni okviri njegova razvoja u 14. st.* [Dubrovnik’s painting and the social context of its development in the 14<sup>th</sup> c.], *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 23: 1983, pp. 84–85. From 1348, this building was called “palace of the Major Council” and in same year the construction of a church dedicated to the city’s patron saint, St Blaise, began. The following year the hall of the Major Council (*sala vetus palatii*) was enlarged. C. FiskoVIĆ, *Prvi poznati dubrovački* (fn. 134), p. 103.

136 Even though St Mark’s chapel is mentioned as part of the palace complex only in 1379, it must have been built before the arrival of the Angevins in 1358. However, Dubrovnik lost contact with Venice only after the Genoan wars in the 1370s, when King Louis became an ally of Genua. MR (fn. 89), 4 (*Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*), Zagreb 1896, p. 191.

137 In 1334, the Count’s Palace, the cistern, the *turris communis*, the loggia, and parts of fortifications and city gates were renovated; cf. K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Kneževa palača u Rabu tijekom stoljeća* [Count’s Palace in Rab through the centuries], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 40: 2016, pp. 87–102.

138 D. MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility* (fn. 80), pp. 16–17.

139 Thus, Marco Giustiniani, the count of Dubrovnik, was also the count of Šibenika; cf. <http://ruler-sofvenice.org> (access: 11. 07. 2018).



After the short-lived rule of Ban Šubić over Zadar in 1311–1313, the city was reconquered by Venice.<sup>140</sup> A city hall was built next to the Count's Palace and by the 15<sup>th</sup> century it had turned into a whole building complex intended for administration. In 1345, there was a rebellion described in the narrative source *Obsidio Jadrensis*,<sup>141</sup> which mentions an *aula comunis* as a meeting place for the city's council, as well as a *grande theatrum comunis*.<sup>142</sup> A document from 1349 mentions two private houses next to the Count's Palace, inhabited by the counts's counsellors, and states that their owners should be persuaded to cede these houses to the Venetian authorities in exchange for some houses confiscated from the citizens of Zadar who had organized the rebellion of 1345. In 1346, the Senate (*consilio sapientum*) is mentioned as meeting with the count "in palacio domini civitatis."<sup>143</sup> A document from 1352 mentions a "sala maggiore del palazzo comitale di Zara," where the archbishop, Count Giustiniano Giustiniani, and his counsellors met,<sup>144</sup> as well as a "sala comitatus" (1352),<sup>145</sup> Another document from 1352 mentions the "palazzo comunale di Zara."<sup>146</sup>

Besides transforming the existing palaces, the Venetians in some cities built new ones for their governors. Thus, in 1313 the municipality of Pag was again under the

140 Ante Marija STRGAČIĆ, *Zadarsko-mletački rat godine 1311–1313. i pogibija mletačkog admirala pred Zadrom* [The war between Zadar and Venice in 1311–1313 and the death of the Venetian admiral before Zadar], [in:] *Pomorski zbornik. Povodom 20-godišnjice Dana mornarice i pomorstva, 1942–1962*, vol. 2, ed. by G. NOVAK, Vjekoslav MAŠTROVIĆ, Zagreb 1962, pp. 1597–1614; N. KLAIĆ, I. PETRICIOLI, *Zadar* (fn. 65), pp. 210–215.

141 Zadar rebelled again in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but was reconquered by Venice after the siege of 1345–6 and remained Venetian until 1358. Cf. Dane GRUBER, *Vojevanje Ljudevita I. u Dalmaciji sa hrvatskimi velmožama i sa Mletčani od početka njegova vladanja pa do osamgodišnjega primirja sa Mletčani* [The Dalmatian campaigns of Louis I against the Croatian noblemen and the Venetians: From the beginning of his rule until the eight-year truce with Venice], *Izvješće Kraljevske velike gimnazije u Požegi koncem školske godine 1887/88: 1888*, pp. 13–83; Vitaliano BRUNELLI, *Storia della città di Zara, Venice 1913*, pp. 456–479; Sandra BEGONJA, *The Urban Appearance of Zadar in Medieval Narrative Sources – Obsidio Iadrensis / The Siege of Zadar*, [in:] *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction*, ed. by I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, Zrinka PEŠORDA VARDIĆ, Zagreb 2017, pp. 151–179.

142 In order to have better control over the city, Venice decided on various interventions within the city core, especially around the *castra*, where two houses for the *castellani* and the soldiers were built. The palace and the houses in which the count and his counsellors resided are mentioned in a document from 1313 and another from 1349. *Listine*, III (fn. 126), p. 113, doc. 176; I. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra* (fn. 20), p. 168.

143 *Listine*, II (fn. 126), p. 410, doc. 661.

144 *I libri commemoriali* (fn. 129), p. 200, LIBRO IV, p. 421; *Listine* III (fn. 126), p. 231.

145 This information corresponds with a document from 1352, which informs us that the council of Zadar's commune met in the hall of the Count's Palace (*sala comitatus*); *Listine* III (fn. 126), p. 231, doc. 346.

146 *I libri commemoriali* (fn. 129), p. 200, LIBRO IV, p. 428; *Listine* III (fn. 126), p. 236.

jurisdiction of Zadar (previously it was governed directly by Venice)<sup>147</sup> and in 1341 the construction of the Count's Palace is mentioned there (“palazzo di residenza del conte in Pago”).<sup>148</sup>

Thus, regardless of the Venetian rule over the cities, there was a need of additional buildings besides the Count's Palace: for the council meetings and for judicial and administrative affairs. In some Italian cities there were also separate palaces for the governor (“palazzo del podestà” and “palazzo comunale”),<sup>149</sup> often in different squares. In the Eastern Adriatic, the specific political circumstances, architectural heritage and the limited size of the urban space resulted in a different situation: these two buildings stood next to each other and gradually merged into a governmental palace complex. Their different functions and the different forms of governance in various cities resulted in various structures in individual cities and historical periods. Nevertheless, all these buildings symbolized governance and communally organized institutions.

### The growing autonomy of Dalmatian cities under King Louis of Anjou

In altered political frame conditions, all Dalmatian cities surrendered to the Hungarian-Croatian King Louis before 1358, the year in which the Peace Treaty of Zadar was signed, according to which Venice was to cede all its territories from Kvarner Bay to Dyrrachium. Unlike the Arpadians in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, who did not show much interest in Dalmatian cities, King Louis of Anjou, owing to his family ties in Southern Italy, tried to establish a link with it through the Eastern Adriatic. Nevertheless, most cities managed to enforce their autonomy and the urban nobility gained power. Even though the king appointed governors who tried to intervene in the internal affairs of the cities, the executive power was again in the hands of the *potestates*.<sup>150</sup> In the royal

147 *Listine* III (fn. 126), doc. 398 (1311); cf. Marija OBAD, *Kratki pregled političke i pravne povijesti srednjovjekovnoga grada Paga* [A brief overview of the political and legal history of medieval Pag], *Magistra Iadertina* 7: 2012, pp. 171–187.

148 *Listine* II (fn. 126), p. 105, p. 256, doc. 397; *I libri memoriali* (fn. 129), LIBRO III, p. 592: “Certa *frascata* da costruirsi nel palazzo di residenza del conte in Pago, che appartiene al comune di Zara, sia fatta a spese di quest’ ultimo.”

149 C. CUNNINGHAM, *For the Honour and Beauty of the City* (fn. 15), pp. 29–55, here p. 29.

150 Thus, in Split *potestas* Gentilis took care of municipal administration and the city's relations with other communes; cf. Z. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Splitski statut* (fn. 27), p. 84. Even when in 1367 the king ordered that Zadar's patrician Ivan Grisogono should become the count of Split, a lawyer from Padua was allowed to govern the city directly on the basis of the Statute. During the rule of the Croatian-Hungarian kings, the counts satisfied themselves with political patronage and taxes, while *potestates* governed the cities in their shadow; if there were no *potestates*, it could be done by other electoral communal magistrates; cf. D. KARBIĆ, *Odnosi gradskoga plemstva* (fn. 31), pp. 43–58.



cities, the counts were content with political patronage and the taxes, without insisting on the actual governance of the city (again the role of the *potestas* increased).<sup>151</sup> The second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was a period of growth and increase in the importance of the curia, the judges, and the councillors, who were mostly members of urban nobility.

Nevertheless, Zadar was an exception, since it became the centre of Louis' Dalmatia and the king bestowed knighthood on deserving individuals. In Zadar, in 1358, under King Louis' rule, a document mentions the "large palace of the commune" ("palazzo grande del commune") where Count Charles of Dyrrachium stayed in 1366, during his visit to Zadar.<sup>152</sup> That same year, "il Consiglio dei quindici savi del comune di Zara" met in its vicinity: at St Plato's church ("in ecclesia sancti Platonis... quia sala maioris palatii Jadre ubi consilia occupata erat"). This church was traditionally the meeting place for the city council of Zadar,<sup>153</sup> which is possibly why the palace of Charles of Dyrrachium was situated next to it, near the loggia in the city centre. In 1367, a house owned by King Louis is mentioned near St Anastasia (the house had been confiscated from a rebel).<sup>154</sup>

The change of rule in 1358 resulted in a partial transformation of governmental palaces, and in some cities new ones were built, symbolically showing the change. However, in some cities the construction of new palaces was due to Venetian demolitions. Louis of Anjou was at war with Venice before and after the Peace of Zadar (1345–1346, 1356–1358, 1378–1381).<sup>155</sup> After 1358, the citizens of Split expelled the Venetian count from the Count's Palace and rebuilt it as a "palatio novo" (mentioned in 1367).<sup>156</sup> The new palace could have been a symbol of a new central authority, but

151 D. GRUBER, *Dalmacija za Ludovika I (1358–1382)* [Dalmatia at the time of King Louis (1358–1382)], Rad JAZU: 1906, pp. 164–215, here p. 166; EADEM, *Borba Ludovika I. s Mlecima za Dalmaciju (1348–1358)* [King Louis I's wars for Dalmatia against Venice (1348–1358)], Rad JAZU 152: 1903, pp. 32–161.

152 N. KLAČIĆ, I. PETRICIOLI, *Zadar* (fn. 65), p. 503. During the 1370s and 1380s, the Count's Palace was called *comitatus comunis Jadre* and in the late 1390s (after Louis' death) *palatium comunis Jadre*; cf. S. BEGONJA, *Uloga gradskog plemstva u urbanom razvoju Zadra u vrijeme Ludovika Anžuvinca (1358–1382.)* [The role of urban nobility in Zadar's urban development at the time of Louis of Anjou (1358–1382)], unpublished PhD diss. University of Zagreb, 2017, p. 208, n. 1248.

153 "... in quo... fuerunt consiliarii 54, videlicet tres rectores et 51 consiliarius, ibidem per prefectos, dominos rectores..."; "... De mandato... rectorum... convocato maiori et generali consilio... in ecclesia sancti Platonis... quia sala maioris palatii Jadre ubi consilia... fiebant... propter habitationem domini ducis Duracii..." Giuseppe PRAGA, *Scritti sulla Dalmazia*, Trieste 2015, vol. 2, pp. 83–96, here pp. 89–90.

154 In a royal donation from 1389, King Sigismund granted to Pavao Zrinski a *domus regia...* in *platea sancte Stossie...*, which had allegedly belonged to the late King Louis, who had confiscated it from the rebel count Grgur Kurjaković; cf. S. ANTOLJAK, *Vladarski dvor* (fn. 57), pp. 55–76.

155 The two rival naval powers, Venice and Genoa, were at war in 1261–270, 1294–1299, 1351–1355, and 1377–1381. In 1380, Venice prevailed and asserted its dominance with the Peace of Turin (1381).

156 CD (fn. 16), II, p. 195.

also the old palace may have been damaged. Owing to his inferiority at sea, Louis relied on Genoa as a Venetian rival, whose ally he was during the Venetian-Genoan wars of 1377–1381. The king ceded to Genoa all Dalmatian harbours, with Trogir<sup>157</sup> and Šibenik as the main naval strongholds. In Šibenik, the seafront fortification was demolished during the Venetian attack, and was therefore renovated along with the palace in 1378.<sup>158</sup> In Rab, during the Angevin rule, the tower of the Count's Palace was enlarged, first by building the eastern wing and then by adding the western and northern sections, which created an inner courtyard. The first floor was opened up by means of two Romanesque biforas – it served as the *piano nobile* and housed a festive hall where the Major Council met. In Trogir, a new loggia was added to the communal palace during the Angevin period (1375).<sup>159</sup> In 1395, a new loggia is also mentioned in Split.<sup>160</sup> Some public spaces bore the symbols of Angevin rule. Thus, in Šibenik, between the Great Tower and the episcopal palace, there was King Louis' coat-of-arms of until 1552. The western façade of Trogir's cathedral likewise bore a coat-of-arms with the attributes of the Angevins, giving a political character to the square.

Dubrovnik also acknowledged the king in 1358, but in the same year the Treaty of Visegrád assigned the city a privileged position which gradually led to its autonomy and the creation of the territorial Republic in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – a territorial state with an extended territory. The governmental palace became the central site of Dubrovnik's nobility and the rector, who was a local nobleman unlike the count of Dalmatian cities.<sup>161</sup> In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the complex of the Rector's Palace and the city hall was created: in 1395, the palace was referred to as an "atrium

157 Johannes Lucius, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century chronicler, dedicated an entire chapter to the "Wars between Venice, Genua, and Hungary," with abundant information on the construction of fortifications and the city's appearance at the time. The council of Trogir allowed the Genoans to stay in the city and obtain grain supplies. If there was scarcity of lodgings, they were to be accommodated at the nunnery; Ivan Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* [Historical sources on Trogir], ed. by C. Fisković (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium), Split 1979, pp. 679–687.

158 In the late 1370s, following Genoan advice, the harbour of Trogir was reinforced by means of a *porporella* that prevented the attackers from getting under the fortifications. The Genoans preferred the harbour of Trogir even to Zadar, since it had two entrances, "even though it was in a very bad condition." In order to ensure the safety of the city walls during the Venetian-Genoan war, the buildings leaning against it were demolished. In Šibenik, this was also the period of enforcing the fortifications and reorganizing the harbour; cf. I. BENOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 72.

159 The sources mention the meetings of the Major Council in 1402 in *palatio communis, in sala magna*; I. BENOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 56, n. 302.

160 The standard measurements of length, weight, and volume were kept there. However, the building process of the Split complex is a matter of debate, since only the oldest city hall has been preserved, whereas all other conclusions are made on the basis of city vedutas from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the sporadic written sources: Marija ANDERLE, *Die loggia communis an der östlichen Adria*, Weimar 2002.

161 In Dubrovnik, it was only then that the dungeons were transferred from the Archiepiscopal Palace to the Rector's Palace.



residencia domini recotris Ragusii” (the stone staircase connecting the ground floor and the upper storey are first mentioned in 1368).<sup>162</sup>

Following the death of King Louis (1382) and before the Venetian conquest, there was a very unstable period and the cities mostly invested in defence. At that time, the palace in Trogir was also repaired: a document from 1413 mentions the commissioning of windows (“fenestra sarasinista”) for a private house in the Trogir, “similar to those made recently for the communal palace.” This is a very rare piece of data on the appearance of the front façade of the communal palace at the time and implies that it served as a model for housing architecture.<sup>163</sup> In Split, the “sala palatium novum communis” is first mentioned in 1400 (the city theatre moved in during the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

### Palaces for the Venetian governor in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries

In those Istrian cities that remained under the Venetian rule during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, governmental palaces were restructured and repaired because of damages caused by the Venetian-Genoan wars. As early as 1311, the sources mention repairs of the palace in Poreč, when the Venetian Senate allowed the import of lime for the repair of the palace damaged by the Genoans.<sup>164</sup> Greatest devastations are mentioned in connection with the wars of the 1350s and 1380s, before the Peace of Turin in 1381. The conflicts between Venice and Louis in Istria and Friuli (joined by the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Count of Gorizia) were also devastating. In the Venetian-Genoan war of 1354, Poreč was sacked and partly set to fire: as early as 1355, the city asked the Venetian Senate to grant a loan of 7.000 *librae* for the repair of six houses in the city and the palace, which was demolished in the Genoan attack (they were granted 1.000 *ducats* for a five-year period).<sup>165</sup> In 1380, when the Genoans again demolished the palace, it was restored and enlarged with a chapel, an assembly hall, and rooms for the judges and the administration.<sup>166</sup>

162 C. FISKOVIĆ, *Prvi poznati dubrovački* (fn. 134), p. 103.

163 After Louis I's death, for instance, the towers of Trogir were repaired and restructured: the sources speak of the commissioning of the floor and the cornice for the communal tower in 1417; I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), p. 75.

164 In 1318, the sources mention the *potestas* living in Poreč with his family; CDIC (fn. 69), p. 125.

165 M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), p. 75, p. 138. It was already demolished in the fire of 1360, when the city was also struck by a grave plague epidemic. In 1375, the city again asked for a loan to conduct major restoration works: “Ad istanza del comune di Parenzo gli si accorda un prestito di 150 ducati pro aptando muros et fundamenta dicte terre que vadunt in ruinam; li restaura in tre anni”; *Senato Misti – Cose dell’Istria* (hereafter: *Senato Misti*), Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e storia patria 5: 1889, p. 59.

166 *Senato Misti* (fn. 165), p. 40, c. 73 t.: “1387 die 7. junii. Cum nobilis vir ser Leonardus Bembo qui nuper fuit potestas et capit. Justinopolis, de mandato Dominij fecerit inchoari refectionem palacij Justinopolis. Et nobilis vir ser Laurentius Gradonico nunc potestas et capitaneus Justinopolis prose-



In 1354, the Genoans set Pula on fire, and the city was also greatly damaged during the Genoan-Venetian war of 1379/80.<sup>167</sup> After the battle of Pula, the Genoans allegedly took a large number of prisoners to Zadar “et aliis partibus Sclauonie,” some of them even to Genoa.<sup>168</sup> In 1381, the Senate allowed the city of Pula to repair its governmental palace and to use up the annual taxes that they owed to Venice (“laborerio et reparazione del palazzo del conte”).<sup>169</sup> The palace of Koper was demolished in 1380 and in 1385 the Senate ordered the *potestas* Leonardo Bembo to build a new house for the praetor’s residence. The seat of the *potestas*-captain of Koper was in the palace (*palazzo del podestà*), which was rebuilt in 1358 and 1359,<sup>170</sup> the years in which the sources mention other public works in the city.<sup>171</sup> Similar examples are documented in the interior of the Istrian peninsula.<sup>172</sup>

Following the Peace of Turin (1381), Venice started to consolidate its power and expand to the *terraferma*, after which it exerted renewed pressure on the Eastern Adriatic.<sup>173</sup> At the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the situation was perfect for a long-lasting

quatur dictum opus, sed pecunia concessa per istud consilium ad opus dicti palacij non sufficiat: Vadit pars quod concedatur dicto ser Laurentio Gradonico nunc potestati et capito Justinopolis quod ultra primam concessionem possit expendere libras mille paruorum”. (G. CAPRIN, *L’Istria* [fn. 20], I, p. 219, n. 1). Little has remained preserved from the 13<sup>th</sup>-century bulwark: the southern side is missing, but the remnants at the eastern entrance to the city reveal a construction from that period; M. PRELOG, *Poreč* (fn. 36), pp. 72–73.

167 In the war of 1378, both Rovinj and Umag were damaged, and before Pula the Venetians suffered a grave defeat.

168 G. CAPRIN, *L’Istria* (fn. 20), p. 211.

169 The city must have also been damaged in the war against Genua (1380), since in 1381 Venice allowed the citizens of Pula to import building material from Venice tax-free, as well as to repair the Communal Palace and to use the communal tax for repairs; *Senato Misti* (fn. 165), p. 76.

170 *I libri commemoriali* (fn. 129), p. 291 and p. 296.

171 After an unsuccessful rebellion of Koper in 1348, Venice appointed a *potestas*-captain with judicial and military authority, such as the *capetaneus Sclavorum* had in the extraurban area; cf. Giovanni RADOSI, *Monumenta heraldica iustinopolitana. Stemmi di rettori, di famiglie notabili, di vescovi e della città di Capodistria*, Collana degli Atti 21: 2003, pp. 1–480. In Umag, a residence for the *potestas* may have been organized in the first floor of the palace in 1356–59 (some of the rooms were also used by the military commander). A measurement block was placed in the loggia later on, with Venetian measurements; cf. A. BENEDETTI, *Umago d’Istria* (fn. 72), pp. 127–128 and 134.

172 In 1366, the captain of Grozňjan (Grisignana) was given the permission “di spendere lire 1000 a carico di quel comune in riparazioni al palazzo di sua residenza”; in 1376, he was granted the same sum “in riparazioni agli edifizii publici,” while the captain del Pasinatico di S. Lorenzo was given the permission in 1377 to spend 200 *lira* “in riparazioni alla casa abitata da un connestabile, al tetto del palazzo, ed ao balatoris castri.” In 1383, the captain of Sv. Lovreč obtained 100 *ducati* “pro laborerio palatii quod vadit in ruinam et pro coredoribus et aliis laboreribus.” The same decree mentions 400 *lira* “per riattare il muro del castello di Montona (Motovun) minacciante su una lunghezza di circa 16 passi” (the wall had been restored previously, in 1385); *Senato Misti* (fn. 165), p. 66, p. 69, p. 77, and p. 81.

173 However, the situation became unstable in the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. After 1382, when King Louis I died without male heirs, Sigismund of Luxembourg, his son-in-law and Sigismund’s cousin



expansion of the Venetian territory, which was the centuries-long ambition of the Republic.<sup>174</sup> During the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, *La Serenissima* gradually expanded its government to the Eastern Adriatic coast, with the exception of the Republic of Dubrovnik and, north of Senj, the fief of the Frankopans (former counts of Krk), a Croatian family of magnates. Dalmatia, a province stretching from the island of Krk (*Veglia*) to the island of Korčula (*Curzola*) – nowadays Croatia – was part of the Venetian territory in the Eastern Adriatic (from Istria to Albania) called *Colfo* or *Culphum*. The province was under the rule of Venetian officials, who governed all Dalmatian communes and were directly subordinated to the Doge.

With the exception of the *Terraferma*, the Venetian Republic was an exclusively maritime power in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore characterized by relatively uniform problems coherent. Because of its territorial diversity, the policies differentiated between the centre and peripheries, but the legal and administrative systems, the networks of power, the system of fortifications, and the state symbols unified the territory.<sup>175</sup> 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.<sup>176</sup>

Ladislas of Naples intensified 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 15<sup>th</sup> century. On June 9, 1409, King Ladislas sold the towns of Zadar and Novigrad (Novegradi), the island of Pag (Pago) and all rights of Dalmatia to Venice for 100,000 *ducati*. The way for Venice's formal and final entry was thus opened (*Santa intrada*). The Republic gradually expanded its government (either willingly or by force) to the entire Eastern Adriatic, including all major towns and islands. Nevertheless, the struggle between Venice and Sigismund of Hungary over a part of Dalmatia continued until 1420, with some Dalmatian towns supporting the king and expecting his aid against the Venetian conquest; I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *The Venetian Impact on Urban Change in Dalmatian Towns in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*, *Acta Histriae* 22: 2014, pp. 2–44, here p. 3.

174 As a result of military actions and diplomacy at the turn of the fifteenth century, *La Serenissima* doubled both its territory and its population. The 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries were a period when the Republic assumed its most complete form. Urban communes in the Eastern Adriatic were a vital part of the systematically organized territorial state (empire); cf. A. TENENTI, *The Sense of Space* (fn. 51), pp. 17–46; Marko ŠUNJIĆ, *Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću* [Dalmatia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century], Sarajevo 1967); O. J. SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum (ca. 1400–ca. 1600)*, [in:] *Balceni occidentali* (fn. 51), pp. 77–101; Dennis ROMANO, *The Likeness of Venice: A life of Doge Francesco Foscarini 1373–1457*, New Haven 2007).

175 Monique O'CONNEL, *Men of Empire. Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, MD 2009; Donatella CALABI, *Le basi ultramarine*, [in:] *Storia di Venezia. Temi: Il Mare*, ed. by A. TENENTI, Ugo TUCCI, Rome 1991, pp. 861–879, here p. 862.

176 D. CALABI, *Città ed edilizia pubblica nel dominio veneziano da mare: modelli, significati, linguaggi architettonici*, [in:] *D'une ville à l'autre. Structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIIIe–XVIe siècle)* (Actes du colloque de Rome (1er–4 décembre 1986), Rome 1989, pp. 813–843; I. BENYOVSKY, *Interventi sul piano urbanistico di Traù durante i primi decenni del dominio Veneto (1420–1450)*, *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 161: 2002/2003, pp. 981–1016.

The 15<sup>th</sup> century marked a shift in the relationship between the central authority and the local Dalmatian elites, as the power of the latter greatly diminished. On the local level, the newly acquired Eastern Adriatic cities retained many of their distinctive traits, including some elements of self-government (town councils, statutes, etc.). Urban change in Dalmatian towns in the early decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century reflects the Venetian intention of emphasizing its sovereignty and protection, as well as its efforts to bring the local needs in line with the aspirations of the metropolis. Political authority over the cities was exerted by controlling important buildings (such as fortifications) that symbolized political legitimacy.

Among the buildings promoting Venice's sovereignty and presence in Dalmatia were the structures central to exercising control, such as military fortifications (especially citadels in the 15<sup>th</sup> century) and governmental palaces.<sup>177</sup> In newly conquered cities, the clear indicator of Venetian influence was the renovation and reconstruction of communal palaces, the seats of new counts. Repair works started as early as 1409, at the time when Venice was not yet in control of the entire coast.

Already in 1409, renovation works on the Count's Palace in Zadar ("palatium comitatus et habitations comitis Jadre") began.<sup>178</sup> Zadar was the most important centre as the capital of Venetian Dalmatia. The complex of the Count's Palace had a major political significance and an entire district was formed<sup>179</sup> before the construction of the Provveditore's Palace in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>180</sup> The position of the Count's Palace in Zadar and the neighbouring buildings is documented in detail in Zadar's cadastre book from 1421 "in confinio sancti Stephani prope plateam magnam." Here, the palace is described as a stone building covered by roof tiles, which contained a chancery, depot rooms, taverns, two stables, and dungeons. Before the late 1450s, the documents record how the entire block around the quintagonal tower (now called "captain's tower"), the Count's Palace, and the bulwark was turned into a complex for the count and the captain (other cities had only one count-captain, while Zadar had two separate officials). Houses and land plots were exchanged for estates in the district, and some houses were confiscated from the "traitors" – members of the nobility

<sup>177</sup> Investment in public buildings was particularly evident during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>178</sup> In 1410, the Senate of Venice sent 400 *ducats* for renovation in the district of St Stephen.

<sup>179</sup> T. RAUKAR, I. PETRICIOLI, Franjo ŠVELEC, Šime PERIČIĆ, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom* [Zadar under the Venetian rule], Zadar 1987; T. RAUKAR, *Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u 15. i 16. stoljeću* [Venice and the economic development of Dalmatia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries], Radovi instituta za hrvatsku povijest 10: 1977, pp. 203–225.

<sup>180</sup> K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Zadarska providurova palača u vrijeme mletačke uprave* [The provveditore's palace in Zadar under the Venetian rule], *Povijesni prilozi* 44: 2013, p. 44 and pp. 183–202; Marija STAGLIČIĆ, *Izgradnja kneževih i providurovih palača u Zadru* [Construction of the count's and provveditore's palace in Zadar], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 20: 1982, pp. 75–92.



who were against Venice.<sup>181</sup> For the sake of security, it was suggested to the Venetian Senate in 1423 that a wall should be built in Zadar to enlarge the new citadel in the south-western section (called *Babe*) of the bulwark, surrounding also the count's and captain's palace – in the old pentagonal tower (in continuation behind St Stephen's church) – with a long city wall. Another similar wall, with a moat and a cornice (proposed in 1424) would additionally protect the *castrum* and the harbour on the other side of the city in a broad curve starting from St Demetrius' Gate.<sup>182</sup> Although both proposals were rejected, they clearly show Venetian distrust towards Zadar.<sup>183</sup>

In 1410, Count Marco Michael commissioned the repair and restructuring of Rab's Count's Palace as he had obtained 50 *ducats* “pro aptatione domus [...] et pro reparatione turris.” Under the Venetian rule in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the palace of Rab

181 Opposite the Count's palace, next to St Stephen's church (and St Nicholas'), there were eight small houses that served for tax collection: they had been confiscated from noblemen who were against Venice. In the locality of the tower, the house for the city's captain was enlarged. Next to the gate towards the mainland, land plots were likewise exchanged, and next to the Slaughterhouse Gate (*porta arsenale*) they were confiscated. This is where the houses for the count's servants, the chancellor, and other officials were located, as well as stables and depots. The Provveditore's Palace was built there in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

182 Immediately after the conquest of Zadar in 1409, the question of accommodating the Venetian troops in the city became topical. In the same year, a location was sought to accommodate the cavalry. The western side and the southern corner next to the district of Baba were suggested, in line with the fortifications and next to the pentagonal tower: I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *The Venetian Impact* (fn. 173), p. 3.

183 In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Count's Palace in Zadar was extensively restructured. Besides the Count's Palace and the captain's tower, a palace for the provedditore was built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as Zadar was an important and modern military stronghold at the time. At first, the provedditore general lived in rented private palaces in the vicinity of the residence of Zadar's count. Later on, a new residence with housing and administrative functions (a rather large one) was built next to the Count's Palace, in an area where private houses had formerly stood, and opposite of the building there were armouries and the Captain's Palace. Besides the main building with the provedditore's apartment, this extended complex included buildings for other high officials of the Venetian government in Dalmatia, as well as several inner courtyards. The complex eventually consisted of four wings and a spacious inner courtyard between them, with a cistern in the centre and pillars and porches around. An elegant stone staircase led to the first floor, which housed the Assembly Hall and other halls. The monumental entrance in the front façade is mannerist in appearance, while well-balanced balconies on the upper floor have classicist elements. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Provveditore's Palace with its wings and courtyards was united with the Rector's Palace into a single government complex: the seat of Dalmatian Provincial Government for the Austrian part of the dual monarchy. The locality of the palace is known from the description of the neighbouring buildings in a cartulary from 1421; cf. S. ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik 15. stoljeća* [A 15<sup>th</sup>-century cartulary from Zadar], *Starine JAZU*: 1949, p. 3; I. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra* (fn. 20), pp. 162–163; M. STAGLIČIĆ, *Izgradnja Kneževе i Providurove palace* (fn. 180), pp. 75–87; Karla GUSAR and Dario VUJEVIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju utvrde Citadela u Zadru – istraživanje Barbakana 2008. godine* [A contribution to our knowledge of the Citadel fort in Zadar: The 2008 investigation at the Barbakan], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 26/1: 2009, pp. 219–246.

was thoroughly renovated.<sup>184</sup> During the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Count Niccola Memo commissioned the renovation of the cistern in the palace and the *casa del consiglio*. Towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a major restoration of the palace took place, both on the exterior and in the interior.<sup>185</sup> At the time of Count Luka Mauro, in 1442, the Count's Palace and the fort were renewed, and at the time of Count Paolo Malipiero it was the cistern in the Count's Palace.<sup>186</sup>

Trogir and Split came under Venetian rule in 1420, and the conquest was immediately followed by repair works on the fortifications and major public buildings. The sources mention that the Counts's Palace in Split burned down during the Venetian siege, but its rebuilding started immediately afterwards.<sup>187</sup> The palace at the eastern corner was built in 1433, with a statue of St Lawrence. A chapel was built there to serve as a stone bridge between the assembly hall and the neighbouring private palace.<sup>188</sup> It had a large open loggia on the ground level, which was also called Assembly Hall and served for proclaiming edicts, pronouncing verdicts, and signing contracts, as well as for preserving the standard measurements for length, height, and volume. The façade of the new Palace was decorated by a late Gothic trifora or quadrifora. The Count's Palace, closing the western part of the square with its lateral wall, was the largest building in the square.<sup>189</sup>

The eastern side of Trogir's core, the area with the most important public and ecclesiastical buildings, was very badly damaged by Venetian bombardment. Following the conquest, Venice primarily invested in building a citadel for the troops and the fortifications. In 1420, Trogir's council asked the Venetian authorities to repair "the tower of the communal palace."<sup>190</sup> The complex consisted of the "comitis traguriensis domus in platea" and the buildings for the council assembly and the administration.

184 Repair works are mentioned in the period from 1422/23 until 1437/40; cf. D. MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility* (fn. 80), p. 62, n. 128.

185 The upper floor of the eastern façade of the tower was opened up by means of a lavish bifora, and above the simple portal that led to the inner courtyard of the palace a Renaissance balcony was added.

186 D. MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility* (fn. 80), p. 62.

187 The debt of the city of Hvar was used for the repair works in 1420. The counts obtained the instructions to keep maintaining the building in the future. In 1431, the Venetian government was asked to secure finances for repairing the palace, which were soon granted. D. KEČKOMET, *Rušenje Komunalne i Kneževe palace* (fn. 2), pp. 287–302.

188 It included a chapel with a coats-of-arms featuring dolphins, completed in 1455.

189 Built in the *gotico fiorito* style, it may be compared to the Venetian buildings from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the type of Gothic housing architecture imported to Dalmatia from Venice. This is manifest in the construction and function of the building: the loggia, the external staircase with an entrance door on the top leading to the main hall, and the courtyard with a well. The count's rooms were located on the first floor.

190 During the Venetian rule, the main façade of Trogir's palace had a different rhythmical distribution of openings on all three levels than it is the case today.



Documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> century mention some of the palace's complex rooms, such as the great hall ("sala magna palatij comunis") or the judge's bench ("bancum iuris situm in palatio comunis").<sup>191</sup> A house for the officials was rented next to the communal palace, which is attested in a document from 1426. The palace was the centre of the new Renaissance square, arranged in accordance with the policy of good governance.<sup>192</sup> In 1471, Trogir's loggia was transformed into a well-balanced Renaissance structure. The relief showing Justice to the east is the largest and most imposing secular public monument of the Venetian Republic in the Eastern Adriatic from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the most monumental symbol of the Venetian Republic in all of the Adriatic area. The composition of the eastern wall with the Justice relief has been attributed to Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino (Nikola Firentinac) and dated to 1471.<sup>193</sup>

The palace of Šibenik (*fig. 8 & 8a*) was likewise restructured after the Venetian conquest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: repair works are mentioned in the period from 1422/23. The palace for the count ("palatium comitis", "Comitatus") previously linked to the complex of the coastal fortifications, was transformed into an independent fortress that could resist a siege if needed, supported from the sea.<sup>194</sup> Later on, a cistern was built in the courtyard although it is mentioned only in 1418 and it was only in 1421 that finances were allotted to its construction. There were also rooms for the military personnel and the communal salt depots with entrances from the seaside. At the south-eastern corner, there was apparently the chapel of the palace (opposite St Barbara's).<sup>195</sup> During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the western façade of the complex was restruc-

191 A document from 1438 mentions a staircase in the courtyard: *supra scallis palatij comunis Tragurij*.

The palace still housed the dungeons and the stables.

192 In 1426, under Count Giacomo Barbarigo (1426–1428), repair works on the Trogir palace took place: the count's coat-of-arms is found on the cornice of the well in the courtyard of a palace that was renovated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Count Barbarigo also decided to repair the abovementioned building owned by the commune and located next to the "new cemetery" in front of the cathedral. Renaissance renovation of the governmental palace in Trogir started, to be completed only under Trifun Bokanić. At the time of Count Marco Zeno, in 1435, the main square was paved. The city also asked the Doge for the permission to build a cistern "for the decoration of the main square and to the city's benefit," but eventually it was not built: I. BENYOVSZY LATIN, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir* (fn. 7), pp. 56–57.

193 The Venetian lion dominating the composition holds an open book with a Biblical threat to the unjust: *Iniusti punientur et semen impiorum peribit* ("The unjust will be punished and the offspring of the impious will perish."). This message was certainly in accordance with the jurisdictional function of the city loggia and the judge's bench above which it was located (the present-day table is from 1606). An iconological analysis of the relief has shown that it was a "secular altar" dedicated to the allegory of Justice: Radovan IVANČEVIĆ, *Trogirska loža: TEMPLUM IVRIS ET ARA IVSTITIAE (1471.)* [The loggia of Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 31: 1991, pp. 115–146.

194 The large tower (*turris magna*) housed the dungeons, and therefore was also called *turris carcerorum*.

195 The Count's Palace in Šibenik has a compact volume, as its entire southern façade was a part of the fortifications.



Fig. 8: Šibenik (1. Cathedral; 2. Main Square; 3. Governmental palace; 4. Loggia; 5. City gate towards terra ferma; 6. St Michael Citadel; 7. Molum sub Palatio). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

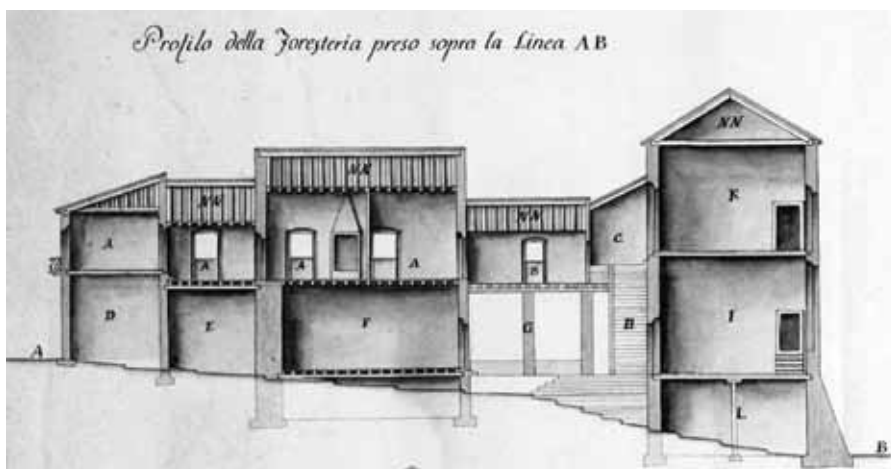


Fig. 8a: Drawing of Šibenik Count's Palace in 1788, drawn by Francesco Zavoreo, published by D. BILIĆ, *Sudbina kneževе palače u Šibeniku* [fn. 2], p. 179.



tured because of the construction of the new cathedral. As this area developed in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, a unified space of the main city square was created by merging two hitherto independent squares: the northeastern, secular one and the western one with its religious and cemeterial features.<sup>196</sup> In those Dalmatian cities where the count's seat was traditionally in the centre, at the site of the former communal palace, safety was a particular priority. In Šibenik, the Count's Palace was transformed into a defensible fortress, and in Trogir it was connected to a tower. In all cities new citadels were built (often substituting older forts), marginal with regard to the city (unlike some of the palaces) so that the counts could find refuge there in case of unrests.<sup>197</sup> Citadels were necessary in Dalmatian towns for the accommodation of the Venetian army and weaponry.<sup>198</sup>

In the Istrian cities that remained continuously under Venice after the conquest, the central authority also invested in palaces. The palace in Kopar was restructured in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: the portal with windows was built in 1481 and in 1462 already, a new loggia was built next to the palace (enlarged in the 17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>199</sup> In Pula, the palace was rebuilt as its appearance was to symbolize good and well-organized governance, as well as subjection to the Republic. The lateral Gothic opening in the ground-floor porch in the *gotico fiorito* style was closed, probably in order to strengthen the south-eastern pilaster. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Pula's communal palace complex was adapted to the needs of the new Venetian administration: the ground-floor porch was enlarged (such interventions are known from other cities, such as Treviso or Bergamo) and the

<sup>196</sup> In 1432, it was decreed that the street leading from the square to the palace and the sea gate should be covered (vaulted) for reasons of building the cathedral's sanctuary. Buildings to the west of the Count's Palace were demolished and the street leading from the square towards the palace and the city gate (between the Episcopal Palace and Count's Palace) was moved eastwards. These demolition works and the later construction of the Great Cistern (1450) additionally altered the square and created a broader communication line towards the city gate. The palace was also extensively reconstructed in 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Renaissance city hall was built in 1536–1542: Predrag MARKOVIĆ, *Katedrala Sv. Jakova u Šibeniku: Prvih 105 godina* [St James' cathedral in Šibenik: The first 105 years], Zagreb 2010.

<sup>197</sup> Katja MARASOVIĆ, *Mletački kaštel u Splitu: izgradnja i preobrazbe* [The Venetian *castrum* in Split: Construction and transformations], *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam* 20/2 (44): 2013, pp. 250–263; Vanja KOVAČIĆ, *Gradski kaštel u Trogiru* [The city *castrum* of Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 42/1: 2011, pp. 95–120; D. KEČKEMET, *Splitski kaštel* [The *castrum* of Split], *Anali historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 4–5: 1956, pp. 267–303.

<sup>198</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venezia (hereafter: ASV), Senato, Mar, X, 194; Senato, Terra, VIII, 53; M. ŠUNJIĆ, *Dalmacija* (fn. 174), pp. 263–264. They housed the commander's lodgings, army quarters, and warehouses; ASV, Senato, Mar, X, 194; Senato, Terra, VIII, 53; Senato, Misti, LVII, 164. The commander (*capitaneus*) was in charge of defence: in Split, Trogir, and Šibenik, the count was also the captain ("comes et capitaneus"), and only in Zadar these two functions were separated. 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 the revenues (*camerlengo*).

<sup>199</sup> Antonio ALISI, *Il duomo di Capodistria*, Rome, 1932, p. 77.



strictly Gothic front façade was substituted through a *facciata schiettamente patrizia*, demolished in 1651 and 1696.<sup>200</sup>

Some of the palaces for Venetian counts were only built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: namely, in those cities that lacked such buildings from the previous period – either because there had not been any need to accommodate the administration or the count on a permanent basis, or because (as was the case in Krk) Venice wanted to clearly distinguish between the previous authority (the local patricians who had been counts before) and the new one, which was mirrored in its official seat.<sup>201</sup> In Krk, a new public palace was built in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Its construction was part of a larger intervention commissioned by the Venetian governor Antonio Vinciguerra in order to modernize the city's appearance and functions.<sup>202</sup> In Cres, which became the new administrative centre of the island only after 1450, the construction of a new main square began after the Venetian conquest,<sup>203</sup> with various public buildings: the public palace, the loggia, the *fonticus*, and St John's church.<sup>204</sup> The third example of such new constructions is the Count's Palace in the newly planned city of Pag,<sup>205</sup> built in the

200 Pula was largely neglected in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and the naval trade subsided in the cities of western Istria owing to the changed system of navigation: ships now travelled through the centre of the Adriatic. Venice's conflicts were also reflected in the life of Istrian cities. Thus, Venice reduced Pula to a passive colony and the communal palace fell into neglect. In 1560, the Venetian Doge sent 300 ducati for its repair, but the old tower, once a symbol of Pula's commune, was demolished. The loggia in the first floor lost its former function, but the rector still lived in the palace. In 1608, the Uskoks attacked and pillaged Pula and occupied the communal palace. In 1630, Venice built a new fortress in the Baroque style on the top of Pula's hill, on the remnants of the long-demolished early medieval *castrum*. Cf. A. KRIZMANIĆ, *Komunalna palača* (fn. 46).

201 For a general overview, see K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Arhitektura vlasti i suda: Vijećnice, lože i kneževe palače u Dalmaciji od 15. do 18. stoljeća* [Architecture of power and the court: Town halls, loggias, and counts' palaces in Dalmatia (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c.)], Zagreb 2017.

202 Unfortunately, the palace was demolished sometime in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and its appearance is known only from a veduta of the city from 1534; K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Izgradnja i održavanje upravnih građevina u Krku od Vinciguerrine obnove iz 1489. godine do kraja 18. stoljeća* [The construction and maintenance of administrative buildings in Krk from Vinciguerra's renewal (1489) until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 35: 2011, pp. 7–22; Ivan ŽIC ROKOV, *Gradske zidine i ulice u Krku* [The city walls and streets of Krk], *Krčki zbornik* 2: 1971, pp. 179–255; Marijan BRADANOVIĆ, *Arhitektura i urbanizam renesanse na otoku Krku (knjiga I i II)* [Renaissance architecture and urban planning on the island of Krk (2 vol.)], PhD diss. (University of Zadar 2007).

203 K. MAJER, *Nacrt kneževe palače u Cresu iz 1854. godine u svjetlu njezinih razvojnih i prostornih obilježja* [Ground plan of the Count's Palace in Cres (1854) in the light of its development and spatial features], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 38: 2014, pp. 187–194.

204 A characteristic feature of the Count's Palace in Cres is an accentuated central axis created by means of a trifora and a small balcony on the second floor, with a gilded stone relief of St Mark below.

205 K. MAJER, *Prilog poznavanju povijesti sklopa kneževe palače u Pagu* [A contribution to our knowledge on the history of the Count's Palace complex in Pag], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 32: 2008, pp. 139–150.



main city square in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Palaces in Cres, Krk, and Pag were counts' palaces, but also housed an assembly hall and several other rooms for administrative use.<sup>206</sup>

In the Eastern Adriatic cities, the Venetians ensured that their representatives would have accommodations representative for their office. Nevertheless, it was important that they should live in public buildings rather than private houses, and the Venetian councils ensured that these buildings should not become monuments of presence for a single count or initiative. Counts who repaired buildings unauthorized were punished, since it meant that they privatized them illegally.<sup>207</sup> However, such prohibitions seem not to have been observed, since many coats-of-arms and inscriptions celebrating individual counts and their architectural enterprises can still be found in loggias and palaces.<sup>208</sup> The visual symbol of Venetian authority was omnipresent: it was the lion of St Mark, not a portrait of some individual Venetian Doge, that could be seen everywhere: on the standard above the main square, the bulwark, public buildings, and city gates.<sup>209</sup> The symbol is found in all cities under Venetian rule and it is far more widespread than any symbol of political powers before the Venetian era.<sup>210</sup> It testified of the integrity of space in Venetian Dalmatia, since it appeared as an element of central authority.

206 Following the expansion of Venetian territories as a result of the Venetian-Ottoman wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, new communal palaces were built, as the one in Makarska. It was necessary to create and arrange offices for the state officials. Such cases include Makarska, which was annexed to the Venetian Republic in 1684, Knin (liberated from the Ottoman Turks in 1688), and Imotski (ruled by Venice 1717), where the Venetian conquest implied the arrival of its administrative apparatus. K. MAJER-JURIŠIĆ, *Stanovanje mletačkih upravitelja u Dalmaciji od 15. do 18. stoljeća* [Accommodation of the Venetian governors in Dalmatia (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries)], *Peristil* 56: 2013, pp. 165-176.

207 The situation in other parts of the state was similar, e.g. in Crete. Many decrees contain specific prohibitions stating that the counts should not decorate public buildings with their family heraldic or, should they do it, that it should only be in paint, not carved in stone – for the Venetian lion was to remain without competition; cf. M. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (fn. 82), pp. 94-100.

208 Thus, it was already in 1426, under Rector Giacomo Barbarigo (1426-1428), that the palace in Trogir was repaired: the count's coat-of-arms is found on the well cornice in the palace courtyard, restructured in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The well cornice in the Count's Palace of Zadar likewise bears the count's coat-of-arms from 1410-19. In Šibenik, the Venetian family of Calbo created a lasting monument of their presence twice by placing their heraldic symbols on the city gate: first under Antonio Calbo (1486-1489) and then a century later, when Giovanni Calbo occupied the count's post. The cistern cornice in the Count's Palace of Šibenik bears the coats-of-arms of the Venetian Republic, but also of the Donado family (Jakov Donado occupied the count's post in 1429-31); cf. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *The Venetian Impact* (fn. 173), p. 606.

209 A. RIZZI, *Un 'catalogue raisonne' di leoni marciati in Dalmazia: Isola di Curzola, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* (Petriciolijev zbornik II.) 36: 1996, pp. 153-175; G. PRAGA, *Leoni di Trau*, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 7/14: 1932, pp. 419-432.

210 St Mark's lion was both secular and sacral; it symbolized the subjection of the city to Venice, but even more the role of Venice as a protector and the unity of its state.

The Venetian authorities restructured churches and squares, dedicating them to St Mark and transforming those central public spaces into an image of Venice as a sovereign, corroborating this image with visual evidence on the subjection of the city to the Venetian state.<sup>211</sup> The circulation of counts must have had a considerable impact on the cities in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>212</sup>

### A Palace as the count's seat in the Republic of Dubrovnik

Unlike other cities in the Eastern Adriatic, Dubrovnik was not under Venetian rule in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but attained independence and ruled over a territory stretching from the Pelješac peninsula to Konavle and the islands.<sup>213</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Rector's Palace housed offices for the notaries, the courtroom, rooms for consuls, the archive, and the dungeons; for a while, the gunpowder depot was also there, but later on Giorgio da Sebenico (Juraj Dalmatinac) transferred it to the tower of Minčeta. To the north, the Rector's Palace was flanked by the Assembly Hall with a clocktower and a *fonticus*, and the Arsenal next to it. Towards the north, the communal complex ended with the building of the state's trade administration, the mint, and the customs office – Palace Divona. The Count's Palace was damaged on several occasions: thus, in 1435 in a gunpowder explosion and a fire, after which<sup>214</sup> the palace was enlarged to the north and joined to the depot of the *fonticus* in full height, all the way to the hall of the Major Assembly.<sup>215</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the palace where the count resided is also referred to in the sources as a “palacio regiminis”.<sup>216</sup> The emergence of inscriptions on

211 Some authors have written about the “Venetianization” of Dalmatian cities into a *stato da mar*: M. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (fn. 82), p. 74.

212 Thus, in 1441, Donato Barbaro was the count of Trogir and in 1449 the count of Split; Giacomo (Iacopo) Zorzi was the count of Trogir in 1424, of Pula in 1428, and of Poreč in 1460; M. O'CONNEL, *Men of Empire* (fn. 175); Mladen ANDREIS, *Trogirsko plemstvo do kraja prve austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji* [Trogir's nobility until the end of the first Austrian administration in Dalmatia], Trogir 2006, p. 308. Giacomo Barbarigo, who commissioned the restoration of the palace in Trogir in 1426 was also the count of Zadar in 1435. Marco Memo, the count of Trogir in 1432, was also the count of Split in 1445 and of Pag in 1463. Such cases are not isolated and offer new possibilities of research; see: <http://rulersofvenice.org> (access: July 11, 2018).

213 However, the political break with Venice did not end all ties between Dubrovnik and the Serenissima. The principles of Ragusan government were similar to Venetian or Florentine political philosophy and practice. Beginning with the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Dubrovnik underwent major changes, including an economic and demographic growth.

214 The repair works were at first overseen by architect Onofrio di Giordano della Cava, then by Giorgio da Sebenico, and eventually by Salvo di Michele.

215 N. GRUJIĆ, *Arhitektura Kneževa* (fn. 133), pp. 35–71. Decisions of the city council on the Rector's Palace: HR-DADU 460 Obitelj Beritić 1.2.2, box 10, doc. 111, pp. 3, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 26–27, 40, 47 etc.

216 “In palacio regiminis ubi moratur et habitat dominus rector prout oportunum fuerit”: Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Comnsiliorum, see: <https://ducac.ipu.hr/project/mapping/d5-segment/d5-pallacium->



public buildings, including the Latin inscription on the portal of the Count's Palace likewise – “Obliti privatorum pvblica cvrate” – mirrors these antiquarian tendencies with their medieval concepts.<sup>217</sup>

In various territories of Dubrovnik, rector's palaces reveal typological similarities that resulted from the need of unifying several functions in the same building: public rooms such as offices or prisons and private apartments, which were supposed to ensure privacy and yet be representative at the same time. The seats of the so-called “countryside rectors” were supposed to symbolize the central authority with their architecture. The buildings were thus prominent in their position, architecture, and carefully planned openings. Naturally, some of the components depended on the local specificities (Lopud island). Thus, areas that were distant or less protected show elements of fortification (Slano, Pridvorje) and palaces within urban settlements were to fit the surrounding architecture (Ston, Cavtat).<sup>218</sup> However, in areas such as the Elaphite Islands, where there was no acute threat, architectural models were taken from the most representative type built in the countryside – the villas. The most prominent examples of this concept, both typologically and stylistically, are the rector's palaces on the islands of Šipan and Lopud. They are rather similar in composition, since both are single-storey houses with a perpendicular wing and a high wall surrounding the courtyard in front of the main façade. In both cases, the wing contains a cistern and a loggia (porch), closing with a terrace. However, these two palaces also show certain differences.

## Conclusion

Before the emergence of public palaces in the Eastern Adriatic, only the (archi)episcopal court was referred to as a “palace”. Civic affairs and citizens' assemblies were held in churches and in the private houses of elite families. In cities that gained a certain degree of autonomy in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by recognizing the sovereignty of

communis/ (access: July 11, 2018). Decisions of Dubrovnik's City Council regarding the city's urbanism (14th-17th c.) see in: Dubrovnik State Archives, Beritić Legacy, no. 460, especially box no. 10; HR-DADU 460 Obitelj Beritić.

217 In 1520 and 1667, the Count's Palace was demolished by earthquakes. During the repair works, the government decided to preserve the previous Gothic-Renaissance appearance, with a porch and arches on the ground floor of the front façade and the biforas on the first floor. The city hall on the other hand, was damaged by fire in 1816, it was completely demolished in 1863, and a new one was built in its place in 1867; Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ, *Barokna obnova Kneževa dvora* [Baroque renewal of the Rector's Palace], [in:] *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku* (see: GRUJIĆ, *Arhitektura Kneževa dvora*, fn. 133), pp. 131–165.

218 K. HORVAT-LEVAJ, *Knežev dvor u Pridvorju: građevni razvoj i problemi obnove* [Governor's House in Pridvorje: Structural Development, Evaluation and Problems of Restoration], *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 20: 1996, pp. 105–121.

the Hungarian-Croatian king or the patriarch, public buildings were built for the city officials, the citizens' assembly, and the administration around the middle of the century. These were regularly situated in the central city square. In those cities with continuity from Antiquity, the centre was the former forum. In other cities, a new square gradually developed, becoming a new social and political centre of secular power. The transformation of communal palaces at the time of the (first) Venetian administration in the 14<sup>th</sup> century answered the demand of accommodating the count and his entourage, as well as providing rooms for administration and council meetings. Thus, new buildings were often added to the palace in order to complement its functions and needs, creating a well-balanced functional and architectural complex. Counts' palaces that were built in cities under Venetian rule in the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> centuries were always built next to the city walls, at the outskirts, since they had to be defensible and control the city area. Thus, they were built at the meeting point between the old town and the new one (*burgus*), which was now surrounded by walls, divided into land plots, and additionally controlled. The construction of fortifications and the relationship between gates, towers, and public buildings show parallels with urban planning in other cities controlled by Venice, as well as differences that depended on the topographic specificities and the local heritage. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Venice adapted the existing communal palaces and reused them without major modifications. However, the history of their sites also made these palaces reminders of Venetian dominion and its legacy. In order to disassociate buildings from their past, the Venetian authorities arranged for minor architectural details that gave them a Venetian appearance – a new façade, architectural details, symbols, function, or name. This 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 the political structures and institutions, demonstrated that Venice had “lawfully inherited Dalmatia.” On the other hand, the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik mirrored, both functionally and visually, the autonomy and the political-economic power of the city and its district, emulated by the seats of provincial counts in the surrounding territories.

Except for the political circumstances, the location of governmental palaces in the Eastern Adriatic cities depended on the inherited topographical situation, the wider spatial context, the size of the city, and the need of its defence. Palaces, together with other seats of urban administration, had a particular impact on the organization of urban tissue as they changed the relationship between centre and periphery, private and public, and influenced residential mobility *infra muros*.