

## Topography of Power: Venice and the Eastern Adriatic Cities in the Century Following the Fourth Crusade\*

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In the thirteenth century, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, Venice became an important power in the Mediterranean, which caused profound change in its political, territorial and economic ambitions. The main strategy of Venice was to maintain the sea route from the northernmost point in the Adriatic to the Levant, and therefore it was crucial to dominate politically over the Eastern Adriatic: the cities there could serve as points of departure or safe harbours in which Venetian vessels could be sheltered and supplied with merchandise, food, water, and manpower. One of the ways to incorporate the Eastern Adriatic cities into a common area of governance was to construct recognizable public buildings, and to introduce and standardize a legal and administrative order that was mainly adapted to the central political entity, but also served the local urban communities. This paper follows the changes that were directly or indirectly mirrored in the urban structure of the cities during the thirteenth century: primarily the design of urban spaces (especially public ones) and the construction of public buildings linked to governance, defence, trade or administration. During the thirteenth century, one can follow the development of Venetian ambitions and their focus on particular areas or activities (economic, military) in the state, as well as the activities of Venetian patricians holding the governor's office. Naturally, the local circumstances and the local population had a crucial impact on the formation of urban space, but this paper focuses primarily on the role of the Venetian administration in this respect.

Keywords: Eastern Adriatic. Croatian Middle Ages. Venice. Urban History. Public Buildings.

### Introduction

The term “topography of power” in this paper refers to determining the area of central authority (Venice) over the cities (Eastern Adriatic), and identifying the ways and channels that consolidated and enforced that authority.<sup>1</sup> Implementation, maintenance and enforcement of central power were carried out in different ways and through different channels – institutions, personal relations, rituals, diplomacy, legal and administrative models, public works, and the design and construction of some kind of “compendia” of power symbols. Namely, the power was consolidated through the control and (re)construction of (new) public buildings and facilities – primarily government buildings for the government representatives, commercial and/or administrative buildings – which will be the focus of this paper.

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1 Medieval notions of power, authority, dominion, or jurisdiction are not easy to interpret. The medieval state and the character of power and administration differed from the territorial state of the Early Modern Period, and especially from the nation state of our times, so that their participants and processes should not be evaluated outside of their chronological context. CHITTOLINI – MOLHO – SCHIERA, *Origini dello Stato*. BRUNNER, *Land and Lordship*. HORODOWICH, *Language and Statecraft*. HUMMER, *Visions of kinship*. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Introductory study*, 13–35.

Today, the Eastern Adriatic is geographically perceived as a recognizable segment of the Mediterranean, as part of the coastal area of various countries (mostly Croatia, but also others – Italy and Slovenia in the north, Montenegro and Albania in the south). Many processes in the Eastern Adriatic had been transforming the area since the times before the Middle Ages. The cities had very complex layers of different heritage and it was their interaction that made the urbanization of the Eastern Adriatic coast so specific. Also, cities in this area differed as to the time and circumstances of their foundation, since some inherited an ancient urban core (Split, Dubrovnik), and some were built *ex novo* (Šibenik, Korčula). The focus of this paper will be on the Croatian part of the Eastern Adriatic. The cities in this area had a common heritage in terms of ethnicity, religion and language, which were more important criteria of identity than the political divisions or changing borders.<sup>2</sup> However, this area was a heterogeneous geographical entity and it was often politically fragmented during the medieval period.<sup>3</sup> Thus, a number of urban communities had specific relations with the local, central or regional authorities.



Figure 1: Map of the Eastern Adriatic (made by Ivana Haničar Buljan).

2 Cf. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Mnoga lica i značenja srednjovjekovlja*, 501–508. BERTOŠA, *Istra, Jadran, Sredozemlje*.

3 Cf. KREKIĆ, *Dubrovnik*.

Eastern Adriatic cities are mostly located along the easily navigable, indented coast, which was one of the reasons for the great interest in this area throughout history.<sup>4</sup> The area was strategically important in the Middle Ages, since it was located on the route from Western Europe (via Venice) to the Levant, and from the Mediterranean to the continental areas (Central Europe) – and so the cities were crossroads of encounter and exchange in this part of medieval Europe. The Venetians aspired to bring the Eastern Adriatic – especially its cities – under their control because of its excellent position as well as its existing heritage and “infrastructure” – solidly built harbours that could be enlarged if needed, the existing customs and laws that could be easily adjusted, and the population that they could communicate with as plurilingualism was a specific feature of the Eastern Adriatic.<sup>5</sup> For the Venetians, merchants from the coastal cities were of great help as intermediaries in the trade with the states in the hinterland, since they spoke a language similar to that of this area and had better knowledge of the political and social situation.<sup>6</sup> Also, the local population practiced the same (Roman Catholic) religion as the Venetians.<sup>7</sup>

Venice showed strong aspirations to dominate the Eastern Adriatic from the early eleventh century, because the area was a natural maritime route for its targeted expansion to the Levant – the Adriatic Sea interconnected various parts of its territory, cities, islands and coasts.<sup>8</sup> The founding element of Venetian expansion out of the lagoon was a naval expedition in the year 1000, commanded by Doge Pietro II Orseolo. He first took control over the Adriatic as the “Gulf of Venice” and titled himself as *dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum*. Thus the Venetians were recognized as an Adriatic power and no longer a regional state.<sup>9</sup> But in this early period, it primarily meant the Byzantine recognition of Venetian authority over the Quarner islands, particularly Rab, Krk, and Osor, and until the Fourth Crusade (or for some cities even later), Venice was not in the position to establish continuous authority in the Eastern Adriatic for prolonged periods of time.<sup>10</sup> For Venice, the urban communes in the Eastern Adriatic

4 RAUKAR, *Istočni Jadran u 13. Stoljeću*, 13–29. MUELLER, *Aspects of Venetian sovereignty*, 29–57.

5 Although Roman or Latin languages in the Adriatic often imply the import from Venice or other Italian centres, not all of the Latin culture was imported in this period. Since the early Middle Ages, Roman and Slavic heritage and culture were not just confronted but were elements of a new and unique culture. The influx of people from the hinterland to the coastal towns was a lengthy process and their assimilation with the local populations finally resulted in the creation of distinctly Croatian-Latin bilingual communities in all strata of society and even in the patriciate. Certainly, this process was not the same in all parts of the Eastern Adriatic. RAUKAR, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 136. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Slavensko i romansko*, 207–226.

6 Thus, Dubrovnik continued its relations with the hinterland: in 1215, the king of Serbia granted free trade to merchants from Dubrovnik, while in 1230, the Bulgarian tsar allowed the people of Dubrovnik to trade throughout the country. In the thirteenth century, Serbia became very powerful under the rule of Uroš I and that is the time when mines of noble metals are first mentioned. The king tried to conquer Dubrovnik several times. Dubrovnik had a very complex relationship with the hinterland – the populations spoke similar languages, but were of different confessions (Dubrovnik being Roman Catholic).

7 DOUMERC, *L'Adriatique du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle*, 201–312. For instance, although Venice supported mendicant orders in the Eastern Adriatic cities, many of the friaries in the Eastern Adriatic were built in the cities before Venetian rule, and all were widely accepted by the local population (unlike the cities of present-day Greece, where the role of the mendicants was a part of “latinization”).

8 See also: OSTALLI – SCHMITT, *Balcani occidentali*. ROBBERT, *Venice and the Crusades*, 379–451.

9 ORTALLI, *Pietro II Orseolo*, 13–27.

10 Venice only dominated the entire Eastern Adriatic in the 1320s, but this was not enough to establish its sovereignty, such as that achieved in the fifteenth century. From the first decades of the fourteenth century, the Hungarian rulers of the new Anjou dynasty had the ambition to create a powerful continental-naval state, to

were significant primarily for strategic reasons, but symbolic reasons were equally important for expansion – it was necessary that the entire Adriatic enhance the fame of the *Serenissima*. Dominance over the Adriatic Gulf was rooted in the political culture of Venice and was central to Venetian mythology (including the Ascension Day ceremony of the doge wedding the sea).<sup>11</sup>

However, various regional and central powers aspired to control the Eastern Adriatic as well: Byzantium (in this early period, though briefly), the Hungarian-Croatian kings and the Croatian magnates from the hinterland, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, but also Bosnian and Serbian rulers and magnates. The Genoese were also fighting for the same economic area in the Adriatic Sea.<sup>12</sup> In the period that followed, the maritime policy changed and the balance of power with Genoa and the Hungarian king was challenging. The central government over the cities had different continuity, dynamics and reach, which depended on the area and the time period. The Hungarian-Croatian rulers from the Arpad dynasty had considered themselves to be the natural heirs of Dalmatian cities ever since King Koloman's crowning in the city of Biograd in 1102. However, not all Hungarian kings had the same level of power and interest as Koloman to engage in active governance over the Adriatic. This weakening grip on the coastal area resulted in the cities' attempts at securing their independence, but also an increase in the aspiration of other powers, primarily Venice. Before the Fourth Crusade, Dalmatian cities alternately recognized the rule of Venice and the Hungarian rulers, and Venice exerted continuous control over the upper Adriatic before the thirteenth century, in the Quarner islands (Rab/Arbe, Cres/Cherso, and Krk/Veglia). The area of the northern Adriatic was obviously the primary interest of Venice – the cities there were closer to Venice and easier to control. Hungarian rulers invested in "reconquering" Dalmatian cities (like Zadar/Zara, Šibenik/Sebenico, Trogir/Traù and Split/Spalato) with armed force and by making liaisons with the Croatian magnates from the hinterland.<sup>13</sup>

Before the second half of the thirteenth century, the impact of Venice on the coastal cities is more difficult to assess because of the scarcity of preserved sources. Our information therefore comes only from the narrative sources as well as some sporadic

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which purpose it was crucial to dominate the Eastern Adriatic. To achieve this aim, they used their connections with the Croatian magnates from the hinterland. In this "campaign" of the Anjou kings in the fourteenth century, Louis I of Anjou was the most successful in this respect. When Dalmatian cities were subjected to the sovereignty of the Hungarian Crown in 1358, this resulted in institutional changes and a partial transformation of the fortifications, public spaces and administrative palaces. However, early in the fifteenth century, the territorial-political relations changed considerably as to the role of Venice, as well as the new circumstances caused by the Ottoman incursions and their important consequences for the Hungarian kingdom. Since then, as part of the *Stato da mar*, most of the Eastern Adriatic cities shared the fate of Venetian political, social and military plans (except the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik). BENYOVSKY, *Interventi sul piano*, 981–1016.

11 To legitimize the traditional ceremony of the doge's marriage with the Adriatic Sea. See: LANE, *Venice. Maritime Republic*, 200, 224–237. MUELLER, *Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty*, 30. TENENTI, *The Sense of Space and Time*, 17–46.

12 DOTSON, *Venice, Genoa and Control*, 135.

13 It is known that after the death of the Hungarian-Croatian king Béla IV and the ensuing dynastic struggles, there was a sudden rise of the Croatian magnates who exercised their power from the fortified cities in the hinterland of Dalmatia (Modruš, Ostrovica, Bribir, Knin, Klis), with territorial pretensions concerning the Dalmatian cities, which all affected the status of urban autonomy. The Šubić of Bribir played a major role in the political events of Eastern Adriatic cities at the turn of the fourteenth century, replacing the weak royal power of the last Arpad kings in Croatia and Dalmatia. The relations between the Counts of Bribir and Venice were complex – despite their joint campaigns against the family Kačić of Omiš as well as many personal connections, in regard to the Adriatic cities they were rivals. See: KARBIĆ, *Odnosi gradskoga plemstva*, 43–58.

documents. In the second half of the century, the sources became more systematic, both those linked to private legal affairs (notarial records) and those of public nature (decisions of councils, statutes). It is known that from the twelfth century, patricians (Venetian but also local) were often given territories in hereditary lease (leased countship)<sup>14</sup> on the Quarner islands, in exchange for consolidating the Venetian rule and offering military and trade support (often the doges' sons were granted countships there).<sup>15</sup> This principle was applied in Osor/Osera – an important strategical point on the island of Cres (the Venetian patrician families of Michaeli and then Morosini).<sup>16</sup> On the island of Rab/Arbe, the twelfth-century Venetian counts were often sons of doges. They obtained their office for life from Venice, although it was not hereditary owing to the previously gained autonomy (the municipality of Rab was subjected to Venice, not to the count).<sup>17</sup> On the island of Krk/Veglia, the local Counts Bartol I and Vid I were given the office to administer in the twelfth century and their family retained their hereditary power throughout the thirteenth century, although not continuously.<sup>18</sup> The island of Korčula/Curzola was given into hereditary lease to the Zorzi family in the twelfth century by Doge Domenico Michiel (Popone Zorzi obtained the leased countship in the period from around 1125 to 1180) and then it was referred to Marslio Zorzi, who obtained the leased countship of Korčula in the mid-thirteenth century).<sup>19</sup> The Istrian cities were ruled by the Patriarchs of Aquileia until the end of the thirteenth century, yet gradually gained a certain degree of autonomy. However, the city podestàs there were often members of Venetian nobility (but also Friulian, or local Istrian).<sup>20</sup> Also, Venice signed special trade agreements with some Istrian cities (Kopar/Capodistria,<sup>21</sup> Rovinj/Rovigno, Poreč/Parenzio, Novigrad/Cittanova and Umag/Umago, as with the Italian cities of Rimini, Cremona, Treviso, Aquileia, Ravenna and Verona).<sup>22</sup> Among the most attractive Eastern Adriatic cities for Venice were two cities in central and southern Dalmatia – Zadar/Zara and Dubrovnik/Ragusa – which had extensive trade networks *infra* and *extra culfum*.<sup>23</sup> Dubrovnik did not recognize the Venetian rule before the thirteenth century (except briefly in 1171–1172) and Zadar repeatedly rebelled against the Serenissima, relying on the Hungarian king in the twelfth century. Venice had strategical but also economic interest in Zadar because of the salt pans on

14 LONZA, *Mletačka vlast nad Dubrovnikom*, passim.

15 Beginning with Doge Pietro Polani in the twelfth century and continuing with the doges Domenico Morosini and Vitale II Michiel: MILLER, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 64.

16 BEUC, *Osorska komuna*, 1–160.

17 MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 166.

18 KOSANOVIĆ, *Družine i potknežini knezova*, 234.

19 FORETIĆ, *Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku*, 38. BELAMARIĆ, *Osnutak grada Korčule*.

20 MINOTTO, *Documenta ad Forumiulii*, 3–47. PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici*, 35.

21 For instance, the doge signed a treaty in 1182 with Kopar where he established the "salt stage". Kopar was a major commercial hub in Istria and beyond. MILLER, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 52. Cf. HOCQUET, *Venise et le monopole*.

22 DAROVEC, *I giuramenti di fidelitas*, 21–50. DE VERGOTTINI, *L'Impero e la 'fidelitas'*, 87–104.

23 Dubrovnik maintained active economic ties with cities on both sides of the Adriatic in the twelfth century. Just like Zadar, it had numerous trade contracts with Italian cities: with Pisa (1169), Ravenna (1188), Fano, Ancona (1199), Molfetta in Apulia (1148), the nearest dominion across the Adriatic, Bari, Monopoli (1201), and Termoli (1203): Cf. LUČIĆ, *Dubrovačke teme*, 518. ASHTOR, *Il commercio levantino di Ancona*. KREKIĆ, *Le port de Dubrovnik*, 653–673.

the island of Pag (mostly owned by the nobles of Zadar and partly Rab).<sup>24</sup> Also, Zadar was surrounded by a large agricultural hinterland, and had trade networks with the Croatian and Hungarian continental lands.<sup>25</sup> The city was a potential supplier of food to Venice.<sup>26</sup> Owing to its geopolitical position, Dubrovnik functioned as a link between Italy, the Slavic hinterland and the Levant.<sup>27</sup> The Balkan hinterland was important for Venice because of the growing exploitation of precious metals and other raw materials in the area of present-day Serbia and Bosnia.

#### Gaining control after 1204

In the thirteenth century, Venice became an important factor in the Mediterranean.<sup>28</sup> As the Venetian economic empire largely depended on the sea, it was crucial to ensure a safe path to the Mediterranean and the Levant.<sup>29</sup> The cities there could serve as points of departure, return or maritime relay for Venetian military and merchant ships or those destined for the Holy Land.<sup>30</sup> In their harbours, vessels could be sheltered and supplied with merchandise, food, water and manpower.

Thus, in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Venetian rule was established or consolidated in northern Dalmatian cities (Osor, Krk, Rab) as well as the ones in central and southern Dalmatia (Zadar, Dubrovnik and briefly Dyrrachium). The sea route towards the Levant continued through the Ionic Sea with its newly conquered cities of Corfu, Coron and Modon in south-western Peloponnese, all the way to Crete (Candia) in the Aegean. Venice was also connected to Constantinople via Negroponte, and another route led to Syria (the newly conquered cities of Akkon and Tyr).<sup>31</sup> Parts of the acquired territory along the Mediterranean route were soon lost (Dyrrachium and Corfu were now in the hands of the Despot of Epirus),<sup>32</sup> which made the above-mentioned Eastern Adriatic cities all the more important.<sup>33</sup> Certainly, the conquest of Zadar and Dubrovnik was a great success, but the situation was far from stable in the first half of

24 ČOLAK, *Proizvodnja paške soli i pomorska*, 484–485. PERIČIĆ, *Proizvodnja i prodaja paške soli*, 45–83. RAUKAR, *Zadarska trgovina solju*, 41–48, 72. Salt from Pag (as well as from Kopar and Piran) was similar in quality to that of Chioggia. HOCQUET, *Le Sel au cœur de la puissance maritime*, 150.

25 In 1216, the Hungarian-Croatian king concluded a treaty with Venice on free trade. According to this treaty, Venice was obliged to allow the Croatian merchants from the hinterland to pursue free trade in Zadar, and the people of Zadar to trade in the hinterland. Cf. LJUBIĆ, *Listine o odnošajih između I* (hereinafter Listine I), pp. 29–31.

26 MLACOVIĆ, *Građani plemići*, 163–164.

27 Dubrovnik developed strong trade contacts with Byzantium and through it with the distant overseas: Cf. KREKIĆ, *Dubrovnik in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, 16. FEJIĆ, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) au Moyen Âge*, 35–36.

28 Generally, Cf. BORSARI, *Studi sulle colonie*, 49–50, 95–96. CESSI, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, 76. JACOBY, *The Expansion of Venetian Government*, 102–103.

29 TENENTI, *Venezia e il senso del mare*. KREKIĆ, *Venezia e l'Adriatico*, 51–85. CROUZET PAVAN, *Venezia trionfante*. HOQUET, *Venise et la mer: XIII-XVIIIe siècle*. ORLANDO, *Altre Venezie*, 224–229. CESSI, *Venezia nel Duecento*. DOUMERC, *L'Adriatique, une proie dans les griffes du lion vénitien*, 15–34. ARBEL, *Colonie d'oltremare*, 947–985. ISRAEL – SCHMITT, *Venezia e Dalmazia*.

30 For instance, pilgrims who came by land embarked in Venice and then travelled between three to eight days to Zadar, where they visited the relics of Saint Simeon. Cf. FABIJANEC, *La vie maritime*, 184–191, here 190.

31 Cf. GASPARIS, *The Period of Venetian Rule*, 233–246. JACOBY, *Collection of Essays*. JAKOBY, *Commercial Exchange*.

32 NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, 401.

33 GRACCO – ARNALDI – TENENTI, *Storia di Venezia*, 51–85. KREKIĆ, *Venezia e l'Adriatico*, 51–85. KREKIĆ, *Unequal Rivals*, 9–46.

the century. In the second half of the thirteenth century, Venice conquered Korčula, and in its final decades, Hvar and the Istrian cities of Poreč, Umag, Rovinj, Piran, Kopar and Sv. Lovreč.<sup>34</sup> However, some of the important coastal ports in central Dalmatia (Split, Trogir, Šibenik) accepted its rule only in the first half of the fourteenth century.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Venice signed contracts with some of the Eastern Adriatic cities (e.g. Zadar, Dubrovnik), in which it negotiated their rights and obligations.<sup>35</sup> The conquered cities lost much of their autonomy: external authorities tried to exercise jurisdiction over cities by using constitutional means.<sup>36</sup> Depending on the local circumstances, Venice tried to exert control over the cities by appointing its men to the highest administrative posts – judges and members of the Great Council – and occasionally to the episcopal office.<sup>37</sup> But the degree of autonomy in the Eastern Adriatic cities was a result of political history, geopolitical position and the development of urban elite, and was expressed in the form of institutions, municipal bodies and statutes.<sup>38</sup> Venice introduced a polycentric structure of administration in its new territories, and personal ties, i.e. mediators between the authorities and the cities, were very important. The cities strove for a maximum of both autonomy and protection, so many of the specificities of the Eastern Adriatic cities emerged precisely because of the fact that they were building their autonomy between the aspirations of great powers.<sup>39</sup> During the Venetian domination of the fourteenth century (which is not within the focus of this paper), the revision of most of the city statutes followed (and the older ones have mostly been lost).<sup>40</sup>

The Venetian administration was not organized in the same way in all the conquered areas. The differences primarily depended on the importance of the area in question, its geographic position with regard to Venice, and the given local circumstances (especially the inherited degree of autonomy). In the Eastern Adriatic, Venice maintained close and continuous relations with some cities (e.g. Rab or Osor), while others were occasionally rebellious (e.g. Zadar). In the thirteenth century, Venice introduced a system of public governance – podestal-style countship – in which the count's post was not hereditary. Thus, Zadar and Dubrovnik were directly governed by Venice, who appointed city counts

34 The entire thirteenth century was marked by wars between the patriarch and Venice over the Istrian patrimony, which was eventually ended by the margrave (patriarch) renouncing it in exchange for annual remuneration (the peace treaties of 1291 and 1307). Cf. BENUSSI, *L'Istria nei suoi*, 262–263. DAROVEC, *Pregled istarske povijesti*, 41–43.

35 ORLANDO, *Gli accordi con Curzola*. KREKIĆ, *Unequal rivals*.

36 CVITANIĆ, *Pravno uređenje splitske*.

37 VEKARIĆ, *Udio plemstva u stanovništvu Dubrovnika*, 31–46. Cf. LONZA, *The Statute of Dubrovnik*.

38 It should be emphasized that different national (especially older) historiographies often have their specific approaches to the exploration of the Eastern Adriatic, in which medieval urban history has often been perceived (partly because of language barriers) only through particular national narratives – Italian, "Yugoslav, Austrian, Hungarian, Croatian". BERTOŠA, *Model 'pobijedjenih' ili historiografija*, 35–81. PALADINI, *Storia di Venezia*, 253–298.

39 NOVAK, *Comes, potestas, prior, consul*, 227–273. MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL, *Item iurabunt ipse potestas*, 268–278. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Grad i građani između kraljeva*, 207–228.

40 RADIĆ, *Neki aspekti kontrole upravitelja*, 185–203. The first mention of the Rab Statute dates from 1244, but it was changed and finally established between 1325 and 1327 by the notary Giovanni Antonio Cernotta. It seems that some kind of legal manual existed in Trogir as early as the end of the thirteenth century, but it has not been preserved. Before the statute of 1322 (the year when Trogir accepted Venetian rule), there was also the (unsaved) statute of 1303. The Dubrovnik Statute was codified in 1272, but in 1325 and 1328 regulations were also changed, as they were in 1343.

with a temporary mandate (the regimen of 2–3 years), but the policy of introducing a new model of public administration began to prevail only during the dogeship of Giacomo Tiepolo.<sup>41</sup> Some of the counts' families played a significant role in introducing the legal system, others in designing urban space.<sup>42</sup> The political affiliation of some Venetian patrician families and their liaisons with the current doge may have influenced their choice to govern a particular city. For example, in the thirteenth century, the families of Querini and Badoer were associated with the dogal family of Tiepolo (i.e. Doges Giacomo and his son Lorenzo, leaders of the new merchant aristocracy in Venice). On the other hand, there were members of old patrician families – Dandolo, Morosini, Gradenigo, Giustiniani and others.<sup>43</sup> Venice occasionally changed the system of governance if it was in the best interest of consolidating its rule.

### Consolidation of the Venetian rule

In all Eastern Adriatic cities ruled by Venice, the governor's safety and the prevention of rebellions were the foremost priority, as were the safe harbours for the Venetian vessels. Thus, the bulwarks were under the jurisdiction of the central authority from the beginnings of the Venetian rule. Doge Pietro Ziani (1205–1229), formerly the Count of Rab, dedicated the first decade of his office, from the treaty with Zadar in 1204, to securing the sea route from Venice to the Levant by conquering a series of cities and fortresses and investing in a chain of fortifications in Eastern Adriatic cities (unlike Venice's rival Geona). It was necessary to ensure safe navigation in this part of the Adriatic, so as to prevent the plundering of merchant ships by pirates<sup>44</sup> or enemies.<sup>45</sup>

41 The practice was established only in the second or third decade of the thirteenth century, and the first counts in Zadar and Split were also appointed for life.

42 Some counts used their office for the private, commercial benefit of their family in a specific area.

43 The political division and mutual rivalry of Venetian patrician families in some areas affected the positions of individual counts in the cities, but not all branches of the family necessarily acted the same, or their members sided with the same group. Although there were tensions in Venice between the old and the new aristocracy, between rich and poor, there were still many overlapping circles, connections between different families that were created by mutual marriages, individual interests and the like. CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 277–315. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Mobilnost i umreženost mletačkih kneževa*.

44 KATELE, *Piracy in the Venetian State*, 865–868.

45 KEDAR, *Merchants in Crisis*.



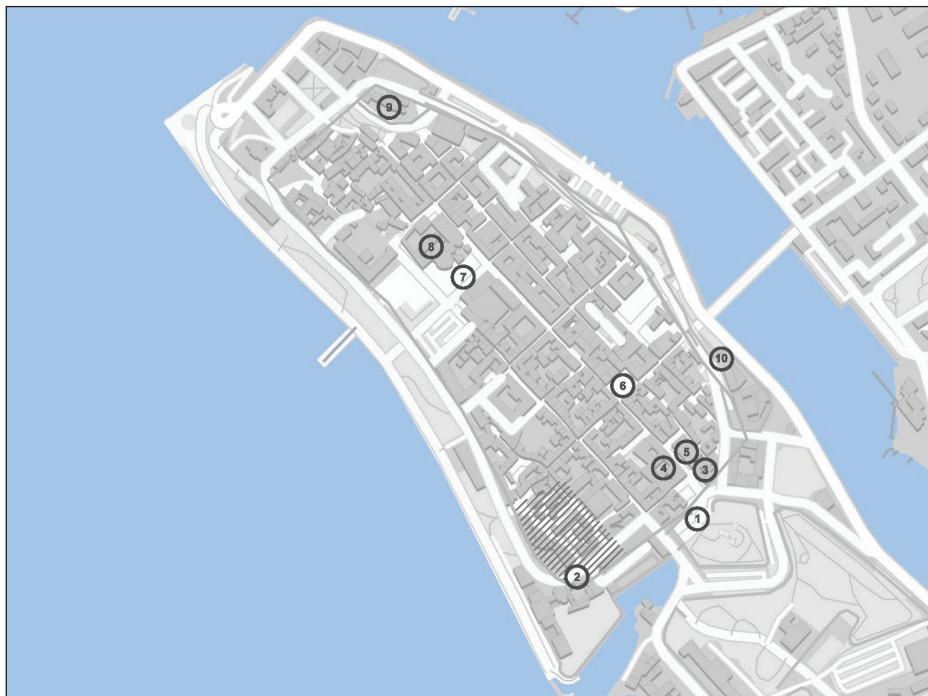


Figure 2: Zadar: 1. Pentagonal tower (Captain's tower); 2. Babarum (round) tower; 3. Rented house for the count; 4. Count's palace; 5. St. Stephen's Church; 6. Communal square (with loggia and St. Platon's Church); 7. Square in front of the cathedral; 8. Cathedral and the bishop's palace; 9. North-western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

Zadar was also to supply military aid to Venice when needed – when Venice was at war in the Adriatic. One in thirty Venetian galleys had to be provided by Zadar, which may have defined the city as organized around the harbour and the arsenal. The existing fortifications (especially those located at the city margins) were reused and restructured to accommodate the count and his entourage.<sup>46</sup> Zadar's bulwark is known to have been derelict at the time, but it was to be repaired only with the permission of the doge, the count, or the council.<sup>47</sup> Zadar is situated on a peninsula between protective islands in the centre of the Eastern Adriatic: in 1202, before the crusaders devastated the city, it had a strong harbour with an iron chain.<sup>48</sup>

In Dubrovnik, the locality chosen for the count's lodgings was an area surrounded by a wall and separated from the city, which included the fortress (*castrum*) and the

46 In Zadar, a *castrum* is mentioned that the Venetians allegedly conquered when trying to subjugate the city in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. ANTOLJAK, *Vladarski dvor (palača) i kraljevske kuće*, 55–76, esp. 62.

47 Listine I, pp. 20–21, doc. 31; p. 61, doc. 88. KLAJIĆ – PETRICIOLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 284. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra*, 170–171.

48 Cf. FABIJANEC, *La vie maritime de Split*, 185. KEDAR, *Prolegomena to a World History*, 10.

newly built cathedral.<sup>49</sup> This building complex was close to the city harbour and, later, the arsenal.<sup>50</sup> In Zadar and Dubrovnik, the (archi)episcopal palace near the cathedral was the most majestic 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>51</sup> At that time, fortresses were obviously not suitable for public purposes or the count's lodgings, and the commune was expected to pay the rent for a house that was worthy of a residence for the count and his family.<sup>52</sup> On the contrary, during the twelfth 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 when the Venetians left the city, it passed into the hands of a local nobleman.

Real estate in the cities was preferably owned by inhabitants who were loyal to the new ruler. When Zadar was conquered (after the famous sack during the Fourth Crusade), the population loyal to the Venetians, previously exiled, returned to the city in 1205. Rivalries among the local nobility were used by Venice to consolidate the sovereign rule. According to the treaty of 1204, those who had been exiled from the city for having supported Venice could now return.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, thirty hostages from the most distinguished (and rebellious) families were to be sent to Venice.<sup>54</sup> Dubrovnik was also asked to send hostages after the rebellion of 1226: twenty members of the families from the "rebellious clan", who had to stay in Venice on a permanent basis.<sup>55</sup>

The weakness of Doge Ziani during the second part of his rule was used by Zadar in 1226 to attempt surrendering to Koloman, brother of the Hungarian-Croatian king Béla, but eventually Venice re-conquered the city. If there were riots in the cities, Venice imposed its authority by means of trade embargos. Thus, in 1226 the Venetians were forbidden to buy goods from Zadar or Dubrovnik.<sup>56</sup> Also, Venice tried to limit the commercial benefits and trade activities of the Eastern Adriatic cities in the Gulf.<sup>57</sup> Doge

49 The (arch)bishop was to be appointed from Venice according to the new agreements, same as the count.

50 BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Governmental Palaces*, 111–161.

51 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 has). Listine I, pp. 20–21, doc. 29 and 30; p. 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 *ribellione*) 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).

52 In Zadar, this was decreed as early as 1204, and it may be presumed that the situation was similar elsewhere.

53 ŠIŠIĆ, *Zadar i Venecija od god*, 257–259.

54 Listine I, pp. 21–22, doc. 30.

55 Listine I, p. 40, doc. 57. CESSI, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, doc. 43.

56 Listine I, p. 37, doc. 52; p. 41, doc. 60; p. 37, doc. 52. In 1228, the Venetian government forbade the Venetians to travel to Zadar until the following year without permission from the doge and his council. Listine I, p. 45.

57 In 1228, the doge concluded treaties with some Italian cities (Osimo, Recanti, Castelfodardo) in order to weaken the monopoly of Ancona, which remained the largest trading competitor in the Adriatic after the conquest of Zadar and Dubrovnik. In a new treaty with Dubrovnik, the navigation activities of the Ragusans were even more limited: it was declared that when Dubrovnik merchants brought goods from Byzantium, they had to pay 5% of the customs duty, and if they exceeded the norm, they had to pay 20%. For goods from Egypt, Tunisia and Barbaria, the duty was as high as 20%. This order was repeated in 1236 and later (which means that the people of Dubrovnik still traded in these areas). On the other hand, the Venetians in Dubrovnik had no such limits and were privileged there. As for the goods imported from "Sclavoniae" (Serbia and Bosnia), the Ragusans had a freer initiative. Listine I, pp. 84–85. FEJLIĆ, *Dubrovnik et la mer*, 192–202.

Ziani, a member of the ancient Venetian aristocracy (like his predecessor, Dandolo) finally retired in 1229 as an old man. The new (narrowly elected) doge was a member of the new trading patrician circles: the famous Giacomo Tiepolo (1229–1249). Nevertheless, during the first part of his rule, Tiepolo had to focus on problems with Emperor Frederick II<sup>58</sup> and some Eastern Adriatic cities used this period of instability to enhance their autonomy and get rid of Venetian sovereignty.



Figure 3: Dubrovnik. 1. Castrum; 2. Rented house for the count; 3. Town Hall; 4. Cathedral; 5. Arsenal; 6. St. Blaise's 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 centre of the town). Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

Venice tried to bind the commune of Dubrovnik more tightly to its authority with the treaty of 1232.<sup>59</sup> (This was also the period when Dubrovnik secured its trade monopoly in the wider Balkan hinterland and signed trade contracts in the Adriatic.<sup>60</sup>) The lower Adriatic was not subject to the Venetian commercial regulations and the trade was

58 Ferrara and the surrounding cities with which Dubrovnik had concluded treaties at the time recognized the rule of Frederick II and were in competition with Venice. Nevertheless, having joined the Lombard League in 1239, Doge Tiepolo managed to consolidate the Venetian rule in his immediate hinterland. Cf. ORTALLI – CRACCO – COZZI – KNAPTON, *Povijest Venecije I*, 174.

59 Listine I, pp. 46–49, doc. 75; pp. 53–55, doc. 80; pp. 67–68, doc. 93.

60 LUČIĆ, *Dubrovačke teme*, 60.

still relatively unlimited.<sup>61</sup> After 1236, the doge appointed his son, Giovanni Tiepolo, as the Count of Dubrovnik<sup>62</sup> (he was the first one to serve in the city for two years and not for life, and the first who swore an oath to serve the commune of Dubrovnik besides the doge, and to protect the city's customs).<sup>63</sup> Doge Giacomo Tiepolo placed members of close and reliable families (e.g. Michieli, Querini) in strategically important and/or unstable posts (he was known for nepotism of this kind).<sup>64</sup> As for Zadar, Doge Tiepolo appointed his confidant Giovanni Michiel as the count in 1236.<sup>65</sup> However, Zadar rebelled in 1239 and expelled Count Michiel, who was then restored in his office with the help of doge's son, Giovanni Tiepolo. Zadar rebelled again in 1242 (*quinta rebellione*), trying to use the presence of Béla IV (the expelled Count Giovanni Michiel would be appointed the Count of Dubrovnik in 1243 and return to Zadar in 1250<sup>66</sup>). After the rebellion of Zadar in 1242, Venice began to build a fortress to house the Venetian army and countship was converted from lifelong to two-year, which allowed Venice to change the officials without the citizens' consent. Doge Tiepolo supposedly decided to consolidate his authority by installing more patrician and commoner families from Venice in Eastern Adriatic cities.<sup>67</sup> According to Andrea Dandolo's chronicle, in 1242, at the time of Count Mihael Mauroceno (Morosini), a number of Venetians were to divide the real estate in the city among themselves.<sup>68</sup> Having defeated Zadar after the rebellion, Doge Tiepolo decided in 1243 to have the fortress of Zadar (*castellum Jadere*) repaired and reinforced,<sup>69</sup> and Leonardo Querini,<sup>70</sup> appointed to the count's office in 1243, had to divide the land of Zadar to that purpose into seven hundred equal plots

61 Dubrovnik's merchants traded freely *extra culfum*, but in the immediate vicinity, and in the Ionian Sea with Crete. There were many trade connections with the area of Byzantium (Romania) and the Levant. For Dubrovnik, the Levant started from Corfu and the coast of Epirus and extended to the Black Sea, descending the coasts of Syria and through Egypt to Tunisia. In 1237, the Despot of Epirus gave the merchants of Dubrovnik the privilege of free trade, and from 1238 to 1240 they settled their relations with Corfu by contract. In the mid-thirteenth century, Dubrovnik still maintained lively trade connections with Durazzo and Corfu, when the cities were under the rule of the Despotate. KREKIĆ, *Dva dokumenta o Krfu*, 50–51. Outside these borders, Dubrovnik could trade only with the permission of the doge.

62 The first major legal unit in the Statute of Dubrovnik, which was added to the redaction of 1272, was probably formulated during his mandate. Count Ivan's father, Doge Giacomo Tiepolo, is famous for his legislation (in Venice, he codified the *Statutum Novum* in 1242 and its impact was felt in all parts of the state).

63 CD IV, p. 32.

64 The doge's son Pietro was appointed governor of the then rebellious cities of Padua and Treviso (CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 285) and was also count of Osor in 1236; however, he soon died in the fight against Friedrich II.

65 He would participate in the compilation of the new Statute of Venice in 1242, together with two other Venetian patricians.

66 Listine I, p. 80, doc. 104. In the meantime, in 1242, he was the Count of Chioggia, where he codified the city statute.

67 Giacomo Tiepolo was the Count of Candia when mass colonization was conducted there.

68 *Quod cum Duci nuntiatum foret, gaudio repletus, Michaelem Mauroceno comitem fecit et multis nobilibus et popularibus venetis, divisit inter illos civium bonis, Jadram custodiendum tradidit.* PASTORELLO et al, *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum*, 354.

69 In 1243, the new count, Michael Morosini, came from Venice accompanied by ten armed men. Listine I, p. 61, doc. 88; p. 68, doc. 96. In 1247, the construction of this fortress is mentioned; supposedly it is the one at the north-western corner. Cf. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra*, 161–165. HILJE, *Mletački kaštel u Zadru*, 109–116. However, a *castrum* in this locality is positively mentioned only in 1289, when it is referred to as *castrum novum*.

70 His brother Giacomo was probably the count of Zadar in 1265. Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Miscellanea codici I, Storia veneta 17. M. Barbaro – A.M. Tasca, *Arbori de' patritii veneti, Genealogie*, 319). The naval expedition of 1243 was conducted by the future doge Rainero Zeno. CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 298.

and distribute them among those who were granted these estates by the Venetian council.<sup>71</sup> But since Zadar rebelled again in the following year (1244), the planned land division probably never took place, and neither did the construction of the fortress.

The year 1243 was marked by intense Venetian presence in the entire Eastern Adriatic: according to the narrative sources, in Krk and Osor the hereditary counts were temporarily substituted through direct governance. Instead of Bartol Krčki, Lorenzo Tiepolo was appointed to the count's office in 1243.<sup>72</sup> He was another son of Doge Tiepolo and a future doge himself. That same year, Giovanni Tiepolo, formerly the Count of Dubrovnik, was appointed the Count of Osor (and in 1236, the same office was occupied by the doge's third son, Pietro Tiepolo). As explained by the Venetian chronicler Dandolo, the doge took this course because of the rebellious inclinations of the counts of Osor and Krk (who were allegedly helping King Béla IV and Zadar). A treaty with Osor and Krk was signed in Rab at the doge's orders in 1243, stating that the city would defend the new population of Zadar with its ships for a period of three years.<sup>73</sup> That same year, Pula (which was under the rule of the local Castropola family, relatively independent of the patriarch, until the early fourteenth century) was briefly subjected to Venetian rule (owing to its reliance on the pro-Venetian fraction among the local nobility).<sup>74</sup> The city promised to accept a Venetian for its governor and not to rebuild the bulwark without permission from Venice. But the Venetian rule in Pula was short-lived, and Zadar rebelled again in 1244 (after which king Béla IV nevertheless renounced the city).<sup>75</sup>

The rebellious citizens of Zadar allegedly moved to the nearby Nin, and when Zadar signed a new treaty with Venice in 1247, they had to plead with the doge to let them return home.<sup>76</sup> According to the sources, they were allowed to do so, but had to repair the bulwark and their own houses, as well as maintain guards at their own cost in the newly built *castrum*. Its construction is specifically mentioned that very year, perhaps referring to the fortress planned back in 1243.<sup>77</sup> It was also decreed in 1247 that Count Angelo Mauroceno (Morosini)<sup>78</sup> should be accommodated at the house of one of Zadar's citizens, Damijan Varikaša.<sup>79</sup>

71 ... *debeas diligenter in septingentis partibus dividere et partire vel dividi et partiri facere, et equaliores partes, quas poteris inde facere et determinare vel fieri facere et determinari, ipsasque partes dabis et con-signabis illis personis, quibus eas duxerimus concedendas. Facies quoque et procurabis, quod ipsas partes eisdem designatas debeant regere et procurare, ac ea omnia attendere et observare bona fide, que in concessione nostra plenius continebuntur...* Listine I, pp. 61–63, doc. 88.

72 Marco Contareno was the Count of Krk from 1248 until 1253. *Chronicon Venetum* Andreae Danduli, p. 354, c. 5, 37.

73 *Ibidem*

74 DE VERGOTTINI. *Lineamenti storici della costituzione politica*.

75 KANDLER, *Cenni al forestiero che visita Pola*, 21.

76 Listine I, p. 68, doc. 96.

77 In 1258, the sources mention the Count as having a small military entourage of six soldiers in the fortress of Zadar (*castrum Jadre*) and only one assistant.

78 Count Angelo Morosini, from the branch of the doge Domenico Morosini, was the brother of future doge Marino Morosini (later the count of Rab), and his son Marino was from 1280 the hereditary count of Osor. MILLER, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 282.

79 Listine I, doc. XCIV, p. 68. The Count was granted two councillors as assistants. In order to stabilize the situation in 1248, Venice allowed Zadar to freely export all goods from Tunisia, Sicily, Romania and the barbarian countries to Venice, paying only the tax paid by the Venetians themselves. Later on, Venice also allowed Zadar to keep all trade agreements signed with foreign countries.

The same house had already been mentioned in the first treaty (1205) – apparently, it was luxurious and well-positioned, since it was also sublet to the subsequent counts until as late as 1278. From 1279, Damijan’s descendants lived in a house next to the bulwark and St Stephen’s, which allows for the conclusion that this was the location of the rental house for the counts, with the commune paying the rent.<sup>80</sup> (It is known from a document that in 1237 Count Giovanni Michiel likewise lived in a house next to the bulwark and St Stephen’s church.<sup>81</sup>) Unlike these rental houses, in twelfth-century Zadar, Count Domenico Morosini (son of Doge Domenico)<sup>82</sup> and his son Rogerio (who would later become the Count of Osor)<sup>83</sup> owned their own house with a tower, which passed into the hands of a local nobleman when the Venetians left the city.<sup>84</sup> It is possible that in those cities that Venice had given to certain families in inheritance, counts lived in their own houses prior to the construction of Counts’ Palaces (in Rab, for example, a *palatio comitisae* is mentioned as being owned by the mother of the Morosini brothers).<sup>85</sup>

In Dubrovnik, the Venetian governors may have lived in rented houses from the mid-thirteenth century. In the present-day Držićeva Poljana, there was a set of two buildings (owned by the nobility) in which the Venetian governor and the judges lived until 1283.<sup>86</sup> In this period, Venetian fortresses were not suitable either for public events or for the count’s lodgings, and thus the communes were expected to pay the rent for houses that were fit to accommodate the count and his family. In Dubrovnik, this house must have been located next to the bulwark, same as in Zadar. Before the construction of permanent residences for the counts, the (archi)episcopal palaces in Dubrovnik and Zadar were the most luxurious houses in the city (and the doge was to be accommodated there in case of a visit). In Zadar, this was decreed as early as 1204.<sup>87</sup>

Under the newly appointed Doge Marino Morosini (1249–1252), Venice pursued a policy of stabilizing the conquered territories and signing peace treaties.<sup>88</sup> After recurring instabilities in Dubrovnik, a new peace treaty with Venice was signed in 1252.<sup>89</sup> Doge Rainero Zeno (1253–1268), however, focused particularly on maritime trade (codifying the famous Maritime Statute in 1255) and on establishing safe

80 “URBES database” (accessed date: 11. 9. 2021) <http://urbesdb.s2.novenaweb.info/web/nekretnina/PageNekretnina.aspx?nekretninaid=159>.

81 During the first decades, the Counts of both Dubrovnik and Zadar stemmed from the two branches of the Dandolo family.

82 MITIS, *Storia dell’isola*, 75–200, 77.

83 Biblioteca Marciana Venezia, Manoscritti, Girolamo Alessandro Capellari Vivaro, Campidoglio Veneto, in cui si hanno l’Armi, l’origine, la serie de gl’huomini illustri et gli Albori della Maggio parte delle Famiglie, così estinte, come viventi, tanto cittadine quanto forastiere, che hanno goduto e che godono della Nobiltà Patritia di Venetia; Caphtm3/Ca3v126r.

84 CD II, pp. 261–262, doc. 246.

85 KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Regesta documentorum regni*, p. 8, doc. 24.

86 LUČIĆ, *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. II] (hereinafter MHR II), p. 282, doc. 1142; p. 322, doc. 1278; p. 323, doc. 1279.

87 Listine I, pp. 20–21, doc. 29, p. 30; p. 46, doc. 75.

88 CESSI, *Venezia nel Duecento*, 171.

89 Listine I, p. 82, doc. 106. Venice again imposed a customs tax that limited Dubrovnik’s trade, while the Venetian merchants were again exempted from these limitations. Merchants from Dubrovnik were allowed to travel to Venice with only four small ships per year, and there was a prohibition of trade between them and other foreign merchants in the Venetian territory. Venice also prescribed that if Venice was banned from trading in the Kingdom of Sicily, this was also to apply to the people of Dubrovnik.

strategic harbours on the way to the Levant. The Venetian (trade and maritime) law and institutions were gradually introduced in the cities under control,<sup>90</sup> but it was a long process and Venice had to adapt to the local circumstances and customs.<sup>91</sup> Doge Rainero Zeno was the last doge who had authority over Romania.<sup>92</sup> At that time, Venice still primarily controlled trade in the northern Gulf.<sup>93</sup> But after the fall of Constantinople, in 1261, Venice intensified its control over the whole Adriatic, as it had lost the coastal holdings around the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara.<sup>94</sup>

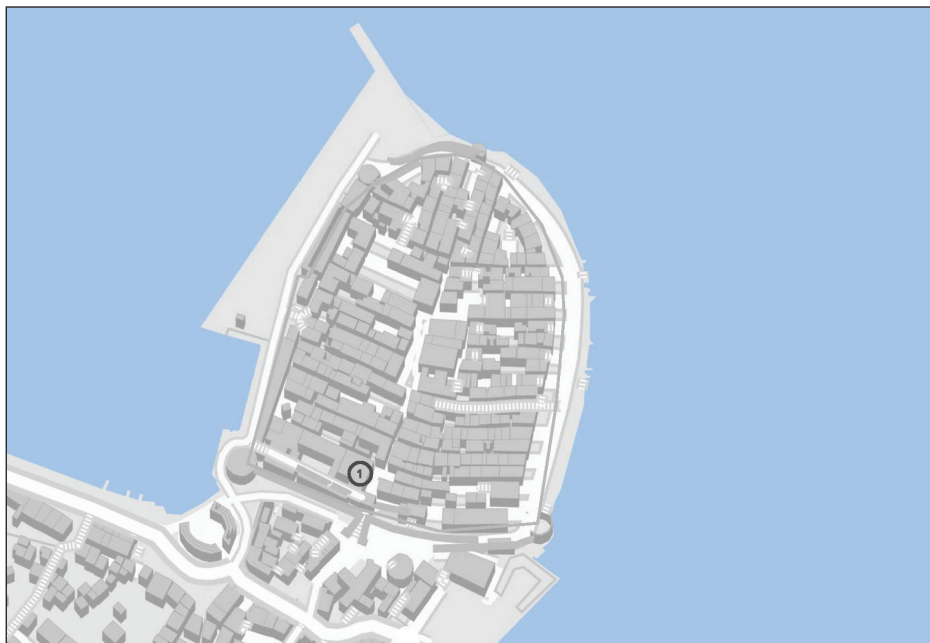


Figure 4: Korčula: 1. Count's Palace. Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

90 The *Statuta navium* were promulgated in 1255 by Doge Raniero Zeno: Cf. PREDELLI – SACREDOTI, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani*. LANE, *Maritime Law and Administration*, 21–50. The Zadar Statute from 1305 contains a book entitled *Liber quartus de navibus et navigiis*, which in some aspects coincides with regulations in the Venetian maritime statutes from 1255. BEUC, *Statut zadarske komune*, 491–781, here 679. Codification of the Statute of Zadar was completed in 1305, but it had probably started in the 1260s.

91 He particularly focused on maritime trade, codifying the famous *Statuta navium et navigantium* in 1255. At that time, Venice still primarily controlled trade in the northern Gulf: for instance, Ferrara's Adriatic economic activities were limited by 1240 (the city was a large trading hub through which the trade of the Po Valley ran). HODGSON, *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, 83.

92 See also: JACOBY, *Byzantium, Latin Romania*.

93 In 1258, Zadar's and Ancona's merchants agreed to abolish *datiam et debitum, omnem iniuriam et rubbariam*. KLAIČ – PETRICIOLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 424.

94 In 1264, Ancona was forced to recognize the Venetian system of staple in the northern Adriatic, while its trade with Palestine, as well as with Bologna and Ferrara, was limited. Eastern Adriatic cities were transit centres in trade with the continent, and thus, for example, there were warehouses of goods in Rab in 1267 that served a Venetian merchant for trade between Hungary and Venice. MLACOVIĆ, *Rapsko plemstvo*, 154.

In Dubrovnik, one may observe the restructuring of the suburbs in the form of regular blocks from the mid-thirteenth century. The Statute of 1272 mentions the existence of *terrena prope civitatem*<sup>95</sup> with access lanes. A document mentions that the boundaries of a noble estate were defined in 1255, perhaps in the context of new land division.<sup>96</sup> This new urban arrangement may have been initiated by the new Count of Dubrovnik, Marsilio Zorzi, in a similar way that he would influence the urban planning of Korčula later on.<sup>97</sup> According to the chroniclers, in 1254 Zorzi managed to defend Korčula, while in 1262 he participated in the conquest of Mljet. As an important Venetian official under Doge Zeno, Zorzi received the conquered Korčula as a hereditary fief in 1255–1256, also referring to his inherited family rights.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 5: Korčula. In: Archivio di Stato di Torino, Biblioteca Antica, Architettura militare, disegni di piazze e fortificazioni, parte su pergamena, Vol. V, Pianta della città. Curzola. f. 96 (detail).

95 BENYOVSKY LATIN – HANIČAR BULJAN, *Digital Mapping of Noble Estates*, 223–261, esp. 229.

96 BENYOVSKY LATIN – LEDIĆ, *The Estate of the Volcassio Family*, 18–19. In 1256, the Venetian Council decided that the Count of Dubrovnik could have two assistants rather than one; Listine I, p. 86, doc. 112.

97 He probably also confirmed the property and possession rights of the local nobility of Dubrovnik. He came there as an experienced army leader and governor after the rebellion of the nobility in 1252 as well as to negotiate a peace treaty with Uroš. It was a Venetian practice to send governors with strong military experience from Syria to rebellious cities, and occasionally those who had marital ties with rulers from the hinterland. As a Venetian *bailo*, Zorzi was also involved in urban planning elsewhere: thus, in 1244 he revised the *memoriale possessionum* in Syria, which listed the Venetian properties: the governor's (*bailo's*) palace, the loggia, the *fondaco*, the cistern and the seafront tower. Cf. MASÈ, *Modèles de colonisation vénitienne*, 133–142, esp. 141. JACOBY, *Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century*, 19–36.

98 FORETIĆ, *Korčula*, 62.



At the site of the existing settlement, Marsilio Zorzi founded a city *ex novo*, designed according to the latest principles of urban planning. Starting from the main street, access lanes descended towards land plots in private ownership and the newly built bulwark. Their size was comparable to the length of the blocks in Dubrovnik's suburb in the mid-thirteenth century. However, in a Statute supplement from 1265, Marsilio Zorzi proclaimed that all land in Korčula that was not private should henceforth belong to the Zorzi family (rather than the commune as in Dubrovnik).<sup>99</sup> The new city of Korčula was gradually surrounded by a bulwark (around 750m long), which integrated the private towers, with the Count's Palace situated next to the mainland gate. The Count's Palace was defended by two towers, and the third, called *turris comitis*, was directly incorporated into the Palace.<sup>100</sup> According to the (rather unreliable) narrative sources from 1252, the mandate of Marsilio Zorzi in Dubrovnik was also the time when a bulwark was built around the suburbs, due to the threat from the hinterland.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, parts of the old bulwark were sold to private persons, which implies that the old wall was no longer functional and that a new one had been built.<sup>102</sup>

Doge Zeno relied on individual Venetian patricians along the Adriatic route, whom he gave leased countship; the foundation of Korčula should also be viewed in this context. He also returned Krk to the Counts of Krčki in 1260 as hereditary counts, with precisely defined conditions for both family lineages (Vid's and Škinela's).<sup>103</sup> On the island of Rab, Counts Marco Badoer (1262–1268) and Giovanni Badoer (1269–1279) acquired a large estate that served as a base for their permanent settlement on the island.<sup>104</sup>

### The era of public works and the construction of Counts' Palaces

Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275),<sup>105</sup> son of the famous Giacomo, again abolished the practice of leased countship and proclaimed that the Count of Osor should only stay in the office for two years.<sup>106</sup> Before becoming a doge, Lorenzo Tiepolo was a representative of the Venetian government in the Adriatic cities – for example in Krk – but he was also a podestà outside Venetian territory, for instance twice in Fermo (where in 1267 a pentagonal citadel called Rocca Tiepolo was built). His sons were also counts in the area – Pietro, the Count of Dubrovnik, and Giacomo, the Count of Zadar (and also the podestà of Chioggia and Fermo as many as three times).<sup>107</sup> The Genoese support of the Byzantine restoration of 1260 worsened the relations with Venice, and during the war with Genoa (1257–1270) Venice established its supremacy in the Adriatic. During Lorenzo's dogeship, Venetian sovereignty was acknowledged by the Istrian cities of Poreč (1267), Umag (1269), Novigrad (1269–1270), Sveti Lovreč,

99 Cf. BELAMARIĆ, *Osnutak grada Korčule*.

100 HANEL, *Statuta et leges civitatis*, 1–5.

101 NODILO, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*. These data from the narrative sources are considered as unreliable in historiography. Cf. BERITIĆ, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, 18.

102 BENOVSKY LATIN, *Murus versus montem*, 7–36.

103 KOSANOVIĆ, *Družine i potknežini knezova*, 234.

104 MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 153.

105 Lorenzo was himself a governor in the Eastern Adriatic (in Krk), while his sons were the Counts of Zadar (Giacomo) and Dubrovnik (Pietro).

106 Listine I, p. 104, doc. 131.

107 CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 298.

and briefly Pula (1271) (but Pula would be subjected to the Venetian rule only in the fourteenth century).<sup>108</sup>

In the newly conquered cities, it was decreed at once that a house should be provided to accommodate the count (probably a rental one). Thus, in Umag it was stated as early as 1269 that the count should receive a *domum pro sua habitacione sine factu* with his salary.<sup>109</sup> Similar decrees were made in Sv. Lovreč in 1271<sup>110</sup> and in Novigrad in 1270.<sup>111</sup> In Poreč, which was conquered in 1267, Count Marco Michiel, probably son of Zadar's Count Giovanni Michiel,<sup>112</sup> ordered the construction of a Count's Palace as early as 1270.<sup>113</sup> (This count, like his father, was deeply involved in the politics of cities in the Quarner Gulf and the northern Adriatic.<sup>114</sup>) According to descriptions in the narrative sources, Poreč had a loggia in the square, in front of the Count's Palace. Such an early construction of a permanent palace may have been related to the conflicts between the Count of Poreč and the bishop.<sup>115</sup> (Another reason why the palace in Poreč was built significantly before those in the other cities – although there is no documentary or material evidence for it – may have been the fact that a communal palace had stood in the same locality before.<sup>116</sup>) Marco Michiel was also the Count of Zadar in 1278, when it was decided that counts should no longer live in a rental house.<sup>117</sup> It may be presumed that the construction of a permanent Count's Palace was planned at the time. However, there are no data on the Count's Palace in Zadar before the early 1280s.<sup>118</sup>

108 IVETIĆ, *Le città dell'Istria*, 73–110.

109 CESSI, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia II* (hereinafter DMC II), p. 58, doc. 56. BENEDETTI, *Umago d'Istria nei secoli*, 101. BOLŠEC FERRI – MILOŠEVIĆ, *Baština Umaga i okolice*. The loggia was located next to the west façade of the communal palace, on the ground floor, overlooking the main square.

110 DMC II, p. 61, doc. 67. MORTEANI, *Storia di Montona*, vol. 17, 507; vol. 18. TOMMASINI, *De Commentariis storicogeografici*, 192.

111 DMC II, p. 59, doc. 58.

112 He was a son of Giovanni, the Count of Zadar and a confidant of Doge Giacomo Tiepolo.

113 This is known from a transcript of the plaque at the palace, published in: CAPRIN, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 201. The situation of that palace, which is no longer extant, can be inferred (by its rear side) from Valla's drawing of the city from 1755, and eighteenth-century narrative sources mention it next to the tower and the city gate, its front façade overlooking the square and the loggia. Cf. KANDLER, *Codice diplomatico istriano*, pp. 282–285, doc. 353 and 354.

114 MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 143.

115 The patriarch was also supported by his suffragans, the local bishops (of Pula, Poreč, Kopar, and Novigrad), with whom the communes were often in conflict.

116 There was, namely, a similar case in Kopar, where the oldest communal palace in the Eastern Adriatic was built in 1269, and which became the Count's seat in 1278, with the Venetian rule. Cf. CAPRIN, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 199. BELLO, *Capodistria, la Piazza*, 245–247, 256–264. Even though Kopar acknowledged the authority of the margrave (the Patriarch of Aquileia) in the thirteenth century (before the Venetian rule), they did manage to achieve a degree of autonomy. In such circumstances, the first communal palaces were built, which were later transformed into seats of the Venetian counts. Unlike the Counts' Palaces, communal palaces (both in Istria and in Dalmatia) were built in the city centre, mostly in the main square. BENOVSKY LATIN, *Governmental palaces*, passim.

117 Listine I, pp. 116–118, doc. 166.

118 That same year, in 1278, the decision on building the *castellum Jadre* was made – possibly the *Babarum* tower was also transformed into a *castrum*, since in 1281 a *castrum novum* is mentioned (next to St Silvester's Church). This was also the time when the first official notary came to Zadar: it was Henrik, who was active until 1296.



Figure 6: Poreč. 1. Pentagonal tower; 2. "Round tower"; 3. Episcopal complex; 4. Governmental palace; 5. Loggia. Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

During the dogeship of Jacopo Contarini (1275–1280), Venetian sovereignty was acknowledged by the Istrian cities of Motovun (1276)<sup>119</sup> and Kopar (1278), and by the Central Dalmatian islands of Hvar and Brač.<sup>120</sup> In 1276, the commune of Osor requested the introduction of leased countship again, but that was achieved only later, during the reign of Doge Giovanni Dandolo.<sup>121</sup> Under Doge Contarini, it was decreed in 1278 that Dalmatian governors should be appointed by the Great Council,<sup>122</sup> and a year afterwards that the election of some city governors in the Venetian territories should be double.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup> DMC II, p. 66, doc. 88.

<sup>120</sup> Listine I, p. 115, doc. 161.

<sup>121</sup> Listine I, p. 112, doc. 160.

<sup>122</sup> Listine I, pp. 118–119, doc. 167.

<sup>123</sup> *De electionibus rectorum, quod debeant fieri duplices. Millesimo du-centesimo septuagesimo nono, indictione septima, die XV intrante iunio, capta fuit pars: quod infrascripte electiones de cetero quando debebunt fieri, debeant fieri duplices, videlicet: baiulus Acconi et consiliarii, ducha Crete et consiliarii, baiulus Tyri et consiliarii, baiulus Tripoli, baiulus Armenie, baiulus Nigropontis et consiliarii, castellanus Coroni, comes Ragusii, comes Jadre, potestas Clugie, potestas Parenii, potestas Justinopolis, ambaxatores, qui habent salarium specificatum, videlicet solidos XL grossorum vel inde supra, consiliarii de Veneciis, quatuor procuratores sancti Marci, patroni Arsane etc.* Listine I, p. 123, doc. 170.



Figure 7: Hvar. Archivio di Stato di Torino, Biblioteca Antica, Architettura militare, disegni di piazze e fortificazioni, parte su pergamena, Vol. V, Pianta della città. Liesina. f. 92v-93 (detail).

This period is known for numerous public works – new planned suburbs, bulwarks, arsenals, and Counts’ Palaces – which are easier to track down owing to a greater number of systematic documents. Intensified control over public space and its planning was linked to the demographic surge and the development of a legal and administrative system. The suburbs of Dubrovnik (south of Placa), an area of private estates with access lanes, were now turned into an organized communal urban area with transversal public streets (as confirmed in the statutory regulation of 1272). The Count of Dubrovnik who ordered the codification of the Statute in 1272 was Marco Giustiniani, who was succeeded by Pietro Tiepolo, son of the former Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo (who was permitted by the Major Council to take foreigners as his assistants

as well as notaries).<sup>124</sup> In 1277, a count of the same name, Marco Giustiniani, was again holding the count's office,<sup>125</sup> and at that time the first official notary, Tomasino de Savera, came to Dubrovnik.<sup>126</sup> From 1278, rental land plots owned by the commune are mentioned north of the (private) suburb regulated by the Statute of 1272.<sup>127</sup> At the time of Count Nicola Morosini (1279–1281), this communal land was systematically divided into land plots and given in lease to those who offered the most. One should also take into account the impact of the notary and other assistants of the count on urban planning, including the administering and perhaps partly structuring public areas.



Figure 8: Pentagonal tower in Poreč.

124 Even though Dubrovnik's notarial records are preserved from 1277, there may have been an older book of debenture bonds from 1275.

125 It is not certain that it was the same person: According to E. Crouzet Pavan Dubrovnik there were two counts under the name Marco Giustiniani in thirteenth century Dubrovnik, one son of the late Giacomo, and the other son of the late Pietro. CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 294. Thus Marco Giustiniani who was prince in 1272 possibly wasn't the same as the one who was appointed prince in 1278. According to Barbaro genealogy there is also Marco, son of Pietro (grandson of Ferigo). There is also a third Marco Giustinian, who had a son, Ugolino. Archivio di Stato Venezia (hereinafter ASV), Barbaro, VII, 459, 465.

126 It was from this point that the notarial records were systematically kept, and Tomasino also compiled the *Book of Customs Regulations*, the first source to mention administering public space.

127 It may have been the *campus* mentioned in the regulation on streets from 1272. Cf. Dubrovnik Statute, L. V, c. 41.

In 1277, the Count of Zadar was Giacomo Tiepolo, another son of the former Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo. Supposedly the pentagonal tower next to the city gate and St Stephen's Church (as well as the house where the counts lodged) was built at that time.<sup>128</sup> Tiepolo was responsible for extensive public works in the city and the pentagonal tower is probably a part of his project. Next to it, integrated in the bulwark, there was a smaller tower, no longer extant, rounded in the south: the so-called *turris Babarum* (mentioned in 1270). The bulwark was running between them (parts of its indented crest are preserved, identical to those of the pentagonal tower).<sup>129</sup> This type of pentagonal tower – also next to the mainland gate – can be seen in Poreč as well, and south of it (and to the north), linked through the bulwark, there was the so-called round tower.<sup>130</sup> These elements indicate a similar way of designing the city.

By building the bulwark at the southeastern edge of Zadar, its mainland front was shifted towards the southeast. The sources sporadically mention communal land plots there, allowing us to presume that this newly designed area was intended for rent. It was organized in regular blocks, perhaps divided into rental plots. Giacomo Tiepolo was succeeded by the aforementioned Marco Michiel, who came to Zadar in 1278. He decided that the count should no longer live in the rented residence near St Stephen's and also initiated the construction of the *castellum Jadre* (this term may have referred the former *Babarum* tower, since in 1281 this fortress next to St Silvester's Church was called *castrum novum*).

128 As for the so-called pentagonal tower in Zadar, Smiljanić has suggested that it was built at the time of Zadar's Count Giacomo Tiepolo, since it preserved the coat-of-arms of the Tiepolo family. Cf. SMILJANIĆ, *Iz urbane topologije srednjovjekovnog*, 379–384. It should be added, however, that Giacomo Tiepolo was the Count of Zadar on two occasions, in 1276/77 and 1289/90, with other Venetian patricians holding this office in between.

129 JOVIĆ, *Jugoistočni potez zadarskih zidina*, 79–119.

130 The tower was enlarged in the fifteenth century. Cf. PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici*, 206.



Figure 9: Vedute of Zadar (detail) from 1754 held in the Museum of the City of Trogir (with pentagonal tower, nr. 35). Photographed by Maja Maljković; Knjižnica Fanfogna-Garagnin, Muzej grada Trogira, sign. Vlg-58.

In the last decades of the thirteenth century, local harbours were becoming increasingly important for military and economic purposes, for sheltering and supplying ships: according to the documents, in 1272 Venice leased a galley to the island of Cres and sold one each to Dubrovnik and Korčula.<sup>131</sup> One galley was sold to each of the communes of Rab and Krk in 1273, *per patronos arsane*. We find the same declaration in 1273 for Krk, which created the need of building and restructuring the arsenals.<sup>132</sup> These ships had multiple functions: from merchant ships they could become military if needed, and vice versa. To strengthen its position in the Adriatic, Venice implemented the *custodia Culphi* from 1280, meaning that the gulf squadron controlled navigation in the Gulf.<sup>133</sup> To ensure a safe journey through the Adriatic, Venice had to confront its enemies with the help of its subjects and allies (particularly problematic were the Genoese). Moreover, merchants were often attacked by pirates from the city of

131 Listine I, p. 105, doc. CXXXVIII; p. 106, doc. CXXLI, doc. CXLIV.

132 DCM II, p. 62, doc. 71.

133 STÖCKL, "Quod vita et salus nostra", 158–169.

Omiš (south of Split).<sup>134</sup> Venice forbade the coastal cities to trade with the pirates (like in 1226, when Dubrovnik, for instance, established trade contacts with the Omiš pirates) and supported them with the necessary vessels for fighting them: for instance, in 1280 Venice sent a galley (with this sole purpose) to Dubrovnik.<sup>135</sup> The City Statute's regulations assigned an important role to navigation. An entire book (VII) of the Statute of Dubrovnik (1272), containing 64 chapters, is dedicated to the regulation of seafaring and shipping, as well as piracy, smuggling and shipwrecks.<sup>136</sup> In 1277, the *Liber statutorum doane Ragusii* was codified, with regulations on customs taxes and excise duties in the commune of Dubrovnik. One chapter of the Zadar Statute drafted at the end of the thirteenth century was also entirely devoted to seafaring (Chapter IV). The legislation covered the employment contracts of seafarers, the construction and sale of ships, cargoes and ballasts, insurance and liability for goods on board, shipwrecks etc.<sup>137</sup> Venetian law was incorporated in the local statutes and as such could be an instrument of both political control and coordination, but some aspects were useful for the local communities (like development of institutions and maritime law).<sup>138</sup>

Under Doge Giovanni Dandolo (1280–1289), a representative of the traditional aristocratic families, Venice extended its sovereignty to the Istrian towns of Piran and Rovinj (1283). The first Venetian podestà in Piran was Andrea Dandolo, the doge's son known as *il Calvo*, and before that he was also the first Venetian podestà of Motovun.<sup>139</sup> Pietro Gradonigo, the future doge, was at the time of Dandolo the podestà of Koper (in 1280, and he held the same position again in 1289).<sup>140</sup> In 1280, Dandolo again assigned the Osor County to patrician Marino Mauroceno, with hereditary rights.<sup>141</sup> The leased countship was introduced in Rab as well, and Count Marco Michieli remained there for

134 For instance, in 1224 there is a mention of pirates attacking merchants in the Adriatic, when a *capitaneum galearum* was sent from Venice because in front of Ancona "the people of Split and people who call themselves Kačići" robbed a *barcam* that belonged to a Venetian merchant. Listine I, p. 33, doc. XLIII. In the mid-thirteenth century, Venice even allied with the Dalmatian cities that were under the Hungarian-Croatian crown for combating the Omiš pirates. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae* 5, 236–237, 420, 456, 583. Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 84.

135 In 1293, the galley was again given to the city count to fight the pirates if they approached the city from the sea; Listine I, p. 151, doc. 249. In 1288 a galley was given to the city of Rab. In 1301, it was given to Zadar's count to launch a military campaign against the pirates. Listine I, p. 194, doc. 291.

136 The citizens of Dubrovnik were forbidden to rent foreign ships (with the exception of Venetian ones) and they were also forbidden to sell, sublet or donate their ships to the Slavs, for fear of competition; on the other hand, the Dubrovnik Statute stipulates that the citizens of Dubrovnik who sailed to Corfu would receive money. Dubrovnik Statute, II, 24. In Dubrovnik's statute of 1272, one finds three types of limited liability contracts – *entega*, *collegantia* and *rogantia* – which enabled merchants with insufficient capital to engage in long-distance trade: these new forms of business and institutions had developed in Venice as a result of risky long-distance trade in the thirteenth century. The Statute of Dubrovnik likewise contains elements of the Venetian law, the European *ius commune* and various customs from a wider Eastern Adriatic area. In 1277, the Venetian count Marco Giustiniano codified the *Liber statutorum doane Ragusii*, which defined the regulations on customs taxes and excise duties in the commune of Dubrovnik.

137 A customs tariff was set for the import of cotton bags from Romania or Calabria and wool bags from Tunisia. *Statuta ladertina*, L 4, doc. 24, pp. 414 and 416.

138 ORLANDO, *Beyond the Statutes*, 131–147, here 132. KREKIĆ, *Venetians in Dubrovnik*, 27–35.

139 It seems he was also the count of Dubrovnik in 1292 (during an epidemic) and the podestà of Koper in 1298. LJUBIĆ, *Ob odnošajih dubrovačke*, 107–109. MORTEANI, *Notizie storiche della città*, 326. PUSTERLA, *I rettori di Egida 'Giustinopoli*, 9.

140 The doge Dandolo's daughter Maria married Marino Gradonigo, the brother of the future doge Pietro, and the ties between these patrician families were strengthened. Da MOSTO, *I dogi di Venezia*, 94.

141 Listine I, pp. 124–125, doc. 172.



life.<sup>142</sup> During Dandolo's dogeship, Venetian counts and the territories they controlled were placed under stricter control.<sup>143</sup> The tax and customs system, as well as the use of the same currency across the territory, was an important means of maintaining the Venetian presence in the Adriatic. In Dandolo's time, the Venetian gold coin (ducat) was introduced in Venice.<sup>144</sup> In 1280, the office of the Contraband was founded in order to coordinate different administrative offices, but also to suppress smuggling.<sup>145</sup> The office dealt with maritime trade in the upper Adriatic<sup>146</sup> and the counts received its orders on trade regulation.<sup>147</sup> Venice tried to hinder the Istrian cities in imposing their own duties and tariffs on exports and imports,<sup>148</sup> and in creating a commercial network with the Istrian communes. However, Venice also systematically suppressed salt production in Piran and Pula.<sup>149</sup> In 1281, the import of salt became compulsory: the Major Council ordered merchants to return to Venice with a load of salt (*ordo salis*).<sup>150</sup>

Doge Dandolo wanted to emphasize the role of Venice in the cities, and it was under his rule that the first separate Counts' Palaces were built in the Eastern Adriatic (with similar public works observable in other Venetian territories).<sup>151</sup> In Hvar, it was decreed in 1278, following the Venetian conquest, that a house should be built to accommodate Count Andrea de Molino, but it was built only in 1282–1283, a *castrum* "that they had previously lacked".<sup>152</sup> In 1283, it was decreed that Piran should build for the Count a *domum pro habitatione sua et sue familie*.<sup>153</sup> Marco Michiel, the count of Rab (and formerly of Poreč and Zadar) invested from 1283 onwards in the construction of the Count's Palace and the arsenal.<sup>154</sup> That same year, a house for the count's assistants is mentioned in Zadar. In 1283, the practice of renting houses as residences for the Venetian governors (in today's Držičeva Poljana) was also discontinued in Dubrovnik.<sup>155</sup> The houses – both of them *cum volta* – were sold to real-estate traders, Venetians Filipo

142 BMV, Il Campidoglio, Cap3v78v.

143 The doge had the Venetian statute revised, adding to it the provisions issued by the Great Council after Tiepolo's statute in 1242. RÖSCH, *The Serrata of the Great Council*, 68–69. KOHL, *The Serrata of the Greater Council*, 3–34.

144 RIZZI, *Commissioni ducali ai rettori*, 15. KOHL, *The Serrata of the Greater Council*, 3–34. MUELLER, *The Venetian Money Market*.

145 MILLER, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 175. CESSI, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia II*, 220.

146 The Cattaveri were the auditors of public accounts, and they controlled the receipts and expenditure of Venice.

147 ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, reg. 1, f. 8v.

148 From the turn of the fourteenth century, the office of Contraband-Cattaver controlled illegal trade and smuggling; In 1281, the Venetian Maggior Consiglio ordered the Istrian cities to provide official inventories for the ships, in order to control maritime traffic in the upper Adriatic: DMC II, pp. 219–220, 330, 328. Cf. MILLER, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 181–182.

149 HOCQUET, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, 181–184.

150 Salt transport and export trade became closely linked. HOCQUET, *Au coeur de la puissance maritime*, 152.

151 ÖZTÜRKMEN, *From Constantinople to Istanbul*, 271–294. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 60–62, 77. DMC III, pp. 38, 197.

152 DCM III, p. 8. Listine I, p. 119, doc. 168.

153 DCM III, p. 17. KANDLER, *Codice diplomatico istriano*, p. 705, doc. 404.

154 MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 150.

155 MHR II, p. 282, doc. 1142; p. 322, doc. 1278; p. 323, doc. 1279.

Veroci and Furlano Bazili). In 1283, there is a mention of a *locia domini comitis*,<sup>156</sup> possibly built in front of the fortress,<sup>157</sup> which began to be transformed into a Count's Palace.<sup>158</sup> The former orientation of the fortress to the south (the old town) was altered: the new structures were turned westwards, where the communal square<sup>159</sup> and a new suburb were starting to take shape. In 1283, houses for the Venetian count in Dubrovnik were no longer rented in what is now Držićeve Poljana.<sup>160</sup> It is possible that the *castrum/castellum* was transformed into a Count's Palace at the time and the archiepiscopal palace lost its status as the most lavish building in the city.<sup>161</sup>

In Zadar, a *loggia domus nostri comitatus* is mentioned in 1289.<sup>162</sup> However, another communal or "great" loggia is mentioned from the late thirteenth century in the main square, in the city centre (at the site of the present-day one, built in 1565).<sup>163</sup> Opposite it was the church of St Peter the New (demolished in the fifteenth century), where the citizens' assembly met.<sup>164</sup> The loggia of Rab was also separate from the Count's Palace and positioned in the city centre (it is mentioned from the fourteenth century, but may have been there from an earlier period), at the site of the present-day one, built in 1509. The position of loggias in the main square is perfectly logical, since that was the centre of socio-economic life in the commune.<sup>165</sup> Those loggias that were built near or within the Counts' Palaces, namely in Dubrovnik and Poreč,<sup>166</sup> were situated next

156 There are no preserved data on its construction, but it is known that the new loggia was built at the new church of St Blaise in 1356 (opposite the Rector's Palace), although the old loggia is mentioned as late as 1362. The sources tell of an old loggia, demolished in the fifteenth 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. GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, 149–170.

157 The new loggia is known to have been built next to the new church of St Blaise in 1356 (opposite the palace), but the old loggia is still mentioned in 1362.

158 At the time of the Statute of 1272, the *castrum* seems not to have been a majestic place, since it was the archiepiscopal palace (*archiepiscopatum*) where the city government met for the Count's investiture. Cf. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Notes on Urban Elite*, 38–39. In Dubrovnik, it was only in the fourteenth century that the *castellum* started to be called a "communal palace" – *palatium* or *pallazzo magior*. GELCICH, *Monumenta Ragusina* (hereinafter MR) I, 239.

159 In 1281 and 1282, the *camerlengaria* is mentioned in the square, and the *fonticus* was located nearby.

160 Both were *cum volta* and sold to real-estate retailers Filipo Veroci and Furlano Basilio from Venice. Cf. MHR II, p. 282, doc. 1142; p. 322, doc. 1278; p. 323, doc. 1279.

161 At the time of the Statute, in 1272, the *castrum* was not luxurious 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. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Notes on Urban Elite*, 38–39. 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. It was only in the fourteenth century that the *castellum* started to be called the Communal Palace: *palatium*, i.e. *pallazzo magior*. MR I, p. 239.

162 PETRICIOLI, *Umjetnička baština Zadra*, 194.

163 It is not known how the older loggia may have looked, but in the late fourteenth century the chronicler Paulus de Paulo mentioned it as having columns. Cf. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra*, 162.

164 GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 102.

165 For comparison see: ANDERLE, *Die Loggia communis*. FORTINI BROWN, *The Venetian Loggia*, 207–233.

166 In Poreč, the palace was not built in the former forum (the later *Piazza di Marafor*), but in the newly formed communal square (next to the bulwark, the tower and the harbour gate). Cf. PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici*, 40. CAPRIN, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 199. On the urban development of Rab, see: DOMIJAN, *Rab, grad umjetnosti*. DOMIJAN, *Rab u srednjem vijeku*.

to the (newly formed) main square.<sup>167</sup> (Some documents from Dubrovnik refer to the thirteenth-century loggia as the *logia comunis*.<sup>168</sup>) In the cities under Venetian rule, loggias could also function as seats of the city council before the construction of town halls.<sup>169</sup> Even though the late thirteenth century was marked by the construction of Counts' Palaces as seats of the representatives of the Venetian administration, it was also the time when the communal institutions developed and the local nobility became more powerful.<sup>170</sup> In Dubrovnik, north of the Count's Palace, there was a *fonticus* in the late thirteenth century, with rooms for the council meetings on the first floor.<sup>171</sup>



Figure 10: Rab. 1. Governmental palace; 2. Loggia; 3. Bishop's palace; 4. Arsenal. Map by Ivana Haničar Buljan.

<sup>167</sup> In Dubrovnik, the new loggia, built in the fourteenth century and likewise a separate structure, was not far from the Count's Palace.

<sup>168</sup> GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, 149–170.

<sup>169</sup> MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 62, 240–241.

<sup>170</sup> KREKIĆ, *Developed Autonomy*, 185–215, esp. 186. LONZA, *The Statute of Dubrovnik*, 7–25.

<sup>171</sup> GRUJIĆ, *Arhitektura Kneževa Dvora*, 35–71. GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, 28.

The Counts' Palaces built during the Venetian rule in the thirteenth century were always located at the city margins, next to the bulwark and usually the tower, probably to ensure the safety of the count and his retinue. In Dubrovnik, the palace was built near the eastern city gate and the harbour, and in Zadar next to the mainland gate and the pentagonal tower (later the "Captain's Tower"). In Rab and Poreč, the palace was located next to the harbour gate (in Rab, it was towards the present-day Donja Street, with the tower to the east). In Korčula, the Count's Palace was built at the very entrance to the city,<sup>172</sup> and in Hvar at the city margins, next to the fortifications. The marginal position of Counts' Palaces often meant the vicinity of suburbs (that is, the new part of the city). The position of Rab's palace between the old town and the *burgus*<sup>173</sup> may be compared to some extent to the situation in Dubrovnik or Piran. The *burgus* of Rab is believed to have been created in the twelfth or thirteenth century,<sup>174</sup> apparently as a planned area (perhaps with rental plots). In Piran, the same as in other cities, the Count's Palace was situated at the margins of the old town, next to the city gate and the new suburb that was gradually encircled by the new bulwark.<sup>175</sup>

In Dubrovnik too, the suburbs became a new zone of economic activity, and the administrative and political centre of the commune gradually moved to the north. During the office of Count Nicola Morosini (1279–1281),<sup>176</sup> the land division of large private estates in the suburbs was completed. Also, the new communal suburbs were systematically divided into land plots at the same time as the new city square was created and the Counts's Palace restructured.<sup>177</sup> The communal land was retained with the purpose of lease, which served as an "open call" to the best bidders – not only those who paid the highest rent, but also with regard to the needs of the city. The population that settled there and was involved in real-estate transactions often consisted of newcomers (from the surrounding areas as well as Venice).<sup>178</sup> Communal land plots rented in 1282 were listed in the Book of Communal Property,<sup>179</sup> started in 1286 by Aço de Titulo, personal secretary to Count Michele Morosini, son of Albertino (he took care of the income from communal property after the first notary Tomasino de Saverre). According to recent research, the daughter of Count Michele Morosini was married to Vladislav, son of the Serbian ruler Stefan Dragutin. It was the time when the Serbian

172 The cathedral square in the city centre was formed only later, after the foundation of the bishopric in the early fourteenth century.

173 The *burgus* is believed to have been formed in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, apparently also as a relatively planned area compared to those in Dubrovnik or Zadar (possibly with rental plots).

174 BUDAK, *Neki elementi demografsko-ekonomskog razvoja*.

175 The palace was linked to the loggia by means of a passage, which was destroyed together with the entire building in 1877. Cf. KANDLER, *Palazzo dei Podestà di Pirano*, 74. KOVAČ – PAHOR, *O zgodovinskem in arhitektonskem razvoju*, 22–26.

176 He was the brother of Mariño Morosini, the count of Osor, not the one who was later the count of Dubrovnik. ASV, Barbaro, V, 333. Österreichische National Bibliothek (hereinafter ÖNB): Marco Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete", MS Lat. 6155–6156, vol. II, 290v.

177 Doge Contarini was himself the Count of Dubrovnik in 1257.

178 Cf. Benyovsky Latin – Haničar Buljan, *Digital Mapping*, 154–183. Besides merchants and artisans, members of various patrician families from Venice were involved in Dubrovnik's economy (largely in real-estate business and financial operations) even if they came only occasionally to the city. Thus, the Querini were owners of various real estates and speculated with them: in the thirteenth to fourteenth century, 11 members of this family are mentioned in Dubrovnik, as well as 13 from the Contarini family. It was not accidentally that these two families also produced the counts of Dubrovnik.

179 BENYOVSKY LATIN – ZELIČ, *Libri domorum et terrenorum*.

ruler Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) renewed his territorial ambitions towards Dubrovnik, and the connection between the Morosinis and the Serbian royal family could certainly be used in Venetian diplomatic activities.<sup>180</sup> Dubrovnik's documents from the mid-1280s mention the construction of a new bulwark around this suburb, finished only after the fire of 1296 and the new regulation of the area north of Placa. In 1286, the count of Dubrovnik was, for the second time, Venetian patrician Niccolò Querini. Querini had also been a podestà in cities outside Venetian territory, such as Treviso (1279) and Bergamo (1282) (regions with so-called planned cities, which may have had an impact on the formation and administration of the then Dubrovnik *burgus*<sup>181</sup>). Although he was associated with the Tiepolos, his family in Dubrovnik (especially before the conspiracy of 1310) still had strong business ties and a network of contacts. The Querini were owners of various real estates and speculated with them: in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 11 members of this family are mentioned in Dubrovnik, as well as 13 from the Contarini family.<sup>182</sup>

Zadar's suburb next to the *Babarum* fortress was probably controlled by the commune (as it would be in the fifteenth century) and the notarial records mention several rental land plots owned by the commune from the 1290s onwards. In Poreč, the palace was situated in the centre of the (ancient) city, but according to some researchers, the eastern part of the city was ruralized in the early Middle Ages and possibly functioned as a suburb<sup>183</sup> (this is supported by documents from the mid-thirteenth century, which refer to this area as *burgus*,<sup>184</sup> and it is only then that the new medieval bulwark, towers and city gates were built around it).

The thirteenth century was marked by urban demographic growth and expansion of the cities. The construction of new suburbs (and their inclusion within the city walls) was also an invitation to the newcomers who could contribute to the progress of urban economy and administration. The former suburbs were integrated in the city by enclosing them within the walls, which altered the relationship between centre and periphery. Thus, the seats of counts in some cities, originally situated marginally next to the city gates, were now in the city centre owing to the expansion of urban space.

After the death of Doge Giovanni Dandolo, there were again tensions between the two factions of patrician families for the dogal position: the Tiepolos tried to impose their candidate Giacomo, son of the former Doge Lorenzo (and the former count of Zadar). Nevertheless, the office came into the hands of Pietro (Pierazzo) Gradenigo (1289–1311), son of Marco Bartholomeo, a true representative of the old aristocratic families. Doge Gradenigo was familiar, like Giacomo Tiepolo, with the Eastern Adriatic area, having served as the podestà of some cities. In 1278, he was also in charge (along with Tommaso Gritti) of building Castel Leone in Koper, a fortification in the middle of the bridge that connected the city with the coast. Public works in the cities continued during his dogeship as well.<sup>185</sup>

180 Although, according to Barbaro's genealogy, Co(n)stanza Morisini, the daughter of the Dubrovnik count Michael Albertini, was married to the son of the Hungarian king. SALVATORI, *Albertinoo Morosini*. FOSTIKOV – ISAILOVIĆ, *Ugovor o veridbi*, 7–46. ŠTEFÁNIK, *The Morosinis in Hungary*, 12.

181 CROUZET PAVAN, *Venise et le monde communal*, 303. BOEREFIJN, *Town Planning and Town Plans*, 98–99.

182 KREKIĆ, *Venetians in Dubrovnik*, 27–35.

183 IVANČEVIĆ, *Odnos antiknog i srednjovjekovnog*, 5–12.

184 PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici*, 71.

185 CAPRIN, *L'Istria nobilissima*, 93, 192. RADOSSI – ŽITKO, *Monumenta Heraldica iustinopolitana*, 195.

During Gradenigo's dogeship, Venice was again at war with its rival Genoa (1293–1299) and the subjected cities were giving military support.<sup>186</sup> Thus, in 1297 the count of Rab was ordered to prepare armed ships against Genoa. Besides military support from the cities under its rule, Venice also expected their services to work within a network. This was especially important after the failed Querini-Tiepolo conspiracy, as Baiamonte Tiepolo fled to the Eastern Adriatic and to Paul I of Bribir, a Croatian magnate from the hinterland, to whom he was related (members of Paul's family were counts in Šibenik, Trogir and Split at the time). The beginning of the fourteenth century was very dynamic and variable in the political sense – at first marked by the dominance of Croatian magnates - the Counts of Bribir, and ultimately by the instability and dynastic struggles within the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. Venice was defeated by the Genoese near Korčula in a new war, but the treaty of Milan from 1299 banned Genoa from the Adriatic (and Venice was forbidden to enter the territories under Genoese control).

Gradenigo's rival Giacomo Tiepolo became the count of Zadar (for the second time in 1289).<sup>187</sup> He was married to a noblewoman of Croatian descent: Šubić, sister of Paul Bribirski Šubić,<sup>188</sup> and one of their sons was Baiamonte Tiepolo. In 1289, Count Jacopo Tiepolo ordered the paving of the foundations of the Zadar's harbour next to the bulwark, from the arsenal to the new *castrum* (the north-western corner).<sup>189</sup> In 1289, Zadar had a *logia domus nostri comitatus*, and in 1290 a *turris comunis*.<sup>190</sup> At the time of the *Serrata*,<sup>191</sup> Doge Gradenigo appointed his brother-in-law Fiofio (Teofilo) Giovanni Morosini,<sup>192</sup> brother to his wife Tommasina (granddaughter of a Hungarian queen),<sup>193</sup> as the count of Zadar.

In other cities, the construction activity flourished as well. Thus, in Hvar it was decreed in 1292 that an arsenal should be built, but it is not known whether it was completed, since the documents still mention the building plans in 1317. Before that, in 1288, the governor of Hvar was allowed to spend 500 librae for repairing the palace and the fortifications, and a year afterwards the bulwark was repaired as well.<sup>194</sup> Besides

186 From 1291 the captain of Istria (*capitaneus Istrie* or *capitaneus generalis Istrie*) had the seat in Kopar. RADOSSI, *Stemmi di S. Lorenzo del Pasenatico*, 187–240. DE VERGOTTINI, *L'Impero e la 'fidelitas'*, 380.

187 BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Governmental Palaces*, 111–161.

188 In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, doges or members of their families married, or remarried, girls from ruling houses outside Venetian territory. HURLBURT, *The Dogaressa of Venice*, 27–28. Doge Giacomo Tiepolo married a foreigner in the thirteenth century, and the next generations of this family embraced the tradition of creating strong political alliances through marriage strategies, as seen in the choice of wife of Giacomo's grandson of the same name, who married the daughter of a Croatian nobleman from the Šubić family. In 1275, such marriages were forbidden because the interference of foreign policies with the Venetian one was called into question. Women did not have access to political influence, but the marriage of Venetian patricians to foreign nobles or rulers could influence foreign policy. For instance, the Morosini family had family ties with the Hungarian and Serbian royal houses.

189 ZJAČIĆ, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika*, 98, 121, 129.

190 PETRICIOLI, *Umjetnička*, 194. Next to the Count's Palace, located at the mainland gate, a whole urban district emerged in the fourteenth century, linked to the city government and administration. Listine III, p. 113, doc. 176. PETRICIOLI, *Lik Zadra*, 168.

191 In 1297 the council was reformed and expanded (*Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*). LANE, *The Enlargement of the great council*, 255. CROUZET-PAVAN, *Venise: une invention*, 207. TODESCO, *Andamento demografico della nobiltà*, 119–164.

192 ÖNB, Barbaro, II, 290–291. ASV, Barbaro, V, 323.

193 ŠTEFĀNIK, *The Morosinis in Hungary*, passim. ASV, Barbaro, V, 323. Da MOSTO, *I dogi di Venezia*, 95.

194 Listine I, p. 147, doc. 239.

palaces that served as the Counts' residences, there was an increasing need for buildings that would accommodate the city administration and the city councils (which were established at the time).<sup>195</sup> The Count's Palace complex in Rab shows that it grew out of several palaces built at different times. The oldest palace (the south wing) was the thirteenth-century Count's Palace, next to which various other buildings were constructed for the city administration and the city council, established at the time.<sup>196</sup> In 1320, Andrea Michiel, the count of Rab, continued the project of restructuring the palace built by his father, Marco Michiel.<sup>197</sup>



Figure 11: As yet unpublished depiction of Dubrovnik with its famous port. It is held in Austrian National Library, dated 1700 (after the great earthquake of 1667)<sup>198</sup>; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Kartensammlung – Albertina-Vues, Sign. ALB Vues 08646 KAR MAG.

195 VEKARIĆ, *Udio plemstva u stanovništvu Dubrovnika*, 31–46.

196 MLACOVIĆ, *The Nobility and the Island*, 16–17.

197 Cf. "The rulers of Venice, 1332–1524, Interpretations, Methods, Database", Accessed 2004. <http://rulersofvenice.org>.

198 The presentation of the city is inaccurate in details and some important buildings and churches are missing. See more in: BENOVSKY LATIN, *Mobilnost i umreženost mletačkih kneževa*.

The town hall of Dubrovnik is mentioned only in 1301 (*in sala comunis Ragusii*),<sup>199</sup> when the hall of the Major Council bridged the passage through the *fonticus*<sup>200</sup> (which was annexed) at the level of its first floor. However, a town hall may have existed earlier, before the fire.<sup>201</sup> It was only in the Angevin period that the Count's Palace was transformed into a building complex organized around an inner courtyard. The fire of 1296, which destroyed much of the *burgus*, made room for new, modern planning of this area (especially on communal land), with the so-called double rows, according to the latest model of urban planning.<sup>202</sup> It may have been conducted under Venetian influence (e.g. the area of San Lio) or that of other Italian cities where this model can be identified (Aquila, Manfredonia, Alcamo, Chioggia;<sup>203</sup> cities with which Dubrovnik had trade contacts) – through the counts, notaries or merchants.

### Conclusion

At the time when communes were emerging in the Eastern Adriatic, there were serious attempts to conquer the area by the central and regional authorities, to achieve a temporary or long-term consolidation of power by means of negotiations and appointments of officials, which later influenced the level of urban autonomy and institutions, as well as the spatial layout of the cities.<sup>204</sup> In the century after the Fourth Crusade, the pretensions of Venice over the Eastern Adriatic cities intensified, and concrete measures were taken to retain control over them more permanently. Venetian power was established in medieval cities by means of military ventures and/or diplomacy and agreements, and it was consolidated through certain hierarchically organized structures – institutions and personal contacts.<sup>205</sup>

The processes of implementing power were dynamic and variable, depending on the different external and local circumstances to be scrutinized. Geographical position was very important in this respect.<sup>206</sup> Some cities were in frontier zones and they were subject to overlapping influences. Others relied on their own heritage and the fact that the political power was far away, both geographically and at the political or institutional level. The Adriatic cities had different relations with Venice: some of them had continuous and strong links – as had cities of the Quarner Bay, partly due to their geographical proximity – while others oscillated and had strong

199 GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, 28. MR V, p. 61.

200 GRUJIĆ, *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku*, 158–160. It was at that time that the wall, the doors and the pillars were commissioned.

201 North of the Count's Palace, a *domus comunis* is mentioned in 1291. Cf. BENYOVSKY LATIN – ZELIĆ, *Libri domorum et terrenorum*, 133. In 1344, the documents mention a new hall built for the Major Council, with a painted interior. Cf. FISKOVIĆ, *Dubrovačko slikarstvo*, 84–85. FISKOVIĆ, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*, 103.

202 BENYOVSKY LATIN – HANIČAR BULJAN, *Digital Mapping*, 154–183.

203 PLANIĆ-LONČARIĆ. *Planirana izgradnja na području*.

204 The central authorities often limited their jurisdiction to the areas of their immediate interest, such as taxes, accommodation for themselves or other dignitaries, and the construction of public buildings. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Introduction: Towns and Cities*, 13–35.

205 Only a few studies have paid sufficient attention to the Eastern Adriatic as an area of contact for the interregional networks of people, knowledge and cultures. Although recent literature has been increasingly focusing on the channels of political communication between various European cities and the central authorities. ARNADE, *City, state, and public ritual*, 300–318. HATTORI, *Political Order and Forms*.

206 Thus, the Hungarian kings acted as the protectors of various Dalmatian cities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but their political power in the Eastern Adriatic was very different from that in medieval Slavonia.



links with the Hungarian kings (e.g. Zadar), in which cases Venice had to use different strategies, and sometimes resort to compromise. In some periods, Venetian power over the cities weakened, which had the effect of strengthening the cities' autonomy. The occasional increase of urban autonomy was also linked to the strengthened local economic circumstances, alliances with other political entities, or an insufficient focus or power of the central authorities to exercise actual power in cities.

The central authorities mostly relied on the existing local elites in the Eastern Adriatic, so they were deeply involved in the local social relations, creating personal and institutional ties and new loyalties. The representatives of the central government and administration played a key role not only in the relationship between the authorities and the cities, but also that between different cities, because their service was temporary and mobile within the area and in terms of power. They were transmitting influences and knowledge. The counts and their assistants brought new knowledge, which would then be applied in planning, organizing and administering the urban area, especially the communal parts. These counts certainly implemented ideas crafted in Venice, but at the same time had diverse contacts and connections with the local elites, which could directly influence their relations with the central authorities and with other cities. The numerous connections – especially in legal culture, the circulating individuals, common measurements and trade, institutions and symbols – resulted in new customs, community circles, and new overlapping identities. Communication at this level was primarily about the transmission and exchange of information (knowledge, ideas, social values, beliefs, values and norms) and was largely conducted through personal presence and contacts, symbols and rituals,<sup>207</sup> but also increasingly in writing and by means of laws.<sup>208</sup> The Venetian authority was sometimes an integrative element in a particular area – one that connected the cities and standardized their systems, created interrelated networks, and brought stability. Sometimes, it was an element of dissent between the cities – if cities of the same cultural heritage were within different political entities, or if they were dissatisfied with their position within a sphere of power.

Various measures that Venice applied in the Eastern Adriatic cities during the thirteenth century had an impact on urban change: ordering the construction (or reconstruction) of the *castrum* to accommodate the count, the bulwark and the arsenal for military and merchant ships. Some of the urban changes – institutional or spatial – resulted from decisions made due to extra-regional circumstances, namely the Venetian government in the thirteenth century, and not merely from those made by the local governments. On the other hand, although Venice often tried to introduce unified systems and order throughout their domain of power, their implementation was always subject to the specific circumstances. So, comparison is important for establishing similarities as well as differences in the design of cities under the same sovereign in the Adriatic and beyond – within a particular political formation.<sup>209</sup>

Based on the selected examples, it may be concluded that the Venetian rule had had a considerable impact on urban change already in the thirteenth century: nevertheless,

207 ALTHOFF – SIEP, "Symbolische Kommunikation", 393–412.

208 This could lead to the adoption of a common mode of behaviour and mentality among the members of a political community: similar values, language, law, religion – facilitating the formation of a common identity and a sense of belonging to a wider community. van LEEUWEN, *Symbolic Communication*. DARTMANN, *Politische Interaktion in der italienischen*.

209 COZZI, "La politica del diritto nella", 15–152.

this paper is a still a preliminary study in long-term research that aims to explore the complex relationship between urban planning, the cities, the government and the local circumstances in each individual city.<sup>210</sup> Thereby it is particularly important to take a comparative approach, which will make it possible to evaluate this relationship: not only in the context of Eastern Adriatic cities, but also in other cities that were part of the Venetian territory.

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