

## **MURUS VERSUS MONTEM: CONSTRUCTION OF THE DUBROVNIK FORTIFICATIONS AROUND THE SUBURBS UP TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY**

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This work contains an analysis of the construction of the Dubrovnik fortifications around the suburbs during the thirteenth century, primarily based on written sources. The construction of the final section of fortifications around suburb of St Nicholas was preceded by a long process of fortification system construction which accompanied the phases of the city's urban growth in the thirteenth century, as well as the political, legal and social circumstances of that period.

**Key words:** Dubrovnik, Middle Ages, fortifications

The fortified walls encircling Dubrovnik, the symbol of the city, were constructed around the northern suburbs as the *new walls* at the end of the thirteenth century (except for the section around the Dominican monastery).<sup>1</sup> At that time, the suburbs which developed since the pre-communal period on the crags outside of the old city walls became part of the space *infra muros*.<sup>2</sup> The thirteenth century brought great changes in the structure, appearance and organization of medieval Dubrovnik. It was the period of Venetian rule in Dubrovnik (until 1358), which was characterized by the development of its communal institutions and legal system, construction of residential and public buildings. The city became the economic hub of the southern Adriatic, while its hinterland became a market for Dubrovnik's citizens. Regardless of estab-

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<sup>1</sup> On this see: Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> The old city encompassed sections later called the Sexteria: *Castello*, St. Peter and *Pustijerna*.

lished Venetian authority, the thirteenth century was not entirely tranquil.<sup>3</sup> Although Dubrovnik's hinterland was very important to the city's economic growth, it also constituted a permanent threat to the city because of the pretensions of the Serbian and Dioclean rulers to this territory. The period of Serbian ruler Stephan Urosh I (1243-1276), then expanding the territory of his rule southward, was particularly perilous.

Construction of the city walls meant much more than defence prompted by an immediate threat. Besides tangible physical protection, the walls denoted a clear boundary of the city and the privileges of its citizens. Jurisdiction over a larger area *infra muros* had legal, political and economic connotations and constituted a prerequisite for future development. The process of transforming extra-urban zones into urban ones (parcelization, charting streets, housing construction), proceeded parallel to the process of city wall construction.

In the thirteenth century there was a sharp rise in the population and the greater need for residential space and expansion of the boundaries of the old city: this is also backed by contemporaneous documents, and the same was described in the early modern Dubrovnik narrative sources.<sup>4</sup> In the mid-thirteenth century, the suburb north of the *old town* became an attractive location for settlement by some of the wealthiest families due to the necessary space, economic potential (proximity of the new political and administrative seat and harbour), as well as family ties (possibly tied to clan divisions among the landed nobles). A part of the families who resided in the suburb were new settlers.

In the thirteenth century, the more intensive communal planning began. The *Duecento* was an era of general urbanization in the eastern Adriatic seaboard, and throughout the Mediterranean. The Dubrovnik suburbs were expanded towards the north (St. Blaise suburb outside of the old city walls, and north of that St. Nicholas suburb), regulated and linked during the thirteenth century, finally becoming into a consolidated urban zone encircled by defensive walls. The regulations enacted in the statutes of 1272 and 1296 introduced a considerable number of public streets to the area of the suburbs of St Blaise and St Nicholas. By the

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<sup>3</sup> Milan Prelog, "Dubrovački statut i izgradnja grada (1272-1972)", *Peristil*, 14-15 (1971-1972); Robin Harris, *Povijest Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2006), 34, 43-45; Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, vol. I (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1980), 62-65. Josip Lučić, "Političke i kulturne prilike u Dubrovniku na prijelazu 12. u 13. stoljeću", *Analecta croatica christiana* 21 (1985): 7-28; Bariša Krekić, "Dubrovnik and Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century: A short Surve", Bariša Krekić, *Unequal Rivals*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007: 9-46; Lovro Kunčević, "Dubrovačka slika Venecije i venecijanska slika Dubrovnika u ranom novom vijeku", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 50 (2012): 9-37.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Ragnina mentioned 1277 as the year when many new well-to-do residents with families from Bosnia moved into the city (this was also the year in which archival books were registered!). According to him, the gardens used by the city in the suburbs began to be transformed into residential houses; Ragnina, 222.

end of the 13th century, the former suburbs had become the city's residential and economic hub, encircled by the new northern city walls.

The construction of the city walls was nonetheless contingent upon internal accord and the possibility of organization of public works, and considerable funds were also required. Due to unfavourable political circumstances and institutional organization, large-scale projects lasted for decades (with possible changes during individual phases).<sup>5</sup> The general trend was unification of different urban and functional units.<sup>6</sup> Many planned undertakings in the city area emerged despite (or precisely because of) the natural limitations of the terrain which had to be overcome: uneven ground that was rocky at places and possibly marshy at others.<sup>7</sup> This process was nonetheless complex, linked to many property-oriented, urban, political and social processes: the final form of the urban space was the result of a long-term and gradual process, so that spatially different units (typological and formational) can be discerned inside the city walls.

Was this gradualism accompanied by plans for the defence of individual sections, or were there only plans to build a northern new wall around St. Nicholas's suburb, which certainly took decades? The final northern walls were finished at the end of the thirteenth century. However, specific data on officials, walls and tower construction and their exact positions only date back to the first decades of the fourteenth century; the actual course of wall construction during the thirteenth century remains unknown.

Interpretation of the development of the early medieval city is certainly incomplete without archaeological data. Archaeological research has also yielded the remains of certain fortifications in the *burgus* dating to the Romanesque period, which has spurred new interpretations of the written

<sup>5</sup> Benyovsky Latin, Irena, "Izgradnja gradskih fortifikacija u Trogiru od 13. do 15. stoljeću", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti.*, 28 (2010); 17-48.

<sup>6</sup> Enrico Guidoni, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il Duecento*. (Milano: Editori Laterza, 1992), 213.

<sup>7</sup> The narrative sources of the late medieval and early modern period speak of the flooded terrain which separated the city from the mainland. Most of the older historiography believed that a marshy terrain had surrounded the old city separating it from the mainland. Others, on the other hand, do not believe there was any marshy terrain at the area of the later *campus*: for instance Ničetić believes that there never was a "sea channel" at the site of the *campus*, rather prior to the residential buildings below the old city there was an (agricultural) field here – a *campus*. He concluded that from the onset of the eighth century to the present, the city's level increased by roughly 2-2.5 meters; He believes that the toponyms *de palude* which appeared as early as the thirteenth century were due to the "living water", i.e. wells, and not a marsh, and he rejects out of hand the previously held belief on the filling of marshy terrain. He believes that the gradually rising sea level was the reason for the gradual and layered development of the city; Antun Ničetić, *Povijest dubrovačke luke*, Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1996: 66-69.

sources.<sup>8</sup> Hopefully, additional archaeological research will reveal more on the positions of the former fortifications and their construction phases.

The problems in researching medieval Dubrovnik are certainly caused by the destructions of the later centuries, especially the earthquake of 1667 and the resulting fire, which destroyed most of the city.<sup>9</sup> Before the “great earthquake”, earthquakes were also recorded in 1520, in which “all houses inside the walls were damaged”, and in 1639, after which the houses were once more damaged and had to be demolished, while the merlons were removed from the city walls.<sup>10</sup> Some of the earlier urban fabric prior to the thirteenth century may have also been damaged by the fire in 1296. According to the statute, this fire damaged almost the entire *burgus* and most of the old city (*ortus est ignis ... qui fere totum burgum et maiorem partem civitatis antique incendio consumavit*).<sup>11</sup> The city houses (mostly made of wood) were also destroyed by later fires in the fourteenth century, such as one in 1370. It was only thereafter that stone houses began to be built.<sup>12</sup>

Some structures prior to the seventeenth-century earthquake can be followed in older pictorial presentations and maps.<sup>13</sup> Particularly valuable are the panoramic *vedutas* from the seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> However, these portrayals

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<sup>8</sup> Ivica Žile, “Naselje prije grada”, *Dubrovnik*, 4 (1997), 97-119, 108; Ivica Žile, “Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u palači Gučetić-Martinušić”, *Obavijesti HAD-a*, XXIX/3 (1997): 109-114; Ivica Žile, “Naselje prije Grada”, *Dubrovnik*, 4 (1997), 97-119; Igor Fisković, “Crkva sv. Kuzme i Damjana u središtu Dubrovnika”, *Dubrovnik*, 4, (1997): 261-275, 261-273; Antun Ničetić, “Pretpostavke o nastanku luke i grada Dubrovnika s obzirom na brodsku i plovdbenu tehnologiju”, *Luke istočnog Jadrana, Zbornik Pomorskog muzeja Orebić*, (2006): 23-51.

<sup>9</sup> The city centre was damaged, including entire residential sections. The Count’s Palace, the cathedral and most churches were damaged to their very foundations. Out of the buildings surrounding the main square, or *Placa street*, only the *Sponza* palace remained of the medieval structures. Even though the external walls did not sustain extensive damage, the remains of any towers or components of the fortifications inside the city incorporated into residential structures were poorly preserved, or not at all. On the consequences of the fire in the city: Vladimir Marković, “Kuća i prostor grada u Dubrovniku nakon potresa 1667. godine”, *Radovi IPU*, 14 (1990), 137-149.

<sup>10</sup> Nada Grujić, “Dubrovnik - Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada”, *Radovi IPU*, 10 (1986): 7-39, notes 23 and 25.

<sup>11</sup> DS, VIII, 58. On the fire, see also Bariša Krekić, “Borba Dubrovnika protiv vatre (XII –XV. v.)”, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 29-30 (1991): 169-171.

<sup>12</sup> *Liber viridis*, c. 118 (*De domibus lignaminis destruendis et de novo non faciendis in Ragusio*), pp. 84–85.

<sup>13</sup> For example, a preserved map of the city from the sixteenth century has been found in the Turin archives: this map shows sketched blocks and streets in the *burgus* (the map was not completed). Ilario Principe, “Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz XVI.- XVII. st.” *Dubrovnik* 1 (1991): 191-202.

<sup>14</sup> Vedrana Gjučić-Bender, “Prikazi Dubrovnika u slikarstvu”, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 38 (1999-2000): 232. Cvito Fisković, “Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca u Splitu”, *Zbornik za likovne umjetnosti Matice srpske*, Novi Sad, 3 (1967): A *veduta* today held in the Fran-

cannot shed much light on construction of the fortified walls up to the thirteenth century. A preserved seventeenth/eighteenth century *drawing* of Dubrovnik, *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel secolo XII*,<sup>15</sup> which purportedly contains a portrayal of the city in the twelfth century, and some researchers believe that this drawing shows the proportions of the city's precincts and walls accurately. Nonetheless, this image was a reflection of descriptions of the city in the early modern narrative sources.<sup>16</sup>

Contemporary written sources preserved from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, generally in notary documents, present a very important avenue for an attempt at an ideal reconstruction of parts of the city. In the period of growing population everyday legal practices were too complex to function without a clear legal system, what resulted with the introduction of public notary in last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The materials produced by the Dubrovnik notaries, which abound in data invaluable for shedding light on the city's appearance, were used in historiography to analyze Dubrovnik's urban development only sporadically, and certainly not to a sufficient nor systematic degree.<sup>17</sup>

Codifying city statute in 1272 also brought order to Dubrovnik's laws.<sup>18</sup> Probably most important regulations of the statute for researching the appearance of the city's suburbs in the thirteenth century are the oft-analyzed regulation of 1272 and 1296, which describe the new streets in the *burgus*.<sup>19</sup>

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ciscan monastery in Dubrovnik (by an unknown artist) and one held in the Museum of the Count's Palace (also by an unknown artist), both made in the seventeenth century, are often used to analyze the urban territory.

<sup>15</sup> State Archives in Dubrovnik, Bassegli-Gozze family archives; published already by: Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od 7. stoljeća do godine 1205*. (Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU, 1973).

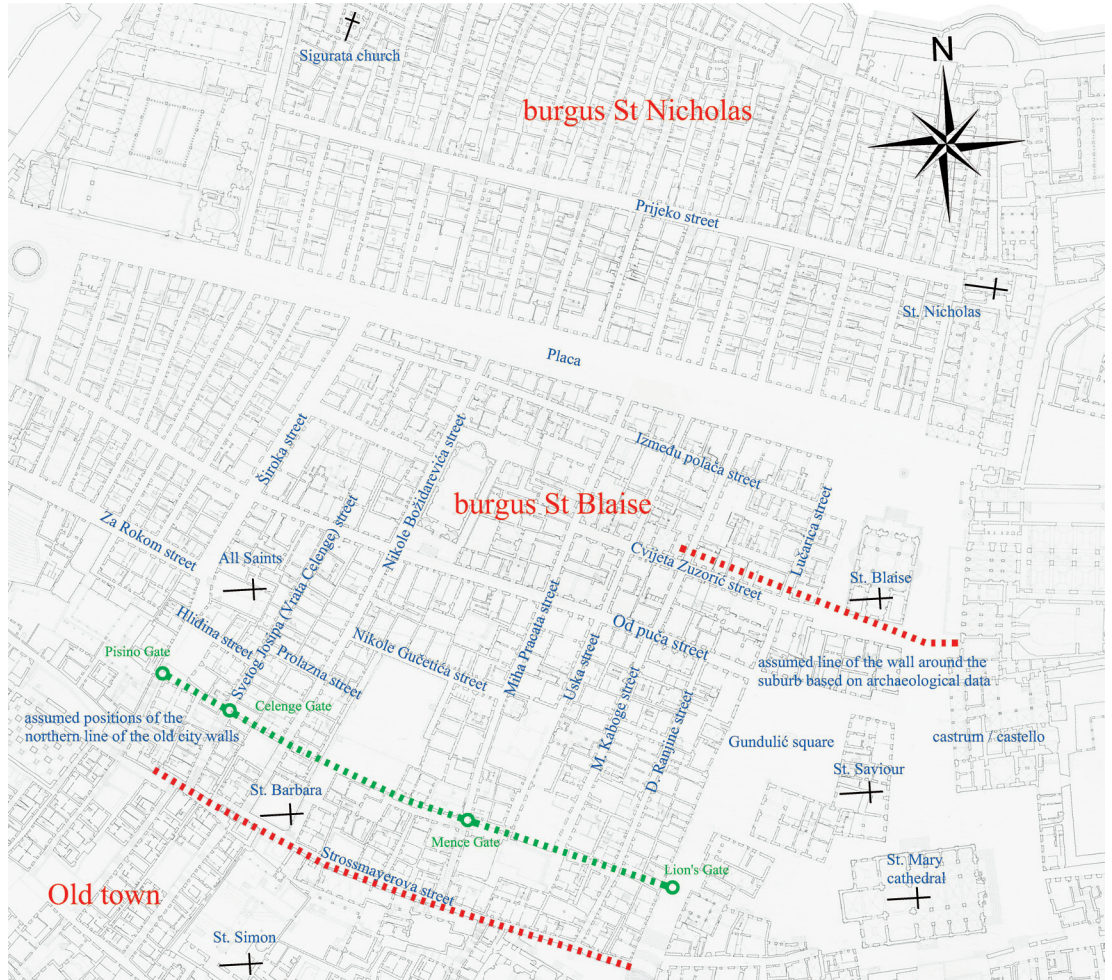
<sup>16</sup> Danko Zelić, O crtežu *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel Secolo XII*. kao "izvoru" za najstariju povijest Dubrovnika, *Radovi IPU* (2012), 27-34. See also: Petar Skok, Les origines de Raguse. Etude de toponymie et de linguistique historique, u: *Slavia* [Prag] 10 (1931.), 3: 449- 498. ( O podrijetlu Dubrovnika, in: *Dubrovnik*, n. s. 22 (2011.), 4: 81-128.

<sup>17</sup> Gregor Čremošnik, "Dubrovačka kancelarija do god. 1300. i najstarije knjige dubrovačke arhive", *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 39 (1927); Gregor Čremošnik, ed., *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije: Zapisi notara Tomazina da Savere 1278-1282* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951), *passim* (hereinafter: MHR, I); Josip Lučić, ed., *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1282-1284*. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1984), *passim* (hereinafter: MHR, II); Josip Lučić, ed., *Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1284-1286*. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1988), *passim* (hereinafter: MHR, III); Josip Lučić, ed., *Zapisi notara Andrije Beneše 1295-1305*. (Zagreb: HAZU, 1993), *passim*, (hereinafter: MHR, IV).

<sup>18</sup> Nella Lonza, "Dubrovački statut, temeljna sastavnica pravnog poretka i biljeg političkog identiteta", Ante Šoljić, Zdravko Šundrica, Ivo Veselić, eds., *Statut grada Dubrovnika (sastavljen godine 1272.)*. (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002), 11-46, 19, 37.

<sup>19</sup> SD, L. V, c. 41; VIII, 58.

I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Murus versus montem*: Construction of the Dubrovnik fortifications around...



## Castrum

Except for the old city wall, the so-called *Castrum* (at the site of the later Count's Palace), a fortress north of Pustijerna section protected the old city and the harbour.<sup>20</sup> It was constructed in the tenth/eleventh century at the earliest according to N. Grujić, for the lines of the walls on the oldest parts of the *castrum* correspond to the parcelization of Pustijerna which was carried out at the time.<sup>21</sup> Although the old town atop the cliffs remained a representative zone in the thirteenth century as well,<sup>22</sup> the vital core rather notably moved beyond the northern *old city walls*. The *castrum* was explicitly mentioned in contemporary sources only in the regulation of the statute of 1272,<sup>23</sup> when it probably functioned as a separate defensible unit (fortress).<sup>24</sup> The eastern part of the old city was connected to the suburb at the Lion's Gate, and through the Gate of Pustijerna. *Castrum* also protected the suburb of St Blaise in the thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

In the twelfth century, a new cathedral was erected below Pustijerna at the site of an older church (with an unknown titular): the new building was also defended by the *Castrum* as well, which was located to the north-east, but was also protected from the west, by the early medieval wall found along a south-west line from the cathedral. There is no data on condition of that wall in the 13th century – according to J. Stošić, it was only torn down in the fourteenth

<sup>20</sup> Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004): 166. Some researchers believe that the city's first harbour was situated on the eastern end (Kalarinja) beneath today's *Lovrijenac* (St. Lawrence Tower), and due to the configuration of the terrain it may have always been in the east; Milan Prelog, *Tekstovi o Dubrovniku*, (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2003), 60-62.

<sup>21</sup> Nada Grujić, "Dubrovnik - Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada", *Radovi IPU*, 10 (1986): 7-39.

<sup>22</sup> See: Nada Grujić, "Dubrovnik – Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada", *Radovi IPU*, 10 (1986): 7-39.

<sup>23</sup> The thirteenth-century *castrum* was also not preserved, for in the fifteenth century, as noted by Filip de Diversis, it was decided that the part of this old fortress not destroyed by fire should be demolished. Construction of the Prince's Palace then began here.

<sup>24</sup> Until the mid-thirteenth century the city's administration was housed in the churches and monasteries inside the *walls of the old city*. Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis, *Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinem inclytiae civitatis Ragusij*, V. Brunelli, ed., Zadar, 1882, 41 (translation in *Dubrovnik* 3). Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435.", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003-2004), 149-170. Until the mid-thirteenth century the city's administration was housed in the churches and monasteries inside the *walls of the old city*.

<sup>25</sup> Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435.", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003-2004), 166; Milan Prelog, *Tekstovi o Dubrovniku* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2003), 60-62; Željko Peković, "Urbani razvoj Dubrovnika do 13. stoljeća", *Dubrovnik*, 4 (1997): 166-212, 168.

century, when the *platea s. Mariae maioris* began to be formed.<sup>26</sup> The presence of that early medieval wall in the thirteenth century can also be discerned by the fact that its position in north-south street direction influenced the layout of the *burgus* and the orientation of all streets planned according to the statutory provisions of 1272 and 1296. Certainly, the two structures – the cathedral<sup>27</sup> and the *castrum* – constituted the most significant urban-development elements in the eastern suburb and in the aspirations for the city's northward expansion.<sup>28</sup>

Contemporary documents do not mention any other fortress *extra muros*, besides *castrum*, and there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever. M. Planić Lončarić however assumed the existence of a fortification which located north of the All Saints Church which played a role in the defence of this suburb prior to the 13th century as the additional defence of the west gate into the city.<sup>29</sup> The fortress north of All Saints church was indeed mentioned in the early modern chronicles and annals, close to the Pile gate and St. Blaise church that was built together with the bridge that “crossed the marshy ground” (they were allegedly built in the 10th century to commemorate the successful defence of the city from the Venetians).<sup>30</sup> Linking the patron saint with the story about the bridge and construction of the church once more indicates a later tradition which was used by the authors of narrative sources in these descriptions: even though the text on the construction of the church may possibly be much older, the descriptions of the “assistance” of the saint and the mention of the administra-

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<sup>26</sup> Josip Stošić believed that the castle's western defensive wall separated the cathedral district from the suburb of St. Blaise until the beginning of the fourteenth century, since its demolition was only mentioned when the construction of a campanile west of the cathedral was being planned in 1325. Thus, a square in front of the cathedral was formed in the suburb only in the fourteenth century, although even before this some kind of shops and houses were mentioned here (in the descriptions of the boundaries of these houses there is no mention of the city wall). Josip Stošić, “Prikaz nalaza ispod Katedrale i Buničeve poljane u Dubrovniku, Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području”, *Zbornik HAD*, Zagreb, 1988, 15-38, 32. See also: Cvito Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*, Dubrovnik: JAZU, 1955, 24. In 1300 there were certainly shops in front of the cathedral; MHR, IV, 350; Irena Benyovsky Latin – Stipe Ledić, “Posjed obitelji Volcassio u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku”, *Analiza Zavoda za povijest HAZU u Dubrovniku*, vol. 51.

<sup>27</sup> According to documents, the first builder was from Apulia, while a document dated 1199 mentions a contract between Eustachius, son of the proto-master Bernard from Apulia, according to which he was obliged to build on the new cathedral; Cvito Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*. (Dubrovnik: JAZU, 1955) 23; T. Smičiklas - M. Kostrenčić - E. Laszowskii, (eds.), *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (hereinafter: CD), vol. II. (Zagreb, JAZU, 1904), 320.

<sup>28</sup> Milan Prelog, “Dubrovački statut i izgradnja grada (1272-1972)”, *Peristil*, 14-15 (1971.-1972.): 81-94, 84.

<sup>29</sup> Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Blok između Polača; analiza razvoja i stanje, Elaborat centra za povijesne znanosti* (Zagreb: Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1984), 28-32.

<sup>30</sup> Anonim, 20-22; Ragnina, 199-201; Resti, 29-30.



tion, count and council indicate that this was in the context of the late medieval city.<sup>31</sup>

Narrative sources also mention so called Bodin's fortress (at the site of the St Nicholas church).<sup>32</sup> At the already mentioned drawing of Dubrovnik, *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel secolo XII* (17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> cent.), this fortification was indicated by the legend of *Rocca del re Bodino*.<sup>33</sup> But as we stated earlier, this erudite portrayal of the city have been formulated on the basis of the narrative sources.<sup>34</sup>

### The role of private landowners in the old city's defence

Except with the *old* northern walls and the *castrum* the defence of the *old city* was secured by private agglomerations of houses in the suburbs, which were bounded by private walls and towers. During the period when the city had not entirely developed its defence system, individual members of the landed nobility, the owners of residential-commercial blocks in the area outside the old city walls, took responsibility for the defence of the city, which also safeguarded their own property. The first such suburb which was formed considerably prior to the thirteenth century (possibly in the eleventh/twelfth century) was situated in the area in front of the Lion's Gate.<sup>35</sup> The suburbs which emerged

<sup>31</sup> Lovro Kunčević, "Dubrovačka slika Venecije i venecijanska slika Dubrovnika u ranom novom vijeku", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, no. 50 (2012), 9-37, 11. See also: Danko Zelić, O crtežu *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel Secolo XII*. kao "izvoru" za najstariju povijest Dubrovnika, *Radovi IPU* (2012), 27-34.

<sup>32</sup> Giuseppe Gelcich, ed., *Serafino Razzi: La storia di Ragusa*, (Dubrovnik: Editrice Tipografia Serbo-Ragusea, 1903). "Copioso ristretto de gli annali di Ravsa. Libri quattro. Di Giacomo di Pietro Lvccari gentilhuomo rauseo: Oue diligentissimamente si descriue la fondatione della cittàl'origine della Republica, e suo dominio, le guerre, le paci & tutti notabili...1604.", 15, 63; Natko Nodilo, ed., *Cronica Ragusina Junii Restii (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451)*, *Scriptores* vol. II, *Monumenta spectantia historioam Slavorum Meridionalium* vol. 25 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1893), (hereinafter: Resti); Vladimir Rezar, ed., *Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Komentari o mojem vremenu*. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 91-92. See also: Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od 7. stoljeća do godine 1205*. (Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU, 1973), 87. Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 17. Tibor Živković, "Dva pitanja iz vremena vladavine kralja Bodina", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 42 (2005), 45-59, 50-51. In this work, Živković discussed the reasons for the different dating of Bodin's reign in the Dubrovnik chronicles.

<sup>33</sup> State Archives in Dubrovnik, Bassegli-Gozze family archives; published already in: Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od 7. stoljeća do godine 1205*. (Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU, 1973).

<sup>34</sup> Danko Zelić, O crtežu *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel Secolo XII*. kao "izvoru" za najstariju povijest Dubrovnika, *Radovi IPU* (2012), 27-34.

<sup>35</sup> M. Planić-Lončarić recognized the structure of irregular "ellipsoid" blocks in these areas, (a "spontaneous model for developing space" as opposed to a planned model). These were enclosed

in the east outside of the walls covered a large part of today's Bunićeva poljana square east of the present-day cathedral.<sup>36</sup> Other, the western suburb in front of the west entrance to the city was also formed early (near the church of All saints). These suburbs which were partially bounded by the early medieval wall of the old city thus served as a bulwark for the city gates, and these blocks were the oldest formations in the *burgus* area which emerged prior to the planned undertakings in the thirteenth century, even though they are today scarcely recognizable in the urban layout.<sup>37</sup>

These first suburbs (east and west), according to Planić Lončarić, may have been spread up to the line of the *extra muros* street which passed through the *burgus* in the east-west direction (remainder of today's *Gučetićeva* street), and as a communication axis it may have been formed prior to the more northerly *Od puča* street (the main communication route in the *burgus* at the time of the statute).<sup>38</sup> In

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residential-commercial blocks owned by land-owner families. This constituted organization of the urban space with an agrarian or latifundian character. M. Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke republike*: 12-13; 18-19. Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Prilozi povijesi umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 29 (1990), 157-167, 164-165.

<sup>36</sup> "Dubrovnik. Blok uz Jezuite – Bunićeva poljana. Analiza razvoja, stanje i prijedlozi konzervatorskih smjernica", Zagreb, 194. (Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti). Today held in the Archives of the Art History Institute. Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), 18-19. Androvićeva connected the Lion's Gate with the area of the cathedral (where it was overarched) and onward to the harbour. Planić Lončarić assumed that there may have also been a gate in the (Late Antique) wall of the Castrum farther south near the cathedral, which connected the church with the agglomeration of houses west of the cathedral and east with the harbour. Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Prilozi povijesi umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 29 (1990), 157-167, 164-165. The inside and surroundings of introverted blocks of houses and towers were traversed by irregular street routes (Kriva and Androvićeva streets).

<sup>37</sup> Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), 18-19.

<sup>38</sup> This street would have linked parts of the city at the Church of All Saints through today's Prolazna and Za Rokom streets. The line of this former street was not preserved east of today's Pracatova street, but it probably continued down today's Kriva street in the direction of the harbour; Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), 18. The position of the first ellipsoid blocks was in fact determined in the north by the line of Gučetićeva street, while in the south by the old city wall. This street would have connected parts of the suburb with the city harbour through a gate found in Bunićeva poljana square. Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Prilozi povijesi umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 29 (1990), 157-167, 164-165. Today this line has only partially been preserved in the urban layout, and it may have been lost later due to property ownership issues and the loss of its importance in relation to the more northerly *Od puča* street. The closure of the western city gate at All Saints and the change in the direction of movement at the new gate of Pile accorded even greater importance to *Od puča* street, which was already important. Planić Lončarić linked the disappearance

the central part of the *burgus*, roughly in the twelfth century,<sup>39</sup> the formation of new, more regular blocks began, which emerged under the influence of the older irregular blocks in the first suburbs. According to the notarial documents of the first half of the 13th century, the estates of noble families and the church institutions can be located in the central *burgus* south of the *Campus* (later *Placa* street).<sup>40</sup> There are indications that the first estates were considerably larger than those that existed in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Until the completion of the final northern wall above St. Nicholas suburb, private owners who held the surrounding estates in the thirteenth century played an important role in the city's defence with the private towers they built.<sup>41</sup> One of the evidences of this is indeed reflected in the designations of city gates and towers, which bear the names of members of the city elites (the statute of 1272 mentions the Pisino and Mence gates...).<sup>42</sup>

Near the western gate of the *old city*, the 13th notarial documents mention that across the way from the Church of All Saints there was so called *Budislava* tower.<sup>43</sup> It was situated *a boream* (NW) in relation to the estate of Bogdan Pissino, known for the fact that the city gate was named after his house in the statutory regulation (the street which led to the gate below the house of Bogdan Pissino should have led toward *campus* according to the regulation).<sup>44</sup> According to Beritić, the *Turris Budislava* was at the same site as Bogdan Pissino's tower.<sup>45</sup> Yet another tower was mentioned in the immediate vicinity of All

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of this street with possible reconstruction at the earlier cathedral building, which it was not in use. Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 29 (1990), 157-167, 164-16, 158.

<sup>39</sup> Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004): 149-171, 166.

<sup>40</sup> Properties of St. Simon Monastery, churches of Holy Saviour and St. Barbara, the cathedral chapter and some noble families (notably Crossio, Balislava, Manana, Ranina, Guerero and Ceria).

<sup>41</sup> Some new noble families appear in documents as landlords: especially Volcassio, Mence, Gondola, Georgio, Pisino.

<sup>42</sup> .... *quod via que venit a porta Leonis vadat recta usque ad Campum; et via que venit a porta de Menci vadat sicut vadit usque ad Campum; et via que venit a porta de Celenga vadat rectam usque ad viam que est ante castrum. Et via que est inter domum Marini Villani et Michaelis de Bincola, eundo ad viam Omnium Sanctorum, que vadit ad portam muri civitatis, debeat stare sicut est. Via autem que venit a porta que subtus domum Bogdani de Pissino vadat rectam usque ad Campum; et via que vadit ad ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum vadat rectam usque ad portam muri civitatis; et via porte de sorte (sic) vadat recta usque ad predictam viam Omnium Sanctorum que vadit ad portam muri civitatis. Et via que exit de via Omnium Sanctorum, que est inter viridarium archiepiscopatus et viridarium dumpni Iohannis, vadat recta usque ad puteos....; SD, V, 41.*

<sup>43</sup> MHR, I, doc. 408., pp. 117; MHR II., doc. 871., pp. 201; doc. 824., pp. 254; MHR, IV, 529.

<sup>44</sup> Today's Domino street and its extension in the *burgus* – Široka street; SD, V, 41.

<sup>45</sup> According to L. Beritić, the old city wall, ran from the cliffs of St. Margaret to Domus Christi, and they had three towers on them: Bogdana Pissino or Turri Budislavi, the second tower of

Saints: the Villano Tower was mentioned south of the church in the fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The estate of Savino de Poca/Pozza (who was Bogdan Pissino's grandson!) was west of this tower.<sup>47</sup> The Villano family was mentioned in a provision of the statute of 1272 according to which the streets near All Saints were regulated,<sup>48</sup> and also in notarial document of 1279.<sup>49</sup> Reconstruction of the properties in this area (based on notarial documents) suggests that this was another tower (perhaps tied to the Celenga Gate or its line).<sup>50</sup> The positions of the city gates up to the present have been located, although there is no agreement on their actual positions.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, south of the Church of All Saints there was at least one tower, if not two, owned by noble families (Pissino, later Poca/Pozza families and Villano family).<sup>52</sup> They may have been along the same line as the towers in the eastern suburb. There are data on the private towers in the "eastern suburb" near the Lion's gate in the 13th century as well. Also, there still existed the walls that surrounded the estates of feudal owners in the central *burgus* in the final quarter of the thirteenth century.

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Marin Celippe (*Turri Marini Celippe*), according to Beritić, was somewhere next to Tmušasta street and the tower of Ivan Zereva (*Turri Iohannis de Zereva*), according to Beritić somewhere near Kabožina or Uska street; Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958), 15. The above mentioned notarial documents do not mention namely "Bogdan Pissino's tower", only his house, gate and estate.

<sup>46</sup> Nikoleta, the widow of Dimitrio de Vilano, with the consent of her son Marin, sold (for 400 pp) half of the tower and court (*mediam turri et mediam curiam*) to Marin's wife Bona on 11 December 1313; State Archives in Dubrovnik, *Diversa de cancellariae*, vol. 1 (1313.).

<sup>47</sup> To its north was the estate of Orsat de Bodacia.

<sup>48</sup> "The already existing" street (which according to the statue had to remain the same), passed between the houses of Marin Villani and Miho Bincola, and ended at All Saints street (which in turn ran to the gate on the city wall); SD, L. V, c. 41.

<sup>49</sup> It is possible that the house of Marin Villani was the same as that of Marin *Millano* from 1279, located west of the house that Slava de Pecorario sold (for as much as 500 sdg.) in 1279 to Katena, the wife of Šimun Benese *ad portam de Zalenga*. MHR II., doc. 959., pp 228.

<sup>50</sup> Since the Pissino/Poca estate here was west (*ex parte ponentis*) of the tower, while in the case of the Budisclave Tower, it was *a boream*.

<sup>51</sup> According to Beritić, the Celenga Gate was east of the Villani house, i.e., about 12 meters from the Bogdan Pissino Gate. Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958), 15. Ž. Peković believed that the intervals between the remaining towers was roughly 60 meters, so it is possible that the gate here was so close. The documents nonetheless indicate the proximity of the Bogdana Pissino Gate and the Celenga Gate; Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik: nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnoga grada = la fondation et le developpement de la ville medievale* (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998), 46.

<sup>52</sup> See also: N. Nađ, D. Šikić, M. Vetma, "Blok Domino, elaborat sanacije" (The discovery of an existing although rebuilt house/tower was published by conservation specialists from the Monument Protection Department in Dubrovnik in 1988).

For example, one of the estates of the Volcassio brothers,<sup>53</sup> who acquired it in an exchange with the Gondola brothers, sons of *Valius* Gondola in the *burgus*, *outside of the old city walls*.<sup>54</sup> The sons of *Valius* Gondola (\*1234-1282), Benedikt and Damijan inherited the estates outside of the Lion's Gate<sup>55</sup> from their uncle, John Gondola (*illum terrenum extra portam Leonis qui mihi pertinet*). The document about property exchange specifies that the Gondolas received a notary *carta* proving that the Volcassios purchased their estate from the St. Simon Monastery (and this was located *extra antiquum murum civitatis*).<sup>56</sup> In the notarial document a "wall" (a former *old city wall* with crenellation) is mentioned south of the Gondola estate, which was purchased in mid-century by the southern neighbour Nikola son of Marin Ceria, who enlarged this same wall by building a new section.<sup>57</sup> These estates were probably located near the line of the old city wall: the communal authorities sold parts of the wall to private owners, who participated in defence by building new sections of the wall. Another neighbour of Benedict Gondola and Nikola Ceria was Martol Cereva, who owned two towers on the communal wall in 1282 (*quod due turris sunt laborate super muro communis Ragusii*). That year communal authorities decided that Cereva had to tear down the towers or reach an arrangement with the city over their use. On this occasion, Martol testified that the towers *antiquo tempore* were also held previously by his father and grandfather.<sup>58</sup> According to Martol, the towers were built to defend the city at a time *when the new city wall did not yet exist* (thus, during the time of his grandfather, perhaps the 1340s).<sup>59</sup> It is possible that Martol's father and grandfather built the towers to defend the city (perhaps the old wall was in dilapidated).<sup>60</sup> It was not unusual for private owners to participate in the construction of the new wall which emerged along that line (as in the case of Nikola Ceria). The participation of private owners in the construction of the city

<sup>53</sup> MHR, I, pp. 335; 1119. More on this: Irena Benyovsky Latin - Stipe Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku", *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> The 1258 document specifies "*de muro veteri civitatis Ragusii*" (CD V, 612, p. 9), while the document on the exchange of estates in 1282 states "*extra antiquum murum civitatis*". In both cases, it is possible that they refer to the old city wall on which the first three *sexteria* were fortified (Kaštio, St. Peter and Pustijerna).

<sup>55</sup> According to Peković, the Lion's Gate was located at the intersection of Strossmayerova and Lučarica streets, and he confirmed this by means of archaeological research conducted in the Monument Protection Department in 1987, when a circular structure was found here which Peković believed was the city tower with gate; according to Beritić, the Lion's Gate was at the bottom of the stairway at Uz Jezuite.

<sup>56</sup> MHR, I, 1119.

<sup>57</sup> MHR, II, doc. 939, pp. 221.

<sup>58</sup> One of these towers was probably that of Ivan Cereva, Martol's father, which was located below the territory of Benedikt Gondola in 1282.

<sup>59</sup> MHR II., doc. 1305, pp 345.

<sup>60</sup> Martol de Zereva's territory, according to the statute of 1296, was located south-west of Benedikt Gondola's estate; SD, VIII, 57.

walls, primarily to protect their own estates but also entire city sections, would not have been an unusual situation (for example, in thirteenth-century Trogir, private owners participated in the city's defence by building private towers on the city wall).<sup>61</sup>

The wall of the old part of Dubrovnik may have been in poor condition (possibly after the attacks in the previous period). In fact, in mid-13th century, parts of the old city wall were sold also close to the *Pustijerna* Gate. Already analysed notarial document dated 1254, shows that the commune sold to the nobleman Matia, *filius Balatie* a part of the old city wall which ran from the Gate at *Pustijerna* to the Gondola house,<sup>62</sup> which was south of that wall.<sup>63</sup> Beritić concluded that the old city wall was obviously in non-functional condition then. He also believes that that proves the existence of *the new city wall* around St. Nicholas suburb. Peković, however, believes that part of the old wall was sold to the private owners so they could lean their houses on it. He believes another (temporary) city wall existed encircling only the burgus of St. Blaise, and was preceding the construction to the final one (as we will see later).

Surely, in the mid-thirteenth century, during a time of real danger from the hinterland, the *old city* could not have remained unprotected: the sale of parts of the wall suggests either the existence of a more northerly defence system or the assumption of defence and repair of the old wall by private owners. It is difficult to assume that the final northern wall was completely built by the mid-thirteenth century, but it also not possible to prove that another wall existed around St. Blaise. St Blaise *burgus* may have possibly been defended only by individual towers and walls around private estates.

The noblemen estates encircled by walls often had entry access gates. (It is possible that such were "the gates used to entered the Gondola estate" at the southern end of Kabogina street described in the statute regulation of 1296.).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo*. Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009, 67; Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Izgradnja gradskih fortifikacija u Trogiru od 13. do 15. stoljeću", Vol. 28 (2010).

<sup>62</sup> Gondola house mentioned in this document was located at *Pustijerna, infra muros*; CD, IV, pp. 547.

<sup>63</sup> Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 14; Mihajlo J. Dinić, *Odluke veća dubrovačke republike*, vol. I (Belgrade: SAN, 1951); Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Radovi IPU*, 12-13 (1988-1989), 65-75, 70. Grujić located this house in *Pustijerna* in the central section of the block between *Stulina* and *Gradićeva* streets: the *Grubiša* house farther north and the *Ivan* house farther south, at the very southern end of the block. Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004), 36 (footnote 55).

<sup>64</sup> ... *Que quidem via transeat inter territorium monasterii S. Marie de Melita et domum Ursacii Cereve et intret per portam hedifficatam in muro per quam intratur ad territoria illorum de Gondula, et taliter discurat usque ad murum civitatis veteris*; SD, VIII, 57.

These private walls generally disappeared after the regulation of 1296. After the defensive system was developed, these private walls generally lost their function. Moreover, their existence, like that of the private towers, did not fit into the idea of the newly-emergent communal system, so they were gradually torn down.<sup>65</sup>

In the period before construction of the new northern city around the *burgus* of St. Nicholas individual members of the feudal nobility – the owners of residential/commercial blocks in suburbs – assumed responsibility for the city's defence while securing their own holdings. Large land complexes constituted non-urban formations of spatial organization (which is reflected in the term *territoria*), while their structure reflected, besides social relations, the need for security.<sup>66</sup>

Already in the thirteenth century a street network began to be established as a sign of communal control of this area and the transformation of the former *territoria* of non-urban type to city lots.<sup>67</sup> The area of the *burgus* was organized as an orthogonal network, and the tracts set aside for housing construction were defined.<sup>68</sup> Regulation of the streets certainly began even prior to their enactment in the regulations of 1272 and 1296.<sup>69</sup> Even in the decree of 1272, some streets were defined as “already existing” (nevertheless generally closer to the western, earlier regulated All Saints section). Some earlier documents reveal the existence of streets which passed through the central *burgus*.<sup>70</sup> Regulation of the *burgus* of St. Blaise proceeded gradually in the thirteenth century, in compliance with communal planning and development of administration, but also with complex property and familial relations among the estate owners.

<sup>65</sup> Marija Planić-Lončarić, “Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika”, *Radovi IPU*, vol. 12-13 (1988-1998), 65-75, 70.

<sup>66</sup> Dead-end passages led into the interior of these large introverted building complexes which were isolated from each other by private walls. Besides the fortified home of the owner, there were also courtyards with outbuildings (storage spaces, ovens, sources of water) and (wooden) huts for dependent residents, later renters, without access to the streets; Marija Planić-Lončarić, “Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika”, *Radovi IPU*, vol. 12-13 (1988-1998), 65-75, 70. Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), vol. 12–13, 18.

<sup>67</sup> Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), 18.

<sup>68</sup> Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić (ed.), *Knjige nekretnina Dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*. *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad affectum* (saec. XIII-XVIII), vol. 1 (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2007), 24.

<sup>69</sup> Ante Šoljić, Zdravko Šundrica, Ivo Veselić, *Statut grada Dubrovnika sastavljen godine 1272* (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002) (hereinafter: SD), L. V, c. 41; Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*. (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958), 14-15; Milan Prelog, “Dubrovački statut i izgradnja grada (1272–1972)”, *Peristil*, 14-15 (1971-1972): 81-94.

<sup>70</sup> CD, V, ed. Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1907, doc. 612 (year of 1258).

Communal planning demonstrated the aspiration for urbanization of the entire *infra muros* area and its administrative and fiscal control. The routing of new streets through the *burgus* simultaneously raised the value of the estates and facilitated more rational use of the urban space, especially those parts along communication routes (they could be leased), but it also reduced their surface area (and increased the number of smaller plots). This was in the interest of the commune as well, for it could exercise better control over this space and it facilitated developmental planning; it was also in the interest of the owners, who thus increased the value of their plots. As a result, the large noblemen's blocks gradually disappeared from the *burgus*. The regulations on streets certainly indicate the effectiveness of the executive authorities and the functioning of institutions: the routing of streets certainly played a part in the demolition of individual structures and the creation of passages over private land.

### Construction of walls around the suburbs

Prior to construction of the final *versus montem* wall, there nonetheless had to be a defensive system which safeguarded the new suburb *versus montem*. This is because political instability and the permanent threat of the city's conquest loomed not only up to the establishment of Venetian administration in Dubrovnik at the very onset of the thirteenth century, but also from the beginning of the fourteenth century onward (the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty began to expand its territory and demonstrated a desire to seize the city). The extent of Dubrovnik's construction development in the thirteenth century continues to spur debate among historians, archaeologists and art historians. The precise developmental stages, when exactly the suburbs were incorporated *infra muros*, or the precise phases of wall construction are not entirely clear. Opinions are not uniform: there are different views even on where the northern line of the *old city walls* was (According to some this line ran along today's southern end of M. Kaboga and Uska streets, while others believe that the wall stood farther south, along today's Strossmayerova street).<sup>71</sup> Besides differing

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<sup>71</sup> Željko Peković considered the argument that the wall passed along the southern ends of today's Uska and Kaboga streets without basis, for these streets, according to a sixteenth-century map, went to today's Strossmayerova street, not ending roughly 20 m north of this point as they do now. He cites archaeological research as evidence; Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik: nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnoga grada = la fondation et le développement de la ville medievale*, (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998); Ilario Principe, "Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz 16. i 17. stoljeća", *Dubrovnik*, 1 (1991), 191-202. According to Lukša Beritić, today's Strossmayerova street was the former *decumanus* of the old city inside its walls, while today's Od Domina street was the former *cardo*; Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958), 11. Marija Planić Lončarić, in her earlier works, and relying on Beritić, stated that the walls passed through the feudal estate blocks: "It would appear that the line of the older city fortifications had already been incorporated into the buildings and spaces of the actual blocks even in the 'newer' part of



opinions on the wall that defended the old city to the north, views also diverge on whether the suburb incorporated into the city was defended in the thirteenth century. Individual researchers believe that there were temporary *middle walls* which defended the southern suburb of St Blaise that grew before the northern suburb of St Nicholas (which emerged from a space which became the city's centre at the end of the thirteenth century).<sup>72</sup>

Here, we shall follow the data on the walls in the written sources. The area of the western suburb began to form even prior to the thirteenth century in front of the western city gate. According to a notarial document from 1255, a All Saints church garden located north of the Church of All Saints, was fenced in by a *maceria*, while to its north there was communal property settled with wooden houses.<sup>73</sup>

Some early modern narrative sources described the construction of “new” city walls around this tract already in the mid-thirteenth century, and they were also used by some authors to unravel the question of Dubrovnik's fortified walls in the period up to the end of the thirteenth century. In 1252, according to chronicler Resti, the Serbian army attacked the city with the intent of preventing construction of the *new Dubrovnik walls* which were supposed to fence off the suburb of St. Blaise.<sup>74</sup> Resti described plans to built a new wall around the city in 1252 – it was supposed to begin from the west and move toward the north, and thus connecting the suburb called *Garište*<sup>75</sup> or St. Blaise,

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the city rather early, and at places it even ran adjacent to the blocks, as in the space between Gučetića, Strossmayerova and Pracatova streets.” She placed the old wall between the end of Uska and Kaboga streets, and on that line she found the “at the former Mence Gate site”, a narrow passage toward the aforementioned block from the west; Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), 20. In later research, she accepted the view of the line in today's Strossmayerova street; Study: “Osnovna škola ‘Miše Simoni’ u Dubrovniku (palača i vrt u Gučetićevoj, objekti u Pracatovoj): analiza i stanje”. Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1984. Peković believed that it was precisely the formation of large rectangular blocks north of Strossmayerova which signified that the wall had to have been farther south. Even so, the dating of these blocks is not certain. Before them there were elliptical blocks which crossed the line of Strossmayerova from the old city; on this, see: Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980), *passim*.

<sup>72</sup> Planić Lončarić believed that the next “genuine northern wall” was built only at the peak of Prijeko only at the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>73</sup> CD, IV, 518; MHR, I, 1096., 323.

<sup>74</sup> According to Resti, the people of Dubrovnik attempted to intervene with the king with regard to the walls, but unsuccessfully, and he in fact expelled Dubrovnik's merchants from his country and threatened to attack. So Dubrovnik attempted to send its Venetian prince, Marsilio Giorgio, to intervene with the king (who was Venetian on his mother's side), but the prince did not go, so ambassadors were sent, but without success; Resti, 90. As opposed to Resti, neither Ragnina nor Anonymous mentioned this incident.

<sup>75</sup> *Garište* in Croatian: the area demolished by fire (of 1296).

because “at the time city was settled by many new residents”. According to the Chronicle, it was decided to repair (*remake*) the old wall as well.<sup>76</sup> Dubrovnik’s representative intervened with the Serbian king with regard to this construction and after diplomatic action and payments made in 1254, they concluded a peace treaty.<sup>77</sup> Beritić believed that this report, if at all acceptable, could refer only to the commencement of construction of the final wall, and not some *middle* wall around the suburbs.<sup>78</sup>

A war with Serbian ruler Urosh broke out once more in 1265, but the city allegedly concluded a peace with payment of an annual tribute of 2,000 perpers. The year 1266 was described, again in Resti’s chronicle (and this time in Ragnina’s as well), as the beginning of construction of the *new city walls* around the suburbs.<sup>79</sup> The period between 1265 and 1275 (when Urosh once more attacked the city) was a time of relative peace “outside”, although there was internal unrest. The people of Dubrovnik expelled the Venetian prince, Giovanni Querini, from the city, and were hence threatened by the Venetian doge.<sup>80</sup>

This period, 1266 to be precise, was described in the chronicles as the beginning of construction of a *new wall* around the suburb.<sup>81</sup> Ragnina cited data on the commencement of construction of the walls in 1266, which began “on the western side, starting from the high tower across the way from St. Lawrence toward the north and the Church of St. Nicholas, with many towers”.<sup>82</sup> According to him, the *new wall* was connected to the eastern castle (St. Luke’s Fortress).<sup>83</sup> Resti alleged that the entire new city was surrounded by walls already as of 1266, when the large defensive walls were built (*una nuova grossa muranglia*) which were also supposed to encircle the suburb of St. Nicholas *di Campo*, and connected this section with the castle in the east

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<sup>76</sup> Resti, 90.

<sup>77</sup> In 1254 Dubrovnik put forward some of its revenues, from customs and butcher shops, to pay the peace tribute to Uroš; CD, IV, doc. 499.

<sup>78</sup> In the thus far most systematic overview of the history of Dubrovnik’s fortifications, L. Beritić asserted that prior to the northern city walls at the end of the thirteenth century, there were no other walls surrounding the city (except the old wall around Pustjerna and Kaštel); Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 20.

<sup>79</sup> Resti, 96; Ragnina, 221; Beritić considered Ragnina’s report on wall construction in 1266 “more reliable than Resti’s” and concluded that the descriptions pertained to the reinforcement and construction of the section around Prijeko; Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 18.

<sup>80</sup> Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 1 (Korjeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva, Zagreb-Dubrovnik, HAZU, 2011), 215; Gregor Čremošnik, “Odnos Dubrovnika prema Mlecima do godine 1358”, *Narodna starina*, vol. 12, no. 32 (1933), 169-178, 176.

<sup>81</sup> Resti, 96.

<sup>82</sup> Ragnina, 221.

<sup>83</sup> Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 18.

(St. Luke). The wall had towers (*torrioni*), while four towers were built to defend the harbour.<sup>84</sup>

The value of the narrative sources for the study of medieval urban centres is without a doubt as in many cases, they contain details that cannot be found in other types of sources. Nonetheless, these data should be analysed with caution when fitting them into spatial and chronological categories. Narrative sources are historical facts themselves, and the descriptions of the town that such sources present does not necessarily reflect medieval reality.<sup>85</sup> The history of the town was used to explain and legitimize the present. Authors often treated equally data of diverse provenances and credibility: 'rumours', older sources and contemporary sources. Moreover, the authors may adjust the data from the contemporary sources to the needs of their descriptions, so many locations and years may have been changed in order to fit to the story. The unsystematic and imprecise description of events may make narrative sources unreliable. Thus the credibility of the historical sequence and topographic determinants in these sources must be examined by analysing the diverse aspects that influenced construction of the record. Caution also must be exercised with urbanogyms and toponyms in the narrative sources, particularly in the area of the suburbs that transformed intensively from the 13th century until the period when the narrative sources were written.

As we have mentioned earlier, the most knowledgeable expert on the history of Dubrovnik's fortifications, Lukša Beritić, does not consider the information on the city walls reliable. According to him, the descriptions of the walls from 1266 once more refer to the final northern wall. The high tower which ran toward *Lovrijenac* (St Lawrence) Tower could, according to Beritić, have been that one near the Pile Gate, because today's Kalarinja Tower above Bokar Tower was constructed in the fourteenth century, while *Puncijela* Tower was built in 1305.<sup>86</sup> He believes that the wall on the eastern end may have reached St. Nicholas, and not St. Luke as described (for there are preserved remains of a wall at St. Nicholas which descend toward the campanile at the St. James Tower). The towers mentioned by Resti and Ragnina, according to Beritić, are the four towers at the harbour.<sup>87</sup> N. Grujić also used data on the

<sup>84</sup> Resti, 96.

<sup>85</sup> The historiographical representation of the town in these sources is constructed in relation to the context in which they were created, as the result of collective urban memory and the intentions of their author(s)/compiler(s): their selectiveness and discernment, as well as the accessibility of different types of sources (private-legal sources, public documents, older chronicles and church records). Some narrative sources bear traces of multiple hands from different periods.

<sup>86</sup> He considers it illogical that chroniclers placed the construction of a wall around the suburb of St. Blaise in 1252, while in 1266 they mentioned the renewed construction of an entire wall around the city. *Puncijela* Tower was established in 1305; Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 18.

<sup>87</sup> According to Beritić described 4 towers could have been: the St. Luke Tower, the tower at the old arsenal; the tower built on the bastion of the Palace (where the arsenal's arcades ended) and

towers in her research, locating them close to the harbour: the towers fortifying the communal Palace on the sea side were only mentioned by name in the fourth century: 1350 and 1366.<sup>88</sup>

Some other researchers, for instance Ž. Peković, believed that the descriptions in these narrative sources may have described city wall which defended the area of the suburbs south of Placa prior to construction of the final wall above St. Nicholas's *burgus*.<sup>89</sup> Several authors also believe that the wall around St. Blaise suburb existed. Their statement depended also on a notary document dated to the thirteenth century, as well as on archaeological research. Notary document (a dispute) that was analysed dated 1258: the "new" and "old" *city walls* encircling the city on the northern side were mentioned here, describing their distance from one private estate in the *burgus*.<sup>90</sup> In detail, landlord Vukas Ivanić was in a dispute with Ungara, the wife of another landlord Domanja Guererio over some land in the *burgus*. Ungara initiated litigation with Ivanić because he wanted to build a wall *extra muros civitatis Ragusii*, on land owned by her husband, Domanja Guerero, who was absent.<sup>91</sup>

Vukas attempted to prove that he had built the foundations on his land, presenting an older document from 1255, which detailed another demarcation lawsuit involving the estate of Vukas and that of the Monastery of St. Simon. This document specified the distance of Vukas Ivanić's estate (*57 bracolaria versus montem* from the old wall, and *56 bracolaria versus montem* from the new wall. The "old wall" was certainly the wall of the old city, while the position of the "new wall" was, based on the relevant literature, questionable: some researchers placed it along the line north of the old wall and parallel to it, thus along the line of some manner of temporary "middle wall" which would have encircled the *burgus* south of Placa as of the mid-thirteenth century. Some researchers believed that the old and new walls both specified as *versus montem* were set parallel, one farther north than the other. Depending on the part of the document being interpreted, some researchers believed that the distance between the old and new walls was  $56 + 57$  *bracolaria* while some (depending on another part of the description contained in the document) also place the "unknown expanse of the St. Simon estate" in the distance between the two

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the tower of the Count's Palace at the Ponte Gate (*turris campanaria*). Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*. (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1255), 19, 28.

<sup>88</sup> N. Grujić also used data on the towers, locating them close to the harbour: the towers fortifying the Prince's Palace on the sea side (Kaznea Tower and the Prince's Tower) were only mentioned by name in the fourth century: 1350 and 1366; Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004), 149-171, 156. *Monumenta ragusina* IV, 63-64.

<sup>89</sup> Željko Peković, "Urbani razvoj Dubrovnika do 13. stoljeća", *Dubrovnik*, 4 (1997): 166-212, 87.

<sup>90</sup> CD, V, doc. 612.

<sup>91</sup> CD, V, pp. 95-96.

parallel walls.<sup>92</sup> A more detailed analysis of the document indicates that this was possibly not a new wall north of the “old” wall, but possibly a new part of the wall around the old city which was situated roughly along the same line as the old one (it would appear that part of the old wall was demolished, perhaps in a previous attack from the hinterland), so that the need arose for construction of a *new wall section*. The possibility of reinforcing the defensive capacity of the *old wall* with some *new parts* at a time when a new northern section may have been constructed has already been suggested by abovementioned notarial documents (on properties of Ceria and Gondola families *extra muros*). The position of the “new wall” described in the document of 1255/58 is not certain at this point.<sup>93</sup>

However, archaeological research has indicated the possibility that a fortification existed south of today’s Placa street (precisely, north of today’s Cvijete Zozorić street)<sup>94</sup> when the fragment of a Romanesque “city wall” (140 cm) was found in the Baroque “Kaboga palace”<sup>95</sup> and the remains of a 150 cm wide wall

<sup>92</sup> M. Medini believed that the space regulated by the statute of 1272 must have been defended by some sort of wall to its north, and he first analyzed the data from the document on the distance of the St. Simon estate from the old and new city walls. He assumed that there was a *middle wall* “around Prijeko”, speculating that the monastery’s estate may have had a maximum length of 100 meters. He cites as an argument the fact that in 1296 Prijeki way was still called *costeria burgi* (on the rocky coast of the burg). According to Medini, this “new” city wall thus ran parallel to the old city wall – for both were *versus montem* – and north of it at a distance of 113 ells (roughly 57 meters), plus the known width of the St. Simon land (he assumed that this may have been a maximum of 100 meters); Milorad Medini, *Starine ddbrovačke* (Dubrovnik: Jadran, 1935), 150-151.

<sup>93</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that previous researchers translated *bracolaria* as ells (*brača*) – 0.55 m. Therefore 57 ells would be 31.35 m, and 56 ells would be 30.8 meters. However the term *brazzo*, *brazzonarius*, *brazzolarius* was generally used in Dalmatian communes for the measure twice as long as the communal ell (*brachium*) whose length varied by a factor of roughly 0.5 m; Marija Zaninović-Rumora, “Korčulanske mjere za dužinu i površinu u razdoblju od 15. do 19. stoljeća”, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 27 (2009), 103-120; Josip Kolanović, “Šibenski metrološki sustav u 15. stoljeću”, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 37 (1994), 189-207. A *bracolarij* or *brazolar* also meant a type of tool, a hoe or stick of a specific length used for measuring; Marija Zaninović-Rumora, “Stare mjere Splita od 15. do 19. stoljeća”, *Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, vol. 52 (2010), 173- 188. A comparison of the size of plots in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century, where measurements were made in fathoms, feet, ells and *bracolaria*, are additionally illustrated by this relationship: 1 fathom (*passus*) – 2 *bracolaria* (*brazzolarij*) – 4 ells (*brachii*) – 6 feet (*pes*) – palms (*palmus*).

<sup>94</sup> Ivica Žile, “Fortifikacijski sustavi u svjetlu recentnih arheoloških nalaza”, *Dubrovnik*, 2 (1993), 223-228; Ivica Žile, “Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Vlaha u povijesnoj jezgri grada Dubrovnika”, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 35 (2008), 185-193, 188; Ivica Žile, “Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u palači Kaboga 2-4 u Dubrovniku”, *Radovi IPU*, 16 (1992), 19-27.

<sup>95</sup> This wall was 150 cm wide, but in the east-west direction, which indicates that it was a city and not a private wall (the western city wall that encircled the suburbs in the mid-thirteenth century also had a width of three Dubrovnik ells – 1.53 meters).

were found at the same line to the east (today's *Ragusina*). According to I. Žile, the line of these walls remains in the east-west direction, which would connect these two wall fragments, may have constituted the fortification system with which the "St. Blaise suburb" was fortified (the section from the Kaboga Palace toward the very south-west edge of the Church of St. Blaise along today's *Željarica* street to *Ragusina*, where the fragment of a Late Antique wall was found). The same system, according to Žile, had to have been destroyed prior to 1296 and the construction of the final northern wall. Žile speculated that the wall may have been temporary, which clearly indicated the later street regulation in the north-south direction which extended to the north of this wall. Even though Žile also mentioned the measure in ells in his interpretation, the distance from the Kaboga Palace to the old city wall would have been the sum of twice times roughly 60 meters plus a possibly small St. Simon estate. Certainly, future archaeological and/or historical research will reveal the position of "new defensive wall" in the aforementioned mid-thirteenth century document.

Besides the data from the narrative sources on construction of the walls in 1266, already interpreted in the literature, there are the lesser known data from another early modern chronicle of Serafin Cerva<sup>96</sup> which also mention the city wall around the suburbs: according to Cerva's chronicle, in 1269 the city expanded so that suburb was added to the Old City "which look toward the west". According to the description, until that year "the city street *Pomerium*, which was actually called *Lata*, was a boundary." According to Cerva, "in 1269 a peripheral suburb which was then called St. Blaise suburb because of the local Church of St. Blaise, and is today called *Garište* was merged,<sup>97</sup> while *moenia ac propugnacula* were raised around it, and the Pile Gate, which was until then next to All Saints, was brought from the other side of the new *Pomerium*."<sup>98</sup> Cerva himself mentioned that the suburb was incorporated due to an increase in the population, and by his time the aforementioned wall had not been preserved. If the city gate moved westward,<sup>99</sup> the former would be probably be named after the owners of the neighbouring estates.

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<sup>96</sup> Serafin Cerva, *Sacra Metropolis Ragusina, sive ragusinae provinciae pontificum series variis ecclesiarum monumentis atque historicis, chronologicis, criticis commentariis ...*; sign. 36 - IV - 14, manuscript in the Dominican monastery library in Dubrovnik.

<sup>97</sup> Although he did not record the construction of walls, Ragnina alleged that in 1269 the section of St. Blaise (*santo Blasio alla piazza*) was merged with the city, so that residential homes could be constructed, for the houses and commercial buildings were pressed together in the section around the Church of All Saints up to the walls of the old city. Ragnina, 221.

<sup>98</sup> In a document from 1281, the Church of All Saints was located *intus a muro civitatis*; MHR, I, doc. 593.

<sup>99</sup> According to Beritić, the former main city gate was called *porta Pisino* in the statute (based on the owner of the neighbouring estate). According to Beritić, the remainder of this old gate was preserved at Od Domina street 6 (he also calls them the Castle Gate). The statute calls it "the gate in front of the house of Bogdan de Pisino" (DS, V, 41). See also: Daniele Farlati: *Illyrici sacri tomus sextus*, Venetiis 1800, 108; Ivica Žile, "Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u Domu Marina

If we would rely on these data, we could assume that the area west and south of All Saints was more densely populated prior to 1272,<sup>100</sup> and the city wall around it was built as a phase in the construction of the final *new wall* (that was possibly planned from 1252/1266 as stated in narrative sources). In this case, the city gate would also be moved westward.<sup>101</sup> However, the narrative sources could not be the evidence on which we could rely our reconstructions. Nonetheless, according to the statute of 1272 the streets mentioned around the Church of All Saints existed earlier.<sup>102</sup> Also, in notarial document dated 1281, the garden and Church of All Saints (*territorium et ortum positum apud dictam ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum*) were located *inside* the city wall - *intus a muro civitatis* (it may be assumed that this pertained to the final northern city wall - i.e., that it had already been sufficiently built by then).<sup>103</sup>

Crhonicler Resti mentioned that at the end of 1269 the decision was made to upgrade the suburb called St. Blaise, because it was barren, lacking houses, and marshy, so housing construction had to be facilitated. This suburb of St Blaise, according to Resti “ended at the Church of All Saints, which was *formerly* outside of the old city walls”. Certainly, according to the statute, the streets regulation “in burgus” was planned in 1272 mostly for the area east of the Church of All Saints - i.e., today’s *Široka* street (obviously because the area west of *Široka* street had already been regulated).<sup>104</sup>

The first sentence of the streets regulation indicates that the regulation constitutes an attempt to implement jurisdiction over a new part of the central *burgus*, and thus add it to the “city”: “*New circumstances dictate new solutions. For, by God’s will another, new city has been attached to Dubrovnik, which has until now been called a suburb, and so in the future there are no doubts as to the thoroughfares and streets of this suburb, by this law, which must remain effective*

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Držića u Dubrovniku”, *Radovi IPU*, 12-13 (1988-1989), 49-57, 54. And chronicler Mattei, in the manuscript *Zibaldone*, wrote that the Domino (All Saints) Church was built in front of the *Lave* Castle. Ivan Mattei: *Zibaldone*, II, (*Memorie storiche su Ragusa raccolte dal Padre Gian Maria Mattei*, MSS 434), s. 267, today in the Library of St. Francis Monastery in Dubrovnik.

<sup>100</sup> In the section below Strossmayerova street (the yard of the City’s primary school), late Romanesque and early Gothic houses and irregular streets were discovered.

<sup>101</sup> According to Beritić, the gate mentioned in the statute is the gate on the western wall which can even today be seen built into the wall at the Retirement Home (“Za Rokom street at the extension in the yard of the Retirement Home where even now there is a small built-in doorway”; Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958), 14.

<sup>102</sup> One street next to All Saints in 1272 was mentioned as “already existing” (Today the small street called Hliđina) and it was located between the houses of Marin Villani and Michael Bincola, and ended at All Saints street (which in turn ran to the gate on the city wall). *Et via que est inter domum Marini Villani et Michaelis de Bincola, eundo ad viam Omnium Sanctorum, que vadit ad portam muri civitatis, debeat stare sicut est*; SD, L. V., c. 41.

<sup>103</sup> MHR, I, doc. 593.

<sup>104</sup> SD, V, 41.

for all time, we stipulate...”.<sup>105</sup> According to this regulation, the city expanded administratively and legally: the old city (*urbi Ragusii*) was enlarged with a new part (*nova civitas*) which was once called a suburb (*burgus*). In it, the existing were ascertained and the new streets were regulated. Herein, the new city obviously means the *burgus* east of Široka Street (All Saints Church section) and east of Lučarica Street (*castrum* section) north of the city gate and old city wall and *campus*.<sup>106</sup> No *city wall* is mentioned here that would have constituted some sort of northern boundary of the incorporated suburb, or passed through this suburb at all. In the thirteenth century, the heart of the *burgus* was Od puča street, which led to the *castrum* at its eastern end.<sup>107</sup>

The new northern city wall (that encircled St. Nicholas suburb at the end of the 13th century) had been probably built intensively and there were plans to incorporate the suburbs into the city, for there was a permanent threat from the hinterland: in the war with Urosh in 1275, the Serbian army plundered certain estates outside of the city but did not manage to take the city. After Urosh was deposed by his son Stephan Dragutin, a period of peaceful relations ensued (1276-1282) when the dynamics of transactions were quite lively – this was generally a period of great demographic and economic growth as well as increasingly intensified activities by the communal administration. Some of the newcomers came from the hinterland, others from the other cities. Chronicle Ragnina specified 1277 as the year “when a multitude of new residents, wealthy and with families, came to the city from Bosnia. At that time the gardens used by the city in the suburbs began to be developed with residential buildings, and a new city gate was built, above which a statue of St. Blaise was installed”.<sup>108</sup> Resti also stated that as of 1277 (and this was also the year of entries in the archival registers began!) the city’s population grew suddenly due to immigrants from Bosnia and Rascia, and that they prompted the construction of houses in the suburb, the city gate at Pile, etc.<sup>109</sup> As opposed to Cerva, who dated the construction of a new *Pile* gate to 1269, Resti and ranina men-

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<sup>105</sup> *Quia igitur, annuente Deo, urbi Ragusii alia nova civitas est adiuncta que burgus actenus vocabatur, ne super stratis et viis ipsius burgi de cetero dubitacio oriatur, hac editali lege in perpetuum valitura statuimus*; SD, V, 41.

<sup>106</sup> Streets running south to north were determined by flows from the city gate to the city wall (Pisino, Celenga and Mence gates). In the east-west direction, besides the main street (*Ulica od puča*), only a shorter street is also mentioned, today’s Cvijete Zuzorić street (from streets Lučarica to Miha Pracata).

<sup>107</sup> Nada Grujić, “Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine”, *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004): 149-171, 153. See also: Lukša Beritić, “Ubikacija nestalih građevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku”, *PPDU*, vol. 10 (1956), 61.

<sup>108</sup> Ragnina, 222. The data on the instalation of the statute of St. Blaise (the patron of the city) must be seen from the perspective of the period whrn the chronicle was written.

<sup>109</sup> 1277. *Cresceva intanto il popolo in Ragusa per il gran numero de’ Bossinesi e Rassiani, che tuttavia con le famiglie e con le facultà si ritiravano in questa città. E vedendo la repubblica, che la città era poco capace a ricever tanta moltitudine, ordinò, che nessuna casa potesse aver giardini,*



tioned the construction of new city gate of Pile in 1277. Although it is very tempting to use above mentioned data to show the gradual process of the new city walls construction (and moving the city gates accordingly) as well the gradual process of the transforming suburbia into the urban land, the narrative sources are simply not enough reliable sources.

The *burgus* north of the Placa (later St. Nicholas), only began to be more systematically settled in the latter half of the thirteenth century (generally on communally owned land). Even though the commune leased out plots in this area even prior to 1296, it was only after the fire that this area was parcelized, and new regular streets were introduced. Whether some (stacked stone) wall existed prior to this to protect (parts of) the suburb north of the Placa cannot be ascertained based on the already mentioned narrative sources.<sup>110</sup>

Contemporary notarial documents, on the other hand, indicate that the new wall around St. Nicholas suburb was almost complete in the 1280s. For instance, in a will dated 1284 was mentioned a legate for the new *monasterium de pulcellis*, with construction planned within the following year, which also indicated a completed wall.<sup>111</sup> The statute of 1272 mentioned three foremen of communal works who were paid 500 perpers annually from customs until the new city wall was finished.<sup>112</sup> North of the new city wall the terrain ascended toward *Srd* Hill, on which there were vineyards belonging to owners of the surrounding land. It was stipulated by the statute that all land outside of the city wall had to adhere to the boundaries which applied through the city.<sup>113</sup>

According to notarial documents, the new wall ran along the line which partially extended through private land. Exchanges of land that commune conducted with land owners did not always proceed smoothly, so disputes did arise. For example, a document dated 1285 mentions a dispute between the commune and private owners who, it would appear, owned land at the construction site of the new northern wall. The priest Rosin de Bayslava initiated litigation

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*ma tutto il vacuo dovesse esser fabbricato. Allora si fabbricarono le porte delle Pille, e nel piano della città le case, che ora fano i lati alla piazza, comunemente chiamata maggiore.*

<sup>110</sup> Some chroniclers mentioned the construction of walls around the settlement “north of the marsh” already in the eleventh century. Anonymous dated the first defensive walls as early as 1017; Besides the threat of a supposed attack, this fencing was necessary because that part of the “hill” of St. Sergius – *Srd* (*montagna di santo Sergio*) had on it “many houses”. Anonim, 27, 28. According to Ragnina, the suburb of St. Nicholas was already bordered by a stacked stone fence (*con masiere, pali et legni*) in 1017; Ragnina, 210.

<sup>111</sup> CD, VI, pp 459-460, doc. 384.

<sup>112</sup> SD, L. VII, c. 18 (*De superstantibus super laboreris Communis*). It was also specified that in the interest of security, no building could be constructed within a distance of three fathoms from the new wall, neither inside nor outside. If anybody had private land within that distance from the wall, the commune purchased it and provided replacement land; SD, L. V, c. 9 (*De edificacione prope murum novum non facienda*).

<sup>113</sup> SD, L. V, c. 20 (*De teritoriis que sunt extra murum civitatis*).

over the possession of his estate, and in the process there was a description of the former appearance of the street which led from the Sigurata Church (in the western part of St. Nicholas suburb) to the corner of the city wall (*ubi sunt due ballasterie prope angulum muri ciuitatis, qui est ex parte occidentis*) and then descended to a point where there was a gate at the time (*locum illum ubi nunc est porta*), ending at the Rosin estate *extra murum civitatis*. The Sigurata Church is described in the 1285 document as *intus in ciuitate*.<sup>114</sup> Thus, the city wall (at least around the western part of the *burgus* of St. Nicholas) was built. According to another lawsuit in that same year, between Volcosclaua de Crossio and the commune, the official in charge of building the wall (*officialis supra laborerio muri communis*) made a foundation (for the city wall) (*fundamentus*) using stones from the stacked-stone fence on its estate outside of the city (*maceria longa*). Witnesses testified that this stacked-stone fence had been there for a long time and they described its length (*xx vargis*) from east to west. The estate with vineyards was also used to hold livestock, and it belonged to the land Petar Spualdi (Crossio) or *illorum de Crossio*.<sup>115</sup>

That there was probably a city wall encircling the eastern side of St Nicholas suburb at the time, is indicated in the register of communal leases from 1286, which mentions butchers close of the city wall, probably situated somewhere above the later Sponza. This points to the conclusion that the eastern side of the suburb was already enclosed by a wall.<sup>116</sup>

Construction of public structures outside of the *old walls* of the *old city* and also outside of the *castrum* indicates the existence of the new city wall as well. The area to the east around the *castrum* no longer had a defensive character, and the city's political, administrative and economic hub was formed here. Already in 1290, the *castrum* was called the *castellum*, which possibly reflected a change in its defensive purpose to an administrative and political function: *sub turre castelli ante portam fundici*.<sup>117</sup> It lost its defensive character, and the space in front of the city hall and cathedral became increasingly ori-

<sup>114</sup> MHR, III, doc. 232, pp. 77.

<sup>115</sup> MHR, III, doc. 135, pp. 50. Vidi i: CD, IV, doc. 484 (year 1254): *Terrenum comunis Ragusii a capite quod uocatur caput ficus insursum usque ad terrenum Andree Certelli*.

<sup>116</sup> The register of communal leases of 1286 mentions the sites at which there were butchers' tables (*territoria in quibus sunt beccarie*): A total of 18 tables (*tabulae*) were set up in four rows; *in primo ordine* (on the eastern side, facing the city wall) while *in quarto ordine* (facing west) there were four each, and in the internal rows (*in secundo, in tercio ordine*) there were five tables each; Irena Benyovsky Latin – Danko Zelić (eds.), *Knjige nekretnina Dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*. *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad affectum (saec. XIII-XVIII)*, vol. 1 (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2007).

<sup>117</sup> Irena Benyovsky Latin – Danko Zelić (eds.), *Knjige nekretnina Dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*. *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad affectum (saec. XIII-XVIII)*, vol. 1 (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2007.), 133. Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004): 149-171, 153-154.

ented toward the western *burgus*.<sup>118</sup> Fortifications in the former suburbs lost their function after construction of the new sections of the city wall which encircled and consolidated the urban space.

The final decades of the thirteenth century may be marked as renewed period of “uncertainty”, stressed by the authors of so called chronicles and annals, with other negative circumstances (hunger, epidemics).<sup>119</sup> Serbian ruler Stefan Dragutin abdicated in favour of his brother Stephan Urosh II Milutin (1282-1321), who waged a war with the city in 1301 due to territorial problems, but the conflict was no longer open as it was during his father’s reign.<sup>120</sup> The greatest misfortune was the fire of 1296, but this was followed by a new regulation of the city. This fire may have destroyed the existing wall and many houses, but it thereby also created the conditions for reorganization of the urban space. This regulation was described in the narrative sources similarly as in the statutory regulation of 1296.<sup>121</sup>

Street regulation in the *burgus* may be followed on the basis of the well-known provision of the 1296 statute in which new streets were routed though the area of former St Blaise suburb - south of *Između polača* street (i.e., the Placa), in the north-south direction (today’s Uska, Kaboga and Božidarevićeva streets). Even though the lines of the streets adhered to existing property rights,

<sup>118</sup> Nada Grujić, “Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine”, *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2003/2004): 149-171, 162.

<sup>119</sup> Resti mentioned that construction of the St. Clare Convent next to the old Church of St. Blaise began in 1290 (up to that point, they lived in the Church of St. Vitus alle Pille), due to a potential attack on the city. Resti, 101-102. According to Ragnina, the construction of the Convent of St. Clare across the way from the Church of St. Blaise began in 1290 – 80 daughters of noble families were accommodated in the convent. Ragnina, 222-223. Besides problems in the hinterland, according to chroniclers the city was also hit by some type of epidemic which allegedly lasted two years, accompanied by starvation. According to Anonymous, in 1293 the city was devastated by great hunger and disease (at the time a church dedicated to the patron St. Vitus was built across the way from Pustijerna). Anonim, 35. Ragnina also mentioned great hunger in the city in 1292, which lasted two years and was responsible for high mortality among the common citizens. Ragnina, 223.

<sup>120</sup> Robin Harris, *Povijest Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2006), 47; Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, vol. I (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1980), 88-89.

<sup>121</sup> SD, VIII, 57; According to Resti, after the disease and hunger, the city was hit by a fire which, after beginning in the suburb of St. Nicholas in the north came to the very edge of the old city and the Church of St. Mary *de lavi*. Resti wrote that his fire resulted in a organization of the city streets (ushered in by the statutory regulation of 1296), and the new rules on construction in public (i.e., communal) areas; Resti, 101-102. Ragnina mentioned the fire in 1296, when the entire suburb below the Church of St. Mary *de Castello* burned down, as well as major portion of the old city. A great deal was spent to repair the city. At that time streets in the *saxteria della piazza* were regulated and subdivided and houses and shops belonging to the commune were marked from the Church of St. Nicholas *de Campo* to the city wall in the north and west, and toward the east and west in the direction of the *borgo dello archiepiscopato* (the block west of the Široka street was owned by the archbishop); Ragnina, 223.

they nonetheless influenced the reduction of large feudal estate blocks and their structure. Under the new circumstances, the walls and towers around the feudal estates were replaced with the large communal city walls and towers, and outdoor public spaces – streets and squares – acquired increasing significance.<sup>122</sup>

According to the regulation of 1296 the new streets north of the Placa (St. Nicholas suburb) were also laid out based on a new system of rows.<sup>123</sup> The street regulation of 1296 was also accompanied by parcelization – which may have proceeded without problems, because the territory came largely under communal ownership, and the level of development was considerably lower (the existing houses were primarily made of wood and destroyed by fire). Besides the Church of St. Nicholas and the Sigurata Church, there were no more important buildings in the burgus of St. Nicholas, north of the Placa, prior to the regulation of 1296. At the end of the 13th century this area became among the most valuable properties for the commune, and the commune gradually became the largest property owner. The new regulation established a modern model for using and planning urban space: streets were regulated in the north-south direction, while the terrain between was divided into plots of equal value, intended – as before – for leasing. This enabled easier finalising of the construction of a new wall in the final decades of the thirteenth century.

The statutory street regulation of 1296 clearly indicates the city wall north of the newly-regulated streets at St. Nicholas burgus. Clearly the street regulation and construction of the northern wall signified a new phase of the city's urban and administrative growth. The already entirely constructed wall was already reinforced in the early fourteenth century. This assertion is backed by the statutory provisions on construction of a tower at the onset of the fourteenth century. The prince used the revenues from St. Mary's as a loan to build *the tower and fortifications* on the city wall in 1309 (*...ad faciendum turres et fortificias in muro civitates...*).<sup>124</sup> Beritić believed that the statutory regulation served as the most reliable evidence that prior to this wall, no walls built in the thirteenth century existed.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Marija Planić-Lončarić, "Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", *Radovi IPU*, vol. 12-13 (1988-1998), 65-75, 72.

<sup>123</sup> DS, VIII, 57.

<sup>124</sup> SD, L. II, c. 12.

<sup>125</sup> Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1955), 18.

## Conclusion

Dubrovnik's new city walls – their extent and position, reflect physical planning and the ambitions of the city authorities to encompass existing suburbs. The fact is that construction lasted for a considerable time (and expansion of the walls possibly underwent several phases) and that part of this area was non-urbanized. The old city formerly encircled by fortified walls (along the line of today's Strossmayerova street) expanded northward toward the suburbs. As we have shown, the private owners who held the surrounding estates may have played a crucial role in the defence of the old city before the construction of a new wall, as they built private towers and thus participated in the city's defence. The period preceding the construction of the new *city wall* was marked by gradual integration of suburban spatial units. The question of the walls, besides defence, is closely tied to the planned expansion of the urban space – the incorporation of the *extra muros* suburbs into the city's *infra muros* administrative sphere, which was often linked to the processes of preparing the terrain, parcelizing estates or levels of construction development. The finally formed urban space was the result of a long-term and gradual process. This long duration is reflected in the city, which consists of different planned units (typological and formational). Enclosing the suburbs into the city walls was a need for defence, but also a sign of the city's expansion on the one hand, the desire to unify the urban space on the other.

## ***Murus versus montem*: der Bau von Fortifikationen der Stadt Ragusa zum Hinterland bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts**

### **Zusammenfassung**

Die Stadtmauer von Ragusa, ein Symbol der Stadt, wurden Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts um die nördlichen Vororte als *neue Stadtmauer* gebaut (den Teil um das Dominikanerkloster ausschließend). Die Vororte, die in der vorkommunalen Periode außerhalb der *Mauer der Altstadt* (Die Altstadt umfasste die Viertel Kaštio, Sv. Petar und Pustijerna) an den Felsen entstanden worden waren, wurden damals in das Stadtgebiet eingeschlossen. In diesem Aufsatz wird vor Allem auf Grund von schriftlichen Quellen der Bau von Fortifikationen der Stadt Ragusa zum Hinterland bis zum 13. Jahrhundert analysiert. Dem Bau der definitiven Version von Stadtmauern über der Stadtviertel Prijeko ging der lange Prozess der Errichtung des Fortifikationssystems voraus, der den Phasen der urbanen Entwicklung der Stadt im 13. Jahrhundert sowie politischen, rechtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen jener Zeit folgte.