

MEDIEVAL SQUARE IN TROGIR: SPACE AND SOCIETY

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Planned structuring of Trogir's main square in the period from the 13th to the 15th centuries can be traced based on the demolitions and constructions according to the concept of organized space and deliberate interventions. In this period, the most important secular and sacral buildings were situated there: the ecclesiastical ones traditionally and the communal ones to represent the new public functions of the main square. Thus, the square developed in accordance with the new "communal urbanity": buildings that were seats of municipal institutions were now prominent points in urban structure and the city's visual landmarks.

Key words: Trogir, medieval square, Middle Ages, urban planning

Introduction

Before the 13th century, the main square in Trogir had a completely different appearance and function than the one evolving after the transformation of the city owing to extensive demolitions in the 12th century and the subsequent development of the communal system. In the early Middle Ages, a basilica dedicated to St Laurence stood at the site of the later Romanesque cathedral.¹

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¹ Archaeological research has revealed a wall of an apse, probably early Christian, which confirms the continuity of this sacral place; cf. Vanja Kovačić, "Ranokršćanski natpis iz Trogira" [An early Christian inscription from Trogir], *Diadora*, 14 (1992): 301-308; Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, IV, (Venice, 1776), p. 306; Vincenzo Celio Cega, *La chiesa di Trau: descritta ... nell'anno 1854* (Split, 1855), passim; Ivan Lučić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* [Historical sources on Trogir], 1-2, ed. C. Fisković (Split: Književni krug, 1979), p. 1012; Vanja Kovačić, "Prilozi za ranokršćansku topografiju Trogira" [Contributions to the early

On the opposite, southern side of the square, there was the church of St Mary *de platea*, a centrally organized six-apse building from the pre-Romanesque period (**figure 1 and 2**).²



Figure 1. St Mary de platea

Christian topography of Trogir], *Diadora*, 15 (1993): 291-294, here p. 293; Milan Ivanišević, “Trogir u povijesnim izvorima od 438. do 1097. godine” [Trogir in historical sources (438-1097)], *Mogućnosti*, (1980), No. 10-11: 965-967; Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir: Space and society] (Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), p. 14.

² Tomislav Marasović, “Izvorni izgled ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Marije u Trogiru” [The original appearance of St Mary’s church in Trogir], *Rasprave*, 5 (1966). The church was demolished in the late 19th century and its appearance is known only from a drawing by C. L. Clerisseau from 1757 and the preserved foundations. Recent research has revealed the walls of St Mary’s church, completely preserved to the roof, within those of St Sebastian’s. P. Andreis described St Mary’s church as “very old, round building with four altars: the high altar dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, another dedicated to St Jerome, built of stone and with sculptural decoration, and two more dedicated to St Mary of Loreto and St Lucy, respectively.” Pavao Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* [History of Trogir], 1-2, ed. V. Rismondo, (Split: Književni krug, 1978), pp. 334-335. Documents from 1850 mention that it was in a derelict state (*sdruscata*) at the time, but its demolition was due to the Classicist taste of the 19th century, which could not tolerate a medieval building on the main square; Cvito Fisković, “Firentinčev Sebastijan u Trogiru” [Fiorentino’s Sebastian in Trogir], *Zbornik za umjetnostno zgodovino*, 5-6 (1959): 371.

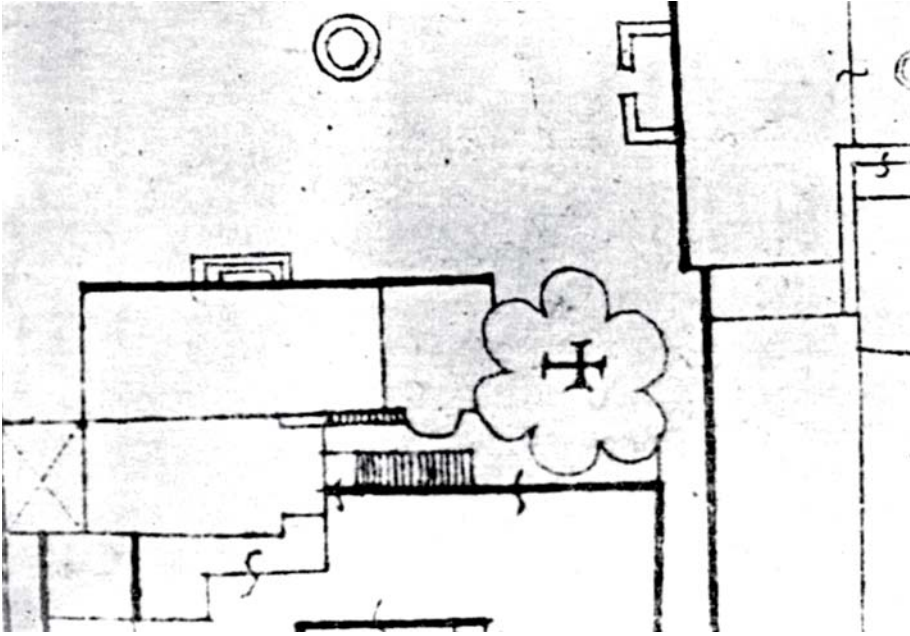


Figure 2. St Lawrence square on the 19th century cadastre

Another church in operation was St Martin's (St Barbara's), commissioned by the urban elite and positioned in the southwest of the square.³ Following the 11th-century reform (which established an exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction over church buildings), the church of St Mary *de platea* was subjected to municipal patronage, and that of St Martin to the patronage of the Machinaturi family (*parentella illorum de Machenaturis*)⁴ and its heirs – the Lucio, the Cega, and the Pecci. To the southeast of the square, at the site of the Romanesque Benedictine church of St John the Baptist, built in 1108 next to the eastern bulwark, there was an early Christian church.⁵ Originally, a mon-

³ An inscription on the architrave of St Martin's church indicates the prior or mayor (*Maius*) of the city as its commissioner, and an altar railing from the 11th century mentions Petar and his wife Dobrica as its restorers. According to Lučić, there were information on the church in the cartulary of St Nicholas' from 1194. Later on, a belfry was built in place of the dome; Tomislav Marasović, *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji* [Early Croatian architecture in Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 1994), p. 90; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 1042.

⁴ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, 334; Mladen Andreis, "Birači rektora crkve Sv. Barbare u Trogiru: građa za anagraf dalmatinskoga plemstva u 16. stoljeća" [Electors of the rector of St Barbara's church in Trogir: Sources for an anagraph of Zadar's nobility in the 16th century], *Zbornik zavaoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zagrebu* (2002-2003): 161-237.

⁵ V. Kovačić, Prilozi, 291-309; Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* [Benedictines in Croatia], vol I (Split: Benediktinski priorat, 1964), p. 35. Generally, on the location of monasteries in medieval cities in: John Gordon Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*, (London: Barrie

astery was attached to it, but only the church has remained preserved to the present day.⁶ On the eastern side of the square, there was a church dedicated to St Stephen, probably owned by the Benedictine abbey, demolished in the 1270s to make place for the communal palace.⁷

Demolition and restoration

According to the 17th-century chroniclers of Trogir, Ivan Lucius and Pavao Andreis, Trogir was subjected to extensive demolitions in the early 12th century,⁸ after the Saracen attack in 1123, when its houses and bulwarks were set to fire and most of the population fled from the city.⁹ Venetian chronicler Andrea Dandolo¹⁰ likewise mentions the Saracen incursion in the early 12th century, as well as a Venetian one in 1125 (during which Biograd was devastated and Zadar attacked).¹¹ Trogir's demolition by the Venetians is also mentioned in the *vita* of the city patron, St John, but is dated to 1171.¹² According to that

and Rockliff, 1962), p. 46; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Katedrala* [The cathedral], (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1997), pp. 45-47.

⁶ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 359; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, p. 35; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 146. The entire monastic complex with the cloister was demolished in the 19th century because of its derelict state; cf. Irena Benyovsky, *Trogir u katastru Franje I*. [Trogir in the cadastre of Francis I] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest and Državni arhiv u Splitu, 2005), passim; Stanko Piplović, "Rad Ćirila Ivekovića u Dalmaciji" [Work of Ćiril Iveković in Dalmatia], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, 13 (1987): pp. 24-28.

⁷ The location of its "phantom" church is still unclear; T. Marasović, *Graditeljstvo*, p. 92.

⁸ P. Andreis mentions that Trogir suffered assaults from the sea prior to the 13th century and that, "weakened by the past devastations and defended only by weak drywalls and poles." P. Andreis, *Povijest*, II, pp. 28, 59-85, 60.

⁹ I. Lučić dated the return of the Tragurians and the renovation of churches and houses before 1151, as a privilege issued by Géza II (1141-1162) shows that the city had been renovated by that time and that it had a functioning administration; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 103-106. However, this information cannot be relied upon since researchers have shown that the privilege is a forgery.

¹⁰ A Venetian doge and chronicler from the 14th century, author of a "History of Venice".

¹¹ Trogir's historian V. Celio Cega also wrote on the restoration of the city, among other things that the church of St Domnius was built after the Saracen devastations and consecrated to St Nicholas in 1194. His history of Trogir's churches is mainly based on Farlati; Vincenzo Celio Cega, *La chiesa di Trau*, p. 54.

¹² Milan Ivanišević, *Legende i kronike, Život sv. Ivana Trogirskog* [Legends and chronicles: Life of St John of Trogir] (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977), p. 69. Church historian Daniele Farlati (18th c.) confirmed the story. He did observe that none of the Hungarian historians had mentioned this calamity and devastation of Trogir, but he nevertheless considered the information authentic. His main argument was that the author of the description was Bishop

description, the Venetians conquered the city with ease because of the previous sack by the Saracens, since it was no longer defensible or surrounded by fortifications and towers, only weak drywalls. On that occasion, the tomb of the city patron was devastated again and the saint's body desecrated.¹³ The legend also mentions that the cathedral was damaged and the citizens then restored the part around the altar.¹⁴ Devastations in the 12th century are also mentioned in the foundation charter of St Nicholas' monastery from 1194, which states that the city was razed to the ground. Some researchers believe that the legends are referring to the same event in different versions, perhaps the Venetian campaign of 1125.¹⁵

Although it is difficult to make definite judgments on the extent to which the city was actually demolished in the 12th century, or on the state of its fortifications, churches, and residential buildings, one may positively say that the 13th century was a time of restoration and intense building activity. The houses preserved to the present day were largely built in the Romanesque style.¹⁶ At that

Treguan, who lived only eighty years after the events (1206-1256) and may have heard of the saracene incursion from the Tragurians, who had heard it from their fathers, and that he generally considered Treguan as a reliable author; K. Lučin, *Život sv. Ivana*, p. 93-95; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, p. 317.

¹³ The hand relic was taken to Venice and returned around 1174; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, II, p. 27. Kažimir Lučin, *Život Sv. Ivana Trogirskog* (po izdanju Danijela Farlatija) [Life of St John of Trogir (according to the edition of Daniele Farlati)] (Trogir and Split: Matica Hrvatska and Književni krug, 1988), pp. 93-95; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 317.

¹⁴ K. Lučin, *Život sv. Ivana*, pp. 81-85; Miroslav Kurelac, "Vita B. Ioannis confessoris episcopi Traguriensis et eius miracula, u izdanju Ivana Lučić-Lucius, 'Notae historicae ad vitam'" ["Vita B. Ioannis confessoris episcopi Traguriensis et eius miracula", in Ivan Lučić-Lucius' edition "Notae historicae ad vitam"], *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 12 (1988), No. 21: 1-48; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 103.

¹⁵ According to Steindorff, the Saracens were a complete "fiction" and the second sack of the city in 1171 was based on Dandolo's erroneous interpretation, so that the Venetians were actually not in Trogir that year. The silence of Thomas the Archdeacon on that matter is for Steindorff an important argument against the credibility of Treguan's description. Ludwig Steindorff, "Die Vita beati Johannis Traguriensis als Quelle zur Geschichte der dalmatischen Stadt Trogir im 12. Jahrhundert," *Südostforschungen*, 47 (1988): pp. 17-36. According to L. Margetić, a Saracen incursion from Bari is a possibility and Treguan's later description of the Venetian attack should not be discarded, since only a few decades had passed between this event and 1203, when the *vita* was written. Lujo Margetić, "Iz ranije povijesti Trogira" [From the earlier history of Trogir], *Historijski zbornik*, 43/1 (1990): 5-15; idem, "La distruzione di Traù da parte dei Saraceni nella prima metà del secolo XII," *Historica et Adriatica* (1983): 255-263.

¹⁶ On the spatial organization of urban houses, see Cvito Fisković, "Romaničke kuće u Splitu i Trogiru" [Romanesque houses in Split and Trogir], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, Vol. III (1952), No. 2: 163-164.

time, the urban core expanded beyond the old perimeters¹⁷ and the western suburb was created. From the early 13th century, one can observe planned construction and enlargement of Trogir's main square, following the then current principles of spatial organization.¹⁸ Late in the 13th century, the most important secular and sacral buildings were situated there: although it had already been the tradition for ecclesiastical buildings, the communal ones mirrored the new public functions of the main city square, which evolved in accordance with the new "communal urbanity": buildings that housed municipal institutions were important elements in Trogir's urban structure, symbols of power, and visual accents in urban space.¹⁹

Construction of the new cathedral

The construction of the new cathedral church of Trogir started in the early 13th century, at the site of the old, late antique church that had defined the northern part of the city square.²⁰ The tomb of Trogir's patron saint, Bishop John, was allegedly discovered under its ruins at the time of Bishop Desa Makarel, who also initiated the construction of the early Romanesque cathedral²¹ and commissioned the restructuring of St Ursula's oratory as the first chapel

¹⁷ Unlike the perfectly orthogonal grid of streets and blocks in the city core, the western outer ring of the wall is organized almost radially.

¹⁸ Irena Benyovsky, "Trogirski trg u kasnosrednjovjekovnom Trogiru" [Trogir's main square in the late medieval period], *Povijesni prilozi* 16 (1997): 11-33.

¹⁹ For a comparison with Italian cities, see Vittorio Franchetti Pardo, *Città, architetture, maestranze tre tarda antichità ed età moderna* [City, Architecture and Craftsmanship from the Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Age], (Milan, 2001), p. 25.

²⁰ Josip Stošić, "Trogirska katedrala i njezin zapadni portal" [The Cathedral of Trogir and its West Portal], in: *Per Raduanum 1240-1990*, ed. Ivo Babić (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1994), pp. 67-91. In the Duocento, cathedrals were built and renovated in many Mediterranean cities that were centres of dioceses and pilgrimage destinations; cf. Enrico Guidoni, *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il Duocento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1992), p. 246; Francesca Bocchi, "La piazza maggiore di Bologna," in: *La Piazza del Duomo. Bolletino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*, 46-47 (1990-1991): 135-147.

²¹ Cvito Fisković, *Opis trogirске katedrale iz XVIII. stoljeća* [An 18th-century description of Trogir's cathedral], (Split. Bihać: Hrvatsko društvo za istraživanje domaće povijesti u Splitu, 1940), 38. In his visitation of 1756, Trogir's bishop Didak Manola mentioned that the tomb had been discovered in 1150; cf. Radoslav Bužančić, "Secundum sacrarium divi Joannis. Stara kapela sv. Ivana Trogirskog u katedrali sv. Lovrinca" [Secundum sacrarium divi Joannis: The old chapel of St John of Trogir in the cathedral of St Laurence], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40 (2005), No. 1: 77-112, here p. 78.

of the saintly protector in 1175.²² The cathedral had a huge religious and political significance for the entire community. (figure 3)

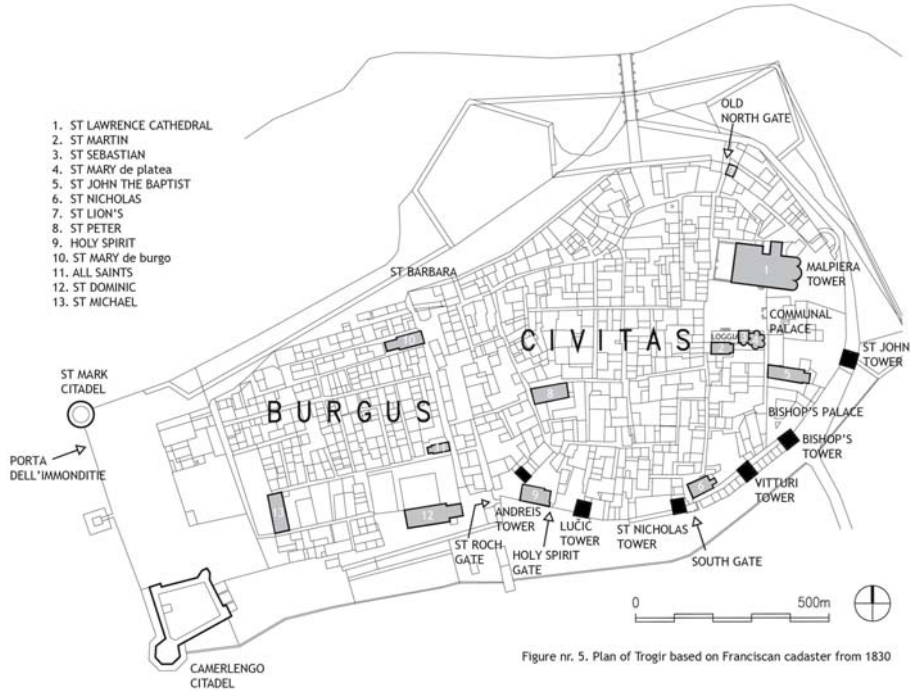


Figure 3. Trogir city map

After Makarel's successor Mihovil, Treguan became the bishop of Trogir²³ and the construction of the cathedral continued. Bishop Treguan had been promoting the cult of St John while still an archdeacon, describing his miracles in a *vita* of the saint.²⁴ During his episcopacy (1206-1254), Master Radovan signed his name in the lunette of the main portal at the western cathedral façade ("This gate was made by Radovan, the best of all in this art, as shown by

²² Ibid., p. 81.

²³ Having come to Dalmatia from Tuscany, Treguan was first a cleric in Split and then became the first trained notary of Trogir.

²⁴ With the aim of building up the cult of St John, Bishop Treguan described them in 1203 in the revised version of his "Life of St John, Bishop of Trogir." The first redaction had been written by an anonymous author in 1150. The most important humanist work dedicated to the city's patron saint is *Vita b. Ioannis confessoris episcopi Traguriensis et eius miracula* by Ivan Lucić. Besides St John, Trogir had an older patron saint, St Laurence, the titular saint of the cathedral. His importance declined in this period, although the Statute of Trogir mentions him as equivalent to St John; *Statut grada Trogira* [The statute of Trogir] (hereafter: ST), ed. V. Rismondo, (Split: Književni krug, 1988), p. 7, p. 181. According to Farlati, St Laurence's relics were preserved at his church; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 380; M. Ivanišević, *Legende i kronike*, p. 69.

his statues and reliefs, in the year 1240 after the honourable Virgin gave birth, and during the episcopacy of Treguan from Florence in Tuscany”).²⁵ The portal is one of the most magnificent works of Croatian Romanesque art, and the whole composition was completed in the second half of the 13th century.²⁶

The construction lasted for centuries²⁷ – in the Middle Ages, one should envision the cathedral as far smaller than today and often in scaffolds.²⁸ The resulting building was a three-nave and three-apse Romanesque basilica with no vaults.²⁹ Various masters participated in its prolonged construction, and finances were obtained from various sources. At the same time, an institution was evolving that served to collect the finances and to organize the construction works: the so-called *operaria* (*fabrica*).³⁰ In the 13th century, there were two supervisors (procurators): one was a nobleman and the other a member of the chapter.³¹ The procurators controlled the collected finances: thus, in 1261, procurator Nikola Jakovljević received a large sum of money into the “operaria of St Laurence” *pro pavimento Domus*.³² As early as 1264, a workshop is men-

²⁵ J. Stošić, *Trogirska*, pp. 67-68; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 1012.

²⁶ Joško Belamarić, “Portal majstora Radovana: Njegova ikonografija i stil u okviru razvoja skulpture u Splitu i Trogiru 13. stoljeća” [Master Radovan’s portal: Its iconography and style in the context of sculptural development in Split and Trogir during the 13th century], in: *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti*, (Split: Književni krug Split, 2001), pp. 49-142, here 53.

²⁷ The belfry was finished only in 1603.

²⁸ Radoslav Bužančić, “Dovršetak trogirске katedrale u 17. stoljeću” [The completion of Trogir’s cathedral in the 17th century], in: *Umjetnički dodiri dviju jadranskih obala u 17. i 18. stoljeću, Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 21. i 22. studenog 2003. godine u Splitu*, ed. V. Marković and I. Prijatelj-Pavičić (Split: Književni krug, 2007), pp. 71-92; *Monumenta Traguriensia; Notae seu abbreviaturae cancellariae comunis Tragurii* (hereafter: MT), I/1, ed. M. Barada, (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948), p. 48; J. Stošić, *Trogirska*, 67; Radoslav Bužančić, “*Renovatio urbis Koriolana Cipika u Trogiru*” [Koriolan Cippico’s *renovation urbis* in Trogir], *Ivan Duković i njegovo doba* (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1996), pp. 107.-117.

²⁹ Archive of HAZU in Zagreb (hereafter: AHAZU), *Memorie storiche di Tragurio ora detto Traù, di Giovanni Lucio* (Venice, 1673), p. 40; AHAZU, *Ostavština Lučić: Lucius, XX.-12/I-XXIV*, 24 vol., ed. M. Barada, book 11, f. 29; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 336; V. Celio Cega, *La chiesa*, p. 9.

³⁰ It was therefore necessary to ensure a constant inflow of finances that would be particularly assigned to the cathedral construction. Initially, the construction was most probably administered by the Confraternity of St Laurence.

³¹ According to a document from February 3, 1247, subdeacon Gervazij and nobleman Desa Kazarica purchased “some books from the abbot of the island of Molat in the territory of Zadar” as the procurators of St Laurence.

³² State Archive in Zadar (hereafter: DAZd), “Manuscripts”, nr. 74: Paolo Andreis, “Operaria quanto possiede, da chi amministrata, con qualli fundamenti, ragioni della medesima, oblighi et incombenze raccolto da Paolo Andreis, nob. Traurino, anno MDCL (there is a copy in the Parish Archive of Trogir), f. 7-7v.

tioned next to the cathedral (*actum in camarda sancti Laurentii*).³³ Contracts related to the construction have been preserved: thus, in 1271 an agreement is mentioned between a procurator of St Laurence and the building masters concerning the vaulting.³⁴ The same procurator (Dujam Domika) is mentioned in 1286.³⁵

In 1256, Treguan was succeeded in episcopacy by the Franciscan Kolumban (until 1276), who continued the cathedral construction and the struggle to obtain the needed finances, which brought him into conflict with the municipal authorities and with the abbot of St John the Baptist. At the time of Bishop Grgur Machinaturi (1282-1296),³⁶ the cathedral was covered by a roof. Control over the construction finances was often a matter of conflict between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Since the institution accumulated considerable sums of money, the commune tried to gain control over it, also because the bishops sometimes used the means for other purposes.³⁷ The cathedral construction was to be financed primarily from the income of certain estates in the district, often claimed both by the Church and by the commune (e.g. the estate of Drid).³⁸ On the other hand, the commune decided to assign

³³ MT, I/1, 22. A notarial record from 1264 mentions a *campanile sancti Laurentii*; MT, I/1, 48. It was only in the 15th century that the second storey of the belfry was built; cf. J. Stošić, *Trogirska*, 67.

³⁴ ... 2. junii. 1271. *Duymus Domiche et Bertanus Marini Reste, procuratores ecclesie sancti Laurentii, conveniunt cum magistris de faciendis voltis nouis ecclesie sancti Laurentii*. 39, b; Franjo Rački (ed.), "Notae Johannis Lucii", *Starine XIII* (1881): pp. 211-268, here p. 213; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 12, pp. 46-47. In the porch of the church, small-format plans have been found incised, among them a plan of the belfry; cf. Ivo Babić, "O trogirskim biljezima u kamenu" [Signatures on the stones of Trogir], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* (1988-1989), No. 12-13: 109-127, here p. 114.

³⁵ ... 9. julii 1286. *Dessa Duymi, constitutur loco Duymi Domiche prior ecclesie s. Laurentii. Exigatur, ut agat in utilitatem ecclesie una cum d. primicerio*. 1, b; Notae, p. 217.

³⁶ The Romanesque-Gothic vaults were replaced in the 15th century by new cross-vaults; cf. C. Fisković, *Opis*, pp. 50, 59.

³⁷ Cf. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Katedrala*, 226; Karl Gross, *Udžbenik crkvenoga prava katoličke crkve* [Handbook of canon law of the Catholic Church], (Zagreb, 1930), p. 380; Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Parochiae dentro la Città – Beccadellijeva podjela Dubrovnika na župe" [Parochiae dentro la Citta: Beccadelli's division of Dubrovnik in parishes], *Istarski povijesni biennale*, 2 (2007): 159-167.

³⁸ The estate of Drid (Bosiljina – a village in the western part of the district) was assigned to the bishop by Duke Koloman in 1226 (previously, the estate had been under the jurisdiction of Trogir's Count Vučina), but a quarter of it was assigned to the cathedral construction and another quarter to the bishop. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (hereafter: CD), vol. III, ed. T. Smičiklas, M. Kostrenčić, and E. Laszowski, (Zagreb, 1905), pp. 258-259. Lučić likewise mentions that Koloman took away the estate of Drid or Bosiljina from Count Vučina (1205-1208) in 1226 and transferred it to Bishop Treguan; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*,

its income from the communal estate of St Vitalis (Divulje) to the cathedral construction “for the adornment of the city.”³⁹ A document from 1251 mentions Bishop Treguan and the chapter confirming to the communal authorities that they would return the estate to them once the walls of the cathedral were erected, which indeed happened.⁴⁰

Episcopal power remained strong in the city until the final decades of the 13th century, the cathedral being the main space where citizen assemblies took place besides the main square. In this period, there were still no specific buildings accommodating the newly created communal administration and the assembly meetings took place either in the open (in the square), or in churches. In Trogir, the community of all citizens (*universa communitas*) is mentioned until the 1270s, but presumably it was dominated by the distinguished members of the society.⁴¹ Thus, in 1271, the *generale consilium* met in the church of St Laurence even though some sort of *domus comunis* existed at the time.⁴² Decisions were often made with the bishop’s final ratification, since he still had considerable authority in disposing with communal property and in making decisions on investments or expenses in the city.⁴³ From 1264-1271 (before the construction of the palace that housed the chancery), most con-

p. 242. Vučina belonged to the clan of Bribir and was the count of Trogir and the mayor of Split early in the 13th century; he had obtained Drid from King Emeric. CD, III, pp. 208-209, 258-259, and 453; cf. Damir Karbić, “Split i bribirski knezovi u doba Tome Arhidakona” [Split and the Counts of Bribir at the time of Thomas the Archdeacon], in: *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo doba: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 25.-27. rujna 2000. godine u Splitu*, ed. Mirjana Matijević-Sokol and Olga Perić (Split: Književni krug, 2004), pp. 235-242, here p. 236.

³⁹ “Which begins at the waters of Resnik and stretches westwards in a straight line to the creek of Slanac, and thence in a straight line towards the sea...” P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 44. In 1263, the book of communal expenses mentions the costs related to the cathedral construction. *Notae*, p. 212.

⁴⁰ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, 39. The Manuscript Collection of the State Archive in Zadar contains an unpublished and unresearched book *Operaria* by Pavao Andreis, which described this ecclesiastical institution, which was, among other things, in charge of collecting the finances and organizing the construction of sacral buildings. The book includes transcripts of various otherwise lost documents related to the operation of the *Operaria* from the 11th-17th centuries: DAZd, Rukopis, vol. 74., *Operaria quanto possiede, da chi amministrata, con quali fondamenti, ragioni della medesima, oblighi, et incombenze raccolto da Paolo Andreis nob. Traurino, anno MDCL*, f. 7; cf. G. Lucio, *Memorie*, p. 110; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 11, 89-90; I. LUČIĆ, *Povijesna*, p. 193. Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Razvoj srednjovjekovne Operarije – institucije za izgradnju katedrale u Trogiru” [Development of the medieval *Operaria*: Institution for the construction of the cathedral in Trogir], *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 34 (2010), no. 65: 1-18.

⁴¹ MT, I/1, 116.

⁴² CD, V, 591.

⁴³ CD, IV, 524.

tracts in Trogir were signed in the public square (*in plathea comunis*),⁴⁴ often also in front of the churches of St Mary⁴⁵ or St Laurence.⁴⁶

Construction of the communal palace and loggia in the late 13th century

The 13th century was also the time when the city councils were created (Major Council, Minor Council, and the Senate) and their members started to take over the governance while the importance of the citizen assembly declined.⁴⁷ There was an increasing need of building a communal palace as the seat of the urban elite. In the pre-communal period, the Hungarian-Croatian king had bestowed upon Trogir the right to elect its own count, and from the early 13th century these so-called “electoral counts” were mostly members of the Šubić family of Bribir, who were loyal to the king, yet enjoyed considerable autonomy. Thus, Count Vučina in the early 13th century was succeeded by Count Stjepan, likewise from the Bribir family and brother of Split’s count Grgur. Following the reforms of the Hungarian-Croatian King Béla IV, bans or viceroys (1248-1270) became the counts of Dalmatian cities, so the Bribir family lost their privileged position.⁴⁸ However, Trogir retained its right to elect the count somewhat longer,⁴⁹ and even afterwards the Bribir held the office of *podestà*, since the city enjoyed special favour with the king, having of-

⁴⁴ MT, I/1, 16, 55, 81, 144, 145, 171, 173, and 177-178.

⁴⁵ MT, I/1, 16, 81, and 110.

⁴⁶ MT, I/1, 6, 87, 153, and 154.

⁴⁷ MT, II, 67; before the 14th century, this wealthy and dominant social layer was not enclosed in legal or social terms, but at that point the early medieval notion of a community of people was transformed into a system of governance over them. L. Steindorff, Stari, pp. 141-151.

⁴⁸ For King Béla IV, who issued many charters granting urban privileges, strengthening urban communities was part of his royal policy, intensified after the Mongol invasion. The royal privileges issued to Dalmatian towns, though, were primarily a political instrument of strengthening the king’s rule over these towns, rather than a conscious urban policy as it was the case in Slavonia. The content of their privileges was a result of negotiation between the town and the central authority, who together determined the political constitution of an urban community.

⁴⁹ In 1242, King Béla IV confirmed the privileges granted by King Koloman in 1105 (the famous Privilege of Trogir). According to the 1242 privilege, the Tragurians were specifically awarded for having offered refuge to the king on his flight from the Tartars. The king confirmed their right to elect their own count and bishop, as well as the right to observe their old laws. The citizens of Trogir were also granted legal immunity. Upon the king’s arrival in the city, Bishop Treguan, the rector, the judge, and all the people pledged allegiance to him.

ferred him refuge on his flight from the Tartars.⁵⁰ The potestà-mayors appeared in the role of city governors in Dalmatia at the time when the counts, as nominal governors, lost interest in actual administration of the city.⁵¹ Unlike the count, the potestà resided and lived in the city. The one in Trogir may have lived in the house that is referred to as *domus comunis* in the early 1270s.⁵²

The evolution of communal administration in the late 13th century is mirrored in the construction and lease of buildings for public services. Trogir's communal autonomy increased as early as the 1260s – this was also the time when the first public notary arrived in the city (most contracts were signed *in plathea comunis*, often also in front of the churches in the square).⁵³ On May 9, 1271 the consuls of Trogir rented a house for the communal *rivarius*, who was to perform his services on the ground floor.⁵⁴ Many court trials, sales, and contracts were held and signed in front of the chemist's shop in the square.⁵⁵ The trial on February 24, 1272 was held *ante domum domini Duimi de Cega et stationem Orlandini speciarii*, and several other ones *in statione Rolandini speciarii*.⁵⁶ Since the house of Dujam Cega is known to have been located be-

⁵⁰ In his role as the Count of Trogir, Stjepko received King Béla IV when the latter was fleeing the Tartars, thus strengthening his position at the court. Notwithstanding, the said reform resulted in his deposition from the office in 1250 and from that point the office was held by the bans or viceroys of entire Slavonia. Stjepko still managed to achieve an appointment to the potestà office.

⁵¹ As an administrative form, governorship mostly complemented and sometimes even substituted electoral countship. Thereby foreign professionals were preferred in order to prevent internal strife, and governors often had legal training.

⁵² Irena Benyovsky, "Trogirski trg u razvijenom srednjem vijeku" [The square in Trogir during the High Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi*, 16 (1997), no. 16: 11-32.

⁵³ The earliest notaries of Trogir were clerics, one of the most famous ones being the learned magister Treguan from Florence, later bishop of Trogir. The first sworn notary (*iuratus notarius*) of the Tragurian commune was priest Ivan, canon at St Laurence, and the first professional one Bonaventura Petrov from Ancona, whose register from 1263 has been preserved. After him, the notary was magister Francisco from Ancona (from 1266). cf. Branka Grbavac, *Notarijat na istočnojadranskoj obali od druge polovine 12. do kraja 14. stoljeća* [Notarial office in the Eastern Adriatic from the second half of the 12th until the late 14th century], unpublished dissertation (Zagreb, 2010), pp. 26-33.

⁵⁴ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, Book 12, f. 45-46. *Rivarius* was the communal messenger, who delivered court summons, proclaimed verdicts, and acted as the court executor; cf. A. Cvitanić, *Uvod*, p. 38.

⁵⁵ Between November 29, 1271 and May 18, 1273, there were 33 of them; cf. Hrvoje Tartalja, "Naša najstarija ljekarna" [Our oldest chemist's shop], *Radovi međunarodnog simpozija održanog prigodom proslave 700. obljetnice spomena ljekarne u Trogiru: Trogir 27. X. – 1. XI. 1971*, (Zagreb, 1973), p. 22.

⁵⁶ MT, I/1, 72, 180, 261-262, 311, and 316. The chemist's shop, as mentioned later on, was demolished in 1375; MT, I/1, 72; C. Fisković, *Kulturna*, p. 34.

hind the cathedral, the position of the chemist's can also be defined to some degree.⁵⁷

When the royal sovereignty over Dalmatia declined, the count office was again taken over by the local nobility, mostly by the Šubić. Pavao of Bribir, a powerful member of this family, was the count of Trogir in 1272 – the year in which the communal palace was built at the eastern side of the square (**figure 4**), which had been the site of administration since the antiquity, but acquired a sacral character in the early Middle Ages, near the bulwark and next to the already existing *domus comunis*, the monastery of St John the Baptist, and an estate owned by the monastery.⁵⁸



Figure 4. Communal palace (photo by Joško Ćurković)

The decision on the construction and planning was made by the potestà and the council (with the approval of Bishop Kolumban⁵⁹ and the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St John the Baptist, since the palace was to be built on its land).⁶⁰ The church of St Stephen in the square was torn down to make

⁵⁷ MT, I/1, 355, 395, 409, and 425 (... *ante statione Rolandini magistro specialis* ...).

⁵⁸ MT, I/1, 438.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

⁶⁰ Nada Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira: Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi* [History of Trogir: Public life of the city and its people], (Trogir, Muzej grada Trogira, 1985), p. 191; Serđo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i trogirске crkvene prilike" [Papal legate Gentil and the ecclesiastical situation], *Vrtal*, 1-2 (1998): 67-85, here p. 72.

place for the new building.⁶¹ In return, the commune granted to the abbot its five-year income from the estate of Drid.⁶² The municipal administration also promised to complete at its cost the small church of St George at the seafront, which had been started by the Benedictines, and to build them a stone house next to the church.⁶³ From 1274, contracts were signed *in palatio comunis*⁶⁴ (as well as *in platea maiori Traguriensi*⁶⁵ and near the churches).⁶⁶

According to a document from November 28, 1272 Abbot Savin of St John the Baptist sublet a *domus seu cochina* located next to the monastery for the needs of the communal palace.⁶⁷ Apparently, the Benedictines did it because the said building was too large for their own use⁶⁸ – they had concluded that they needed “neither the shops nor the first floor of the palace” and the rent (24 *librae* per year) was crucial to their sustenance. Documents from the 13th century mention palaces and beautiful buildings owned by the monastery (*ad habitandum venustate*).⁶⁹ One of them is referred to as *palatium monasterii*

⁶¹ It is possible that the early medieval stone fragments discovered under the southern part of the palace belonged to that demolished church; cf. Tonči Burić, “Novi nalazi srednjovjekovne skulpture iz Trogira” [New finds of medieval sculpture in Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, vol. 28 (1989), no. 1: 25-31. The location of the church is still a matter of debate, since the eastern front of the medieval square has not been preserved. In the 14th century, St Stephen’s church was situated in a street leading towards St Peter’s in the western section of the city core. It is mentioned in the documents: *in curia S. Stefani*; *in ecclesia s. Stephani*; *in curte s. Stephani*; MT, I/1, 74, 329-330, and 384; II, 181-182 and 223.

⁶² MT, I/1, 438. Documents from the late 13th century mention an *ortus sancti Stephani*.

⁶³ It is interesting to note how the favourable circumstances for the demolition of the church were created, since the commune needed the bishop’s approval and the relations between the abbot of St John the Baptist and the city council on the one side, and the bishop on the other, were very strained at the time. Cf. N. Klaić, *Povijest*, p. 190; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 375.

⁶⁴ The decision on the construction of the palace was made *in palacio dicte communitatis Traguriensis*; MT, I/1, 438. The building may have been called “palace” while still in construction. A document from 1264 mentions that the commune owned a house (*domus communis*) in Trogir, which apparently refers to the building near St John the Baptist; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 11, f. 114; MT, I/1, 38, 49, 57, and 66. The old communal house seems to have been previously owned by the chapter (*actum ante domum communis Tragurii quondam capituli sancti Laurentii*).

⁶⁵ MT, I/2, 11, 19, 23, and 41. As early as November 1272, the signing of some contracts, besides the square, took place *in curia Traguriensi*; MT, I/1, 8, 9, 17, 63, 434, and 436.

⁶⁶ This tradition continued long after the construction of the communal palace and the loggia; *Ante sanctam Marinam* (!) ...; MT, I/2, 21; ... *in via publica ante ecclesiam sancti Martini* ...; MT, I/2, 5; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 491-495; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 368.

⁶⁷ MT, I/1, 439.

⁶⁸ There were six brethren present at the meeting.

⁶⁹ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 433 and 446. There was probably a scriptorium in the monastic complex, and a school was located there; cf. C. Fisković, *Kulturna*, p. 55; I. Ostojić, *Bene-*

and thus probably served to accommodate the abbot and his distinguished guests.⁷⁰ For the needs of the commune, a private house in the neighbourhood was obtained in exchange for the old *domus comunis*, situated more to the south.⁷¹ It is known that in 1274 the potestà of Trogir, Zadar's nobleman Presta de Cotopagna,⁷² lived in the vicinity of the communal palace.⁷³ In 1285, Juraj of Bribir was appointed the Count of Trogir,⁷⁴ but there was always a podestà as well.⁷⁵ According to a document from 1290, the latter (*potestas uel rector*) was to order the paving of 30 *passi* of city streets per year, starting from the gate to the harbour towards the Bridge Gate.⁷⁶ Apparently, a complex of buildings was emerging in Trogir at the time, including the count's lodgings, the potestà's residence, and the administrative apparatus of the commune.

Late in the 13th century, the city loggia was built north of St Martin's church. The exact year of its construction is not known, but the oldest mention of a/the loggia dates back to 1299.⁷⁷ It was the most open secular building in the city, located in the square as the political and economic centre and the intersection of the main streets, one of them connecting the square with the

diktinci, vol. II, p. 269-270; MT, I/2, 124-125. In 1272, the Benedictine abbey of St John the Baptist founded a confraternity administered by a gastald; MT, I/1, 336; I/2, 261; cf. Marko Perojević, "Benediktinci u Trogiru" [Benedictines in Trogir], *Napredak*, II (1934), no. 2: 13; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 268.

⁷⁰ MT, I/2, 196; II, 162; I. LUČIĆ, *Povijesna*, 406; CD, IV, 206; VIII., 547-548; XII, 507. Thus, in 1243 Count Domald made peace with the Tragurians in the palace; CD, IV, 205-206; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, pp. 269-270; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 47-48. In 1272, Miha, grandson of Count Vučina, made a deal with the bishop and the commune; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 87. In 1358, Ban Ivan Čuz held court in the palace.

⁷¹ The house was owned by Rada, wife of goldsmith Saba; MT, I, 10-11; cf. S. Piplović, "Rad Ćirila Ivekovića", p. 24.

⁷² MT, II, 63. A nobleman from Zadar as the potestà was not a coincidence: in this way, Trogir tried to influence the politics of Zadar, which was under the Venetian rule (in 1311-1313, Ban Pavao of Bribir managed to conquer the Venetian Zadar for a short while).

⁷³ For comparison, in 1270 there was a settlement between the Šibenik commune and the elected potestà (patrician Valentin Petrov from Trogir), in which the commune promised to give the rector a salary and a *hospitium ad manendum*. A year later, in 1271, the potestà was Nikola Jakovljević *Vodouaro*, likewise from Trogir; MT, I, 265.

⁷⁴ Later on, another member of the clan was the Count of Trogir, namely Stjepan, son of Martinuš.

⁷⁵ From 1283 onwards, the potestà of Trogir was appointed from Italy, and later on again from (Venetian) Zadar.

⁷⁶ *Notae*, 218 (24. febr. 1290. *Potestas uel rector tenebatur lege integulari et murari facere 30 passus de uis communis in civitate, incipiendo a porta portus ueniendo versus portam pontis. Alevietur hic potestas Stefanus ab hoc onere. 3, a*).

⁷⁷ MT, II, 251 (*sub loça comunis*). The loggia on the square is mentioned in 1311; *Trogirski spomenici*, p. 32.

north and south gates and the other running westwards, towards the most densely populated and economically most active area. At that time, the porticus of St Mary *de platea* was turned towards the west, i.e. towards the loggia.⁷⁸ Through that porticus, between the loggia and St Mary's church (from the south to the square), a street came out that ran parallel to the main street of the city and continued northwards along the base of the cathedral's Romanesque belfry. This street was closed during the building interventions in the second half of the 15th century.⁷⁹

After a period of restoration and construction of communal buildings, a new major wave of investments took place in the early 14th century. It was due both to the (short-lived) stability of political and economic situation and to the further development of the communal system. As early as the late 13th century, spatial configuration of the square showed tendencies of such urban planning and architecture, expressing the new political power of the commune.⁸⁰ In the mid-13th century, the square was still defined by churches – the cathedral in the north, St Stephen in the east, and St Mary *de platea* and St Martin in the south. There was also an old baptistery near St Mary *de platea*, but almost nothing is known about it.⁸¹ In the final decades of the 13th century, St Stephen's church was demolished in order to build the communal palace, while St Martin's was restructured to build the loggia. The monastery of St John the Baptist, located in the immediate vicinity of the square, sublet some of its buildings to the communal administration.⁸² At one corner of the palace, on the ground floor, there was the communal prison, established in 1306.⁸³

The square thus became the focal point of Trogir's communal life – the area used for ceremonies as well as the market. In the 13th century, annual events were held near the monastery, *in circuitu monasterij sancti Johannis*.

⁷⁸ Tomislav Marasović, "Iskapanje ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Marije u Trogiru" [Unearthing the early medieval church of St Mary in Trogir], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, vol. III/8-9 (1963), pp. 98-111.

⁷⁹ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 335; R. Bužančić, *Renovatio*, p. 111. The early medieval sixfoil church of St Mary in the main square was demolished in 1851 because of its derelict state. The churches of St John the Baptist and St Barbara were desacralized and transformed into museums.

⁸⁰ A similar situation is found in Italy, the earliest communal palaces on public squares were located between the cathedral and the baptistery, or between the cathedral and the episcopal palace (Florence, Lucca, Pistoia); cf. Jacques Heers, *La ville au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1990), pp. 399-401.

⁸¹ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 332; R. Bužančić, *Renovatio*, p. 110.

⁸² Soon afterwards (in 1303), the Statute of Trogir was codified (today lost).

⁸³ ST, R. I, c. 71; L. II, c. 14; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 60.

For example, the citizens participated in a game where they elected a “king” and “fought under arms.”⁸⁴ A document from Trogir dated 1272 is the oldest mention of this medieval game in Dalmatia.⁸⁵ The elected “king” made comments on the passers-by, entertaining the assembled citizens.⁸⁶ In the area of the old town, the main square had particular importance as the only market within the city walls and the main fairgrounds for the entire district. Its importance depended on the intensity of traffic and various services needed for its functioning. The square was connected to the main streets and through them to the gates and the roads leading to the surrounding territories of the commune and the harbour. The chancery and other communal services were likewise located there: one could sign a contract or confirm the agreed business arrangements. The main market was under the fiscal control of the commune, but also enjoyed the protection of the city authorities, which manifested itself in the sufficient supply of goods in case of shortage and the provision of fresh victuals.

The communal authorities were also increasingly intervening in the cathedral construction, reaching for the finances that had previously been controlled by the bishop.⁸⁷ Thus, in this period the square was gradually transformed into a site that represented communal autonomy and symbolized the basic institutions of the communal society. A series of interventions were undertaken to enlarge the area of the square under communal control, and there were plans to pave it:⁸⁸ thus, on February 29, 1300 the Major Council decided to enlarge the square to make it more representative, and the works began in 1306 in the area behind St Laurence. The area behind the cathedral belonged to the chapter until the early 14th century, and it extended to the area in front of the houses owned by noble families.⁸⁹ Expansion of the communal square thus included the cathedral cemetery behind the apse, between the

⁸⁴ MT, II, 79; Miho BARADA, “O našem običaju biranja kralja” [On our custom of electing the king], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, vol. 3-4 (1927), pp. 197-209.

⁸⁵ Josip Matasović, “Još o svečanostima ‘Biranih kraljeva’ u mletačkoj Dalmaciji” [More on the festivities of ‘Elected Kings’ in Venetian Dalmatia], *Narodna starina*, 9 (1930), no. 22: 3-4.

⁸⁶ The game also included jousting, and at the end of the “tournament” the king’s entire “entourage” – governors, courtiers, and soldiers – presented themselves to the audience. After that, the festivities continued well into the night in the winners’ houses; cf. Ivan Lozica, “Folklorno kazalište i scenska svojstva običaja” [Folklore theatre and the scenic features of folk customs], *Dani hvarskog kazališta*, 2 (1985): 22-33, here 22-25.

⁸⁷ The commune also invested its own means in the construction of the cathedral, as it adorned the medieval square.

⁸⁸ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 365.

⁸⁹ The houses mentioned include that of the mother of Albertolo Palma, that of Silvestar Mengacijev from the Mazzarello clan, and the house of Desa Dujmov from the Cega clan.

belfry and the communal palace (*ante frontispicium palatij communis*), and the porticus of the house of the late Lucijan Godenov. However, in the area next to the cathedral (and the Palma house) the commune was not allowed to build anything, since it was forbidden to erect structures that would lean on the cathedral walls.⁹⁰ The communal authorities promised the bishop that a small sacristy would be built at the communal cost at that location,⁹¹ and the cathedral obtained a “new cemetery” in front of its western façade.⁹² In that area, the bishop also obtained some houses that the commune was previously subletting, located next to the wall of the “new cemetery” and the house of cobbler Milovan. The commune was supposed to renovate the houses first, as well as the “old church wall” situated between them and the old cemetery. Within the cemetery, a wooden hut would be built, at the site determined by the bishop and the chapter.⁹³

According to Ivan Lučić’s description, the square’s enlargement was completed only in 1333 because of political instabilities.⁹⁴ The plan was probably also obstructed by the strained relations between Bishop Liberije and the commune, related to the administration of ecclesiastical goods that were gradually passing into secular hands in the institution of the Operaria.⁹⁵ With time,

⁹⁰ It was also forbidden to build structures that would lean against the pillar of the campanile or the wall between that pilaster and the house of Palma’s mother.

⁹¹ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 543.

⁹² On May 29, 1306 Bishop Liberije, with the canons’ approval, agreed an exchange with the syndic and procurator Fran Valentinov from the Lucić clan. AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 1, 5-7; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 543; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 59; V. Celio Cega, *Chiesa*, p. 21.

⁹³ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, Book 1, f. 5-7; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 543. The cemetery was located west of St Laurence, but was moved out of the city around 1600 (near the Franciscan monastery at the seafront) and the area in front of the portal was transformed into a small enclosed square; Igor Fisković, “Stup s Firentinčevim kipom Krista Uzašća sred Trogira” [The column with Fiorentino’s statue of the Ascension of Christ in Trogir’s centre], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 41 (2005-2007), no. 1: 269-301, here pp. 272-273. The cemetery that was situated around the cathedral during a later period unfortunately remains undated. Systematic archaeological excavations are difficult to conduct as the locality is occupied by recent buildings or paved. However, the area is still called “cimatorij”; cf. Nevenka Bezić-Božanić, “The Necropolises of Trogir in the Thirteenth Century,” *Balcanoslavica*, 9 (1980): 91-97, here 92-93.

⁹⁴ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 543.

⁹⁵ In the late 13th century, there were already conflicts around the election of the cathedral procurators, since both were secular persons instead of one of them being a representative of the chapter, as originally foreseen. On the other hand, the commune complained that the clergy misused the money intended for the cathedral construction. Bishop Liberije even turned to Gentil, the papal legate, and the latter eventually established the Operaria of Trogir as an institution in which income was separated from the episcopal and chapter mensa; cf. P. Andreis, *Povijest*, 359-360; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, f. 28v (*Operaria separata dalla mensa*); P. Andreis, *Operaria*, passim; I. Benyovsky Latin, *Razvoj srednjovjekovne Operarije*, pp. 1-18.

the Operaria would become largely communal: all four appointed operarii of St Laurence were secular persons (noblemen).⁹⁶ Disagreements with Bishop Liberije started as early as 1305, when the commune tried to extend its legal jurisdiction to persons from the episcopal estates.⁹⁷ In June 1316, the “pro-Venetian” Tragurian potestà and captain Mate Zorić (Zorijev) Cega threatened to confiscate the property of the bishop and other members of the clergy.⁹⁸ He was supported by a group of men who were against the rule of the Counts of Bribir⁹⁹ and sought the backing in Venice. Thus, Venice started to intervene more actively in Dalmatia, using internal strives to its benefit.

The period of the (first) Venetian governance

In 1322, Trogir rebelled against the Counts of Bribir because of high taxes, which Venice used to pursue its own interests. That year, the Doge took the city “in his protection and defence,” recognizing its autonomy in a special “pact” (*Pactum Tragurii*). Trogir thus accepted Venetian authority, yet also remained loyal to the Angevin king Charles Robert.¹⁰⁰ Even though chronicler Ivan Lucić emphasized that Venice recognized all Trogir’s rights granted by the royal privileges (the right to elect the count and the bishop, autonomous jurisdiction, the right to offer residence to foreigners, and so on), this autonomy was in fact limited.¹⁰¹ Various other Dalmatian cities under the rule of the

⁹⁶ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, 1030. According to Lucić, the Operaria books referring to the period before 1406 had already been lost at the time of writing and therefore no details of its operation were known. The preserved *Operaria* of Pavao Andreis from the 17th century includes some lists of *operarii* and the number of appointments to that office. P. Andreis, *Operaria*, passim.

⁹⁷ CD, VIII, 94, 95, and 169; S. Dokoza, *Papinski*, pp. 71-72.

⁹⁸ A decree from 1317 stated that the estates of Archdeacon Kazarica and *primicerius* Lampredij Vitturi (the future bishop) could be used for the needs of the city. Lucić preserved a note from 1317 that told of a strife that broke out because of the tithe. When the clergy saw that secular persons would collect the tithe, they expelled people from the church, closed the doors, and refused to celebrate the divine office. *Notae*, 228 and 229.

⁹⁹ After 1306, Ban Pavao I annexed Podmorje (confirmed in 1303 by his brother Juraj) and thus the Tragurians had to pay taxes to continue using their own estates. Eventually, strife broke out among the Counts of Bribir, which destabilized their power. Nevertheless, the relations between the Counts of Bribir and Trogir were then temporarily stabilized until Pavao’s death in 1312. In the 14th century, the Counts of Trogir were sons of Ban Pavao: Juraj II Šubić (1304-1305) and Pavao II Šubić (1305-1321).

¹⁰⁰ *Listine*, I, pp. 340-341.

¹⁰¹ M. Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić*, p. 135.

Hungarian-Croatian king accepted Venetian sovereignty,¹⁰² and Venice also consolidated its power in those Eastern Adriatic cities that had been under its control more or less continuously since the 13th century.¹⁰³

After the Venetian administration was established in Trogir in 1322 and the situation stabilized a few years later, the city continued to renovate its square. In the 1330s, Bishop Lampredij was in conflict with the communal authorities, since Church money continued to be used without the control of ecclesiastical authorities¹⁰⁴ and communal property expanded at the cost of the Church.¹⁰⁵ The conflict between the bishop and the commune was far more complex than the ambition to control the finances collected by the Operaria, and had mainly to do with the general decline of ecclesiastical authority and property in the city.¹⁰⁶

In 1322 and 1329, the new governance made decisions concerning the maintenance of the altars of St Laurence and St John, where both ecclesiastical and secular powers, as well as all citizens, were to take part.¹⁰⁷ According to the descriptions of Ivan Lučić, in 1333 the commune bought some houses (which it had previously assigned to the Church) located between the square and the new

¹⁰² In 1322, Venetian central authority was acknowledged by Trogir and Šibenik, and in 1327 by Split; Listine, I, 337. The last city to acknowledge Venice as its central authority was Pula in 1331, from which point the Venetians controlled the entire Eastern Adriatic – Istria and Dalmatia from Krk and Osor to Dubrovnik (except for Skradin and Omiš, held by the Counts of Bribir, and the area between Zrmanja and Cetina, controlled by Nelipac). This triumph of Venice was partly due to the passivity of the Hungarian-Croatian rulers and separated the Dalmatian coast from the hinterland.

¹⁰³ In the 13th century, Venice controlled (temporarily or continuously) the cities on the route leading from Venice towards the Aegean and Ionic seas: the Istrian cities of Piran, Kopar, Poreč, and Umag, as well as Krk, Osor, Rab, Zadar, Durbovnik, Korčula, Hvar, and Dyrachium.

¹⁰⁴ Secular administrators were obliged to report to the bishop on incoming and outgoing finances, which was omitted in 1330. CD, IX, 516; cf. N. Klaić, *Povijest*, pp. 257-258. Apparently, the conflict with the bishop was also due to the fact that some noblemen had been in contact with the “Bosnian heretics” passing through the territory of Trogir in 1338, which the bishop had strictly forbidden. During the conflict, the commune appropriated certain ecclesiastical possessions; cf. P. Andreis, *Operaria*, f. 14; G. Lucio *Memorie*, 180; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 377.

¹⁰⁵ Threatening to excommunicate the council, the bishop demanded that the commune should also return the “gate tax” that it had lawlessly appropriated. Namely, in the 13th century the bishop had the right to a part of the income *de porta et pro porta civitatis prope pontem*; MT, I/2, 291. According to a document from 1292, the commune had leased the income from the city gates; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 13, f. 1. The bishop’s excommunication threats were not effected owing to the intervention of Bertrand, the papal legate, which supplied legitimacy to the communal claims. CD, X, 516 and 518; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁶ From the 14th century, the secular authorities were increasingly intervening in ecclesiastical matters, even deciding upon the relics.

¹⁰⁷ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 360.

cathedral cemetery, in order to erect “a building that housed a grammar school on the ground floor and a chemist’s shop and salt deposit on the upper floor.”¹⁰⁸

Lampredij’s successor, bishop Bartol (1340-1361),¹⁰⁹ demanded in 1341 that the rights and possessions “that had always belonged to the Church” should be returned,¹¹⁰ among others the part of the square next to the cathedral (*platea contigua ecclesie Traguriensis*) and the Count’s palace (*palatium comitatus*), as property that had been “lawlessly taken away” from the Church.¹¹¹ The commune was apparently increasing its control over the expansion of ecclesiastical property, which is one of the major changes with regard to the pre-communal era.¹¹²

The beginning of the Venetian rule in 1322 resulted, among other things, in the arrival of Venetian masters in Trogir. In the first half of the 14th century, they covered the lateral naves of the church with a roof, above which open terraces were built.¹¹³ The names of these Venetian builders and sculptors working on the cathedral have been preserved: proto-master Zanino de Fulco and Nicola Dente known as Cervo.¹¹⁴ In 1331, when the construction of the chapel of St John of Trogir began, a contract was signed with some Venetian stonemasons on June 22 concerning the construction of its vaults, but they were completed by master Mavar from Trogir.¹¹⁵ Since the cathedral

¹⁰⁸ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 499. This building was damaged in the Venetian assault of 1420 and repaired in 1426. It was eventually torn down in the early 17th century, when the square was enlarged and paved “... as stated by an inscription on the corner of the aforementioned tomb, on the base of its turret or pyramid...” I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 955-956.

¹⁰⁹ Two bishops by the name of Bartol may have occupied the episcopal seat during this period: Bartol from Vallismontana and Bartol Sobota; cf. M. Andreis, *Trogirsko*, p. 312.

¹¹⁰ N. Klaić, *Povijest*, pp. 264-255.

¹¹¹ He also demanded a garden on the island of Čiovo, the field of St Peter near Klobučac (*campus sancti Petri de Clobucez*), and the road tax of Barkan, along with the islands and islets in Trogir’s district; cf. P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 86; CD, X, 516.

¹¹² The relations between the commune and the Church were additionally strained because in the mid-14th century the commune limited the expansion of ecclesiastical estates by means of legations (the reform of 1346).

¹¹³ J. Stošić, *Trogirska*, p. 67. The works were finished only in the 15th century, by the local masters; cf. Cvito Fisković, “Dodiri mletačkih i dalmatinskih kipara i graditelja do 15. stoljeća” [Contacts between Venetian and Dalmatian sculptors and builders before the 15th century], *Rad JAZU*, 360 (1971): 8.

¹¹⁴ In 1372, Cervo also built the western façade of the Dominican church (his name is signed in relief in the lunette); Cvito Fisković, “Skulpture mletačkog kipara Nikole Dente u Trogiru i Splitu” [Sculptures by the Venetian Niccolò Dente in Trogir and Split], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 14 (1962), no. 1: 68.

¹¹⁵ C. Fisković, *Opis*, 35; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, pp. 330-331. Both Lučić and Farlati mention its completion in 1348; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 1032; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 308. For its con-

construction was a huge investment for such a small community, all its members participated in its realization: many Tragurians made legations to this purpose in their last wills. Thus, a considerable part of the finances flowed in the Operaria's treasury from private persons,¹¹⁶ who expressly stated that works on the cathedral should be financed from their legations (*pro labore-rio, pro fabrica ecclesie*).¹¹⁷ Late 14th-century testaments contain a considerable amount of legations for the construction of St John's chapel.¹¹⁸

In 1348, the so-called "old" Gothic chapel of St John was finished¹¹⁹ and his body transferred there to be "piously venerated by his faithful."¹²⁰ Thus, St John of Trogir completely overshadowed St Laurence as the city's other patron saint.¹²¹ The altar of the chapel was also used for political purposes: thus, when making truce, all the parties involved touched the relic of St John on the al-

struction, the commune ordered a marble sarcophagus from the Venetian workshop of de Sanctis; cf. I. Fisković, Gotička, p. 1055. The cathedral *operarius* was Vital Marinov. Cf. Cvito Fisković, "Trogirski majstor Mavar" [Master Mavar from Trogir], *Anali historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* (1970): 65. In 1347, Zanino signed a contract with the *operarius* of St Laurence, Nikola Marinov, confirming that he would spend the following six years working on the cathedral and its belfry. DAZd, AT, b. 66, vol. 4, f. 1. In 1348, the local builders Ivan Dražojev and Nikola Jakovljević are mentioned; cf. R. Bužančić, *Secundum*, p. 103.

¹¹⁶ In return for gifts in money and objects, the believers obtained indulgences and hope in salvation of their souls. Thus, Gentil promised a 40-day indulgence to those who visited St Laurence on feast days, which certainly motivated the believers to financially support the cathedral. S. Dokoza, *Papinski*, p. 80; CD, VIII, 197. P. Andreis mentions that considerable costs were connected with private funerals, and that the money was assigned to the Operaria; the *operarius* had to report on its income to the count and the bishop. P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 360.

¹¹⁷ A last will from Zadar (1289) mentions some money assigned to the construction of St Laurence in Trogir (*libras viginti in reparacione et opere ecclesie catedrali sancti Laurentii [de Tragurio]*); *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Henrika i Creste Tarallo 1279-1308* [Records of Zadar's notaries Henrik and Cresta Tarallo (1279-1308)], ed. M. Zjačić (Zadar: Državni Arhiv, 1959), p. 54; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 39; *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, dalmatiae et Slavoniae, Supplementa*, ed. J. Barbarić and J. Marković, vol. I (Zagreb, 1998), p. 148; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 110; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, Book 11, f. 89-90; P. Andreis, *Operaria*, f. 7; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 193; MT, I/1, 160, 357-358; I/2, 316. Thus, in 1336 Trogir's nobleman Petar Desin from the Gracija clan made a legation of 100 *librae* to the church of St Laurence. CD, X, 284-285.

¹¹⁸ AHAZU, *Testamenta Tragurii*, f. 43, 43.v.

¹¹⁹ In the 15th century, the Renaissance chapel of St John was built and the Gothic one was demolished at the time of Bishop Kupare (in 1694); cf. R. Bužančić, *Secundum*, p. 86.

¹²⁰ At that time, Marko Grgurev was the *operarius*; cf. P. Andreis, *Povijest*, pp. 329-330. In this way, the patron saint and one of Trogir's most distinguished citizens was involved in spiritual redemption after the plague epidemic (1348). An inscription in the chapel from 1348 tells of the miracles performed by St John, who also cured many posthumously (... *Fecisse miracula in vita quamplura ... Qui post sacrum obitum languidos sanavit ab omni insaniamultos hic curavit ...*); L. Glesinger, *Organizacija*, p. 33.

¹²¹ At that time, the front façade of the church was also altered.

tar.¹²² Descriptions of the “old chapel of St John” reveal that the count’s throne stood in the cathedral next to the bishop’s one, almost equally prominent.¹²³

In the early 14th century, the construction of the communal palace continued. It was a symbol of the city’s political identity and its appearance was related to the city’s Venetian policy.¹²⁴ In the cities that were subjected to the Venetian rule in the 14th century, as well as the ones that had had this status since the 13th century, the existing communal and count’s palaces were rebuilt and restored. Thus, in 1334 Rab renewed its Count’s Palace, and in Zadar, following the uprising of 1345, houses around the Count’s Palace were acquired in order to enlarge the building complex accommodating the count and his assistants. In the 14th century, Trogir’s governmental palace combined the judicial, economic, administrative, and political functions. That was where the count lived and presided with his family and servants, but he was not allowed to restructure it without the approval of the council.¹²⁵ In 1341, the palace (or a part of the complex) was called *palatium comitatus*.¹²⁶

In the governmental palace, the central place was occupied by the hall where the city council used to meet, which was in 1340 closed to include only noblemen.¹²⁷ Communal officials were also accommodated in the governmental palace. In 1330, it was decreed that the count was to bring a trustworthy notary from Venice, who was a member of his retinue and thus resided in the palace.¹²⁸ The palace also contained an apartment for the commune’s chancellor.¹²⁹ Some officials still lived in the rooms that the commune rented from

¹²² I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 1032.

¹²³ I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 493 and 1034.

¹²⁴ During the Venetian administration, the final redaction of most city statutes took place, which is why they rarely mention the institute of rectorship, as it was replaced by the Venetian one of countship; but unlike the countship that the Dalmatian cities had acknowledged earlier, it was a negation of communal self-management.

¹²⁵ ST, L. I, c. 13. At the end of his mandate, each count had to register in the books of communal treasurers all movable property in the governmental palace, including benches, furniture, paintings, tools, for salt processing, and even hoes. All these objects were to be handed over to his successor together with the keys of the palace and a written statement; ST, L. I., c. 53.

¹²⁶ For comparison, the communal palace of Šibenik was also called *palatium comitis* at the time (1333) and was possibly a different building than the *palatium communis*, built in the late 13th century like Trogir’s one.

¹²⁷ P. Andreis describes the hall in a later period; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 368. At the meetings of the Major Council, ballots were cast in two different boxes, ensuring secret voting (*ballottas in busola alba ... ballottas in bussola rubea ... in contrarium*); AHAZU, *Ostavština*, Book 5, f. 39.

¹²⁸ ST, L. I, c. 16, 53. The palace had a hall, rooms for servants, and stables for four horses; ST, R. I, c. 16.b; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 37.

¹²⁹ ST, L. I, c. 87; R. I, c. 6.

the monastery of St John the Baptist. A document from May 22, 1324 informs us that Savin, abbot of St John the Baptist, sublet a palace to the communal *massarii*,¹³⁰ who promised to carry out all needed restructurings and enlargements at the communal cost. In return, the abbot was not to demand a higher rent.¹³¹

The main square was the focal point in the city, where the seats of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were located. But it had additional functions: besides being a political and ecclesiastical centre, it was also the main site of trade and economy, and had a special legal significance as an intersection point of all social events. The loggia was a site of extraordinary public significance. That was whence the count addressed the citizens – *publice et non oculte* – and where the city council met.¹³² It also served as the custody, guarded by the communal sentinels. For example, if someone was accused of owning money, he was required to report to the loggia and remain there until the money was restored.¹³³ The loggia was also the official site for writing down charges and contracts, and for reading out last wills.¹³⁴ Within the communal palace, there was a public chancery.¹³⁵ The statute banned women from entering the communal palace and the loggia, even if they were witnesses – in such cases commoner women were to give testimony in the church of St Mary *de platea* and noblewomen in their own houses.¹³⁶ The notion of “public” was actually limited, as this example clearly shows its dependence on social laws. The square was also the site for the legal institution of adjuration, linked to sacral symbolism.

¹³⁰ AHAZU, Ostavština, book 2, f. 15-21; the same agreement on renting the house was achieved in 1336; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 375-376 (*Tabulae locationis, quibus coenobiarum monachorum S. Jo. Baptistae domum quamdam locavit Comm.*).

¹³¹ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 435.

¹³² ST, L. I, c. 23; L. II, c. 109. A number of documents mentions that the count made public proclamations *in loggia magna ut moris est*; DAZd, AT, b. 1, vol. 14, f. 2v; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 518 (according to a document from 1340).

¹³³ ST, R. II, c. 14. The loggia of Šibenik had a similar function: it served as an investigation prison for noblemen until they repaid their debts. According to the Statute of Šibenik, they were supposed to “stay, remain, sleep, and eat” (but not use it as a toilet!) until they returned their debts. They could stay there for as long as three months, but later on this period was shortened to eight days. The loggia of Šibenik was guarded by the night captain; SŠ, L. IV, c. 23; R. 138, 139, and 265.

¹³⁴ Various administrative and judiciary business was conducted in the loggia or its vicinity. Split, 1988. Contracts signed near the loggia were legally valid according to the statute; ST, L. II, c. 109. Other public areas in the city also served as places for signing contracts (*ante domum, in platea, in via publica*).

¹³⁵ DAZd, AT, b. 66, sv 2, f. 11v, 23; b. 67, sv. 3, f. 150.

¹³⁶ ST, L. I, c. 45; Trogirski spomenici, *passim*.

According to a document from 1330, public adjurations were performed “on the cross and the Gospel book” placed *in plancha rotunda* on the square.¹³⁷ According to Lučić, it was located on the site of the “old flag pole,” which was situated between the “new flag pole” and the church of St Mary *de platea*.¹³⁸ Documents from the 15th century situate the *plancha rotunda* differently, namely *in plathea prope stendardum sancti Marci*,¹³⁹ i.e. in front of the loggia.¹⁴⁰ The “pillar of shame” (*berlina*) was also situated on the square, but the notarial records of Trogir do not contain any verdicts linked to it.¹⁴¹ According to the statute, anyone who offended God or the saints (and failed to pay the fine) had to spend half a day *ad berlinam in platea*.¹⁴² In this way, the culprit was publicly shamed before the entire community. A column next to the loggia still has a segment of an iron chain attached to it, which may have belonged to the pillar of shame in the late Middle Ages. In any case, the site would have fitted the purpose, as a person tied to that pillar would be visible to the entire community, which was the purpose of this shaming penalty.¹⁴³

The main square was also a place for entertainment, yet the commune strove to preserve its exclusivity. Thus, it was forbidden to play cards or dice

¹³⁷ A document from October 29, 1335 was noted down *in plathea comunis prope plancham rotundam*, and there is also a verdict in which twelve noblemen from Trogir swore “on the Crucifix and the Scripture above the round plate in the square”; DAZd, AT, b. 66, vol. 2, f. 8; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 496-497; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 132.

¹³⁸ An 18th-century drawing of St Mary’s shows the location of the church and the “new flag pole”; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 497. *Forma iurandi in Platea*; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 11, f. 116 (14. *Januarij 1380. ... ad Sancta Dei Evangelia super librum et crucem ut moris est ...*; Trogirski spomenici, pp. 32-33 and 300-301. Adjurations of this type also took place in the loggia; Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* [A legal history of Dalmatian cities], (Zagreb, 1913), p. 315.

¹³⁹ *Actum Tragurij in plathea prope stendardum sancti Marci... in forma iuris, iuravit ad sancta Dei Evangelia...*; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 1, f. 229v; vol. 3, f. 176. A document from 1435 mentions a court trial that took place *in plathea comunis apud plancham*; DAZd, AT, b. 6, vol. 1, f. 65v; ST, L. I, c. 1; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 3, f. 10, 153, and 176; vol. 1, f. 65 and f. 229.

¹⁴⁰ *Matrikula*, f. 5. It is interesting to note that even the newly elected count of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit had to swear publicly over the flag and with his hand on the Gospel book, in front of the loggia with the count and the judges present, that he would take care of the confraternity *bona fide* and that he would not abuse his position financially; *Matrikula*, f. 4.

¹⁴¹ ST, L. I, c. 1.

¹⁴² A similar decree is found in the statutes of Šibenik and Zadar; *Zadarski statut* [The Statute of Zadar] (hereafter: ZS), ed. Josip Kolanović and Miroslav Križman (Zadar, 1997), R. 6, 23, and 145; *Statut Šibenika* [The Statute of Šibenik] (hereafter: SŠ), ed. Stjepan Grubišić (Šibenik, 1982), L. VI, c. 1.

¹⁴³ The fine for disobedience was rather small, but those who failed to pay it were to be tied naked to the pillar of shame (*poni debeat nudum ad berlinam*) and stay there until sunset; ST, L. I, c. 1; a similar punishment was foreseen for those who failed to respond to the alarm for defending the city during the Genuan-Venetian war; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 316.

for money in any part of the city except for the main square or its vicinity.¹⁴⁴ The square was guarded by the communal sentinels (*custodes plateae*),¹⁴⁵ who monitored the games for money (as these often ended in quarrel and fight). This decree not only offers a good picture of everyday life, but also shows how urban space was communally regulated. Graffiti incised in stone in the cathedral's vestibule (left and right from the portal) show that it was where chess and checkers were played.¹⁴⁶ Such board games are found incised in stone in various Dalmatian cities and towns.¹⁴⁷ As for Trogir, a number of graffiti have also been preserved on the eastern wall of the sacristy of St John the Baptist.¹⁴⁸

During the 14th century, a period of hunger and epidemics, many Mediterranean cities organized permanent institutions in charge of entertainment and storage/sale of grains.¹⁴⁹ Trogir's governmental palace had storage rooms for the count's needs: one for grains and another for salt, guarded by special officials.¹⁵⁰ In 1333, a new communal warehouse was built in front of the cathedral,¹⁵¹ but there were still storage rooms for salt in the communal palace (a document from 1359 mentions four of them).¹⁵²

¹⁴⁴ ST, L. II, c. 29.

¹⁴⁵ In Italian cities, this office is mentioned as early as the mid-13th century; J. Heers, *La ville*, 429. The decree in the Statute of Šibenik related to hazard games mentions that they often included "violence and stealing money from the game board"; ŠS, R. 153.

¹⁴⁶ I. Babić, *O trogirskim*, 123.

¹⁴⁷ According to Filip de Diversis, chess was placed in the loggia of Dubrovnik; cf. his *Situs aedificorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclytiae civitatis Ragusii*, published in *Dubrovnik*, 3 (1973): 26; Cf. SS, L. IV, c. 75; ŠS, L. VI, c. 24.

¹⁴⁸ A document from Trogir mentions games; MT, I/1, 304 (February 4, 1272); I. Babić, *O trogirskim*, passim.

¹⁴⁹ In Florence, a grain fonticus is mentioned as early as 1130, and in Venice from the 13th century. Grain was the most important product in a Dalmatian city, and the main tax (*gabella*) was levied on the sale of grains; cf. T. Raukar, *Prilog*, p. 360; ST, R. I, c. 16.b. In Dubrovnik, it was forbidden to sell grains in front of the fonticus in order to prevent smuggling; cf. J. Lučić, *Primjeri*, p. 205. Except for serving as a communal storage, the fonticus of Trogir was also a public buildings, where e.g. last wills were read out; cf. Marija Karbić and Zoran Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU" [Last wills of the citizens of Trogir at the Archive of HAZU], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 43 (2001): 161-254, 172, 183, 188-189 and 190.

¹⁵⁰ ST, L. I, c. 85, 86, and 90. In Split, according to its statute from 1312, grain could be sold only on the square in front of the communal palace, where the measurement standard for grain was located (*starium communis*); cf. T. Raukar, *Studije*, p. 269; SS, L. V, c. 29, 30, and 33.

¹⁵¹ Lucić mentions a warehouse, a chemist's, and a school in that building. It was demolished in 1600, when the square was further enlarged, and the area was paved. The fonticus was later moved to the house near the northern gate towards the seafront; cf. I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 500. In the early 15th century (1407), a large communal house is mentioned *ad pontem terre firme* and the fonticus may have been located there; SOP, 1406-1407, f. 29.

¹⁵² AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 6, f. 3-6. According to the Statute, only communal officials were to sell salt in retail; ST, L. II, c. 90. The situation in Split was similar; SS, L. V, c. 41 and 44.

By controlling the sale and purchase of victuals, the communal administration made it possible for the citizens to buy products at favourable prices, directly from the district sellers. Sanitary and hygienic measures were imposed: in the square, corruptible goods were to be sold on the same day: the Statute mentions melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, lemons, and oranges. Whatever was not sold, had to be put into a large iron vessel that closed well on the inside, under the surveillance of the officials. On the second day, those products were to be sold only out of the vessel.¹⁵³ The sellers had to take care about the possible infestation of the food sold in the square. Thus, a statutory regulation forbade women to spin or comb wool during the victual market.¹⁵⁴ Quality control shows the tendency of official regulation of the square as the city market.¹⁵⁵ According to the Statute, fish was not to be sold anywhere else but in the harbour or the main square.¹⁵⁶

The Angevin period

In the mid-14th century, the political situation changed again. By 1358, all Dalmatian cities had surrendered to King Louis. The Peace of Zadar was signed that year, which stated that Venice should cede all territories from the Kvarner Bay to Dyrrachium (in 1369 also Kotor).¹⁵⁷ In the Angevin period, the improvement of the main square in Trogir continued.¹⁵⁸ The church of

¹⁵³ ST, L. II, c. 42; R. I., c. 3; Mirko Mirković, "O ekonomskim odnosima u Trogiru u 13. stoljeću" [On the economic situation in Trogir during the 13th century], *Historijski zbornik*, 4 (1951): 21-52, here 23.

¹⁵⁴ An almost identical decree is found in the Statute of Split from 1312, referring to the women selling corruptible goods, especially milk; ST, L. I, c. 46; SS, L. IV, c. 96.

¹⁵⁵ In Dubrovnik, the location where specific victuals could be sold was determined in a similar way. Thus, grapes and grains were not to be sold in Placa, and bread, cheese, and vegetables were sold in front of the cathedral. The vendors were also forbidden to spin and sew over the goods; DS, L. VI, c. 27, 38, and 40; J. Lučić, *Primjeri*, pp. 201-206.

¹⁵⁶ ST, L. II, c. 42.

¹⁵⁷ With the Peace of Zadar, Louis obtained the entire Eastern Adriatic coast from Kvarner to Dyrrachium, "with all the cities, lands, fortresses, islands, harbours, and rights" (Osor/Cres, Krk, Rab, Pag, Brač, Hvar, Korčula, and the cities of Nin, Zadar, Skradin, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, and Dubrovnik), as well as the strategically crucial fortresses in the hinterland (Ostrovica, Knin, and Klis). The Croatian kingdom and Dalmatia now officially included the former Duchy of Neretva, which had actually come close to the other communal societies as early as the 13th century.

¹⁵⁸ In the 14th century, Venice could not stay in control for long. King Louis of Anjou intended to gain control over the Dalmatian cities and appeared in their hinterland as early as 1345. Officially, he ruled over this area from 1358 (Peace of Zadar).

St Mary *de platea* was restored in 1372 and the Pope granted indulgences to everyone who co-financed the works.¹⁵⁹ In 1375, the chemist's shop next to the communal palace was demolished in order to build the new porch (loggia).¹⁶⁰ It is not known where the porch was situated, but the chemist's shop was near the house of Dujam from the Cega clan (behind the cathedral).¹⁶¹ In 1359, bishop Bartol and the commune finally confirmed the election of four secular administrators of ecclesiastical property,¹⁶² one of them in charge of sales and property transfers, accountable to the bishop and the count.¹⁶³ The relations between the commune and the bishop were fully regulated after the death of Bishop Bartol in 1362 and his successor (and former canon) Nikola Casotti (1362-1370), who was loyal to King Louis.¹⁶⁴ On the western façade of the cathedral, a coat-of-arms with the insignia of the Hungarian Angevins is preserved as the visible sign of the current government in the square,¹⁶⁵ as well as the coat-of-arms of Bishop Nikola Casotti below.¹⁶⁶ From that time, the canons increasingly participated in the administration of the *fabrica* and the organization of construction works,¹⁶⁷ even though the property of St Laurence was still under communal control.¹⁶⁸ Until the end of the 14th century,

¹⁵⁹ *Indulgentia ad fabricandum ecclesiam B. Mariae in Platea Civitatis Traguriensis* (1372).

¹⁶⁰ An inventory of the Major Council is preserved from the same year; ZKZ, Rukopisi, MS 311, f. 120; CD, XV, 161.

¹⁶¹ ... *ante domum domini Duimi de Cega et stationem Orlandini speciarii*.

¹⁶² D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 387; ST, L. I, c. 71.

¹⁶³ Moreover, two treasurers and a priest guarding the treasury of St Laurence were elected. ST, L. I, c. 71.b; I. LUČIĆ, *Povijesna*, p. 387.

¹⁶⁴ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 392; CD, XIII, 220.

¹⁶⁵ Cvito Fisković, "Umjetničke veze Mađarske i Dalmacije u srednjem vijeku i renesansi" [Artistic contacts between Hungary and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance], *Mogućnosti*, 4-5 (1965), pp. 196-201. Most symbols of the Hungarian rule were destroyed when Venice came to power in 1420, this coat-of-arms probably surviving because of its functionality, since it was part of the stone grid or transenna of the cathedral; Cvito Fisković, "Najstariji grbovi grada Splita" [The oldest heraldic symbols in Split], *Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 17 (1936), p. 188. The Operatus of 1840 explicitly mentions the poor condition of the marble columns (six of them) with Hungarian heraldic symbols in the loggia; Stanko Piplović, *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljeću* [Trogir's architecture in the 19th century] (Split, Književni krug), 1996, pp. 13 and 147.

¹⁶⁶ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 392.

¹⁶⁷ The statute of 1365 includes a regulation according to which a monk elected to the episcopal office regained his patrimony. ST, R. I, c. 49.

¹⁶⁸ Following the abolition of confraternities in 1365, the commune had to take over their obligations towards the Church. Thus, when the Confraternity of St Laurence was abolished, some regulation on it entered the reformulation of the statute; ST, R. I, c. 53. In 1368, it was decreed that the incomes and expenses should be monitored by the count and that the notebooks of the holdings administrator had the authority of an official document. This also prevented

the construction works gradually progressed despite the financial difficulties¹⁶⁹ and epidemics in the city.¹⁷⁰

King Louis' death (1382) was followed by a period of instability, which temporarily halted the restructuring of the city square. From that time until the Venetian conquest of 1420, defence and fortification of the city were the main priority.¹⁷¹ It is known from the sources that in 1417 the floor and the wall crown were commissioned for the communal tower.¹⁷² However, in 1414 the street leading to the southern side of the square, next to the church of St Mary *de platea* was closed, possibly to make the square look more representative.¹⁷³ Interestingly, according to a contract from August 8, 1413, the owner of a private house in the city ordered the same type of windows (*fenestra sarasinista*) "as recently made for the communal palace."¹⁷⁴ This is a very rare piece of information on the appearance of the palace's front at the time and shows that it was a model to be imitated in residential architecture.

Nevertheless, celebrations and games were also held in the city during this time. A statutory regulation from 1386 mentions a tournament known as the *paliu balistrariorum* held on the feast day of the city's patron, St John (November 14),¹⁷⁵ in which shooters competed on horses for a *paliu* or cloak as a reward.¹⁷⁶ Such events were part of the political ideology that sought to

the abuse of finances. ST, L. I, c. 53; G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 168. In 1388 and 1389, the decision was made that the three keys should be held by the bishop, the count, and the operarius. Notae, 247. Apparently, the Operaria also functioned as a bank: in 1381, the commune borrowed 1600 *librae* from it for the city's defence. AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 7, f. 25-26 (7. *Junij 1381. comunis traguriensis ab Operaria mutuo 1600 libre parvorum accepte*).

¹⁶⁹ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 330.

¹⁷⁰ During the episcopacy of Valentin (1370-1372) and Krševan Dominis (1373-1402).

¹⁷¹ After 1382, when King Louis I died without male heirs, Sigismund of Luxemburg, his son-in-law, and Sigismund's cousin Ladislaus of Naples enforced their previous struggle for the Hungarian crown. Exploiting this conflict, Venice re-established its rule over the Dalmatian coast during the first half of the 15th century.

¹⁷² I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 891-894.

¹⁷³ In that street, south of the church, there was the house of Blaž Lukin Vitturi, so the walls, windows, and doors had to be adapted to the intervention; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 70-79.

¹⁷⁴ ... *talem et tantam qualis et quanta est una illarum fenestrarum sarasinistarum in palatio comunis Tragurij*; DAZd, AT, b. 66, vol. 27, f. 13v. The commissioner promised 16 small *librae* to the master.

¹⁷⁵ Notae, 268. Books of expenses mention the sums that the commune spent for the celebrations in honour of St John; Notae, 265.

¹⁷⁶ This medieval game was first mentioned in the 12th century. The most famous example is Siena, where one person from each neighbourhood participated in a race in which the winner was awarded with a *pallium*. In Siena, the *pallio* was acquired by the commune and it was very

maintain social unity and political loyalty.¹⁷⁷ In 1386, a public execution took place in the main square: the beheading of Augustin Casotti.¹⁷⁸

The Venetian governance in the 15th century

In 1420, Trogir was again subjected to the (now more durable) Venetian rule after a prolonged conquest.¹⁷⁹ There is abundant material evidence that during the conquest the Venetian fleet attacked the city most fiercely from the

costly; cf. Andrea Barlucchi, "Quando l'onore scende in campo", *Medioevo*, 2 (1997), pp. 38-45; William Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune; Siena under the Nine 1287-1355* (Berkeley: CA, 1981), p. 275. The regulation mentioning this game in Trogir does not reveal many details, but the *palio* must have been a traditional and important event, since the Statute obliged the commune to supply the needed finances every year; ST, R. I, c. 61.

¹⁷⁷ The *palio* in the square is mentioned again in 1431 and then in 1587, when the count decided to revive the old custom of tournaments on the feastday of St John. Such celebrations in honour of patron saints were usual in medieval Dalmatian cities and had considerable political significance.

¹⁷⁸ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁹ On 9 June 1409, Hungarian king Ladislaus sold the towns of Zadar and Novigrad (Novigradi), the island of Pag (Pago) and all rights of Dalmatia to Venice for 100,000 *ducats*. The path for Venice's formal and final entry was thus paved (*Santa intrada*). La Serenissima gradually expanded its government (either willingly or by force) to the entire Eastern Adriatic, including all major towns and islands. Still, until 1420 there was still a struggle between Venice and Sigismund of Hungary over a part of Dalmatia, and some Dalmatian towns supported the king and expected his aid against the Venetian conquest. In 1420, Venetian domination was imposed over towns and islands all the way down the coast, with the exception of the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and, north of Senj (Segna), the fief of the Frankopans, a Croatian family of magnates. Dalmatia, a province stretching from the island of Krk (Veglia) to the island of Korčula (Curzola) – currently part of Croatia – was part of the Venetian territory in the Eastern Adriatic (from Istria to Albania), and called *Colfo* or *Culphum* (Richard C. Mueller, "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia," *Quattrocento Adriatico*, (1994): 29-57). As a result of military actions and diplomacy at the turn of the fifteenth century, La Serenissima doubled both its territory and its population. The 15th and 16th centuries were a period when the Republic assumed its most complete form. Urban communes in the Eastern Adriatic were vital parts of the systematically organized territorial state (empire); Alberto Tenenti, "The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale, (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 17-46; Marko Šunjić, *Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću* [Dalmatia in the 15th century], (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967); Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum (ca. 1400 - ca. 1600)", *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra tredicesimo e diciottesimo secolo / Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.-18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. G. Ortalli and O.J. Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 77-101; Dennis Romano, *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari 1373-1457* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007).

east. Thus, the eastern part of the centre, the area where most important public and ecclesiastical buildings were situated, was severely damaged by bombardment. Assaults on the city in 1419¹⁸⁰ damaged many private houses and public buildings, as well as the city walls with their towers. In a note from September 6, 1420 the Venetian naval captain Laurentino Victuri, who had been sent from Venice to inspect the Dalmatian cities, described the walls of Trogir as old and derelict.¹⁸¹ Upon establishing its administration, Venice primarily invested in building its government seat, the Kamerlengo fort and the bulwark, and only then in the city square. The fortifications were a priority as the basis of security, but so were the public buildings, necessary for the functioning of the new administration.¹⁸² Restoration of private houses was left to their owners.¹⁸³

In 1420, the Council asked from Venice to rebuild the “tower of the communal palace” (which may be identical with the St John’s Tower),¹⁸⁴ partly

¹⁸⁰ On March 6, 1419, knight Franjo Bembo, the captain of Colfo, docked with his galleys in the city of Trogir and erected two very strong fortresses there, “in the midst of the said city on an island, fighting bravely day and night, and taking from that army many ships that had been used to plunder the Venetians”; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 904-905. The sources say that during the Venetian attack of 1420, bombards of one foot in diameter were falling upon the city; G. LUCIO, *Memorie*, p. 439; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 997; Irena Benyovsky Latin, “The Venetian Impact on Urban Change in Dalmatian Towns in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century,” *Acta Histriae*, 22 (2014), no. 3, pp. 2-44.

¹⁸¹ Listine, VIII, 46. According to Lučić, in his time the towers still showed signs of having been damaged by bombards and erased to the level of the bulwark.

¹⁸² The Venetians recognized almost all of the previous property relations in Dalmatian towns. In Trogir, the Venetians acknowledged the city’s old property rights: all noblemen and *popolani*, religious and lay persons, were entitled to keep their pre-1420 positions and enjoy their movable and immovable assets. In Trogir, this did not include “certain towers or large houses.” which were supposed to be placed at the disposal of the new government (Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 929). The latter referred to Trogir, Split and Šibenik. In Trogir, after 1420, all urban towers had to be lowered to the height of the city walls. Recognition of old property rights excluded the opponents of Venetian rule. Estates owned by the “disloyal” locals, supporters of the Hungarian king prior to the 1409-1420 conquest, were confiscated and used for Venetian purposes. Most of these assets were eventually sold to the locals. Except in case of the fiercest Venetian opponents, such as the bishop and the captain, most of the exiled individuals were allowed to return to the city. First, however, they had to present themselves to the Doge; I. Benyovsky Latin, *The Venetian Impact*, p. 3.

¹⁸³ Lucio, *Memorie*, 449-469; DAZd, AT, 66/33, 39v.

¹⁸⁴ In the documents, the tower is located between the house of Ivan Dujmov from the Cega clan (situated behind the cathedral apse) and the bishop’s tower (next to the episcopal palace); AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 9, f. 95; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, pp. 994 and 1001. It is also mentioned (*Torrione*) in the 18th century; Irena Benyovsky, “Popis javnih zgrada u Trogiru 1789. godine” [A list of public buildings in Trogir from 1789], *Povijesni prilozi*, 29 (2005): 191-213; State Archive in Split (hereafter: DAS), *Legacy of Fanfogna Garanin*, ser. Trogir Commune, vol. I/III a, f. 3-5. AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 9, f. 95.

demolished by Venetian bombardment, with the lowest costs possible. Repair of the communal i.e. Count's Palace was a special priority – initiated because of damage, it was now rebuilt in the Renaissance style, which was completed only at the time of Trifun Bokanić.¹⁸⁵ After 1420, the Count's Palace became the seat of the Venetian representative in Trogir, appointed directly from Venice.¹⁸⁶ The Venetians ensured that their representatives should be accommodated in respectable and safe residences in Dalmatian cities.¹⁸⁷ The appearance of the communal palace was to show good and well-organized governance, as well as the city's subjection to the Republic.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ The Renaissance windows are work of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino; cf. Ivo Babić, "Renesansni lučni prozori i općinska palača u Trogiru" [Renaissance arched windows and the communal palace in Trogir], *Adrias, Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad JAZU u Splitu*, vol. 1 (1987), pp. 169-179; the communal palace was again restructured in 1890; Cvito Fisković, "Trifun Bokanić na Hvaru" [Trifun Bokanić on the island of Hvar], *Peristil*, 16-17 (1974), no. 1: 56-60.

¹⁸⁶ He presided over the meetings of the Major Council, as well as civic and penal trials, controlled external and internal politics, supervised the construction of fortifications and the city supplies, and monitored the ecclesiastical institutions; cf. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, 99. The count lived in the communal palace and his suite in Trogir consisted of one assistant, five servants, and a notary; AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 37.

¹⁸⁷ In Split, the council asked the Venetian administration in 1431 to restore the communal palace, which was soon approved; cf. G. Novak, *Povijest*, II, p. 441.

¹⁸⁸ Even in Pula, a city that was continuously under the Venetian rule, the palace was rebuilt in the 15th century, as its appearance was to symbolize good and well-organized governance, as well as subjection to the Republic, which became very strong in the 15th century. In Rab, during the early 15th century, Count Niccola Memo commissioned the renovation of the cistern in the palace and the *casa del consiglio*. In the second part of the 15th century, towards the end, a major restoration of the palace took place, both externally and internally. The upper floor of the eastern façade of the tower was opened up by means of a lavish bifora, and above the simple portal that led to the inner courtyard of the palace a Renaissance balcony was added. In Split, in St Lawrence's square, the palace at the eastern corner was built in 1433. At its corner, there is a statue of St Lawrence. It also had a large open loggia on the ground level. The Count's Palace, closing the western part of Split's communal square with its lateral wall, was built in the *gotico fiorito* style as the largest building in the square. The palace of Šibenik was likewise completely restructured after the Venetian conquest in the 15th century: repair works are mentioned in the period from 1422/23. The main intention was to transform the *palatium comitis* previously linked to the complex of coastal fortifications, into an independent fortress that could resist a siege if needed, supported from the sea. During the 15th century, the western façade of the complex was restructured because of the construction of the new cathedral. In Zadar, until the late 1450s, the documents record how the entire block around the pentagonal tower, the Count's Palace, and the bulwark was turned into a count's and captain's complex (other cities had only one count-captain, while Zadar had two separate officials). Some of the rector's palaces were built only in the 15th century: namely, in those cities that lacked such buildings from the previous (medieval) period – either because there had not been any need to accommodate the administration or the count on a permanent basis, or because Venice want-

In most Eastern Adriatic cities, Venice adapted the existing communal palaces and reused them without major modifications, as this was cheaper. The fact that Venice established its control over Dalmatia in the 15th century, at the time when the cities had already assumed their urban form, necessarily limited Venetian urbanization to renovation and adaptation works. But the history of their sites also made these palaces reminders of the Venetian dominion and its legacy. To disassociate the buildings from their past, the Venetian authorities arranged for minor architectural details that gave them a Venetian façade – in appearance, symbols, functions, or name (count's instead of communal palace). That strategy linked the physical and historical revision of the buildings with the institutions they represented (as was the case with town citadels). Reusing these buildings, as well as the political structures and institutions, demonstrated that Venice had “lawfully inherited Dalmatia.”¹⁸⁹ Numerous public offices and administrative bodies were accommodated in the palaces: thus, the local councils usually met at the count's palace. Sources from the 15th century describe some of the rooms in the Trogir communal palace, such as a large hall with the judge's table.¹⁹⁰

The residence of a Venetian official was always located in public space: typically in the urban core, next to the loggia where the political and legal life of the commune took place. The Venetian representative occupied a communal rather than private house. Because these residences were first and foremost public property, the Venetian councils made sure they did not become monuments to any particular count (by decorating them with his family insignia). For this reason, counts were not allowed to repair or enlarge their palaces without an explicit permission of the Venetian senate. (And if they were allowed to add any embellishments, they were to be done in paint rather than carved in stone.) Unauthorized repairs of buildings where individual rectors resided were punishable, as they implied privatization of the palace.¹⁹¹ Venice

ed to clearly distinguish between the previous authority and the new one, which was mirrored in its official seat. Cf. I. Benyovsky Latin, *The Venetian Impact*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ In the towns within the State, such as those on the island of Crete, Venice also adapted extant communal palaces for its counts (Maria Georgopolou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 94-100.

¹⁹⁰ Rooms in the communal palace are mentioned in numerous documents; DAZd, AT, b. 1, vol. 13, f. 15v; b. 67, vol. 3, f. 9, 29, 48v, 51v, 52v, 136v, 143v, and 168. A contract was signed in 1437 *apud bancum iuris situm in palatio comunis*; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 2, f. 231. In 1436, contracts were signed *in sala magna palatij comunis*; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 2, f. 52v; or: *in palatio comunis ili supra sala magna*; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 2, f. 45. A document from 1438 mentions a staircase in the courtyard of the palace (*supra scallis palatij comunis Tragurij*); DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 3, f. 174.

¹⁹¹ *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, I-III, ed. Š. Ljubić, MSHSM (Zagreb, 1876-1880), p. 150. Similar examples can be found in other parts of the Venetian state, such as the island of

attempted to define public spaces by using collective symbols rather than individual monuments (**figure 5**).

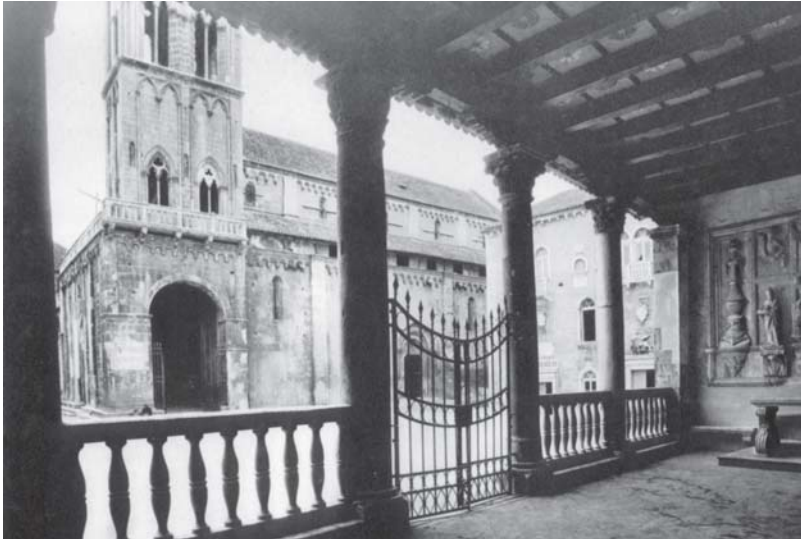


Figure 5. St Mark in the Loggia (early 20th century postcard)

This ensured that the Venetian lion dominated without competition. Instead of the insignia of individual Venetian rulers, the lion of St Mark was emblazoned on public buildings, fortifications, and gates.¹⁹² But this policy was not entirely successful – even though the lion of St Mark occupied a highly visible place, the insignia of individual counts and families were also present in public space. Thus, the coat-of-arms of a count is found on the well in a palace courtyard, reconstructed in the 15th century. The repair works on the palace started as early as 1426, at the time of Count Giacomo Barbarigo (1426-1428).¹⁹³ However, the visual symbol of Venetian authority was omnipresent: it was the lion of St Mark, not a portrait of some individual Venetian doge, that could be seen everywhere, serving as an element of central authority:¹⁹⁴

Crete (For the Cretan examples, see Georgopoulou, 2001, 54). On the island of Corfu, state inquisitors ordered the removal of all such insignia.

¹⁹² Monique O’Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice’s Maritime State* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 60.

¹⁹³ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 37, 448 (*Die 8. Augusti 1426. Comitibus Traguriensis Domus in Platea destructae a bombardis locatio*). Archaeologists have found remnants of bombards in the walls of the palace; cf. V. Kovačić, *Trogirske*, p. 116.

¹⁹⁴ Some authors have written about the “Venetianization” of Dalmatian cities into a *stato da mar*. The Venetian authorities restructured churches and squares, dedicating them to St Mark and transforming these central public spaces into an image of Venice as a sovereign, corroborating this image with visual evidence on the subjection of the city to the Venetian state. Cf.

on the standard above the main square, the bulwark, public buildings, and city gates.¹⁹⁵

The palace in Trogir also bore the lion of St Mark.¹⁹⁶ The iconography of the renewed loggia is of interest here, since the symbols of Venetian officials, the coats-of-arms of the local elite, and the old church patrons are featured together with the state symbol.¹⁹⁷ It was only in 1466 that the restoration of the loggia was approved (Koriolan Cippico may have had an impact on the Doge), but it was finally restructured only in 1471 (before the plague of 1466, the city had been struck by several epidemics).¹⁹⁸ In 1476, it was decided that a votive church dedicated to St Sebastian would be built between the loggia and the church of St Mary *de platea* (**figure 6**).¹⁹⁹ The architects used an older wall of the apse of St Mary's church and, since the entrance to the latter was thus closed,²⁰⁰ a new one was opened from the square.

Donatella Calabi, "Le basi ultramarine", *Storia di Venezia. Temi: Il Mare*, ed. A. Tenenti and U. (Rome: Tucci, 1991), pp. 861-879.

¹⁹⁵ St Mark's lion was both secular and sacral; it symbolized the subjection of the city to Venice, but even more the role of Venice as a protector and the unity of its state. M. Georgopolou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 120-121.

¹⁹⁶ Old postcards still show the Venetian lion above the portal of the palace (demolished in 1932); cf. Mario Jareb, "Trogirski incident od 1. prosinca 1932. i mletački lav svetog Marka kao simbol 'talijanstva' istočne obale Jadrana" [The Trogir incident of December 1, 1932 and the Venetian lion of St Mark as a symbol of the "Italianity" of the Eastern Adriatic], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 39 (2007), no. 2: 419-443; Alberto Rizzi, *I leoni di Venezia in Dalmazia* (Venice: Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, 2005), pp. 229-237.

¹⁹⁷ The largest sculpture of St Mark's lion in Dalmatia (not preserved), showed the Venetian lion with two figures in relief: the lions of St Mark with the lions of St John of Trogir and St Lawrence, the diocesan patron saint, to the side, and the coats-of-arms of the local nobility below (by Fiorentino). Radovan Ivančević, "Trogirska loža: Templum iuris et ara iustitiae (1471)" [The loggia of Trogir: Templum iuris et ara iustitiae (1471)], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 31 (1991), no. 1: 115-146; Marija Anderle, *Die loggia communis an der östlichen Adria*, (Weimar: VDG, 2002).

¹⁹⁸ Plague is mentioned in the city in 1429, 1434, 1436-1437, 1442, and 1444, which certainly slowed down the renovation of the square. The loggia was eventually restructured at the time of Count Alvisa Lando. The east composition of the eastern wall, bearing a relief of Justice, has been attributed to Fiorentino (destroyed in the early 20th century); cf. R. Ivančević, *Trogirska loža*. On the corner pillar of the loggia, there is a coat-of-arms of the Loredan family, but it is not sure whether it refers to Pietro Loredan and his success in conquering the city in 1420 or another family member; J. Stošić, *Trogirska*, p. 70.

¹⁹⁹ Same is many other Dalmatian cities and towns, the church of St Sebastian was erected at the time of epidemics. In 1466, the count decreed that St Sebastian should enjoy special veneration as he had "liberated the city from plague"; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 335; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, p. 261.

²⁰⁰ S. Piplović, *Graditeljstvo*, pp. 117-131; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 335.

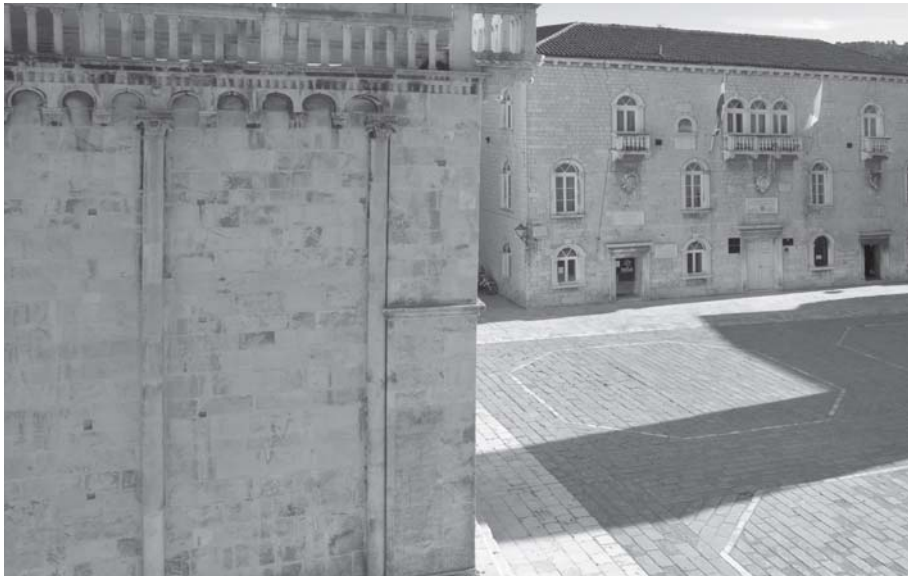


Figure 6. Main square (photo by Joško Ćurković)

In 1420, the exterior of the church of St Mary *de platea* was restored under the communal patronage. The council established a *fabrica* for the repair of the church and assigned 40 *librae* to it (*reparatione ipsius ecclesie et campanilis seu in paramentis et aliis rebus neccessaris*).²⁰¹ In 1432, two representatives of the nobility council were appointed to defend the rights and goods of the church.²⁰² In 1434, when the rector's offices of St Mary's and St Elija's remained vacant because of the plague, Count Marco Memo seized the right to appoint the rectors of the two churches,²⁰³ but in 1442 the noblemen's council again appointed their own procurators.²⁰⁴

The loggia in the main square (*logia magna comunis*),²⁰⁵ restructured in the second half of the 15th century, is not the only loggia mentioned in the sources (**figure 7**). The documents also mention a *logia nova* and a *logia parva*

²⁰¹ Renovation of the altar of St Lucy and the commissioning of a new altar painting is documented in the sources (*altare s. Lucae restaurare et palam facere*); AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 23.

²⁰² Same as the churches of St Vitalis and St Elija at the seafront, which were likewise under the communal patronage; ST, R. II, c. 58; *Notae*, 236.

²⁰³ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, pp. 169-170.

²⁰⁴ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 4, f. 43-44; on the council of Trogir as a patron, see AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 4, f. 45-46; on the patronage conflict and ecclesiastical appointments in Trogir, see AHAZU, *Ostavština*, Book 5, f. 1, 41-43; DT, II, 902.

²⁰⁵ DAZd, AT, b. 6, vol. 3, f. 51v, 135, 156v, and 164; Municipal Museum of Trogir, *Documents of the Petrić family in Trogir*, copia (hereafter: SOP), 1406-1407, f. 3v.

comunis.²⁰⁶ The “small loggia” in the square is difficult to locate (even though a small loggia or porch is said to have replaced the demolished chemist’s store north of the communal palace).²⁰⁷ In a document from 1483, Count Francesco Ferro proclaimed a verdict sitting *in logia nova sub palatio*.²⁰⁸ This “new” loggia also served to sign sale contracts²⁰⁹ (although the large loggia retained that function as well).²¹⁰



Figure 7. Loggia (photo by Joško Ćurković)

²⁰⁶ DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 3, f. 13v, 27, 38v, 48v, 152v, and 164. *Logia parva in platea comunis* is documented e.g. in 1435 and 1467; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 1, f. 9v (May 12, 1435); *Actum supra platea ex opposito lobie parve* (March 13, 1467); DAZd, AT, b. 68, vol. 8, f. 22.

²⁰⁷ MT, I/1, 316 (*Ante domum domini Duimi de Cega et stationem Orlandini specialis*). In 1406, it is documented that the noblemen of Trogir gathered in the small loggia next to the cistern of the palace where the count lived; ST, R. I, c. 77 (*Ipsis omnibus congregatis in logia parva cisterne palatii residence dicti domini comitis*). However, it is not known what exactly was demolished during 1420.

²⁰⁸ ZKZ, Manuscript Collection, MS 309, f. 23v.

²⁰⁹ DAZd, AT, b. 6, vol. 2, f. 90, 217v. The sources also mention a “new loggia” in the city harbour (next to the south gate); thus, in 1489: *Magnificus dominus comes sedens in logia nova ad marinam contigua tergentesimo* (June 11, 1489); DAZd, AT, b. 3, vol. 20, f. 3-3v; This document was brought to my attention by Ana Plosnić Škarić. It was only in the 16th century that a small Renaissance loggia was built in front of the south gate. This loggia *extra muros* served, according to its inscription “as a tent to protect from heat by day and to serve as a shelter and screen against the wind,” both to the citizens of Trogir and to foreigners; Ivan Delalle, *Trogir: Vodič po njegovoj historiji, umjetnosti i životu* [Trogir: A guide through its history, art, and life], (Split, 1936), p. 40.

²¹⁰ DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 2, f. 216v-217; vol. 5, f. 143.

A number of communal officials were accommodated separately, near the count's palace, where a house was rented for them in the 15th century, as documented in 1426.²¹¹ The commune was probably continuously renting buildings from the Benedictine monastery. That same year, Count Barbarigo decided to have the communal building next to the "new cemetery"²¹² in front of the cathedral repaired.²¹³ Namely, a contract from August 8, 1426 stated that a communal house with stores on the ground floor had been damaged during the Venetian bombardment, and that the count was not ordering its repair "for the sake of the commune," since otherwise the building would collapse "to the detriment of the city." Apothecary Ventura Ivanov signed a contract with the count that same year, in which he promised to have the house he was renting repaired at the lowest possible cost (on which he would report to the count).²¹⁴



Figure 8. Square with the patrician's palaces
(photo by Joško Ćurković)

²¹¹ Ivan Pederin, "Acta politica et oeconomica cancellariae communis Tragurij in saeculo XV," *Starine JAZU*, 60 (1987): 101-177, 60, and 163.

²¹² DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 3, f. 9.

²¹³ During the attack on the city, the roof of the house and a part of the wall towards the cemetery collapsed, after which the floors, beams, and woodwork rotted away.

²¹⁴ These costs were to be subtracted from the rent, which was set to 60 *librae*. The exact expenses of the repair have been preserved: "470 *librae* of small *dinari* in total: 148 *librae* of small *dinari* and 7 *solidi* for the woodwork, 39 *librae* for the ironwork, 157 *librae* and 2 *solidi* for three thousand roof tiles, stone, and mortar, and 125 *librae* of small *dinari* for the work of masons and carpenter"; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, 956; DAZd, AT, b. 67, vol. 2, f. 90. There were benches and seats in front of the house, which were still owned by the commune as they had been constructed at the expense of the commune and were located on public land. Unlike them, the cover above the window overlooking the square was Ventura's property since he had had it made at his own expense. I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 956. Another pillar seems to have stood near

At the time of Count Marco Zeno, in 1435, the main square was paved at the cost of the owners of the neighbouring houses and the cathedral (i.e. the bishop), to which purpose 100 *librae* and 15 *solidi* were paid. The city also asked the Doge to build them a cistern “as an ornament to the main square and to the benefit of the city.”²¹⁵ A sum of 150 *ducati* was required for the *fabbrica* of the cistern (*fabrica unius cisterne super plathea comunis Tragurii*), but the Doge postponed the construction in 1436 because the fortifications were a priority.²¹⁶ Eventually, the cistern on the main square was never built.

The final representative appearance of the square in the 15th century (especially its second half) was a result of other factors as well, not merely political or pragmatic ones. Under the influence of humanist ideas, a circle of people emerged who initiated a new regulation and construction of the main square – members of the nobility and clergy (such as Petar and his son Koriolan Cippico,²¹⁷ Ivan and Šimun Sobota, Fantin de Valle,²¹⁸ Paladije Fusco, or the bishops Angelo Cavazza and Jakov Turlon). Not wishing to undertake a detailed analysis of individual initiatives that resulted in the engagement of distinguished architects such as Andrea Alessi or Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, or their artistic achievements, I will only mention the most important points in the shaping of the Renaissance square.²¹⁹

At the western side of the square, the façades of private palaces were embellished: the most representative Major Cippico Palace opposite of the cathedral of St Laurence obtained new portals. It belonged to the prominent humanist Koriolan Cippico,²²⁰ who restored and enlarged his old family palace, a block of medieval houses restructured in the 15th century by connecting,

the building (besides the flag pole). Namely, I. Fisković has observed that Lucić, when describing the construction of the baroque altar in St John’s chapel at the cathedral, mentioned that it used the material of the “marble pillar that used to stand at the New Churchyard, under the statue of the Saviour”; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, II, p. 1033; I. Fisković, *Stup s Firentinčevim kipom*, p. 270.

²¹⁵ As noted down in the book of *operarius* Stjepan Petrov from the Cega clan; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, pp.171 and 269.

²¹⁶ ZKZ, Manuscript Collection, f. 27.

²¹⁷ Koriolan, the owner of the Major Cippico Palace on the main square, was also an *operaius* of the cathedral and the author of the book *On the Asian War*; Koriolan Cipiko, *O azijskom ratu* [On the Asian war], ed. Vedran Gligo, (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977).

²¹⁸ Stjepan Kراسić, *Trogiranin Fantin de Valle i njegova knjižnica* [Fantin de Valle from Trogir and his library], (Zadar: Matica hrvatska, 1974).

²¹⁹ On the appearance of the square, see: R. Bužančić, *Renovatio*, passim.

²²⁰ In 1446, Koriolan married Jakovica Cega Lodi (d. before 1455), and in 1455 Nikolota Andreis. On Koriolan, see: Vedran Gligo, in: *Cipiko, O Azijskom ratu*, 18; for the restoration of his palace, Koriolan Cippico engaged Master Andrija Aleši; cf. C. Fisković, *Aleši*, 20-45; Andrija Mutnjaković, *Andrija Alessi*, (Zagreb: Architectonica Croatica, 1998), p. 69.

reconstructing, and annexing several separate buildings.²²¹ Similar to other palaces, it had grown over several generations²²² and become a model for other representative buildings.²²³ Work of Fiorentino can be identified on the windows of the communal palace at the eastern side of the square.²²⁴

The Venetian assault of 1420 damaged the cathedral,²²⁵ especially the belfry.²²⁶ Its restoration started as early as 1421, when a contract was signed between the *operarius* Dragulin Nikolin Domišić and the master stonemason Mate Gojković. It was agreed that the master should repair the broken stones of the belfry as well as restore and pave the entire cornice facing the square.²²⁷ Two broken columns of the belfry were replaced by newly made and decorated ones. As the church walls had also suffered damage, the chapter agreed with the same master that all cracks and crevices at the southern side to the rosette, and the rosette towards the east, should be repaired; buttresses and windows of the church are also mentioned.²²⁸ Besides the local masters Mate Gojković and Stjepan, who worked on the restoration of the cathedral and the belfry, masters from other cities appear in the sources: Andrea Alessi, Marin Radoj

²²¹ S. Piplović, *Graditeljstvo*, p. 123.

²²² ZKZ, Manuscript Collection, MS 293, f. 49.

²²³ Thus, a trifora was built on the third floor of the Lippeo Palace that was identical in composition with the one on the Cippico Palace (the Lippeo Palace was located north of the Cippico Palace); cf. Ivo Babić, "Utjecaji Jurja Dalmatinca u Trogiru" [The impact of Juraj Dalmatinac in Trogir], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 3-6 (1979-1982): 198-203. The southern portal of the palace is probably work of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Andrea Alessi, and the eastern one of Giovanni Dalmata; cf. Cvito Fisković, "Aleši, Fiorentinac i Duknović u Trogiru" [Alessi, Fiorentino, and Giovanni Dalmata in Trogir], *Bulletin Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU*, VII (1959): 20-43.

²²⁴ See e.g. Petar Kolendić, "Dokumenti o Andriji Alešiju u Trogiru" [Sources on Andrea Alessi in Trogir], *Arhiv za arbanašku starinu, jezik i etnologiju*, II (1924): 73-76; C. Fisković, Aleši, Fiorentinac i Duknović; idem, "Duknovićeva vrata Cipicove palače u Trogiru" [Giovanni Dalmata's gate at the Cippico Palace in Trogir], *Peristil*, 10-11 (1968):12; there is abundant literature on this topic.

²²⁵ V. Kovačić, *Trogirske*, p. 116.

²²⁶ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 4. V. Kovačić, *Trogirske*, p. 116.

²²⁷ The agreed price was 404 *librae*, of which 200 were to be paid in advance so that the master could purchase the stone. The rest was to be paid upon the completion of the works. The *operarius* was in charge of assistants, the scaffolds, and lead and iron for the hooks. The master obliged himself to finish the works within the following year.

²²⁸ AHAZU, *Ostavština*, book 10, f. 4; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, pp. 397-398; I. Lučić, *Povijesna*, p. 959; C. Fisković has argued that builder Mate Gojković and proto-master Stjepan worked on the belfry repairs, and that the latter was the father of sculptor Ivan Duknović. In 1431, master Stjepan also worked on the cathedral vaulting; C. Fisković, *Opis*, pp. 35 and 59; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, pp. 397-398.

and his son Ivan from Split, and Pozdanić from Zadar.²²⁹ The most important event in this respect was certainly the arrival of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino in the 1460s, as he changed the appearance of the square in the Tuscan Renaissance style, in agreement with his patron Koriolan Cippico.²³⁰ The Renaissance left a special mark on Trogir, which is particularly visible in the appearance of the main square.

With the Venetian administration in the 15th century, the situation around the episcopal elections changed considerably. In 1423, it was decreed that they could only be appointed from Venice, and the prelates' decisions were monitored by the count.²³¹ In the 15th century, most bishops were noblemen from Italian cities, mostly Venice. From 1426, all future administrators of ecclesiastical property had to be "trustworthy men" and for all expenses above 10 *librae* they had to obtain approval from the count, his representatives, and the bishop, or the chapter when the bishop was not in Trogir. From 1424-1435, the episcopal seat was occupied by Tommaso Tomasini from Tuscia.²³² A treasurer was appointed for the church of St Laurence. In 1432, it was decided that the money left in legations to the church should be deposited at the communal chancery lest it be misused and spent to other purposes than the ecclesiastical ones. The administrators of churches could not obtain the money unless communal representatives were present.²³³ From 1435, the treasurer of St Laurence was appointed by the city council and the treasury inventory was kept at the communal chancery.²³⁴ In 1435, the paving of the main square was partly paid from the Operaria fund (100 *librae* and 15 *solidi*), while the *operarius* was Stjepan Petrov from the Cega clan.²³⁵

Bishop Tomasini was succeeded by Lodovico Scarampo Mediarotta from Padua (1435-1437) and the controversial Giovanni Vitelleschi from Florence

²²⁹ In 1427, the works continued under the supervision of *operarius* Jakov Vitturi, who engaged master Marin Radoje and in 1431 master Nikola Račića. The latter, a local master, worked with the Venetian architect Marco Gruato on the construction of the belfry and later St Jerome's chapel. G. Lucio, *Memorie*, 488.

²³⁰ Radoslav Bužančić, "Nikola Ivanov Firentinac, trogirski arhitekt i kipar" [Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, Trogir's architect and sculptor], *Nikola Ivanov Firentinac u Trogiru: exhibition catalogue* (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 2007), pp. 37-51.

²³¹ *Listine o odnošajih južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, knjiga VIII, Šime Ljubić, ed. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1886), p. 231.

²³² ST, R. II, c. 3.

²³³ ST, R. II, c. 39. The decision on the appointment of this administrator of the goods of St Laurence was complemented by a decision of Trogir's council from May 3, 1494, which stated that four administrators should be elected and that the bishops should appoint one of them to monitor the incomes and expenses; ST, R. II, c. 77; R. I, c. 81; D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 387.

²³⁴ ST, R. II, c. 3, 4, 45.

²³⁵ P. Andreis, *Povijest*, pp. 171 and 269.

(1437-1440).²³⁶ As for the *operarii*, the most influential noblemen of the city held the office in turn – from the clans of Cega, Vitturi, Domišić, and Andreis (thus, in 1437 Petar Andreis was the *operarius*). From 1435 until 1443, the bishop (linked to the Roman curia) rarely resided in Trogir. Thus, Lodovico Scarampo was represented by Nikola, abbot of St John the Baptist. The custom of non-resident bishops came to an end with the arrival of Bishop Angelo Cavazza (1441-1452),²³⁷ also important because he assigned to the Operaria of the cathedral the finances to build a sacristy, and the works began in 1447. Before the construction of the sacristy, the Operaria acquired the house of canon Nikola Pavlov, situated behind the cathedral, *pro fabricanda, seu amplianda sacristia ejusdem Cathedralis*.²³⁸ Bishop Cavazza tried in 1450 to lift the ban of assigning real estate to the Church (from 1346), but at first his efforts were in vain.²³⁹ In 1452, the house of Jakov Testa was also purchased for the purpose of building the sacristy.²⁴⁰

At the cathedral, a new chapel dedicated to St John, a baptistery, and a sacristy were built: work of Andrea Alessi, Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, and Giovanni Dalmata. In 1460, as the *operarius*, Koriolan Cippico paid Andrea Alessi for the sacristy and that same year (according to the book of the Operaria)²⁴¹ the artist started working on the baptistery,²⁴² completed only in

²³⁶ D. Farlati, *Illyricum*, IV, 406.

²³⁷ Vanja Kovačić and Jadranka Neralić, “Ymago angeli trogirskog zlatara Tome Radoslavića” [Ymago angeli by Toma Radoslavić, goldsmith from Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 41 (2005-2007): 199-237, here 200-201.

²³⁸ C. Fisković, *Opis*, pp. 44-45; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 311.

²³⁹ ST, R. II, c. 59. The bishop even banned the citizens of Trogir from receiving the sacraments, for which Doge Francesco Foscari called him to account, advising him to lift the ban as the reform had to be observed. Somewhat later in 1450, Foscari made a contrary decision (influenced by the Pope) on abolishing the old regulation; ST, R. II, c. 60; M. Novak, *Autonomija*, pp. 81-82. On January 18, 1453 a ducal decree was proclaimed according to which anyone could leave their property to a person or institution of their choice. The same was decided for Split; *Listine*, X, 2.

²⁴⁰ ... *quod de anno 1452 Johannes Blasij Victuri operarius emit domunculam quamdam a Jacobo Testa Ducatis auri 100. in ratione librarum quinque et solidorum quatuordecim pro Ducato, summa cujus ascendit ad libras 570 pro construendo novo sacrario*; C. Fisković, *Opis*, p. 44; P. Andreis, *Povijest*, p. 311.

²⁴¹ P. Andreis, *Operaria*, 555. Above the baptistery portal, Alessi made the largest Renaissance relief in all of Dalmatia (*The Baptism*); C. Fisković, Ivan, p. 29.

²⁴² The matricule of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Split, preserved at the Archiepiscopal Archive Split, contains a transcript of the artist's last will, as he worked in that city for more than thirty years; cf. I. Benyovsky Latin and T. Buklijaš, *Bratovština*, pp. 625-657; Cvito Fisković and Kruno Prijatelj, *Albanski umjetnik Andrija Aleši u Splitu i Rabu* [Albanian artist Andrea Alessi in Split and Rab] (Split: Izdanje Konzervatorskog zavoda za Dalmaciju u Splitu, 1948).



Figure 9. Trogir's square, early 20th century (early 20th century postcard)

1467.²⁴³ Between 1438 and 1446, the chapel of St Jerome was built,²⁴⁴ its construction agreed upon in a contract from 1438 between the chapter and Nikolota, widow of Jakov Sobota.²⁴⁵ In his *Operaria*, P. Andreis also mentions a *fabrica* for the construction of the cathedral belfry in 1461,²⁴⁶ during the episcopacy of Giacomo Torlon (Jakov Turlon, 1452-1483).²⁴⁷ Manola's visitation states that the bishop was famous for having built the episcopal palace, completed the sacristy (started by Cavazza in 1447), continued the construction of the baptistery, and built the (new) chapel of St John of Trogir.²⁴⁸ The decision

²⁴³ Radovan Ivančević, "Trogiška krstionica i montažne konstrukcije dalmatinske graditeljske škole" [Trogir's baptistery and the montage constructions of the Dalmatian school of architecture], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 30 (1990), no. 1: 145; Joško Belamarić, *Catalogue of the exhibition Croatian Renaissance*, ed. A. Erlande-Brandenburg and M. Jurković (Paris and Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2004), p. 138.

²⁴⁴ Danko Zelić, "Nekoliko priloga povijesti umjetnosti 15. stoljeća u Trogiru: Samostan sv. Križa na Čiovu, zlatar Matej Pomenić i kapela sv. Jeronima u katedrali sv. Lovre" [Contributions to the art history of 15th-century Trogir: The monastery of the Holy Cross on the island of Čiovo, goldsmith Matej Pomenić, and St Jerome's chapel in the cathedral of St Laurence], *Peristil*, 50 (2007): 63-80, here 68.

²⁴⁵ G. Lucio, *Memorie*, p. 488.

²⁴⁶ P. Andreis, *Operaria*, f. 23.

²⁴⁷ R. Ivančević, *Rana*, p. 146.

²⁴⁸ C. Fisković, *Opis*, p. 40; Joško Belamarić, "Duknovičev sv. Ivan Evanđelist u kapeli bl. Ivana Trogiškoga" [Giovanni Dalmata's St John the Baptist in the chapel of St John of Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 37 (1997-1998):155-181.

on building a chapel *ad honorem divi protectorij* was made in 1452²⁴⁹ and in 1468 a contract was signed between the *operarius* and the artist.²⁵⁰ The total sum assigned for the works on the chapel was 2300 *ducatti*, probably the highest sum ever agreed upon in the 15th century for a building of such dimensions, which speaks both of the importance of the city patron and the financial power of the commune.²⁵¹ The saint's relics ensured protection and legitimacy to the city.²⁵² The chapel of St John was a communal chapel, not a private one, and was thus a monument to celebrate collective (communal) efforts.²⁵³ Last wills from the 15th century often mention legations made for the construction of St John's chapel,²⁵⁴ which were accumulated in the *Operaria*.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁹ A description of the construction is preserved in Manola's visitation report from 1756, where he mentions the decision to build a chapel of St John in the cathedral (1452) and the making of the statue of St John the Evangelist (1482) (commissioned from Ivan Duknović for 186 *librae*); Archiepiscopal Archive Split, Didaci Manola, f. 32-35v; C. Fisković, Ivan, pp.13 and 61; C. Fisković, Opis, passim.

²⁵⁰ Cvito Fisković, "Radovi Nikole Firentinca u Zadru" [Works of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino in Zadar], *Peristil*, 4 (1961): 71-75; P. Kolendić, Dokumenti, pp. 70-78.

²⁵¹ R. Ivančević, Rana, p. 281. However, the contract concerning the "Justice Relief" in the loggia has not been preserved.

²⁵² M. Kurelac, Vita, pp. 1-48.

²⁵³ The programme of the chapel must have been influenced, among other things, by the education of Bishop Turlona (Rome) and Koriolan Cippico (Padua). The construction started only in 1475. Namely, it was then that Andrea Alessi and Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino complained to Count Francesco Lippomano about the *operarius* Ivan Andreis because he did not prepare the terrain for the chapel. Apparently, a hut that was partly standing on the locality had not been removed; J. Stošić, Trogirska, p. 70. Between 1477 and 1480, the sources attest the construction of pilasters for the triumphal arch and the benches around the chapel; C. Fisković, Aleši, p. 27; R. Ivančević, Rana, pp. 144-147; NAS, Manola, f. 32-35v; C. Fisković, Ivan, pp. 13 and 61. The second half of the 15th century brought great change.

²⁵⁴ Thus, Stanava, widow of Tomaš Čuloja from Novi grad, left 5 small *librae per capella*; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 88-88v. Bilica, widow of Lipojević, left 10 *librae* to the *Operaria* of the chapel (*operaria sancti Johannis confessori de Tragurio*); DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 91-91v. Radoslava, widow of Ostoja from Novi grad, left 8 *librae in fabrica capelle Sancti Johannis confessoris Tragurii*, as well as 4 *librae* for the works on the altar of St Ursula in the cathedral; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 97v-98. Marica, wife of *stipendarius* Michali from Trogir's Kamerlengo, left 20 *solidi* for the works on the chapel of St John; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 110-110v. Jakobica, wife of Mihovil Gojslavić, left some objects for the altar of the same chapel; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 112-112v. Apparently, there was a female confraternity that took care of the chapel: Marava, widow of Juraj Srambić from Trogir, left 5 *librae pro sororibus capelle Sancti Johannis confessoris Tragurii*; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 99-99v. Stojna, widow of Ivan Obradović, likewise left 3 *librae* for the sisters; DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 104. These are not the only example. The confraternity obviously had a *gastalda*: Stana Pavina, wife of Ratko the *piliparius*, left some objects in 1449 *pro gastaldam sororum fratalee sti Johannis confessoris Tragurii neke predmete* (June 6, 1449); DAZd, AT, Viviano, f. 42-42v.

²⁵⁵ P. Andreis, Povijest, pp. 375 and 377. Besides P. Andreis in his *Operaria*, V. Celio Cega also wrote on the *Operaria* of Trogir; V. Celio Cega, La chiesa, p. 52.



Figure 10. Trogir's loggia, early 20th century (early 20th century postcard)

Conclusion

The city square was the triumph of urban life and a worthy representation of the power of civic authorities. Some medieval cities even had two monumental squares, each of them with a different function.²⁵⁶ Occasionally, the market was situated in a separate area. In such cases, the squares were determined by the buildings that surrounded them – churches, the communal palace with the loggia, communal warehouses, or fontici. Smaller cities, such as Trogir, concentrated buildings with various functions on a single square, owing to the lack of space as well as limited finances. In such cases, it was the largest and architecturally best defined square in the cities, with a very complex set of functions. From the late 13th until the late 15th century, one can observe a certain system in designing and defining the main square, which mirrored the political and social development.

²⁵⁶ For example, a cathedral square as the centre of episcopal power and a communal square as the focus of secular civic administration. Thus, in Split there was a cathedral square in front of the cathedral and a communal square in front of the communal palace. A similar situation is found in various Italian cities; cf. *La Piazza del Duomo nella città medievale (nord e media Italia, secoli XII-XVI)*, *Atti della Giornata di Studio*, ed. Lucio (Orvieto: Riccetti, 1994).

Mittelalterlicher Platz in Trogir – Gestaltung des Raums im Lichte gesellschaftlicher Umstände

Zusammenfassung

Vor dem 13. Jahrhundert war der Hauptplatz in der Stadt Trogir seinem Aussehen und Funktion nach ganz anders als der Platz, der sich nach der Erneuerung der Stadt nach Zerstörungen im 12. Jahrhundert und infolge der darauffolgenden Entwicklung des Kommunalsystems herausgebildet. Im 13. Jahrhundert fingen die Erneuerung und der intensive Ausbau der Stadt an: Der Hauptplatz wurde umgebaut und erweitert und seit dieser Zeit begannen durchgedachte Eingriffe in sein Aussehen. Seit Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts sind die wichtigsten Profan- und Sakralbauten neben diesem Platz zu finden. Die Sakralbauten waren schon traditionell dort, aber die Kommunalbauten wurden hier seit neulich gebaut und auf diese Weise meldeten sie neue öffentliche Funktionen des Hauptplatzes an. Der Hauptplatz wurde bis zum 15. Jahrhundert allmählich im Einklang mit dem neuen "kommunalen Urbanismus" entwickelt: Die Bauten, die Sitze städtischer Institutionen waren, bildeten wichtige Punkte in Stadtstruktur als Machtsymbole und als Wahrzeichen der Stadt. Obwohl diese Zeit vor allem durch den Bau des bekannten Doms auf dem Hauptplatz gekennzeichnet wurde, spiegelte sich die Entwicklung der kommunalen Administration auch im Bauen des Kommunalpalastes und in der Einrichtung der Gebäude für öffentliche Ämter ab, was von lokalen und äußeren Umständen (Verhältnis zum König, zu kroatischen Adligen und zu Venedig) abhing. Der Hauptplatz in Trogir war der zentrale urbane Punkt der Stadt, spiegelte den Triumph des urbanen Lebens ab und auf repräsentative Weise stellte die Macht der Stadtbehörden dar. Seine Rolle war mehrfach: Neben seiner Rolle des politischen und kirchlichen Zentrums war er zugleich der wichtigste Punkt des wirtschaftlichen Lebens der Stadtkommune, hatte auch eine besondere rechtliche Bedeutung und war ein Schnittpunkt aller gesellschaftlichen Geschehnisse. Im mittelalterlichen Trogir wurden Gebäude verschiedener Bestimmungen, vor allem wegen Raumnot, aber auch wegen geringer materieller Möglichkeiten, auf einem Platz konzentriert. Deswegen wurde dieser Platz der größte und in architektonischer Hinsicht am komplettesten definierte Platz in der Stadt und zugleich in funktioneller Hinsicht am komplexesten. In der Zeit zwischen Ende des 13. und Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts konnte man gewisse Planmäßigkeit in Bedenken und Definieren des Hauptplatzes in Trogir befolgen.

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