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## Kninske utvrde kroz prošlost\*

*Zahvaljujući svojemu geostrateškom položaju na obalama rijeke Krke u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, na raskrižju prometnica koje su savsko-dravsko međuriječje povezivale s istočnom obalom Jadrana, današnje kninsko područje bilo je tijekom prošlosti branjeno brojnim i tipološki različitim utvrđenjima. U ovom se radu daje njihov kronološki i tipološki prikaz od prapovijesti do suvremenog doba.*

Ključne riječi: *Knin, Dalmacija, Hrvatska, utvrde, obrambeni kompleksi.*

## Knin's fortifications through the past\*

*Thanks to its geostrategic position on the banks of the Krka River in northern Dalmatia, at the intersection of roads that connected the Sava-Drava interfluve to the eastern Adriatic coast, the area of Knin has been defended in the past by numerous and typologically different fortifications. This paper will provide their chronological and typological overview from prehistory to modern times.*

Keywords: *Knin, Dalmatia, Croatia, fortifications, defence complexes.*

\* Rad je prilagođena i znatno nadopunjena verzija rada Regan 2019, str. 187–200.

\* The paper is an adapted and significantly supplemented version of the work by Regan 2019, pp. 187–200.



Sl. 1. Ostatci prapovijesne gradine na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas, pogled s jugozapada (foto: Z. Tanocki)

*Fig. 1 Remains of a prehistoric hill-fort on the northern half of the Spas hill; view from the southwest  
(photo: Z. Tanocki)*

## 1. UVOD

Zahvaljujući svojemu političkom, upravno-administrativnom te geostrateškom položaju tijekom čitavoga srednjeg vijeka, Knin je "osigurao" trajno zanimanje hrvatskih povjesničara, arheologa i povjesničara umjetnosti, a Domovinski rat uzbudio ga je u simbol hrvatske državnosti i pobjede nad srpskom agresijom. Unatoč tome što je barokna pregradnja dijelom poništila rezultate prethodnih građevinskih faza, gotovo ni na jednom području Hrvatske nije tako jasno vidljiv razvoj obrambenih građevina i kompleksa kroz povijest kao što je to slučaj s Kninom. Zahvaljujući tim sretnim okolnostima, može se izvršiti djelomična rekonstrukcija povijesnog razvoja fortifikacijskoga graditeljstva na širem području Knina.

Premda smo se u izradi ovog rada oslonili i na starija istraživanja,<sup>1</sup> rad je nastao na izvornoj povi-

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Thanks to its political, administrative and geostrategic position throughout the Middle Ages, Knin "secured" the lasting interest of Croatian historians, archaeologists and art historians, while the Homeland War made it a symbol of Croatian statehood and victory over Serbian aggression. Even though the Baroque remodelling partially annulled the results of previous construction phases, almost no other area in Croatia shows the development of defensive structures and complexes throughout history as clearly as Knin. Thanks to such fortunate circumstances, the historical development of fortification construction in the greater area of Knin can be partially reconstructed.

Although we relied on earlier research results while preparing this paper,<sup>1</sup> it is based on original

<sup>1</sup> Gunjača 1960, str. 7-142; Smiljanić 1984-85, str. 119-132; Jakšić 1990, str. 122-130; Antoljak 1993, str. 54-56; Živković 1993, str. 96-123; Jakšić 1996; Ančić 1996, str. 53-59; Paić 1998; Ćuzela 2007, str. 661-663; Regan 2014, str. 463-495; Kekez 2018, str. 5-70.

<sup>1</sup> Gunjača 1960, pp. 7-142; Smiljanić 1984 – 85, pp. 119-132; Jakšić 1990, pp. 122-130; Antoljak 1993, pp. 54-56; Živković 1993, pp. 96-123; Jakšić 1996; Ančić 1996, pp. 53-59; Paić 1998; Ćuzela 2007, pp. 661-663; Regan 2014, pp. 463-495; Kekez 2018, pp. 5-70.



Sl. 2. Plan iskopavanja na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas (D. Jelovina, Starohrvatska nekropola na brdu Spas kod Knina, prilog).

*Fig. 2 Excavation plan on the northern half of Spas hill (D. Jelovina, Starohrvatska nekropola na brdu Spas kod Knina, annex).*

jesnoj građi, objavljenim izvorima, pregledu i komparaciji postojeće povijesne literature, terenskom istraživanju i pravilnom vrednovanju materijalnih tragova, analizi dostupne tehničke dokumentacije te povijesnih veduta i planova, koji od prve četvrтине XVI. st. u kontinuitetu registriraju transformaciju srednjovjekovnih kninskih utvrda u osmansku utvrdu i potom u mletačku baroknu tvrđavu, odnosno bilježe napuštanje pojedinih utvrđenih položaja zbog promjene obrambene doktrine.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. IZVORI

U istraživanju svake povijesne građevine ili kompleksa veliku ulogu imaju raznovrsni slikovni izvori, neovisno radi li se o perspektivnim (vedute) ili tlocrtnim (planovi) izvorima. To se posebno odnosi na istraživanje plemićkih gradova, koji su imali sreću da zbog svoga geostrateškoga značenja budu najprije predmetom zanimanja izviđača i špijuna, a potom i vojnih inženjera, koji su tijekom novog vijeka izradili niz planova, veduta i drugih slikovnih priloga. Prilikom izrade ovog rada osobito smo se usredotočili na dva najvažnija.<sup>2</sup>

Na prvoj mjestu to je prikaz Knina sa zemljovidom sjeverne Dalmacije i Like što ga je oko godine 1522. izradio mletački kartograf Matteo Pagano (sl. 3).

historical material, published sources, reviews and comparisons of existing historical literature, field research and proper evaluation of material traces, analysis of available technical documentation and historical vedute and plans, continuously registering from the first quarter of the 16th century the transformation of mediaeval Knin's fortifications into an Ottoman fortification and then a Venetian Baroque fortress, also recording the abandonment of certain fortified positions due to modifications in the defensive doctrine.

## 2. SOURCES

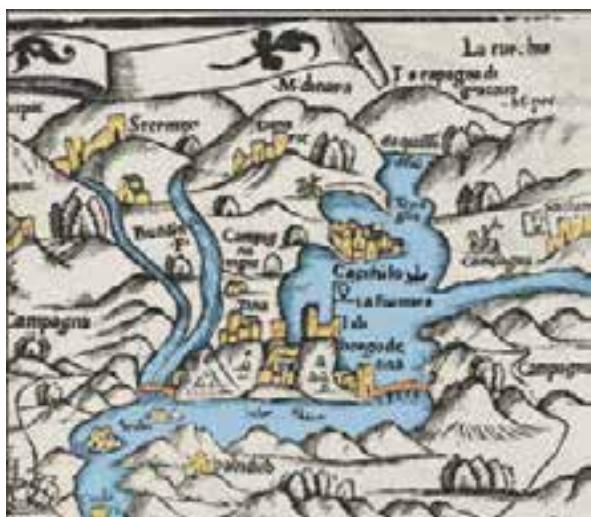
Research of any historic building or complex heavily involves a variety of pictorial sources, be they of perspective (vedute) or planimetric (plans) nature. This is especially true of the exploration of feudal towns, which, due to their geostrategic significance, were fortunate to attract the interest of scouts and spies, followed by military engineers, who made a number of plans, vedute and other graphics. This paper is mainly focused on the two most important ones.<sup>2</sup>

The first one is a depiction of Knin from a map of northern Dalmatia and Like made around 1522 by the Venetian cartographer Matteo Pagano. Although at first glance it seemingly represents it in a free artistic style, not based on the "as is" condition, when compared with the existing remains, despite the errors in perspective views, extremely accurate in depicting Knin's fortifications as viewed from the southwest.

Two fortifications dominate the drawing. Lab is on the right, consisting of one large and another small tower linked by a defensive wall. On the left is the feudal town of Knin, comprising at least three towers, two of which – the larger and higher in the left part of the drawing, i.e. in the northern corner of the fortification, and the slightly lower tower in the central part of the drawing and fortification – painted in the background, i.e. behind the western defensive wall, at the southern end of which and at the top of the fortification there is the third and the smallest tower. The western defensive wall itself consists of three parts of varying heights. Although this view of the west rampart is unusual, it is enough to look at it from the direction of the Krka River from the Atlagić bridge and see that it actually

<sup>2</sup> Kekez 2018, str. 71-240.

<sup>2</sup> Kekez 2018, pp. 71–240.



Sl. 3. Srednjovjekovne kninske utvrde na zemljovidu Mattea Pagana, oko 1522., isječak (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb, Hrvatska; Zbirka zemljovida i atlasa;  
sign: 000856569 /ZN-Z-XVI-PAG-1530)

*Fig. 3 Mediaeval Knin's fortifications in Matteo Pagano's map, around 1522, extract (National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia; Map Collection; sign.: 000856569/ZN-Z-XVI-PAG-1530)*

Iako se na prvi pogled čini da ga prikazuje slobodnim umjetničkim stilom, bez uporišta u stvarnom stanju, kada taj prikaz usporedimo s postojećim ostacima, vidjet ćemo da je on, unatoč perspektivnim pogreškama, iznimno precizan u prikazivanju kninskih fortifikacija u pogledu s jugozapadna.

Crtežom dominiraju dvije utvrde. Na desnoj strani prikazan je Lab, koji se sastoji od jedne velike i jedne manje kule međusobno povezane obrambenim zidom. Na lijevoj strani nalazi se plemićki grad Knin, koji se sastoji od najmanje triju kula, od koje su dvije - veća i viša u lijevom dijelu crteža, dakle u sjevernom kutu utvrde, te nešto niža kula u središnjem dijelu crteža i utvrde - naslikane u drugom planu, dakle iza zapadnoga obrambenog zida, na čijem se južnom kraju i u vrhu utvrde nalazi treća i ujedno najmanja kula. Sam zapadni obrambeni zid sastoji se od tri dijela različite visine. Premda je ovakav prikaz zapadnog bedema neobičan, dovoljno ga je pogledati iz pravca rijeke Krke s Atlagića mosta i uvjeriti se da zbog praćenja konfiguracije terena i izlomljenosti on doista ostavlja dojam saставljenošći iz nekoliko dijelova različite visine.<sup>3</sup> S

gives the impression of being composed of several parts of different heights due to its adjustment to the configuration of the terrain and indentations.<sup>3</sup> Given that the spatial layout of all parts of Knin at the time is correctly shown, including even the perspective view, there is no reason to doubt Pagano's precision in depicting certain details, such as the heights of towers, battlements, the disposition of loopholes, windows, doors, etc., which we will discuss in the second part.

The next group of pictorial sources consists of drawings and plans of Venetian scouts, made in the period from the first fall of Knin under Venetian rule in 1648 to the final liberation of Knin from the Ottomans in 1688. Their origin can be divided into three groups. The first contains vedute and plans made shortly before the first fall of Knin under Venetian rule in 1648, while the second comprises views made between 1648 and the unsuccessful 1653 Venetian siege of Knin, whereas the third group are depictions of Knin made in 1688. The three groups have in common the fact that they seem to possess no foothold in reality. Despite this, they are very reliable in summarising information on the strength of the fortification, which reveals that the clients were Venetian military strategists. This group is also interesting to us because it documents in detail the erection of the outer defensive

<sup>3</sup> Between Lab and Knin, a smaller tower is depicted at the top of the hill, with a rectangular fortification at its foot. Although previous researchers have equated the representation of this tower with the Topana tower, and the fortification with those of the mediaeval Knin settlement, it is more likely that these drawings illustrate the fortified complex of the Gradac or Torete tower. Namely, this complex did consist of a fortified and almost rectangular bailey and one tower built on a cliff just above it. Its remains are located on the western slope of the hill on which Knin Fortress lies, exactly as Pagano drew them – near the Krka River and between the feudal town of Knin (today's Upper Town) and Lab (today's Bandjera Fortress). To achieve perspective, Pagano oversize Lab and Gradac, and diminished the size of the feudal town of Knin. If we accept this interpretation of Pagan's drawing, then the Knin settlement is shown, quite logically, only in the right section of the drawing, at the foot of the slopes with Lab atop with several houses and a strong tower, which defended access to today's Atlagić bridge. The tower itself is depicted as the highest in relation to all other towers of Knin's fortifications, which again speaks in favour of the assumption that the author attempted to produce perspective by making the buildings and complexes closer to him larger and taller. Slukan-Altić 2007b, pp. 52–53; Lapaine, Kljaić 2009, pp. 435–436.

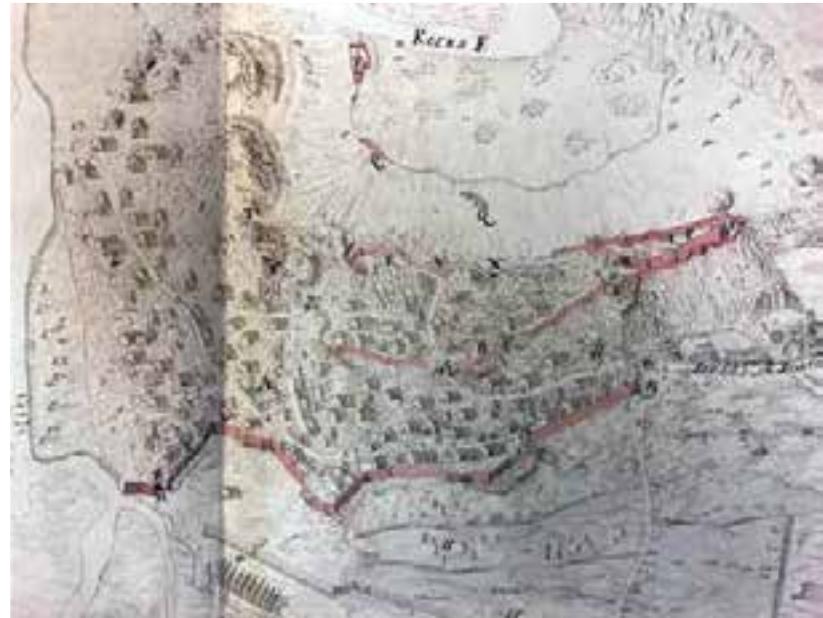
<sup>3</sup> Između Laba i Knina prikazana je jedna manja kula na vrhu brežuljka te podno nje utvrda pravokutnog prostora. Premda su dosadašnji istraživači prikaz ove kule izjednačavali s kulom Topana, a utvrdi s fortifikaci-

obzirom da je prostorni raspored svih dijelova onodobnog Knina pogoden, čak i u perspektivi, nema razloga sumnjati u Paganovu preciznost i u prikazivanju pojedinih detalja, poput visine kula, kruništa, rasporeda strijelnica, prozora, vrata itd., o čemu ćemo raspravljati u drugome dijelu.

Iduću skupinu slikovnih izvora čine crteži i planovi mletačkih izviđača, koji su nastali u razdoblju od prvog pada Knina pod mletačku vlast godine 1648. do končanog oslobođenja Knina od Osmanlija godine 1688. Njihov nastanak možemo podijeliti u tri skupine. U prvoj se nalaze vedute i planovi nastali neposredno prije prvog pada Knina pod mletačku vlast 1648., u drugoj su prikazi izrađeni između 1648. i neuspješne mletačke opsade Knina 1653. te, naposljetku, u trećoj su skupini slikovni prikazi Knina nastali godine 1688. Ono što povezuje sve tri skupine, jest činjenica da se naoko čini kako nemaju uporišta u stvarnosti. Unatoč tome, vrlo su pouzdani u sažimanju podataka o jačini utvrde, što odaje njihove naručitelje – mletačke vojne stratege. Ova skupina zanimljiva nam je i stoga što detaljno dokumentira podizanje vanjskoga obrambenog zida, koji uz znatne pregradnje još uvijek стоји te zatvara kninsku tvrđavu s istočne strane.

Posljednju i ujedno najvažniju skupinu slikovne dokumentacije čine vedute i planovi nastali u razdoblju od 1688. do 1711., na kojima je zabilježena transformacija osmanske utvrde u baroknu topničku tvrđavu. Ono što planove posebno karakterizira, jest da su oni i po današnjim građevinskim standardima vrlo kvalitetni i precizni, a samim time vrlo

jama srednjovjekovnoga kninskog naselja, vjerojatnije je da ovi crteži ipak prikazuju utvrđeni kompleks kule Gradac ili Torete. Naime, taj kompleks se doista sastojao od utvrđenoga i gotovo pravokutnoga dvorišta i jedne kule podignute na klisuri neposredno iznad njega, a njegovi ostaci se nalaze na zapadnoj padini brda na kojem leži Kninska tvrđava, i to upravo na mjestu gdje ih Pagan crta – blizu rijeke Krke i između plemićkoga grada Knina (današnji Gornji grad) i Laba (današnja tvrđava Bandjere). Radi ostvarivanja perspektive Pagano je Lab i Gradac prikazao većima, a plemićki grad Knin manjim. Ako prihvativimo ovakvo tumačenje Paganova crteža, onda je kninsko naselje prikazano, što je i logično, tek u desnom dijelu crteža, podno padina na kojima leži Lab s nekoliko kuća te jednom snažnom kulom, koja je branila pristup današnjem Atlagića mostu. Sama kula prikazana je kao najviša u odnosu na sve ostale kule kninskih utvrda, što opet govori u prilog tezi da je autor crtanjem njemu bližih građevina i kompleksa većima i višima pokušao dočarati perspektivu. Slukan-Altić 2007b, str. 52-53; Lapaine, Kljaić 2009, str. 435-436.



Sl. 4. Osmanski Knin na veduti Oratija Alberghettija, nakon 1688., isječak (*Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat*, str. 85)

Fig. 4 Ottoman Knin in Oratio Alberghetti's veduta, after 1688, extract (*Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat*, str. 85)

wall, which, with significant alterations, still stands and closes the east side of Knin Fortress.

The final and most important group of pictorial documentation consists of vedute and plans made in the period from 1688 to 1711, recording the transformation of the Ottoman fortification into a Baroque artillery fortress. In fact, the plans are of very high quality and precise, even according to today's building standards, and therefore very useful in the reconstruction of respective construction phases of Knin Fortress's Upper Town. Since all the used vedute and plans have been published,<sup>4</sup> we will not list them individually, but instead focus on those that we believe are most useful for this discussion. This especially regards the vedute showing Knin from a lateral perspective as viewed from the east.

Although pictorial sources are important in the research of today's nucleus of Knin Fortress and the interpretation of the origin of existing building structures, some information about its former appearance can also be found in written sources. Although they are more than modest compared to pictorial material, they complement them perfectly, which will be discussed in more detail in the concluding remarks.

<sup>4</sup> Bezić 1980, pp. 137–150; Slukan-Altić 2001; Slukan-Altić 2006–2007, pp. 207–222.



Sl. 5. Hipotetska rekonstrukcija Knina krajem XV.  
st. (S. Bogojević Narath, *Hrvatski povijesni atlas*,  
Zagreb, 2018, str. 150-151)

*Fig. 5 Hypothetical reconstruction of Knin at the end of the 15th century (S. Bogojević Narath, *Hrvatski povijesni atlas*, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 150–151)*

korisni u rekonstrukciji pojedinih građevinskih faza Gornjega grada Kninske tvrđave. S obzirom na to da su sve korištene vedute i planovi objavljeni,<sup>4</sup> ovom prilikom nećemo ih pojedinačno navoditi, već ćemo se usredotočiti na one za koje držimo da su najkorisniji za ovu raspravu. To se posebno odnosi na vedute koje prikazuju Knin iz bočne perspektive u pogledu s istoka.

Premda su slikovni prilozi važan izvor u istraživanju današnje jezgre Kninske tvrđave i tumačenju nastanka postojećih građevinskih struktura, ponešto podataka o njezinu nekadašnjem izgledu nalazimo i u pisanim vrelima. Iako su u odnosu na slikovni materijal i više nego skromni, izvrsno ih nadopunuju, o čemu će više riječi biti u zaključnim razmatranjima.

Prvi među pisanim vrelima je isprava hrvatskoga kralja Mihajla Krešimira II. izdana oko godine 950., u kojoj se Knin prvi put navodi kao plemički grad (*castrum*), dakle kao srednjovjekovna utvrda.<sup>5</sup> Tijekom svoje duge povijesti bio je rezidencijom kninskih župana, kraljeva, hercega, banova i velikaša, među kojima je nesumnjivo najzanimljiviji knez Nelipac II. Nelipić, koji je od godine 1322.

<sup>4</sup> Bezić 1980, str. 137-150; Slukan-Altić 2001; Slukan-Altić 2006–2007, str. 207-222; Slukan-Altića.

<sup>5</sup> Diplomatički zbornik 1967, str. 41.

The first among the written sources is the document of Michael Krešimir II, King of Croatia, issued around 950, the first to mention Knin as a feudal town (*castrum*), i.e. as a mediaeval fortification.<sup>5</sup> During its long history, it was the residence of prefects, kings, dukes, bans and nobles, the most interesting undoubtedly being Prince Nelipac II Nelipić, who from 1322 until his death in 1344 autonomously ruled over large parts of Croatia from Knin, refusing to recognise the rule of Charles I Robert, Croatian-Hungarian King, or his son and heir to the throne, Louis I the Great.

It is from this period that the bulk of written information about the appearance of Knin has been preserved. After the death of Prince Nelipac, Louis I the Great decided to crush the power of his heirs, the widow Princess Vladislava Kurjaković and her son Ivan. He sent his army under the command of Ban Nicholas I Bánnfy, which unsuccessfully besieged the feudal town of Knin. An account of this episode is given in the document entitled *Obsidio Iadrensis/The Siege of Zadar*. It is interesting to us because it describes the position of Knin as an inaccessible fortification with high defensive walls additionally fortified with fences made of reeds and stakes, i.e. a palisade.<sup>6</sup>

Prince Nelipac not only fortified it strongly, but also equipped it lavishly, erecting in it a palace with a ceremonial hall (*sala palaci dicti castri Tinini*), first mentioned in 1345 as the place where the agreement between Princess Vladislava, her son John Nelipić and the citizens of Šibenik on behalf of the Venetian Republic had been signed.<sup>7</sup> We can assume that a baths and barns and some other structures, may have been built at the time, presumably storage facilities which John, the castellan of Knin and son of Nicholas, repaired in 1368 with beams and planks stolen from the bishop of Knin, intended for repair of the roof of the Knin Cathedral.<sup>8</sup>

The impressiveness of Knin from the time of Prince Nelipac II and Louis I the Great is best witnessed by the fact that a Venetian source from 1344 referred to it as the key to Croatia (*istud castrum Tinini sit clavis Sclavonie*),<sup>9</sup> while in 1368 the bish-

<sup>5</sup> Diplomatički zbornik 1967, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, pp. 120-123.

<sup>7</sup> Listine 1870, pp. 67-68.

<sup>8</sup> Katić 1932, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Listine 1868, pp. 343-344; “The name Slavonia is derived from the mediaeval Latin name *S(c)lavonia*, which, like the forms *S(c)lavia* and *S(c)lavinia*, de-



Sl. 6. Plan srednjovjekovnoga Knina (*Hrvatski povijesni atlas*, Zagreb, 2018, str. 748)

Fig. 6 Plan of medieval Knin (*Hrvatski povijesni atlas*, Zagreb, 2018, p. 748)

do smrti 1344. iz Knina potpuno samostalno vladao velikim dijelovima Hrvatske, ne priznajući vlast ni hrvatsko-ugarskoga kralja Karla I. Roberta ni njegova sina i nasljednika na prijestolju Ludovika I. Velikog.

Upravo iz tog razdoblja sačuvano je i najviše pisanih podataka o izgledu Knina. Kada je Ludovik I. Veliki nakon smrti kneza Nelipca odlučio skršiti moć njegovih nasljednika, udovice kneginje Vladislave Kurjaković i sina joj Ivana, poslao je svoju vojsku pod zapovjedništvom bana Nikole I. Bánffyja, koja je neuspješno opsjedala kninski plemički grad. Ta epizoda prikazana je u spisu *Obsidio Iadrensis/Opsada Zadra*, a nama je zanimljiva jer se u njoj opisuje položaj Knina kao teško pristupačne utvrde s visokim obrambenim zidovima dodatno učvršćene zaklonima od pruća i branika, dakle palisadom.<sup>6</sup>

Osim što ga je snažno utvrdio, knez Nelipac ga je istodobno i raskošno opremio, podigavši u njemu palas sa svečanom dvoranom (*sala palaci dicti castri Tinini*), koja se prvi put spominje godine 1345., kao mjesto potpisivanja ugovora između kneginje Vladislave, njezina sina Ivana Nelipiće i grada Šibenika u ime Mletačke Republike.<sup>7</sup> Možemo pretpostaviti da je u to vrijeme moglo biti sagrađeno i kupalište te staje i neke druge građevine ove rezidencije, po svoj prilici skladišta, koje je godine

op of Knin called it the great feudal town of Knin (*magno castro Tiniensi*).<sup>10</sup>

Another record describing the condition of Knin's fortification dates from 1654, when the Venetian Republic, due to her unsuccessful siege accused the military engineer Alberti of "falsely reporting that the walls of Knin Fortress were not filled with earth, but hollow, and that their conquest should therefore not require a great deal of artillery".<sup>11</sup> Two more descriptions of Knin date from the time of the Ottoman rule, but they are too general to be useful in the analysis of construction phases of the fortification.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. HISTORY OF KNIN

The area of Knin has been inhabited ever since the Eneolithic Age. Its first inhabitants built the first fortified highland settlement (hill-fort) on the northern half of the Spas hill. It was first mentioned in the 1st century BC in the Greek geographer Strabo's work entitled *Niniae*.<sup>13</sup> According to Marin Zaninović, Delmatian *Niniae* was one of a number of fortifications which defended access to the central Delmatian town of Promona.<sup>14</sup>

It was peopled until the Roman-Delmatae War, when the future Roman Emperor Octavian destroyed it in a military campaign from 35 to 33 BC.<sup>15</sup> Since prehistoric *Niniae* was in a position that did not correspond to the strategic and transport interests of the new masters, they left it in oblivion and built a large military camp of *Burnum* at

notes 'the land inhabited by the Slavs' (*Sclavi, Sclavini, Sclavones*). Hence the name of the early Croatian state on the eastern Adriatic coast, especially in papal and other western sources, until the Crusades, whose chroniclers regularly called the eastern Adriatic coast and its hilly hinterland 'Slavonia'. When the entire area between the Drava and the Adriatic fell under the rule of Croato-Hungarian kings at the beginning of the 12th century, this new framework created the conditions for a gradual differentiation between *Croatia* and *Slavonia*'. Slavonia 2008, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Katić 1932, pp. 5–6.

<sup>11</sup> According to Fisković, there were as many as three military engineers of that surname operating in Dalmatia at the time: Agostino Alberti, his son Carlo, and Marco Antonio. Fisković 1955, p. 198, fn. 3.

<sup>12</sup> The first description of Knin was given in 1620 by Memibegović, and the second in 1660 by Evliya Çelebi. Rački 1882, pp. 14, 110; Çelebi 1979, pp. 158–159.

<sup>13</sup> Zaninović 1990, pp. 33–34.

<sup>14</sup> Zaninović 1990, pp. 33–34..

<sup>15</sup> Zaninović 1990, pp. 33–34.. .

<sup>6</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, str. 120-123.

<sup>7</sup> Listine 1870, str. 67-68.



Sl. 7. Gornji grad Kninske tvrđave, pogled sa sjeverozapada (foto: D. Lovrić)  
Fig. 7 Upper Town of Knin Fortress; view from the northwest (photo: D. Lovrić)

1368. kninski kaštelan Ivan, sin Nikolin, popravio gredama i daskama ukradenima kninskome biskupu, a namijenjenima za popravak krova kninske katedrale.<sup>8</sup>

O impresivnosti Knina za vremena kneza Nellyca II. i Ludovika I. Velikog ponajbolje svjedoči činjenica da ga mletački izvor iz godine 1344. naziva ključem Hrvatske (*istud castrum Tinini sit clavis Sclavonie*),<sup>9</sup> dok ga kninski biskup godine 1368. naziva velikim plemićkim gradom Kninom (*magnus castro Tiniensi*).<sup>10</sup>

Idući zapis o stanju kninske utvrde potječe iz godine 1654., kada je Mletačka Republika zbog neuspješne opsade kninske utvrde optužila vojnog

the beginning of the 1st century, not far from it, in today's hamlet of Ivoševci near Kistanje. Its task was to secure Roman rule among the rebellious and belligerent Delmatae and to protect the crossing of the Krka River.

Burnum remained under the rule of the Western Roman Emperor until 476, when it was taken over by Julius Nepos, the last Roman governor of the province of Dalmatia. Shortly after his death, Burnum fell under the rule of the Germanic general Odoacer in 481, and as early as 493 under the rule of the Eastern Goths, who remained in power until the long Byzantine-Gothic war (535–555), during which it was devastated.<sup>16</sup> Since this former military camp was a huge military complex (360 m x 300 m), whose defence required a large number of soldiers, Byzantine strategists abandoned it.

When the crossing over the Krka was left unprotected after leaving Burnum, the Byzantines built a new fortification on the ruins of the old hill-fort in the northern section of the Spas hill.<sup>17</sup> It remained under their rule until the Slavic-Avar invasions of Dalmatia at the beginning of the seventh century, during which it was presumably destroyed.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Katić 1932, str. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Listine 1868, str. 343-344; »Ime Slavonija potječe od srednjovjekovnoga lat. imena *S(c)lavonia*, koje, jednako kao i oblici *S(c)lavia* i *S(c)lavinia*, označava 'zemlju nastanjenu Slavenima' (*Sclavi, Sclavini, Sclavones*). Otud se tim imenom nazivala i rana hrvatska država na istočnoj obali Jadranu, osobito u papinskim i drugim zapadnim izvorima, sve do doba križarskih ratova, kroničari kojih su istočnojadransku obalu i njezino brdovito zaleđe redovito nazivali 'Slavonijom'. Kada se na početku XII. st. pod vlašću hrvatsko-ugarskih kraljeva našao cijeli prostor između Drave i Jadranu, u tom su se novom okviru stvorili uvjeti za postupno razlikovanje *Hrvatske od Slavonije*.« Slavonija 2008, str. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Katić 1932, str. 5-6.

<sup>16</sup> Zaninović 1974, pp. 301–319; Cambi, Glavičić, Maršić, Miletić, Zaninović 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Vinski 1991, p. 33; Zaninović 1990, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 125.



Sl. 8. Unutarnje dvorište Gornjega grada kninske tvrđave, pogled sa zapada (D. Lovrić)  
Fig. 8 Inner bailey in Upper Town of Knin Fortress; view from the west (photo: D. Lovrić)

inženjera Albertija da je uoči početka mletačkoga pohoda na Knin “krivo izvijestio da zidine kninske tvrđave nisu ispunjene zemljom, već šuplje, te da za njihovo osvajanje stoga ne treba upotrijebiti mnogo topništva”.<sup>11</sup> Iz doba osmanske vladavine potječu još dva opisa Knina, no oni su preopćeniti da bi bili korisni u analizi građevinskog razvoja ove utvrde.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. POVIJEST KNINA

Kninsko je područje bilo naseljeno još u eneolitičko doba. Njegovi prvi stanovnici podigli su na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas prvo utvrđeno visinsko (gradinsko) naselje, koje se prvi put spominje u I. st. pr. Kr. u djelu grčkoga geografa Strabona, pod imenom Ninja.<sup>13</sup> Prema Marinu Zaninoviću delmatska je Ninja bila jedna od brojnih utvrda koje su branile pristup središnjemu delmatskom mjestu Promoni.<sup>14</sup>

Život u njoj trajao je sve do rimsко-delmatskog rata, kada ju je u vojnem pohodu od 35. do 33. g. pr.

No later than at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, the area of Knin area was inhabited by Croats, who built a new settlement on the ruins of the Byzantine fortification. Although only modest remains of the church (large amounts of crumbled rubble and several fragments of pre-Romanesque stone sculpture) and the cemetery have been preserved,<sup>19</sup> a number of analogies allow us to assume that the settlement developed as a suburbium of the feudal town of Knin. It was first mentioned in c. 950 in the work of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*to castron Tenin*) and a document of the Croatian ruler Krešimir I from 950,<sup>20</sup> in connection with the existence of a royal court at the site of Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin.

As is the case with most Croatian feudal towns, we have no reliable information on the year of the establishment of Knin's Upper Town either. Its written history began around 950, when it was mentioned in a document of the Croatian King Michael Krešimir II for the first time as a fortification (*castrum*), while the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus referred to it at about the same time as the fortified seat of the Croatian

<sup>11</sup> Prema Fiskoviću u to su vrijeme u Dalmaciji djelovala čak tri vojna inženjera toga prezimena: Augustin Alberti, njegov sin Karlo te Marco Antnonio. Fisković 1955, str. 198, bilj. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Prvi opis Knina dao je još godine 1620. Memibegović, a drugi godine 1660. Evlija Čelebi. Rački 1882, str. 14, 110; Čelebi 1979, str. 158-159.

<sup>13</sup> Zaninović 1990, str. 33-34.

<sup>14</sup> Zaninović 1990, pp. 33-34... .

<sup>19</sup> D. Jelovina 1989, pp. 123–125, 220.

<sup>20</sup> Antoljak 1993, p. 54; Diplomatički zbornik 1967, p. 41.

Kr. razorio budući rimski car Oktavijan.<sup>15</sup> Budući da se prapovijesna Ninja nalazila na položaju koji nije odgovarao strateškim i prometnim interesima novih gospodara, oni su je prepustili zaboravu te početkom I. st. nedaleko od nje, u današnjem zaseoku Ivoševcima kraj Kistanja, sagradili veliki vojni logor *Burnum*, sa zadaćom da osigurava rimsku vlast među buntovnim i ratobornim Dalmatima te da štiti prijelaz preko rijeke Krke.

Pod vlašću zapadnorimskog cara Burnum je bio sve do godine 476., kada upravu nad njime preuzima Julije Nepot, posljednji rimski namjesnik provincije Dalmacije. Ubrzo nakon njegove smrti Burnum je godine 481. potpao pod vlast germanskog vojskovode Odoakara, a već godine 493. pod vlast Istočnih Gota, koji gospodare njime sve do dugogodišnjeg Bizantsko-gotskog rata (535. - 555.), tijekom kojeg je stradao.<sup>16</sup> Budući da je taj bivši vojni logor bio površinski izuzetno velik vojni kompleks (360 m x 300 m), čija je obrana zahtjevala angažman velikog broja vojnika, bizantski stratezi su ga napustili.

Kad je nakon napuštanja Burnuma prijelaz preko Krke ostao nezaštićen, Bizantinci su na ruševinama stare gradine na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas podigli novu utvrdu.<sup>17</sup> Pod njihovom je vlašću ona bila sve do slavensko-avarских provala u Dalmaciju početkom VII. st., tijekom kojih je, po svoj prilici, bila uništena.<sup>18</sup>

Najkasnije potkraj VIII. ili početkom IX. stoljeća kninsko područje naseljavaju Hrvati, te na ruševinama bizantske utvrde podižu novo naselje. Premda su se od njega sačuvali tek skromni ostatci crkve (velike količine obrušene šute te nekoliko fragmennata kamene predromaničke plastike) i groblje,<sup>19</sup> na temelju brojnih analogija možemo prepostaviti da se naselje razvilo kao podgrađe kninskoga plemićkoga grada. On se prvi put spominje oko godine 950. u djelu bizantskog cara Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta (*to kastron Tenin*) te u ispravi hrvatskog vladara Krešimira I. iz godine 950.,<sup>20</sup> u vezi s postojanjem vladarskog dvora na lokalitetu Crkvina u Biskupiji kraj Knina.

<sup>15</sup> Zaninović 1990, pp. 33-34..

<sup>16</sup> Zaninović 1974, str. 301-319; Cambi, Glavičić, Maršić, Miletić, Zaninović 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Vinski 1991, str. 33; Zaninović 1990, str. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 125.

<sup>19</sup> D. Jelovina 1989, str. 123-125, 220.

<sup>20</sup> Antoljak 1993, str. 54; Diplomatički zbornik 1967, str. 41.

county of the same name (*kastron*), which it would remain throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>21</sup> During the reigns of Dmitar Zvonimir (1075–1089) and Peter (around 1093–1097), it was the royal residence. Subsequently, until the end of the 12th century, it was the alternate seat of dukes and Croatian-Dalmatian bans.

At the end of the 13th century, the administration of Knin was taken over by Paul I of Bribir, and then by his son Mladen II of Bribir. After Mladen's defeat in the 1322 battle of Bliska, Knin was occupied by Prince Nelipac II Nelipić on behalf of King Charles I Robert, and handed over the royal garrison.<sup>22</sup>

That same year, some Croatian nobles led by the Bribirs opposed the king's efforts to consolidate the central government in Croatia, and then expelled the royal garrison from Knin. Nelipac II seized the opportunity and took power over Knin. As the strengthening of the power of the new prince of Knin equally endangered the interests of the Bribirs and the Croatian-Hungarian king, Nelipac II was soon faced with their attacks. However, the campaigns undertaken against him by George II of Bribir (1324) and Slavonian ban Mikac Mihaljević (1326), ended with Nelipac's victories, which made him the most powerful nobleman in Croatia, and Knin his residence from which, until his death in 1344, he would successfully resist King Charles I Robert and Louis I the Great, his successor on the throne.<sup>23</sup>

At the beginning of his reign, Louis decided to crush the long-lasting revolt of the Nelipićs, Kurjakovićs and Bribirs. Therefore, in 1345 he sent an army against them under the command of Nicholas I Bánffy, the ban of all Slavonia and Croatia. The first siege of the ban was successfully broken by Nelipac's widow Vladislava, thanks to the strength of the feudal town of Knin. However, when the ban reappeared before Knin, aided by the army of Stephen II Kotromanić, the ban of Bosnia, she decided to come to terms with the king.<sup>24</sup> On behalf of her minor son John, she handed over to King Louis I the feudal towns of Knin, Počitelj, Srb, Ostrog and Unac, in exchange for the feudal town of Sinj and

<sup>21</sup> Porfirogenet 1994, pp. 82, 86; Antoljak 1993, pp. 54–56.

<sup>22</sup> Klaić 1928, pp. 257–258; Regan 2014, p. 472.

<sup>23</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, pp. 120–122; Regan 2014, p. 472.

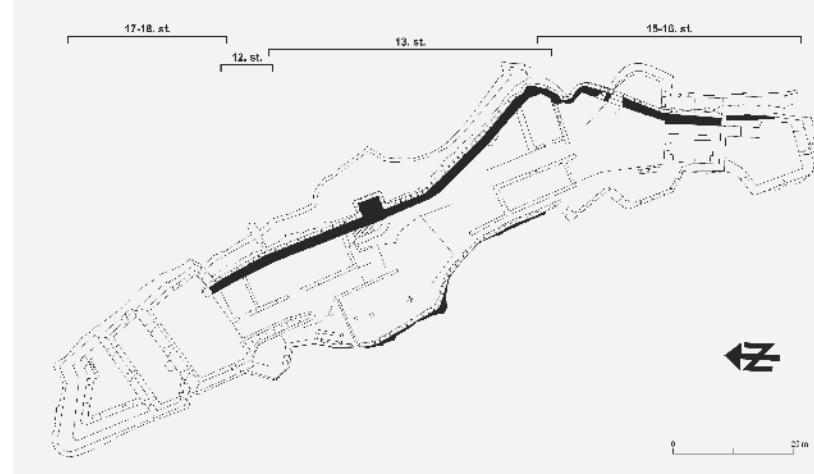
<sup>24</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, pp. 122–126.

Kao što je to slučaj s većinom hrvatskih plemićkih gradova, ni za kninski Gornji grad nemamo pouzdan podatak o godini osnutka. Njegova pisana povijest počinje oko godine 950., kada se u ispravi hrvatskoga kralja Mihajla Krešimira II. prvi put spominje kao utvrda (*castrum*), dok ga bizantski car Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet približno u isto vrijeme spominje kao utvrđeno sjedište istoimene hrvatske županije (*kastron*), što će i ostati tijekom cijelog srednjeg vijeka.<sup>21</sup> Za doba Dmitra Zvonimira (1075. - 1089.) i Petra (oko 1093. - 1097.) kraljevska je rezidencija, a potom su sve do kraja XIII. st. u njemu naizmjence stolovali hercezi i hrvatsko-dalmatinski banovi.

Potkraj XIII. st. upravu nad Kninom preuzeo je Pavao I. Bribirski, potom njegov sin Mladen II. Bribirski. Nakon što je Mladen godine 1322. bio poražen u bitci kraj Bliske, Knin je u ime kralja Karla I. Roberta zaposjeo knez Nelipac II. Nelipić te ga prepustio kraljevskoj posadi.<sup>22</sup>

Nakon što se iste godine dio hrvatskog plemstva na čelu s Bribirkima usprotivio kraljevu nastojanju da učvrsti središnju vlast u Hrvatskoj i zatim protjerao iz Knina kraljevsku posadu, Nelipac II. iskoristio je priliku i preuzeo vlast nad Kninom. Kako je jačanje vlasti novoga kninskoga kneza podjednako ugrožavalo interese Bribiraca i hrvatsko-ugarskoga kralja, Nelipac II. ubrzo se suočio s njihovim napadima. Međutim, pohodi koje su protiv njega poduzeli Juraj II. Bribirski (1324.) i slavonski ban Mikac Mihaljević (1326.), završili su Nelipčevim pobjedama, koje su ga učinile najmoćnijim velikašem u Hrvatskoj, a Knin njegovom rezidencijom iz koje se sve do smrti godine 1344. uspješno odupirao kralju Karlu I. Robertu, a zatim i njegovu nasljedniku na prijestolju Ludoviku I. Velikom.<sup>23</sup>

Ludovik je početkom svojega kraljevanja odlučio skršiti dugotrajnu pobunu hrvatskih Nelipića, Kurjakovića i Bribirkih. Stoga je godine 1345. poslao na njih vojsku pod zapovjedništvom bana čitave Slavonije i Hrvatske Nikole I. Bánffyja. Prvu banovu opsadu Nelipčeva je udovica Vladislava uspješno slomila, zahvaljujući snazi kninskoga plemićkog grada, no nakon što se ban ponovno pojavio pod Kninom, potpomognut još i vojskom bosanskog



Sl. 9. Tlocrt Gornjega grada kninske tvrdave. Crnom bojom naznačeni su na planu vidljivi dijelovi srednjovjekovnih bedema (K. Regan, Gornji grad kninske tvrdave, str. 478, sl. 8)

*Fig. 9 Ground plan of Upper Town of Knin Fortress. Visible parts of mediaeval ramparts are marked in black (K. Regan, Gornji grad kninske tvrdave, p. 478, Fig. 8)*

the Cetina Principality (former County of Cetina), the feudal town of Brečovo with a field and the feudal town of Kamičac on the Krka, referred to as John's ancestral fortification.<sup>25</sup>

When it passed to the royal hands, Knin regained its importance, because the king turned it into his first stronghold in the Croatian-Dalmatian Kingdom and the seat of the newly established County of Knin, composed of the former counties of Knin, Vrlika, Una, and, according to Klaić, perhaps even Promina.<sup>26</sup> It was from Knin that Louis set out to restore the central royal authority and began extensive preparations for the war against the Venetian Republic, which would end in 1358 with her military collapse and the annexation of the entire eastern Adriatic coast from Rijeka to Dubrovnik to his kingdom.

During the anti-court movement and the subsequent war for the throne between Sigismund of Luxembourg and Ladislaus of Naples (1384–1409), the supremacy over Knin often changed hands. It was first occupied in 1384 by supporters of the former Croatian Duke Charles of Durazzo, led by the Horvat brothers, John of Palisna, Stephen Lacković and Nicholas Széchy. In 1388, their ally, the King of Bosnia, Tvrtko I Kotromanić, gave it to the

<sup>21</sup> Porfirogenet 1994, str. 82, 86; Antoljak 1993, str. 54–56.

<sup>22</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 257–258; Regan 2014, str. 472.

<sup>23</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, str. 120–122; Regan 2014, str. 472.

<sup>25</sup> Smičiklas 1913, pp. 205–209, 249–252.

<sup>26</sup> Klaić 1980, pp. 18–19.



Sl. 10. Gornji grad na veduti Oratija Alberghettija, nakon 1688., isječak (Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat, str. 87)

*Fig. 10 Upper Town in Oratio Alberghetti's veduta, after 1688, extract (Knin/Knin Fortress/conservation study, p. 87)*

ga bana Stjepana II. Kotromanića, odlučila je nadoditi se s kraljem.<sup>24</sup> U ime maloljetnog sina Ivana predala je kralju Ludoviku I. Velikom plemićke gradaove Knin, Počitelj, Srb, Ostrog i Unac, u zamjenu za plemićki grad Sinj i Cetinsko kneštvo (bivša Cetinska županija), plemićki grad Brečeveo s poljem te plemićki grad Kamičac na Krki, koji se navodi kao Ivanova djedovska utvrda.<sup>25</sup>

Prelaskom u kraljevske ruke Knin ponovno dobiva na važnosti, jer ga je kralj pretvorio u svoje prvo čvrsto uporište na prostoru Hrvatsko-dalmatinskoga Kraljevstva i sjedište novoutemeljene Kninske županije sastavljene od teritorija nekadašnje Kninske, Vrličke, Unačke te, prema Klaiću, možda još i Prominske županije.<sup>26</sup> Upravo je iz Knina Ludovik krenuo u obnavljanje središnje kraljevske vlasti te započeo s opsežnim pripremama za rat protiv Mletačke Republike, koji će završiti godine 1358. njezinim vojnim slomom te ulaskom čitave istočne obale Jadrana od Rijeke do Dubrovnika u sklop njegova kraljevstva.

Za protudvorskoga pokreta i potom prijestolnoga rata između Sigismunda Luksemburgovca i Ladislava Napuljskog (1384. - 1409.) često se mijenjalo vrhovništvo nad Kninom. Najprije su ga godine 1384. zaposjele pristaše bivšega hrvatskoga hercega Karla Dračkog na čelu s braćom Horvat,

<sup>24</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, str. 122-126.

<sup>25</sup> Smičiklas 1913, str. 205-209, 249-252.

<sup>26</sup> Klaić 1980, str. 18-19.

Vukčić Hrvatinić brothers, Hrvoje and Vuk.<sup>27</sup> However, as early as 1392, Hrvoje and Vuk recognised Ladislaus of Naples as the new Croatian-Hungarian king, who in turn awarded them the titles of bans of Croatia and Dalmatia, and thus they retained power over Knin. Knin remained under the rule of the bans from the House of Hrvatinić until 1394, when Vuk Vukčić was defeated in the battle near Knin by Sigismund's Croatian-Dalmatian anti-ban Nicholas II Garai.<sup>28</sup>

As early as the first half of 1401, Knin was firmly held by Sigismund's supporters, but soon fell into the hands of Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, whom the Croatian-Hungarian anti-king Ladislaus of Naples appointed viceroy (chief governor) in Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia and the Duke of Split on 19 October 1403. He ruled over Knin until 1413, when he lost it in conflict with Sigismund, together with the Duchy of Split.<sup>29</sup>

Knin was under direct royal rule until 1426, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg pledged it to the Croatian-Dalmatian ban Nicholas IV Frankopan, together with Bihać and its district, Sokol, Rišpač, Čok, Rmanj, Lab, Vrlika, Ostrovica and Skradin, the County of Luka, Poljica and all the royal Vlachs in Croatia, for 28000 ducats. In 1431 he bestowed them to Nicholas permanently for additional 14000 ducats.<sup>30</sup> After Nicholas's death, Knin was succeeded by his son John VI Sr., who ruled in it until 1436, when he clashed with Sigismund of Luxembourg over Nelipić's legacy.<sup>31</sup> John was killed in that conflict, and the administration of Knin was taken over in Sigismund's name by Matko Talovac, new Croatian-Dalmatian ban.<sup>32</sup>

Although the Ottomans besieged Knin in 1513 and 1514, it fell under their rule only in their third attempt, when on 29 May 1522 the castellan of Knin, Mihovil Vojković from Klokoč, handed it over without a fight to the Bosnian sanjak-bey Husrev, who in turn allowed Vojković to retreat to Lika with his garrison under arms.<sup>33</sup> Knin then became

<sup>27</sup> Šišić 1902, pp. 34-77.

<sup>28</sup> Šišić 1902, p. 96.

<sup>29</sup> Šišić 1902, pp. 139-141, 226-227; Lovrenović 2006, pp. 96-97.

<sup>30</sup> Klaić 1901, pp. 213-214, 218.

<sup>31</sup> The conflict between Sigismund and John VI, Sr. broke out because of Sigismund's request to cede to him all the inheritance of his wife, i.e. all the family estates of the Nelipićs. Klaić 1901, p. 207.

<sup>32</sup> Klaić 1901, pp. 225-226.

<sup>33</sup> Šabanović 1959, p. 56; Klaić 1928, pp. 257-262; Jurin Starčević 2007, p. 649.

Ivanom Paližnom, Stjepanom Lackovićem te Nikolom Széchyjem, a već 1388. njihov saveznik bosanski kralj Tvrtko I. Kotromanić daje ga na upravu braći Vukčićima Hrvatinićima, Hrvoju i Vuku.<sup>27</sup> No već godine 1392. Hrvoje i Vuk priznali su Ladislava Napuljskog kao novoga hrvatsko-ugarskoga kralja, a ovaj im je zauzvrat dodijelio naslove banova Hrvatske i Dalmacije, čime su zadržali vlast nad Kninom. Pod upravom banova iz kuće Hrvatinića Knin je ostao sve do godine 1394., kada je Vuka Vukčića u bitci kraj Knina porazio Sigismundov hrvatsko-dalmatinski protuban Nikola II. Gorjanski.<sup>28</sup>

Još u prvoj polovini godine 1401. Knin je bio čvrsto u rukama Sigismundovih pristaša, no ubrzo je pao u ruke Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića, kojeg je hrvatsko-ugarski protukralj Ladislav Napuljski 19. X. 1403. imenovao potkraljem (glavnim namjesnikom) u Ugarskoj, Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Bosni te splitskim hercegom. On je gospodario Kninom sve do 1413., kada ga je u sukobu sa Sigismundom izgubio, zajedno sa splitskim herceštвом.<sup>29</sup>

Pod izravnom kraljevskom upravom Knin je bio do 1426., kada ga je kralj Sigismund Luksemburgovac zajedno s Bihaćem i njegovim distrikтом, Sokolom, Ripačem, Čokom, Rmanjem, Labom, Vrlikom, Ostrovicom i Skradinom, Lučkom županijom, Poljicama i sa svim kraljevskim Vlasima u Hrvatskoj založio hrvatsko-dalmatinskom banu Nikoli IV. Frankopanu za 28.000 dukata, a godine 1431. ih za još 14.000 dukata darovao Nikoli u trajno vlasništvo.<sup>30</sup> Nakon Nikoline smrti Knin je naslijedio njegov sin Ivan VI. st., koji je stolovao u njemu sve do 1436., kada se sukobio sa Sigismundom Luksemburgovcem oko Nelipićeve baštine.<sup>31</sup> U tom sukobu Ivan je poginuo, a upravu nad Kninom u Sigismundovo je ime preuzeo novi hrvatsko-dalmatinski ban Matko Talovac.<sup>32</sup>

Iako su Osmanlije 1513. i 1514. opsjedali Knin, pod njihovu vlast pao je tek iz trećeg pokušaja, kada ga je 29. V. 1522. kninski kaštelan Mihovil Vojković iz Klokoča predao bez borbe bosanskom sandžak-

the seat of the eponymous nahiye within the Croatian Vilayet and the kadijuk of Skradin.<sup>34</sup> This situation lasted until 1537, when the nahiye of Knin was included in the Sanjak of Klis. Between 1574 and 1580 it was part of the newly established Sanjak of Krka. The reputation of Knin started growing again. As the most important fortification of this sanjak, it became the seat of the kadijuk of Krka<sup>35</sup>. No later than 1662, it was the seat of a county of the Eyalet of Bosnia.<sup>36</sup>

Although the Venetians, under the command of Leonardo Foscolo, Governor-General of Dalmatia and Albania, occupied Knin, abandoned by the Ottoman garrison in fear of falling into Venetian captivity, without a fight on 27 February 1648, they were forced to leave it in June of the same year. They partially demolished Knin's ramparts and dumped the cannons into the Krka River. After their recapture of Knin, the Ottomans immediately set out to rebuild the fortification under Tekeli Pasha and Jafar Alai-Beg.<sup>37</sup>

A new attempt by the Venetians to conquer the Knin fortification in 1654 under the command of Lorenzo Dolfin, new Governor-General, failed ingloriously because they had underestimated the defence forces of the newly rebuilt fortification.<sup>38</sup> Thus the fortification became an integral part of the Venetian Republic only after the victory over the Ottomans on 11 September 1688 under the command of Governor-General Jerome Cornaro. The Venetians captured Ali Bey, the last captain of Knin, and sent him to Venice with other distinguished prisoners.<sup>39</sup> As Knin found itself right next to the newly established Venetian-Ottoman border,

<sup>27</sup> Šišić 1902, str. 34-77.

<sup>28</sup> Šišić 1902, str. 96.

<sup>29</sup> Šišić 1902, str. 139-141, 226-227; Lovrenović 2006, str. 96-97.

<sup>30</sup> Klaić 1901, str. 213-214, 218.

<sup>31</sup> Sukob između Sigismunda i Ivana VI. st. izbio je radi Sigismundova zahtjeva da mu ustupi svu baštinu svoje žene, odnosno sve rodovske posjede Nelipića. Klaić 1901, str. 207.

<sup>32</sup> Klaić 1901, str. 225-226.

<sup>34</sup> Šabanović 1959, p. 176; Jurin Starčević 2007, p. 650.

<sup>35</sup> Šabanović 1959, pp. 74-77, 209, 226.

<sup>36</sup> Kreševljaković 1953, pp. 118-119.

<sup>37</sup> Paić 1998, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> The Venetian siege of Knin began on 12 March 1654. It was broken in a violent Ottoman counter-attack on 20 March already. This was the reason Dolfin was removed from the post of governor, while his military advisers – military engineers Alessandro Magli and Alberti – were tried and punished for a series of omissions in that venture. Among other things, they were reproached for failing to notice that the Ottomans had filled the towers with earth and strengthened the ramparts on the inside with earthen embankments. Fisković 1955, p. 198.

<sup>39</sup> At the beginning of the attack on Knin, its captain was Mustaí-Bey, who was killed during the siege, and the duty of Knin's captain was taken over by Ali-Bey for a few days. Fisković 1955, p. 119.



Sl. 11. Bandjera (srednjovjekovni Lab), pogled sa zapada (foto: D. Lovrić)

*Fig. 11 Bandjera (mediaeval Lab); view from the west (photo: D. Lovrić)*

begu Husrevu, a ovaj je zauzvrat dopustio Vojkoviću da se povuče u Liku sa svojom posadom pod oružjem.<sup>33</sup> Tada Knin postaje sjedištem istoimene nahije u sklopu vilajeta Hrvati i kadiluka Skradina.<sup>34</sup> Takvo stanje održalo se do godine 1537., kada je kninska nahija uključena u sklop Kliškoga sandžaka, da bi između 1574. i 1580. ušla u sastav novoutemeljnog Krčko-ličkoga sandžaka. Tada ponovno raste ugled Knina, koji kao najvažnija utvrda ovoga sandžaka postaje sjedištem kadiluka Krka,<sup>35</sup> a najkasnije od 1662. bio je sjedištem kapetanije Bosanskoga pašaluka.<sup>36</sup>

Iako su Mlečani pod zapovjedništvom generalnoga providura za Dalmaciju i Albaniju Leonarda Foscola već 27. II. 1648. bez borbe zaposjeli Knin, koji je u strahu od pada u mletačko zarobljeništvo napustila osmanska posada, već u lipnju iste godine morali su ga napustiti. Tada su dijelom porušili kninske bedeme, a topove bacili u rijeku Krku. Nakon ponovnog zauzeća Knina Osmanlije su odmah pod Tekelij-pašom i Jafer Alajbegom krenule u obnovu utvrde.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Šabanović 1959, str. 56; Klaić 1928, str. 257-262; Jurin Starčević 2007, str. 649.

<sup>34</sup> Šabanović 1959, str. 176; Jurin Starčević 2007, str. 650.

<sup>35</sup> Šabanović 1959, str. 74-77, 209, 226.

<sup>36</sup> Kreševljaković 1953, str. 118-119.

<sup>37</sup> Paić 1998, str. 45.

the Venetians initiated a thorough reconstruction of the mediaeval/Ottoman fortification, which resulted in its conversion into a modern artillery fortress.

After the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, Knin Fortress was taken over first by the Habsburg, and then by the French (1806–1813), and finally again by the Habsburg forces, who used it as a barracks.<sup>40</sup> Due to high maintenance costs, the Financial Ministry of Austria, under whose administration this huge complex was after the demilitarisation, decided in 1894 to sell Knin Fortress at a public auction. In order to prevent a group of merchants from purchasing the fortress, only to demolish it and sell its stones as building material, Friar Lujo Marun bought it at auction for 8600 kronen on behalf of the Knin Antiquarian Society.<sup>41</sup>

Knin Fortress remained in possession of the Society until World War II, when it was first occupied by Italian (1941–1943) and then German troops (1943–1944). Knin Fortress was turned into a barracks with prison, with several batteries of anti-aircraft guns, which is why it was heavily bombed on several occasions and was significantly devastated by the end of the war. Under the guidance of Paško Paić and his students, Knin Fortress was renovated

<sup>40</sup> Knin Fortress served as a barracks until 1889, when it was abandoned by members of the Lika Regiment, the last military unit stationed in this ancient fortification.

<sup>41</sup> Paić 1998, p. 79.

Novi pokušaj Mlečana da osvoje kninsku utvrdu 1654. pod zapovjedništvom novoga generalnoga providura Lorenza DolFINA neslavno je propao zbog podcenjivanja obrambene snage netom obnovljene utvrde,<sup>38</sup> tako da je sastavnim dijelom Mletačke Republike utvrda postala tek nakon pobjede nad Osmanlijama 11. IX. 1688., pod zapovjedništvom generalnog providura Jeronima CORNARA. Tada su Mlečani zarobili Ali-bega, posljednjega kninskog kapetana, te ga s ostalim uglednim zarobljenicima otpravili u Veneciju.<sup>39</sup> Kako se Knin našao tih uz novouspostavljenu mletačko-osmansku granicu, Mlečani su pokrenuli temeljitu obnovu srednjovjekovne i osmanske utvrde, što je rezultiralo njezinom pregradnjom u modernu topničku tvrđavu.

Nakon pada Mletačke Republike 1797. Kninsku tvrđavu preuzezeli su najprije habsburške, potom francuske (1806. - 1813.) te napisljetu ponovno habsburške snage, koje su je koristile kao vojarnu.<sup>40</sup> Zbog visokih troškova održavanja Financijsko ravnateljstvo Austrije, pod čijom upravom se nalazio ovaj golemi kompleks nakon demilitarizacije, odlučilo je 1894. prodati Kninsku tvrđavu na javnoj dražbi. Kako bi spriječio skupinu trgovaca u nakani da kupi tvrđavu, sruši je i njezin materijal proda kao građevni materijal, na dražbi ju je za 8600 kruna kupio fra Lujo Marun u ime Kninskoga starinarskog društva.<sup>41</sup>

U posjedu Društva Kninska je tvrđava bila do II. svjetskog rata, kada ju najprije zaposjedaju talijanske (1941. - 1943.), a zatim njemačke postrojbe (1943. - 1944.). Tada je Kninska tvrđava pretvorena u vojarnu sa zatvorom, s nekoliko baterija protuzračnih topova, zbog čega je u nekoliko navrata bila



Sl. 12. Fotografija ostataka srednjovjekovne utvrde Lab pronađenih na Bandjeri 1972. godine, u Izvještaju Odbora za rade u 1972. godini – dosje 430 (*Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat*, str. 287)  
Fig. 12 Photograph of the remains of the mediaeval fortification of Lab found on Bandjera in 1972, in the Report of the Committee for Works in 1972 – file 430 (*Knin/Knин Fortress/conservation study*, p. 287)

during the 1960s. Thanks to him, in 1969 it became part and the seat of the Heritage Museum of the Knin Area (today the Museum of Knin).

Knin Fortress served for museum purposes until the Homeland War (1991–1995), when it became a prison and a military training ground in the self-proclaimed Serbian parastate of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. This situation lasted until 5 August 1995, when it was captured by the Croatian Army. Today it is a museum again.

#### 4. KNIN'S FORTIFICATIONS THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY

Today, Knin is best known for its large Baroque fortress, rising on a steep stone hill above the town centre and the Krka River. Since the fortress is located in a position allowing for easy monitoring and protection of the crossing (ford) over the Krka and the ancient communication that connected northern and central Dalmatia via Knin with northwestern Croatia and western Bosnia, it is not surprising that this favourable transport, strategic and easily defensible position was recognised as early as prehistoric times.

<sup>38</sup> Mletačka opsada Knina započela je 12. ožujka 1654., a bila je slomljena u silovitom osmanskom protunapadu već 20. ožujka, zbog čega je Dolfin bio smijenjen s mjesto providura, dok su njegovi vojni savjetnici, vojni inženjeri Aleksandar Magli i Alberti, bili suđeni i kažnjeni zbog niza propusta u tom pothvatu. Među ostalim, zamjera im se što su propustili primjetiti da su Osmanlije ispunili kule zemljom te da su zemljanim nasipima ojačali bedem s unutarnje strane. Fisković 1955, str. 198.

<sup>39</sup> Na početku napada na Knin njegov je kapetan bio Mustaj-beg, koji je poginuo za opsade, tako da je dužnost kninskoga kapetana na nekoliko dana preuzeo Ali-beg. Fisković 1955, str. 119.

<sup>40</sup> Kninska tvrđava služila je kao vojarna do 1889., kada su je napustili pripadnici Ličke pukovnije, posljednje vojne postrojbe koja je bila stacionirana u ovoj drevnoj utvrdi.

<sup>41</sup> Paić 1998, str. 79.



Sl. 13. Bandjera (srednjovjekovni Lab), pogled sa zapada (foto. D. Lovrić)  
*Fig. 13 Bandjera (mediaeval Lab); view from the west (photo: D. Lovrić)*

žestoko bombardirana te je kraj rata dočekala znatno devastirana. Pod vodstvom Paška Paića i njegovih učenika Kninska je tvrđava tijekom 1960-ih godina obnavljana, a njegovom je zaslugom godine 1969. postala dijelom i sjedištem Zavičajnoga muzeja Kninske krajine (danas Kninski muzej).

U muzejske svrhe Kninska je tvrđava služila do Domovinskoga rata (1991. - 1995.), kada je postala zatvor samoproglašene srpske paradržave Republike Srpske Krajine te vojno vježbalište. Takvo stanje održalo se do 5. kolovoza 1995., kada su je zapošjeli pripadnici Hrvatske vojske. Danas je ponovno muzej.

#### 4. KNINSKE UTVRDE KROZ POVIJEST

Danas je Knin najviše prepoznatljiv po velikoj baroknoj tvrđavi koja se uzdiže na strmom kamenom brdu iznad središta grada i rijeke Krke. Budući da se tvrđava nalazi na položaju s kojega se mogao lako nadzirati i štititi prijelaz (gaz) preko Krke, a s tim i drevna komunikacija koja je sjevernu i srednju Dalmaciju preko Knina spajala sa sjeverozapadnom Hrvatskom i zapadnom Bosnom, ne čudi što je taj povoljan prometni, strateški i lako branjivi položaj bio prepoznat još u prapovijesno doba.

#### 4.1. Prehistoric hill-fort settlement

The remains of the prehistoric hill-fort settlement lie in the northern part of the Spas hill, on a triangular plain facing Knin Fortress with its vertex, while its three sides are separated from the Krka River valley, its tributaries and Knin's neighbouring hills by steep slopes. The plain is about 300 m long from its northern edge to Knin Fortress in the south. It is widest (about 180 m) from the western edge to the pedestal of the demolished partisan monument on its eastern edge.<sup>42</sup> It is estimated that the total length of its ramparts was about 1000 m.<sup>43</sup> Considering that the 1932 research of Lujo Marun, Werner Battler and Pavao Pauš, and the 1977–1982 investigations by Dušan Jelovina and associates did not reveal the entire defence system of the settlement, we can assume, based on the terrain configuration, the remains of defensive walls on the northeastern edge of the plain, and by comparison with defensive features of other Illyrian hill-fort settlements, that the defensive walls were aligned with the edges of the plain and enclosed the hill-fort settlement in the form of an irregular semicircle on the north, east and south sides, while on the west side it was prob-

<sup>42</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 121; Zaninović 1990, pp. 33–34; Živković 1993, p. 96.

<sup>43</sup> Živković 1993, p. 96.

#### 4.1. Prapovijesno gradinsko naselje

Ostatci prapovijesnoga gradinskog naselja leže u sjevernom dijelu brda Spas, na trokutastom ravnjaku koji je vrhom okrenut prema Kninskoj tvrđavi, dok je s ostale tri strane strmim padinama odvojen od nizine rijeke Krke, njezinih pritoka i Kninu susjednih brda. Ravnjak je od sjevernog ruba do Kninske tvrđave na jugu dugačak oko 300 m, dok mu najveća širina od zapadnoga ruba do postolja srušenog partizanskog spomenika na istočnome rubu iznosi oko 180 m.<sup>42</sup> Procjenjuje se da mu je ukupna dužina bedema iznosila oko 1000 m.<sup>43</sup> S obzirom na to da istraživanja Luje Maruna, Wernera Battlera i Pavla Pauša iz 1932. te Dušana Jelovine sa suradnicima iz 1977. - 1982. nisu otkrila cjelokupan obrambeni sustav tog naselja, na osnovi konfiguracije terena, ostatka obrambenih zidova na sjeveroistočnom rubu ravnjaka te usporedbom s obrambenim značajkama drugih ilirskih gradinskih naselja, možemo pretpostaviti da su obrambeni zidovi pratili rubove ravnjaka te zatvarali gradinsko naselje u obliku nepravilnog polukruga sa sjeverne, istočne i južne strane, dok je sa zapadne strane ono bilo, po svoj prilici, zaštićeno prirodnom strminom kamene padine brda Spas, kao što je to slučaj kod nekih drugih gradina na hrvatskome prostoru.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.2. Kasnoantička ili ranosrednjovjekovna utvrda

Prilikom istraživanja starohrvatske nekropole na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas od 1977. do 1982. otkriveni su temelji dvaju kasnoantičkih objekta pregrađenih u niz prostorija, koji se spajaju pod pravim kutom.<sup>45</sup> Iako ovi nalazi sami po sebi ne dokazuju postojanje kasnoantičke utvrde, izuzetna geometrijska pravilnost uzvišenja na kojem leže ostatci građevina te njihov položaj uz sam južni i istočni rub uzvišenja daju nam za pravo pretpostaviti da se ovdje nalazila veliko utvrđenje. Sudeći prema obliku uzvišenja, to je utvrđenje imalo gotovo pravokutan tlocrt dimenzija 70 x 70 m, a nalazilo se na mjestu gdje se, prema Živkoviću, nekoliko stoljeća ranije nalazilo utvrđeno središte prapovijesnoga gradinskog naselja.<sup>46</sup>



Sl. 14. Gradac, pogled sa zapada (foto: D. Lovrić)  
Fig. 14 Gradac, view from the west (photo: D. Lovrić)

ably protected by a natural rock slope of the Spas hill, like some other hill-forts in Croatia.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.2. Late antique or early mediaeval fortification

During the 1977–1982 research of the Early Croatian necropolis in the northern half of the Spas hill, foundations of two late antique structures, divided into a series of rooms and connected at right angles, were discovered.<sup>45</sup> Although the finds do not prove the existence of a late antique fortification *per se*, the remarkable geometric regularity of the elevation on which the remains of the buildings lie, and their position along the very southern and eastern edges of the hill give us the right to assume that a large fortification used to be located there. Judging by the shape of the elevation, this fortification had an almost rectangular ground plan measuring 70 x 70 m, and was located on the site where, according to Živković, a fortified centre of a prehistoric hill-fort settlement had existed several centuries earlier.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the modesty of preserved finds, the existing remains are still sufficient to assume that they belonged to a large rectangular fortification along whose ramparts there were long and narrow buildings on the inside, forming a large empty space in the centre of the fortification. Such geometric regularity of the fortification and the location of the buildings along the ramparts are features of Roman defensive architecture (Kerečin 1966: 314–315),

<sup>42</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 121; Zaninović 1990, str. 33-34; Živković 1993, str. 96.

<sup>43</sup> Živković 1993, str. 96.

<sup>44</sup> Zaninović 1990, str. 33-34.

<sup>45</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 121-125.

<sup>46</sup> Živković 1993, str. 97.



Sl. 15. Knin i kninska tvrđava, pogled s jugoistoka  
(foto: D. Lovrić)

Fig. 15 Knin and its Fortress; view from the southeast  
(photo: D. Lovrić)

Unatoč skromnoj sačuvanosti, postojeći ostaci još uvijek su dostatni za pretpostavku da pripadaju velikoj utvrdi pravokutnog tlocrta uz čije su bedeme s unutarnje strane bile podignute dugačke i uske zgrade, koje su u središtu utvrde formirale velik prazan prostor. A geometrijska pravilnost utvrde i smještaj zgrada uz bedeme značajke su upravo rimske obrambene arhitekture (Kerečin 1966: 314-315), iz čega slijedi mogući zaključak da se na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas nalaze ostaci rimske utvrde podignute radi nadziranja pristupa nedalekom Burnumu iz smjera sjevera, odnosno povoljnoga gazišta preko Krke. Nakon što je nedaleki Burnum stradao za sukoba Bizanta s Ostrogotima, moguće je da je upravo ova utvrda nakon ponovne uspostave bizantske vlasti u Dalmaciji preuzela ulogu glavnog obrambenog uporišta u porječju Krke te da je egzistirala sve do avarsко-slavenske provale krajem VI. i poč. VII. st., za koje je stradala ili bila napuštena.

#### 4.3. Srednjovjekovna kninska utvrđenja

Srednjovjekovni Knin bio je jedan od najrazvijenijih gradskih naselja Hrvatske, u kojem su svoja utvrđena sjedišta imali najprije hrvatski kraljevi, banovi, podbanovi, kninski biskup s kaptolom te napoljetku feudalni magnati Bribirski, Nelipići i Hrvatinići. Zahvaljujući zaštiti moćnih gospodara te izuzetnom prometnom položaju na raskrižju putova koji su s kontinenta vodili prema lukama na istočnoj obali Jadranu, Knin se tijekom kasnoga srednjeg vijeka razvio u živo trgovačko-obrtničko

possibly meaning that the northern half of the Spas hill contains remains of a Roman fort erected to control access to nearby Burnum from the north, that is, a ford across the Krka. It is possible that this fortification, after the destruction of nearby Burnum during the Byzantine conflict with the Ostrogoths and after the re-establishment of Byzantine rule in Dalmatia, took over the role of the main defensive stronghold in the Krka basin and existed until the Avar-Slavic invasions at the end of sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, during which it was either destroyed or abandoned.

#### 4.3. Mediaeval Knin's fortifications

Mediaeval Knin was one of the most developed urban settlements in Croatia, in which Croatian kings, bans, vicebans, the bishop of Knin with the chapter and finally the feudal magnates such as the Bribirs, Nelipićs and Hrvatinićs had their fortified seats. Thanks to the protection of powerful lords and an exceptional transit position at the intersection of roads running from the continent to ports on the eastern Adriatic coast, during the late Middle Ages Knin developed into a vigorous trade and craft centre and one of the most developed urban settlements in the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom.

##### *Castrum Knin*

When the Byzantine fortification was destroyed in the Slavic-Avar migrations, a new one was built in the southern half of the Spas hill between the seventh and the first half of the tenth century. It is today's Upper Town of Knin Fortress, i.e. the mediaeval castrum Knin, first mentioned as *to kastron Tenin* in the mid-tenth century in the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Although no structures that could be clearly attributed to the earliest development phase of castrum Knin can be seen in the Upper Town today, based on the terrain on which it lies we can describe it as a typical example of elongated or longitudinal mountain castra as built in the Romanesque style until the beginning of the 14th century.<sup>47</sup> During the following centuries, castrum Knin spread along the ridges south of its original nucleus, and got its final shape at the beginning of the 16th century. It was one of the largest fortifications in Croatia at the time. Adjusted to the ridge on which it rests,

<sup>47</sup> Horvat 2008, p. 27; Regan 2014, p. 489.

središte te u jedno od najrazvijenijih gradskih naselja Hrvatsko-Ugarskoga Kraljevstva.

### Kastrum Knin

Kada je u slavensko-avarškoj seobi stradala bizantska utvrda, između VII. st. i prve polovice X. st. sagrađena je nova utvrda, na južnoj polovici brda Spas. To je današnji Gornji grad Kninske tvrđave, odnosno srednjovjekovni kninski kastrum, koji se prvi put spominje kao *to kastron Tenin* polovicom X. st. u djelu Konstantina Porfirogeneta.

Iako se na položaju Gornjega grada danas ne za mjećuju strukture koje bismo mogli jasno pripisati najstarijoj razvojnoj fazi kninskog kastruma, na osnovi odlika terena na kojem leži, možemo ga opisati kao tipičan primjer gorskih kastruma izduljenoga ili longitudinalnog položaja kakvi su se gradili u romaničkom stilu sve do početka XIV. st.<sup>47</sup> Tijekom idućih stoljeća kninski kastrum širio se po grebenima južno od prvobitne jezgre, a svoj konačan oblik dobio je početkom XVI. st. Tada je to bila jedna od najvećih utvrda na području Hrvatske. Prilagođen grebenu na kojem počiva, od sjevera prema jugu kninski se kastrum pružao u dužini od 140 m, dok mu je širina od zapada prema istoku iznosila približno 22 m.<sup>48</sup>

Isprva je kastrum bio unutarnjim bedemom podijeljen na manje i niže dvorište u južnom dijelu te veliko i više dvorište u srednjem i sjevernom dijelu utvrde, a danas se na njegovu mjestu nalazi mletački kompleks rezidencije kaštelana ili zapovjednika tvrđave kroz koji se pristupa u središte utvrde. Sa zapadne strane bedemi kastruma bili su dobro osigurani strmim padinama, dok su ostale tri strane bile osigurane visokim kulama.

Najveća među njima bila je velika četverokutna kula na sjeveroistočnom uglu grada, podignuta krajem XIV. ili početkom XV. st., koja je zajedno s dubokim jarkom branila pristup kastruma iz smjera sjevera.<sup>49</sup> U velikoj mletačkoj obnovi s kraja XVII. i početka XVIII. st. ova je kula u cijelosti uklopljena u kazamat Kalunerica. Istu sudbinu doživjela je velika peterokutna južna kula, sagrađena krajem XV. ili početkom XVI. st. na spoju istočnog i zapadnog bedema, koja je u mletačkoj obnovi pregradena u veliku topovsku platformu.



Sl. 16. Kapitul kraj Knina, pogled s jugaistoka  
(foto: Z. Tanocki)

Fig. 16 Kapitul near Knin, view from the southeast  
(photo: Z. Tanocki)

castrum Knin stretched over 140 m in length from north to south, while its width from west to east was approximately 22 m.<sup>48</sup>

Initially, the castrum was divided by an inner rampart into a smaller and lower bailey in the southern part and a larger and higher bailey in the central and northern part of the fort. Today, the Venetian complex of the residence of the castellan or commander of the fortress is in its place, allowing access to the centre of the fortification. On the west side, the ramparts of the castrum were well secured by steep slopes, while the other three sides were guarded by high towers.

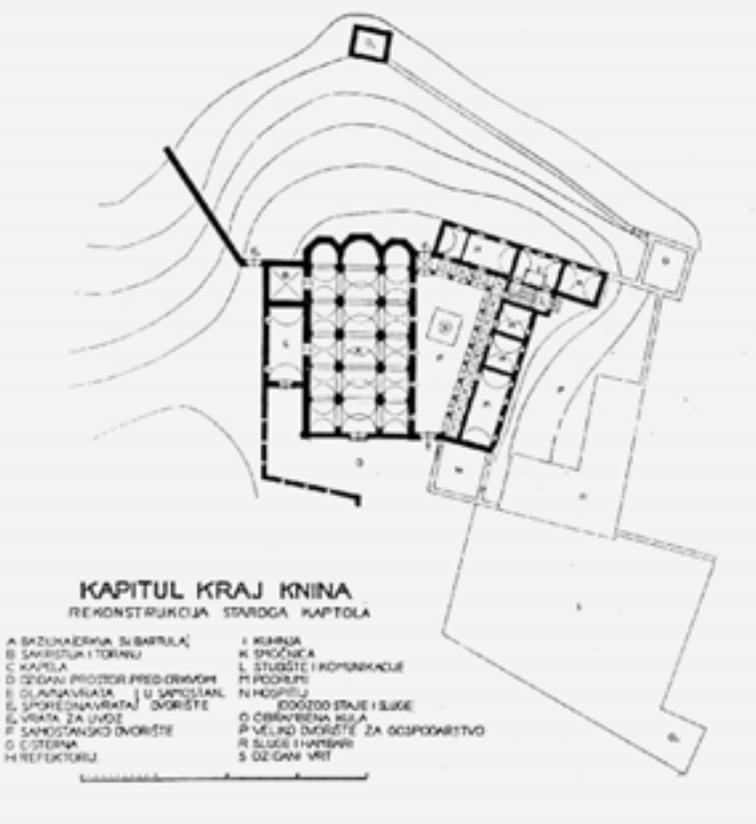
The largest among them was the big square tower in the northeast corner of the town, erected at the end of the 14th or the early 15th century. Together with a deep moat, it served to defend the approach to the castrum from the north.<sup>49</sup> In the great Venetian reconstruction at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, this tower was completely integrated into the Kalunerica casemate. The same fate befell the large pentagonal south tower, built in the late 15th century or at the beginning of the 16th century at the junction of the eastern and western ramparts. In the Venetian reconstruction, it was rebuilt into a large cannon platform.

Of the former three mediaeval towers, only the eastern one with a rectangular ground plan, located at the junction of the central and northern segments

<sup>47</sup> Horvat 2008, str 27; Regan 2014, str. 489.

<sup>48</sup> Regan 2014, str. 477.

<sup>49</sup> Regan 2014, str. 486-487.



Sl. 17. Kapitul kraj Knina, tlocrt (Ć. Ivezović, Kapitul kraj Knina, str. 258)

Fig. 17 Kapitul near Knin, ground plan (Ć. Ivezović, Kapitul kraj Knina, p. 258)

Od nekadašnje tri srednjovjekovne kule naše je doba dočekala tek istočna kula pravokutnog tlocrta, smještena na spoju srednjega i sjevernog segmenta istočnog bedema. Iako je u XVII. st. bila temeljito pregrađena rušenjem gornjih etaža kako bi se visinski izjednačila sa susjednim bedemima, njezina se gradnja na osnovi fakture pročelja datira u XIII. st.<sup>50</sup> Iz srednjeg vijeka također potječe manja polukružna građevina na nekadašnjem spoju južnoga i istočnog bedema, koja je za osmanske vladavine bila pregrađena u kulu.<sup>51</sup>

S istočne je strane nekadašnji kastrum zaštićen nižim vanjskim bedemom, koji se do gradnje Kalunerice protezao još i ispred sjevernog bedema kastruma. Ovaj bedem podignut je na mjestu srednjovjekovne palisade, koja se u dokumentima prvi put spominje godine 1345. prilikom neuspješne banske opsade.<sup>52</sup> Iako ne treba isključiti mogućnost da se taj podatak odnosi na obrambenu ogradu podignutu

<sup>50</sup> Regan 2014, str. 483.

<sup>51</sup> Regan 2014, str. 487.

<sup>52</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, str. 120-123.

of the eastern rampart, has survived to our time. Although it was thoroughly rearranged in the 17th century by demolishing the upper floors to adjust its height to the neighbouring ramparts, its construction is dated to the 13th century based on the fabric of its façade.<sup>50</sup> A small semicircular building at the former junction of the southern and eastern ramparts, rebuilt into a tower during the Ottoman rule, also dates from the Middle Ages.<sup>51</sup>

On the east side, the former castrum is protected by a lower outer rampart, which extended to the front of the northern rampart of the castrum until the construction of Kalunericia. This rampart was erected on the site of a mediaeval palisade, first mentioned in documents from 1345 during the unsuccessful siege.<sup>52</sup> Although it should not be ruled out that this information refers to a defensive fence erected around the Knin suburbium, based on the context in which it is mentioned, the palisade likely surrounded the former Knin castrum on the north and east, the only possible access route to the castrum.

In addition to defensive installations, the documents also record information on individual facilities within the fortification. Thus, *inter alia*, a palace with a ceremonial hall and a baths, as well as some outhouses are mentioned.<sup>53</sup>

### Castrum Lab

When, after heavy fighting, the Croatian-Hungarian King Louis I the Great finally took control of Knin in 1345, he decided to build a new castrum south of the Knin one, on the opposite steep ridge, as the seat of the Croatian viceban. This was castrum Lab, first mentioned in sources in 1386,<sup>54</sup> and from 1423 onwards regularly referred to as the seat of the Croatian viceban.<sup>55</sup> However, its origin could be dated even earlier, as suggested by a reference to castrum Knin in 1368 as the larger (*magno castro Tiniensi*) and earlier (*maioris castri Tinii*),<sup>56</sup> logically meaning that at the same time there was a later and smaller castrum in Knin, quite possibly Lab. Assuming that the phrase smaller and earlier castrum refers to Lab, we could conclude that the

<sup>50</sup> Regan 2014, p. 483.

<sup>51</sup> Regan 2014, p. 487.

<sup>52</sup> Obsidio Iadrensis 2007, pp. 120–123.

<sup>53</sup> Katić 1932, p. 6; Regan 2014, p. 488.

<sup>54</sup> Jakšić 1982, p. 44; Ančić 1996, p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Šišić 1925a, p. 577.

<sup>56</sup> Katić 1932, pp. 5–6.

oko kninskog podgrađa, na temelju konteksta u kojem se spominje izglednije je da je palisada opasivala nekadašnji kninski kastrum sa sjeverne i istočne strane, odakle je pristup kastrumu jedino moguć.

Osim obrambenih instalacija u dokumentima su zabilježeni i podaci o pojedinim objektima unutar same utvrde. Tako se, među ostalim, spominju palas sa svečanom dvoranom i kupalište te pojedine gospodarske zgrade.<sup>53</sup>

### Kastrum Lab

Kada je nakon teških borbi hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Ludovik I. Veliki napisao posjetku godine 1345. ovladao Kninom, odlučio je južno od kninskog kastruma, na suprotnome strmom hrptu, sagraditi novi kastrum, kao sjedište hrvatskog podbana. To je bio kastrum Lab, koji se u izvorima prvi put spominje 1386. godine,<sup>54</sup> a od 1423. nadalje redovito se spominje kao sjedište hrvatskog podbana.<sup>55</sup> No njegov postanak mogli bismo datirati još ranije, što nam sugerira spominjanje kninskog kastruma godine 1368. kao većeg (*magno castro Tinensi*) i starijeg (*maioris castri Tinii*),<sup>56</sup> iz čega slijedi logičan zaključak da je u isto vrijeme u Kninu postojao mlađi i manji kastrum, a to bi onda mogao biti Lab. Pretpostavimo li da se pod sintagmom manji i mlađi kastrum podrazumijeva Lab, mogli bismo zaključiti da je gradnju ove kninske utvrde naložio osobno hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Ludovik I. Veliki između 1345. i 1368. godine, te upravu nad njom prepustio hrvatskom podbanu, koji je istodobno obnašao i dužnost kninskog župana, odnosno kneza.<sup>57</sup>

Lab je u kraljevskim rukama bio do 1426., kada ga je hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Sigismund Luksemburgovac zajedno sa susjednim kninskim kastrumom založio hrvatsko-dalmatinskom banu Nikoli IV. Frankopanu.<sup>58</sup> Pod kraljevsku vlast Lab se vratio nakon 1436. ili 1437., kada je za protukraljeve pobune u nepoznatim okolnostima preminuo Nikolin sin Ivan VIII. Frankopan. Od tada pa sve do pada pod osmansku vlast Lab je u rukama hrvatsko-dalmatinskog podbana i kninskog župana ili kneza.<sup>59</sup>



Sl. 18. Kapitul kraj Knina, rekonstrukcija pročelja katedralnog kompleksa (Ć. Ivezović, Kapitul kraj Knina, str. 264)

*Fig. 18 Kapitul near Knin, reconstruction of the façade of the cathedral complex (Ć. Ivezović, Kapitul kraj Knina, p. 264)*

construction of this Knin fortification was personally ordered by the Croatian-Hungarian King Louis I the Great between 1345 and 1368, and left the administration to the Croatian viceban, who at the same time acted as the prefect of Knin, i.e. prince.<sup>57</sup>

Lab was in royal hands until 1426, when the Croatian-Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg pledged it together with the neighbouring castrum Knin to the Croatian-Dalmatian ban Nicholas IV Frankopan.<sup>58</sup> Lab was returned to royal rule after 1436 or 1437, when Nicholas's son John VIII Frankopan died in unknown circumstances during the rebellion against the king. From then until the fall under Ottoman rule, Lab was in the hands of the Croatian-Dalmatian viceban and prefect of Knin or prince.<sup>59</sup>

There is no information about Lab from the period of the Ottoman rule, until the second half of the 17th century. The Venetian troops conquered Knin for the first time in 1648, but then had to withdraw from it in the same year. During the retreat, they severely damaged the fortification, forcing the Ottomans to begin a major reconstruction, which resulted in the construction of the Topana artillery platform on the site of the mediaeval castrum, clearly visible in all 1688 drawings depicting the Venetian conquest of Knin. This form of the plat-

<sup>53</sup> Katić 1932, str. 6; Regan 2014, str. 488.

<sup>54</sup> Jakšić 1982, str. 44; Ančić 1996, str. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Šišić 1925a, str. 577.

<sup>56</sup> Katić 1932, str. 5-6.

<sup>57</sup> Šišić 1925b, Jakšić 1990, str. 125.

<sup>58</sup> Thallóczy, Barabás 1910, str. 228-229; Šišić 1925a, str. 577.

<sup>59</sup> Šišić 1925a, str. 577-580.

Za vrijeme osmanske uprave o Labu nema viesti sve do druge polovice XVII. st. Nakon što su mletačke postrojbe godine 1648. prvi put osvojile Knin, iste godine morali su se povući iz njega. Prilikom povlačenja teško su oštetili utvrdu, što je prisililo Osmanlike da započnu veliku obnovu, koja je rezultirala izgradnjom topničke platforme zvane Topana na mjestu srednjovjekovnog kastruma, jasno vidljive na svim crtežima mletačkog osvajanja Knina iz 1688. Taj oblik platforma je zadržala samo do velike mletačke obnove tvrđave krajem XVII. i početkom XVIII. st., kada je dobila današnji i oblik te promijenila ime u Korlat (danasa Bandjera).

Od Laba se nisu sačuvali nikakvi ostatci osim nekoliko zidova ukopanih u dvorištu, a koji su istraživani 1973. Iako rezultati tih istraživanja nisu objavljeni, na temelju konfiguracije terena te fotografija s istraživačkih radova znamo da su se zidovi kastruma Laba u cijelosti nalazili unutar perimetra artiljerijske platforme, na osnovi čega možemo zaključiti da je maksimalna dužina srednjovjekovnog kastruma Laba pravcem sjever-jug mogla iznositi najviše 40 m, a širina pravcem zapad-istok do 12 m. Što se tiče samog izgleda Laba, on je u osnovnim crtama sačuvan na Paganovu crtežu, koji ga prikazuje kao manju utvrdu sastavljenu od sjeverne i južne kule međusobno povezane bedemima, što je u središtu utvrde oblikovalo malo dvorište, vrlo vjerojatno s cisternom. Ulag u utvrdu mogao se, kao i danas, nalaziti u sjeveroistočnom kutu utvrde, tik do sjeverne kule ili na istočnom bedemu.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Kastrum Gradac*

Kastrum Gradac treća je kninska srednjovjekovna utvrda sagrađena na zapadnim padinama južne polovice brda Spas, na vrhu kamenoga grebena koji se strmo uzdiže iznad desne obale Krke. Iako u dokumentima dosad nisu pronađene viesti o ovoj utvrdi, ona je nacrtana na svim povijesnim prikazima Knina, počevši od onog najstarijeg iz otprilike 1522. godine.<sup>61</sup> Kao što je slučaj s drugim kninskim utvrdama, i ova je kroz povijest mijenjala nazive. Vrlo je vjerojatno da se izvorno nazivala Gradac, dok su je Mlečani nazivali Torreta, Kula zvana Gradac, Kulica nad Krkom i Oklopjena kula od vode.<sup>62</sup> Iako pojedini istraživači postanak ove utvrde

form was maintained only until the major Venetian reconstruction of the fortress at the end of the 17th century and the early 18th century, when it got its present form and the name of Korlat (present-day Bandjera).

No remains of Lab have been preserved except for a few walls buried in the bailey, excavated in 1973. Although the results of this research have not been published, based on the terrain configuration and photographs from the field works, we know that the walls of castrum Lab were entirely within the perimeter of the artillery platform, based on which we can conclude that the maximum length of the mediaeval castrum Lab was 40 m, and its width in the west-east direction no more than 12 m. As for the appearance of Lab, it is basically preserved in Pagano's drawing, which depicts it as a small fortification composed of north and south towers connected by ramparts, with a small bailey, most likely with a cistern, in the centre of the fort. The entrance to the fortification could, like today, have been in its northeast corner, next to the north tower or on the east rampart.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Gradac castrum*

Castrum Gradac is the third mediaeval fortification in Knin, built on the western slopes of the southern half of the Spas hill, on top of a stone ridge that rises steeply above the right bank of the Krka. Although no information on this fortification has been found in documents to date, it has been depicted in all historical drawings of Knin, starting with the earliest from about 1522.<sup>61</sup> Like other fortifications in Knin, the name of this one has also been changed throughout history. It is very probable that it was originally called Gradac, while the Venetians called it Torreta, Tower called Gradac, Turret over the Krka, and Armoured Tower of the Water.<sup>62</sup> Although some researchers have associated the origin of this fortification with securing the bridge over the Krka and access to the river in the event of cisterns drying up during prolonged sieges<sup>63</sup>, it seems that the original purpose of this fort was to prevent difficult but passable access to the Knin suburbium on the right bank of the Krka from the north.

<sup>60</sup> Horvat 1998, str. 49-50.

<sup>61</sup> Smiljanić 1984, str. 124; Živković 1993, str. 104.

<sup>62</sup> Bezić 1980, str. 137-150; Živković 1993, str. 104; Paić 1998, str. 57.

<sup>63</sup> Horvat 1998, pp. 49-50.

<sup>64</sup> Smiljanić 1984, p. 124; Živković 1993, p. 104.

<sup>65</sup> Bezić 1980, pp. 137-150; Živković 1993, p. 104; Paić 1998, p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> Smiljanić 1984, p. 124; Živković 1993, p. 104.

dovode u svezu s osiguranjem mosta preko Krke i pristupa rijeci u slučaju da za duže opsade presuše cisterne,<sup>63</sup> čini se da je prvobitna namjera ove utvrde bilo zaprečivanje teškog, ali ipak prohodnog prilaza kninskom podgrađu desnom obalom Krke iz smjera sjevera.

Neovisno o razlozima podizanja, riječ je o manjoj utvrdi dužine oko 23 m i širine približno 15 m, koju je činila četverokutna kula pravokutnog tlocrta, visoko podignuta na litici iznad manjeg utvrđenog dvorišta, od kojeg su se sačuvali tek temelji južnoga i sjevernog bedema. Premda se u literaturi navodi kako je ova utvrda za mletačke vladavine bila zidom spojena s tvrđavom, takva gradnja nije nikad bila ostvarena iako je bila planirana u sklopu obnove i proširenja kninskih fortifikacija, o čemu jasno svjedoči Alberhettijev plan obnove kninskih utvrda iz 1688. godine.<sup>64</sup>

#### *Podgrađe*

Iduća kninska utvrda ujedno je bila i najveća. To je bio gradski obrambeni sustav, koji je opasivao srednjovjekovno kninsko podgrađe, koje se kao naselje oblikovalo neposredno ispod kninskoga kastruma, na istočnim i južnim padinama brda Spas, uz nekoliko važnih prometnica koje su se sastajale u ravnici podno utvrde neposredno prije mosta na Krki. Tu se razvio kninski trg (*forum*), koji se u dokumentima prvi put spominje 1267. u naslovu kninskog općinskog službenika (*buccarius fori tiniensis*).<sup>65</sup>

U dokumentima nije ostalo zabilježeno kad je kninsko podgrađe utvrđeno. Iako se u dosadašnjim istraživanjima najčešće spominje podatak da je zajednički Hrvatsko-ugarski sabor godine 1504. donio odluku da se sa 4000 forinti pomogne utvrđivanje Knina, i to tako da se polovica te svote utroši za radove na podizanju bedema oko podgrađa i nedalekog Kapitula, a druga polovica za kopanje velikog obrambenog jarka između rijeke Krke i Butižnice,<sup>66</sup> čini se da bi izgradnju bedema oko podgrađa ipak trebalo datirati najkasnije u prvu četvrtinu XV. st., jer se već godine 1424. u Kninu spominju Latinska vrata (*Portam Latinam*).<sup>67</sup> Prem-

<sup>63</sup> Smiljanić 1984, str. 124; Živković 1993, str. 104.

<sup>64</sup> Bezić 1980, str. 137–150; Živković 1993, str. 104; Paić 1998, str. 57.

<sup>65</sup> Trogirski spomenici 1988, str. 42; Smiljanić 1984, str. 125; Ančić 1996, str. 81.

<sup>66</sup> Jakšić 1996, str. 26; Paić 1998, str. 79.

<sup>67</sup> Smiljanić 1984, str. 130; Jakšić 1990, str. 126; Paić 1998, str. 78.



Sl. 19. Gornji grad na veduti Oratija Alberghettija, nakon 1688., isječak (*Knin/Knin Fortress/conservation study*, str. 88)

Fig. 19 Upper Town in Oratio Alberghetti's veduta, after 1688, extract (*Knin/Knin Fortress/conservation study*, p. 88)

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Regardless of the reasons for its construction, it is a small fortification about 23 m long and approximately 15 m wide, made of a rectangular tower with a ground plan at right angles, built high on a cliff above a small fortified bailey, of which only the foundations of the southern and northern ramparts have been preserved. Although the literature states that this fortification was connected to the fortress by a wall during the Venetian rule, such construction never materialised, although it had been planned as part of the restoration and expansion of Knin's fortifications, as clearly evidenced by Alberghetti's 1688 rebuilding plan for defensive works in Knin.<sup>64</sup>

#### *Suburbium*

The next Knin's fortification was also the largest. It was the town's defence system, which surrounded the medieval suburbium of Knin, formed as a settlement just below castrum Knin, on the eastern and southern slopes of the Spas hill, along several important roads converging in the plain below the fortification before the bridge on the Krka. This is where Knin Square (*forum*) was developed, first mentioned in a 1267 document in the title of a local municipal official (*buccarius fori tiniensis*).<sup>65</sup>

There are no records in the documents as to when the Knin suburbium was fortified. The most

<sup>64</sup> Bezić 1980, pp. 137–150; Živković 1993, p. 104; Paić 1998, p. 57.

<sup>65</sup> Trogirski spomenici 1988, p. 42; Smiljanić 1984, p. 125; Ančić 1996, p. 81.



Sl. 20. Kninska tvrđava, pogled s istoka  
(foto: D. Lovrić)

Fig. 20 Knin Fortress; view from the east  
(photo: D. Lovrić)

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da je dio istraživača nastojao ta vrata smjestiti na prostor Kninske tvrđave, između kastruma Knin i Lab, na mjestu današnjeg ulaza u tvrđavu,<sup>68</sup> ona se na tom mjestu nisu mogla nalaziti jer su istočni bedem tvrđave izgradile Osmanlije poslije prvog pada Knina pod mletačku vlast 1648. godine. Stoga nam kao jedino logično rješenje preostaje da su Latinska vrata stajala na ulazu u utvrđeno kninsko podgrađe, što posredno potvrđuje tezu da je kninsko podgrađe bilo utvrđeno prije godine 1504. Vjerojatnije je da su te godine kninske utvrde temeljito rekonstruirane i dodatno zaštićene iskopavanjem velikog jezera u funkciji obrambene grabe.

Izrada velikog jezera imala je važnu ulogu u obrani grada. Iako je izvorno ono bilo zamišljeno tako da se proteže od rijeke Krke do Butižnice, jezero je iskopano samo uz istočnu frontu grada. Unatoč tome jezero je, i u svom krnjem obliku, imalo veliku ulogu u jačanju obrane podgrađa, jer je sprječavalo izravan napad na istočnu frontu grada te usmjeravanje neprijateljskog napada isključivo na užu, sjevernu frontu grada, čiji su bokovi bili zaštićeni velikim kninskim kastrumom sa zapadne i umjetnim jezerom sa sjeverne strane.

Iako je moguće da su pristupne ceste kninskom podgrađu također bile dobro naseljene, srednjovjekovni graditelji utvrdili su bedemima tek prostor uz obalu Krke i rječice Orašice, neposredno ispod brdskih odvojaka na kojima leže kastrumi Knin i Lab. Sam bedem započinjao je kod kninskog kastruma i skretao prema jugu, a opasivao je kninsko podgrađe s istočne i južne strane u dužini od 650 m, dok mu

<sup>68</sup> Smiljanić 1984, str. 129-130.

commonly mentioned fact in research to date relates to the joint Croatian-Hungarian Parliament passing a decision to help fortify Knin with 4000 forints in 1504. Half of that amount was to be spent on building ramparts around the suburbium and the nearby Kapitul, and the rest on making a large defensive moat between the Krka and Butižnica rivers.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that the construction of ramparts around the suburbium should be dated to the first quarter of the 15th century, because the Latin Gates (*Portam Latinam*) in Knin were mentioned as early as 1424.<sup>67</sup> Although some researchers have tried to place the gates within Knin Fortress, between castra Knin and Lab, at the site of today's entrance to the fortress,<sup>68</sup> it could not have existed there because the eastern ramparts of the fortress had been built by the Ottomans after the first fall of Knin under the Venetian rule in 1648. Therefore, the only remaining logical solution is that the Latin Gates were located at the entrance to the fortified Knin suburbium, which indirectly confirms that the Knin suburbium had been fortified before 1504. It is more probable that it was the year when Knin's fortifications were thoroughly reconstructed and additionally protected by a large lake serving as a defensive ravine.

The construction of a large lake played an important role in the defence of the town. Although it was originally designed to stretch from the Krka River to the Butižnica, the lake was excavated along the eastern front of the town only. Despite this, even in its truncated form, the lake played a major role in strengthening the defences of the suburbium, as it prevented direct attacks on the eastern front of the town and directed enemy attacks solely on the narrower, northern front of the town, whose flanks were protected by the extensive castrum Knin from the west and the artificial lake on the north side.

Although it is possible that the areas along the access roads to the Knin suburbium were also well populated, mediaeval builders ramparted only the zone along the banks of the Krka River and the Orašica rivulet, immediately off the hilly branches where castra Knin and Lab are located. The starting point of the rampart was at castrum Knin, from whence it turned to the south. It surrounded the

<sup>66</sup> Jakšić 1996, p. 26; Paić 1998, p. 79.

<sup>67</sup> Smiljanić 1984, p. 130; Jakšić 1990, p. 126; Paić 1998, p. 78.

<sup>68</sup> Smiljanić 1984, pp. 129–130.



Sl. 21. Kninska tvrđava, pogled s istoka (foto: D. Lovrić)  
Fig. 21 Knin Fortress; view from the east (photo: D. Lovrić)

je visina na pojedinim mjestima mogla iznositi 10 m. Vjerojatno je isprva bio podignut kao palisada, koja je u XVII. st. mogla biti zamijenjena današnjim kamenim bedemom. Danas se on proteže od kninskog kastruma u smjeru istoka u dužini od 100 m, a potom pod pravim kutom skreće prema jugu nizbrdo u dužini od oko 160 m.

U podgrađe se ulazilo kroz Donja vrata na Krki (Vrata od Drniša, Molinova vrata), zatim kroz Vrata od Bosne (Kornarova vrata), koja su stajala nedaleko od ušća Orašnice u Krku, te naposljetku kroz Gornja vrata (Vrata od Skradina, Loredanova vrata), koja su se jedina i sačuvala.

Premda dio istraživača drži da je kninsko podgrađe s južne strane bilo utvrđeno palisadom,<sup>69</sup> sudeći prema različitim crtežima mletačkog osvajanja osmanskog Knina iz XVII. st., na toj strani naseљa nisu postojali bedemi, već je grad štitila rijeka Krka. Palisadu s trokutastim istakama podigli su tek Mlečani između 1688. i 1708. godine.<sup>70</sup>

#### *Kapitul*

U srednjovjekovnom Kninu postojale su dvije katedrale, mlađa i starija.<sup>71</sup> Dok se o položaju starije katedrale već gotovo jedno stoljeće vode prijepori u

Knin suburbium on the east and south sides for 650 m, while its height could have been 10 m in some places. It was probably initially erected as a palisade, which could have been replaced by today's stone rampart in the 17th century. Today it stretches from castrum Knin in an easterly direction for 100 m, and then it turns south at a right angle downhill for about 160 m.

The suburbium was entered through the Lower Gates on the Krka (the Gates of Drniš, the Molin's Gates), then through the Gates of Bosnia (the Kornar's Gates), not far from the mouth of the Orašnica into the Krka, and finally through the Upper Gates (the Gates of Skradin, the Loredan's Gates), the only surviving ones.

Although some researchers believe that the suburbium of Knin was fortified with a palisade on its south side,<sup>69</sup> judging by various drawings of the Venetian conquest of Ottoman Knin from the 17th century, there were no ramparts on that side of the settlement, but the town was protected by the river Krka instead. The palisade with triangular protrusions was built by the Venetians between 1688 and 1708.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Živković 1993, str. 107-108; Jurin Starčević 2007, str. 651-653.

<sup>70</sup> Paić 1998, str. 57.

<sup>71</sup> Jakšić 1990, str. 115-133.

<sup>69</sup> Živković 1993, pp. 107–108; Jurin Starčević 2007, pp. 651–653.

<sup>70</sup> Paić 1998, p. 57.



Sl. 22. Tlocrt Knina s kraja 1970-ih (fototeka Leksikografskog zavoda Miroslav Krleža)

Fig. 22 Ground plan of Knin from the end of the 1970s (photograph library of The Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography)

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stručnoj literaturi, položaj mlađe katedrale odavno je poznat. Zajedno s biskupskim dvorom i prostorijama kninskog kaptola činila je biskupski kompleks, čiji ostaci se nalaze na lokalitetu Kapitul, 1,3 km jugoistočno od današnjeg središta Knina, na malenom uzvišenju iznad rijeke Krke i kninskog polja.<sup>72</sup>

Biskupski kompleks sagrađen je na mjestu benediktinskog samostana sv. Bartolomeja iz X. st.<sup>73</sup> Njega je godine 1157. Splitskoj nadbiskupiji darovao hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Geza II.<sup>74</sup> Nakon što je 1185. dodijeljen novouspostavljenoj kninskoj biskupiji,<sup>75</sup> kaptolski je prepošte Dobroslav početkom XIII. stoljeća na mjestu nekadašnje samostanske crkve započeo gradnju nove katedrale, koja je bila dovršena oko godine 1274., u vrijeme biskupa Nikole, i posvećena sv. Bartolomeju, sv. Mariji i sv. Petru.<sup>76</sup> U XIII. st. sagrađen je i dvor, u kojem je od druge polovice XIV. st. stolovao kninski kaptol, koji je obavljao prijepis i ovjeru različitih javnih spisa kao vjerodostojno mjesto (*locus credibilis*).<sup>77</sup>

Nakon što se krajem XV. st. Knin našao na udaru Osmanlja, Hrvatsko-ugarski sabor odlučio je 1504. dodijeliti značajnu svotu za obnovu njegovih utvrda. Među ostalim, Sabor je dodijelio svotu od 2000 forinita za obnovu utvrda kninskog podgrađa i za

<sup>72</sup> Ivezović 1927, str. 252–253.

<sup>73</sup> Smiljanić 1986–87, str. 216–217; Gulin 2008, str. 215.

<sup>74</sup> Smičiklas 1904, str. 87–88; Smiljanić 1986–87, str. 220; Ančić 1996, str. 73–74.

<sup>75</sup> Smičiklas 1904, str. 193; Ančić 1996, str. 74.

<sup>76</sup> Smiljanić 1986–87, str. 221–223; Ančić 1996, str. 74; Gulin 2008, str. 219–220.

<sup>77</sup> Gulin 2008., str. 225–235.

### Kapitul

There were two cathedrals in mediaeval Knin, the earlier and the later one.<sup>71</sup> While the location of the earlier cathedral has been debated in the professional literature for almost a century, the position of the later cathedral has long been known. Together with the bishop's palace and the premises of the Knin Chapter, it formed the episcopal complex, the remains of which are located at the Kapitul site, 1.3 km southeast of today's centre of Knin, on a small rise above the river Krka and the Knin field.<sup>72</sup>

The episcopal complex was built on the site of the Benedictine monastery of St. Bartholomew from the 10th century.<sup>73</sup> It was bestowed to the Archdiocese of Split in 1157 by Géza II, King of Hungary and Croatia.<sup>74</sup> After it was assigned to the newly established Knin diocese in 1185,<sup>75</sup> Dobroslav, the chapter provost, initiated the construction of a new cathedral at the beginning of the 13th century on the site of the former monastery church. It was completed around 1274, during the era of Bishop Nicholas, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew, St. Mary and St. Peter.<sup>76</sup> Its palace was built in the 13th century. From the second half of the 14th century it was the seat of the Knin Chapter, which transcribed and certified various public documents as a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*).<sup>77</sup>

When the Ottomans started attacking Knin at the end of the 15th century, the Croato-Hungarian Parliament decided in 1504 to allocate a significant amount for the reconstruction of its fortifications. Among other things, the Parliament allocated a sum of 2000 forints for the reconstruction of the Knin suburbium fortifications and for the erection of ramparts around the cathedral and the bishop's palace at Kapitul.<sup>78</sup> Although the fortifications had been built around the cathedral in the following years, the Ottomans captured Knin without a fight in 1522, and the garrison of the cathedral fortification probably surrendered on that occasion.

<sup>71</sup> Jakšić 1990, pp. 115–133.

<sup>72</sup> Ivezović 1927, pp. 252–253.

<sup>73</sup> Smiljanić 1986–87, pp. 216–217; Gulin 2008, p. 215.

<sup>74</sup> Smičiklas 1904, pp. 87–88; Smiljanić 1986–87, p. 220; Ančić 1996, pp. 73–74.

<sup>75</sup> Smičiklas 1904, p. 193; Ančić 1996, p. 74.

<sup>76</sup> Smiljanić 1986–87, pp. 221–223; Ančić 1996, p. 74; Gulin 2008, pp. 219–220.

<sup>77</sup> Gulin 2008., pp. 225–235.

<sup>78</sup> Gunjača 1960, p. 84; Smiljanić 1986–87, p. 223; Živković 1993, p. 104; Ančić 1996, p. 77.

podizanje bedema oko katedrale i biskupskog dvora na Kapitulu.<sup>78</sup> Iako su u narednim godinama oko katedralnog sklopa sagrađena utvrđenja, nakon što su Osmanlije 1522. bez borbe zauzeli Knin vjerojatno im se tada predala i posada katedralne utvrde.

O tome što se potom događalo s katedralnom utvrdom, teško je nešto više kazati, zbog pomanjkanja izvora. S jedne strane, bilo bi logično da su Osmanlije ovaj kompleks prepustile zubu vremena jer je bio preskup za održavanje, a u vojnom smislu apsolutno nepotreban.<sup>79</sup> S druge strane, na Alberghettijevu crtežu mletačkog osvajanja Knina iz godine 1688. biskupski je kompleks prikazan pod krovom i većim dijelom opasan kulama i bedemima, iz čega slijedi da ga Osmanlije ipak nisu naputile. To su učinile tek mletačke vlasti tijekom XVIII. st., za čije je vladavine katedralni kompleks okolnom stanovništvu služio kao kamenolom. Stoga ne čudi da je u vrijeme kada ga je istraživao don Frane Bulić on većim dijelom bio razgrađen. No najveću devestaciju lokaliteta izvršile su talijanske okupacijske vlasti, koje su do temelja porušile preostale ostatke, a od dobivene građe izgradili utvrđenu vojarnu, koja je većim dijelom uklonjena 2012., u pripremnim radovima za revizijska arheološka istraživanja koja su započela u ljetu 2013.<sup>80</sup>

Iako su danas na Kapitulu vidljivi tek nedavno otkopani temelji katedrale i prostorija naslonjenih na nju sa sjeverne strane, zahvaljujući nacrtu lokaliteta iz godine 1886. te arheološkim istraživanjima koja su potom uslijedila, može se zaključiti da je to bio veliki kompleks poligonalnog tlocrta dužine oko 135 m smjerom sjeverozapad-jugozapad i širine oko 75 m smjerom sjeveroistok-jugozapad.

Čitav kompleks bio je opasan bedemima s najmanje tri kvadratne kule, koje su, sudeći prema Paganovu crtežu, završavale kruništem. U vanjsko dvorište kompleksa ulazio se na sjevernoj strani uz zvonik crkve. U njegovu središtu stajala je trobrodna katedrala s poligonalnim apsidama te sakristijom i zvonikom na sjevernom zidu, na koju se s južne strane naslanjala dvokrilna biskupska palača. Zajedno s katedralom palača je zatvarala veliko unutarnje dvorište gotovo trokutastog tlocrta.



Sl. 23. Tlocrt Knina (*Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat*, str. 377)

Fig. 23 Ground plan of Knin (*Knin/Knin Fortress/conservation study*, p. 377)

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It is difficult to say more about what happened to the cathedral fortification afterwards due to the lack of sources. On the one hand, it would seem logical for the Ottomans to leave this complex to the ravages of time because it was too expensive to maintain, and absolutely unnecessary in military terms.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, Alberghetti's 1688 drawing of the Venetian conquest of Knin depicts the episcopal complex under a roof and for the most part surrounded by towers and ramparts, meaning that the Ottomans did not abandon it after all. The Venetian authorities, however, did give it up during the 18th century, when the cathedral complex served as a quarry for the population in its vicinity. Therefore, it is not surprising that it was largely dismantled at the time of Don Frane Bulić's research. However, the greatest devastation of the site was caused by the Italian occupation authorities, which completely demolished the surviving remains and used the material to build a fortified barracks, which was largely removed in 2012, during the preparation works for archaeological reinvestigations started in summer 2013.<sup>80</sup>

Although only the recently excavated foundations of the cathedral and its adjacent rooms on the north side can be seen at Kapitul today, thanks to a plan of the site from 1886 and the archaeological excavations that followed, it can be concluded that it was a large polygonal complex about 135 m long

<sup>78</sup> Gunjača 1960, str. 84; Smiljanić 1986-87, str. 223; Živković 1993, str. 104; Ančić 1996, str. 77.

<sup>79</sup> Smiljanić 1986-87, str. 223.

<sup>80</sup> Šimić 2019.

<sup>79</sup> Smiljanić 1986 – 87, p. 223.

<sup>80</sup> Šimić 2019.

#### 4.4. Osmanski Knin

Zahvaljujući brojnim mletačkim vedutama i tlocrtima Knina iz XVII. st., danas znamo da su Osmanlije poslije prvoga mletačkog osvajanja Knina 1648. započele s velikom obnovom Knina, koja je završila tri godine kasnije potpunim preuređenjem nekadašnjega kninskog kastruma i izgradnjom dugačkog vanjskog bedema koji se protezao od sjevernog kuta nekadašnjeg kastruma pa sve do stijena podno nekadašnjeg kastruma Lab, na trasi pružanja današnjeg istočnog bedema Donjega i Srednjega grada.<sup>81</sup> U istoj obnovi je na mjestu kastruma Lab sagrađena velika topovska platforma, koja se na mletačkim vedutama naziva Topana, a moguće da je u to doba sagrađena još i velika okrugla tabija, na spoju vanjskog bedema utvrde i bedema podgrađa.

#### 4.5. Mletački Knin

Za mletačke vladavine dovršena je pregradnja srednjovjekovnih i osmanskih utvrđenja u velik barokni fortifikacijski kompleks, koji danas znamo pod nazivom Kninska tvrđava. Radovi na obnovi započeli su odmah nakon potpisivanja Karlovačkog mira 1699., no glavnina radova obavljena je od 1711. do 1713. godine, pod nadzorom mletačkog vojnog inženjera Antuna Jakšića.<sup>82</sup>

Mlečani su najprije između 1699. i 1708. obnovili istočni bedem tvrđave, na kojemu su podigli bastion (platforma) Venramin, dok su izgradnjom retirete *Candia nova* podijelili tvrđavu na Donji i Srednji grad. Potom su u travnju 1710. započeli s izgradnjom obzida Belvedere na južnom kraju tvrđave, dok su na sjevernom kraju u sklopu nekadašnjega kninskog kastruma sagradili snažnu utvrdu Kalunericu, s dva reda topovskih platformi, a ispred nje dubok jarak kojim je tvrđava odvojena od sjeverne polovice brda Spas. U Donjem gradu Mlečani su nekadašnji osmanski bedem pretvorili u predbedem izведен u obliku tenalje, dok su iza njega podignuli nove kurtine s ulaznim bastionom Pisani i znatno pregradili bastion (platformu) Vendramin. Na istočnoj strani Srednjega grada izvedene su još velike platforme Pasqualigo i Svezzese, na zapadnoj strani podignut je bedem između nekadašnjih kastruma Lab i Knin. Dok je nekadašnji kninski kastrum većim dijelom sačuvao svoj srednjovjekovni



Sl. 24. Utvrda Vrbnik kraj Knina (<https://mapire.eu/en/map/secondsurvey-dalmatia/?layers=10&bbox=1796681.1369451645%2C5469846.525538643%2C1811806.113917094%2C5474623.839806466>, pristupljeno 24. 10. 2019.)

Fig. 24 Utvrda Vrbnik kraj Knina (<https://mapire.eu/en/map/secondsurvey-dalmatia/?layers=10&bbox=1796681.1369451645%2C5469846.525538643%2C1811806.113917094%2C5474623.839806466>, accessed 24/10/2019)

in a northwest-southwest direction and about 75 m wide in a northeast-southwest direction.

The entire complex was surrounded by ramparts with at least three square towers, which, according to Pagano's drawing, had battlements on top. The outer bailey of the complex was entered on the north side by the church bell tower. In its centre stood the three-nave cathedral with polygonal apses and a sacristy and bell tower on the north wall, with the two-winged bishop's palace on its south side. Together with the cathedral, the palace enclosed a large inner bailey with an almost triangular floor plan.

#### 4.4. Ottoman Knin

Thanks to a number of Venetian vedute and plans of Knin from the 17th century, today we know that the Ottomans began a major reconstruction of Knin after the first Venetian conquest of the town in 1648, completed three years later with a thorough renovation of former castrum Knin and the construction of a long outer rampart stretching from the northern corner of ex-castrum to the rocks below former castrum Lab, following the alignment of today's eastern ramparts of Lower and Central

<sup>81</sup> Paić 1998, str. 43-47.

<sup>82</sup> Žmegač 2009, str. 122.

oblik, Lab je u cijelosti pregrađen u topnički recinkt pod nazivom Korlat (danasa Bandjera).<sup>83</sup>

Po završetku radova Kninska je tvrđava bila najveći fortifikacijski kompleks u Hrvatskoj. Svojom površinom zaprema južnu polovicu brda Spas, a obuhvaća nizove kamenih vrhova te gotovo čitavu sjeveroistočnu padinu brda Spas. Taj golemi kompleks pruža se pravcem sjever-jug u dužini od približno 470 m i pravcem zapad-istok u širini od 110 m; opseg njegovih zidina iznosi nevjerojatnih 2 km, a sastoji se od čak šest međusobno povezanih cjelina.<sup>84</sup> Gledano s juga prema sjeveru, to su utvrđeni kompleksi kule Gradac ili Torete, postaja Belveder, Donji grad, plemički grad Lab (danasa Bandjera), Srednji grad i napisljetu plemički grad Knin (danasa Gornji grad). Komunikacija kroz donje dijelove tvrđave omogućena je stazama, dok se kretanje gornjim dijelovima odvija isključivo strmim stubištima i uskim stazama mjestimično uklesanim u živu stijenu.

#### 4.6. Habsburški i austrotrsarski Knin

Uspomena na habsburški i austrotrsarski Knin u vrijeme kad je tvrđava služila kao vojarna, sačuvana je na brojnim stariim razglednicama iz XIX. st., ali i na nekadašnjim vojnim zemljovidima. Na jednom od njih, izrađenom 1806. - 1869., nedaleko od Kninske tvrđave ucrtano je još jedno utvrđenje.<sup>85</sup> Riječ je o Fort Vrbniku, čiji se ostaci nalaze na položaju jugoistočno od Knina, tik uz sjeverni rub zaseoka Đaković, u gustom sredozemnom šipražju, zbog čega su od nekadašnje utvrde vidljivi tek ostaci poligonalnog obrambenog nasipa okrenutog u smjeru jugozapada, prema prometnici koja Knin povezuje s Drnišem i vodi dalje prema Šibeniku.

Fort Vrbnik bila je utvrđena bitnica otvorenog tipa gradnje, dimenzija približno 110 x 77 m. Prema tipu utvrde pripadala je kategoriji *Zwischenbaterie* (topnička međubaterija), odnosno tipu utvrđenja u međuprostoru s otvorenim topničkim platformama.<sup>86</sup> Sastojala se od velike poligonalne (sedmerokutne) platforme u obliku lepeze (dimenzija 110 x 77 m), za smještaj topničke bitnice štićene snažnim nasipima, te od dugačke i uske zgrade u sredi-

Town.<sup>81</sup> Under the same renovation, a large cannon platform was built on the site of castrum Lab, called Topana in Venetian vedute. It is possible that a large round bastion was erected at that time, at the junction of the outer rampart of the fortification and the ramparts of the suburbium.

#### 4.5. Venetian Knin

During the Venetian rule, mediaeval and Ottoman fortifications were reconstructed as a large Baroque fortification complex, today known as Knin Fortress. Restoration work began immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. However, the majority of the work was carried out from 1711 to 1713, under the supervision of the Venetian military engineer Antun Jakšić.<sup>82</sup>

The Venetians first rebuilt the eastern ramparts of the fortress between 1699 and 1708. They erected the Venramin bastion (platform) on them, and divided the fortress into Lower and Central Town when they built the *Candia nova* retirata. In April 1710, they began building the Belveder enclosure wall at the southern end of the fortress, while at its northern end, as part of the former castrum Knin, they built a strong fortification called Kalunerica, with two rows of cannon platforms, as well as a deep moat in front of it, separating the fortress from the northern half of the Spas hill. In Lower Town, the Venetians converted the former Ottoman rampart into a faussebraye in the shape of a tenaille. Behind it, they erected new curtains with the Pisani entrance bastion and significantly partitioned the Vendramin bastion (platform). On the east side of Central Town, large platforms of Pasqualigo and Svezzese were built, while on the west side, a rampart was erected between former castra Lab and Knin. While the mediaeval appearance of the former castrum Knin has largely been preserved, Lab was completely rebuilt into an artillery enclosure called Korlat (today Bandjera).<sup>83</sup>

Upon completion of the works, Knin Fortress was the largest fortification complex in Croatia. It covers the southern half of the Spas hill, and includes series of stone peaks and almost the entire northeastern slope of the Spas hill. This huge complex extends in a north-south direction for approx-

<sup>83</sup> Paić 1998, str. 55; Žmegač 2009, str. 121-125, 169-170.

<sup>84</sup> Paić, str. 74; Jakšić 1996, str. 29.

<sup>85</sup> Mapire 2019.

<sup>86</sup> Piplović 1993, str. 25-61; Krizmanić 2009; Martinović 2015, str. 223.

<sup>81</sup> Paić 1998, pp. 43-47.

<sup>82</sup> Žmegač 2009, p. 122.

<sup>83</sup> Paić 1998, p. 55; Žmegač 2009, pp. 121-125, 169-170.



Sl. 25. Utvrda Vrbnik kraj Knina (*Knin/Kninska tvrđava/konzervatorski elaborat*, str. 208)

Fig. 25 Fort Vrbnik near Knin (*Knin/Knин Fortress/conservation study*, p. 208)

štu kompleksa, za smještaj vojske, oružja i baruta. Sama zgrada imala je zaobljene uglove, a na nju su se bočno naslanjala još dva manja krila, od kojih je jedno također imalo polukružni završetak, a drugo pravokutni. Glavni ulaz u utvrdu nalazio se na sjeveroistočnoj strani kompleksa, dok je pristupnu stazu s istočne strane štitio zemljani nasip u obliku ključa. Osim njime kompleks je bio dodatno zaštićen i obrambenom grabom. Još 1968. godine ostaci Fort Vrbnika bili su jasno vidljivi na zračnoj snimci, dok je danas kompleks u cijelosti pokrivena gustom vegetacijom.

#### 4.7. Knin za talijanske i njemačke okupacije

Posljednje fortifikacije na kninskom području sagradili su Talijani tijekom II. svjetskog rata, na Kapitulu, kada su na južnom prilazu gradu godine 1942. tik uz prugu podigli utvrđenu vojarnu. To je bio manji kompleks pravokutnog tlocrta s visokim zidovima i dvjema polukružnim kulama na sjever-

imamente 470 m and in a west-east direction for 110 m. The perimeter of its walls amounts to an incredible 2 km, and it consists of as many as six connected units.<sup>84</sup> Viewed from south to north, these are the fortified complex of the Gradac or Torete tower, the Belveder station, Lower Town, the feudal town of Lab (today Bandjera), Central Town, and finally the feudal town of Knin (today Upper Town). Communication through the lower parts of the fortress takes place on pathways, while the movement in the upper parts is possible exclusively by steep staircases and narrow paths carved in the bed-rock in some places.

#### 4.6. Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Knin

The memory of the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Knin from the time when the fortress served as a barracks, has been preserved in numerous old postcards from the 19th century, as well as in former military maps. One of them, made in 1806–1869, shows another fortification not far from Knin Fortress.<sup>85</sup> It is Fort Vrbnik, whose remains are located southeast of Knin, next to the northern edge of the Đaković hamlet, in the dense Mediterranean thicket, which is why its only remnants are those of a polygonal defensive embankment facing southwest, towards the road connecting Knin with Drniš and running further towards Šibenik.

Fort Vrbnik was a fortified open-type artillery battery, measuring approximately 110 x 77 m. According to the type of fortification, it belonged to the *Zwischenbaterie* (artillery mixed battery) category, i.e. the type of fort in an interspace with open artillery platforms.<sup>86</sup> It consisted of a large polygonal (heptagonal) fan-shaped platform (measuring 110 x 77 m) for a cannon battery protected by strong embankments, and a long and narrow building in the centre of the complex for the garrison, weapons and gunpowder. The building had rounded corners, and two smaller lateral wings, one of which also had a semicircular corner and the other a rectangular one. The main entrance to the fortification was on the northeast side of the complex, while the access path on the east side was protected by a key-shaped earthen embankment. The complex was additionally protected by a defensive ditch. As early

<sup>84</sup> Paić, p. 74; Jakšić 1996, p. 29.

<sup>85</sup> Mapire 2019.

<sup>86</sup> Piplović 1993, pp. 25–61; Krizmanić 2009; Martinnović 2015, p. 223.

nom i sjeveroistočnom uglu, u središtu kojeg su stajale dvije dugačke zgrade za smještaj vojnika, vojne opreme i namirnica.<sup>87</sup> Iako su Talijani značajno devastirali položaj nekadašnje katedralne utvrde, odabirom smještaja svoje utvrđene vojarne potvrdili su povoljan geostrateški položaj Kapitula, koji je nekoliko stoljeća ranije privukao kninskog biskupa da upravo ondje podigne svoju katedralu i rezidenciju. U sklopu radova na raščišćavanju terena tijekom 2012. vojarna je većim dijelom uklonjena, osim dviju ugaonih kula.

Nešto manje radeve na utvrđivanju Knina poduzele su njemačke okupacijske postrojbe, koje su nakon kapitulacije Italije u rujnu 1943. na najvišem položaju Kninske tvrđave sagradile betonska postolja za smještaj protuzračnog topništva. Ove nadogradnje stajale su do 1973., kad su uklonjene, tijekom restauratorsko-istraživačkih radova pod vodstvom Paška Paića.

## 5. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Zahvaljujući izvrsnom geostrateškom položaju na sjecištu prometnih pravaca koji su središnje dijelove istočnojadranske obale povezivali s dinarskim zaledem i dalje sa savsko-dravskim međuriječjem, područje današnjeg Knina bilo je utvrđeno još u prapovijesti, kada je na sjevernoj polovici brda Spas podignuto veliko utvrđeno naselje. Njegovu ulogu naslijedilo je kasnoantičko, odnosno ranosrednjovjekovno (bizantsko) utvrđenje te napoljetku srednjovjekovni kastrum Knin, koji je postao jezgra okupljanja novog naselja. Premještanje hrvatske prijestolnice iz Solina u Knin u XI. st. blagotvorno je djelovalo na Knin, koji je do XV. st. prerastao u jedan od najvažnijih gradova hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja, u kojem stolju hrvatski banovi i podbanovi te kninski biskupi i kanonici. Stoga ne čudi što je ovako važno naselje bilo snažno utvrđeno, sa čak tri kastruma, katedralnom tvrđavom te napoljetku bedemima oko naselja. Unatoč njihovoj snazi i brojnosti, te fortifikacije nisu bile dostatne da spriječe pad Knina pod osmansku vlast, tijekom koje postaje jedna od središnjih točaka u sukobu kršćanske i islamske civilizacije. Tu ulogu Knin je praktički zadržao sve do XX. st., o čemu svjedoči velika austrougarska tvrđava podignuta u prvoj polovici XIX. st. na jugozapadnom prilazu gradu i talijanska utvrđena vojarna iz 1942. na južnom ulazu u Knin.

as 1968, the remains of Fort Vrbnik were clearly visible in aerial photographs, while today the complex is completely covered with dense vegetation.

### 4.7. Knin during the Italian and German occupation

The last fortifications in the area of Knin were built by the Italians during World War II at Kapitul, i.e. in 1942, they constructed a fortified barracks on the southern approach to the town, next to the railway. It was a small rectangular complex with high walls and two semicircular towers at the north and northeast corners. In its centre there stood two long buildings to accommodate soldiers, military equipment and victuals.<sup>87</sup> Although the Italians significantly devastated the site of the former cathedral fortification, their choice of the location for their fortified barracks confirms the favourable geostrategic position of Kapitul, which had attracted the Bishop of Knin to build his cathedral and residence there several centuries earlier. As part of the 2012 clearance works, the barracks was largely removed, except for two angle towers.

The works on the fortification of Knin as undertaken by the German occupation forces were somewhat less extensive. After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, they built concrete flak pedestals at the highest position of Knin Fortress. These extensions were removed during the 1973 restoration and research works led by Paško Paić.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Thanks to its excellent geostrategic position at the intersection of traffic routes that connected the central parts of the eastern Adriatic coast with the Dinaric hinterland and the Sava-Drava interfluve, the area of today's Knin had had a large fortified settlement on the northern half of the Spas hill as early as prehistory. Its role was inherited by a late antique and early mediaeval (Byzantine) fortification and finally the mediaeval castrum Knin, which became the nucleus of a new settlement. The relocation of the Croatian capital from Solin to Knin in the 11th century had a beneficial effect on Knin. By the 15th century, it grew into one of the most important towns of the Croatian Middle Ages, the seat of Croatian bans, vicebans and bishops and canons of Knin. Therefore, it is not surprising that such an

<sup>87</sup> Regan, Nadilo 2008, str. 650-652.

<sup>87</sup> Regan, Nadilo 2008, pp. 650–652.

important settlement was strongly fortified, with as many as three castra, a cathedral fortress and subsequently ramparts around the settlement. Despite their strength and numbers, these fortifications were not sufficient to prevent the fall of Knin under Ottoman rule, during which it became one of the focal points in the conflict between Christian and Islamic civilisations. Knin practically retained this role until the 20th century, as evidenced by the large Austro-Hungarian fortress built in the first half of the 19th century on the southwestern approach to the town, and the Italian fortified barracks from 1942 at the southern entrance to Knin.

(D. G.)

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