

## **THE MUTUAL INFLUENCES AND CONNECTIONS BETWEEN DALMATIA AND CROATIA AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES (1450-1527)**

*They were oppressing our people for centuries, trying to conquer our entire coast and assimilate all its inhabitants. They took and enslaved our people on their galleys, cut and destroyed our coastal woods and left the terrain devastated. They were cunning and two-faced; they did not care about the Ottoman threat and left us to fight against the infidels alone, with practically no help coming from their side.*

One could easily suppose that the text deals with a kind of hate literature. However, this is not the case. What we have here is a brief summary, in my own words, of the image of Venice and the Venetians in the Croatian older historiography, as well as in the school textbooks and popular literature until today. The importance of the above-mentioned stereotypes for the collective image of the Venetian and Italian “Other” in Croatia cannot be overestimated. The concepts and views on the former Republic of Venice in Croatia are still mainly based on those textbooks, non-scientific and popular literature.

During the last few decades Croatian historiography managed to change such views to a significant extent, at least in the academic circles. Research done by Croatian scholars (particularly Raukar and Peričić) enabled us to have a much deeper and more complete understanding of the historical development in Dalmatia during the Venetian rule.<sup>1</sup> However, what is still needed is a better understanding

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1 There is a large amount of recent Croatian literature about Venetian Dalmatia. The most important works of the above-mentioned authors that are relevant to our topic are quoted here: Tomislav Raukar, O nekim problemima hrvatske povijesti u XV. stoljeću [About Certain Problems of Croatian History in the Fifteenth Century], *Historijski zbornik* 21-22, 1968-69, pp. 529-548; Zadarska trgovina solju u XIV i XV stoljeću [The Salt Trade of Zadar (Zara) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta. Odsjek za povijest. Zagreb* 7-8, 1969-1970, pp. 19-79; Dalmatinski grad i selo u kasnom srednjem vijeku [The Dalmatian Town

of the relations between the territories of today's Croatia (Istria and Dalmatia) that were under the Venetian rule, and the neighboring territories of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the Ottoman Empire, and the Croatian Kingdom (firstly under the Hungarian, and from 1527 onwards under the Habsburg rule). The research done on connections, influences and common legacies, as well as conflicts, tensions, misunderstandings etc. between those various sides in the Late Middle Ages is still mainly in its initial phase. On the other hand, Croatian historiography in the recent years obtained some important results regarding the role of the city of Venice as an economic and cultural centre for the Croats and medieval Croatia, as well as about its role of refuge in front of the Ottoman threat.<sup>2</sup>

This contribution will try to summarize various influences and connections between Venetian Dalmatia and neighboring Croatia at the end of the Middle Ages, approximately between 1450 and 1527. The analysis will focus on the political,

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and Village in the Late Middle Ages], *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1-2, 1974, pp. 41-50; Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV. i XVI. stoljeću [Venice and the Economic Development of Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries], *Radovi Instituta za brvatsku povijest* 10, Zagreb 1977, pp. 203-225; *Zadar u XV stoljeću. Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi* [Zadar in the Fifteenth Century. Economic Development and Social Relations], Zagreb 1977; "Društvene strukture u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji" [The Social Structures in Venetian Dalmatia], in: *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do 20. stoljeća*, Zagreb 1981, pp. 103-126; "Venezia, il sale e la struttura economica e sociale della Dalmazia nel XV e XVI secolo", in: *Sale e saline nell'Adriatico (sec. XV-XX)*, Napoli 1981, pp. 145-156; Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV st. i u prvoj polovini XVI stoljeća [The Communal Societies in Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and the First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries], *Historijski zbornik* (further: HZ) 35, 1982, pp. 43-118; "Il Porto di Spalato e le relazioni commerciali nell' Adriatico del Tardo Medio Evo" in: *Congressi sulle relazioni tra le due Sponde adriatiche 3, Le relazioni economiche e commerciali*, Roma 1983, pp. 117-128; Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj u XV stoljeću [The Social Development in Croatia in the Fifteenth Century], *HZ* 38, 1985, pp. 75-94; *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom 1409-1797*. (together with I. Petricoli, F. Švelec, Š. Peričić) [Zadar under the Venetian Rule, 1409-1797], Zadar 1987, pp. 27-123, 175-274; "Il conte Ivan Karlović: un condottiero croato tra Venezia e Turchi ai primi del Cinquecento" in: *Congressi sulle relazioni tra le due Sponde adriatiche 5, I rapporti politici e diplomatici*, Roma 1988, pp. 101-106; "Immigrazione nelle città dalmate del basso medioevo" in: *Italia felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in Occidente, secoli XIV-XVI*, Ancona 1988, pp. 36-42; "Hrvatska na razmeđu XV. i XVI. stoljeća" [Croatia at the Turn of the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries] in: *Senjski zbornik* 17, Senj 1990, pp. 5-14; "Zadar u doba Šimuna Kožičića Benje" [Zadar in the Time of Šimun Kožičić Begna] in: *Zbornik radova o Šimunu Kožičiću Benji*, Zagreb 1991, pp. 173-183; "Zadar/Zara" in: *Sette città jugoslave tra Medioevo e Ottocento, Quaderni di "Proposte e ricerche"* n. 9, Ancona 1991, pp. 199-208; "Kroatien um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert" in: *Kroatien. Geschichte, Geographie, Kultur, Wirtschaft, Recht. Österreichische Osthefte* 37, Wien 1995, Heft 2, pp. 391-400; *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje* [The Croatian Middle Ages. Space, People, Ideas], Zagreb 1997; Rab sredinom XV. stoljeća [The Town of Rab (Arbe) in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 22, 1998, pp. 27-36; Jadranski gospodarski sustavi: Split 1475-1500. godine [The Adriatic Economic Systems: The Town of Split, AD 1475-1500], *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 480, 2000, pp. 49-125.

Šime Peričić, Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji [A Contribution to the Understanding of the Agricultural Relations in Venetian Dalmatia], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 34, 1992, pp. 135-159; *Razvitak gospodarstva Zadra i okolice u prošlosti* [The Economic Development of Zadar and Its Surroundings in the Past], Zadar 1999; Proizvodnja i prodaja paške soli u prošlosti [The Production and Trade of Salt from the Island of Pag (Pago) in the Past], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43, 2001, pp. 45-83.

2 One could particularly quote here detailed research and numerous articles of Lovorka Čoralić, synthesized in her books *U gradu svetoga Marka: povijest brvatske zajednice u Mlecima* [In the City of St. Marc: History of Croatian Community in Venice], Zagreb 2001; *Hrvati u procesima mletačke inkvizicije* [Croats in the Trials of the Venetian Inquisition], Zagreb 2001; *Hrvatski prinosi mletačkoj kulturi: odabrane teme* [Croatian Contributions to the Venetian Culture: Selected Topics], Zagreb 2003; *Šibenčani u Mlecima* [The History of the Šibenik Community in Venice], Šibenik 2003. See also footnote n. 18.

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military, social, and economic influences and connections. The cultural influences will not be taken into consideration, due to their complexity and quantity that would require a separate paper, as well as a specialist in that field.

Political and military influences and connections between Venetian Dalmatia and Croatia are the easiest to be reconstructed from the sources. Moreover, until now they have been in the focus of interest of the majority of historians. The Venetian authorities in general and Venetian Dalmatia in particular played a significant role in the internal political development of Croatia from 1450 till 1527. The nature of this role was, however, complex. On the one hand, Venice and its representatives in Dalmatia played the role of a disintegrative factor for Croatia, at least till the end of the fifteenth century. After conquering the main Dalmatian cities and islands before 1420, the process of territorial expansion of Venetian Dalmatia on the expense of Croatia continued with conquering the island of Krk (Veglia) in 1480 from the hands of the Croatian magnates Frankapani.<sup>3</sup> The Venetians were even interested in the coastal region of Makarska (south of Split – Spalato), but the Ottomans kept them away from this territory till the end of the fifteenth century. The ambitions of local and central Venetian authorities did not go so far as to conquer the whole of eastern Adriatic, as it was often claimed in the works of older Croatian historiography. The Venetians were interested in conquering territories which would enable them to secure the maritime trade routes. Therefore, they were not interested, for example, in the parts of Croatian coast under the Velebit Mountain,<sup>4</sup> but they became increasingly concerned, due to the raising Ottoman threat, for the fate of the two strategically important fortresses in the hinterland of Dalmatia, namely Ostrovica and Klis, which were both on Croatian soil. The Venetian representatives in Dalmatia were frequently encouraged by Venice to investigate the possibility of obtaining those fortresses from the hands of the Croatian bans or magnates. However, all these attempts in this period failed for one reason or another.<sup>5</sup>

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3 The main source for the conquest of Krk is published in: Šime Ljubić, *Commissions et relations Venetae 1, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 6, Zagreb 1876, pp. 47-98; See also documents in: Iván Nagy – Albert Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek. Mátyás király korából* [Hungarian Diplomatic Sources from the Period of King Matthias] 2, Budapest 1877, pp. 407-448; 3, Budapest 1877, pp. 3, 21-27, 38; 4, Budapest 1878, 383-386.

The literature on the conquest of Krk is scarce. The main author is still Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka* [The Counts Frankapani of Krk (Veglia) from the Earliest Period until the Loss of the Island of Krk], Zagreb 1901, pp. 276-290. See also: Borislav Grgin, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* [The Beginnings of Disintegration. King Matthias Corvinus and Medieval Croatia], Zagreb 2002, pp. 143-151.

4 Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, p. 101.

5 Of archival sources I consulted: Državni arhiv u Zadru [The State Archives in Zadar] (further: DAZ), *Ostavština Šime Ljubića VII/1*, Ispisi iz mletačkog arhiva vol. 12, b. 2, box 6, f. 16, 23; The main sources for this particular topic are published in: Nagy – Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek*, 1, Budapest 1875, pp. 8, 86-90, 94-95, 118, 123-124, 159, 208-210, 214-216, 237-238, 288-299, 387; 2, pp. 30, 34; Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents Concerning the Relations of the Southern Slavs with the Republic of Venice], 10, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 22, Zagreb 1891, pp. 86, 186, 245-249, 272-274, 346-347, 376-378.

On the other hand, the mounting pressure from the Ottomans on both Croatian and Dalmatian territories, after their conquest of medieval Bosnia in 1463, led to a particular situation which will mark the political and military relations of two sides for almost the whole next century. Despite the conflicts of interests and territorial disputes, the Croats and the Dalmatians had to fight against the common foe, to mobilize their resources and to collaborate in defense efforts. Just from the quantity of relevant sources one can easily deduce that the war events on Croatian soil were important to the local and central Venetian authorities and for Dalmatia as a whole. Therefore, Venice helped Croatian defense efforts, mainly through Dalmatia, in logistics, money and soldiers. However irregular and insufficient, this help was one of the rare that was coming to Croatia, except for the help from the Pope and the Empire (the latter mainly after 1527).<sup>6</sup> For example, from October 1464 till June 1466 Venice paid some 33000 ducats to the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom for its defense against the Ottomans.<sup>7</sup>

However, during this period the attitude of the central Venetian authorities towards the common anti-Ottoman efforts was not always favorable for the Croatian side. The Croatian magnates appealed much more frequently to other powers for help, particularly to the Pope, the fact that could be partly explained by the changeable attitude of Venice towards the Ottomans and the Croatian-Ottoman conflict. The central and local Venetian authorities were always very pragmatic, trying first of all to keep peace with the Ottomans to protect their economic interests in the Balkans and Levant. Only during short-lasting war periods, like in the late 1460's, 1501 and 1509, the Venetians were willing to offer more substantial help and to collaborate more closely with the Croats in their defense efforts.<sup>8</sup> During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, parallel with the mounting Ottoman pressure, ever bigger number of Croatian magnates and other nobles asked for help from Venice through Dalmatia. In the early 1520's, the Croatian hopes in Venice further increased due to the very difficult circumstances on the Ottoman front and almost complete collapse of the central authorities in Buda, along with the death of the famous Croatian anti-Ottoman leader, ban Petar Berislavić. For example, some Croatian magnates then gathered in Šibenik (Sebenico) in 1521 to discuss the anti-Ottoman measures with

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See also Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, pp. 89-90, 97-98, 129-130. For the importance of Ostrovica for the Venetians and for the safety of Dalmatian towns see also Raukar-Petricioli-Švelec-Peričić, *Zadar*, pp. 64-65.

6 Nagy – Nyáry, *Magyar diplomacziái emlékek* 2, pp. 117-119, 122, 126-129, 132-133, 216-217, 260-261; Ljubić, *Listine* 10, pp. 447, 453-454; Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 258; Fabio Cusin, *Il confine orientale d'Italia nella politica europea del XIV e XV secolo*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Trieste 1977, pp. 422, 424-427; Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, pp. 128-135, 175-176.

7 Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz in Donauraum*, München 1975, p. 25, n. 40; Venice was particularly helping during King Matthias Corvinus's anti-Ottoman campaign in 1463-1464. See, for example, Ljubić, *Listine* 10, pp. 205, 215, 218, 221, 259, 296-297, 298-303, 309, 311-313, 316-317; Nagy – Nyáry, *Magyar diplomacziái emlékek* 1, pp. 262-263, 297-299.

8 Raukar-Petricioli-Švelec-Peričić, *Zadar*, pp. 61-72, 177-222; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 483.

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the bishop of Skradin (Scardona) Toma Niger, and the latter persuaded them to petition for help from Venice.<sup>9</sup>

The complex nature of relations between the two sides could as well be observed on the Croatian side. During this period, the Croatian-Dalmatian border zones were frequently involved in clashes between the two sides, ranging from minor skirmishes to major conflicts. Their causes were various, from the centuries old local border problems with cattle stealing etc. to high state politics. The royal power in Buda had a significant impact on the attitude of the Croatian side in these conflicts.<sup>10</sup> However, one has to emphasize that the Croatian attitude towards the Venetians and Dalmatia was not always equal to the attitude of the court circles till 1527. During the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), the leading Croatian magnates mostly did not dare lead their own politics towards Dalmatia and Venice. The counts Kurjakovići of Krbava, for example, took the role of active mediators in the king's efforts to get Zadar (Zara) and other Dalmatian towns on his side against Venice around 1486.<sup>11</sup> However, soon after the Krbava battle in 1493 and its devastating consequences for Croatia, along with weakening of central power during Wladyslaw II (1490-1516), in 1494 the leading Croatian magnate Bernardin Frankapan asked for help from Venice.<sup>12</sup> It seems that Bernardin became the main Venetian supporter in Croatia from that time onwards. In 1509, when the king had planned to join the anti-Venetian Cambrais League, the central Venetian authorities openly expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the Ottoman raiding units devastated central Croatia.<sup>13</sup> Despite that, in the same period Bernardin Frankapan assured the Venetian ambassador at the Buda court that he would prevent any royal army planning to attack Venetian

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9 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (ed.), *Odnosi skupnovlade mletačke prema južnim Slavenom, priobćeni u izvadcib. Iz rukopisnih ljetopisah Marina Sanuda. Od godine 1496. do 1533.* [The Relations of the Venetian Government Towards the South Slavs, Presented in Fragments. From the Manuscript Annuals of Marino Sanudo. From the Year 1496 Till the Year 1533], *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* VIII, Zagreb 1865, pp. 103, 106; Matija Mesić, Hrvati nakon bana Berislavića do muhačke bitke [The Croats After Ban Berislavić Till the Battle of Mohács], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 18, 1872, p. 91; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 485.

10 DAZ, Spisi mletačke vladavine, Dukale i terminacije II (1408-1487), p. 37, doc. 622, 1461; p. 88, doc. 789, 02/25/1469; p. 100, doc. 832, 01/12/1473; p. 151, doc. 1030, 06/20/1485; p. 159, doc. 1068, 08/11/1486; Magyar Országos Levéltár – Diplomatikai Leveltar [The Hungarian State Archives – Collection of Medieval Documents] (further: MOL DL), docs. 50084, 50085; Ljubić, *Listine* 10, pp. 156-157, 162, 169, 171, 177-178, 224-225, 423-427, 440-442, 452-453, Nagy-Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek* 1, pp. 314-316; 2, pp. 64-66, 105-106, 107-109, 111-116, 133-134, 140-142, 172-174; 3, pp. 193-195, 394-395; Josip Barbarić – Josip Kolanović (eds.), *Šibenski diplomatarij* [The Charters from Šibenik (Sebenico)], Šibenik 1986, pp. 333-336; Grga Novak, "Šibenik u razdoblju mletačke vladavine 1412.-1797. godine" [The Town of Šibenik During the Venetian Rule 1412-1797] in: *Šibenik – spomen zbornik o 900. obljetnici*, Šibenik 1976, p. 153, n. 106; Josip Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnome srednjem vijeku* [Šibenik in the Late Middle Ages], Zagreb 1995, p. 19, n. 51, n. 55.

11 Nagy-Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek* 4, pp. 4, 115.

12 Ferdo Šišić, Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473-1496) [A Collection of Records About Duke Ivaniš (János, John) Corvinus and Croatian Fights with the Ottomans (1473-1496)], *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 38, 1937, pp. 87-88; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 484.

13 Kukuljević, *Odnosi* VI, Zagreb 1863, pp. 319-320; Matija Mesić, Hrvati na izmaku XV. i na početku XVI. vieka [The Croats at the End of the Fifteenth and the Beginning of the Sixteenth Centuries], *Književnik* I, n. 4, p. 527; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 485.

Dalmatia from passing through Croatia.<sup>14</sup> Taking only these examples into account, one could easily get the picture of complex mutual Croatian-Dalmatian (Venetian) political and military influences and connections that go far beyond any kind of simplification and portrayal in terms of black and white.

The connections between the two sides had a visible impact on their social development. For centuries the Dalmatian towns were a preferred destination of migrations of persons of various social strata from medieval Croatia. Due to the Ottoman threat and later conquests, the migrations towards the safety of the Dalmatian city walls significantly intensified during this period.<sup>15</sup> The immigrants were coming from all social strata, with the exception of the magnates who remained the backbone of the defense efforts against the Ottomans till the end of the period. The new settlers were coming from all regions of Croatia, as well as from neighboring Slavonia and Bosnia, to Rab (Arbe), Zadar (Zara), Šibenik (Sebenico), Trogir (Traù), and Split (Spalato), and particularly to the Dalmatian islands. As they were mainly commoners, their arrival increased the number of *habitatores* and *districtuales* of the Dalmatian communes (domestic servants, sailors, petty craftsmen and the like).<sup>16</sup> Certain members of the Croatian lesser and middle nobility settled in Dalmatia as well; among them some even brought significant capital with them. The latter ones managed to surpass the social barriers in their new homeland and were integrated in the local societies more quickly and thoroughly than the other newcomers.<sup>17</sup>

It could be argued that the above-mentioned migrations had serious negative demographic consequences for Croatia, which was gradually becoming *terra deserta*. It should be emphasized that Venetian Dalmatia represented only one of the final destinations for the immigrants. The entire Italian Adriatic coast, Habsburg-held provinces in today's Austria, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia as well as the Habsburg and Venetian parts of Istria can be added to that list.<sup>18</sup> Despite all that,

14 Ljubić, *Commissions* 1, pp. 118-119.

15 Raukar, "Hrvatska na razmeđu XV. i XVI. stoljeća", pp. 10-11.

16 Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, p. 67; *Immigrazione nelle città dalmate del basso medioevo*, pp. 36-42; Franjo Šanjek, Hrvati prognanici i izbjeglice kroz povijest [Croatian Displaced Persons and Refugees throughout History], *Bogoslovska smotra* 63, n. 3-4, 1993, pp. 350-355.

17 An illustrative example of this process is the transfer of the family of the dukes of Kosinj, Lacko (Ladislav) and his son Juraj (George) Lacković to the island of Rab (Arbe) around 1469. They were a family of rich Croatian middle nobles from the region of Lika that became a part of the narrowest local social elite soon after their transfer to Rab. MOL DL doc. 34825; DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Toma Stančić (1470-1472), b. 3, fasc. 13, pp. 16, 18-19, 21, 26, 85, 93, 113; Marin Maroman (1474-1514), b. 4, fasc. 5.2, p. 79; Andrija Fajeta, b. 1, fasc. 2.1, p. 356; Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, pp. 181-183.

18 The Croatian migrations in front of the Ottoman advance were recently thoroughly researched by Ivan Jurković. His main works include: *Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši – knez Bernardin Frankapan i njegovo doba* [The Ottoman Threat and the Croatian Magnates – Duke Bernardin Frankapan and His Age], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, 17, 1999, pp. 61-83; "Diplomatska aktivnost hrvatskog plemstva u vrijeme turskog pritiska na Hrvatsku" [Diplomatic Activity of the Croatian Nobles During the Ottoman pressure on Croatia] in: Mladen Andrić - Mirko Valentić (eds.), *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija, Zbornik Diplomatske akademije* 2, Zagreb 1999, pp. 243-256; *Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze: primjer Berislavića de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka* (Dio prvi – Stjepan Berislavić Vrhrički i Malomlački) [A Displaced Noble Family During the Ottoman Threat: The Example of Berislavić de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka (Part One – Stjepan Berislavić of Vrhrička and Mala Mlaka)]

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the migrations to Dalmatia were very significant in number. They somewhat improved the demographic situation in the Dalmatian communes, particularly on the islands, but did not significantly influence their economic development. The damage done on the one side was far greater than the benefit gained on the other one.

The economic exchange between the two sides did not significantly alter its structure in comparison with the previous period. The quantity of exchange however, started to gradually diminish. This was partly due to the turbulent times of the anti-Ottoman wars. However, much more relevant is the fact that, by becoming a part of the Venetian *Stato da Mar*, the routes of Dalmatian trade were directed mainly towards Venice and other regions, and not towards the hinterland like in the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, one could suppose that Croatia was in an inferior economic position to Dalmatia and Venice, serving mainly as a reservoir of raw materials for export, although this claim should be backed up and strengthened with additional research.<sup>20</sup> There was a significant import, mostly through Dalmatia,

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, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 20, 2002, pp. 125-164; Das Schickals des kroatischen Kleinadels unter dem Druck des Osmanenreichs, *East Central Europe/ECE* 29, 1-2, Budapest 2002, pp. 235-248; Klasifikacija raseljenika u Hrvata za trajanja osmanske ugroze (od 1463. do 1593.). [A Classification of Croatian Displaced Persons During the Ottoman Threat (1463-1593)], *Migracijske i etničke teme* 19, nos. 2-3, 2003, pp. 147-174; Raseljena plemićka obitelj za osmanske ugroze: primjer Berislavića de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka (Dio drugi – Nasljednici Stjepana Berislavića tijekom 16. st.). [A Displaced Noble Family During the Ottoman Threat: The Example of Berislavići de Werhreka de Mala Mlaka (Part Two – The Inheritors of Stjepan Berislavić During the Sixteenth Century)], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 21, 2003, pp. 119-180; Šesnaestostoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija [The Sixteenth Century Croatian Refugee Crisis and the Modern Sociological Terminology], *Društvena istraživanja* 14, nos. 4-5 (78-79), 2005, pp. 759-782; Socijalni status i prisilni raseljenici podrijetlom iz hrvatskih plemićkih obitelji u zemljama njihovih doseoba za trajanja osmanske ugroze [The Social Status and Forcibly Displaced Members of the Croatian Noble Families in the Lands of their Arrival During the Ottoman Threat], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 23, 2005, pp. 63-85; "Hrvatsko raseljeno plemstvo u korespondenciji Antuna Vrančića" [Croatian Displaced Nobility in the Letters of Antun Vrančić] in: Vilijam Lakić (ed.), *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću: zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o Antunu Vrančiću*, Šibenik 2005, pp. 41-50; "Hrvatski identitet plemstva austrijskog dijela Istre krajem XV. i tijekom XVI. stoljeća" [The Croatian Identity of Nobility in the Habsburg-Held Parts of Istria at the End of the Fifteenth and in the Sixteenth Centuries] in: Marino Manin – Ljiljana Dobrovšak – Gordana Črpić – Robert Blagoni (eds.), *Identitet Istre – ishodišta i perspektive*, Biblioteka Zbornici vol. 26, Zagreb 2006, pp. 47-65; Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici i hrvatski identitet [The Ottoman Threat, Noble Displaced Persons and Croatian Identity], *Glasnik Hrvatskoga plemićkog zbora* 4, 2006, pp. 33-34.

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<sup>19</sup> Raukar, *Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV. i XVI. stoljeću*, pp. 203-208; Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV. st. i u prvoj polovini XVI. stoljeća, pp. 65-78; *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 434.

<sup>20</sup> One could quote here one of the typical cases of the above-mentioned export. In 1494, Mihovil Drpić, Broz Milanković, Marko Dušmanić and Martin Karinić, the Vlachs (*Morlacchi*) from the coastal region of medieval Croatia under the Velebit Mountain,

of luxury goods, quality fabrics and the like, from Venice, Italy and Levant, destined towards the interior.<sup>21</sup>

Dalmatia imported meat, wool, dairy products, leather, furs, metals and wood from Croatia, while its needs for wheat, like in the case of Croatia too, were mainly satisfied by imports from Apulia and Levant. Those Dalmatian communes that had broader districts in the hinterland, such as Zadar, could even partly satisfy their needs for wheat with their own domestic production. The imports from Croatia were only partly consumed in Dalmatia, while a bigger part of them went further to Venice and elsewhere in Italy. For decades such was the case, for example, with the export of metals, wood and wooden products, particularly ships and oars from the Croatian coastal town of Senj (Zengg, Senia). This export played a very important role in the overall commerce between Croatia and Dalmatia.<sup>22</sup> The international trade of the town of Senj reached its peak during this period, between 1490 and 1510.<sup>23</sup>

Dalmatia traditionally exported significant quantities of salt to neighboring Croatia and the broader hinterland. However, during this period the importance of salt in Dalmatian economy significantly declined due to the restrictive measures of central Venetian authorities towards Dalmatian salt production. Particularly hit were the communes that had had a strong production before, such as Zadar and Pag (Pago).<sup>24</sup> Moreover, they were traditionally strongly connected with neighboring Croatia due to their geographical position. Therefore, the difficulties in supply of salt were inevitably felt in the hinterland.

One might suppose that the subject of this paper is more complex than presented here. It is undoubtedly so. This paper presents only a draft of an attempt to cast a

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stated that they were indebted to Jeronim Crnota, the patrician from Rab. He gave them an unspecified quantity of wheat and some other goods, and they had to give him the typical products of the Vlachs, namely baby beef, salted cheese and wood in return, like their predecessors used to do. DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Juraj Šegota (1492-1509), box 5, b. 1-5, f. 156, 02/12/1494.

21 Ivan Pederin, Rapska trgovina, pomorstvo, brodogradnja, ribarstvo, materijalna kultura i novčarstvo u XVI. st. [The Trade, Naval Commerce, Ship Building, Fishery, Material Culture and Banking in the Town of Rab in the Sixteenth Century], *Vjesnik Povijesnog arhiva u Rijeci* 35/36, 1994, pp. 157-183; *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409-1797)* [The Venetian Administration, Economy and Politics in Dalmatia (1409-1797)], Dubrovnik 1990; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, pp. 434-435.

22 Senj, for example, supplied even the famous Venetian Arsenal with wood for ship building and oars for the Dubrovnik galleys (1461). Bogumil Hrabak, Regionalna i međunarodna trgovina Mlečana i Dubrovnica drvetom iz Senja (XIV-XVIII stoljeće) [The Regional and International Trade with Wood from Senj between Venice and Dubrovnik (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 24, 1991, pp. 59, 66, 90. The evidence of Senj's export of oars from this period exists in the archives of Rab as well. For example, in December 1465 a certain Stjepan (Steven) from Rab is mentioned as an owner of two ships carrying oars, located in the port of Senj, with over 1200 oars all together. Another document from Rab, issued in March 1467, also speaks about the oar trade from Senj. DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Toma Staničić (1470-1472), b. 3, fasc. 13, pp. 49-51.

23 Hrabak, Regionalna i međunarodna trgovina, p. 107.

24 Raukar, Zadarska trgovina solju u XIV-XV stoljeću; Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XVI-XVII stoljeću; "Venezia, il sale e la struttura economica e sociale della Dalmazia nel XV e XVI secolo"; *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 435; Petičić, Proizvodnja i prodaja paške soli u prošlosti; Pederin, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409-1797)*; Jean-Claude Hocquet, Commercio e navigazione in Adriatico: porto di Ancona, sale di Pago e marina di Ragusa (XIV-XVII secolo), *Atti e memorie. Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche. Ancona*. 82, 1978, pp. 221-254; "Fiscalité et pouvoir colonial. Venise et le sel dalmate aux XVe et XVIe siècles" in: *Etat et colonisation au moyen age*, Lyon 1989, pp. 277-316.

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light on the period in the history of Dalmatian-Croatian relations that was, to a large extent, influenced by the overall circumstances in the wider region of South-east Europe. However, several important conclusions can already be formulated. One is that the political and military influences and connections between the two sides in the given period were much more important than the social and economic ones. That was, to a significant extent, due to the policy of Venice towards Dalmatia and its surroundings. Besides that, it could be stated that Dalmatia politically and militarily had a bigger influence on Croatia, while Croatia influenced Dalmatia mainly socially, changing its demographic structure with the waves of refugees from the hinterland. The economic connections were relatively in balance and kept the continuity in forms and contents of the trade from the previous centuries, while they gradually started to decline in quantity and importance for both sides. Despite various nuances, the general impression remains that the two ancient kingdoms were gradually becoming more and more alienated, unlike during the previous centuries. However, the main factor of all those changes and gradual mutual alienation was external, namely the Ottomans, whose presence and activity profoundly changed the complete region, but this is already a new topic.

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### SAŽETAK

#### **Međusobni utjecaji i veze Dalmacije i Hrvatske krajem srednjeg vijeka (1450-1527)**

Analizirajući međusobne utjecaje i veze mletačke Dalmacije i Hrvatske krajem srednjega vijeka, autor smatra da je njihova politička i vojna sastavnica u promatranom razdoblju bila od većega značaja od društvene i gospodarske. Posebice to vrijedi za odnos Dalmacije prema Hrvatskoj, dok je Hrvatska na Dalmaciju pretežito utjecala mijenjanjem njene demografske strukture putem pridošlica i izbjeglica iz zaleđa. Gospodarska razmjena dvaju strana kvalitativno se nije značajnije promijenila u promatranom razdoblju, ali je opadala količinski i po važnosti. Glavni čimbenik svih negativnih trendova u međusobnim odnosima bez sumnje bila je nazočnost i djelovanje Osmanlija na širem hrvatskom prostoru.

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