

LORENZO LICINI  
(1725-1802)  
SURVEYOR OF DALMATIA AND COUNT OF POLJICA  
AS RUBCICH

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(1725.-1802.)  
DALMATINSKI MJERNIK I POLJIČKI KNEZ RUBČIĆ

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Very little is known about the Great County of Poljica, the autonomous Croatian community in twelve counties on the Adriatic Sea situated mostly in modern Southern Croatia in eastern Dalmatia which had been long and voluntarily under the rule of the Republic of Venice at the border with Ottoman Bosnia. Now Venetian years could be reconstructed in the light of original documents in the State Archives of Zadar and Venice. The author inquires into the proper manner of signing one's name to documents and maps as a pathway into higher research degrees. Focusing on representations of maritime Dalmatia by the hand of one of the twelve Poljica's counts – Lorenzo as 'Licini' of Venetian nationality in the State of Dalmatia and as 'Licini Rubcich' by Croatian affiliation to Rupčići village for the Poljicans living in Poljica, Kotor and Zadar – the analysis demonstrates that maps made for the Grimani Cadastre collection in Zadar can be virtually investigated to reveal the broader organizational devices and patterns through which Venice actually structured and controlled this pivotal land in such a way as to support the economy of a rapidly modernizing State.

**Key words:** Poljica, Venice market, Licini Rubcich, Croatian houses, Petar de Zrin, Frankopan, Nani Line, Grimani Line, Mocenigo Line, Grimani Land Law, Zadar Cadastre.

### Introduction

This article explores the dynamic relationship between political and administrative borders in Adriatic Dalmatia freely under the government of the *Serenissima* (The Republic of Venice, The Republic of Saint Mark, *Mletačka Republika*). Although historians of cartography have written about Venetian Dalmatia for more than two hundred years, it is little known about the geoinformation infrastructure of this strategic land on the Croatian part of Adriatic Sea. The aim is now to investigate the main forms of transmission of geographical knowledge, that noted a key

and institutional rise in 1721 in connection with the origin of land surveying for installing a land registry of the Venetian acquisitions in the so-called *Stato da Mar*, up to the definite installation of the Grimani Cadastre in Dalmatia between 1748-1756 when the Grimani Land Law involving the marsh zone of Imotski was promulgated. This case study shows how the map exhibition *Kartografija Zadra. Izložba karata, Gradska straža, Zadar, 24.-25. rujna 2003* including the 1762 map CANAL DELLA MORLACA by Lorenzo Licini Rubcich actually provided further access to a unique array of primary source material in Zadar and Venice State Archives relating to Croatian Dalmatia. The map

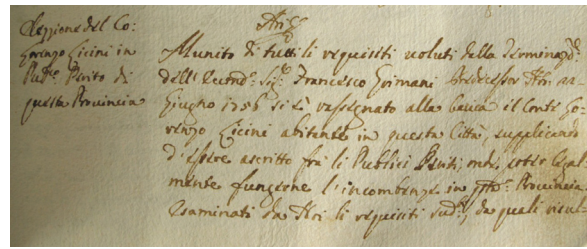
was displayed on the occasion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Hrvatski geografski kongres* in 2003<sup>1</sup>.

### Cadastral Surveyor of Dalmatia

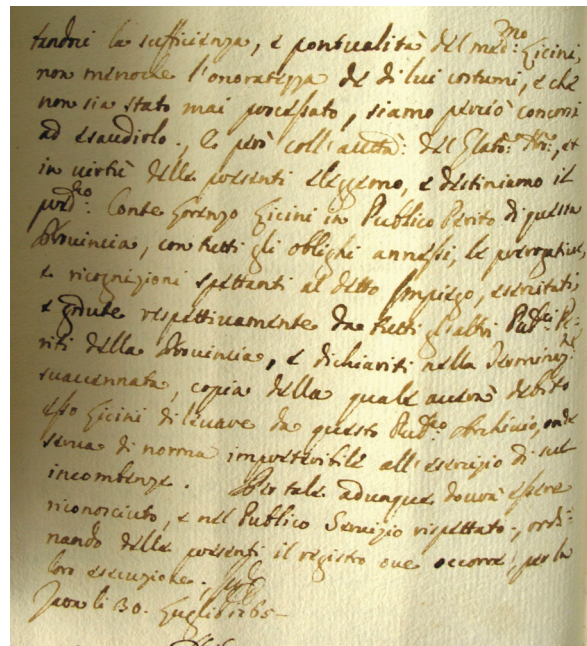
Since 1754 Francesco Grimani had been "Provveditore generale" for Venice in Dalmatia and Albania, when he was appointed "Provveditore Generale da Mar" in 1757. Eight years passed. On 30 July 1765 the new "Provveditore generale" Pietro Michiel appointed Lorenzo Licini as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of Dalmatia. The official nomination of "Co:[nte] Lorenzo Licini in Pubblico Perito di questa Provincia" was issued in Zadar, where it is still kept in the State Archive (ZDAZ, I, 159, f. 241 a-b) (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. The office of "Pubblico Perito" for Venice was carried out by the Magistracy.

Why did Venice choose a count as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of lands and islands across Dalmatia, which was pivotal in the shaping of world history in 1765? The official nomination offers us a chance to understand the specifically social character of a *dalmatinski mjernik* in a dynamic geopolitical context defined by powerful political and economic factors. Lorenzo Licini was of Venetian nationality. He lived in Zadar, where he was born presumably in 1725. But this is not enough.

Lorenzo had made a sketch map *CANAL DELLA MORLACA* for the collection of *Mape Grimani* in 1762, three years before receiving the official nomination as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of



a



b

Figure 1 *Elezione di Lorenzo Licini in Pubblico Perito di questa Provincia*, Provveditore generale Pietro Michiel, Zara, 30 luglio 1765 (State Archive Zadar, Atti (1763-1765), book I, box 159, f. 241 a-b).

<sup>1</sup> *Treći Hrvatski geografski kongres*. Kartografija Zadra Izložba karata, Gradska straža, Zadar, 24.-25. rujna 2003. Ideja: Miljenko Lapaine. Organizatori: Hrvatsko kartografsko društvo, Hrvatsko geografsko društvo, Hrvatsko geografsko društvo – Zadar. Catalogue by M. Lapaine, S. Barišić, D. Tutić, Zadar, 2003. Also at the site <http://www.kartografija.hr/kartzadra/Index.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript document reads as follows: "Elezione del Co:[nte] Lorenzo Licini in Pubblico Perito di questa Provincia. In n[omine] C[hristi], A[men] Munito di tutti li requisiti voluti dalla Determinazione dell'Eccellentissimo Signore Francesco Grimani Predecessor Nostro il 22 Giugno 1756, si è rassegnato alla carica il Conte Lorenzo Licini abitante in questa Città, supplicando d'essere ascritto fra li Publici Periti, onde poter legalmente fungerne l'incombenza in questa Provincia. Esaminati da Noi li requisiti sudetti, da quali risultandoci la sufficienza, e puntualità del medesimo

Licini, non menoche l'onoratezza de di lui costumi, e che non sia stato mai processato, siamo perciò concorsi ad esaudirlo. Co più coll'autorità dal Stato Nostro, et in virtù delle presenti eleggiamo, et destiniamo il supradetto Conte Lorenzo Licini in Pubblico Perito di questa Provincia, con tutti obblighi annessi, le prerogative, e ricognizioni spettanti al detto Impiego, esercitati, et godute rispettivamente da tutti gl'altri Publici Periti della Provincia, et dichiarati nella Determinazione suaccennata, copia della quale anderà debito esso Licini di levare da questo Publico Archivio, onde serva di norma impreteribile all'esercizio di sue incombenze. Per tale adunque dovrà essere riconosciuto, et nel Pubblico Servizio rispettato, ordinando delle presenti il registro ove occorre, per la loro esecuzione. Zara li 30 Luglio 1765. Pietro Michiel". The author of this paper owes all the Zadar archive material about Lorenzo Licini Rubcich to the kindness of Miljenko Lapaine and Josip Faričić.

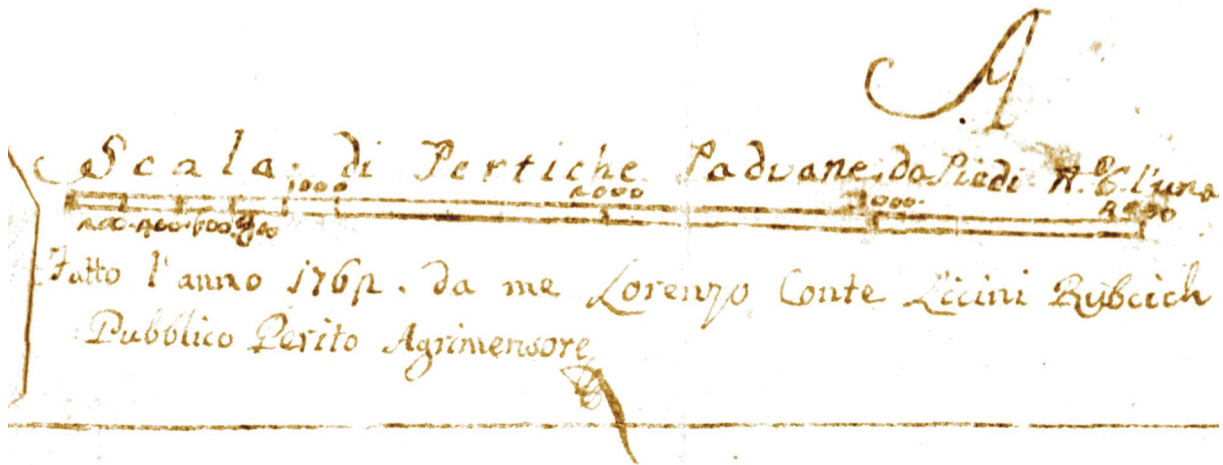


Figure 2 Representation of Canal della Morlaca. Subscription detail: Fatto l'anno 1762. da Lorenzo Conte Licini Rubcich. Pubblico Perito Agrimensore (State Archive Zadar, Mape Grimani, No. 509, 44 cm x33 cm)



Figure 3 Lorenzo Conte Licini, 1782, Dissegno che dimostra la buca di Confine delle Ville di Sdrelaz con Bagno e con Dobropogliana pertinenze di questi Scogli, così rilevato in pianta p[er] ossequi a la Com[missio]ne 20 Giugno p.p.[propter] segnata dall'Il[lustrissimo] ed Ecc[ellentissimo] Prov[veditor] Paulo Boldù, sull'istanze umiliate dalli Capi de Comuni di Sdrelaz, e Bagno. Scala di Pertiche di piedi 7 l'una (State Archive Zadar, Mape Grimani).

Dalmatia (Fig. 2)<sup>3</sup>. He subscribed the map as "Lorenzo Conte Licini Rubcich Pubblico Perito Agrimensore". The map covers the land between Velebitski Kanal and Zadar, and shows cultivated fields, woods and pasture on the village commons. Distances are measured in "Campi Padovani" (ZDAZ Grimani: No. 509).

Another map entitled *DISSEGNO CHE DIMOSTRA LA BUCA DI CONFINE DELLE VILLE DI SDRELAZ CON BAGNO E CON DOBROPOGLIANA* represents Pašman and Ugljan in the Strait of Ždrelac for the first time in 1782 (Fig. 3). The map shows a different subscription form: "Lorenzo co[n]te Licini. Pubblico Perito Illustrissimo della Republica di

<sup>3</sup> Lorenzo Licini was elected to the Magistracy in 1765. Official land-surveyor is the correct translation of "Pubblico Perito Agrimensore". See BOERIO 1867, 493: "PERITO: s. m. Agrimensore, Geometra, Misuratore de' Campi e vale anche per Stimatore". The Venetian title comes from the Latin *peritus* to indicate an expert person. But "Pubblico Perito" without any further specification of any kind means

"Pubblico Perito dell'Ufficio". When also the Magistracy for the supervision of cadastral maps was instituted, "Pubblico Perito dell'Ufficio" was the designation for the public official whose office was the highest in his class. Selected for special knowledge, any office of "Pubblico Perito" for Venice was carried out by the Magistracy (BRUSATIN, PAVANELLO, DE MICHELIS, 1987: 240-243).



S[an] Marco"<sup>4</sup>. The "Rubcich" identification segment of Lorenzo's family line in Croatian Dalmatia dropped off this map. In this way count Lorenzo's signature is in accordance with the text of his official nomination as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of whole Dalmatia in 1765 on the wider scale of the Republic of Saint Mark.

Much can be said about the map representing Pašman and Ugljan in front of the Dalmatian Riviera that a topographic brigade under count Lorenzo Licini declared to have made in 1782. A long marginal note in form of "Dimostrazione" states that uncultivated land is in a yellow contour. Cultivated fields intermingled with woods are in a red square ("intermedi al Bosco"). Another note says that an old limekiln was located on the island of Pašman before the map was made ("Calchera Vecchia"). The entire record is nuanced and, what is mostly important, the map is a bearer of innovation which would actually sign a major Dalmatian contribution to the history of cartography. That is why a three-dimensional pictogram is used as an indicator for three-dimensional images on the map representing the islands of Pašman and Ugljan.

The three-dimensional effect of hills and reliefs is graphically rendered in the Napoleonic era through the representation method with the isohypses of the upper surfaces, or lines of equal altitude, which is very innovative at the time. Geographical objects in 3D graphic displays are considered a cartographic invention of the French topographic brigades in the field of military technology for planning, design and construction in engineering. Napoleon seems as first to send the topographic brigade to map the gulf of Spezia under captain Pierre-Antoine Clerc at the beginning of 1809 (ROSSI, 2008)<sup>5</sup>. Now opinions might differ, because count Lorenzo Licini and his topographic brigade made the Dalmatian map visibly joining points of equal elevation above sea level in 1782. This

consideration alone should drive to the conclusion that the widespread use of maps through the representation method with the isohypses should be eventually attributed to Dalmatia and maps made by Grimani cadastral surveyors should be considered as the primary source of innovation in the history of cartography.

Another bunch of original documents now in the State Archive of Venice can add further information to help us define count Lorenzo's place in Croatian Dalmatia. It consists of specific declarations written from 1537 to 1781 and listed sequentially in chronological reversed order (VEASPFb1048: cc. 1r-29). Documents, statements and regular reports are collected from Zadar, (*Zara*), Poljica (*Poglizza*), Split (*Spalato*), Klis (*Clissa*), Trogir (*Trau*) and Omiš (*Almissa*). They report historical events involving both the people of Poljica named *Poglizzani* (Poljicans; from Croatian *Poljičani*) and the Venetians that the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" in Venice processed in legal and periodical recognition of titles of nobility and rank attached to Poljica. The Venetian Magistracy under State seal and collected them in the *fascicolo b1048* under the filename *Licini Rubcich Zara*, together with the legal inscription of Lorenzo's family name in the *Libro d'Oro dei veri Titolati* granting all members of the family tree to enjoy publicly the rank and titles of hereditary counts of Poljica, patricians of Zadar and Noble House descended from the Reign of Bosnia divided into twelve counties (c. 1r, cc. 2-5; c. 8. MOSTO 1937:)<sup>6</sup>. No doubt the major importance of the documents: recognition of a title of nobility through decision of a tribunal implies simple, straight, and unquestionable proof of ownership, legality and validity of the title. Otherwise Lorenzo could never have used the title of *conte* publicly on Grimani cadastre maps showing State portions of Venetian Dalmatia on the Adriatic Sea.

<sup>4</sup> The map's title is DISSEGNO CHE DIMOSTRA LA BUCA DI CONFINE DELLE VILLE DI SDRELAZ CON BAGNO E CON DOBROPOGLIANA PERTINENZE DI QUESTI SCOGLI, COSÌ RILEVATO IN PIANTA P[ER] OSSEQUI A LA COM[MISSIO]NE 20 GIUGNO P.P.[PROPTER] SEGNATA DALL'IL[LUSTRISSIMO] ED ECC[ELLENTISSIMO] PROV[VEDIT]OR PAULO BOLDÙ, SULL'ISTANZE UMILLATE DALLI CAPI DE COMMUNI DI SDRELAZ, E BAGNO (Zara, 1782). The scale of the map is depicted in "Scala di Pertiche di piedi 7 l'una". The Venetian town of Verona adopted the *Pertica* first to measure rural areas (FELICIANO, MACARIO, 1669: 227).

<sup>5</sup> Pierre-Antoine Clerc (1770-1843) had been formed in the school of the Dépôt de la Guerre in Paris where new methods of visual representation were primarily concentrated on mountain-relief forms, when he elected

the forest of Fontainebleau to carry out relief experiments in 1800. Using the graphic-analytical method of isohypses for the first time, historians of cartography say, Napoleon topographic brigade deputed to attend to fortifications and public works under captain Clerc realized the first great map of Spezia territory and a series of sketches between February 1809 and August 1811.

<sup>6</sup> "Famiglia, che compartecipa tutt'ora, come discendente dalle Nobili Case del Regno di Bosnia, del dominio della sunnominata Provincia diviso in dodici Contee e quindi partecipe ancora del Titolo di Conte dipendente dalle antiche Sovrane deliberazioni di questo Serenissimo Dominio a favor de Nobili Poglizzani emanate" (VEASPFb1048: February 2, 1751 and on April 5, 1755).



Some of the documents in the collection *b1048* in the State Archive of Venice had been originally written in "the Illyric language"<sup>7</sup> by the Great Count of Poljica (Croatian: *Poljički veliki knez*) and headmen summoned in *zbor* "in Gradac under the church of St. George" in 1651, but reached Venice in form of authorized translations by the so-called Ban Dragomano of the Province from Split (cc. 19-21). Letters collected in the file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* attest that Lorenzo's ancestors as counts of Poljica have always been faithful to the Serenissima Republic of Saint Mark in peace and at war also "at the cost of shedding their blood in Dalmatia and Poljica" since 1537 (cc. 2-5, 27-29).

Finally Matthäus Mianovich (*Matija Ivanović*) who is the last elected *veliki knez* of Poljica for the years 1799-1801 can solve the mystery about Lorenzo's family name (Fig. 4). Receiving assent by the local council in Poljica *zbor* and its ratification by the Senate in Venice, the family line is called *Licini* in the town of Zadar, but *Rubcich* (Croatian *Rubčić*) inside the territory of Poljica granting tax-exempt status because they are supposed to provide loans to the Poljicans (PAVICH, 1907: 311/3., ERBER, 1886: 71-72)<sup>8</sup>. In Hungarian and Illyric (Croatian) countries under the Árpád Magyar dynasty, site names out of urban areas were used to denote the tribal affiliation to local villages under feudal private jurisdiction and to indicate the indigenous status of the Reign<sup>9</sup>. The *Šubići Bribirski* (Šubić of Bribir) just to make another example, had been called Bribir(ski) since 1251 when king Béla IV allowed county jurisdiction over Bribir in the Reign of Dalmatia to one line of the House of Šubić only<sup>10</sup>. The Árpád kings would accord indigenes to foreign vassals by geographic regions within the framework of Magyar sovereignty. An indicator of identification

<sup>7</sup> means Croatian, slavic language.

<sup>8</sup> Tax system in Poljica granted tax exemption to four Houses only and three of them had different names depending on geographical location: "Duimovich in St. Peter on the island of Brač, Rubcich called by the name Licini in the town of Zadar, Garaini in the town of Trogir [Trau], Petricevich called by the name Mandich in the town of Split [Spalato], Tassovich called by the name Dudan in Split [Borgo di Spalato] and in Kaštela [Riviera dei Castelli]" (PAVICH, 1907: p. 311/3-4). The original document was kept in the Governor's Archives in Zadar under the number 3894.

<sup>9</sup> WAGNER 1802: "Ad Lectorem, Scribebam Budae die 14. Febr. Anno a partu Virginis 1789", and pages 41, 43, 45, 146-147, 164. Wagner availed himself of manuscript sources from 1102 to 1703 and of printed works such as *Illyricum* (FRESNE-DUCAGNE, 1746).

„In Čaporice: Braovich; Krickovich genannt Tiarovich und Milossevich; Xuglievich; Xivaglieh; Dragoevich genannt Generalich, Radieich genannt Rogulich; Budaevich genannt Pezeglievich, Paucovich genannt Pauletich.  
 „In Ruda: Xuglievich.  
 „In Novoselo: Radovovich genannt Cicotich, Xuglievich.  
 „In Tijarice: Novak Novacovich genannt Pavich.  
 „In Ugljane: Mircovich genannt Pivcevich; Novak Novacovich genannt Pavich.  
 „In Budimir: Xivaglieh genannt Mladina.  
 „In Rože: Tovnich genannt Marcolich, Jacoglievich.  
 „In der Stadt Almisa: Draxinovich; Kruxich genannt Kruxiehevich; Radovovich genannt Struich; Copeghevich genannt Miliehevich; Bassi genannt Zelanovich; Draxoevich genannt Jelich; Sldrich genannt Marenizza; Mircovich genannt Beovich, Ternich genannt Stanich; Novacovich genannt Covacich und Alfrevich.  
 „In Radovlje in der Umgebung von Almisa: Jurko genannt Mandusslich.  
 „In Novoselo bei Almisa: Leksich; Tavnich genannt Culich, Lucevich.  
 „In Podgradje: Skarizza; Vukichevich genannt Milavich; Bilinich genannt Uglievich; Percich und Xuxa.  
 „In Kučiče in der Umgebung von Almisa: Radovovich genannt Bilich.  
 „In der Stadt Makarska: Ivajnich genannt Stanich.  
 „Im Narentagebiete: Ivanich genannt Stanich.  
 „In der Umgebung von Imotski: Goisgich genannt Matiassevich; Armacich genannt Filipovich; Tarnich genannt Mlicotich, Jurisich und Vladislavich.  
 „In der Umgebung von Clissa: Vidatovich; Radieich genannt Marasovich.  
 „Gegeben in der Provinz Poljica am 21. Mai 1799. Matthäus Mianovich, veliki knez von Poljica, Matthäus Vladussich, Kanzler von Poljica, getreu abgeschrieben aus dem vorgefundenen, gefertigten und glaubwürdig gesiegelten Mandate.“  
 3. „Abschrift des Kataloges jener Familien, welche dem Zbor und dem Räte der Provinz Poljica wegen ihren Edelleuten beigegeben waren, und welche den Charakter oder das Zeichen der Poljicaner Edelleute sowie die angenehme Wohlthat der mit dem Erlasse des ex-venezianischen Senates zugestandenen Befreiung von den öffentlichen Abgaben besitzen:  
 „Familie Duimovich in San Pietro auf der Insel Brazza.  
 „Familie Rubcich genannt Licini in der Stadt Zara.  
 „Familie Garaini in der Stadt Trau.  
 „Familie Petricevich genannt Mandich in der Stadt Spalato.  
 „Familie Tassovich genannt Dudan, in Borgo grande von Spalato und in den Castelli.  
 „Gegeben in der Provinz Poljica am 21. Mai 1799. (S. P. P.) Matthäus Mianovich, veliki knez von Poljica, Matthäus Vladussich, Kanzler von Poljica, ließ dies ordentlich abschreiben, indem er es gefertigt und glaubwürdig gesiegelt vorfand.“  
 4. „Viertes Blatt, in welchem die Familien eingetragen sind, welche eigenmächtige Zeugnisse von den veliki knezen ohne den allgemeinen Rat und die Banka der Provinz Poljica, unter mißbräuchlichen Namen, nur nach dem Willen dieser veliki knezen, und zwar nach der Unterwerfung unter die ex-venezianische Republik erlangt haben und sich mit Namen und Charakter von Uradeligen dieser Provinz beilegen, und zwar wie folgt:

Figure 4 *Familie Rubcich genannt Licini in der Stadt Zara; Gegeben in der Provinz Poljica am 21. Mai 1799. (S.P.P.) Matthäus Mianovich, veliki knez von Poljica*. In Pavich von Pfanenthal A. (1907): *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Republik Poljica bei Spalato mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Reihenfolge der Veliki Knezen (Staatsoberhäupter)*, Wien, Archäologie und Geschichte: Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina Bd. 10, I: p. 311/3.

<sup>10</sup> "de generatione Subichorum ... in Illyrico dicti Comites Breberiensis". See WAGNER (1732-1790), 1718-1802: 1802, 146, 164; JAKŠIĆ, sv. 42/2000: 17-64, 28 n50, 35 n79. Consequently, when in 1251 king Béla IV granted Marmognia's descendants the investiture of Bribir County, the Royal Patent Letters already registered the Slav version of the House name as follows: "Stephanus Subich de Lyka, accepto (vel verius confirmato) a Bela IV Comitatu Breberiensis". The Subich house has been simply registered as "Breberiensium familia", after Bribir Castle since 1251. Four generations passed, and Stephanus' descendants were simply described with Christian names in Latin and their Illyric territorial affiliation *de Breberio* without *Subich* in the Magyar *Tabella Genealogica* (WAGNER, 1802: 146-149, JAKŠIĆ, 2000: 28/50, 35/79).

occurred in the case of the male descendants of one Licini family line, who were called Rubcich (*Rubčić*) inside Poljica by their tribal affiliation to Rupčiči village in the direction of Dubrava, now Debeljak. In Croatian, both the *Rubčić* and *Rupčić* variations may occur, as a detached stone from an unknown place with the inscription "Giovanni Rvpcich 1726 G[i]vdice" now in Senj attests<sup>11</sup>.

The village of Rupčiči was still inside the land of Hum in the fourteenth century. Now Rupčiči is included in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, about 3 kilometres northwest of Dolac. The place name *Rubcich* is mentioned for the first time in Split by a notary public, Pietro from Sarzana, in his *Liber instrumentorum* between 1369 and 1373. A page of his book describes a dispute arbitred by three judges of the land of Hum: Grubach Maslovich (*Grubač Maslović*), Nelipac Rubcich (*Nelipac Rubčić*) and Crasimir (*Krasimir*) of Imotski. The Latin text reads as follows: "judices de terra Kalm nomine Grubac Maslouic, Nelipce Rubcich et Crasimir de Ymota" (UJEVIĆ, 1991: 96. LJUBOVIĆ, 2005: 65-76). Sarzana is a border key village deviding the maritime Republics of Pisa and Genoa at the time (FINE, 2006: 96. PALMER, 1994: 196). It is reasonable to assume that a portion of Hum had come to be part of Poljica historical territory in 1241.

### Poljica may side with the State of Venice

Very little is known about the history of Poljica, the autonomous community situated mostly in modern Dalmatian Croatia along the last section of River Cetina before its mouth in the Adriatic Sea, which had been long under the rule of the Republic of Venice resulting from its own choice and free decision. Poljica's seal appointed for the most ancient Poljica Statute shows St. George with the Latin inscription "Comunitas Poggiciae" (BRKOVIĆ, 2005: 253, 260). The findings in the file *b1048* confirm that three Poljican ambassadors

were sent to Venice on mission in 1537 to ask the Doge Andrea Gritti whether "the Universal Community of Poglizza might side with the State [of Venice]" (VEASPFb1048: cc. 11-12, 24-27). And commodity goods showing the flag of Saint Mark could be imported and exported duty-free by the people of Poljica to reciprocate the government's commitment. No tribute to Venice had to be paid<sup>12</sup>. It actually meant that no State should prevail over the other. It was a unique case in the history of the Most Serene Republic of Saint Mark.

Since the first Poljica Dedition Act registered in 1444 had failed with the help of the counts of Split, the one of 1537 was a renewed act of voluntary obedience to Venice. The Hungarian military body of Poljica historical nobility called *vlastela* had then rebelled against the Croatian administrative body of Poljica historical nobility called *didići* (ERBER, 1886: 14-17, 111-113). The document in file *b1048* attests that an official letter in form of a *Ducale* with the pending seal in gold was compiled in the "Ducale Palazzo" without delay on 15<sup>th</sup> November 1537 in executing this new act of voluntary dedition and faith of Poljica to Venice. A change in strategy was already evident. Two months before the Ottoman forces had captured Klis Fortress and the strategic land in Croatian Dalmatia around it, geographically pointing at the territory of Poljica in September 1537. Now Poljica and the harbour of Split were under attack. Sultan Süleyman I had already invaded Magyar territories in force, defeating the Hungarian Royal army in the battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526. The great fort of Belgrade as part of Mačva in the historic region of Hungary had been already taken by Ottoman siege on 8 August 1520, breaching the Danube defense line of Christian Europe (SHAW, S. 1976: 91, 106).

The narrow passage at Klis has always functioned as a principal trade route between the Croatian coast and Hinterland. Strategically, Klis was pivotal to the commercial development, not

<sup>11</sup> KAČIĆ MIOŠIĆ, 1862, "Knezovi i vlastela naroda slovinskoga", 241-251: Rupčič od mesta Rupčiča kod Dubrave: Čérni Vèrh: 244. Probably Kačić meant Dubrava, now Debeljak. Kačić Miošić gave the Laticich variation for Licini (242). Indeed Latičić is another variant form of Licini form Poljica (KOLUMBIĆ, 2005: 67/224. ETEROVICH, 1978: 202, 230. SIEBMACHER, 1873: 54). According to original documents in file *b1048* under the label *Licini Rubcich Zara*, the Rubčić/Rupčić family line of the Licini house of Poljica surely did not belong to Uskok Senj noble houses, because the members of the house that was called Licini in Zadar and Rubcich in Poljica sided with Venice against both

Uskoks and the Habsburg Imperial Crown (cc. 13-14, 16, 21-29). The Licini-Rubcich line took part in the Venetian military campaign against Senj in 1686-1687. Therefore Rubčić/Rupčić as an Uskok noble house from Senj should be doubted (but see LJUBOVIĆ, 2005: 65).

<sup>12</sup> Since the time of Enrico Dandolo and the fourth crusade, the Doge had been revered as "*Dux Venetiae, Dalmatiae et Chroatiae et Dominus quartae partis et dimidiaie totius imperii Romani*" (MOSTO, 1937: 18). In 1356 the Doge Giovanni Dolfín officially cancelled the last part of the title, with reference to the dominion over the Eastern Roman Empire. But Poljica was out of question.

only of the Dinaric lands, but also of significant parts of Europe and their vessels. Only a few miles from the coastal city of Split and dominating the road to the historical territory of Croatia, the strategically-placed fortress of Klis had been an isolated point of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation under the Habsburg Crown from Vienna up to 1537, when Ottoman forces conquered it. Indeed the Habsburg Klis garrison had been made up of Christian refugees from Ottoman territories called Uskoks, who had lived at the orders of the Habsburg Crown by plundering not just Ottoman lands but the Venetian coastal holdings of the *Stato da Mar* as well. When a body of Christian Uskoks had established itself in the Habsburg Klis fortress, Habsburg-Venetian conflicts of economic interests for the right of commercial exploitation of Klis forests in ship-building had become inevitable. And when the Ottoman forces at the orders of sultan Süleyman I finally captured Klis in September 1537, the surviving Uskoks had to withdraw northward some 100 miles to the Habsburg fortress in the Croatian town of Senj, from which they continued raiding Ottomans and Venetians alike.

The narrow coastal strip, including the major port of Split, was still Venetian State's territory in 1537. But the mountains behind and to the north of Klis, like it formerly part of medieval Croatia, had fallen to the Ottomans. Since then, the conquered Klis Fortress had remained under the rule of Ottoman Turks for 111 years, when the Venetians and the Poljicians seized it together in 1648. File *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* recorded the military operations (cc. 14-19, 23, 28).

Venice could not avoid being caught up in conflict and competition with both the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation under the Crown of Habsburg Austria and the Ottoman Empire under the Sultan of Constantinople, yet always preferred trade to war. Two months after the Ottoman Turks had captured the Dalmatian fortress of Klis in September 1537, on the 15<sup>th</sup> November the Doge Andrea Gritti as *Dux Veneticorum* in full accord with the Council of Ten gave Poljica ambassadors count Francesco Ivanishevich (*Frane Ivanišević*),

count Marco Andriassevich (*Marko Andrijašević*) and Andrea Cubrianovich (*Andrija Čubranović*) that *Ducale* granting the Rubcich line of the Licini family of Venetian nationality the feudal duty of acting as administrative judges dedicated to regulation and administration of the Venetian market, market crimes and criminal prosecution concerned with practices, transactions and trust, practical organisation of the courts in the lands and islands and belongings of Poljica, together with the private feudal right "of freely importing and exporting commodity goods, wine in particular". But the Doge asserts that "the highly faithful Universal Community of Poljica only has private jurisdiction over civil and criminal home affairs in accordance with their own Laws and Use" (VEASPFb1048: cc. 11-12, 13, 21). Since no houses in stone are to be found inside Poljica territory, the Doge asks the *Poglizzani* (Poljicians, *Poljičani*) to grant that the family has no chance of suffering damage, loss or injury where the people of Poljica live. A "fortress nearby Poljica where the family can meet no apparent danger associated with exercising the administrative Justice of Venice serves the purpose"<sup>13</sup>.

As a result, the Rubcich line of the Licini house only has feudal and private jurisdiction over the *Poglizzani* wherever they are involved in Venice market. Another letter that Alvise Mocenigo writes as *Dux Veneticorum* informs us that people from the territory of Poljica live also in Split (*Spalato*), Omiš (*Almissa*) and on the island of Brač (*Brazza*) on 13 June 1570 (ERBER, 1886: 10, 12, 21, 114-116).

It is documented that the Licini *alias* Lecini primary line of the House from Bergamo only, together with eleven Croatian Houses had been entitled to use the title of counts of Poljica by king Béla IV of the Árpád Magyar dynasty in Zadar in 1241 (SIEBMACHER, 1873: 14, 94, 53, 54. VIDOVICH 2004: 194, 2007: 157. BGBC, *Gherardi*, ff. 246-247, and note f. 247). The Magyar king Béla IV bore the royal titles of King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Gallitia, Lodomeria, Serbia, Cumania and finally of the unitary tract of nowadays Bosnia called Rama corresponding to "Dalmatiae et Croatiae Rubeae partem" at the time<sup>14</sup>. Twelve

<sup>13</sup> The institutional structures of market justice and noble judges dedicated to regulation and administration of Venice market played an essential role in the administration of the urban economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (SHAW J.E., 2006). Little is still known about the internal political and administrative organization of Poljica; see KLARIĆ, 2006: 145-164.

<sup>14</sup> "Bela, Dei gratia Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Gallicie, Rame, Servie, Lodomerieque Rex, primogenitus regis Andree" (KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, 1861-1862: I, 51, Doc.

XLII). Since March 1236: "Cumanieque rex" (WENZEL, 1869: 30, Doc. 19). The partition of the Rama region in MANLIUS 1787: 33, "Nam cum Ramensis tractus, post redactam jam inde a Vladislao Dalmatiae et Croatiae Rubeae partem, dein a Bela II. occuparetur, antequam totas Bosnensis Regio Hungarici juris fieret, vero nequaquam videtur absimile, quod deinceps, subacto ab Andrea totius Serviae Regno, Bosnensis ditio antiquiori 'Ramae' titulo inclusa, atque perseverante in publicis instrumentis tali stilo in posterum indigitata fuerit [caput 11]".





Figure 5 The Croatian islands of Brač and Hvar under the old names of *bracia* (Brazza) and *lixina* (Lesina). Portolan chart covering the Adriatic Sea by Grazioso Benincasa from Ancona, 1472, detail (Venezia, Museo Correr, Port. 5).

Houses forming the original nucleus of the Great County of Poljica in all had given king Béla IV shelter during the Mongol invasion of his Reign of Hungary by Batu Khan in April 1241. Lorenzo's House from the State of Bergamo was one of them. All the other Houses were Croatian.

As the "Procuratore generale in Dalmazia e Albania" Lunardo Foscolo attests in a report from Klis and Zadar in 1648, notwithstanding the constant death threat of the Turks, the twelve Counts of the Province of Poljica and their descendants have always remained loyal to the Venetian Empire (VEASPFb1048: cc. 15-16). Giambattista Grimani was the new "Capitano Generale da Mar" at the moment<sup>15</sup>. The Croatian

<sup>15</sup> An authoritative tradition of the fifteenth century says that the noble houses of Poljica of Croatian origin descend from the three sons of Miroslav, King of Croatia. They were Tišimir, Krešimir and Lemić (KAČIĆ MROŠIĆ, 1862: 360-366, 424. PAVICH, 1907: 308).

body of Poljica nobility was in sharp contrast to the Hungarian body of Poljica nobility or *vlastela*, which entered that community in 1358 only, when Louis I of Anjou-Sicilia, king of Hungary, Sicily and Dalmatia, and the daughter of *Ban* Stjepan Kotromanić of Bosnia, Elizabeth, married and sent Juraj Rajčić to rule over Poljica (PIVČEVIĆ, 1987-1988: 20)<sup>16</sup>. No surprise if decades after the end of the Republic of Venice in 1797, Johann Siebmacher doubled the number of houses that the king of Hungary Bèla had invested in Zadar in 1241 and he wrote in *Der Adel des Königreichs Dalmatien* in German in 1873 that those "24 Poljica noble houses were Hungarian" (SIEBMACHER, 1873: 54). The propaganda advantages typically

<sup>16</sup> Juraj Rajčić reached Poljica from Hungary and gave origin to the second order of Poljica nobility called *vlastela*, in conflict with the rest of Croatian *didići*.

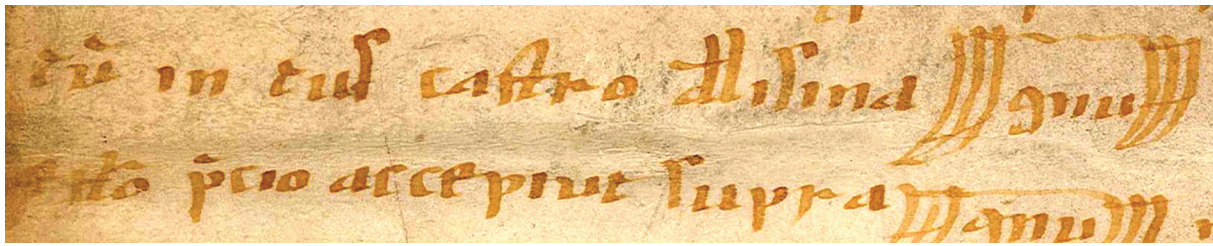


Figure 6 Purchase at Lisina/Lesina castle, State of Bergamo. Detail. The document declares: Actum intus castro de Lisina. Bergamo, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Archivio Capitolare, pergam. 346, Carta vindiccionis, 1088, maggio, Lisina (Bonate Sotto?). By permission of Archivio Diocesano, Bergamo.

enjoyed by imperialist interests help explain. The situation must be evaluated in regard to the 1873 revision of the Croato-Hungarian Compromise (*Hrvatsko-ugarska Nagodba*) and the dualist system, introduced under the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy and compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867. Croatia, which was part of the Austrian Empire under the Habsburgs, was then merged with Slavonia and placed under Hungarian jurisdiction.

Poljica territory faced the islands of Brač and Hvar in 1241. The ancient island of *Pharos*, called Hvar in Croatian, has been called *Lesina* and also *Lixina*, *Lisna o Pharos*, *Lensa*, *Lesina*, *Lexina*, *Liesina* under the rule of Venice on Portolan charts mapping the Adriatic Sea or *Golfo di Venezia* since 1298 (Fig. 5)<sup>17</sup>. Strange enough, a fortified settlement at the mouth of a river now called Lesina in the western portion of Bergamo territory had been called *Licina* in papal documents in Latin down to 1156. Lesina Castle had market rights, a notary public and a church. A purchase declares in 1088 (Fig. 6): "Actum intus castro de Lisina" (BASDAC, *pergam.* 346). They correspond to variant registration forms such as *Licini*, *Lecini*, *Lixini*, *Lexini*, *Lisini*, *Lesini*, *de Licinis*, *de Lecinis* describing the "domini de Lisina" in the State Archive of Bergamo (CVBV *Carmen*: cc. 81-105. BGBC, *Motio*: Lettera L. MAZZI, 1888: 139-140, 1892: 390).

For the security of maritime commerce, Venice required islands along the Adriatic Sea. Consequently, the treaty of 1244 between the

Republic of Saint Mark and the Royal Crown of Hungary in the hands of the Árpád Magyar dynasty placed Dalmatian and Croatian islands as a unit within the administration of Venice under the hereditary government of families as feudatories after the Mongol attack of 1241. The island of Ossero (after main town of Ossero/Osor; divided by artificial strait to Ossero and Lossin, in Croatian *Cres* and *Lošinj*) was granted to the Morosini, the island of *Veglia* (in Croatian *Krk*) to the Frankopan (*Frangipani*), the island of *Arbe* (in Croatian *Rab*) to the Falier or Morosini and Michiel as elected counts alternatively. But according to the treaty of 1244, the island of *Lesina* (*Hvar*) was to be sure still subject to the counts of *Almissa* (Croatian *Omiš*), at the mouth of the Cetina River shaping Poljica territory. The people on the island of *Lesina* in front of *Almissa* voluntarily sought the protection of Venice few years later. It happened that the Mongol invasion in 1241 and the temporary disorganization of the Kingdom of Hungary threw the maritime towns of historic Croatia on their own resources. The result was a war between the neighbouring towns of Trogir (*Trau*) and Šibenik (*Sebenico*), involving the mouth of the River Cetina just in front of the two islands *Brazza* and *Lesina*. In 1268 Charles of Anjou-Sicilia, king of Naples, allied himself with the Dalmatian towns of Split (*Spalato*) and Šibenik (*Sebenico*) to repress the pirates from Omiš (*Almissa*), and in 1277 the Venetians besieged *Almissa*, liberated the Venetians whom the pirates had captured and in 1278 received the submission of the two major islands Brač (*Brazza*) and Hvar

<sup>17</sup> *Lexina* is on the portolan chart that Freducci made in 1497 as privateer and count of the Etemanno in the Marca of Ancona on the Adriatic Sea (WHAB, Aug. Fol. 99, ex 9. LICINI, 2007; 2009: 307-331). Freducci's House was from Fermo. The name *Lixina* is on the chart of 1472 by Grazioso Benincasa (VEMC *Port.* 5). Name variations up to 1692 are attested (FARIČIĆ, 2007: 159, 169-171). The

Venetians had founded the town of *Città Vecchia* (Stari Grad) on the old Greek *polis* dated 384 b.C., which was called *Faros*, *Pharia*, *Huarra*, *Civitas Vetus*, *Città Vecchia* (STANČIĆ, LAPAINE, 2009: 124-125). *Città Vecchia* lost importance under Venice, when the town of Lesina now Hvar appeared to be in a much more favourable position for sailing vessels.



(*Lesina*) which had hitherto belonged to the counts of *Almissa* (JACKSON, 1887: I, 28 and note 2, 73-81, 112-113).

Eleven Croatian houses and a Venetian one had granted Magyar king Béla IV protection in autumn 1241, when the Magyar Royal Family had to take refuge in Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia via Zagreb, as far south as the fortress of Klis, the town of Trogir (*Trau*) and the island of Čiovo (*Bau*) (JACKSON, 1991: 1-18). But only after the voluntary second dedication of Poljica to Venice in the so-called *Stato da Mar* in November 1537 did the title of *conte* resurface in the Rubcich branch of the Licini *alias* Lecini family from Bergamo in the *Stato di Terraferma* of Venice<sup>18</sup>.

In 1603 the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" of Venice pronounced in favour of the monopoly of the Rubcich (Rubčić) line members of the Licini family in Poljica as administrative judges of the Venetian market and market crimes also over the community of Poljica living in Kotor who justifiably enjoyed special privileges in Venice trade, and exemptions on commodity goods imported or exported without payment of duty (VEASPFb1048: cc. 13-14). The monopoly was extended over the free community of Poljica living in Zadar in 1751 (cc. 8-9). Supervision and investigation procedure, extra-territorial market justice, one particular register of criminal denunciations should be among a count's duties in the name of the Doge (COZZI, 1981: 70, 75-77). Documents under the filename *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* attest that the family should also fill essential needs for armaments for peacetime military forces and provide essential munitions support to State's fortresses in the possession of Venice in eastern Dalmatia at the State border with the Ottoman Empire, or to repair dams in time of war (cc. 16, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27-28). The General Law of the Patrimony of the Nation had been established in Supreme Decree on *Patrimonio* in Venice Senate since 1585, and State consent to the exercise of feudal jurisdiction should be evidenced by a royal patent under the great seal of pre-existing Kingdoms in the indigenous lands now forming the *Stato da Mar* to keep fortresses in good order in territories under Venice administration (TENTORI, 1787: 358-359, 368-374).

The expanded extra-exercise of Venice market justice to the Rubcich line of the Licini family over the people of Poljica living inside Poljica

territory in 1537, in Kotor in 1603 and finally in the capital town of Dalmatia in 1751 may be a key to understanding why Venice appointed "count Lorenzo Licini" as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of Dalmatia, on the wider scale of the Most Serene Republic of Saint Mark in 1765.

Private letters dated 1640-1642 between Alvise of Tommaso Contarini who is the *Bailo* of Venice in Constantinople and Paolo Licini set up a number of interconnected sites in a trade network covering the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venetia as they call it on portolano charts, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Seas. Letters attest that the Licini house has a paper-making company in Fabriano and family's headquarters in Corfu, with direct links from the port of Venice up to the Theatine mission system in Christian Georgia on the Black Sea via Constantinople (VEBM, *Marciano*, c. 175. FABASC, *Graziosi* 1700-1735. LICINI, 1980, 84-90; 2001, 315-359). Maritime insurance companies in Europe highly recommend sailing vessels and galleons to choose the coastal routes connecting Ancona, Zadar, Split, Trogir, Dubrovnik, Grado and Venice, as one navigation system across the Adriatic Sea calling at Corfu en route to and from Constantinople (NEHLSSEN, 1988: 319. ASHTOR, 1989: 28. ILARI ET AL., 2001: I, 411. STAFFA, 2005: 155). Fabriano is in the Hinterland of the "Marca di Ancona" along the Italian maritime coast. As long as Ancona is the main city port in the Papal States on the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice, the area between the Marca of Ancona and Croatian Dalmatia is the basis of naval strategies of commerce and coastal defense. Fabriano paper sheets are still considered to be the best in Europe at the time and its market sells well (BENIGNI, 1924: 43). Artists and writers praised Fabriano paper sheets for their unequalled quality, And possibly Lorenzo Licini for his cadastre maps in the Grimani collection in Zadar.

#### Where is Poljica? Croatian mystery wrapped in a map

As a territorial surveyor and as Licini, Lorenzo was in charge of *Mape Grimani* in Zadar. But as Rubcich, Lorenzo had to provide security for the people of Poljica and their duty-free trade across maritime Dalmatia, Poljica, Kotor and Zadar under Venice rule, and also to guard the security of the Venetian State frontier in form of fortresses

<sup>18</sup> Erber was totally ignorant about file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* and its context in 1886 (19, 71, 113-114).



and strongholds in Dalmatia and Poljica territories at the border with Ottoman Bosnia, by means of internal surveillance.

The historic territory of the Great County of Poljica in twelve counties encompassed about twenty-four small and big villages, but some of them are still unknown. Rupčići village is a new entry. Time at war is of considerable topographical interest in file *b1048* (cc. 14-29). The Venetians and the people of Poljica took military actions shoulder-to-shoulder across Croatian Dalmatia and Kotor. Documents give names of villages in Poljica. Lunardo Foscolo wrote still on board the Venetian galleon under Klis on 1 April 1648 how Marco Rubcich (*Marko Rubčić*) in Poljica, who was Lorenzo's ancestor, bravely distinguished himself in the epic battle of Dolac valley, when 6000 Ottomans suddenly attacked Poljica during the military campaign of the Venetian Militia to seize the fortress of Klis (*Clissa*, cc. 16, 23, 28). Count Marco Rubcich had moved from Sitno, count Paolo Brabanovich (Pavao Brabanović) from Donji Dolac (*Dogni Dolaz*; means Lower valley) and count Francesco Banich (Franjo Banić) from Gornji Dolac (*Gorgho Dolaz*; means Upper valley). In those years of continuous war against the Ottomans, Marco was called Rubcich (*Rubčić*) in Poljica, but Licini in Bergamo and Zadar. Official records in the Greater Council of Bergamo confirm that Marco's brother Pietro Licini gave Giovanni Battista Licini a new levy of soldiers recruited in their own lands around Bergamo on 8 March 1673<sup>19</sup>. The Venetian military service had long maintained links among the Dalmatian houses. The strong thread that had kept them connected was also cultural: Marco was a doctor *utriusque iuris* at Padua and entered in matricula as "Licini from Dalmatia" together with members of the Dalmatian house of Frankopan (*Frangipane*), counts of Krk (*Veglia*) and lords of Kaštela (*Castelli*). We find record of it in excerpts from the Register of Padua University relating to the admission of students from Dalmatian Houses<sup>20</sup>. Indeed Stjepan Frankopan was awarded a doctoral diploma at Padua University in 1650, now in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

<sup>19</sup> BGBC, *Motio*, Lettera L/Licini: f. 83/99: "1673. 8 Martij datum D. Petri soldati a d. Jo. B.a (Joanni Baptista) Licino, In Atti di Achille Isavelli, Arch.o della Città"; f. 110/53: "1680. 28 Settembre. Gio. M.a q. [Giovanni Maria quondam] D. [Dominus] Pietro Licini di Poscante et D. [Dominus] Pietro Suo figliolo His., In atti S.v. Lanfranco Donati Arch.o della

A map of the land areas involved in seizing the Klis Fortress would cover Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Poljica and Kotor. The Senate of Venice granted six *ducati* (gold coins) to be paid monthly in the Fiscal Chamber of Zadar as a life reward for brave conduct in the fight to conquer Klis Fortress in 1648 (VEASPFb1048: cc. 16, 23, 28). All the headmen of the people involved in the crucial battle at Klis on the side of Venice are listed by name. Some counts of Poljica are mentioned and Lorenzo's ancestor Marco is among them, and the counts of Dubrava now Debeljak, Postrana, Gata, Duklja (*Duchia*) which was a State with hereditary lands encompassing the territories of modern Montenegro and bordering with Travunia and Kotor, Ostravica, Konavle, Sisak including a part of Slavonia on the confluence of the Kupa and Sava Rivers, finally of Zrenj in Istria. The Venetians, meanwhile, can create a more efficient *Militia da Mar*, the glorious ultramarine army of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Poljica.

Count "Francesco Subich da Gassenezze" (*Franjo Šubić* of *Gaženice*) is listed in file *Licini Rubcich Zara* among the headmen leading their people to victory in the military campaign of Klis Fortress. A couple of years after the victory at Klis, another document in the collection says that the Council of Poljica sent count Franjo Šubić (*Francesco Subich*) to Venice on mission on 14 October 1651 to grant the "Procuratore Provinciale Generale di San Marco in Dalmazia e Albania" Girolamo Foscarini that the Community of Poljica was devoted to the Most Serene Venetian Dominion (VEASPFb1048: cc. 18-19). An enthusiastic declaration of faithfulness to the Republic of Venice was promptly issued by Girolamo Foscarini in Zadar on 9 November 1651 and then registered by the Senate in form of a *Ducale* in Venice on 29 November (cc. 19-21). Further Venetian confirmation of fiscal privileges to Poljica by Girolamo Corner will follow in Split on 13 July 1665 and on 22 January 1689 (cc. 22-24).

Meanwhile the border demarcation of the so-called "*Linea Nani*", after the Venetian commissioner Gian Battista Nani, put an end to

Città"; *Vicario*, c. 324: "1 giugno 1722, Licini: "Marco Lizzini versus Giovanni Antonio Lizzini, cessionario di d. Pietro Lizzini di lui Fratello".

<sup>20</sup> OREŠKOVIĆ, 2003: 137. The list of names was kept in the family library belonging to Princess Ingrid Frankopan.

the Candia War on the island of Crete involving Dalmatia, Poljica and Kotor (1645 – September 1669). By the partition treaty of 30 October 1671 between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire of the Turks under the Sultan of Constantinople, the sites of Vrpolje (*Verpoglie*) Castle, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Kaštela (*Castelli*) and their territories are still located inside the State borders of the Republic of Saint Mark on the basis of retrieved topographical records stored in town archives. As a result, the so-called Nani Line cuts Klis territory in 1671. Split territory is on one side of the boundary, marking the territory around Klis Fortress under Venetian dominion. The ancient town of *Salona* (Solin) and the river that waters it are another side of the boundary, to grant Venetian vessels access to the Adriatic Sea. The result was that Poljica area was the buffer zone.

Gian Battista Nani had reached Zadar only in May 1671. Re-examining sovereignty claims in changing territorialities, Gian Battista Nani and the new Pasha of Ottoman Bosnia Hussein reached the accord in Dalmatia only on 30 October 1671. Those people of Poljica, Primorje and Makarska (*Poglizza, Primorgie, Macascsa*) and of other lands who, notwithstanding Ottoman sovereignty, had sided with the Venetian Republic in unquestioning good faith during the previous war, were granted universal forgiveness and a place in the Venetian State of Dalmatia on the condition that Venetian subjects were allowed the possession of their rural terrains (*terreni*) in the abandoned villages now in the Ottoman country. The possession of Bosnian villages was justified under international law, in accordance with the new border demarcations of "*Linea Nani*" and capitulations by which Venetians undertook to pass sixteen villages of Poljica, Makarska and Primorje to Ottoman sovereignty (FOSCARINI, 1722: 25). In the Ottoman Empire, Venetian subjects and merchants were exempt from the jurisdiction of local Islamic courts. The accord on the buffer zone might be the right solution also for the Rubcich line of the Licini house of Venetian nationality as counts dedicated to administration of Venice market justice in Poljica. According to capitulations, the headman of the Licinis as count Rubcich in the historic territory of Poljica could keep the legal possession of Poljica properties in the village of Rupčići, even if in Ottoman Bosnia since October 1671.

Sixteen rural settlements or *Ville* in Poljica, Makarska and Primorje were involved to fix the frontier zone, but their names are unknown. Perhaps Rupčići village was included and Venetian

Dalmatia gave its Croatian people refuge from Ottoman Bosnia as faithful Poljicans. It is known that villages were selected on the basis of being under Ottoman sovereignty in the previous century in May 1671 (FOSCARINI, 1722: 24-25). That corresponds to a time interval close to 1537, when the three Croatian ambassadors from Poljica had been sent on mission to the Doge of Venice.

Lastly, by the partition treaty of October 30, 1671, some villages belonging to Poljica historic counties did survive at the border with Venetian Dalmatia within the left side of *Žrnovnica (Xernovnizza)* River, mount Mosor and the last bend of the Cetina river, as the "Provveditore generale" Pietro Valier stated by public agreement in Split in 1685 (ERBER, 1886: 39-40). Documents collected by the "Procuratori Generali" of Venice in Dalmatia and Albania in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* between the year 1647-1748 say that the location of "the autonomous Province of Poljica is very close to that of Dalmatia and particularly to the town of Split (*Spalato*)" and see Poljica territory as a geopolitical unit still in the hands of "the twelve Counts and Headmen of Poljica facing the constant threat of the Turks" (cc. 13-24).

Primary sources in file *b1048* can help to find background information, even if they never speak about the Nani Line. Indeed, the 1648-1651 Venetian military plan involving the people and their headmen from Istria, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Poljica, Bosnia, Kotor, against the Ottoman forces at Klis Fortress finds its real dimension as the artefact of "*Linea Nani*": Marco Rubcich (Marko Rubčić) and Francesco Subich (Franjo Šubić) are worth mentioning among them (cc. 16, 19).

The border demarcation called "*Linea Nani*" re-examines between May and October 1671 motivations for secession in eastern Dalmatia, Poljica and Bosnia, all which could be defined as post-conflict entities. To sum up, the explanation that Michele Foscolo suggests in his declaration under Klis Fortress in 1648 still includes two different complementary strategies carried out in Poljica few months before the Nani Line was marked between May and October 1671, when faithful people of Poljica flying from Ottoman sovereignty only were granted a place in the Venetian State (VEASPF*b1048*: cc. 15-16). Before elaborating on measures which fulfilled the military operations to seize, occupy, and defend land areas around Klis Fortress at the border-limit with the historic territory of Poljica, it is necessary to reflect briefly on history. An article in the Statute

of Poljica, contour lines on an imperial map unfaithfully describing the geopolitical situation of modern Illyria and a conspiracy of Croatian, Dalmatian, Slavonian and Magyar counts and their people against the so-called Emperor of the Romans between 1664 and 30 April 1671 might be the facts behind the long story leading to the demarcation of the Nani Line.

#### The 1670 article in Poljica Statute from the point of view of Venice

At the end of the long Candia War between the Venetians and the Ottoman Empire involving maritime Dalmatia and Kotor (1645 – September 1669), the people of Poljica wanted to avoid fighting inside the land at all costs. Article 105/274 was written in Glagolitic script in the Statute of Poljica on 21 December 1670 in a manner that was appropriate to the circumstance. On this very day the Great Count of Poljica summoned *zbor* to announce that "the Doge and the Sultan made peace and the Venetians gave Candia in return for Klis". A bad translation of the Statute article into Italian says that the Great Count of Poljica went on saying: "As Poljica has always been under the command of Klis Fortress ..., the Turks want us to pay a tribute [for not being attacked]. And so do the Latins. But we will not decide until *Župa* is assigned and the boundaries of the Province are marked ... we all must stand united in the event that the Lords up or the Lords down get angry on us". Accordingly, Erber argues in his text in Italian that the Lords up are the Turks and the Lords down are the Venetians (ERBER, 1886: 32-33).

Now suppose that 'Latin' is not the appropriate Italian translation of the Glagolitic text in Poljica Statute. Perhaps 'Latins' is a complete misnomer for 'Romans'. As a result, the wrong use of the translated name 'Latin' leads to 'Venetian', but also to political equivocation, because the elected Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation only is proclaimed "Romanorum Imperator et semper Augustus"<sup>21</sup>. European chronicles have recorded events involving the Emperor of the Romans since 1356, but for 'Romans' they mean 'Italians and Germans' both living in the lands of the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation now under the Habsburg Crown of Austria, ostensibly as a

continuation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor and King of both Franks and Langobards<sup>22</sup>.

The *Stato da Terra* and the *Stato da Mar* of the Most Serene Republic of Venice were absolutely out of the Holy Roman Empire, and 'Venetians' were never defined as 'Romans' in chronicles. Leopold I of Habsburg as Emperor of the Romans is registered exactly at the time of Nani Line (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 111). Article 105/274 of Poljica Statute should mean 'Romans' instead of 'Latins'. In this case the people of Poljica in *zbor* worked out a strategy at the end of the Candia War not to pay tribute to prevent attacks on the community of Poljica from the side of the Empire of the Ottoman Turks and from the side of the Empire of the Romans under the Habsburg Crown of Austria on 21 December 1670.

The people of Poljica did not mean that attacks could come from the side of the Venetian Republic in that article. Otherwise Poljica Statute would contradict the free confirmation and legal enlargement of all the market privileges and exemptions without paying any tribute that the "Provveditore Generale sopra Feudi" Nicolò Donado granted them in Split when the outbreak of the Candia War was expected, on the clear understanding that "the Poljičani (*Poglizzani*) are not to be treated as Foreigners, because the Senate in Venice regards them as it regards the Citizen status of Split" (*b1048*, cc. 13-14). A dispatch on the crucial position of the people of Poljica had been sent then in the *Ducali* to the "Provveditore generale" Lunardo Foscolo on 14 June 1647 and the Senate had suggested that the free obedience of the people of Poljica could be major safeguard of the State of Venice even at the cost of granting them further market privileges. Further confirmations of Venetian privileges to Poljica had followed in Trogir in 1648 and 1651 (VEASPFb1048: cc. 15, 17-21).

#### Blaeu's map from the point of view of Poljica

The map-maker Ioannes Blaeu made a map in bright colours in 1668 depicting "ILLYRICUM HODIERNUM, *Quod Scriptores communiter SCLAVONIAM, Itali SCHIAVONIAM nuncupare solent, in DALMATIAM, CROATIAM, BOSNIAM, et SCLAVONIAM distinguitur. Sed cum ejus majorem partem Turcae obtineant, in Praefecturas eorum*

<sup>21</sup> The imperial Diet document *Latin MS. Vatic. Palat. 1419* in THORNDIKE, 1943: 291-293.

<sup>22</sup> *Bulla Aurea*, Capitula II, VI, VII, XIX (JENKS, 1998).





Figure 7 Joannes Blaeu, *Illyricum Hodiernum*, *Quod Scriptores communiter Sclavoniam, Itali Schiavoniam nuncupare solent, in Dalmatiam, Croatiam, Bosniam, et Sclavoniam distinguitur. Sed cum ejus majorem partem Turcae obtineant, in Praefecturas eorum more Sanzacatus dictas divisum est, reliquum autem Veneti, Ungari, et Ragusini tenant. Sanzacatus sunt Bosna, Residentia Bassae; Poxega; Cernik; Bihak; Lika et Carbava; Clissa; Herzegovina* detail, dedication to Petar of Zrin (Amsterdam, 1668).

*more Sanzacatus dictas divisum est, reliquum autem Veneti, Ungari, et Ragusini tenant. Sanzacatus sunt BOSNA, Residentia Bassae; POXEGA; CERNIK; BIHAK; LIKA et CARBAVA; CLISSA; HERZEGOVINA.*" (Fig. 7)<sup>23</sup>.

Blaeu's map depicting modern Illyria (Croatian and neighbouring lands) was made to be attached to the book *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* by Ivan Lučić of Trogir, former head of the Illyrian College<sup>24</sup> in Rome. The map first appeared in Amsterdam in 1666, without a dedication, and again in its final format in 1668, with a Latin

<sup>23</sup> The author is indebted to Miljenko Lapaine for Blaeu's map of 1668.

dedication to Petar Zrinski (Petar de Zrin, *Petro de Zrin*), a count soon to be executed as a traitor of the Emperor of the Romans in the person of Leopold I of Habsburg (KURELAC, 1969. WAGNER, 1802: De Zrinio, 160-163).

The crucial fact is that in 1668 Blaeu as map-maker of the Emperor of the Romans presented the lands to count Petar Zrinski in a cartouche on the map that reads: "Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Domino Petro Comiti Perpetuo De Zrin, Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae Bano, Bano Hereditario Maritimo, Praesidii Legradiensis et

<sup>24</sup> *Collegium Illyricum*, Croatian Collegium of St. Geronimo in Rome (*Hrvatski zavod sv. Jeronima u Rimu*)

peninsulae Murakoz Hereditario Capitaneo, et Domino Comiti Hereditario de Lijcâ, Odoriâ, Corbariâ, Almiso, Clissiâ, Scardonâ, Ostrovizzâ, Breberio etc. Argenti fodinarum in Cosdansio et Kosthanizzâ Libero Domino. Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis Consiliario et Camerario. Tabulam hanc D.D.D."

The dedication contains all the annotations on a geopolitical asset we need. Petar Zrinski had succeeded his elder brother as Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Ban of the Maritime Coast on 18 November 1665. He also inherited the Croatian and Dalmatian titles of count de Zrin, Omiš (*Almissa*), Klis (*Clissa*), Skradin (*Scardona*), Bribir (*Breberio*). And he was free lord of Kostanjica southwest of Risan. He inherited the mining rights on the silver mines at Gvozdansko not far from Zrin Castle. He was hereditary captain of Legrad Fortress at the confluence of Mura River into Drava River, and of the whole peninsula of Međimurje. Finally, he was councillor and chamberlain to His Imperial Majesty.

Rather distinct from the other regions, yet in certain ways unfaithfully incorporated into the basic political structure under the Empire of the Romans on the map of 1668, are Poljica, Makarska and Primorje which will be under discussion between the end of Candia War in August 1669 and the demarcation of the Nani Line in October 1671.

Red, yellow and brown contours on Blaeu's map indicate in a strategic way the regions that should belong to Leopold of the Habsburg House of Austria as Emperor of the Romans, to the Republic of Saint Mark and to the Sultan of the Ottoman Turkish Empire respectively in 1668. But colour contours do not correspond to geopolitical reality and they seem to indicate where an increase in positive or negative land acquisitions is to be expected. Blaeu drew the natural region of Croatian Dalmatia where Poljica should have been in the States of Venice as a blank area on the Adriatic coast pointing at Klis Fortress. There is a rectangle left empty where there should be the Great County of Poljica, inside the red contour shaping the political region of *Herzegowina* (Hercegovina, Herzegovina) and the land of Makarska within the other portion of inner *Dalmatia* which was already under the Habsburg Crown in the hands "Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis".

In other words, the territory of Poljica without its own name is shown unfaithfully as already in the hands of the Emperor of the Romans on the map in 1668. The Adriatic Sea is faithfully described as

*Golfo di Venetia*. In this way the maritime coast of Croatian Dalmatia, the final bend of Cetina River at the left side of its mouth at Omiš (*Almissa*) and a dotted line elongated in the North-Est direction at the right side of Split (*Spalato*) cut a blank area in a red contour of Imperial significance where the name Poljica of Venetian significance should have been located. The result is a terrestrial unit in Herzegovina, within the southwest corner of the red contour encompassing Imperial Dalmatia too. In this way Rama Valley (*Dumno – Rama*) is included within the northeastern boundary of Herzegovina in the red contour of the Roman Habsburg Empire, up to the left bank of Neretva River fronting Bosnia. Bosnia is within the brown contour of the Ottoman Turkish Empire encompassing the right bank of Neretva River. Contrary to Dalmatian toponyms of ancient Latin origin written on the map, the name of Neretva River is rendered in Croatian here and it stands for old *Narenta*.

The towns of Split (*Spalato*) and Omiš (*Almissa*) are correctly defined within the yellow contour shaping the portion of the State of maritime Dalmatia under the rule of Venice. But Venetian Dalmatia is very reduced in seize here. Omiš looks utterly isolated in its yellow contour at the mouth of Cetina River on the map, because the blank land in form of a rectangle corresponding to suppressed Poljica interrupts on the east and west – as a red slot incorrectly displayed under the rule of the Emperor of the Romans – the yellow territorial continuity of the lands still under the rule of Venice along the Adriatic coast between Split and Omiš.

Two different contour lines politically shape also the two major Dalmatian islands of Brač (*Brazza*) to the north and of Hvar (*Lesina*) to the south, which actually might be under the rule of Venice at the time. The yellow contour denotes the jurisdiction of Venice over the major island of Brač to the north as the last ring of a chain of islands in the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice that stretches in an easterly direction from Jabuka (*Pomo*) to Brusnik (*Melisello*) and Sveti Andrija (*S. Andrea*). The chain of yellow islands including *Brazza* points at the coastal land of Croatian Dalmatia where expressed Split (*Spalato*) is located in the yellow contour, where suppressed Poljica is wrongly located in the red contour thus splitting the *Stato da Mar* of Venice in two, where the port of Omiš (*Almissa*) in the yellow contour is located as an isolated enclave of the Venetian State now in respect to the surrounding red contour of Dalmatian Herzegovina under Habsburg Crown of



Austria unfaithfully encompassing also Makarska (*Macarska*). As we have seen, Makarska will be another of the three sub-themes for discussion during the conference and plans to put the Nani Line of demarcation in 1671. The red contour on the map, meanwhile, denotes the jurisdiction of the Emperor of the Romans over the major island of Hvar (*Lesina*) to the south as the last ring of a chain of islands in the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice that stretches in an easterly direction from Biševo (*Bosi*) to Vis (*Lissa*) and Korčula (*Corzula*). The chain of red islands including *Lesina* points at the mouth of Neretva River and the region of Slano (*Sliano*), on the Dalmatian Herzegovina shore in red on the map. At the same time, Pelješac peninsula (*Ponta de Sabioncello*) in the brown contour of the Ottoman Turkish Empire is slotted in between the two islands of Hvar (*Lesina*) and Korčula (*Corzula*) in their red contours as two virtual acquisitions of the Emperor of the Romans.

Pelješac peninsula (*Ponta de Sabioncello*) in the brown contour under the rule of the Ottoman Turkish Empire faces the mouth of Neretva River in Neretvanski Kanal, which is in the red contour under the Emperor of the Romans. One contour encompasses Pelješac peninsula and the islands of Mljet (*Meleda*), Lastovo (*Lagosta*), Kopač (*Catzola*), Sušac (*Cazitre*), directing the course of a ship straight in the hands of the Ottoman Sultan with the nuances of brown. In this way Pelješac peninsula in historic Croatia is located as a long stretch of isolated land in the brown contour on the maritime coast and it is really at the northeast limit of the Ottoman Empire under the rule of the Sultan of Constantinople. The peninsula in the brown contour faces the mouth of Neretva River in the red contour of Dalmatian Herzegovina together with the area of Poljica, which are wrongly displayed as a regional unit virtually already under the rule of the Emperor of the Romans. Kotor and Boka Kotorska (*Golfo alle Bocche di Cattaro*) in a yellow contour denote the dominion of Venice and put an end to both the red and the brown border lines.

The result is that the navigation route calling at Kopač (*Catzola*) and Sušac (*Cazitre*) as the last two rings of the brown chain of islands in the south under the Sultan of Constantinople, and the navigation route calling at Biševo (*Bosi*) and *Lissa* (Vis) as the last two rings of the red chain of islands under the Emperor of the Romans in the middle can be seen to intersect at a vanishing point in the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice, just near Sveti Andrija (*S. Andrea*) as the first ring of the yellow

chain of islands in the north under the Republic of Saint Mark.

Visualising the state of the power system geographically through colour contours on the map of modern Illyria can generate extra information in the upper portion of the Adriatic Sea. Actually colour contours may deflect European sailing vessels from a commercial area, or route difficult to defend. A cluster of islands and lands off Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia is formed on Blaeu's map, but they are not politically correct in 1668 before Nani Line is marked between 1669 and 1671. According to political contours on the map, Istria, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia would be cut off at a glance from the trade routes in the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice connecting the Illyric coasts and its islands up to the dominant – Venice. Physical geography generates unit fields that can have political relationship once they interact in space as barrages with continuous gunfire to block all major international routes calling at the port of Venice via Croatian Dalmatia and Poljica. Brown and red colours can block all kind of traffic sailing from the Venetian island of Corfu across Otranto Channel and the Greek or Aegean Sea in front of Venetian Albania, which still marks the southern limit of the so-called Gulf of Venice.

Blaeu presented the map to Petar, Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, hereditary Maritime Ban, count *de Zrin, Almissa, Clissa, Scardona, Breberio* (Zrin, Omiš, Klis, Skradin Bribir) and, finally, councillor "Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis" in 1668 (Fig. 7). These words actually mean that count Petar Zrinski is councillor of the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation in the hands of the Habsburg House of Austria now. As a Habsburg, the Emperor of the Romans Leopold I had also a claim on the Spanish throne of Charles II, the last Habsburg King of Spain ruling over America's gold and West Indies. With the result that count Petar Zrinski can see in 1668 how the cartographic area unfaithfully in a red Imperial contour that covers suppressed Venetian Poljica pointing at Klis Fortress visually might cut modern Illyria – Istria, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Poljica – off the traditional trade routes across the Adriatic Sea leading to the Mediterranean Sea, to the rich markets of Asia and Africa, and even to America via the Atlantic Ocean.

The documents of 1648 and 1651 in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* can help now. Of note is the fact that counts and their people from Poljica are mentioned in action at the conquest of Klis Fortress



in 1648, coming from Dubrava, Postrana, Gata, Duklja, Ostravica, Konavle, Sisak and Zrenj. All the lands involved in seizing Klis would actually cover modern Illyria on Blaeu's map published in 1668. And "Francesco Subich" from Gaženice is one of the headmen faithfully fighting with "Marco Rubich, Lorenzo's ancestor", for the Most Serene Venetian Dominion in Dalmatia and Poljica "under continuous attack of the Turks", as Foscolo declares under the Fortress after the victory at Klis on 1 April 1648 (VEASPFb1048: c. 16).

Lastly, count Francesco Subich in Foscolo's declaration and count Petar de Zrin in the cartouche on Blaeu's map of modern Illyria come from the same noble House. Counts Subich (de) Breberio are *župani* Šubići Bribirski in Croatian historiography. All members of the family line were described as those "in Illyrico dicti Comites Breberiensis" (WAGNER, 1802: 146. JAKŠIĆ, 2000: 28, 35). The words "Pauli Breberiensis Bani Totius Sclavoniae" appeared in the seal of Ban or Viceroy of all Slavonia Pavao I Bribirski (*Paulus I de Breberio*) as early as 1307, according to the chronicle of Skradin. But in 1347 Louis I of Anjou-Sicilia, king of Hungary, Croatia, Sicily, Dalmatia ..., granted the Bribir line of the Šubić house descending from Juraj IV (*Georgius IV*), who was the son of count Pavao II Bribirski (Paulus II of Bribir), the investiture of Zrin Castle, at Veliki Zrin (*Zrinio Magno*) now Zrin. The family tree members descending from count Georgius IV of Bribir took "novum Zrinii nomen a Castro Zrin" and as *de Zrin* they deposited the Illyric territorial affiliation *de Breberio* referring to Bribir Castle. In this way the family line directly descending from count Georgius IV of Bribir began to be recorded as *de Zrinio*, *Zrinio*, *Zrinii*, *Zriniius*, *Zrinianus*. Lastly, the first family line originating in 1251 in Bribir Castle still under the Royal Crown of king Béla IV is that of the counts of Breberio, also in the variant forms de Breberio, Breber, Brebir, Brebrich. The second family line originating in 1347 in Zrin Castle is that of the counts of Zrin, or de Zrin, Zrinio, Zrinski, de Serin, Sdrin. They are all descendants of the Subich or Šubić house (WAGNER, 1802: 146, 153, 155, 157, 161. CUSANI, 1846: 219).

The members of the Subich house had been simply registered as descending from the Bribir branch or the Zrin branch after Bribir Castle or after Zrin Castle respectively since 1251, when Blaeu wrote the dedication on the map to one of them, Petar, count of both the castles of Zrin and Bribir in 1668.

It is clear in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* that Franjo Šubić (Francesco Subich) was family related to Petar Zrinski, whose titles are in the cartouche on Blaeu's map of modern Illyria in 1668. Petar Zrinski in the cartouche is also the headman of the Šubić house at the moment. And it was Franjo Šubić who was sent to Venice to grant the "Procuratore Provinciale Generale di San Marco in Dalmazia e Albania" Girolamo Foscarini that the people of Poljica "were devoted to the Most Serene Venetian Dominion" against Ottoman Turks in 1651 during the long Candia War involving Dalmatia and Kotor (1645 – September 1669), as the document collected by the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" in Venice can attest. It is well known that Petar Zrinski and his brother-in-law Fran II Krsto Frankopan had remarkable success in resisting Ottoman Turks on Mura and Drava Rivers by organizing raids into Ottoman occupied territory from their strongholds at Zrin in Croatia. Nonetheless, the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation Leopold I of the Habsburg House of Austria signed a peace treaty with the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks from Constantinople on the basis of *status quo ante* since 1606, instead of supporting victorious Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan. Despite the Austrian victory, on 10 August 1664 the Peace of Vasvár was signed to last twenty years. Ottoman control of Transylvania was recognized, as well as the Holy Roman Empire becoming obliged to pay war reparations to the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Reigns under Habsburg Imperial Crown – portions of Magyar Hungary, Slavonia, inland Croatia and inland Dalmatia – were prevented from regaining territory lost to the Ottoman Empire. Petar Zrinski's and Fran Krsto Frankopan's estates were included.

After the unpopular peace of Vasvár, the liberated territories had to be handed back to the Turks and Leopold I of Habsburg as Emperor of the Romans recognized the recently-installed Turkish ruler Mihály I Apafi as prince of Transylvania. And Zrin Castle between the Drava and Mura Rivers by the free market town of Čakovec was to be dismantled. This caused unrest among the Magyar and Illyric (Croatian) nobles under the Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, who plotted against the Emperor of the Romans as elective King of Hungary and against the Habsburg house of Austria. The Emperor of the Romans was in possession of fortresses, strongholds and munitions for the security of the inhabitants in all the hereditary States under the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Formally land,

fortresses, harbours, rivers and bridges might be the responsibility of hereditary feudal counties and noble Houses under the Imperial Crown, who received private jurisdiction inside the hereditary States of the Holy Roman Emperor, dependent upon Imperial Law and Imperial lawcourts of justice. But in 1664 the Emperor of the Romans ruled also over inland Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, upper Hungary, which had been States under Hungarian Law and elective Crown since the time of the Árpád Magyar royal dynasty (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 2, 8, 43, 82, 109-110, 113).

Fortresses, harbours, strongholds and munitions in the possession of the Most Serene Republic of Saint Mark in maritime Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, secured the Venetian trade routes to the East and were dependent upon the "Provveditori sopra Fortezze", Magistracy in Venice, under the jurisdiction of the Senate (MOSTO, 1937: 100). But those few fortresses and lands that were the responsibility of hereditary feudal counties and noble houses, with their own private territory under private jurisdiction inside the acquisitions of the Republic of Saint Mark in the *Stato da Mar*, were dependent upon "Provveditori sopra Feudi" which formed another Magistracy in Venice under the jurisdiction of the Senate (ZAMPERETTI, 2007: 235-248; 1991: 260-268. BACOTICH, 1938: 15-21). From the location of the titles of nobility presented on Blaeu's map, it is obvious that Petar is Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, hereditary Maritime Ban, and councillor of the Holy Roman Emperor, but his inherited counties under private jurisdiction in the Croatian lands of Omiš, Klis, Skradin and Kostanjica southwest of Risan, have all been gradually acquired by the Republic of Saint Mark and therefore these counties are inside the yellow-Venetian contour on Blaeu's map down to Kotor in 1668.

Even if under the Habsburg Imperial Crown, historically the provinces of inland Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia were not under Imperial Law, but under Hungarian Law. The unpopular peace of 1664 between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire encouraged Petar Zrinski, his brother-in-law Fran II Krsto Frankopan, Magyar nobles led by Ferenc Rákóczi I in upper Imperial Hungary and Ottoman Transylvania, to carry on with a geopolitical plot. Zrin noble house opposed open rebellion against the Habsburg Imperial Crown in 1669 (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 29-33, 57, 82). The conspirators turned to Venice in the *Stato da Mar*. Rebel forces had been gathering on the Zrinski properties since March 1670,

when any operation was halted by State Council knights of the Emperor before the rebellion even began (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 34-40, 54-55). Their estates were confiscated in the name of the Habsburg Imperial Crown within August 1670, and their families relocated. The result of the armed rebellion against Habsburg Imperial Dominion was the public decapitation of Petar Zrinski and Fran II Krsto Frankopan at the Wiener Neustadt (Bečko Novo Mesto) Fortress near Vienna, on 30 April 1671.

Now the question is: Was Blaeu's map of 1668 dedicated to Petar Zrinski and its striking visuals imposing a blockade of the navigation system under the flag of Saint Mark across the Adriatic Sea through the use of red-Imperial and brown-Ottoman colours just at the Croatian latitudes of Poljica, Makarska, Primorje, that raised Petar Zrinski's armed rebellion in 1699 against the Emperor of the Romans Leopold Caesar of Habsburg? As Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, hereditary Maritime Ban, count of Omiš, Klis, Skradin, Bribir, Zrin, finally as free lord of Kostanjica and as headman of the *Subich*/Šubić house of Bribir Castle, the dedicatee Petar was aware that the military control of modern Illyria was vital for ships and business connected sites. The sequence of years and days, together with that article of Poljica Statute on 21 December 1670, lead to a positive conclusion. The virtual cluster of islands and lands of historic Croatian Dalmatia unfaithfully encompassed in red and brown contours on Blaeu's map in 1668 could actually block navigation routes in the Gulf of Venice, thus deflecting European vessels from the Adriatic Sea.

The map displayed an international *intrigo* in form of coloured navigation links connecting Habsburg Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, southern Habsburg Italy and finally Habsburg Spain and America, for the total control of trade routes in the Mediterranean Sea leading to the Atlantic Ocean. Confiscation of Petar Zrinski's and Fran Krsto Frankopan's estates, relocation of their families (August 1670), decapitation (30 April 1671) are coincidental with the geopolitical process leading to the agreement on "*Linea Nani*" between the Venetian commissioner Gian Battista Nani and the Grand Vezir in an agony of indecision between May 1669 and October, 30, 1671, granting faithful Croatian people from sixteen villages in historic Poljica, Makarska, Primorje, universal forgiveness and a safe place in the Venetian State of Dalmatia on the condition that Venetian subjects were

allowed the possession of their abandoned villages in reshaped Ottoman Bosnia.

### Zrin's conspiracy from the point of view of Poljica

The war to take the island of Crete and the capital town Candia from Venice came in September 1644, when on the way to the pilgrimage a ship carrying many leading figures of the Ottoman society was captured by Christian privateers, who brought their captives and booty to the island of Kerpe (Karpatos), northeast of Crete. A huge fleet of Ottoman ships began landing on Venetian Crete on 24 June 1645. But the siege of the capital town of the island stretched on well beyond sultan Ibrahim's reign into that of his successor, Mehmet IV. The Ottoman fleet was able to impose a complete blockade that assured victory over Venetian Crete only when Fâzıl Ahmet Paşa, Grand Vezir of the Sultan, put an end to the Habsburg border raids in Transylvania and northern Hungary in Summer 1664, and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation Leopold I Caesar of the Habsburg House of Austria further agreed to provide a gift of money to the Sultan of Constantinople while his only consolation was an Ottoman military promise to refrain from raids into Habsburg Imperial territory in the unpopular peace treaty of Vasvár on 10 August 1664. The Emperor of the Romans agreed to evacuate all the territories that the Imperial army had occupied in Transylvania, allowing the Ottomans to retain the territories of northern Hungary and Transylvania (FOSCARINI, 1722: 3. SHAW S., 1976: 201-213). Petar Zrinski's and Fran Krsto Frankopan's Christian estates included.

With the war ended, Grand Vezir Fâzıl Ahmet Paşa personally could lead his forces in a renewed siege of Venetian Candia in 1666, which ultimately led to its conquest as well as that of the rest of the island at the end of August 1669. The island of Candia had been under Ottoman siege for twenty-seven months, when disagreements between the Venetian commander in chief and the leaders of the European supporters led the latter to withdraw, forcing the Venetians to agree to a negotiated peace with the Ottoman Turks. In the meantime,

<sup>25</sup> *Morlacco*, Morlak in Croatian, etc., mostly Venetian expression for both catholic or orthodox christian resident of Adriatic eastern or Dinaric hinterland (Croats, Vlach and others); comes from *morus* = black, and *Vallach*

conditions within the Ottoman Empire went from bad to worst, because of threats of serious rebellion in Anatolia and Syria.

In the two years before the crucial decision on the border State line between Dalmatia and Bosnia was sealed and called Nani Line in October 1671, the capitulations involved complete Venetian evacuation of the island of Crete in return for restoration of the ancient trade privileges shared by the two Ottoman and Venetian Nations at sea in time of piece. No gift of money to the Sultan was provided. A negotiated peace between those two Nationalities would reopen market routes from and to the Levant, because ships sailing under the flag of Saint Mark could officially go past the Ottoman ports on the Adriatic and Greek Seas. A new demarcation of the frontier between Venetian Dalmatia and Ottoman Bosnia would definitively put conquered Klis Fortress under Venetian sovereignty, in return for simple promises to refrain from helping the Sultan's enemies and not to give shelter to pirates in the future (FOSCARINI, 1722: 1-6. SHAW S., 1976: 210-214, 222).

Actually the siege of Candia was brought to an end when the Venetians proposed an agreement for surrender in the perspective to officially reopen international trade with the Ottoman Nation. But the Grand Vezir Fâzıl Ahmet Paşa was still lingering around conquered Candia long after the army of the Republic of Venice had gone home. Capitulations implied surrender under specific prearranged conditions and the Grand Vezir succeeded in delaying decision-making in Constantinople. Finally, the Grand Vezir set sail for Adrianople (Edirne) together with Alvisé Molin as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Venice to the Sultan in May 1669 (FOSCARINI, 1722: 6).

With most of the Venetian Militia from the *Stato da Terra* camping in maritime Dalmatia, the Senate of Venice had the power to relocate many Venetian families along the gulf of Istria and particularly in the rural territory of Pula (*Pola*) as refugees from Candia between the end of 1669 and the beginning of 1670. Finally, a decision arrived also for the "Morlak" people<sup>25</sup> living in Obrovac (*Obrovazzo*), Skradin (*Scardona*) north of Šibenik and Risan in Boka Kotorska (*Risano*, *Bocche di Cattaro*), who fell under Venetian control. Unsettled "Morlak"

(*Vlach*), old in roman time latinised (like in Wallach area in Romania), here predominantly autochthonous Dinaric inhabitant (Illyrian or other), later, in medieval period mostly slavenised.



people under the authority of Giovanni Battista Cornaro were forced to retire deeper into the lands of Drniš (*Dernis*) Castle belonging to Zadar city territory, in order to keep the new State frontier in eastern Dalmatia safer for settlement and to repopulate abandoned rural areas (FOSCARINI, 1722: 8, 16-17, 20-25).

This is the historic moment when Grand Count of Poljica announced in *zbor* that the Doge and the Sultan had made peace and the Venetians had given Candia in return for Klis, as Article 105/274 in Poljica Statute reports on 21 December 1670. The reopening of the international trade route from the Dalmatian harbour of Split (*Spalato*) to the Ottoman Empire and the Levant in time of peace was a crucial part of the capitulations from Venice on 5 September 1669 (SHAW S., 1976: 213). Business there ought to be mutual profit for both Ottoman and Venetian customers and merchants (FOSCARINI, 1722: 8, 20-21). Commercial sea traffic in and out of Adriatic Dalmatia under the flag of the *Serenissima* Republic was active again. According to the capitulations in Adrianople, in March 1670 sultan Mehmet IV from Constantinople gave orders to the vezirs of Cairo and Aleppo to treat officials responsible of Venice merchandising with the utmost respect, and to the Pasha of Bosnia and to the Cadi in Sarajevo to keep a safe watch on Venetian merchant vessels calling at the port of Split en route to and from Venice (VEAS, *Libri*, reg. 29: ff. 169<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>. FOSCARINI, 1722: 10, 17-18. JAČOV, 2004: 108-109).

After reaching the commercial accord, the main point of the capitulations between the Ottoman Turks and the Venetians after the fall of Candia was the issue of the State border zone shaping Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and at the latitude of Klis Fortress as the starting point of measuring. Securing sea traffic is international by nature. It was crucial to the future prosperity of maritime Croatian Dalmatia and its islands (FOSCARINI, 1722: 15-16). In this connection, it is necessary to recall that the negotiation on the State border was blocked in Adrianople by the Grand Vezir's intransigence. Namely, Fâzıl Ahmet Paşa, Grand Vezir of the Sultan of Constantinople, was careful not to break formal treaties with the Emperor of the Romans of the Habsburg House of Austria and the peace settlement, signed in Vasvár in 1664 to last twenty years. On the occasion, displaced Croatian and Hungarian nobles, Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan among them, were told that their lands would not be returned to them as the 1664 treaty recognized Ottoman

control of Transylvania and abandoned any notion of liberating Ottoman held Hungary.

Negotiation was blocked in Adrianople between December 1669 and April 1670, during the period in which pope Clement X was elected in Rome. Then the Senate elected Gian Battista Nani as ambassador extraordinary of the State of Venice to the Holy See in Rome (FOSCARINI, 1722: 16-18). The newly-elected Pope too was strongly against the Emperor of the Romans for the peace with the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks and he took special care in nominating the Archbishop of Dalmatia (BÉRENGER, TOLLET, 2003: 330-341).

According to capitulations after the long war of Candia in 1669, a buffer zone in maritime Dalmatia had to be put back to the situation before the previous war of 1572. Consequently, the area of Kaštela (*Castelli*) between the major ports of Trogir and Split in Venetian Dalmatia – the Grand Vezir said to the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Venice in 1670 – belonged to the Habsburg Imperial Crown on the basis that the Venetians did not build military State's fortresses there and had no officially recognized right of dominion over the beach of Kaštela. But in this way the Grand Vezir would actually disturb the territorial continuity of the Venetian State of Dalmatia along the Adriatic coast. Indeed, the Grand Vezir feared revenge from the Emperor of the Romans after the peace of 1664. As a result, the Grand Vezir planned in Adrianople to safely evacuate Venetian people from the land of Skradin north of Šibenik and from the land of Risan in Boka Kotorska, and Ottoman people from Obrovac and Drniš, until the issue of States' rights could be solved.

Under these conditions, on Blaeu's map published in the Empire of the Romans the dedication showing in 1668 that Petar Zrinski was count of Skradin and free lord of Kostanjica southwest of Risan speaks up. The Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Turks was planning from Adrianople in winter 1669-1670 to remove the Venetian people settled in the land of Skradin, where Petar Zrinski as count had lost title and private jurisdiction since August 1670 on the charge that he was guilty of high treason against the Emperor of the Romans Leopold I of Habsburg. The Pasha of Bosnia Mehemet Karlı, who was the Ottoman commissioner on the border to reset the geographic target, also moved menacingly towards Venetian subjects still living in Bosnia and he gave witness in Constantinople that the Dalmatian area of

Kaštela belonged to the Habsburg Imperial Crown (FOSCARINI, 1722: 16-18).

We can see the strategic area called Kaštela in detail on the map SLAVONIA, CROATIA, BOSNIA CUM DALMATIAE PARTE dated 1650<sup>26</sup>. Dalmatian lands located in the maritime zone which is contested and claimed by the Emperor of the Romans are Kaštel Štafilić (*Castel Stafileo*), Kaštel Grisogono/Gomilica (*Grißon*), Kaštel Novi (*Castel de Cipico*), and Kaštel Sućurac (*Castel del arcivescovo*) pointing at Solin (*Salona*) and Klis (*Clissa*) Fortress. Notwithstanding Venetian, Dalmatian, Poljican and "Morlak" origins, local people in Split and Trogir still recalled in 1670 military atrocities committed along the Kaštela Riviera in the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1593, when the Holy Roman Army moved unsuccessfully to regain Klis Fortress from the Ottoman forces of Bosnia and to gain access to the Adriatic Sea across Kaštela (SOLITRO, 1844: I, 269, 273-275, 281, 286-290). Klis Fortress had been lost to sultan Süleyman I in 1537. But surely after the Venetian conquest of Klis in April 1648, the so-called *Riviera dei Castelli* in Dalmatia served as military operation area and naval anchorage to Venetian ships and to the people from Poljica, Dalmatia and historic Croatia via Šibenik and Solin. The Riviera could serve crucially in April 1648 after ten days of hard conflict against the Ottoman forces, when the "Provveditore generale" Zorzi at the head of the ultramountain Venetian troops from Split and the "Procuratore Generale della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia in Dalmazia e Albania" Lunardo Foscolo at the command of a strong fleet could join forces here. In this way the Venetians and the Poljicans living in Poljica and in Kotor could take hold of Klis Fortress at last. Military operations also were made by counts of Poljica and Marko Rubčić (*Marco Rubcich*) from Sitno among them, by count Franjo Šubić (*Francesco Subich*) of Gaženice whose headman was Petar de Zrin and Bribir, and by the counts of Debeljak, Postrana, Gata, Duklja, Ostravica, Konavle, of Sisak including part of Slavonia on the confluence of the Kupa and Sava Rivers, finally by the count of Zrenj in Istria (VEASPFb1048: cc. 14-19, 23, 28).

Maybe in response to this, at the end in the trial of Imperial lawcourt to decide if Petar of Šubić-Zrin-Bribir and Fran Krsto Frankopan were guilty of high treason against the Emperor of the Romans Leopold I of Habsburg in April 1671, witnesses

would testify that rebel Petar had promised the county of Bribir to the Imperial general of Karlovac (*Carlstadt, Carlestat*) in a secret accord with the Pasha of Bosnia that Petar's wife, born Frankopan, had carried on in February 1670 (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 54).

As a result, the institution of the process against count Petar of Šubić-Zrin-Bribir for disobedience between August 1670 and April 1671 shows that the Habsburg Imperial Crown somehow made a claim on Bribir County in Croatian Dalmatia at the border with the Great County of Poljica. Indeed, Bribir had been actually a county under the hereditary and private jurisdiction of the Šubiš/Subich families as feudatories of the Magyar Royal Crown under Hungarian Law since 1251. Therefore Bribir was not in the hereditary States under the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The same consideration must be exercised when speaking about the Great County of Poljica since 1241. The observation returns us to the point from which negotiations after the war of Candia began to slide into stalemate on Croatian Dalmatia in the area of Kaštela Riviera between December 1669 and April 1670. On the other side of the story about the capitulations, count Petar of Šubić-Zrin-Bribir wrote two letters to the Pasha of Bosnia Mehemet Karlı in Banja Luka. Finally the Venetians officially invited count Petar in Zadar to go on mission to sultan Mehmet IV (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 34). No doubt on count Petar's mission: the Venetian army had conquered *Castelli* one by one. The Venetians had also factories on various points of the coast along Kaštela Riviera and their people cultivated the land. As a matter of fact, the sea-tract of Kaštela could be easily watched from a distance without the need of State's fortresses (FOSCARINI, 1722: 18, 22).

Travelling on a passport issued by the Pasha of Bosnia, count Petar of Šubić-Zrin-Bribir crossed line at Solin (*Salonicco*), where he was badly received by the Sultan at night on 18 December 1669 (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 34-36, 100). Imperial reports only say in the negative that count Petar focused on fortresses under his private jurisdiction on the side of the Venetians, and that the Grand Vezir got the details from the Pasha of Bosnia. Basically a shift in the scenario of the Ottomans' relation to the State border between Croatian Dalmatia and Bosnia was perceived as a consequence of the failure when, on February 16, 1670, the

<sup>26</sup> Gerhard Mercator made the map SLAVONIA, CROATIA, BOSNIA CUM DALMATIAE PARTE for the Latin edition of

*Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive Atlas novus* by Ioannes and Willem Janszoon Blaeu (Amsterdam, 1650).

Grand Vezir Fâzil Ahmet Paşa went to Candia and refused negotiation with the Venetians on the buffer zone, but he admitted that commissioners with specific responsibility for the border affairs could better solve the question directly on the spot (FOSCARINI, 1722: 18, 21-22). Because of the premature death of the Pasha of Bosnia Mehemet Karlı as Ottoman commissioner on the border in autumn 1670 shortly after, the Grand Vezir Fâzil Ahmet Paşa appointed Mahmoud, the Pasha of Buda in Hungary, as new Ottoman commissioner on the border. And the Senate of Venice elected Gian Battista Nani as Venetian commissioner on the same border. Commissioner Nani reached Dalmatia in May 1671, ready to solve the last problem: sixteen villages of Poljica, Primorje and Makarska (FOSCARINI, 1722: 24-25).

As contemporaries on one side of the fence or the other, Michele Foscarini senator of the Republic and Galeazzo Gualdo-Priorato historiographer of the Emperor of the Romans provide researches with integrated dates and events. The geopolitical context of the crisis can show that actually count Petar de Zrin did not seek Ottoman assistance in return for promises to accept the Sultan's sovereignty, as historiography goes on to assert (SHAW S., 1976: 214). Indeed, Venice had sent count Petar Šubić as headman of Zrin and Bribir castles under private jurisdiction now in the Republic of Venice on mission by the Sultan on 18 December 1669. And the breakdown in the latest round of Venetian negotiations with the Sultan of Constantinople occurred, as the two Nationalities failed to agree in winter 1669-1670.

In file *b1048* could be found the names of the lands in Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Poljica, Slavonia, Kotor, from which the people and their headmen had come to the conquest of Klis Fortress on the side of the Venetians. Count Francesco of the Šubić house whose head was Petar of Šubić-Zrin-Bribir was among them as the ambassador of faithful Poljica to the Senate of the Republic of Saint Mark in 1651 after victory. Consequently it is obvious from the dedication to Petar Zrinski on Blaeu's 1668 map depicting modern Illyria, that as hereditary count of Klis marking the border with the territory of Poljica, and also as hereditary Maritime Ban, he was sent by the State of Venice from Zadar to Solin to focus on Venetian State's fortresses in Croatian Dalmatia granting the defensive system of the *Stato da Mar*, hoping to hold merchants and their galleons along the Illyric coast.

Historiography should reconsider that it was fight over lucrative trade and strategic resources. Through the Danube River marking the northern political border between Slavonia and Hungary on Blaeu's map in 1668, tributaries such as the Unna River in historic Croatia, the Drava and Mura Rivers between which Petar Zrinski's manor of Čakovec is located, the Sava and Bosna Rivers, all belong to the Black Sea drainage basin. They all represent navigation routes across continental Habsburg Europe and Ottoman Europe along the Danube River-Black Sea system not only towards the sea markets of Mediterranean Asia and Africa but also towards Habsburg Germany and Flanders, Habsburg America and West Indies across the Atlantic Ocean on the map of the world, after the unpopular peace treaty of Vasvár was signed to last twenty years in 1664.

Such a blockage would have meant the loss of finance, credit and markets throughout Croatian Dalmatia. Back to his headquarters after failing mission on behalf of the Venice government in December 1669, count Petar Zrinski as Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, ordered his own hereditary vassals to protect the border of Slavonia at Rockersburg-Steiermark (*Rocherspurg*), at Ptuj (*Pettovia*), at Fürstenfeld (*Fierstenfelt*). A high alert was also sounded at the border with Croatia at Karlovac (*Carlestat*). Meanwhile count Orfeo Frankopan of Tršće (*Tersaz*) developed a plan in the Vinodol valley inside the Dalmatian county of Bribir to defend ports, ships and border lands on the Adriatic Sea under Zrin's feudal jurisdiction as hereditary Maritime Ban in March 1670. A feudal possession of the Frankopan house, Vinodol valley had passed to de Zrin line of the Šubić house in the sixteenth century. Petar Zrinski had been headquartering in Međimurje, the triangle-shaped county belonging to Zrin house on the mouth of river Mura into Drava in the northernmost part of Croatia called "Isola Zerianiana" in Imperial reports, when his brother-in-law Fran Krsto Frankopan consolidated the political control and leadership of military force in Zagreb in March 1670. Rebel companies had control over the Sava and Drava Rivers, and the bridges. Twenty-five thousand militians at the command of Zrin and Frankopan houses were now ready to enter the Hereditary States of the Imperial Crown of the Romans (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 34-39, 56-82).

Shortly thereafter a dialogue was started with the mediation of the bishop of Zagreb Ivanović, Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan came



as far as Vienna in piece in March 1670. As hereditary Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, count Petar Zrinski delivered a written defence in Italian before Emperor Leopold I of Habsburg from the Agostinian Monastery in Vienna (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 66-67, 111-122). Zrin's defence attested that the States of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia were not protected and persecuted under Imperial Laws, but under Hungarian (as well as Croatian) Law. Therefore uprising was not criminal disloyalty to the Emperor (GUALDO PRIORATO, 1676: 82). The historical reference was to *Pacta conventa*.

Arrested only on March 21 of the following year 1671 in Vienna, Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan were soon executed in public on 30 April, few days before Nani's arrival in Dalmatia in May 1671. The project to ensure the geo-economic reorganization of the area on which they had been working with the Venetians was successfully completed by Nani on 30 October 1671. Pending the result of the negotiation in Croatian Dalmatia, Alvise Molin died in Constantinople as neglected ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Venice to the Sultan.

Merchants under the flag of the Republic of Saint Mark amassed lots of capital in the banks in port towns along the *Stato da Mar* and their trading fleet dominated the Mediterranean. Having a huge merchant fleet made the *Stato da Mar* a naval power and Croatian space infrastructure was the crucial part of the countries for providing navigation and positioning services in transportation. Cleverly, Venice agreed to defend Illyric ports in return for free trade privileges to indigenous people. The document in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* attests that Poljica's new act of voluntary obedience to Venice in return for trade privileges has been unquestionable since 1651. Francesco Šubić/*Subich* granted it after the victory at Klis Fortress in company of the headmen from Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Poljica, Kotor, and of Marco (Marko) who was attested in documents as Rubcich (Rubčić) in Poljica and as Licini both in Bergamo and in Padua together with a member of the Frankopans in the register of the Dalmatian houses. Meanwhile count Orfeo Frankopan of Tršće (*Tersaz*) was developing a plan in the Vinodol valley inside the Dalmatian county of Bribir to defend ports, ships and border lands on the Adriatic Sea under Zrin's feudal jurisdiction as hereditary Maritime Ban.

The evaluation of the results seems to drive to the conclusion that, as sixteen villages of

Poljica, Makarska and Primorje passed to the Ottoman Turkish Empire in October 1671 when the capitulations to mark the Nani Line between reshaped Venetian Dalmatia and Ottoman Bosnia were signed at last, the Croatian village of Rupčići in the perimeter of historic Poljica was among them but not the inhabitants who had been faithful to Venice during the long war against the Ottoman forces. According to capitulations, the former set of trade customs between Ottoman and Venetian merchants were resumed and Ottoman merchants were admitted into the harbour of Split to their mutual benefit. In respect of old customs Venetian inhabitants were allowed to enjoy the possession of the natural fruits of the lands in the sixteen abandoned villages now in reshaped Ottoman Bosnia. The Ottoman citizens thought that once detached from their source region beyond the Venetian new State's border according to capitulations, property would vanish completely at last (FOSCARINI, 1722: 17, 20, 24-25). A usufructuary is a person who has the right to enjoy the products of property he does not own. In this respect we can say that the Rubcich line members of the Licini house as hereditary counts of Poljica in the business of the Venetian market could legally keep usufruct land ownership of Rupčići village in northern Poljica then in Ottoman Bosnia.

The conclusion may be that Gian Battista Nani gave up inland villages of upper Poljica for the sake of maritime trade and defence along the Adriatic coast in 1671, but he saved the Croatian inhabitants who had been faithful to the Republic of Saint Mark for twenty-four years under continuous attack from the side of the Ottoman forces, and the use and possession of Ottoman real estate because the sixteen abandoned Croatian villages could still enjoy the produce or income from property they held in trust for somebody else.

A correlated argument is that certainly Gradac with the church of Saint George (Sveti Jure) was the main site in the historic territory of Poljica, as two documents "translated from Illyric" and issued in *zbor* can attest. Traditionally *zbor* was summoned in Gradac and the last reference to the site is given in 1651 after the victory at Klis in file *1048* (cc. 19-21). But which site do the documents mean in 1651? Gradac located 40 km southeast of Makarska along the beach? Or Gradac now located in western Bosnia? Because the geographical coordinates of Gradac in Bosnia are: 43° 12' 37" N, 17° 43' 2" E. As a matter of fact the geographical coordinates of Gradac now in Bosnia are about the same as those given for the site of Rupčići now in Bosnia, 43° 6' 40" N, 17° 38' 39" E.

The Great County of Poljica never developed urban centres on its territory even after the *Ducale* of 1537 (PIVČEVIĆ, 1987-1988). The supposition is now that twelve out of sixteen villages in question for the demarcation of Nani Line in 1671 were cut off historic Poljica, and they passed to Bosnia. We see it later on, when once more the "Provveditore sopra Feudi" Antonio Zan pronounces judgment on Lorenzo's status accordingly in Zadar on 20 and 31 August 1781, after due process of law and after approval from Paolo Cattusich (Pavao Katušić) as prosecutor of Poljica, from Vincenzo Antonio Contarini as captain of Zadar on 23 October 1780, finally from Vincenzo Contarini as captain of the "Procuratori sopra Feudi" in Zadar on 25 February 1780, in harmony with the general order by the Senate in Venice. The last favourable verdict recalls that Lorenzo's family "is one of the Noble and Titled Families of the Province of Poljica in Dalmatia", and consequently that "as descendant of the Noble Houses of the Reign of Bosnia, the Family can still participate in the dominion of that Province, which is divided into twelve Counties. Therefore the Family is legally entitled to wear the Title of Count, which is tied to the ancient deliberations of the *Serenissimo* Dominion on Poljica Nobility" (VEASPFb1048: cc. 1r, 2-10).

#### Events after Nani demarcation line

Partial and split territory assignments may be considered on a specific basis depending upon geographical overlaps. Originally Poljica was a conglomeration of patrimonial counts in twelve Croatian counties formally under Magyar Royal investiture. Maybe some villages belonging to Poljica historic territory such as Rupčići, Dolac and Gradac beyond Cetina River definitely passed to the Ottoman Empire later on in 1699 during the new peace treaty of Srijemski Karlovci, when the military commission on the Triple Border elaborated the *Instrumentum Pacis, inter Romano-Caesarem Majestatem et Ottomanicam portam (subscriptum Carlowizii die 26. Jan. 1699)*. The Morea or Peloponneso War (1684-1699) was then at the end. A chain of geographical titles describing sultan Mustafa Han as "Ottomanorum Imperatorem, ac Asiae et Graeciae" opens the new treaty text (GHILLANY, 1855: 201). By extension, the Sultan's titles can reach Venetian Albania and conquered Morea on portolan charts. Vice-ban Ibrahim Effendi for the Sultan of Constantinople, baron von Herberstein from Stiria, count Marsigli for the

Emperor of the Romans and finally the Venetian patrician Giovanni Grimani for the Republic of Saint Mark formed the Triple Border military commission of Srijemski Karlovci. With the result that the latest "*Linea Grimani*" of 1699 defined the new portion of conquered lands called "*Nuovo Acquisto*". The surpassed Nani Line of 1671 was called "*Vecchio Acquisto*" as a consequence. The new Grimani Line started from Medvida Glavica at the Triple Border point or "*Triplex Confinium*" towards Knin, Vrlika, Sinj, Zadvarje, Vrgorac and Čitluk, encircling also the areas of Herceg Novi and Risan in Boka Kotorska (MARKOVIĆ, TUĐMAN, 1993: 270, 325, 336. FÜRST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2008: 41-52).

The new "*Linea Grimani*" of 1699 shows territorial acquisition as the result of war action under the flag of the Republic of Saint Mark with the logistic support of the State of Poljica. But the military importance of Poljica has been a neglected issue in the historiography so far (NAZOR, 2002: 45-69). Documents collected in the State Archive of Venice can help now. Venetian Dalmatia was so short of heavy artillery and money in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* that the Poljicans (*Poglizzani*) at the command of the headmen of Poljica disposed artillery positions on the walls of the stronghold of Split and sixty workers to restore it at their own expenses. The people of Poljica repulsed an attack on Split stronghold (1665), a series of attacks on Poljica and Dalmatia by the Pasha of Bosnia (1684-1699). The *Poglizzani* were indispensable allies of the *Veneziani* in the conquest of Senj Castle (*Segna*) in 1686-1687 and Herceg Novi (*Castel Nuovo di Cattaro*) in 1687. Major military operations were successfully carried out along the Neretva River: the walls of the fort at Kula Norinska (*Torre di Norino*) were undermined in 1687; the strongholds of Gabela (*Gabella*) and Čitluk (*Citluch*) were heavily defended in 1689 and 1694. The people of Poljica defended Ulcinj (*Dolcigno*) on the Adriatic coast in 1696. On 22 January 1689 the "Procuratore Generale in Dalmazia e Albania" for the Republic of Venice Girolamo Corner attests in Split that when he ordered "to reduce the Morlaks into a state of devotion to the Most Serene Dominion, the unit of Poljicans was the first to carry out the military operation in the area" (cc. 22-24, 25, 26-27, 29).

Čitluk and Herceg Novi are among the sites along the new "*Linea Grimani*" of 1699. Another series of enthusiastic declarations of public faithfulness to the Republic of Venice followed the military operation, and well-justified exemptions on commodity goods imported or exported by the

Poljicans and their headmen without payment of fiscal duty to the State treasurer's office of Venice in return for the privilege<sup>27</sup>.

Created by the intersections of the Most Serene Republic of Saint Mark, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation under the Habsburg Crown of Austria and the Ottoman Turkish Empire under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Constantinople, the Triple Border treaty has often been invoked as a key to understanding the complicated Past. But probably it is also a key to understanding the complicated past of Poljica. Historic Poljica was officially devoted to the Catholic Church of Rome. Perhaps the Christian villages of Poljica beyond Cetina River such as Dolac, Rupčići, possibly Gradac, in utter isolation under Ottoman sovereignty after the previous Nani Line had been marked in 1671 on the condition that Venetian subjects only were allowed the possession of their natural fruits in reshaped Ottoman Bosnia, together with the Croatian villages beyond Unna River definitely passed to Ottoman Bosnia between 26 January and 9 March 1699. When the Border military commission on the Triple Border in article n. 5 decided about the "*tractus Croatiae ultra Unnam*", but granting in article n. 13 that the Croatian people should enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion<sup>28</sup>.

### Croatian toponyms on Venetian maps

Some judicial documents in the State Archive of Zadar furnish evidence that Lorenzo and his younger brother Gian Domenico (*Zan Domenico*) as "Licini Rubcich" with private jurisdiction in the name of the Doge on Poljicans living in the Province of Zadar since 1751 submit to the district Court jurisdiction of Zadar for rent rescue

between 1777-1780. A few examples: claims to compensation, Court's injunctions and orders requiring a selection of tenant farmers who remain in debt to pay off the "Licini Rubcich" brothers for the rent of potable water well in Vinjerac (*Castel Venier*; see also MAGAŠ, 1999), of a water mill in the land of Nin (*Nona*; see also MAGAŠ, 1995), of a portion of land at Slivnica (*Slivniza*). The portions of cultivated land documented are in rural areas involving agriculture within 30 kilometres north of Zadar (ZDAZ, I, 191, ff. 101-102, 124, 125, 181).

Judicial decisions of the national government are to be seen in institutional context. The Grimani Land Law had already been promulgated in Dalmatia in 1756 and land parcels distributed to rural people in legal representation of the State of Venice. Meanwhile the territory belonging to the Great County of Poljica had been registered as a Province included in Dalmatia since 1750 under the rule of *zbor* in file *b1048* (cc. 2, 4-10). At first glance, toponyms in agricultural areas out of the capital town of Zadar in the judicial documents that Gian Domenico "Licini Rubcich" and his elder brother count Lorenzo "Licini Rubcich e Pubblico Perito" of Dalmatia as landowners in the name of the Doge submitted for rent rescue in rural areas between 1777-1780 and toponyms on the sketch map CANAL DELLA MORLACA that "conte Lorenzo Licini Rubcich Pubblico Perito Agrimensore" had made for the collection of *Mape Grimani* in 1762 perfectly match. That means that rural areas around Zadar make the difference. Public documents show that Lorenzo's family is called Rubcich in Poljica, Licini in Zadar and Dalmatia, but Licini Rubcich in the agricultural lands that are under cultivation in the Province of Zadar and its harbour, where sea way is Velebitski kanal (Morlakian channel, *Canale della Morlacca*,

<sup>27</sup> By Lucio del Ballo as "Console Generale di Venezia" in Split on May 1698 (cc. 24-25). By Alojsio Mocenigo as "Dux Veneticorum" on 7 May 1707 in Venice (c. 25). By Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> as "Procuratore Generale dell'Armi e Compagnie ai Confini in Dalmatia et Albania" on 2 January 1720 in Split (cc. 26-27). By Pietro Vendramin as "Procuratore Generale per la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia in Dalmazia e Albania" on 29 July 1729 in Zadar (c. 27). By Girolamo Boldù as "Procuratore generale per la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia in Dalmazia e in Albania" on 21 July 1748 in Zadar (cc. 27-29).

<sup>28</sup> "ille autem Croatiae tractus ultra Unnam, qui nunc vulgo Bosniae accensetur, Turcis, sub pacem conditione, vigore Articuli V, concedebatur" connected with Art. XIII "Pro religiosis ac religionis Christianae exercitio juxta

ritum Romano-Chatolicae Ecclesiae". Full text edited by GHILLANY, 1855: II, Art. 5, p. 204; Art. 7-11, pp. 205-206. On armed security dispositions along the Border; Art. 13, p. 207 "Pro religiosis ac religionis Christianae exercitio juxta ritum Romano-Chatolicae Ecclesiae". The historical and geographical asset of the region in a document by MANLIUS 1787: 33, 96, "Nam cum Ramensis tractus, post redactam jam inde a Vladislao Dalmatiae et Croatiae Rubea parte, dein a Bela II. occuparetur, antequam totas Bosnensi Regio Hungaricis juris fieret, vero nequaquam videtur absimile, quod deinceps, subacto ab Andrea totius Serviae Regno, Bosnensis ditio antiquiori 'Ramae' tituli inclusa, atque perseverante in publicis instrumentis tali stilo inposterum indigitata fuerit [caput 11]".



*C. dela Montagna, Podgorski kanal, Morlački kanal, Podvelebitski kanal* etc.).

The detail may reveal the presence of immigrants from Poljica in accordance with Grimani's agrarian policy in Croatian Dalmatia in 1756. And in accordance with the new position of the Rubcich members of the Licini house as administrative judges of the Venetian market and market crimes also over the community of Poljica living in the Province of Zadar in 1751 with the duty to provide support and defence assistance to the public patrimony of Venice, interests, unliquidated claims and rights (cc. 8-9). Lorenzo's house has assumed a role in public food stockholding and market intervention here since 1751, because water mills, bridges, rigorously-planned fodder and corn provision and storage of the same, popular bread (*pubblico biscotto*) in the stockage sites, harbour enlargements, city doors as well as the Venice State's fortresses in the *Stato da Mar* are in the supervision of the "Provveditori sopra Fortezze" and the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" from Venice. But on the clear understanding that private jurisdiction of feudal Houses known as *Feudatari Giusdicenti* in the ancient reigns and governments now in the *Stato da Mar* of the Republic of Saint Mark is to be limited to the State's economy and public treasury, because the Doge as elected Prince only has the right to recognize such titles in full respect of indigenous people's customs and beliefs (TENTORI, 1787: 358, 368-375).

Undoubtly, some domestic maps showing rural areas involving agriculture were prepared with influence of Croatian toponyms and farmers for the purpose of legal affairs and local agriculture administration. The comparison confirms analysis on geographical names on Croatian large scale maps at the turn of the century, when original Croatian place names started to appear more and more frequently (FARIČIĆ, 2007: 70). Large scale maps could contain numerous details and names for smaller and less significant geographical objects or rural settlements that Venetian map-makers had to translate from Croatian into Italian and to adapt to the target language orthography of the State administration maps. When native speakers of the Croatian language such as Lorenzo, who was Licini in the town of Zadar but Rubcich to the people of Poljica, speaking "Illyric" (means Croatian), began to make especially topographic and cadastre maps, the number of Croatian toponyms increased and their location began to be more fixed on topographic documents.

It seems that there are two layers of geographical context on Licini's maps: a fixed layer with the images of different geographic main objects of Latin etymology and a fresh toponym layer of Croatian etymology preceded by geodetic and hydrograph surveys of rural areas throughout Adriatic Dalmatia and its islands. Responsible for the specific duty in the Venetian Magistracy as "Pubblico Perito" of the Province of Dalmatia, Lorenzo Licini works for the Cartography and Cadastre Regional Bureau located in Zadar City Hall (GRANIĆ, 1992: 192). Moving to the new office of Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of Dalmatia in 1765 provides Licini's clients a more-easily accessible location to process cadastral survey data.

Certainly the ancient Statute of Poljica had stated that all official documents had to be written with the Glagolitic alphabet in *zbor*, together with the Gospels of the Roman Catholic Christian religion they enjoyed (PAVICH, 1907: 156-344, 311/3-4). As count of Poljica dedicated to administration of Venice market, Lorenzo as Rubcich (Rubčić) enjoyed the right of sitting in *zbor* in the name of the Senate. As Licini of Venetian nationality, he was born in Zadar and could speak Croatian and Italian. As Rubcich, he could read the Glagolitic script as well.

#### Imotski in file *b1048*

No doubt, the story goes on in file *b1048*, showing a geopolitical change. Documents after April 1750 don't see the Great County of Poljica as an autonomous Province very close to that of Dalmatia from the side of Split any more (cc. 2, 4-10). Now Poljica is an autonomous Province governed by the council of the community in *zbor*, but inside the Province of Dalmatia. Later on Ivan Juraj Pavić (*Giovanni /Zuannel Zorzi Pauich*), who is the elected Great Count of Poljica for the year 1751, and the Councillor of the Province of Poljica Mihovil Sulgijević (*Michel Sulgievich*) publicly attest in *zbor* that "Lorenzo who lives in Zadar is count and noble of Hungary, and true son of our Province" on 2 February 1751 (c. 9). As soon as Lorenzo's House steps down from the Greater Council of Bergamo Nobility in the *Stato di Terraferma* at the border with the Duchy of Milan, the Greater Council of Zadar Nobility in the *Stato da Mar* gives count Lorenzo official admission status accordingly in 1751 (VEASPF*b1048*: cc. 2, 8, 9. BGBC, *Gherardi*, ff. 214, 247).

The words should be seen in context. The Great Count of Poljica summoned *zbor* on 2 February 1751 to accept all the market privileges that the Senate in Venice had granted in full to Lorenzo, as hereditary count of Poljica and public prosecutor of the Community of Poljicans living in Zadar, Kotor and Poljica, with financial and fiscal responsibilities in accordance with the General Law of the Patrimony of the Nation (VEASPFb1048: c. 9). The "Provveditori sopra Feudi" collected the 1751 documents, legally translated from the Illyric (Croatian) language in file *Licini Rubcich Zara* to prove Lorenzo's status of nobility in Poljica and Zadar. His status has connected responsibilities in Venice market, as the rank comes from the Hungarian Royal Crown under which the twelve Houses of counts in the historic territory of Croatian Poljica were politically located at the time when they succeeded in rescuing Bèla IV King of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia in Zadar under Venice administration in 1241.

At this stage, the Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresia of Habsburg as *rex* of Hungary closed the Hungarian Diet of 1751 on a sour note, by telling the assembled Hungarian nobles that they had lost her benevolence through their actions (SZABO, 1994: 321). It was a turning point in the Habsburg Imperial government's attitude towards Royal Hungary. As the bicameral Hungarian Diet had given the right to attend Diets also to unelected nobles and the official use of Latin made it easy (SZIJÁRTÓ, 2005: 210-264).

Very closely associated with the political situation in Hungary since 1751 is another declaration that the Great Count of Poljica for the year 1755 writes on 5 April to the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" collecting documents from Dalmatia in file *Licini Rubcich Zara* (VEASPFb1048: c. 8). The Great Count of Poljica Pavić (*Bavich*), the Captain of Poljica Pavao Katušić (*Paolo Catusich*), and Headmen of the Community are all in *zbor* now, to publicly confirm Lorenzo's status fourteen months before the Grimani Land Law is promulgated on 22 June 1756 involving the marsh zone of Imotski and the "Morlak" people

at the latest border line called "*Linea Mocenigo – Nuovissimo Acquisto*" with Ottoman Bosnia, which had been marked in 1721.

The latest "*Linea Mocenigo*" including the most recent military acquisitions or "*Nuovissimo Acquisto*" in 1721 after the latest war against the Ottoman forces between 1716-1718 is subsequent to the "*Linea Grimani*" including the military acquisitions or "*Nuovo Acquisto*" dated 1699, which was elaborated during the peace treaty of Srijemski Karlovci by the military commission on the Triple Border. As a consequence, the most ancient "*Linea Nani*" of 1671, according to which sixteen villages of Poljica, Makarska and Primorje had passed to Ottoman Bosnia after Petar Zrinski rebellion and execution, began to be described as "*Aquisto Vecchio*" in topographic surveying in 1721<sup>29</sup>.

The anonymous and undated manuscript map COROGRAFIA DELL'INFERIORE PROVINCIA DELLA DALMAZIA (Fig. 8) shows the newest Mocenigo Line (ZDAZ 388, 9. MAGAŠ ET AL., 1997: 19/9). The newest "*Linea Mocenigo – Nuovissimo Acquisto*" after the Venetian commissioner Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> is delined in red in 1721 at the borderline of Venetian Dalmatia with Ottoman Bosnia, few years after the new peace treaty of Požarevac, in 1718. The Mocenigo Line of demarcation shifts more into the Hinterland towards Imotski and Metković (FÜRST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2008: 43). The result is that the marsh area of Imotski is split in two halves in 1721: the western part to the Republic of Venice and the eastern part to the Ottoman Empire. Today's border is thus created to Bosnia and Herzegovina. An inscription says that Poljica (*Poglizza*) on the last bend of Cetina River is "at 5 miles" southwest of Imotski (*Imoschi*), and very close to the site of *Klivno* (now Livno) where the "Piazza d'Arme de Turchi in tempi molesti contro la Dalmazia" is located.

*Klivno* (Livno) is a military administration of Ottoman Bosnia and now Poljica is under threat. Indeed this map displays the new military circumstances on the Venetian outer rim of the *Stato da Mar* after 1721. By necessity, because of

<sup>29</sup> Three large wars between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire took place. Consequently three lines of demarcation were drawn. The Candia and Dalmatia War (1645-1669), which led to the Nani Line of demarcation in 1671 cutting sixteen villages of Poljica, Makarska and Primorje off but granting their Croatian people a place in the Venetian State. The Morea or Peloponnesian War (1684-1699) which led to the Grimani Line of demarcation in 1699 and possibly definitively cut off some villages of

historic Poljica such as Rupčići, Dolac, Gradac. The war 1716-1718, which led to the peace of Požarevac and to the latest Mocenigo Line of demarcation in 1721 at 5 miles from Poljica facing Bosnia and Herzegovina. The marsh zone of Imotski was included in the dominions of the Republic of Saint Mark as the newest acquisition or *Nuovissimo Acquisto* in the peace Treaty of Požarevac of 1718, which was marked by Mocenigo Line only in 1721.





Figure 8. *Corografia dell'Inferiore Provincia della Dalmazia*, 1737 c.a, detail. Poglizza, Isola di Brazza, Isola di Lesina (State Archive Zadar, Geographical and topographical maps of Dalmatia, sign. 388, no. 9).

notwithstanding the Peace of Požarevac in 1718, the marsh zone of Imotski had been still targeted by the Ottoman citizen under the rule of the Sultan of Constantinople for years. As Muslim Caliph, the Sultan had been prosecuting Christian people of Croatian origin still flying away from Ottoman Bosnia across marshy fields, despite article n. 13 of the Triple Border treaty in 1699 and the "*Linea Grimani – Nuovo Acquisto*" that had then followed (MANLIUS, 1737: 96).

The geopolitical situation in Venetian Dalmatia was still not under control and the border problem with Ottoman Bosnia persisted. Additional resources hitherto unknown attest in file *b1048 Licini Rubcich Zara* that constant help from the people of Poljica was indispensable to protect Venetian troops in order to achieve success. Few months before the "*Linea Grimani*" including the military new acquisitions or "*Nuovo Acquisto*" was delined in 1699, Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> as

"Procuratore Generale dell'Armi e Compagnie ai Confini in Dalmatia et Albania" had renewed friendship relation with the Great County of Poljica granting the faithful people of Poljica fiscal privileges from Split on 26 May 1698 (cc. 24-25). Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> as *Dux Veneticorum* legally confirmed all the ancient 1537 privileges to the Community and the Counts of Poljica on 7 May 1707 (c. 25). Once again Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> confirmed privileges to Poljicans from Split on 2 January 1720 as "Procuratore Generale dell'Armi e Compagnie ai Confini in Dalmatia et Albania" for the Most Serene Republic of Venice (cc. 26-27). Alvise Mocenigo 3<sup>rd</sup> issued the last document in favour of Poljicans after the peace of Požarevac in 1718 one year before giving the "*Linea Mocenigo – Nuovissimo Acquisto*" its name in 1721.

Meanwhile, relatively changes to the frontier border in Venetian Dalmatia fronting Ottoman Bosnia between 1700 and 1720 were documented





administration of Venice State's Patrimony at war. On 2 January 1720 the "Procuratore Generale dell'Armi e Compagnie ai Confini in Dalmazia e Albania" Alvise Mocenigo testifies in a document written in Split (*Spalato*) that "only when artillery units of *Poglizzani* carried guns over their shoulders and gained control of the area, did the Venetians succeed in seizing the defensive walls of Imotski (*Imoschi*) fortress in July 1718 and definitely got rid of Chiuperli Pasha of Bosnia. In this way "the sovereignty that the Sultan of Constantinople Ahmet III had retained over the frontier was at the end" (cc. 26-27; Fig. 9).

Another member of the Rubčić (Rubcich) branch of Lorenzo's House should be Fra Filip Rubčić (*Filippo Rubcich*), belonging to the Order of Friars Minor Conventuals. The Franciscan Order had received a charter from sultan Mehmet II giving them a privileged status in Bosnian, Croatian and surrounding areas among Christian people under the Ottoman Turks. When Alvise 3<sup>rd</sup> Mocenigo was still "Procuratore Generale delle Armi e delle Compagnie ai Confini in Dalmazia e Albania per la Serenissima Repubblica", on 11 August 1717 fra Stipan Vrljić sent fra Filip Rubčić and four friars to Opanci village below the fortress of Imotski to secretly preach to larger numbers of Christian people a raid on the Ottoman Imotski fortress that finally turned into an attack which destroyed the walls in 1718 (ZLATOVIĆ, 1888: 214. VRČIĆ, 1996: 325).

According to Mocenigo Line, the reshaped border with Ottoman Bosnia runs in a semicircular red line around the marshes of Imotski in 1721. Now the conquered territory of Imotski located 5 miles from Poljica on the outer rim of the Serenissima Republic of Saint Mark is part of the new legal system and the agrarian policy planned by the Senate in Venice. The main implications are related to the repopulating and colonization of the area of Imotski, migrations, forced settlement of the population, and the intensification of agriculture. The basic difference between the old and new Venetian acquisitions in the *Stato da Mar* lies in land property. In the legal system of old acquisitions the land was private, while the newly-conquered land belongs to the State of Venice (FÜRST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2008: 43-46). The previous Grimani Line of 1699 now remains only a boundary of two legal systems in land administration.

This is the occasion for a new policy of land repartition in the Senate of Venice, which is regulated by new agrarian laws and followed by cadastral surveys of Adriatic Dalmatia. And the occasion for another series of subsequent confirmations of equal status with the Venetians to the People of Poljica and their headmen, who were granted privileges in Venice trade and exemptions on commodity goods imported or exported, without payment of duty both inside Poljica at 5 miles from Imorski now, and in Kotor (Fig. 8). New confirmations of fiscal privileges came from Pietro Vendramin as "Procuratore Generale per la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia in Dalmazia e Albania" on 29 July 1729 in Zadar, and from his successor Girolamo Boldù on 21 July 1748 (cc. 27-29; Fig. 8). Lastly, Girolamo Boldù put the community of Poljica living in Zadar into the hands of count Lorenzo "Licini Rubcich", as headman and public prosecutor of Poljica in 1751 (cc. 8-9). In the end count Lorenzo Licini had been working as Cadastral Surveyor of whole Dalmatia since 1765, when the "Provveditori sopra Feudi" in Venice confirmed his "Licini Rubcich" family line private jurisdiction in the administration of Venice market justice over the Poljicans living in Poljica, Kotor and Zadar once more in 1781 (cc. 2-5).

#### The curtain comes down on the year 1797

The text of count Lorenzo's nomination as Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of Venetian Dalmatia recalls in 1765 that the Grimani Land Law was promulgated on 22 June 1756. The Grimani Land Law involved both the State land acquisitions following the 1699 contour of "*Linea Grimani – Nuovo Acquisto*", and the marsh territory of Imotski following the 1721 contour of "*Linea Mocenigo – Nuovissimo Acquisto*" with the additional portions of those lands around Imotski located at 5 miles from Poljica which had been progressively conquered between 1718 and 1720.

The Poljicans and their headmen were crucial to reducing "Morlaks" people into a state of devotion to the Republic of Saint Mark in July 1718. Grimani's agrarian policy particularly emphasized the growth of tree-crops, notably olive trees, and vineyards, as well as keeping paths and water in a good state in the Patrimony of the Nation. Distribution of agricultural State land started by decree in Zadar in 1756, with land parcels distributed, free of charge, to rural people who already lived on the

territory and to "Morlak" immigrants from the Dinaric Hinterland (FÜRST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2008: 46-49). The "Provveditore generale di Venezia per la Dalmazia e l'Albania" Francesco Grimani was sure that spatial distribution and regularisation of cultivable lands in Adriatic Dalmatia as properties of the Venetian State among the "Morlak" families would modify in 1756 their cruel and terrible habits. Such a policy was necessary in the Republic of Saint Mark to put an end to bloody raids even after the peace Treaty of Požarevac in 1718 and the demarcation of the Mocenigo Line that had followed, with an increase in aggressions on local landowners and their colonies that "Morlaks" had been carrying out ferociously across the marshes of Imotski since 1740 (CATTALINICH, 1841: 258-273).

Lorenzo as "*Licini Rubsich*", efficient businessman that he was, had already purchased the minor island of Ošljak in Zadar Gulf from count Medici in 1754 to implant olive trees, and vineyards, but then he ceded it to the Carrara house from Bergamo. The island of Ošljak was also called *Caloghera*, after the family of Zadar who possessed it. He purchased it again between September 1778 and February 1780 (KOLUMBIĆ, 2005: 67/224. BACOTICH, 1938-39: 456-457, 461). Maps indicate the island of Ošljak as Zadar *Lazaretto*, facing the major island of Ugljan in the Strait of Ždrelac which Lorenzo will deline on the map of 1782 for the Grimani Cadastre collection.

The Most Serene Republic of Saint Mark planned to build headquarters and church buildings for local political coverage of Croatian and Albanian lands on what was still called Gulf of Venice on maps. Bortolo Riviera, who was military engineer and map-maker, had the duty to build or rebuild fortresses and military positions in maritime Dalmatia and Albania, for the "Provveditori da Terra e da Mar" of Venice in Zadar, Split, Klis, Kotor, between 1757 and 1762 (VEASPTMf620: dis. 1). Francesco Grimani had been the "Provveditore generale" for Venice in Dalmatia and Albania since 1754, when he was appointed "Provveditore Generale da Mar" in 1757. Meanwhile Lorenzo could add the signature "Licini Rubsich Pubblico Perito Agrimensore" to his sketch map CANAL DELLA MORLACA depicting

agricultural areas out of the capital town of Zadar for the collection of *Mape Grimani* in 1762.

Bortolo Riviera's duty should be an excellent complement to the monopoly of the Rubcich line members of the Licini family as administrative counts dedicated to regulation of Venice market progressively involving the people of Poljica not only inside the territory of Poljica (1537), but also in Kotor (1603) and finally in Zadar (1751), and also dedicated to support munitions to nearby Venetian military positions and fortresses of State in eastern Dalmatia around Poljica territory, such as Split Fortress. The map PIANTA D'AVISO DELLA CATTEDRALE DI MACARSCA that Bortolo Riviera had made in 1757 was attached to a letter about the local bureaucratic organization to build the cathedral of Makarska and sent to Francesco Grimani, one year after the Grimani Land Law had been promulgated (VEASPTMf611: dis. 1). Bortolo Riviera made also a topographic map of eastern Dalmatia at the border with the Ottoman Empire showing "Poglizza, Territori di Almissa, Sign, Imoschi, Lago di Imoschi, Macarska, Vergolaz", now in the State Archive of Zadar. In 1762 Bortolo Riviera was in the Dalmatian portion of Kotor to build military headquarters on the sea for the ultramarine Dalmatian Militia, because the legend reads: "ad uso della squadra del golfo" (VEASPTMf620: dis. 1).

Bortolo Riviera signed architectural projects for baroque churches together with Antonio Licini in Omiš and Makarska since 1734<sup>30</sup>. Antonio was an architect, probably born at Bobovišća on the island of Brač. Surely Antonio was a direct descendant of the family line from Bergamo in the *Stato da Terra* of the Republic of Venice. Indeed documents dated 1722 in the Archive of Bergamo attest that Antonio and Marco, who was Lorenzo's ancestor and one of the heroes in the battle of Dolac for the conquest of Klis Fortress in 1648, were brothers. They still had properties in Bergamo, but they did not live there any more in judiciary documents issued in Bergamo attesting that Giovanni Maria was their father and Pietro their uncle<sup>31</sup>. It was Pietro Licini who had given Giovanni Battista Licini a levy of soldiers recruited in their own lands around Bergamo in 1673.

<sup>30</sup> PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, ČORALIĆ, 2002: 80. FISKOVIĆ (1955: 229) says that Antonio Licini was born at Bobovišća on Brač Island and died at Supetar, along its northern coast.

<sup>31</sup> BGBC, *Vicario*, F. 875, c. 324; *Motio*, lettera L: f. 83/99 and in Atti di Achille Isavelli, Arch.o della Città, f. 110/53.



Venetian coins show that Giovanni Maria Licini had been appointed deputy on behalf of the Government Treasury to act in the name of the Doge Francesco Morosin in 1689, and he was appointed "Camerlengo" of the same Doge in 1693. Once again he was deputy under the Doge Silvestro Valier in 1695 and 1697, under the Doge Alvise Mocenigo 2<sup>nd</sup> in 1704, and finally under the Doge Giovanni 2<sup>nd</sup> Corner in 1711 (PAOLUCCI, 1991: 519, 520, 522, 523, 524). Giovanni Maria was immersed in Dalmatian history as a child. Giovanni, the orphan son of Gian Giacomo Licini and his wife Margherita Ghirardelli, was brought up by Gerolamo Olmo and his wife Caterina Licini (BGBC, MIA 4620, 2100, 2808). According to a record dated 31 January 1617, Fortunato Olmo was abbot of the benedictin monastery of Saint George the Great at Venice, of the Cassinese Congregation, where he died in 1648. Abbot Fortunato left manuscripts from 1605 to 1645 on Venetian history, and a *Descrittione dell'Histria* is among them (OLMO, 1885: 149). His book *Historia della Venuta a Venetia occultamente nel 1117 di papa Alessandro III* was printed in Venice in 1629<sup>32</sup>. The book is on the major fight for supremacy in Dalmatia under the rule of king András II, the father of king Bèla IV, involving the Roman-German emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, the Pope in Rome, the Doge Sebastiano Ziani in Venice and the Normans across the ports of Ancona, Vasto, Zadar and Split in the years 1216, 1226-1229, 1241, 1242-1244. In the closing years of the fight, the Magyar king Béla IV renounced his claims to the State of Zadar and its port in favour of Venice, after the rebellion of the capital town of Dalmatia had been quenched at the end of 1241 (SANDI, 1755: 479-481. MORONI ROMANO, 1859: 83-106).

Antonio Licini founded the church in Nerežišća on the island of Brač in 1731. He was the project architect and interior designer of the baroque altar dedicated to Saint Domnius in Split Cathedral (1767-1770). Then Antonio moved from Split to Makarska. Another Pietro Licini constructed parish church in stone at Postire on the island of Brač (1767-1768). Alessandro Licini constructed Škrip parish church in 1799 (PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, ČORALIĆ, 2002: 77, 80-85).

Great care was taken to prepare the map DEL CONTADO DI ZARA showing the subscription in Latin "co[m]es] Laurentius Licini delineavit a[n]no

1793" (MOROVIĆ, 1988: 302, 306). It is in the town of Nin (court chapel of Sv. Križ/St. Cross), together with a plan of Nin in the rural land of which Lorenzo as Licini Rubcich had private jurisdiction on the water mill belonging to the Patrimony of the Nation, and a Zadar city plan painted in water colour.

On 1 July 1797, the flags of the *Serenissima* were carried for the last time to the Cathedral of St. Anastasia (*Sv. Stošija*) in Zadar by the glorious Dalmatian Militia, the ultramarine Venetian army which had been commanded not to fight for the capital town of Venice now in Napoleon's French hands. Indeed, it was Lorenzo's hand that wrote the famous chronicle of the ceremony. Flattery is used as a standard form of discourse when addressing the new domination. But in 1855 historian Girolamo Dandolo unsuccessfully attempted to understand why there was no flattery in the chronicle that "the good and old Lorenzo Licini" had written in Zadar cathedral on 1 July 1797, when the *Serenissima* sadly accepted Imperial Austria military occupancy (DANDOLO, 1855: 266-267. BONATO, 1863: 10-13).

Fifty-seven days passed. At the Kotor's Mouths the flags of the *Serenissima* were laid for ever in the Cathedral of Perast in the territory of Kotor with a similar ceremony on 27 August 1797. Count Josip Visković (*Giuseppe Viscovich*) delivered his famous speech. The Venice Republic was in Habsburg Monarchy at last. At least three hundred militians called *Poglizani* (Poljičani) after *Poglizza* (Poljica) and militians called *Boccesi* (Bokelji) after *Bocche di Cattaro* (Boka kotorska) did serve Venice shoulder-to-shoulder in the Dalmatian Militia for the last time. They did march in the vain effort to rescue the State of Venice in Dalmatia (BARBARICH, 1910: 28-34. CASTELLANI, 1930: 102. PITRÉ, SALOMONE-MARINO, 1967: 466).

Archival sources in Zadar and Venice now reveal that Lorenzo as count of Poljica and official Grimani Cadastral Surveyor of Dalmatia had private jurisdiction at war over the Poljicans living in Poljica, Kotor, Zadar, and a perfect knowledge of the geography of Adriatic Dalmatia. The strategically-placed State's fortresses and harbours along the Adriatic Sea from Zadar to Kotor where Poljicans served in the Dalmatian Militia were under count Lorenzo's military jurisdiction in the name of Venice. The actual context seems to better

<sup>32</sup> *Historia della Venuta a Venetia occultamente nel 1117 di papa Alessandro III e della vittoria ottenuta da Sebastiano*

*Ziani, doge, comprobata da D. Fortunato Olmo, Venezia, Evangelista Duchino, 1629.*

explain the set of circumstances that surrounded the historical event in Zadar Cathedral on 1 July 1797 and the reason why no flattery in the chronicle that Lorenzo Licini wrote is to be found. The historical truth is that Croatian Poljica was the last portion of the Republic of Saint Mark to yield to Habsburg Imperial Austria, only on 17 June 1798 (ERBER, 1886: 60-61; PAVICH, 1907: 308), in the end, after Zadar and Kotor. The man who had been in the Magistracy as Cadastral Surveyor of Venetian Dalmatia for 34 years could only sign his last public document as "Lorenzo Conte Licini Procuratore Anziano" in Zadar in March 1802, when the "Imperial Regio Governo Provvisorio della Dalmazia" was installed (MAŠTROVIĆ, 1952: 390)<sup>33</sup>.

### Conclusion

Poljica was a scene of utter destruction, when the Poljicans were exterminated by the Austrian Imperial Army in Split Lazaretto in 1806. And the territory was definitely cancelled by French decree on 21 September 1807, in punishment for the Poljican rebellion against Napoleon carried out to support the Russians from Brač and Kotor across

Montenegro. It was Auguste de Marmont's proud boast that he had destroyed Poljica (CUSANI, 1846: 221-224. MODRIČ, 1892: 165).

Archival collections preserve evidence of the past. Ancient geographical maps in particular have a double value. They are precious objects from antiquity. But ancient maps and their exhibitions can also promote access to the cultural heritage of the people living along the sea and show their interaction with existing cultures, languages, histories at strategic points along navigational routes. Indeed, historic cartography depicting Adriatic Croatia and Dalmatia across the centuries allows to explore this many-faceted legacy. Official topographic reference dataset within a cartouche on a map is important since it is the groundwork linking the thought, way of life, political institutions, creative achievements, historical events that have shaped the individual European countries in a European dimension. Cartographic heritage of Adriatic Croatia and Dalmatia can be seen as a multi-layered hypertext to determine the benefits of cooperation, collaboration and mutual interaction of net-working people who had been dealing constructively.

<sup>33</sup> The primogeniture line of the house crossed the Adriatic Sea with part of the cadet line in 1802. The survivors landed at Ancona in the States of the Church, just to be close to their headquarters in Fabriano. As Fabriano in the Marca of Ancona was still under the control of French Army, the two nucleus families crossed the border line and settled down in Iubatti and Caldari near Ortona respectively, in the Province of Abruzzo Citra within the Reign of the Two Sicilies under the Crown of Naples. Filippo was described as "Licino I, Villa Iubatti, foreigner, widowed, 72 years old" in 1810. His son Alojsio was 43 years old. Lorenzo's younger brother Domenico and his second son Pietro were described as "Licino II, Villa Caldari" on the clear understanding that "Domenico was not Filippo's son". The primogeniture line descended from the first male ancestor had been registered as *Licini* and *Lecini* in Ortona down to 1854 (CPSZ, *Stato Anime* 1810-1812; *Sub anno* 1828, f. 105. ORBC, *Rettifica*, 1817, f. 56v, *Deliberazioni* 1811-1829, f. 4r. LAAND, Repertorio, 1802, ff. 171r-171v; LAAS, cartella n. 24, *Rapporto segreto*, n. 1). Meanwhile,

Domenico's elder son Antonio of the cadet line served the Imperial Army of Austria as *Oberlieutenant* in 1802 (KRIEGSMINISTERIUM, 1822, pp. 328, 483: 3). Antonio went on living in Zadar. According to heraldic law, Austria Imperial Crown recognized Antonio's cadet line as *de Licini* and *de Lecini* in 1815, which extinguished at his death in 1836 (Michele P. Ghezzi in VIDOVICH, 2004: "Cognome: Licini de. Città o Isola: da Zara" 224 n. 248. MOSTO, 1940, II. SIEBMACHER, 1873, p. 14). Antonio had been master of Chapel in Zadar Cathedral since 1823. Among his famous Church music partitures now in Zadar Cathedral's Archive are: *Messa a due Tenori e Basso / Con organo obbligato / del Conte S. Antonio de Licini Maestro di Cappella della Chiesa Metropolitana di Zara / 1824*, poi *Inno nuovo a tre voci* del 1831, *No II / Messa a tre Voci / con / organo obbligato de Nobile Signor Antonio di Licini / maestro di Cappella Metropolitana di Zara / Scritto li 20 Maggio 1832* and *Miserere / a 3 Voci / coll'Organo obbligato / e Viole / Scritto da Nob. Sig. Antonio di Licini l'anno 1836*. See BURIC 2005: 69.

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## Sažetak

## Lorenzo Licini (1725.-1802.) dalmatinski mjernik i poljički knez Rubčić

U članku se razmatraju uloga i značenje koje je kao državni mjernik Mletačke Republike u Dalmaciji u 18. stoljeću imao Lorenzo (Lovre) Licini (odnosno Licini Rubcich /Rubčić/). Godine 1765. postavljen je za javnog vještaka cijele pokrajine Dalmacije i Albanije. Autor je više suvremenih izmjera, planova i zemljovida u južnoj hrvatskoj, dalmatinskom prostoru. Obitelj Licini, podrijetlom iz bergamskog kraja Mletačke Republike, posebno se istaknula djelovanjima, vezama, znanjem i podrškama u tadašnjem Velikom poljičkom kneštvu, naročito u odnosima mletačkih i otomanskih vlasti koji su se ticali Poljica, a posebice i zbog zasluga u obrani Kliške tvrđave. Nazvali su ih i Rubčićima, po tamošnjem naselju. Iz uvida u popis poljičkog plemstva s konca 18. stoljeća vidljivo je da je u Zadru zabilježena obitelj Rubčić, rečena Licini, a Lovre Licini Rubčić primljen je u zadarsko plemstvo (naslov *conte*) 1781. godine i upisan u „Libro Aureo“. Godine 1790. primljen je i u Zadarsko građansko vijeće, a njegov unuk Antun također je upisan u zadarsko plemstvo 1796. Zadarski Licini Rubčići, uz nekretnine u Zadru stekli u 18. i 19. stoljeću značajne zemljišne posjede u okolici Zadra, u Slivnici, Vinjercu, mlin u blizini Nina, a neko su vrijeme držali i otočić Ošljak kod Preka.

U radu je posebno je razmotren dinamički odnos između političkih i upravnih granica u mletačkoj Dalmaciji, koji se odrazio i na suvremenu geoinformatičku osnovu, posebice na mjerništvo, i na staroj, i na novim mletačkim stečevinama krajem 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća. Premda povjesničari kartografije pišu o mletačkoj Dalmaciji više od dvjesto godina, malo je poznato o značenju zemljopisnih i kartografskih postignuća ovog dijela hrvatskog Jadrana. Stoga je istražen glavni doprinos u prenošenju i obznani geografskog znanja koje je znatnije od 1721. godine kada započinje jačanje mjerništva i pohrane zemljišnih podataka na mletačkom posjedu, a posebice izradom katastra poznatog pod nazivom Grimani (1748.-1756.). Upozoreno je na značenje izložbe zemljovida *Kartografija Zadra*, upriličene u okviru *Trećeg Hrvatskog geografskog kongresa* održanog u Zadru 2003. godine. Na njoj je bila izložena i karta CANAL DELLA MORLACA Lorenza Licini Rubcicha, što je potaklo zanimanje za istraživanjem i drugih njegovih kao i inih kartografskih predložaka, spisa i druge građe u državnim arhivima u Zadru i Veneciji. Budući da se razmjerno malo zna o Velikom poljičkom kneštvu, samoupravnoj hrvatskoj zajednici s dvanaest općina u vrijeme mletačke uprave, koja je uspješno kolaborirala s vlašću u prostoru nemirne granice prema Otomanskom Carstvu, u radu se nastoji rasvijetliti pojedine odnose kroz tumačenje izvora dvaju državnih arhiva. Usmjeren je pozornost na predodžbu mletačke provincije Dalmacije u djelu jednog od 12 poljičkih knezova, koji je pod imenom Lorenzo (Lovre) Licini bio mletačkog državljanstva u provinciji Dalmaciji, odnosno dvojnim prezimenom Licini Rubčić (Rubcich) u skladu sa svojim hrvatskim osjećajem prema naselju Rupčići i Poljičanima u Poljicima, Zadru i Kotoru. Razmatranje je pokazalo da zemljovidi izrađeni za Grimanijev katastar u Zadru mogu biti dobar predložak za istraživanje širih upravnih poteza i modela kojima je Mletačka Republika ustrojila i nadzirala ovaj hrvatski prostor u svrhu poticanja gospodarstva i bržeg osuvremenjivanja prostora prekomorskih stečevina.

Poseban je doprinos Lorenza Licinija Rubčića u suvremenoj predodžbi reljefa, odnosno trodimenzionalnih oblika Zemljine površine. To proizlazi iz činjenice da je izrađivao zemljovide (primjerice 1782. godine SZ dijela otoka Pašmana) s prikazom reljefnih oblika tada uobičajenim šrafitiranjem. Ujedno i drugi geografski slikovni sadržaji, kao i tumači karata i planova na topografskoj razini od iznimne su važnosti za poznavanje pojedinih prostora Dalmacije kao i zemljišnih i drugih odnosa u njima. Isto tako od posebne je vrijednosti brojna i precizno ubicirana toponimija unesena u zemljovide ili predstavljena u tumačima simbola na pojedinim planovima. Stoga zadarskom mjerniku treba posvetiti posebno mjesto u povijesnici hrvatske i europske kartografije.