

PROSTOR

29 [2021] 2 [62]

A SCHOLARLY JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING  
ZNANSTVENI ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU I URBANIZAM

UNIVERSITY  
OF ZAGREB,  
FACULTY OF  
ARCHITECTURE  
SVEUČILIŠTE  
U ZAGREBU,  
ARHITEKTONSKI  
FAKULTET

ISSN 1330-0652  
[https://doi.org/  
10.31522/p](https://doi.org/10.31522/p)  
UDC 71/72  
CODEN PORREV  
29[2021] 2[62]  
153-248  
7-12 [2021]

174-185 ANA ŠVERKO

ATTRIBUTING AND DEFINING AN UNBUILT 1859  
ARCHITECTURAL PLAN FOR THE SITE OF TROGIR'S MEDIEVAL WALLS

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER  
[https://doi.org/10.31522/p.29.2\(62\).2](https://doi.org/10.31522/p.29.2(62).2)  
UDC 721 728 (497.5 Trogir) "18"



Af

*Facciata principale*

*Tavola I*

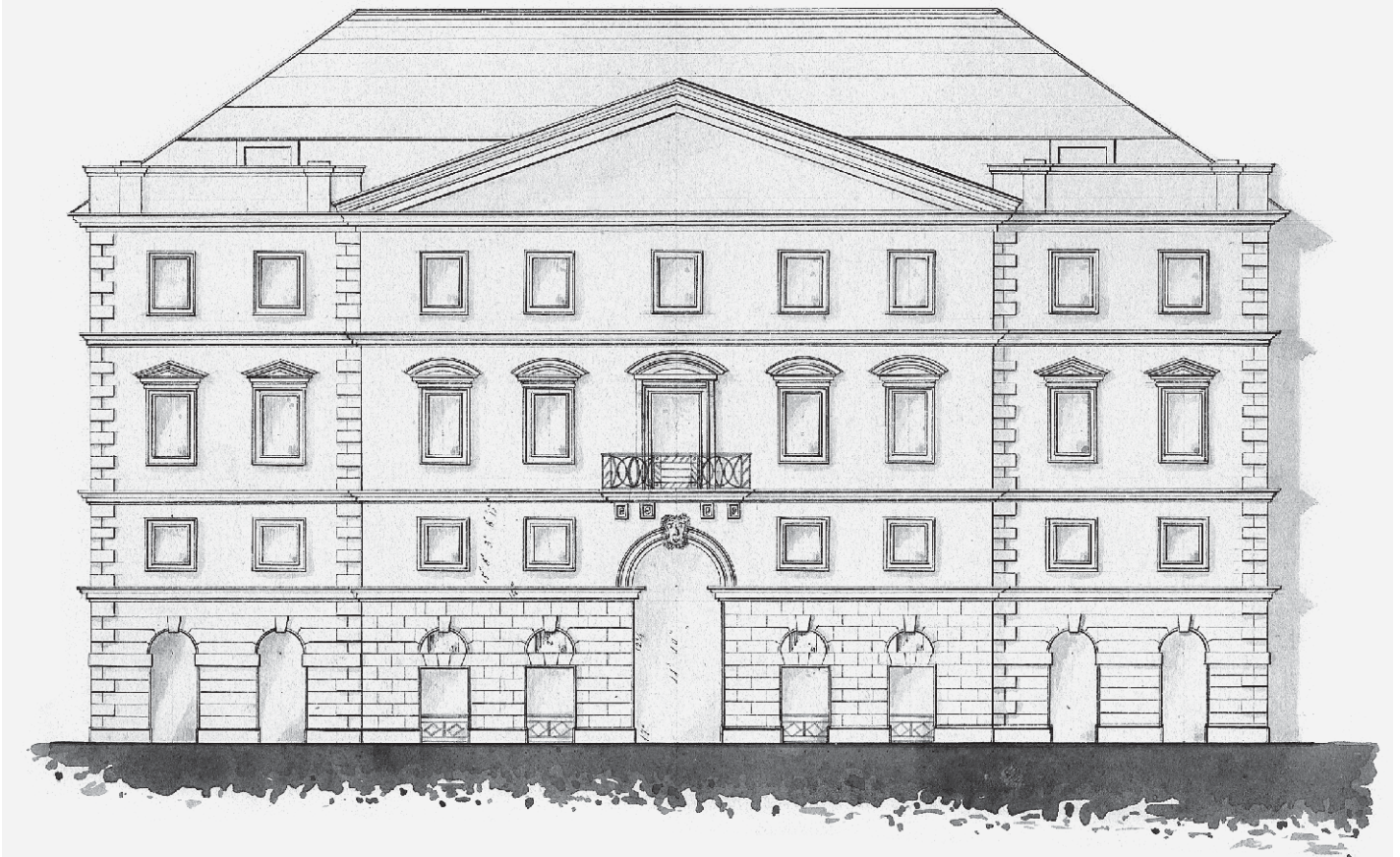


FIG. 1 JOSIP SLADE (ATTRIBUTED TO): TENEMENT HOUSE FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1859, SOUTHERN FAÇADE

**ANA ŠVERKO**

INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ULICA GRADA VUKOVARA 68/III, 10000 ZAGREB

 ORCID.ORG/0000-0001-6282-9285

asverko@ipu.hr

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

[https://doi.org/10.31522/p.29.2\(62\).2](https://doi.org/10.31522/p.29.2(62).2)

UDC 721 728 (497.5 TROGIR) "18"

TECHNICAL SCIENCES / ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING

2.01.04. – HISTORY AND THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE AND PRESERVATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE

ARTICLE RECEIVED / ACCEPTED: 21. 10. 2021. / 17. 12. 2021.



# ATTRIBUTING AND DEFINING AN UNBUILT 1859 ARCHITECTURAL PLAN FOR THE SITE OF TROGIR'S MEDIEVAL WALLS

FANFOGNA-GARAGNIN, ANTONIO

SLADE, JOSIP

TENEMENT HOUSING

TOWN WALLS

TROGIR

This paper discusses the attribution of an anonymous and unbuilt 1859 plan for a four-storey apartment building with commercial spaces on the ground floor, located on the site of the old town walls in Trogir. It proposes Josip Slade as the architect of the plan, interpreting Slade's architectural language and the development of his approach to architectural heritage. An analysis of the project in a historical socio-political and spatial context, moreover, supports the conclusion that this was intended as rental property, and this paper therefore offers insights into the first known example of the tenement housing building typology in the nineteenth-century Trogir.

## INTRODUCTION

The archives of the Garagnin-Fanfogna family, kept in what was once the residence of this Dalmatian family of Venetian background and is today the Trogir City Museum, contain a plan for a residential building with a café and shops on the ground floor. The plan is dated to 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1859<sup>1</sup>, and is unsigned; the title page contains only this date, the name of the project's backer, the type of construction expected, and the location: *Progetto di rifabbrica ed ampliamento d'uno stabile di proprietà del Conte Antonio de Fanfogna – Garagnin, sito sulla strada di circonvallazione della Città di Traù, e precisamente a destra della porta detta della Marina* (Fig. 1).

Count Antonio Fanfogna-Garagnin (1818-1893), who commissioned the project, was an influential investor and a member of a wealthy merchant family. One year earlier, he had become the mayor of Trogir (Babic, 2016: 143-145). The identity of the backer, and the intention to reconstruct and enlarge a building in one of the most prominent locations in Trogir – on the site of the medieval town walls and directly beside the southern gates of the town, which were Mannerist in style – are intriguing facts that suggest the need for a multi-layered study of this plan.<sup>2</sup>

It was first necessary to research the history of the site, and then consider the attribution of the project in the context of the architects active in Trogir at the time. Although there is

no direct evidence in the archives, given the style and method of architectural expression, it is possible to assume that the plans were designed by the most prominent of these architects, the Trogir-born Josip Slade (1828-1911).<sup>3</sup> After completing his studies in Padua in 1853, Slade worked in the region stretching from Dalmatia to Montenegro.<sup>4</sup> Slade is known to have done work for Antonio Fanfona-Garagnin, despite the fact that politically Fanfona-Garagnin was a prominent Autonomist who believed in preserving the autonomy of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, while Slade was from the People's Party, which argued for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia (Celio-Cega, Šverko, 2013: 201-206). In 1901, Slade became the mayor of Trogir. Further support for the attribution of this design to Slade lies in the handwriting and style of drawing, which have been identified as Slade's on the basis of other projects that are known to have been his.

The next research level focused on determining the programme and organisation of the building (in which a particularly important role was played by the investor's identity), which suggests that this was a rental property featuring a total of nine housing units on three levels, and commercial and hospitality facilities on the ground floor. In order to confirm that Slade was the architect of this project, further research was carried out, and was based on determining the style and disposition of the spatial implementation of the building programme, as well as the architectural and urbanistic characteristics of the building. In addition, it was necessary to determine their connection to Slade's architectural style and approach in a historical context.

The most delicate research level was based on the fact that the building was designed for the site of Trogir's medieval fortifications, beside the town's monumental southern entrance (Fig. 2). From a modern perspective, the town walls are unquestionably the building's superior, a historical, architectural, and urban authority that the new building completely ignores. It is entirely likely that Slade's approach was hereby influenced by the ruling spirit of the age: across Europe,

<sup>1</sup> Trogir City Museum – Garagnin-Fanfogna Library, sign. VI f. Folder containing 8 sheets. Dimensions: 32×23.3 cm.

<sup>2</sup> For more on Trogir's historical town walls see, see: Babic, 2016: 158-186.

<sup>3</sup> For more on Slade's work and the archival materials kept in the State Archives in Split, see: Fiskovic, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> For more on Slade's work in Montenegro, see: Mitrović, 2020.

<sup>5</sup> On the spatial development of Trogir, see Babic, 2016: 9-38.

<sup>6</sup> In terms of demographics, the early nineteenth-century in Dalmatia was marked by famine and drought (1802-3), Napoleon's Russian campaign in 1812, famine and plague (1815-6), cholera (1848-9), and a food shortage in



and in Trogir and Dalmatia on a more modest scale, cities were transformed by the demolition of city walls and the formation of new types of buildings and public spaces in keeping with new social values.

### THE URBAN HISTORY OF THE SITE THROUGHOUT THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Trogir's historical centre is located on a small island between the mainland and the island of Čiovo. Since ancient times, its shape and boundaries have been in constant flux, changing in accordance with the town's fortifications.<sup>5</sup> In order to recognise the influence of the social and economic changes of the first half of the nineteenth century on the architecture of Trogir's historical centre, at a time when European city fortifications were irrevocably losing their function, it is necessary to briefly note the relevant key characteristics of this period in Dalmatia.

After the fall of Venice and the short-lived French administration (1806-1813), the whole of Dalmatia, including Trogir, became part of the Austrian Empire, where it would remain until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. In 1844, Trogir and its outskirts had a population of 3029; 1020 of these were farmers, and others were members of the aristocracy, clergy, officers, tradesmen, fishermen, and craftsmen, while the population of the town itself was 1843 in the year 1857.<sup>6</sup> The revolutions of 1848-9 also had an impact on Trogir (Piplović, 1996: 35; Babić, 2016: 140-145). As in other parts of Croatia of the time, these events marked the beginning of the transformation into a modern civil society. Changes on the European level were felt in Trogir, with greater attention being paid to the quality of public space in the town (Babić, 2016: 146-150). The key interventions are related to the improvement of sanitation. Long epidemics were primarily blamed on the narrow streets within the town walls, shallow waters full of built-up material, and inadequate bridges towards the mainland and Čiovo, as they blocked the necessary sea currents from flowing. In terms of construction, the municipi-

1849. According to a census on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1857, the population of Dalmatia was 415,628. See: Omašić, 1988: 856; Kozličić, Bralić, 2012: 249.

<sup>7</sup> He completed his primary and secondary education in his native Zadar in 1834. Katarina and Antonio had five children: Ruder, Kolan, Dijamanta, Ivan Dominik, and Ivan Luka.

<sup>8</sup> A reliable source of information on the urban structure of the nineteenth-century Trogir is Francis I' cadastre, which has been studied in detail by I. Benyovsky. The plots beside the southern town gate that were affected by the building plan, and which were not owned by the Garagnins, were numbers 498, 499, 500, 501 (Benyovsky, 2005: 31-102).



FIG. 2 FRANZ THIARD DE LAFOREST: VIEW OF TROGIR FROM ČIOVO. CEGA PALACE AND THE TOWER OF ST NICHOLAS ARE HIGHLIGHTED.

pal government's response to these obstacles to the town's development was directed towards further demolition of the town walls, which had begun under the French administration, towards the reconstruction and adaptation of the bridges, and the renovation of the harbour and waterfront. These urban projects were initiated in precisely the period that Antonio Fanfogna-Garagnin was mayor of Trogir (Piplović, 1996: 49).

The Garagnins had been Venetian merchants who came to Trogir in the late sixteenth century. They quickly amassed a fortune and established connections with prominent Trogir families through marriage. They became landowners, intellectuals, and aristocrats. When the family's last descendant, Katarina, married the Zadar aristocrat Antonio Fanfogna in 1840, the family adopted the surname Garagnin-Fanfogna. Upon arriving in Trogir, Antonio entered the public life of the town as a prominent Autonomist, first as the commander of the National Guard, and then, as has already been mentioned, as the mayor of Trogir from 1858 onwards. He remained in this position (with only one short break in 1864), until the People's Party came to power in 1886.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Garagnins purchased abandoned and dilapidated buildings in the town as the basis for their building campaigns (Celio-Cega, 1999-2000: 348-353; Šverko, 2008: 375-436). In addition to the family's palace complex located next to Trogir's northern gate, they were the majority owners of groups of plots on the island itself, located directly beside the southern town gate, the future location of the building that is the focus of this paper.<sup>8</sup> The *Porta Marina*, as it is described in the description of the location of this building, is the impressive southern, so-called Sea Gate, built in 1593. The project we are analysing

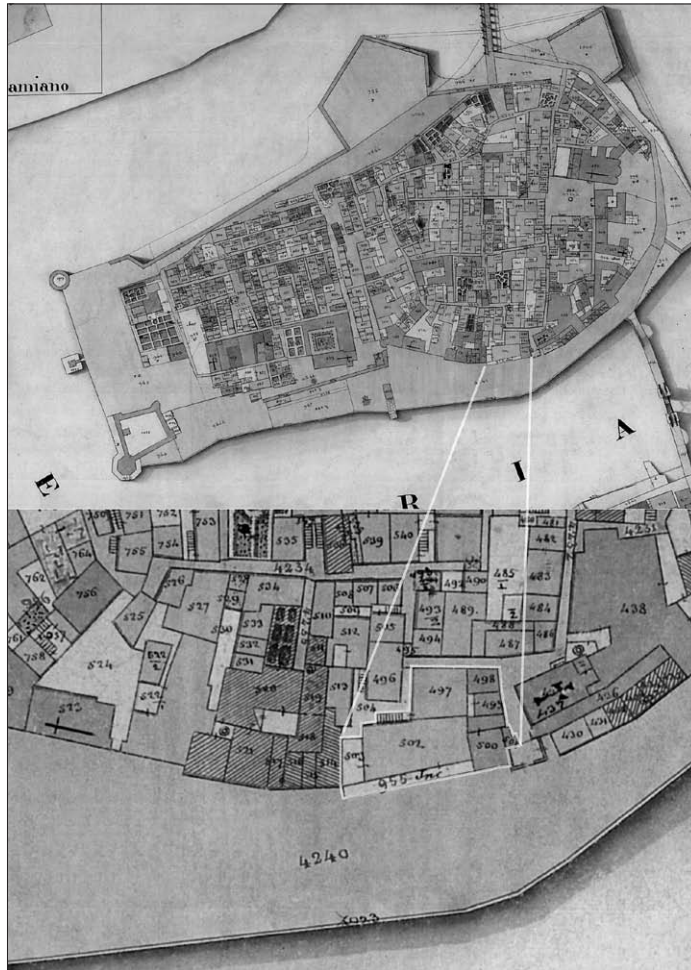


FIG. 3 ANTONIO PUTTI: CADASTRE MAP OF TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1830

was to take up part of the Tower of St Nicholas located to the west of the gate, as well as the area beyond, including the Romanesque Cega Palace, which at that time was owned by the Garagnin family. Its southern façade was the medieval town wall with its battlements and Romanesque windows, as well as the palace that was built up against the wall (Fig. 3).

The Garagnin family had planned to build on this site as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century (Šverko, 2008: 423-430). The family's archives contain two such plans, thanks to which we are able to determine the state that the site was in at the time. The plan by Giovanni Miotto, a surveyor employed by the Garagnins, contains a record of the current state of the site, which is particularly valuable due to its depiction of the appearance of the town's ramparts, which simultaneously form the building's southern façade. It is clear that the fortification aspect overpowered the façade aspect, because at that time it contained only a few windows, and the battlements were preserved. Both of the de-

signs proposed for the reconstruction of the building on that site (one of which is attributed to the Roman architect Basilio Mazzoli) cover only those plots that were owned by the Garagnins at the time. Consequently, they preserve the existing floor plans, with only minor changes on the western and eastern ends.<sup>9</sup> Both proposals preserve the medieval ramparts, but they are completely shrouded in an almost sterile neoclassical façade. Neither of these designs were ever built, just as the plan we are studying here was never built.<sup>10</sup>

The 1859 design encompasses significant amounts of land not in the ownership of the Garagnin-Fanfogna family. Not only does it take up the Tower of St Nicholas, which was owned by the Benedictine monastery, but its southern façade also extends into the harbour (marked on the floor plan as *Marina Publica*), even further than the tower's exterior outline, thus demolishing an entire portion of the fortifications that are within the project's building lines.<sup>11</sup>

From a modern perspective, this is a truly savage plan; but it is necessary to consider it within its historical context. Old fortifications prevented expansion, sanitation improvements, and the establishment of transport connections in city areas, and the consequent demolition of such fortifications begun in Dalmatia under the French administration. Cultural heritage protection services, meanwhile, were still in their infancy.<sup>12</sup> One famous example from this time period of a building project that was similar in its relationship with historical architecture to that planned by Mayor Garagnin-Fanfogna was the detailed reconstruction of the Renaissance palace that was home to the famous historian Ivan Lucić (Fisković, 1969: 45-60). This palace was located on the site of the town walls, a little to the west of the location we are dealing with, and featured an integrated medieval tower adapted for residence. It was purchased by the Demichelis, a family of merchants, in 1850. The Demichelis transformed it into a massive four-storey building that almost entirely erased the palace's appearance, without creating any new architectural or urban value. Such approaches, however,

<sup>9</sup> Šverko, 2008: 423-430. The architect preserves the Romanesque portal and the stairway on the western side of the complex. He closes off a part of the ancillary communication with a door, transforming it into a courtyard, and he connects the plot on the western side of the building, alongside the defensive walls, to the rest of the building.

<sup>10</sup> Photographic evidence, meanwhile, reveals that despite numerous plans, this site in the twentieth century got a façade that was almost identical to the one that had been recorded a century earlier on the surveyor Miotto's plan.

<sup>11</sup> See note 9.

<sup>12</sup> The origins of monument protection in Dalmatia are tied to the architect Vicko Andrić, with whom Slade col-

were not the object of criticism at the time – just the opposite, in fact. As Cvito Fisković notes, the famous Victorian architect Thomas Graham Jackson saw this project as a modernisation of Lucić's old palace, and V. Brunelli maintained that even after the adaptation it retained its “noble appearance” (Fisković, 1969: 50; Piplovic, 1996: 35-36).

At the time that Antonio Garagnin-Fanfogna was mayor, issues relating to urban planning, building regulations, and public utilities were under the jurisdiction of the municipal government.<sup>13</sup> These issues all came together at this precise location. It belongs to a length of the town walls that was being taken apart piece by piece; it runs along Trogir's harbour, which was in the process of being renovated; and it was close to the Čiovo bridge, which was under the process of reconstruction. But this plan is not only an example of a new coastal façade on the site of the former town walls, in some new style and shape. The organisation of the floor plan, which will be discussed in the following section, can be connected directly to the planned works on the bridge, harbour, and waterfront, which demanded the arrival of builders and architects from outside Trogir. And the promise of new jobs brought with it the need for a new range of living spaces to rent.

#### ORGANISATION AND TYPOLOGY – A FOUR-STOREY MULTIDWELLING BUILDING WITH COMMERCIAL FACILITIES ON THE GROUND FLOOR

Even if we were to forget for a moment that we were studying a building that is insensitive to the existing urban fabric, an analysis of the organisation of the floor plan would be enough to demonstrate that the goal of this building was the maximal use of space according to a new concept in the residential sector.

The shape of the floor plan makes maximal use of the space, which results in an indented northern façade. The southern façade crosses the building line towards the south, and is in line with the small loggia east of the gate.<sup>14</sup> The eastern façade's openings suggest that a part of the town walls, with their gate, can be

preserved. Even in the design, this façade is depicted as a strictly symmetrical street façade (Fig. 4). In fact, had these building plans been carried out, the only part of the town walls to be spared demolition would have been the part against which the small loggia had been built (Babic, 2016: 146). The western and northern façades frame the floor plan with no other ambition than the introduction of regularity into the indented floor plan, as much as possible, while still following the boundary lines of the plot for maximal use of space.

Behind the southern façade, the ground floor is divided into two parts. The building is entered via a central portal, through an atrium that contains an office – a kind of reception or control point, and offers the possibility of further movement through the stairway space (alongside which is a large storage) towards the upper floors, or entry westward to the café with its billiards room. Behind the space for the café's guests, which runs along the southern façade, is the billiards room, beside which are service areas. On the northern façade, there is an auxiliary exit that leads to a small yard containing the sanitary facilities. The eastern part of the ground floor, meanwhile, is occupied by two separate shops with their own storage areas and closets, and a separate atrium with a stairway (Fig. 5).

The floor plans of the three residential floors above are the same, suggesting flexibility, although they undoubtedly originate in the organisation of the three flats by storey (with separate entrances connected by the stairwell), but suggests the possibility of a different layout, and even the possibility of connecting the spaces into a single unit. In essence, this is a floor plan featuring two flats connected with each of the two stairwells. Each floor includes three antechambers, toilets, kitchens with fireplaces and sinks, parlours, and five bedrooms, which along with the two stairwells suggests a clear original division into two three-bedroom flats and one two-bedroom flat, with the possibility of flexibility in the way that the rooms were grouped. The stairwells lead to the roof, which features access to three corner terraces (Figs. 6-7).

Although the floor plans of all the residential floors are the same, there is a hierarchy in terms of the quality of life (as well as a need to make use of the space as much as possible). This can be seen in the height of each storey, which is regulated in such a way that the height of the cornice is levelled with the wall of the Tower of St Nicholas. The mezzanine is squeezed into just 2.20 metres, the ground floor and piano nobile are about 3.70 metres high, and the uppermost floor is 2.50 metres high.<sup>15</sup> There is an avant-corps on the

laborated. From 1853 onwards, Andrić served as an honorary conservator for the Split and Zadar regions (Fisković, 1987: 11). For more on monument protection in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Trogir, see Radic, 2000: 66-96.

<sup>13</sup> Activities were regulated by the Temporary Internal Ordinances. They were eventually replaced by the Building Ordinances, which were passed in Vienna on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1886 (Piplovic, 1996: 49-50; Radic, 2000: 70-71).

<sup>14</sup> The loggia was owned by the municipal government (Benyovsky, 2005: 56; Piplovic, 1996: 33).

<sup>15</sup> According to the regulations in use in Vienna and Budapest at the time, the heights of the mezzanine and uppermost storey are substandard; see: Lělek, 2019.





FIG. 4 JOSIP SLADE (ATTRIBUTED TO): TENEMENT HOUSE FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1859, SOUTHERN AND EASTERN FAÇADE

central part of the façade, and the positioning of a balcony on the piano nobile highlights what is potentially the best apartment in the building.

This is a building in an excellent location, with a commercial ground floor and 9 apartments of middling quality (they lack bathrooms and a servant's room, which were hallmarks of a higher living standard in this period). This is undoubtedly a new type of building for Trogir, which suggests some new architectural values. The organisation of the floor plan – the number and type of apartments – is convincing evidence that this is a modern rental property. There are no known buildings in Trogir of a similar type from this era, and there has yet to be a detailed study of residential building typologies in the nineteenth-century Dalmatia. We must therefore rely on the general classification criteria and examples of similar building types in Zagreb from the second half of the nineteenth century, which was begun by Ivo Maroević, as a guide in categorising this building.<sup>16</sup> The floor plans of this building in Trogir are comparable to examples from Zagreb of rental properties featuring two flats connected to a flight of stairs (Maroević, 1987: 178-181). In terms of the building's users, we are probably dealing with a middle-class building created as an extension and renovation of an existing structure. Based on its intended purpose, it falls into the category of combined residential and commercial rental properties (although the possibility of the owner living in the highest-quality apartment on the piano nobile is not to be excluded), featuring shops and hospitality facilities on the ground floor (Maroević, 1987: 176).

We should wonder whom this building was intended for. One possible answer to this question might be found in the progressive

priorities for the urban development of the town that were conceived and initiated by Antonio Fanfogna-Garagnin. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1859, the citizens of Trogir, prompted by the visit of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, took on the problem of the moveable bridge that connected Trogir and Čiovo. Josip Slade would be entrusted with the task of creating a design for this massive communal project (Fisković, 1987: 13; Piplović, 1990: 43-46). In 1863, when the reconstruction project was approved and work had begun, Slade supervised the construction of a temporary wooden bridge that was to ensure uninterrupted travel between the islands while the main bridge was under construction. During the six years that Antonio Fanfogna served as mayor, the renovation of the harbour and waterfront was initiated in addition to the work on the bridge. Experts working on these projects would therefore spend significant periods of time in Trogir, and they would consequently require apartments to rent, just as it is to be expected that the planned increase in harbour traffic would also increase the demand for apartments to rent, which were in line with keeping with the alternative plan of transforming Trogir's harbour into an important maritime base.<sup>17</sup>

Josip Slade himself mentions his work on these projects, in an appeal to the Ministry of Construction dated (and approved) in 1865, in which he requests approval to work as a civil engineer: "Amongst these many important works that have been entrusted to me during my public service, I shall mention one

FIG. 5 JOSIP SLADE (ATTRIBUTED TO): TENEMENT HOUSE FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1859, FLOOR PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR. LEGEND: USE OF PREMISES / A.A. ATRIUM / B.B. STAIRS / C.C.C. STOREROOMS / D.D. SHOPS / E. STORAGE / F. STUDIO / G. CAFÉ / H. BILLIARDS ROOM / I. LARDER / J. KITCHEN / K. ENTRANCE HALL / L. CLOAKROOM / M. COURTYARD / N. WORKROOM / O. TOILET

FIG. 6 JOSIP SLADE (ATTRIBUTED TO): TENEMENT HOUSE FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1859, FLOOR PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR. LEGEND: USE OF PREMISES / A.A.A. PARLOURS / B.B.B.B.B. BEDROOMS / C.C.C. DINING ROOMS / D.D.D. ANTICHAMBERS / E.E.E. KITCHENS / F.F.F. TOILETS / G.G. RETIRING ROOMS

FIG. 7 JOSIP SLADE (ATTRIBUTED TO): TENEMENT HOUSE FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR FROM THE YEAR 1859, FLOOR PLAN OF THE ROOF

<sup>16</sup> Maroević, 1987: 165-185. Maroević's research into these building types in Zagreb was continued by Zlatko Jurić, Darko Kahle, Irena Krasevac, Dragan Damjanović, and others. See also: Lélek, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Piplović, 1996: 46. According to the cadastre of Francis I, in the 1830s in Trogir there were a total of 98 rental



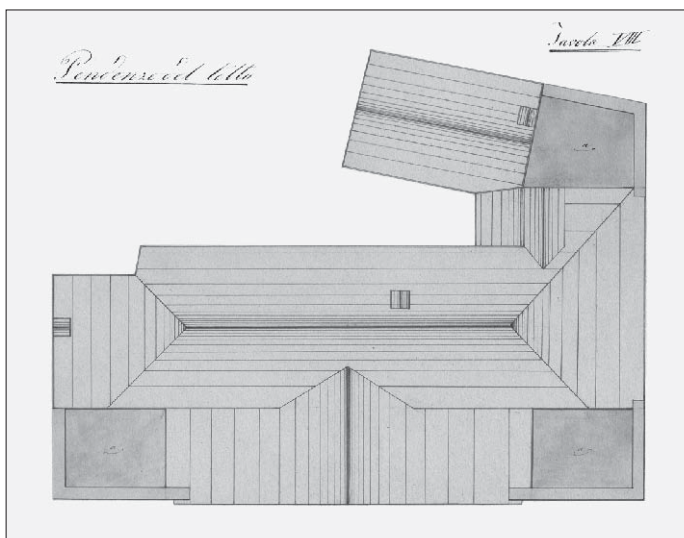
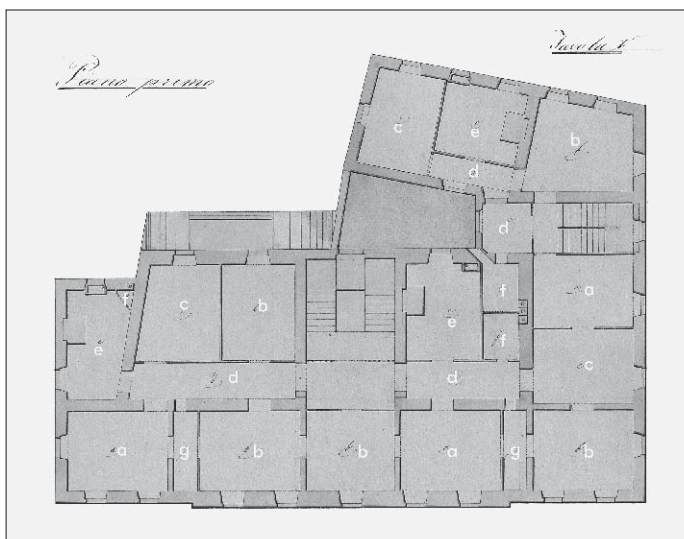
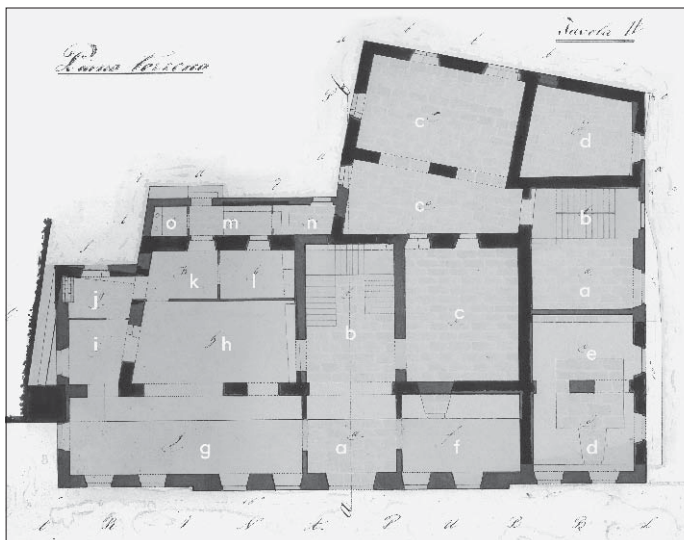
more, the digging of the harbour and construction of the moveable bridge in Trogir, which will allow seagoing vessels to pass. The bridge is already under construction, and of all the maritime works that have already been completed or are under construction in Dalmatia, this is the most important and exceptional one” (Fisković, 1987: 13). We shall now turn to the arguments for attributing the design of the building in Trogir, located in the harbour and directly beside the Čiovo bridge, to Slade.

### ARGUMENTS FOR ATTRIBUTION: SLADE’S PROFESSIONAL JOURNEY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS APPROACH TO THE SPATIAL CONTEXT

The initial attribution of this plan to Slade is based on the unquestionable identification of his handwriting, and the manner in which this project was drawn. This design was compared to one signed by Slade, for the extension of Puović House, which is kept in Slade’s archive (Fisković, 1987: Fig. 3). However, the argument for attributing this design to Slade is also supported by an analysis of this project in the context of Slade’s architectural opus.

Slade did not just adapt his architectural language to the task and context of his projects (Mitrović, 2020: 219); rather, his architectural language changed over time in keeping with his architectural approach. It is therefore important to know whether we are dealing with one of his earlier works, or one of his later ones. It is possible to draw a connection between the profoundly insensitive approach towards architectural heritage that this design displays and Slade’s earlier works. In order to demonstrate that the demolition of the medieval town walls to make way for a new building was an entirely natural intervention in the context of Slade’s work in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, I will discuss an extreme example of a similar architectural approach. Not long after completing his studies, Slade drew up a plan for paving Trogir’s cathedral with multicoloured terracotta tiles, placed in an ornamental pattern, which would completely cover the original floor. Cvito Fisković suggests that Slade, carried away with a romantic passion for medieval architecture, even thought about creating a new, Neo-Gothic mausoleum of St. John of Trogir in the cathedral. These are ideas that are unthinkable today, and in the words of Cvito Fisković,

buildings: 6 one-storey buildings, 28 two-storey buildings, 54 three-storey buildings, and 10 four-storey buildings. The existence of only one café has been recorded, in a building directly to the west of the building that Antonio Fanfogna-Garagnin planned to build on Trogir’s waterfront (Benyovsky, 2005: 17, 163).



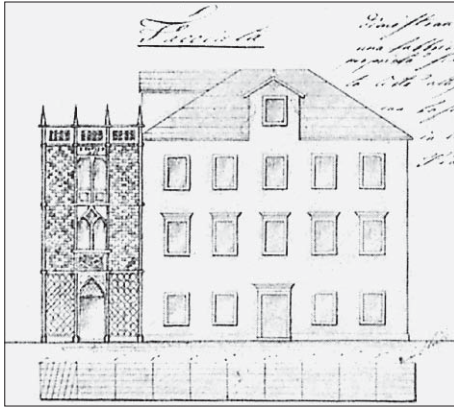


FIG. 8 JOSIP SLADE: PLANS FOR THE EXTENSION OF PUOVIĆ HOUSE FROM THE YEAR 1860



FIG. 9 'PEDROCCHINO' AND PALAZZO BO IN PADUA



Trogir Cathedral was saved from them only by "poverty and privation, which frequently saved Dalmatian monuments from destructive reconstructions" (Fisković, 1987: 15, 30).

Slade's eclecticism, and in particular his impulse to bring new architectural ideas to his birthplace, can likewise be seen in one of the 1860 designs for the extension and expansion of the Puović House, which was located next to the bridge on Čiovo, opposite Cega Palace (Fisković, 1987: 29-30). Alongside the simple, symmetrical façade of the three-storey house he adds a lavishly decorated Neo-Gothic extension that appears like an independent building. This extension draws on the Neo-Gothic Pedroncino cake shop, a distinctive part of the famous Pedrocchi Café in Padua, which was designed to appear like a fragment of the Venetian Gothic mounted onto the building (Mazza Boccazzi, 1999: 19-39).<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that the first-floor windows on Slade's plan for Puović House are identical to those on the lateral façade of the building commissioned by Antonio Fanfogna for the area beside the southern town gate (Fig. 8).

FIG. 10 JOSIP SLADE: MORETTI HOUSE ON ČIOVO (HIGHLIGHTED)



The influence of Paduan architecture on Slade's work, which can be clearly seen in the design for Puović House, can also be seen in the building that he designed for Antonio Fanfogna beside the southern city gate. Its main, neo-Renaissance façade is inspired by the Italian palaces of the sixteenth century, featuring arched openings on the ground floor and windows with triangular and segmental pediments. We find a similar kind of composition on the Palazzo Bo, the building of the Paduan academy where Slade studied, which is located right near the Pedrocchi Café. In two unbuilt plans created for Trogir at about the same time, on either side of the new bridge, we thus find references to two of the most important buildings for Paduan students, whose ranks included Slade<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 9). This all supports the assumption that in his projects, Slade obviously wished to bring something of the contemporary spirit of the city in which he studied to his homeland.

Amongst Slade's designs for neo-Renaissance buildings, there is one that was eventually constructed, and its main façade can be directly linked to the building intended for the area beside the southern town gate. The building in question is Moretti House on Čiovo, close to Puović House (Fisković, 1987: 31-32, Fig. 26). If we compare these two buildings, we can see that the manner in which the neo-Renaissance language is used in these clean and symmetrical compositions is the same. In both cases, Slade uses similar shapes and proportions; a similar logic for the gradations in the shapes of openings, and the simple cornices and corbels decorat-

<sup>18</sup> However, Slade draws on local Gothic architecture for inspiration. Cvito Fikšović has noted that there is a connection between Slade's work on Puović House and the layout of the Gothic trifora above the portal of Cipiko Palace on the main square of Trogir (Fisković, 1987: 30).

<sup>19</sup> A notebook of Slade's that has been preserved includes a drawing of the Pedrocchi Café, which shaped the social life of Padua in the nineteenth century, see Fisković, 1987: 8. The prominent open ground floor of the building



ed with rosettes. In addition to this, Slade also focused on designing geometric fence patterns in iron and stone, as evidenced by drawings from his archives, and a stone fence on his house in Trogir (Fisković, 1987: 35-36, Fig. 27). The fences for the balconies of both Moretti House and the building beside the southern town gate are designed using Slade's recognisable style (Figs. 10-11).

We can conclude that the architectural language and the design of details on Moretti House are clearly connected with Slade's newly attributed project. This project is also characterised by Slade's own style of simple spatial organisation, largely conceived around a three-level stairway at the back of the building.<sup>20</sup> All of these characteristics are also present in Slade's design for the adaptation of the Fanfogna-Garagnin family house in Kaštel Stari, which is again evidence of Slade's work on other projects commissioned by the Fanfogna-Garagnin family (Celio-Cega, Šverko, 2013: 201-206). The identification of Slade's handwriting and style of drawing on the design for the house by the southern town gate is therefore supported by his other, attributed projects.

Slade's later, 1898 projects for a girl's school and the district courthouse, on the other hand, display a different vision of Trogir's southern shore (Fisković, 1987: 27-28). Both of these projects are restrained in their design, and there is a more obvious consideration of the context. Slade's plan for the wider area is evidence of this; here, he adds a range of buildings in front of the old part of the town (Fisković, 1987: Fig. 8). With these two-storey structures, along with three other buildings, Slade created a continuous line along the shore in front of the south-western part of the town walls, the demolition of which had begun in the mid-nineteenth century. We can assume that these other buildings were also intended to be similar in design and size to the school and courthouse, suggesting that Slade imagined a new, uniform façade for Trogir's waterfront, a feature which many other Dalmatian cities received in the nineteenth century, including Split and Zadar. Slade's vision, however, was adapted to the small scale of the medieval town. Judging by his plan for the wider area, by this point the idea of construction on the site of Cega Palace had been abandoned (Fig. 12).

on the site of the southern town gate, behind which is a café, likewise evokes the open ground floor of the Pedrocchi Café (known for offering "coffee without doors", because its doors remained open 24 hours a day, from its construction in 1831 up until the year 1916. For more on the Pedrocchio Café see Mazza Boccazzi, 1999.

<sup>20</sup> We find such designs in many plans, irrespective of the type of structure – from the harbour offices building, to the school or the courthouse (Fisković, 1987: Figs. 11-12, 19).

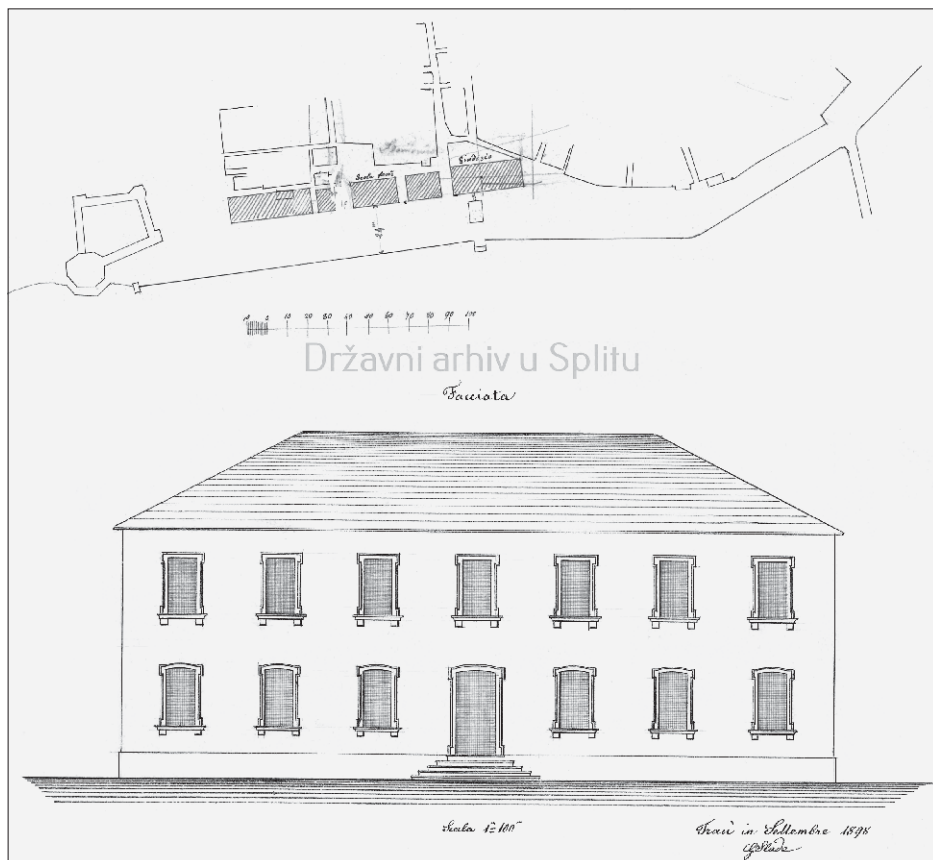


FIG. 11 JOSIP SLADE: ONE OF THE DRAWINGS KEPT IN SLADE'S ARCHIVE FOR AN IRON RAILING, AND DETAIL OF THE BALCONY FENCE ON THE BUILDING FOR ANTONIO FANFOGNA BESIDE THE SOUTHERN TOWN GATE IN TROGIR

Slade's approach reveals a transition in his architectural ideas: from the need for strong spatial interventions, to ideas that were architecturally lacklustre but much more appropriate in an urban sense. Eventually, however, not even these proposals of Slade's ever became a reality.

Instead, the early twentieth century would see the construction of massive structures – the school and courthouse – according to the Neo-Gothic designs of Ćiril Metod Iveković, whose style is closer to Slade's earlier works.

FIG. 12 JOSIP SLADE: PLAN OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF TROGIR WITH PROPOSED NEW BUILDINGS, INCLUDING THE SCHOOL AND A PLAN FOR ITS FAÇADE, FROM 1898



Scale 1:2000



## CONCLUSION

From antiquity to the present, Trogir's long history can in large part be traced through the transformation of the town walls. This is true even in the nineteenth century, which was characterised by the demolition of these walls. When such defensive structures disappeared throughout history, they were usually transformed into lines of buildings or into streets, thus remaining a feature on the city map, and the island expanded through the infilling of the seabed between the fortresses and the most prominent points of the defensive bastions.<sup>21</sup>

Although there has yet to be an all-encompassing typological analysis of nineteenth century residential architecture in Trogir, the scale of this town is so small that every building bears a much greater meaning than it would in a larger urban system. A building, even one that was never built, can therefore be analysed as an example of the relationship with the town walls, as well as a unique example of the tenement housing building typology in the nineteenth-century Trogir.

As a rule, architectural projects and morphological transformations of cities outlive generations of users, and remain witnesses to the aesthetics and ethics of a particular period, offering us the opportunity of understanding both the positive and negative consequences of the ruling spirit of a particular age. But the history of architecture always contains, to a greater or lesser extent, an expressed ideal-

ism, which usually remains in the sphere of unbuilt projects. This idealism does not, however, necessarily result in universal values. Slade's plan, as well as his other unbuilt designs from the mid-nineteenth century – including the interventions in Trogir Cathedral itself – can be understood as the desire of a young architect to introduce a contemporary spirit to the town of his birth, using powerful gestures, and at any cost, to the detriment of the town's architectural heritage. Although it was never realised, Slade's project for a rental property on the site of the town walls, from a modern perspective marks an important stage in the continuity of European city-building. It attests to an age in which monuments and heritage were sacrificed for the sake of improving sanitation and forming grandiose public spaces on the one hand, and space being exploited on the other, with residential buildings which were frequently not built for the investor's own needs, but rather as investments that made maximal use of every inch of space, primarily for the sake of profit (Ball, 1981: 145-177).

[Proofread by: Sarah Ann Rengel]

<sup>21</sup> The relationship between Trogir's fortifications, urbanism, and the form of the island upon which the town is located is one of the themes of the project "Fortifications of the City of Trogir: Visualizing changes from 220BCE until 1900CE" by A. Plosnic Skaric and A. Sverko, which began as part of the *Advanced Topics in Digital Art History: 3D and (Geo)Spatial Networks 2018-19* workshop.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

1. BABIĆ, I. (2016) *Trogir. Grad i spomenici*, Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu – Književni krug Split.
2. BALL, M. (1981) 'The development of capitalism in housing provision', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 5(2), June, pp. 145-177 [online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.1981.tb00549.x> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
3. BENOVSKY, I. (2005) *Trogir u katastru Franje I.*, Zagreb-Split: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Državni arhiv u Splitu.
4. CELIO CEGA, F. (1999) 'Manji graditeljski zahvati i preinake na kucama obitelji Garagnin u Trogiru tijekom XVIII. stoljeca', *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 38(1), pp. 339-363 [online]. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/145655> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
5. CELIO-CEGA, F., ŠVERKO, A. (2013) 'Kuća obitelji Garagnin u Kastel Starom', in: ŽMEGAC, A. (ed.) *Zbornik 3. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, pp. 201-206.
6. FISKOVIC, C. (1969) 'Lučiceva rodna kuća', *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 6, pp. 45-60 [online]. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/83618> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
7. FISKOVIC, C. (1987) *Arhitekt Josip Slade*, Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira.
8. KOZLIČIĆ, M., BRALIĆ, A. (2012) *Stanovništvo Kraljevine Dalmacije prema službenim izračunima i popisima 1828.-1857. godine*, Zadar, Sveučilište u Zadru.
9. LÉLEK, V.É. (2019) 'The origins of the 19<sup>th</sup> century residential building typology in Budapest and Vienna'. *THE GLOBAL CITY – The urban condition as a pervasive phenomenon. 11-14 September 2019 – IX AISU CONGRESS* [online]. Available at: [https://publik.tuwien.ac.at/files/publik\\_284112.pdf](https://publik.tuwien.ac.at/files/publik_284112.pdf) [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
10. MAROEVIC, I. (1987) 'Prijedlog za tipologiju stambene arhitekture u Zagrebu u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeca', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 11, pp. 165-185 [online]. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/224919> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
11. MAZZA BOCCAZZI, B. (1999.) *Il Caffè Pedrocchi di Padova – Nuova guida storica*. Padova: Signum.
12. MITROVIC, S. (2019-2020) *Arhitekt Josip Slade Silovic; Graditeljska djela u Knjizevini Crnoj Gori 1877.-1900*. Zagreb-Podgorica: Nacionalna zajednica Crnogoraca Hrvatske, Ministarstvo održivog razvoja i turizma Crne Gore, Skaner studio.
13. OMAŠIĆ, V. (1988) 'Prilog poznavanju društvenih i političkih prilika u Trogiru u vrijeme borbe za narodni preporod', *Mogućnosti* 9-10, pp. 852-864.
14. PIPLOVIĆ, S. (1996) *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljecu*, Split: Književni krug Split.
15. RADIĆ, D. (2000) 'Zastita spomenika u Trogiru tijekom XIX. stoljeca', *Muzeologija*, 37, pp. 66-96 [online]. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/87451> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].
16. ŠVERKO, A. (2008) 'Prilozi trogirskoj klasicističkoj arhitekturi', *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 41(1), pp. 375-436 [online]. Available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/109692> [Accessed: 30 August 2021].

## ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

- FIG. 1 Trogir City Museum, Garagnin-Fanfogna Library, sign. VI f
- FIG. 2 Trogir City Museum, Album Von Dalmatien, 1898
- FIG. 3 Antonio Putti, *Cadastre map of Trogir from the year 1830*. The State Archives in Split, DAS-AMID-659. The Garagnins owned plots nos. 497, 502, 503.
- FIG. 4-7 Trogir City Museum, Garagnin-Fanfogna Library, sign. VI f
- FIG. 8 FISKOVIC, 1987: Fig. 3
- FIG. 9 Shutterstock 216908407, 1302519502
- FIG. 10 Photo: Cheryl Ramalho. Stock photo ID: 1257898965
- FIG. 11 The State Archives in Split, HR-DAST-379; Trogir City Museum, Garagnin-Fanfogna Library, sign. VI f
- FIG. 12 The State Archives in Split, HR-DAST-379

## AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

**ANA ŠVERKO**, Ph.D., MUD, Dipl.Eng.Arch., Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Art History – Cvito Fisković Center. She received her Master Degree in 2002 from UC Berkeley and her Ph.D. in 2011 from the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb. She works part-time at the University of Split as a lecturer in the Architecture and Urban Planning graduate programme. She writes about history of architecture and urban planning with a focus on the Eastern Adriatic.

The author prepared the whole work.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was created within the research project of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb: *Fortifications of the city of Trogir: visualization of changing structures from 220 BC Cr. until 1900*.

