

Sačuvavši sve do danas velik dio svoje prvobitne, srednjovjekovne, strukture unutar čvrstog pojasa utvrđenih zidova, i mnoštvo dokumenata koji osvjetljaju njegovu izgradnju, gotovo od samih početaka, Dubrovnik zauzima neobično značajno mjesto u povijesti gradogradnje na jadranskoj obali. Izuzetnoj važnosti tog položaja pridonosi i to što je ova urbana struktura nastajala kao osebujni »materijalni izraz« povijesnog razvoja Dubrovnika. U toku srednjeg vijeka Dubrovnik je postao središtem posebne političko-teritorijalne organizacije, »republike«, ishodište i cilj širokog spleta trgovačkih putova koji su ga povezivali sa svim središtima gospodarskog života na Balkanu i u Sredozemlju. Takav poseban položaj grada u privrednom životu Jadrana, Sredozemlja i dubokoga kopnenog zaleđa odredio je bitno i značaj njegove izgradnje.

I po vremenu svog nastanka i po značaju izgradnje Dubrovnik je izraziti srednjovjekovni grad. Ne isključujući mogućnost da su u prostoru gdje se on razvija postojala i neka ranija žarišta života, Dubrovnik *kao grad* počinje živjeti i rasti tek u 7. stoljeću. Taj je rast započeo u razmjerno maloj utvrđenoj jezgri na strmim stijenama iznad mora koje su bile odvojene od kopna plitkim zaljevom i močvarnim područjem. Ali baštinivši biskupiju zamrlog antičkog središta Epidauruma, to je naselje raslo i jačalo upravo u vrijeme najteže krize drugih gradskih središta na jadranskoj obali. Posve je sigurno da njegovo značenje u životu širokog područja određuju neke središnje, crkvene i upravne, funkcije a ne broj njegovih stanovnika. U 10. stoljeću, uz »castellum« koji se nalazio na zapadnom rubu grebena, razvili su se novi dijelovi grada. Slijed toga rasta još uvijek nije pouzdano utvrđen; u sadašnjem tkivu jasno je izražena tek treća faza u kojoj se naselje proteglo duž čitavog pojasa grebena na istok. Sudeći po poznatom tekstu Konstantina Porfirogeneta, na polovici 10. stoljeća središte je gradskog života bilo već u »novom« dijelu grada, u »Pustijerni«, gdje se nalazila crkva sv. Stjepana. Već sam naziv toga dijela grada, koji je izveden iz naziva postranih gradskih vrata (»posterulla« i »pusterulla«), navodi na zaključak da je taj razvoj uvjetovala izgradnja podgrađa uz utvrđenu jezgru.

Nešto kasnije, vjerojatno u 11. stoljeću, kad se na cijeloj jadranskoj obali obnavlja gradski život, oblikuju se nova podgrađa uz prvobitnu jezgru. Najranije od tih podgrađa iz 11. stoljeća oblikovalo se na mjestu gdje je postojala veza »castelluma« s kopnom i lukom na zapadnoj strani. Ta je veza išla dijelom preko mosta iznad močvarnog područja, a prijelaz je branila jedna kula. To je neko vrijeme bio i jedini ulaz u grad s kopna, to su bila njegova vrata, kao što potvrđuje kontinuirani naziv ovog područja: »Pile«. S vremenom se to podgrađe, »burgus«, razvijalo duž zidova starijeg »civitas« prema istoku stvarajući ispod »Pustijerne« još jednu jaču jezgru. Takav razvoj burgusa bio je određen situacijom na terenu: izgradnja se, naime, oslanjala na stjenovito tlo ispod samih zidova. Daljnje širenje grada prema sjeveru zahtijevalo je neprestano nasipavanje pličina. U 12. stoljeću cijelo je područje burgusa imalo sigurno već čvrstu prostornu organizaciju, čiju je osovinu tvorila dugačka, razmjerno ravna ulica: »via publica« koja je, povezujući zapadnu i istočnu jezgru, tekla usporedno s gradskim zidovima (današnja »Ulica od Puča«). U 12. stoljeću taj je burgus ne samo prostorno veći od starog, nego se u njemu očigledno okupljaju oni slojevi gradskog stanovništva koji preuzimaju glavnu ulogu u razvoju grada. Imena nekih posjednika zemljišta i građevina u tom dijelu grada susrećemo stoljeće kasnije kao porodična imena gradskog patricijata. Neposredna posljedica rasta tog burgusa bila je »izlazak« sakralnog i političkog središta izvan zidova starog civitasa. U istočnom dijelu podgrađa otpočinje u 12. stoljeću izgradnja nove katedrale i utvrđenog središta gradske uprave. Ovdje se oblikuje i širi javni prostor, prva »plathea«. Tim smionim zahvatima započinje zapravo razdoblje najintenzivnije izgradnje novoga grada, koje traje sve do polovice 16. stoljeća.

Na polovici 13. stoljeća učinjen je još jedan veliki građevni zahvat koji je bitno odredio i opseg i oblik grada: podignuti su novi gradski zidovi. Njima je zahvaćena i padina koja se uzdizala iznad sjeverne strane močvare, tako da su se unutar njih našli veliki dijelovi prostora na kojima nije bilo gotovo ništa izgrađeno, a i neke manje jezgre na obroncima brda iz kojih je vjerojatno i proizišlo novo ime grada: Dubrovnik. Nešto kasnije, godine 1272. i 1296, javljaju se i veliki regulacioni zahvati u tim novim dijelovima grada. Opseg novih zidova i nove regulacije otkrivaju snažnu samosvijest njegovih graditelja; oni su svjesno planirali i ostvarivali »model« grada koji je po svemu nadilazio razinu prosječnog srednjovjekovnoga gradskog naselja. Ocjenjujući te zahvate ne treba zaboraviti da je novi grad izgrađen velikim

dijelom na niskom močvarnom području koje je neprestanim nasipavanjem trebalo učvrstiti, a zatim na razmjerno strmim padinama kamenog brijega sjeverno od močvare, dakle na terenu koji sam po sebi nije bio pogodan za širenje grada, kao što i položaj prvobitnog civitasa nije bio pogodan za središte šire teritorijalne organizacije. Neposredno uz naselje, na njegovoj sjevernoj strani, nadvijaju se brda kao veliki kameni zid, a komunikacije sa zaleđem svladavaju teren na istočnoj i zapadnoj strani. Dubrovnik je svoj razvoj od kasnoantičkog »zbijega« do istinskoga grada ostvarivao uz goleme napore. Možda se upravo zbog toga, što se spontani rast grada vrlo rano susreo s »prirodnim« ograničenjima, koja su se mogla prevladati samo organiziranim naporima, ovdje javlja i vrlo rano smišljeno planiranje. Velike regulacije 13. stoljeća, koje su ušle u Statut, i brojne reformacije toga Statuta u 14. stoljeću, pokazuju jasno kako je ova sredina uporno nastojala da racionalizira svoj život u vremenu i u prostoru, da se konstituirala kao čvrsta društvena zajednica i da stvori još čvršće kamene okvire svoga života.

Izgradnja novih, planiranih dijelova grada u 14. i 15. stoljeću bila je određena strogom urbanom disciplinom koju su nametale pravilne građevne čestice i sustav ravnih ulica. Ta je disciplina određivala i značaj kuća koje su podizane u tim dijelovima grada. Analiza građevina koje nastaju upravo u tim stoljećima, napose onih u sjevernom dijelu grada (*sekstijer* sv. Nikole, »Priješko«), pokazuje da su one pripadale izrazito gradskom stanovništvu koje je raskinulo sve veze s agrarnim načinom života. To su u pravilu jednostavne stambene građevine bez gospodarskih dvorišta, koje su u svojim donjim dijelovima imale prostore za manju obrtničku djelatnost. Bezbroj dokumenata potvrđuje dugotrajna nastojanja gradske uprave da se iz grada uklone drvene građevine, da se zabrani podizanje vanjskih stubišta, da se stvara cjelina grada kojoj se moraju podvrgnuti svi pojedinačni objekti. Istodobno se očituje i sklonost prema reprezentativnim javnim građevinama i prostorima, koja je izražena u izgradnji katedrale, crkve gradskog patrona sv. Vlaha, triju velikih samostana, carinarnice i gradske vijećnice. U izgradnji cjelokupnoga grada unutar zidova još od 13. stoljeća javlja se zamisao središnjeg trga-ulice: »Place«. Planiranje svih uličnih poteza u pravcu sjever—jug, koje je bilo izvršeno potkraj 13. stoljeća, u južnom i sjevernom dijelu nekadašnjeg burgusa oslanja se na tada još nepostojeću središnju osovinu Place. Konačnim zasipavanjem močvarnog područja ostvaren je i taj središnji prostor koji povezuje istočna i zapadna vrata grada i na kojem se na oba kraja stvaraju grupacije javnih zgrada i objekata, među ostalim i dvije javne gradske česme. Sudeći po nekim dokumentima iz 14. stoljeća, kuće s obiju strana Place trebalo je da imaju portike, pa je i tako imala biti naglašena reprezentativnost ovog prostora.

Potkraj 15. stoljeća izgradnja grada bila je uglavnom dovršena, ulice i trgovi popločani. U 16. i prvoj polovici 17. stoljeća razmjerno se malo mijenja to čvrsto gradsko tkivo; najčešće se samo obnavljaju privatne građevine koje dobivaju reprezentativnije fasade.

Veliki potres 1667. godine i razaranja koja je izazvao prisilili su grad na nove šire zahvate. Iz sačuvanih dokumenata, koji se odnose na obnovu grada, vidi se težnja za održavanjem postojeće strukture, gdje je god to bilo moguće. Nije samo nedostatak materijalnih sredstava uvjetovao značaj obnove, nego i želja da grad bude isti kao što je bio prije, da se ponovo uspostavi onaj »model« koji se ostvarivao od 13. do kraja 15. stoljeća. Naravno, u nekim su područjima razaranja bila tako velika da se više nije moglo uspostaviti prijašnje stanje. Jedno od takvih područja nalazilo se na zapadnoj strani katedrale, a ono je bilo već razmjerno rano i gusto izgrađeno. Pri obnovi grada stvoren je ovdje novi trg, današnja Gundulićeva poljana. Velika su razaranja bila i u najstarijem dijelu grada, Pustijerni, gdje je očigledno u to vrijeme već nastupila degradacija građevnog fonda. Rušenjem je na sjevernom rubu najstarijeg dijela grada stvoren veći slobodni prostor koji je mogla zauzeti reprezentativna jezuitska crkva. Crkva i kolegij uz nju povezani su skladnim baroknim stubištem s novim slobodnim prostorom koji je nastao iza katedrale. Taj zahvat nosi sve značajke baroknog urbanizma, i u vizuelnom povezivanju dijelova grada širokim probojem, i u izvedbi pojedinih objekata. Ovdje je zapravo prvi put u prostoru zaničkana granica koja je dijelila civitas od burgusa, a koja se bila održala za svih regulacija prethodnih stoljeća.

Kriza osebujne političko-teritorijalne organizacije kojoj je na čelu bio Dubrovnik jasno se pokazala već u 18. stoljeću pri izgradnji

pojedinih objekata u samom gradu. Na početku 19. stoljeća, u toku napoleonskih ratova, Dubrovnik gubi samostalnost i pretvara se ubrzo u jedan od pokrajinskih gradova austrijske države. Umrtvljenje života u gradu onemogućivalo je veće građevne zahvate, tako da nije došlo ni do nekog značajnijeg narušavanja staroga tkiva. Zbog toga Dubrovnik pruža priliku za proučavanje gradogradnje u širokom vremenskom rasponu srednjega vijeka.

Milan Prelog

Having preserved to the present day a considerable part of its original mediaeval structures within a powerful belt of fortified walls as well as a multitude of documents that elucidate its construction well-nigh from the very beginnings, DUBROVNIK occupies an unusual place in the history of town-building on the Adriatic coast. To the exceptional significance of this position contributes also the fact that this urban structure was being born as a peculiar "material expression" of a quite exceptional historical development of Dubrovnik. During the Middle Ages, Dubrovnik had become the centre of a special political-territorial organization of the "Republic", the point of departure and the aim of a wide and well-developed complex of trading routes that connected the City with all centres of economic life in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean. This special position of the City in the economic life of the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the deep-lying continental hinterland had essentially determined also the import of its raising.

Both by the time of the City's origin and the significance of its construction, Dubrovnik is a typical mediaeval place. Without ignoring a possibility that within the space where the City developed there may have existed some earlier life foci, Dubrovnik as a City commenced living and growing as late as the 7th century. This growth had taken its first beginnings within a comparatively small fortified nucleus along the steep rocks above the sea, which were separated from the mainland by a shallow bay and swampy grounds. However, in inheriting the diocese of the long-dead centre of Epidaurum, this very settlement would grow and gather strength precisely in the time of severest crises experienced by other municipal centres along the coast of the Adriatic. There can be no doubt whatever that its importance in the life of a wide area was determined by certain central, church and administrative functions, and not by the number of the City's inhabitants. During the 10th century there developed, along a "castellum" that lay along the western rim of the rocky ridge, some new municipal parts. To date, the order of sequence of this growth has not been safely assessed; the existing pattern exhibits quite obviously the third stage, during which this settlement would extend along the whole belt of the ridges in eastern direction. Judging by the well-known text by Constantin Porphyrogenet, by the 10th century the centre of municipal life was concentrated in the "new" part of the City already, in the so-called "Pustijerna", where there was the Church of St. Stjepan. To judge by the very appellation of this part of the City, which had been derived from the name of the lateral municipal Gate ("posterulla" and "pusterulla"), the development of the City took its course by the raising of substructures along the fortified nucleus.

Somewhat later, most likely during the 11th century, when municipal life was revived along the whole coast of the Adriatic Sea, there rose new substructures along the original nucleus. The earliest of these substructures of the 11th century was shaped at the spot where there had existed a link between the "castellum" and the mainland and harbour on the western side. This connection ran in part along a bridge above the swampy grounds, and this approach was defended by a tower. For a time this used to be the only entrance to the City from the mainland: this was its gate, as is so aptly confirmed by the permanent appellation of this area: "Pile". In the course of time the complex of these substructures, the "burgus", started developing along the walls of the older "civitas" in an easterly direction, thus creating a yet stronger nucleus below the "Pustijerna". Such a development of the burgus was conditioned by the situation prevailing in the terrains, which is to say that construction used to lean upon the rocky grounds below the

very walls. Further expansion of the City northwards called for continuous filling in of the shallows. In the 12th century the entire area of the burgus will have had a firm spatial footing already, whose axis was to be found in a long, comparatively straight street, the so-called "via publica", which, in connecting the western and eastern nuclei, would run parallel to the City walls (today's "Ulica od puča"). In the 12th century this burgus was not solely larger spatially than the old burgus, but within its space there must have assembled those strata of urban population which would soon assume a leading rôle in the development of the City. The names of some of the owners of the grounds and buildings in this part of the City are encountered one century later as the family names of the City's patricians. The immediate consequence of the growth of this burgus was the "exit" of the sacral and political centre from the walls of the ancient civitas. In the eastern part of the substructure complex there took place in the 12th century the construction of a new Cathedral and fortified centre of the City's administration. Here, a public space was shaped and expanded, the first "plathea". These bold undertakings actually constituted the period of the most intensive construction of a new City, which would last until the middle of the 16th century.

In the middle of the 13th century there took place yet another large architectonic undertaking, which would determine in essence also the scope and shape of the City construction of the City walls. These walls embraced also the slope that ran towards the northern side of the swampy grounds, so that within it there lay large parts of a space that as innocent of any building activity, and likewise a number of minor nuclei along the slopes of the hillside, which probably gave birth to a new name of the City: D u b r o v n i k. At a somewhat later date, in 1272 and 1296, extensive regulation works were initiated in the new parts of the City. The extent of the new walls as well as these new regulation works reveal a powerful spirit of the builders, who undoubtedly were planning and actualizing quite consciously the "model" for a City that by all standards would surpass the level of average mediaeval settlements. In assessing these works one ought not to ignore that this new part of the City was raised in great measure on low-lying swampy grounds, which had to be continuously strengthened by dams and otherwise, and also along the relatively steep slopes of the stony hillside north of the swamps, hence on a terrain which by itself was unsuitable for the City's expansion, similarly as the position of the original civitas had not been suitable for actualizing a wider territorial organization. Immediately beside the settlement, along its northern side, there rise mountains like a huge stone wall, while communications with the hinterland had to master the terrains on the eastern and western sides. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the development from a late-antique "refuge site" to a true City was actualized by Dubrovnik at the cost of immense efforts. Maybe precisely because of the fact that the spontaneous growth of the City had met very early already with "natural" limitations which could only be mastered by united efforts, conscious planning here had been initiated at an early date. Extensive regulation works in the 13th century, which had to be recorded in the Statute, as well as numerous reformations of this Statute, which occurred in the 14th century, constitute ample evidence that this midst had expended considerable efforts towards rationalizing its life in both time and space, in order to actualize a solid social community, and to create yet firmer stone frameworks for its life.

The erection of new, well-planned parts of the City in the 14th and 15th centuries was taking place through a very strict municipal discipline, as shown by the regular architectonic units and the system of straight streets. This disciplinary spirit would likewise determine the import of the houses that were being raised in these parts of the City. Analyses of structures that were raised in the aforementioned centuries, notably those in the northern part of the City (sexteri of St. Nikola, "Priješko"), demonstrate that they belonged to a specifically urban population, who had broken all links with the rural mode of life. They are as a rule simple dwelling-houses without any backyards, and which in their lower parts held spaces for minor artisan activities. Innumerable documents confirm the long-time efforts on the part of the municipal administration to do away with wooden structures, to interdict the raising of outer staircases, and to create a unique whole of the City, to which all individual structures would have to be subjugated.

Simultaneously, also the tendency was making itself felt towards creating representative public buildings and open spaces, which found their expression in the raising of the Cathedral, the Church of the City's patron, St. Vlaho, three large monasteries, a customs house and a City Hall. In the scope of the construction of the entire City within the walls there had appeared as far back as the 12th century the idea of a central square or street: "Placa". The planning of all streets in the direction north-south, which was terminated at the end of the 13th century in the southern and northern parts of the one-time burgus, was then leaning upon the as yet nonexistent central axis of the "Placa". By filling in the swampy area it was possible to realize also this central space, which connects the eastern and western gates of the City, and where there were created at both these ends groups of public buildings and structures, among other things also two public municipal wells. Judging by some documents from the 14th century, the houses on both sides of the Placa ought to have possessed porticos, so that also in this way the representative appearance of this space would have been emphasized.

At the close of the 15th century the erection of the City was in the main terminated, the streets and squares paved. In the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries comparatively little was being altered in the City's solid pattern. What activities there were, were restricted to restorations of private houses, which received more representative façades.

The destructions brought on by the Great Earthquake of 1667 compelled the City to undertake new rebuildings. From preserved documents relating to the restoration of the City is visible the intent to maintain the existing structures wherever feasible. The nature of the restoration works was conditioned not solely by the lack of funds, but likewise by a wish to render the City's appearance as it had been in earlier times, to again set up that "model" which had been taking shape between the 13th and the end of the 15th centuries. Quite naturally, there were areas where those destructions caused by the earthquake were so extensive as to be out of the question to re-establish the once original appearance. One such district lays on the western side of the Cathedral, and it had been built comparatively early and rather densely. Within the scope of the restoration works a new square was created here, today's "Gundulićeva Poljana". Similarly, the oldest part of the City, the "Pustijerna", suffered from considerable devastations, and it was there that without a doubt in this time a deterioration in the architectonic holdings had already taken place. By demolitions carried out at the northern rim of the oldest part of the City a larger free space was formed which then could be taken up by a representative Jesuit church. This church and the adjoining college are connected by a harmonious baroque staircase with a new free space that had been created behind the structure of the Cathedral. This undertaking bears all the features of baroque town-planning, both regarding the visual connecting of parts of the City by broad passes, and the raising of individual structures. Here was actually for the first time disclaimed the border which used to separate the civitas from the burgus, and which had been observed during all the restoration and regulation works during earlier centuries.

A crisis of the peculiar political-territorial organization at the head of which stood Dubrovnik was clearly delineated in the 18th century already also in the sphere of erection of individual structures in the very City. At the beginning of the 19th century, during the napoleonic wars, Dubrovnik lost its independence and was transformed into one of the provincial towns of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The dying away of the life of the City would not allow of any mayor architectonic undertakings, so that no major deterioration of the old pattern of the City could take place. In this way Dubrovnik presents a good occasion for studies of city-raising within a very broad time span of the Middle Ages.

Od 1967—72. god. vršena su terenska istraživanja i obrada Dubrovnik pod vodstvom prof. dra M. Preloga

Geodetsko snimanje izvršio je Biro za izgradnju, Dubrovnik

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U radu na terenu sudjelovali su i studenti Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Zagrebu: Vlado Berković, Sonja Flego, Nada Fürst, Pavel Kuchar, Srđan Kukavičić, Dunja Leinert, Darko Manestar, Branko Marković, Vinko Peračić, Mladen Perušić, Ivanka Petrović, Marija Stepinac, Darko Thum.

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Deskripcije i analize radili su asistenti Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu: Marija Planić-Lončarić, Tonko Maroević i Igor Fisković. Suradnici Instituta za povijest umjetnosti: Nada Grujić, Josip Stošić i Anđelko Badurina, te studenti povijesti umjetnosti: Ivo Babić, Tonko Karaman, Flora Maroević i Maja Nodari.

Konzultanti su bili: Lukša Beritić, konzervator, Dubrovnik i Dubravka Beritić, direktor Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Dubrovniku.

Na kraju sveska priložena je dokumentacija koja prati ovaj rad o Dubrovniku.

1. Tlocrt grada (prizemlje) mj. 1 : 500

2. Četiri analitičke karte u mj. 1 : 1500

- vrijeme
- valorizacija
- stanje
- visina

3. Presjeci grada mj. 1 : 500

presjek a — a: Stradun, pogled na sjever
presjek b — b: Prijeko, pogled na sjever
presjek c — c: Sv. Ivan — Pustijerna — Strossmayerova ulica — Bokar, pogled na jug
presjek d — d: kula sv. Jakova — Zlatarska ulica — Pred Dvorom — Restićeva ulica, pogled na istok
presjek e — e: Ulica Celenge — Novi Skalini — Sv. Marija, pogled na istok
presjek f — f: Sv. Petar — Crijevićeva ulica, pogled na zapad
presjek g — g: kula Minčeta — Franjevački samostan — Samostan sv. Klare — Bokar, pogled na istok

Between 1967 and 1972 there were performed under the leadership of dr. M. Prelog by the teams of the Institute of Art History, Zagreb University, composed of the aforementioned art historians and architects, architectonic recordings and research studies of the City of Dubrovnik.

At the end of the volume has been enclosed a part of the documentation covering the present work:

1. Groundplan of the City (groundfloor) in a scale 1 : 500

2. Four analytical maps in a scale 1 : 1500, a. time of construction, b. monumental values, c. state and d. height of objects,

3. Cross-sections of the City in a scale 1 : 500