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PLEMSTVO V MESTU IN MESTNE ELITE

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IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava prisotnost in dejavnost plemstva v srednjeveških celinskih ter istrskih mestih na območju današnje Slovenije. Raziskava je časovno omejena na obdobje med 13. in zgodnjim 15. stoletjem. Za celinski prostor so obravnavani Maribor, Ptuj in Ljubljana, za Istro pa Piran, Izola in Koper. Mesta v notranjosti (z izjemo Ptuja) so mestne pravice dobivala šele v visokem srednjem veku, naselbine v Istri pa so bile precej starejše. Medtem ko se je v istrskih mestih v visokem srednjem veku razvila mestna elita in (ponekod) mestno plemstvo (patriciat), zasledimo v celinskih mestih pripadnike fevdalnega plemstva.

Ključne besede: 13. stoletje, 14. stoletje, mestne elite, fevdalno plemstvo, patriciat, Maribor, Ljubljana, Ptuj, Piran, Izola, Koper

LA NOBILTÀ NELLE CITTÀ E LE ÉLITE CITTADINE

SINTESI

L'articolo esamina la presenza e l'attività della nobiltà nelle città medievali continentali e istriane nell'area dell'odierna Slovenia. In termini di tempo, la ricerca è limitata al periodo compreso tra il XIII e l'inizio del XV secolo. Maribor, Ptuj e Lubiana sono oggetto di ricerca dell'area continentale, mentre per l'Istria sono stati presi in considerazione Pirano, Isola e Capodistria. Le città dell'entroterra (con l'eccezione di Ptuj) ottennero i diritti di città solo nell'Alto Medioevo. Gli insediamenti in Istria sono invece molto più antichi. Mentre nelle città istriane nell'Alto Medioevo si sviluppò un'élite urbana e (in alcuni luoghi) una nobiltà urbana (patriziato), nell'entroterra troviamo la presenza della nobiltà feudale.

Parole chiave: XIII secolo, XIV secolo, élite urbane, nobiltà feudale, patriziato, Maribor, Lubiana, Ptuj, Pirano, Isola, Capodistria

UVOD¹

V sledečih vrsticah bo govora o prisotnosti in dejavnosti(h) elit ter plemstva v mestih na prostoru današnje Slovenije – tako v celinskih mestih, kot v mestih v slovenski Istri. Namen članka je obravnavati in primerjati dejavnosti fevdalnega plemstva v celinskih mestih današnje Slovenije ter mestnih elit oziroma (v primeru Kopra) mestnega plemstva v slovenski Istri. Doprinos k znanstveni razpravi bo predvsem v osvetlitvi razlik in primerjavi življenja ter delovanja obeh skupin v izbranih mestih. Mestne elite iz vrst meščanov se v celinskih mestih niso razvile na isti način kot v istrskih mestih, zato meščanov celinskih mest k raziskavi nismo pritegnili. Tako fevdalno plemstvo kot istrska mestna elita sta v primerjavi z ostalimi prebivalci mest imela privilegiran položaj, a hkrati so se politične, pravne in ekonomske okoliščine obeh skupin izredno razlikovale. Obravnavano obdobje bo predvsem čas med 13. in 15. stoletjem. Iz celinskega prostora bo beseda še najbolj tekla o Mariboru, Ptujju in Ljubljani, medtem ko bodo iz istrskega območja obravnavani Piran, Koper in Izola.

Med pisci, ki so se v preteklih letih ukvarjali s plemstvom oziroma srednjeveškimi mestnimi elitami na tleh današnje Slovenije, je treba omeniti raziskovalce, kot so Sergij Vilfan (1975, 19–27), Jože Mlinarič (2006, 261–278), Darko Darovec (2020, 655–687; 2022, 855–908; 2023b, 743–776), Tone Ravnikar (2011, 250–263; 2020, 49–66; 2023, 611–639), Peter Štih (2011, 7–24), Dušan Kos (1998), Miroslav Pahor (1972), Dušan Mlacović (2011, 166–186; 2019, 157–180; 2022, 819–854), Janez Mlinar (2011, 439–456), Boris Hajdinjak (2011, 264–307) in Darja Mihelič (1985; 2011, 148–165).

Prav tako je bilo pri pisanju članka zbrano listinsko gradivo ter druga, narativna ali v verzih pisana besedila iz zgoraj zakoličenega časovnega okvirja. To gradivo so v preteklosti zbirali in izdajali Joseph von Zahn (UBSt I–III), Franc in Milko Kos (GZS IV–V), Heinrich Appelt in Gerhard Pferschy (UBSt IV), Dušan Kos (CKL), Hermann Weisflecker, Annelies Redik (RHSt I), France Baraga (na podlagi gradiva Boža Otorepca) (GZS VI), Jože Mlinarič (GZM III–IV, VI–VII, X) ter Božo Otorepec (GZL I–III, VI, IX). V sklopu raziskave je bilo pregledano tudi gradivo, ki sta ga zbrala Franz Martin in Willibald Hauthaler (SUB I–IV), a te listine niso vključene v članek. Uporabljeni sta bili besedili ptujskih statuten iz let 1376 in 1513 (Ptujski statut 1376; Ptujski statut 1513), epska pesnitev »Služba dami« Ulrika Liechtensteinskega (1888a–1888b; 2000) ter »Popotni dnevniki« Paola Santonina (Santonino, 1991). Slednjič smo pri pisanju dotičnega besedila uporabljali še piranske notarske knjige, ki jih je uredila Darja Mihelič (PNK 1–7), izolski (STIZ), koprski (STKP) ter piranski statut (STPI), ki so jih urejali Dušan Kos, Mitja Sadek, Lujo Margetić, Miroslav Pahor ter Janez Šumrada.

1 Pričujoča razprava je nastala v okviru raziskav v programski skupini Oddelka za zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru P6-0138 (A): *Preteklost Severovzhodne Slovenije med srednjo Evropo in evropskim jugovzhodom* ter v okviru Bilateralnega projekta BI-ME/21-22-026: *Podobnosti in razlike med primorskimi in celinskimi srednjeveškimi mesti na prostoru Slovenije in Črne gore*, ki ju financira Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS).

Na v članku obravnavanem prostoru (upoštevaje še Gorico/Gorizia in Radgono/Bad Radkersburg) je v srednjem veku nastalo 26 mest in nekaj manj kot 60 trgov, od katerih jih je nekaj propadlo že pred letom 1500 (Kosi, 2011, 77). Maribor in Ljubljano kot mesti prvič najdemo imenovani v 13. stoletju. Maribor se kot mesto prvič omenja leta 1254 (GZM I, št. 85–86), Ljubljana pa (posredno) okrog leta 1220 (Kosi, 2011, 77). Mariborski mestni gospodje so bili v srednjeveškem času štajerski vojvode iz več rodbin. Med letoma 1192 in 1246 je šlo za dinastijo Babenberžanov, ki so vladali tako Štajerski kot Avstriji, nato za ogrskega kralja Belo IV., ta je štajerski vojvodini načeloval med letoma 1254 in 1260, ter med letoma 1260 in 1276 za češkega kralja Otokarja II. Přemysla, ki je ob tem vladal tudi na Avstrijskem ter kasneje na Koroškem in Kranjskem. Razni pripadniki dinastije Habsburžanov so naslov štajerskih vojvod nosili od leta 1282 (Ravninar, 2020, 43, 45, 55), pa vse do konca našega zastavljenega časovnega okvirja. Poleg Štajerske so vladali še številnim drugim deželam.

Ljubljanski mestni gospodje so bili pred letom 1269 koroški vojvode Spanheimi, nato češki kralj Otokar II. Přemysl, za njim grofje in vojvode Goriško-Tirolski in po letu 1335 (nominalno že od leta 1279) Habsburžani (Štih, 2018, 26–30, 35; Kosi, 2018, 25, 65, 74). Pri Ptujju je bila zgodba nekoliko drugačna in daljša. V prvi vrsti je imelo dotično mesto mnogo daljšo zgodovino od Maribora in Ljubljane. V posest salzburške nadškofije je Ptuj najverjetneje prišel že nekje med letoma 874 in 890, nesporno pa do zadnje četrtine 10. stoletja. Tedaj se je brez dvoma tudi že imenoval *civitas*. Bil je križišče starih rimskih cest, najverjetneje že v 9. stoletju pa je tam stal tudi (morda ohranjen rimski) most čez Dravo. Ptujski grad je bil na novo postavljen po letu 1131, že pred tem pa je tam stal star in razrušen grad (GZS IV, št. 109; Kosi, 2009, 35, 42, 44, 51, 56, 65).² Grajski ter mestni gospodje na Ptujju so bili salzburški nadškofje (Štih, 2011, 8) in ne gospodje Ptujski, o katerih bo govora v nadaljevanju.

Nadškofje so Ptuj v 12. in 13. stoletju večkrat obiskali z velikimi spremstvi visoke duhovščine in ministerialov (Kosi, 2009, 67). Razvoj Ptujja v srednjeveško mesto se je zaključil do srede 13. stoletja. Leta 1251 se je prvič omenjalo njegovo obzidje, leta 1273 je izpričana komuna, leta 1277 pa je prvič omenjen mestni sodnik. Ptujška statuta iz let 1376 ter 1513 sta edina srednjeveška mestna statuta celinskega mesta na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju, medtem ko jih imajo v Istri tako Koper, kot tudi Izola in Piran. Pravo velike večine celinskih mest na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju je bilo določeno s privilegijskimi listinami, ki jih je nekemu mestu izstavljala njegov mestni gospod (Vilfan, 1975, 23; Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 159; Hajdinjak, 2011, 264–271).

V srednjeveški Istri je šel razvoj popolnoma drugačno pot. Po miru med Frankovsko državo in Vzhodnim rimskim cesarstvom iz leta 812 je Istra ostala frankovska. V naslednjih desetletjih so se začeli prvi stiki med prebivalci Istre in vse močnejšimi Benetkami. Medsebojni odnosi so se zatem še okrepili zaradi

2 *Bethowe antiquum extitit Castrum, sed dirutum multis temporibus* (GZS IV, št. 109).

negotovosti na morju in pogostih gusarskih napadov v severnem Jadranu in ob istrski obali. Leta 932 so se prebivalci Kopra obvezali beneškemu dožu letno poslati 100 amfor vina. Leto zatem so Benečani dosegli, da so istrski mejni grof in predstavniki istrskih mest z Benetkami sklenili sporazum, ki je slednjim omogočal neovirano gospodarjenje na njihovih istrskih posestvih (Darovec, 2020, 657; Budicin, 2009, 177–179, 186, 206). V naslednjih desetletjih in stoletjih so Benečani svoj vpliv nad istrskimi mesti vzdrževali predvsem tako, da so jih skušali gospodarsko obvladati. To so delali predvsem z vrsto podobnih politično-trgovskih sporazumov, slednjič pa še s podreditvijo zahodnoistrskih mest s silo (Darovec, 2004, 258). Kmalu po sredini 13. stoletja so si Benetke uspele podrediti večino zahodnoistrskih mest, tako da je bil polotok politično razklan. Že med letoma 1145 in 1152 so Benetke s posameznimi istrskimi mesti sklepale pogodbe o zaščiti in zvestobi. Med letoma 1267, ko se je podredil Poreč, in 1283, ko sta se uklonila Piran in Rovinj, so beneško nadoblast priznala skoraj vsa zahodnoistrska mesta. Prva izjema je bil Trst/Trieste, ki je leta 1382 sprejel habsburško nadvlado. Prav tako so Milje/Muggia sprejele beneško nadvlado šele leta 1420 (Ivetić, 2009, 219–220, 228; Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 60–61, 129–131, 157; Gestrin, 1965, 68).

Od srede 12. stoletja naprej bi lahko v Istri že govorili o dokaj samostojnih mestnih republikah, ki pa so bile najprej pod vplivom istrskih mejnih grofov ter od 10. stoletja naprej vedno bolj pod vplivom beneške države (Darovec, 2020, 657–661). Z 12. stoletjem se je v severnoitalijanskem prostoru začel odvijati proces osvobajanja mest izpod oblasti škofov in lokalnih fevdalnih veljakov, kar je vplivalo tudi na mesta v Istri. Meščani so ustanavljali komune (Koper 1186, Piran 1192, Trst 1202), ki so jim sami izbrali načelnike, konzule in rektorje (Darovec, 2022, 859). Benetke so v istrskih mestih pod svojo oblastjo za podestate postavljale svoje ljudi oziroma Benečane, in sicer za dobo 16 mesecev (Kos, 1998, 14–15; Štih, 2011, 12–13; Mihelič, 2011, 148–149; 2015, 314; Darovec, 2023a, 70–72; 2023b, 751, 769).

Zaradi beneške prevlade v 13. stoletju se Koper, Izola in Piran nikoli niso razvili v prave mestne republike po drugih italijanskih vzorih. Koper se je moral Benetkam podrediti leta 1279, prav tako Izola. Piran se je premočnim Benetkam moral podrediti leta 1283 (Darovec, 2023b, 746, 750; Pahor, 1976, 158; Štih, 2011, 12), le Trstu se je tej usodi uspelo izmakniti. Zaznal je politično priložnost pred trgovsko močnejšimi Benečani ter se leta 1382 podredil Habsburžanom. Habsburški teritorij se je sicer že od leta 1366 raztezal vse do »vrat« Trsta. Konec desetletja so mu Habsburžani neuspešno skušali pomagati proti silam Benetk. Trst je sprva bil primoran sprejeti beneško nadvlado, desetletje zatem, ko so bile Benetke zaradi vojne z Genovo izčrpane, pa je razglasil osvoboditev. Avgusta 1382 se je prostovoljno podal pod oblast avstrijskih vojvod, pogoji podreditve pa so mu zagotavljali precejšnjo avtonomijo in ugodne gospodarske razmere. Konkurenca med beneškimi mesti in habsburškim Trstom se je v prihodnjih desetletjih bolj ali manj redno nadaljevala. Zadnji goriški grof Lenart

je leta 1500 tik pred smrtjo za svojega dediča določil Habsburžana Maksimilijana. Maksimilijanove čete so dober teden zatem zasedle Gorico in prevzele celotno grofijo. Med habsburško in beneško stranjo se je leta 1508 vnela dolga vojna, ki je v praksi trajala vse do leta 1516 (Kosi, 2018, 94–98, 139–140, 145–170).

Bistvenih novosti v upravnem smislu beneška nadvlada vsaj v začetku ni prinesla (Pahor, 1958, 110). Statuti istrskih mest so bili še pred beneško zasedbo večkrat dopolnjeni, zlasti z običajnim pravom. Temeljili so torej na lokalnem običajnem pravu, tradiciji iz rimskih časov, kanonskem pravu ter srednjeveških šegah in običajih. Piranski fragmentarno ohranjen statut iz leta 1274 je najstarejši ohranjen dokument te vrste v Istri. Obenem vemo, da je imel Koper vsaj že leta 1238 pisane statute, kar vse priča o živahni pravni dejavnosti že pred beneško okupacijo, nedvomno pa tudi pod njenim vplivom. (Darovec, 2023b, 746, 751). Prav tako velja na tej točki opozoriti na predhabsburške tržaške statute iz let 1315 (1318) ter 1350 (Darovec, 2023a, 84; 2015, 87; Mihelič, 2014, 849).



Slika 1: grof Lenart Goriški, freska v kapeli gradu Bruck v Lienzu.

FEVDALNO PLEMSTVO V CELINSKIH MESTIH

Kranjski, štajerski, koroški in drugi lokalni plemiči so se v 13. in 14. stoletju vedno pogosteje zadrževali v celinskih mestih. Tam so se morda zabavali, se srečevali s svojimi znanci, nakupovali razne obrtne izdelke ali drugo trgovsko blago za svoje gradove, darovali cerkvenim ustanovam ali pa prodajali zemljiško posest (Kos, 1998, 68). Poleg meščanov in raznoterih cerkvenih institucij so nepremičnine v prvi vrsti posedovali njihovi mestni gospodje. Te nepremičnine oziroma zemljišča so skozi čas morda podeljevali cerkvenim ustanovam ali plemiškim zaveznikom (GZS V, 810; GZS VI, št. 13; UBSt IV, št. 21, 543; GZL I, 37; GZM VII, št. 97; GZM X, št. 24; CKL, 185; GZL IX, št. 33). V nekaj primerih so obdarovance tudi oprostili dajatev in služnosti, povezanih s temi nepremičninami, kar mestnim oblastem verjetno ni bilo ravno pogodu (GZS V, št. 810; UBSt IV, 123; GZL I, št. 37; RHSt I, št. 106; GZM VII, št. 73). Na podlagi ohranjenih virov lahko sklepamo, da je redko, in sicer najbogatejše štajersko lokalno plemstvo

hiše v mestih začelo kupovati v 13. stoletju. Njihovi predniki so se že stoletje prej pojavljali v teh oziroma bodočih mestih, a le kot člani oboroženih spremstev svojih gospodov, ki so se tam za krajši čas ustavili in izstavili kakšno listino. Kot kažejo viri, pa tedaj še ni šlo za daljše postanke. Ne poznamo primera, v katerem bi kateri ministerialni plemič ali svobodni gospod v 12. stoletju že imel hišo v katerem izmed trgov oziroma kasnejših mest oziroma bi se tamkaj dlje časa zadrževal. Če so taki primeri obstajali, so najverjetneje bili zelo redki oziroma redko dokumentirani, kar je razumljivo glede na to, da se je pisna kultura šele tedaj začela počasi uveljavljati. Podobno stanje je vladalo v prvih treh ali štirih desetletjih 13. stoletja,³ čeprav srečamo prve mestne oziroma trške hiše v plemiški lasti že tedaj. Kasneje, sredi 13. stoletja, so najbogatejši lokalni plemiči začeli vse bolj prepoznavati prednosti urbanega okolja in v mestih prebili toliko časa, da jih je tam hiše kupovalo vedno več.

Gospodje Ptujski so glede tega zelo izstopali. Poleg hiš in domceev na Ptuj ter enega izmed grajskih stolpov v Lipnici (Leibnitz) (UBSt II, št. 163; RHSt I, št. 122; Pirchegger, 1951, 20), so v drugi polovici 13. stoletja tako imeli hiše še v Gradcu (UBSt IV, št. 58) ter v Dunajskem Novem mestu (Wiener Neustadt) (UBSt IV, št. 123, 543). Prav tako so v 14. stoletju najbrž imeli dve hiši na Dunaju (Hajdinjak & Vidmar, 2008, 24–25). Že v prvi polovici 13. stoletja zasledimo tudi hišo gospodov Ptujskih v Brežah (Friesach) (UBSt II, 152; GZS V, št. 286). Glede na veliko politično moč, ki so jo Ptujski v tistih desetletjih posedovali, tudi to ni nič nenavadnega. Hišo v Gradcu so v drugi polovici 13. stoletja potrebovali že zato, ker so se tam – kot pomembnejši štajerski funkcionarji – brez dvoma zadrževali precej časa (Bele, 2018, 40–44). Hiše, ki bi jo Ptujski kot izvorno salzburški ministeriali imeli tudi v Salzburgu, ne najdemo. To dejstvo ne preseneča, saj so se Ptujski v teku 13. stoletja uspeli izmakniti nadoblasti nadškofov ter so postali člani štajerske deželne zveze. Posledično jih v kasnejših desetletjih mnogo pogosteje najdemo v družbi štajerskih vojvod (Bele, 2018, 22–24, 58–64).

Poleg gospodov Ptujskih najdemo med najmočnejšimi plemiči v teku 14. stoletja tudi druge lastnike hiš v pomembnejših mestih. Na Dunaju gre za Celjske in Kacenštajnske, v Gradcu pa ponovno za Celjske (Kos, 2005, 98). Iz virov lahko ugotovimo, da so v 13., 14. in 15. stoletju lastniki hiš v srednjeveškem Mariboru ali na Ptuj med drugim bili razni lokalni plemiči s krajšim političnim dometom iz Spodnje Štajerske. Pri njih je šlo morda za pripadnike vojaško in finančno nekoliko šibkejših rodbin. Nekatere izmed teh rodbin niso imele denarja za nakup nedvomno mnogo dražje nepremičnine v Gradcu ali na Dunaju. Za njihovimi člani je ostalo

3 GZS IV, št. 243, 319, 421, 436; UBSt I, št. 472–473, 482, 501; GZS IV, št. 491, 657, 659, 693; UBSt I, št. 642, 644, 649, 677; GZS IV, št. 745, 758; UBSt I, št. 700–701, 707, 720; GZS IV, št. 786–788, 803; UBSt II, št. 2; GZS IV, št. 811, 830; UBSt II, št. 11, 16, 20–21; UBSt III, št. 9; GZS V, št. 4, 6, 27, 29; UBSt II, št. 56–58; GZS V, št. 51; UBSt II, št. 64–65; GZS V, št. 61–62, 113, 155, 163, 182, 192–193, 211, 275; UBSt II, št. 70, 88, 97–98, 114, 125, 136; GZS V, št. 304, 307, 311; UBSt II, št. 171, 192–193; GZS V, št. 364, 386, 397, 400, 419, 435–436, 454, 462, 464, 501, 629, 634, 664, 666; UBSt II, št. 375–376; GZS V, št. 737, 739, 742, 744, 756–757, 788, 815, 832.

nekoliko manj listinskega gradiva, saj so bili v primerjavi z gospodi Ptujskimi politično manj aktivni. Posledično o njihovem zadrževanju v mestih vemo manj. Nikakor pa ni mogoče reči, da jih tam ni bilo. Nekatere druge izmed njih smemo spet šteti med pripadnike pomembnejših rodbin. Med lastniki hiš oziroma domcev v Mariboru tako (ponovno) najdemo Ptujске (GZM IV, št. 38; GZM VI, št. 4; Radovanovič, 2015, 27, 224, 294),⁴ Žusemske (GZM VII, št. 73, 79, 85; GZM X, št. 24; Mlinarič, 1973, 240; Kos, 2005, 411), Grabenske (GZM VII, št. 105, 113), Dobrnske (GZM VII, št. 97; Weiss, 2002, 39, 243, 322)⁵ in Viltuške (GZM II, št. 102; Kos, 2005, 98). Oton I. Dravograjski iz rodbine Trušenjskih je leta 1204 v dosmrtni užitek dobil hišo v Velikovcu/Völkemarktu (GZS V, št. 81; Bele, 2011, 14). Prav tam je hišo nekaj let kasneje (protipravno) imel Otonov sorodnik Rajnbert (II.) Cmureški (GZS V, št. 158; UBSt II, št. 102; Bele, 2011, 30–31). V začetku 14. stoletja v mestu zasledimo celo Rudolfa in Otona Liechtensteinskega⁶, ki sta tedaj prodajala svojo hišo v Slovenskih Konjicah (RHSt I, št. 460). Domnevamo lahko, da se je v pisnih virih do danes izgubila vsaka sled za marsikatero ljubljansko, mariborsko ali ptujsko hišo v plemiški lasti. Prav tako smemo ugibati, da so se stavbe v plemiški lasti zelo razlikovale ena od druge glede na velikost mošnje lastnika. Hiše gospodov Ptujskih ali svobodnih gospodov Žovneških so bile najbrž kvalitetnejše, večje, novejšje in lepše opremljene od hiš manj premožnih plemičev.

V srednjeveški Ljubljani so skozi čas hiše imeli zelo močni Žovneški oziroma (po 1322) Celjski (CKL, 185; GZL II, št. 50), Ortenburški (GZL II, št. 47), Turjaški (GZL IX, št. 33–34, 97) ter mnogo šibkejši Črnomeljski (GZL, VI, št. 18) in Jamski (GZL II, št. 55, 62–63, 66, 68). V začetku 14. stoletja je hišo s stolpom v Ljubljani imel tudi notar Ludvik *de valle Savnie* (GZL I, št. 19; RHSt I, št. 106; Kosi, 2008, 545). Formulacija morda nakazuje njegovo poreklo ali pa le območje pod jurisdikcijo njegove funkcije. Nekateri izmed v Ljubljani navzočih plemičev so bili vključeni v kranjsko deželno upravo. Skozi čas je bilo med njimi nekaj takih, ki so izvirali iz vrst spanheimske ministerialitete (na Koroškem), goriško-tirolske ministerialitete (na Tirolskem) ter turjaške in andeške ministerialitete (na Kranjskem). Po smrti moža, vojvode Leopolda III. Habsburškega (†1386), je hišo v Ljubljani podedovala njegova vdova Viridis Visconti (†1414). Nekateri prišleki plemiškega rodu so bili razpeti med svojim izvirnim gradom in mestom. Po eni strani je nekaj potomcev

4 Dve ptujski hiši v Mariboru je glede na besedilo v listinah možno nekoliko natančneje locirati. Hiša, omenjena leta 1346, je stala na *Prudergassen*, pri čemer je najverjetneje šlo za današnji Žički prehod. Izvorno ime je prehod imel zaradi bližnje hiše žičkega samostana. Hiša, omenjena leta 1416, je stala in *der Wyndischen gassen*. V tem primeru je najverjetneje šlo za zahodni del tedanje Slovenske ulice. Vzhodni del se je tedaj imenoval *Burg Gasse*. Ti dve sta se združili šele leta 1876 (GZM IV, št. 38; GZM VI, št. 4; Radovanovič, 2015, 27, 224, 294).

5 Na ulici *Khrotengassen*, ki jo Norbert Weiss locira onstran Drave oziroma *jenseits der Drau*, tj. na desnem bregu. Gre le za kratko notico – v podrobno razlago se ne spušča. Med ulicami, označenimi na njegovem zemljevidu srednjeveškega Maribora, te ulice ne najdemo (GZM VII, št. 97; Weiss, 2002, 39, 243, 322).

6 Šlo je za vnuka slavnega *Minnesängerja* Ulrika Liechtensteinskega (Dopsch, 1977, 113).



Slika 2: Paola Gonzaga, freska iz Palazzo Ducale v Mantovi (Wikimedia Commons).

plemičev zapustilo mesto in se vrnilo k plemiškim koreninam, drugi pa so bili svoje mesto odločeni najti med meščani in so po svojem prihodu postali soustvarjalci mestnega političnega in družbenega življenja. Takojšnja vključitev in aktivno delovanje v skupnosti meščanov je bilo značilno predvsem za prišleke s severa in tiste, ki so prihajali v 15. stoletju. O tej temi za primer Ljubljane je že pisal Janez Mlinar (2020, 65–67, 73, 75). Za primer Maribora je treba kot rodbino, katere člani so se iz svojega izvirnega gradu za stalno preselili v mesto, omeniti Limbuške. Eden izmed njih (Ulrik II.) je bil leta 1372 tudi svak bogatih mariborskih meščanov Paltrama, Rudla in Vejtla (Weiss, 2002, 244; Kos, 2005, 315; Bele, 2021, 224).

Nadvojvoda Ernest Železni je leta 1416 naročal kranjskemu deželnemu glavarju, naj vsi plemiči, ki imajo hiše v Ljubljani (*allen edlen lewten, die hewser in vnser statt zu Laybach haben*), te naselijo in plačujejo mestu dajatve ter popravijo obzidje ob hišah. V nasprotnem primeru bi meščani imeli dovoljenje, da se takih hiš polastijo ter se tam naselijo ali pa jih porušijo (GZL III, št. 31, 33).

Zelo podobno je leta 1461 opozarjal Ernestov sin, cesar Friderik III. Plemstvu in duhovščini, ki je imelo hiše v ljubljanskem pomirju, je naročal, naj od teh hiš plačujejo davke, sodelujejo pri straži in tudi sicer nosijo mestna bremena (GZL III, št. 70).⁷ V ptujskem statutu iz leta 1376 med drugim piše, naj noben meščan v najem ne vzame hiš plemičev, četudi za najnižjo rento, prav tako naj se noben plemič ne nastani v meščanovi hiši mimo njegove volje (Ptujski statut 1376, člen 20). Zelo podobno beremo tudi v statutu iz leta 1513; noben plemič naj se namreč v meščanovi hiši ne nastani mimo njegove volje, prav tako naj noben meščan ne najema plemiških hiš, razen če (očitno plemič) nosi vsa meščanska bremena. Plemič mora, če kupi hišo od meščana, skupaj z njo prevzeti vse obveznosti, v nasprotnem primeru naj se prodaja ne dovoli (Ptujski statut 1513, člen 48, 105; člen 193, 231). Ni dokazov, da bi se plemiči v celinskih mestih izmikali obveznostim oziroma se do meščanov nasilno obnašali, saj samo na podlagi zgoraj izpostavljenih odločb tega ni moč sklepati. Mestne oblasti so se s temi odločbami očitno zgolj preventivno želele zavarovati. Plemiški lastniki mestnih nepremičnin so bili z njimi pač formalno zavezani izpolnjevati obveznosti, ki jih je posedovanje take nepremičnine avtomatično nalagalo, ker je vprašanje, če so to sicer vestno počeli.

Večji ali manjši plemiči, ki jih v 13., 14. ali 15. stoletju srečujemo v mestih, so se tam včasih udeleževali deželnih zborov (ali kakih drugih političnih dogodkov), kupovali razno blago ali pa morda iskali »ljubezen«. Mnogi so se v mestih nadejali kvalitetnejše zdravstvene oskrbe, kot jim je bila na voljo doma. V mestu so tako našli krščanske in judovske lekarnarje, zdravnike in druge ranocelnike. Nemara je kdo izmed njih v mestu preživel dolga obdobja, ker je bil v slabem finančnem stanju in je moral zastaviti ali prodati svoj domači grad (Kos, 2005, 98, 315–316; Ravnikar, 2011, 255–257), se skušal trajno vključiti v skupnost meščanov ali pa le bežal pred slabo družinsko situacijo doma. Lenart, zadnji grof Goriški je po besedah Paola Santonina pretežen del časa prebival v Lienzu, medtem ko je njegova žena Paola Gonzaga večinoma živela oziroma imela svojo rezidenco v gradu (Bruck) nad mestom (Santonino, 1991, 14). Če si je kakšen premožen plemič torej lahko privoščil nepremičnino v mestu, mu je to morda celo ublažilo slabe odnose z ženo. Glede na to, da so bile tedanje plemiške poroke dogovorjene med starši zakoncev, ali pa je ministeriale v določene zakonske povezave morda prisilil njihov gospod, nespornost med zakoncema ni manjkalo (npr. Kos, 2016, 153–175). Revnejši plemiči si najbrž niso mogli privoščiti iste rešitve pri zakonskih problemih kot omenjeni zadnji grof Goriški in se je z obiskom oddaljenega mesta kakšen vitez morda izognil prepirom doma.

Če že ne drugega, je bil za plemiča postanek v mestu vsaj priložnost za druženje in opazovanje lepih deklet. Že omenjeni štajerski *Minnesänger* Ulrik Liechtensteinski, ki je sicer umrl leta 1275, je bil avtor pesnitve z naslovom »Služba dami« (*Frauendienst*

7 [A]llen oprelaten, vom adl vnnd priesterschaft, so heuser in vnnser stat Laybach purgkfrid haben ... in stewern, wachten vnnd in annder weg nicht mitzeleiden mainet (GZL III, št. 70).



Slika 3: Ulrik Liechtensteinski, kot upodobljen v Codex Manesse (*Ulrich von Liechtenstein*).

oziroma *Vrowen dienst*). Ulrik je bil sicer poročen, a ga njegovo srce očitno ni vleklo k ženi. Dama, ki je zaslužna za naslov Ulrikove pesnitve, ni njegova žena. Med drugim je Ulrik pisal (oziroma narekoval), da je med svojim obiskom Dunaja videl mnogo lepih dam in drugih žensk. To mu je »v srcu dobro delo« (Liechtenstein, 2000, 433, kitica 1341; 1888b, 112, kitica 1341).⁸ Mesta ga sicer – vsaj če sodimo po njegovem pisanju – niso navduševala, kot tipičen pesnik svoje dobe je bil mnogo bolj zagnan pri opisovanju odličnih vrlin plemičev svojega, tj. vzhodnoalpskega prostora. Kljub temu je, ko je potreboval zahtevnejšo zdravniško pomoč, to poiskal prav v Gradcu (Liechtenstein, 2000, 27–35, kitice 80–106; 1888a, 27–33, kitice 80–103).⁹ Kasneje se je tudi zgodilo, da si je Ulrik na turnirju v Bressanoneju/Brixnu poškodoval prst. Pomoč je ponovno iskal v mestu (Liechtenstein, 2000, 120–155, kitice 340–440).¹⁰

8 [H]ete: er vand ze Wienen mich, dar was durch kürzewile komen ich, ich sah dâ vil manc schæ wip, und maniger schænen vrowen lip, die gern ein ritter sehen sol: ez tout in herten grunde wol (Liechtenstein, 2000, 433, kitica 1341; 1888b, 112, kitica 1341).

9 Šlo je za nekakšno operacijo Ulrikovih ust, ki so bila pred tem iznakažena (*ungefüge stënter munt*). Poseg je v Gradcu izvedel nekdo, ki ga je Ulrik označil za mojstra (*ze Græz sâin daz Stîrelant dâ ich vil guote meister vant*). Po svojih lastnih besedah je Ulrik celoten poseg prestal nadvse možato (*daz hetouch ich manlich erliten*). Zatem so ga približno šest tednov boleli zobje in usta, mazilo, s katerim si je pomagal, pa je baje smrdelo »kakor leni pes« (*diu stanc alsam ein fûler hunt*.) (Liechtenstein, 2000, 27–35, kitice 80–106; 1888a, 27–33, kitice 80–103).

10 Ulrik se je, kot je zapisal, spopadel z Ulšalkom iz Bolzana. Ta ga je zbodel v prst, ki je zatem le še visel na žili. Zatem se je vrnil v mesto in pomoč skušal najti pri tamkajšnjem mojstru. Ker ta ni bil kos Ulrikovi rani, se je ranjenec odpravil v Bolzano in tam poiskal drugega mojstra. Slednjič si je prst vseeno dal odsekati (Liechtenstein, 2000, 120–155, kitice 340–440).

MESTNE ELITE V ISTRSKIH MESTIH

Pri obravnavi stanja v obravnavanih istrskih mestih današnje Slovenije ne bomo govorili o plemstvu istega tipa kot v prejšnjem poglavju. Obmorska mesta v Istri so se bistveno razlikovala od celinskih, saj so nadzorovala širok pas ozemlja v svojem zaledju. Lokalno prebivalstvo se je ukvarjalo s kmetijstvom, ob obali pa tudi s solinarstvom in ribištvom (Mihelič, 1985, 12–26, 32–33, 39–43; 1984, 194–199, 204–210). Nekatera istrska mesta so se razvila kontinuirano iz antičnih mest (Trst), zgodnesrednjeveških mest z antičnimi značilnostmi (Koper) ali pa zgodnesrednjeveških utrdb (Piran) (Vilfan, 1975, 20). Antična tradicija se je v Istri uspela v veliki meri ohraniti, prav tako jo je v obravnavanem časovnem obdobju zaznamovala nadvlada Benetk (Štih, 2011, 9–10). Pripadniki mestnih elit v Kopru, Izoli in Piranu niso bili potomci fevdalnih plemiških rodbin, ki bi se v mestu naselile in tam morda prevzele politične vodstvene funkcije. Šlo je za pripadnike tamkajšnjih izvirno meščanskih rodbin, ki jim je zase uspelo izsiliti privilegiran položaj in obdržati politično moč. Zgodila se je diferenciacija na osnovi velikega imetja posameznih družin. V polagoma razvijajočih se hierarhičnih strukturah Kopra, Izole in Pirana je torej nastal privilegiran del prebivalstva, ki je v celotni skupnosti predstavljal elito. Njeni predstavniki so bili predvsem gospodarsko mnogo močnejši od večine mestnega prebivalstva ter so posedovali veliko večji delež obdelovalnih površin in solin (Vilfan, 1975, 22; Ravnikar, 2011, 250; 2023, 630–631). Medtem ko je predstavnike koprške elite nedvomno moč označiti kot plemiče (Darovc, 2023b, 762; Mlacović, 2022, 828, 834), tega ni mogoče trditi tudi za elito v Izoli in Piranu – Koper je bil namreč škofijski sedež in *civitas*. Piranska srednjeveška elita ni bila plemstvo in si takega položaja tudi ni lastila (Mihelič, 2011, 155–156, 160; Mlacović, 2011, 172–174; 2019, 164; Jenko Kovačič, 2022, 65–66).

Pri pripadnikih elit v istrskih mestih je šlo za rodbine iz domačega, ali pa severnoitalijanskega, predvsem beneškega in toskanskega prostora. Ti posamezniki so imeli v rokah raznovrstne nepremičnine ter predvsem kapital (Mlacović, 2022, 844, 847; Mihelič, 2011, 155–156). Tega so plemenitili s trgovino, kreditnimi posli ali pa morda z jemanjem mestnih davkov v zakup (Kos, 1998, 70–71). Večkrat so v najem oddajali bivalne prostore ali plovila, trgovali so z žitom, vinom in s hišami, neposrednega fizičnega dela pa so se branili kot zanje nečesa nedostojnega (Mihelič, 1985, 16–17).

V istrskih mestih je opaziti tujce tako iz italijanskih dežel kot iz drugih delov Istre. V vsa mesta od Trsta do Pirana so se od zadnje četrtine 13. stoletja naselili mnogi posamezniki iz Firenc, Siene, Pistoie, Luce in od drugod (Gestrin, 1965, 66). V Piranu so se pred sredo 14. stoletja med trgovci in bančniki uveljavljali predvsem Florentinci in Benečani, med obrtniki so izstopali Furlani. Številni prišleki so bili tudi iz Izole, Kopra in Trsta. Tisti iz različnih delov Italije so bili številčno približno enakovredni tistim iz drugih delov Istre. Skupaj sta ti skupini predstavljali skoraj vse tuje prebivalstvo v mestu. Na piranskem ozemlju je imelo več Koprčanov mline. Trgovske partnerske družbe, ki so dobavljale žito v Piran, so bile večinoma iz Benetk in Firenc. Odjemalci žita so bili po drugi strani v veliki večini domačini. Mnogi piranski trgovci tega časa se tudi niso ukvarjali izključno s prekupčevanjem ene vrste blaga. Brata Lapo in Gracius

Peroni, sinova florentinskega poslovneža, sta na prelomu iz 13. in 14. stoletje tako v Piran dobavljala žito, izvažala vino in olje ter odprla prodajalno s suknom, kožami in soljo (Mihelič, 1980, 14–17), npr. Benedictus Caviano iz Benetk je v Piran prišel na prelomu med 13. in 14. stoletjem, kjer je med drugim posojal denar ter prodajal žito, sukno in vino. Imel je prodajalno in soline ter hišo v prestižni piranski četrti Misana (Mihelič, 2020, 96–97; 1986, 126–127).

Predvsem pridelava soli in trgovina z njo sta bili v istrskih mestih izrednega pomena. Sol je bila glavni konzervans za shranjevanje živil, uporabljala pa se je tudi v živinoreji, medicini, usnjarstvu, steklarstvu ter proizvodnji smodnika. Določila o solinah in solarstvu posledično najdemo tako v piranskih, kot koprskih in izolskih statutih. Istrska sol se je v 15. in 16. stoletju prodajala že globoko v notranjost habsburških dežel, čeprav so deželni knezi mnogokrat spreminjali razmejitve območij za ta uvoz (Bonin, 2016, 33, 44–45, 49–52).

Za Istrane je bila problematična predvsem preskrba z žitom. Sami so ga v najboljšem primeru namreč pridelali le za polovico leta, ostalo pa je bilo treba uvoziti. Nekaj žita je prihajalo tudi iz obmejnih habsburških dežel. Trgovino z istrskimi beneškimi mesti so avstrijske oblasti preprečevale predvsem po letu 1719, ko sta Trst in Reka postala svobodni pristanišči (Darovec, 2004, 176, 178).

Omeniti je še treba izjemni gospodarski pomen vina. Benetke so trgovino z njim skrbno nadzorovale in skušale preprečevati tihotapstvo. Koprski podestat s svojega področja vina ni smel izvažati drugam kot v Gradež/Grado in Benetke. Podestatom Kopra, Izole, Pirana ter drugih krajev je bilo leta 1343 odrejeno, da morajo določiti zanesljivo osebo za označevanje vsakega soda s podestatomim pečatom (Darovec, 2004, 259–260).

Vesti o trgovini med istrskimi in celinskimi mesti so iz 13. stoletja redke, vendar so trgovske zveze že tedaj prešle začetno stopnjo razvoja. Iz notranjosti proti Istri se je ob trgovini z žitom, vinom, oljem, kožami in soljo trgovalo tudi z živino, moko, volno, lesom, mesom oziroma z živili nasploh. Iz leta 1274 je ohranjena vest iz Pirana, da so Kranjci množično prihajali po sol. V 14. stoletju je trgovina zaledja z istrskimi mesti še naraščala. Popolna politična združitev zaledja pod habsburško oblastjo v 14. stoletju je pomenila novo spodbudo za trgovino med istrskimi in celinskimi mesti, ki je višek dosegla v drugi polovici 15. in v 16. stoletju. Tja se je stekala skoraj vsa kmečka trgovina iz Goriške, Kranjske in precejšnjega dela Štajerske. Prav tako so istrska mesta pritegnila trgovino iz Koroške, zlasti z železom, deloma posredno po kranjskih trgovcih (Gestrin, 1965, 36–37, 39–41).

Med noticami piranskih notarskih knjig zasledimo Nikolaja iz Celja, aktivnega v zadnji četrtini 13. stoletja, za katerega je sicer verjetno, da v tistem trenutku v Celju ni več živel. Nikolaj je umrl nekje kmalu po 20. aprilu 1290, ko je dal zapisati svojo poslednjo voljo. Pred tem je bil vpleten v več trgovskih poslov, pričal raznim poslovnim dogovorom, posojal je denar ter bil lastnik vinogradov in vsaj ene hiše.¹¹ Februarja 1231 v virih zasledimo tudi Janeza z vzdevkom »Dobro vino« (*Iohannes Bonumvinum* ter *Iohannes Bonvino*). V tistem trenutku je bil Janez sodnik v Piranu ter eden izmed

11 PNK 1, št. 124, 457, 887; PNK 2, št. 339, 554, 624; PNK 3, št. 69, 130, 148, 386; PNK 6, št. 175, 196.



Slika 4: Kopraska veduta iz leta 1781 (Wikimedia Commons).

namestnikov Majnharda grofa Goriškega, ki je bil takrat podestat v Piranu. Prav tako je bil eden izmed piranskih pooblaščenecv, ki so sklepali prijateljstvo z oglejskim patriarhom Bertoldom (Andeškim) (GZS V, št. 536–537).

Glede na druge primere iz italijanskih mest smemo sklepati, da so sodnike izbrali meščani in so izhajali iz vrst elite (Jenko Kovačič, 2022, 108). Janezova družina po ugledu izvorno morda ni sodila v družbeni vrh, nedvomno pa v skupino uspešnih poslovnežev. Glede na izvor njihovega vzdevka je moč sklepati, da je šlo za družino, ki se je povzpela s pridelavo in trgovanjem z vinom, ne za družino s patricijsko tradicijo in poreklom. V virih s konca 13. in začetka 14. stoletja najdemo tudi mnoge druge pripadnike družine Bonvino v zvezi s številnimi poslovnimi transakcijami v Piranu in njegovi širši okolici. Janez, njegova sinova Maver in Janez, njegov brat Lenart in neki Dardulo so se ukvarjali z različnimi posli – med drugim s peko kruha ter trgovanjem s suknom, z žitom in vinom. Prav tako so posojali denar in prekupčevali z raznovrstnimi nepremičninami. Glavno vlogo v družini je predvsem v zadnjih dveh desetletjih 13. stoletja, kot kaže, imel Janez, ki je leta 1291 od koprškega škofa prejel v fevd zemljišča v Savudriji in desetine desetih hiš v Piranu. Poleg tega najdemo njega in njegove družinske člane pogosto tudi kot pričr drugih poslovnih dogovorov.¹²

¹² PNK 1, št. 193, 199, 242–243, 250–251, 292–293, 301, 325, 331, 338, 343, 350, 352, 400, 403, 504, 516, 523, 526, 536, 538, 540, 542, 547, 552–553, 630, 633, 668, 698, 702 796, 801, 851, 860, 868, 998, 950, 1015, 1018, 1034, 1051–1052, 1084, , 1090, 1095, 1107, 1109–1111, 1113, 1137–1139; PNK 2, št. 2, 4–7, 19, 21–22, 29, 31, 32, 46, 64–66, 172–173, 186, 198–202, 207–209, 211, 219, 221–222, 224, 233–234, 237, 260, 263, 270, 273–278, 291, 305, 313, 327, 395–397, 444, 450, 455, 457, 459, 462, 466, 473, 482, 492–495, 497, 499, 502, 533, 537–538, 548, 553, 565–566, 569, 571, 573, 576, 587, 589, 601, 617–619, 621; PNK 4, št. 109, 159, 276, 299–301, 377–378, 397, 404; PNK 5, št. IV/27, IV/34, IV/60, IV/111, IV/114, IV/123, V/9–V/10, V/12, V/17, V/20, V/23, V/25, V/27, V/37, V/52, V/65, V/69, V/71, V/76, V/85–V/87, V/103–V/108, V/119, VII/10, VII/11, VII/28–29, VII/34, VII/48, VII/62, VII/78–79, VII/115–116, VIII/40, VIII/44; PNK 6, št. III/42, III/77–78, III/207, IX/11–12, IX/15–16, X/55, X/67, X/183, X/294, X/333; PNK 7, št. XI/31, XI/49, XI/90–91, XI/148, XI/165, XV/14.

Prav ekonomska moč je pripadnikom mestne elite v istrskih mestih odpirala vrata do političnih položajev. Privilegiran, čeprav ne samodejno tudi plemiški položaj neke rodbine se je še najbolj jasno zrcalil v ekskluzivni pravici do sodelovanja v t. i. velikem svetu (*consilium maius*, *consilio generalis*, *consiglio grande*, *mazzor cosciglium*) – najpomembnejšem mestnem oblastnem organu, ki je v Kopru omenjen že leta 1225 (GZS V, št. 426; Jenko Kovačič, 2022, 125, 176, 266). Z nadaljnjim razvojem uprave so se sicer oblikovali tudi drugi organi in funkcije, a njihovi nosilci so prav tako prihajali iz velikega sveta (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 157; Mihelič, 2011, 150; Štih, 2011, 11; Mlacović, 2011, 174).

Konec 13. stoletja je prihajalo do t. i. zaprtja mestnih svetov, kar je pomenilo, da njihovi člani medse niso več sprejemali novih predstavnikov mestnih družin. Nastala sta torej sloja elite oziroma patriciata in ljudstva oziroma popularov. Že v listini iz leta 1225 najdemo koprsko prebivalstvo opredeljeno kot *maiores et minores* (GZS V, št. 426; Jenko Kovačič, 2022, 176). Člani elite so opravljali večino vodstvenih funkcij v mestu (Vilfan, 1975, 22–23). Izjeme so se delale le v časih vsesplošne depopulacije zaradi vojn ali epidemij, ki so prizadele tudi elitne družine (Darovec, 2023b, 751). Piranska elita je okrog leta 1300 novim kandidatom zaprla pot v veliki svet; tedaj je imel kakih 100 članov (Pahor, 1972, 27). Člani so privilegiran položaj podedovali, bili so torej odrasli moški potomci ali ožji sorodniki članov. Zagotovili so si največji del različnih vodilnih funkcij v mestih ter njihovih zaledjih (Mihelič, 2011, 150). V notranjosti so bile vodstvene funkcije v mestu načeloma bolj dostopne in šele volilni proces je zagotovil vodilne položaje predstavnikom premožnejših slojev meščanov (Vilfan, 1975, 23). Mestna avtonomija v celinskih mestih se ni razvila v obliki, da bi pripadnost v oblastnih organih pripadalo eni sami skupini meščanov (Štih, 2011, 17).

Moške potomce so pripadniki mestnih elit istrskih mest pogosto šolali. Medtem je bilo nepriviligiranemu sloju meščanov namenjeno le opravljanje kmečkih opravil ter obrti (Pahor, 1972, 28; Mihelič, 1985, 17; Štih, 2011, 11–12). V koprskem in piranskem statutu ne najdemo določbe o številu članov velikega sveta, izolski pa predpisuje, da veliki svet ne sme imeti več kot 100 članov. Ob smrti člana so morali na njegovo mesto v desetih dneh izvoliti nekoga drugega (Mihelič, 2011, 151). Člani izolskega velikega sveta so morali šteti vsaj 15 let, v Piranu 20 let. Ista starostna meja je veljala tudi za druge uradne funkcije (STIZ, knjiga 3, člen 7, 299; Mihelič, 2011, 150). Tudi v Kopru so člani velikega sveta morali biti stari vsaj 20 let (STPI, knjiga 1, člen 17, 230; STKP, knjiga 3, poglavje 1, 115).

Člani mestnih elit v istrskih mestih so bili, kot rečeno, meščanskega in ne fevdalnega plemiškega izvora. Vodilni možje istrskega mesta so predstavljali isto (meščansko) skupino privilegiranih ljudi, ne pa prišlekov, ki bi primarno morda živeli na kakšnem oddaljenem gradu. Med določili koprskega, piranskega in izolskega statuta glede članstva v velikem svetu ter upoštevanja podestatov najdemo več stičnih točk. Izolski statut je bil objavljen novembra 1360 (Kos,

2006, 26; Kambič, 2011, 48).¹³ Članstvo v velikem svetu je bilo z raznimi določili omejeno, mestna elita pa je z določili v statutu predvsem ščitila svoj privilegirani položaj. V izolskem velikem svetu tako (med drugim) ni smel biti noben suženj ali nezakonski otrok. Še najbolj povedno je določilo, da v velikem svetu ne sme biti nobena druga oseba (pa tudi sodnik, kancler ali komornik), če tam ne bi bil tudi njegov ded »oče, brat, stric, sin ali nečak, ki izhajajo iz njegove rodbine ali iz očetove linije«. Če bi bil možki, ki teh pogojev ne bi izpolnjeval, vseeno izvoljen v veliki svet, bi bile volitve neveljavne, volivec take osebe pa oglobljen (STIZ, knjiga 3, člen 1, 297). Članom mestnih elit je bilo torej v interesu, da bi se oligarhični ustroj oblasti v mestu ohranil, saj so imeli od tega sami največ koristi. Ugibamo lahko, da so si različni drugi meščani članstvo v velikem svetu vseeno skušali pridobiti, saj je za izvolitev nekoga drugega grozila globa. Ovaditelju se je celo obljubljalo izplačilo tretjine globe, predvsem pa mu je bila zajamčena tajnost. Glede članstva v velikem svetu najdemo zelo podobna določila tudi v piranskem statutu. Tam (v redakciji iz leta 1384) najdemo določilo, da nekdo v veliki svet ne more biti izvoljen, če v njem ni sodeloval že njegov oče ali pa ded po očetovi ali materini strani. Prav tako je treba opozoriti, da je bilo po piranskem statutu dovoljeno dedovanje pravice do članstva v svetu tudi po ženski (materini) liniji, drugje pa le po možki (dedovi, očetovi) (STPI, knjiga 1, člen 17, 230).

Navkljub boju za ohranitev svojih pravic pa so se člani mestne elite, kot tudi vsi ostali prebivalci Izole, morali neizogibno pokoravati beneškemu dožu oziroma njegovemu podestatu »v vseh stvareh in za vse stvari«. Kdor podestatu ne bi hotel priseči zvestobe, bi moral plačati kazen. Sistem je torej ščitil interese Benetk, tako na kopnem kot na morju (STIZ, knjiga 1, člena 78 in 92, 221 in 225; Kos, 2006, 27). V Piranu je bilo treba v vsem upoštevati podestata (STPI, knjiga 1, poglavje 1, 24) in tudi v Kopru so mu funkcionarji morali biti pokorni, ob tem pa se je bilo treba v kazenskih zadevah ravnati »v skladu z načinom, obliko in ureditvijo dobrega beneškega mesta« (STKP, knjiga 1, poglavje 2, 13). Do izločitve kazenske zakonodaje iz koprskih statutarnih določil je prišlo po koprskem upor proti Benetkam leta 1348. Na ta način je bilo mesto kaznovano (Darovec, 2023b, 751, 760–769).

Po drugi strani se piranski, koprski in izolski meščani niso želeli odreči starim pravicam in zakonom. V Istri je do sporov glede davkov, trgovine, sodstva in mej prihajalo neprenehoma, tako da je vsakokratni podestat pač moral krmariti oziraje se na situacijo na terenu (Kos, 2006, 27; Mihelič, 2015, 312–321; 2022, 761, 765, 787). Položaj beneških podestats v Piranu je bil zakoličen v listini iz leta 1283. Podestat je npr. lahko piranska zemljišča podeljeval le piranskim meščanom, ki so dotični status imeli vsaj deset let. Praviloma se mu ni bilo dovoljeno vmešavati v notranje spore

13 Šlo je za revizijo starejšega, neohranjenega statuta. Kmalu zatem so začeli vanj vnašati popravke in ga (vse do leta 1572) dopolnjevati. Kodificiran statut iz novembra 1360 je sicer objavil tedanji izolski podestat, skupaj s sodniki in drugimi uradniki (Kos, 2006, 26; Kambič, 2011, 48).

med piranskimi meščani. Dolžan je bil spoštovati sodbe in kavcije. Po drugi strani so bili podestati dolžni storiti »vse tisto, kar se bo zdelo prav beneškemu dožu«. Pirančani so bili prav tako dolžni sprejeti vsakega podestata, ki ga je imenoval dož (Pahor, 1958, 112–113).

Če se tik pred koncem vrnemo k izolskemu statutu, najdemo tam med drugim določilo, naj vsi Izolani »izmed vseh predlogov, ki jih bo dal gospod podestat ... po svoji vesti sprejmejo najboljšega.« Prav tako taisti izolski prebivalci ne smejo »snovati nobene zarote niti krasti ali prikrivati kraje« (STIZ, knjiga 1, člen 92, 225–226). Domnevamo torej, da so se te stvari v času pred nastankom besedila vsaj do neke mere morale dogajati.

Na podlagi besedila iz izolskega statuta bi bilo mogoče sklepati, da so bili nekateri izmed članov v tamkajšnjem velikem svetu izvoljeni (očitno na razne druge oblastne funkcije) na podlagi simonije, kar je bilo strogo prepovedano. Tako volivec kot izvoljeni bi morala v primeru sprejemanja denarja oziroma »nagrade« izgubiti članstvo v velikem svetu (in posledično privilegiran položaj v skupnosti). Kdor koli bi koga ovadil česa takega, bi bil za to nagrajen s polovico zagrožene globe (STIZ, knjiga 3, člena 1 in 8, 297 in 299). Prav tako je bila za nedovoljeno izvolitev nekoga v veliki svet predvidena denarna kazen v Piranu (STPI knjiga 1, člen 17, 230). Potencialni ovaduh so se brez dvoma bali maščevanja gospodarsko in politično močnih pripadnikov elite (naj so ti bili v mestu prišleki ali domačini), ki so si raznovrstne vodstvene funkcije v mestu skušali pridobiti na nezakonit način.

SKLEP

Če povzamemo obravnavane primere, lahko zaključimo, da fevdalno plemstvo na celini ter mestne elite v Istri nimajo veliko skupnega. Njuna skupna točka je predvsem v privilegiranem položaju, ki sta ga obe skupini imeli v odnosu do ostalega mestnega prebivalstva, pri čemer so bile razlike med prebivalci celinskih ali istrskih mest prav tako izrazite. A tudi glede privilegiranega prebivalstva sta se obe skupini mest razlikovali. Pri privilegijih mestnega plemstva istrskih mest je šlo predvsem za ekskluzivno pravico do vzvodov moči v mestu.

Res je, da so se v zgoraj omenjenih celinskih mestih iz vrst tamkajšnjih meščanov prav tako formirale elite, vendar je šlo, vsaj v istem časovnem obdobju, v splošnem za počasnejši in predvsem zelo drugačen proces, rezultat katerega ni bil mestni patriciat oziroma elita, primerljiva s tistimi v Kopru, Piranu ali Izoli. V celinskih mestih so bili najmočnejši meščani predvsem bogati, a brez ekskluzivne pravice do vzvodov moči v mestu. Mesta so razvila lastno avtonomijo, iz katere je bilo fevdalno plemstvo kljub nepremičninam v mestu izločeno. Med plemičem in meščanom na celini je v splošnem še vedno obstajala ostra pravna meja, tako da do vzpostavitve patricijskega sloja v (v tem članku izpostavljenih) celinskih mestih ni prišlo. Res je, da so si nekateri bogati meščani celinskih mest pridobili nepremičnine v agrarnem zaledju po fevdnem pravu, vendar je je to zaledje ostalo gosposčinsko oziroma ni postalo mestno (Štih, 2011, 17–18).

Fevdalno plemstvo na celini je v tamkajšnjih mestih želelo morda kupovati, obiskati zdravnika, se udeležiti kakega političnega dogodka ali se srečati z znanci, posebnih pravic do vzvodov moči pa v njem ni imelo (razen, če je pri plemiču šlo za mestnega gospoda nekega mesta). Prav v tem se je od mestnih elit in patriciata v istrskih mestih še najbolj razlikovalo. Prav tako se mnogi fevdalni plemiči v celinskih mestih niso zadrževali dlje časa. Svojo hišo v nekem celinskem mestu ali pa tudi vrsto hiš v različnih mestih so čez čas morda prodali in se umaknili na svojo primarno rezidenco – na primer na grad na podeželju. Če so se že za stalno naselili v mestu, je bilo to očitno zaradi njihovega slabega gospodarskega položaja, ki so ga morda želeli izboljšati s porokami z bogatimi meščani.

Medtem ko lahko trdimo, da so fevdalni plemiči v celinskih mestih tu in tam točili ali poskušali točiti vino ali pa ga spraviti v promet (Ptujski statut 1376, člen 23, 120), so se pripadniki mestnih elit v istrskih mestih ukvarjali z raznovrstno trgovino, predvsem z vinom in žitom ter prekupčevanjem z nepremičninami in ladjami ter kreditnimi posli. V gospodarsko življenje svojega mesta so bili torej vpleteni neprimerno bolj kot fevdalno plemstvo v celinskih mestih (Kos, 1998, 70–71) in so v njem igrali vodilno vlogo. Po drugi strani je bil fevdalni plemič v celinskem mestu predvsem potrošnik oziroma iskalec raznih izdelkov in uslug s strani meščanov, ne pa nekdo, ki bi bil globoko vpleten v gospodarsko dinamiko mesta. Mesta v večini primerov ni razumel kot svojega primarnega domovanja, za razliko od članov mestnih elit v Istri. Če celinski plemič v mestih že ni kupoval blaga, je bil morda eden izmed udeležencev deželnega zbora (Bele, 2018, 71–79), ki je potekal v mestu, ali kakšnega drugega političnega dogodka, v katerem je sodeloval njegov gospod. Ob tem si je želel uživati, kupiti izdelke, ki so bili v mestih na prodaj, se srečati z znanci (Kos, 1998, 70–71) ter se morda vsaj malo umakniti pred sorodniki na gradovih.

NOBILITY IN TOWNS AND URBAN ELITES

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SUMMARY

This article discusses the presence and activities of nobles and patrician elites in the urban settlements in the territory of present-day Slovenia —both inland and Istrian towns, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the continental towns, Maribor, Ptuj and Ljubljana are discussed, and from Istria Piran, Koper and Izola. In that period, nobles from Carniola, Styria, Carinthia and other local nobles increasingly stayed in the inland towns, where they may have been looking for entertainment, sociability, goods and services, etc. Towns in Istria were different. The ancient tradition persevered to a large extent, and they were also marked by Venetian rule. Members of the urban elites in Koper, Izola and Piran were not descendants of feudal noble families, but of bourgeois origin, who managed to attain a privileged position and retain hereditary political power, predicated on real estate and capital. The privileged position of an Istrian urban elite family was reflected in the right to membership in the Great Council—the most important governmental body of a city or town.

Key words: thirteenth century, fourteenth century, urban elites, feudal nobility, Maribor, Ljubljana, Ptuj, Piran, Izola, Koper

VIRI IN BIBLIOGRAFIJA

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PRIMERJAVA PEČATOV CELINSKIH IN PRIMORSKIH MEST NA SLOVENSKEM V SREDNJEM VEKU

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IZVLEČEK

Pečati so predstavljali izredno pomembno pravico srednjeveških mest in trgov. Ti so s pridobitvijo pečata namreč postali tudi pravne osebe. Na celotnem slovenskem ozemlju je v teku srednjega veka pečate imelo 32 mest in 7 trgov. Pričujoč članek na podlagi teh pečatov ponuja primerjavo med celinskimi in primorskimi mesti, ki do sedaj še ni bila opravljena. Obravnavana je sestava pečatnih polj, velikost, oblika, napis in barva srednjeveških pečatov.

Ključne besede: pečat, mesto, trg, srednji vek, obzidje, sfragistika

CONFRONTO TRA I SIGILLI DELLE CITTÀ CONTINENTALI E LITORANEE DELLA SLOVENIA MEDIEVALE

SINTESI

I sigilli concedevano alle città e alle città di mercato un diritto importantissimo, rendendole entità giuridiche. Nel corso del medioevo, in tutto il territorio etnicamente sloveno esistevano 32 città e 7 città di mercato che possedevano sigilli. Nel presente articolo vengono messe a confronto le città continentali e quelle delle zone litoranee, sulla base dei suddetti sigilli, cosa che finora non era mai stata fatta. Inoltre, vengono analizzati in dettaglio degli elementi specifici, come le dimensioni, la forma, le iscrizioni, il colore e le figure dei sigilli medievali.

Parole chiave: sigillo, città, città di mercato, medioevo, mura, sfragistica

UVOD¹

Izraz *civitas* se je v srednjem veku uporabljal za označevanje srednjeveškega mesta in je pomenil urbano oziroma neagrarno naselbino v pretežno agrarni, fevdalno organizirani srednjeveški družbi (Melik, 1972, 299; Mihelič, 2005, 297). Neagrarno naselbino sta označevala tudi izraza *mercatum* in *forum*, ki pomenita trg (Melik, 1972, 301).² Kako lahko torej v srednjeveških listinah prepoznamo, kdaj gre pri urbanem naselju za mesto in kdaj ne? Odgovor je hkrati preprost in izredno zapleten (Mihelič, 2005, 297, 299; Kosi, 2009, 11–12).

Najprej je treba razčleniti bistvo srednjeveškega mesta. Najsplošnejša razlaga je, da sta v naselbini število in gostota prebivalstva večja kot pri podeželski naselbini, pri tem se prebivalstvo ukvarja z neagrarnimi dejavnostmi, ki temeljijo na trgovini, financah, obrti, kulturi, izobraževanju, sodstvu, vojaštvu, prometu, upravi, politiki itd. Mestno prebivalstvo srednjeveškega mesta je poklicno specializirano in se drži določenega pravnega reda in komunalne strukture (Vilfan, 1961, 146–153; Kosi, 2009, 16, 130). Oba izraza (tako *civitas* kot *forum*) sta te funkcije zaobjemala, kako ju torej ločimo? Kljub temu da gre pri obeh izrazih za meščansko naselbino, je odvisno od tega, ali je listina cerkvena ali svetna. Za svetne listine *civitas* označuje naselbino višjega ranga (Mihelič, 2005, 298; Kosi, 2009, 40), medtem ko v cerkvenih listinah isti izraz označuje le meščanske naselbine s škofijskim sedežem (Žnidaršič Golec, 2001, 243, 245).

Poleg vseh zgoraj omenjenih kriterijev, ki jih je zaobjemalo srednjeveško mesto, je vsako imelo tudi posebne pravice, ki jih danes poznamo kot mestne pravice. Večinoma je šlo za pravico do tržnice in sejmov, ki niso bili le enoletni, temveč tedenski. Določena mesta so imela tudi kovno pravico, pravice do pobiranja cestnin, mostnin in drugih davščin, pravico do mestnega obzidja ter tudi pravico do lastnega pečata (Vilfan, 1961, 146–169; Otorepec, 1988, 13). Slednja pravica pa je osrednja tema pričujočega članka.

Stanje raziskav srednjeveških pečatov v Sloveniji je danes še precej okrnjeno, za kar obstaja precej razlogov. Ohranjeno gradivo iz srednjega veka je skopo, predvsem kar se tiče pečatov, saj so se ti skozi stoletja bodisi izgubili bodisi so bili uničeni. Prav tako so zgodovinarji in umetnostni zgodovinarji v preteklosti pečatom posvečali zelo malo pozornosti, saj ima pečat v primerjavi z besedilom, na katerega je pritrjen, manjšo izpovedno moč in s tem manj konkretnih informacij za raziskovanje (Mahnič, 2001, 7–8; Volčjak, 2019, 10–12).

1 Razprava je nastala v okviru raziskav v programski skupini Oddelka za zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru P6-0138 (A): *Preteklost Severovzhodne Slovenije med srednjo Evropo in evropskim jugovzhodom*, ki jo financira Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS).

2 *Mercatum* se je uporabljal v listinah do 12. stoletja, kasneje se uporablja vse manj in sčasoma popolnoma izgine. Nadomesti ga izraz *forum*, ki se je v listinah pričel pojavljati pogosteje konec 11. stoletja in predvsem od 12. stoletja dalje (Kosi, 2009, 11–12).

Temelje za raziskovanje pečatov na slovenskem ozemlju je s svojim delom *Beitraege zur Siegelkunde des Mittelalters* postavil avstrijski umetnostni zgodovinar Eduard Melly (1846). Povzel je takratno sfragistično znanje in opisal širok spekter pečatov tedanjega Avstrijskega cesarstva, v katerega so spadale tudi slovenske dežele. Njegov doprinos k znanosti je bil v pomoč številnim zgodovinarjem in umetnostnim zgodovinarjem, ki so se kasneje ukvarjali s pečati. Med njih spadajo Milko Kos (1941), Darja Mihelič (2005), Maja Žvanut (1993), Dušan Kos (1994; 2002; 2005), Jure Volčjak (2019) ter Jernej Kotar (2019).

Največ je k sfragističnemu znanju nedvomno prispeval Božo Otorepec, ki je leta 1986 doktoriral s temo *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*. Doktorat je dve leti za tem priredil in izdal kot knjigo, ki vsebuje obsežen seznam literature k obravnavani temi. Izjemnega pomena so njegovi prepisi listin za slovensko ozemlje med letoma 1246 in 1500 – *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku 1246–1500*, ki ga hranijo na Zgodovinskem Inštitutu Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani (GZS na SAZU).³ Tipkopis namreč poleg prepisov listin vsebuje tudi skicirane pečate, ki jih lahko najdemo na prepisanih listih ter smo jih pri raziskavi uporabljali. Največja poznavalka pečatov na Slovenskem je trenutno Katja Mahnič, ki je s svojimi članki in dvema monografijama (Mahnič, 2001; 2006) postavila tudi kompleksnejši pristop k raziskovanju pečatov in pečat povzdignila višje kot le ikonografsko podobo.

Pričujoči prispevek se v veliki meri opira na Otorepčeve raziskave, saj je poleg Mellyja dejansko edini, ki se je z omenjeno tematiko poglobljeno ukvarjal. Članek torej temelji na opisovanju in analizi mestnih pečatov, ki sta jih popisala Melly in Otorepec. Kljub njunim raziskavam v preteklosti danes še vedno pogrešamo primerjavo pečatov celinskih in primorskih mest na območju današnje Slovenije, za kar je odgovorna drugačna praksa pečatenja v celinskem in primorskem delu (več o tem v nadaljevanju). To vrzel bo poskušal zapolniti pričujoči članek, ki odpira nove možnosti raziskovanja.

S pomočjo analize sekundarnih virov, ki predstavljajo temeljno podlago raziskave, je bila izvedena deskriptivna metoda raziskovanja, ki je povezala dosedanje ugotovitve in jih nadgradila s prejšnjimi raziskavami in lastnimi ugotovitvami. Izvedena je bila tudi komparativna metoda, ki je omogočila prikaz razlik med pečati celinskih in primorskih mest.

KRATKA POLITIČNA ZGODOVINA

Obravnavane urbane naselbine pri nas lahko v osnovi delimo na celinske in primorske. Skupini se med seboj razlikujeta ne le glede na nastanek, temveč predvsem glede na lastništvo (nad naselbino) ter na upravo oziroma njen notranji ustroj. Pri celinskih trgih in mestih je šlo za naselbine, ki so bile v lasti nekega mestnega gospoda, ki je naselbini na neki točki podelil mestne

3 Za pomoč pri pregledu omenjenega gradiva se lepo zahvaljujem Mihi Kosiju.

pravice oziroma (skozi čas) razne druge privilegije (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 159; Ravninar, 2011, 250–252; Darovec, 2023, 744–745). Izjema med celinskimi mesti je bil srednjeveški Ptuj, ki je bil že v 10. stoletju omenjen z oznako *civitas*, kasneje pa je dobil dva mestna statuta (v letih 1376 ter 1513). Posebej je treba omeniti še mesti Gorica/Gorizia in Čedad/Cividale del Friuli, ki sta imeli attribute tako celinskega kot primorskega mesta. Obe mesti sta imeli mestnega gospoda – Gorica grofe Goriške, Čedad oglejske patriarhe –, toda zaradi navezave in vpliva mediteranskega sveta, je urbanizacija tam potekala drugače kot v ostalih mestih. Kljub temu da mesti geografsko nista pri morju, bosta skupaj s Koprom, Piranom in Trstom/Trieste obravnavani kot primorski mesti (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 158–159; Kosi, 2009, 33–37, 44–47; Kosi, 2007; 181).

Od konca 12. stoletja je tako v Avstriji kot na Štajerskem gospodovala rodbina Babenberžanov, ki je izumrla junija 1246, ko je v boju padel avstrijsko-štajerski vojvoda (in gospod Kranjske) Friderik II. (1211–1246) (Dopsch et. al, 1999, 190–194). Na Kranjskem, Štajerskem in v Avstriji je sledilo več desetletno obdobje politične nestabilnosti, v katerem se je za babenberško dediščino borila vrsta evropskih dinastov. Tako Avstrijo kot Štajersko si je do konca leta 1260 uspel pridobiti češki kralj Otokar II. Přemysl (1233–1278) (Obersteiner, 1969, 100–107), ki je zase uspel izsiliti še oblast nad Koroško in večjim delom Kranjske. Zaradi sovražnosti z nemškim kraljem Rudolfom Habsburškim (1218–1291) se je Otokar jeseni 1276 vsem omenjenim deželam moral odpovedati (UBSt IV, št. 604–605), Rudolf pa je 1282 Avstrijo, Štajersko in Kranjsko s Slovensko marko podelil svojima sinovoma. Za koroškega vojvodo je nekaj let kasneje napravil svojega zaveznika Majnhard II. Goriško-Tirolskega (1238–1295), v istih letih pa je Goriško-Tirolskim zastavil Kranjsko ter Savnijo. Goriško-Tirolski so se tako Kranjski in Savniji kot Koroški v korist Habsburžanov morali odpovedati do leta 1335. Vsi kasnejši vladarji v obravnavanem časovnem okvirju so bili iz dinastije Habsburžanov (Kosi, 2008, 542–544).

V petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 14. stoletja so vsem omenjenim deželam vladali bratje Rudolf IV. (1339–1365), Friderik III. (1347–1362), Albreht III. (1349–1395) ter Leopold III. (1351–1386). Po smrti prvih dveh se je dinastija leta 1379 razdelila na albertinsko in leopoldinsko vejo, oblast nad Štajersko, Kranjsko in Koroško pa je dobila slednja. Prav tako se je Leopoldu leta 1382 podredil Trst (Niederstätter, 2001, 144–146, 168, 177–180). Med letoma 1406 in 1424 je vladal Leopoldov sin Ernest Železni (1377–1424), zatem pa vse do leta 1493 (na začetku še nedoletni) Friderik V. (oziroma III.) (1415–1493). Friderik je bil leta 1440 izvoljen za rimskega kralja, 12 let zatem pa je postal še svetorimski cesar. Predvsem v zadnjih desetletjih svoje vladavine se je moral soočati s pogostimi osmanskimi vpadi ter boji z ogrskim kraljem Matijo Korvinom (1443–1490) (Niederstätter, 1996, 143–149).

Na območju današnje slovenske Istre (pa tudi severno in južno od nje) so se stvari razvijale drugače. Nad tamkajšnjimi, še v 10. stoletju dokaj samostojnimi, mesti so skozi desetletja in stoletja vedno večji pritisk izvajale Benetke. Do srede

osemdesetih let 13. stoletja so si te podredile vsa zahodnoistrska mesta. Koper in Izola sta se podredila leta 1279, Piran pa leta 1283 (Darovec, 2023, 746, 750; Mlacović, 2022, 825, 828). Zanje se je torej začela doba beneške nadoblasti, ki je trajala vse do leta 1797 (Mečulj, 2023, 402). Skozi čas so Koper, Izola in Piran dobivali statute in čeprav so jim ti dovoljevali veliko mero notranje avtonomije, je imel zadnjo besedo vedno beneški podestat (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 131; Štih, 2011, 11–13).

KRATKA ZGODOVINA MESTNIH PEČATOV NA SLOVENSKEM V SREDNJEM VEKU

Prvi mestni pečati so se pojavili v porenskih mestih v prvi polovici 12. stoletja, njihova uporaba pa se je kmalu razširila še na ostale dele Evrope, med drugim tudi na območje današnje Slovenije. Prvi znani mestni pečat na današnjih slovenskih tleh se je pojavil že leta 1228 v Piranu – takrat je v listini namreč omenjen pečat piranske komune. Na žalost iz srednjega veka nimamo ohranjenega nobenega piranskega mestnega pečata. Zatem se dva pečata na slovenskih tleh pojavita v Mariboru, in sicer leta 1271, ter na Ptujju leta 1273, medtem ko je prvi znani mestni pečat Ljubljane iz leta 1280. Če se ozremo še na širše slovensko etnično območje, so se še pred mariborskim mestnim pečatom pojavili pečati v Beljaku/Villach leta 1240, Brežah (Friesach) leta 1265 in Velikovcu/Völkermarktu leta 1267 (Otošec, 1988, 13, 78, 146, 168, 199, 201 in 210; Žvanut, 1993, 18–19; Ambrožič, 2011, 230).

Za mesto je pridobitev pečata imelo velik pomen, saj je s tem postalo pravna oseba in na ta način demonstriralo svoj status. Pečat je kot simbol služil izgradnji identitete in je predstavljal sredstvo komunikacije v obeh smereh – torej med lastnikom in tistimi, ki so prišli v stik s pečatom (Otošec, 1988, 13; Mahnič, 2001, 8–9).

Med listinami celinskega in primorskega območja je obstajala razlika. Na celinskem območju je prevladovala pečatna listina, pri kateri je pečenje pomenilo zadnje in najpomembnejše pravno dejanje pri izstavitvi listine, pomenilo je njeno fizično dokončanje. Pečat je listino overil in s tem pravni osebi zagotovil pravno varnost, poleg tega je predstavljal lastnikovo poosebitev (Kos, 1994, 80; Mahnič, 2001, 11). Z drugimi besedami, pečat je zagotavljal varnost listine in hkrati verodostojnost ter prepoznavnost njenega izstavitelja. Slednje je bil razlog za skrbno hranjenje pečatnikov, da ne bi prišlo do zlorab in ponaredkov. Za preprečitev ponarejanja pečatov so se pričeli uporabljati t. i. protipečati, ki so bili v zrcalni podobi ali pa so bili pečatniki izdelani z izjemno natančnostjo (Mahnič, 2001, 9; Ambrožič, 2011, 231).

V primorskih mestih pa je prevladovala notarska listina, kjer je listino overil notarjev podpis in signet oziroma notarjev znak, ki je na notarski listini prestavljal isto funkcijo kot pečat pri pečatni listini. Notarski znaki so se pojavili nekje v 11. stoletju in se skozi stoletja oblikovali v pestre oblike, saj je imel vsak notar svoj

znak. Notarjev znak je bil po navadi sestavljen iz začetnic notarjevega imena, ki so bile sooblikovane z risbo, recimo z značilnostmi njegove rodbine. Notarske listine so bile značilne za italijanski prostor, kjer je zaradi pojava javnih pisarjev in notarjev nastala institucija notariata. Ta se je razširila tudi v istrski prostor, kjer se leta 932 v Kopru prvič omenja notar. V 13. stoletju so notarji svoje akte vpisovali (načeloma v krajši obliki) v notarske knjige. Ko je v nekaterih istrskih mestih v 14. stoletju nastal poseben vicedomski urad, je ta zamenjal notariat in listine so bile verodostojne le v primeru, če jih je v vicedomsko knjigo vpisal vicedom (Gestrin, 1984, 7; Darovec, 2015, 38, 39).

Kljub povsem drugačnemu političnemu in sfragističnemu okolju pa so mestne pečate imela tako celinska kot primorska mesta. Do konca srednjega veka je pečate na ozemlju današnje Republike Slovenije dobilo 22 mest in 6 trgov. Na Kranjskem so bila to mesta Črnomelj, Kamnik, Kočevje, Kostanjevica na Krki, Kranj, Krško, Ljubljana, Lož, Metlika, Novo mesto, Radovljica, Škofja Loka in Višnja Gora. V današnji slovenski Istri sta svoj pečat imela Koper in Piran, na Štajerskem Brežice, Celje, Maribor, Ormož, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec in Slovenska Bistrica. Na Kranjskem je imel pečat še trg Mokronog, na slovenskem Štajerskem pa trgi Ljutomer, Pilštanj, Sevnica, Vojnik in Žalec. Če zemljepisno področje razširimo še na vse slovensko etnično ozemlje, je k zgoraj naštetim urbanim naselbinam treba dodati še deset mest in en trg. Na Koroškem gre za mesta Beljak, Breže, Celovec/Klagenfurt am Wörthersee, Pliberk/Bleiburg, Šentvid ob Glini/Sankt Veit an der Glan ter Velikovec. Na Primorskem so bila to mesta Trst, Čedad in Gorica, na Štajerskem Radgona/Radkersburg. Slednjič je k vsemu temu treba prišteti še koroški trg Železna Kapla/Eisenkappel-Vellach.⁴ Posebej moramo omeniti tudi primer Izole, ki je v srednjem veku nedvomno že bila mesto (oziroma mestna komuna) in imela najkasneje v 14. stoletju tudi svoj mestni grb. Toda iz časa srednjega veka nista ohranjena ne njen pečat ne pečatnik, prav tako nikjer ni posebej zabeleženo, da bi obstajala (Kos & Sadek, 2010; Mihelič, 2005, 300; Otorepec, 2001, 161–162, 274–275).

ZNAČILNOSTI PEČATOV SLOVENSKIH MEST IN TRGOV

Koren besede sfragistika (veda, ki se ukvarja s pečati oziroma pečatoslovje) izhaja iz grške besede *sphragis*, ki pomeni pečat (Kümper, 2014, 121). Sfragistika se ukvarja z analizo pečatov in zaobjema pečatno sliko, napis, material, velikost, izdelavo in pričvrstitev, zanemarja pa razumevanje pečata v kontekstu listine. Zaradi svoje interdisciplinarnosti je uporabna za številne druge vede, kot je zgodovina in umetnostna zgodovina (Kos, 1994, 80; Mahnič, 2001, 7; Zmajčič, 1971, 61). Zgodovinar lahko z zadostnim sfragističnim znanjem pečate uporablja kot izjemno koristen zgodovinski vir. Na podlagi pisav ali stilističnih

4 Delitev mestnih naselbin na celinska (Koroška, Kranjska, Štajerska) in primorska mesta je bila ustvarjena na podlagi Otorepčeve kvalifikacije (Otorepec, 1988).

značilnosti pečata lahko določimo približen čas nastanka pečata. Iz pečata lahko razberemo določene podatke, ki jih v samem besedilu listine ni, npr. orožje, oblačila ali pa (v našem primeru) precej natančno datiranje pridobitve mestnih pravic (Otošec, 1988, 13–14).

Prav tako je pomembno, da se zavedamo, da prva ohranitev pečata ni nujno pokazatelj točnega datiranja nastanka pečatnika oziroma datiranja pridobitve mestnih ali trških pravic. Število ohranjenih pečatov iz srednjega veka je namreč zelo skromno, zato najstarejši ohranjeni pečat ni nujno iz istega obdobja, ko je mesto dobilo pravico do pečata. Otošec kot primer navaja pečat Trierja, ki je ohranjen iz leta 1221, omenjen že leta 1172, glede na izgled pa naj bi bil celo iz prve polovice 12. stoletja. Zato je treba pečat kritično ovrednotiti in šele po skrbni analizi pečatnega polja lahko pečat postane polnovredni vir raziskave (Otošec, 1988, 13–14).

Poznamo več tipov pečatov, ki so se uporabljali za različne namene. Običajni pečat oziroma *Insigel* se je uporabljal najpogosteje in je posledično največ listin pečatenih s tem pečatom. Poznamo pa še dva tipa pečatov: *Petschat*, ki se od običajnega pečata razlikuje po tem, da nima napisa, in *Secret* oziroma skrivni pečat (Kümper, 2014, 126). Podoba mestnih pečatov je bila običajno sestavljena v vseh mestih dokaj podobno, kljub temu pa so med njimi obstajale določene razlike, ki jih bomo obravnavali v nadaljevanju. Pečati so se med sabo razlikovali po obliki in velikosti, po barvi voska, v katerega so bili odtisnjeni, podobah na pečatih in zanimivostih, ki so odstopale od običajnih mestnih pečatov, napisih na pečatu in vrstah pisav, v katerih so bili napisani.

Po obliki pečatov je, kakor za večino mestnih in trških pečatov v širšem evropskem prostoru, prevladovala okrogla oblika. Na slovenskem etničnem prostoru izjemo predstavlja le mestni pečat Slovenj Gradca, ki je kvadratne oblike. Takšen mestni pečat je redkost tudi v širšem srednjeevropskem prostoru, ne le med mestnimi pečati, temveč tudi med srednjeveškimi pečati nasploh. Najbližji znani pečat kake urbane naselbine, ki je imel kvadratno obliko, je pečat mesta Concordia Sagittaria v Benečiji, pri čemer je treba opozoriti, da gre tudi v tem primeru za okrogli pečat, ki je postavljen v kvadratno polje (Otošec, 1988, 181–182). Med plemiči je kvadratni pečat imel Oton II. Liechtensteinski (1252–1311), potomec znanega *minnesängerja* Ulrika Liechtensteinskega (ok. 1200–1275) (GZS na SAZU, 18. avgust 1301).

Poleg Slovenj Gradca lahko zaradi neobičajne oblike pečata omenimo še Piran in Ljutomer. Slednji sicer nima ohranjenega nobenega pečata iz srednjega veka, temveč šele iz leta 1648, ki pa je ovalne oblike. Ovalne oblike sta tudi dva piranska pečata iz 16. in 17. stoletja. Omeniti velja še pečat mesta Beljak, ki po obliki prav tako izstopa, saj je ščitaste oblike, kar predstavlja izjemno redkost tudi na širšem vzhodnoalpskem območju. Ščitast pečat je mesto imelo v prvi polovici 13. stoletja, že v drugi polovici 13. stoletja pa je bil v uporabi okrogli pečatnik, na katerem je bil upodobljen ščit in kasnejši mestni grb: orlova noga, ki oklepa skalo ali počiva na njej (Otošec, 1988, 144–145, 199–200, 229–230).



Fig. 1: Pečat mesta Slovenj Gradec na listini z dne 10. junija 1517 (NŠAL 101, ŠAL, f. 30/6).

Velikost ohranjenih pečatov slovenskih urbanih naselbin se pri okroglih pečatih giblje med premeroma 30 in 70 mm, kvadratni pečat Slovenj Gradca pa meri 38 x 38 mm. Manjše pečate so načeloma imeli trgi ali mesta, ki so mestne pravice pridobili konec 15. stoletja, in sicer v kontekstu osmanskih vpadov. Najmanjši pečat je imel trg Sevnica, ki je v premeru meril 30 mm. Sledili sta Radovljica in Višnja Gora (ti sta mestne pravice pridobili leta 1478), ki sta imeli pečat s premerom 34 mm. Premer 36 mm imata pečata trgov Mokronog in Črnomelj. Trgi Pilštajn, Vojnik, Železna Kapla in mesto Lož so imeli pečat velikosti 38 mm. S 35 mm med zgoraj omenjenimi mestnimi naselbinami izstopajo na primer Brežice, ki so imele status mesta že v prvi polovici 14. stoletja (Otorepec, 1988, 50, 101, 106, 115, 124, 165, 180, 191, 214; Ravnikar, 2011, 255).

Omenjenim urbanim naselbinam sledi deželno knežje mesto Slovenska Bistrica, ki je imela mestni pečat v velikosti 40 mm. Pečata Novega mesta in trga Žalec imata premer 42 mm. Med mestnimi pečati, ki v premeru merijo 44 in 47 mm, najdemo pečate Kostanjevice na Krki, Celja, Kranja, Beljaka in Brež. Ustaviti se moramo pri Kostanjevici na Krki in Celju, saj imata omenjeni mesti več ohranjenih pečatov iz srednjega veka, ti pa se glede na velikost razlikujejo. Prvi kostanjeviški pečat

iz preloma 13. v 14. stoletje je meril v premeru 44 mm, drugi, ki ga najdemo na listinah v 14. stoletju, pa 46 mm. Pečatnik za tretjega naj bi Kostanjevica domnevno dala izdelati v 15. stoletju in bi po opisih iz 19. stoletja (ko je bil še dovolj dobro ohranjen) meril kar 90 mm. Danes ni ohranjen ne pečatnik ne njegov odtis, zato velikosti tretjega kostanjeviškega pečata ne moremo potrditi. Tudi Celje je imelo v srednjem veku tri različne pečatnike, ki pa so verjetno vsi nastali po izumrtju grofov Celjskih leta 1456. V premeru so merili 44, 48 in 52 mm (Otošič, 1988, 68–69, 72, 74, 111–112, 136–140, 186, 196, 199–201).

Pečati Kamnika so v premeru merili med 48 in 50 mm, podobne velikosti je bil tudi pečat Kočevja, ki je v premer meril 50 mm. Veliko pečatov iz širšega slovenskega etničnega območja je merilo v premeru 52 mm. Med takimi najdemo pečate Metlike, Škofje Loke, Radgone, Gorice in Celovca. Ptujski in krški pečat sta v premeru merila 56 mm, dva milimetra večji pa je bil pečat Maribora iz 13. stoletja, ko je ta že nedvomno imel status mesta.⁵ Na začetku 14. stoletja so na listinah bistveno večji pečati, ki v premer merijo kar 68 mm. Enako velik (ali celo nekoliko večji) je bil pečat Ljubljane iz 13. stoletja, ki je v premer meril med 68 in 70 mm. Ljubljana si je v 15. stoletju dala izdelati nov pečatnik, s katerim je bilo mogoče odtisniti pečate v velikosti 58 mm (Otošič, 1988, 54, 63, 76, 86, 89, 103, 118, 150, 154, 156, 169, 175, 203).

Največje pečate so imeli Velikovec s 66 mm, Koper s 68 mm in Čedad, premer katerega je meril kar 72 mm. Iz srednjega veka se niso ohranili pečati Trsta in Pirana. Za Trst sta se ohranila pečatnika iz 14. in 15. stoletja, prvi meri v premer 65 mm, tisti iz 15. stoletja pa 52 mm. Prvi znani ohranjeni pečat Pirana je iz leta 1599 in meri 32 mm, ni pa znano, ali je Piran ta pečatnik uporabljal že leta 1228, ko je piranski pečat prvič tudi omenjen. Glede na tip pisave pečatnik izvira komaj iz 14. stoletja (Otošič, 1988, 210, 219–235).

Glede **barve voska** so veljala določena pravila, načeloma pa so mesta svoje listine pečatila v naravni čebelji vosek. Imenujemo ga brezbarvni vosek, lahko pa so mu dodajali primesi, ki so mu bodisi spremenile prožnost bodisi obstojnost bodisi barvo. Vosek se je lahko barval v zeleno, belo, črno, rdečo ali zlato, vsaka barva pa je bila odvisna od socialnega stanu in pravnega statusa. Zelen vosek so v večini uporabljali samostani, bratovščine in nekatera mesta. Svobodna cesarska mesta so uporabljala bel vosek, črnega pa veliki mojstri in komturji viteških redov. Pravico do rdečega voska so praviloma imeli cesarji in kralji, ki so jo skozi čas podeljevali tudi določenim knezom, visokemu plemstvu in nekaterim mestom (Volčjak, 2019, 16–18), Dunaj je, na primer, od 13. stoletja pečatil v rdečem vosku (Stadt Wien; Melly, 1846, 59). Na slovenskih tleh pa je to pravico od Friderika III. Habsburškega leta 1442 dobila Ljubljana. Zlate bule so bile dovoljene izključno cesarjem in kraljem. Papeži za svoje pečate niso

5 Maribor je kot trg prvič omenjen leta 1209, kot mesto pa 1254. Navedba v t. i. Deželni knjigi Avstrije in Štajerske (iz druge polovice 13. stoletja), da je imel status trga že leta 1147, je vsekakor napačna (Strach, 1900; 708; GZM I, št. 47, 85; Štih, 2006, 253; Ravnikar, 2023, 615, 618).

uporabljali voska, temveč so pečatili v svinec, kar je v Vatikanu uveljavljeno še danes (Volčjak, 2019, 16–18).

Na obravnavanem območju je prevladoval naravni vosek, so pa obstajale določene izjeme. Z rdečim voskom je, kot že rečeno, od 1442 pečatila Ljubljana, pravico do pečatenja z rdečim voskom je leta 1476 dobila tudi Radgona. V zeleni vosek so pečatili Kamnik, Slovenj Gradec, Višnja Gora, Novo mesto, Koper in morda tudi Gorica (Otošič, 1988, 54, 111, 125, 176, 183, 224; Bascapé, 1969, 189).

Pri podobah na pečatnem polju srednjeveških mest in trgov slovenskega etničnega ozemlja je moč opaziti veliko raznolikost. Prevladujejo obzidje, panoramski prikaz mesta ali kateri drugi gradbeni element mesta, kot je na primer stolp. Velikokrat se pojavijo cerkveni motivi, kot so zaščitniki mesta ali njihovi simboli. Pogosto so upodobljeni tudi grbi, ki jih na grobo lahko razdelimo na dve skupini: govoreči grbi, ki v obliki rebusa sporočajo ime mesta, in grbi ustanovitelja mesta. Običajno se zgoraj naštetih elementi med sabo prepletajo in kombinirajo. Pogosto se pojavijo tudi liki, simboli, rastline itd., ki na pečatnem polju zapolnjujejo praznine (Mihelič, 2005, 299–300).

Obzidje je med vsemi upodobitvami na pečatnem polju najpogostejše upodobljen element. Med 39 obravnavanimi mestnimi in trškimi pečati jih ima kar devet upodobljeno obzidje. Takšna praksa je bila pri srednjeveških mestih zelo pogosta, saj so mesta na ta način želela pokazati, da imajo pravico do obzidja. Mesta, ki so imela na svojem pečatu obzidje, so: Koper, Kostanjevica na Krki, Ljubljana, Maribor, Metlika, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenska Bistrica, Trst in Velikovec. Obzidje so v svojem mestnem pečatu imela upodobljena tudi Višnja Gora, Škofja Loka, Celovec in Šentvid ob Glini, ki pa bodo zaradi kombinacije ostalih komponent obravnavani kasneje. V isto kategorijo bi lahko prišle tudi Gorico in Čedad, ki sta imela na mestnem pečatu upodobljen panoramski pogled mesta, ki je prav tako prikazoval obzidje (Otošič, 1988, 66–67, 81, 91, 95, 103, 119, 123, 151–157, 183, 187, 204, 209, 211, 221, 223, 227, 233). V tem primeru se moramo vprašati, v kakšni meri je na pečatu panoramski prikaz realističen. Za Gorico je Darja Mihelič (2005, 306–308) dokazala, da je pečatna podoba poenostavljena realistična upodobitev mesta iz konca 13. stoletja. Zanimiv prikaz mestnega obzidja pa so imele, na primer, Breže, ki so imele na pečatnem polju upodobljeno podobo mesta, kot bi ga opazovali iz višjega hriba, podobno kot srednjeveški pečat Padove (Otošič, 1988, 102; Melly, 1846, 117).

Poleg obzidja, panoramskega pogleda na mesto in upodobitve samega mesta, najdemo na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju še dva pečata, ki sta imela na pečatnem polju upodobljen stolp. Gre za Ormož in Črnomelj. Oba pečata sta ohranjena na listinah šele iz 16. stoletja. Črnomelj ima na pečatu zapisano letnico 1587, toda Otošič je sklepal, da je pečatnik kopija starejšega srednjeveškega pečatnika. Ormoški pečat zaradi pisave, ki je bila značilna za pečate v 13. in 14. stoletju, postavljamo v obdobje, ko je Ormož pridobil mestne pravice, se pravi v čas po letu 1331. Pečatna podoba je zelo podobna mestnemu pečatu Varaždina, kar priča o povezavah mesta z deželami krone sv. Štefana. Otošič ugotavlja, da bi na pečatnem polju lahko bil upodobljen



Fig. 2: Risba pečata Gorice iz 14. stoletja (Otorepec, 1988, 223).

stolp Ptujskih, kar je povsem logično, saj so Ormožu mestne pravice podelili prav oni, kar so verjetno želeli pokazati tudi na samem pečatu (Otorepec, 1988, 49–51, 161–164; Hajdinjak & Vidmar, 2008, 36).

Ptujski na slovenskem območju niso osamljen primer, saj so na pečatu svoj »podpis« pustili tudi drugi mestni gospodje. To so naredili na različne načine, in sicer je bila najpogostejša praksa, da je bil na mestnem pečatu grb ali simbol mestnega gospoda, v času katerega je urbana naselbina pridobila mestne pravice in pečat. Tako je, na primer, Škofja Loka imela na pečatnem polju upodobljena mestna vrata, znotraj katerih je »plavala« t. i. kronana mavrova glava, ki jo je na svojem grbu imela freisinška škofija (Florjančič, 2000, 12, 18–19; Otorepec, 1988, 118–121). Celje je imelo na svojem mestnem pečatu upodobljen grb grofov Celjskih. Kranj je na pečatnem polju imel upodobljenega orla, ki so ga na

svojem grbu imeli tedanji kranjski mestni gospodje Andeško-Meranski. Tudi na mestnem pečatu Beljaka bi lahko bil andeško-meranski »podpis«, saj je beljaški mestni pečat imel na pečatnem polju upodobljen grb z že omenjeno orlovo nogo. Omenjeno teorijo podpira tudi dejstvo, da je Beljaku mestne pravice podelil bamberški škof Ekbert Andeško-Meranski (ok. 1173–1237). Najbolj direkten prikaz mestnega gospoda na mestnem pečatu nedvomno najdemo na primeru Novega mesta. Na njegovem pečatnem polju je namreč upodobljen ustanovitelj mesta Rudolf IV. Habsburški (1339–1365), po katerem je mesto dobilo svoje nemško ime Rudolfswerd. Novomeški pečat lahko tretiramo tudi kot govoreči grb, kar je tudi zelo pogost motiv na srednjeveških pečatih (Otošič, 1988, 71, 108–109, 135, 200–201).

Mokronog je imel na mestnem pečatu upodobljeno odtisnjeno nogo (odtis, kot bi ga pustil moker podplat). Pilštanjski grb je vseboval jelena na hribu.⁶ Radgonski grb je vseboval kolo z osmimi prečkami, kar je izviralo iz njene nemškega imena Radkersburg oziroma *Rad* (kolo) ter *Burg* (grad). V grbu Radovljice (nem. Radmannsdorf) je bil upodobljen stoječ moški, ki je imel v desnici kolo, v levici pa mesto oziroma vas. Šlo je torej za direktni prevod nemških besed *Rad* (kolo), *Mann* (moški) ter *Dorf* (vas). Žalski grb je vseboval orlova krila ter cvetlico in lilijo, ki prav tako izvira iz nemškega imena Sachsenfeld oziroma *Sachsen* (orlova krila) ter *Veld* (cvetlica in lilija). Brežice, Ljutomer, Višnja Gora, Sevnica, Vojnik in Železna Kapla pa so imeli na mestnem pečatu upodobljen mestni grb. Zanimiva opazka pri pečatih z upodobljenim govorečim ali mestnim grbom je ta, da gre načeloma za manjša mesta in trge (Otošič, 1988, 107, 116, 123, 130–131, 144, 165–166, 176, 179, 192–194, 213).

Pogosto so bili na mestnih pečatih upodobljeni svetniki, patroni oziroma zaščitniki mesta. V to skupino spada sedem mest in, kar je zanimivo opaziti, tri med njimi so mestne pravice in mestni pečat pridobila v času osmanskih vpadov v zadnji tretjini 15. stoletja. Sklepamo lahko, da so mesta ravno zato na pečate postavila svojega zavetnika in obzidje. V srednjem veku so se ljudje po pomoč večkrat zatekali svetnikom, kot pa Bogu, saj so verjeli, da so svetniki posredniki med posameznikom in Bogom, ki naj bi bil premočan, da bi ga neposredno prosili za pomoč. Ker so svetniki imeli izjemno močno družbeno vlogo, ki je vplivala upanje in moč skupnosti, so mesta, ki so pridobila pečate v času osmanskih vpadov, na mestne pečate umestila svetnike (Mlakar, 2021, 287–288).

Med ta mesta spada Kočevje, ki je mestne pravice pridobilo leta 1471 in je na mestnem pečatu imelo na heraldični desni upodobljenega apostola

6 Grb Pilštanj je hrib s štirimi kopami, na katerih s skrčenimi nogami leži v heraldično desno obrnjeni jelen, na vsaki strani hriba pa je po ena lajajoča pasja glava. Opravka imamo z govorečim grbom. Pilštanj se je v srednjem veku imenoval Bilstain. *Bil* je v srednjeveški nemščini pomenil trenutek, ko se je gonjena divjad ustavila in postavila v bran zasledujočim psom, *Stain* pa skalo oziroma hrib. Tako grb simbolizira jelena, ki se je postavil v bran psoma na štirivrhem hribu (Otošič, 1988, 166).



Fig. 3: Srednjeveški pečatnik mesta Škofja Loka (kopijo hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

Jerneja, na sredini in heraldični levi dva stolpa, na dnu in v ospredju heraldičnega polja pa ograjo iz kolov, ki bi lahko bila prikaz palisade, ki je služila za obrambo pred Osmani. Krški pečat je precej podoben, na heraldični desni je bil upodobljen Janez Evangelist, na sredini in heraldični levi je bilo upodobljeno mesto, v spodnjem in prednjem delu pa je prostor zapolnjevala ograja. Krško je mestne pravice pridobilo leta 1477. Istega leta je Friderik III. habsburški Lož povzdignil v mesto, ki je kot trg že leta 1380 imel obzidje in obrambni jarek. Žal iz srednjega veka nimamo ohranjenega pečatnega odtisa, je pa zato Lož edinstven primer, saj nam je na voljo ohranjena ustanovna listina, na kateri je opisan mestni grb. Najstarejši pečatni odtis mesta Lož je iz leta 1607. Na pečatnem polju je upodobljen sv. Jurij na konju, ki ubija zmaja. V času osmanskih vpadov je mestne pravice pridobila še Višnja Gora, ki pa ni dala izdelati novega pečatnika, temveč je uporabljala stari trški pečatnik, na katerem je bil upodobljen grb z obzidjem (Otošar, 1988, 62–64, 75–77, 97–101, 124; Štih, Simoniti & Vodopivec, 2008, 123–124).



Fig. 4: Kasnejši odtis pečatnika mesta Kočevje (ARS, SI AS 1070, II/61 Kočevje mesto).

Svetega Jurija sta na svojem pečatu imela še Ptuj in Piran. Slednji je na večjem pečatu imel upodobljenega sv. Jurija na konju, na manjšem pečatu pa grb z Jurijevim križem. Mesto Kamnik je imelo na pečatnem polju upodobljen grad, v katerem je stala sv. Marjeta, pod nogama pa sta ji ležala ukročena zmaja. Šentvid ob Glini je imel na mestnem pečatu upodobljenega sv. Vida (Otošček, 1988, 55, 56, 170, 207–209, 229).

Pečatni napisi se pri obravnavanih pečatih v večini nahajajo na zunanjem robu. Izjema je le pečat Železne Kaple, ki ima napis na t. i. napisnem traku, ki se zvija okoli grba in napis deli na sedem delov. Ostali pečati imajo napis ob zunanjem robu, ki pri večini zavzema celoten rob. Le pri pečatih Kočevja, Loža in Radovljice napis zavzema dve tretjini zunanjega roba ter le polovico pri Brežicah. Pri Čedadu in Gorici je besedilo na levi strani spodaj prekinjeno, saj pečatna slika tam sega do skrajnega roba pečata. V obeh primerih je to del mesta upodobljenega na pečatnem polju (Otošček, 1988, 63, 99, 115, 131, 213, 221, 223).

Napis je bil načeloma zamejen z različnimi krožnicami. Večina pečatov je imela krožnico iz različno velikih biserov, sledili so pečati z neokrašeno krožnico (Celje, Radgona, Črnomelj, Kostanjevica na Krki, Radovljica, Šentvid ob Glini in Koper), nato pečati z napisom v napisnem traku (Brežice, Kočevje, Krško, Železna Kapla) ter pečata Loža in Ptuja iz 15. stoletja, ki sta imela napis zamejen samo na zunanjem robu (in ne tudi na notranjem), napis pa je bil na isti ploskvi kot pečatni motiv. Posebnost je bil pečat Šentvida ob Glini, ki je imel



Fig. 5: Srednjeveški pečat mesta Koper z dne 31. marca 1321 (AT-OeStA/HHStA, UR, AUR 4970).

kar dva krožna zapisa, klasični pečatni napis za mesta in + SANCTVS * VITVS na notranji krožnici. Mesto je s tem še dodatno poudarjalo, kdo je njen mestni zavetnik (Otošec, 1988, 207).

Vsi pečati do konca srednjega veka, razen Višnje gore in Loža, so imeli napise v latinskem jeziku. Pri vseh pečatnikih, ki so nastali do začetka 15. stoletja, se je besedilo začelo s t. i. šapastim oziroma tacastim križem.⁷ Ta je praviloma označeval začetek krožnega zapisa pri pečatih. V 15. stoletju se je ta praksa spremenila. Mestni pečatniki so začeli uporabljati napise na napisnem traku, ki ni zavzemal celotnega roba, zato ni bilo več potrebe po označevanju začetka napisu. Izjema pri tem sta Pilštanj in Novo mesto. Slednje je imelo na pečatu iz 15. stoletja za zamejitev besedila peterokrako zvezdo. Večina napisov na pečatnem polju se je začelo z besedo SIGILLVM ali samo s črko S. Žalec in Radgona sta imela črko S obrnjeno v obratno smer, pečat mesta Breže pa oznake za S(IGILLVM) ni imel. Izstopala sta tudi pečata Kopra in Trsta – o njunih primerih bo govora v nadaljevanju. Oznaki pečata je sledila označba skupnosti. Ta je bila pri večini napisov v latinščini v genitivu, in sicer pri večini celinskih mest CIVITATIS ali tistih z italijanskim vplivom COMUNIS/COMUNITATIS. Med njih spadajo Piran, Gorica, Čedad in Slovenj Gradec, pri čemer sta imela slednja za tem dodan še CIVITATIS. Našteti je treba še nekaj izjem: Maribor je imel pred CIVITATIS napis VERUM, Slovenska Bistrica in Vojnik sta imela napis CIUIVM ali CIVIVM, Metlika NOVI FORI, Sevnica FORI, Višnja Gora PVRC, Kranj pa označbe skupnosti ni imel. Za tem je sledil eden od predlogov IN ali DE ter latinsko ime kraja v genitivu. Nemščina je na pečatih začela latinščino v naših krajih izpodrivati komaj konec 15. stoletja. V nemščini so imeli napis Lož, Radovljica in (na svojem tajnem pečatu) Novo mesto, izjemo pa je predstavljala še Višnja Gora, ki je imela poleg nemškega napisu povsem drugačen izraz za svojo naselbino kot ostala mesta (PVRC). Tudi letnice so se na pečatih pričele pojavljati komaj v drugi polovici 15. stoletja in so jih imeli na svojih pečatih Celje, Krško, Črnomelj, Kočevje, Vojnik, Železna Kapla, Lož, Brežice in Trst, na pečatu iz leta 1516. Napis se je pri vseh primerih zaključil z imenom mesta, s čimer se je napis na krožnici sklenil (Otošec, 1988, 111, 165, 175, 195, 239–240).

Trst in Koper sta imela za razliko od ostalih mest popolnoma drugačen napis, in sicer s t. i. leoninskimi verzi. Ti so bili značilni predvsem za italijanska mesta do konca 12. stoletja. Šlo je praviloma za dva rimana verza, ki sta tvorila heksameter ali redkeje pentameter. Obstajali so tudi nepravilni primeri glede metruma in asonance (v nekaterih primerih sta enaki le zadnji črki obeh hemistihov). Opozoriti je treba, da so se na pečatih z leoninskimi verzi samostalniki pogosto rimali z ustreznim pridevnikom. Verze lahko kategoriziramo na štiri skupine. Prva skupina so verzi, ki sporočajo, kdo jih pošilja, druga skupina so tisti, ki grozijo sovražnikom mesta, tretja skupina verzov

7 Tacasti oziroma šapasti križi (nem. *Tatzenkreuz*) so bili značilni za označevanje začetka napisu na pečatnem polju. Pri takšnih križih se kraki proti središču zožujejo, zato izgleda, kot da ima križ štiri »tace« (Otošec, 1988, 266).

namiguje na privilegije, zasluge, tradicije, mistično poreklo, etimologijo imena, meje teritorija itd. V četrto skupino spadajo molitve. Leoninske verze sta vsebovala pečata Kopra in Trsta. Pri Kopru verz sporoča lastnika pečata (+ C(IVITAS) IVSTIN(O) L(ITANA) MITTIT ME ET P(ER) SE (RELATA) ITA DICIT), pri Trstu pa meje teritorija (+SISTILANV(M) . PUBLICA . CASTILIR' . MARE . CERTOS. DAT. MICHI . FINES) (Bascapé, 1969, 189; Otorepec, 1988, 226–228, 232–235).

RAZLIKE IN PODOBNOSTI MED PEČATI CELINSKIH IN PRIMORSKIH MEST

Če primerjamo pečate primorskih in celinskih mest po obliki, ugotovimo, da ni razlik v obliki, razen izjeme kvadratnega pečata Slovenj Gradca. Tako primorska kot celinska mesta so sledila splošno uveljavljenim trendom mestnih pečatov, ki so bili praviloma okrogli. Opozoriti je treba tudi na ovalna pečata Pirana in Ljutomera, ki sta prvič ohranjena komaj v zgodnjem novem veku in v tem oziru nista predmet našega raziskovalnega vprašanja.

Večja razhajanja so opazna pri velikosti pečatov, kjer imajo primorska mesta, če izvememo Piran, povprečno precej večje pečate kot celinska mesta. Toda v tem primeru gre verjetno zgolj za naključje. Če za primerjavo vzamemo nekatera druga severnoitalijanska ali istrska mesta (Videm/Udine 40 mm, Pordenone 40 mm, Barban 33 mm, Pićan 46 mm), lahko hitro opazimo, da so njihovi pečati precej manjši (Melly, 1846, 113–118). Opozorimo naj še, da so bili pečati odtisnjeni v vosek, kar je pomenilo, da je za večje pečate mesto potrebovalo tudi večje količine voska. Odtis večjega pečata je tako pomenil večje denarno breme, zato so manjša mesta, predvsem pa trgi, imeli tudi manjše pečate, medtem ko so si lahko večje pečate privoščila mesta, ki so bila bogatejša (Kümper, 2014, 125; Volčjak, 2019, 20). To trditev potrjuje tudi dejstvo, da med večje pečate na širšem slovenskem etničnem ozemlju spadajo pečati Trsta, Kopra, Čedad, Ljubljane, Maribora in Velikovca, torej pomembnejših srednjeveških trgovskih središč obravnavanega območja.

Glede barve voska so obstajala pravila, zato mesta niso imela veliko manevrskega prostora pri izbiri barve. Večinoma so bili odtisnjeni v naravni vosek, samo Radgona in Ljubljana sta smeli uporabljati rdeči vosek, pa še to komaj od druge polovice 15. stoletja naprej, medtem ko so zeleni vosek uporabljali Kamnik, Slovenj Gradec, Višnja Gora, Novo mesto, Koper in morda tudi Gorica. Pri slednji je treba opozoriti, da iz srednjega veka ni ohranjen niti en pečat Gorice. Domneva, da je bil odtisnjen v vosek zelene barve, je zaradi listine iz leta 1430, na kateri je ostanek odtisa nekdanjega pečata v zelenem vosku, ki bi morda lahko bil mestni pečat Gorice (Otorepec, 1988, 224).

Gorica pa še zdaleč ni osamljen primer glede neohranjenih pečatov. Iz srednjega veka nista ohranjena pečata Trsta in Pirana, medtem ko je ohranjen samo en pečat Kopra. V tem oziru nam arhivsko gradivo zelo otežuje izvedbo komparativne metode med primorskimi in celinskimi mesti. Iz ohranjenega primarnega gradiva lahko recimo sklepamo, da se je na Goriškem in v Istri pogosteje uporabljal zeleni vosek, saj je

v zelenem vosku odtisnjen pečat Kopra, morda pečat Gorice, v podporo tej šibki tezi pa je tudi pečat Vidma, ki je prav tako odtisnjen v zelenem vosku (Bascapé, 1969, 189). Na tem mestu bi bilo dobro izpostaviti tudi listino iz leta 1409, ko je na pazinski listini v belem vosku pečatila istrska komuna Gračišče (Klen, 1977, 264). Na tem mestu se nam zastavlja vprašanje, ali so tudi druga primorska mesta uporabljala bel vosek? Kot že rečeno, zaradi pomanjkljivih primarnih virov so nam odgovori na ta vprašanja nedostopni.

Bolj razgibana primerjava je možna pri podobah na pečatnem polju. Primorska mesta so na svojih pečatih imela venomer upodobljene gradbene elemente mesta. Čedad in Gorica sta imela panoramski prikaz mesta, Trst in Koper pa obzidje in stolp. Tu je treba izločiti Piran, ki odstopa od ostalih primorskih mest zaradi Jurijevega križa in dejstva, da je pečat iz zgodnjega novega veka. Takšnega pečata Piran v srednjem veku morda niti ni uporabljal. Izpostaviti je treba, da je na primorska mesta imela močan vpliv severovzhodna Italija, saj so imela mesta vse od Bergama, Padove, Bologne, Ravene, Ogleja (Aquileia) itd. na mestnih pečatih upodobljene arhitekturne elemente. Zanimivo je tudi izpostaviti, da je pečat Kopra iz leta 1321 izjemno podoben pečatu Bologne iz leta 1264, kar nakazuje pričakovano močan italijanski vpliv (Bascapé, 1969, 197–200).

Tudi celinska mesta so na mestnih pečatih imela največkrat upodobljena obzidja, toda nikoli panoramskega prikaza mesta. Za razliko od primorskih mest pa so imela na svojih pečatih upodobljene tudi druge elemente, kot so svetniki in grbi.

Zanimiv aspekt primerjave je tudi podoba srednjeveškega pečatnega polja na današnjih mestnih grbih. Vsa celinska mesta so podobo srednjeveškega pečatnega polja na mestnem grbu obdržala, izjema je le trg Žalec. Ta je v srednjem veku imel govoreči grb z orlovimi krili, cvetom in lilijo. Takšen grb je Žalec sicer uporabljal vse do leta 2006, nato pa so ga zamenjali z aktualnim grbom (ki je tudi grb občine), in sicer z namenom počastiti največjo oziroma najbolj dobičkonosno občinsko gospodarsko panogo – hmeljarstvo. Na zelenem polju je danes v rumeni barvi znak hmeljeve kobule in rumeno obrobljen hmeljev list, na vrhu pa je pas modre barve, ki simbolizira Savinjo (Otošec, 2001, 170; Stanič & Jakopič, 2005, 322).

Po drugi strani pa primorska mesta srednjeveškega pečatnega polja na svojem mestnem grbu, z izjemo Pirana, niso obdržale. Koper je v srednjem veku imel pečatno polje, na katerem je bilo mestno obzidje s tremi stolpi, grb mesta danes pa je na modrem polju upodobljeno rumeno sonce z obrazom in žarki. Koper je sicer skozi stoletja uporabljal povsem drugačen grb, egido z Meduzino glavo na zelenem polju (Otošec, 2001, 162; Šimac & Volčjak, 2019, 458). Egida je ščit bogov, zlasti Zeusa in Atene, na katerem je lahko bil gorgonijon, torej umetniški prikaz obglavljene Gorgone oziroma Meduze. V grški mitologiji so bile Gorgone krvoločne sestre z živimi strupenimi kačami namesto las. Meduzo, eno od treh sester, je obglavil Perzej in njena glava je osnovni element gorgonijona (Lazarou & Liritzis, 2022, 47–50). Koper se je v antiki imenoval Aegida, kar je botrovalo temu, da je mesto na svojem grbu ohranilo egido z Meduzino glavo (Volčjak, 2019, 458), ki simbolno odganja zlo (Lazarou & Liritzis, 2022, 50).

Gorica je imela na svojem pečatu realistično panoramo mesta s konca 13. ali začetka 14. stoletja (Mihelič, 2005, 306–307; Otorepec, 1988, 224). Tako Gorica kot tudi Nova Gorica srednjeveškega pečatnega polja danes nimata upodobljene-ga na svojem mestnem grbu. Gorica ima na grbu mestno obzidje s tremi stolpi, medtem ko ima v 20. stoletju ustanovljena Nova Gorica rdečo vrtnico na belem polju (Volčjak, 2019, 458). V primeru Trsta je zgodba nekoliko drugačna. Pečatno polje na tržaškem srednjeveškem pečatu danes resda ni grb mesta, toda bistveni simbol mesta je upodobljen tako na pečatu kot na grbu, ki ga je Trst uporabljal že v srednjem veku, in zastavi, ki jo ima Trst še danes. Glavni simbol Trsta je zgornji del antične sulice sv. Sergeja, ki je umrl mučeniške smrti v Trstu leta 301 (Šimac & Volčjak, 2019, 458). Pečatno polje srednjeveškega mestnega pečata je za svoj grb prevzela Univerza v Trstu (Università degli studi di Trieste).

Bistvena razlika med pečati celinskih in primorskih mest se pojavi pri pečatnih napisih. Prva razlika je že samo poimenovanje mestne naselbine, kjer je v veliki večini celinskih mest na pečatu označba za mestno naselbino *civitas*, *civitatis* ali *civium*, medtem ko pri primorskih mestih napisi niso enotni. Ker gre pri primorskih mestih za komuno, ima na primer Gorica na svojem pečatu zapis *comvnis* (*comunis*), podoben zapis ima tudi Čedad: *comvnis civitatis*. Na tem mestu je ključno poudariti, da ima podoben napis na pečatu tudi Slovenj Gradec, ki je celinsko mesto: *S. CO(M)MVN(ITATIS) CIVITA(TIS) I(N) WI(N) DICHG(RE)TZ*. Tako Čedad kot Slovenj Gradec sta bila oglejska centra oblasti. Slovenj Gradec si je Oglej pridobil leta 1251, z zapuščino oglejskega patriarha Bertolda (ok. 1182–1251), zadnjega predstavnika grofov Andeško-Meranskih. Morda so Slovenj Gradcu mestni pečat odobrili, podelili ali mogoče celo dali izdelati prav oglejski patriarhi. Oglejski vpliv na slovenjgraškem pečatu je nedvomen, kar podpira omenjeni napis, ki se ujema z napisom na pečatu oglejskega centra moči v Furlaniji – Čedadom (Kosi, 2009, 118–124; Otorepec, 1988, 182–183; Ravnikar, 2018, 34, 40–41).

Druga razlika med pečati celinskih in primorskih mest je v tem, da primorska mesta, kot sta Trst in Koper, niso imela klasične oblike pečatnega napisa. Ta je bil sestavljen iz označbe za pečat, mestno naselbino in ime mesta. Trst in Koper sta imela na pečatu izpisan leoninski verz, značilen za italijanska mesta v 13. stoletju. To nam dokazuje močan italijanski vpliv na pečate primorskih mest, ki ga celinska mesta, z omenjeno izjemo Slovenj Gradca, niso bila deležna.

Pomembna razlika je tudi uporaba napisnega traku na pečatnem polju, ki so ga uporabljala samo celinska mesta. V tem primeru je treba še pojasniti, da so napisni trakovi prišli v modo v zadnji polovici 15. stoletja, podobno kot zapisane letnice na pečatnem polju. V tistem obdobju so pravico do mestnega pečata pridobivala le celinska mesta, medtem ko so primorska mesta lastne mestne pečate tedaj že imela. Izpostaviti je treba mestni pečat Trsta iz leta 1516, na katerem je v klasični obliki pečatnega napisa napisana tudi ta letnica (Otorepec, 1988, 235). Pri izdelavi novega tržaškega pečatnika v zgodnjem novem veku je nedvomno bil prisoten močan habsburški vpliv.

SKLEP

Če povzamemo, je moč opaziti precej razlik in podobnosti med pečati, toda polne razmejitve med primorskimi in celinskimi mesti ne moremo ustvariti. Današnje slovensko etnično območje je bilo družbeno, politično in geografsko obmejni del Svetega rimskega cesarstva in so se zato med sabo prepletali številni vplivi, prakse, navade in stili, ki jih je možno opazovati na mestnih pečatih. Mesta so pečate izdelovala samostojno, toda s precejšnjim vplivom iz današnjega severnoitalijanskega, avstrijskega in madžarskega prostora, kar nam poskuša prispevek osvetliti. Prispevek nam nedvomno ponuja vpogled v podobnosti med določenimi pečati, iz česar je možno vleči določene vzporednice, ki nam morda do sedaj niso bile znane. Podobnosti in razlike, ki so bile izpostavljene zagotovo niso povsem naključne, temveč natančno premišljene in zato ponujajo nove raziskovalne podlage.

Dodatne raziskave bi lahko ponudile številne nove odgovore v mestni zgodovini, ki v preteklosti zaradi zanemarjanja poglobljene študije mestnih pečatov niso bili odkriti. 13. in 14. stoletje je za mestne naselbine izjemno pomembno obdobje, saj so pričele razvijati občutek mestne identitete in z mestnim pečatom dajale nedvoumno izjavo v povezavi s statusom, močjo, avtoriteto in navezanostjo na lasten teritorij. Ne glede na pravno prakso so mestni pečati prisotni v vseh urbanih naselbinah tistega časa in je zato nujen makro pogled na pečate obravnavanega območja in novega iskanja vplivov. Kombinacija dejavnikov – podelitev ključnih pravic ter gospodarska in politična dinamika – je imela izjemen vpliv na izdelavo mestnega pečata, ki je predstavljal in utelešal prebivalce mesta.

Na tem mestu naj izpostavimo pečat Radgone. Po mnenju graškega zgodovinarja Heinricha Purkharthoferja, naj bi ime mesta Radgona izviralo iz osebnega imena Richer, po Otorepčevem in Snojevem mnenju pa iz imena Ratigoj (Snoj, 2009, 341–342), toda mesto je na pečatnem polju uporabilo povsem drugačno podobo, in sicer kolo (nemško *Rad*). Očitno je mesto želelo prikazati identiteto vezano na nemški prostor in ne na slovanski, kar je botrovalo k izbiri kolesa. Podoben primer je recimo tudi Radovljica, ki naj bi po različnih mnenjih dobila ime po slovanskem bogu Radegastu, a je kljub temu mesto uporabilo govoreči grb. Po najinem mnenju imamo opravka verjetno z natančno premišljeno izjavo na pečatnem polju in ne z napako. Smo mišljenja, da je izvor imena imel velik pomen na izdelavo pečatnega polja, kljub temu pa je treba upoštevati še veliko več dejavnikov, ki so imeli v določenem trenutku še večji vpliv (Purkharthofer, 1999; Otorepec, 1988, 116, 176).

Za identiteto mest bi bilo zato treba izvesti pilotne raziskave na podlagi pečatov, začevši z mestnim pečatom, ki je v srednjeveških mestih imel verjetno veliko širše posledice za razprave o mestnih identitetah, kot smo jim jih pripisovali v preteklosti. S sočasnim proučevanjem pečatov meščanov in njihovih osebnih simbolov se lahko izriše specifičen občutek identitete mesta z lastnimi paradigmi statusa in avtoritete. Na tem področju je treba še veliko postoriti, vendar je jasno, da so pečati tako v mestih kot drugod imeli izjemen pomen in da jih raziskovalci v bodoče morajo jemati kot izjemno pomemben zgodovinski vir.

COMPARISON OF SEALS OF MAINLAND AND COASTAL TOWNS IN THE SLOVENE LANDS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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SUMMARY

Medieval towns and market towns had certain rights that set them apart from other settlements. These included the right to hold markets and fairs, collect tolls, bridge tolls and other taxes, to have defensive walls and their own seal. Seals have been neglected by Slovene historians and art historians, mainly because they have less narrative power compared to the texts they are attached to, and thus offer less concrete information for research. However, seals, if properly analysed, can make an important contribution to the research of a city. In the Slovene historical lands, there were 39 medieval urban settlements with the right to use their own seals. They were granted this right at different times, so there are considerable stylistic differences between them. Another factor that contributed to such differences are the external influences, that mainly reflected the presence of important dynasties, ecclesiastical institutions, economic and trade links, and, last but not least, geographical location. To conduct an in-depth research of how stylistic aspect of seals was impacted by the above-mentioned external influences, it is best to compare cities under German and Italian influence or, in a broader sense, continental and coastal cities.

Key words: seal, town, market town, Middle Ages, defensive walls, sigillography

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REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. GEORGE ON COINS MINTED IN THE MEDIEVAL CITY OF BAR

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ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes the iconography of the representations of St. George on the coins of the Bar commune, minted back in the fourteenth century. It was noticed that the image of St. George on horseback slaying a dragon, which is on the obverse of coins minted in Bar, was also on the seal of the city of Bar, as well as on the seal of the Bar Cathedral Chapter dating back to the fourteenth century, because St. George, the patron of the cathedral which was the seat of the Archdiocese of Bar, with the development of the commune also became its patron. The iconographic solution of the representation of the patron saint of Bar points to a temporal constant when following an important iconographic template which seems to have been the foundation for the design of the symbol on which the visual identity of the Bar commune, as well as its cathedral, is based. It would appear that the template should be sought in the very cathedral located in Bar itself, which was the source of the cult of St. George in Bar.

Key words: coins of the Bar commune, city seal, representations of St. George, Cathedral of St. George in Bar, the seal of the Bar Cathedral Chapter, fourteenth century

RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI SAN GIORGIO SULLE MONETE CONIATE NELLA CITTÀ MEDIEVALE DI BAR

SINTESI

Il seguente articolo analizza l'iconografia di San Giorgio raffigurata sulle monete del comune di Bar, coniate dal XIV secolo. È emerso che la rappresentazione di San Giorgio a cavallo che uccide il drago, raffigurata sul dritto delle monete di Bar, era anche presente sul sigillo comunale di Bar come pure sul sigillo del capitolo della Cattedrale, risalente al XIV secolo, perché San Giorgio, il patrono della Cattedrale, sede dell'arcidiocesi di Bar, con lo sviluppo del comune, ne divenne il patrono. La soluzione iconografica della rappresentazione del patrono di Bar indica una costante nel seguire un modello iconografico

importante che sembra essere stato la base per l'ideazione del simbolo su cui si basa l'identità visiva sia del comune di Bar che della sua Cattedrale. Pare che il modello vada cercato proprio nella Cattedrale di Bar, che era la fonte del culto di San Giorgio a Bar.

Parole chiave: moneta del comune di Bar, sigillo comunale, raffigurazioni di San Giorgio, Cattedrale San Giorgio di Bar, sigillo del capitolo della Cattedrale di Bar, XIV secolo

INTRODUCTION

In existing numismatic literature, which dealt with the money used by the commune in the medieval city of Bar, the iconographic and iconological analysis of the representations on the coins at the time were almost ignored. However, the iconography of the representations and inscriptions on the coins, as a historical document, deserves special attention, given that money has always expressed the identity of the ones who issue it. The French anthropologist Maurice Godelier viewed money as “a symbol, a visible sign of the history of individuals and groups, whose meaning comes from the most hidden depths of social structures” (Godelier, 1982, 243), reminding us that money, apart from its main purpose in market exchange, is the bearer of social, religious, and especially political meaning. At the same time, its mass production, durability and widespread use made it the first means of communication to be used for political and ideological purposes. The aim of this paper is to provide an iconographic analysis of the representations of St. George on the coins of the Bar commune, whereby special attention will be paid to the cult-related and political reasons that in the Middle Ages formed the basis for the placement of a holy figure on the city's coinage.

Medieval Bar now lies in ruins, but in the Middle Ages, it held an important place among the ancient, fortified towns of the southern part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Although it is considered to have been founded in the early Byzantine era, its first verified mention was in the tenth century, under the name *Antibareos*, in the episcopal notices of the Constantinople church (Bošković, 1962, 7; Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 93). It would then be mentioned by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his work *De*

administrando imperio who included it on his list of the border castles of the Byzantine Theme of Dyrrhachium (Durrës), which extended all the way to Dioclia (Porphyrogenitus, 1967, 145). Archaeological research shows that the oldest fortified settlement was formed at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, and that the city center was located in the southeast zone, where the Church of St. Theodore, built as early as the ninth century, was located on the most prominent city plateau (Bošković, 1962, 9, 11–12, 195; Janković, 2007, 89).

In the ninth and tenth centuries, Bar was part of the Byzantine Empire, until the rise of the Slavic Principality of Dioclia (Duklja) in the eleventh century under the rule of Prince Stefan Vojislav, which won its independence by defeating the Byzantine army in 1042 (Bešić et al., 1967, 385–386; Živković, 2006, 83–84; Šekularac, 2007, 14–15, 42–43). It was only after the death of King Bodin of Dioclia in 1101, who ruled over Bar, that dynastic turmoil occurred, and the city once again found itself under Byzantine rule. Between 1183 and 1186, the Raška prefect Stefan Nemanja took the city and annexed it to the Great Principality of Serbia, along with other coastal towns that were then taken from the Byzantine Empire (Bešić et al., 1967, 408–410; Šekularac, 2007, 20–21, 25). After the death of Serbian Emperor Dušan in 1355, when his empire began to weaken, the city passed into the hands of the Balšić dynasty, the regional lords of Zeta, who had their own court in Bar in the 1360s. The situation changed in 1405 when the Venetians briefly took control over it, only to regain it again from 1412 to 1421 (Ćirković et al., 1970, 88–128; Šekularac, 2011, 47; Spremić, 2016, 68–86). Subsequently, the city would undergo a constant change of rulers, first by the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević, then despot Đurađ Branković, after which it was for a brief period of time occupied by the Bosnian duke Stefan Vukčić Kosača (Šekularac, 2007, 25). Venice took Bar once again in 1443, and it remained under its rule until 1571 when it fell to the Ottomans (Ćirković et al., 1984, 54–55).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNE AND THE RIGHT TO MINT MONEY

The period from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century was marked by the rise of the medieval city of Bar and other towns on the Zeta coast, a time when the communal organization of the towns thrived. With the privileges that the towns along the Zeta coast received from the Serbian rulers, a medieval commune/town with its own district became a separate, legally, and economically unique entity, where over time the rights of rulers boiled down to collecting an annual tribute and appointing a town prince (Ćirković et al., 1984, 26–29; Antonović, 2003, 143–147). In the second half of the thirteenth century, the royal privileges and rights given to towns, along with local customs, were shaped into city statutes, which became not only a basic collection of legal documents, but

also a political symbol, representing the identity of the community that issued them (Lonza, 2012, 7). Although the Bar city statute has not been preserved,¹ it was first mentioned in historical sources in 1330, although it is considered to have been created earlier (Ćirković et al., 1984, 28; Antonović, 2003, 118; Marković, 2014a, 168).

The further development of the city autonomy accompanied the development of its economy, and with the rise in the economy of the medieval city came the need to mint coins (Bošković, 1962, 273–277; Ćirković et al., 1984, 21–23; Hrabak 1999, 167–197; Premović, 2021, 19–49). One of the autonomous rights that the towns on the Zeta coast, Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, Svač, Drisht and Shkodër, received from Serbian rulers was the right to mint their own coins, copper *follaros* and *half follaros* that fulfilled a town's internal needs; however, there are data that indicate that the coins also circulated between the towns (Rešetar, 1924, 484). The choice of representations and inscriptions on the coins, as well as on the town seal, played an important role in the formation and promotion of communal identity (cf. Marinković, 2006; Odak, 2022b). This is why each town made its own decisions regarding the minting of coins and their appearance. The coins were minted in the town mint, and the work related to its organization and the selection of moneyers was regulated by the city statute, as shown by certain provisions relating the Kotor city statute.² Statutory provisions on the minting of coins in the medieval and the work of the mint have not been preserved, but the Bar mint is mentioned in a final will and testament from 1452, which states: *per Antiuari quando lauorauī la cecha de li grossi de Balsa per mio pagamento* (Ivanišević, 2001, 68). A Dubrovnik document dating from 1441, which mentions the mint of despot Đurađ in “Albania”, also refers to the Bar mint: *ceche Albanie per ipsos empte a domino dispoto Georgio*. The mint was leased³ to the Dubrovnik residents Bogeta Milovanović and Jakob P. Primojević, who hired the Dubrovnik goldsmith Jakša Miladinović as the minter, and whose compensation amounted to one-third of the profit from the mint customs (Hrabak, 1953, 193).

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- 1 A considerable number of statutes of the towns/communes located along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea have either not been preserved or have merely been retained in the form of fragments of later redactions. This also applies to the statute of the commune of the town of Koper/Capodistria, first mentioned in official documents dating back to 1238 renders it the oldest one on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea (cf. Darovec, 2023).
 - 2 In the Kotor city statute, the work of the Kotor mint is indirectly mentioned in chapter 14 “On the election of minters”: “Also, as written above, two correct and expert minters are elected for six months over the town money that will be minted. Each of them should have a salary of 10 perpers, and whoever does not want to be in that service, will pay a fine of 25 perpers” (Antović, 2009b, 148).
 - 3 In historical sources, it is often mentioned that Serbian rulers leased mints, usually for a year, taking the profit from the lease in advance.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON COINS MINTED IN BAR AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF BAR COINAGE

Theodor Ippen was the first to write about the coins minted in Bar, publishing in 1901 in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* magazine both a description and drawings of two types of these coins, where he mentioned St. George as the patron saint of the city (Ippen, 1902, 190–191). Then in 1910, also in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* journal, the Austrian numismatist Karl Stockert published the most important work on the coins of the towns on the Zeta coast, “Die Münzen der Städte Nordalbanien” (Stockert, 1910, 101–111). In this paper, Stockert published a precise numismatic overview of all known coinages of towns/communes in Zeta, including the city of Bar, with, in addition to a brief historical overview, included a description and drawings of the coins, the time of their coinage, and data from documents related to the mints. Stockert’s work provided the basis for the presentation of the coins mined in the towns in this part of the Adriatic coast in volume VI of Vittorio Emanuele’s *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* in 1922 (Savoia, 1922, 284–291). Alfred Makanec also wrote about the two *follaros* of Ulcinj and Bar in 1924 in the *Gazette of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, also providing drawings and descriptions (Makanec, 1924, 107–108). The later scientific work that dealt with the coins minted in the city of Bar, apart from what was already presented in Stockert’s work, included very little new information. The only work that stands out is Sergije Dimitrijević’s *Dating of Copper Coins of Coastal Cities*, which presented new dating of coins minted in Zeta coastal towns (Dimitrijević, 2006, 311–326). Bogumil Hrabak (1953, 188–195) and Ljubomir Nedeljković (1974,



Fig. 1: Bar (municipality), follaro, the first type, the fourteenth century (Novaković, 2012).



Fig. 2: Bar (municipality), follaro, the second type, the fourteenth century (Novaković, 2012).

111–127) were particularly interested in the coins of the Balšić dynasty which were minted in Bar during their reign, while Božidar Šekularac also touched upon their coinage (Šekularac, 2011, 111–119).

City *follaros*, half *follaros*, and silver dinars were minted in the Bar mint during the rule of Đurađ II Stracimirović Balšić (1385–1403), while copper *bagattinos* circulated in Bar during the Venetian protectorate. It is believed that the oldest type of Bar *follaros* (Fig. 1) is a coin with a stylized letter G on the obverse, to which the circular inscription EOR GIVS was added. On the reverse, the coin bears the stylized letter A, followed by the circular inscription TIB AR (Stockert, 1910, 101–103, no. 156, 161). This type of coin has several subtypes, on which the inscription following the initials on the obverse is omitted (Stockert, 1910, 102–103, no. 157, 159), but there are also types on which the initials on the obverse and reverse are accompanied by three stars (Stockert, 1910, 102–103, no. 158–159).

While there is no doubt that the initial A on the reverse, with or without the accompanying inscription, refers to the name of the city – A(N)TIBAR, the initial G, or GEORGIVS, on the obverse, has been subject to different interpretations. Some researchers of coins minted in Bar do not attribute this inscription to the patron saint of the city, St. George, but believe that it refers to Đurađ (George) II Stracimirović Balšić, thus linking the beginning of this coinage to his rule over Bar in the 1360s (Stockert, 1910, 109; Makanec, 1924,

108). Others, on the other hand, linked the beginning of the minting of *follaros* in Bar in the first half of the fourteenth century (Ippen, 1902, 192; Dimitrijević, 2006, 322, 324), or even to the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Savoia, 1922, 290).

The following type of coinage originating from Bar bears the image of St. George on both the obverse and the reverse. The saint appears on two iconographic types (Fig. 2); on the obverse of the coin he is depicted as a mounted warrior slaying a dragon with a lance, with the inscription SG, while on the reverse he is shown standing and holding a lance in both hands and stabbing the dragon which lies at his feet. The representation of the saint on the reverse is accompanied by the name of the city DAN TIVAR (Stockert 1910, 105–106, no. 166–177). There were numerous issues of coins, all of which differed in weight. The same representations and inscriptions could be found on the *half follaros*, which differed from the *follaros* by the significantly reduced diameter of the coin plate and weight (Stockert, 1910, 106–109, no. 178–195). The high-quality engraving, as well as the precision and expertise in processing the molds, led to the assumption that the mold for these types of *follaros* and *half follaros* minted in Bar were made in the Dubrovnik mint (Stockert, 1910, 109), as was the case with one type of *follaros* from the town of Ulcinj (Rešetar, 1924, 186), and most likely, one type of *follaros* from the town of Drisht (Odak, 2022a, 36–40). The same depictions of the saint, in a slightly different style, are still found on *bagattinos*, money that was in use in the city of Bar during the Venetian rule, which will be discussed later.

Apart from copper coins, the silver dinars of Đurađ II Stracimirović Balšić were also minted in Bar. On the obverse, the coin bears the representation of St. Lawrence, the patron saint of the Balšić dynasty, standing and facing the viewer, wearing a dalmatic with a halo. He holds the Gospel in his right hand and a censer in his left. The representation of the saint is complemented by the inscription LAVRE NCIVS M. The reverse of the dinar bears the coat of arms of the Balšić dynasty, with the inscription M B GEORGI S TRACIMIR (Nedeljković, 1974, 116–117, fig. 9–10; Šekularac, 2011, 117).

St. George, whose representation marks the coins minted in Bar, was a Roman soldier martyred during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. The saint enjoyed great respect in the Byzantine Empire from the sixth century, when pilgrims spoke of his tomb in Lida as a place where miracles take place (Walter, 1995, 314). It was restored by Emperor Justinian I, and his popularity then grew, especially from the tenth century when he became the patron of the military aristocracy, and then of the Byzantine emperors (Mango, 1986, 218–219). St. George appeared on an imperial coin for the first time under the Komnenoi, during the reign of Emperor John II (1118–43) (Hendy, 1999, I, 261–263, pl. IX, no. 8a.1–d.3). However, although the image of the saint on horseback slaying a dragon was first encountered in a Cappadocian painting from between 976 and 1021 (Walter, 2016, 127), the mounted image of St. George, as well as

the image of the saint slaying the dragon, was not represented on Byzantine coins. It would appear for the first time on the money of the crusader state, the Principality of Antioch, minted by Roger I of Salerno (1112–19). On this coin, the saint is shown as a holy knight on horseback, piercing the dragon with his lance (Metcalf, 1983, 7, pl. 4, no. 55–57). From the beginning of the twelfth century, this depiction of St. George was also found in Italian art (Camelliti, 2012, 235–236) from where it reached the Zeta coast. The specific hagiographic scene in which St. George slays the dragon became particularly popular in the West after the thirteenth century, thanks to the *Golden Legend*.

THE CULT OF ST. GEORGE ON THE ZETA COAST

The long rule of the Byzantine Empire over the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea led to the adoption of cults of saints revered in the empire, especially in cities, where they became city patrons and where churches were built in their honor. St. George was the patron saint of Kotor and its diocese until the ninth century, when the relics of St. Tryphon were transferred to Kotor (Živković, 2010, 223–224). The lasting importance of the old city patron is indicated in the first chapter of the Kotor statute, which states that the city authorities and judges are elected on St. George's Day (Antović, 2009a, 1, 53). Legend has it that, when transferring the relics of St. Tryphon, they were first brought to the abbey of St. George near Perast, which was first mentioned in historical sources in 1166. It was then that the abbot of this Benedictine monastery attended the consecration ceremony of the Cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor (Farlati, 1800, 433; Smičiklas, 1904, 102).

In the city of Bar, St. George was mentioned for the first time in the bull of Pope Clement III from 1089, by which the bishopric of Bar was raised to the rank of an archbishopric. On that occasion, the first archbishop of Bar, Petar, was bestowed with a pallium, and this sign of archiepiscopal dignity, as stated in the bull, could be worn during the celebration of major church holidays, the two feasts of the Angels, and for holidays dedicated to saints who were respected at the local level, St. George and St. Sergius and Bacchus (Thallóczy et al., 1913, 21–22; Jovović, 2005, 53–54). The beginning of the veneration of the cult of St. George in the city of Bar is linked to the change of the patron saint of the Bar Cathedral, because there is no earlier proof of local devotion to this saint. According to the new point of view, the cathedral, dedicated to St. Theodore, was destroyed in a fire (Farlati & Coletto, 1817, 12; Radonić, 1950, 247; Bošković 1962, 11), and was rebuilt and dedicated to a new patron – St. George, at the time of the coronation of King Mihailo of Dioclia in 1077 (Crnčević, 2013, 93–99).⁴ The patron saint of

4 Đurđe Bošković estimated that the Basilica of St. George was built in the twelfth century (Bošković, 1962, 19).

the Bar Cathedral could also have changed during the reign of King Mihailo's son, Konstantin Bodin (1081–99), during the promotion of the Bishopric of Bar to the rank of an archbishopric. This is indirectly evidenced by the king's seal dating from the second half of the eleventh century, depicting the frontal busts of two warrior saints, St. Theodore and St. George, as the king's protectors (Cheynet, 2008, 89–90), but also as patrons of the Duklja Cathedral (Preradović & Milanović, 2016, 104). The Vojislavljević dynasty considered St. George to be their patron, so the holy warrior is depicted opposite the portrait of Prince Stefan Vojislav, the founder of their dynasty, in the Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Ston, whose painting dates back to the last decades of the first half of the eleventh century (Babić, 2014, 18, 22, 138, pl. 35–36; Tomas, 2016, 50–52). Apart from the seal of King Bodin, the image of St. George can also be found on one of the seals of his son George (Gerasimov, 1938, 217–218), who himself bears the name of the holy warrior. Based on the abovementioned, it seems that it was precisely during the rule of the Vojislavljević dynasty in Bar that the state of Dioclia was promoted to the rank of a kingdom, and the church of Bar to the rank of an archbishopric, which rendered it the ecclesiastic center of Dioclia. Under the influence of the Dioclia rulers and their special respect for St. George, a new saint cult emerged in Bar. Over time, it would become the basis for the city's and then the communal identity. It can be noticed that the election of the new patron of the Bar Cathedral was not an essential turning point, because St. Theodore, the first patron of the cathedral, like St. George, was a warrior saint whose cult spread from Constantinople in the ninth century to the Mediterranean region, where the saint, before the transfer of the relics of St. Mark, was the patron of Venice (Fortini Brown, 1991, 518; Walter, 1999, 172).

ST. GEORGE AS THE PATRON OF THE BAR COMMUNE

The tradition of honoring St. George in Bar would reach its full potential during the development of the commune, when the saint became not only the patron of the cathedral, but was elevated to the status of the patron of the commune. The choice of the city's patron clearly indicates the maturing of the commune and the need for symbols that express and strengthen its collective identity (Webb, 1996, 6–8; Favini & Savorelli, 2013, 40–41; Lonza, 2017, 23). That is why his image was then portrayed on a communal stamp, as well as on the coins minted in Bar. The role of the seal to validate and authenticate documents made it an official material symbol that confirmed the identity and legitimacy of the communal authority (Bedos-Rezak, 1990, 36–38; Favini & Savorelli, 2013, 21). The seal of the Bar commune has not been preserved, and its oldest recorded print was found on a document that was kept in the Dubrovnik archives. This document from 1372 bore the impression of a black, round seal, with a left-facing mounted representation of St. George slaying the

dragon (Jireček, 1904, 17). The same iconographic solution is also found on the seal of the Bar commune (Fig. 3) that was two centuries younger, dating back to 1567, on a document which is kept in the Dubrovnik archive (HR-DADU 7.3.6, 7, 329).⁵ A drawing of the seal of the judges of the Bar commune (Fig. 4), with the same type of representation of the saint, and the circular inscription + SDLICUDICI DA TIVAR was published by Cesare Augusto Levi in 1896 (Levi, 1896, 43). During the Ottoman occupation of the city, the Christian population of Bar enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy until the mid-seventeenth century, as evidenced by a seal impression on a letter to the people of Dubrovnik from 1631, which they signed as *Li miseri Christiani della Comunita di Antivari*. On the barely visible seal image, there is a representation of St. George in the characteristic Bar iconography, supplemented by the inscription GEORGIVS•PROTECTOR•ANTIBAR (Marković, 2015, 425). The image of St. George on the seal of the Bar commune, which has not iconographically changed over time, pointed out the continuity of the commune primarily as a political entity, and of St. George as a symbol of communal power.

It should be noted that the iconography of the image of St. George on the seal of the city of Bar corresponds to the mounted image of the saint on the obverse of the coins minted in the city. The position of the horse and the rider, facing left with a cloak billowing behind him, is the same on the seal and on the coin. The coin clearly shows the saint dressed in a tunic, with armor draped over it, and a triangular shield with a cross in the middle rests on the saint's shoulder. With the lance in his right hand, he pierces the dragon lying under the horse, while holding the reins with his other hand. Both the coin and the seal show the same type of dragon. As the dragon receives the fatal stab wound from the right, on some of the coins the lance is mostly covered by the horse's body.

The similarity is even more pronounced if one compares the representation of the saint on certain issues of these coins (Fig. 5) with the representation of St. George on the imprint of the seal of the Bar Cathedral Chapter (Fig. 6) preserved on a document from 1578 (Sella & Laurent, 1937, pl. LVII, no. 1780). According to the Gothic stylization and modeling of the characters, the seal dates back to the fourteenth century (Marković, 2014a, 404, fig. 2, 840). On the circular seal, showing the pantheon of saints especially revered in the Archbishopric of Bar the central part shows a Gothic frame with three figures of saints, in the center of which is a representation of St. George on a horse facing left, slaying a dragon with a lance, marked SA – G. On the right side of St. George is a figure of St. Peter with keys in his hands, and on the left is a representation of St. John the Baptist.⁶

5 The seal was published by Savo Marković (2022, 45, fig. 2).

6 Savo Marković, who was the only one who studied this seal so far, states that it is St. Paul who is depicted to the left of St. George, however, the iconography of the saint depicted with a characteristic cloak suggests that it is St. John the Baptist, whose cult was prominent on the Zeta coast (Marković, 2014a, 840).



Fig. 3: The imprint of the seal of the Bar commune from 1567 (Marković, 2022).



Fig. 4: A drawing of the seal of the judges of the Bar commune published by Cesare A. Levi in 1896 (Levi, 1896).

In the upper part of the seal, above St. George, there is a frontal figure of the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms.⁷ The inscription + SIGILLVM. CHAPITVLLI. ANTIBARENSIS. runs along the edge of the seal. The characteristic iconography of the representation of the patron saint of Bar indicates a temporal consistency in following an important iconographic template that seems to have been the basis for the design of the symbol on which the visual identity of the Bar commune, as well as its cathedral, is based. We believe that this template should be sought in the Bar Cathedral itself, which was the source of the local cult of St. George.

The cathedral was completely destroyed in an explosion in 1881 (Ćirković et al., 1984, 98). Its appearance was recorded by nineteenth-century travel writers, from who we learn that above the western portal, most likely in the tympanum, there was a marble relief depicting the patron saint of the church, St. George, mounted on a horse, slaying a dragon (Hecquard, 1858, 35; Rovinskii, 1883, 182). It is assumed that the portal was built during the major reconstruction of the western façade at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century (Bošković, 1962, 20; Zagarčanin, 2006, 121). Bar relics and the reliquary of the cathedral, an important testimony to the cult of saints in the city, were not preserved. We only know a little about them from archival data from the end of the fourteenth century. Namely, due to the particularly difficult financial situation in which the Bar commune found itself under the rule of the Balšić dynasty, when taxes were raised and goods were confiscated from merchants, the city borrowed from merchants, and some of the relics of Bar were given twice as collateral.

⁷ In 1513, in the Bar Cathedral, two altars were mentioned, dedicated to St. George and the Holy Virgin (Blehova Čelebić, 2007, 68; Marković, 2014b, 39).



Fig. 5: Bar (municipality) follaro, *fourteenth century* (Novaković, 2012).

According to a document dated March 27, 1399, holy relics from the cathedral, which were contained in a large and a small chest, were given as collateral to Simo Ninković, a resident of Dubrovnik, as part of some previous business dealings (Thallóczy et al., 1918, 174; Marković, 2014b, 42–43).

Although in medieval cities the patron of the city cathedral and the patron of the commune were not always the same saint, in the towns on the Zeta coast, Kotor, Ulcinj, Svač, Drisht and Shkodër, it was common for these to have been the same saint. The cathedral in Kotor is dedicated to St. Tryphon (Mišić, 2010, 141), the cathedral in Ulcinj to the Holy Virgin (Mišić, 2010, 304), the patron saint of the cathedral in Svač was St. John the Baptist (Mišić, 2010, 249), the cathedral in Drisht was dedicated to the Holy Virgin (Mišić, 2010, 98), while the patron saint of the cathedral in Shkodër is St. Stephen (Mišić, 2010, 254). Representations of the aforementioned saints are on the obverse of the communal money of these towns,⁸ minted in the second half of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century, while the reverse usually bears another town symbol—a representation of the city gates (Odak Mihailović, 2014, 174–181), or, as in the case of the town of Shkodër, the town coat of arms (Stockert, 1910, 80–85, no. 26–42). The images of the patrons on both sides of a coin would appear only in certain issues originating from the towns of Kotor (Savoia, 1922, 301–304,

⁸ Representations of local patron saints on coins in medieval towns were quite widespread in the West, and their likenesses could be found on coins from Aquileia, Trieste/Trst, Ljubljana, St. Veit an der Glan/Šentvid ob Glini and Friesach, minted in the thirteenth century (Štekar, 2008, 308–313).



Fig. 6: The imprint of the seal of the Bar Cathedral Chapter from 1578 (Jovović, 2005).

type III, no. 72–103, pl. XXVI– XXVII) and Shkodër (Stockert, 1910, 85–87, no. 43–52), which were minted in the fourteenth century. What distinguishes the coins minted in Bar in comparison to the coins of other towns/communes on the Zeta coast is the dominance of the representation of the city's patron saint in the iconography, and with the exception of the first issue, St. George is found on both the obverse and the reverse of all the coins minted in the Bar mint. It should be noted that in the medieval city of Bar, the representations of St. George on communal coins and seals not only pointed to his importance as the patron saint of the Bar commune, but also the importance of the cathedral dedicated to him as the seat of the Archdiocese of Bar. The presence of the archbishop's seat raised the rank of Bar in relation to the surrounding towns/episcopal centers that were subordinate to it and gave it a special feature, which the city emphasized in its visual representation. That is why, by all accounts, the figure of St. George over the western portal of the cathedral in Bar became a symbol of the Bar community.



Fig. 7: Bar's *bagattino* from period of Venetian domination, the fifteenth century (Novaković, 2012).

The iconography of the coins minted in Bar did not change for a long time, and strict traditionalism in their appearance was characteristic of the coins minted along the Zeta coast. Any more radical change in the design of the coins usually indicated propaganda intentions, as was the case with the *bagattinos*, which were in circulation in Bar during Venetian rule. In addition to the image of St. George, *bagattinos* also bore the symbol of St. Mark, the patron saint of the Republic of Venice which ruled the city at the time. The representation of the patron saint of Venice, next to the patron saint of the city on the coins in circulation at the time, was a common practice in all towns on the Zeta coast under Venetian rule. The first type of *bagattinos* had a representation of St. George standing and slaying a dragon with a lance on the obverse, followed by the inscription DANT IVAR. The reverse of the coin included the representation of the winged lion of St. Mark, and the accompanying inscription + S MARCVS VENE TIARVMIC (Stockert, 1910, 110–111, no. 196–198). Another type of *bagattinos* (Fig. 7) had a representation of St. George on horseback slaying a dragon with a lance on the obverse, accompanied by S GEORG ATIVARI, while the reverse included a winged Venetian lion, with the circular inscription + S MARCVS VENETI (Stockert, 1910, 111, no. 201). It is believed that the *bagattinos* originating from Bar were minted in Venice (Stockert, 1910, 109–110).

ONCE A PATRON, ALWAYS A PATRON: *SCUOLA DI SAN GIORGIO E TRIFONE*

Fleeing from the oncoming Ottoman advancement, residents from the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea fled to Italy,⁹ especially to Venice, where they founded brotherhoods. One of them was the *Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone*, also known as the *Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, which was founded in 1451 (Čoralić, 1994, 44–45; Spremić, 2016, 160). During the first century after its foundation, the headquarters of the brotherhood members, who were mostly former residents of Bar and Kotor,¹⁰ was in the Church of St. John the Baptist of the Knights Hospitaller (*San Giovanni Battista del Tempio*), where they were given the right to erect an altar and dedicate it to St. George and St. Tryphon. The importance of St. George lies in the fact that on St. George's day, the brotherhood was obliged to give the prior of the monastery four ducats, two loaves of bread and one candle (Čoralić, 1994, 44–45; Spremić, 2016, 160). Although the brotherhood was under the protection of three saints, as St. George and St. Tryphon were joined by St. Jerome, the patron saint of Dalmatia since 1464 (Marinković, 2018, 28), the cult and iconography of St. George, a saint especially revered in Bar and Kotor, visually dominated the building (cf. Perocco, 1964; Trška, 2018; Barker, 2021). Since its origins, the main symbol of the brotherhood was St. George who, mounted on horseback, defeats the dragon (Sigovini, 1988, 19–29),¹¹ which is prominent on the brotherhood's flag, whose iconography corresponds to the representation of the saint in the Bar commune.

CONCLUSION

Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the towns on the Zeta coast were part of the state of the Nemanjić dynasty, municipal government developed, and city communes acquired the right to mint copper coins for city use, known as *follaros* and *half follaros*. The iconographic analysis of the coins of the Bar commune, whose coinage dates to the fourteenth century, found that the mounted representation of St. George slaying the dragon, which is on the obverse of the coins minted in Bar, was a ubiquitous symbol of Bar in that period, so, in addition to the seal of the Bar commune, it also bore the seal of

9 A record still exists of the fact that a patrician of Bar, Marco Samuel Caloian, pleaded with the Tuscan Grand Duke in 1574 to allow the resettlement of one hundred families from Bar to Tuscany, via Ancona, so that they could avoid the "Turkish tyranny" (Marković, 2018, 605–606, 624–633).

10 On the basis of preserved wills in the brotherhood, which originate from the fifteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was established that the largest number of members came from Kotor and Bar (Čoralić, 2022, 3, n. 6).

11 Under the influence of the *Golden Legend*, the trend of representing St. George on a horse slaying a dragon spread to Venice as well, by the mid-to-late thirteenth century (Perry, 2014, 17).

the Bar Cathedral Chapter, and the same representation adorned the tympanum above the western portal of the Bar Cathedral. In its study of the genesis and the significance of this representation of the medieval city of Bar, the paper presents the development of the cult of St. George in Bar, who began to be honored during the reign of the Vojislavljević dynasty from Dioclia, and whose patron saint was also St. George. Then, instead of St. Theodore, the cathedral in Bar got a new patron, St. George, and the Bishopric of Bar was promoted to the rank of an archbishopric. The status of the archiepiscopal center emphasized the importance of Bar in relation to other towns and bishoprics in the area that were subordinate to it, so with the development of the Bar commune, the patron of the cathedral also assumed the role of the communal patron. From that moment, the mounted representation of St. George slaying the dragon, until then the symbol of the Archdiocese of Bar, became the central motif of the visual identity of the Bar commune.

UPODOBITVE SV. JURIJA NA KOVANCIH KOVANIH
V SREDNJEVEŠKEM MESTU BAR

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POVZETEK

Med 13. in 14. stoletjem, ko so bila mesta v Zetskem primorju del države Nemanjićev, se je v njih razvijala mestna oblast, mestne komune pa so si pridobile pravico kovanja bakrenega denarja za mestno uporabo, folarjev in polfolarjev. Pri ikonografski analizi denarja barske komune, ki so ga začeli kovati v 14. stoletju, se pokaže, da je v tistem obdobju vseprisoten simbol Bara bila podoba sv. Jurija na konju, ki ubija zmaja, kar zaznamuje averz barskih kovancev. Poleg pečata barske komune je ta podoba krasila tudi pečat barskega stolnega kapitlja, prav tako pa je bila upodobljena na timpanonu nad zahodnim vhodom barske stolnice. Pri obravnavi geneze in pomena te podobe za srednjeveški Bar je v delu prikazan razvoj kulta sv. Jurija v Baru, ki se je v mestu začel v času vladavine dukljanske dinastije Vojislavljevićev, katere zaščitnik je bil sveti Jurij. Takrat je barska katedrala namesto sv. Teodorja dobila novega zavetnika, sv. Jurija, barska škofija pa je bila povzdignjena v nadškofijo. Status nadškofijskega središča je poudarjal pomen Bara v primerjavi z drugimi mesti oziroma škofijami v okolici, ki so mu bila podrejena, zato je z dozorevanjem barske komune zavetnik stolnice postal tudi zavetnik komune. Takrat je podoba sv. Jurija na konju, ki ubija zmaja – dotlej simbol barske nadškofije – postala tudi osrednji motiv vizualne identitete barske komune.

Ključne besede: denar mesta Bar, mestni pečat, upodobitve sv. Jurija, katedrala sv. Jurija v Baru, pečat barskega stolnega kapitlja, 14. stoletje

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APPRENTICES FROM THE ZETA LITTORAL
IN LATE MEDIEVAL RAGUSA*Marijan PREMOVIĆ*

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the arrival of apprentices from Zeta to Ragusa (today's Dubrovnik) between 1360 and 1421, a period that coincides with the rule of the Balšić dynasty in Zeta. The research is mostly based on the analysis of unpublished original material from the State Archives in Dubrovnik and relevant historical literature. The first part of the paper presents a general overview of data on crafts and the presence and activity of Zetans in Ragusa, lists the economic benefits of migration to the city, and sheds light on how young men started their apprenticeships. In the second part, archival material allows us to reconstruct the microhistory of the arrival of young men from the settlements and areas of Budva, Bar, Ratac, Spič, Pilot, Ulcinj, Shkodër, and the wider Zeta region to Ragusa. The details include the names of the young artisans, the frequency of their arrivals, and the duration of their apprenticeships. The paper also explores the status of these young men who migrated to the city and analyses their migratory movements by interpreting sources from the State Archives of Dubrovnik.

Keywords: apprentices, artisans, Zeta, Ragusa, late Middle Ages

APPRENDISTI DEL LITORALE DI ZETA NELLA RAGUSA TARDO
MEDIEVALE

SINTESI

Questo articolo esamina l'arrivo degli apprendisti di Zeta a Ragusa (l'odierna Dubrovnik), con l'obiettivo di imparare un mestiere, nel periodo dal 1360 al 1421, che coincide con il regno della dinastia Balšić su Zeta. La ricerca si basa principalmente

sull'analisi del materiale inedito dell'Archivio di Stato di Dubrovnik e della letteratura storica rilevante. La prima parte del testo fornisce uno sguardo generale sui dati relativi ai mestieri e ai cittadini di Zeta a Ragusa, la cui presenza e opera nella città di S. Biagio è indice della sua attrattività economica e delle possibilità per i giovani di imparare un mestiere. Nella seconda parte, attraverso le fonti indicate, viene ricostruita la microstoria dell'arrivo a Zeta dei giovani provenienti dalle seguenti località: Budva, Bar, Ratac, Spič, Pilota, Ulcinj, Shkodër e da tutta la regione di Ragusa. Vengono elencati i nomi dei giovani artigiani, la frequenza dei loro arrivo e la durata dell'apprendistato. Sempre attraverso l'interpretazione delle fonti dell'archivio di Dubrovnik vengono seguiti i percorsi dei giovani che entravano in città, e vengono analizzati i movimenti migratori degli apprendisti.

Parole chiave: apprendisti, artigiani, Zeta, Ragusa, tardo Medioevo

INTRODUCTION¹

This study is based on the analysis of original material from the State Archives in Dubrovnik, one of the most important archives in the Mediterranean, renowned for the quantity, age, and value of its documents. Based on extensive documentation pertaining to the Zeta region and its population in the late Middle Ages, we can glean insights into the migratory movements of young men who became apprentices in the city of Ragusa. These records exist because all contracts, from the simplest agreements between young artisans and their employers to those involving trading companies investing thousands of ducats, were concluded before a notary and a chancellor in Ragusa. An abundance of sources on our subject can be found in the archival series 25, Miscellaneous Chancellery Records (*Diversa Cancellariae*), and 26, Miscellaneous Notary Records (*Diversa Notariae*). These series cannot be separated for research purposes, as both contain records of the same transactions. Data were most often recorded in notarial or chancellery books at the request of the employer, as these contracts were public documents outlining the boys' obligations. They were based on the principle of guarantees from the parents, relatives, or friends of the young men seeking to learn the craft.

1 This paper is the result of research carried out in the bilateral project BI-ME/21-22-026 *Similarities and Distinctions between Medieval Coastal and Continental Towns in the Nowadays Slovenia and Montenegro*, funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

The documents we found in these two series enable us to examine and present the migrations of these young men, as well as their involvement in various crafts. The Fund of Notarial Debentures contains volumes VII–XII, covering the periods 1352–1358, 1362–1379, 1387–1391, 1402–1408, and 1413–1481. The following documents are recorded in *Diversa*: contracts with artisans, debentures, dowries, sales, notices and calls for confiscation of debtors' property, announcements of property seizure, etc. *Diversa Cancellariae* represents the most extensive series in the Dubrovnik archive. The research included the following chancellery volumes: from XIX to XLII, covering the periods 1362–1372, 1375–1376, 1381–1383, and 1385–1418. There is a brief discontinuation between volumes XVIII and XIX, as well as between XLI and XLII, for the years 1356–1362 and 1418–1422. The fund contains documents related to contracts for artisans and servants, debentures, notices for the sale of real estate, lawsuits, hearings, witness statements, judgments, and more. Zetan artisans are mentioned in archival series 36, Notarial Debentures (*Debita Notariae*), in relation to credit trade. The published collections of sources from the Dubrovnik Archives' archival series were invaluable in writing this article, as they contain relevant data for this issue (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918).

To date, this topic has not been adequately addressed by historiography. In the mid-twentieth century, Dragan Roller was the first historian to classify and research medieval crafts in Ragusa during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, organised by profession (Roller, 1951). This fragment of Zeta's medieval history is not covered in detail even in synthetic monographs related to the period of the Balšić reign in Zeta (Ćirković et al., 1970; Jelčić, 2010; Šekularac, 2011; Rudić, 2021). Young Zetan artisans from the Ragusan hinterland and Bosnia are mentioned in smaller-scale works (Stanojević, 1934; Samardžić, 1948; Hrabak, 1973; Pekić, 2019). The Roller monograph was later supplemented by Josip Lučić's book titled *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku do početka 14. stoljeća* (Crafts and Services in Ragusa until the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century) (Lučić, 1979). In the aforementioned works, artisans from Zeta are mentioned only incidentally in a few places. Dušanka Dinić-Knežević wrote the most significant monograph for our topic: *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja u Dubrovnik tokom srednjeg veka* (Migration of Population from South Slavic Countries to Ragusa during the Middle Ages). The author examined the arrival of young men in Ragusa in a much broader context, highlighting both the unplanned and deliberate movements of the population from the hinterland, Zeta, Bosnia, Albania and certain Dalmatian towns towards Ragusa, which were motivated by diverse factors (Dinić-Knežević, 1995). Dinić-Knežević recorded the cumulative number of young artisans from Budva, Bar, Spič, Ratac, Ulcinj, and Zeta, presenting them as part of broader trends, and occasionally mentioning some of the young men by name.

The insights gained by Dušanka Dinić-Knežević served as an incentive to delve deeper into the documents of the Dubrovnik archive. We will use the sources from the reviewed period to analyse the arrival of young men seeking to learn a craft in Ragusa, their chosen crafts, their ages and names. The sources reveal periods of peak migration, the timing of arrivals of young men, the crafts they learned, their rights and obligations, duration of apprenticeships, and other conditions of service, among others. The paper will reach its conclusions through the inductive method, analysis, and comparison of the available data, with the aim of performing a final synthesis.

We chose the period from 1360 to 1421 to illustrate the migration of young men from Budva, Bar, Ratac, Spič, Pilot, Ulcinj, Shkodër (Skadar), and the Zeta region to the Ragusa commune, following the city's change in political status after the signing of the Treaty of Zadar in 1358. That year, Venetian rule over Ragusa ended. The expulsion of the Venetians led to the expansion of the city's maritime trade and economic prosperity (Foretić, 1980, 132–136; Harris, 2006, 59–62; Janeković-Römer, 2008, 119–120). The Višegrad Charter of 1359 marks the beginning of Ragusa's transformation from a medieval commune into an organised city, and eventually into a Republic (Janeković-Römer, 2003, 10–48, 64–68). Meanwhile, from 1360 Zeta was ruled by the Balšić dynasty, becoming close neighbours of the city. The Balšićs became allies and citizens of Ragusa in 1361 (Šekularac, 2011, 33–37). During their reign, trade relations between Ragusa and Zeta were the central link in Ragusan-Zetan relations. The residents of the two entities were closely connected and maintained almost daily communication, primarily for economic reasons. Therefore, population migration was an ongoing process influenced by the economic rise of Ragusa, as well as other economic and political factors (Benyovsky Latin, 2017, 474, 490–491).

The lands of the Balšić dynasty (1360–1421) stretched from Ragusa to Himarë in Albania, though its territory was interrupted by regions like Kotor. At the beginning of their rule, their domain consisted of a narrow strip of land between Lake Skadar and the sea, including the towns of Bar and Shkodër. By June 1368, the Balšićs had taken control of Ulcinj. After the death of his brother Stracimir, probably in 1372, Đurađ I assumed leadership in the family. In 1372, Đurađ I seized Prizren, followed by Peja/Peć. In 1372, the Balšić family achieved a major success when Đurađ's youngest brother, Balša II, acquired Berat, Vlorë, and Himarë through his marriage to Komnina (1372). From 1373 to 1377, their domain expanded to include Trebinje, Konavle, and Dračevica. Đurađ I died in 1378 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Balša II (Ćirković et al., 1970; Šekularac, 2011). The Balšićs aspired to expand their territory in Albania. Balša II achieved his greatest success in early 1385, when he took the town of Durrës from the Albanian ruler Karl Thopia (1359–1388). Soon after Balša II's death, his successor, Đurađ II Balšić (1385–1403) lost Durrës to Thopia. He was unable to protect the territory of Zeta from the Ottoman assault. Consequently,

on 14 April 1396 he reached an agreement with Venice, ceding the towns of Shkodër and Shirgj, the fortress of Shati and customs in Danjë (Danj), along with the surrounding places that are in Albania today. Đurađ II was prince of the islands of Korčula and Hvar from 1397 to 1402, with an interruption in 1401 (Ćuk, 1986; Schmitt, 2001). His heir, Balša III (1403–1421), fought to expel the Venetians from the territories ceded by Đurađ II. He ruled over Bar, Budva, Ulcinj and Drisht, albeit with interruptions. Balša III died in 1421 (Jelčić, 2010; Rudić, 2021). For this reason, the period examined by this paper ends in 1421, when a political change occurred in Zeta with the end of the Balšić dynasty.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON CRAFTS AND THE PRESENCE OF ZETANS IN RAGUSA

Ragusa was the largest trade and craft hub in the southern Adriatic in the late Middle Ages (Voje, 2000). In addition to facilitating the exchange of goods, it was perceived by the population of medieval Zeta and neighbouring areas as the promised city. It also served as an important centre for training young artisans from the hinterland. Young people from Budva, Bar, Ratac, Spič, Pilot, Ulcinj, Shkodër and the Zeta region came to Ragusa to become apprentices, serving their employers and thereby securing their livelihoods. Ragusa maintained regular connections, business and otherwise, with all these and towns, particularly Bar and Ulcinj (Dinić-Knežević, 1974, 19–38; Foretić, 1980, 112). The presence of businessmen from Ragusa in these locations encouraged young people from Zeta to seek apprenticeships in Ragusa, and it is not surprising that a considerable number of young men did so.

The interest of the Ragusan authorities in young workers largely depended on the conditions within the city and the needs of the economy. After the great plague of 1348, which brought about changes in all areas of life, the city authorities granted privileges to new immigrants on 30 May 1348. In an effort to revive the economy, they invited artisans of all professions, promising a reward of 5 perperas per year and exemption from all duties except customs, provided they committed to working in Ragusa for at least five years. Artisans and merchants required apprentices, while noble and bourgeois families sought domestic servants (Božić, 1949, 30; Dinić-Knežević, 1974, 19, 26–27; Ćirković 1997, 53–54; Pešorda-Vardić 2012, 37). The difficult existential circumstances of the lower strata of society, particularly those on the brink of survival, compelled young men to search for work and a better life. Regarding the geographical origin of boys and young men coming to Ragusa for apprenticeships, alongside Zeta (coastal and inland regions), three additional areas can be identified: Albania, Herzegovina (the immediate hinterland and interior) and Bosnia. As a rule, Ragusa welcomed immigrants provided they did not threaten the safety of its citizens (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 59–60; Janeković-Römer, 2005, 317–346).

In terms of social origin, young apprentices predominantly came from the lower strata of society. The contracts refer to them as *famula*, *garzonus*, and *servitor*, as well as *momak* and later *djetić* in Croatian (Samardžić, 1948, 66–70; Hrabak, 1973, 47). In the 1320s, three citizens of Bar and one resident of Spič became apprentices in Ragusa. There is no mention of young men until the mid-fourteenth century. From 1350 to 1370, only two young men are mentioned: one from Shkodër (1350) and the other from Bar (1352). From 1370 to 1380, the number of contracts concluded with young men from Zeta steadily increased, with nearly 40 contracts signed in Ragusa during this period. Young men specialised in specific crafts, reflecting the progressive trends of the Ragusan economy of the time (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 92–93). Italian humanist and teacher Philippus de Diversis (Filippo Diversi) informs us of the need for artisans in his renowned work, *Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclitao civitatis Ragusii* (Description of the Famous City of Ragusa from 1440). In the ninth chapter, Diversis provides a vivid description of craftsmanship in Ragusa: “No one doubts that the city needs a large number of artisans and a large population, both for the sake of defence and to ensure the supply of the necessary food and clothing” (Janeković-Römer, 2004, 109–110).

Upon arriving in the city, young men signed contracts at the notary or chancellery, committing themselves to serve their employers, who would take them on as apprentices. Most of the youths were minors, requiring that a parent or close relative sign the contract on their behalf. The document stated the names of the master and apprentice, the duration of apprenticeship, and included the promise that the apprentice would faithfully and lawfully serve the master and obey his orders. After entering into service, the apprentice spent all his time with the master. He lived in the master’s house and performed household chores, and in return received lodging, food, clothing, and training in the craft. The primary obligations of the young apprentice were to learn the craft, develop a strong work ethic, and remain loyal to his master. Additionally, mutual care was expected in both good times and bad, in health and in sickness. In case the master was hired outside the city, the apprentice would typically accompany him. The young man could not leave without the master’s permission until the end of the designated period. If he ran away before that time, he was obliged to return and honour the contract. One of the basic clauses present in most contracts stipulates that the master will provide his apprentice with a *capita feramentorum artis* at the end of the apprenticeship. When concluding the contract, the notary prepared two copies – one for each party. After that, the young man-apprentice became a *discipulus*, and the master his *magister* (Samardžić, 1948, 66–71; Hrabak, 1973, 25–28, 41–47; Lučić, 1979, 222–227; Epstein, 2009, 117).

Contracts usually specify the origin of the young men. However, some documents omit this information, stating only “de Genta” (from Zeta) as the place

of origin. Additionally, some documents cite the age of the apprentices, while others do not. It is assumed that Ragusan merchants in Zeta hired local young men as their servants; however, there is little information available on this matter, as the Ragusan chancellery and notary do not provide any relevant data.

APPRENTICES FROM BUDVA

Crafts in Budva were poorly developed in the late Middle Ages, as indicated by the fact that only a few provisions of the Statute of Budva refer to crafts, specifically oil making, baking and butchery. However, it is difficult to assume that no other crafts existed (Bujuklić, 1988, 37). Due to the challenging existential conditions and a lack of development of crafts related to everyday life, young men from Budva travelled to Ragusa to become apprentices.

In the late 1350s, the craftsman Stjepan Dobrosravić from Budva was mentioned in Ragusa. Stjepan practiced carpentry, and the city authorities granted him citizenship on 31 January 1359 (Rački, 1882, 263; Manken, 1960, 92). In the first half of March 1376, the notary recorded that Ivan Ratković from Budva began a masonry apprenticeship in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 150r). A young man named Pavle Ožinić from Budva apprenticed in the shoemaking trade in Ragusa. In September 1379, he pledged before the notary, with the presence and consent of his father, to serve and learn the craft under shoemaker Bratoslav Miltinić for a period of five years. During this time, the shoemaker Bratoslav would provide Pavle with sustenance, and would give him tools of the trade upon the completion of his apprenticeship (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 218r).

Contracts often contained a special clause prohibiting young men from stealing from their masters. However, in practice, instances of apprentices occasionally robbing their masters did occur. On one such occasion, on 5 April 1373, a blacksmith by the name of Pripko filed a lawsuit against Medoj from Budva for stealing his master's belongings (DAD, Lam. de For., sv. 1 (1370–1373), f. 107v). It is possible that Medoj had been mistreated and committed the theft in response. The Ragusan Statute of 1272 prescribed that the master, in this instance Pripko, should report the apprentice's escape to the city authorities (Šoljić, Šundrica & Veselić, 2002, 505). After the apprentice was apprehended, the authorities would return him to the master to continue his work until the contract expired. The runaway was obliged to work double the number of days for each day he had been absent (Lučić, 1979, 224). There is no information on whether Medoj was caught and returned to Pripko, the blacksmith.

The poor people of Budva entered into serfdom arrangements with the rulers of Ragusa. For example, on 25 January 1382, Milec Obradović from Budva and his two sons became serfs of Živko Vlahov Menčetić. As a result, the Obradovići could not leave Živko without his permission, with Dabec Obradović (likely their relative) serving as their guarantor (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 121). At the

end of November 1387, Radić Ivanović from Budva became a servant of Blaž Mont for a period of five years. According to the contract, he was obliged to serve his lord faithfully and diligently during this time, while Blaž was required to provide clothing and sustenance. Upon completing five years of service, he would receive a reward of 25 perperas (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 27 (1387–1389), f. 62r; Borozan, 2020, 259).

Young people from Budva particularly gravitated towards weapon-making crafts. On 17 May 1404, Bogoje Mirojević from Budva began his apprenticeship with Radić Dobričević, a master swordsmith in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 31r). During the period covered by this study, more than ten people from Budva were recorded in the Ragusan notary and chancellery in relation to weapon-making crafts: Dragoš Bogojević (21 September 1369), Radoslav (24 September 1369), Mihai Radošević (6 March 1371), Ratko Ljepčinović (25 May 1371), Bratič Pripčić (18 May 1376), Milatko Stanerović (21 May 1376), Jurko Petročević (19 November 1376), Jurko Dobriković (17 May 1386), Butko Dobrić (3 August 1387), Petar (2 March 1389), Juras Janković (26 May 1398), Kaladušić (3 February 1410), etc. (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 22 (1369–1370), f. 4r–v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 23 (1371–1372), f. 16r, 35v; DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 150r, 155v–156r, 217r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 24 (1375–1376), f. 190v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 26 (1385–1387), f. 80r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 27 (1387–1389), f. 20r, 200v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 32 (1396–1399), f. 145r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 38 (1408–1413), f. 116r).

APPRENTICES FROM BAR

Many inhabitants of Bar were present in Ragusa, and among them, many young people became apprentices. From 1360 to 1421, more than 20 contracts were recorded. The greatest interest was in shoemaking, followed by goldsmithing, tailoring, leatherworking, and other crafts. We learn about this from sources in the Dubrovnik archive, as the medieval notary and other archival materials, along with the statute of the city of Bar, have not been preserved, to the best of our knowledge (Marković, 2010, 833–834).

Johannes de Antibaro is mentioned as a shoemaker in the 1360s. On 15 July 1365, he guaranteed that Kranče, son of Ivan, and Luka, son of Nikola from Bar, would not run away from Klima Držić, to whom they pledged to serve for one year (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 89, 166). In early October 1370, Mihoje Stijepović from Sozina in Bar travelled to Ragusa to become a shoemaking apprentice (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 80). Between the 1360s and the 1370s, Jovan the cobbler worked in Ragusa, while Dapčo the cobbler was active between the 1370s and the 1390s, both men hailing from Bar (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 89).

The young men from Bar also showed a noticeable interest in tailoring. In the autumn of 1388, Jurko Vukotić began his tailoring apprenticeship under Maroje Radogostić. Jurko was bound to serve for eight years, during which he

would receive accommodation and food. At the end of his service, he would also be provided with tools of the trade (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 10 (1387–1391), f. 31r). In the summer of 1394, Radič, son of Hranko Tomić from Bar, was registered before the notary as an apprentice tailor (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 111r). On 19 September 1395, a document was recorded in the chancellery stating that don Dimitrije from Bar was sending his 10-year-old son Miho to become a tailoring apprentice (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 32 (1396–1399), f. 84r). In the chancellery, a cloth cutter named Simo from Bar was mentioned on 6 December 1412 (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 39 (1411–1414), f. 188v).

In addition to the above, residents of Bar learned trades related to the production, processing, and treatment of leather in Ragusa. During the Middle Ages, alongside cloth and linen, furs and skins from various domestic and wild animals were commonly used for clothing and footwear (Lučić, 1979, 85–87). A tannery apprenticeship contract was concluded by Juro, son of Srdo Maljurović from Bar, on 7 October 1394 (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 119r). In the first half of May 1395, Martin Bizatović from Bar began his tannery apprenticeship in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 159r). Brajko Andrejić Ćurčin from Bar also pursued the tannery trade, starting his apprenticeship on 22 March 1402, with the permission of his parents (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 34 (1401–1403), f. 96r).

Residents of Bar were also interested in goldsmithing. In mid-May 1370, Radoslav, son of Đurđe Tepešić, went to Ragusa to apprentice as a goldsmith. In the presence of his parents, Radoslav signed a contract which bound him to serve and learn under the goldsmith Dživo Radišević for a duration of seven years. The master agreed, as part of the contract, to send the apprentice to acquire literacy skills in the first year (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 10v). In the second half of the fourteenth century, this encompassed the basics of reading and writing, as well as Latin per the grammarian Donatus. The young man was likely sent to live with a priest for a year, who would provide him with food, accommodation, and education, which was the customary method of gaining literacy in that period. The master provided clothing as well, and the teacher's reward usually ranged from 10 perperas per year (in 1333) to 125 ducats per year at the end of the fourteenth century (Lučić, 1979, 133; Janeković Romer, 1994, 109). After acquiring basic literacy during the first year, Radoslav would spend the remaining six years learning the goldsmith's craft under the guidance of his master. After the specified period, he would receive the tools of the trade (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 10v). In the first half of November 1394, Đorđe Mamollo from Bar sent his 12-year-old son Marino to apprentice under the Ragusan goldsmith master Nikola Brundusio for a period of eight years (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 132r).

In the fourteenth century, Ragusa provided ample work for masons as it transitioned from a wooden to a stone city. Bar was the location of many quarries with rich deposits of stone famous for its distinctive red colour, which

was widely exported to neighbouring towns. This stone was used in Ragusa for paving, and for the construction of one-story houses, streets, and squares. The cutting and preparation of this stone was a major source of income for the population of Bar and its surroundings for centuries. This led to the development of stonemasonry and the arrival of Bar stonemasons to Ragusa. During the 1350s and the 1360s, stonemasons Đorđe and Buda from Bar worked in Ragusa, participating in numerous construction projects (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 87–89).

Men from Bar also came to Ragusa to work as servants. This line of work provided them with appropriate food, clothing, shoes and accommodation. At the end of their service, they typically received a nominal monetary compensation (Lučić, 1979, 151). The largest influx was recorded in 1365, when eight new servants from Bar were registered, and in 1367, when three were registered. In other years, usually only one servant arrived per year. They commonly committed to working for a period of one to six years, for a salary of 15 *perperas* per year, although nine individuals worked solely for food and clothing (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 50). In one case, the salary was paid monthly and amounted to 18 *grossi*, while in another case, it was paid every four months. The contracts signifying this are from 1365, a time when the demand for labour was high due to the plague that had struck Ragusa in 1363, leading to the abandonment of the usual practice of giving wages at the end of service. In the 1360s, the price of labour increased significantly as well (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 50–51). On 3 July 1365, Marko from Bar pledged to Tripo Budačić to do everything he could; in return, Tripo promised to provide him with food, clothing, and shoes, as well as 20 *perperas* and 10 *grossi*, which he would pay in instalments every four months. Both parties had the right to terminate the contract if they were dissatisfied (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 20 (1365–1366), f. 32v). On 14 October 1365, Mihajlo Menčetić from Bar pledged to Bokša, the father of Žora Bokšić, to serve him for one year in exchange for a reward of 18 *grossi* per month (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 20 (1365–1366), f. 63r; Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 50, 58). The chancellery recorded a statement of Andrija Trimović from Bar dated 10 November 1382, in which he agreed to stay on the estate of Andrija Volzio for one year (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 25 (1381–1383), f. 153r). On 7 November 1389, Bogoslav and Petar Jonović, brothers from Bar, entered the service of Andrija Volzio in Trstenica on the Pelješac peninsula, where they were to cultivate their employer's estate in an appropriate manner (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 10 (1387–1391), f. 76v). On 23 March 1415, Radivoje Brajković was hired as a servant in the house of Andrija, the chancellor of Bar, who would take him to serve Johannes Pitko (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 40 (1414–1416), f. 141v).

As artisans, Bar natives were highly active and successful in Ragusa. In July 1359, the trading activity of the blacksmith Brat, a citizen of Ragusa originally from Bar, was documented (Malaj, 2020, 16). At the end of January 1360, Budoje, a mason from Bar and a citizen of Ragusa, bought a house

from Radiša Menić for 90 perperas. The house was located on the land of the archdiocese (DAD, Deb. Not., sv. 6 (1356–1363), f. 47r; Borozan, 2021, 38). During the 1360s, documents mention two coopers from Bar, Petar Milošević and Jovan Muščevt, whose contracts indicated that they were residents of Ragusa (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 51, n. 3; Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 89). A record in the *Debita Notariae* series dated 10 March 1368 notes that Ivan Musojević, a cooper from Bar, borrowed 28 gold ducats from Miloš Hranislavić (DAD, Deb. Not., sv. 7 (1365–1370), f. 135v).

Records from the notary and chancellery mention a considerable number of workers from Bar in Ragusa. The following were registered as servants and artisans: Bogdan Milaković (10 January 1369), Juroje Radoslavić (27 May 1370), Matko, son of Cvjetan Miloslavić (2 July 1372), Pribil Velojević (17 June 1375), Stojko Dimković (17 April 1376), Radoslav Stojković (15 September 1379), Miho Nalesov Jure de Camarda (26 June 1383), Staniša Radosaljić (10–14 January 1387), Martinče Martinčević (27 July 1390), Martol Budojević (18 March 1393), Lačar of the late Đorđe Penetar (12 October 1394), Dabiživ Bolković (28 October 1394), Miloš Bogoslavov (28 September 1395), Nikša of the late Gruban Porub (9 May 1403), Đorđe Benkov Dugla (20 September 1407), Gojšin Radošinić (4 April 1415), and others (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 22 (1369–1370), f. 96r, 56v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 23 (1371–1372), f. 115r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 24 (1375–1376), f. 45v; DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 152v, 216v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 25 (1381–1383), f. 223r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 26 (1385–1387), f. 149v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 29 (1389–1391), f. 121r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 30 (1392–1394), f. 4v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 121r, 126v, 170v; DAD, Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 47v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 36 (1405–1408), f. 253r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 40 (1414–1416), f. 143r).

A smaller number of people from Ragusa were employed as artisans in Bar. On 7 November 1412, stonemasons Radoslav Gigović and Radoslav Radovčić agreed in the Ragusan chancellery to process stone materials for Gabriel Bazun from Bar in November (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 39 (1411–1414), f. 162r). On 26 May 1404, Brajko Ivanović from Majkovo near Ragusa was hired to work in Bar for the brother of the Abbess Katarina (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 35 (1403–1405), f. 71v). In early April 1399, the stonemason Pripko Obradović committed himself to Živko to carry out construction works in Bar (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 32 (1396–1399), f. 238v).

APPRENTICES FROM RATAČ

Ragusan documents indicate that young men from Ratač near Bar came to Ragusa to learn various crafts. The Benedictine abbey of St Mary of Ratač was located in the settlement. Documents frequently emphasized that Ratač was *partium Gente inferioris*. Between 1391 and 1407, six young men from Ratač served as apprentices in shoemaking, clippering, painting, and other crafts.

Young men typically apprenticed with their Ragusan masters for several years (Spremić, 1964, 206). The following apprenticeship contracts are recorded in the chancellery: Martin Murikijević (5 and 12 March 1392), Jurko Stojković (29 August 1394), Martin Dimitrović (29 December 1394), and others (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 7v, 116r, 138r). At the beginning of 1407, Goiša Ivanović *de Rotecio* was an apprentice in an unspecified craft at the Ragusan workshop of Nalješko Jurišić. In addition to apprenticeships with Ragusan artisans, there is information on the arrival of Ragusan artisans in Ratac. Experienced masters generally came to restore the monastery of St Mary. For instance, Vitko Bogšić, Radič Bratoradović with a servant, and Novak Pribisaljić repaired the Ratac church in the summer of 1415. They received the following payments: 8 grossi for Vitko, 1 perpera for Radič and his servant, and 6 grossi for Novak (Spremić, 1964).

APPRENTICES FROM SPIČ

Ragusan documents noted a significantly higher number of young men from the Ratac village of Spič (*districtus Antibari*). Twenty-one contracts were recorded between 1329 and 1449. As in Ratac, the greatest interest was in shoemaking, followed by blacksmithing, goldsmithing, stonemasonry, and other crafts (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 87).

From the 1370s, there have been mentions of young men from Spič in Ragusan archival documents. In the first half of August 1376, Jurko Stjepojević from Spič became a goldsmithing apprentice in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 160r). Notably, goldsmithing was one of the oldest trades in Ragusa. Among other things, goldsmiths created jewellery, tableware, silverware, and minted money (Roller, 1951, 113). In November 1376, Maroje Nikolić from Spič began his apprenticeship in stonemasonry (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 169r). In a contract dated 20 June 1378, Ivan Bradić from Spič committed to learning blacksmithing (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 201r). In Ragusa, blacksmiths produced all the ironwork for houses and ships, and manufactured knives, swords, armour, locks and keys (Roller, 1951, 93). Brothers Đorđe and Radun Milinović from Spič were registered in the notary as stonemasons on 6 August 1378, and are mentioned in connection with the division of their parents' property (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 87). Stonemasons produced stone building materials and made ornaments, decorations for fountains, house façades, staircases, churches, and more (Roller, 1951, 120–121). On 14 April 1404, Radoslav Jonzević became a blacksmith's apprentice in the workshop of Radič Grupšić. In the contract, he agreed to a five-year apprenticeship, at the end of which he would receive a suit, tools, and a monetary reward (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 75v). By way of comparison, in the late Middle Ages, young men who learned blacksmithing in Genoa received a similar reward at the end of their service, although the training period for a

blacksmith lasted ten years (Epstein, 2009, 116). In the first half of November 1379, Jurko Miloslavić began a seven-year apprenticeship as a shoemaker. During this period, he lived with his master and learned the trade, paying for his education and sustenance with his daily work. After seven years of service, the young man was to receive tools and a shoemaker's diploma (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 219v). Another blacksmith from Spič was Krajislav, who died in Ragusa during the plague of 1391 (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 87).

The young men from Spič registered as artisans and servants in the notary and chancellery were: Nikola Ratmanović (4 March 1370), Pavle Džinov (23 July 1372), Gojša Budojević (7 November 1376), Radič Stojković (28 July 1377 and 6 August 1377), Dimitar Prelojević (10 October 1378) and Andrija Radoslavljev Paliparo (10 April 1416) (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 22 (1369–1370), f. 36r; sv. 23, f. 120v; DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 168r, 183r, 204r; DAD, Div. Not., sv. 12 (1413–1419), f. 134v).

APPRENTICES FROM PILOT

The medieval district of Pilot was located in the area between Lake Skadar and Mount Koritnik, encompassing the basin of the Drim River (Škrivanić, 1957, 323–332). Documents reference several young men from this area in Ragusa. Besides apprenticeships, young men went there to acquire an education for commercial activities. In the second half of October 1367, Magister Johannes, a grammar teacher, confirmed that he had promised the presbyter *Andrea de Sancto Paulo de Polato* to teach his nephew Nikola to read and write in the 'merchant's way'. He would also teach him how to interpret *Donatum et Catonem*. As a reward, Magister Johannes would receive 20 perperas (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 53). As a merchant-to-be, Nikola was to learn grammar, rhetoric, writing, arithmetic, and good governance, which would shape his trading skills. The profession of trade favoured agile, resourceful and literate individuals capable of making calculations and keeping business books by themselves. The famous Ragusan merchant, diplomat and economist Benedikt Kotruljević provides information about this in his famous work *Libro del arte dela mercatura* from 1458. In it, Kotruljević underlines that a successful merchant should be educated, familiar with Arabic numerals, double-entry bookkeeping, insurance and promissory notes, capable of drafting documents, corresponding with merchants, and managing trading companies, as well as speaking foreign languages and being knowledgeable about various countries and customs, etc. (Kotrulj, 2009, 89). Another noteworthy example is dated to 13 February 1382, when Đurađ, son of Duka from Donji Pilot, entered into a three-year contract with the presbyter Aleksa from Drisht, who was to induct him into priestly service (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 90). At the end of June 1404, Tomo, son of the late Pavle Demenković from Pilot, began his apprenticeship in the goldsmith's craft in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 81r).

APPRENTICES FROM ULCINJ

From the late 1350s, natives of Ulcinj appeared as artisans in Ragusa. Records indicate that several goldsmiths from Ulcinj worked in the city. Master goldsmith Bernard from Ulcinj was active there in the 1380s (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 90). The notarial debentures of the 1390s also mention the credit activity of Brajko Milošević, a goldsmith from Ulcinj, in four entries (Premović, 2019, 205). Milča Stanija from Ulcinj owned a goldsmithing workshop in Ragusa in the early fifteenth century. In early January 1407, Nikša Bogojev was learning the goldsmith's trade under Milča, who was only required to provide him sustenance (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 189r).

In the early fifteenth century, Marinče Bratosalić, a tailor from Ulcinj, worked in Ragusa, and later became its citizen. In August 1400, he married Juliana, daughter of Kabel from Barleta, receiving a dowry of 50 perperas along with 20 perperas in bedding and household goods (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 90). Archival records mention Nikša Milmanović, a weaponsmith from Ulcinj, who became a Ragusan citizen on 4 May 1383. It is unknown what happened to Nikša before that year. Perhaps, having learned the craft in Ragusa, he continued working there, or he may have moved to Ragusa as a trained craftsman, after which he was granted citizenship (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 176).

People from Ulcinj learned crafts for the manufacturing, processing, and treatment of leather in Ragusa. Leather was mostly used for footwear, including boots, slippers, sandals, and other items (Lučić, 1979, 91). In the second half of October 1387, tanner Vincenzo hired Bogdan, son of Dimitrije from Ulcinj, who would apprentice as a furrier for five years. During this time, Vincenzo would sustain and teach Bogdan, and would provide him with tools of the trade and a diploma at the end of his service (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 10 (1387–1391), f. 1r). In the notarial debentures, cooper Gojak Odrančić (3 June 1419) and blacksmith Marin Petrov Bistar (19 January 1420) are mentioned as artisans from Ulcinj (DAD, Deb. Not., sv. 13 (1417–1422), f. 133r, 160v).

Wood was one of the main commodities exported from Ulcinj to Ragusa, so people from Ulcinj were often hired as woodcutters. In the first half of October 1387, Bogić and Radoš were hired by Laurence in Ulcinj, on a site by a river (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 30 (1392–1394), f. 66r). Ragusan artisans rarely came to Ulcinj. At the invitation of Đurađ II Stracimirović Balšić in 1397, stonemasons from Ragusa visited Ulcinj to work on the city walls (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 32 (1396–1399), f. 23v).

APPRENTICES FROM SHKODËR

Documents mention artisans from Shkodër where the Balšićs and the Venetian Republic alternated in power during the observed period. The shoemaker Nikola, son of Vitan from Shkodër, was granted Ragusan citizenship in 1350.

At that time, Ragusan authorities sought to attract as many artisans as possible to revive the economy, which had been hamstrung by the great plague of 1348 (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 23). Records note a young man named Petar from Shkodër who came to learn the shoemaking craft in the autumn of 1350 (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 20, 24; Malaj, 2020, 26–27). Another shoemaker from Shkodër, named Utješin, was mentioned in a will from 1384, which stated that he often stayed in Shkodër (Malaj, 2020, 27). The people of Ragusa often visited and sometimes resided in Shirgj (St Sergius, Sveti Srd), a market town for the salt trade situated around 10 kilometres downstream from Shkodër on the right side of the Bojana River, where a famous Benedictine abbey was located. Understandably, young men from this town also sometimes came to Ragusa to learn a trade or acquire some other knowledge or skills. In November 1391, Nikola Lazarević from Shirgj swore to his father Lazar that he would stay with Medoj Gradojević in Ragusa for seven years to learn the shoemaking trade (Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 105; Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 91–92). In July 1398, Radoslav Kotković from the vicinity of Shkodër concluded a contract with the shoemaker Živko Lazarević, committing himself to study the shoemaking craft for eight years under the usual conditions (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 91).

In the 1380s and 1390s, Ragusan documents mention *Albertin Chamurata de Padua* as the city doctor. In early January 1389, Çari from Shkodër sent his son Laçarum to Albertin, who agreed to provide him with clothing and sustenance in exchange for his service (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 27 (1387–1389), f. 186r). In 1389 and 1391, the silversmith Đorđe, son of Pavle from Shirgj near Shkodër, was referenced. He was married to Dobruša Juroe Ybroycich, a woman from Ragusa (Drançolli, 1987, 128; Malaj, 2020, 23–24). However, the available material contains no information about his activities.

Records also mention blacksmiths from Shkodër, who were skilled artisans engaged in manufacturing a wide range of items, from agricultural tools to weapons (Lučić, 1979, 52–54). In the 1380s, the blacksmith Stojan, son of Stanko from Shkodër, worked in Ragusa (Malaj, 2020, 18). Nikola Stefanov, another blacksmith from Shkodër, was employed by the Ragusan commune. In late February 1385, the Small Council decreed that if Nikola relocated his family to the city and stayed permanently, he would receive an annual allowance of ten perperas to cover housing costs. Soon after, on 18 April 1385, Nikola arrived in Ragusa with his family (Dinić, 1964, 158). However, on 12 March the following year, for unspecified reasons, it was decided that this allowance would no longer be paid to *Nicola Stephani de Scutaro* after the agreed term ended (Dinić, 1964, 158). It was likely that the Ragusan commune no longer had a need for his services. Nevertheless, Nikola remained in the city. On 27 March 1386, he acted as a guarantor in an apprenticeship contract (Malaj, 2020, 18). Nikola established a solid reputation as a blacksmith, evidenced by Vlatko Bonisović's arrival in Ragusa in January 1387 to apprentice under him. Vlatko

committed himself to learning the blacksmith's trade for eight years (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 26 (1385–1387), f. 149v). On 6 February 1387, Nikola's services as a blacksmith were noted in the chancellery documents (DAD, Div. Canc. sv. 26 (1385–1387), f. 157r; Thallóczy, Jireček & de Sufflay, 1918, 95).

In March 1386, Lazar Rausa agreed to serve under the Ragusan notary Ivan of Ravenna for ten years in exchange for food and clothing. This arrangement was necessary as Ivan was engaged in trade and other business affairs (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 91). Nikola, son of the late Nikola (a judge from Skadar), began his six-year apprenticeship to become a merchant in Ragusa on 28 April 1406. The contract he signed with the Ragusan merchant Nikša Petrović reveals that Nikša was to provide him with accommodation, food, and clothes, and to teach him to read and write. These skills were essential for engaging in trade. Additionally, Nikša was obligated to give him a portion of the goods from his shop (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 36 (1405–1408), f. 48v; Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 91). In the 1420s, the cooper Mihajlo Progonović from Shkodër was mentioned in Ragusa (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 91).

APPRENTICES FROM ZETA

For most of the young men from Zeta who came for apprenticeship, their place of origin is stated in the Ragusan archival material. However, some contracts only note that they are *de Genta* or *de Gente* (from Zeta). Between 1374 and 1401, nine such contracts were recorded. Of these, four young men were shoemaker apprentices, three were tanner apprentices, and one each was an apprentice for goldsmithing and blacksmithing. They were all of a notably young age. However, only the age of Vrajko, the son of Dobrospav Prodanović from Upper Zeta, who lived in Ragusa, was explicitly stated: he was around twelve years old. Records refer to Ivan Musković, a cooper from Zeta, who on 26 October 1366, together with Peter Milosavić, a cooper from Bar, committed himself to the procurators of the Church of St Mary to prepare a large quantity of timber by Christmas. In 1401, Antonije, a tanner from Zeta, is mentioned as a resident of Ragusa (Dinić-Knežević, 1995, 80). There was considerable work for stonemasons in Ragusa. Two contracts of the stonemason Ptik, brother of the late Todor from Zeta, were recorded in the chancellery in 1381 and 1382, both pertaining to construction work in Ragusa (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 25 (1381–1383), f. 33v, 44v). On 1 July 1392, Jurek Stjepanović from Zetska Krajina began his apprenticeship as a tanner (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 22r). On 5 April 1378, a young man named Andrija Milovčić was registered in the notary as a goldsmith's apprentice in Ragusa, with a six-year term for mastering the craft (DAD, Div. Not., sv. 9 (1370–1379), f. 197v).

The available archival material contains numerous names of residents of Zeta who apprenticed in various crafts and served in Ragusa: Brajko Grubanović (7 April 1392), Jon, son of the late Nikola (18 September 1393), Vrajko, son of

Dobroslav Prodanović (17 October 1394), Radosav, son of the late Nikola (17 January 1396), Stipan Ilić (21 October 1401), Andrija Dragaljević (20 August 1404) and Radonja Cvetković (26 September 1404) (DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 31 (1391–1399), f. 10r, 123v, 183v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 30 (1392–1394), f. 61r; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 34 (1401–1403), f. 30v; DAD, Div. Canc., sv. 35 (1403–1405), f. 90v; Div. Not., sv. 11 (1402–1408), f. 131v).

AGES OF ARTISANS AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS

Age was a relative concept in the political culture of medieval Europe; for example, in England, an heir as young as 12 to 14 was deemed capable of ruling (McDonald & Ormrod, 2004, 53–56). For German nobles in the twelfth century, the typical age of adulthood was 12 (Lyon, 2008, 299). In Venice, the transition to adulthood was formally regulated by an act from 1414, which separated young men from the youth society at age 18 (Chojnacki, 1986, 801, 804). In Ragusa, men were considered adults at the age of 14, when they could already take some responsibilities. For instance, they began scribal service as adult men at the age of 14 (Janeković-Romer, 1994, 48–49). According to the Statute of Šibenik, males were considered minors until the age of 16, whereas the Statute of Pag regarded males under 15 as minors (Andrić, 2011, 131, n. 19). In the commune of Rijeka, in the first half of the fifteenth century, men reached adulthood between the ages of 14 and 16 (Kosanović, 2014, 52). Research shows that the norm for boys' adulthood on the eastern coast of the Adriatic was set at 14 years of age, but they were not granted full rights at this time (Ladić, 2011, 74).

Children are seldom mentioned in Ragusan archival material, and when they are, it is typically in the wills of their parents, which do not always state their names. As mentioned above, young men from Zeta left their homes during childhood to come to Ragusa, where they worked under artisans in exchange for food and shelter or found employment as servants. Unable to support them, their parents were forced to send them away. These were the offspring of impoverished families, who could only experience the feeling of parental love in their earliest years (Janeković-Römer, 1994, 111–112). The boys who began apprenticeships spent their childhood and early youth in the master's household, effectively being raised by him (Danilović, 1961, 724–734). In Western Europe, parents sometimes had to pay a master to take on an apprentice and teach him a craft (Epstein, 2009, 119). In Western European cities, the number of apprentices a master could accept was usually limited to two, or at most three (Pounds, 1994, 299).

Young men were expected to learn to work independently, while their master was responsible for equipping them with the essential tools needed to start their own business. The exact age of apprentices was not always specified in notary and chancellery contracts, and there was no set age requirement linked to

specific professions for beginning a trade. For example, Marin from Bar started his goldsmithing apprenticeship at age 12, while Miho, also from Bar, was 10 years old when he began learning tailoring. The most common age stated in the documents ranges between 10 and 14, suggesting that this was the typical age for boys to begin apprenticeships. By comparison, in Western European communes, the age for starting an apprenticeship typically ranged from 7 to 10, as well as from 10 to 14, encompassing the period from early childhood until boys reached adulthood (Ladić, 2011, 78).

The duration of a boy's apprenticeship was specified in the contract, typically lasting between five and eight years, although some crafts could be learned in a shorter period of time. Apprenticeship in goldsmithing usually lasted seven years, in blacksmithing five to eight years, in shoemaking seven to eight years, and in tanning five years. Conversely, apprenticeships in Western Europe were generally longer; for instance, in Paris, a young man would learn goldsmithing for ten years (Epstein, 2009, 116). In this case it probably took so long, because goldsmithing likely takes longer to learn than tanning.

Artisans undoubtedly had an interest in keeping apprentices for as long as possible, as apprentices received no salary during that time; however, many apprentices could fully master the craft within just four years. These young men had significant responsibilities in both the workshop and the master's household. Their working hours were unlimited, extending from morning until night, including Sundays and religious holidays. Many sought additional employment elsewhere, since they could keep the earnings for themselves. However, to compensate for this time away, they were required to work for the master at night (Lučić, 1979, 224–226).

In some Western cities, there are instances of paternal relationships between master and apprentice, and even examples of apprentices marrying their master's daughter, thus forging a lifelong bond between them (Epstein, 2009, 116). There is no data on whether this was the case for the young men from Zeta mentioned here, except for the previously noted Đorđe the silversmith, son of Pavle from Shirgj near Skadar, who was married to Dobruša Juroe Ybroycich from Ragusa (Drançolli, 1987, 128; Malaj, 2020, 23–24).

STAYING IN RAGUSA OR RETURNING HOME?

The question remains as to what happened with the young men after completing the agreed term. Did they return to their places of origin, or did they remain in Ragusa? If they stayed, did they continue serving the same master, look for work with someone else, or start a business on their own? Their subsequent careers are generally difficult to trace. Upon the end of the apprenticeship, the master would give the young man the necessary tools and grant him his freedom. As accomplished artisans, young men became independent and could earn a decent living from their work, and potentially even reach the rank of a prosperous

guild master. For this reason, we believe that the majority permanently settled in Ragusa, given that they could expect little from their hometowns, from which extreme poverty had driven them to leave and look for work elsewhere. This is supported by archival documents regarding artisans from Zeta who migrated to Ragusa, which they always found attractive due to its greater prospects for craftsmanship. Ragusa offered opportunities to join with other artisans, establish independent workshops, or engage in trade.

CONCLUSION

The archival series Miscellaneous Chancellery Records (*Diversa Cancellariae*) and Miscellaneous Notary Records (*Diversa Notariae*), housed in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, were used to collect numerous scattered pieces of information about the microhistory of boys and young men from Budva, Bar, Ratac, Spič, Pilot, Ulcinj, Skadar, and the Zeta region. These individuals came to Ragusa with the intention of becoming apprentices and securing their livelihoods by serving their employers. This paper examined boys and young men, primarily from the lower strata of society, who were on the brink of existence and struggled to survive upon their arrival in Ragusa. On the other hand, this new workforce was necessary for the maintenance and progress of the Ragusan economy, particularly in the aftermath of outbreaks of major epidemics.

As apprentices from Zeta were predominantly minors, contracts with their employers were signed by their parents or close relatives. These documents stated the names of the apprentice and the master, the duration of the apprenticeship, and the apprentice's pledge to serve faithfully and lawfully, and obey the master's orders. After entering service, the apprentice would spend all his time with his master, and his main responsibility was to learn the craft and develop a strong work ethic. Upon completion of his service, the apprentice would generally be provided with tools of the trade, although in some cases, he received clothing and a monetary award. Young men specialized in specific trades, reflecting the progressive trends of the Ragusan economy at the time. The most sought-after crafts included shoemaking, goldsmithing, blacksmithing, tailoring, leatherworking, carpentry, stonemasonry, masonry, cooperage and weaponsmithing. Some young men were sent to Ragusa to study trade and medicine, among other fields. In addition to apprenticeships, many also came to Ragusa to work as servants. Servants received necessary provisions such as food, clothing, shoes, and accommodation. At the end of their service, they typically received a nominal monetary compensation.

The age an apprentice needed to reach in order to start learning a craft is not tied to any specific profession. The most frequently noted age in the documents is between 10 and 14. The apprenticeships commonly lasted between five and eight years, although some individuals managed to learn the craft within a

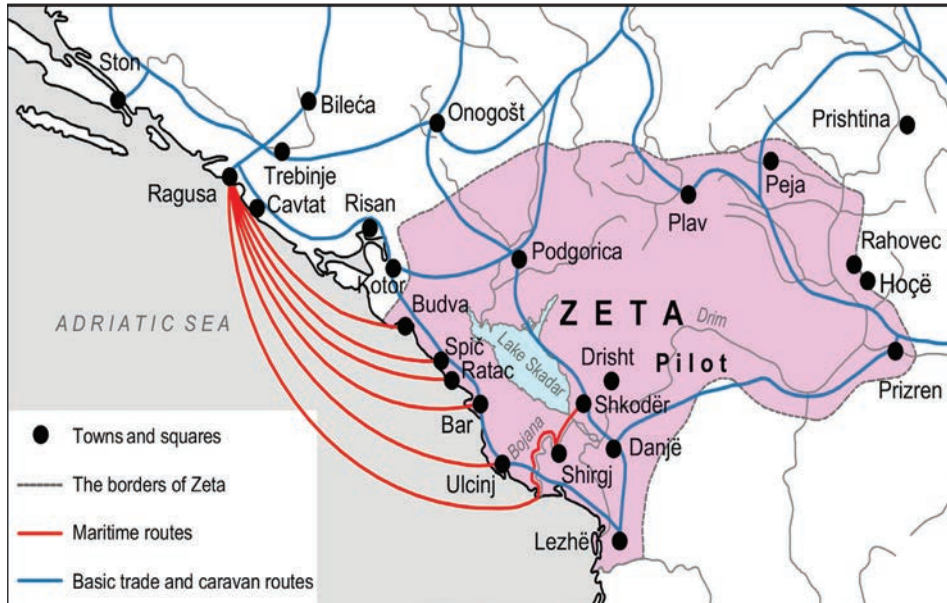


Fig. 1: Zeta in the Balšić period – places of origin of apprentices.

shorter period of time (four years). However, artisans had an interest in keeping apprentices for as long as possible, as they did not receive any salary during that time. Many boys and young men who completed their apprenticeships chose to remain in Ragusa due to better living conditions and greater opportunities for advancement. Their arrival revitalised the city's population while simultaneously decreasing the number of inhabitants in their native region, which was unable to sustain all its residents.

VAJENCI IZ ZETSKEGA PRIMORJA V POZNOSREDNJEVEŠKEM DUBROVNIKU

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POVZETEK

V Državnem arhivu v Dubrovniku smo iz arhivskih zbirk Diversa Cancellariae in Diversa Notariae zbrali številne razpršene manjše ali večje podatke o mikrozgodbini mladeničev iz Budve, Bara, Rata, Spića, Pilota, Ulcinja, Skadra in »območja« Zete, ki so prišli v Dubrovnik z namenom, da bi se naučili obrti, služili svojim delodajalcem in si tako zagotovili lasten obstoj. Poudarek tega prispevka je na fantih in mladeničih, ki so večinoma prihajali iz nižjih družbenih slojev in bili na robu preživetja, zato so se ob prihodu v mesto sv. Blaža borili za preživetje. Vajenci so bili najpogostejše nedoletni, zato so pogodbo z delodajalcem sklenili starši ali najbližji sorodniki. V dokumentih je navedeno ime vajenca za obrtništvo, oseba, s katero se bo učil in delal, čas, v katerem bo delal, in obljuba, da bo zvesto in zakonito služil ter spoštoval ukaze tistega, s katerim bo delal. Ob koncu službe je vajenec najpogostejše dobil orodje za opravljanje določene obrtne dejavnosti, čeprav obstajajo primeri, ko so mu bila dodeljena oblačila in denar. Mladeniči so se specializirali za določene obrti in sledili naprednemu trendu dubrovniškega gospodarstva v tistem času. Največ zanimanja je bilo za čevljarstvo, zlatarstvo, kovaštvo, krojaštvo, usnjarstvo, mizarstvo, kamnoseštvo, zidarstvo, sodarstvo in orožarstvo, v Dubrovnik pa so mladeniče pošiljali tudi zato, da bi se priučili trgovini, zdravstvu itd. Poleg tega, da so se učili obrti, so mladeniči prišli v Dubrovnik, da bi delali kot služabniki. Služabnikom so bili zagotovljeni ustrezna hrana, oblačila, čevlji in nastanitev. Ob koncu službe so običajno prejeli simbolično denarno nadomestilo. Starosti, ki bi jo moral vajenec doseči, da bi se začel učiti obrti, ni mogoče povezati z določenim poklicem, najpogostejša starost v dokumentih je od 10 do 14 let. Čas učenja obrti je običajno trajal od 5 do 8 let, čeprav se je vajenec obrti lahko naučil tudi v krajšem času. Zaradi boljših življenjskih pogojev in možnosti za napredovanje so številni mladi moški, ki so končali poklicno izobraževanje, ostali v Dubrovniku in postali dubrovniški državljani.

Ključne besede: vajenci, obrtniki, Zeta, Dubrovnik, pozni srednji vek

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ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION AND COUNCILOR FAMILIES IN THE ROVINJ CENSUS OF 1595/6

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ABSTRACT

In the early modern period, Rovinj had healthier air compared to many other Istrian coastal communes, leading to a significantly higher population than places like Pula or Poreč. Its strategic location and a stable connection to Venice also attracted many settlers. This is confirmed by the first known census of Rovinj from 1595/6, which shows that a large proportion of surnames were linked to newcomers. This paper describes the census, examines the enumeration method and the time of data collection, assesses the accuracy and reliability of the data, and analyzes the population's origins based on surnames and descriptors, the titles and names of household heads, and councilor families.

Key words: Rovinj, Istria, census 1595/6, population

LA PROVENIENZA DELLA POPOLAZIONE E LE FAMIGLIE DEI CONSIGLIERI NEL CENSIMENTO DI ROVIGNO DEL 1595/6

SINTESI

All'inizio dell'età moderna, Rovinj/Rovigno godeva di un'aria più salubre rispetto a molti altri comuni costieri dell'Istria, il che contribuì a farle acquisire una popolazione significativamente più numerosa rispetto a centri come Pula/Pola o Poreč/Parenzo. La posizione strategica della città e i suoi solidi collegamenti con Venezia attirarono numerosi nuovi abitanti. Questo è testimoniato dal primo censimento noto di Rovigno, risalente al 1595/1596, che rivela come una parte significativa dei cognomi appartenesse a immigrati. L'articolo esamina questo censimento, analizzando il metodo di registrazione, il periodo

di raccolta dei dati, l'accuratezza e l'affidabilità delle informazioni. Inoltre, esplora le origini della popolazione attraverso lo studio di titoli, cognomi e nomi dei capifamiglia e delle famiglie dei consiglieri.

Parole chiave: Rovigno, Istria, censimento del 1595/6, popolazione

INTRODUCTION¹

In the early modern period, Rovinj/Rovigno had a reputation for healthier air compared to other Istrian coastal towns.² Encircled by walls, it attracted numerous settlers from neighbouring areas on the Istrian peninsula and beyond. The earliest known census of Rovinj dates back to 1595–1596, and it was documented by Bernardo Benussi in 1882 (Benussi, 1886). At that time, the census, under the title *Rovigno 1595 Descrittione di tutti gli abitanti di Rovigno et di animali*, was stored in the Municipal Archives of Rovinj (Archivio Municipale di Rovigno) (Benussi, 1886, 138). Today, this census, along with others from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is preserved in the State Archives in Rijeka (DARI, Census 1595/6, book (from now on: b.) 1).

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- 2 In horographies as well as the reports of Venetian rectors, the unhealthy air in certain Istrian towns was a constant topic. In the mid-seventeenth century, Novigrad/Cittanova Bishop Giacomo Filippo Tomasini wrote: *Ha li giorni, e le notti tutto l'anno simili a quei, che Venezia, e tutta la Lombardia hanno. Per conseguenza gode un aria temperata, anzi quella parte, che si discosta dalli monti, e dall' Alpi Giulie, e s'avvicina al mare, non sente molto freddo, fuorché con li venti, onde resta la campagna attissima tutto l'anno al pascolo degli animali. Quindi occorre che i' inverno li pastori si partono dalli monti del Cragno, della Carintia, ed altri luoghi alti, e vengono a svernare qui le loro pecore, e capre. Ma siccome questa parte marittima gode di questa temperatura, così resta però molto insalubre, e nemica della natura umana e ciò per i venti australi, siroco, ostro, garbino, come disse Strabone, che la distolgono. E quei luoghi che sono più esposti ai suddetti venti, restano miserabilmente per l'intemperia dell'aria affatto distrutti, e disabitati. Tra quali principali sono Umago, Città Nova, Parenzo, e Pola. Anzi è comune opinione de' più intendenti, che l'aria dell'Istria sia tutta poco salutare; onde monsignor Cardinale Agostino Valiero che fu visitator apostolico di questa provincia solea dire che l'Istria era l'ospitale degl'italiani, vedendosi in prova questo suo detto. Restano però d'aria più buona Capo d'Istria, Pirano, Isola, o Rovigno, come esposti alla tramontana, e coperti dai venti cattivi* (Tomasini, 1837, 15–16). The wider Pula/Pola environs, as well as Novigrad, Umag/Umago and their surroundings, were counted among the particularly unhealthy areas. Poreč/Parenzo lost about 75% of its population due to malaria in the final two decades of the sixteenth century (Bertoša, 1995, 54; Schiavuzzi, 1889, 423–447). Rovinj was one of those places where the air was not entirely healthy, but not dramatically unhealthy either. Horographer Fr. Leandro Alberti noted that the zone of unhealthy air was one around Lim Bay and running to Dvigrad, while in Rovinj and the nearby islands of Sveta Katarina (St. Catherine), Sveti Andrija (St. Andrew; today Crveni otok/“Red Island”) and Sveti Ivan na Pučini (St. John on the Open Sea/San Giovanni in Pelago), the air was not entirely healthy (Schiavuzzi, 1889, 424). In 1623, Andrea Contarini, the captain of Rašpor, noted in his report that the unhealthy air (*corruption d'aria*) was due to poor management, i.e. the carelessness of the inhabitants themselves, who did not repair the ruins and did not maintain the town's hygiene (Bertoša, 1978–1979, 497; Cigui, 2013, 198); a few years later (1626), the Istrian provveditore, Giulio Contarini, ordered the reclamation of some marshes in Poreč and Umag (Cigui, 2013, 198). Compared to other cities in Venetian Istria (western coast) with the exception of Koper/Capodistria, which still had the highest population, Rovinj had the most residents. For example, in 1554, the number of inhabitants in cities (excluding districts) was: 1,789 in Rovinj, 594 in Pula and 780 in Poreč. At the end of the sixteenth century, Rovinj had a population of approximately 2,600 (1595/6). At the beginning of the seventeenth century (1601) Poreč had only 300 inhabitants, and Pula 579 (1613). The declining population trends in Pula and Poreč continued during the seventeenth century (Ivetic, 1997, 311, 315–316). According to the 1658 census, Rovinj had approximately 3,780 inhabitants (DARI, Census 1658, b. 1).

The census consists of 56 numbered pages, with this note written on the last page: *Tratta dal Volume civile del N. H. S. [nobil homo signor] Giacomo Minotto fu podestà Precessore essistente in questo pubblico Archivio di Rovigno. Florio Spongia Nodaro Pubblico e Vice Archivistà*. Despite this, questions about the methodology underlying the census remain unresolved. For instance, who conducted the census and what criteria were employed remain unclear. How long did it last, and how much did its preparation cost? Additionally, whether the enumerator gathered information door-to-door or required residents to report to his office is not specified (Madunić, 2009, 28).

A total of 2,614 residents, 539 households and 4,398 animals were recorded in this census.

The first 60 entries are dated 1595 and the rest of the census is dated March 31, 1596. However, it is certain that the census (i.e., the rest of the census) could not have been conducted in a single day, so it is more likely that the census lasted for a time and that in the end the date of its completion was recorded. Cross-referencing the census with baptismal registers, many children listed in the census were not recorded in the baptismal register for 1594 or 1595, indicating gaps in the birth register. Conversely, some children whose baptisms were recorded help approximate the census dates. For instance, Nicolò, son of Domenego Venier and Euphemia Verzo, baptized on April 1, 1595, is listed as five months old in the census, suggesting an entry date around September 1595. Similarly, Griguor, son of Pasqualin Malusa and Martina, born on August 6, 1595, is listed as six months old, implying a census date in February 1596. Other entries indicate a lengthy enumeration process, as evidenced by deaths of household heads recorded in that period, such as Francesco da San Vincenti and Nicoletto Salata. Francesco died in March 1596, but he does not appear in the census; the head of the household listed in the census is his widow Mattia, while Nicoletto Salata died in February and he was listed prior to his death in February 1596.

The purpose of the census remains the subject of speculation. It may have been aimed at estimating the population or assessing the material conditions for taxation purposes (Madunić, 2009, 28). However, aside from listing animals, the census details neither occupations nor real estate ownership, which might have been relevant for tax assessment. It is plausible that the Venetian administration intended to account for adult males for defense or labor purposes and to estimate food supply needs during grain shortages.

It is a census of inhabitants and animals. The census format lists inhabitants on the left and animals on the right, starting with the household head. Male ages are generally recorded, but female ages are noted only occasionally. All household members are listed, including wives, children, other relatives, and any household help (*fameio*, *massara*, *fante*, *garzone*, *fantesca*), with the ages of children and siblings recorded more frequently than those of mothers and adult women. The age data are sometimes imprecise, indicating only the number of children below a certain age.

Despite these limitations, the census allows for the reconstruction of Rovinj's family structures, immigration patterns and economic activities. Each household's livestock is registered, including horses, mares, donkeys, cows, oxen, bulls, sheep, and small livestock (*animali minuti/menudi*). The term *animali grossi* occasionally appears, likely indicating the total number of large livestock. Sheep are often denoted by the term *animali minuti* and grouped in units (herds) of 40 (*quarnaro*).³ For example, the list specifies *anemali menudi quarnara 14*, which would mean 560 sheep. Then when the *animali minuti* are listed only by number, it is very likely that this means both sheep and goats.⁴

There is a convenient analogy to the Novigrad census, which was compiled at almost the same time, in 1596, and which, besides household members, also lists large and small livestock.⁵ Both censuses were quite likely motivated by the severe famine that had affected the Mediterranean zone in the 1590s (Rowlands, 2001, 49), so it is possible that this was one of the reasons why the Republic of Venice conducted censuses in the mid-1590s, i.e., in order to prepare for the eventuality of securing provisions for its population.

Benussi questioned the comprehensiveness of the census, noting discrepancies between the recorded population of 2,614 in 1595/6 and the 5,000 inhabitants mentioned in Angelini's 1600 chronicle. He furthermore questioned the list's completeness because surnames mentioned in numerous documents in the Rovinj archive for the period from 1500 to 1600 (Zenvinum, Candutio, Leuco, Barberolo, Baruta and Cathena) are missing from the census of 1595/6. Regarding Benussi's doubts about the authenticity of the 1595/6 census due to the number of inhabitants cited in 1600, it is clear that one data set is definitely incorrect. It is our opinion that the number of inhabitants cited in 1600 is much less likely than the total population indicated by the 1595/6 census. Namely, according to the census from 1595/6, the population was significantly less than in 1600: 2,614. If both figures are correct, it would mean that Rovinj's population almost doubled in just five years, and other relevant sources indicate no such a thing. Subsequent censuses in 1655 recorded 3,695 inhabitants, aligning more closely with Bishop Tomasini's mid-seventeenth-century estimate of 4,000 inhabitants: *Fa il luogo in tutto anime 4,000. Questo luogo e cresciuto da 60 over 70 anni in qua...* (Tomasini, 1837, 424; Benussi, 1886, 139). If their information is correct, and if we

3 *Quarnar/quarner* is a measure for a herd of sheep (Pavlovsky, 2000). Cf. 1508. 30 Giugno—*Facendo suppliche il Comune di Barbana, perché avanti il principio della guerra quei di Pola gli tolsero 85 quarnera di pecore, che sono, 40, per quarner* (SM, 88).

4 Only *animali menudi* (without specification if they are goats or sheep) are mentioned in the Rovinj Statute (STRV, b. 1, art. 26, 38, 51).

5 List of men, women, children, large and small livestock for Novigrad, Brtonigla and Tar from 17 April 1596. (*Die 17 Aprilis 1596, Descrittione delli huomeni, Donne, Putti, Animali grossi et menuti de Cittanuoua, Verteneglio, et Torre, Fatta in virtù di lettere del Cl.mo S.r Pod.à di Capodistria*). This list was partially (only for Novigrad) published by Marino Budicin (1988–1989, 102–103; DAPA-4, b. 41, f. 675–681; Mogorović Crljenko, 2006, 30–33, 67–68, 87–88).

assume that Angelini's population figure from 1600 is also correct, the number of inhabitants decreased significantly, and the sources again indicate nothing of the sort. Moreover, Tomasini spoke of an increase in the population in the period from the end of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.

Registry books can also serve as a reference point to verify the reliability of census data. Those from Rovinj were preserved for those baptized as of 1560, married as of 1564, and those who died as of 1553 (Jelinčić et al., 2004–2006, 170–176). Unfortunately, it seems that the information in the register of baptisms for 1595 and 1596, when the list was created, is not complete. This is stated at the very beginning of the register of baptisms in 1587–1612: *Si avvertisce che in più lochi delli battesimi non appare il proprio carattere de battezzanti, per quello che erano state dispartite le carte, con pericolo di perdersi, come anco si comprende essersi molte andate a male, et sono per altra mano registrate*. According to the aforementioned register of baptisms, there were 48 baptisms in 1595 and 28 in 1596. If we calculate the birth rate with these data, the result is too low for that period: 13.4 per thousand. Approximately twenty years later, the number of baptisms was significantly higher: 124 in 1613, and 122 in 1614. If we assume a typical birth rate of 35 to 40 per thousand for that time, the number of inhabitants in those years could range from 3,000 to 3,500. Such figures correspond to the previously mentioned words of Bishop Tomasini. According to the average number of baptisms for the five-year period from 1653 to 1657,⁶ 162.6, and the population according to the 1655 census, the birth rate was 44 per thousand, while according to Tomasini's population data, it would be a probably more realistic 40 per thousand. For comparison, the birth rate in Savičentia in 1613 was roughly 34.7 per thousand (Doblanović, 2017, 39).

Additional historical data, such as Fabio de Canal's 1566 forest statistics, testify to 1,947 inhabitants in Rovinj and Rovinjsko Selo (Klen, 1966–1968, 51). It is far more likely that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of inhabitants increased by about 500, rather than, as Angelini asserted in his chronicle, the population being 5,000. In summary, the 1595/6 census of Rovinj provides a valuable, albeit imperfect, snapshot of the town's demographic and economic conditions, although the clerics and town officials obviously not listed should be added to the number. Namely, Rovinj was an ecclesiastical chapter, and its chapter house was home to numerous clergymen (Teklić, 2021, 34–66). Moreover, Rovinj was home to several permanently occupied monasteries on the islands of Sveti Andrija, Sveta Katarina, and Sveti Ivan na Pučini (Benussi, 1977, 276–279).

Town officials such as mayors, chancellors, chamberlains and others were not encompassed by the census (STRV, book 1, art. 1–25). These officials, along with members of the Venetian administration temporarily residing in the town during their service, were typically not locals. Venetian policy preferred appointing

6 123 in 1653, 160 in 1654, 173 in 1655, 192 in 1656 and 165 in 1657.

non-locals to prominent civilian and military positions in both the *Domini di Terraferma* and the *Stato da Màr* (Madunić, 2009, 44–45). The podestàs were Venetians who generally brought their own chancellors, cavaliers and other assistants (Rizzi, 2017). While the census records some notaries active in Rovinj at the time, it does not explicitly identify them as such. This information is discernible from the notary registers of that period. It is plausible that the census recorded those who were citizens of Rovinj but excluded those who only rendered their services there. The census also omits military personnel, such as captains and officers, if any were present. However, many town officials and military personnel can be identified through other registers, such as baptismal, marriage and death records, although their official roles are not noted in the census (Madunić, 2009, 40–45; Bertoša, 2002, 235–244, 385–404). For example, the cavalier of Rovinj podestà Angelo Giustiniano was *miser* Alberto Bardeletto, whose daughter was baptized in Rovinj on May 13, 1592 (DAPA-429, Collection of Registers (from now on: CR), Register of Baptisms (from now on: RB) for Rovinj, 1587–1612, f. 53v). From a baptism record dated May 20, 1589, we learn that the chief's cavalier was *ser* Batistella, and the godfather at his daughter's baptism was the podestà's assistant (*coadiutor del detto Magnifico*) Zuanne da Citadella, indicating his foreign origins (DAPA-429, CR, RB for Rovinj, 1587–1612, f. 53v).

Whether other members of the town administration were Venetians remains uncertain. There is a possibility that some of them were recorded in the census, but without any indication of occupation or function. For instance, the occupation was not recorded for the notaries Tommaso Cadenazzo or Cristoforo Sponza, Antonio Fachinetti, Domenego Moscarda and Iacomo Bello, who were active in Rovinj at that time.⁷

A hospital had been active in Rovinj since 1475; however, whether individuals accommodated in charitable institutions were included in the population census is also unclear.⁸ Another pertinent question is, who exactly was encompassed by the census—whether it included only inhabitants of the town (specifically the island in the narrower sense) or also the residents of the wider Rovinj district, as well as foreigners and newcomers. According to the surnames in the census,

7 The notarial materials generated by the work of Tommaso Caenazzo (1585–1595), Cristophoro Sponza (1586–1589) and Antonio Fachinetti (1556–1600) are held in the archives of the SIASP in Trieste/Trst, while the materials of notary Iacomo Bello (1597–1634) and Domenego Moscarda (1602–1637) are held in the State Archives in Pazin.

8 In 1475, a hospital for the poor, sick and infirm dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy and St. Lawrence was established in Rovinj. It was financed by the fraternity's revenues, and had separate sections for the care of men and women. In addition to the hospital, the literature also mentions the existence of a lazaretto in Rovinj (Schiavuzzi, 1892, 385, 394; Benussi, 1970, 168–170; Glesinger, 1989, 126–127; Karbić, 1991, 67; Mogorović Crljenko, 2002, 111, 116).

it is evident that the residents of Rovinjsko Selo were not included.⁹ It is likely that only present residents were recorded in the census, and not those who were absent for various reasons. This approach was similarly employed in the Zadar census from the early sixteenth century (1527), where only individuals then present in the town were listed, excluding those outside the town due to service in the Venetian navy. Madunić noted by way of analogy that other Venetian censuses of specific Dalmatian communes encompassed persons in the town, i.e., a given census recorded the number of the people present at that moment. In addition to the aforementioned, the census also included foreigners residing in the town for extended periods, but not those persons who were absent for a similarly extended period due to the performance of any type of formal service (Madunić, 2009, 29–30). Therefore, it can be inferred that the Rovinj census, similar to the Novigrad census and others conducted by the Venetian administration in Dalmatia, was primarily intended for the needs of the central government rather than local administration. It recorded individuals on whom the Venetian authorities could rely in case of war or public works and those for whom sustenance would have to be provided in case of shortages or famine. Namely, as a rule, it was not possible to produce enough grain for the town's population, so it had to be purchased (Madunić, 2009, 31). This is proven by the list of buyers of fodder, grain and other types in Novigrad, Brtonigla and Tar from 1596 (*Nota di tutte le biade, formenti et altre sorti di Verteneggio et Torre insieme con Cittanoua con la nota di quelli che hanno comprato biade l'anno MDLXXXVI*) (DAPA-4, b. 41, f. 727–742; Mogorović Crljenko, 2006, 103–104).

Doubts about the completeness of the 1595/6 census based on the absence of surnames recorded in other documents from the Rovinj archives dated to the period from 1500 to 1600 were partially questioned by Benussi himself with arguments supporting the reliability of the census (Benussi, 1886, 140). It is important to note that during this period, many surnames were just becoming established. Frequently, information about a person's origin or profession was provided along with the name, eventually evolving into surnames. For example, in the 1595/6 census, the head of the household was listed as *miser Francesco Pergoli*. In the 1600 register of deaths, the death of his wife *Francesca* was recorded, with the surname noted as a nickname *detto Pergoli* (DAPA-429, CR, Register of Deaths

9 Rovinjsko Selo emerged at the site of Vallis de Lacu Verzo, 7 kilometers from Rovinj. In 1526, Morlach families originally from the Zadar hinterland settled there (Ivetic, 1993, 373). Canon Tomaso Caenazzo, the Rovinj ecclesiastical chapter's archivist, wrote about the Morlach settlers in the Rovinj area and cited a series of transcripts of various documents containing their claims. Among them is the one which records that representatives of the residents of the so-called *Villa Morlachorum*: S. Giorgius Brancovichio, Milcho Gradovichio, Dominico de Piezo de Zara, Iacobo Sorzichio, Guido Vratovichio, Barichio Sorzichio, Mathaeo Starichio, Rado Gradovichio, Guido Gionta, Thomasio Sachochio et Nicola de Craise omnibus Murlachis came to the Rovinj podestà Leonardo Malipiero in 1531 with a request to solve certain problems (Caenazzo, 1885, 135). The surnames Brainovichio, Gradovichio, De Piezo, Sorzichio, Vratovichio, Starichio, Gionta, Sachochio and De Craise do not appear in the Rovinj census of 1595/6.

(from now on: RD) for Rovinj (1553–1601), f. 124v). Four years earlier, on January 26, 1596, the widower Francesco married Franceschina Gaiarducci. It was noted that he was the son of the late Giovanni Gabriel Fiorentino. His wife was recorded as a godmother at a baptism as *Francesca consorte de mistro Francesco depentor*. On September 30, 1624, his daughter Maria Pergolis *figlia del pittore meser Francesco* was married. Additionally, *miser* Francesco, in his capacity as a wedding witness on June 20, 1598, was recorded as *Depentor da Firenze habitante di Rovigno*, and on June 8, 1616, he was serving the same role as *Francesco Pergoli pittore toscano*. By connecting various sources, including registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths, as well as notary records (DAPA-532, Domenico Moscarda, 5th protocol, f. 8r), we discovered that Francesco Pergolis was a Florentine painter (Radossi & Pauletich, 1977–1978, 311; Mlacović et al., 2019, 168). In some sources, he is referred to as *depentor*, while in others he is called *detto Pergolis*. This discrepancy highlights the potential for incorrect conclusions if only one source is consulted, such as the 1595/6 census.

Francesco Solis is also listed in the census. Another source reveals his nickname as Barberolo (DAPA-429, CR, RB for Rovinj (1587–1612), f. 29v, January 20, 1591). The surname Barberolo is among those that Benussi noted as being recorded between 1500 and 1600, specifically in 1580, but it does not appear in the 1595/6 census. This case illustrates how nicknames often became surnames. For example, Cristoforo Segalla was recorded in the 1595/6 census. Four years later, he was listed in the register of deaths as Cristoforo Segalla *detto Brunello* (DAPA-429, CR, RD for Rovinj (1553–1601), f. 124r, 1600). Concurrently, the surname Brunel/Brunello appears in the register of marriages among young men in 1585, 1592, and 1615. Registry book entries often explicitly state that a name is a nickname rather than a surname. This period was marked by the ongoing process of forming permanent surnames from first names, last names, nicknames, places of origin, occupations, or distinguishing features (Frančić & Milovan, 2019, 73–76; Šimunović, 2006, 368–380). The examples below further confirm this trend.

According to the register of deaths, on September 20, 1590, the daughter of Anzolo, known by the nickname *sopra nome di Bei Occhi* (“of the Beautiful Eyes”), was buried, and on September 29 of the same year, the son of Matthio *Delle Belle Parole* (“of the Beautiful Words”) was also buried. These individuals do not appear under those nicknames in the 1595/6 census, making it difficult to determine their corresponding surnames. There are three heads of household named Anzolo/Angelo listed in the 1595/6 census: Anzolo Buranello (age 28), Anzolo da Venezia (age 40), and Angelo Moroso (age 50). Angelo Moroso was married in Rovinj on October 12, 1572, and Anzolo Bevilaqua de San Nicolo da Venezia on June 24, 1573. It is possible that Anzolo Buranello is actually Anzolo of the Beautiful Eyes, but this remains speculative.

An additional control element was used to verify the completeness of the census: confirming whether the names and surnames of the fathers of children baptized from January 1, 1595, to March 31, 1596 (the last date in the census), were also present in

the list. According to the Rovinj register of baptisms, 52 children (including a pair of twins) were baptized in Rovinj during this period. Of the 51 fathers, 35 may be directly identified as household heads in the 1595/6 census. Additional sources (marriage and death registers) reveal fathers who died before the child's baptism and cases in which fathers were listed with one surname in the census and another in the baptismal register. For example, the baptism of Francisca, daughter of *ser* Iseppo Zuanon and *donna* Betta, was recorded on April 23, 1595 (DAPA-429, CR, RB for Rovinj (1587–1612), f. 47v). There is no record of Iseppo Zuanon and Betta's wedding in Rovinj before 1595, but on October 28, 1578, *ser* Iseppo Rotta and *donna* Isabetta were married. In the census, seven children are listed in the household of fifty-year-old *ser* Iseppo Rotta, including a one-year-old daughter. *Zuanon* was likely a nickname for *ser* Iseppo or the Rotta family (in the register of baptisms he was recorded on April 18, 1594, he was recorded as *ser Iseppo Rota detto Zuanon*). This process of cross-referencing various records highlights the challenges and intricacies of historical demographic research. The use of nicknames, variations in the recording of names, and the gradual establishment of surnames during this period complicate the accurate identification of individuals across different documents. Nonetheless, through meticulous comparison of records, researchers can piece together more complete and accurate historical narratives.

An interesting example from the census pertains to a household headed by a woman named Mattia Rizza (she lived with her 18-year-old daughter at the time). From the register of baptisms, we learn that she was the widow of Antonio Greco, called *della Riccia* ("of Curly"). Their son was baptized on May 6, 1594, when Antonio Greco was still alive. He is recorded as *Antonio Greco della Riccia* and Mattia as *detta Riccia*.

Some of the children baptized from January 1, 1595, to March 31, 1596, were most likely recorded in households to which their fathers belonged (either the households of their own fathers or their brothers), but it is difficult to say how many. Among the fathers of children baptized in the 1595–1596 period (until March 31), 41 surnames appear, of which only two (Rochello and Zuanon) are not present in the census, and Zuanon, as already stated earlier, was the nickname of Iseppo Rotta.

A comparative analysis of households listed in the census alongside records of infants baptized between 1594 and March 31, 1596, revealed certain discrepancies and limitations inherent in the sources themselves. Notably, age data in documents from that era were often imprecise and frequently rounded. Despite this, the census of 1595/6 documented 48 households wherein the ages of children were specified in months. It is plausible that there were more infants present, considering that in some instances, children's ages were provided only as cumulative figures, such as three sons under the age of 5 or four daughters under the age of 8, among others. However, among the infants identified in these 48 households, only 14 of them (29.2%) corresponded to individuals baptized between 1594 and 1596. This discrepancy suggests a potential incompleteness in the Registers of baptism or inaccuracies in the recording of fathers' names, further complicated

by the flexibility of surnames during this period. It is worth noting that the oldest baptism entries were initially recorded on slips of paper and subsequently transcribed into registers, potentially leading to errors or omissions in the process (Doblanović Šuran & Mogorović Crljenko, 2019, 13).

ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION BASED ON SURNAMES FROM THE 1595/6 CENSUS

Among the 539 households listed, surnames were not recorded for 12 of them (2.2%), rather only an ancestor's name was noted. However, among the remaining 527 surnames, they can be categorized into several groups based on their likely origin. Firstly, there are surnames suggesting the bearer's origin from both nearby and more distant regions, 165 in all or 30% of the total. It is important to note that surnames may not always directly indicate origin, as some names like Ive, Pergolis, Stoccada, or Salata are also associated with immigrants from Split, Tuscany, Venice, and Friuli, among other places. Additionally, surnames like Ferrarese, present in Rovinj before 1595/6, may represent established families rather than newcomers. Surnames can provide clues about immigration patterns and tendencies, but determining the exact time of arrival in the town and how long the status of newcomer persisted requires cross-referencing different sources. For instance, Mathio Pedich, also known as Valentin and called Valco, from Savičenta, migrated to Rovinj in the late 1530s due to a conflict with the local captain. His involvement in a dispute over the demarcation between Vodnjan and Savičenta dates back to 1553, indicating his enduring ties to these areas. Pedich's testimony during this dispute revealed his occupation as a bell-ringer in Rovinj, suggesting his established presence in the community by then. His mention of woodcutting activities in Savičenta 35 years prior to 1553 indicates his long-standing connection to the area. He passed away in Rovinj in April 1556, and his death was recorded as *ser Mathio da San Vincenti hostiar* in the Rovinj registry, reflecting his origin and occupation. His story provides insight into individual experiences of migration and settlement in historical contexts (DAPA-429, CR, RD for Rovinj (1553–1601)). In the oldest Rovinj marriage register from the latter half of the sixteenth century (1564–1640), the following are recorded as witnesses at weddings: *ser Domenego de San Vincenti ostiario quondam Rigo* (1575), *ser Domenego da San Vincenti ostiario* (many in the 1590s, last time in 1600), *ser Zuan da San Vincenti hostiario* (1618), and *meser Zuanne da S. Vincenti q. meser ostiario*; among the marriages we find *Michelina da San Vincenti* from the household of *ser Zuanne*, who was also an *ostiario*, and *Domenica da San Vincenti* from the late *Piero detto Ostiario*. The post of church porter was held by members of the da Sanvincenti family for a time. It is plausible that they were descendants of the bell-ringer Pedich, although no explicit evidence of this can be found in the available sources. If indeed they were, then the association with their place of origin persisted for four generations.

Titles

Unlike certain other censuses of similar character,¹⁰ the recording of titles in the Rovinj census is apparently incomplete and inconsistent. Namely, the titles next to the names of household heads are listed in only 18.7% of cases (104 out of a total of 539 household heads, 71 male and 33 female). Interestingly, there were more female household heads with a title (a third, 33/99) compared to male heads (about 16%, 71/440).

The listed titles include: *domino* (1), *eccellente signor* (1), *ser* (44), *misier* (13), *mistro* or *magister* (12), and, for female household heads, *donna* (33).

Sixty-four-year-old Antonio Perinis was recorded in the list as a *domino*, and 76-year-old Alessandro Iustignano as a distinguished gentleman (*eccellente signor*). His occupation is impossible to ascertain from the sources.

The title of master (*mistro*, *magistro*) in the list from 1595/6 was held by: Bortolo and Francesco *di mistro* Giacomo Calafà, Vettor Calafà Carà, Marco Ciprioto, Piero q. Piero Furlan, Zorzi Marangon, Astolfo, Nicolò and Zuanne Moscarda, Francesco Milanese, Bortolo Pellizzaro, Simon Sartor and Pelegrin Visintin. Parts of master artisan's surnames also suggest their trade: shipbuilders, carpenters, furriers and tailors. From the register of baptisms, we learn that *mistro* Astolfo Moscarda was a mason (*muraro*) (DAPA-429, CR, RB for Rovinj (1587–1612), f. 99r, June 10, 1595).

The list's scribe drew a distinction between *miser* and *ser*. While *ser* should be an abbreviation of *miser*—with both terms serving as abbreviations, the former for *signor* and the latter for *mio signor*—differentiation between the two titles has also been observed in other sources, where *miser* is hierarchically above *ser* (Doblanović Šuran, 2019, 83–84). It is also noteworthy that the titles from the list do not always correspond to those assigned to the same individuals in parish registers or notary records. In certain locations, such as Zadar and Venice, the titles *ser* and *meser* were associated with citizens (*cittadino*) or patricians (Madunić, 2009, 40). In the Rovinj census, the title *meser/miser* was held by members of councillor families (Mogorović Crljenko & Doblanović, 2015; Mlacović et al., 2019; Mogorović Crljenko, 2019; Doblanović Šuran & Mogorović Crljenko, 2020). For instance, among the prodigious Sponza family, three household heads—Giusto, Cristoforo q. Francesco, and Antonio q. Biasio—as well as Zuanbatista Basilisco, Iacomo Bello, Manolo Caluzzi, and Nicolo detto Caluci (listed in the census as Nicolo Zavarno, identified in baptismal records as Nicolo Grego da Cirigo, a Greek from the island of Kythira, south of the Peloponnese) held the title of *miser*. Additionally, Zuanne Solis, Dorligo da Veggia (Krk), Domenico da Venezia, Zuanne da Capodistria (Koper), and the painter Francesco Pergoli from Florence were also titled *miser*. Other sources reveal that Cristoforo Sponza, the son of the late Francesco, and Iacomo

10 For example, for Zadar from 1527, cf. Madunić (2009, 35–36).

Bello were Rovinj notaries during that period.¹¹ The majority of individuals in the census were conferred the title of *ser*. Several household heads from families associated with the council bore this title, including Bichiachi (2), Brionese, Burla (3), Caenazzo/Cadenazzo (3 out of 7), Di Vescovi (2 out of 20), Iotta (3 out of 9), Quarantotto (1 out of 5), Segala (1 out of 8), and Sponza (5 out of 32). Additionally, individuals with the surnames Albanese, Birola, Ciprioto, da Fasana, da Sebenico, Ferarese, Furlan, Gambello, Lanzetto, Longo, Lussin, Medelin, Moro, Pavan, Perini (2), Rota, Sbisà, and Vendrame also held the title of *ser*.

According to Benussi, in 1595/6, there were fourteen councillor families: Basilisco, Bello, Bichiachi, Brionese, Burla, Caenazzo, Calucci, Giotta, Leonardis, Pesce, Quarantotto, Segala, Sponza, and Vescovi (Benussi, 1970, 79–80; Budicin, 1992, 128–129). Of these, the Leonardis surname is missing from the census, and none of the householders with the surname Pesce are associated with any title. In addition to the surnames of the councillor families, the titles *miser* and *ser* were also associated with household heads whose surnames suggest newcomer origins or are known to be newcomers from other sources (e.g., Pergolis). It is evident that the titles were not exclusively reserved for members of councilor families, rather they were also accorded to more respectable and wealthy citizens. Based on this, it is clear that the titles of household heads were not consistently recorded.

Madunić observed that in Zadar almost everyone with a title resided inside the ramparts, with very few living in the town's suburbs (Madunić, 2009, 39). However, based on existing sources, such a conclusion cannot be drawn for Rovinj because in the census is not precisely stated where in the town someone lives.

Councilor families

The census does not list the occupations of individual household heads, rather only those of the domestic staff in said households. Therefore, it is not possible to determine how many families were engaged in specific trades, seafaring, or commerce from the census data. Additionally, the census does not provide insights into the family sizes of particular occupational groups. However, based on surnames, which were still in the formational phase during this period, we can identify those associated with councilor families. Fourteen such families existed during the census period, and by the end of the eighteenth century, three more families were admitted to the Council. As previously mentioned, the census does not include the Leonardis family, which Benussi listed as members of the town Council or as registered in the book of noble citizens (*Libro dei nobili*) during the census period (Benussi, 1970, 78–80).

11 Materials generated by the activities of the aforementioned Rovinj notaries are held in the fund DAPA-532, Rovinj Notaries.

The exact number of members on the Council during the census period is unknown. However, in 1755, the Council had 361 members, as recorded by Budicin (1992, 128–129). It is noteworthy that this figure reflects a significant time gap of 160 years, during which demographic and socio-political circumstances likely underwent considerable changes. Therefore, the number of Council members in the census period may have differed. Despite this uncertainty, the census provides valuable insights into the size and demographic status of certain families. By examining the data, we can determine the relative size of these families, irrespective of whether all of their branches had Council members or not. Additionally, the census allows us to identify families that may have been demographically threatened during this period (cf. Table 2).

The average number of councilor family members in the observed period was five. The largest kinship group was Sponza, which had 38 families and 182 members (an average of 4.78 members per family), and 4 domestic staff members. Among the household heads, two bore the title *miser* and five *sir*, while three female heads were addressed as *donna*. Only four families had domestic staff, three families each with one servant (*fameio*) and one family with a single maid (*massera*). The aforementioned family group was not very rich in animals either, as 14 families (36.8%) owned a single animal. Most had one to three heads of cattle and a horse or a donkey, while one family owned four head of cattle, and one owned four bulls and two horses. The next largest kinship group was the Vescovi clan, which had 22 families, i.e., 95 members (an average of 4.31 members per family) and two servants. Two household heads bore the title as *sir*, and one head bore the title *donna*. In this family, 8 (36.3%) families also recorded ownership of animals (all title holders had them), mostly one to three heads of cattle and one to two horses or mares, although most owned a single head of cattle. They are followed by three kinship groups, Caenazzo, Iotta and Segalla, each consisting of 8 families, the Quarantotto clan, which had 6 families, while based on the number of families (and members), the most demographically threatened were clans with three families, Bichiachi (12 members in total), Burla (15 members) and Pesce (7 members), two families, Bello (10 members) and Caluzzi (17 members), and one family each, i.e. Basilisco (15 members) and Brionese (5 members). Two families from the Iotta clan stand out as the wealthiest in terms of animal ownership, headed by Piero *q. ser* Domenego and *ser* Nicolò, as well as a family from the Segalla clan headed by Domenego, and the Tomaso's family from the Caenazzo clan. Out of 104 families, only 10 had domestic staff in the household, mostly one member each, and only two families had more servants, i.e., Zambattista Basilisco's family had 3 *fanti*, and while a family of 4 servants (*fameio*) was employed by the aforementioned Piero *q. ser* Domenego from the Iotta clan, who was also one of the wealthiest livestock owners.

Names

The names of male and female household heads are recorded in the census. The male pool of names was more numerous than the female, but this is probably a difference resulting from the smaller number of female household heads. According to the 1595/6

census, 73 different names were recorded among male household heads, and only 44 among female heads. The most common male names were Domenego, Zuanne (Zanetto) and Francesco. Those three names have been linked to virtually a third of household heads. The female household heads (mainly widows) were fewer, and among them the most common name was Eufemia (Fumia), after Rovinj's patron saint (10%). Catarina, Domenega (Meneghina) and Antonia were common female names (Table 3). According to the Rovinj Register of Baptisms (1560–1587) covering the period from 1560 to 1566, most of the baptized girls were named Eufemia (8.8%), followed by Francisca (7.3%), Maria (6.9%), Catarina (6.9%), Domenega (6.2%) and Zuanna (5.1%). Among baptized boys in that same period, the most common name was Zuanne (14.4%), while Francisco (10.8%), Domenego (7.9%), Piero (7.2%), Matteo (5%) and Giacomo were also common (5%) (Doblanović Šuran, 2017a, 226). The names of household heads in so-called councilor families do not deviate. Namely, among the household heads with councilor surnames, a third were named Domenego, Francesco and Zuanne.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

The census of 1595/6 stands as the oldest known enumeration of Rovinj's population, providing a detailed list of households (a total of 539) and its members. However, it is evident that certain segments of the population were not encompassed by the census, such as members of the Venetian administration and clergy.

Surnames had not yet been standardized during this period, resulting in individuals being identified by various descriptors, nicknames, or occupations, which could change from one generation to the next. Nonetheless, the census sheds light on patterns of immigration to Rovinj.

From the analysis of the surnames recorded in the 1595/6 census, several conclusions can be drawn about the origin and migration patterns of the population in Rovinj. Among the 527 recorded surnames, 30% (165 surnames) suggest origins from both nearby and distant regions. This diversity in surnames points to a significant level of migration and interaction with other areas. Surnames may not always directly indicate geographic origin. For example, names like Ive, Pergolis, Stoccada, and Salata are linked to regions such as Split, Tuscany, Venice, and Friuli. Additionally, some surnames like Ferrarese were already present in Rovinj before the census, implying established local families rather than recent immigrants. To accurately determine the time of arrival and the duration of a family's status as newcomers, cross-referencing multiple historical sources is necessary. The recorded surnames reveal a diverse and complex picture of migration, with many families having origins from various regions.

Titles were recorded for only 18.7% of household heads nevertheless the variety of recorded titles indicates a hierarchical structure and differentiation in social status among the population. Members of councilor families often held titles like *meser/miser*, signifying their higher social standing. Titles were not exclusive to councilor families but were also given to respected and wealthy citizens, indicating that social status and economic power could grant similar recognition.

During the census period fourteen councilor families existed in Rovinj but the census does not include the Leonardis family. The average number of councilor family members in the observed period was five. The largest kinship group was Sponza, which had 38 families and 182 members.

Male household heads had a wider range of names (73) compared to female heads (44), likely due to the smaller number of female household heads. Common male names included Domenego, Zuanne, and Francesco, which were linked to about a third of male heads, while Eufemia, Catarina, Domenega, and Antonia were prevalent among female heads.

Although the analyzed census contains numerous shortcomings, the data it contains enable the observation of certain tendencies in terms of migration routes, population structures, but also the size and composition of households as well as the economic orientation of the population, which will be analyzed in a subsequent paper.

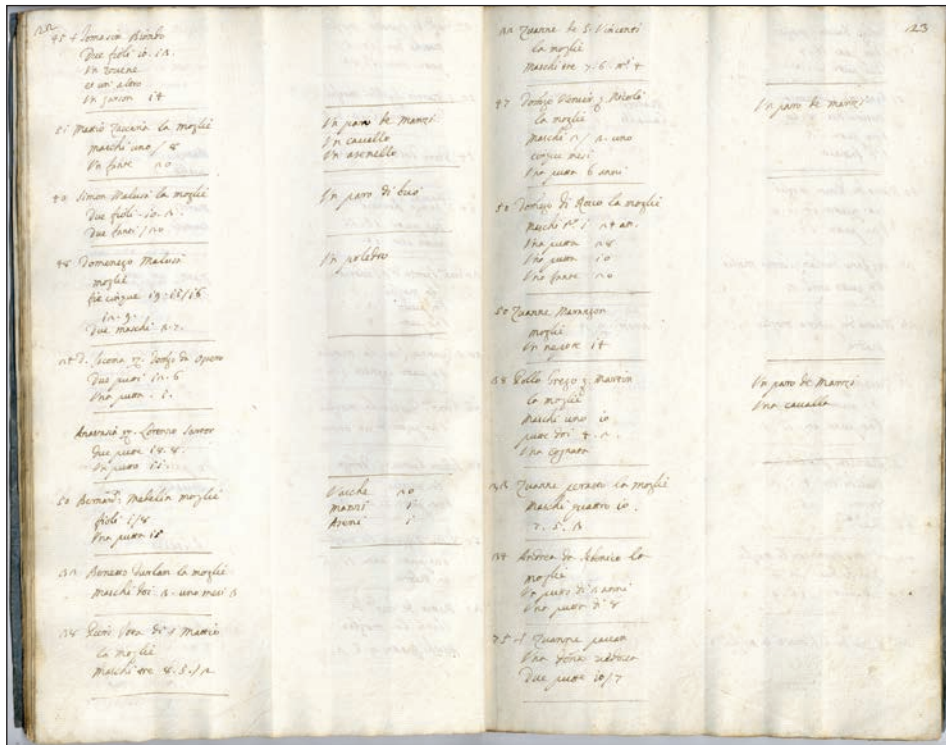


Fig. 1: Census of Rovinj from 1595/6, pp. 22–23 (DARI, Census 1595/6, b. 1).

IZVOR PREBIVALCEV IN DRUŽINE SVETNIKOV PO POPISU PREBIVALSTVA ROVINJA IZ LET 1595/1596

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POVZETEK

V zgodnjem novem veku je imel Rovinj bolj zdrav zrak v primerjavi z mnogimi drugimi istrskimi obalnimi občinami, kar je privedlo do bistveno večjega števila prebivalcev kot v krajih, kot sta Pulj ali Poreč. Njegova strateška lega in stalne povezave z Benetkami so privabile številne naseljence, kar potrjuje prvi znani popis prebivalstva Rovinja iz let 1595/6. Ta članek opisuje popis, proučuje metodo in čas štetja, ocenjuje točnost in zanesljivost podatkov ter analizira izvor prebivalstva na podlagi priimkov in vzdevkov, nazivov glav gospodinjev, družin svetnikov in imen glav gospodinjev. Analiza popisa je pokazala, da se je popis izvajal v daljšem časovnem obdobju (več mesecev) in da vanj ni bil vključen manjši del prebivalstva (npr. duhovščina). Skoraj tretjina priimkov in vzdevkov kaže na izvor nosilca iz bližnjih in bolj oddaljenih regij. Zapisovanje nazivov v rovinjski popis je bilo očitno nepopolno in nedosledno, zato le na podlagi popisa ni mogoče konkretnije sklepati o družbeni stratifikaciji. V popisu niso navedeni poklici posameznih glav gospodinjev, zato ni mogoče ugotoviti, koliko družin se je ukvarjalo s specifičnim delom, pomorstvom ali trgovino. Vendar pa lahko na podlagi priimkov, ki so bili v tistem obdobju še v fazi oblikovanja, identificiramo tiste, povezane s svetniškimi družinami. V obdobju popisa je obstajalo štirinajst takih družin, vendar popis ne vključuje družine Leonardis. Analizirali smo tudi družine svetnikov glede na njihovo število. Najštevilčnejši rodbini sta bili Sponza in De Vescovi, demografsko najbolj ogrožene, torej tiste z najmanjšim številom članov, pa so bile Bello, Caluzzi, Basilisco in Brionese.

Ključne besede: Rovinj, Istra, popis prebivalstva 1595/1596, prebivalstvo

APPENDICES

Table 1: Number of baptisms, marriages and deaths according to registers. The numbers of baptisms, marriages and deaths are listed according to Mogorović Crljenko and Doblanović (2015, 249). In this table, however, the number of baptisms in 1597, which was mistakenly stated as 8 instead of 68 in the aforementioned work, has been corrected.

Year	Married	Died	Baptized
1590	3	74	74
1591	0	124	66
1592	15	81	68
1593	8	44	69
1594	8	60	76
1595	3	49	44
1596	11	190	27
1597	14	64	68
1598	20	46	20
1599	17	112	64
1600	10	60	32
	109	904	608

Table 2: Households of town council member surnames according to the 1595/6 census. It should be noted there that it is impossible to ascertain which of the numerous Sponza or De Vescovi households were or were not councilor families.

KIN	HOUSEHOLDERS	TITLE	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS		ANIMALS
			Family	Support staff	
BASILISCO (1)	Zambattista	miser	15	3 fanti	1 horse
BELLO (2)	Iacomo	miser	5		None
	Zan Antonio		5		None
BICHIACHI (3)	Zuane	ser	4	1 fameglio	1 horse, 4 male bovines
	Lorenzo	ser	5		None
	Helena, widow	donna	3		None
BRIONESE (1)	Francesco	ser	5		None
BURLA (3)	Geronimo	ser	5		None
	Francesco	ser	9		1 horse and 2 donkeys
	Francesco	ser	1		None
CAENAZZO (8)	Agnesina, ved. q. Pietro	donna	5	1 fameglio	1 horse, 2 male bovines
	Domenego	ser	4		2 horses
	Tomasin de ser Piero	ser	6		None
	Tomaso		8		1 horse and 70 cows
	Tomasin q. Domenego		8		None
	Euffemia r.q. Tomasin	donna	6		None
	Domenego q. Mattio		5		None
	Piero	ser	5		None

CALUZZI (2)	Iani		7		None
	Manolli	miser	10		None
VESCOVI (de, di) (22)	Antonio de Michalin		4		2 male bovines
	Cattarina q. Francesco		5		None
	Domenego q. Bortolo		6		None
	Domenego q. Piero		3		None
	Domenego q. Piero		3		None
	Domenego q. Tomasin		6		2 male bovines
	Domenico di ser Mattio		5		None
	Francesco		3		None
	Gabriel q. Domenico		3		None
	Gabriel q. Piero	ser	7	1 masara	1 horse, 2 male bovines
	Iacomo		6		2 mares, 3 male bovines
	Iusto		4		None
	Marieta r.q. Nicolo	donna	3		2 male bovines
	Mattio		4		None
	Mattio q. Michalin		2		None
	Mattio q. Zuanne		5		1 horse, 2 male bovines
	Michelin	ser	6		2 horses, 2 male bovines
	Nicolo de ser Mattio		3		None
	Piero q. Domenigo		5		None
	widow (daughter od Gabriel)		3		None
	Zuanne q. Piero		5	1 fameglio	2 male bovines
	Zuanne q. Piero		4		None
Iotta (8)	Piero		5		None
	Zuanne		3		None
	Piero q. ser Domenego		9	4 fameglio's	2 horses, 2 male bovines and 520 heads of small livestock
	Zuanne q. Piero	ser	5		None
	Francesco de ser Mattio		6		1 donkey
	Nicolo	ser	5		1 horse and male bovines, 70 heads of small livestock
	Mattio		2		None
	Domenego		1		None
Pesce (3)	Preto		4		None
	Piero		2		None
	Piero		1		None
Quarantotto (6)	Francesco		10		None
	Bernardin		5		None
	Francesco		5		None
	Iacomo		7		1 donkey
	Iacoma		2		None
	Domenego	ser	7		None
Segalla (8)	Andrea		5		None
	Domenego q. Michelin		6		2 donkeys, 12 sheep
	Martin		8		None
	Iacomo		6		None
	Cristofolo		5		2 bulls
	Martin	ser	6		None
	Zuanne		2		None
	Domenego		5		2 oxen, 60 cows, 100 sheep

SPONZA (38)	Paula r.q. Biasio	donna	2		
	Antonio q. Biasio	miser	8		1 horse
	Christofooro q. Biasio	ser	7	1 fameglio	1 horse and 1 male bovine
	Nicolo q. Gabriel		9	1 fameglio	1 male bovine
	Cristofolo q. Francesco		6	1 fameglio	1 horse and 2 male bovines
	Giusto	miser	6	1 massara	2 male bovines
	Zan Andrea q. Francesco		8		None
	Mattio q. Francesco		9		2 male bovines
	Francesco q. Domenego		3		None
	Francesco q. Michelin		6		None
	Vendrame		5		2 horses and 4 male bovines
	Simon q. Domenego		3		1 horse and 2 male bovines
	Mattio, ser q. Zuanne		6		None
	Nicoletto q. Michalin	ser	5		None
	Francesco q. Cristofolo		3		2 male bovines
	Bortolo		4		None
	Polo		8		1 donkey
	Nadalin	ser	6		4 large animals
	Andrea q. Michelin		6		None
	Nicolò de ser Simon		5		None
	Nicoletto	ser	4		1 horse and 2 male bovines
	Benetto		5		None
	Iseppo	ser	8		None
	Simon q. Nicolo		1		None
	Valerio q. Domenego		6		None
	Antonio q. Francesco		5		None
	Marco Antonio		5		None
	Zuanne q. Domenego		3		1 male bovine
	Hieronimo		1		None
	Zuanne q. D.		2		None
	Zuanne q. Zan Andrea		4		None
	Andrea q. Benetto		3		None
	Maria q. Zan Michiel		3		None
	Margareta q. Piero	donna	4		None
	Mattia q. Zan Michiel		5		None
	Zan Andrea		3		None
	Perina q. Domenego	donna	1		None
	Francesco di ser Vendrame		4		1 horse and 2 male bovines
			520	15	

Table 3: Names of household heads.

Male	No.	Female	No.
<i>Domenego</i>	52	<i>Eufemia / Fumia</i>	10
<i>Zuanne/ Zannetto</i>	41	<i>Cattarina</i>	8
<i>Francesco</i>	38	<i>Domenega / Meneghina</i>	7
<i>Piero</i>	25	<i>Antonia</i>	7
<i>Nicolo</i>	23	<i>Helena / Elena</i>	6
<i>Iacomo</i>	22	<i>Maria / Matieta</i>	4
<i>Antonio/ Tonello</i>	21	<i>Zannetta / Zanna</i>	4
<i>Mattio</i>	18	<i>Martina</i>	4
<i>Andrea/ Iadre</i>	15	<i>Bernardina</i>	3
<i>Simon</i>	13	<i>Francesca / Franceschina</i>	3
<i>Iseppo</i>	12	<i>Mattia</i>	3
<i>Bortolo</i>	10	<i>Nicolosa</i>	3
<i>Michelin/Michel</i>	10	<i>Agnesina</i>	2
<i>Tomasin</i>	10	<i>Iacoma</i>	2
<i>Biasio</i>	8	<i>Malgarita</i>	2
<i>Zorzi</i>	8	<i>Pasca/Pasqua</i>	2
<i>Bernardin</i>	7	<i>Agata</i>	1
<i>Bastian</i>	5	<i>Alegra</i>	1
<i>Gregor/Gregorio</i>	5	<i>Alessandra</i>	1
<i>Nicoletto</i>	5	<i>Anastasia</i>	1
<i>Tomaso</i>	5	<i>Benetta</i>	1
<i>Marco</i>	4	<i>Benvenuta</i>	1
<i>Pascalín</i>	4	<i>Betta</i>	1
<i>Stefano</i>	4	<i>Bortola</i>	1
<i>Geronimo / Hieronimo</i>	4	<i>Chiaria</i>	1
<i>Angelo/Anzolo</i>	3	<i>Colosa</i>	1
<i>Cristofolo</i>	3	<i>Diana</i>	1
<i>Fior/Fiorio/Florio</i>	3	<i>Ena</i>	1
<i>Lorenzo</i>	3	<i>Filippa</i>	1

<i>Vicenzo</i>	3	<i>Glenia</i>	1
<i>Zan Andrea</i>	3	<i>Hieronima</i>	1
<i>Astolfo</i>	2	<i>Iulia</i>	1
<i>Benetto</i>	2	<i>Iustina</i>	1
<i>Gabriel</i>	2	<i>Laura</i>	1
<i>Luca</i>	2	<i>Lena</i>	1
<i>Martin</i>	2	<i>Lucia</i>	1
<i>Nadalin</i>	2	<i>Madalena</i>	1
<i>Pollo</i>	2	<i>Orsa</i>	1
<i>Preto</i>	2	<i>Paula</i>	1
<i>Vettor</i>	2	<i>Perina</i>	1
<i>Vicico</i>	2	<i>Reghina</i>	1
<i>Vido</i>	2	<i>Rosa</i>	1
<i>Alessandro</i>	1	<i>Stella</i>	1
<i>Baldisera</i>	1	<i>Tomasina</i>	1
<i>Battista</i>	1	Not mentioned	1
<i>Cesaro</i>	1		99
<i>Charlo</i>	1		
<i>Chirin</i>	1		
<i>Constantin</i>	1		
<i>Daniel</i>	1		
<i>Dorligo</i>	1		
<i>Filippo</i>	1		
<i>Giusto</i>	1		
<i>Hercole</i>	1		
<i>Iani</i>	1		
<i>Iusto</i>	1		
<i>Lonardo/Lunardo</i>	2		
<i>Manolli</i>	1		
<i>Marco Antonio</i>	1		
<i>Marin</i>	1		
<i>Paulo</i>	1		

<i>Pelegri</i>	1		
<i>Rigo</i>	1		
<i>Santo</i>	1		
<i>Sfetina</i>	1		
<i>Tadio</i>	1		
<i>Tiberio</i>	1		
<i>Tofol</i>	1		
<i>Valerio</i>	1		
<i>Vendrame</i>	1		
<i>Zambattista</i>	1		
<i>Zan Antonio</i>	1		
	440		

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POTENTIAL FOR REAFFIRMING ARCHITECTURAL VALUES OF HISTORICAL URBAN STRUCTURES ON THE COAST OF MONTENEGRO

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro, and examines their characteristics and potential for reaffirming their architectural values. It defines and maps urban structures, establishing an architectural and urban typology of towns and settlements primarily originating from the medieval period. The study then analyses the development and transformation of these structures. It outlines criteria for preserving architectural and urban values, and for new interventions in historical settlements. It also proposes potential parameters for enhancing the relationship between old and new structures, aiming to protect the recognised architectural and urban values. In this way, preserved historical structures can reaffirm their identity by maintaining their original characteristics while adapting to the contemporary changes.

Keywords: architectural values, historical urban structures, Montenegrin coast, reaffirmation

POTENZIALITÀ DI RIAFFERMAZIONE DEI VALORI ARCHITETTONICI DEI COMPLESSI URBANI STORICI SUL LITORALE MONTENEGRINO

SINTESI

Il presente lavoro si occupa della ricerca riguardante i complessi urbani storici del litorale montenegrino, le loro caratteristiche, specificità e potenzialità di riaffermazione del loro valore architettonico. Nella presente ricerca vengono mappate e definite le strutture urbane, stabilite le tipologie urbanistico-architettoniche delle città e degli insediamenti risalenti al periodo medievale e quindi analizzato lo sviluppo e la trasformazione di tali strutture. In questa ricerca vengono stabiliti i criteri per la conservazione dei valori architettonici e urbanistici, così come quelli riguardanti i nuovi interventi negli insediamenti storici e vengono suggeriti i parametri potenziali che permettono lo sviluppo del rapporto tra le strutture antiche e quelle moderne, andando così a preservare i riconosciuti valori architettonici e urbanistici. In tal modo, le strutture storiche preservate potranno riaffermare la propria identità, mantenendo le proprie caratteristiche originali pur adattandosi ai cambiamenti dell'epoca contemporanea.

Parole chiave: valori architettonici, complessi urbani storici, litorale montenegrino, riaffermazione

INTRODUCTION¹

Architectural heritage represents the cultural and material wealth of a region, symbolising a particular space and time. Increased knowledge of cultures and social structures across various historical periods and regions enhances our ability to interpret their built environments (Kostof, 1991, 10). Heritage encompasses inheritance from the past. It is a concept that pertains to the history, culture, and characteristics of bygone eras, as well as today's perception of past patterns and the legacy we will pass on to future generations (Rodwell, 2007, 7). The concept of cultural heritage dates back to the eighteenth century, although it later developed following the expansion of tourism. The reaffirmation of this concept refers to the identification and definition of the historical and cultural roots and announces the effort to unify a project – the European Union (Povolo, 2013, 481). Cultural heritage has become increasingly significant in contemporary urban development, particularly in terms of guidelines for managing historical towns. International organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS provide regulations with a focus on assessing impacts on architectural heritage (UNESCO, 2010; ICOMOS, 2011).

The Mediterranean-type towns and settlements of coastal Montenegro were shaped by the unique characteristics of the Adriatic landscape. Over the ages, they developed as a result of the interaction between humans and their rational needs, reflecting the historical context, including the living conditions and natural environment of the time. This gave rise to the cultural landscapes of the coast of Montenegro, which embody distinct elements of identity not only for Montenegro but for the entire Mediterranean region. Besides its natural wealth, the coastal area of Montenegro boasts preserved urban structures and valuable remnants of architectural heritage from various historical periods, including ancient times, the medieval period, and the modern era. The architectural heritage of this area holds significant historical and architectural urban values, be it in the form of fortified towns or typical urban matrices of coastal settlements. Thanks to its authenticity, natural wealth of the landscape, and cultural heritage of historical towns and settlements, combined with accessibility and good connectivity by land and sea, the Montenegrin coast offers the country's greatest tourism potential.

The historical settlements and towns on the coast of Montenegro constitute rare, well-preserved architectural and cultural heritage spread across the entire country. They were formed under the influence of Eastern and Western powers, including the Republic of Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and Austria-Hungary. The wealth of diversity is reflected in the preserved urban structures, public spaces, characteristic forms, and façades. The historical urban structures along the coast predominantly date back to the medieval period. The twentieth century saw the development of new urban structures alongside historical settlements and towns, introducing new functions, urban forms, and architectural typologies that significantly altered the natural and cultural landscape of the Montenegrin coast. Over time,

¹ This paper is the result of research carried out in the bilateral project BI-ME/21-22-026 *Similarities and Distinctions between Medieval Coastal and Continental Towns in the Nowadays Slovenia and Montenegro*, funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

tourism has become the most dominant economic sector in the coastal area. In addition to the construction of hotel complexes and tourist settlements and facilities, new residential areas and public and social spaces have been established near historical structures. The historical settlements and towns of Montenegro have experienced significant spatial and socioeconomic changes in the last century, driven by the emergence and subsequent expansion of modern functions. This research will analyse and establish a characteristic architectural and urban typology of the examined historical structures, aiming to create a sustainable relationship between inherited and new structures, and to explore the possibilities for the reaffirmation of this valuable architectural heritage.

PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL STRUCTURES THROUGH LITERATURE REVIEW

Many researchers have addressed the issue of sustainable development in old towns, urban structures, and architectural heritage in general. The literature highlights principles related to the preservation of historical spatial and cultural values. Maintaining these historical spatial components is essential to the unique ambience of historic towns. *Genius loci* is the most subjective factor in evaluating historical urban forms, attributed to their unique historical ambience (Zagroba et al., 2021, 23–24). However, modern times have introduced numerous changes to both the immediate and broader areas surrounding architectural heritage. Consequently, new spatial interventions are inevitable due to the emergence of new urban structures and architectural forms and functions. New architecture should align with historical spatial forms, adhere to traditional morphology, and avoid drastic contrasts or disruptions in the continuity of the urban fabric. It is necessary to retain existing traditional functions in historical towns, as they shape the way of life for local communities and represent key elements of the identity of these areas (Dimelli, 2019, 790). In this context, a balance must be sought between preserving inherited structures and accommodating new functions.

The impact of tourism has greatly increased in modern times, leading to excessive tourist visits to certain locations, particularly coastal areas like Kotor, where overtourism has emerged (Danilović Hristić et al., 2024, 16). It is important to strive for a balance between economic development and the unique characteristics of a place, identifying factors that contribute to achieving this equilibrium (Danilović Hristić et al., 2024, 4). The model based on sustainability aims to maintain a consistent reciprocal relationship among heritage, tourism development, and the identity of a particular area (Bourdeau et al., 2015). Mediterranean towns invariably adopt prefixes related to tourism. The term ‘tourist-historic town’ reflects both form and function as a distinct type of urban morphology and activity (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2011). The management of historical urban structures, particularly in the Mediterranean region, should be integrated with tourism development in a mutually affirming relationship. Heritage management in historic towns is significant as it demonstrates how tourism can benefit from the preservation of these areas, while effective management, innovation, and added value can enhance their overall quality (Orbasli, 2000). Moreover, the local community plays a crucial role in preserving the original features of old towns. Effective urban management of a historical town is not possible

without maintaining functional diversity and involving residents (Barrera-Fernández et al., 2016, 361). Without additional activities and the engagement of local residents in the heritage management process, positive preservation outcomes cannot be fully realised.

The spatial experience of historical towns relies on the concept of urban structure and architectural composition, as well as on the images formed and the town's perception by both citizens and visitors. The importance of human vision and perception of urban space and its distinctive images was highlighted more than half a century ago by Kevin Lynch through his analysis of cognitive perception of space (Lynch, 1960). In addition to the tangible material values associated with preserving inherited physical structures, the intangible perceptual values of heritage preservation should not be overlooked. Perceptual value encompasses associative values, such as memorial and symbolic connections, reflecting not only the relationship with the space but also the events that occur within it (Dumbović Bilušić & Bilušić, 2015, 106). The preservation of inherited values of a given space depends on understanding the broader context, encompassing not only spatial and temporal aspects, but also spiritual, associative and intangible values. The inability to preserve many aspects of heritage is often linked to a one-dimensional view of space (Savin, 2015, 81). In addition to the spatial and physical components of a specific place or area, the sociological, cultural, and spiritual aspects are crucial; these represent the significant additional values that historical heritage can provide. The overall natural, architectural, and intangible heritage of small Mediterranean towns serves as a fundamental resource for development and quality of life, characterised by their unique natural, cultural, economic, and social features, which together constitute their individuality and value (Krajnik et al., 2022, 2).

Programmes and activities for the preservation and sustainable development of historical urban structures can be implemented in these areas. In small historical towns, such programmes should aim to integrate contemporary lifestyles with their traditional historical elements, bringing together all participants to create additional value (Rudan, 2010, 581). Sustainable development signifies change that meets the needs of the present without compromising those of future generations (Kuśnierz-Krupa, 2018). The sustainable development of historical structures should make heritage usable in the present day while also being flexible and suitable for future changes.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Research on this topic can be conducted along two primary paths. The first path focuses on the examination of the characteristics and specificities of historical urban structures, with an emphasis on establishing an architectural and urban typology. The second path centres on the changes that inherited urban structures have undergone in both visual and functional aspects due to modern influences, aiming to establish a relationship between the old and the new. This research aims to explore the possibilities for reaffirming the spatial and cultural identity of historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro through their transformation in the present time. By analysing and typologically classifying these urban structures, it becomes possible to uncover the layers of different cultures that have left their mark on them and to understand the relationship between the built environment and the natural characteristics of

this coastal area. The introduction of new functions to the historical settlements along coastal Montenegro, particularly tourism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, has transformed both the natural and cultural landscapes. The study examines the transformations that have occurred over the past century, focusing on the significant changes these old towns have experienced through new activities and functions. Historical urban structures were mapped and analysed based on the defined factors that highlight their similarities, differences, and unique characteristics. Criteria were then established for the sustainable development of these structures and the reaffirmation of their identity. This approach involves the analysis and mapping of historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro. It begins with establishing a characteristic architectural and urban typology, followed by defining potential evaluation methods for built heritage and setting criteria for sustainable development, and concludes with reaffirming the architectural values of these historical urban structures.

The research objectives include defining the characteristic typology of urban structures and architecture, and determining connections between historical and contemporary structures that can be sustainable in the future. A key principle is to establish a new discourse on the perception of the transformation of historical urban structures in coastal Montenegro, exploring ways to reaffirm their architectural and urban values, as well as the identity of these towns and settlements. To achieve its objectives, this paper employs methods of analysis and comparison of historical urban areas, considering both past and present functional changes. The contribution of this research lies in defining specific architectural and urban values and establishing characteristic types of historical urban structures. Ultimately, the research will establish criteria for improving the historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro.

SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN STRUCTURES ON THE COAST OF MONTENEGRO

This research encompasses old towns and settlements, in particular preserved historical urban structures that predominantly date back to the medieval period. From north to south, the most prominent historical urban structures along the Montenegrin coastline are Herceg Novi, Risan,² Perast, Kotor, Budva, Sveti Stefan, Bar, and Ulcinj (Fig. 1). The analysis of the natural conditions and morphology of the terrain where these urban structures are situated reveals both similarities and unique characteristics. Some old towns and structures were originally defensive fortifications located on elevations above the sea, while others developed along the coastline at sea level. The historical urban structures that formed on cliffs and elevations above the sea include the old towns of Herceg Novi, Stari Bar, and Ulcinj. Herceg Novi Old Town features a fortress on the seashore and another on a hill. Ulcinj Old Town is positioned on an elevated peninsula with cliffs,

2 In the present-day town of Risan, no elements remain that can be associated with a medieval town. Risan was a small settlement that developed by the sea, with remnants of fortifications (Carine) located on the hill above the town (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 131). For these reasons, Risan has not been analysed in this paper.



Fig. 1: Historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro.

while Stari Bar developed on the Londša hill, surrounded by cliffs on three sides. Unlike the other towns, which are located close to the sea, Stari Bar is the only old town on the coast of Montenegro situated about 4 km inland.

The old towns located on level terrain by the sea include Kotor, Budva, and the historical settlements of Sveti Stefan and Perast. Kotor Old Town was established on the seashore near the confluence of the Škurda River and the Adriatic Sea,

while Budva Old Town was built on a peninsula adjacent to the sea. Sveti Stefan is a fortified medieval settlement situated on a small island in the sea, which was later transformed into a peninsula by a sandy isthmus, while Perast is a historical settlement that developed linearly along the coastline of the Bay of Kotor.

Historical overview of the formation and development of preserved urban structures on the coast of Montenegro

An overview of the development of urban structures on the coast of Montenegro reveals that most of the inherited old towns in this region were formed during the Middle Ages, primarily between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The urban structures established during this period, including old towns and settlements, have largely retained their original form, either in their intact or slightly altered state. This chapter provides a brief overview of the historical origin and development of the examined historical urban structures, extending from the north and the Bay of Kotor to the south and the border with Albania (Table 1).³

Herceg Novi was established in the late fourteenth century and developed further during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴ It evolved under Ottoman rule and experienced a brief period of Spanish rule before being conquered by the Republic of Venice. The town initially consisted of two parts: the ‘fortress on the water’ and the ‘fortress on the hill’ (Crnjanski, 1928, 8). The remains of its medieval walls can still be found in some areas, particularly near the coastal fortifications. Herceg Novi Old Town has retained sections from both the Ottoman and Venetian periods, including walls, towers, and gates. The town gates to the east and west, and the citadel now known as *Kanli Kula*, date back to the Ottoman period. The fortress of *Forte Mare*, in its current form, originates from a slightly later period – the Venetian era (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 150). The famous *Španjola* Fortress was built by the Spanish during their brief rule, which interrupted the long Ottoman domination of the area, but it was soon recaptured and adapted by the Ottomans to suit their needs.

Perast is a settlement located by the sea in the Bay of Kotor, with origins dating back to the Illyrian period. It was first mentioned in the Kotor archives in the fourteenth century. It is believed the town did not have defensive walls or towers even in the late Middle Ages.⁵ The settlement developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic. Recent architectural and urban studies of this settlement

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- 3 The historical overview of the development of the examined urban structures on the Montenegrin coast is primarily based on the thorough analysis and extensive research conducted by Pavle Mijović and Mirko Kovačević, who have significantly contributed to illuminating the historical development of towns and settlements in Montenegro.
 - 4 Bosnian King Tvrtko founded the city in 1382. The city was initially named *Novi*, but later, in honour of Herceg Stjepan, it was renamed *Herceg Novi* (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 146).
 - 5 Together with Kotor, Perast fell under Venetian rule in 1420, after which it experienced significant development (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 123).

Table 1: Spatial and Temporal Characteristics and Sociopolitical Conditions of the Origin and Development of Urban Structures on the Montenegrin Coast.

Spatial and temporal characteristics and sociopolitical conditions of the origin and development of urban structures on the Montenegrin coast				
Old towns and settlements	Morphological characteristics	Time of establishment of historical urban structure	Social conditions of origin and development	Dominant functions through history
Herceg Novi	fortress on the seashore and fortress on a hill	dates back to the late fourteenth century; developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries	evolved under Ottoman rule, saw a brief period of Spanish rule, and then fell to Republic of Venice	defensive military fortification
Perast	settlement on relatively flat terrain with a gentle slope along the coast	mentioned in the fourteenth century, and experienced the greatest prosperity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries	developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic	settlement of rich manorial families
Kotor	town on level ground by the confluence of the Škurda River and the Adriatic Sea, and fortress on a hill – the castle of St John	between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries	developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic	defensive military fortification
Budva	peninsula on level ground by the sea	between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries	developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic, briefly ruled by France, and then conquered by Austria-Hungary	defensive military fortification
Sveti Stefan	rocky island in the sea near the coast	in the fifteenth century	the settlement was built by twelve Paštrovići tribes (a local Montenegrin clan from the coastal area)	residential settlement of the Montenegrin tribes of Paštrovići
Bar	on rocky terrain at Londša hill, around 4 km from the sea	between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries	developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic and later the Ottomans	defensive military fortification
Ulcinj	peninsula on a rocky elevation by the sea	between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries	developed under the rule of the Venetian Republic and later the Ottomans	defensive military fortification

have indicated that part of its present structure is medieval.⁶ Perast experienced its greatest prosperity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Kotor is located at the head of the Bay of Kotor. Its sheltered position provided excellent natural conditions for the establishment of a port and town. Kotor was first founded in ancient times and spent a substantial period under Byzantine rule. The most significant historical epoch for Kotor was during its rule by the Venetian Republic from 1420 until the late eighteenth century. Kotor Old Town was developed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷ The town was divided into Upper (the fortress on the hill – Castle of St John) and Lower Kotor (the present-day old town surrounded by walls on level terrain by the sea). The walls, bastions, and ramparts around the old town took on their present appearance and thickness in the fifteenth century, while the town gates were constructed from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The current appearance of this complex historical urban structure dates back to the Venetian period, with few preserved segments of medieval architecture predating the Venetians' arrival (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 111–113). Kotor is the largest and historically most significant medieval town in Montenegro.

Budva developed on a peninsula along the open sea in the central part of the Montenegrin coast and dates back to the ancient and Illyrian periods.⁸ It was ruled by the Venetian Republic for more than three centuries, briefly by the French, and by Austria-Hungary for an entire century. Its old town was established between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The town is enclosed by three straight walls and one semicircular wall on the western side (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 24). The walled town is connected to the mainland on the western side, with the harbour originally located to the north of the town, and the citadel – Castle of St Mary – on an elevation to the south. The town walls featured battlements and arrowslits on the northern and eastern sides for defence during the Middle Ages, which were later sealed (Rajić et al., 2004). Budva Old Town was damaged multiple times, not only by enemy attacks, but also by fires and natural disasters. It experienced the greatest devastation in the earthquakes of 1667 and 1979. The first major earthquake caused significant destruction in the town, and new walls were erected on the foundations of the old ones. The present-day appearance of Budva is linked to the state and form the town acquired after its reconstruction following the seventeenth-century earthquake. The second earthquake to strike the Montenegrin coast in 1979 caused severe damage to the walls and buildings of the Old Town, as well

6 In 1571, Perast became an independent municipality, marking the beginning of its greatest progress (Rajić et al., 2004).

7 The oldest visual representation of Kotor, depicting the city within its walls in the form similar to that preserved today, originates from the first half of the fifteenth century. Data from the Kotor statute from the first half of the fourteenth century indicate that Kotor already occupied the area it covers today (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 112).

8 According to written sources, Budva is the oldest ancient town on the southern coast (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 24).

as to numerous cultural and historical monuments.⁹ Thanks to the prompt response of the authorities and the efforts of local and foreign experts, restoration and repair work were carried out, and Budva was reconstructed in the years following the earthquake.

Sveti Stefan was established as a traditional fishing village on a small island near Budva. It was constructed by the local Paštrovići tribes¹⁰ in the fifteenth century.¹¹ Twelve Paštrovići tribes each built a house on the island to protect their women and children from enemy attacks. The natural position of the rocky island facilitated the creation of a sheltered settlement. Originally separated from the mainland, the island was later transformed into a peninsula by a sandy isthmus. The walls surrounding the settlement were designed to provide protection on three sides, while the southern side was naturally shielded by steep cliffs (Vujović, 2009, 183). The settlement emerged around the Church of St Stephen, located at the highest point on the island.¹² Sveti Stefan is a unique example of a traditional medieval island settlement. It was placed under protection in 1949 and declared a cultural monument (Mitrović, 2014, 61). After the local population was displaced in the first half of the twentieth century, Sveti Stefan was converted into a hotel town in 1960, acquiring the exclusive tourist function it maintains to this day.

Stari Bar and Ulcinj Old Town, two coastal towns in the southern part of Montenegro, are typical examples of the organic intertwining of Mediterranean and Oriental-Balkan urban and architectural cultures. Throughout history, they have been exposed to similar cultural influences (Bošković et al., 1981, 147). Bar is located between Budva and Ulcinj in the southeastern part of the coast. It sits on a rocky hill around 4 km from the sea. Initially built in ancient times, it later came under the rule of the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire.¹³ The old town, known as Stari Bar, was constructed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The oldest parts of the town are located on the prominent plateau of Londša.¹⁴ The medieval walls extend from the military citadel of Tatarovica in the northern corner towards the southwest, forming a triangular base with the inaccessible cliffs on the eastern and southern sides. The fortifications and towers were constructed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries during the Venetian period, marking the last expansion of the fortified town. Stari Bar contains remnants of

9 Of all the old towns on the Montenegrin coast, Budva Old Town sustained the most damage in the 1979 earthquake. Of the 184 buildings in the Old Town, only 6, or 3.2%, remained undamaged. All sacred buildings within the Old Town were destroyed, and the walls and citadel were partially demolished (Rovčanin Premović & Doderović, 2020, 415).

10 The Paštrovići are a local clan hailing from the coastal region of Montenegro, specifically from the hilly area surrounding Petrovac. They are known for their distinctive history, traditions, and unique methods of constructing settlements and houses. The cultural and historical centre of the Paštrovići tribe was the island of Sveti Stefan (Vukmanović, 2002).

11 The first written record mentioning the small fortress of Sveti Stefan dates back to 1442 (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 133).

12 The Church of St Stephen was erected in 1464, giving its name to the settlement that was in the process of formation (Vujović, 2009, 188).

13 The Republic of Venice took control of Bar in 1443 and held it until 1571, when the town was captured by the Ottomans, who ruled it until the liberation of Montenegro in 1878 (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 93–97).

14 The urban network of Bar originated in the early Middle Ages, following a somewhat irregular grid pattern of the ancient urban type (Bošković, 1962, 195–202).

public buildings from the Ottoman period, such as a gunpowder magazine, a hammam, and others. In the late Middle Ages, an outer bailey developed to the south (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 93–97). The town walls on the eastern and southern sides retained their defensive function until the late nineteenth century and are still well preserved. In contrast, the wall on the northwest side, which hindered the town's development, was mostly demolished (Bošković, 1962, 198). Due to numerous historical upheavals, the architecture and urban planning of Bar display intermediate styles.¹⁵ Following the Ottoman conquest, the former medieval Venetian appearance of the town began to adopt Oriental characteristics (Zagarčanin, 2008, 74). The new town of Bar emerged at the foot of the old town, on the coast, in the late nineteenth century, with significant development occurring in the twentieth century, particularly with the construction of the Port of Bar.

Ulcinj is the southernmost town on the coast of Montenegro, situated on a compact, elevated rock by the sea. Like Bar, it originates from the ancient period and was ruled by both the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ As the rock on which the town is perched descends towards the sea, the lowest parts of the town walls and a tower are positioned along the shore. The town has two gates: one on the eastern side in the lower part of the town, facing the sea, and the other on the western side in the upper part, facing landward. The citadel is located at the highest point of the rock and is inaccessible from all sides. Most of the town walls were constructed during the Venetian period, while military structures in the citadel and upper part of the town, along with sections of the walls, the gunpowder magazine, and numerous residential buildings, were built during the Ottoman period (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 146). The urban matrix of Ulcinj Old Town was established in the second half of the fourteenth century. The street network took shape in the Middle Ages, with the current layout developing during Ottoman rule. The shapes of plots were already defined by the time the Ottomans arrived in Ulcinj, allowing only for minor modifications within the existing transport network (Bošković et al., 1981, 145–146). There were interventions that led to changes in the street structure, such as the construction of new buildings in the Oriental style, alterations in the function of existing buildings, and extensions of some preserved medieval or Romanesque structures (Šabović-Kerović, 2015, 80). Ulcinj consists of two parts: the town situated on the rock and the urban settlement of Podgrađe.¹⁷ Ulcinj Old Town, positioned on the rock, is characterised by rich architectural layering and diversity from the Illyrian-Greek, medieval, Venetian, and Ottoman periods (Šabović-Kerović, 2015, 20).

The predominant function of the covered towns and settlements through their historical development was military or defensive. The following towns and settlements were originally formed as defensive military fortifications: Herceg Novi, Kotor, Budva, Sveti

15 Thus, characteristics such as Romano-Gothic, Gothic-Renaissance synthesis with elements of Byzantine architecture, distinctive motifs such as the Gothic pointed arch, Turkish cobblestone paving, and coastal pavement can be identified (Zagarčanin, 2008, 44).

16 The Venetians captured Ulcinj in 1423 and ruled until 1571, when the Ottomans took control, remaining in power until the liberation of Montenegro in 1878 (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 146).

17 Podgrađe is a settlement in Ulcinj that developed during the Ottoman period outside the fortifications, to the north and northeast (Bošković et al., 1981, 142).

Stefan, Bar, and Ulcinj. In addition to their primary military function, some coastal towns, such as Budva and Kotor, developed trade as a secondary function. In contrast, Perast functioned as a residential settlement for wealthy noble families, which is reflected in its later development and the way this picturesque historical settlement operated.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Architectural and urban typology of historical urban structures

Aldo Rossi emphasised the importance of analysing the urban and architectural typologies that towns developed during specific historical periods. For Rossi, the survival of a town is possible through the concept of permanence, with the town and its architecture serving as symbols of human existence and community in space and time (Rossi, 1982). Periods of development, base morphology and terrain, cultural influences, and local economic conditions impact the topology, structure, and spatial logic of the street networks in old towns (Kostof, 1991). Establishing an urban and architectural typology is essential for a thorough analysis of historical urban structures. This typology reveals the types of towns that developed in a specific region along with their fundamental characteristics, significance, and recognisability.

The preserved urban structures of historical towns on the Montenegrin coast were formed according to the principles of medieval towns and settlements, adapted to their inhabitants' need for protection against enemy attacks from the sea or land. For this reason, these towns were fortified with strong stone defensive walls. The structure of medieval towns developed spontaneously, influenced by natural conditions, terrain morphology, proximity to the sea, and access from land or sea. Medieval town structures were densely built, featuring a network of narrow, winding, and irregular streets. The streets varied in width and included expanded sections at corners and intersections, taking the form of small, irregularly shaped squares or piazzas. Towns built on elevated terrain or rocky formations exhibit a more complex urban structure, with streets laid out at varying elevations depending on the slope of the land. These towns feature stairways, sloped pathways, and terraces to navigate the differences in altitude. Streets and squares were paved with cobblestones, and stairs and terraces were constructed from stone. Besides adhering to natural terrain conditions, climate, and orientation toward the sea, the structures of medieval settlements were tailored to the needs of the inhabitants within the fortified walls. This led to the formation of numerous towns and settlements that constituted a singular organic unit. Within the fortified towns, houses were constructed from stone, featuring thick walls and small openings for windows and doors. The primary function of these houses was residential. Towns also included buildings serving military, social, and public functions. The architecture of the buildings in the old towns and settlements along the Montenegrin coast developed in Oriental, Venetian, or mixed Mediterranean style, reflecting the varying cultural influences over time.

Most medieval towns on the coast of Montenegro developed in this manner: Herceg Novi, Kotor, Budva, Bar, and Ulcinj. The medieval fortified settlement of Sveti

Stefan was established as a residential area for the local Paštrovići tribe from the hinterland of Budva. Sveti Stefan is an example of vernacular Mediterranean architecture, featuring small stone houses built using traditional methods by local builders (Rovčanin Premović, 2021, 343). Unlike other fortified historical urban structures along the coast, Perast in the Bay of Kotor possesses distinct features. This settlement developed slightly later than the other coastal towns, and lacks the defensive walls typical of all the other towns. Perast is characterised by its openness and orientation towards the sea. Its urban structure is densely built but not enclosed by walls; instead, it extends linearly along the coast. Perast developed as a residential settlement for wealthy captain families at a later period compared to the other coastal towns in the study. The houses are aligned along a main street that traces the coastline. The urban matrix of Perast features a central square, with public buildings and the Church of St Nicholas, along with Old Street running through the town. It also contains a series of small piazzas and a network of streets leading to the higher elevated area (Mihaliček, 2009, 154–155).

The analysed historical urban structures have largely been preserved, with the exception of Stari Bar, which is the least intact compared to its original state.¹⁸ However, following the major earthquake of 1979, systematic research was conducted, resulting in the reconstruction and restoration of several buildings.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the urban structure and architectural characteristics of coastal towns and settlements in Montenegro, five characteristic types of historical urban structures have been identified: the Oriental-Mediterranean fortified town, the Mediterranean fortified town on the coast, the Mediterranean fortified town as a result of various historical cultures, the non-fortified Mediterranean historical settlement, and the Mediterranean traditional settlement. Table 2 presents the analysis and classification of historical urban structures on the coast of Montenegro. The typology was established based on two primary criteria related to historical development: the urban structure of each town or settlement and the fundamental architectural characteristics that reflect their periods of origin and cultural influences.

Oriental-Mediterranean fortified towns include Bar and Ulcinj, which showcase Ottoman and Venetian Mediterranean architecture. An example of the second type, the Mediterranean fortified town on the coast, is Budva, with architecture influenced by Venice. Herceg Novi, featuring architecture primarily from the Ottoman and Venetian periods, as well as elements from the brief Spanish rule, is classified as a Mediterranean fortified town due to its diverse historical influences. In addition to the fortified medieval towns shaped by Eastern and Western factors, the Montenegrin coast also hosts settlements with varying structures and building styles. Perast in the Bay of Kotor stands out as an atypical non-fortified Mediterranean historical settlement. While it

18 In Stari Bar, the street network is predominantly irregular and adapted to the configuration of the terrain. However, some order is discernible on the southeast side, in the oldest part of the city, indicating remnants of an ancient system of orthogonal and straight streets (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975, 96).

Table 2: Architectural and Urban Typology of Historical Urban Structures (Mijović & Kovačević, 1975; Golubović, 1972; Luketić, 1997)

Architectural-urban typology of historical urban structures		
TYPE 1 Oriental-Mediterranean fortified town Ottoman and Mediterranean architecture	Urban structure	View
	 Bar	
	 Ulcinj	
	 Budva	
TYPE 2 Mediterranean fortified town on the coast Venetian architecture	 Kotor	

TYPE 3 Mediterranean fortified town as a result of various historical cultures dominant Ottoman and Venetian architecture, minor influence during brief Spanish rule	 Herceg Novi	
TYPE 4 Non-fortified Mediterranean historical settlement Venetian architecture	 Perast	
TYPE 5 Mediterranean medieval traditional settlement local architecture of the Montenegrin coastal area	 Sveti Stefan	

has roots in the medieval period, most of its development occurred later, resulting in an elongated urban structure that lacks defensive walls and is open to the sea. The buildings in Perast are primarily designed in the Venetian architectural style. Sveti Stefan is classified as a Mediterranean traditional settlement, constructed according to the principles of traditional local *Montenegrin coastal architecture* – the *Paštrovići architecture*. This style embodies the vernacular traditions of the Paštrovići region near Budva, with Sveti Stefan serving as the most authentic example of a Paštrovići coastal settlement on the Montenegrin coast (Rovčanin Premović, 2021, 342–343).

The defined typology illustrates the fundamental architectural and urban characteristics of historical urban structures. It highlights similarities and differences through a

comparative analysis of the old towns and settlements along the coast of Montenegro. This approach underscores the value of the rich historical layers, which are evident in the preserved architectural buildings and urban structures.

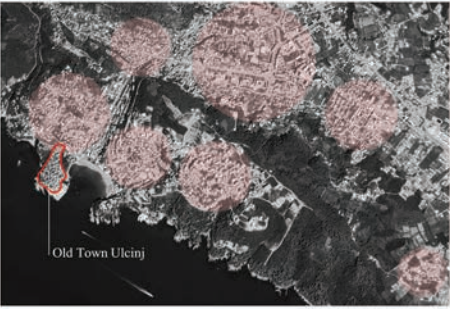
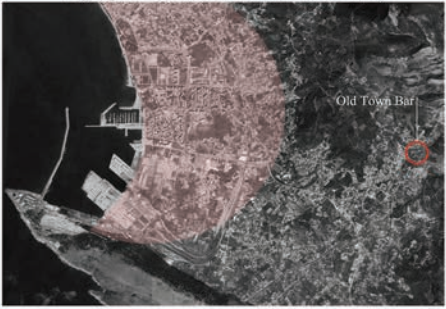
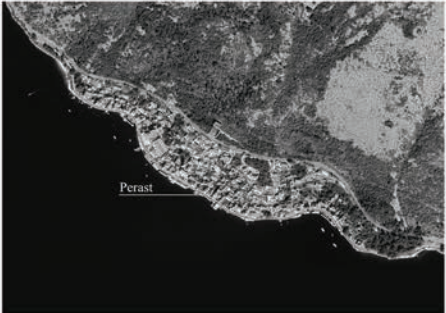
Typology of development of new urban structures relative to historical structures

Old towns and settlements are vital in preserving the memory and identity of a particular area. Identity consists of preserved characteristics that have a common unifying character. Identity is not a permanent, unchanging category, but is constantly developing and supplementing. If the basic features are preserved during the development, we have an upgrade, that is, the continuity of the identity, otherwise, its discontinuity occurs (Potočnik & Lah, 2017, 255). Over time, societal and spatial changes significantly impact architectural heritage. In the twentieth century, a genesis and transformation of coastal historical structures occurred alongside the introduction of new functions. In Montenegro, these changes were primarily driven by the development of tourism along the coast and the expansion of settlements beyond their historical boundaries. New architectural and urban concepts emerged, primarily for tourism and residential purposes. These new structures interact with historical settlements, often resulting in the interpolation of contemporary buildings and structures within the inherited context. Montenegrin coastal towns are currently experiencing processes of both integration and disintegration, as new functions increasingly coexist alongside historical structures. This situation has transformed the image of coastal historical settlements and towns over the past century. Table 3 illustrates the analysis and typology of urban structures developed for contemporary functions in relation to inherited urban structures. This typology is based on the morphological characteristics and the urban development traits of each town or settlement in connection with the coastal context and its inherited urban core.

According to the analysis of the emergence and development of modern functions, primarily residential and tourism-oriented, a typology can be established that relates to the inherited structures of old towns and settlements. Six characteristic urban typologies for the development of new functions in relation to a town's historical core have thus been identified: concentric development, linear development, dispersed development, dislocated development (i.e. the development of a new town without relying on the historical urban structure), point development, and revitalisation of historical settlements without spatial expansion. The concentric development type involves the expansion of new functions, predominantly residential and tourism-related, in a roughly concentric pattern, aligning with the morphology of the terrain. An example of this is Budva.¹⁹ Linear development of new functions and structures in relation to the historic core is evident in the towns in the Bay of Kotor – Herceg Novi and Kotor. Here, new functions extend along the coastline, shaped by the bay's unique morphology. In Ulcinj, the dispersed development of new functions and urban structures occurs as settlements extend in multiple directions around the historical core. This growth adapts to the diverse morphology

19 The new town of Budva developed concentrically around the historic core; however, some settlements later expanded linearly along the coast toward the southeast, incorporating elements of dispersed clustering of structures.

Table 3: Typology of new urban structures and functions in relation to the historical core (by the author using maps from Google Earth)

Typology of new urban structures and functions in relation to the historical core	
Concentric development 	Linear development 
Dispersed development 	Dislocated development (the development of a new town without relying on the historical urban structure) 
Point development 	Revitalization of a historical settlement without spatial expansion 

of the terrain, with a notably reduced intensity of expansion toward the south. This pattern reflects the adaptability of the town's urban spread in response to its surrounding landscape. Dislocated development, independent of the historical urban structure, is evident in the relationship between Stari Bar and Novi Bar. The new town, situated directly on the coast and at a significant distance from the old town, lacks a spatial relationship with the historical core. This represents a unique example on the Montenegrin coast of new structures developing separately from their historical counterparts. In some old settlements, the introduction of new modern functions has not resulted in spatial expansion or the creation of new physical structures. Sveti Stefan exemplifies point development, where tourism functions were developed within the existing structure. The traditional fishing village of Sveti Stefan was transformed into a luxury hotel town, making it a unique example on the Adriatic. Finally, Perast is an example of the revitalisation of a historical settlement without spatial development. Once primarily residential with limited public and social buildings, Perast has been transformed as tourism became the dominant activity on the Montenegrin coast. The settlement has undergone functional transformation through the revitalisation of old buildings with modern tourism offerings.

The modern expansion of tourism and related functions leads to daily changes that physically transform coastal towns and settlements. The established typology of urban development, with contemporary functions relative to inherited urban structures, reflects the situation at a particular moment, which is subject to ongoing change. Addressing these issues could involve developing strategies for the protection, sustainable development, and planning of architectural heritage zones, which should be strictly regulated by relevant authorities.

Potential and parameters for sustainable development of historical structures

The preservation of historical urban structures as valuable cultural heritage should serve as the foundation for planning and further development of coastal towns in Montenegro. The contemporary period is defined by heritage preservation challenges recognisable in neighbouring countries with similar situations, such as Croatia. Today there is a lack of interdisciplinary cooperation between experts (architects, conservators, urban planners) in the principles of preserving architectural heritage in an urban context (Rukavina & Obad Šćitaroci, 2017, 345). In the system of urban regulation of certain parts of Slovenia, the emphasis is on the direction and control of new construction, while renovations are often uncontrolled, which indicates the need to apply clearly defined control or mechanisms for allowing interventions (Gantar et al., 2021, 629). Determining the appropriate methodology by an interdisciplinary group of experts implies equally representing the preservation of the basic four aspects of the cultural significance of heritage: historical, aesthetic, social, and scientific, in the process of planning the protection of architectural heritage (Petrovčič & Kilar, 2018, 604). A significant obstacle to this is the absence of an adequate methodology for defining criteria to evaluate and identify potential development opportunities in these areas in Montenegro. Such a methodology would aid in assessing the value of inherited structures and exploring the possibilities for future development, ensuring the integration of new elements with the inherited structures. This approach would have to consider the preservation of historical architectural and urban spatial and cultural values, as well as the natural environment and essential ecological values of the Montenegrin

coast, and would require a thorough analysis of the intensive impacts of tourism and economic factors. Based on the analysis of the condition and preservation of historical urban structures along the coast of Montenegro, this research has identified the potential for sustainable development and possible future interventions in historical towns and settlements. The potential for sustainable development of these coastal structures is founded on the following parameters:

Urban Parameters

- Criteria for the revitalisation of specific segments of historical structures;
- criteria for the transformation of urban matrices;
- criteria for implementing new functions within historical urban structures;
- criteria for new urban structures.

Architectural Parameters

- Criteria for the revitalisation and reconstruction of currently non-functional architectural structures;
- criteria for restoring lost architectural values resulting from inappropriate interventions;
- criteria for new architectural types;
- architectural criteria for volumes and forms;
- architectural criteria for street fronts, façades, and colours.

Architectural and Urban Parameters

- Architectural and urban criteria for contextual consideration;
- criteria for implementing residential and tourist functions as dominant functions within historical urban structures;
- establishing strict and controlled architectural and urban parameters for spatial interventions in historical urban structures by relevant institutions.

Tourism and Economic Development Parameters

- Parameters for sustainable tourism and economic development that ensure economic self-sufficiency;
- parameters for promoting historical structures as key tourist destinations.

The potential for the sustainable development of historical structures on the coast involves defining typical architectural and urban parameters to guide further development in these areas. These parameters pertain to principles of reconstruction, revitalisation, and transformation of urban structures, as well as individual changes to architectural structures and processes for implementing new structures within existing ones. Given the dominance of tourism within the coastal historical structures of Montenegro, tourism development parameters are crucial for enhancing the promotion of this heritage and broadening the tourist offer. Moreover, economic parameters must align with tourism development parameters to foster self-sustainability in these areas.

Establishing a comprehensive strategy for the integrated planning and development of Montenegrin coastal towns would significantly contribute to the preservation and sustain-

able development of the region's historical urban structures. Sustainable development should be based on safeguarding the original historical values of inherited old towns and settlements as authentic physical structures; restoring lost values caused by inappropriate changes in the form of unsuitable new facilities; and carefully introducing new functions and spatial structures through contemporary interventions that respect the authenticity of existing forms. The research sought to highlight distinctive characteristics and identity factors significant for the cultural and historical recognition of historical urban structures on the Montenegrin coast. Based on these findings, it established parameters and criteria for preservation, as well as potential interventions within both the immediate and broader areas surrounding inherited structures. These considerations reflect the protection level of the structures and their cultural, historical, or urban-architectural value.

CONCLUSION

The typological classification of historical urban structures along the coast of Montenegro reveals layers of diverse cultural influences from both Eastern and Western civilisations. The new functions introduced over the past century have driven the expansion of urban structures beyond their historical boundaries, altering the natural and cultural landscapes and transforming the identity of the coastal region of Montenegro. The relationship between tourism and architectural heritage remains pertinent, as the goals of heritage preservation often conflict with the demands of modern tourist functions, which drive change. A thorough analysis of preserved historical heritage must consider the current state while also assessing its potential for future development. The research foundation involved identifying and mapping the essential elements of historical urban structures through an analysis of morphology, urban structures, and general architecture. This approach resulted in the establishment of a distinctive architectural-urban typology for historical urban structures, allowing for a comparative evaluation of the examined old towns and settlements, which highlighted the similarities, differences, and unique characteristics of particular structures. Coastal inherited urban structures should aim to preserve architectural heritage while considering cultural, historical, environmental, and economic aspects of development.

The results of this research focus on defining theoretical criteria and establishing practical mechanisms for the enhancement and revitalisation of coastal historical urban structures. Through a comprehensive analysis and classification, it can be concluded that the architectural values of the old towns and settlements along the coast of Montenegro can be reaffirmed by implementing specific sustainable models. These sustainable development models could be grounded in clearly defined architectural-urban, tourist, and economic development parameters. Such models should represent a cohesive synthesis of inherited and new structures and functions, with rigorous oversight by the architectural-urban profession to ensure alignment with heritage values. The preservation and sustainable development of historical urban structures should be anchored in comprehensive strategies for integrated planning and development of Montenegrin coastal towns. Effective architectural heritage management entails maintaining continuity between the past and the future, safeguarding the essential values that make this heritage significant and recognisable, and ensuring its continued relevance and benefit for future generations.

MOŽNOSTI ZA REAFIRMACIJO ARHITEKTONSKE VREDNOSTI ZGODOVINSKIH URBANIH CELOT V ČRNOGORSKEM PRIMORJU

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POVZETEK

Prispevek se ukvarja z raziskovanjem zgodovinskih urbanih celot v Črnogorskem primorju, z njihovimi značilnostmi in posebnostmi ter z možnostmi za reafirmacijo njihove arhitektonske vrednosti. Na podlagi raziskave nakazujemo in opredeljujemo urbane strukture in vzpostavljamo arhitektonsko-urbanistično tipologijo mest in naselij, ki v glavnem izvirajo iz srednjeveškega obdobja. Nato analiziramo razvoj in preobražanje teh struktur. Rezultat raziskave je vzpostavitev kriterijev za ohranjanje arhitektonskih in urbanističnih vrednot, sočasno pa kriterijev za nove posege v zgodovinskih naseljih. Predlagamo tudi možne parametre, ki bi izboljšali odnos med starejšimi in novimi strukturami in tako ohranili ugotovljene arhitektonske in urbanistične dragocenosti. Na ta način ohranjene zgodovinske strukture pridobivajo priložnost za vnovično uveljavitev svoje istovetnosti v smislu ohranjanja svojih izvirnih značilnosti, skladno s spremembami sodobnega časa.

Ključne besede: arhitektonska vrednost, zgodovinske urbane celote, Črnogorsko primorje, reafirmacija

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