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THE FINANCIAL OPERATIONS OF URBAN AND RURAL CONFRATERNITIES IN THE KOPER AREA AS REVEALED BY REPORTS FROM CHURCH AND STATE OFFICIALS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Zdenka BONIN

University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia
Provincial Archives of Koper, Kapodistrias Square 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia
e-mail: zdenka.bonin@gmail.com

Darko DAROVEC

University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia
e-mail: darko.darovec@zrs.upr.si

ABSTRACT

Confraternities were an important part of life; at the same time, they represented a link between rural and urban cultures in north-west Istria. In addition to the religious dimension, an important element of becoming a member of such confraternities was advancing the social and economic interests of both individuals and certain social groups. The confraternities made the lives of their members easier by lending them money, giving them land to lease, offering them the opportunity to provide services to the confraternity and finding them other temporary work. This also affected the economic development of rural and urban areas. The number of confraternities increased steadily in the Koper area until the 18th century. Some kind of overview statement concerning them was made in the spring of 1580 by the Apostolic visitor Agostin Valieri, while their revenue was also precisely documented at a later date by the Koper Podesta and Captains Lorenzo Donato (1675) and Paulo Condulmier (1741) and the auditor Antonio Solveni (1797).

Key words: Confraternities, Koper, city, countryside

GESTIONE DEL DENARO NELLE CONFRATERNITE URBANE E RURALI DI CAPODISTRIA ALLA LUCE DEI RESOCONTI DI UFFICIALI DELLA CHIESA E DELLO STATO TRA IL '500 E IL '700

SINTESI

Le confraternite rappresentarono un importante segmento della vita e un legame tra le culture rurali e urbane dell'Istria nordoccidentale. Un elemento importante di adesione alle confraternite, oltre a quello religioso, era anche l'interesse sociale ed economico sia di singole persone sia di determinati gruppi sociali. Mediante prestiti di denaro, terra offerta in affitto e la possibilità di eseguire servizi di confraternite e altri impieghi precari, le confraternite agevolavano la vita dei propri membri e incidevano sullo sviluppo economico delle aree urbane e rurali.

Il numero di confraternite a Capodistria crebbe continuamente fino al XVIII secolo. Il visitatore apostolico Agostin Valier ne offrì un quadro riassuntivo nella primavera del 1580, mentre le loro entrate furono dettagliatamente registrate dalle potestà e dai capitani di Capodistria Lorenzo Donato (1675) e Paulo Condulmier (1741) nonché dal revisore Antonio Solveni (1797).

Parole chiave: confraternite, Capodistria, città, campagna

Particularly from the 15th and 16th century, these confraternities started bringing together more and more people, since they gave them moral and financial support during times of crisis (wars, famine, cyclically occurring plagues and other infectious diseases and outbreaks of mass death) and provided decent burials and requiem masses as well as other religious obligations together with hope (faith) in a better life beyond the grave. Thus, they were also an important factor for economic development in many places. Despite the large number of Istrian confraternities, these supposedly did not have a large number of members. Most confraternities are estimated to have had an average of 10 to 20 members, while the archconfraternities in Koper (under Venetian rule), Pazin and Trieste under imperial rule, are claimed to have had more than 100 members each (Štoković, 2006, 150). At the discretion of testators and other benefactors, the confraternities received large material assets, to whose value were then more or less skilfully added by work of the managers of the confraternities, either by means of renting out their possessions or by lending money (*livello francabile*). After the establishment of pawnshops (*Monte di Pietà*) in the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century, they also invested capital in the latter, thereby ensuring a safe investment and profit. The property of some confraternities was considerable, and in general an important part of the communal capital as well as that of the entire Istrian peninsula was turning in their hands (compared with the total revenue of communes and provinces). And precisely because of this, both the church and the Venetian central authorities made concerted efforts to gain control over their operations – especially over their financial operations.

The report of the Koper Podesta Andrea Erizzo from 1659 is particularly comprehensive. In it, he concluded that the situation in the communal administration, Fontiks (granaries), confraternities and Spittals (Spittals) was not improving, but just the opposite. In addition to irregularities in the communal administration¹, church property was also found to be in an alarming state. Due to lack of money, the decoration of churches and altars was being increasingly abandoned and this was seen as clear evidence of the economic decline of the province. Particular attention is devoted to the state of the operations of churches, confraternities and other institutions. Due to their unclear operations, he requested that the managers of these institutions (gastalds, cashiers, syndics and other

heads of churches, altars, and confraternities) make an inventory of all movable and real estate property in the presence of at least two of the oldest members in one month, as well as cattle and sheep in their *socida*², or under lease, and establish with a public notary a ledger and cadastral register (inventory) of the possessions (Paruta, 1757, 70). The book should contain records of all revenues (*affitti, livelli, decime*) with the names of the contributors. These managers also had to record the transfer of rent to another tenant; while in a separate section they had to include all aged debtors including a report as to the cause of the debt. He noted that there was a strong lack of clarity in the state of property of church and confraternities due to poorly managed account-books and the involvement of pastors and priests in the work of the confraternities. The ownership of cattle, sheep and goats was particularly badly recorded, so he requested the situation of the *socidas* to be clarified. Since some were just appropriating cattle and sheep for themselves without paying the compulsory charges to the confraternities, he demanded that the debtors meet all obligations incurred towards the confraternities in accordance with the census and the established state of affairs. Only persons who had settled all obligations to the confraternity and have no remaining debts could be elected for leading positions in confraternities. Furthermore, priests, clergymen, or representatives of the church could not be elected for (or appointed to) the same position – it had to be always and only a layperson. It became forbidden to sell or lease property belonging to the church or a confraternity without the permission of the secular authorities. A week before the sale or lease, they were required to publish an auction, and the procedure had to be renewed every three years (Paruta, 1757, 73). As it happened that the brothers invited non-members of the confraternities to their feasts (they used to organise common breakfast banquets once a year), and that some members of confraternities received payment for participation in the council, it was expressly forbidden to give them any alms, bread, wine, oil or other goods. To this end, it was forbidden to use the legacy of testators or money that was intended for payment of services or masses. Those brothers who paid the *luminaria* could once a year be offered bread in the value of up to 6 solidi (Paruta, 1757, 74).

It seems that in certain confraternities membership was restricted, or that they required a special invitation in order to accept a new member³. This behaviour was

1 As staff were unsupervised in spending communal money, the debtors of the commune were still performing their functions and there were several cases of fraud and other irregularities in the management of communal books, he demanded that the debtors engaged in communal jobs must settle their debts within three months, otherwise they would be excluded from the Great Council (and could only be re-accepted in it after the discharge of all obligations to the commune). They also had to organise the books properly, by keeping revenues and expenditures in separate sections.

2 About *socida* c.f. Mihelič, 1979.

3 ... *ed in certe Fraterne commode viene costumata, di nominarsi in Confratelli dalli Padri li Figliuoli, dalli Fratelli li Fratelli, dalli Zii li Nipoti* ... (Paruta, 1757, 74). Since the confraternities had among their members several members of the same family, that family was able to obtain a majority in voting on the income and expenditure, which probably sometimes led to abuses. It also meant that they were able to elect their members for leadership positions (thus making these functions semi-hereditary) and thus appropriated the confraternity's property to the detriment of other confraternity brothers.

prohibited by the podesta, who required that people join a confraternity out of piety and at the same time pay the *luminaria*. Anyone who did not pay the *luminaria* for three years was to be excluded from the confraternity. Newly elected gastalds and their clerks had to account for all debts and income of the confraternity (also those of the previous gastalds). Those costs which could not be justified, or that were not clearly recorded in the book, would not be reimbursed. If any of the confraternities did not keep their books properly but only had them briefly summarised by the priest, they were required to hire the nearest notary, who had to carry out the audit. The notary, who was additionally to manage the account-books of the confraternity in the future, had to be approved by the podesta. Notaries received between 2 and 6 lire a year for keeping the books. Gastalds and other charity managers were unable to spend any money for extraordinary expenses without the Council's decision, and clerks could not enter any unauthorised expenditures in the cashbooks either. The gastald was not allowed to use the confraternity's money unsupervised, but this also meant that he did not have to give it for the needs of the commune. If the confraternity had a profit, it could spend it for the maintenance of churches and altars. The individual responsible for this operation was the gastald, under the supervision of at least two members of the confraternity, but the purpose of the expenditure still had to be decided upon first by the Council and subsequently confirmed by the podesta. A former gastald could not be selected for the same function again for three years after the termination of his appointment; neither could he perform similar functions in any charity of a similar character. All members could attend the review of accounts at the termination of a gastald's tenure period; while the presence of at least two representatives chosen by the Council (*syndics*) was required. After the completion of the examination, the report had to be submitted to the podesta to sign. (Paruta, 1757, 66-79).

With the termination, Erizzo wanted to improve asset management in charitable institutions and establish greater control over it. Money from charity gifts and from testamentary legacies had to serve only the needs of confraternities. Each newly elected gastald of a confraternity had to make an inventory of the confraternity's

property with his clerk and edit the books, which were to contain clearly separated entries of income and expenses. Poorer confraternities which did not keep records prior to that point had to establish them and make an inventory of their property. A confraternity could use its money for the arrangement and decoration of altars and churches. In exceptional cases, however, they were allowed to devote part of it also to aiding poor people. A gastald who wanted to move to another confraternity or perform a similar function in another charitable institution had to wait for three years. In the case of failure to perform their duties conscientiously, the podesta Andrea Erizzo threatened all employees (treasurers, gastalds, camerlengos, etc.) with severe punishment,⁴ and they had to cover all costs incurred.

It seems that officials in charitable institutions and communal administrations did not respect the ordinances and requirements of their supervisors, as the situation did not seem to improve significantly even after the publication of Erizzo's *terminations*; there arose new forms of fraud and exploitation, which can be found in subsequent terminations of podestas and proveditors. Among them, the termination of Francesco Diedo (1678), Domenico Morosini (1718) and Pietro Benzon (1722) deserve a mention; while special attention was devoted to the issues related to the institution of the confraternity by Gabriel Badoer (1748) and Orazio Dolce (1762/63).

REPORT ON CONFRATERNITIES BY BISHOP AGOSTINO VALIERI FROM 1580

According to previously known data, the first summary account of the confraternities of Koper was made by the apostolic visitor Agostino Valieri, Bishop of Verona⁵, who, in the period between the 4th and 22nd of February 1580 visited the Koper diocese. The inhabitants of Koper welcomed him with a ceremonious reception upon his arrival (Lavrič, 1986, 2). On the 7th of February, when his galley sailed into the port, he was met by numerous ships, decorated with confraternity crosses and banners⁶ (Lavrič, 1986, 30). He was greeted by the representatives of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, namely the Bishop of Koper Janez Ingenerio,⁷ podesta and captain Nicolò Donado and the Bishop of Pula Matej Barbabianca, who was born in Koper.⁸

4 If they did not comply with the ordinances, they were obliged to reimburse the costs, and in addition, they could face monetary, physical punishment or imprisonment. For serious offenses they could have been permanently expelled from the province or, depending on the seriousness of the offense, sentenced to a 7-year sentence on a galley or a 10-year prison sentence. The accused was able to avoid these penalties if he recovered all damages.

5 Augustinus Valerius was Bishop of Verona from the year 1565 (HC, 1968, 331).

6 *Vbi aduentantem triremem Iustinopolitanam prospexere, innumeris eductis nauculis, in eisq[ue] crucibus et vexillis societatum impositis ...*

7 Ioannes Ingenerius, a sub-deacon from Venice, who was a lawyer and professor at the University of Padua. He was Bishop of Koper from 3 December 1576 until 1600 (HC, 1968, 216).

8 Matthaeus Barbabianca, archdeacon of Koper, was Bishop of Pula from 28 April 1567 to the year 1582 (HC, 1968, 216).

According to the Bishop of Koper, the city was inhabited by approximately 4,000 people⁹ with another 6,577 in the 43 villages on the territory of Koper (AMSI, 1890, 100). In addition to the urban parishes of Koper, the diocese was also comprised of 12 outer parishes; namely Šmarje, Kaštel, Korte, Izola, Koštabona, Pomjan, Krkavče, Marezige, Truške, Kubed, Sočerga and Tinjan. According to the canon of Koper Ioannes de Senis, son of the late Christophore, the total annual revenues of the diocese were about 300 ducati 1,860 lire. Most of the diocesan income came from the oil tithe (it received about two percent of the total) and some from the few fields that were being cultivated (Lavrič, 1986, 35). The Koper tax coffers (fiscal chamber)¹⁰ received an income of (depending on taxes) between 14,000 and 15,000 lire per year (AMSI, 1890, 81). According to data for the year 1580¹¹, the fiscal chamber had about 2,400 ducati of income and around 2,500 ducati of expenses. They also leased the tax of the Office of Supervision of the Treasury (*Ufficio sopra le Camere*) amounting to 915 ducati and 4 lire, therefore the fiscal deficit amounted to 690 lire and 4 solidi (AMSI, 1890, 99).

At the time of his visitation, the Bishop Valieri also registered 20 confraternities, which were active at the time in Koper. These were the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot, St. Nicholas, St. Cross, the Madonna of the Servites, St. Name of Jesus, St. Christopher, Crucified in the chapel of St. Thomas, St. Corpus Christi, Crucified in the cathedral church of St. Maria of the Rotunda, St. Maria the New, St. Andrew, St. George (perhaps Gregory, see Lavrič, 1986, 134, 179), St. Sebastian, St. Francis, St. Rocco, St. Nasarius, St. John [the Evangelist], St. Barbara and St. Maria "del bel uerde" (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135). On the 14th February in the cathedral in Koper, Valieri founded the confraternity of "Christian Love" (Lavrič, 1986, 51), so that the actual number of Koper confraternities in 1580 was twenty-one.

Performing a census of individual confraternities was not a complex matter, but it seems that Valieri conducted his visit in accordance with instructions given by the

Council of Trent. In fact, it constitutes a confirmation of how the decisions of the Council were carried out in practice. He set out to verify whether the confraternities adopted and properly managed a statute, if they kept the books correctly and if they had (aged) debtors and unsettled accounts. At the end of the description of the individual confraternities, he added a recommendation to present their accounts (their accounting books) to the Ordinary every year. He also made an inventory of the confraternities' possessions, and from his report it is possible to make an estimation of the economic power of individual confraternities. In total, they had approximately 6,363 lire of income (in cash) (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135), i.e. about 40 percent of the income of the Koper tax coffers, while the communal purse had significantly less money, because they only had income from the 'muda tax' and some other minor income. In 1598, for example, the Koper communal purse had 2,355 lire of income. In Koper, the majority of tax income went into the fiscal chamber, while the situation was much better in nearby Piran, where the communal purse benefited from inflows from the saltpans, fishing and other activities. In 1604 they had 29,498 lire of revenue (Darovec, 2004, 230), while their purse could at times gather up to 11,000 ducati (Darovec, 2004, 176).¹²

Most of the twenty confraternities had a statute, except for the confraternity of St. Barbara¹³ and three women's confraternities. The confraternity of Madonna of the Servites, which was newly established; that of the Crucifix in the cathedral church did not have a statute; St. Maria »del bel uerde" only had a part of the statute, but they could not see it, because it was kept by the clerk, who was in Venice at that time (Lavrič, 1986, 132–134).

The confraternity that had the highest income was that of St. Anthony the Abbot. Every year it received about 2,500 lire about as much as the communal purse. The confraternity of St. Maria the New had about 1,000 lire of revenue, St. Corpus Christi 600, the confraternity of the Crucified in the chapel of St. Thomas and St. Fran-

9 This number is indicated by the bishop of Koper (Lavrič, 1986, 31), while the Koper podesta Nicolò Donado in his report to the Senate reports that there around 5,280 people living in Koper at that time (AMSI, 1890, 85). As a major problem of the urban population he highlighted the swamp around the city and the unbearable stench emanating from it especially in the landward facing area. In August and September around 300 people died, predominantly women and children, three quarters of whom lived in those parts of the area facing landward (AMSI, 1890, 88–89). The problem of the wetlands in the length of about 460 perticas between the door of St. Peter and the Lion Castle and a width of about 75 perticas between the town and castle, and further to a length of about 186 perticas to the salt pans, is also reported the following year by the podesta Alessandro Zorzi (AMSI, 1890, 95). In 1581, the same podesta wrote that at the time there were 4,252 people living in the town (AMSI, 1890, 98).

10 A fundamental work on the provincial fiscal chamber and the Venetian tax policy in Istria was written by Darko Darovec (2004).

11 The podesta and captain delivered the report in 1581.

12 At the time, there were twenty confraternities active on the entire territory of Piran (Lavrič, 1986, 128–131).

13 According to Valieri's report, the confraternity of St. Barbara, which included cannoneers (*bombardieri*, members of the local urban military unit), had been established only 4 months prior to that (Lavrič, 1986, 135), thus probably in November 1579. The confraternity had not yet had a statute at the time, and unfortunately, when consulting the archival sources, we could not trace even a subsequent statute, neither were there any records of cashbooks that could testify regarding its activities and operations. The only things that are preserved are the alphabetical list of members of the confraternity between the years 1799 and 1806 (PAK-6, a. e. 1445) and some material on the merger with the confraternity of St. Christopher (1791). In podesta Alessandro Zorzi's report from the year 1581 it is indicated that there had already been 50 members enrolled in the confraternity, but due to death or some other causes there were in fact no more than 44. He suggested that confraternities should enlist those, "who are able to provide services to a total of 100 cannoneers" (AMSI, 1890, 98).

cis had 500 each, St. Name of Jesus¹⁴ 400, St. Cross¹⁵ and St. John [the Evangelist]¹⁶ while 150,100 lire were received by the confraternities of St. Christopher and St. George. The confraternity of St. Sebastian had 80 lire of income, while the confraternity of St. Nicholas had about 70 lire, St. Maria of The Rotunda around 60 lire of revenues, and 50 lire each by the confraternities of St. Nasarius and St. Maria "del bel uerde".¹⁷ The confraternities with the lowest income were the confraternities of St. Rocco¹⁸ (30 lire), the women's confraternity of the Crucified in the cathedral (12 solidi – the members of the confraternity were likely to have been paying that amount) and the Madonna of the Servites, which did not have any income apart from 3 urns of wine (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135). The actual wealth owned by confraternities was undoubtedly greater, as some confraternities also owned property (vineyards, olive groves, fields). Confraternity members mostly spent their money on worship, maintenance of churches or chapels, eternal light on the altars and breakfast banquets. Those who had property also used the money on cultivating vineyards and harvesting olives.

In Koper there were also two Spittals. The Spittal of St. Nazarius, which was managed by the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot from 1454 onwards, had around 2,000 lire of income from movable and real estate property,¹⁹ the Spittal of St. Mark, on the other hand, in the last four years of its operation had no more than 1,550 lire of income²⁰ (Lavrič, 1986, 135–137).

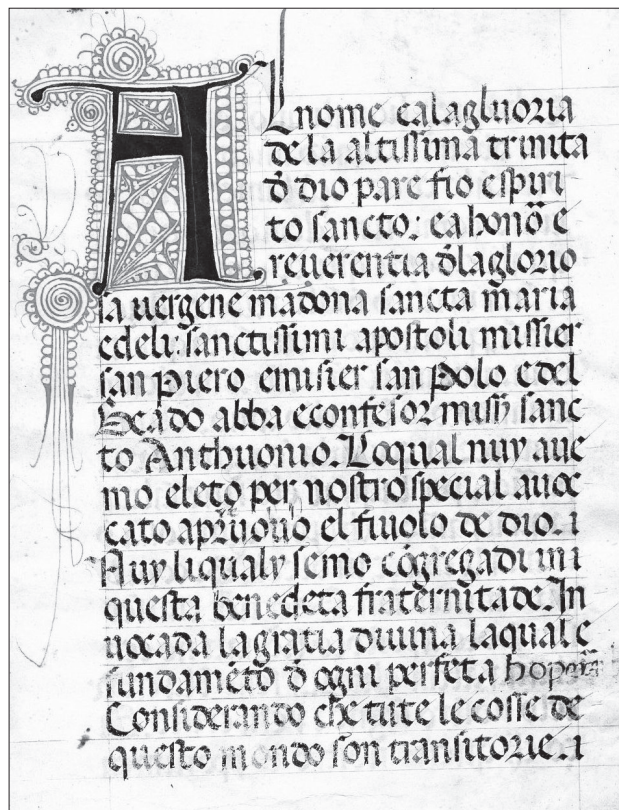


Fig. 1: Statute of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot in Koper, 14th century (ŠAK-KA, a. e. 222, 2r).

Sl. 1: Statut kopske bratovščine sv. Antona opata iz 14. stoletja (ŠAK-KA, a. e. 222, 2r).

14 The confraternity's altar was most probably in the church of St. Anna (Lavrič, 1986, 69).

15 The confraternity's altar was most probably in the church of St. Clare (Lavrič, 1986, 77); Alisi mentions that the mentioned confraternity had its altar in the Cathedral (Alisi, 1932, 55, 62 and 90).

16 The headquarters of the confraternity was probably in the church of John the Evangelist (Lavrič, 1986, 74).

17 Also *S. Maria del Belvedere* (Cigui, 2005, 481).

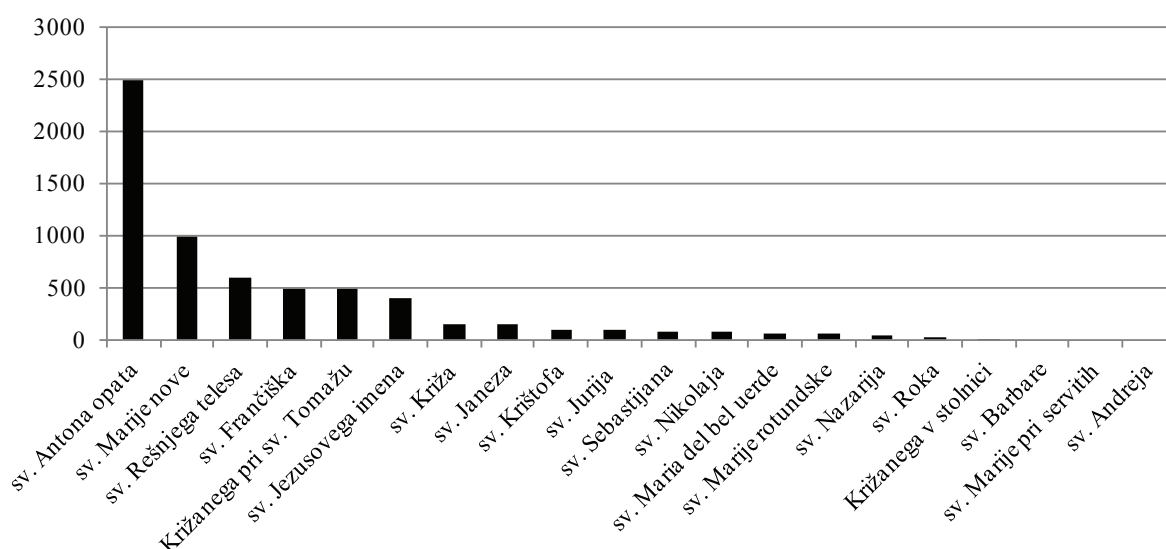
18 The confraternity had its altar in the cathedral church (Lavrič, 1986, 61–62).

19 The Spittal of St. Nazarius accepted the poor of both sexes from the town, foreigners, as well as patients and foundlings. The latter were maintained until they were sent with a nanny to an orphanage in Venice (*Casa di Dio*). Revenue was spent on the needs of the Spittal, clothing, bread, wine, meat and other necessities for aiding the poor and the sick who were not residing in the Spittal, on the cultivation of vineyards and olive groves owned by the Spittal and on the physician and surgeon who treated the poor in the Spittal and on covering the costs for those who were in the Spittal but were not able to leave it in order to earn money by begging. Valieri argues that the building of the Spittal was well maintained. On the ground floor there was a room with a few "beds", which were not equipped; while in the upper part there were six rooms, of which five were equipped with mattresses, sheets and rather good blankets. If it was necessary, they could bring additional "beds" from the lower part. The Spittal also had a well-equipped kitchen and other rooms. In it there lived the poor and two managers (priors), who had an apartment there and received a salary for their work. The revenue was managed by the *nobile*, who was elected annually by the members of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot. At the end of his mandate, the *nobile* had to show the accounts to the confraternity *banca* and the auditors (Lavrič, 1986, 136–137). For more on the Spittal, see Darovec (2005) and Bonin (2009).

20 In 1580 the Spittal revenue had been managed for many years by the Koper local Raymondo de Polo. On the testator's (Trivisano Marco in Venice) request, the Spittal was given by the Venetian treasury 126 lire each year, and this was its only annual income. Although the Spittal was supposed to maintain 8 poor women (offering both accommodation and food), it was only housing 6 women in 1580. They spent one lira on each of them per month. The remaining money was spent for the chaplain to perform masses and on the maintenance of the house (Lavrič, 1986, 135–136). In Naldini's time, the poor women who lived there were only given residence, and only received food from time to time (Darovec, 2001, 187–188).

Table 1: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper confraternities in 1580 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135).**Tabela 1: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) koprskih bratovščin leta 1580 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135).**

Confraternity	Revenue		Confraternity	Revenue	
	lire	percent		lire	percent
St. Anthony the Abbot	2,500.0	39.29	St. Nicholas	74.5	1.17
St. Maria the New	1,000.0	15.72	St. Maria "del bel uerde"	68.0	1.07
St. Corpus Christi	600.0	9.43	St. Maria of the Rotunda	60.0	0.94
St. Francis	500.0	7.86	St. Nazarius	50.0	0.79
Crucified at St. Thomas	500.0	7.86	St. Rocco	30.0	0.47
St. Name of Jesus	400.0	6.29	Crucified in the cathedral	0.6	0.01
St. Cross	150.0	2.36	St. Barbara	0.0	0.00
St. John	150.0	2.36	St. Maria of the Servites	0.0	0.00
St. Christopher	100.0	1.57	St. Andrew	0.0	0.00
St. George (or Gregory)	100.0	1.57	Total	6363.1	100.00
St. Sebastian	80.0	1.26			

**Chart 1: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper confraternities in 1580 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135).****Grafikon 1: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) koprskih bratovščin leta 1580 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135).**

At that time there were 6 confraternities in Izola, while in Piran there were 20 confraternities and one Spittal. The index includes a record of confraternities in the following Koper hinterland villages: Brda, Bezovica, Šmarje, Padna and Loka with one each; Kaštel, Sveti Peter, Kubed, Rižana and Pomjan with two and Krkavče with four, five in Koštabona, six in Marezige, seven in

Črni Kal and eight in Truške; making a total of 45 confraternities (Lavrič, 1986, 195–196).

In the period following the Council of Trent, the operation of confraternities was gaining some new functionality. They were either accepting new statutes and rules or complementing their old ones. Their charitable activity was increasingly emphasised (visits to patients, prisoners



Fig. 2: Luxurious ornaments in the church of St. Nicholas prove that the confraternity took good care of their church and had a feel for art (foto: Vogrin, 2008).

Sl. 2: Bogata okrašena notranjost cerkve sv. Nikolaja dokazuje, da so člani skrbeli za njeno urejenost in imeli čut za umetnost (foto: M. Vogrin, 2008).

and terminally ill members of the confraternity, attending funerals and funeral ceremonies, supporting the sick in receiving the Sacrament, and similar activities).

THE OPERATION OF CONFRATERNITIES IN THE KOPER AREA DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 17TH AND THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The most comprehensive summary account on secular confraternities for the entire Venetian Istria is offered by the inventory of their revenues and costs, which was performed by the Koper podesta and captain Lorenzo Donato in order to determine their taxes to obtain funds for the establishment of a seminary in Koper on the 25th of May 1675. According to his data, there were nineteen confraternities in Koper at the time, and, along with the administration of the property of the cathedral (*Fabrica del Duomo*), twenty payers of contributions; in the territory of Koper 100 and 512 in the entire Venetian Istria. Based on their income, a tax was levied on the confraternities, which they had to pay in order to contribute to

the costs of the establishment and annually thereafter for the maintenance of the Koper seminary.²¹ The confraternities from the Koper territory were required to contribute 93 ducati, while the remaining 412 confraternities 377 ducati.²² With the administration of the cathedral, Koper confraternities had a total of 8,493 lire of income and 5,026 lire of costs.²³ The amounts of taxes determined for each confraternity were different. They paid from a minimum of 1 lira 11 solidi, then 3 lire 2 solidi, 6 lire 4 solidi, 7 lire 16 solidi, 9 lire 6 solidi, 12 lire 8 solidi, 18 lire 12 solidi, 31 to a maximum of 35 lire (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, *Seminario Q*).²⁴ The confraternities

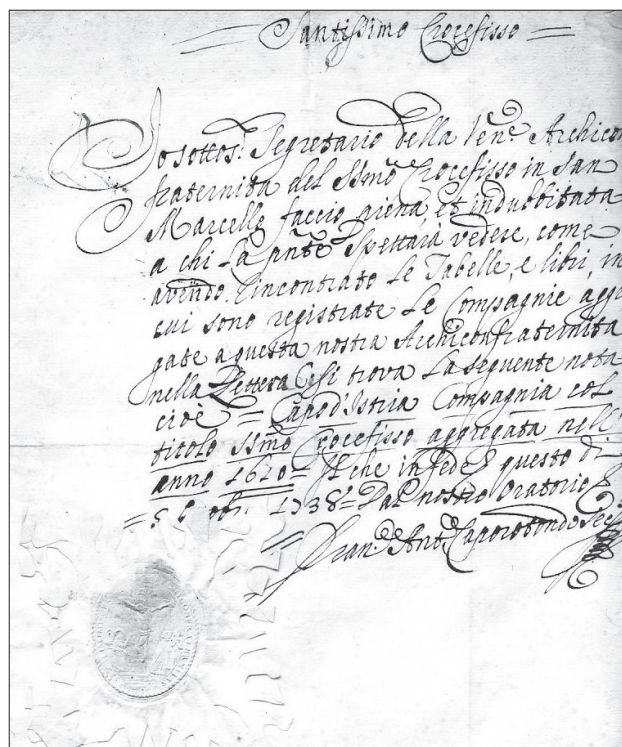


Fig. 3: A document from 1738 on the accession of the confraternity of the Crucified in the church of St. Thomas to the Roman archconfraternity (ŽAK-ŽU, *Bratovščinske knjige, Statuti della Venerabile Arciconfraternita del santissimo Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma*). Sl. 3: Dokument iz leta 1738 o vključitvi kopske bratovščine Križanega pri cerkvi sv. Tomaža v rimsko nadbratovščino (ŽAK-ŽU, *Bratovščinske knjige, Statuti della Venerabile Arciconfraternita del santissimo Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma*).

²¹ *Collegio di Capodistria*. See more on the subject in Žitko, 1994, 123–132.

²² PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, *Seminario Q*, 18; BCT-AD, a. e. 2 D 31, *Per li Reverendi Padri delle Scuole Pie direttori del Seminario di Capodistria contro le Scuole della Città e giurisdizione di Pola 1675–1742*, 34–35; La Provincia, 1874–76, 1853; AMSI, 1900, 73–74.

²³ The original document lists 101 confraternities for the Koper territory, which together had 26,577 lire of revenues and 18,932 lire of expenses, while there are 516 confraternities listed for the entire Venetian Istria, with 147,435 lire of revenue and 95,614 lire of expenses (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, *Seminario Q*).

²⁴ Due to the poor state of the document, the tax amount for 30 of the confraternities is not visible, thus making the sum slightly lower. On the territory of Koper, the calculated deficit is 14 lire and 13 solidi; while for the entire Venetian Istria it amounts to 57 lire and 16 solidi.

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Scuola di S. Antonio	1500	1500	1500	13.1
Scuola di S. Maria Nuova	750	750	750	12.8
Scuola di S. Rocco	520	520	520	6.4
Scuola di S. Stefano	220	220	220	6.4
Scuola di S. Barbara	500	500	500	6.4
Scuola di S. Maria della Roda	510	510	510	6.4
Scuola di S. Nicolo	250	250	250	3.2
Scuola di S. Francesco	520	520	520	3.2
Scuola di S. Rocco	90	90	90	3.2
Scuola di S. Rocco	128	128	128	3.2
Scuola di S. Francesco	150	150	150	3.2
Scuola di S. Maria	80	80	80	3.2
Scuola di S. Maria	90	90	90	3.2
Scuola di S. Maria	130	130	130	3.2
Scuola di S. Cristoforo	120	120	120	3.2
Scuola di S. Nicolo	270	270	270	6.4
Scuola di S. Duomo	950	950	950	12.8
Scuola di S. Maria della Roda	900	900	900	12.8
Scuola di S. Maria della Roda	800	800	800	12.8
Scuola di S. Maria della Roda	600	600	600	9.6

Fig. 4: The revenue of Koper confraternities and the taxes have been levied for the establishment of the Koper seminar in 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).

Sl. 4: Prihodki koprskih bratovščin in davki, ki so jim bili odmerjeni za ustanovitev koprskega seminarja leta 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).

were then required to pay these amounts each year. All the urban confraternities in Koper had to pay 136 lire and 8 solidi a year, and together with the *administration of the parish church* 148 lire and 16 solidi (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).

Among the urban confraternities, the highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot, which with 1,500 lire, had more than 17 percent of the total confraternities' annual revenue and it was also allocated the highest tax amount of 31 lire. The confraternities of St. Maria's the New and the two located in the area called Lazaret which had incomes of 750 to 900 lire, together with the *Fabrica* paid 12 lire 8 solidi; the confraternity of St. Maria della Roda of Rižana, with 600 lire of annual income, paid a tax of 9 lire 6 solidi; while the confraternities of St. Barbara, St. Sebastian, St. Maria of the Rotunda, St. Maria of the Servites and St. Nicholas, with an income between 270 and 500 lire, paid 6 lire 4 solidi of tax. The remaining nine confraternities were paying a tax of 3 lire 2 solidi.

According to the podesta Donada, in this period all the city confraternities operated positively. In average, they put aside about 40 percent of the annual revenues for the following year.

In addition to the twenty urban confraternities, the territory of Koper had another 80 confraternities active in the nearby villages. The latter had a total of 18,101 lire of revenue and 13,586 lire of costs. The total amount remaining in their accounts was 7,982 lire, i.e. 30 percent of all the money obtained.

Of the village confraternities, the ones with the high-

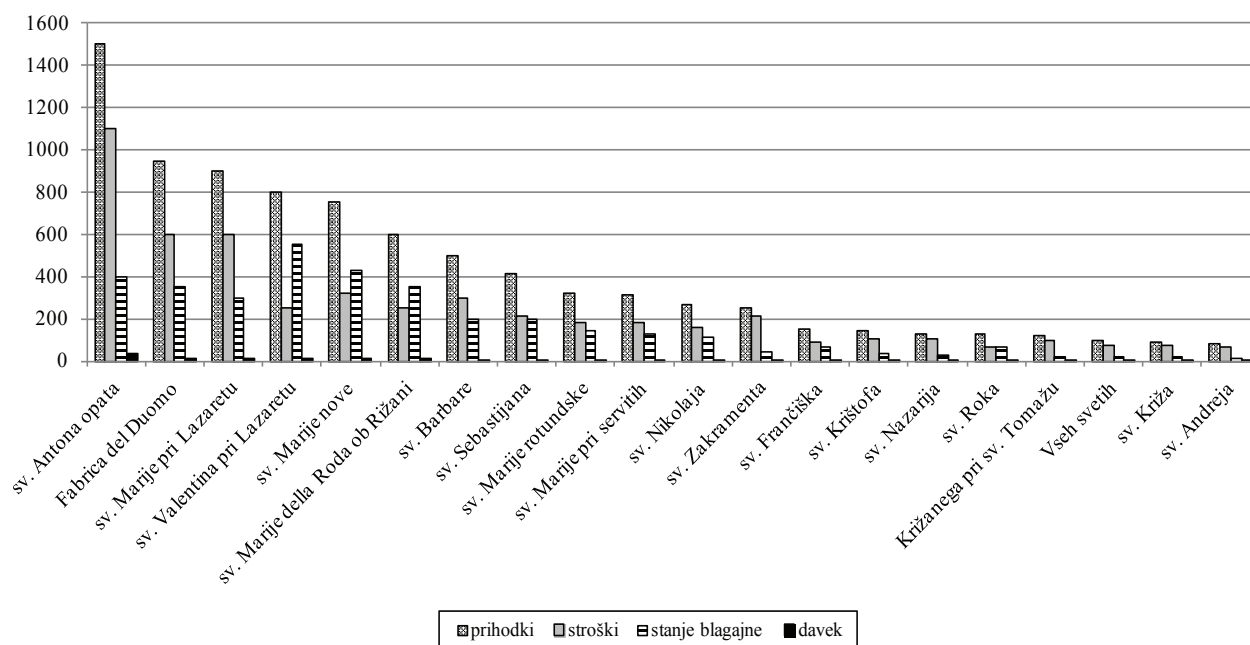


Chart 2: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper confraternities in 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).

Grafikon 2: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) koprskih bratovščin leta 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).

Table 2: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper confraternities in 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).**Tabela 2: Prihodki in stroški (v lire) kopskih bratovščin leta 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).**

Confraternity	Revenue		Expenses		Fund Balance		Tax
	lire	percent	lire	percent	lire	percent	
St. Anthony the Abbot	1,500	17.66	1,100	21.89	400	26.67	31.0
Fabrica del Duomo	950	11.19	600	11.94	350	36.84	12.4
St. Maria at Lazaret	900	10.60	600	11.94	300	33.33	12.4
St. Valentine at Lazaret	800	9.42	250	4.97	550	68.75	12.4
St. Maria the New	750	8.83	320	6.37	430	57.33	12.4
St. Maria dellaRoda of Rižana	600	7.06	250	4.97	350	58.33	9.3
St. Barbara	500	5.89	300	5.97	200	40.00	6.2
St. Sebastian	410	4.83	210	4.18	200	48.78	6.2
St. Maria of the Rotunda	320	3.77	180	3.58	140	43.75	6.2
St. Maria at the Servites	310	3.65	180	3.58	130	41.94	6.2
St. Nicholas	270	3.18	160	3.18	110	40.74	6.2
St. Sacrament	250	2.94	210	4.18	40	16.00	3.1
St. Francis	150	1.77	86	1.71	64	42.67	3.1
St. Christopher	140	1.65	102	2.03	38	27.14	3.1
St. Nazarius	130	1.53	105	2.09	25	19.23	3.1
St. Rocco	128	1.51	65	1.29	63	49.22	3.1
Crucified at St. Thomas	120	1.41	100	1.99	20	16.67	3.1
All Saints	95	1.12	72	1.43	23	24.21	3.1
St. Cross	90	1.06	70	1.39	20	22.22	3.1
St. Andrew	80	0.94	66	1.31	14	17.50	3.1
Total	8,493	100.00	5,026	100.00	3,467	40.82	148.8

est revenues were those of St. Sacrament in Dekani and of the Blessed Madonna in Bezovica (800 lire each), while 500 lire went to the confraternity of St. Elena from Podpeč, 493 lire to St. Sacrament of Sočerga, 490 lire to St. Sacrament of Šterna, 400 lire to St. Cecilia of Loka,

350 lire to St. Michael from Šterna, and 300 lire each to the confraternities of St. Lucia from Zanigrad and St. Maria of Movraž. Seventeen confraternities had an income of between 200 and 250 lire; thirty-two between 100 and 190 lire and six had less than 100 lire.

Table 4: Revenue (in lire) of Koper urban confraternities from livellos and rent in 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079).**Tabela 4: Prihodki (v lire) kopskih mestnih bratovščin od livelov in najemnin leta 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079).**

Confraternity	Livellos		Other income		Total revenue	
	lire	percent	lire	percent	lire	percent
the Spittal of St. Nazarius ²⁵	4430.35	77.90	1256.65	22.10	5687.00	46.10
St. Anthony the Abbot	1890.25	53.79	1624.00	46.21	3514.25	28.49
St. Name of Jesus	377.30	75.16	124.70	24.84	502.00	4.07
St. Sebastian	229.20	59.50	156.00	40.50	385.20	3.12
St. Cross	377.45	100.00			377.45	3.06
St. Francis	339.10	93.91	22.00	6.09	361.10	2.93
St. Nazarius	285.65	82.64	60.00	17.36	345.65	2.80
St. Sacrament	311.75	97.19	9.00	2.81	320.75	2.60
St. Christopher	180.05	100.00			180.05	1.46
St. Maria of the Rotunda	151.00	88.30	20.00	11.70	171.00	1.39
St. Jakob	139.00	100.00			139.00	1.13
St. Maria at the servites	117.50	87.69	16.50	12.31	134.00	1.09
St. Barbara	74.00	100.00			74.00	0.60
St. Andrew	8.40	12.28	60.00	87.72	68.40	0.55
All Saints	54.00	100.00			54.00	0.44
St. Nicholas	22.20	100.00			22.40	0.18
Total	8987.20	72.85	3348.85	27.15	12336.05	100.00

²⁵ The mentioned source was also published by Ivan Erceg. The amounts of revenue differ for 23 lire from Luciani's transcript, since the Spittal is supposed to only have had 4,407 lire and 7 soldi of revenue (Erceg, 1983, 105).

Table 3: Revenues and costs (in lire) of confraternities in the entire Koper territory in 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).**Tabela 3: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin na celotnem koprskem teritoriju leta 1675 (PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14).**

Settlement	Number of confraternities	Revenue		Expenses		Fund Balance	Tax for the seminar
		lire	percent	lire	percent		
Koper	20	8,493	31.94	5,026	27.00	3,467	148.80
Dekani	6	1,800	6.77	1,360	7.31	440	40.30
Marčenigla	2	1,064	4.00	722	3.88	342	18.60
Podpeč	4	1,030	3.87	790	4.24	240	24.80
Bezovica	2	1,000	3.76	760	4.08	240	18.60
Salež	3	991	3.73	783	4.21	208	18.60
Sočerga	4	963	3.62	756	4.06	207	24.80
Movraž	4	890	3.35	710	3.81	180	21.70
Sdregna	3	855	3.22	598	3.21	257	27.90
Strena	3	800	3.01	590	3.17	210	12.20
Nugla	1	800	3.01	400	2.15	400	12.40
Rožar	5	780	2.93	670	3.60	110	12.40
Loka	3	750	2.82	580	3.12	170	15.50
Grimalda	2	645	2.43	457	2.46	188	18.60
Čnica	2	628	2.36	420	2.26	208	12.40
Marezige	5	540	2.03	355	1.91	185	15.50
Šmarje	5	510	1.92	390	2.10	120	15.50
Mnum	1	434	1.63	350	1.88	84	6.20
Zanigrad	2	400	1.50	280	1.50	120	9.30
Kubed	3	370	1.39	295	1.58	75	9.30
Sveti Anton	2	320	1.20	270	1.45	50	9.30
Pregara	1	308	1.16	210	1.13	98	6.20
Čepič	1	280	1.05	240	1.29	40	3.10
Cudel pri Grimaldi	1	223	0.84	180	0.97	43	6.20
Koštabona	2	220	0.83	180	0.97	40	6.20
Padna	1	220	0.83	180	0.97	40	3.10
Zazid	1	200	0.75	180	0.97	20	6.20
Pomjan	2	180	0.68	150	0.81	30	4.75
Puče	1	150	0.56	120	0.64	30	3.10
Krkavče	1	120	0.45	100	0.54	20	3.10
Rakitovec	1	120	0.45	80	0.43	40	3.10
Lopar	1	100	0.38	80	0.43	20	3.10
Popetre	1	100	0.38	90	0.48	10	3.10
Truške	1	100	0.38	80	0.43	20	3.10
Oskoruš	1	80	0.30	70	0.38	10	3.10
Gabrovica	1	70	0.26	60	0.32	10	3.10
Labor	1	60	0.23	50	0.27	10	1.55
Total	100	26594	100.00	18612	100.00	7982	554.80

Number of confraternities in the territory of Koper in 1741 and their revenues from real estate

According to a report on the financial situation of the Istrian confraternities of 26th July 1741, sent to the Venetian Senate by the podesta and captain of Koper

Paulo Condulmier, Koper had 15 confraternities and a communal Spittal of St. Nazarius, administered by the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot.

The confraternities with the highest revenues from real estate property and livellos were those of St. Anthony the Abbot (3,514 lire 5 solidi) and the Spittal of St.

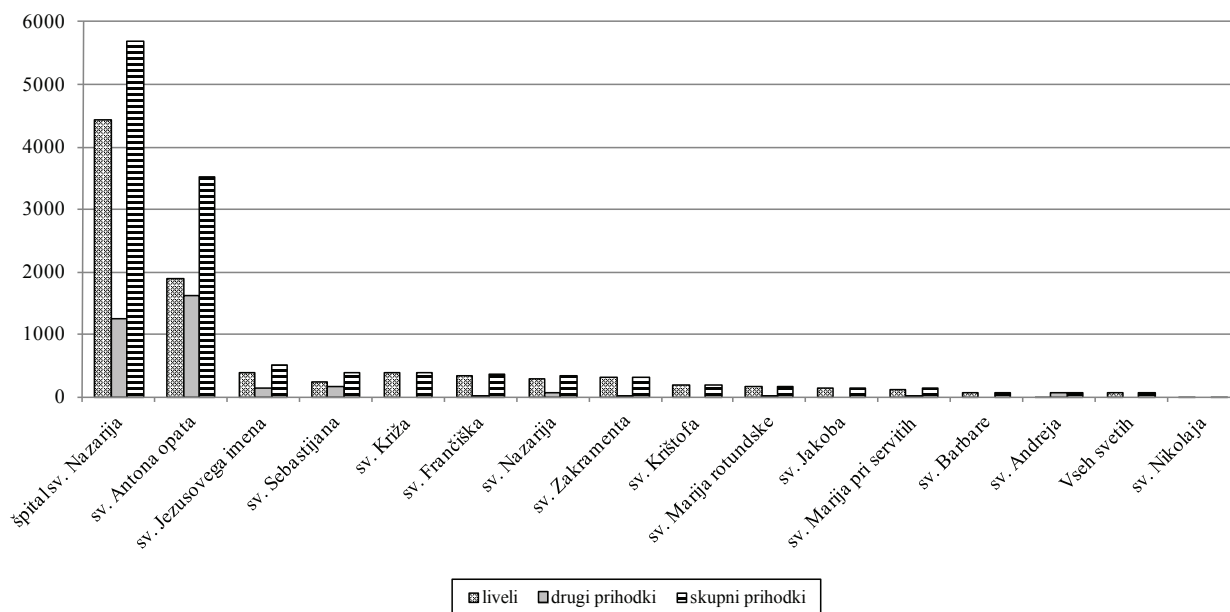


Chart 3: Revenue (in lire) of Koper urban confraternities in 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079).

Grafikon 3: Prihodki (v lirah) koprskih mestnih bratovščin leta 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079).

Nazarius with 5,687 lire, which in also had the highest number of immoveble property and the highest income. They owned fields, vineyards, olive groves, salt pans, repositories and houses, as well as placing substantial amounts of money into the *livello francabile* or investing it in the *Monte di Pietà*. Together they had 9,201 lire 5 solidi, which was almost 45 percent of the income of all the confraternities in the territory of Koper; 75 percent of income of Koper urban confraternities. The only other one to have had more than 500 lire of yearly income from real estate was the confraternity of St. Name of Jesus from Koper (502 lire). Five confraternities had between 320 and 385 lire of revenue, four had between 130 and 180 lire and four under 100 lire. The confraternity that had the least income from real estate was that of St. Nicholas, on average only about 22 lire. The latter were leasing their shipyard. In 1758, for example, they received 22 lire of rent from it (PAK-6, a. e. 1439, *Libro de Amministrazioni della Scuola di san Nicolò*, 1694–1806).

There were active confraternities also in 34 Koper hinterland villages: namely in Dekani there were six; in Rožar and Hrastovlje five; while Tinjan, Sveti Anton, Podpeč, Kubed, Movraž, Koštabona, Krkavče and Pomjan had four each; Osp, Loka, Šmarje and Lazaret had three each; Bezovica, Rakitovec, Smokvice, Gračišče, Zanigrad and Marežige had two; while Gabrovica, Zazid, Dol, Nova Vas, Puče, Padna, Boršt, Truške, Trebeše, Gažon, Merišča, Oskoruš and Sveti Peter had one active confraternity each. In total, there were 85 confraternities in these villages and 101 on the whole territory (Luciani, 1872, 1079–1080).

Confraternities in rural areas owned less real estate. These were mostly fields, however, they also had a few vineyards, olive groves and fallows, while they only had a few houses. The rural confraternity that had the highest income from real-estate *livellos* was that of St. Sacrament of Dekani, which had a 444 lire 13 solidi income, therefore considerably more than most urban confraternities. Of all the confraternities in the territory of Koper, the following had an income of between 300 and 400 lire: St. Sacrament, St. Nasarius, St. Sebastian, and St. Cross of Koper and the Blessed Virgin of Lazaret, while three confraternities had between 200 and 300 lire of income. 25 confraternities had an income of between 100 and 200 lire, and as many as 62 confraternities i.e. 61 percent of the whole, had less than 100 lire of income. During this time there were 18 confraternities in Izola with a property of 4,345 lire and 16 solidi, which was 3.4 percent of the entire property of all confraternities from *livellos* and rent. As mentioned, the confraternities received their income from loans and leases (either of houses or land and tithes), while smaller confraternities (especially in rural areas) had less real estate property and consequently lower revenues from it.

In any event, the total revenues of the confraternities were high and they therefore represented a prominent economic entity both in the province as the commune of Koper. Altogether, a hundred confraternities with the Spittal of St. Nazarius had 20,560 lire 13 solidi annual income from lending money and letting real-estate, which was 16 percent of the total amount of all Istrian confraternities (127,079 lire 7 solidi). They generated the bulk of their revenue by lending money (12,797 lire

Table 5: Revenue (in lire) of Koper confraternities from livellos and real estate in the hinterland villages in 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079-1080).**Tabela 5: Prihodki (v lirah) bratovščin od livelov in nepremičnin po zalednih koprskih vaseh leta 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079–1080).**

Village	Number	Livellos		Other income		Revenue of confraternities	
		lire	percent	lire	percent	total	average on one
Dekani	6	559.45	48.97	583.10	51.03	1142.55	190.43
Rožar	5	130.25	18.26	583.10	81.74	713.35	142.67
Lazaret	3	291.00	52.62	262.00	47.38	553.00	184.33
Hrastovlje	5	333.50	61.93	205.00	38.07	538.50	107.70
Krkavče	4	37.50	7.71	449.00	92.29	486.50	121.63
Tinjan	4	265.00	65.11	142.00	34.89	407.00	101.75
Sv. Anton	4	65.25	16.51	330.00	83.49	395.25	98.81
Podpeč	4	182.00	47.15	204.00	52.85	386.00	96.50
Kubed	4	274.40	76.35	85.00	23.65	359.40	89.85
Movraž	4	254.00	71.55	101.00	28.45	355.00	88.75
Loka	3	144.00	40.68	210.00	59.32	354.00	118.00
Šmarje	3	223.70	78.85	60.00	21.15	283.70	94.57
Zazid- St. Martina	1	206.00	80.47	50.00	19.53	256.00	256.00
Bezovica	2	38.00	15.51	207.00	84.49	245.00	122.50
Osp	3	137.10	57.80	100.00	42.16	237.20	79.07
Pomjan	4	67.90	32.66	140.00	67.34	207.90	51.98
Rakitovec	2	17.80	8.78	185.00	91.22	202.80	101.40
Koštabona	4			172.00	100.00	172.00	43.00
Gračišče	2	88.10	63.79	50.00	36.21	138.10	69.05
Marezige	2	50.40	39.87	76.00	60.13	126.40	63.20
Zanigrad	2	46.00	36.51	80.00	63.49	126.00	63.00
Sv. Peter - St. Peter	1	125.00	100.00			125.00	125.00
Pučje - Blessed Virgin	1			120.00	100.00	120.00	120.00
Gažon- St. Peter	1	55.40	48.01	60.00	51.99	115.40	115.40
Smokvica	2	75.00	71.43	30.00	28.57	105.00	52.50
Nova vas - Holy virgin	1	21.65	26.52	60.00	73.48	81.65	81,65
Padna - St. Catherine	1			80.00	100.00	80.00	80.00
Gabrovica- St. Nicholas	1	33.10	48.60	35.00	51.40	68.10	68.10
Dol - St. John	1	2.50	4.00	60.00	96.00	62.50	62.50
Trebeše - St. Marina	1	19.80	33.11	40.00	66.89	59.80	59.80
Boršt - Blessed Virgin	1	9.70	16.52	49.00	83.48	58.70	58.70
Merišče - St. Sebastian	1	21.20	41.41	30.00	58.59	51.20	51.20
Truške - Blessed Virgin	1	27.00	57.45	20.00	42.55	47.00	47.00
Oskoruš - St. George	1	10.00	25.00	30.00	75.00	40.00	40.00
Total	85	3,791.90	46.04	4,443.45	53.96	8,235.35²⁶	190.43

26 The amount of total revenue of all the confraternities in the villages of the territory of Koper differs from Luciani's document copy for 9 lire and 3 solidi, namely the confraternity of St. Cecilia in Loka was said to have, instead of 66 lire 14 solidi, 3 solidi less income, and the confraternities of St. Rocco 10 lire less, St. Anthony the Abbot of Sveti Anton had 10 lire more and the confraternity of St. Maria of Boršt had 9 lire less (Erceg, 1983, 105–108).

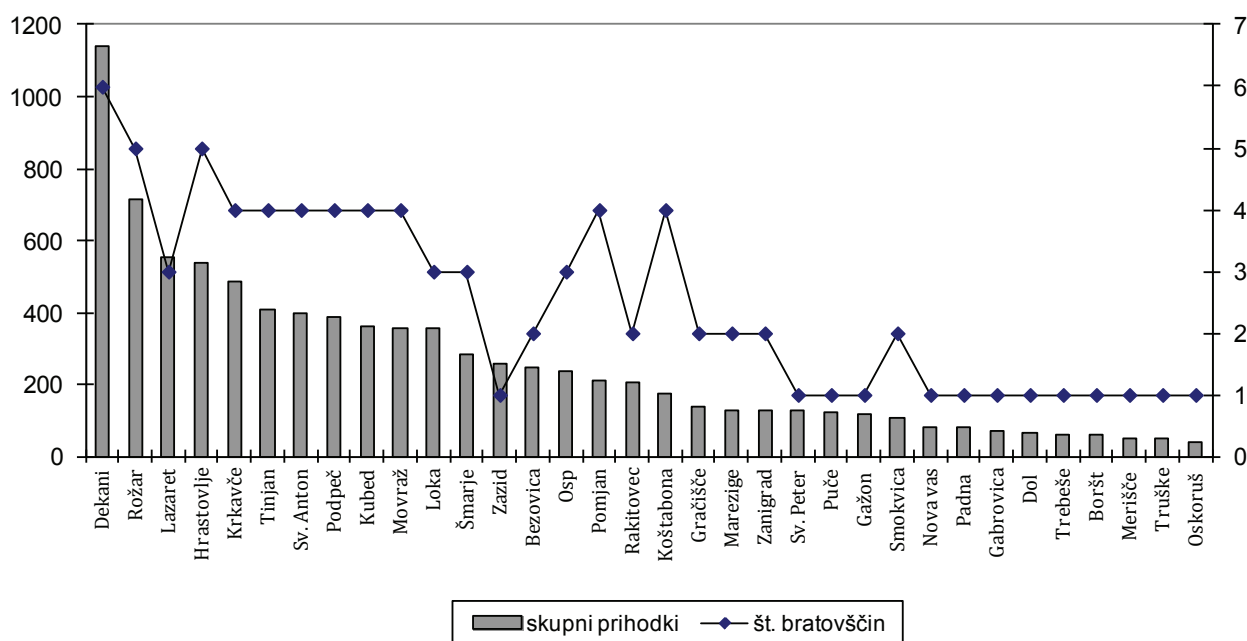


Chart 4: Revenue (in lire, left ordinate) from livellos and real estate of the confraternities and their number (right ordinate) in Koper hinterland villages in 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079–1080).

Grafikon 4: Prihodki (v lirah; leva ordinata) bratovščin od livelov in nepremičnin ter njihovo število (desna ordinata) po zalednih koprskih vaseh leta 1741 (Luciani, 1872, 1079–1080).

7 solidi); by renting out real estate they got 7,763 lire 6 solidi (Luciani, 1872, N° 23, 1124). At the 6-percent interest rate at which they were lending money, their total financial assets can be estimated at 213,289 lire. The 15 urban confraternities and the town Spittal, which generated 8,987 lire of revenue through lending money, could obtain the mentioned inflow from a capital in the value of 149,786 lire, while the 85 rural confraternities received 3,791 lire through lending money, which means that they lent around 63,198 lire to various individuals. The ratio of revenue from lending money and other rentals differed between urban and rural confraternities. Urban confraternities were making as much as 72 percent of their annual income by lending money, while the rural ones made around 46 percent that way.

In about the same period (in 1748) the Koper communal purse had 4,109 lire 16 solidi of revenue (Darovec, 2004, 230, 232–238), the Piran purse had 13,629 lire (Darovec, 2004, 227), and the Koper fiscal chamber had 76,000 lire of revenue (Darovec, 2004, 221). Compared with it, the Koper confraternities had about 27 percent of the income of the fiscal chamber and as much as five times the revenue of the communal pot.

Number of confraternities in the territory of Koper in 1797

At the end of the Venetian Republic, the new (imperial) government made an inventory of the property belonging to the confraternities. At the request of the political and economic court of second instance (*Tribunale di Seconda Istanza Politico, ed Economico*) in Trieste, the inventory was made on the 28th of September, 1797 by Antonio Solveni, the auditor who had already been controlling the confraternities' assets under the previous government. At the request of the Venetian government, he audited the books of the majority of the confraternities and the Spittal every year - some of them every three or six years - so that he had already carried out audits for the previous five years for most confraternities. The Spittal of St. Nazarius and the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot, which also had their own Spittal, called St. Anthony Abbot, were led by the *providur nobile* and the gastald. Since the administration was changed every three or even six years, their operations were reviewed in the same time periods also under Venetian government; usually in the last days of March.²⁶ All other con-

27 PAK-6, a. e. 1451, *Libro M delle Amministrazioni della Scuola di S. Antonio Abbate in Capodistria*, 1763–1779.



Fig. 5: *Insignia, fèr and fanò from the cathedral church in Koper (photo: Z. Bonin, 2009).*

Sl. 5: *Insignija, fèr in fanò iz koprške stolne cerkve (foto: Z. Bonin, 2009).*

fraternities were revised in January. Since it was compulsory for confraternities to pay tax to the Venetian state, some became overdrawn.

The confraternities received the majority of their revenue from interest on the livellos (in cash and kind) from rents and charity donations; but also from the sale of old wax, equipment (e.g. lanterns or old frocks for the burial of the members), lending the catafalque, etc. Some of the costs were periodically regular while others were occasional. Periodic costs included the purchase of wax and oil, paying for masses, payment for work in the fields and for the confraternity services; occasionally, they repaired houses and other buildings that they owned, purchased equipment for processions and liturgies.

The gastald and his officials had to ensure that all income to which the confraternity was entitled was collected; otherwise he would have had to cover the deficit himself. He also had to ensure that all the fields owned



Fig. 6: *One of the symbols carried by the confraternity members during processions (photo: Z. Bonin, 2009).*

Sl. 6: *Eno od znamenj, ki so jih člani bratovščin nosili v procesijah (foto: Z. Bonin, 2009).*

by the confraternities were cultivated and all crops (e.g. olives, wine, fruit, salt) belonging to the confraternity were harvested. He had to supervise all works and costs. When houses, churches, warehouses, salt depots and the like were renovated with the confraternities' money, he had to obtain a preliminary assessment of the estimated cost with the public appraisers. Only on the basis of these evaluations could the Council adopt a decision and select the supervisors who would later help the gastald.

The public scribe (in the last period it was Girolamo Gavardo, a public notary) also reviewed the administration of all confraternities before entering its details in the main cashbook. When the confraternity officers completed the census of their books, called *giornaletto*,²⁸ the scribe audited them – particularly their management of the accounts, both income (type and amount) and expenses. They could not deviate from current market prices. Gastalds were required to attach original invoices for justification of the costs. The surplus of money was then handed on to the next gastald. The next person who reviewed the operations of the confraternity was the auditor (at the end of the 18th century, this job was performed

28 They had to bring it to his public office.

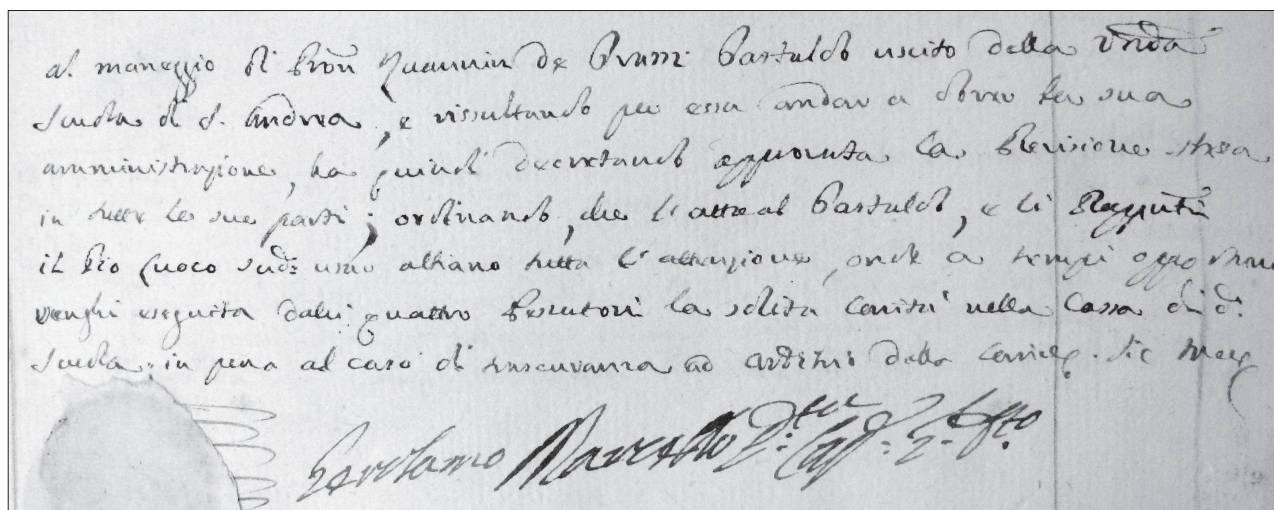


Fig. 7: Record of the review of financial operations, the podesta's signature and stamp in the book of the confraternity of St. Andrew in 1769 (PAK-6, a. e. 1446, Scuola di S. Andrea di Capodistria, 1762–1806, 5r).

Sl. 7: Zapis o pregledu poslovanja, podestatov podpis in žig v bratovščinski knjigi sv. Andreja leta 1769 (PAK-6, a. e. 1446, Scuola di S. Andrea di Capodistria, 1762–1806, 5r).

by the abovementioned Antonio Solveni). Following the audit of the books, he forwarded the written report to the Koper podesta and captain, and his office.

The court of Trieste and the new government required from Solveni that he review all revenues and expenditure, placing special attention to the management structure (administration) and suggesting improvements so as to enable the charities to better carry out their work better.

Urban confraternities

In 1797 there were seven active confraternities in the town, including the Spittal of St. Nazarius. The latter, after the acquisition of the heritage of the Gavardo family of Koper stood out among all, as it had 13,401 lire of income in the preceding three years – an average of 4,467 lire per year – while the annual costs amounted to around 4,429 lire. The highest income (4,233 lire) among the confraternities was still that of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot, which had more than a quarter of the total revenues of all confraternities in the city. Following the accession of six smaller confraternities, the financial situation also improved for the confraternity of St. Sacrament,²⁹ which took care of most of the religious ceremonies and of the eternal light in the cathedral. With annual revenues of around 4,000

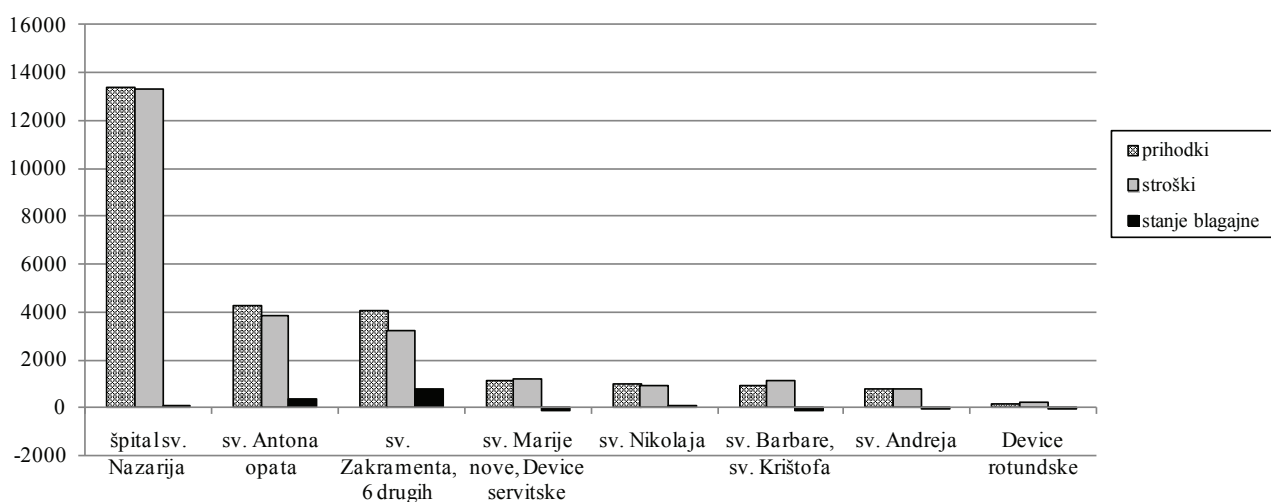
lire, it had about one quarter of the total revenues of all confraternities.

Among the confraternities, the highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot and St. Sacrament. As the manager of the Spittal, the former was entitled to state funds for its maintenance, so it received part of the money obtained from taxes (*capitali censuari*); it additionally received an annual rent of 224 lire – about 5.3 percent of annual revenues – from the coffers of the X. Council of Venice. It received about 25 percent of the money from rents of houses, salt and lawsuits and about 7.6 percent from charity donations by the members. The confraternity of St. Sacrament and its associated members received about 48 percent of their revenues from livellos, 12.6 from the rental of property, almost 20 percent of luminaria, charitable donations from residents of the city; while the remaining 20 percent came from taxes (especially on wax, lanterns and the sale of old wax) contributed by the Koper fiscal chamber. The confraternity of St. Andrew, which was a confraternity of fishermen, only received 31 lire from livellos (i.e. 4 percent), about 6 percent from rents and all the rest from donations by the members of the confraternity. A large percentage of the money (just over 40 percent of the total confraternities' revenue) was collected by the members of the confraternities of St. Maria the New and the Servite Madonna;

29 In 1787 it annexed the confraternity of St. Nazarius with about 322 lire of regular income, St. Name of Jesus with 302 lire, St. Francis with 484 lire and St. Sebastian with about 227 lire revenue (ŽAK-ŽU, Bratovščinske knjige, N.o 54, Knjiga zasedanja kapitlja bratovščine sv. Zakramenta – *Libro parte Capitoli della Venerande Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento*). The annexed confraternities were obliged to hand in all their movable and real estate property, tools, utilities, and wax (DAR-396, Puljski kaptol 1303–1882, Bratovštine u Istri 1459–1820, *Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento* (1626–1806), Kopar, t. e. 45, a. e. 111, 61). Since the confraternity's financial situation improved, it also had to accept all their charitable duties, while the members of these confraternities were able to join the confraternity of St. Sacrament.

Table 6: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper urban confraternities and the Spittal in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, No 580).**Tabela 6: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) koprskih mestnih bratovščin in špitala leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, No 580).**

Confraternity	Revenue			Expenses			Fund Balance
	lire	percent		lire	percent		
the Spittal of St. Nazarius ³⁰	13,401	52.29	26.75	13,288	54.02	28.14	112
St. Anthony the Abbot	4,233	16.52	25.35	3,839	15.61	24.39	393
St. Sacrament, 6 other	4,043	15.77	24.22	3,228	13.12	20.51	814
St. MariaNew, the Servite Virgin	1,099	4.29	6.58	1,210	4.92	7.69	-111
St. Nicholas	973	3.80	5.83	942	3.83	5.98	31
St. Barbara, St. Christopher	940	3.67	5.63	1,099	4.47	6.98	-159
St. Andrew	753	2.94	4.51	799	3.25	5.08	-46
Virgin of the Rotunda	188	0.73	1.13	194	0.79	1.23	-5
Total	25,630	100.00	100.00	24,599	100.00	100.00	1,029

**Chart 5: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koper urban confraternities and the Spittal in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, No 580).****Grafikon 5: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) koprskih mestnih bratovščin in špitala leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, No 580).**

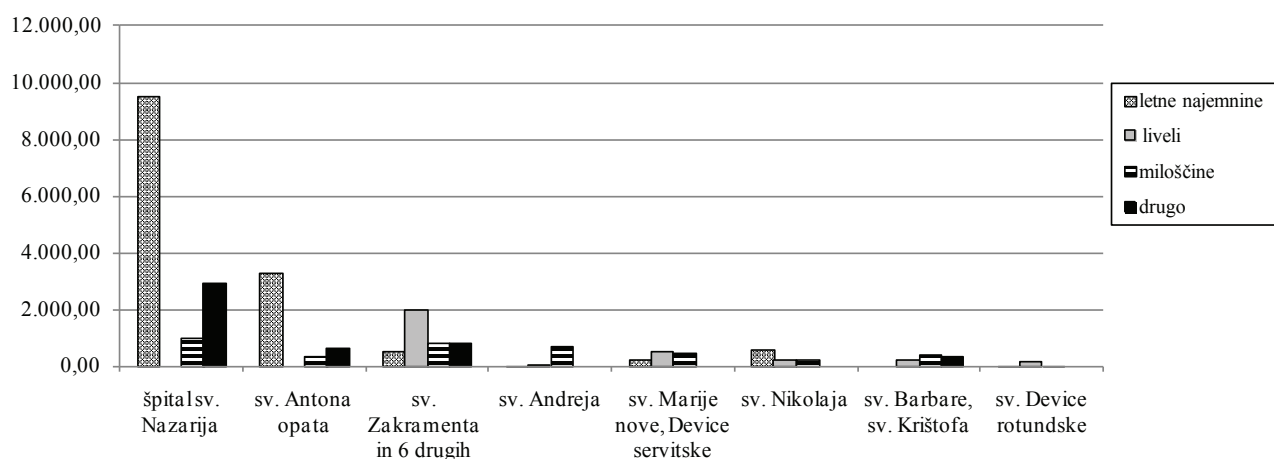
43 percent from livellos, the rest being from rent on real estate property. Sailors, who gathered in the confraternity of St. Nicholas, contributed 24 percent to the coffers from charity; 55 percent was obtained from shipyard rentals, the lease on mail service from Venice to Koper and back and from old wax; and about 20 percent from the payments of livellos (money), which were mostly in the form of loans to confraternity members. The confraternities of St. Barbara and Christopher, whose members

were cannonneers and urban police, got around 40 percent of the money from luminarium fees and other charity donations; about 36 percent came from prizes for shooting and old wax sales; while 23 percent of annual revenue came from livellos. The poorest confraternity, that of the Blessed Virgin of the Rotunda, received 78 percent of its 188 lire revenues from livellos, about 3 percent from the charitable donations of the members and the rest from rent.

³⁰ Spittal revenues were counted for the last three years, therefore the first column of the table that shows the percentage of revenue of the Spittal and confraternities represents a calculation of the entire Spittal property, while the second one shows its average annual income.

Table 7: Types of income of individual Koper urban confraternities and the Spittal in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**Tabela 7: Vrste prihodkov posameznih koprskih mestnih bratovščin in špitala leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

Confraternity	Annual rent		Income from livellos		Charity donations		Other	
	lire	%	lire	%	lire	%	lire	%
Spittal of St. Nazarius	9,527.2 ³¹	71.09			942.6	7.03	2,931.8	21.88
St. Anthony the Abbot	3,267.9 ³²	77.19			321.0	7.58	644.7	15.23
St. Sacrament and six other	517.0	12.79	1,947.3	48.16	795.8	19.68	783.2	19.37
St. Andrew	51.0	6.77	31.5	4.18	670.6	89.05		
St. Maria the New, the Servite Virgin	177.5	16.14	476.6	43.34	445.7	40.53		
St. Nicholas	536.9 ³³	55.15	202.2	20.77	234.5	24.09		
St. Barbara, Christopher			221.0	23.50	379.0	40.29	340.6	36.21
St. Virgin of the Rotunda	35.0	18.55	147.3	78.06	6.4	3.39		
Total	1,6059.7	62.65	1,399.6	5.46	3,474.6	13.55	4,706.3	18.36

**Chart 6: Types of income of individual Koper urban confraternities and the Spittal in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).****Grafikon 6: Vrste prihodkov posameznih koprskih mestnih bratovščin in špitala leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

The Spittal of St. Nazarius spent most of its money on caring for the sick and poor, children and soldiers, who were then housed there; while about 9 percent was disbursed on the cost of judicial and administrative procedures for obtaining the Gavardo family heritage.

The confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot spent 27 percent of its money on the purchase of wax, about 10 percent on the purchase of cereals and baking bread, which was given to the members with their payment for performing the luminarium, around 5 percent for re-

pairing salt yards, dams and houses; while the rest went for church services, payment for work and other needs of the confraternity. The confraternity of St. Sacrament spent almost 82 percent of its money on the purchase of wax, oil for the eternal lights at the altars, the payment of church services and repairs in the cathedral church; these costs were also similarly high in other confraternities, namely reaching between 87 (Saint Andrew) and even 92 percent (St. Maria the New and the Servite Virgin) of all monies spent.

31 The mentioned sum includes revenues from taxes (capitali censuari), which the Spittal received for the maintenance of the poor and the sick (c. 5,988 lire); 780 lire from rental of warehouses and houses; 2,420 from the rental of houses, salt pans, fields and meadows, and other income from crops.

32 From letting houses they received 510 lire, about 2,646 from taxes for the management of the Spittal.

33 In addition to rent (e.g. for the shipyard), the above category of revenues also includes revenues from the lease on the postal service and sale of old wax.

Table 8: Types of costs of individual Koper urban confraternities and the Spittal in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 8: Vrste stroškov posameznih koprskih mestnih bratovščin in špitala leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Miscellaneous costs		Wax, oil, divine services		Total
	lire	percent	lire	percent	
the Spittal of St. Nazarius	12,598.8 ³⁴	94.81	689.8	5.19	13,288.6
Anthony the Abbot	2,799.9	72.92	1,039.7	27.08	3,839.6
Sacrament and six others	583.6	18.08	2,644.9	81.92	3,228.5
Andrew	101.1	12.65	698.4	87.35	799.5
Maria the New, the Servite Virgin	89.8	7.42	1,121.0	92.58	1,210.8
Nicholas	107.9	11.44	834.8	88.54	942.8
Barbara Christopher	103.3	9.39	996.3	90.61	1,099.6
Virgin of the Rotunda	79.5	40.96	114.6	59.04	194.1
Total	16,463.9	66.92	8,139.5	33.08	24,603.5

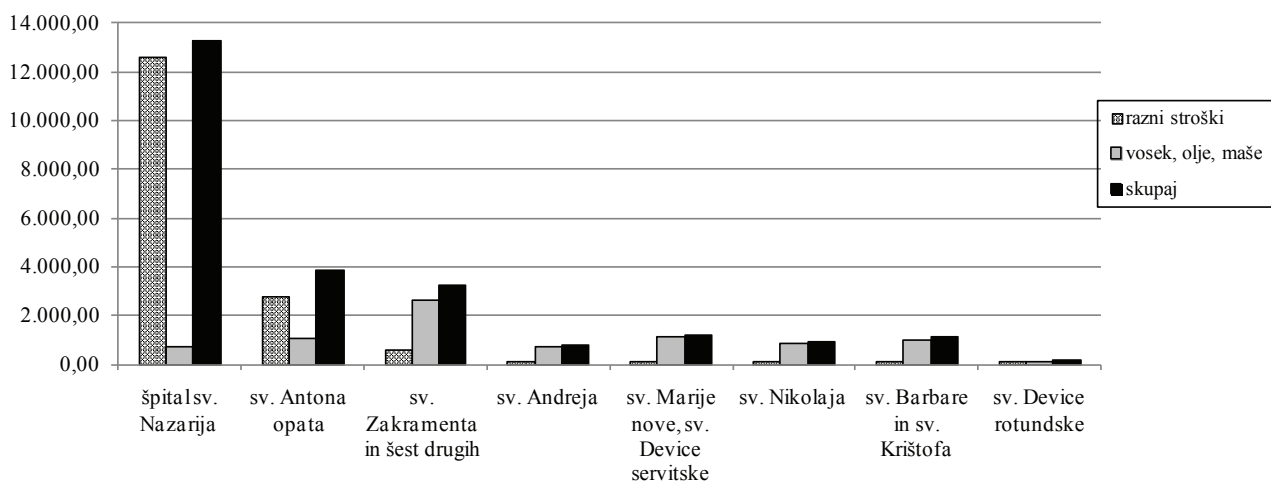


Chart 7: Types of costs (in lire) of individual Koper urban confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 7: Vrste stroškov (v lirah) posameznih koprskih mestnih bratovščin leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

³⁴ Most of that amount was spent on the purchase of medicinal products, the well being of patients, buying food for foundlings and other orphans.

Rural confraternities

There were 87 active confraternities in the Koper countryside, with total revenues of 16,051 lire. In Dekani there were as many as seven; in Hrastovlje five; four were in Šmarje, Movraž, Podpeč, Pomjan and Rožar;

while Kubed, Loka, Šterna and Lazaret has three each. On average, these confraternities had a low income, mostly below 200 lire. The only exception was the confraternity of St. Michael in Šterna, which had about 800 lire of revenue; this was more than two of the urban confraternities in Koper.

Table 9: Revenues and costs (in lire) confraternities in hinterland villages in the Koper area in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 9: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin po vaseh na koprskem ozemlju leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternities		Revenue		Expenses	Fund Balance	Confraternities		Revenue		Expenses	Fund Balance
villages	No.	lire	%			villages	No.	lire	%		
Dekani	7	1,564.1	9.74	1,538.7	25.4	Rakitovec	2	259.9	1.62	21.3	21.3
Osp	2	604.4	3.77	647.2	-42.8	Boršt	2	289.8	1.81	-12.6	-12.6
Šmarje	4	583	3.63	558.5	24.5	Kubed	3	564.5	3.52	-58.3	-58.3
Kučibreg	1	141.9	0.88	143.3	-1.4	Oskoruš	1	91.1	0.57	-0.1	-0.1
Tinjan	2	450.2	2.80	596.4	-12.7	Zazid	1	331.8	2.07	102.9	102.9
Kuberton	1	321.1	2.00	186.8	134.3	Loka	3	441.9	2.75	43.1	43.1
Gradin	1	261.8	1.63	262.4	-0.6	Gabrovica	1	119.6	0.75	-0.1	-0.1
Topolovec	1	256.9	1.60	258.8	-1.9	Bezovica	2	345.9	2.16	4.5	4.5
Sv. Peter	1	187.2	1.17	164.9	22.3	Popetre	1	144.5	0.90	-0.5	-0.5
Gračišče	1	166.8	1.04	172.7	-5.9	Podpeč	4	470.9	2.93	19.0	19.0
Gažon	1	197.5	1.23	216.1	-18.6	Hrastovlje	5	553.2	3.45	30.4	30.4
Trsek	1	108.5	0.68	108.5	0.0	Pomjan	4	369.2	2.30	3.5	3.5
Padna	1	323.1	2.01	208.5	114.6	Koštabona	2	697.9	4.35	17.3	17.3
Sorbar	2	237.8	1.48	227.8	10.8	Puče	1	118.1	0.74	-15.0	-15.0
Smokvica	1	131.3	0.82	152.1	-20.8	Šterna	3	1,175	7.32	28.1	28.1
Dol	1	66.2	0.41	66.2	0.0	Lazaret	3	693.6	4.32	-83.7	-83.7
Trebeše	1	74.8	0.47	76.1	-1.3	Rožar	4	462	2.88	-0.7	-0.7
Movraž	4	465.1	2.90	373.8	-8.7	Škofije	1	125.5	0.78	-15.3	-15.3
Merišče	1	134.3	0.84	74.4	59.9	Labor	1	46.5	0.29	-1.9	-1.9
Krkavče	1	984.9	6.14	741.2	207.7	Lopar	2	127.2	0.79	-0.1	-0.1
Zanigrad	1	222.8	1.39	218	-4.8	Truške	1	60.8	0.38	0.0	0.0
Marezige	2	385.6	2.40	400.7	-15.1	Total	87	16,051	100.00	624.4	624.4
Sv. Anton	2	692.8	4.32	615.1	77.7						

In **Dekani** there were six confraternities. The highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Sacrament, which obtained most of its annual income (as much as 98 percent) from livellos, and 11 lire from rent and crops. Similarly, a high proportion from livellos was also received by the confraternity of St. Sebastian (95 percent); 94.8 percent by the Blessed Virgin; while St. Rocco received 92.5 percent (the remaining income was from rent and sale of old wax). St. Leonard obtained the entire amount from livellos, because it had no other income. The village apparently also had a communal school which received 16.8 percent of its income from livellos; 78 percent from rent, crops and old wax while the rest came from donations.

Table 10: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Dekani confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 10: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) dekanskih bratovščin leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sacrament	619.8	578	41.8
Immaculate Conception	294.3	299.4	-5.1
Scuola del Comun	194.9	181.7	13.2
St. Sebastian	162.8	186.5	-23.7
St. Leonard	158.9	153.8	-5.1
St. Rocco	133.4	139.3	-5.9
Total	1,564.1	1,538.7	25.4

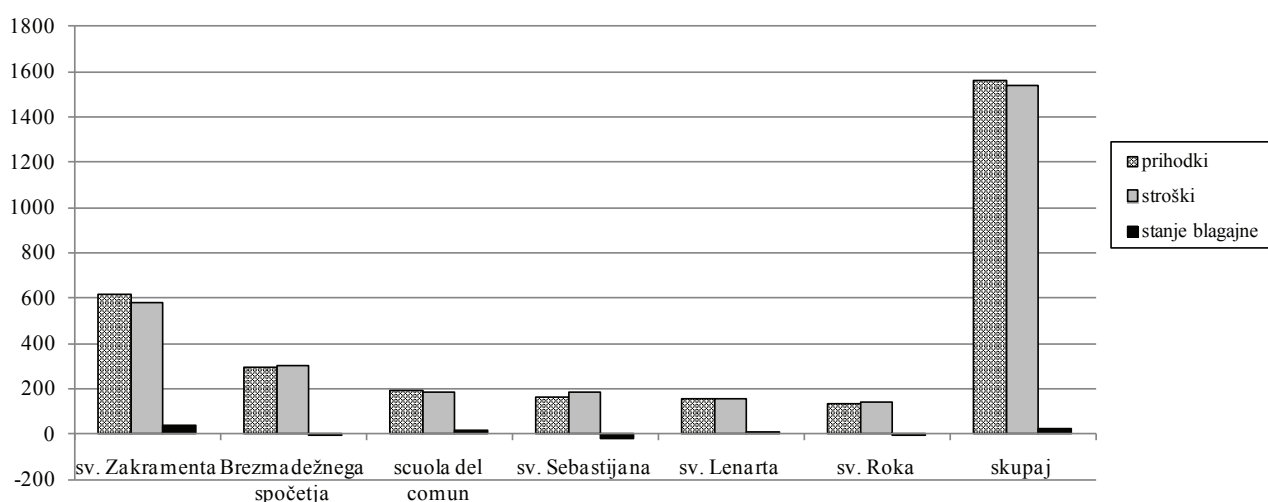


Chart 8: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Dekani confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 8: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) dekanskih bratovščin leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Osp**, the highest revenues were those of the confraternities of St. Peter (about 315 lire), the three united confraternities of St. Thomas, Rocco and the Blessed Virgin, which had almost 290 lire. The first obtained about 76 percent of the money from livellos, 11.4 percent from charity, the rest from rents, cereals, oil and old wax. The three united confraternities had around 58 percent of their revenues from livellos, 38 percent from rents, cereals, oil and old wax, and 10 lire from charity. They both experienced higher costs than income so that the state of their accounts was negative.

Table 11: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Osp confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 11: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Ospu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Peter	315.5	341.6	-26.1
St. Thomas, Rocco, Madonna	288.9	305.6	-16.7
Total	604.4	647.2	-42.8

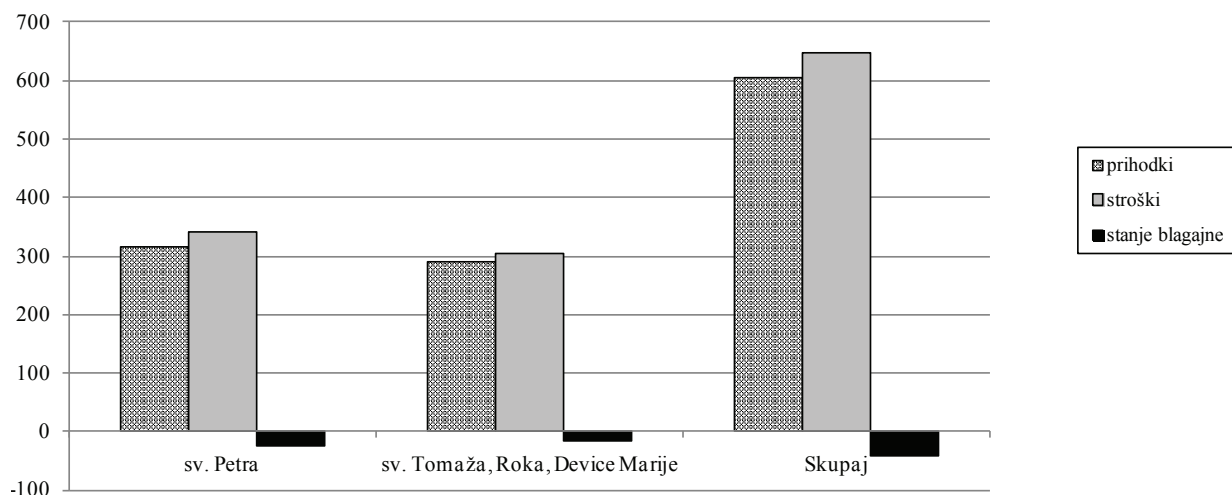


Chart 9: Revenues and expenses of Osp confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 9: Prihodki in stroški bratovščin v Ospu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Šmarje**, people gathered in four confraternities; before the amalgamation of the confraternity of St. Sacrament with that of St. Rosary there had been five. Most of the income of the united confraternities came from rents and from the sale of old wax (42.8 percent); 39.5 percent came from charity; while only 17.6 percent was derived from livellos. All the other confraternities obtained the majority of their income from livellos. The confraternity of the Blessed Virgin got 73.8 percent of its revenues from them while the rest came from cereals, oils and rent. The confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot had 82.2 percent of its revenues coming from livellos, about 14 percent from rent and the rest was charity. The members of the confraternity of St. Blaž also apparently borrowed money from the confraternity – the annual revenue from livellos was 80 percent –; while they were able to derive 18.6 percent from rents and the sale of fruit and other crops.

Table 12: Revenues and costs (in lire) in Šmarje confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 12: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Šmarjah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Costs	Cash Balance
Immaculate Conception	130.4	130.4	0
St. Sacrament, Rosary	140.8	138.2	2.6
St. Anthony	135.9	130.3	5.6
St. Blaž	175.9	159.6	16.3
Total	583.0	558.5	24.5

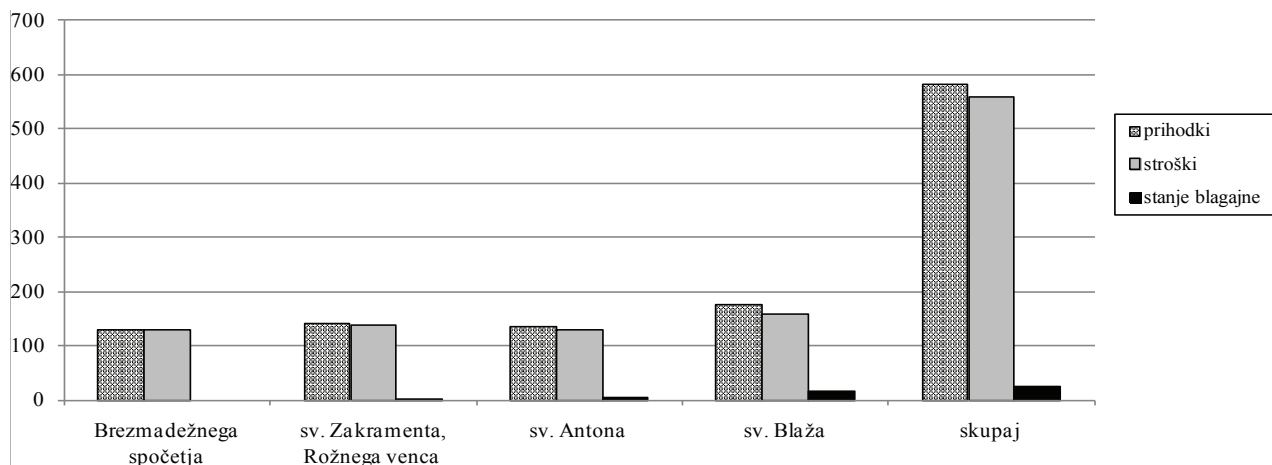


Chart 10: Revenues and costs (in lire) in Šmarje confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 10: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Šmarjah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Marezige**, only two confraternities remained in operation that year. The united confraternities of St. Cross, St. Anthony and St. Sacrament had a total income of 216 lire; of which 58 percent came from livellos and 37 percent from rents and income in kind. Another union, which united the confraternities of St. Rocco, St. John and Paul and the Blessed Virgin, made about 79 lire or 46 percent from rent and a bit less from livellos. All six of the above-mentioned confraternities had just over 385 lire of revenues, while their expenses amounted to around 400 lire, so that their accounts showed a negative financial situation. The first three had about 9 lire of inflow in charity from the members; the other three had 16.4 lire.

Table 13: Revenues and costs (in lire) in Marezige confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 13: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Marezigah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Cross, St. Anthony, St. Sacrament	216.5	221.5	-5.0
St. Rocco, St. John and Paul, Blessed Virgin	169.1	179.2	-10.1
Total	385.6	400.7	-15.1

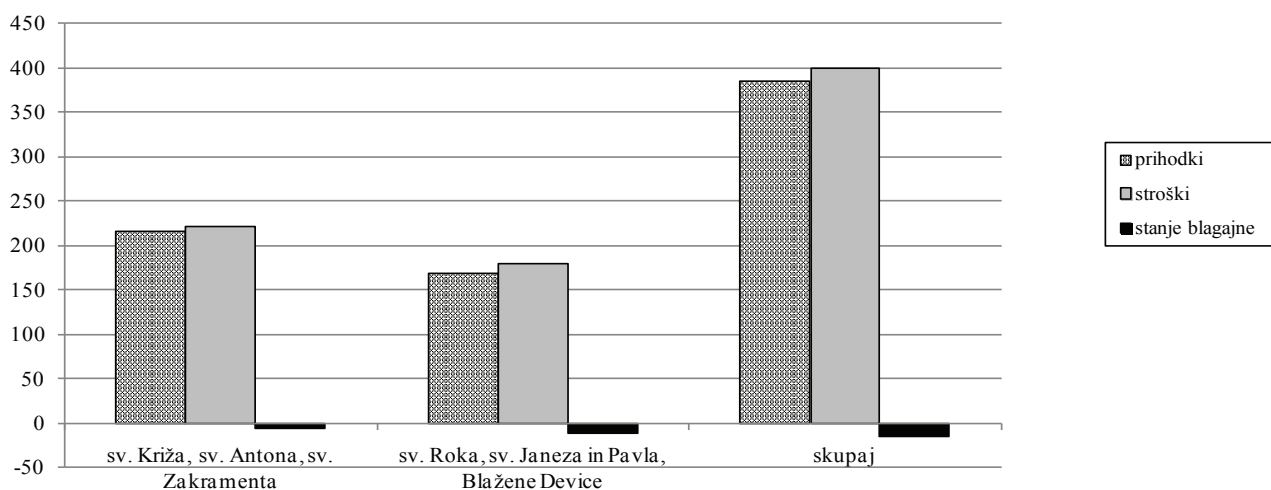


Chart 11: Revenues and costs (in lire) in Marezige confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 11: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Marezigah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

There were also two confraternities operating in **Tinjan**. Both the confraternity of St. Michael as the united confraternity of St. Blaž and St. Maria Magdalene made just over half of their revenue from livellos, less than half from rent and yields while charitable donations only brought them around one percent.

Table 14: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Tinjan confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 14: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Tinjanu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sacrament, St. Michael	141.9	277.1	-1.6
St. Blaž, St. Magdalene	308.3	319.3	-11.1
Total	450.2	596.4	-12.7

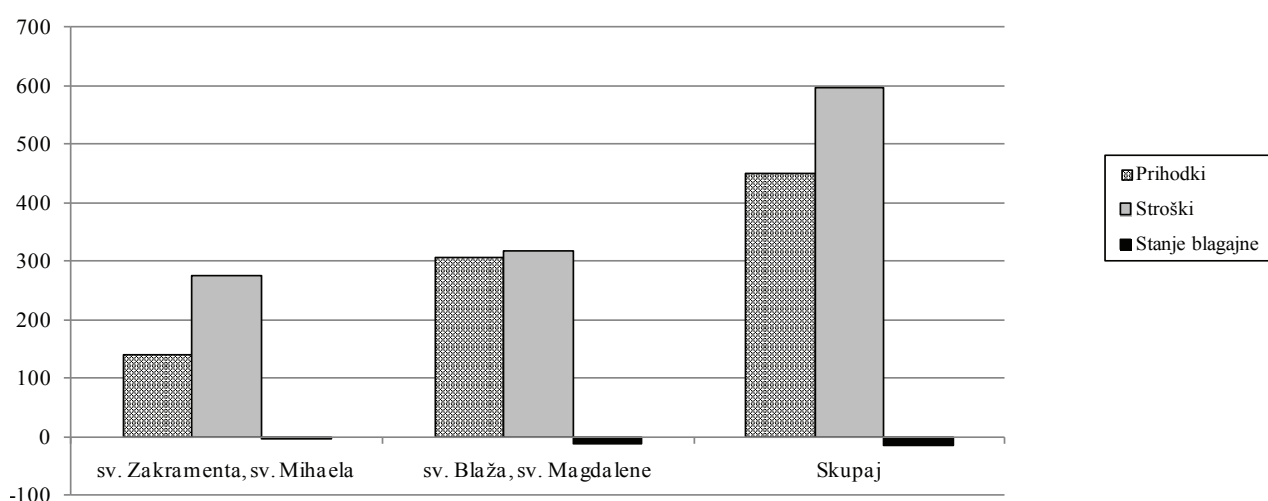


Chart 12: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Tinjan confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 12: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Tinjanu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

The **Sorbar** confraternity of St. Lucia obtained half of its revenue from livellos, 43.5 percent from rents and yields, and 7 lire from charity. The confraternity of St. Sebastian made 59.3 percent from livellos, around 37 from rent and yields, and a bit over 3 lire from the members' donations. Both operated from positive accounts, but with very low incomes.

Table 15: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Sorbar confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 15: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Sorbarju leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Lucia	123.1	113.9	9.2
St. Sebastian	114.7	113.9	1.6
Total	237.8	227.8	10.8

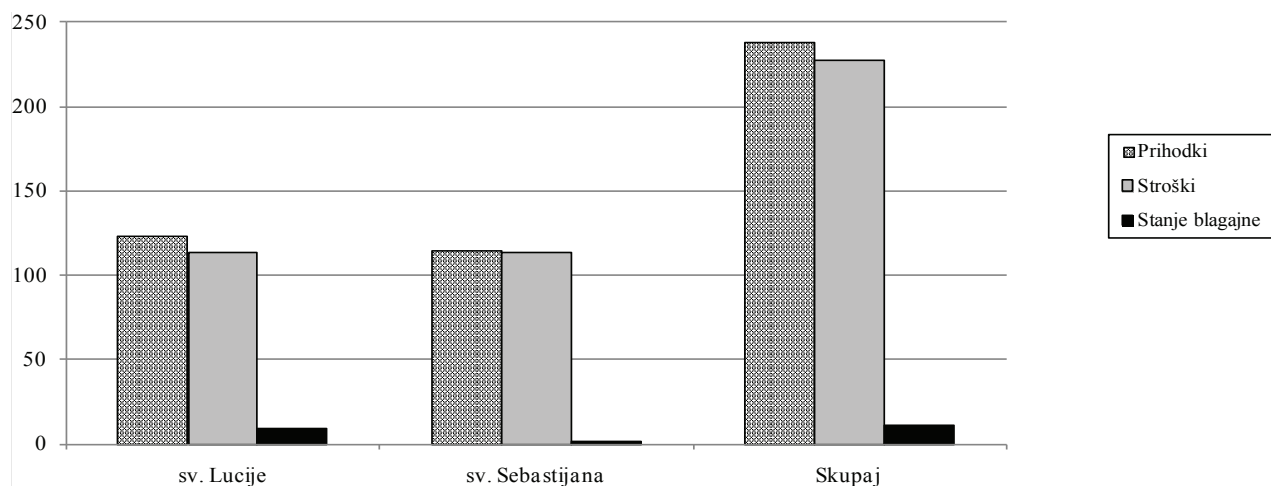


Chart 13: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Sorbar confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 13: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Sorbarju leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

There were four confraternities operating in **Movraž**. The confraternities of St. George (78 percent) and St. Peter (90 percent) obtained most of their revenues from livellos; the confraternity of St. Rocco made the most with crops (67 percent) and only 27 percent of livellos; while the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin obtained 55 percent from rents and yields and 41 percent from livellos. The latter spent two thirds of the money on buying wax, oil, paying for church services and the necessary equipment and a part towards the expenses associated with the cultivation of their land.

Table 16: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Movraž confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 16: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Movražu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Blessed Virgin	238.9	149	-10.1
St. Rocco	62.8	62.9	-0.1
St. George	72.9	73.0	-0.1
St. Peter	90.5	88.9	1.6
Total	465.1	373.8	-8.7

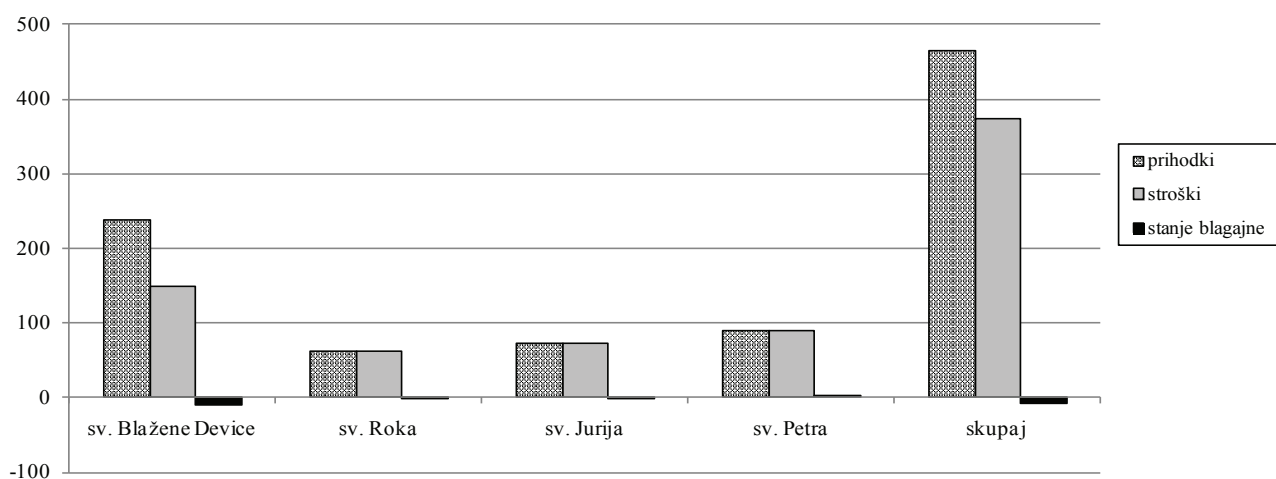


Chart 14: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Movraž confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 14: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Movražu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternities also joined together in **Sveti Anton**. The united confraternity of St. Rocco and St. John made around 66 percent of its income from rents and yields, and 30 percent from livellos. Almost twice higher were the revenues of the joined confraternities of St. Sacrament and St. Anthony the Abbot. Of their income of 460 lire, 63 percent came from rent, 19 percent from livellos; while 79 lire or 17 percent came from charitable donations.

Table 17: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Sveti Anton confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 17: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Svetem Antonu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Rocco, St. John	235.5	202.6	32.9
St. Sacrament, St. Anthony the Abbot	457.3	412.5	44.8
Total	692.8	615.1	77.7

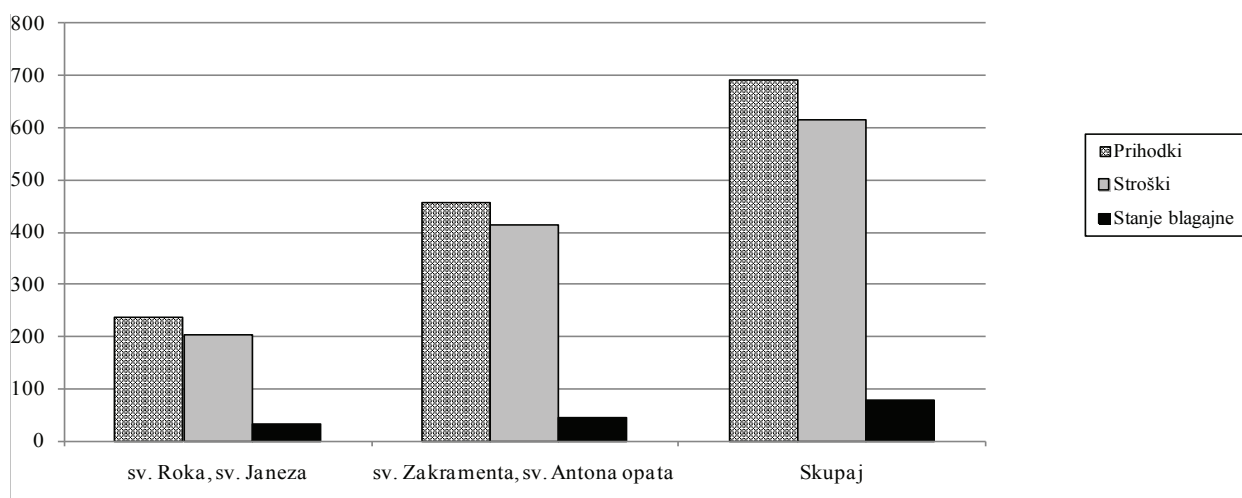


Chart 15: Revenues and costs (in lire) of the confraternities of Sveti Anton in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 15: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Sv. Antonu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Rakitovec** there were the confraternity of St. Cross with nearly 200 lire of income and the smaller confraternity of the Blessed Virgin, which only had 64 lire of revenues. Of the above amount about 87 percent was received from livellos; the rest was charitable donations. Both operated positive balances. The confraternity of St. Cross got only 8.5 percent of its revenue from livellos, while rents brought in as much as 89.3 percent.

Table 18: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Rakitovec confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 18: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Rakitovcu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Cross	195.6	176.5	19.1
Blessed Virgin	64.3	62.1	2.2
Total	259.9	238.6	21.3

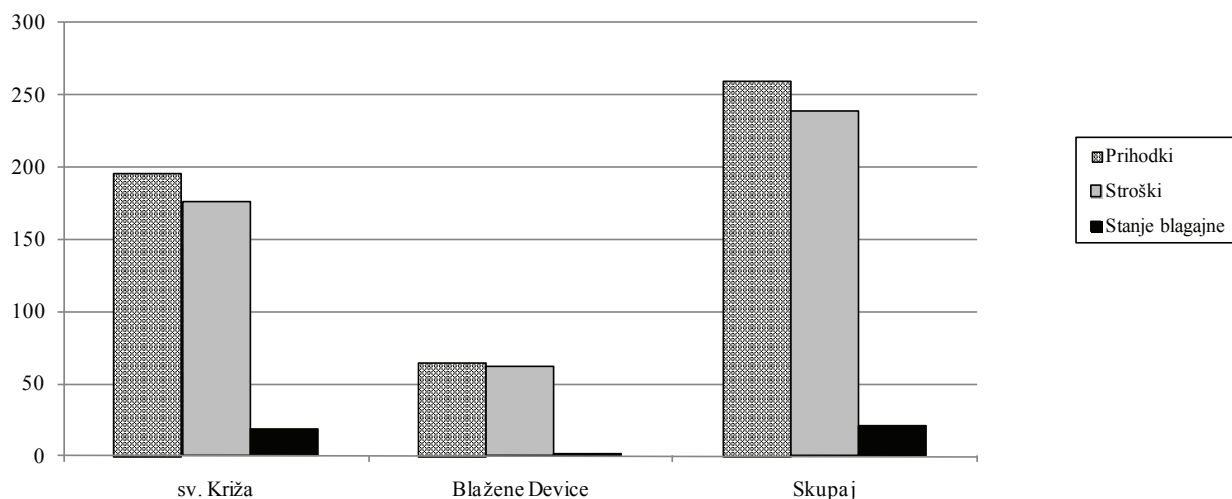


Chart 16: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Rakitovec confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 16: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Rakitovcu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

There were also two confraternities in **Boršt**: namely the confraternity of St. Nazarius, dedicated to the legendary Bishop of Koper, who was said to have come from that village; and the brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin which had more than twice the revenue of the former one. Both received most of the revenues from the rental of land and from crops (the Blessed Virgin almost 96 percent), only about 3 lire came from charity, and the rest was from livellos. Both confraternities showed a cash deficit.

Table 19: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Boršt confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 19: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Borštu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Nazarius	99	100.6	-1.6
Blessed Virgin	190.8	201.8	-11.0
Total	289.8	302.4	-12.6

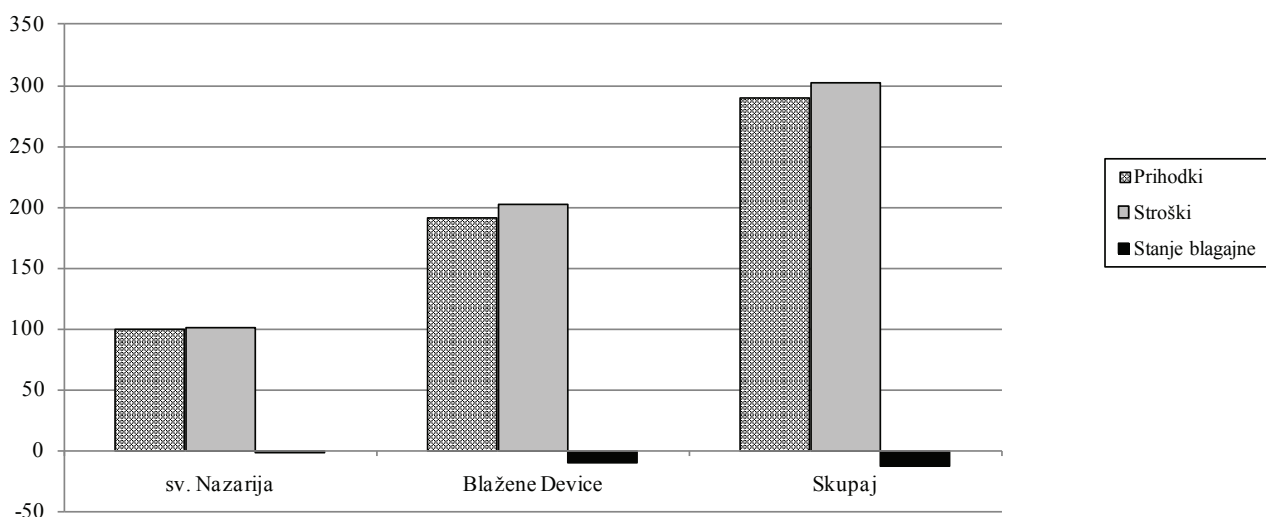


Chart 17: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Boršt confraternities in 1797 (AST, Governo del Litorale, b. 3, N° 580).

Grafikon 17: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Borštu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Kubed** there were three active confraternities; namely the confraternities of St. Florian, the Blessed Virgin and St. Michael. The highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Florian, which had more than double the income of the other two confraternities. It obtained only 8.5 percent of its revenue from livellos, while rents brought in as much as 81 percent. The confraternity of the Blessed Virgin had around 77 lire or 58 percent of the money from livellos, St. Michael got 73 lire, i.e. 54 percent from rent on their land and selling crops.

Table 20: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Kubed confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 20: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Kubedu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Florian	297.4	379.8	-82.4
St. Blessed Virgin	131.8	113	18.8
St. Michael	135.3	130	5.3
Total	564.5	622.8	-58.3

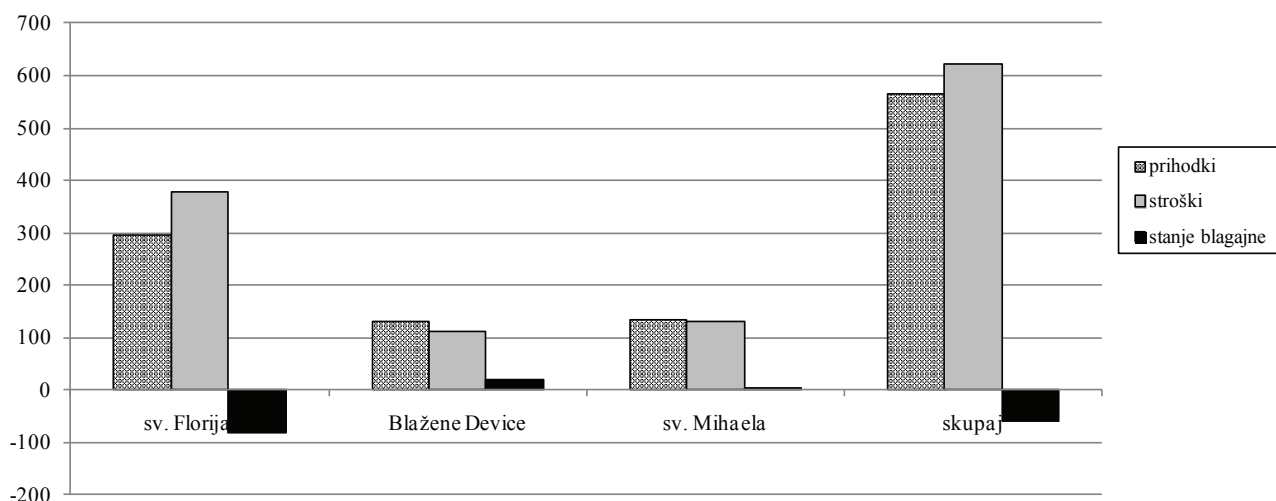


Chart 18: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Kubed confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 18: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Kubedu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Loka, a village with a small population under the Karst edge, also had three operating confraternities. More than half of the approximately 440 lire of total revenues was collected by the confraternity of St. Cecilia, St. Sacrament made just over 130 lire, while the Blessed Virgin only got 57 lire, which it mainly acquired in kind. The two other confraternities collected most of their money from rents and yields.

Table 21: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Loka confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 21: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Loki leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sacrament	137.3	135.6	1.7
Blessed Virgin	57.2	57.5	-0.3
St. Cecilia	247.4	205.7	41.7
Total	441.9	398.8	43.1

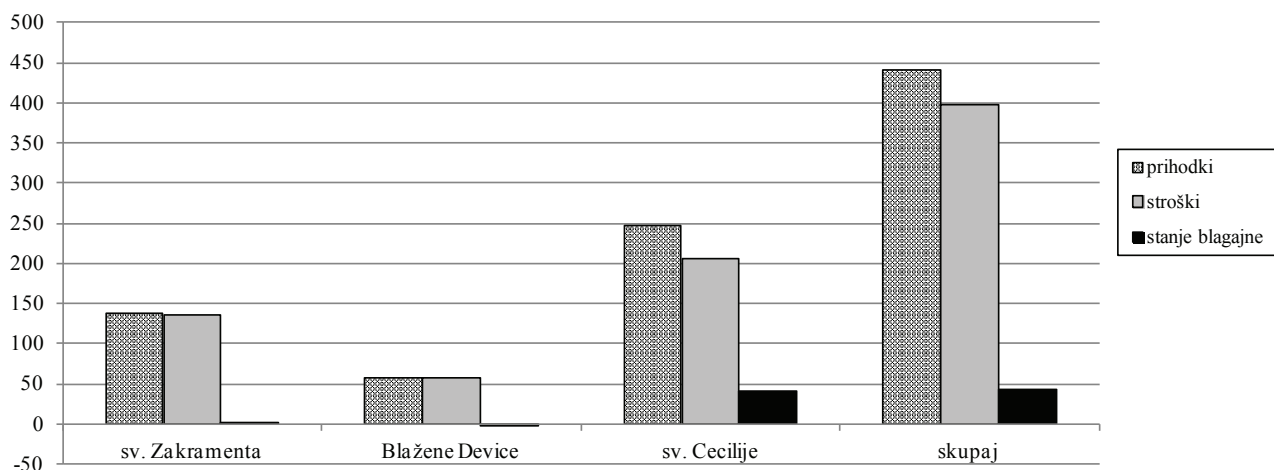


Chart 19: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Loka confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 19: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Loki leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Bezovica**, there were the confraternity of St. Apollonia and the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin. The latter had a higher income, receiving most of the money (95 percent) from rents and yields.

Table 22: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Brezovica confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 22: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Bezovici leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Apollonia	89.3	89.4	-0.1
Blessed Virgin	256.6	252.0	4.6
Total	345.9	341.4	4.5

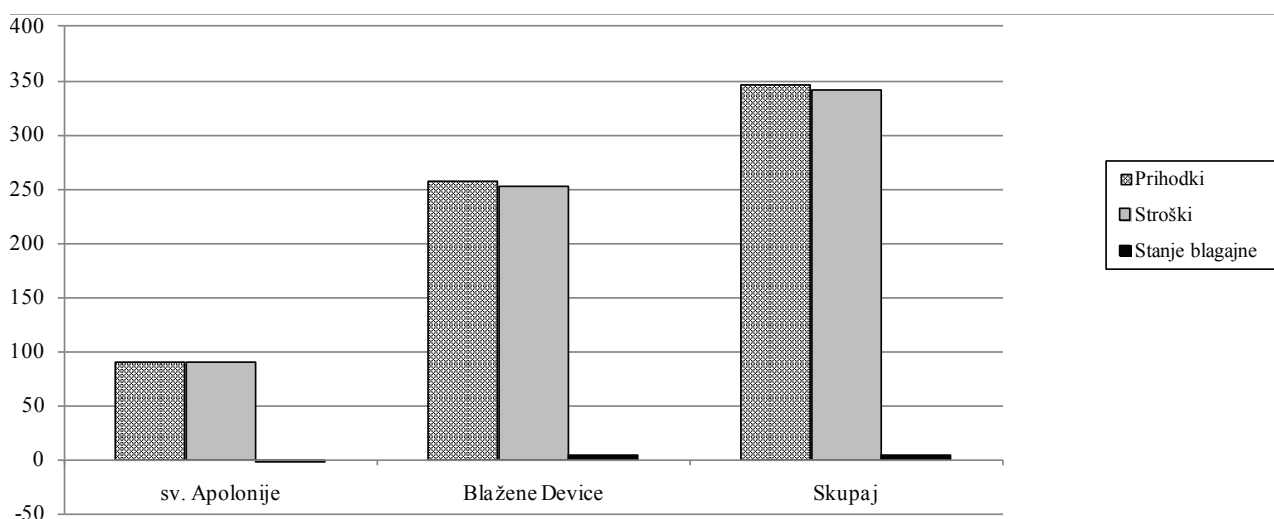


Chart 20: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Brezovica confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 20: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Bezovici leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

There were four confraternities operating in **Podpeč**. The highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Elena, while the rest made less than half as much. The money was mostly received in the form of rents and yields with the remained coming from charity and livellos.

Table 23: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Podpeč confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 23: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Podpeči leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Rocco	84.1	82	2.1
Blessed Virgin	108.8	108.9	-0.1
St. John and Paul	98.4	97.2	1.2
St. Elena	179.6	163.8	15.8
Total	470.9	451.9	19.0

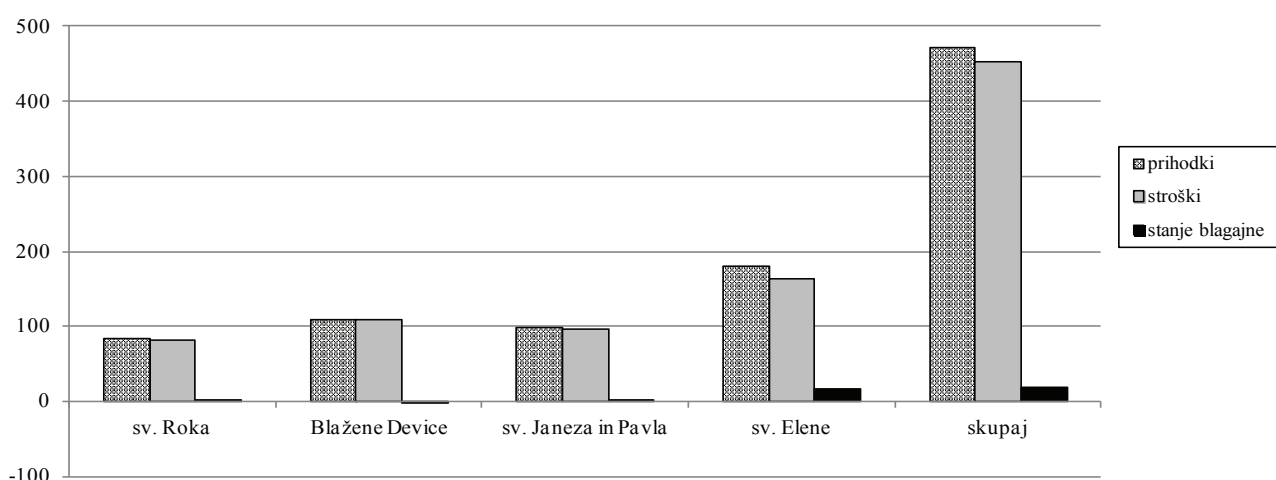


Chart 21: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Podpeč confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 21: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Podpeči leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

The five **Hrastovlje** confraternities did not have a high income either. The confraternities of St. Marina and St. Sebastian received more than half of their revenue from livellos, while the others made more from rents and yields. Charitable donations were negligible, and the confraternity of St. Marina and St. Trinity and did not receive any at all.

Table 24: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Hrastovlje confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 24: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Hrastovljah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Catherine	99.9	91.7	8.2
St. Trinity	153.2	127.9	25.3
St. Sebastian	87.1	85.3	1.8
St. Marina	152.8	157.9	-5.1
St. Mark	60.2	60	0.2
Total	553.2	522.8	30.4

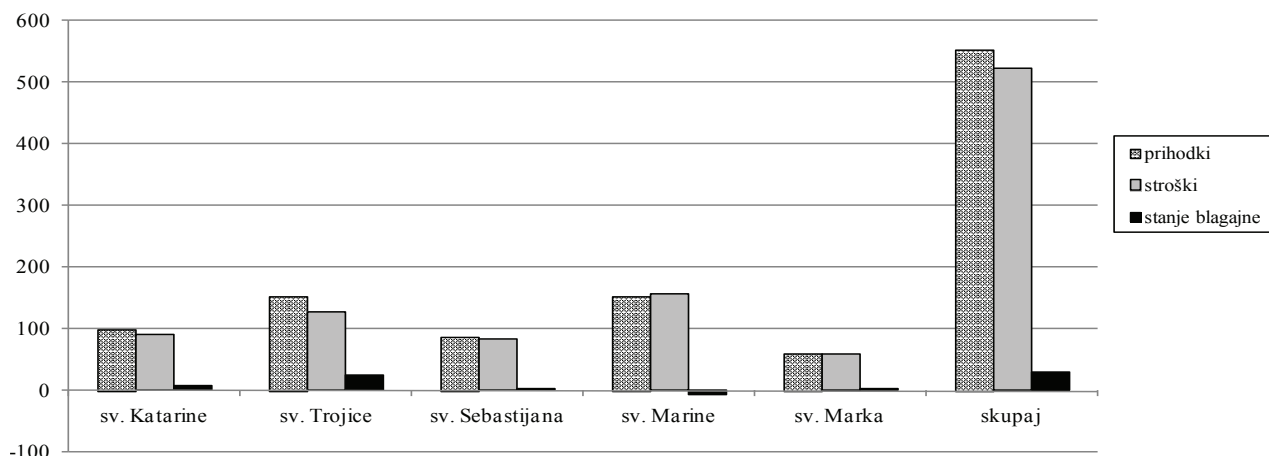


Chart 22: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Hrastovlje confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 22: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Hrastovljah leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Pomjan** the inhabitants formed themselves into four confraternities. All had a low income of between 70 and 113 lire, which, as was the case with most other rural confraternities, was probably not sufficient for their normal operation. They obtained their income from rents and from livellos; alms were given within the range of 2 lire 11 solidi and 2 lire 19 solidi.

Table 25: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Pomjan confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 25: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Pomjanu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sacrament	72.8	73.8	1.0
St. Stefan	80.4	80.6	-0.2
Blessed Virgin	102.5	102.8	-0.3
St. George	113.5	110.5	3.0
Total	369.2	367.7	3.5

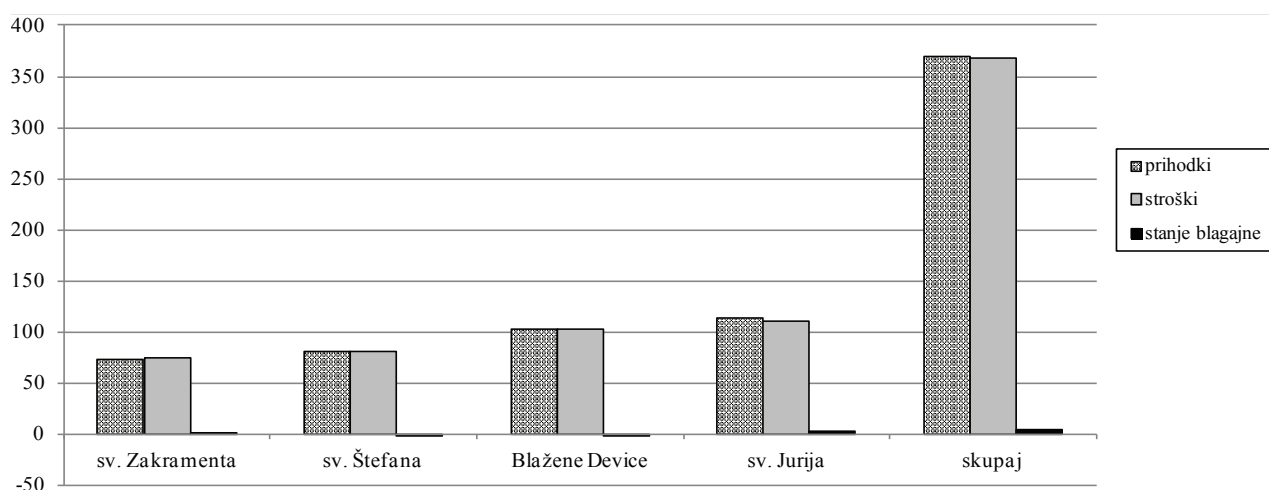


Chart 23: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Pomjan confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, No 580).

Grafikon 23: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Pomjanu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Koštabona**, the confraternity of St. Sacrament was joined by the confraternities of St. Andrew and St. Lenart. Of the total, about 400 lire revenue or 85 percent of the money came from rents, about 6 percent from livellos while 8 percent was derived by charitable donation. The village also had the confraternities of St. Cosmas and Damian, which had just under half the income. Most of their money was received from rents and yields with about 14 percent or 41 lire coming from charity.

Table 26: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koštabona confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 26: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Koštaboni leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sacrament, Andrew, Lenart	407.7	402.8	4.9
St. Cosmas and Damian	290.2	277.8	12.4
Total	697.9	680.6	17.3

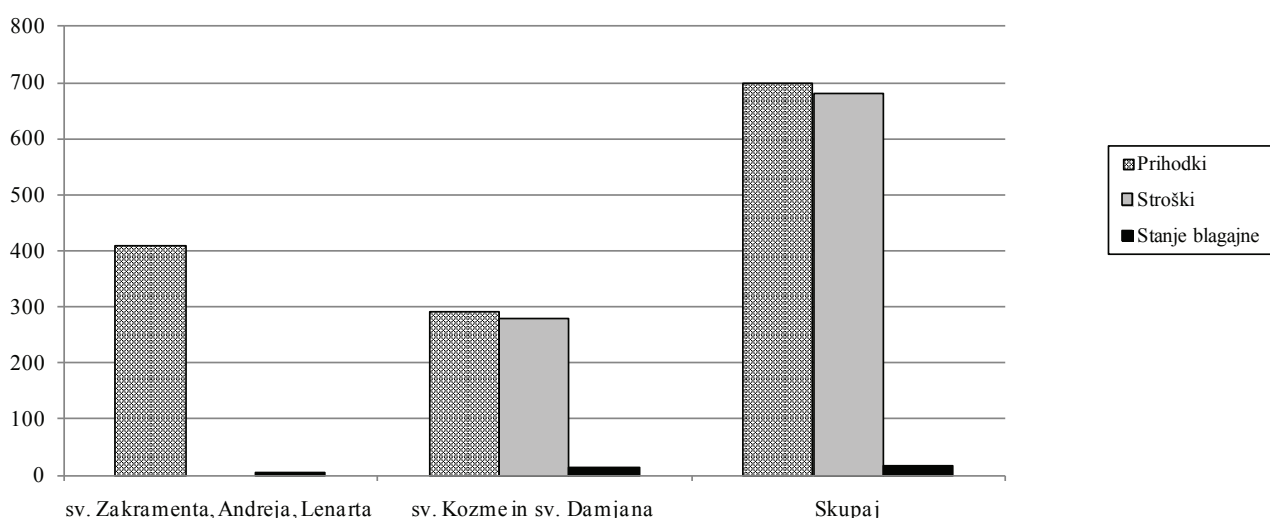


Chart 24: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Koštabona confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 24: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Koštaboni leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

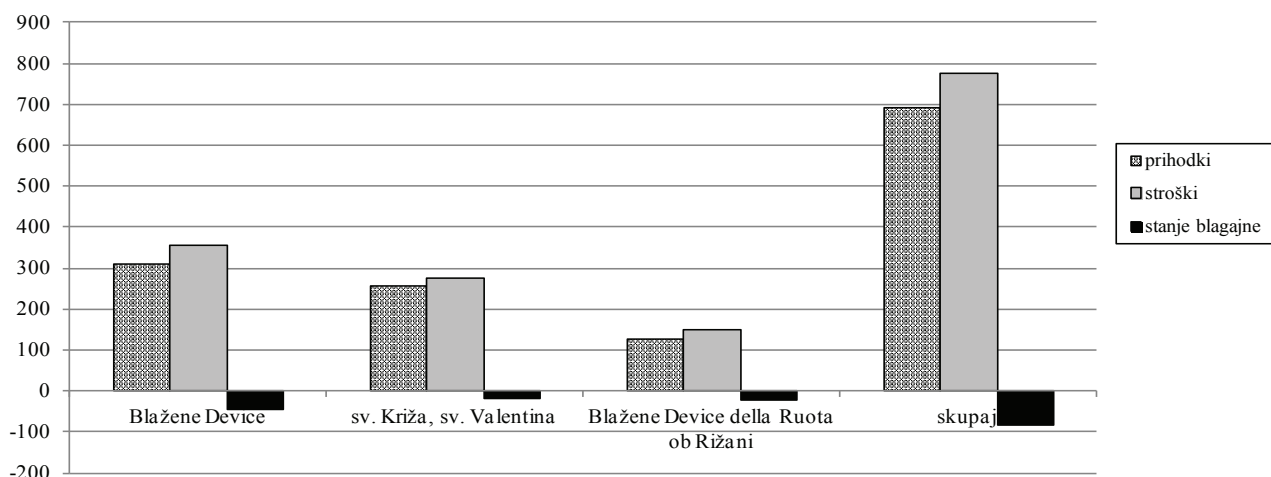
In the wider **Lazaret** area, the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin was operating with almost 310 lire of revenues; the united confraternities of St. Cross and St. Valentine, with about 260 lire; and that of the Blessed Virgin, called *della Ruota* in the small church of Rižana, where there had once been the famous Koper Fair, which attracted visitors from the city as well as from all over the Koper hinterland. The latter had the lowest income among all the confraternities, namely only 127 lire. It got 65 percent of its revenue from livellos and 23 percent from rent. The confraternities of St. Cross and St. Valentine obtained 92 percent of their revenues from livellos; the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin got about 60

percent from rents, 12 percent from the donations of the members of the confraternity as well as probably from people who frequented mass in the associated church.

At the end of the 17th century, all three confraternities had substantially higher incomes than most urban confraternities in Koper (the only exception was the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot). This was probably due to an increased number of visits by townspeople and local residents to these churches, where they usually prayed for divine assistance against the plague and other diseases that were devastating the city in the 16th and 17th centuries as well as for the souls of their deceased fellow citizens.

Table 27: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Lazaret confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**Tabela 27: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Lazaretu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
Blessed Virgin	309.8	354.9	-45.1
St. Cross, St. Valentine	256.7	274.4	-17.4
Blessed Virgin della Ruota in Rižana	127.1	148.3	-21.2
Total	693.6	777.6	-83.7

**Chart 25: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Lazaret confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).****Grafikon 25: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Lazaretu leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

In **Rožar** above Rižana, people united in four confraternities. The highest revenues were those of the confraternity of St. Gregory, with about 130 lire – about 87 percent – coming from rents; while only 86 lire was collected by the confraternity of St. George. The majority of its modest income – namely 50 lire – was obtained from livellos, with 27 lire being obtained from rent and 8 lire coming from charity.

Table 28: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Rožar confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**Tabela 28: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Rožarju leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Sebastian	117.0	117.1	-0.1
St. George	86.1	86.3	-0.2
St. Jacob	126.4	126.5	-0.1
St. Gregory	132.5	132.8	-0.3
Total	462.0	462.7	-0.7

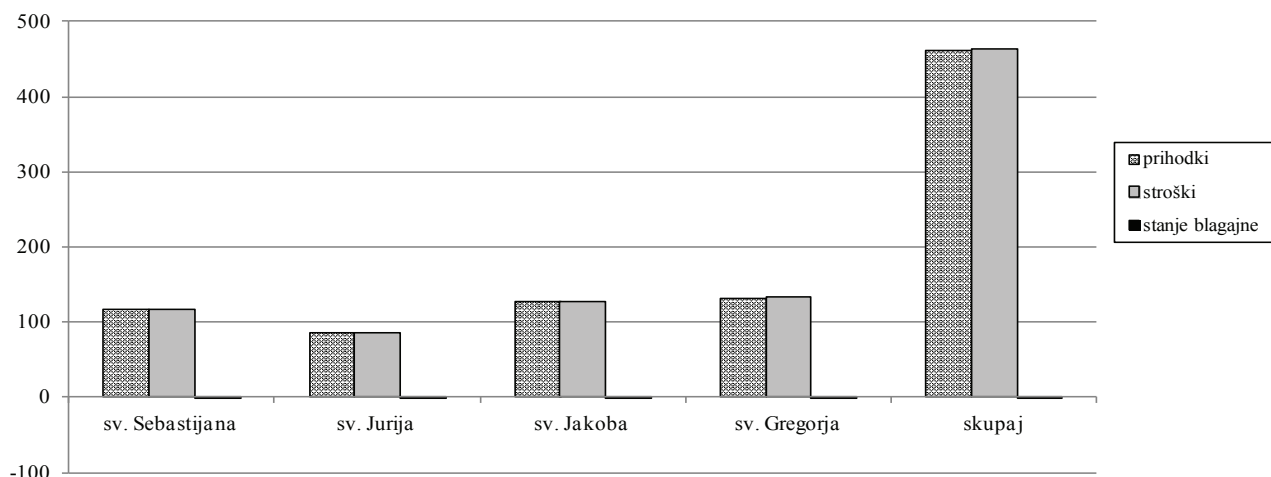


Chart 26: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Rožar confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 26: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Rožarju leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

In **Šterna** there were three operating confraternities, which together had about 1,175 lire of revenue. The richest was the confraternity of St. Michael which obtained 790 lire – i.e. 97 percent of its income – from rents, yields and the sale of old wax, and the rest from livellos. It had a deficit of 15 lire 16 solidi. The two other confraternities also made more than 75 percent of their money from rents and yields, but both operated positively.

Table 29: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Šterna confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 29: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Šterni leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Confraternity	Revenue	Expenses	Fund Balance
St. Rocco	125.45	116.8	8.7
St. Canziano	242.55	207.35	35.2
St. Michael	807.07	822.85	-15.8
Total	1,175.07	1,147	28.1

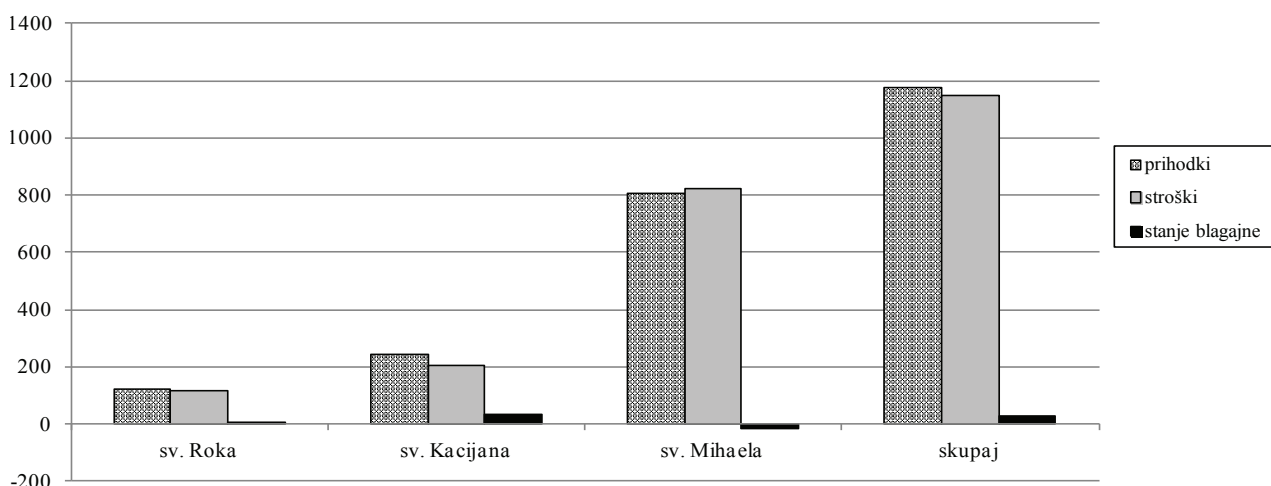


Chart 27: Revenues and costs (in lire) of Šterna confraternities in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 27: Prihodki in stroški (v lirah) bratovščin v Šterni leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Ninety-four confraternities within the Koper territory had a total of 28,283 lire 12 solidi of income, with the Spittal of St. Nazarius as much as 41,685 lire. Of the total sum, the 87 rural confraternities received 38.5 percent of the money, the urban 29.4 percent; while the Spittal got about 32 percent of the total revenue with its 13,400 lire income. Combined, Koper confraternities declared a 1,655 lire surplus of revenues over expenses.

Compared with the revenues of the Koper fiscal chamber in 1794/95, when it had about 83,137 lire (AMSI, 1895, 337), Koper confraternities (albeit two years later) had about 34 percent of its revenues; together with the Spittal, this equalled about half of the fiscal chamber's revenue.

Table 30: Revenues and expenses of Koper confraternities and the Spittal of St. Nazarius in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Tabela 30: Prihodki in stroški koprskih bratovščin in špitala sv. Nazarija leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Koper Territory	Revenue		Expenses		Fund Balance		Conraternities and Spittal	
	lire	%	lire	%	lire	%	Number	%
Confraternities, villages	16,051.0	38.51	14,992.4	37.86	624.4	37.7	87.0	91.58
confraternities, town	12,232.6	29.35	11,314.9	28.58	917.7	55.4	7.0	7.37
Spittal	13,401.6	32.15	13,288.6	33.56	113.0	6.8	1.0	1.05
Total	41,685.2	100.00	39,595.9	100.00	1,655.1	100.00	95.0	100.00

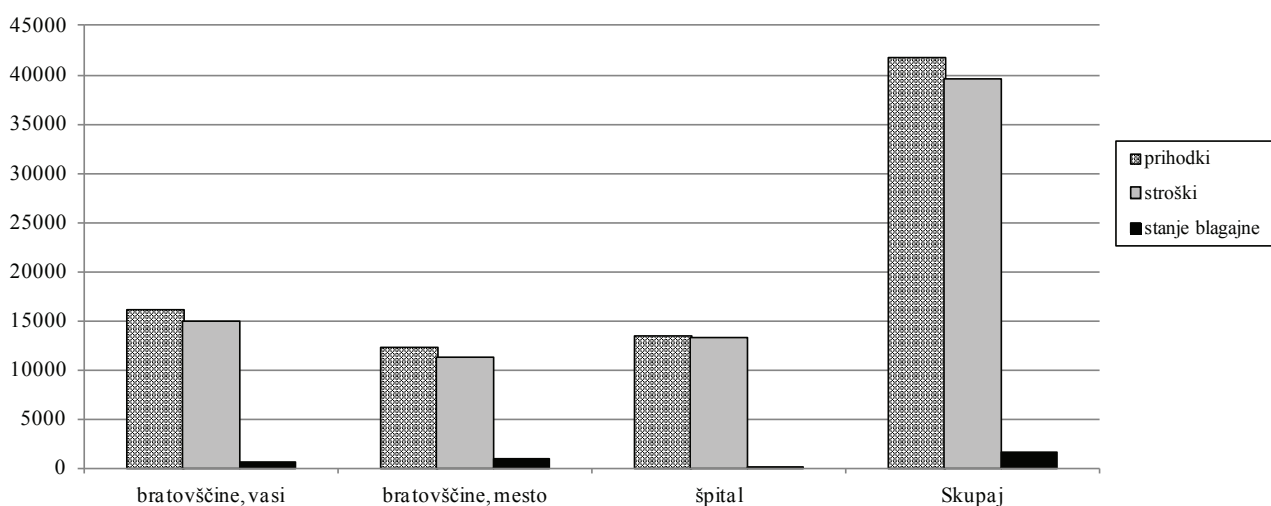


Chart 28: Revenues and expenses of Koper confraternities and the Spittal of St. Nazarius in 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Grafikon 28: Prihodki in stroški koprskih bratovščin in špitala sv. Nazarija leta 1797 (AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).

Some of the smaller confraternities were not able to maintain and manage their property themselves, so Solveni suggested that it would be better if they were sold and the money be spent on the operation of the confraternity. In this way, they would be able to avoid exploitation of the confraternities' property or even fraud. He further suggested that for a better operation of the confraternities there should only be one confraternity for each individual village or church in the city and that it should be managed exclusively by the most competent

people. He commended some of the confraternities in the city for managing their operations very well.

In Koper, he singled out the confraternity of St. Thomas, which did not have its own statute or any other founding act. A statute was also lacking in the Spittal of St. Anthony and the Spittal of St. Mark, which only gave free accommodation to a few women. The city also had three other societies (congregations) – namely the Madonna of Mt. Carmel, the Immaculate Conception and the Rosary – which had no property; their only income

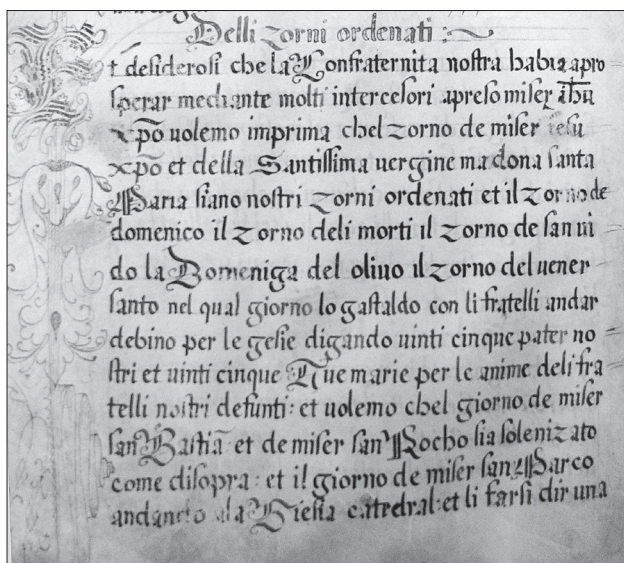


Fig. 8: Decree on obligatory holidays from the statute of the Koper confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot (DAR-396, a. e. 109, 10v).

Sl. 8: Odlok o zapovedanih praznikih iz statuta kopske bratovščine sv. Antona opata (DAR-396, a. e. 109, 10v).

being in the form of charitable contributions. They paid for masses for their deceased members - sisters.³⁵

In this period, the Brotherhood of St. Anthony the Abbot consistently enjoyed the highest incomes; it was probably as a consequence of this that in 1454 it was entrusted with the management of the Spittal of St. Nazarius. The confraternity of St. Maria the New also recorded substantial revenues throughout this period. The confraternity of St. Sacrament, which was the third richest confraternity at the time of Valieri's visitation at the end of the 16th century, later had financial problems; its situation only improved during the thirty-year gastald mandate of Michiele Totto,³⁶ who proposed to the podesta the merger of six smaller confraternities, something that was finally achieved in 1778. The confraternity was responsible for the decoration of the cathedral, purchasing *torcias* and other waxes and preparing processions for the feast of Corpus Christi and other holy days. The incomes of the other confraternities were much lower. Mostly they took care of their own altars or churches if

they had them; they helped confraternity members (by offering them favourable *livellos* or loans at a 6-percent interest rate, leasing land or houses, warehouses, halls, cellars and the like) and taking care of the funerals of members and their close relatives. Occasionally, they performed charitable work for other (unknown) members; they paid alms to individuals or families that converted to the Catholic religion (e.g. Jews, Calvinists, Lutherans, as well as Muslims), and contributed to the poor or prisoners either in Turkish or Tunisian hands. In this connection it is worthwhile to draw attention to the confraternity of the Crucified of St. Thomas, who took care of prisoners and their funerals. In 1675, all three Lazaret confraternities also recorded a high income. This was probably due to their position: residents of Koper went there for parish festivals and in the summertime there was a solemn procession which probably brought in substantial mounts of money from donations.

The central Venetian authorities were also informed about the problems of confraternities in Koper and Istria; inventories of their financial position are not coincidental. The authorities wanted to have control over confraternities' operations as they had large amounts of capital in their hands. In 1762, for instance, the Koper podesta and captain Vincenzo Gritti reported that there were 616 secular confraternities in the province, and that in many of them he had encountered an imprecisely managed administration. (AMSI, 1894, 101). According to Girolamo Gavardo, clerk of all the secular confraternities in the Koper territory, there were considerable problems in some confraternities in 1777. He reported to the podesta that the confraternities of St. Sacrament, St. John of Sveti Anton and St. Sacrament of Šmarje had such a low income that it was not even sufficient for candles in churches or at the confraternities' altars. The confraternities of St. Cross of Lazaret and St. Rocco of Rožar, in addition, did not even have a gastald. Similarly, one single gastald headed the confraternity of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Anthony the Abbot of Smokvica (PAK-6, a. e. 1466, 1).

From a review of the financial books of the confraternities, it is evident that they operated smoothly even after the end of the Republic of Venice when they came under Austrian rule. The Koper confraternity of St. Sacrament was obviously pleased with the new authority, as upon the changeover of power the gastald proposed to the

³⁵ AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580, 3–4.

³⁶ Michiel Nazario Totto, born 19/ 12/ 1732 to his father Giovanni (Zetto, designated Totto, son of Michael) and Paula Bencich (ŽAK-ŽU, Krstna matična knjiga 1731–1749) began to engage in commercial transactions in hides in the 1760s and was (along with his son Giovanni) the largest trader in hides Venetian Istria by the end of the century. Even before the end of the century, he left the management of all leather-tanning activities to his son, and totally devoted his time to his function in the archconfraternitas of St. Sacrament. He had also previously been active in confraternities. From 1764 to 1769 he was the gastald of the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot (PAK-6, a. e. 1450), then for more than 29 years he was gastald of the archconfraternitas of St. Sacrament, namely between the 12th February 1785 (ŽAK-ŽU, Bratovščinske knjige, N.o 54, Knjiga zasedanja kapitlja bratovščine sv. Zakramenta (*Libro parte Capitoli della Venerande Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento*), 1v) until his death on the 3rd May 1814 (ŽAK-ŽU, *Libro parte Capitoli* ..., 29r). The same function was then taken over, following the elections at the meeting of the confraternity's council on the 4th of June, by his son Giovanni (PAK-314, t. e. 25, a. e. 33, Orazione funebre, str. 9).

**Table 31: Revenue of Koper urban confraternities between 1580 and 1797 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135; PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14; Luciani, 1872, 1079; AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).
Tabela 31: Prihodki koprskih mestnih bratovščin med letoma 1580 in 1797 (Lavrič, 1986, 131–135; PAK-6.1, a. e. 22, Seminario Q, 14; Luciani, 1872, 1079; AST-GL, Atti d'amministrazione, b. 3, Anno 1797, 6/1 Scuole Laiche, N° 580).**

Confraternity	1580	1675	1741	1797 ³⁷
St. Anthony the Abbot	2,500.0	1,500	3,514.25	4,233
St. Maria the New	1,000.0	750		1,099 ³⁸
St. Corpus Christi or St. Sacrament	600.0	250	320.75	4,043 ³⁹
St. Francis	500.0	150	361.10	
Crucified at St. Thomas	500.0	120	377.45	
St. Name of Jesus	400.0		502.00	
St. Cross	150.0	90		
St. John	150.0			
St. Christopher	100.0	140	180.05	
St. Gregory	100.0			
St. Sebastian	80.0	410	385.20	
St. Nicholas	74.5	270	22.40	973
St. Maria del bel uerde	68.0			
St. Maria of the Rotunda	60.0	320	171.00	188
St. Nazarius	50.0	130	345.65	
St. Rocco	30.0	128		
Crucified in the cathedral, a woman's confraternity	0.6			
St. Barbara	0.0	500	74.00	940 ⁴⁰
St. Maria of the Servites	0.0	310	134.00	
St. Andrew	0.0	80	684.0	753
Fabrica del Duomo		950		
St. Maria of Lazaret ⁴¹		900	309.80	
St. Valentine of Lazaret		800	256.70	
St. Maria della Roda of Rižana		600	127.05	
All Saints		95	54.00	
St. Jacob			139.00	
Total	6,363.1	8,493	6,649.25	14,026
the Spittal of St. Nazarius	2,000.0		5,687.00	13,401 ⁴²
Total	8,363.1		12,336.25	25,630
Fabrica del Duomo	950.0			
the Spittal of St. Mark (1550 in 4 years)	387.5			

confraternity's council to pay tribute to the emperor and to celebrate the anniversary of the occupation of Istria by exposing the *Santissimo* in the cathedral church, and

by a solemn mass, which was to be attended by the representatives of local authorities, public entities, officials and the entire population. In honour of Emperor Franz II,

³⁷ Only an average income from livellos and rent is recorded.

³⁸ The confraternity was joined by the confraternity of St. Maria of the Servites

³⁹ It was also joined by the confraternity of St. Cross, St. Francis, St. Name of Jesus, St. Jacob, St. Sebastian, and St. Nazarius

⁴⁰ United with the confraternity of St. Christopher.

⁴¹ This confraternity and the two confraternities listed below (St. Valentine of Lazaret and St. Maria della Roda of Rižana) are discussed with the rural confraternities in the year 1741 and are not included in the total amount of revenue of the urban confraternities. Their revenues are recorded for the year 1741 only as a comparison.

⁴² The income of the Spittal was calculated for the last three years.

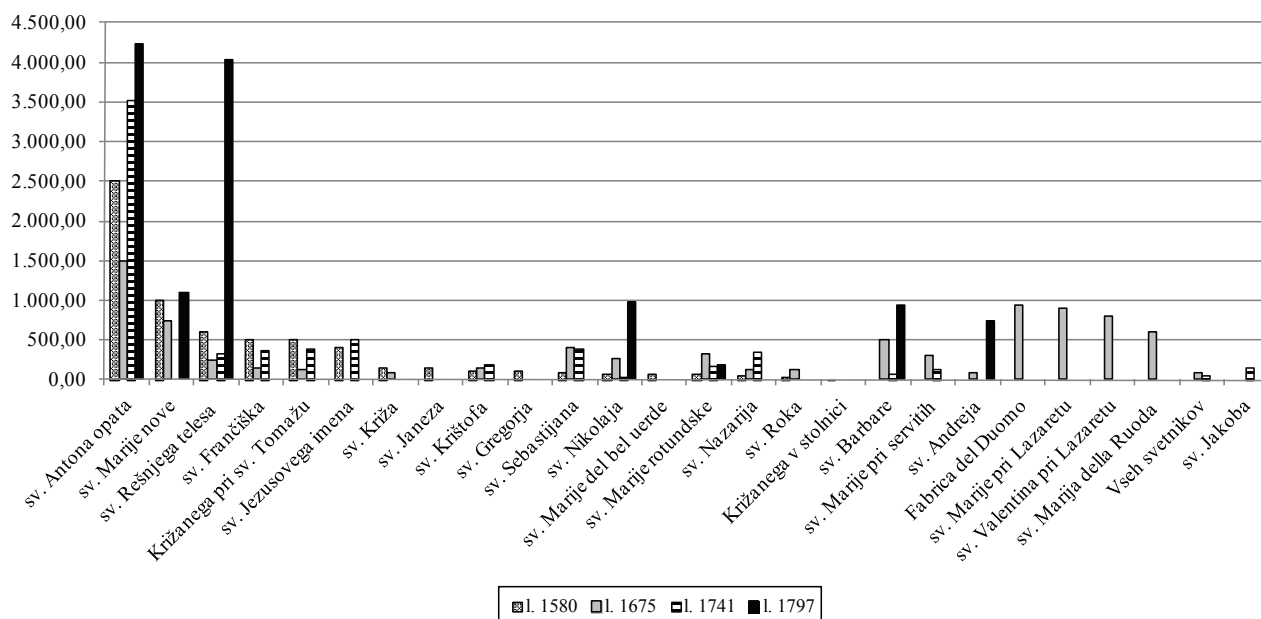


Chart 29: Revenue of Koper urban confraternities between 1580 and 1797.
Grafikon 29: Prihodki koprskih mestnih bratovščin med letoma 1580 in 1797.

they bought an insignia with a statue of St. Francis of Assisi, as well as solemnly celebrating his nameday.⁴³

A major turning point in the operation of the confraternities was the French occupation of Koper. On the basis of decrees of the 8th June 1805 and 24th May 1806, the French abolished most of the confraternities (except for the confraternity of St. Sacrament⁴⁴ and Christian love) and nationalised their assets. Thus, a document of 19th September 1806 shows that in Istria, 434 church organizations (monasteries, Spittals, confraternities) were nationalised, of which 420 were confraternities, having a total of 91,870 Venetian lire of assets. Within the territory of Koper they thus nationalised 58 confraternities with 24.420 lire of assets, in Piran 21 with 3,510 lire and in Izola 9 confraternities with 2,940 lire of assets (PAK-6, a. e. 1469, N° III). Then, in the year 1807, they abolished individual confraternities in the presence of their gastalds (PAK-6, a. e. 1463, 168; PAK-

6, a. e. 1466, 177). Their assets were nationalised and established the Domain Office for this purpose,⁴⁵ which supervised the property of the abolished monasteries, confraternities and Spittals.

Judging by the censuses, they seem to have also gained the majority of their silverware, which they had for the decoration of churches. In 1807, as much as 838 lbs and 2 oz of silver were sent to Udine from north-west Istria (Koper, Dekani, Milje, Izola and Piran) from the 41 abolished monasteries and confraternities. Of the stated quantity, 546 lbs of silver came from the 41 confraternities, with the rest coming from five Koper monasteries (St. Blaž, St. Clara, St. Dominic, St. Gregory and St. Francis) and both Minorite monasteries, namely St. Francis of Milje and of Piran. From the abovementioned areas they took 34 silver candlesticks, 32 canon plaques, 6 reliquaries, 15 chalices, 14 consecrated wafer dishes (*ciboria*), 5 monstrances, 36 crosses, a po-

43 DAR-396, Puljski kaptol 1303–1882, Bratovštine u Istri 1459–1820, *Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento (1626–1806)*, Koper, t. e. 45, a. e. 111. In 1800, the gastald Michiel Totto proposed to celebrate the emperor's name-day (October 4) with a solemn Mass, normally performed by the bishop, and pray for the health and welfare of the emperor. The archconfraternitas of St. Sacrament from the 30th of April 1800 was in charge of all religious rites (ceremonies and celebrations) in the cathedral church (DAR-396, Puljski kaptol 1303–1882, Bratovštine u Istri 1459–1820, *Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento (1626–1806)*, Koper, t. e. 45, a. e. 111, 72r). On the basis of the law passed on the 20th September 1767, on the 3rd of May 1800, the Government granted it the privilege to be free to invest money from the leases (*reinvestita dei Capitali Livellari*), as well as giving it back the privilege of investing the money of some monasteries in Koper (*capitali livellari*). The president, and Council of twelve and the archconfraternitas also became the primary investors for the Spittal of St. Nazarius and the confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot (DAR-396, Puljski kaptol 1303–1882, Bratovštine u Istri 1459–1820, *Confraternita del Santissimo Sacramento (1626–1806)*, Koper, t. e. 45, a. e. 111, 73–74v), i.-r., while the government exempted the archconfraternitas from its dependency on the office for charitable institutions (*Diretorio delle Cause Pie*) (DAR-396, t. e. 45, a. e. 111, 72v).

44 When most confraternities, monasteries and other charitable institutions were abolished with the arrival of the French government, and the movable property belonging to secular organisations given to the churches, the decision that the notary Bortolo de Rin wrote on the 22nd of May on the abolition of the archconfraternity of St. Sacrament was repealed due to its "significant work" performed in the cathedral church, and the confraternity could carry on with its work.

45 Most of the material of that office is kept by the Regional Archives of Koper (PAK-12).

molo, 4 plaques (*pace*), 4 sprinklers, 10 vases, 37 lamps, 6 chalices for consecrated wafers (*pisside*), 5 incense burners (*navicelle*), 3 pails and 5 dishes for incense (*toriboli*) from the monasteries. 2,687 lbs and 10 ounces of silverware were taken from all over Venetian Istria (PAK-6, a. e. 1469).

CONCLUSION

Most confraternities in Koper had a great deal of land and other real estate property that they rented out; they also lent money at a 6-percent interest rate (low for those times), invested money in the communal pawnshops and thus grew their patrimony. While major urban confraternities earned relatively large amounts of income – which was generally received from rent on land tenure and partly from investments in pawnshops –

in the 18th century, most rural confraternities only had a small income, which was usually sufficient only for the decoration of churches and the fulfilment of religious duties.

As some confraternities were unable to maintain and control their land due to their low income, even before the end of the Venetian rule there were cases of amalgamation of some of the smaller confraternities, both in villages and in the city. In 1797 there were 7 confraternities remaining in the city and 87 in the countryside. When the auditor Antonio Solveni prepared a report on the financial operations of the confraternities for the new imperial authorities, he emphasized that in order to improve the operation of confraternities there should only be one confraternity for each individual village and for each church in the city, and that they should only be managed by the most competent people.

DENARNO POSLOVANJE KOPRSKIH MESTNIH IN PODEŽELSKIH BRATOVŠČIN V LUČI POROČIL CERKVENIH IN DRŽAVNIH URADNIKOV MED 16. IN 18. STOLETJEM

Zdenka BONIN

Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija
Pokrajinski arhiv Koper, Kapodistriassov trg 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija
e-mail: zdenka.bonin@gmail.com

Darko DAROVEC

Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija
e-mail: darko.darovec@zrs.upr.si

POVZETEK

Ker so bratovščine razpolagale s precejšnjim premoženjem (posamezniki so jim z volili zapuščali nepremičnine in denar, ki so ga z zakupi in drugimi finančnimi dejavnostmi plemenitile), so cerkvene, predvsem pa beneške centralne oblasti nad njimi in drugimi dobrodelnimi ustanovami izvajale stalni nadzor (zlasti nad njihovim denarnim poslovanjem). Tako je vesti o bratovščinah mogoče zaslediti v terminacijah in poročilih koprskih podestator (senatu) in drugih centralnih beneških providurjev, ki so pregledovali stanje v Istri.

Veronski škof Agostin Valier je leta 1580 (ob vizitaciji koprške škofije v smislu priporočil tridentinskega koncila) pregledal tudi delovanje koprškega špitala, 20-ih bratovščin v mestu in 45 na podeželju ter v grobem popisal njihovo premoženje. Ker so bili prihodki bratovščin (npr. od nepremičnin, zakupov, posojanja denarja, plačil luminarij) relativno veliki, saj so koprške mestne bratovščine leta 1580 razpolagale z denarjem v višini 40 odstotkov prihodkov istrske davčne komore, se ne kaže čuditi, da je beneška centralna oblast skušala nadzirati njihovo delovanje in del prihodkov preusmeriti v javno dobro.

Sto let kasneje je na ozemlju koprške komune delovalo sto bratovščin. V mestu se število ni spremenilo, na teritoriju pa je naraslo na 80. Vse istrske bratovščine (leta 1675 jih je bilo 512) so skupno imele okoli 141.500 lir prihodkov in okoli 94.500 lir stroškov, koprške mestne okoli 8.500 lir prihodkov in 5.000 odhodkov, podeželske pa 18.101 lir prihodkov in 13.586 lir stroškov. Bratovščine so razpolagale z veliko vsoto denarja, saj jim je omenjeno leto v blagajnah ostalo okoli 47.000 lir, medtem ko naj bi koprška fiskalna komora imela leta 1678 43.000 lir prihodkov oz. kar 5.000 lir manj od presežkov prihodkov nad odhodki vseh istrskih bratovščin iz leta 1675. Verjetno so bili prav njihovi visoki prihodki vzrok za odmero davka, ki so ga morale bratovščine po naročilu oblasti od leta 1675 dalje plačevati

za ustanovitve, pozneje pa vzdrževanje koprškega seminarja (*Collegio*).

Ob koncu beneške oblasti leta 1797 je bilo na celotnem koprskem teritoriju 95 bratovščin, od tega sedem v mestu. Slednje so nemoteno delovale tudi pod habsburško oblastjo, velika prelomnica v njihovem delovanju pa je bila francoska okupacija Istre. Francozi so na osnovi dekretov z 8. junija 1805 in 24. maja 1806 ukinili večino bratovščin (razen bratovščin sv. zakramenta in krščanske ljubezni) in njihovo premoženje priključili državnemu imetju. V Istri so poddržavili 434 cerkvenih združenj, od tega 420 bratovščin, ki so skupno imele 91.870 beneških lir premoženja. Od 58-ih ukinjenih bratovščin s koprškega teritorija se je v državno blagajno steklo 24.420 lir premoženja.

Bratovščine v severozahodni Istri so imele veliko zemlje in drugih nepremičnin, ki so jih dajale v zakup, posojale so denar po za tisti čas nizki 6-odstotni obrestni meri ter ga vlagale v komunske zastavljavnice in plemenitile. Medtem ko so pomembnejše mestne bratovščine razpolagale z relativno velikim premoženjem, ki so ga večinoma dobile od rent na zemljiške posesti, deloma pa tudi od vložkov v zastavljavnice, je v 18. stoletju večina podeželskih bratovščin imela malo prihodkov, ki so največkrat zadoščali le za krasitev cerkva in izpolnjevanje verskih dolžnosti.

Čeprav so bratovščine premožnejšim prebivalcem velikokrat zagotavljale nespremenjen (privilegiran) položaj, saj so ti opravljali (naj)pomembnejše bratovščinske funkcije in pridobivali najvišja posojila, so hkrati revnejšemu delu prebivalstva nudile večjo socialno varnost (npr. možnost zakupa zemlje in drugih nepremičnin, opravljanje plačanih služb in priložnostnih del, pridobitev dote ter ne nazadnje skrb za posmrtno življenje – pokopi in opravljanje maš za duše pokojnih članov). Z vključitvijo v bratovščino, s pripadnostjo neki skupnosti, zlasti s sodelovanjem na istih slovesnostih (npr. procesijah, skupnih pojedinah) in v enakih oblekah so se med člani bratovščine zmanjševale socialne razlike. Vplivale so na zunanjo podobo mesta, izgled in notranjo opremo cerkva (gradile in vzdrževale so oratorije, cerkve, bratovščinske oltarje, plačevale poslikave in izdelave oltarnih podob), s sodelovanjem v procesijah, pri verskih obredih (v cerkvah so imele svoje klopi, omare, vzdrževale so večno luč na oltarju) in raznih sprejemih (z bratovščinskimi prapori so bile prisotne ob sprejemih cerkvenih in svetnih dostojanstvenikov) pa so mestnemu in podeželskemu življenju dajale svojevrstno podobo in prispevale k etnološkim posebnostim območja.

Ključne besede: bratovščine, Koper, mesto, podeželje

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