

**Mapping
urban
changes**

**Mapiranje
urbanih
promjena**

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edited by / uredila
Ana Plosnić Škarić

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Hrvatska zaklada za znanost
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/ Institute of Art History, Zagreb, Croatia



Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum
Visualizing Development of the Late Medieval Urban Fabric

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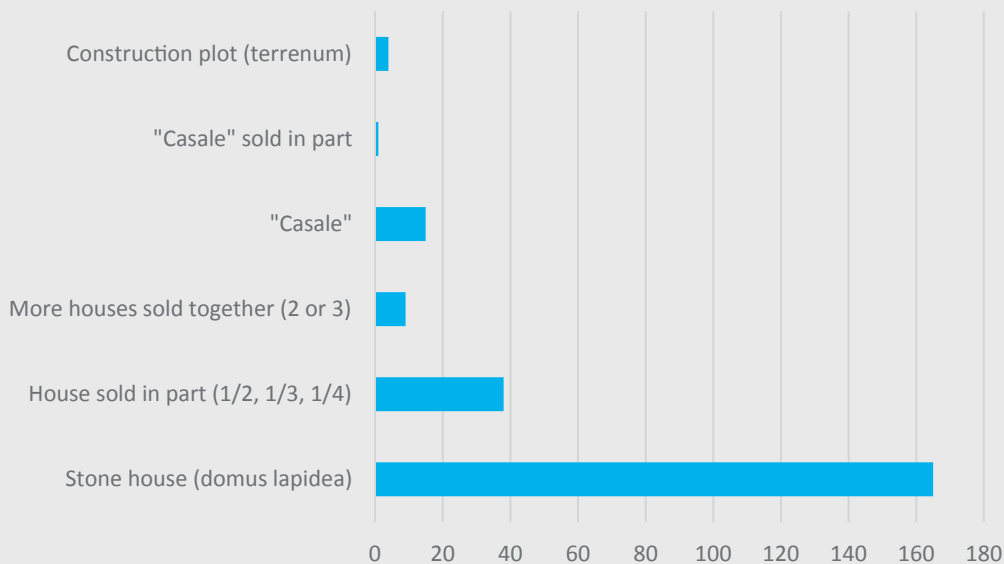
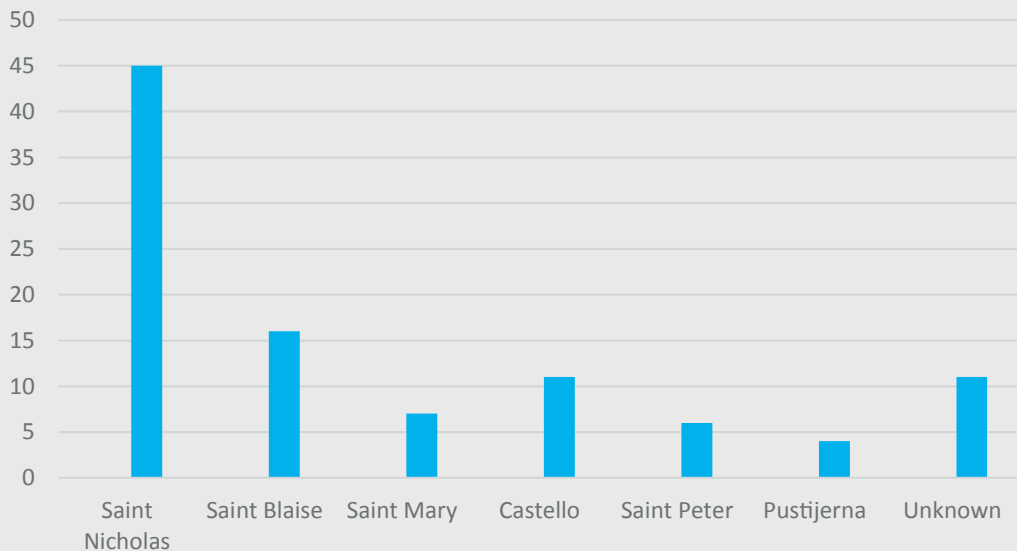
Mapping housing market in late medieval Dubrovnik: The Saint Nicholas *sexterium* (ca. 1420–1450)*

Matko Matija Marušić

The Saint Nicholas *sexterium*, today better-known as Prijeko, was incorporated into the city walls of Dubrovnik by the end of the thirteenth century. The blocks of the orthogonal grids of the district, defined by fifteen streets running south-north, cut by the Prijeko Street in direction east-west, have remained largely unchanged to this day. The layout of the district, therefore, is an accomplished achievement of the later medieval urban development, and as such has gained considerable attention in the scholarly literature.¹ Moreover, the scholars have primarily dealt with the medieval and early modern residential architecture, a result of which is a noticeable amount of studies.² At the same time, certain aspects of this intriguing city district have not gained significant treatment. To partially fill in this lacuna, it is my aim here to investigate the issue of the real estate market by analysing both published and unpublished sources from the fifteenth century. The issue of the transaction of immovable property, including buying, selling, renting and donating dwellings, may offer new insights into the various under-researched phenomena of the area in question.

The scrutiny of the sources regarding the property transactions can be conducted in several ways; one can put an emphasis on the issues of the urban morphology or can affront the more “slippery” topics, such as the social topography or social stratification. At any rate, such investigations require an in-depth analysis of a wide range of sources through an extensive period and therefore go well beyond the scope of a short article. Given the space I have here, my intention is to discuss the transactions of immovable properties in the first half of the fifteenth century, from ca. 1420 to ca. 1450. More specifically, the scope of the present paper is to visualise the data concerning the changes in the ownership of private houses in the upper part of the Saint Nicholas’ *sexterium*, between the Prijeko Street and the northern city walls by mapping the dwelling units quoted in the archival sources. The results obtained from the analysis, such as the legal status of sellers and buyers, the average price of the stone houses sold, or the frequency of transactions carried out on certain streets will deliver a clearer picture of the housing market in the fifteenth-century Dubrovnik.

The analysis and the mapping of the data will furthermore be extended by several case-studies related to Prijeko, i.e. some distinguished individuals and/or specific groups which have taken a prominent part in the real property transactions as well as the the areas which have witnessed considerable changes in the property ownership during the period examined. To that extent, the final section of the paper will present two such cases – a particular social/professional group – the rich merchants who were members of the Confraternity of Saint Anthony – and the other concerning the transactions in the immediate vicinity to the church of Sigurata. Since the data will be



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FIGURE 1
Distribution of houses sold in Dubrovnik's
sexteria according to *Venditiones Cancellariae*
(percentage) (drawing by the author).

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FIGURE 2
The dwelling units sold in Saint Nicholas
district (drawing by the author).

mapped, it is also necessary to reflect upon the restraints of mapping of the urban changes that were not physical and did not imply the modifications of the urban fabric. What emerges from the outline of my paper is that the final aim is rather ambitious. For that reason, here I will present my work and findings up to now, while the full-scope research is still a work in progress.

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The archival sources I will examine are kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. The most important source are the unpublished volumes of the *Venditiones Cancellariae*, public registry books of real property sales, (hereafter VC), nine books of which refer to the first part of the fifteenth century.³ The second source, although not as nearly rich with data, is the recently published *Liber affectuum thesaurarie*, The Book of the Treasurers' Rents, (hereafter LAT), the institution of which occurred in 1428.⁴ The nature of these sources differ, however, what combines them is the fact that they contain the proclamations of the sales of the real estate properties, as well as the data concerning the houses rented. It is important to underline that neither of these two sources relates exclusively to Saint Nicholas district, yet to the whole city.⁵

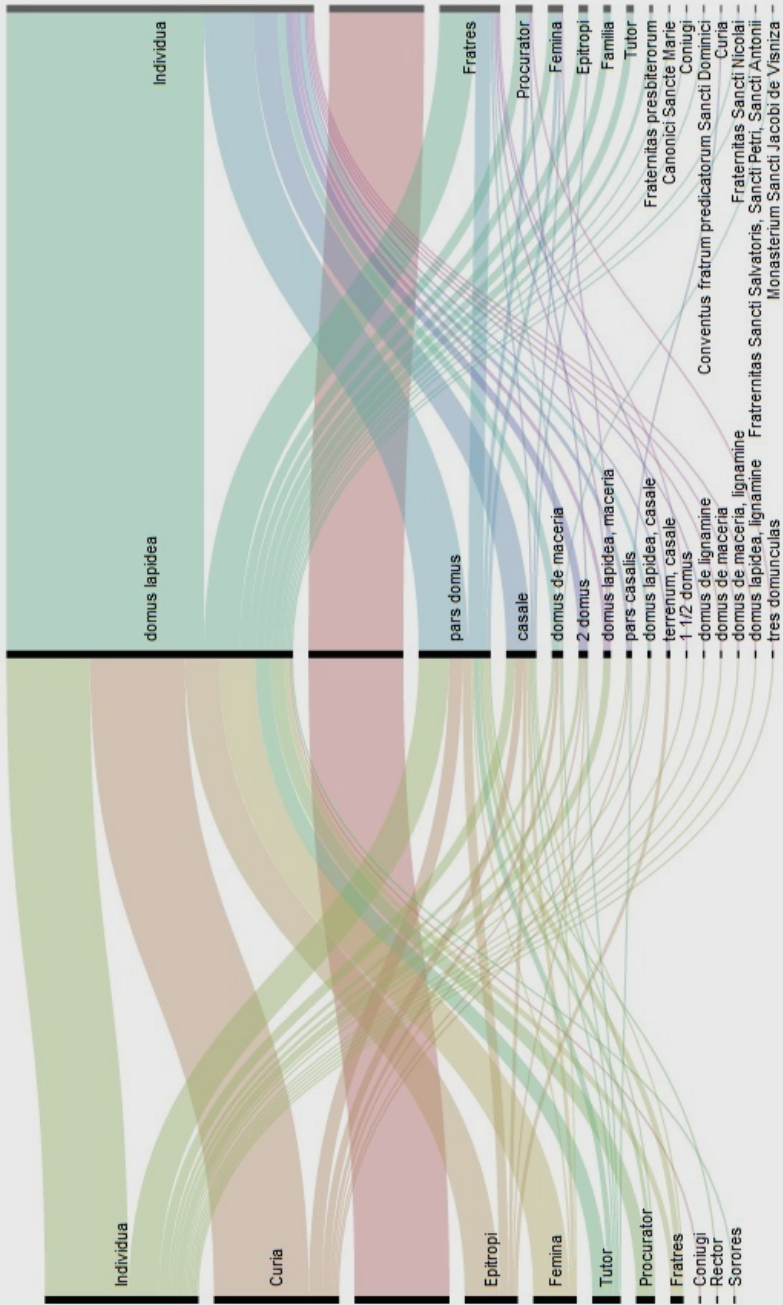
Venditiones Cancellariae and Liber Affectuum Thesaurarie: The analysis of the sources

The district of Saint Nicholas was selected since almost half of the dwelling units sold in the fifteenth-century Dubrovnik were located there, which signifies a considerable change in the ownership of houses during the first half of the fifteenth century. **FIGURE 1** shows the percentage of the dwellings sold in the Saint Nicholas in comparison to other districts of the city. These results are not surprising since the Prijeko is arguably the largest among the six cities' administrative units, and the results obtained from the analysis to a certain extent mirror this fact. **FIGURE 2** displays the data pertaining to the urban landscape of Saint Nicholas – the quality of the dwelling units sold. In nearly seventy percent of cases at stake were stone-built houses (*domus lapidea*, or more commonly only *domus*). Recorded were also the sales of a half, a third or a fourth of a house. Other dwelling units include houses which included several smaller dwellings combined in a sort of a court (*casale*, *caxale*) or construction plots (*terrenum*).

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For the scope of this paper, the data concerning the type and/or quality of dwelling units, as well as social conditions of the house owners, buyers, and tenants have been extracted in order to trace and reconstruct the real property transactions. A brief note should, therefore, be made upon the analysis of the sources. The data from the VC have been classified into the following categories: 1) the date of the transaction, 2) the seller of the property, 3) the buyer of the property, 4) the quality of the dwelling unit, 5) the price of the property sold, and 6) the physical boundaries of the dwelling unit according to the document or its precise borders, if stated



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FIGURE 3 Profiles of sellers and buyers of the dwelling units (drawing by the author).

in the document. The sellers and buyers were noted down in the exact form of their name written in the document. I have included their social status, for instance, the title *ser* in the case of patricians (distinguishable by their family name, as well), or their profession, if stated, given the fact that seldom only names or nicknames were recorded.⁶

The quality of the dwellings was furthermore compared to the profiles of sellers and buyers. The **FIGURE 3** compares this aspect of sales and reveals that the dwellings were prevalently sold and bought by male individuals. Moreover, a significant percentage of the dwelling was sold by the Dubrovnik's *Curia civilium*, as a result of law suits for solving debts. A smaller amount of sales was executed by the *epitropi* as an execution of a will, or by the legal representatives (*tutores*) of under aged individuals. The analysis of the buyers' profiles shows that male individuals were, even more numerous group. The second most numerous category of buyers were brothers (*fratres*), commonly joined when acquiring new family dwellings. Finally, several ecclesiastical and fraternal institutions have obtained new dwellings in the Saint Nicholas, including the emerging confraternity of prominent city merchants (Saint Anthony), two Dominican friaries and the confraternities of priests and butchers.

The question arises on how can the data obtained from the statistical analysis be visualised and be "placed" in the space of the early fifteenth-century Dubrovnik. The major obstacle is the inconsistency of the sixth category of data – the boundaries of the dwelling units. On the other hand, the outer borders of the Saint Nicholas are clearly defined, which is not the case with the limits of other city *sexteria*.⁷ Moreover, the urban layout of the Prijeko has remained largely unchanged to the present day which is both of great help in the mapping of the data. However, despite the fact of knowing the names of both old and new owners of the dwellings in question, as well as those of the bordering dwellings, it is not always possible to locate the houses recorded in the sources examined. Similarly to VC, evidence from LAT reveal as much as they hide. The number of the dwellings administered by communal treasurers is significantly smaller to that of the dwellings sold in the VC. In fact, when houses were rented, the bordering units were not regularly stated, yet it was more common to describe the position of the house by a neighbouring landmark. Furthermore, no additional information on the quality of the dwelling units can be found in this source – as, in VC, houses were recorded only as *domus*, or in the case of LAT, *cassa*. Therefore, when trying to map the data, we are faced with the difficulties to detect the exact, if not the approximate location of the dwelling unit.

Mapping the data

While the more or less precise location of the dwellings cannot be traced through the VC and LAT books, there are other contemporary sources which could offer a substantial piece of evidence for visualisation of the data. In the first place I am referring to the *Libro delli terreni et delli affitti delli terreni del comun de Ragusa, del borgo sopra la via de della Plaça* (1382–1417), and *Tute le chese del comun de Ragusa e terreni e fiti che apartien al dito comun* (1417–1449).⁸ While in the VC and LAT in most cases only the name of the *sexterium* is indicated, in these type of sources the properties and their owners in Saint Nicholas are listed in the precise order that mirrored the physical situation of every single street running from the Prijeko Street up to the northern city walls. Apart for some particular lacunas, therefore, we have information on the owners of every single house, as well as the length of the main façade facing the street and the amount of annual rent paid to the commune for the terrain, since the length and the layout of the building blocks have still remained intact, it is possible to determine the precise location of the dwellings from the VC and LAT. Given that all of these sources are more or less contemporary, a great number of owners mentioned there have remained unaltered during the first half of the fifteenth century. At the same time, the names of the owners are in different sources recorded in various ways, in some cases only by the first name, most usually followed by patronymic or profession. In order to trace a particular individual, it was, therefore, necessary to combine other sources which enabled their identification.

The overlapping of the layers of the data from the abovementioned archival sources has therefore enabled the mapping of the dwellings sold by using the so-called “puzzle technique” of combining different records to get the complete picture.⁹ The starting point for the mapping was the 1417’s list of owners (see Zelić’s study in this volume). The names and professions were confronted to the names of the sellers, buyers and the owners of the bordering dwellings to pinpoint the property sold in the *sexterium*. Out of the 294 dwelling units recorded in the VC, roughly one third of them (102) have been mapped. As is shown in [FIGURE 4](#), they are rather evenly distributed within the area of the district.

Other dwellings mentioned in the VC could not be mapped due to different reasons. In some cases, the bordering units remain unrecorded. Other unmapped dwellings in the Saint Nicholas were located in the parts of the *sexterium* not covered by the 1417 census. Seemingly, larger part of the real property transactions was effectuated in the southern part of the district, between the Prijeko Street and Stradun, as well as in certain areas in its northern part, as for instance in the thirteenth street, below the Sigurata church, or in the uppermost zone, between the fifth and the tenth street.

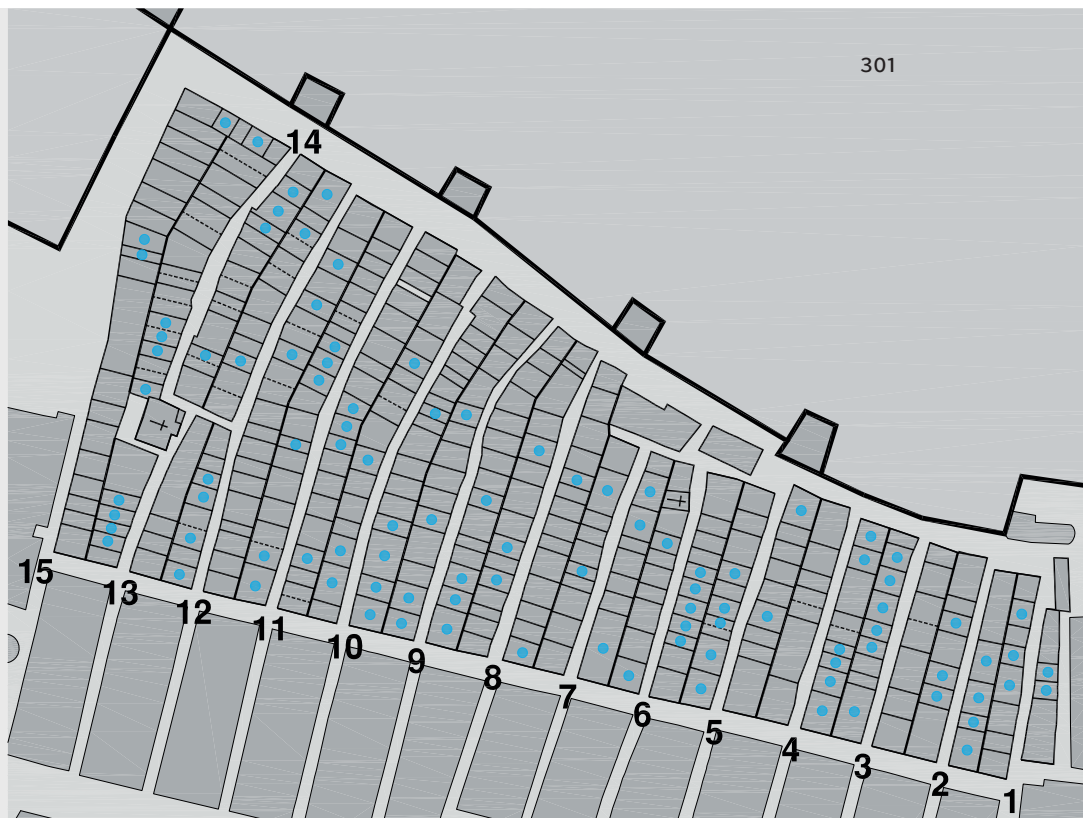
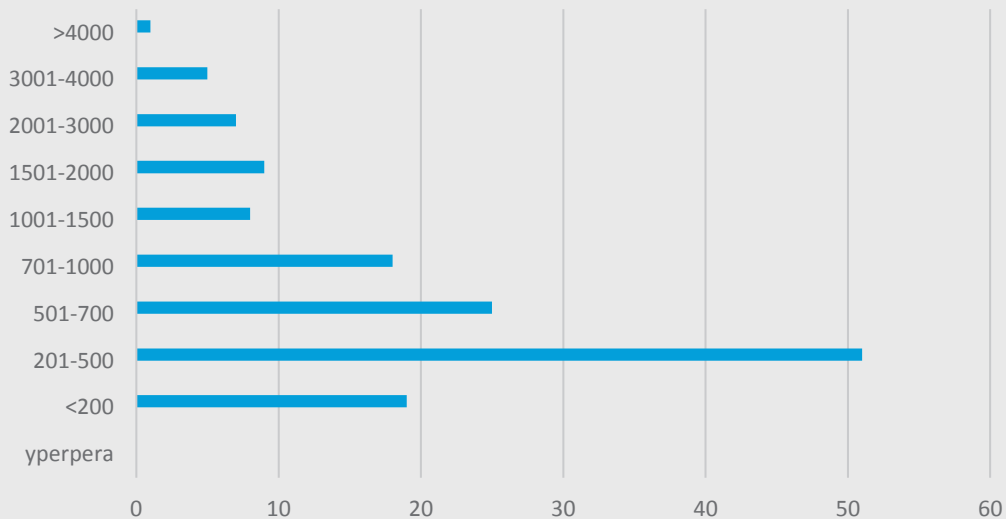
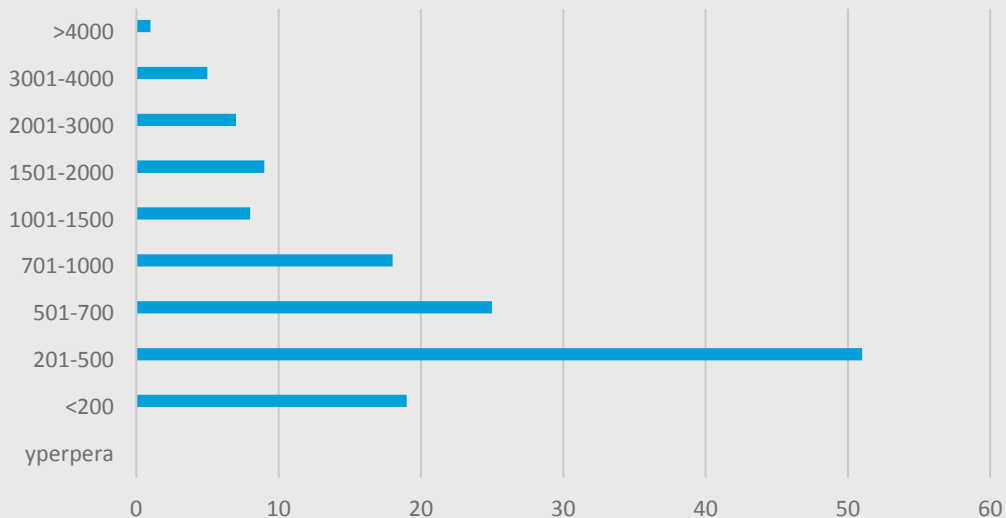


FIGURE 4

The mapped dwelling units recorded in the *Venditiones Cancellariae* (map by Goran Vareško, Institute of Art History, Zagreb).

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FIGURE 5
Price ranges of stone houses in Saint Nicholas district (drawing by the author).

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FIGURE 6
Price ranges of stone houses in Dubrovnik, all *sexteria* included (drawing by the author).

Therefore, a considerable amount of houses and terrains sold in these areas can be of great interest for the further study of the parts of the district where the terrain was not owned by the commune.

The southern part of the Saint Nicholas can be divided into two further parts. Its eastern area was covered in communal houses rented every five years, while the building plots in the western segment were partly owned by the commune and partly by individuals.¹⁰ Moreover, certain smaller areas in the northern part not included in the 1417 census because were either ecclesiastical or private property. Although the houses in these parts of Saint Nicholas cannot, so far, be mapped with precision, a plenty of information in the VC and LAT can contribute to a better understanding of the urban topography of this part of Dubrovnik.¹¹ Nevertheless, on a more general level, several hundred dwellings (similarly to VC, including lavish patrician houses or far modest properties and building plots) that were sold or bequeathed are indeed the valuable body of evidence for the study the housing market prices in the later medieval Dubrovnik.

The mapping of the dwellings opens up the way to further analysis of data. Out of all dwellings mapped, roughly a half were sold (53 cases), and their prices can be analysed with regard to their micro-location within the district, and their size recorded in the 1417 census. Therefore, the same sources, of crucial importance for the mapping, could also serve as a starting point for further inquiries which involve not only their spatial distribution but as well its possible implications.

FIGURE 5 displays the price range of the stone houses sold in the Saint Nicholas in the first half of the fifteenth century. The amounts have been divided into several categories, the most frequent being the amounts from ca. 200 to 500 yperpera. Certain houses in the lowest price range have been sold for the sum of 10 yperpera. In such cases, the price did not correspond to the market value of the dwelling nor to its location, but the surprisingly small sum was a result of some sort of agreement between the sellers and buyers. In several such cases, the transactions were executed among close relatives or the members of the same family which possibly explains the strangely low price. The prices of dwellings in the Saint Nicholas can be compared to those in the whole of Dubrovnik, and the relation of the real estate values can deliver a clearer picture of the scale of prices in later medieval city. In fact, the most expensive dwelling in the mid-fifteenth century Dubrovnik, we observe from the **FIGURE 6**, were sold in the Prijeko district.¹²

Among Dubrovnik's *sexteria*, Prijeko is commonly perceived as a "popular" district,¹³ from its very beginnings inhabited by the "popular working

The real estate prices: Saint Nicholas vs. other *sexteria*

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Mapping housing market in late medieval Dubrovnik:
The Saint Nicholas *sexterium* (ca. 1420–1450)

class”.¹⁴ Some hundred years later, during the period examined, this image only partially holds true, as is also evident from the examination of the real estate costs. Concerning the prices of the dwellings, the most interesting comparison can be drawn with regard to the data concerning the *sexterium* Pustijerna, usually perceived as the most elite residential district of Dubrovnik. The comparison reveals that, out of all *sexteria* of Dubrovnik, Saint Nicholas witnessed the highest transaction cost. However, the correlation between real property values in certain neighbourhoods is not as straight-forward as it may seem. The fact that Pustijerna was in the most part inhabited by the established patrician families implies that their houses were rarely sold, rather being inherited, *de herede in herede*. Nevertheless, the evidence concerning the house prices is certainly stimulative for future research, and in order to outline other possibilities in examining the real estate market in the Prijeko, I will now turn to two selected case-studies.

Mapping Antunines in Prijeko: three examples

In order to investigate the social topography of certain neighbourhoods, one needs to undertake an in-depth insight into social layers that included rich and not so fortunate merchants, craftsmen of different trades and other groups. In that instance, the first case study I will present concerns wealthy merchants, an uprising social group of late medieval Dubrovnik. The Antunines were a group of wealthy families assembled in Saint Anthony’s confraternity. As was recently demonstrated by Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, these families have in many instances assembled patricians.¹⁵ Pešorda Vardić also devoted attention to the spatial distribution of the Antunines, observing that their dwellings were evenly distributed in the Dubrovnik’s *sexteria*.¹⁶ This is most certainly correct, as is also evident from VC, yet the Saint Nicholas seems to be particularly relevant to this social group. Among the names of sellers and buyers, considerable part were members of the Antunine confraternity which makes possible to establish the positions of their houses. Here I will briefly present intertwined cases involving several such families.

The Antunine who possessed the highest number of houses was Radoslav Turchinovich. By 1417 Turchinovich owned six stone houses in the Saint Nicholas *sexterium*,¹⁷ while in 1431 he bought a house in the Saint Peter’s *sexterium*,¹⁸ and in 1434 another house in the Saint Blaise.¹⁹ Apparently, most of them were rented which must have represented considerable income, but it is uncertain which house was his residence. An already impressive number of cases in possession of the Turchinovich family was further enlarged by his sons – Florius and Matchus. The siblings united in fraternal company bought further houses together, joined in *fraterna*: in 1437 they purchased a house between the two already in possession of their



- Sigurata church and its territory
- Dwellings of the Turchinovich family
- Dwellings of the Turchinovich family
- Dwellings of Petrus Primi

FIGURE 7

The case studies of the clustering of the dwelling units of the Antunine families and the Sigurata church (map by Goran Vareško, Institute of Art History, Zagreb).

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Mapping housing market in late medieval Dubrovnik:
The Saint Nicholas *sexterium* (ca. 1420–1450)

father,²⁰ and during the following decade they bought three further houses in Saint Nicholas.²¹ Except for one, the exact locations of other dwellings are known. On **FIGURE 7**, we see the grouping of the Turcinovich family in the fourth street, while the largest dwelling on its western side was most convincingly their residential house.

An interesting case of enlarging the dwelling at the prestigious location on the Prijeko Street was that of Petrus Primi, also known as Clunovich, a rich merchant and leaseholder in Bosnia.²² By 1417 Primi owned first two houses located on the western side of the sixth street, the first therefore on the northern side of the Prijeko Street. In 1419 he bought the largest dwelling in Saint Nicholas – a stone house with a *casale*, owned by Nikša, son on Gin Liessevich, as well members of the Antunine confraternity.²³ Buying Liessevich's large dwelling unit, Primi became the first individual who possessed two houses facing the Prijeko Street. However, only several years later, in 1423, Primi was constrained to sell the recently acquired *domus cum casale* due to his debts to Givchus Radosalich called Castrat, yet another of the Antunine brethren.²⁴ In 1429 he sold one of his houses he owned in 1417 to Pribissavus Radulini (himself as well an Antunine), located *prope domus Guichi Castrat*, for 5500 yperpera, which makes this the largest sum in the period examined.²⁵

Castrat, like other distinguished Antunines, was in possession of houses in other districts of Dubrovnik – including a house in Saint Blaise district²⁶ and a *casale* in Castello,²⁷ but the house in Prijeko was most certainly his residence. This is witnessed in LAT where a renting a house *in la contrata de Givcho dito Castrat* was recorded.²⁸ Castrat's house, therefore, stood out as prominently placed, obviously larger in scale, and was owned by a prominent member of an emerging social group, which granted her the status of a landmark in the Saint Nicholas urban landscape.

**A case-study
of a landmark:
the Church
of the
*Transfigurationis
Domini*
(Sigurata)**

In a matter of fact, there were certain such landmarks around which a considerable number of real estate transactions is recorded, which so far cannot be precisely located. One such case is the early medieval church of the *Transfigurationis Domini*, today as then better known as Sigurata. Sixteen dwelling units sold from 1420 to 1450 were located somewhere near (*apresso de, prope, circa, subtum*) the church or in the same street (*in ruga*).²⁹ Out of all these houses, only two can be precisely located.

Back in the fifteenth century, Sigurata church was a free-standing building, with its own *campus*, as was attested in one of the sales recorded in the VC.³⁰ On the other hand, the terrain bordering the church was not densely covered in stone houses as it appears today. For instance, in the sale of 1437, one such *casale* in part bordering the *campus* of the church from its'

southern edge, was sold under the condition that the buyers were free to build there using the wall at the western edge of the dwelling unit.³¹ Moreover, the list of 1417 reveals that the terrain south and east from the church was not included in the census, meaning that the rent (*angaridium*) was not paid to the commune. Seven houses located around the church, that is nearly half of all mentioned in the VC, were paying the rent directly to the church, with one additional house disbursing the sum both to the church and to the commune.

It is therefore highly likely that the houses in question were located on the terrain owned by the Sigurata church and therefore not covered by the 1417 census. This would also explain why only such a small portion of houses in this area can be precisely mapped: given the fact that we did not know their owners in 1417, we cannot match them with the houses sold in the following decades recorded in the VC.

The aim of this paper was to present the possibilities of studying yet unpublished volumes of *Venditiones Cancellariae* for studies pertaining to the immovable property transactions in the fifteenth century Dubrovnik. What emerges from the analysis of the sources, and the attempt to map the data, is, on the one hand, the impossibility to precisely locate the dwellings. Although there are more or less contemporary sources with a complete list of owners, i.e. the 1417 census, in some cases, we cannot establish the precise location (for instance the area around the Sigurata church).³² The changes of the ownership are not physical changes in the urban layout and the analysed sources, no matter how valuable they are, so far cannot reveal the precise locations of the recorded dwelling units. What is lacking, therefore, is the detailed state of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which could lead to a better understanding of the real estate transactions during the wider amount of time. Future research must, therefore, include other sources, such as the censuses from 1389 and 1484. The combining of these sources with the transactions in the VC and the rents in LAT, as well as other relevant sources kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, could most surely offer a clearer picture of some problems outlined in this paper, including not only the general comparisons of Saint Nicholas to other Dubrovnik's *sexteria*, but as well its detailed urban and social profile.

Conclusion

Notes

- * This work was fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation's funding of the project *Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum. Visualising the Development of the Late Medieval Urban Fabric* DUCAC-UIP-11-2013-9492.
- 1 Milan Prelog, "Dubrovački statut i izgradnja grada (1272–1972)," *Peristil* 14-15 (1972): 81-94; Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike*, Studije i monografije Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, vol 1 (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980); Igor Fisković, "Tradicije i inovacije u urbanističkome liku starog Dubrovnika," *Dubrovnik* 5/4 (1994): 103-123.
 - 2 Maja Nodari-Krstelj, "Dubrovačka stambena arhitektura XV./XVI. stoljeća," MA Thesis (University of Zagreb, 1977); Igor Fisković, "Crkvice 'Sigurate' u Dubrovniku – ratom oštećeni te obnovljeni višeznačni spomenik," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 20 (1996): 59-81; Nada Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu: studije o dubrovačkoj stambenoj arhitekturi 15. i 16. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2013).
 - 3 The books concerning the first part of the fifteenth century are the following: *Venditiones Cancellariae* (hereafter, in notes: *Vend. Canc.*) no. 5 (1419–1427), no. 6 (1428–1433), no. 7 (1433–1438), no. 8 (1438–1441), no. 9 (1441–1443), no. 10 (1443–1446), no. 11 (1446–1448), no. 12 (1449–1451), and no. 13 (1451–1454). These books were digitalised in the State Archives in Dubrovnik by Ana Plosnić Škarić and Danko Zelić from the Institute of Art History in Zagreb as part of the DUCAC research project, see also: Ana Plosnić Škarić, "Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum. Vizualizacija mijena kasnosrednjovjekovnog urbanog tkiva / Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum, Visualizing Development of Late Medieval Urban Fabric – uspostavni istraživački projekt," *Kvartal* 12/1-2 (2015): 79-81.
 - 4 The source was recently edited and indexed in 2012; Danko Zelić, ed., *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova = Liber affictuum thesaurarie: (1428–1547)*, Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol 12 (Zagreb, Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti, 2012). On the source see the introductory chapter: Danko Zelić, "Liber affictuum thesaurarie / The Book of the Treasurers' Rents (1428–1547): Perpetual Legacies Providing Funding for Pious Purposes".
 - 5 The VC concerned the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik as well, including other towns, islands and localities. I have limited the research to these two sources, while a certain amount of transactions of dwellings can be found in other series of the Satate Archives in Dubrovnik, among others in *Diversa cancellariae*.
 - 6 The following categories from the VC can be consulted at the web page of the DUCAC project, https://ducac.ipu.hr/project/data/venditiones_cancellarie/, accessed March, 29, 2017.
 - 7 For the overview of Dubrovnik's *sexteria*, see: Ivana Lazarević, "Granice dubrovačkih seksterija," *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 50 (2012): 63-74.
 - 8 Both sources were published and indexed in 2007, while a separate study of the latter source, authored by Zelić, can be found in this volume; Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić, eds., *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13–18. st.) = Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad affictum (saec. XIII–XVIII)* (Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2007); Danko Zelić, "Medieval Urban Landscape of the Northern Part of the City of Dubrovnik (1372–1450)," in *Mapping Urban Change*, ed. Ana Plosnić Škarić (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2017), 270-293.

- 9 Valentina Zovko, "Socijalna topografija Dubrovnika krajem 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća na primjeru obitelji de Sorgo (Sorkočević)," *Povijesni zbornik* 4 (2009): 25-26, 32.
- 10 Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13–18. st.)* = *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad afflictum* (saec. XIII–XVIII); Danko Zelić, "Utilitas et lucrum – općinske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku," in *Umjetnost i naručitelji. Zbornik znanstvenog skupa "Dani Cvita Fiskovića" održanog 2008. godine*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010), 9-24.
- 11 The exact location of certain areas, such as the terrains of the Suieri (*terrenum illorum de Suieri*) and of Junius de Sorgo (*terrenum ser Junii de Sorgo*) are yet to be investigated more closely and located more precisely.
- 12 It must be added that the most expensive dwelling was not a stone house, but a *casale*, sold by the Curia in 1433 for 8000 yperpera; *Vend. Canc.*, 6, f. 194r. This technical term is commonly understood as a "house not suitable for living". This surely was not the case with the dwelling unit in question, although we know nothing about its dimensions and qualities.
- 13 Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, "Property and Ownership in Dubrovnik's Confraternity of St Anthony in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Ages," in *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 328.
- 14 Joško Belamarić, "Urbanistički aspekti prve dubrovačke industrije u 15. stoljeću," in *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenih skupova "Dani Cvita Fiskovića" održanih 2003. i 2004. godine*, ed. Predrag Marković and Jasenka Gudelj (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2008), 360.
- 15 Cf. Pešorda Vardić, "Property and Ownership"; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012).
- 16 Pešorda Vardić, "Property and Ownership," 336.
- 17 Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13–18. st.)* = *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad afflictum* (saec. XIII–XVIII.), 40.
- 18 *Vend. Canc.* 6, f. 125r.
- 19 *Vend. Canc.* 7, f. 58v.
- 20 *Vend. Canc.* 7, f. 202r.
- 21 *Vend. Canc.* 8, ff. 23r, 26v, 149v.
- 22 See Đuro Tošić, "Petar Primović – dubrovački trgovac i zakupac carina u Bosni," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 37 (1986): 75–89.
- 23 *Vend. Canc.* 5, f. 1v.
- 24 *Vend. Canc.* 5, f. 123v.
- 25 *Vend. Canc.* 6, f. 42v.
- 26 *Vend. Canc.* 5, f. 252r.
- 27 *Vend. Canc.* 7, f. 86r.
- 28 Zelić, *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova = Liber afflictuum thesaurarie*, 40.
- 29 *Vend. Canc.* 5, ff. 124v, 135v; 6, ff. 127v, 167v, 176v, 196v; 7, ff. 35v, 85r, 192r; 8, ff. 26r, 43v; 10, 108v, 151r; 11, ff. 19v, 21r; 12, f. 103v.
- 30 *Vend. Canc.* 7, f. 192r.
- 31 (...) *cum hoc pacto quod dictus Sergius si velint edificare possit se apprehendere in muro et super murum que est inter dictum casale et domum Radosavi Thomchovich, quem murorum dicti fratres dixerunt esse comunem ipsarum et dicti Radossavi et pro comuni promiserunt ipsam defendere ut mantenere dicto Sergio (...).* *Vend. Canc.* 7, f. 192r.

- 32 For similar research problems encountered in other Eastern Adriatic towns, see: Ana Plosnić Škarić, “Real Property of Wealthy Commoners: The Formation and Rise of Commoner Lineages in Trogir after 1420,” in *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 351.

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