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Urban Elite and the Dubrovnik Area from the Late 13th Century to the Black Death: Mençe and Ljutica Family Estates in the *Burgus* of Dubrovnik – Three Generations of Neighbours from Two Social Strata¹

This paper focuses on the spatial distribution of Dubrovnik’s urban elite, observed on the examples of the families of Matijaš de Mençe and Anđelo Ljutica, in the period from the late 13th to the mid-14th century and the time of Black Death. Using the methods of social topography and prosopography, the authors have studied the interrelation of the social and ownership statuses of these families, addressing the question of their social and spatial interconnections. In the early 14th century, both families belonged to the elite urban circles, but with a key difference: one of them was noble, and the other a family of commoners.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, 13th century, 14th century, social topography, urban elite, Mençe, Ljutica

Introduction

Urban elite was a key social group in medieval urban communities, although all social layers were important in shaping the medieval city. The social topography of

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elite groups in the medieval city can be interpreted only if family relations and their demographic and property status are properly understood, since it is difficult to identify individual persons in the preserved documents without prosopographical research and knowledge of family ties. In the Dubrovnik suburbs of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century, a larger number of families that can be considered as urban elite, since they were owners or users of (sub)urban estates, can be identified based on the archival material. In this analysis, it is important to take into account the broader social and political situation, including the planning and design of the entire urban area. Only if considering all these different aspects and processes will it be possible to understand the dynamic and complex, mutually conditioned relationship between the urban area and the urban society in the Middle Ages.

Two Dubrovnik families are in the focus of this research: the Menče and the Ljutica, as illustrative examples of the way in which the emerging Dubrovnik elite was formed and spatially situated. As we shall see, at the end of the observed period, the Menče family would be remembered as one of the most famous Dubrovnik noble families, whereas the Ljutica family would be extinguished without having obtained the noble status, although during the first half of the 14th century it had all the features of Dubrovnik's urban elite. The period in question was one of the most important, if not *the* most important for the formation of the city's social structure, since the time from the late 13th until the mid-14th century was the key moment in the formation of Dubrovnik's society. The period ended with the closure of Dubrovnik's Major Council and the formal definition of its nobility in the 1330s. It was only some fifteen years after the formal closure of the Council that another event proved socially and demographically defining: the Black Death epidemic of 1348. It had serious consequences for the entire city, and is important for our research because it also brought about the extinction of the Ljutica family in the male line. Nevertheless, a marital bond created a bridge to another famous family in Dubrovnik's history: the family of Nalješković.

Therefore, our aim in this paper has been to ask several questions based on these two examples of families, the first of which was remembered as part of one of the most famous, oldest, and most enduring noble kindreds in Dubrovnik's history, while the second vanished into oblivion although its members had also been successful entrepreneurs at the same time, nevertheless leaving a trace in the new, emerging layer of Dubrovnik's citizens. What can the examples of Menče and Ljutica, as illustrative of Dubrovnik's nobles and commoners during the first half of the 14th century, tell us about the structure, open or closed, of the urban society of that era? Did the political criterion for singling out the ruling social group and for its partaking in power imply strict social and spatial separation from the rest of the population, including those commoners who were ascending the social and economic ladder at the time, and who, apart from non-partaking in political power, had all the features of an urban elite?

In reconstructing the estates of Dubrovnik's elite in the *burgus* during the period from the late 13th until the mid-14th century, we used genealogical data² as well as the results of spatial analyses and archaeological research, which we combined with our research of social topography³ and prosopography.⁴ Written sources are an indispensable source for exploring the urban development of Dubrovnik in the 13th century. For the period before adopting the city statute in 1272 and introducing the notarial records in the late 1270s, we relied on sporadic written documents⁵ and the available results of spatial analyses and archaeological research. The most important source remains the notarial records of Dubrovnik, preserved from the late 1270s onwards.⁶ They contain a lot of documents on real estate in the city and the suburbs, mostly mentioned in the context of permanent transfer of ownership from one (legal) person or institution to another.⁷ All relevant data have been entered into a digital database containing elements about the owners/users/neighbours of individual properties, as well as legal actions and property descriptions.⁸ In addition to private legal documents, an indispensable set of sources consists of administrative and normative documents such as the *Book of Real Estate in the Dubrovnik*

² For the Menče family, we used data collected in: Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Sv. 3: Vlasteoski rodovi (M - Z)* [Nobility of Dubrovnik, vol. 3: Noble kindreds (M-Z)] (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), 35-60. For the Ljutica family, it was HR-DA-DU-257, *Obitelj Čingrija*; "Vlajkijeva genealogija Antunina" [Vlajki's genealogy of the Antonines] and the genealogical reconstructions undertaken by Zrinka Pešorda Vardić.

³ It is a method that investigates the location, layout, size, changes, and continuity of estates owned by particular social groups. Cf. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Ivana Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)", in: *Mapping urban changes / Mapiranje urbanih promjena*, ed. Ana Plosnić Škarić (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2017), 223-261.

⁴ For prosopographic research related to urban elites and urban estates, see: <http://urbes.s2.novenaweb.info/en/database/>.

⁵ These documents were largely published in *Diplomatički zbornik / Codex Diplomaticus* (hereafter: CD), vol. 2, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904); vol. 3, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1905); vol. 4, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1906); vol. 5, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1907); and vol. 6, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1908). Some rare written documents from the mid-13th centuries mention real estate owned by the elite families in the *burgus*, but without describing their situation precisely and even omitting information about their size or use. They are merely defined by their general situation (*in burgo*), sometimes with regard to an important building or the city walls.

⁶ *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, vol. 1, ed. Gregor Čremošnik (Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU, 1951); *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, vol. 2, ed. Josip Lučić (Zagreb: JAZU, 1984); *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, vol. 3, ed. Josip Lučić (Zagreb: JAZU, 1988); *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, vol. 4, ed. Josip Lučić (Zagreb: JAZU, 1993); Gregor Čremošnik, "Nekoliko dubrovačkih listina iz XII. i XIII. stolaća" [Several documents from Dubrovnik from the 12th and 13th centuries], *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 43 (1931), no. 2: 25-54.

⁷ Irena Benyovsky Latin, Sandra Begonja, Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Immovable Property in Legal Actions as Documented in the Notarial Records: The Case of 13th-Century Dalmatian Cities", *Mesto a Dejiny* 7 (2018), no. 2: 6-54.

⁸ The database has been created for the research project "Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elites and Urban Spaces (URBES)," financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, project leader: Irena Benyovsky Latin <http://urbes.s2.novenaweb.info/hr/baza-podataka/>.

Commune (especially the part relating to the 13th century)⁹ and the *Statute of the City of Dubrovnik*, particularly the two provisions on streets (in 1272 and 1296).¹⁰

Based on the available material and the results of previous research, we have produced a digital map of Dubrovnik's *burgus*,¹¹ in which historical maps have been interpolated as a comparative source of data for spatial analysis, as well as data resulting from the spatial analyses carried out as part of previous historical, art historical, conservationist, and archaeological research.¹² The topographical situation of the terrain is a very important reference, so the map also contains data on altitude points in the city.¹³ The research area here encompasses the suburbs of Dubrovnik – the *burgus*, which is a term generically used in the notarial records for the suburbs or areas located outside the city walls.¹⁴

⁹ *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13-18. st) I* [Book of real estate in the Dubrovnik commune (13th-18th century), vol. 1], ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Danko Zelić (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007).

¹⁰ *Statut grada Dubrovnika: sastavljen godine 1272* [Statute of the City of Dubrovnik (1272)], trans. A. Šoljić, Z. Šundrica, and I. Veselić (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv, 2002), book 5, ch. 41; book 8, ch. 57; *Liber Omnium Reformationum Civitatis Ragusii*, ed. Aleksandar Solovjev and Mihajlo Peterković (Belgrade: SKA, 1936).

¹¹ We used tools such as AutoCAD Map 2016, SketchUp Pro 2017, Google Maps, Google Earth, and data from Geoportals DGU to conduct our spatial analyses and create digital maps. The digital map serves to present the research results, but also as a basis for interpreting the role of elites in urban space, or the influence of urban space on the formation of elites. The background for our digital map was the present-day cadastre map of Dubrovnik in a vector format, which we used as the georeferential framework. For today's spatial situation in Dubrovnik, we used the data from the website of the State Geodetic Administration (<https://geoportals.dgu.hr/>). A basis for our analysis of spatial sequences was the image of the present state of ground plans in Dubrovnik, produced by the Institute of Art History in 1972, which among other things confirmed the realization of the statutory provisions on streets back in 1272 and 1296. Cf. Milan Prelog, "Dubrovački statut i izgradnja grada (1272-1972)" [The Statute of Dubrovnik and the construction of the city (1272-1972)], *Peristil* 14/15 (1972), 81-82.

¹² Lukša Beritić, *Utvrđenja grada Dubrovnika* [Fortifications in the city of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: JAZU, 1955); Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* [Urban development of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958); Lukša Beritić, "Ubikacija nestalih građevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku" [Identification of lost architectural monuments in Dubrovnik] *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 10 (1956): 61-84; Marija Planić Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike* [Planned construction in the Dubrovnik Republic] (Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1980); Marija Planić Lončarić, "Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika" [Common areas in the residential districts of medieval Dubrovnik], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 12-13 (1988), 65-75; Marija Planić Lončarić, "Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika" [Roads, streets, and squares in medieval Dubrovnik], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 29 (1990): 157-169.

¹³ Dubrovnik's terrain was very specific – the old town, situated on a cliff, descended south of the bulwark (in the line of today's Strossmayerova Street), and more mildly to the line of today's Pećarica/Hlidina Street. The terrain then rose again in Prijeko towards Mount Srđ.

¹⁴ On the slopes north of the old bulwark (present-day Strossmayerova Street), suburbs arose as early as the pre-communal era; cf. Planić Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja*, 18-19; Benyovsky Latin, Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)", 223-261.

From the Statute of Dubrovnik to the Great Fire (1272-1296): How the elite moved to the suburbs

In the 13th century, the area of Dubrovnik's *burgus* went through major changes, which are clearly evident from the statutory provisions of 1272 and 1296. But even before a network of streets was laid out through the *burgus*, there were *terrena prope civitatem* mentioned in the Statute¹⁵ that, according to the preserved sources, belonged to the city elite and the monasteries. The well-known statutory provision on streets, *De viis* from 1272, notes that: "the city of Dubrovnik was joined by another, new town that was previously called a suburb."¹⁶ The new, planned suburb started north of the pre-communal suburbs, possibly on the line of present-day Hliđina Street, where the terrain was somewhat flatter.¹⁷ The streets coming out of the old town were prolonged in the new regulation towards the north (today's Široka, Pracatova, and Lučarica all the way to Poljane), and they significantly changed the organization of the existing space. Nevertheless, some of the large blocks were not changed until the fire of 1296 – among others where the Mençe family had several properties in the 1290s, between today's Pracatova, Između Polača, Široka, and Od Puča streets.¹⁸ In 1272, the northernmost street running in the east-west direction was today's Cvijete Zuzorić Street, traced westward only up to the present-day Pracatova Street.¹⁹ The newly regulated area may have been protected by a temporary bulwark, and not only private.²⁰ Naturally, Od Puča thus

¹⁵ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 4, ch. 79; Danko Zelić, "Wooden Houses in the Statutes and Urban Landscapes of Medieval Dalmatian Communes", in: *Splitski statut iz 1312. godine: povijest i pravo: povodom 700. obljetnice*, ed. Željko Radić et al. (Split: Književni krug Split; Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu; Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Splitu, 2015), 496.

¹⁶ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 5, ch. 41. Cf. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak*, 14-15; Prelog, "Dubrovački statut", 81-94.

¹⁷ Benyovsky Latin, Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)", 223-261.

¹⁸ According to the spatial analyses, this block with its common inner courtyard was created in the pre-communal period (11th-13th c.) and could be accessed from two directions (today's Pracatova and Tmušasta streets), whereby the entrances were probably protected by towers. Cf. Planić Lončarić, "Zajednički prostori", 62-72.

¹⁹ North of the Cvijete Zuzorić Street, a segment of a wall has been found. According to Ivica Žile, it may have belonged to the bulwark that protected the newly created *burgus*. Ivica Žile, "Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u palači Kaboga 2-4 u Dubrovniku" [Results of archaeological research at the Kaboga Palace 2-4 in Dubrovnik], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 16 (1992): 19-27.

²⁰ The bulwark fragment at the Kaboga palace indicates a possible east-west line north of Cvijete Zuzorić Street, while the wall fragment discovered somewhat more to the west of today's Pracatova, north-south oriented, preserves a westward pointing arrowslit (!) in the block of today's Orthodox Church. Ivica Žile, "Fortifikacijski sustavi u svjetlu recentnih arheoloških nalaza" [Fortification systems in the light of recent archaeological finds], *Dubrovnik* 2 (1993): 223-228; Ivica Žile, "Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Vlaha u povijesnoj jezgri grada Dubrovnika" [Conservationist archaeological research in St Blaise's church in the historical city centre of Dubrovnik], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III 35 (2008): 188; Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe Dubrovnika krajem 13. stoljeća" [Artisans and the communal suburb of Dubrovnik in the late 13th century], in *Artisani et mercatores: o obrtnicima i trgovcima na*

became the main communication axis in the east-west direction, the role taken over by Između Polača from 1296, and only in the early 14th century by Placa.²¹

The statutory decision on streets from 1272 testifies to an increase in the population as well as the economic dynamism of the city. However, before the introduction of notarial records, we do not have any data on the size and use of private land in the *burgus*. In the year 1277, the narrative sources from the later times mention a considerable influx of newcomers from the hinterland and the transformation of gardens in the suburbs into housing units. This period coincides with the administration of the Venetian count Marco Giustiniani in the city, and with a period of stability in the hinterland.²² This is also the time when the first official notary, Tomazino de Savere, arrived in the city and started to keep systematic notarial records, as well as the *Book of the Customs House*.²³

Laying out streets through private land, however, resulted in its subdivision, defining areas for the future construction of residential houses. The once large private blocks in the *burgus* south of the *campus* were fragmented to produce land plots for building houses intended either to live in or for rent.²⁴ As early as 1278, a *territorio comunis* is mentioned in the notarial records at the site of the former *campus* (from 1282 systematically), with leased land plots on which it was allowed to build private (wooden) houses to live in, as well as shops and benches to sell produce.²⁵ In the notarial records, there are data about the owners of wooden houses on communal land from the late 1270s; thus, one also comes across members of the Menče, Subb, and Ljutica families, who are in the focus of our study.

jadranskom prostoru, ed. Marija Mogorović Crljenko, Elena Uljančić (Poreč; Pula; Pazin: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Filozofski fakultet; Državni arhiv u Pazinu, 2019), 53-54.

²¹ According to Prelog, this street was the axis of the regulation of 1272. Prelog, "Dubrovački statut", 86. Cf. Beritić, "Ubikacija", 61.

²² Gregor Čremošnik, "Uvozna trgovina Srbije god. 1282 i 1283." [Import trade of Serbia in 1282 and 1283], *Spomenik SAN* 62 (1925): 61-70; Ignacij Voje, "Knjige zadolžnic, posebna notarska serija dubrovnika arhiva" [Debendure records, a special notarial series in Dubrovnik's archive], *Zgodovinski časopis* 22 (1968).

²³ Solovjev and Peterković, *Liber Omnium Reformationum*, XXVII, 7.

²⁴ The *campus* occupied an area larger than the later Placa and the square in front of the Rector's, which was largely under communal control. This area, according to the chroniclers, was swampy and only gradually filled in. Even though their writings are rather unreliable, archaeological research indicates the existence of different ground levels from the early Middle Ages until today, while the toponyms (*de palude*) suggest that it was an unstable terrain for construction. Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 54.

²⁵ Irena Benyovsky Latin, Danko Zelić, "Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina, sustav najmova i knjige općinskih nekretina kroz stoljeća (Uvodna studija)" [Dubrovnik's communal real estate, the system of loans, and books of communal properties through the centuries: An introductory study], in: *Knjige nekretina dubrovačke općine (13-18. st)*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Danko Zelić (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007), 29, 74-75.

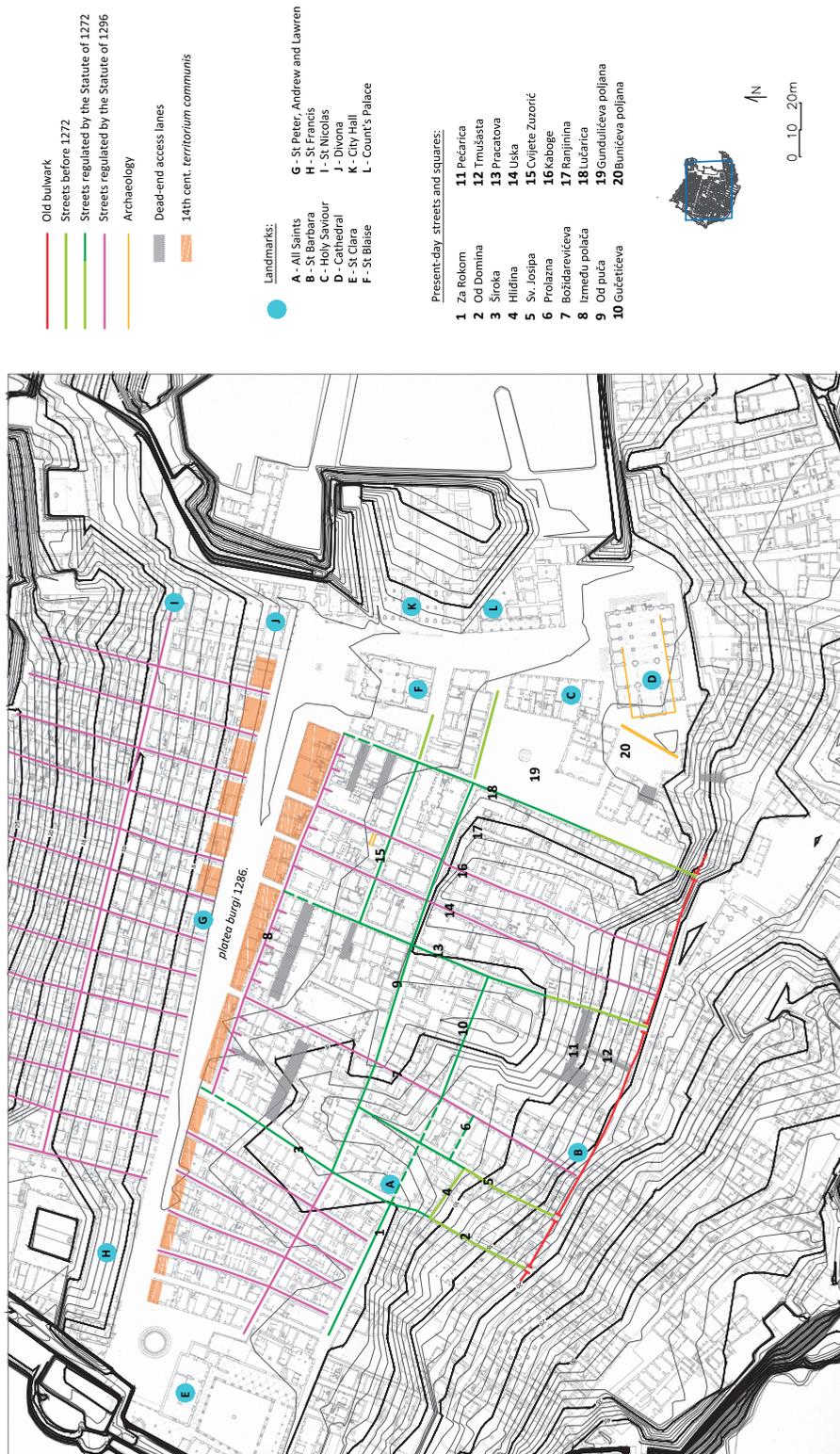


Figure 1. Map of Dubrovnik's suburbs in the late 13th – mid 14th c

Based on the notarial records from the 13th and the early 14th century, one can trace a far larger number of properties owned by the Menče family, which appeared in Dubrovnik in the pre-communal era.²⁶ Their family ties and residential mobility indicate the role of this ramified family in Dubrovnik at the time, while a reconstruction of their properties also reveals the organization of Dubrovnik's suburbs in the 13th century. One can only speculate about the urban and/or suburban estates of the Menče family during the previous, 12th century, based on the estates of their forefather Menče (d. around 1110), his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who were mostly located in the suburb of St Blaise.²⁷

Matijaš Menče (b. ca. 1240 – d. ca. 1306),²⁸ whose properties will be in the focus of this study, was a son of Marin, son of Lovro de Menče, who besides Matijaš had an older son called Lovro (b. around 1235).²⁹ Matijaš was one of the most prominent and wealthiest members of the Menče family at the end of the 13th century, and the forefather of the most vital branch of the Menče kindred.³⁰ He was a notable nobleman, often mentioned as a judge, and a member of the Minor Council. Matijaš had seven sons, who inherited the father's estates and also acquired new ones in the area of Dubrovnik, especially the former *burgus*. Also, during the land

²⁶ According to the narrative sources, the Menče kindred moved to Dubrovnik from "Bosnia" in the 10th century and originated "from Rome." In the city's urban memory, the 10th century was associated with the arrival of some other elite families, i.e. with a new expansion to the suburbs, later called "Garište" (supposedly 925), and also to the area of Astartea (from 932). Of course, it should be borne in mind that these are narrative sources, which imposes special caution when drawing conclusions about the origins of a family and the time of its arrival in Dubrovnik. *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1883), 157, 184; *Chronica Ragusina Junii Resti (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451) item Joannis Gundulae* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1893); Serafino Razzi, *La Storia di Ragusa scritta nuovamente in tre libri* (Dubrovnik: Editrice Tipografia Serbo-Ragusa, 1903), 1, 26-27; Serafin Marija Cerva Cerva, *Prolegomena za Svetu dubrovačku metropoliju* [Prolegomena for the holy metropolitan church of Dubrovnik], trans. Relja Seferović (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), 280; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 35.

²⁷ Nenad Vekarić has identified the forefather of the Menče kindred and his first descendants. According to him, the forefather Menče (d. ca. 1110) had four sons: Rusin (d. ca. 1140), Kalenda (b. ca. 1145), Vučina (Vuk) (b. ca. 1150), and Lampre (b. 1165). Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 36; Čremošnik, "Nekoliko dubrovačkih listina", 48-49; Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku* [Dubrovnik's patricians in the 14th century] (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1960), 315. Very little is known on the family's first generation: Kalenda probably did not have any heirs (CD, II, p. 325, doc. 307); Rusin had sons called Dmtitar, Menče, Petar (b. ca. 1210), and Mihajlo. Cf. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 61. Lampre, son of Menče, had two sons: Mengače (b. ca. 1200) and Ivan "Deodata" (b. ca. 1210), and the fourth brother, Vučina, son of Menče, had three sons: Menče (b. ca. 1180), Lovro (b. ca. 1185), and Pavle (b. ca. 1200). All genealogical data on the Menče family have been borrowed from the reconstructions of Nenad Vekarić. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 35-60.

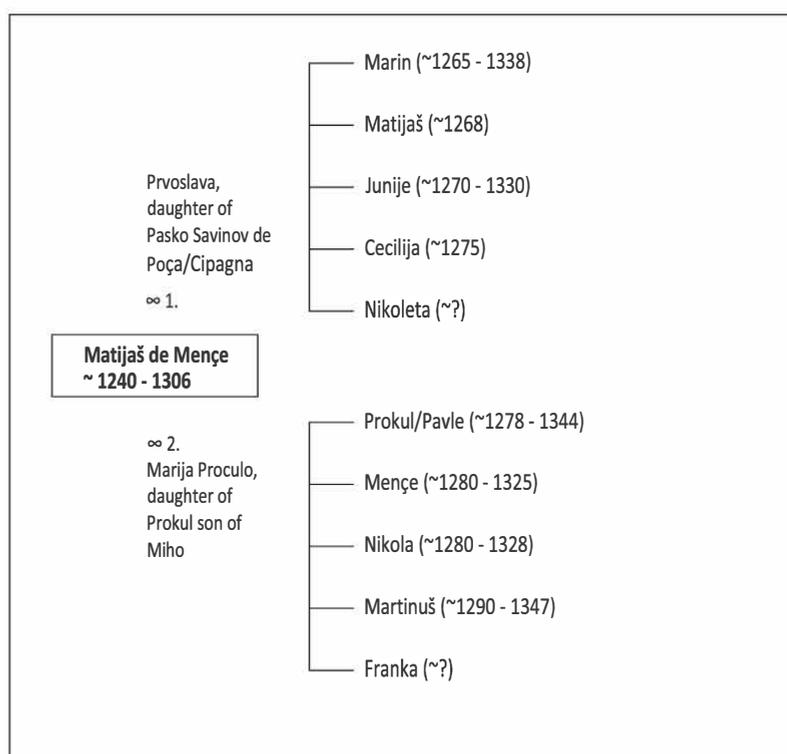
²⁸ In the Franciscan monastery, on the west wall of the sacristy, next to the door leading to the church, there is a tombstone of *Matie et Laurencii filii Marini de Menče*; cf. Igor Fisković, "Gotičko-renesansni slog samostana Male braće" [The Gothic-Renaissance layout of the Franciscan monastery], in: *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, ed. Justin V. Velnić (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Kršćanska sadašnjost and Samostan Male Braće, 1986), 451.

²⁹ Mankhen, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 314.

³⁰ Matijaš also had two daughters: Legna, married to Stancije de Teuduisi, and one who is known to have been a nun at the Benedictine monastery of St Andrew *de Castello (alle Pille)*. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 332; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

division on the Pelješac peninsula in 1336, his numerous descendants received almost a full tenth.³¹ Matijaš acquired his wealth by means of trade and real estate rentals, and he also lent money *in colleganciam*.³² He lived with his brother Lovro in a *fraterna*, a community of brothers. This form of joining and managing property was frequent in medieval Dubrovnik and had the function of preserving family property, although it was not held in common.³³ Thus, in 1282 the Menče brothers – Matijaš and Lovro – defined the distribution of their properties in case of death with similar testaments,³⁴ but ultimately divided the property, like many others in this period.³⁵

Figure 2. Genealogy of Matijaš de Menče family



³¹ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

³² Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 331.

³³ On the *fraterna* in Dubrovnik, see: *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 4, ch. 52, 53, 54; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad: dubrovačka obitelj od XIII. do XV. stoljeća* [The kindred and the city: Family in Dubrovnik from the 13th to 15th centuries] (Dubrovnik: HAZU, 1994), 33-40; Irena Benyovsky Latin, Stipe Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [The Volcassio estates in medieval Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 51 (2013), no. 1: 23.

³⁴ MHR I, doc. 826 and 827, pp. 254-255.

³⁵ In the late 13th and early 14th centuries, there were often divisions of property among brothers, and there was a tendency in the cities to turn family property into individual.

The earliest transfer document directly linked to an estate owned by Matijaš concerns a dowry and comes from 1280.³⁶ It states that Matijaš inherited a *casale* (a house complex) from his first wife, Prvoslava, daughter of Pasko Poča, who was also his neighbour.³⁷ The document locates the said *casale* in relation to the four neighbouring houses and their owners – the one to the northeast belonged to Marin de Sorgo, the one to the west to Damjan de Bucignolo,³⁸ to the south (the high sea) there was another house owned by Matijaš de Menče, and to the east a house that once belonged to his late father Marin. The location of these houses is thus determined only by their neighbours, and one can only assume that it was the set of houses that Matijaš had in Pustijerna, next to the house he had inherited from his father Marin. The neighbours of the *casale* that he received in dowry were Marin de Sorgo (to the north) and Damian de Bucignolo (to the west).³⁹ (Members of these families are mentioned in Pustijerna in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the same families were also neighbours in the suburbs, which makes it difficult to identify the properties with certainty).

Matijaš's properties in Pustijerna, *in contrata sancti Johannis de Pusterla*, are also mentioned in a dispute from 1285,⁴⁰ and a house *de Pusterula* also in Matijaš's last will from 1306 – in the neighbourhood of Matija de Balača and a house that once belonged to Marin de Sorgo.⁴¹ Matijaš's brother Lovro had properties in the district of Kaštel, near St Fosca's church, and in the 14th century a house of his was sold by his widow.⁴²

³⁶ MHR I, doc. 375, p. 105.

³⁷ This must be a remnant from an early period, since among noblemen the daughters mostly received money in order to preserve the patrimony. The dowry usually consisted of money, jewellery, clothing, and household items, although real estate was not excluded. Cf. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*, 78-83; Benyovsky Latin, Begonja, Nikolić Jakus, "Immovable Property", 6-54.

³⁸ In 1282, the house of Damijan de Bucignolo is described as located west of the house that Marija, daughter of the late Dragiša de Gatello, donated to Obrad de Gatello, husband of her niece Stana. North of the house, there were houses of Matijaš de Menče and to the east that of Damijan Popović. MHR II, doc. 785, p. 180.

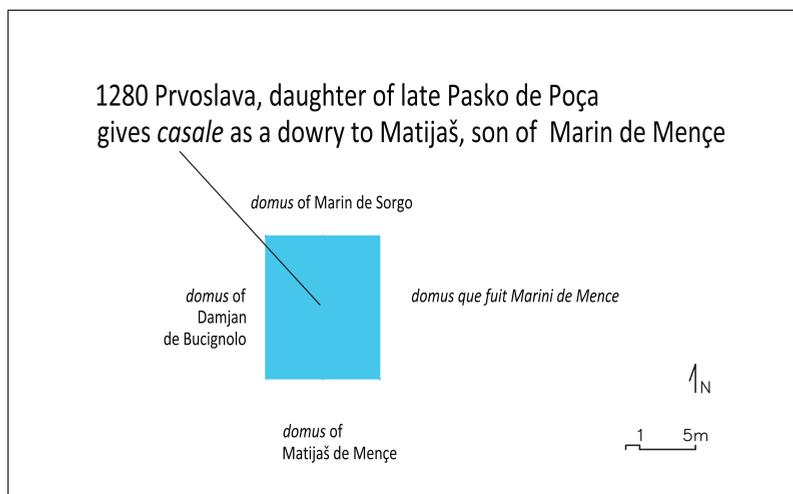
³⁹ Nada Grujić, "Dubrovnik – Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada" [Dubrovnik - Pustijerna: Research on a part of the historical area of the city], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 10 (1986): n. 8; Mihailo Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike I* [Decisions of the Council of the Dubrovnik Republic, vol. 1] (Belgrade: SANU, 1951), 137, 215, 271. Scholarly literature also mentions a document from 1254 according to which the commune sold a part of the old city walls to Matija, son of Balatia, from the Pustijerna Gate to the Gondola house to the south of the wall. CD, IV, 547; Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, 11, 14.

⁴⁰ In a dispute from 1285 involving the Count's officials, the witnesses described the events by mentioning certain estates in the city: MHR III, doc. 545, pp. 223-226. Descendants of Matijaš's brother Lovro are also mentioned in the neighbouring district of Kaštel, where Menče, son of Lovro, had a stone house next to St Fosca's church. HR-DADU, *Venditiones*, vol. I, f. 54v (May 15, 1353).

⁴¹ HR-DADU, *Testamenta notaria*, vol. 4, f. 27v.

⁴² HR-DADU, *Venditiones*, vol. I, f. 54v (May 15, 1353).

Figure 3. Real estate of Prvoslava, daughter of late Pasko de Poča given as a dowry to Matijaš, son of Marin de Menče in 1280



Apparently, in the second half of the 13th century, some family members moved from the old town to the suburbs as a new residential and economic zone. In the aforementioned statutory provision on streets in the suburbs (1272), a land of Matijaš de Menče is mentioned *subtus viam* that ran east of the church of All Saints (today's Gučetićevea Street). The same provision mentions a "Menče Gate" from which a street of the new suburb was laid out (to the north) that ended at the *campus* (today's Pracatova).⁴³ The information on the "Menče Gate" can be compared with a notarial document from 1279 describing the sale of a large estate of the Crossio brothers in the suburbs. Namely, the sale contract for this land mentions a street of the north-south orientation that led *ad portam dompni Petri de Menče*. We can assume that the gate was named after Petar, son of Rusin de Menče (b. ca. 1210).⁴⁴ A house of *don* Petar de Menče is mentioned next to the land and house of Martol de Cereva in 1281,⁴⁵ the same house mentioned in the statutory provision after the fire of 1296 at the southern end of today's Pracatova, "next to the city walls."

The estate of Matijaš de Menče in the new suburb, formed in the mid-13th century and mentioned already in the Statute of 1272, was gradually expanding through purchase and marital bonds. In 1265, Matijaš married Prvoslava, daughter of the

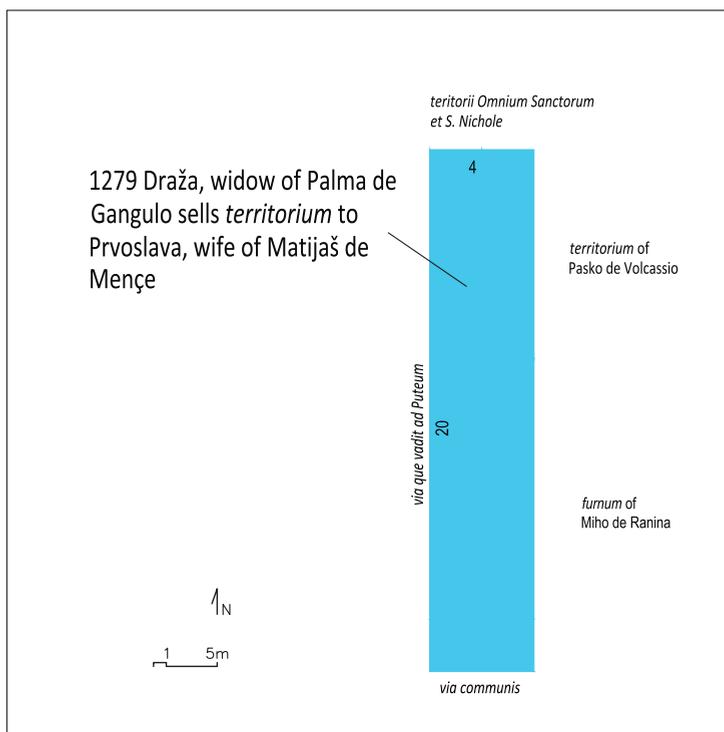
⁴³ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 5, ch. 41. The streets towards the *campus* passed through gates that were named (mostly) after the owners of the nearby estates or houses (*porta de Menči*, *porta de Celenga*, *porta subtus domum Bogdani de Pissino*, *porta Leonis*). Benyovsky Latin, Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)", 229.

⁴⁴ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 61, 226.

⁴⁵ HR-DADU, *Diversa cancellariae* (hereafter: DC), vol. III, f. 60; MHR I, doc. 639, p. 200; *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 8, ch. 57.

wealthy Pasko, son of Sava de Poca/Cipagna, with whom he had three sons: Marin (ca. 1265 – ca. 1338), Matijaš (b. ca. 1268), and Junije (ca. 1270 – ca. 1330),⁴⁶ and a daughter called Cecilia (d. ca. 1275), married to Nalo, son of Orsat de Cerva.⁴⁷ Prvoslava's dowry was rich and consisted of 750 perpers as well as gold, silver, and other objects.⁴⁸

Figure 4. Real estate of Prvoslava, wife of Matijaš de Menče in 1281



By marrying Prvoslava, Matijaš came to possess an entire block (probably in the *burgus*), which she had bought in 1279 from Draža, widow of Palma de Gangulo. It was 20 fathoms long and 4 fathoms wide (see Appendix).⁴⁹ The land bordered on a land of Pasko Volcassio and on the furnace⁵⁰ of nobleman Miho de Ranina

⁴⁶ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

⁴⁷ Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Sv. VIII Genealogije (M-Z)* [The nobility of Dubrovnik, vol. 8: Genealogies (M-Z)] (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2017), 38.

⁴⁸ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 331.

⁴⁹ MHR I, doc. 142, p. 37.

⁵⁰ The Statute decreed that a furnace (*fornus*) could only be added to the house by an heir, not the one who had built it in the first place (“for everyone may build whatever he pleases at its patrimony”). Moreover, it was allowed to build a furnace only if there was a stone wall towards the neighbour. *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book 5, ch. 15.

in the east,⁵¹ a street leading *ad Puteum* in the west, the lands of the churches of All Saints and St Nicholas in the north, and a communal street in the south.⁵² In a document from 1281, Matijaš's land is described as the one that "once belonged to Palma de Gangulo,"⁵³ and he leased it to members of the Mençe family – the *Volcinna* branch.⁵⁴ The street *ad Puteum* may have been today's Sv. Josipa Street, because according to the Statute it ended with the western end of today's Od Puča, where the Statute mentions *puteus Cereua*⁵⁵ and a garden of All Saints.⁵⁶

Matijaš soon expanded his property by buying houses – in 1281, he bought a house and a *casale* from Bela, widow of Orsat Bodacia, which bordered in the east on the house of Matijaš de Balacia, and in the north and south on the previously acquired house of Matijaš de Mençe.⁵⁷ In 1297, a *territorio que fuit Kalende Bodacie* is mentioned south of the church of All Saints,⁵⁸ which probably also belonged to Matijaš. Thus, after new streets were laid out and the population increased in the early 1280s, Matijaš de Mençe expanded his possessions in the suburban area around the church of All Saints, a frequented urban point at the main (western) city gate, which was mostly inhabited by members of the city elite.

⁵¹ In 1285, Damijan Marinov Sorgo bought a wooden house from Stancije and Martin, sons of Grgur the *ortarius*, which bordered with the estate of Miho Ranina to the north, that of Matijaš de Mençe to the west, and another of Miho Ranina to the south. MHR III, doc. 280, pp. 90-91. Shortly after the promulgation of the city statute in 1273, there was a dispute between Miha's father, Dobroslav Ranina, and a man called Stancije, an *ortulanus* of the garden that was situated *a foramina muro civitatis*. CD, vol. VI, doc. 31.

⁵² MHR I, doc. 142, p. 37.

⁵³ MHR I, doc. 419, p. 121. Palma de Gangulo (Celenga, Celenga = Gangulo) from Kotor seems to have possessed a large estate in the *burgus* area in the mid-13th century. It is also noteworthy that in the Statute of 1272, today's Sv. Josipa Street ran south of the Celenga Gate towards the north. After Palma's death, his widow Dause sold most of the estates in the *burgus*.

⁵⁴ Pavle, son of Vučina, was an ancestor of the *Volcinna* branch. According to Nenad Vekarić, he may have been Vučina's extra-marital son. He is mentioned in 1247/49 as trading in salt. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 63.

⁵⁵ The *puteus* or *puč* (well or cistern) at the western end of Od Puča Street, mentioned in the Statute of 1272, refers to the well of the Čereva family, not of the church (*puteus de cercua*) as usually interpreted. *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book V, ch. 41. The Čereva family had an estate in the block north of Od Puča Street. A document from 1411 locates the well of the Čereva family next to St James' church (later St Joseph's church). In 1472, the Major Council allowed the extension of St Joseph's church up to the street, but the commune reserved the right to use the well. Cf. Beritić, "Ubikacija", 52.

⁵⁶ According to the statute of 1272, today's Garište street ran from Svih Svetih Street – today's Rokova – towards the wells (*ad puteos*), passing northwards through the gardens of the Archbishop and of the priest Ivan. According to the later documents, there were houses of Jakov de Sorgo and Prokulo de Mençe, as well as the well of the Zereva family, at the end of Od Puča Street, next to the land of the Archbishopric. *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova / Liber afflictuum thesaurarie (1428-1547)*, ed. Danko Zelić (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), 160, 251; Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku* [Position of women in Dubrovnik during the 13th and 14th centuries] (Belgrade: SANU, 1974), 51; Jadranka Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine. Rimska Kurija i Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću* [The path to church dotation: The Roman curia and Dalmatia in the 15th century] (Split: Književni krug, 2007), 128.

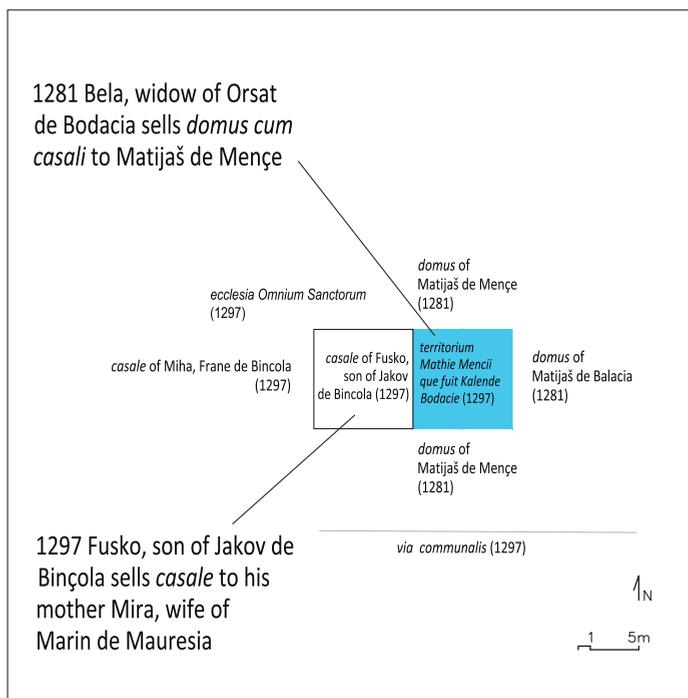
⁵⁷ MHR I, doc. 525, p. 160.

⁵⁸ MHR III, doc. 809, p. 279.

In addition to housing, suburban estates in the area south of Od Puča Street were used for rent and brought additional income to their owners. Those who were not wealthy enough, or lacked the citizen's status, bought wooden houses that they could also have on someone else's land (private or communal).

Even before the division, brothers Matijaš and Lovro did not own everything in common. Thus, Lovro bought a wooden house in the suburbs, on communal land, from Jakov, son of Poveresko de Talava *extra domum Marci aurificis filii Grupse*,⁵⁹ which was located north of the private land plot owned by his wife. By buying a cottage on communal land, Lovro as a merchant already showed interest in the new economy zone. The neighbour of Lovro's wife on communal land to the east was Damijan de Gondola, who was the western neighbour of Stančo Subb, a coat tailor (*zupparius*) who is also significant for his direct connection to the Ljutica family, the other family in the focus of this study.⁶⁰

Figure 5. Matijaš de Menče's real estate in 1281 and 1297



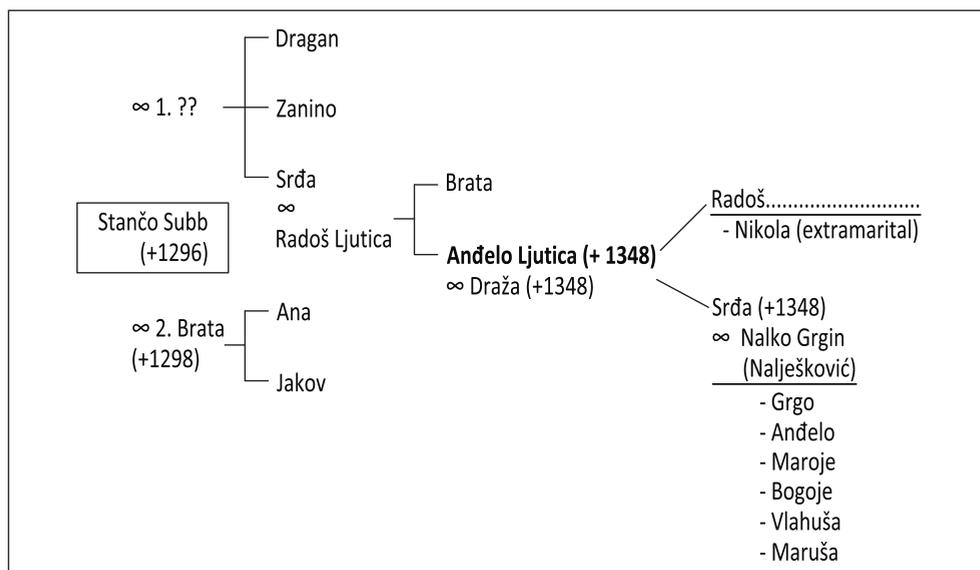
Namely, a comparative story of the Ljutica family from Dubrovnik, its possessions, social ascent, and extinction must begin with the said commoner, called Stančo Subb, who was neither Menče nor Ljutica, but the earliest link between them. Stančo was a neighbour of the Menče family and the grandfather of Anđelo

⁵⁹ MHR II, doc. 986, p. 237.

⁶⁰ MHR I, doc, 122, p. 31.

Ljutica, the most significant representative of the Ljutica family in the 14th century, as will be discussed below. At the same time as Matijaš Menče expanded his possessions in the *burgus* south of Od Puča Street, as a significant owner of real estate there, a wealthy tailor of long coats (*zupparius*) called Stančo Subb, is mentioned east of the Menče family. Konstantin Jireček has identified the Subbe (Subbo) family as the Ragusans “de populo”⁶¹ whom the sources recorded in the city during the 13th century as successful artisans. The *zupparii* (*çuppari*, *juppari*, *çuparii*) were a special type of textile artisans who produced long coats with sleeves lined with leather or cotton, known in the sources as *zuppa*.⁶² They were more numerous than the tailors (*sartores*)⁶³ and some were very active in business, especially in lending money and taking leases. Josip Lučić has pointed out that some of them obviously engaged more in entrepreneurship, trade, and sales than in their craftsmanship, and their area of activity included the wider Dubrovnik hinterland.⁶⁴ According to Lučić, most of the *zupparii* were poor, but those who managed to climb on the social and financial ladder had servants, owned land, bought horses and had their own houses.⁶⁵

Figure 6. Genealogies of Subb and Ljutica families



⁶¹ Konstantin Jireček, *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters III* (Vienna, 1904), 63.

⁶² Josip Lučić, *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku do početka XIV stoljeća* [Crafts and services in Dubrovnik before the 14th century] (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1979), 75.

⁶³ Josip Lučić has established that, according to the preserved documents, the *zupparii* were in the second place in terms of numbers during the 13th century, judging by the number of individuals within a specific craft (56 identified names), after the cobblers (86 names). Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 127, 167.

⁶⁴ Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 81-82.

⁶⁵ Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 82.

In the generation of Matijaš de Mençe, there were few who owned land in the suburbs. But one of those was certainly Stančo Subb, who owned land in the newly regulated area north of Od Puča Street and near the *campus*, a communal area that was becoming a new economy zone of the city. He also bought wooden houses on communal land that was close to his private estates, using them for his economic activities. His origins are not known, but he may have arrived in the major wave of newcomers that reached Dubrovnik in the mid-13th century, and he managed to find his way in that period, using his skills to cater for the needs of the city. His family house may have been situated in the older part of the suburbs – southeast of the church of All Saints, where we find both noblemen and wealthy commoners.

Apparently, Stančo became one of the most renowned and successful among the *zupparii*, obviously adopting the word for occupation as his family name (*Stancius de Subbo*, *Sub*). In the 1280s, his name is often found among money lenders, moreover with substantial amounts, or even among the borrowers.⁶⁶ Interestingly, as a creditor he is often found in the company of Matijaš, son of Marin de Mençe, which means that both were important creditors, and thus entrepreneurs, at that time. In some cases, Matijaš, in the office of a judge, was a witness to Stančo borrowing money with other creditors,⁶⁷ which again speaks of their contacts in the business world. Matijaš de Mençe also increased his wealth by lending money, and his social position by networking with other noble families – often neighbours – which allowed him and his children to expand their influence and possessions. He used his political and family contacts to introduce his offspring, especially his sons, to his business, and left them with rich possessions, which contributed to the influence of this family branch.

Apparently, Stančo Subb might have been married twice: although no sources confirm this directly, his daughter Srđa (*Serga*) seems to have been from the first marriage, while Ana and Jakov were most likely from the second marriage with a woman called Brata. However, unlike Matijaš, Stančo was not inherited by male offspring, and it is here that one already finds a major difference in the development of these two family stories. Although Stančo had two sons, Dragan and Zanin, not much is known about them except that he had to pay some of their debts, and they may have died young or as victims of some epidemic that seems to have struck the city in the last decade of the 13th century.⁶⁸ His younger children,

⁶⁶ MHR II, doc. 34, 44, 118, 121, 376, 416, 491, 573, 766.

⁶⁷ MHR II, doc. 461, 573.

⁶⁸ Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 80. On the epidemic at the end of the 13th century, see Resti's chronicle: *Intanto a Ragusa si scopri un mal epidemic, che duro de ann et estinse gran quantita di gente. Pure nel medesimo tempo regnava gran carestia delli vittuali. A questi due mali tra poco successe una calamita di dano e rovina inestimabile ... Chronica Ragusina*, 101. For a wider context of epidemics in this period, see Gordan Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja. Crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348.-1349.* [The time of dying: Black Death in Dubrovnik, 1348-1349] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010), 18-19, 21.

Ana and Jakov, seem to have followed spiritual vocations. Their mother Brata, in her last will from 1298, referred to her daughter as *filia mea Anna religiosa*,⁶⁹ and Jakov seems to have joined the Franciscans, because he acquired and used certain books, probably for his theological studies.⁷⁰ Therefore, for our discussion the most important among Stančo's descendants remains his daughter Srđa, who married Radoš Ljutica around or before 1280,⁷¹ and one may say that this marriage followed Stančo's path by ascending the social ladder and expanding in urban space.

That Stančo belonged to the more prosperous and more entrepreneurial artisans is evident from his accumulation of property in the *burgus*, which was during the 13th century inhabited by the significantly increasing numbers of artisans and merchants, or, as Milan Prelog has pointed out, by "the population that represented the basic urbanogenic element" and carried the development of medieval cities.⁷² In this context, one must add that artisans showed greater residential mobility than the urban elite, and they also had more freedom in choosing a spouse than the more affluent social groups, since they were neither bound by the inherited property to such extent, nor necessarily defined by creating a strong kindred that would guarantee them survival, security, and status.⁷³

Stančo Subb is mentioned in the sources as the owner or leaser of a considerable number of land plots in Dubrovnik's *burgus* during the early 1280s, moreover in the area that was the northernmost regulated part of the city by the Statute of 1272, north of today's Cvijete Zuzorić Street, between today's Pracatova and Lučarica Streets. South of the communal territory, i.e. the former *campus*, he had a private estate along with the members of various noble families (Volcassio, Gondola, Zrieva) – land plots with wooden houses, some of which had been rented. In 1281, the sources document a business of his involving some members of the family in our focus: the Menče. A contract is recorded between Stančo and Lovro, brother of Matijaš de Menče, regarding the sale of one of Stančo's land plots with wooden houses, 4 fathoms long and 4 fathoms wide.⁷⁴ It was a land that bordered on Martol de Zereva (Cereua) in the east, on Benedikt de Gondola in the west, another land plot owned by Stančo Subb in the north, and Pasko Volcassio in the south. However, the land plot was eventually not sold to Lovro de Menče, because two weeks after this contract, Stančo made a new one, by which he sold the same

⁶⁹ MHR IV, doc. 1390, p. 330 (1298).

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ MHR I, doc. 353, p. 97 (1280).

⁷² Prelog, "Dubrovački statut", 84; Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 24; cf. Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", passim.

⁷³ An artisan family could in practice be enlarged: each master could employ one or more apprentices, who were then members of his household. Cf. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*, 22-24.

⁷⁴ MHR I, doc. 483, p. 143.

land plot to his daughter Srđa, wife of Radoš Ljutica.⁷⁵ The land plot of Stančo Subb, which finally ended up in the hands of his daughter and son-in-law, is also mentioned as property of Radoš Ljutica (and formerly of Stančo Subb) in 1282, in a document on property exchange.⁷⁶ The mentioned neighbours include Martol de Cereva and Đuro de Gleda in the east,⁷⁷ and Benedikt and Damjan, sons of Vali Gondula, in the west, all of whom were bearing prominent Ragusan patri-cians surnames. North of Radoš's property, there was still a land plot owned by Stančo.⁷⁸ The latter's property is also mentioned in an agreement on the boundary with his western neighbour, Damjan de Gondula, in 1283,⁷⁹ which may have affected the line of the future Uska Street, laid out after the fire of 1296.

Besides his private property next to the field, Stančo also rented several land plots on the newly regulated communal land. A new street/square ran through this communal area, possibly the *platea burgi* mentioned in a provision of the *Book of the Customs House*, which connected the western and eastern city gates north of the previous main communication line through the suburbs – Od Puča Street.⁸⁰ Communal land was partitioned and turned into a new zone that was attractive for entrepreneurs.⁸¹ From 1286, administration of communal land in lease was documented in the newly established *Book of Real Estate in the Dubrovnik Com-mune*, which also contains the oldest preserved list of communal real estate from

⁷⁵ *Die XVI aprilis (1281). Rag. etc. Ego quidem Stancius de Subbo confiteor quod de territorio meo passus quatuor per longum cum terminis suis et cum domibus de lignamine, que sunt in dictis quatuor passibus de territorio, et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, qui quatuor passus de territorio predicto confinant a parte orientis cum territorio Martoli de Zereua et a parte occidentis cum territorio Benedicti de Gondula et a parte montis cum territorio meo et a parte pelagi cum territorio Pasque Volcassii, vendidi et donavi Serge, filie mee, uxori Radossii de Liutiça, et dicta Serga etc. Que Serga predicta etc.. s. d. gr. octuaginta tres cum dono. Et obligo me etc. Et Tollisclauus, preco comunis, de mandato domini Nicholai Mauriceni etc. Hec autem, etc. Testis Vitalis Binçole, iudex.* MHR I, doc. 493, p. 149.

⁷⁶ MHR II, doc. 852, p. 194. On communal blocks, see Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", passim.

⁷⁷ They are mentioned as early as the statutory provision from 1272: at the east end of Od Puča Street. There were communal shops there, and according to the regulation of 1296, the Sersio house was located there.

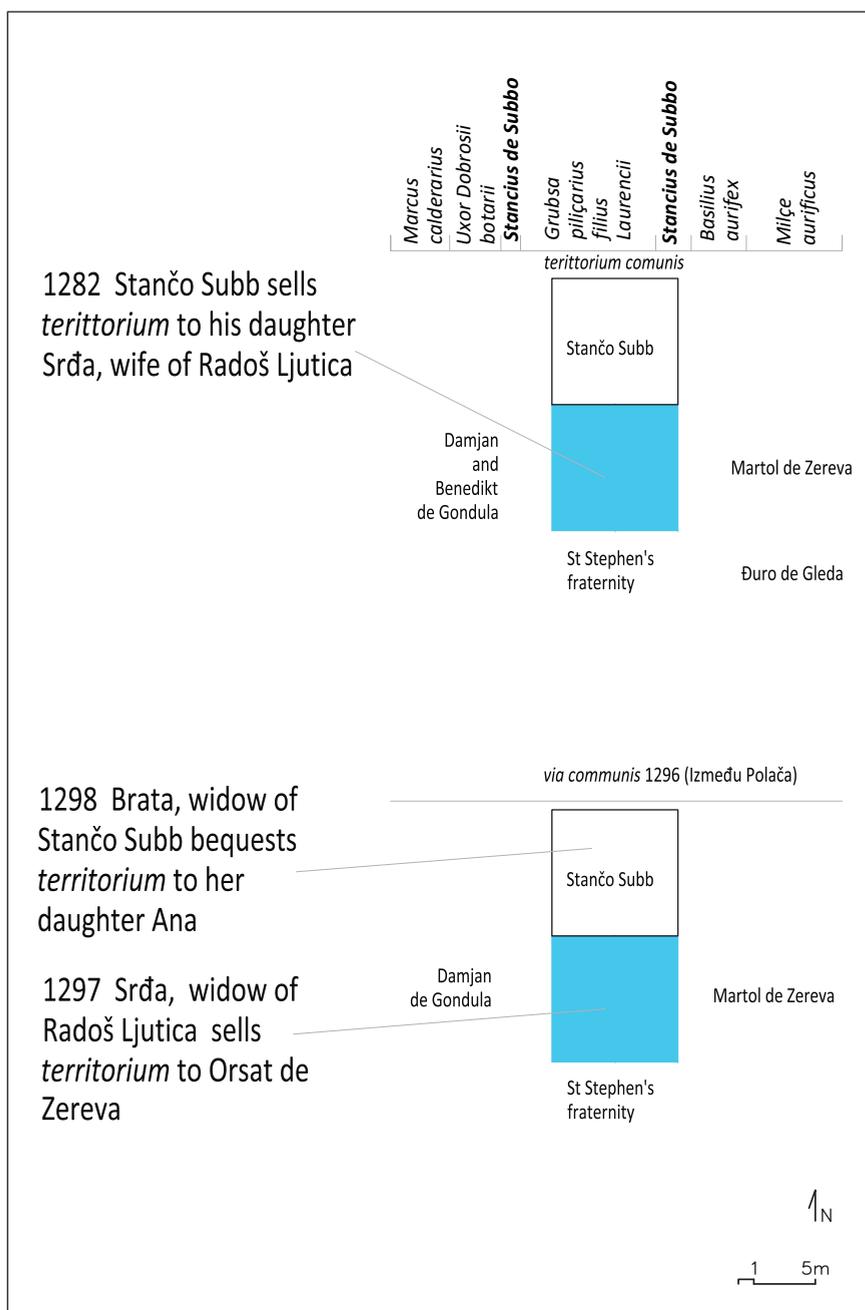
⁷⁸ MHR III, doc. 815, p. 283. South of it, there was still a land plot owned by the confraternity of St Stephen.

⁷⁹ Stančo had a land plot to the east, extending 20 spans (2.5 fathoms or ca. 5.12 meters) from the wall of his house, and he could build there whatever he wanted. MHR II, doc. 1096, p. 269.

⁸⁰ It is recorded in a provision in the *Book of the Customs House*, which prohibited throwing out waste. *Liber statutorum doane civitatis Ragusii MCCLXXVII / Knjiga odredaba dubrovačke carinarnice 1277*, ed. Josip Lučić (Dubrovnik: Historijski arhiv u Dubrovniku, 1989), 393, 440. Cf. Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 57.

⁸¹ Shifting the administrative and urban centre of the city northwards was linked to the demographic and economic changes that occurred in the 1270s and 1280s. The former focus of the Venetian Count's headquarters – the fort (*castrum*) – towards the south (the old town) likewise changed, and the new structure was oriented westwards, where a new communal square was formed. In 1283, a *logia comunis on platea comunis* is mentioned. Cf. Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine" [Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik before 1435], *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2003): 149-170.

Figure 7. Real estates (owned and leased) of Subb and Ljutica families (1282-1298)



1282.⁸² This list contains mostly artisans' names along the then *platea burgi* and north of it. The rare nobles included were involved in similar activities. Thus, brothers Matijaš and Lovro de Menče (who had a property on communal land, more to the west) were in the textile trade, among other things.⁸³ Blocks that were laid out laterally along the south side of the square/street, towards the old town, were mostly rented by wealthy merchants, goldsmiths, drapers, and coat tailors (*zupparii*), more rarely by noblemen. Several land plots on communal land are mentioned as owned by Stančo Subb. He had two land plots in the second communal block, 29.35 meters long (the first started from Lučarica westwards), neighbouring on the goldsmiths Milčo and Vlaho.⁸⁴ One of these land plots was the size of a passage, perhaps leading to his abovementioned private land to the south.⁸⁵ Between Stančo's two land plots in this unit, the larger was rented by another wealthy *zupparius*, Fusko de Cerepo.⁸⁶ Before 1280, Stančo had even more land plots in this communal block.⁸⁷ Namely, the list of 1282 mentions a land plot rented by Dobra, wife of cooper Dobroš,⁸⁸ and according to a sale contract, a woman called Dobra bought a *domus de lignamine in territorio comunis* here in 1280 from Srđa, daughter of Stančo Subb.⁸⁹ It is possible that it was the same *Dobra, neča de Stanče Supo*⁹⁰ who in 1282 held a land plot in the 22nd communal block.⁹¹

The *Book of Real Estate in the Dubrovnik Commune*, in a list from 1286 (*Alia territoria comunis et scriptas tabulas stacionum*) names the owners and users of 32 merchants' benches on communal land, with ten more registered afterwards.⁹² The benches were placed at various public locations in the suburbs and were mostly rented by noblemen, but also by some wealthy merchants and artisans.

⁸² The list has remained preserved under the title *Incipit burgus* and contained the names of users of building plots – owners of ca. 180 wooden cottages on communal land. Housing plots were listed in 22 units, but without precise situation. Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 119; Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 64.

⁸³ Thus, in 1280 an emissary of the Serbian king bought *drappos et zendatos* from Lovro Menče for 50 perpers. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 331. Nobleman Pako Volcassio, whose land plot was the first in the row of communal blocks, had a property more to the south and is also mentioned as trading in gold artefacts. Cf. Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 65.

⁸⁴ Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 119.

⁸⁵ *Dobre neča de Stanče Supo* also had a property on communal land. Cf. Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 130.

⁸⁶ Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 119.

⁸⁷ Cf. MHR II, doc. 850, p. 194.

⁸⁸ *Dobrossius botarius* – cf. Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 45, 123.

⁸⁹ MHR I, doc. 402, p. 115; MHR II, doc. 399, p. 93; Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 66.

⁹⁰ Entry in a different handwriting, probably from the late 1280s or early 1290s. Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 130.

⁹¹ This block was probably situated north of the communal square/street, where blocks were of varied sizes. Locations further away from the trading centre, at the edge of the suburbs, were intended for workshops and poorer artisans. Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 66.

⁹² Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 113-118.

Thus, Matijaš de Mençe is also listed among the bench holders,⁹³ and among the later entries there is also Radoš Ljutica, husband of Stančo's daughter Srđa, holding a bench previously held by nobleman Martin de Bocignolo.⁹⁴

The said *Book of Real Estate* also contains a separate list of houses on private lands located next to the communal land.⁹⁵ Individual noble houses and lands are listed here, as well as those who rented them, including the house of Matijaš de Mençe.⁹⁶ His eastern neighbour, Benedict Gondola, was the western neighbour of Stančo Subb, while his western neighbours were the families of Crossio, Scocilica, and (Marin de) Sorgo.⁹⁷ The new street in the suburbs may have partly crossed private land, so they had to pay a fee to the commune. It is not known exactly what location it was – in the 13th century, the streets changed their directions and significance,⁹⁸ and moreover, the place name Pile “moved” along with the multiple shifts of the western city gate to the north.⁹⁹

As mentioned before, Stančo's daughter Srđa married Radoš Ljutica before 1280, bringing him 150 perpers and 14 small measures of gold in dowry.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the land plot came to the possession of the Ljutica, Stančo's daughter Srđa and his son-in-law Radoš, instead of the Mençe. Radoš is mentioned in the sources as an energetic merchant, and Stančo probably considered him as a worthy husband for his elder daughter, Srđa. Her dowry was considerable and she also bought a

⁹³ Ibid., 115.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 116.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 131-132.

⁹⁶ To the east, there was a land plot of Benedikt Gondola, and to the west two houses of Jakov Crossio, and further on two houses of Junije *de Scocilice*, then a house owned together by Marin Sorgo and Junije *Scocilica*, and then two houses of Marin Sorgo. Benyovsky Latin, “Obrtnici i općinsko predgrade”, 75.

⁹⁷ MHR II, doc. 353, p. 81. Cf. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, Ivana Haničar Buljan, “Antunini na Placi u 15. stoljeću. Prostorni razmještaj članova Bratovštine sv. Antuna duž dubrovačke Place u 15. stoljeću” [The Antonines in Placa during the 15th century: Spatial distribution of the members of the Confraternity of St Anthony along Dubrovnik's Placa in the 15th century], *Povijesni prilozi* 55 (2018): 121.

⁹⁸ Od Puča Street may have been laid out further to the north at its east end, after the administrative centre moved northwards. The same thing happened with a street that was laid out after the fire, today's Između Polača, which adapted to the position of the new Pile Gate. This may explain the irregularity of blocks in today's urban grid (in an area that is topographically relatively flat), which, besides the discontinuity of the preserved material, makes it difficult to reconstruct blocks in the suburbs more precisely.

⁹⁹ Marin de Sorgo, whose houses are mentioned at the west end of the said street, had a house near Pile Gate. “Pile” is a term denoting the area around the city gate, but the city's west gate moves northwards during the second half of the 13th century along with the development of the suburbs, and in relation to the shifting of the main communication line in the east-west direction. Before the regulations, the gate was next to All Saints, in the Statute of 1272 they were mentioned at the end of the street running from the same church (Za Rokom), the new gate built 1277 (according to the narrative sources) may have been at the west end of Od Puča Street, and the *plathea burgi* from the second half of the 1280s may have ended at today's Franciscan monastery. After the fire of 1296, the new main communication line, today's Između Polača Street, descended at its west end (across private lands) to the present point of the city gate, and it was to this street that the eventual main street, built in the early 14th century somewhat more to the north, was adapted – Placa.

¹⁰⁰ Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 80.

land plot near the new communal land from her father. Radoš Ljutica was a self-made man who had fought hard for his position – he owned real estate in the old suburb southeast of the church of All Saints, in an area where we find primarily noblemen, but also rich commoners. It is recorded that in the same year of 1281, when Srđa bought her father's land plot, he had a *funum* west of the house of Pasko de Mascara,¹⁰¹ which may have stood next to Radoš's house mentioned in 1281, south of that which Petar de Benessa bought that same year from Šimun, son of Vito Benessa.¹⁰² The land plot of Petar's nephew was situated south of the land plot of Matijaš de Menče and later his son Marin, possibly along (today's) Sv. Josipa Street.¹⁰³ To the east of Menče's land, there was a land of the Proculo family.

As for the close neighbouring relations between the commoner family of Ljutica and some renowned noblemen in this area, an interesting incident happened in 1285. That year, a criminal proceeding took place against the brothers Matijaš and Damjan Bocinolo, because they had attacked Petar, son of Vito de Proculo, with stones. When Petar fled, they attacked his neighbour and friend Radoš de Ljutica, who was in Petar's company, sitting in front of the latter's house with him and a man called Julijan "*ad bibendam*", as he said in his testimony.¹⁰⁴ Another name documented in connection with this case is that of Obrada Ljutica, who ran off to inform Petar's father Vito of the assault. She may have been Radoš's sister, the same Obrada de Ljutica, who bought a wooden house in 1281 from Rada, maid-servant of Nikola de Ceria,¹⁰⁵ intended for living on another man's land – that of Marko de Zimotto/Zimoto, located south of the aforesaid Crossio land.¹⁰⁶ Obrada herself was a very energetic woman and often recorded in the sources in relation to various transactions, such as jewellery or fabric sales, and particularly real estate transactions.¹⁰⁷

By that time, in the early 1280s, Matijaš de Menče was already in his second marriage: after the death of Prvoslava, he married Marija Proculo, daughter of Proculo, son of Miho, and granddaughter of the esteemed Miho Proculo (Negamire),¹⁰⁸ with whom he had four sons: Proculo/Pavle (ca. 1278 – ca. 1344), Menče (ca. 1280

¹⁰¹ MHR I, doc. 445, p. 129.

¹⁰² MHR I, doc. 470, p. 139; MHR II, doc. 1347, p. 379.

¹⁰³ Marin acquired the property in 1300 through a donation of his father, Matijaš, by which he also received a part of a property in Venice, which he owned together with his brother Lovro. MHR IV, doc. 172, p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ MHR III, doc. 449, pp. 159-160.

¹⁰⁵ MHR I, doc. 608, p. 190.

¹⁰⁶ MHR IV, doc. 67, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ HR-DADU, *Diversa notariae* (hereafter: DN), vol. 1, f. 184v; vol. 2, f. 50; 115; vol. 3, f. 112; HR-DADU, DC, vol. 5, f. 89v; vol. 6, f. 72, 95v. We would like to thank Zdenka Janeković Römer for having supplied us with the call numbers and regesta of these documents.

¹⁰⁸ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 331.

– ca. 1325), Nikola (ca. 1280 – ca. 1328), and Martinuš (ca. 1290-1347), as well as two daughters: the nun Franka (b. ca. 1285) and Nikoleta (ca. 1295 – ca. 1350).¹⁰⁹

It is interesting to note that Marijaš's uncle was the administrator of a land that Matijaš and his brother Lovro had bought in 1296, shortly before the Great Fire, in the block between today's Od Puča and Između Polača, Pracatova and Božidarevićeva streets.¹¹⁰ This land had formerly belonged to the church of Our Saviour and was then administered by Pražin de Proculo, abbot of Our Saviour.¹¹¹ In 1296, it bordered on the already existing land of Matijaš and Lovro Menče in the north, with the lands of Marko de Poca and the *already existing* land of Matijaš and Lovro as well as a house of Pasko de Picurario in the east (a part of the Crossio land became his through family ties¹¹²), with a land of Tripo de Georgio and a land of St Simon's in the west, and a land of Margarita Poča and of St Simon's in the south. These must have been the same lands that were partly mentioned in the statutory provision of 1296, south of the newly built Između Polača Street. It is known that, in 1296, the western neighbour of Matijaš's newly acquired land (which formerly belonged to the church of Our Saviour) was Tripo de Georgio, a wealthy man who had bought his *terrenum* in 1295 from the monastery of St Bartholomew.¹¹³ A communal land is mentioned to the north,¹¹⁴ and a land of Matijaš de Menče to the east,¹¹⁵ perhaps the same as that mentioned in the *Book of Real Estate in the Dubrovnik Commune* (1286). Unfortunately, since the notarial records from the

¹⁰⁹ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

¹¹⁰ MHR III, doc. 775, pp. 266-267.

¹¹¹ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 331. This land of Our Saviour is mentioned as early as 1279 west of the land of the Crossio family. MHR I, doc. 32, pp. 9-10.

¹¹² MHR IV, doc. 67, p. 34. The house of Pasko Picurario may perhaps be connected to the sentence from the provision on streets (1296) according to which the west end of today's Cvijete Zuzorić Street was defined precisely by a house of the same owner. *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 57.

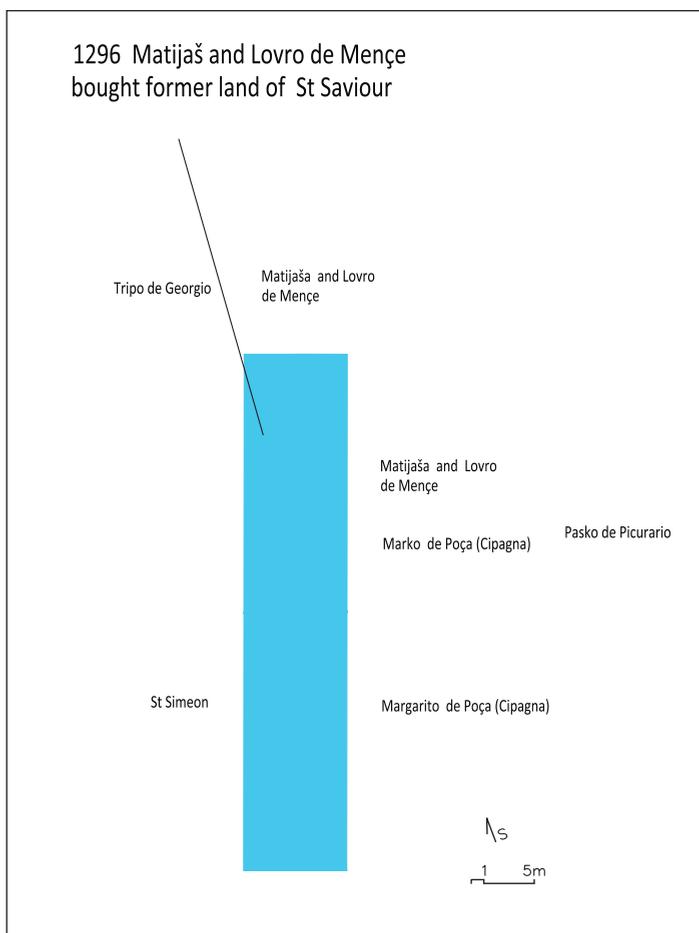
¹¹³ Before the fire of 1296, today's Božidarevićeva Street did not exist, and there was no public street between the lands of Menče and Georgio. Marija Planić-Lončarić and Davorin Stepinac, "Blok Između polača 28–32: analiza razvoja i stanje" [The block between Između Polača], 28-32: An analysis of the development and the present situation] (1984); Marija Planić-Lončarić, Davorin Stepinac, "Dubrovnik – nizovi ulica Između polača 2–8, 10–12, 14–16 i 18–26: analiza razvoja i stanje: prijedlog konzervatorskih smjernica" [Dubrovnik - street rows Između polača 2–8, 10–12, 14–16, and 18–26: An analysis of the development and the present situation: A proposal for conservationist guidelines] (1986), 3; MHR IV, doc. 262, pp. 78-79.

¹¹⁴ The neighbouring lands of the monastery of St Simon and Margarito, son of Petar de Poča, are also mentioned in a document from 1301 on the transfer of a wooden cottage *in territorio monasterii Sancti (Simeo)nis*. The eastern neighbour of the cottage was a *terrenum* (!) of Margarito de Poča, and the southern, a public street. The lands of the monastery of St Simon and of Margarito de Poča were used for rent at the turn of the century, around 1300. Čichana *petrarius*, son of the late master Učulini, had a half of a wooden house on a land of the monastery of St Simon – there was a communal street to the south, and the land of Margarito de Poča to the east. The wooden house (*domum lignaminis*) located in 1300 *in territorio Margariti de Poča* was bought by a servant of Vid de Ghetaldo (there was a communal street to the south). MHR IV, doc. 425, p. 115.

¹¹⁵ The neighbours are described as well: *ex parte leuantis cum Mathia de Menče, ex parte ponentis cum Martholo Cereue, ex parte tramontane cum comuni Ragusii, ex parte austri cum Triphone Georgii*.

mid-1280s to the mid-1290s have not been preserved, we cannot follow the exact course of expansion of the estate of the Menče brothers.

Figure 8. Real estate of Matijaš and Lovro de Menče in 1296



In the 1290s, during which time, as far as can be discerned from indirect sources, the city was affected by an epidemic, Matijaš de Menče continued to be very active and expanded his properties north of Od Puča Street, in a block that was regulated only in 1272. This area must have been gradually reorganized and adapted to the overall planning of the city. For this reason, some entrepreneurs, such as Matijaš, bought property there before the fire of 1296, followed by laying out new streets across some private, but mostly communal lands in the north. In the late 1290s, Matijaš Menče had houses and lands near the new communication line (today's Između Polača Street), not far from another member of his generation, Stančo Subb, who was present in the eastern, previously regulated suburb from the early 1280s and continuously until the end of the 13th century.

New beginnings, old population: The suburbs after the fire of 1296

In the year when Matijaš and Lovro de Mençe bought the aforesaid land, a fire broke out in the *burgus*, which led to the new regulation of that area. The fire was a milestone in shaping the city at the end of the 13th century, as it destroyed a large part of the *burgus*, but also allowed for new and more modern city planning, residential mobility of different population categories, and housing constructions in previously empty or leased land plots. Old streets were confirmed, new ones introduced. The statutory provision of 1296 regulated the streets according to the new system of double rows of houses (about three fathoms wide) with a canal between them (three spans wide).¹¹⁶ The streets between the double rows of houses were to be around eight spans wide. The new regulation affected primarily the area in the northern, communal *burgus* (Priješko) and the area west of today's Široka, and north of Za Rokom streets (the archiepiscopal area), which is not in the focus of this study. Many residents who had built their houses on private or ecclesiastical lands signed new contracts for renting land in the north, in the *burgus* of St Nicholas, where streets and land plots for rent were planned on communal land.

After the fire of 1296, the boundary between the southern (private) and northern (communal) *burgus* was also defined by regulating a new communal street, today's Između Polača.¹¹⁷ The description of the new street mentions some members of the Mençe and Subb families, and it should be added that the *territorium Stancii Subb* was the only one that served as a reference boundary point in this regulation without belonging to a nobleman.¹¹⁸ The Statute of 1296 also regulated three new streets through the private *burgus* area (today's Uska, Kaboge, and Božidarevićeva streets), which crossed the land of the archbishopric (near Pile) and a street on the largely communal land north of Placa, which only in the beginning of the 14th century assumed the role of the main east-west street.¹¹⁹ Today's Između Polača Street was sold to private owners in 1304.¹²⁰

The estate of Matijaš Mençe, but not of his brother Lovro, is mentioned in this statutory provision on streets. Namely, the new communal street (today's Između

¹¹⁶ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 57.

¹¹⁷ The provision states that the owners of houses in the communal street running east of the *Volcassio fonticus* to the land of the Archbishopric should pay an annual fee to the commune, as their estates bordered on communal land.

¹¹⁸ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 57.

¹¹⁹ Danko Zelić, "Utilitas et lucrum - općinske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Utilitas et lucrum: Communal houses in medieval Dubrovnik], in: *Umjetnost i naručitelji: Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti; Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010), 9-24.

¹²⁰ In 1304, Između Polača Street was sold to private users for 600 perpers, since it was decided that house owners in the *sestiere* of St Blaise should no longer pay fees to the commune. This decision may have been made for the lack of money, but was certainly also a consequence of moving the communication line northwards. *Libri reformationum*, vol. 5, 73.

Polača) was to run from the *fonticus* of the Volcassio family in the east to the archiepiscopal land in the west,¹²¹ and the 1296 provision also mentions other properties in its description: houses and lands of Matijaš de Menče to the south, in the block between today's Pracatova and the newly laid out today's Božidarevićeva streets, which was 20 fathoms wide and had gutters for the construction of six new typified houses, turned towards the new public street. In 1297, Matijaš de Menče ordered 12 portals (four of which were to be unprofiled) to build new houses.¹²² Presumably, the houses on his land bordered in the south with a wide dead-end access that is recognizable throughout the northern part of the block, and started from Pracatova.¹²³ The large block between Široka and Pracatova, which was not affected by the regulation of 1272, was cut in two halves, eastern and western, by introducing a new street in 1296 (today's Božidarevićeva). Matijaš de Menče had considerable property in the western part of that area. Furthermore, the land of Petar de Menče, at the Menče Gate, passed into the hands of Matijaš and his brother Lovro, as evident from the testament of priest Petar de Menče, registered in 1338.¹²⁴ In the northern part of both blocks (along the new street, today's Između Polača), a considerable number of houses were to be built according to the new principle. A spatial analysis of the block between Božidarevićeva and Pracatova streets has shown that the dead-end access in the northern part enabled communication with the inside of the block.¹²⁵

Spatial analyses suggest that the new street regulation after the fire was also carried out in blocks south of Od Puča Street.¹²⁶ New private houses were built in

¹²¹ According to the regulation of 1296, ten communal houses were to be built on the Archbishop's land (38 fathoms long) west of Široka Street, with the usual, three spans wide canals. In 1296, four more streets were planned in the north-south direction between these houses (ten spans wide), towards the street that runs towards the church of All Saints. According to Lukša Beritić, these are today's Đorđićeva, Čubranovićeva, Getaldićeva, and Zlatarićeva. Moreover, the regulation foresaw 15 new streets in the area of Prijeko, in the north-south direction. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak*, passim.

¹²² The fact that typified houses facing the street were soon built south of the new street, on the private lands of Menče and Georgio, is evident from a commission of Tripo de Georgio from September 1296, which ordered seven doors for houses and shops from the stonemasons Cibrana, Blaž the Venetian, and Kalenda. HR-DADU, DC, vol. III, f. 65v, 93; Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Dubrovnik's Burgus of St Blasius in the 13th Century", in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 295-327.

¹²³ Archive of the Institute of Art History, Zagreb, *Dubrovnik – Blok omeđen ulicama Od puča, Pracatovom, Između polača i Božidarevićevom. Građevni razvoj, arhitektonske osobine i prijedlozi konzervatorskih smjernica* [Dubrovnik: The block defined by the streets Od Puča, Pracatova, Između Polača, and Božidarevićeva: Urban development, architectural features, and suggestions for conservation measures] (Institut za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1990), 2.

¹²⁴ HR-DADU, *Testamenta notariae* (hereafter: TN), vol. 3, f. 47.

¹²⁵ Archive of the Institute of Art History, Zagreb, *Dubrovnik – Blok omeđen ulicama Od puča, Pracatovom, Između polača i Božidarevićevom*, 2; Benyovsky Latin, Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's burgus (13th Century)", 223-261.

¹²⁶ Romana Menalo, *Izviješće o arheološkim istraživanjima u vrtu Osnovne škole "Grad"* [Report on Archaeological Excavations in the Garden of the primary school "Grad"] (Dubrovnik: Dubrovački muzeji, 1987). *Elaborat Osnovna škola "Miše Simoni" u Dubrovniku (palača i vrt u Gučetićevoj ulici, objekti u Pracatovoj):*

place of those demolished by fire, south of the new Između Polača Street, which they faced with their front facades that were therefore carefully designed. It has already been said that the statutory provision of 1296, besides the land of Matijaš de Mençe, mentions one of Stančo Subb, located south of the newly regulated street (in the block between Uska and Kaboge). Two typified houses were to be built there with a canal in between, six fathoms wide in total (on two land plots). Stančo's western neighbours were still the Gondula family, as in the 1280s.¹²⁷ Unlike the communal area north of Placa, on private land the new regulation had to be in line with the existing property relations as well as the old spatial organization, preserving the existing streets.¹²⁸

New generations in the city centre and the dynamics of urban life before the standstill of 1348

In 1296, Stančo Subb died, having written his last will in which he left a half of his house to his second daughter Ana, with the consent of his son Jakov, Ana's brother.¹²⁹ It was his house in the southern part of the suburbs (on Celipa's land), later to be purchased by Ana's nephew, Anđelo de Ljutica, Stančo's grandson, from the executors of her last will. The house was located near St Barbara's church. Its northern part probably remained to his wife Brata and his son Jakov, although his last will does not explicitly state that.¹³⁰ The house was located in the suburbs, not far that of Radoš Ljutica, Stančo's son-in-law.

Stančo's land located more to the north, in the block between today's Uska and Kaboge streets, remained to his wife Brata and the other daughter, Srđa. However, after the death of her husband, Radoš Ljutica, Srđa sold this land plot in 1297 to her neighbour, Orsat de Cereva (Crijević),¹³¹ with the consent of her son Anđelo. The land plot bordered with an estate of Martol de Čereva in the east, that of Damjan de Gondula in the west (same as in the Statute of 1296),¹³² an estate of the confraternity of St Stephen in the south, and an estate of Stančo Subb (Srđa's father) and the corner of Orsat Čereva's house, who apparently expanded

analiza razvoja i stanje [Preliminary study: Primary school "Miše Simoni" in Dubrovnik (the palace and garden in Gučetićeva, buildings in Pracatova): an analysis and the present condition] (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1984), 4; Planić Lončarić, "Zajednički prostori", 70.

¹²⁷ According to the regulation of 1296, the estate of Damjan Gondula was located in the block between Pracatova and Uska (apparently north of the estate of his brother Benedikt). *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 57.

¹²⁸ Grujić, "Dubrovnik—Pustijerna," 21; Benyovsky Latin and Haničar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)," 223-261.

¹²⁹ MHR IV, doc. 1311, p. 288.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹³¹ MHR III, doc. 815, p. 283. South of it, the confraternity of St Stephen still had a land plot.

¹³² *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 57.

his property with this transaction, in the north.¹³³ The land of Stančo Subb north of the one that Srđa sold to Crijević (probably located right next to Između Polača Street) obviously remained to Brata after Stančo death, as his wife and the mother of Ana and Jakov, who consented to Srđa selling the southern land plot, declaring that she did not have any claims to Srđa's land and that she agreed with the defined boundaries.¹³⁴ One year later, in 1298, his widow Brata left the house to her daughter Ana in her last will, probably located on the land that used to belong to Stančo Subb.¹³⁵ This area, the later Placa, came to be occupied primarily by the nobility, which then changed in the 15th century with the emergence and stronger presence of new wealthy merchants, mostly gathered in the confraternity of St Anthony. It is noteworthy in this context that Vlaho Nalješković, a grandson of Anđelo Ljutica and a son of his daughter Srđa, mentioned owning a house in Placa in his last will of 1363, but we could not establish the identity or location of this property with certainty.¹³⁶ It is nevertheless interesting to note that the Antonine family of Nalješković, connected with the Ljutica family through the marital bond between Anđelo's daughter Srđa and Nalješko from the island of Cres, the forefather of the Nalješković family in Dubrovnik, later settled (in the 15th century) precisely in the second block of communal houses, which was located approximately where the lands of Stančo Subb had been in the late 13th century.¹³⁷

At the beginning of the 14th century, a new generation appeared on the business scene: Matijaš's and Stančo's descendants, their sons and grandsons. Matijaš's numerous offspring inherited his real estates. The more capable among them even expanded the property, either through marital bonds (with wealthy neighbours, such as the Volcassio family) or by profiting from the economic crisis at the turn of the century. Thus, the second generation of these families expanded its property to the new zone, which was once the centre of the other family branch of Menče (Dmitar de Menče), buying property from their relatives as well. It was the zone south of the square where the church of St Blaise would be built later on. In the 14th century, the transformation of Placa into the main city street began: it was connected with the representative area in front of the Rector's Palace, all

¹³³ After the sale was publicly announced in 1297, the western neighbour, Damjan Gondula, filed an objection: *Damianus Gondule presentavit se super vendicione predicta dicens, quod vult salua esse jura sua in eo quod dicta Serga videtur vendidisse de pertinenciis territorii sui*. MHR III, doc. 815, p. 283 (1297).

¹³⁴ *Brata, uxor Stancii Sub contenta erat de vendicione predicta et quod ipsa non habebat aliquod ius in territorio dicte Serge a confine territorii sui in antea. Consenciens vendicioni predicte cum omnibus confinibus specificatis, ut superius scriptum est. Et quod a cantone domus Vrsacii in antea non habet aliquod territorium*. Ibidem.

¹³⁵ MHR IV, doc. 1390, p. 330.

¹³⁶ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 260.

¹³⁷ Near Za Rokom Street, not far from the church of All Saints, there was a house of Nalko (Božo), son of Dobrić Nalješković, a member of the Antonine confraternity, built from 1428 *nel suo casal*, next to the house of Tomko and Martin Nalješković. HR-DADU 286, *Branimir Truhelka, Venditiones*, p. 24 (*Vend. Canc.* 14, f. 60).

of which was an answer to the new social and spatial circumstances. Early in the century, the construction of a Franciscan monastery started at the western end of Placa,¹³⁸ while in the east the sources mention the Customs House (north of the old city gate), the *fonticus*, and the City Hall (south of the city gate).¹³⁹ In the late 1320s, the construction of communal houses made of stone started along Placa.¹⁴⁰ From 1326, the sources mention the beginning of their construction in place of the private wooden houses built on communal land. The owners of these old houses, mainly wealthy artisans (goldsmiths, drapers, and *zupparii*) received compensation after their demolition and moved away from this locality,¹⁴¹ ceding it to those involved in trade. Among other things, it was concluded that the new houses would be owned by the commune,¹⁴² and a decision of 1333 explicitly stated that the houses were built *per mercatores*.¹⁴³

At the same time, this period of vigorous urban development and construction was also a time of the most important moment in the hierarchical evolution of Dubrovnik's society, the closure of its nobility ranks in 1332. The *serrata* of the Major Council, modelled upon that of Venice, finally defined the nobility as appropriating all the prerogatives of authority and political decision-making as based on the hereditary factor and on noble exclusivism.¹⁴⁴ Of course, as Zdenka

¹³⁸ Justin Vinko Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku - povijesni prikaz života i djelatnosti" [The Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik: A historical overview of its life and work], in: *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Kršćanska sadašnjost i Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, 1985), 105-110; Zrinka Pešorda, "Prilog povijesti franjevacu u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [A contribution to the history of Franciscans in medieval Dubrovnik], *Croatica christiana periodica* 45 (2000): 33-35.

¹³⁹ *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, book VIII, ch. 27; *Libri reformationum*, II, 29, 289; Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak*, 19, 38.

¹⁴⁰ Zelić, "Utilitas et lucrum", 9-24; Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, 19; Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, "Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina", 36, 144; HR-DADU 460, *Obitelj Beritić* 1.2.2., box 10, doc. 144, p. 39.

¹⁴¹ *Libri reformationum*, V, 242.

¹⁴² *Libri reformationum*, V, 221. The construction started in 1327 at the houses of the Volcassio family and continued westwards. Beritić, 19; Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, "Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina", 36, 144; Zelić, "Utilitas et lucrum", 11; HR-DADU 460, *Obitelj Beritić* 1.2.2., box 10, doc. 144, p. 39. In 1327, having benches in front of shops and around the standard pole was regulated by the Minor Council; *Libri reformationum*, V, 244.

¹⁴³ *Libri reformationum*, V, 380.

¹⁴⁴ For details on the closure of Dubrovnik's councils, see: Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 1: Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva* [The nobility of Dubrovnik, vol. 1: The roots, structure, and development of Dubrovnik's nobility] (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011), 225-226; idem, "The Proportion of the Ragusan Nobility at the Closing of the Major Council in 1332", *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012), 7-22; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom. The Nobility of Dubrovnik Between the Middle Ages and Humanism* (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015), 101-110; Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća u političkom i društvenom kontekstu 13. i 14. stoljeća" [The closure of Dubrovnik's nobility and the Council in the political and social context of the 13th and 14th centuries], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 56, (2018), no. 1: 87-116.

Janeković Römer has demonstrated, it was a long-lasting process that took place during the 13th and early 14th centuries,¹⁴⁵ and for our purpose it is crucial that the Menče kindred, and thus also the family of Matijaš Menče, became one of the most important protagonists of the Dubrovnik nobility, especially in the 14th century, whereas the Ljutica remained outside of that circle. The example of these two stories confirms that, to enter the nobility, one needed to meet the decisive criteria of eminent origins, wealth, abilities, merit, and kindred strength,¹⁴⁶ which the Menčetić fulfilled completely, whereas the Subb and the Ljutica, despite the social rise of some members during the late 13th and early 14th centuries, did not. They lacked the ancient origins, tradition, demographic power, and, of course, governing and political positions in the city, which were the crucial distinctive criteria. As Zdenka Janeković Römer has established, based on an analysis of all the preserved lists of members of Dubrovnik's Major Council up to its closure in 1332, the nobility was *de facto*, even if not yet formally defined already a decade before the closure.¹⁴⁷ In all these lists, the name Menče appears regularly, and the family stands out among the most powerful in Dubrovnik.¹⁴⁸ At the beginning of the 14th century, the election of members as a principle of entry into the council began to lose priority over the principle of membership based on heredity, continuity, and belonging to the families that had long held positions in the council.¹⁴⁹ Everyone else, including the Ljutica, even if successful and climbing on the social ladder, could no longer enter that exclusive circle and possibly did not even strove for it. Transforming Placa into a trade zone and creating a political centre in front of the City Hall and the Count's Palace was a result of the long-term urban development of Dubrovnik, as well as the political and economic needs of the city and its society. During the first half of the 14th century, the area of Placa as communal property¹⁵⁰ ceased to be a street with communal land plots intended for building private houses for housing and business, and gradually changed into an exclusive business area. The years 1326 and 1327 were crucial in this respect, as the Major Council discussed the realization of this great venture.¹⁵¹ Another plan was to

¹⁴⁵ Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća", *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća", 88.

¹⁴⁷ Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća", 91-93.

¹⁴⁸ Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća", n. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17.

¹⁴⁹ Janeković Römer, "Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva i vijeća", 92.

¹⁵⁰ East of the Franciscan monastery, along the northern edge of Placa, there were still private land plots.

¹⁵¹ *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum* (hereafter: *Libri reformationum*), vol. V, 212, 221, 228; Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, "Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina", 36; Zelić, "Utilitas et lucrum", 11. Besides Placa, several other streets and squares in the city centre were renovated: e.g. Lučarica Street, which was to be paved in 1326 and is described from the south to the north, *a porta Leonis usque ad fundachum illorum de Volcasse. Monumenta ragusina. Libri reformationum*, II (Zagreb: JAZU, 1882), 321 (hereafter: *Libri reformationum*, II). Shortly afterwards, in her last will from 1337, Desica, widow of Damijana Volcassio, stated that the rent *de domobus fundechi de platea* should be donated for pious purposes. HR-DADU, TN, vol. 4, f. 52.

build a City Hall for the Council' meetings near the Rector's Palace as the seat of the Venetian representative in the city.¹⁵² Certainly, the local elite is crucial for understanding the urban development of any city, but one must also take into account external influences, especially those related to the Venetian rule in the 13th and the first half of the 14th century. Some elements of social and urban development were created and developed under the influence of the Venetian Count and his administration. By comparing other cities under the Venetian rule, one can observe parallels in the closure of the city councils and the formation of a main trade street along which the commune leased land plots to build (stone) houses for merchants.¹⁵³ However, in the mid-14th century Venice started to falter in its efforts to conquer (or retain) the entire Eastern Adriatic area.¹⁵⁴ This was a key moment for Dubrovnik as well. Social and urban formation experienced a steep rise, despite the crisis caused by the Black Death epidemic. It is striking that in 1348, in the period when Venice struggled to maintain its power in the Eastern Adriatic, its governor in the city, Count Filippo Orio, decided on the construction of a church dedicated to St Blaise, Dubrovnik's patron saint.¹⁵⁵ Such plans to build a church dedicated to the local patron in the city centre shows that the local elite was still strong, as it was also directly involved in its construction with rich legations and active engagement. One of the donors was Anđelo Ljutica, and one of the first procurators the owner of the neighbouring house, Nikola, son of Marin Menče.¹⁵⁶ That same year, in 1348, shortly before the plague outbreak, the sources also mention an enlargement of the Major Council hall (*salam vetus palatii*).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine", 28, n. 87. eadem, "Arhitektura Kneževa dvora u doba renesanse: obnove u 15. i 16. stoljeću" [Architecture of the Rector's Palace in the Renaissance: Renovations in the 15th and 16th centuries], in: *Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku: Utvrdā, palača, muzej* (Dubrovnik: Muzej grada Dubrovnika, 2016), 356-371; Cvito Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji* [The earliest known builders of Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1955), 103.

¹⁵³ Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 77, 79, 84.

¹⁵⁴ A plague outbreak in Venice and throughout the Venetian territories in 1348, including Dubrovnik, conflicts with Genoa, and the strengthening of the Anjou kings, as well as rebellions in various cities (for example, in Zadar in 1346), weakened the central government and ultimately brought about its withdrawal from most Eastern Adriatic cities, including Dubrovnik.

¹⁵⁵ Two year earlier, the saint's relics solemnly entered the city. However, recent research does not bring the construction of the church in relation to resistance against the Venetian authority. For more details, see: Nella Lonza, "Sveti Vlaho, božanski zaštitnik Dubrovnika" [Saint Blaise, the heavenly patron of Dubrovnik], in: *Zborna crkva sv. Vlaha u Dubrovniku*, ed. Katarina Horvat-Levaj (Dubrovnik; Zagreb: Dubrovačka biskupija; Zborna crkva sv. Vlaha; Institut za povijest umjetnosti; ArTresor naklada d.o.o, 2017), 31; Ana Marinković, "Kasnosrednjovjekovna crkva sv. Vlaha" [Late medieval church of St Blaise], in: *Zborna crkva sv. Vlaha u Dubrovniku*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 3; Marinković, "Kasnosrednjovjekovna crkva sv. Vlaha", 65.

¹⁵⁷ Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*, 1.; Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Governmental Palaces in Eastern Adriatic Cities (13th–15th Centuries)," in: *Political Functions of Urban Spaces and Town Types through the Ages. Making Use of Historic Town Atlases in Europe / Politische Funktionen städtischer Räume und Städtetypen im zeitlichen Wandel. Nutzung der historischen Städteatlanten in Europa*, ed. Zdzisław Noga Roman Czaja, Ferdinand Opl, Martin Scheutz (Cracow; Torun; Vienna: Böhlau, 2019), 141.

If we take a look at the central urban area of that time, it is noticeable that it was undergoing a process of “elitization.” It opened up “for merchants” and the lists of communal shops in Placa from 1359 and 1360 show that they were now mostly rented by noblemen: among others, we find Marin, son of Junije de Mençe, who had some *stacones comunis* in lease for 5 years.¹⁵⁸ It was only in the 15th century that rich merchants from the commoners’ ranks are found there in almost equal numbers, mostly members of the Antonine confraternity.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the said information about Vlaho Nalješković, grandson of Anđelo Ljutica, and his house in Placa in 1363 indicates that not only noblemen were present in that area. However, a decision of the Minor Council from 1359, by which a commoner was allowed to rent a business venue in Placa, emphasized that there was not to be “any oil, cheese, meat, golden objects there, and no goldsmith’s craft should be practiced.”¹⁶⁰ In the 14th century, wooden houses were removed from the northern edge of Placa. Due to the construction of a new church, dedicated to the Three Martyrs of Kotor (Petilovrijenci), which began in 1363, private wooden houses were demolished, and their owners, mostly goldsmiths, were compensated.¹⁶¹ Obviously, it was an intentional project to remove the artisans from the Placa area, which was turned into a representative and above all commercial zone by a whole series of decisions.¹⁶² In the 14th century, this area symbolized, in a way, the rise, power, and self-sufficiency not only of the city, but also – and far more – of its nobility. Thus, the essential moments of this reconstruction can also be linked to the key moments in nobility definition: from various decisions on reconstructions “for the merchants” in the 1330s and the closure of the noble ranks to the larger projects, such as relocating the artisans only a few years after the famous year 1358 and the beginning of the city’s *de facto* independent life under the auspices of St Stephen’s crown. Finally, after recognizing the sovereign authority of King Louis of Anjou and acquiring the Visegrád privilege, Dubrovnik could fully

¹⁵⁸ Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, “Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina”, 40. The list of 1364 has been published in: Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, *Knjige nekrenina I*, 81-82.

¹⁵⁹ Benyovsky Latin, Pešorda Vardić, Haničar Buljan, “Antunini na Placi u 15. stoljeću”, *passim*.

¹⁶⁰ *Libri reformationum*, III, 6; Benyovsky Latin, Pešorda Vardić, Haničar Buljan, “Antunini na Placi u 15. stoljeću”, 73.

¹⁶¹ *Libri reformationum*, III, 278, 282; *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1395-1397* [Decisions of Dubrovnik’s councils, 1395-1397], ed. Nella Lonza (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011), 106; Ines Ivić, “Crkva i kult sv. Petilovrijenaca u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” [The church and cult of the Three Martyrs of Kotor (Petilovrijenci) in medieval Dubrovnik], *Peristil* 59 (2016), no. 1: 19.

¹⁶² Placa was also renovated in the final decades of the 14th century, and at its eastern end, where the city gate was shifted, there were intense works on the Count’s Palace the church of the city’s patron saint. On the works on the Palace during this period, see Grujić, “Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine”, 149-171, 156; *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392* [Decision of Dubrovnik’s councils, 1390-1392], ed. Nella Lonza, Zdravko Šundrica (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2005), 212, 234, 389; *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1395-1397*, 76, 171, 177.

pursue its own urban policy – but that is already beyond the scope of this study.¹⁶³ Thus, the earliest data on the lease of communal shops at the southern edge of Placa, which come from 1359, are later than the turning point of 1358, when the Venetian rule over the city came to an end and the question of administering public real estate was reconsidered.¹⁶⁴ From that point on, the church of the city patron symbolized Dubrovnik's *libertas* in a full sense, and the saint's cult, with all the connotations known from the late medieval narratives, also evolved at this time, during the second half of the 14th century.¹⁶⁵

Coming back to the period before 1348, the square in front of the city hall, at the site of St Blaise's church built after 1348, should be conceived as an open space facing the City Hall in the east and surrounded by noble houses from the south.¹⁶⁶ Due to the construction of the church and the loggia during the 14th century, the existing (wooden) houses were demolished in this area.¹⁶⁷ The houses of Matijaš's youngest sons, Nikola (ca. 1280 – ca. 1328) and Martinuš de Menče (ca. 1290-1347)¹⁶⁸ are mentioned south of the communal square, "in front of the palace of the Major Council," where the church of St Blaise was built from 1348.¹⁶⁹ Martinuš's house was on the west side (towards Lučarica) and partly bordered on the house of Ivan de Celipa in the north,¹⁷⁰ while Nikola's was on the eastern side (towards the City Hall – *apud logiam*), and they were separated from the (future) church by a street. According to the *Book of Treasury Leases*, the church of St Blaise was built in the place where the house of Junije de Pabora once stood. That house was confiscated in 1350, because the family, according

¹⁶³ More details on the significance of the year 1358 in the history of Dubrovnik in: Vinko Foretić, "Godina 1358. u povijesti Dubrovnika" [The year 1358 in the history of Dubrovnik], *Starine JAZU* 50 (1960): 251-278; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Višegradski ugovor - temelj Dubrovačke Republike* [The Visegrád agreement as the foundation of the Dubrovnik Republic] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003).

¹⁶⁴ Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, "Dubrovački fond općinskih nekrenina", 45.

¹⁶⁵ Lovro Kunčević, "O dubrovačkoj *Libertas* u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [On Dubrovnik's *Libertas* in the Late Middle Ages], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 46 (2008): 36-39. It is noteworthy that in this most representative area, directly in front of St Blaise's church, another symbol of freedom, autonomy, and power of the urban elites was erected in 1419, at the very time of a renewed Venetian campaign in the Eastern Adriatic – a statue of Orlando (Roland). HR-DADU 460, *Obitelj Beritić* 1.2.2, box 10, doc. 125, p. 10; *Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum 1400 - 1500*, ed. Danko Zelić, Ana Plosnić Škarić (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2017) (hereafter DUCAC) 149/29; Ilija Mitić, "Orlandov stup u Dubrovniku" [Orlando's column in Dubrovnik], *Anali Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 10-11 (1966): 236-238; Kunčević, "O dubrovačkoj *libertas*", 31-36; Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 564-566.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Benyovsky Latin, Pešorda Vardić, Haničar Buljan, "Antunini na Placi u 15. stoljeću", *passim*.

¹⁶⁷ HR-DADU 460, *Obitelj Beritić* 1.2.2., box 10, doc. 113 (unnumbered). On the reconstruction of the city in the first half of the 14th century, see: Maja Planić Lončarić, "Dubrovačka luža" [The loggia of Dubrovnik], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 14 (1990): 93-95; Žile, "Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja", 184-195; Marinković, "Kasnosrednjovjekovna crkva sv. Vlaha", 62-69.

¹⁶⁸ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

¹⁶⁹ *Libri reformationum*, II, 13; Žile, "Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja", 186.

¹⁷⁰ Benyovsky Latin and Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio", 55.

to Bariša Krekić's research, went bankrupt in the first half of the 14th century,¹⁷¹ and Nikola de Menče acquired some of their property due to their debts.¹⁷² Sales of noble estates (especially to the Venetians) were not rare at the turn of the 14th century. Many impoverished noblemen had to sell or pawn their houses and lands due to debts.¹⁷³ However, Nikola's family branch was severely affected by plague in 1348. It resisted extinction, but eventually succumbed in the late 14th century.¹⁷⁴ Martinuš Menče,¹⁷⁵ the youngest son of Matijaš, was one of the strongest creditors of Dubrovnik in the 14th century and an example of the nobility that increased their wealth in this period. In 1331, he was an emissary in Serbia, and in 1343 in Bulgaria.¹⁷⁶ He, and later his widow Filipa, acquired a large number of real estate by inheritance, purchase, and trade in real estate, as well as debt collection. Martinuš was a very active businessman – he traded in fabrics, grain, and wax, importing from the hinterland countries and exporting to Hungary and other places.¹⁷⁷

Eventually, when it comes to the numerous properties of Matijaš Menče's descendants, another of his sons, Menče de Menče (ca. 1280 – ca. 1325)¹⁷⁸ had a house near the cathedral (*domum meum lapideum que est apud ecclesiam sancte Marie maioris*), which bordered on Martol de Črieua and Marin de Caboga (mentioned in his last will).¹⁷⁹

Unlike the dynamic business area next to Placa and the square in front of the City Hall, the area of the former "private" *burgus*, between Između Polača and the old city ramparts (today's Strossmayerova Street) became, or better remained a place of residence for families that belonged to the urban elite. Stančo's grandson, Anđelo de Ljutica, showed a tendency to retain his position among the urban elite by building a house in the southern part of the suburbs. Anđelo (ca. 1280-1348), a son of Srđa Subb and Radoš Ljutica, was also successful in this period, climbing the social and financial ladder. Anđelo also became the most famous member of

¹⁷¹ *Comun de Ragusi tien ad affito el terren che fo de una cassa de ser Zugno de Pabora la qual casa fo gettada per far plača ala glessia de Sancto Blaxio dela Plača in perpetuum e de ço avemo carta in 1350 a di 4 magio. Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, XLV, p. 111.

¹⁷² Bariša Krekić, "Venetians in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Ragusans in Venice as Real Estate Owners in the Fourteenth Century", in: *Dubrovnik: a Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600* (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate, 1997), 63.

¹⁷³ Benyovsky Latin and Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio", 51.

¹⁷⁴ His son Mato (1308-1385) was the Count of Zaton, Rijeka, and Gruž in 1359 and 1362. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 48.

¹⁷⁵ <http://urbes.s2.novenaweb.info/en/database/>.

¹⁷⁶ Ignacij Voje, *Kreditna trgovina u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [Loan transactions in medieval Dubrovnik] (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1976), 203; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47-49.

¹⁷⁷ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 333.

¹⁷⁸ From 1311, Menče was married to Nikoleta, daughter of Vlaho de Sorento, with whom he acquired a large dowry of 1000 perpers and 100 *exagia auri*. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 333.

¹⁷⁹ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 3, f. 12v-13.

the Ljutica family, and he was a contemporary of Matijaš's youngest sons, Nikola and Martinuš Mençe. He also had business contacts with Martinuš, and thus, for example, Junije de Lucaro and Martinuš Mençe agreed with him that Anđelo would write them a letter from Venice that he paid for them with the money he had received from the sale of wax of Tomo de Paulo.¹⁸⁰

Anđelo was married to Draža, and the sources inform us that he had a son called Radoš and a daughter called Srđa, both named after their grandparents. We know from Anđelo's preserved last will that he was a grandfather of Nikola, Radoš's illegitimate son. Anđelo was one of the most active merchants of Dubrovnik during the first half of the 14th century, a very vigorous and energetic entrepreneur. His involvement in trade frequently brought him to Venice.¹⁸¹ The Dubrovnik authorities often appointed him as a tutor of juveniles who had remained fatherless, and he also acted as an arbitrator in various legal disputes,¹⁸² or as a commercial middleman.¹⁸³ In 1319, he was on the list of those who granted public loans that the commune had announced for the purchase of grain, which also testifies to his social status in the city.¹⁸⁴ In the sources, he is mentioned that same year as a *comitus galearum*,¹⁸⁵ and in 1325 he bought a third of a condura from Klimo de Tomaxin, thus becoming a co-owner of the ship together with Andrija, son of Pavle Sorgo, and Palo, son of Francesco, a *speciarius* from Venice.¹⁸⁶ Several of his conduras and navas are known from the late 1320s and the 1330s – such as St Nicholas, St Christophorus, or St Blaise.¹⁸⁷ He traded in wax, and an example of such business transactions illustrates very well the intricacies of the business network of Dubrovnik's entrepreneurs at the time, some of which had noble

¹⁸⁰ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 124v. Cf. HR-DADU, DN, vol. 5, f. 252v. We would like to thank Zdenka Janeković Römer for supplying us with the call numbers and regesta of the series *Diversa Cancellarie* and *Diversa notarie*.

¹⁸¹ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 1, f. 105; HR-DADU, DC, vol. 8, f. 141; vol. 9, f. 21, 101v, 124v.

¹⁸² Dobre, son of Ilija, Džore of Kotor, and Anđelo Ljutica were appointed as arbitrators by the Count and the curia in a legal dispute initiated by Vito de Maxi against Mihael, son of the late Pasko de Čaulego (February 23, 1319): HR-DADU, DN, vol. 3, f. 113 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁸³ In 1325, Anđelo Ljutica received from Picinego de Drincas 60 perpers from Rudnik and 38 ounces of silver, an iron knife, a silver belt, a frontale, and 7 perpers in other objects, which he all sent to Tomo de Bogu from Kotor for keeping: HR-DADU, DN, vol. 4, f. 103v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁸⁴ Among these names, the noble ones largely prevail in this case, with only some commoner ones, among them Anđelo. *Libri reformationum* V, 132. On public loans and lists of loan givers as indicators of social status, see also: Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Georgius Scambe de Gostigna, habitator Ragusii olim de Arbo, uspješan Dubrovčanin bez građanskog prava" [Georgius Scambe de Gostigna, habitator Ragusii olim de Arbo, a successful Ragusan without citizenship], in: *Artisani et mercatores...: o obrtnicima i trgovcima na Jadranskom prostoru*, ed. Marija Mogorović Crljenko, Elena Uljanić (Poreč; Pula; Pazin: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Državni arhiv u Pazinu, 2019), 14.

¹⁸⁵ *Libri reformationum* V, 319.

¹⁸⁶ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 4, f. 99.

¹⁸⁷ *Libri reformationum* V, 253, 338, 351, 356, 368, 372.

family names, other commoner ones. In October 1318, Petar de Poča received from Teodor de Bodača 11 barrels full of wax, weighing four *librae*, which he promised to transport on the condura of Menče de Menče, son of Matijaš Menče, to Venice at his own expense and risk. Peter was supposed to bring and deliver that wax to Anđelo de Ljutica.¹⁸⁸ As we can see, in this case Ljutica, Menče, Poča, and Bodača all participated in the transaction, sharing the risk, as stated in the note “*et fortuna maris et gentis.*”

Anđelo's success in business transactions was also visible in urban space, where he built neighbouring networks with men of noble descent. We know that he had a house in the (communal) area of Prijeko, more precisely in the *sestiere* of St Nicholas,¹⁸⁹ as well as in the old town. First, in 1315, he bought a house on the land of de Čelipa, which had belonged to his aunt Ana, by that time deceased. He therefore bought the property from Miho de Gherduso, who was the executor of Ana's testament.¹⁹⁰ That year, the house bordered on the church of St Barbara in the east, on the street facing the high sea (today's Božidarevićeva) with the house belonging to *Jacov de M...* in the west, and on the house of another prominent and entrepreneurial commoner, Džore Gostinja, towards the hillside.¹⁹¹ This house was mentioned in a transaction earlier, in 1301, as the house of the “daughter of Stančo Subb”, situated north of the *casale* purchased by Matej, son of Pasko de Benessa, from the widow of *Jakov de Musu*. East of this *casale*, a furnace of St Nicholas *de monacabus* is mentioned, Lapredije Balislava was in the south, and a public street *boreecum*.¹⁹² Furthermore, in 1325, the sources mention that the house of Anđelo de Ljutica bordered in the west on the house of the widow of Martinuš, son of Gervazije de Martinussio, and her son Gervazije, and between them there was a sewer.¹⁹³

Anđelo decided to enlarge the family house in that area in the late 1320s, and in 1329 hired some stonemasons to that purpose. Magister Vito was in charge of building a house of stone and lime at St Barbara's.¹⁹⁴ A description of the

¹⁸⁸ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 3, f. 52v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁸⁹ *Herede de Angulo Lutich per una casa dove habitava sopradito Angulo posta nel sistier di Sancto Nichola alo terin de Svieri come par per lo testamento de Luca Bogdanovich suo padre. Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 220, 227. A land *de Sueri* is also mentioned later on, in the lists of communal real estate in the 14th and 15th centuries. Cf. Benyovsky Latin and Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 139.

¹⁹⁰ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 2, f. 52v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁹¹ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 2, f. 52 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer); Janeković Römer, “Georgius Scambe de Gostigna”, 18.

¹⁹² MHR IV, doc. 529, p. 138.

¹⁹³ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 5, f. 109 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer). In 1282, the house of Draža, daughter of the late Martinuš, is mentioned south of the city walls; MHR I, doc. 723, p. 227.

¹⁹⁴ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 113v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer). St Barbara's church is also mentioned in the 19th-century cadastre. Planić Lončarić, “Zajednički

construction has been preserved from that year: the walls were to be made of stone *ismiratis cum antenibus*, which were to be a maximum of 3 spans minus a quarter large and 12 spans tall, measuring from the ground at the side of Andrija de Lucarce. The construction was to last seven months, for the price of 12 perpers per one *miliarium* of stone, which was to be laid *according to the custom of the city of Dubrovnik*.¹⁹⁵ The supply of stone was agreed in January 1330 with Ivanko Vidojević from the island of Šipan, who promised to deliver a *miliarium* of stone in the port of Dubrovnik: half on the feast day of St George and half on the feast day of St Peter. The price was 7 perpers per *miliarium*, and the guarantor for Ivanko on that occasion was stonemason Beroje.¹⁹⁶ Some days later, at the end of January that same year, transporter Milten Cusa promised Anđelo Ljutica to empty his house (*casale*) next to St Barbara's church and to clean it of all soil, stone, and garbage.¹⁹⁷ During the same year, Anđelo ordered stone on several occasions: in June, September, and August, and it was always delivered by men from Šipan.¹⁹⁸

The area at St Barbara's church, around which the properties of the Ljutica family were located, although outside the old city walls, was situated within the earliest, pre-communal suburb,¹⁹⁹ in a block protected by walls and towers,²⁰⁰ which in the late 13th and early 14th centuries was probably administratively considered as part

prostori"; 67; eadem, "Ceste", 164-165; Archive of the Institute of Art History, "Elaborat Osnovna škola 'Miše Simoni' u Dubrovniku"; Archive of the Institute of Art History, "Elaborat Blok uz Jezuite – Bunićeva poljana. Analiza razvoja, stanje i prijedlozi konzervatorskih smjernica" [The block next to the Jesuits – Bunićeva Poljana: An analysis of the development, the present state, and suggestions for conservation guidelines] (Zagreb, Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1994); Menalo, *Izvjешće o arheološkim istraživanjima u vrtu Osnovne škole "Grad"*.

¹⁹⁵ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 113v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁹⁶ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 120 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁹⁷ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 121v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁹⁸ HR-DADU, DC, vol. 9, f. 144, f. 194v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

¹⁹⁹ The notarial records from the 13th century mainly mention the Kaštel area. According to Lukša Beritić, the area of St Peter was situated east of Kaštel, and Željko Peković is of the opinion that it actually emerged as a suburb of Kaštel. Both researchers agree that this area bordered on the old city wall to the north, but while Peković locates it in today's Strossmayerova Street, Beritić situates it north of St Barbara's church. Although we agree that the walls of the old town followed the line as today's Strossmayerova Street, we believe that in the 13th century, the area of St Peter, i.e. Kaštel, also included the suburbs surrounded by the old city wall – including the area around St Barbara's church. The suburbs started north of the city gate, which was most likely on the line of today's Hliđina Street. Benyovsky Latin, Hanićar Buljan, "Digital Mapping of Noble Estates in Dubrovnik's *burgus* (13th Century)", *passim*; Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik: nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada* [Dubrovnik: The emergence and development of a medieval city] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998), 51; Beritić, "Ubikacija", 18. Lukša Beritić has left numerous document transcripts in his archival legacy on the church of St Peter: HR-DADU 460, *Obitelj Beritić* 1.2.2, box 22.

²⁰⁰ Planić, *Elaborat "Miše Simoni"*, 3, 4.

of the old town rather than a suburb. The documents give the locality as *in Ragusio*, or in the Kaštel area – and only later refer to it as St Peter's.²⁰¹ There were several houses of wealthy artisans there, along with the noble ones, unlike the area of Pustijerna, which was predominantly noble. Of course, one must be careful when attributing ownership over real estate, since some could be built on someone else's land – like the one bought by Anđelo Ljutica, which is not mentioned in all documents – especially if it was in long-term or permanent lease.²⁰² The position of Anđelo's house was, in all likelihood, near the land of *epitropus* Gherdus, whose western neighbours were the Proculo family (the abovementioned Vito and then his son Petar, the one who participated in the fighting incident),²⁰³ and then the Menče further to the west: Matijaš and then his son Marin.²⁰⁴ This is probably the land that Matijaš had already in the 1280s next to the present-day Sv. Josipa Street, while in 1297 it is mentioned in the vicinity of the church of All Saints.²⁰⁵

Nearby was also the house of Radoš Ljutica, Anđelo's father, and on the said land of Petar de Proculo, Radoš's (presumable) sister, the aforementioned Obrada de Lutića, rented a wooden cottage in 1313 (and 1317), and the house bordered in the southwest on the wall of Marin Matija Menče.²⁰⁶ In 1315, she sold her wooden house on the land of Petar de (Pro)Culo (formerly Zimuto?), which bordered on her second house in the north, to Stana, daughter of the late Obrad de Visina.²⁰⁷ In 1317, she paid 21 perpers dowry for her daughter Dobrana to goldsmith Matija, son of Predan de Quaro, and on that occasion mentioned her house on the land of Petar de (Pro)Culo. Obviously, the second house, which was not sold to Stana, daughter of Obrad, was to go to her daughter Dobrana after her death, as part of her dowry.²⁰⁸ But, as it seems, Dobrana did not live to receive it, as Obrada

²⁰¹ The *Book of Treasury Loans* mentions a house north of St Barbara, in the *sestiere* of St Peter – therefore, this *sestiere* did not border on today's Strossmayerova Street in the north. *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 288.

²⁰² Cf. Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Notes on the Urban Elite, Churches, and Ecclesiastical Immovables in Early Medieval Dubrovnik", in: *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zum östlichen Europa. Festschrift für Ludwig Steindorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Martina Thomsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017), 33.

²⁰³ MHR IV, doc. 86, p. 28.

²⁰⁴ MHR IV, doc. 172, p. 57.

²⁰⁵ A document refers to it as a land *that once belonged to Kalenda Bodacia* (son of Bela and Orsat Bodacia) – west of it, there was a land of Miho, son of Frane Bincole (for which we know that it was located south of the church of All Saints and north of Hliđina): MHR III, doc. 809, p. 279.

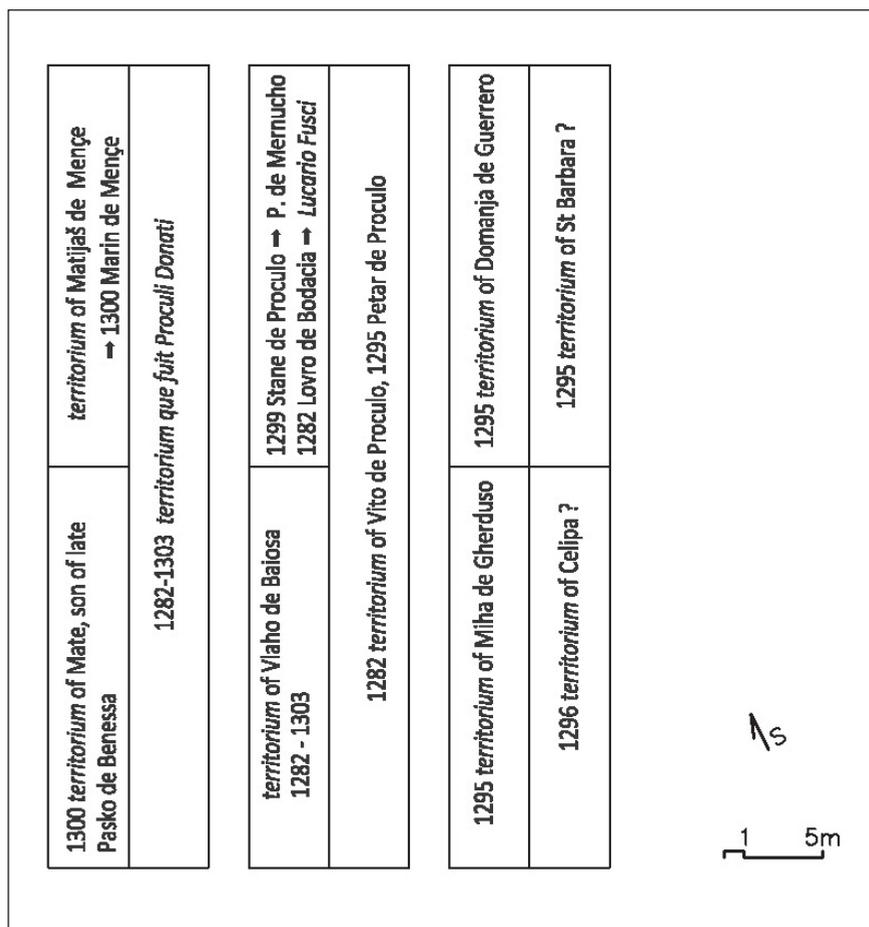
²⁰⁶ HR-DADU, DC (November 16, 1313), vol. 5, f. 89v (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

²⁰⁷ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 2, f. 50 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer).

²⁰⁸ HR-DADU, DN, vol. 2, f. 115 (the call number and regesta kindly provided by Zdenka Janeković Römer). The son-in-law Matija may have been the father of goldsmith Milče de Quira, who had a wooden house on communal land, demolished in the 1360s for the construction of the church of the Three Martyrs of Kotor (Petilovrijenci). Wealthy artisans, especially goldsmiths and drapers, inhabited the area around Placa until the 1360s, when they were relocated to Prijeko. Beritić, "Ubikacija", 58; Benyovsky Latin, Zelić, *Knjige nekretnina I*, 45; Benyovsky Latin, Pešorda Vardić, Haničar Buljan, "Antunini na Placi u 15. stoljeću"; Benyovsky Latin, "Obrtnici i općinsko predgrađe", 63.

eventually instructed the executors of her last will in 1325 to sell her wooden house on the land of Petar Proculo, and to have two liturgical vestments made: one for the church of St Stephen and another for that of St Blaise.²⁰⁹ As for the Ljutica family, Obrada's last will mentions only Andelo's children Radoš and Srđa (her nephew's children?), to whom she left legations in money.

Figure 9. Territories of elite families in the south western suburb (1282-1303)



It is noteworthy that one of the executors of her last will was her neighbour and perhaps friend Marija, wife of Marin de Menče,²¹⁰ which is yet another link between the Ljutica and the Menče. Marin de Menče, Matijaš's eldest son after the

²⁰⁹ *Item uolo quod domus mea lignaminis que est in tertorio Petri de Proculo vendatur per meos pitropos et de dinari qui recquientur ex ea volo quod fiant duo paramenta vnum ecclesie sancti Stephani ubi sacra corpora requiescunt et alliud ecclesie sancti Blasii.* HR-DADU, TN, vol. 3, f. 7 (January 4, 1325).

²¹⁰ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 3, f. 7.

death of Matijaš (ca. 1265 – ca. 1338)²¹¹ was as active in the public life of the city as his father – from 1303, he was a member of the Senate and from the 1320s a regular member of the Minor Council. Matijaš donated the aforesaid land to Marin after the property separation with his brother Lovro in 1300.²¹² At that time, the land bordered on communal streets to the west and north, with a land *that once belonged to Proculo Donat* to the east, and with a land of Pasko Benesse to the south.²¹³ After the said property division between the two brothers, Matijaš wrote his first testament in 1306, in which he appointed his sons Junije and Marin as its executors.²¹⁴

Matijaš's house in Pustijerna was inherited by his son Junije (ca. 1270 – ca. 1330),²¹⁵ who was married to Franka, daughter of the wealthy nobleman Pasko Volcassio.²¹⁶ In 1343, houses of “Matijaš de Mençe” are mentioned in Pustijerna, near the churches of St John and St Thomas,²¹⁷ and a small gate (*portella*) is mentioned below them.²¹⁸

Black Death in the houses of Mençe and Ljutica

The plague epidemic that struck Dubrovnik in the first half of 1348 left a trace in many families, including the two that are in the focus of our study.²¹⁹ However,

²¹¹ Not much is known on Matijaš's son Mato (b. ca. 1268), but apparently he had no offspring. In 1306, Matijaš made a new last will and the executors were her grown-up sons, Marin and Junije. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 332; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47.

²¹² Matijaš first divided this estate with his brother Lovro (*Mathias de Mençe divisionem inter nos... accepi territorium unum subtus domo Mathei quondam Pascalis de Benessa.*) MHR IV, doc. 172 and 173, pp. 57-58.

²¹³ MHR IV, doc. 172, p. 57. The document also mentions the houses that Matijaš owned in Venice together with his brother (*Item assigno filio meo Marino tertiam partem de medietate mearum domorum de Ca Mudança, que sunt in Venecijs prope domum domini Nicolai Quirini*). Cf. MHR IV, doc. 198, p. 63.

²¹⁴ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*; HR-DADU, TN, vol. 4, 27v.

²¹⁵ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47, 49.

²¹⁶ The second daughter of Pasko Volcassio, Nikoleta, was married to a relative of Junije, Vlaho, son of a very distinguished man called Dmitar de Mençe, who had a large estate near the church of Our Saviour. Benyovsky Latin and Ledić, “Posjed obitelji Volcassio”, 64. These family ties were crucial for establishing closer bonds between the family members and land aggregation. Nikoleta's brother, Junije Volcassio, was the southern neighbour of Filipa de Mençe, widow of Martinuš, brother of Junije de Mençe, and he also linked his children by marital bonds with the Menčetić family. He had a house next to the cathedral, which was almost demolished in 1325 to build a belfry with a baptistery. Junije married his daughter Gaja to Mato, son of Mençe de Mençe); Benyovsky Latin and Ledić, “Posjed obitelji Volcassio”, 34, 52. For the construction of the same cathedral belfry (*campanile de Santa Maria maçore*) in 1348, Anđelo Ljutica left a large legation of 100 perpers in his last will. HR-DADU, vol. 5, f. 3; Ana Marinković, “O gradnji, funkciji i rušenju krstionice-zvonika dubrovačke romaničke katedrale” [On the construction, function, and demolition of the baptistery-belfry at the Romanesque cathedral of Dubrovnik], *Ars Adriatica* 7 (2017): 83-98.

²¹⁷ HR-DADU, *Venditiones cancellariae*, vol. I (March 3, 1354); MHR III, doc. 675, p. 247.

²¹⁸ A witness (a fisherman) described the event of 1343 as having seen it from the harbour while getting off his boat *in terra ad molum*; thus, the site was probably near the harbour. *Libri reformationum* I, 13.

²¹⁹ For the list of survived and deceased nobility during the plague epidemic, see: Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 157-162; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika I*, 226-231.

its devastating consequences were not the same for the Mençes and the Ljuticas. According to the present reconstruction of the survivors and the deceased during the epidemic, only four male members of the Menčetić kindred died during the epidemic of 1348. At the same time, these reconstructions of mortality suggest that the number of survivors in the kindred was far greater, i.e. seventeen of the Mençe survived the epidemic. This ratio of the deceased and the survivors suggests that more than 80% of the kindred survived, but it should be borne in mind that the reconstruction is by no means final and complete: it merely reflects the trend. Nevertheless, additional indirect information can be drawn from the preserved last wills. Namely, in the corpus of over 300 preserved last wills from 1348, there are only four wills by the members of the Mençe kindred, and strikingly, all four belong to its female members.²²⁰ All four wills are relatively short, but they reveal firm connections between the testators and their closest relatives.²²¹ Obviously, all of them primarily wanted to secure their loved ones and the salvation of their own souls, but that the wills offer no information whatsoever about their immovable property, which is related to the property law of the time, according to which the foundation of the wife's property was her dowry, and she had no share in the patrimony.²²² In addition, the somewhat unusual shortness of the wills is striking, which may be explained by the testators' fear of imminent death.²²³ In any case, it is noteworthy that not a single testament has been preserved from the male members of the family. Their trace is lost in the preserved wills after 1348, and it is to be assumed that the abovementioned four died during the plague epidemic that struck the city in 1348.²²⁴

²²⁰ These are last wills preserved in volume 5 of the *Testamenta notariae* series, kept at the State Archive in Dubrovnik. They belong to the following testators: Lena de Mençe (HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 24), Rossa de Mençe (HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 24v), Nicholeta de Mençe (HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 43v-44), and Marija de Mençio (HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 79).

²²¹ In this sense, a particularly indicative last will is that of Lena, daughter of Nikola Menčetić, which consists of only five sentences, by which she left everything to his brother Maroje. HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 24.

²²² The Statute emphasized the woman's right to her dowry precisely because daughters could not inherit property, except for those who had no brothers. Dowry was the woman's property handed over to her husband and temporarily merged to other property in the household; in the next generation, it became part of the family property and the matrimonial heritage for the sons. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*, 82-83.

²²³ However, it is important to emphasize that, although these wills contain no data on the immovable property of the testators, they all, with the exception of Lena, daughter of Nikola de Mençe, left money and material goods for the equipment and/or construction of churches and monasteries in the city, above all the cathedral of St Mary and the church of St Blaise. On the other hand, given the immediate threat of sudden death, such a distribution of donation, directed primarily at ecclesiastical institutions and the closest (youngest) members of the family, should not come as a surprise. Cf. *Shona Kelly Wray, Communities and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 193-260; Gordan Ravančić, "Crna smrt 1348. godine u Dubrovniku – godina krize i solidarnosti?" [The Black Death of 1348 in Dubrovnik: A year of crisis and solidarity?], in: *Sačuvaj nas Bože rata, kuge, gladi i Velike trešnje. Dubrovnik kroz krize, skukobe i solidarnost*, ed. Gordan Ravančić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018), 26-27.

²²⁴ It is difficult to assume and/or conclude why the last wills of Dimo Domagna de Mençe, Lampre, son of Marin de Mençe, and Lampre, son of Petar de Mençe were not preserved. Although all four appear

As for Anđelo Ljutica's family, the Black Death had disastrous consequences: within only three days in March 1348, the epidemic ravaged his household. On March 5, the notarial records document Anđelo's last will, on the next day that of his daughter Srđa, wife of Nalješko from Cres, and on March 8, the notaries wrote down the last will of Anđelo's wife Draža.²²⁵ Of course, the most significant among these is Anđelo's last will, with a great number of legations.²²⁶ Thus, he left numerous donations for the construction of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, for the belfry of the cathedral of St Mary Major, for the renovation of all monasteries in the city, and he did not even forget a legation for the roof of St Stephen's church and the renovation of the church of St Peter Major, or the churches and monasteries on the islands of Lokrum and Daksa.²²⁷ He also stated that the land he had in front of Ser Nikola de Luchari, in case there was no offspring left, should be sold within a six-year period and that the money from the sale should go for the construction of St Blaise's church on Placa.²²⁸

Anđelo did not have any living and legitimate male offspring in Dubrovnik, so those dramatic days of March also marked the end of his legitimate male line in the city. He therefore left all his property – houses, vineyards, lands, and furniture – to his wife, Draža, for her lifetime, and only after her death his last will was to be effected. The house in which he lived, with all the equipment, he left to his grandson Nikola, an illegitimate son of his late son Radoš, but only when he came of age, at the age of 18, and provided he was “a good man.” In case he turned out “rude and living a bad life,” he was not to get anything, of which Anđelo's epitropes were to take care. In the event that the boy Nikola died earlier or lived a bad life,

in the preserved sources from the first half of the 14th century and apparently had offspring, their last wills or any detailed records of their immovable property in the city remain unknown. It is possible that after the division of land on the Pelješac peninsula in the 1330s, the larger part of the family linked their goods to their Pelješac estates. On their genealogical data, see: Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika VIII*, 39-40. On the other hand, the last will of Andrija, son of Marin de Menče, who became a priest in the early 14th century, has been preserved with the date of April 18, 1338, as many as ten years before his trace is lost in other preserved sources. HR-DADU, TN, vol. 4, f. 58v-59; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika VIII*, 37.

²²⁵ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 2v-4v, 4v-5v; 5v-7.

²²⁶ The last will of Anđelo Ljutica has more than once attracted scholarly attention and has been published in: Zlata Blažina-Tomić, *Kacamorti i kuga: Utemeljenje i razvoj zdravstvene službe u Dubrovniku* [The signori Cazamorti and the plague: The foundation and development of health services in Dubrovnik] (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007), 234-243; Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 164-165; for the Latin text, the facsimile, and the English translation, see: Zlata Blažina-Tomić, Vesna Blažina, *Expelling the Plague: The Health Office and the Implementation of Quarantine in Dubrovnik, 1377-1533* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 248-259; for the facsimile of the last will and the Croatian translation, see: Anamarija Bezek and Vinicije B. Lupis, *Crkva Gospe Luncijate u Gružu - Hortus marianus* [The church of St Mary Luncijata in Gruž: Hortus marianus] (Dubrovnik: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Dubrovniku, 2016), 17-25.

²²⁷ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 2v-4v; Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 165-166.

²²⁸ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 3.

the epitropes were to sell the things and the equipment, and give the house to the Franciscan monastery in permanent lease.²²⁹ Apparently, some such scenario indeed came true – either Nikola did not live to come of age or was leading “a bad life” – because Anđelo’s house is mentioned in the *Book of Treasury Leases* at the beginning of the 15th century at the location opposite St Barbara’s church, in the *sestiere* of St Peter, as a house given to the Franciscans in permanent lease. Early in the 15th century, it was rented by Rusko Kotrulj, likewise a member of the famous Antonine confraternity. The house is described as bordering on public streets in the east and south, with an adjacent cottage to the west, and with the houses of Vlahota Kranković, aka Krivavoda, to the north.²³⁰

Anđelo also left a monetary legation to the mother of his grandson, Jela. The house that belonged to his father (Radoš) was to be given to the monastery of St James in Višnjica *in perpetuum*, without the possibility of selling, pawning, or exchanging it, solely for collecting rent for the needs of the monastery. To his daughter Srđa, he left a vineyard in Župa, in Mandaljena, which she was to obtain after the death of her mother Draža, Anđelo’s wife. He also took part in the great building enterprise of the mid-century and left as many as 200 perpers *per lo lavorero de la ecclesia de Santo Blaxio la quale si lavora in Plaça*.²³¹

Finally, he left some money to build a church on Mount Krstac, on the way to Ombla, to honour the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Annunciation, which was to be built “as quickly as possible.” A priest of “his language” was to serve there, and celebrate two masses a week for the salvation of his soul.²³² In this way, Anđelo Ljutica founded the church of Our Lady of Luncijata (Annunciation) in Gruž, which had remained the favourite shrine of the local people.

Only three days after Anđelo’s last will, the registration of that of his wife Draža confirms that she likewise succumbed to the plague epidemic. Her last will also contains plenty of legations granted to various churches, monasteries, and hospitals, and Draža also left money to build the church of St Blaise. She also commissioned the construction of a very representative tomb with an altar for herself and her family in the Franciscan church, of the type that was usual for noble families.²³³ For her epitropes, she appointed only persons from the noble and elite

²²⁹ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 2v.

²³⁰ *Ruscho de Chotruul tien ad affito una cassa che fo de Angullo de Lutiça posta nel sistier de Sancto Piero, confina da levante e de pellago con la via comuna ed è per contra de Sancta Barbara, da ponente con altra cassetta la qual è driedo de questa cassa, confina da monte con le casse de Vlachotta Crancovich detto Crivaoda...* *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 186; cf. 194.

²³¹ HR-DADU, TN, vol 5, f. 2v.

²³² *Ibidem*; cf. Bezek and Lupis, *Crkva Gospe Luncijate*, 17.

²³³ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 5; Đurđica Petrović, “Sepulkralni spomenici u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” [Sepulchral monuments in medieval Dubrovnik], in: *Likovna kultura Dubrovnika 15. i 16. stoljeća*, ed. Igor Fisković (Zagreb: Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1991), 131.

commoner circles: Đivo de Theodosii, her confessor *don* Lovro, Marin, son of Nikola Menče, and Anđelo Maxi.²³⁴

We do not know whether Anđelo and Draža's daughter Srđa was also buried in this tomb. But we know that she also died during the plague epidemic, some days before her mother, immediately after her father Anđelo. Her last will concerned the real estate that she had received as her dowry – a house and a vineyard in Mandaljena, in Župa, which her husband Nalko could use while alive and unless he remarried, and after his death the properties were to be sold and the money given for pious purposes, to the Franciscans and the paupers. The will of Srđa Ljutica does not mention the names of any of her children, only her husband Nalko (Nalješko) from Cres. Therefore, it may seem at first that the Black Death completely erased the powerful commoner family of Ljutica from Dubrovnik, since we do not know what happened next with Anđelo's illegitimate grandson Nikola either. How did Anđelo's house end up in permanent lease with the Franciscans? Was Radoš's house really given *in perpetuum* to the monastery of St James in Višnjica? The sources are not very telling when it comes to these questions, but genealogical relations point to a new chapter of the story of this family. Srđa apparently died in Dubrovnik, in the whirlwind of the Black Death, but her offspring from her marriage with Nalješko founded another distinguished commoner kindred, which left a deep mark in Dubrovnik's history. Namely, according to the genealogy of the Nalješković (Nale) family, Nalješko and Srđa had five sons – Grgo, Anđelo, Maroje, Bogoje, and Vlahuša – and a daughter called Maruša, and all of them married except for the son Anđelo, although not into particularly prominent families. However, their son Grgo was a different case. Around 1325, he moved to Ston and married Paskvina, daughter of Marko Madierna. In this marriage, they got a son called Nalješko, and two daughters: Srđa and Maruša. Grgo's son Nalješko married Katarina from Ston, daughter of Dobroslav Mrcin, and they had four sons: Grgo, Dobrić,²³⁵ Maroje, and Stjepan, as well as two daughters: Paskvina and Petruša. Their son Grgo became a priest, but the other three sons – Dobrić, Maroje, and Stjepan wrote a key chapter in the Nalješković family history, as they – to use the word of their genealogist – returned to *Ragusa, sua patria antica*.²³⁶ Thus, the descendants of Anđelo Ljutica, now under the name of Nalješković, returned to Dubrovnik several decades after his death, apparently on the wings of a powerful immigration wave and Dubrovnik's economic up-rising, and left a permanent mark there as successful citizens, merchants, and famous writers. We can only speculate on whether the house and vineyard in Mandaljena, which Srđa Ljutica received from her father Anđelo in the mid-14th century and mentioned in her last will could have possibly been on the same spot

²³⁴ HR-DADU, TN, vol. 5, f. 5v.

²³⁵ Dobrić Nalješković had a house in the area of St Peter. *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 162.

²³⁶ HR-DADU, VGA, f. 27v.

as those that would two centuries later become a place of inspiration for the most famous Nalješković, Nikola, who described them with passion in his *Dialogue on the Sphere of the World* (*Dialogo sopra la sfera del mondo*, 1579).²³⁷

Examples of the Ljutica and Mençe families illustrated how greatly the plague epidemic of 1347/48 altered the demographic picture of the city. Many of Matijaš's descendants died, but this ramified and demographically powerful family managed to survive. Some of Matijaš's sons had no offspring, and some died in the plague of 1348. Prokulo's branch was probably extinguished with the 1348 epidemic, and Marin's in that of 1363. Their real estate can be traced further, so one of the houses of Matijaš's son Prokulo is mentioned in the *Book of Treasury Leases* as being situated south of the Sorgo hospital.²³⁸ This house was inherited by Prokulo's relatives Marin and Nikola, sons of Vlaho de Mençe, a grandson of Dmitar de Mençe, a significant person in the second half of the 13th century.²³⁹ The *domus seu casale* of the brothers Marin and Nikola de Mençe, descendants of Vlaho de Mençe, is mentioned in the early 15th century *supra territorio archiepiscopatum*.²⁴⁰ A house of Prokulo de Mençe is also mentioned south of the house of Martinuš de Mençe, and west of the public street.²⁴¹

In the second half of the 14th century, a house of Junije's son Matijaš²⁴² and his wife Marija is mentioned in Pustijerna – one third of which was bought by his brothers Marin²⁴³ and Grube,²⁴⁴ and another third by *Nicho filio Çure de Caboga*.²⁴⁵ The *Book of Treasury Leases* informs us that in 1384, the commune took a *quelli de Mençe in Pustierna la qual fo gettada apresso li muri della terra* in permanent

²³⁷ Nikola Nalješković, *Dialogo sopra la sfera del Mondo*, Venezia: appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1579, f. 4-5 (http://books.google.com/books?id=P9I-IUGLCRQC&hl=&source=gbs_api); Rafo Bogišić, "Nikola Nalješković", *Rad JAZU* 357 (1971): 32-34.

²³⁸ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 126.

²³⁹ In the 13th century, his lands are mentioned *apud portam de paludo*, i.e. next to the church of Our Saviour *de palude*. Not far from the cathedral, Vlaho, son of Dmitrij also possessed a mill "commissioned by his father", which he held together with Prokulo's brother Mençe, son of Matijaš; CD, VI, 3; 179.

²⁴⁰ <https://ducac.ipu.hr/project/wp-content/uploads/Saint-Blaise-SEXTERIUM.pdf>.

²⁴¹ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 152, 160.

²⁴² Junije's son Mato (1300-1356) was an emissary at the court of Naples in 1342 (CD, vol. XI, 7); in 1347, he was again in Naples, and in 1349 with the Ban of Bosnia. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 336; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47-48.

²⁴³ Marin (1327-1380), who bought a hose in Pustijerna together with him, was a wealthy creditor, ship owner, and merchant. HR-DADU, TN, vol. 7, f. 17.

²⁴⁴ Grube (1325-1371) even came to the Count's honour, namely in 1363, 1366/68, and 1370. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 49.

²⁴⁵ The guardians of the offspring of the wife of Mato Junije de Mençe, on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter of Mato and Marija, sold to Marin, son of Junije de Mençe, and his brother Grube a third of the real estate – *una domus lapidea posita in Pusterula in qua habitat Dea de Gondola*, a land plot (*terrenum*) *positum in Ragusio iuxta domum Martinussij de Mençe et Marce Nicole de Mençe*, a vineyard situated *extra civitatis extra muros (iuxta muros civitatis)*, and some vineyards further away from the city. HR-DADU, *Venditiones*, vol. 18, f. 164, 167v.

lease.²⁴⁶ In the 14th century, a grandson of Matijaš, Grube, son of Junije, had a house located *super terreno archiepiscopali prope puteos puncellarum*.²⁴⁷

Nikola's branch was also struck by the plague of 1348. However, Matijaš's grandsons were numerous enough to preserve his patrimony in the times after the plague. An especially energetic member of the family was a daughter-in-law by the name of Filipa (born Thoma), wife of Martinuš Mato (Matijaš) Menče, who after her husband's death in 1347 continued to run successful business. She had inherited her father's and her husband's property, and her son Toma ceded a large portion of inheritance to her.²⁴⁸ Filipa used the family ties, as well as the weakness of other families, to expand her trading activities and increase the real estate of the family in the most representative zone between St Blaise's church and the Rector's Palace. She owned several properties between the cathedral in the south and St Blaise's church in the north. Some of them she acquired by inheritance,²⁴⁹ others by debt collection.²⁵⁰ Filipa also owned a house that had "once belonged to Tripo Georgio."²⁵¹ We know that, in 1279, the Georgio family owned a house *in palude super platea comunis que est ante ecclesiam Sancti Saluatoris*,²⁵² and in 1300 and 1307 the sources mention a *fonticus* of Nikola Tripo Georgio facing the houses of Damjan Volcassio towards the west and the north, and the public square towards the south and the east.²⁵³ The *Book of Treasurers* mentions shops with warehouses (*stazon deli fondegi*), and Filipa Menče left their income for pious purposes; the warehouses (*li fondegi*) were situated *in lo sistier de sancta Maria apreso Sancto Biasio in Piazza*, surrounded on all sides by public streets, and *con le stazon che fonode Damian de Volcasso* from the south.²⁵⁴ Some of these properties Filipa gave in permanent lease for pious purposes to the treasurers of St Mary's.²⁵⁵ Because of

²⁴⁶ Zelić, *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 118.

²⁴⁷ HR-DADU, ser. 31, *Venditiones*, vol. I, f. 49v.

²⁴⁸ Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 333. On the properties of Filipa de Menče, see also: Zelić, *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 138, 148, 205, 214, 215.

²⁴⁹ Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena*, 53-59; Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 47-49.

²⁵⁰ Filipa bought a house from Junije Georgio on account of his debt, and she also came into possession of 3/4 of his *domus fontegorum*, previously purchased by the sons of Tripo Bucchia, and the sons-in-law of Lovrica Volcassio, likewise Filipa's debtors. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena*, 54.

²⁵¹ Benyovsky Latin, Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio," 53.

²⁵² MHR I, doc. 119, p. 31.

²⁵³ Benyovsky Latin, Ledić, 45.

²⁵⁴ Zelić, *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, 214-215. It was Petar, son of Vlaho Menče, grandson of Pasko Volcassio, who did business with Filipa Menče. Cf. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 318.

²⁵⁵ The commune leased a house that was "formerly of Filipa Menče" from the treasury in order to give it to Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić in 1399. The house bordered with a house of Marin Bona to the east and with a house of Miho Resti to the south; Zelić, *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*, CXVII; namely, several houses in the city were given to Duke Hrvoje as a rewards for ceding the Littoral. Cf. Nada Grujić, Danko Zelić, "Palača vojvode Sandalja Hranića u Dubrovniku" [The palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 48 (2010): 86.

their debts, the Bucchia brothers sold or ceded the right to possess parts of their houses near the *new loggia*.²⁵⁶

Conclusion

In the period from the mid-13th to the mid 14th century, the area of Dubrovnik's suburbs underwent a complete transformation: the spatially and functionally different suburbs – new and old – were gradually transformed and eventually unified, thus creating a new city centre. This long and complex process ran parallel with the construction of the new city walls (at different stages), and shifting the main communications towards the north. Converting an extraurban area into an urban one included, along with laying out new streets, the partition of large blocks into land particles for the construction of houses, which resulted in a changed relationship between the centre and the periphery, and a greater residential mobility of the inhabitants. A city that in the mid-13th century encompassed the areas of Kaštel and Pustijerna with their suburbs, and the fortified *castrum* around the cathedral and the seat of the Count, now more than doubled its size, largely as result of a sudden increase in population. The intense demographic development of Dubrovnik in the 13th century led to an increased demand for housing and a rise in land value. But the formation of Dubrovnik's suburbs in the late 13th century was not only a consequence of the population increase: it was also an open call for new (desirable) settlers. Due to the rapid increase in the population size and the urban area, there was also an increased need for a legal framework, as well as administering private and municipal real estate.

Wealthy landowners from the wider Dubrovnik area also came to the city – this local *inurbamento* resulted partly from the lack of safety outside the city and partly from the wish to have better business opportunities and status. Some of the native noble families used these changes and inhabited the areas of former gardens

²⁵⁶ Thus, Luka, son of Tripun, and his brother Đivo had to sell parts of their houses because of their debts: one in the *sestiere* of St Blaise (!), which bordered with the communal square next to the new loggia in the east, a public street and the *fonticus* that formerly belonged to Desica Volcassio to the west, with the communal square in the north, and with the *fontici* formerly owned by Junije Volcassio to the south. HR-DADU, *Venditiones Cancellariae*, ser. 31, vol. 1, 162-162v; Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena*, 55. Another house parts of which the Bucchia family had to sell was situated in the same *sestiere*; it bordered with a house of Nikola de Bucchia to the east, a communal street to the west, a *casale* of Filipa Mençe to the north, and a public street to the south. A house parts of which they had to sell in the *sestiere* of St Mary (!) bordered with a public street to the east, a house of Moreti de Luchari to the west, a communal street to the north, and a property of Mato, son of Nikola de Mençe (!) to the south. Nevertheless, we know that a daughter of Filipa and Martinuš, Margarita (b. ca. 1330) was married to Petar (ca. 1315-1357), son of Nikola Bucchia (Buća). The Bucchia family was the only one that acquired the noble status in the 14th century, after the closure of the Council in 1332, namely in 1336, owing to their merits linked to the territorial expansion to Ston and Pelješac. *Libri reformationum*, I, 114, 220; III, 62-63, 198; HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. 31, ff 25; 49; Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat*, 79-80, 92, 93, 95; Jovanka Mijušković, "Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva u srednjem veku" [Acquiring citizenship in medieval Dubrovnik], *Glas SANU* 246 (1961), no. 9: 104-105; Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 338.

in the suburbs, using the situation to strengthen their position in society and space. But the artisans of different professions settled here as well, some of them with their own capital, and many did extremely well in the new environment. Better economic opportunities and the legal and political stability of the city attracted newcomers from the Dubrovnik district as well as from remote areas. The city thus became an economic centre to which a larger area gravitated, not only the wider territory of Dubrovnik.

The period in the focus of this analysis was a time of Venetian rule over the city (1205-1358), but also of the rise of the local urban elite. It was the time when Dubrovnik's nobility consolidated itself as the ruling group in the city. The time we have ended with, the mid-14th century, was marked by tectonic events, primarily the Black Death in 1348 and a series of outbreaks of new illnesses during the 14th century. There were changes in the structure of individual families, and soon after the devastating epidemics, the city started to receive an increasing number of newcomers in order to compensate for demographic losses and to exploit the economic opportunities that were rapidly developing owing to the mining wealth in the hinterland. This was a moment when a startling economic upheaval began, and a new phase of urban development. It was related to the end of the Venetian rule, when Dubrovnik, as part of the lands of the Hungarian crown, started its path towards political autonomy.

In this temporal and spatial framework, through spatial design and social structuring, with the great turning point marked by the Black Death, we have followed three generations of neighbours from two different social layers: the Menče and Ljutica families (i.e. previously Subb and later on Nalješćković), who owned land in Dubrovnik's *burgus*, an area that was to become the new city centre. These families served as illustrative examples in considering the extent to which spatial accommodation and spatial mobility measures reflected social mobility and stratification. It turned out also in this case, as in the case of Dubrovnik's *habitor* Džore Gostinja, examined by Zdenka Janeković Römer, that the social reality of the late 13th and the early 14th century did not imply a closure of the society, quite the contrary.²⁵⁷ Members of one of the oldest noble families, the Menče, lived side by side with the *zupparius* Stančo Subb, his descendants, the Ljutica, and later the famous commoner family of Nalješćković. We do not know where Stančo originally came from and whether he was born with the citizen's rights or formally applied for them, but in any case, he lived, worked, and expanded his possessions while climbing on the social ladder. His son-in-law Radoš did the same, and especially his grandson, Anđelo. Their rise coincided with a key moment in Dubrovnik's social stratification – the *serrata* of the Major Council in

²⁵⁷ On Dubrovnik's *habitor* Džore Gostinje, a successful seaman, merchant, and landsowner originating from the island of Rab, see: Janeković Römer, "Georgius Scambe de Gostigna", 9-23.

1332. The Mençe entered this noble “exclusivist club” while the Ljutica remained outside, along with some other reputable and successful entrepreneurs. From all that we learned about Anđelo Ljutica, for example, there is no doubt that it was a very prominent member of Dubrovnik’s urban community in the first half of the 14th century, who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of some of the most prestigious nobles at the time, commissioned luxurious houses and representative tombs that even many nobles could not afford, left one of the most abundant legations for the construction of the church dedicated to the patron saint of Dubrovnik, and, in addition, founded the votive church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Annunciation in Ombla, which still exists and has the status of cultural heritage. However, despite all this, Anđelo did not get the chance to sit behind the closed doors of Dubrovnik’s City Hall, and neither did his more famous descendants, the Nalješковиć.

In the neighbourhood of St Barbara, or later in Placa, the Ljutica, the Menčetić, the Proculo, the Gostinja, and many others communicated, traded, sat together in front of their houses *ad bibendam* as Radoš Ljutica and Petar Proculo did, and shared their business risks, successes, and failures, but when the bell rang, only the sons of in Matijaš Mençe entered the hall of the Major Council, not the son of Radoš Ljutica, Anđelo. Despite their fellowship, they were divided by their origins, the “age” of their kindreds and families, their demographic strength, the capital accumulated for many generations, and their social position of authority. The noble circle to which the Menčetić belonged had been defined decades before the formal closure of the Council in 1332,²⁵⁸ apparently at the time when Stančo Subb, father-in-law of Anđelo Ljutica, was still an artisan, even though he moved among the most respectable and entrepreneurial men in the city. But even if the “age” or the political activity of these two families differed significantly, in the first half of the 14th century all these elements were not defining enough to create a strong boundary between the Menčetić and the Ljutica. They became stronger later on, with the increasingly exclusivist barriers between different social layers, but in the observed period these boundaries were still just as fluid and open for economic and social ascent (with the exception of political power) as the city itself and its urban society.

Spatial analysis has shown that several generations of the Menčetić, Subb, and Ljutica families lived side by side and did business with each other. At the same time when one family acquired exclusive political power, the other was successfully building its own models of ascent and affirmation, one might say without even needing to partake in power. We can agree with the conclusion of Zdenka Janeković Römer that people from the latter group, including our Ljutica family, “formed a separate, politically excluded elite that was defined professionally and

²⁵⁸ Janeković Römer, “Zatvaranje dubrovačkog plemstva”, 90-93.

socially, and established itself in entrepreneurship, confraternities and other extrapolitical frameworks.”²⁵⁹

The Black Death did not take the same toll on both families or left the same devastating trail in them. As for the Ljutica, the consequences were disastrous. The March of 1348 was crucial for the further destiny of this family, as within only a few days the lives of its three most important persons were extinguished – Anđelo, his wife Draža, and their daughter Srđa. Nevertheless, through Srđa’s marriage with an entrepreneurial newcomer from the island of Cres, Nalko, the Ljutica family continued its course in history, although only through the female line and no longer under the same family name, but another, far more memorable one: Nale / Nalješković.

In this paper, we have focused on several generations of this wealthy commoner family, from the late 13th to the mid-14th century, from tailor Stančo to his daughter Srđa, grandson Anđelo, great-granddaughter Srđa and the Nalješković, a family that in a way, although not in the direct line of male offspring, continued to live for many centuries, leaving a trace of continuity both in the city area and in the Arcadian space of Mandaljena in Župa. On the other hand, the Menčetić family managed to overcome the crisis of the mid-14th century with their demographic power, and here we followed only one of their branches, which lived in the *burgus* at the turn of the 14th century.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 111.

²⁶⁰ Besides Matijaš, there were his numerous relatives – the branch of the famous Dmitar de Menče, that of Ivan “Deodata” or the Mengače branch, but in real estate possessions Matijaš was the most prominent. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika III*, 62.

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Urbana elita i prostor Dubrovnika od kraja 13. stoljeća do Crne smrti: primjeri posjeda obitelji Mence i Ljutica u dubrovačkom burgusu – tri generacije susjeda iz dva staleža

Sažetak

U radu se prati prostorni razmještaj dubrovačke gradske elite na primjerima obitelji Menče i Ljutica u razdoblju od uvođenja notarskih spisa (posljednjih desetljeća 13. stoljeća) do sredine 14. stoljeća (vremena Crne smrti). Kombiniranom metodom socijalne topografije i prozopografije autori su nastojali pratiti međuodnos društvenog i posjedovnog statusa ovih obitelji, te raščlaniti pitanje društvene i prostorne povezanosti dviju obitelji, koje su obje po svom statusu početkom 14. stoljeća bile dijelom elitnog gradskog sloja, s ključnom razlikom po kojoj je jedna bila plemićka, a druga pučka. Autori su nastojali naglasiti povezanost društva i prostora u srednjovjekovnom gradu. U radu su ubicirali nekretnine koje su posjedovali ili kojima su se koristili pripadnici nekoliko generacija spomenutih obitelji. Analizirano je njihovo grupiranje u određenim zonama dubrovačkoga predgrađa (kasnije središta grada) koje su ovisile o obiteljskim i profesionalnim vezama, ali i općem razvoju toga dijela grada. To je razdoblje vrlo dinamično u gospodarskom, demografskom, društvenom ali i urbanističkom smislu. Grad se intezivno razvijao i prostorno širio prema sjeveru, gdje su se oblikovale nove poslovno-stambene zone te političko, administrativno i gospodarsko središte grada. Epidemijom kuge 1348. godine te dolaskom Dubrovnika pod vlast ugarske krune deset godina kasnije završava jedna faza društveno-prostornog razvoja grada, u kojoj su obitelji Menče i Ljutica bile poslovno i obiteljski aktivne.

Ključne riječi: Dubrovnik, 13. stoljeće, 14. stoljeće, socijalna topografija, gradska elita, Menče, Ljutica

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