

Original paper
UDC 711.4(497.5 Dubrovnik)“12/13“
94(497.5 Dubrovnik)“12/13“
929.52 Volcassio, family

THE ESTATE OF THE VOLCASSIO FAMILY IN MEDIEVAL DUBROVNIK

IRENA BENYOVSKY LATIN AND STIPE LEDIĆ

ABSTRACT: The article traces the history of the Volcassio family estate in medieval Dubrovnik. This noble family was among the greatest urban property owners, whose members participated actively in the political and economic activities of the city. The estates of *Volcassio Johannis* (Vukas Ivanić) and his sons Pasqua and Damianus Volcassio have been identified, along with those of other family members, all mainly located in the suburb south of the *Plaça* (later centre of the town), which include the plots of land used for housing or rent. By grounding the research on a wealth of original documents entered into the computer database, the authors analyse the positioning and expansion of the Volcassio family estates with regard to legal regulation, social conditions and urban communal development which peaked in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Keywords: Volcassio (Vukasović) family, medieval Dubrovnik, properties, urbanism

Introduction

The thirteenth century was a period of significant political, social and economic changes in the history of Dubrovnik, as well as of the development

Irena Benyovsky Latin, research advisor at the Croatian Institute of History, Opatička 10, 10000 Zagreb, irenabenyovsky@yahoo.com

Stipe Ledić, assistant at the Catholic University of Croatia in Zagreb, Ilica 242, 10000 Zagreb, stipe.ledic@unicath.hr

This article has already been published in Croatian under the following title: »Posjed obitelji Volcassio u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku.« *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU* 51/1 (2013): pp. 17-60. Translated by Tatjana Buklijaš and Irena Benyovsky Latin.

of institutions and legal system. It also marked the beginning of the long-lasting Venetian rule in Dubrovnik (1205-1358), when the city transformed into an important port and economic centre of the South Adriatic, as its trade market expanded into the hinterland.¹ This period saw a rapid growth of urban population, which in turn resulted in an increased need for housing development and the expansion of public spaces.² Ragusan suburbs were expanded towards the north (suburb outside the old city walls and south of the later *Plaça*), regulated, connected and finally consolidated into an urban zone encircled by defensive walls at the turn of the fourteenth century. The building of the city walls in the thirteenth century may be accounted by the government's plan to incorporate the new extramural suburbs into the urban space, but also by a growing need for security. Alongside the process of urban planning, we may study the dynamic changes in the formation of private real estates, related to social and family structures within an increasingly formalized legal framework.

The thirteenth century was furthermore marked by some negative circumstances, such as the growing internal instability,³ threats from the

¹ In this article we will not provide a detailed analysis of the political circumstances of this period. For more details, see: Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, I. Zagreb: NZMh, 1980: pp. 62-65; Josip Lučić, »Političke i kulturne prilike u Dubrovniku na prijelazu 12. u 13. stoljeću«. *Analecta Croatica Christiana* 21 (1985): pp. 7-28; Robin Harris, *Dubrovnik. A History*, London: SAQI, 2006: pp. 46-55; Nenad Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine. Dubrovački vlasteoski klanovi*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2009. For more extensive literature about the relations between Venice and Dubrovnik, see: Šime Ljubić, »O odnošajih medju republikom Mletačkom i Dubrovačkom: od početka XVI. stoljeća do njihove propasti«. *Rad JAZU* 53 (1880): pp. 94-185; Lovorka Čoralić, »Dubrovčani u Veneciji od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 32 (1994): pp. 15-57; Bariša Krekić, »Dubrovnik and Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century: A Short Survey«, in: Bariša Krekić, *Unequal Rivals*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007: pp. 9-46; Miljenko Foretić, »Venecija u zrcalu starog Dubrovnika«, in: idem, *Dubrovnik u povijesnim i kulturnim mijenama: zbornik odabranih radova*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 2007: pp. 321-328; Lovro Kunčević, »Dubrovačka slika Venecije i venecijanska slika Dubrovnika u ranom novom vijekuk«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 50 (2012): pp. 9-37.

² Extramural suburbs north of the city had already been settled in the precommunal period (west around the Church of All Saints, and east around the Lion's Gate), as new elements of urban genesis. See also Nada Grujić, »Dubrovnik-Pustijerna, Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 10 (1986): pp. 7-39. It is assumed that by the end of the twelfth century the central space of the *burgus* had already become suitable for building, which gave way to the first spatial organization.

³ See in: N. Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine*: passim.

hinterland,⁴ poor conditions leading to famine in 1272,⁵ and an epidemic accompanied by famine in 1292-1294, the outcome of which was high mortality, especially among the commoners.⁶ Finally, the fire of 16 August 1296 destroyed much of the *burgus*.⁷ This destruction, however, cleared the space for a new, more contemporary urban regulation—a new layout of streets and street blocks. City quarters were better connected, while the streets in the suburbs south and north of the *Plaça* were regulated. It is possible that the conflagration destroyed many archival documents which could help confirm the boundaries of the former estates and houses. The early-modern city chronicler J. Resti holds this fire responsible for a large number of disputes that followed, and as a consequence, new rules about the legal descriptions of property boundaries had to be set. Apparently, many inhabitants of Dubrovnik moved to Apulia or outside the town in this period, while others took part in the city's reconstruction.⁸

Despite vast research, the state of urban development of thirteenth-century Dubrovnik remains a much-disputed topic among historians, archaeologists and art historians. The state of real property ownership has been understudied to date—that is, the distribution of individually and institutionally-owned real estate of residential or commercial character within the urban space. The problems in reconstructing the medieval space of Dubrovnik mainly lie in the

⁴ Despite Venetian suzerainty, conflicts with Serbian rulers over territorial and metropolitan issues continued through the thirteenth century. The reign of Stefan Uroš I (1243-1276) was especially precarious, as he expanded the territory under his rule southwards. In a war against Uroš in 1275, the Serbian army plundered the suburban properties, but failed to seize the city itself. Uroš was succeeded by his son Stefan Dragutin (1276-1282), whose reign was marked by peaceful relations with Dubrovnik and lively property transactions. Stefan Dragutin was deposed by his son Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321), who fought a war against Dubrovnik over territorial issues. See: Lukša Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*. Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1955: p. 18; V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, I: pp. 88-89; R. Harris, *Dubrovnik*: pp. 50-51.

⁵ *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: p. 51; *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*: p. 222; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika, I. Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011: p. 211.

⁶ See also *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*: p. 35 (Anonym), p. 223 (Ragnina).

⁷ According to the accounts, the entire suburb north of the church of St Mary was destroyed, as well as a large part of the old town, mostly the western area, i.e. the archbishopric land that came to be known as *Garište*. See: Seraphinus Maria Cerva, *Sacra Metropolis Ragusina, sive Ragusinae provinciae pontificum series variis ecclesiarum monumentis atque historicis, chronologicis, criticis commentariis illustrata*, sign. 36-IV-14, f. 6085 (manuscript in the library of the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik); *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: pp. 101-102.

⁸ *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: pp. 101-102.

lack of evidence due to the massive destructions of the later centuries, especially the great earthquake of 1667 and the resulting fire, which destroyed most of the city.⁹ Some structures prior to the seventeenth-century earthquake can be traced in older pictorial presentations and maps,¹⁰ such as the panoramic vedutas from the seventeenth century. However, these representations cannot shed much-needed light on the urban organisation in the thirteenth century.¹¹

The data on real estate, their owners and transactions, obtained from Dubrovnik's rich notary records,¹² statute provisions of 1272 and 1296 regulating

⁹ On the aftermath of the city fire, see Vladimir Marković, »Kuća i prostor grada u Dubrovniku nakon potresa 1667. godine«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 14 (1990): pp. 137-149. Before the Great Earthquake of 1667, earthquakes were also recorded in 1520, in which "all houses inside the walls were damaged", and in 1639, after which the houses were damaged again and had to be demolished, while the merlons were removed from the city walls; N. Grujić, »Dubrovnik - Pustijerna«: p. 34, notes 23 and 25. Some of the earlier urban fabric prior to the thirteenth century may have also been damaged by the fire in 1296. The city houses (mostly made of wood) were also destroyed by later fires in the fourteenth century, such as one in 1370. It was only thereafter that stone houses began to be built. See *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272 / Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno MCCLXXII*, ed. Nella Lonza. Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2012: Book VIII, ch. 57. On fire, see also Bariša Krekić, »Dubrovnik's struggle against fires (13th-15th centuries)«, in: idem, *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600*. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS581]. Aldershot-Brookfield: Variorum, 1997: VI, 1-24; *Liber viridis*, ed. Branislav Nedeljković. [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, III.23]. Beograd: SANU, 1984: pp. 84-85, c. 118 (*De domibus lignaminis destruendis et de novo non faciendis in Ragusio*).

¹⁰ For example, a sixteenth-century map of the city has been found in the Turin archives. Although it was not completed, the map shows sketched blocks and streets in the *burgus*. Ilario Principe, »Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz XVI.- XVII. st.«. *Dubrovnik N.S.* 2/1 (1991): pp. 191-202.

¹¹ Vedrana Gjukic-Bender, »Prikazi Dubrovnika u slikarstvu«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 38 (1999-2000): p. 232; Cvito Fisković, »Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca u Splitu«. *Zbornik za likovne umjetnosti Matice srpske* 3 (1967): pp. 173-195. A veduta by an unknown artist currently housed in the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik, and another in the Museum of the Rector's Palace (also by an unknown artist), both dating from the seventeenth century, are often used for the analysis of the urban setting.

¹² For the period before 1280s, we used single documents (charters), mostly published in *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. III-VI, ed. Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1905-1908 (hereafter cited as: *CD*). The oldest surviving such documents date from 1022. Notary books are preserved from 1278 onwards. See *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. I, ed. Gregor Čremošnik. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. I]. Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU, 1951 (hereafter cited as: *MHR*, I); *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. II, ed. Josip Lučić. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. II]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1984 (hereafter cited as: *MHR*, II); *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. III, ed. Josip Lučić. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. III]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1988 (hereafter cited as: *MHR*, III); *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. IV, ed. Josip Lučić. [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. IV]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1993 (hereafter cited as: *MHR*, IV). No documents for the period between 1286 and 1295 survive, which partially hinders a continuous follow-up of real estate ownership. Much could have changed in the meantime due to lively real estate transactions.

the streets in the *burgus*,¹³ and the registers of rents of communal property kept from the thirteenth century on,¹⁴ have been compiled and entered into a computer database for further analysis.¹⁵ In addition, early modern accounts were used as comparative material, although they do not always provide reliable information.

By studying the distribution of social groups within the urban space and complex layering of ownership and tenancy, we aim to grasp the process of settlement, urbanization and urban planning as well as to reconstruct the family and social relations of the urban population¹⁶ by tracing the real estate owned by the Volcassio family, one of the most powerful Ragusan families in the thirteenth century. The bulk of the real estate owned by this family—plots under lease, commercial and residential buildings—were situated in the so-called *burgus*.¹⁷ The latter mainly referred to a part of the suburb called the *burgus* of St Blaise¹⁸ that encompassed the space south of the street *Između*

¹³ *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41; Book VIII, ch. 57.

¹⁴ *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*. *Libri domorum et terrenorum communis Ragusii deliberatis ad afflictum (saec. XIII-XVIII)*, vol. I, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007.

¹⁵ Data were entered according to the following scheme: 1. First recorded owner/user of the section or the building; 2. Type of transaction (sale, purchase, gift, lease); 3. Second recorded owner/user of the section or the building (following the transaction); 4. Recorded value of the property; 5. Type of property (house, land, plot, shop); 6. Location (*civitas*, *burgus*); 7. Position determined by neighbours; 8. Size (length and width). On the method see Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009: pp. 104-168. Generally about methods see also: David Herlihy, »Mapping Households in Medieval Italy«, in: idem, *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy*. London: Variorum, 1980: XI, pp. 54-89; Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, »Property Patterns, Buildings and the Social Structure of Urban Society«, in: *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European Towns*, ed. Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Atle Ersland. Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996; Daniel Lord Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies. Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000; Vanessa Harding, »Space, Property and Propriety in Urban England«. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): pp. 549-569.

¹⁶ Cf. Irena Benyovsky, Mladen Andreis and Ana Plosnić, »Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću«. *Povijesni prilozi* 25 (2003): pp. 25, 37-92; Mladen Andreis, Irena Benyovsky Latin and Ana Plosnić Škarić, »Socijalna topografija Trogira u 14. stoljeću«. *Povijesni prilozi* 33 (2007): pp. 103-195.

¹⁷ In the notarial documents this name stood for the entire area outside the old town walls, including the spaces of future sexteria of St Blaise, St Mary and St Nicholas (*Prijeko*).

¹⁸ It seems that the name of the *burgus* of St Blaise did not always refer to the same space. Sometimes it encompassed the area around the old church of St Blaise, later *Garište* (in Croatian: the area demolished by fire, west of Široka Street), and sometimes most of the suburb south of *Campus* (later *Plača*).

polača and north of the old town walls.¹⁹ This essay mostly explores the second half of the thirteenth century, a period of intense transformation and organization of this suburb. However, most of the area north of the old town walls had been occupied as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries: large blocks of land of non-urban type (as evidenced by the term *territoria*) were formed, the structure of which reflected the need for security and the structure of owner families.²⁰ Blind alleys led into these large enclosed building complexes surrounded by private walls. In addition to the owner's fortified residential building, there were also outbuildings (warehouses, furnaces, water wells)²¹ and wooden cottages under lease.²² The population growth in the thirteenth century resulted in an increased demand for housing space and the expansion of the old town boundaries as documented by the contemporary sources and the later Ragusan chronicles.²³ Thus by the middle of the thirteenth century, the suburb came to be an attractive residential location for some of the wealthiest noble and citizen families. It provided the necessary space and economic opportunities (due to the proximity to the political and administrative centre as well as the harbour). Some noble families in the suburb were among the earliest settlers, as opposed to the newcomers. As the town expanded northwards and new town walls were built, the estates of the urban elite tended to change in character. During the second half of the thirteenth century, as confirmed by the statute regulations of 1272 and 1296, more and more public streets were introduced into the space of the *burgus*.²⁴ This space was organized in an orthogonal network with designated areas for residential construction.²⁵

¹⁹ Ivana Lazarević, »Granice dubrovačkih seksterija«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 50 (2012): pp. 63-74.

²⁰ Marija Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike*. Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1980: p. 20.

²¹ Marija Planić-Lončarić, »Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 12-13 (1988-1989): p. 70.

²² The oldest blocks, developed before the planned interventions, were inhomogeneous and irregular complexes that are today hardly recognizable in the town plan. They did however influence the development of the later regularly arranged blocks. See M. Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke Republike*: p. 18.

²³ For example, chronicler Ragnina mentions 1277 as the year when many immigrants from Bosnia, wealthy and with their families, arrived in Dubrovnik (this is also the year when the archival books commenced!). According to him, suburban gardens began to be used for residential housing (*Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*: p. 222).

²⁴ L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*: passim.

²⁵ *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, I: p. 24.

The Volcassio Family

One of the families newly settled in the *burgus* was the Volcassio (*Vukasović*) family. According to the chroniclers, either the progenitor *Volcasio Johannis* (born around 1205) or his immediate ancestor, arrived from Bosnia.²⁶ From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, Volcasio held a number of important offices in Dubrovnik: judge in 1247, member of the Major Council from 1252, negotiator in the treaty with Venice, member of the Minor Council in the negotiations with the Bulgarian emperor in 1253, and so on.²⁷ His sons, Pasqua (mentioned in the sources between 1266 and 1293) and Damianus (1245-c.1295), were highly successful and wealthy cloth and gold merchants. Many documents refer to the brothers Damianus and Pasqua in relation to the collection of debts, the money being lent by either them or their father, which speaks of their powerful financial position in Dubrovnik.²⁸ They owned real estate outside the town, too: in 1282 Damianus purchased vineyards in Šumet (*Junchetum*) from Johannes Balislava (*de Baysclave*) and thus enlarged his neighbouring estate.²⁹ Pasqua Volcassio had a house in Venice (*in confinio sancti Mathei de Riuoalto*).³⁰ Most of their real estate was, however, situated in the Dubrovnik suburb south of the *Plaça*. The size and the location of their patrimony acquired them legitimacy, as well as a status of financial and social power provided them with economic and social influence. At the same time, the city itself profited in terms of property stability, which proved of general benefit to the development of the urban community as a whole. Rural property notwithstanding, it was the urban real estate that provided a significant source of income: their lease became more profitable after the street regulation, when the rental value of the plots along communication routes increased. In the 1280s, real estate transactions involving the property owned by the Volcassio brothers increased significantly,

²⁶ Milorad Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*. Dubrovnik: Štamparija Jadran, 1935: p. 34; Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, vol. I. Beograd: SANU, 1960: p. 438; N. Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine*: p. 59; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. III, *Vlasteoski rodovi (M-Z)*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: p. 338. We are grateful to Nenad Vekarić for his assistance during the preparation of this essay.

²⁷ M. Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*: p. 94; I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 438; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, III: p. 338.

²⁸ *MHR*, III: no. 110, p. 45; no. 567, p. 231; no. 591, p. 234; no. 768, p. 264; no. 971, pp. 313-315.

²⁹ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 439.

³⁰ *MHR*, II: no. 927, p. 218.

and this dynamics clearly indicates planned investment in real estate in the *burgus*.

The formation of large blocks in the city suburbs was influenced by the traditional property relations upheld by the noble families of Dubrovnik. Property was linked to the family structure—union of fathers and sons, and, even more frequently, to the horizontal union of brothers (*fraterna*).³¹ Pasqua and Damianus, sons of *Volcasio Johannis*, inherited their father's estate. It is possible that in his last will Volcasio prescribed a brotherly union, and protected the rights of the younger son, Damianus, while at the same time relinquishing his authority to the older son Pasqua. By joining the property and by sharing the management, the brotherly union was intended to preserve the family property (although the property itself was not jointly owned).³² Documents describing real estate transactions assign the lead role to the elder Volcassio, Pasqua: younger brothers were frequently expected to obey their older siblings even as adults.³³ As long as Damianus was under age, the brotherly union probably functioned under the shared roof. Later, and especially after the brothers had entered their respective marriages, men were in the first place brought together by their shared estates and business affairs rather than communal living. Pasqua, like Damianus at a later stage, conducted real estate transactions to advance his own as well as shared interests.³⁴

Preserved thirteenth-century documents of the real estate transactions show that the Volcassio family owned multiple land plots and houses in the *burgus*. The documents confirming the purchase of six houses between 1279 and 1283, as well as two plots have survived to the present day. There were also two exchanges of property. While the Volcassio brothers mainly acted as lessors, they also rented at least two plots from the commune and one-quarter of a wooden cottage on the land owned by another private person. Between 1295

³¹ Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad, Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku and Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1994: pp. 25-40.

³² *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book IV, ch. 52-54; Z. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*: pp. 33-40.

³³ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 17. Divided property among brothers first appeared in Dubrovnik around the turn of the fourteenth century: Z. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*: pp. 25-40; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, I: p. 129. It was possible only after all the brothers had come of age (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book IV, ch. 51).

³⁴ Notarial documents identify real estate as the property of Pasqua and Damianus, or the sons of Volcasio, or of only one of the brothers (in most cases, Pasqua's).

and 1300 no new purchases of real estate were recorded. Apart from being mentioned in the real estate transaction records, the Volcassio property may be traced in wills (1282, 1295); in legal disputes; as sites witnessing certain events in *the burgus*; as estates adjoining another property; and as estates on which wooden cottages were rented to the town residents. The real estate of the Volcassio family in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century is mentioned in nearly 50 documents. These sources indicate not only the family's substantial wealth, but also reveal the possible emergence of some parts of the *burgus* in the thirteenth century and an interface between the public and private space. Some of the property owned by the brothers (separately or jointly) was primarily intended for lease. Wooden houses (*domus de lignamine*) and wooden cottages (*cappanae*) were for the most part owned by commoners.

The *casata*, or a type of an extended noble family, played an important social role in property development.³⁵ Politically affiliated *casate* came together into informal clans.³⁶ According to Nenad Vekarić, around 1250 the Volcassio family had one *casata* (*Volcassio Johannis* and his sons), while around 1300 there were two *casate* (Pasqua and Damianus with their families). As elder son, Pasqua Volcassio continued his father's *casata* while his brother Damianus, after coming of age and getting married, established a new one. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the relations created through the marriages of Pasqua and Damianus as well as those of their children (with the families Bubagna, Mençe, Luccari) place them in Juda's, that is, Gondula's clan.³⁷ The family's demographic decline around 1350 reduced the Volcassio to only one *casata* (Lovriča Volcassio), whose members joined the like-minded members of the new Goçe clan. The latter descended from the Gondula clan but subsequently distanced in order to side with the opposing Bobalio clan.³⁸ Members of the Lovriča Volcassio *casata* married the members of the Goçe and Bobalio clans (Goçe and Sorgo).³⁹ The last male issue of the Volcassio family died in 1370.

³⁵ Members of a *casata* were bound by family relations but also and more importantly by a sense of political affiliation and continuity. They did not necessarily live under the same roof but they functioned as a family clan (N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, I: p. 129).

³⁶ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, I: pp. 135, 159.

³⁷ Nevertheless, in seven cases they married women of unknown clan affiliation (N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, I: p. 177).

³⁸ Goçe's clan brought together politically 'more moderate' *casate* that did not directly descend from the group around the deposed Damianus Juda, and thus were less connected to these events (N. Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine*: p. 105).

³⁹ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, I: p. 184.

Although further research is required, the locations of the Volcassio estates and their neighbours, mostly in the east part of the *burgus*, suggest a link between the clan division and the distribution of noble real estate within the urban space.

We have also traced, if partially, the real estate of the Volcassio family in Dubrovnik in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ Yet in the fourteenth century a new set of circumstances greatly influenced the property and urban relations in the town. Following the regulation of public streets and the erection of town walls, former suburbs came to be incorporated into the medieval town. The former *burgus* south of the *Plaça* further increased in value, because it became the central town zone owned mainly by the nobility. After the fire of 1296 and a new urban regulation, residential mobility of diverse population categories and construction on the hitherto vacant plots intensified. Underlying these changes were demographic factors (such as the plague epidemics and a population influx), political events around the mid-century, economic rise or decline of some noble families, new fires etc.

Pasqua Volcassio had two sons, Junius (c. 1240-c. 1292) and Marinus (*c. 1270), and daughters Nicoleta (who married Blasius, son of Dimitrius Mençe) and Franca (who married Junius, son of Mathias Mençe). Junius inherited most of Pasqua's real estate,⁴¹ and with his first wife Helena he had a son, Marinus (*c. 1305), and daughter Gaia (c. 1310-c. 1338), who married Mathias, son of Mençe Mençe.⁴² In his later marriage to a woman from the Bubagna lineage, Junius had sons Mathias and Lovriča,⁴³ as well as daughters Mara and Bočna. The latter married Petrus Bucchia. Lovriča's son Clement was the last male issue of the family, and he died without offspring. Junius's son Mathias was recorded as the owner of several houses and shops in the town—most of which eventually came into the hands of the treasurers of St Mary. Damianus Volcassio was succeeded by his only son Marinus (1297-1305)⁴⁴ who passed away young,

⁴⁰ A systematic analysis of the space was performed for the thirteenth century. A database of (unpublished) fourteenth-century notarial documents has been used sporadically.

⁴¹ He traded in the Levant and together with his nephew Marinus, son of Damianus Volcassio, owned real estate in Venice (I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: pp. 441-443). Upon the division of some land on Pelješac in 1336, Junius received three parts in the *contrada* of Trstenica (Nenad Vekarić, *Pelješka naselja u 14. stoljeću*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti JAZU, 1989: p. 20).

⁴² We thank Nenad Vekarić for the information on the genealogy of the Volcassio lineage.

⁴³ In 1387 Lovriča held the customs office in Rudnik and took part in the 1358 negotiations with the Hungarian king (N. Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine*: pp. 60-61).

⁴⁴ ... *ordino quod pitropi mei qui per (tempora fuerint) de conductura seu pensione domus mee, que est in campo debeat extrahere et accipere perperos XXXI annuatim* (MHR, IV: no. 1296, p. 279).

so this family branch died out as well. Damianus's daughter Ana married Junius Luccari and with him had sons Moretto and Nicola, who inherited part of the former Damianus Volcassio's estate.⁴⁵ Damianus's other daughter, Perva, married Vitus Vitagna, so some of the real estate was inherited by the Vitagnas. To demonstrate the transfer of real estate down the female line, we traced some of the Volcassio property after the deaths of the male members. By the end of the thirteenth century, the practice related to the succession of real estate tended to change from the older cognate to a newer agnate patrilineal inheritance system, by which women were excluded from equal inheritance in that their dowry was paid out (in money mainly).⁴⁶ In this way the women moved to their husband's kindred. However, if there were no male heirs, as in the case of the Volcassio family in the fourteenth century, daughters inherited their parents' real estate. Upon marriage, this property would come into the hands of other family. While the husband managed the marital property, widows had a right to enjoy and manage their real estate as long as they did not remarry. Their rights were also protected from encroachment of their sons' rights.⁴⁷ Some of the real estate inherited or purchased by Pasqua and Damianus were later bequeathed to the treasurers of St Mary.⁴⁸ *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents* dates from the much later 1428, but compiling the data from older registers (*Libro vecchio, Libro vecchio deli affitti*), it contains information on the rents of real estate bequeathed to this institution by noble families.⁴⁹ This book mentions *Libro (libretto) de quali de Volchassio*.⁵⁰ It seems that the members of the Volcassio family and their heirs both through the female and male line left

⁴⁵ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova/Liber affictuum thesaurarie (1428-1547)*, ed. Danko Zelić. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: p. 76.

⁴⁶ According to the Statute, a daughter who received her dowry no longer had the right to inherit real estate (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book IV, ch. 47; Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, »Obitelj dalmatinskog plemstva od 12. do 14. stoljeća«. *Acta Histriae* 16 (2008): p. 61).

⁴⁷ Z. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*: pp. 89-90.

⁴⁸ Although a statutory regulation prohibited real estate bequests to Church institutions in the fourteenth century, already at the end of the thirteenth century the practice is rarely witnessed in Dubrovnik. However, Church institutions as well as individuals could sell property, receiving the value in money. Furthermore, the testators could establish a perpetual pious trust. See Danko Zelić, »Liber affictuum thesaurarie / The Book of the Treasurers' Rents (1428-1547): Perpetual Legacies Providing Funding for Pious Purposes«, in: *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: pp. 69-71.

⁴⁹ D. Zelić, »Liber affictuum thesaurarie«: p. 75.

⁵⁰ D. Zelić, »Liber affictuum thesaurarie«: p. 77. In the fifteenth century, the person obliged to pay to the treasurers was mentioned by name, as well as the type of real estate, name of the testator, location in the town (sometimes including a reference to older information), rent amount, and the trustees; D. Zelić, *ibidem*: pp. 80-81.

real estate for pious purposes, which necessitated a separate volume. Because the name of the testator was recorded alongside the property (the earliest dating from the fourteenth century), this document provides information about real estate inherited by Pasqua's and Damianus's descendants.⁵¹ The majority of properties were located *in sistier de Sancto Blasio*, and included very valuable houses and shops located in desirable locations. They brought high rents and the commune could let them to respectable guests. As early as 1282 Pasqua Volcassio left a church under patronage to the treasurers of St Mary, he himself exercising that duty at the time. He wrote his last will ten years before his death, while his daughters were still unmarried and sons under age. Pasqua designated his sons to donate, at reaching full maturity, 400 perpers to the Franciscan nunnery (*monasterium pulcellarum*). He also specified that after the death of his wife Desa, the treasurers of St Mary should receive 15 perpers a year, an amount earned from renting the house and the shop *in campo*. Later, Damianus also bequeathed the income received from renting a house *in campo* to the treasurers, for the upkeep of his chapel and for other religious purposes. The testator's heirs were bound to make annual payments or to collect the income from renting this real estate.

The estate of Volcasio Johannis in the suburb of Dubrovnik

The first document to mention the property of Volcasio Johannis in the *burgus* dates from 1258, but the description of Volcasio's property and its boundaries in this document is not entirely clear.⁵² Namely, in 1258 Volcasio had a dispute with Ungara, wife of Domagna de Guerero. Ungara sued Vukas because he had attempted to build a wall *extra muros civitatis Ragusii*, on the land of her husband Domagna who had been absent at the time.⁵³ Volcasio tried to prove that the foundations were built on his rather than Domagna's property, and as a proof exhibited an older document, drafted in 1255. This document was

⁵¹ D. Zelić, »Liber afflictuum thesaurarie«: p. 77

⁵² CD, vol. V, ed. Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1907: no. 612, pp. 95-96.

⁵³ Ungara and her attorney Andreas Čereva argued that Volcasio had no right to erect foundations on that particular spot, because he would have then annexed part of Guerero's estate to his property. Volcasio and his proxy responded that the wall had been erected on Volcasio's rather than on Domagna's land. An advocate of the commune was also involved in this dispute to represent the town interests, because a public street passed between the mentioned lands of the two families, Volcassio and Guerero. We know that Domagna Guerero had a property north of Michael de Gherdusio, which was south of the church of St Barbara (itself situated north of today's *Strossmayerova ulica*) and north of the church of St Simon (in the area called *Castello*; MHR, IV: no. 1284, pp. 271-272).

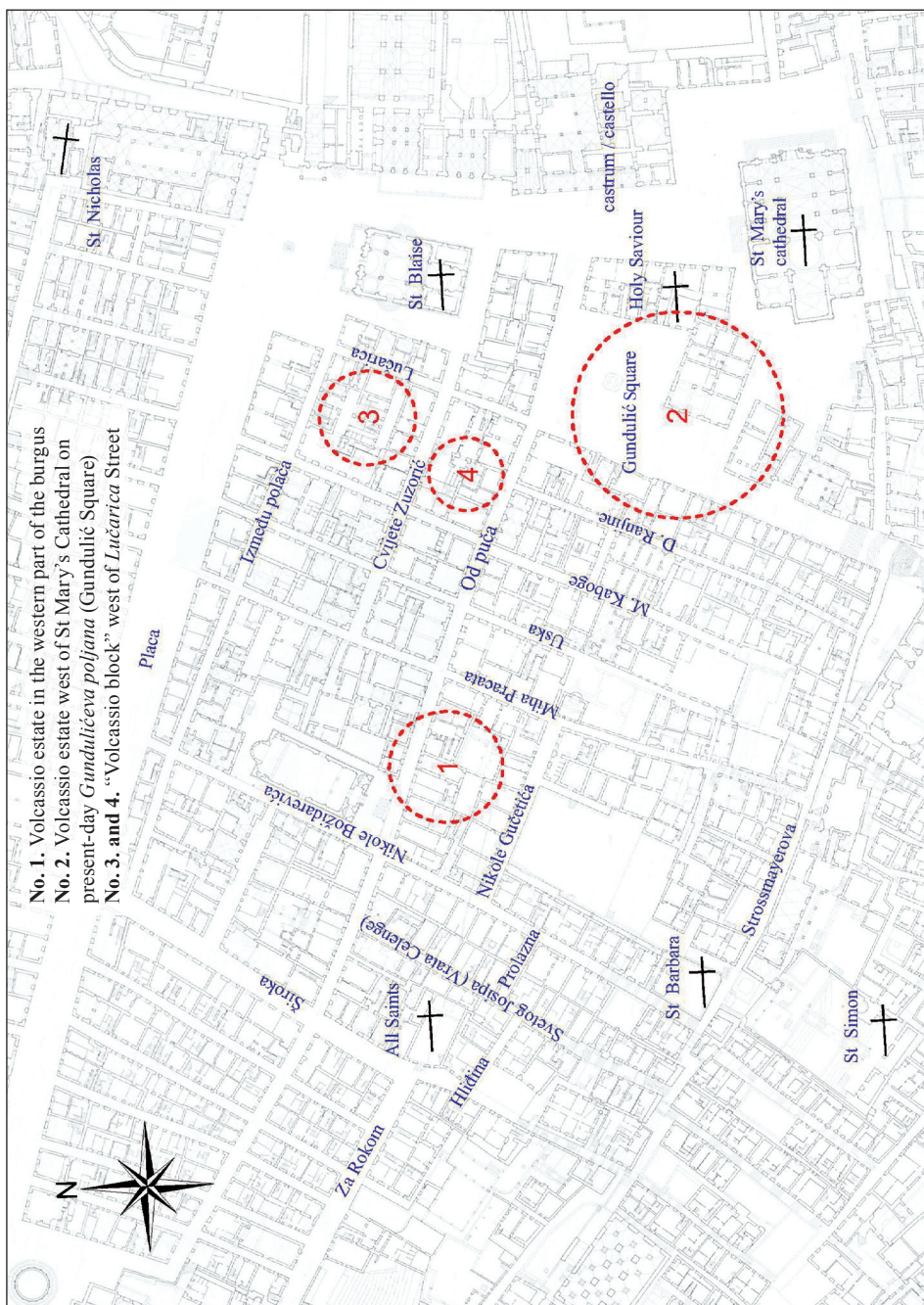


Figure 1. The space of the former St Blaise burgh (with today's street map)

included in the trial records between the two parties in dispute, and it contained information about another dispute concerning the demarcation between Volcasio's estate and that of the monastery of St Simon.⁵⁴ Apparently Volcasio used the boundaries with the property of St Simon to prove the boundaries of his own plot, and described the location of his property. The 1255 description of the estate of St Simon is valuable not only because it allows the mapping of Volcassio's estate, but also because of the mention of the boundaries of this particular property, public streets, the "old" and "new" city walls.

Prior to the development of the communal apparatus, the space of the Ragusan suburb was demarcated with boundary stones,⁵⁵ a practice commonly witnessed in the extramural areas in the ensuing centuries. This method of demarcation remained in use outside the town in the following centuries. Stones with inscribed designations and the initials of the owners marked the property boundary. As ordained by a provision from the 1272 Statute, the boundaries (*termini*) of the properties were to be honoured.⁵⁶ Thus, according to the description, Volcasio's property was situated south of the street, while St Simon's estate was located on the north side and demarcated with boundary stones placed 57 *bracolarii* from the old wall northwards, and 56 *bracolarii* from the new town wall also northwards. These obscure coordinates offer little help in establishing the exact

⁵⁴ The monastery of St Simon was located in the area called *Castello*, but it had multiple properties in the *burgus*. The monastery leased some of its land lots, while others were sold. During the thirteenth century the church had to be repaired on several occasions, and it seems that it was severely damaged in the fire of 1296 (*pro recuperacione et hedifficacione monasterii sancti Simeonis ab ignis incendio consumati*; MHR, III: no. 784, pp. 270-271). The court decision in the case against Ungara, in 1258, was based on the 1255 sentence. Volcasio however had to be careful not to expand to the communal road, *palmorum novem* wide from east to west. The appointed communal judges confirmed the boundary between the Volcasio and monastery estates; CD, V: no. 612, p. 96.

⁵⁵ The communal arbiters finally adjudicated that St Simon's estate stretched "from the signs SI towards the hill [i. e. north] without interruption. And above from the mentioned signs on the town side [i. e. towards south] there lies a communal road, while from the east all the way to the west and above the communal road in the direction of the town [i. e., towards south], the estate of Volcasio Johannes stretches without interruption". See also: CD, IV, ed. Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1906: no. 352, pp. 399-400; no. 518, pp. 600-601; CD, V: no. 590, p. 70.

⁵⁶ *De fundamentis inventis sub terra: Fundamentum inventum subtus terram vel equale ad terram, habeatur pro termino et fine illius territorii in quo invenietur* (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 18). For example, in the 1282 litigation between Pasqua Volcassio (one party) and Marinus Sorgo and nuns of the monastery of St Mary of Castello (opposing party), in *dicto angulo est una magna petra in qua est una littera "F", que petra est pro termino dictorum territoriorum* (MHR, II: no. 1315, pp. 351-352; also no. 1089, p. 267). According to a document concerning property division, the family owned real estate in *Pillis* (around the western city gate) and the wooden cottages discussed in the court case were located on the land of St Mary *de Castello*, probably in permanent lease. This is why in the Volcassio case both the owner and the holder appeared as the opposing party.

location of the estate in an unregulated suburb, since historians disagree on the location of the old town wall.⁵⁷ The historians have interpreted the abovediscussed source in different ways.⁵⁸ Considering that the size of the property occupied by St Simon's monastery is not known, it is not possible to determine its southern and northern boundary lines, the location of the "new wall" thus remaining in the domain of scholarly speculation.⁵⁹ The hypotheses concerning the existence of a wall encircling the suburb south of the *Plaça* lean on the writings of the Ragusan chroniclers and annalists who mention the construction of certain

⁵⁷ Some argue that the old town wall ran in the direction east-west, following a line below the southern ends of today's *Uska ulica* and *Ulica Marojice Kaboge*, and that today's *Strossmayerova ulica* was the main street of the old town, something like *decumanus*, with *Od Domina* Street being *cardo* (L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*: p. 18; Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, [1958]: p. 11). More recently, scholars have suggested that the old town wall ran along the line of today's *Strossmayerova ulica*. See: Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik: Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*. Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998: *passim*).

⁵⁸ The description of the document is partly contradictory: some scholars support their interpretation with information from the first part of the document and think that the mentioned distance is between the old town wall and a "new" north wall encircling the suburb—*57 bracolarii* "from the old wall in the direction of the hill" is interpreted as "north of the old wall to the southern boundary of St Simon's land", while *56 bracolarii* from the "new wall in the direction of the hill" is explained as "south of the new wall, to the north boundary of St Simon's monastery".

⁵⁹ See Figure 1. M. Medini was the first to analyse the information about the town walls contained in the discussed document. Relying on the first part of the document, he placed the "new wall" near nowadays *Prijeko* Street. He assumed that the monastery estate was not longer than 100 metres. He supported his thesis with the information that in 1296 the street *Prijeki put* was also known as *costeria burgi*. According to Medini, the "new" wall ran parallel with the old wall—both being *versus montem*—and the two walls were 113 cubits (around 57 metres) apart, plus the unknown width of St Simon's land (no more than 100 metres); see M. Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*: pp. 150-151. Ivica Žile also argued that the location of the new town wall depended on the unknown size of the St Simon's estate. According to him, the boundary of the monastery estate in the document was marked by boundary stone at 57 cubits north of the old town wall and 56 cubits north of the new wall. Žile supports his analysis with archaeological findings: the parts of fortifications that possibly ran in the direction east-west and their width indicates that this was a town rather than a private wall. According to Žile, the line of these fortification remains in the direction east-west, linking the two fragments of the town walls, might represent the fortification system defending "the suburb of St Blaise". In addition to the 1258 document, Žile also brings to attention the finding of a boundary stone near the church of St Blaise in Dubrovnik. In his opinion, the front side and the top of the south side of this stone were marked with two letters *SI*—according to Žile meaning St Simon. This is the first material proof of the boundary stone mentioned in archival documents; see Ivica Žile, »Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Vlaha u povijesnoj jezgri grada Dubrovnika«. *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 35 (2008): pp. 185-192; idem, »Fortifikacijski sustavi u svjetlu recentnih arheoloških nalaza«. *Dubrovnik N. S.* 4/2 (1993): pp. 223-228; idem, »Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u palači Kaboga 2-4 u Dubrovniku«. *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 16 (1992): pp. 19-27. Another interpretation of the location of the "new wall" is based on the second part of the document (the 1255

fortifications before the end of the thirteenth century.⁶⁰ This suburb, the scholars argue, must have been encircled by a wall of some kind that pre-dated the final northern rampart enclosing the northern St Nicholas *burgus*. The information provided by the narrative accounts, which some historians hold ill-grounded, may refer only to the final stretch of the walls built at the end of the thirteenth century.⁶¹ However, the intermittently conducted construction of the final city walls (extending from the western suburb of All Saints towards the north) possibly started earlier. At the same time, archaeological excavation indicates that the suburb may have been defended by a sort of a partial provisional wall.⁶²

In our opinion, the dispute between Volcasio and Ungara does not necessarily refer to a certain new suburban wall.⁶³ This could suggest that there was a new wall (or new part of an existing wall) erected approximately along the same line as the old wall, rather than a parallel town wall running north of the older

description). Željko Peković thinks that the distances of 56 and 57 *bracolarii* should be added, disregarding the size of St Simon estate. The direction of the new, northern wall thus ran along the today's streets *Za Rokom* and *Gučetićeve*. The second part of the document describes that boundary stones marked *SI* (obviously placed along the same line) were located 57 *bracolarii* from the old wall, and 56 *bracolarii* from the new wall. This would mean that the size of the monastery estate cannot be "added up". Željko Peković then argues that precisely the second part of the description, mentioning boundary stones, is the part that accurately describes the distance between the old town wall (according to him in *Strossmayerova ulica*) and some new *middle* wall (according to him 113 cubits—around 57 metres). Peković holds that the line of the middle wall reached Kaštel on the east side, and that is where future archaeological research should look for the line of the wall (Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik*: pp. 57, 86-87).

⁶⁰ In 1252, according to the chronicle of Junius Resti, the Serbian army attacked the town in the hope of preventing the erection of "new Ragusan fortifications" (*Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: p. 90). Both Resti and Ragnina mention 1266 as the year when building of "new fortifications" around the suburb began (*Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: p. 96; *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*: p. 221).

⁶¹ Beritić did not analyse the dispute between Vukas and Ungara in 1258. He believes that all information about the erection of town walls in the mid-thirteenth century contained in the later accounts refers to the enforcement of the wall above *Prijeko* (L. Beritić, *Utvrđenja grada Dubrovnika*: p. 18).

⁶² I. Žile, »Fortifikacijski sustavi u svjetlu recentnih arheoloških nalaza«: pp. 223-228; I. Žile, »Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja u palači Kaboga 2-4 u Dubrovniku«: pp. 19-27.

⁶³ In fact, the first and the second part of the description (trial records) would not seem contradictory if the designations "from the old town wall to the north" and "from the new town wall to the north" were understood as *direction* rather than the *name* of a wall. For example, all the existing analyses of this document interpret the names of these walls (old and new) as "wall towards the north" rather than the distance of the wall to the north. In notarial documents, the town wall is never referred to as *murus versus montem* but just *murus* (or *murus novus*, *murus vetus*, *murus antiquus*), while *versus montem* is used to designate the geographical location of the boundary (towards the hill, north). In this document, the dispute is about estates located *extra muros civitatis Ragusii* (beyond the town walls of Dubrovnik, rather than between old and new walls), and the

wall.⁶⁴ These are all merely speculations, and the position of the “new wall” yet remains to be established by additional archaeological research. The estate of Volcassio Johannis in the 1250s was most certainly in the suburb, some 60 *bracolarii* from the old town walls: its northern boundary was the estate of St Simon monastery. By that time, the passages between estates began to transform into public streets of designated width.⁶⁵ the street towards Domagna Guerero was to be 9 cubits wide, as the Statute would regulate later on.⁶⁶

walls themselves are described as *de muro veteri civitatis Ragusii* (“from the old town wall of Dubrovnik”) and *de muro nouo civitatis Ragusii* (“from the new town wall of Dubrovnik”). One interpretation of the description may be that the distance northwards from the “old town wall” to the estate (and boundary stone) of St Simon was 57 *bracolarii*, while the distance from the “new town wall” northwards to the estate (and boundary stone) of St Simon was 56 *bracolarii*.

⁶⁴ The distance between the wall and the monastery estate would then be the same as the distance to the boundary stones. Furthermore, scholars have interpreted *bracolarium* to mean cubit, so 57 *bracolarii* would equal approximately 30 metres. However, *brazzolarium* was a measuring stick that did not necessarily correspond in length with one Ragusan cubit (*brachio, cubitum*) of 0.55 metres. In Dalmatian towns, *bracolarium* was almost always about the length of 2 communal cubits (it was used to measure cloth as well as surface/distance). See Marija Zaninović- Rumora, »Korčulanske mjere za dužinu i širinu od 15.-19. stoljeća«. *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 27 (2009): p. 105; eadem, »Stare mjere Splita od 15. do 19. stoljeća«. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 52 (2010): p. 179; eadem, »Zadarske i šibenske mjere za dužinu kroz stoljeća«. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 34 (1992): p. 119; Josip Kolanović, »Šibenski metrološki sustav u XV. stoljeću«. *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994): pp. 189-207; *Knjiga statuta, zakona i reformacija grada Šibenika*, ed. Slavo Grubišić and Zlatko Herkov. Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1982: Book V, ch. 46; Zlatko Herkov, »Istraživanje naših starih mjera«. *Ljetopis JAZU* 69 (1962): pp. 241-258. The Hvar statute, for example, precisely described the ratios between the communal pace, *bracolar* and cubit (1:2:4): [...] *debeant mensurari cum passo seu brazulario communis; intelligendo, quod passus communis esse debeat duo brazularia sive quatuor cubitus communis* (*Hvarski statut*, ed. Antun Cvitanić. Split: Književni krug, 1991: pp. II, XLVII, 265); Marija Zaninović-Rumora, »Hvarske komunalne mjere za dužinu i površinu kroz stoljeća«. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 50 (2008): p. 111. According to Milan Rešetar, Ragusan documents dated 1255 mention “some *brazolae* (always in genitive case of plural, *brazolarum*)”. Rešetar assumes that they measure about a half or quarter of one pace (1 metre or 0.5 metre). He thinks that it is the same measure as the one mentioned in a 1336 statutory regulation—*braciolares cum quibus mensuratur drappum*—wooden or iron “cubit” used to measure cloth (Ital. *bracciolaio*, Venetian *brazoler*) but also other things. Because one pace (*passus*) measured around 2 metres, the same author suggests that the measuring stick—*passus braçollariorum*—used as a survey standard measured around one half or one quarter of *passus* (Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, vol. I. Sremski Karlovi: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1924: p. 104).

⁶⁵ The 1272 Statute contains provisions regulating the width of streets. (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41, 44).

⁶⁶ Draga Guerero, daughter of Domagna who had no male heirs, in her 1284 testament specified that *...item si possessiones mee uendetur et Damianus Volcassii uolerit emere illas, uolo quod ipse habebat eas pro quinquaginta yperperis minus eo, quod haberi poterit ab aliis* (MHR, II: no. 1294, p. 335). The estate of Domagna and Ungara Guerero might have come into the possession of the families Ragnina, Serso and Crosio through the marital ties of Domagna’s daughters.

The Volcassio estate in the western burgus (west of Ulica Miha Pracata)

It was not until the late 1270s that new information about the estate of Volcasio Johannis and his sons appeared in the regularly kept notary records. It should be mentioned that the *burgus* of St Blaise had already been parcelled and, in accordance with the Statute of 1272, the routes of the public streets were laid, which greatly influenced the structure and function of the real estate owned by the nobility. The division of large blocks of land into building plots changed their commercial, functional and residential character. The *burgus* space was revaluated and transformed from an older, non-urban model into an urban one. A document dating from immediately after the street regulation, the year of 1278,⁶⁷ mentions a property owned by Volcasio's sons (Figure 2). It was located southwest of a large piece of land in the *burgus* in the hands of the Crossio brothers. Descriptions of the plot and of the adjoining properties in this document are of interest—the Volcassio brothers were eastern and southern neighbours.⁶⁸

Volcasio's sons—that is, Pasqua Volcassio, but probably meaning both, as Damianus was underage—were mentioned as the owners of the neighbouring plots. This source is important for the exact location of the Volcassio estates as well as for the size of the plots in the *burgus*.⁶⁹ Regarding the location of the Crossio estate, the street described in the document as leading *ad portam dompni Petri de Mençe* may be identified as the today's *Ulica Miha Pracata*, if we assume that it is the same street referred to as *via que venit a porta de Menci* in the Statute

⁶⁷ MHR, I: no. 32, p. 9-10.

⁶⁸ The first (eastern) part of the “Crossio territory” (length 6 paces minus 1 span, and width 6 paces minus 1 span, i. e. around 12 x 12 metres) was located *supra viam comunis que vadit ad portam dompni Petri de Mençe*. Towards the east, this estate was bordered by Valius Gondula's land, westwards by the public street, northwards by the land of St Andrew *de Castello* and of Savinus Ghetaldi, and southwards by a plot owned by the wife of Lampredius Mençe. The second (middle, much longer) part of the “Crossio territory” (length 21.5 paces or 43 metres, and width 6 paces or 12.28 metres) to the east was delimited by a public street leading towards Petrus Mençe's gate (*ad portam dompni Petri de Mençe*), westwards by the lands owned by Petrus Poça (Petrus Cipagna), Pasqua Volcassio and part of Radoslava Crossio's plot, northwards by communal land and towards the south by a plot owned by Marcus Zimuto. The third (western) part of the plot they purchased was 6 paces long and 5 paces wide, i.e. 12 x 10 metres, and towards east it was bordered by the second part of the plot, westwards by the land owned by St Saviour's, northwards by lands owned by Petrus Poça (Cipagna) and Gauçola Bodacia, and to the south by a plot in the ownership of the sons of Volcasius Johannis. MHR, I: no. 32, p. 9.

⁶⁹ Other properties of the same length as the “Crossio territory” (22 paces) were found elsewhere in the *burgus*. For example, the estate that Peruoslava, wife of Mathias Mençe, purchased in 1279 from Dausa, wife of Palma Gangulo, was also 22 paces long and 4 paces wide (MHR, I: no. 142, p. 37).

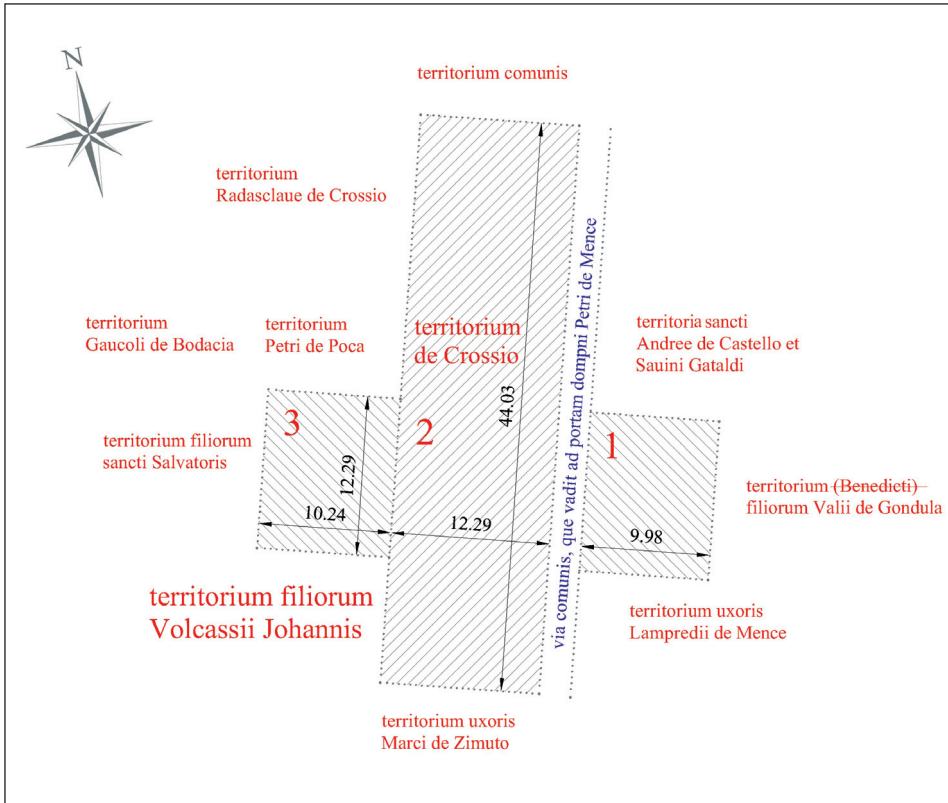


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the Crossio estate on the basis of a document from 1278. The measures are given in metres.

of 1272.⁷⁰ In addition to the eastern boundary of the estate, it is also possible to reconstruct its western border, as it appears in the later documents.⁷¹

According to a 1278 description, the northern boundary of the Crossio estate was constituted by the communal land, possibly a *campus* mentioned in a chapter on the streets in the 1272 Statute.⁷² The boundary towards the communal

⁷⁰ *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41. The gate in question was probably that of the house of Petrus, son of Lampredius Mence.

⁷¹ *MHR* IV: no. 776, p. 267; *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57. By the 1290s, the Crossio brothers and their descendants no longer had property of such size within the *burgus*, as evident in a 1296 provision regulating the streets. See also: *MHR*, II: no. 863, p. 198; *MHR*, IV: no. 67, p. 34.

⁷² According to this regulation, the route of all streets running south-north were to end north *ad campum* (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41).

territory, north of the *burgus* of St Blaise, developed gradually: following the fire of 1296, the boundary was demarcated by a communal street (today's *Između polača*), and finally by the development of the *Plaça* in the fourteenth century. Yet even earlier, *The Book of the Communal Rents* from 1286 lists private estates adjoined by the communal territory on their northern side.⁷³ The names of the owners of these estates and their leaseholders may be compared to the names in notarial documents related to the Crossio property and the neighbouring real estate.⁷⁴ In a 1286 register, east to west, the location south of the communal land reputedly accommodated a plot owned by Benedictus Gondula, Mathias Mençe's house, two houses owned by Jacobus Crossio, two houses owned by Junius de Scocilica, the house owned by Marinus Sorgo and Junius Scocilica, two by Marinus Sorgo, also leased.⁷⁵ The western end of the line in the direction of the communal land in the 1280s may have ended in today's *Pile* area.⁷⁶ Notarial documents mention owners of wooden houses on the communal land north of the Crossio estate.⁷⁷ Some of the above listed names may be found in *The Book of the Communal Rents* of the 1280s, listed under the title *Incipit burgus*.⁷⁸

Regarding the real estate owned by the Volcassio family, the 1278 document clearly shows that Volcasio's sons had property southwest of the central part of the Crossio estate (Figure 1, no. 1).⁷⁹ Thus a document of 1283 mentions the commoners' wooden cottages on the land of Volcasio's sons, *apud capannam dompni Clementis filii Georgii ortarii*.⁸⁰ A few other documents refer to the

⁷³ According to a 1296 statutory regulation, the property owners in the communal street running from the Volcassio houses to the territory of the archbishopric, (today's *Između polača*) had to pay annual rent to the commune in the amount ordered by the count and the council *prout in Libro afflictuum et territoriorum comunis plenius continetur* (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57).

⁷⁴ *MHR*, I: no. 400, p. 114; II: no. 367, p. 85; no. 957, p. 228.

⁷⁵ See: *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57; *MHR*, I: no. 805, p. 249; *MHR*, II: no. 957, p. 228; no. 948, p. 225; no. 400, p. 114; no. 1103, p. 271; no. 957, p. 228; no. 948, p. 225; no. 400, p. 114; no. 1103, p. 271; II, no. 1127, p. 277; no. 1253, p. 314; *MHR* IV: no. 460, p. 122.

⁷⁶ See also *MHR*, II: no. 353, p. 81; no. 610, p. 137.

⁷⁷ See: *MHR*, II: no. 253, p. 59.

⁷⁸ *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, I: pp 119-130. This register contains the names of owners of approximately 180 wooden cottages on the communal land plots. Their location in the town, however, is not described in the register. A comparison with notarial documents allows location of some of the cottages in the space of the communal *campus*, north of the *burgus* of St Blaise. Most cottages occupied the space of around 2 spans long, practically a half of the standard plot. Nonetheless, to position certain streets and understand the complexity of Dubrovnik's social topography, a precise analysis of leaseholders' locations should be done.

⁷⁹ *MHR*, I: no. 561, p. 172; no. 637, p. 190; no. 641, p. 200; no. 703, p. 201; no. 709, p. 221.

⁸⁰ *MHR*, II: no. 1127, p. 277.

Volcassio property east of the land of Mathias Mençe and the church of All Saints in the western *burgus*.⁸¹ Pasqua and Damianus inherited from their father the property on the western side of the *burgus*, in the sources identified as *territorium filii Volcasii*. Pasqua also owned a part of a wooden cottage on the land owned by other noblemen in the western *burgus* (north of the old town walls, southwest of the church of All Saints).⁸² Real estate was also acquired through debt collection.⁸³ For example, Phylippus Mauressio mortgaged his house, possibly in this part of the town, to Pasqua Volcassio, to secure the loan for his daughter's dowry.⁸⁴ It seems that he never paid the loan back but continued to live in the house for the rest of his life. Upon Phylippus's death, the right of his sons Simon and Dimitrius to this house was disputed by Pasqua Volcassio, who produced at court an older document about the loan security.⁸⁵ In 1283, Desa, Phylippus Mauressio's widow, sold her estate to Damianus Volcassio for 20 denars.⁸⁶

It seems that the property of the Volcassio family in the western *burgus* of St Blaise remained in their ownership well after: in 1313, the house of Damianus's widow Dessica Volcassio and her son-in-law Junius Luccari was located south of the property of Margaritus Poča and east of Petrus Proculo's estate.⁸⁷ We also know that Lovriča Volcassio's widow Nicoleta (daughter of Clement Goçe) owned real estate in that part of the *burgus*.⁸⁸ The widowed Nicoleta remarried,

⁸¹ *MHR*, II: no. 1316, p. 352; *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41.

⁸² *MHR*, I: no. 824, p. 254; II: no. 871, p. 201.

⁸³ Mortgaging real estate was usually the last resort, especially if it was a town house used as family residence.

⁸⁴ Ragusan noblemen were to pay large dowries to marry their daughters and these dowries usually constituted a substantial expense for the family. A law on dowries pre-dates the Statute (1235) and referred primarily to the patricians (*Ordo de dotibus et nuptiis*); CD, III, no. 379, p. 435; Nella Lonza, »The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272: Between Legal Code and Political Symbol«, in: *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: p. 8). In some cases dowries were paid in instalments, and when that was not possible, real estate was mortgaged or sold.

⁸⁵ *MHR*, III: no. 971, p. 313.

⁸⁶ *MHR*, I: no. 878, p. 267. Taking into account the adjoining properties (to the east by Benedictus Gondula's property, west and north by a public street and south by an estate owned by Ungara Guerero), this house may have been located in the western *burgus*. Members of the Mauressio lineage in the mid-thirteenth century owned houses in the vicinity of the cathedral (CD, V: no. 128, pp. 635-637).

⁸⁷ *Diversa Cancellariae* (hereafter: *Div. Canc.*), ser. 25, vol. 1, ff. 18, 20 (State Archives of Dubrovnik, hereafter: SAD). Some real estate cannot be located with certainty within the town or *burgus* (*MHR*, II: no. 920, p. 216; *MHR*, III: no. 775, pp. 266-267).

⁸⁸ See: *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CXLI, p. 159.

this time to Jacobus son of Nicola Sorgo, who also owned property in that part of the town. Nicoleta's second husband as well as her son from her first marriage (the last male issue) both died in 1387, and Nicoleta inherited a large estate. In the same year, Nicoleta ordered furnaces for three houses *iuxta puteos illorum de Çereva de muro*.⁸⁹ The well of the family Çereva (Zereva) was located opposite the church and hospital of St Jacob, later St Joseph.⁹⁰ Although Nicoleta was accused of having forged Jacobus Sorgo's testament and was temporarily banished from the town, in 1392 she nonetheless finished building the church began by her second husband.⁹¹ The chapel of St Trinity, built by Nicoleta, is mentioned in the fourteenth century near *puteus illorum de Zerieua*.⁹² In her will Nicoleta bequeathed part of her estate for the building of the church and hospital of St Jacob,⁹³ while the estate inherited from her first marriage to Lovriča Volcassio was bequeathed to the Dominican nuns *pro anima*.⁹⁴ Our reconstruction places the thirteenth-century Volcassio estate east of Sorgo and Mençe properties.

The estate west of the Cathedral and in the area of Gundulićeva poljana

The properties of Pasqua and Damianus, sons of *Volcassio Johannis*, were for the most part located in the eastern part of the *burgus*—west and southwest of the cathedral, as well as in the area of today's *Gundulićeva poljana* and east of that square, but also northwards, in the so-called “Volcassio block”, west of today's *Lučarica* Street and south of today's *Između Polača* Street. As early as 1282, the records mentioned a house nearby the cathedral purchased by Pasqua Volcassio from Archbishop Bonaventura. Towards the hillside (north) the house was bordered by a public street, seawards (south) by the land owned by *operaria* of St Mary, on the east side by a house owned by *operaria* (*domus operis*) of the church of St Mary, and on the west side by the “existing” Pasqua's house.⁹⁵ The latter may have been located on the land that Pasqua had received in exchange from the Gondula

⁸⁹ *Div. Canc.*, vol. 27, f. 54; Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*. Beograd: SANU, 1974: pp. 48-49.

⁹⁰ The well on the western end of today's *Od puča* Street mentioned in the 1272 Statute probably refers to “the well of the family Çereva” (*puteus de Çereva*) rather than “the church well” (*puteus de cerua*) as is commonly transcribed (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41)

⁹¹ D. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*: p. 51.

⁹² Jadranka Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine. Rimska Kurija i Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću*. Split: Književni krug, 2007: p. 128.

⁹³ See: *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CCCXIII, p. 251.

⁹⁴ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 423.

⁹⁵ *MHR*, II: no. 877, p. 202.

brothers. A document survives showing that the Volcassio sons swapped real estate with the Benedictus and Damianus, sons of Valius Gondula, who had inherited the estate from their uncle Johannes Gondula.⁹⁶ According to a 1282 document, the brothers Benedictus and Damianus Gondula proved that in 1280 the son of Volcassio, Pasqua Volcassio (obviously on behalf of both brothers) had purchased property from them. Pasqua had already built a wall around the property. The location of this estate was described as: facing the hill and facing the sea, bordered by the Gondulas, on the east side by the estate owned by Pasqua and Damianus Volcassio, and on the west side by a public street separating the Gondula and the Volcassio territories.⁹⁷ In this period, the noble estates were encircled by walls. Following the large-scale regulation of the *burgus*, these walls mainly disappeared. With the building of the city's defence system and fortifications, private walls lost their function. Furthermore, the existence of both private walls and private towers opposed the idea of the newly emerging communal society, so they were gradually pulled down.⁹⁸ In an exchange,⁹⁹ the Gondulas gained the right to another piece of land situated westwards—or rather, they received a *carta* according to which in 1273 Volcassius Johannis had purchased an estate from the monastery of St Simon. That estate was situated “outside the walls of the old town”,¹⁰⁰ and its location was in the first place defined by the adjoining real estate: towards the hill and the sea, and to the east and west, it was surrounded by the properties owned by the sons of Valius Gondula, and only one corner on the east side was bordered by Volcassius Johannis's estate. It is obvious that the Gondula brothers used this transaction to consolidate their estate, as was also the aim of the Volcassio brothers.¹⁰¹ Few more documents confirm that Pasqua owned real estate near the cathedral.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ See: *CD*, III: no. 190, pp. 216-217. The Gondulas were one of the most significant noble families in Dubrovnik (N. Vekarić, *Nevidljive pukotine*: pp. 41-42).

⁹⁷ *MHR*, I: no. 1119, p. 335.

⁹⁸ M. Planić-Lončarić, »Zajednički prostori stambenih zona srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika«: p. 70.

⁹⁹ It seems that the newly acquired property was smaller than the one they had given in exchange, because they were also paid 200 solids. The fact that the real estate was accompanied by a large sum may also mean that this was actually sale, to avoid the pre-emption right: a large estate was fictitiously exchanged for a small property and the difference in value was paid out.

¹⁰⁰ Nun Gaya explained the reason for the sale of a monastery property to Volcassius Johannis, saying that the estate was sold “because of the need to finish the work on the monastery church” (*MHR*, I: no. 1119, p. 335).

¹⁰¹ *MHR*, I: no. 1119, p. 335. See also: *MHR*, I: no. 545, p. 167; no. 767, p. 240; *MHR*, II: no. 1305, p. 345.

¹⁰² For example, in 1279 Pasqua Volcassio purchased a house from Perva, widow of Sergio Picinego. Sons of Micha *de Zanchino* owned a furnace south of that house. According to some documents, the houses of the Zanchino and Picinego families were also located somewhere west of the cathedral (*MHR*, I: no. 69, p. 19).

The lack of surviving sources makes it difficult to study the ownership of real estate from the mid-1280s to the mid-1290s, when the city was destroyed in a great fire of 1296. Yet, regardless of whether the houses were damaged by the fire or not, it seems that the former ownership relations retained continuity well after 1296. We know that Pasqua's son Junius also had houses west of the cathedral. Namely, in November 1322 the town authorities announced their plans to expand the square in front of the cathedral entrance (at the time, the portal was on the west side).¹⁰³ In 1325 it was decided that "wooden cottages owned by St Mary's" should be demolished to make room for a bell tower with a baptistery,¹⁰⁴ as a result of which the demolition of the walls of the adjoining Junius Volcassio's house was ordered. Volcassio filed a complaint and the house remained in place.¹⁰⁵ Marija Planić-Lončarić assumes that by building the bell tower and the baptistery, the "Volcassio block" was disintegrated apart, and showed that around the turn of the fourteenth century the patrician nuclei opened up not just to the public streets but also to public objects.¹⁰⁶ In his 1340 testament, Junius Volcassio bequeathed a half of a house and land in Dubrovnik as a security to Paulus Quirino.¹⁰⁷ The house was located *ante sanctam Mariam*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum*, I (hereafter: *MR*, I). [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, X]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1879: p. 70.

¹⁰⁴ *MR*, V: p. 175. Cvito Fisković wrote about the erection of the cathedral bell-tower in the fourteenth century, and the decision to demolish the houses that belonged to Junius, son of Pasqua Volcassio (Cvito Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*. Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1955: p. 24).

¹⁰⁵ *MR*, V: p. 316.

¹⁰⁶ She comes forward with an assumption that there was a cemetery along the western side of the cathedral, although thirteenth-century notarial documents make no mention of this. See Marija Planić-Lončarić, »Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 29 (1990): p. 164.

¹⁰⁷ The Venetian Paolo Quirino came to own property by debt collection. See: *MHR*, IV: no. 363; Bariša Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Ragusans in Venice as real estate owners in the 14th century«, in: idem, *Unequal Rivals*: pp. 57-59; *Div. Canc.*, vol. 10, f. 176; *Diversa Notariae* (hereafter: *Div. Not.*), ser. 26, vol. 6, ff. 30, 63, 97, 109v (SAD). In 1301 the Major Council decided that *dominus Paulus Quirinus solvere debeat collectas de suis possessionibus quas habet in civitate Ragusii et suu(!) districtu* (*MR*, V: p. 17)

¹⁰⁸ B. Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik«: p. 55; *Testamenta notariae* (hereafter: *Test. Not.*), ser. 10.1, vol. 3, ff. 66-67v (SAD). According to Josip Stošić, it was not until then that the late antiquity wall, dividing the cathedral from the suburb and private residences, was demolished and *platea s. Mariae maioris* began to develop. Yet notarial documents describing boundaries of these residences do not mention the wall. The wall lay in the direction of the streets, north-south, and obviously influenced the planning of the streets in the *burgus*. Stošić argues that the existence of this wall hampered the urbanistic shaping of the space in front of the cathedral (Josip Stošić, »Prikaz nalaza ispod Katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku«, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1988: p. 32).

Junius Volcassio is mentioned as a neighbour in some other documents describing the objects most likely located west and southwest of the cathedral.¹⁰⁹

Junius Volcassio's properties in the vicinity of the cathedral were inherited by his son Mathias.¹¹⁰ *The Books of Communal Real Property* mention three shops in that part of the town. Northwards they were bordered by a house owned by Perva Vitagna, daughter of Damianus Volcassio. Perva inherited the house following the division of the property (*la qual cassa vene imparte ala deta dona Perve quando la parti con dona Anne e con dona Slave sue surelle*). The location of the estate was described by using the neighbouring houses. Thus on the east side the estate was bordered by the house of Philippa, widow of Martinussius Mençe. According to the records, that house "used to belong to Triphonus Georgio". We know that the Georgio family had a house *in palude super platea comunis que est ante ecclesiam Sancti Saluatoris* as early as 1279.¹¹¹ The same house was mentioned in 1300.¹¹² In 1307, the sources mention the *fontico* of Nicola Georgio, son of Triphonus, on the north and west side facing the houses of Damianus Volcassio, and on the south and east side facing the communal square.¹¹³ To settle a debt, Junius Georgio conveyed a house and property of $\frac{3}{4}$ of his *domus fontegorum* to Philippa Mençe.¹¹⁴ The same house had previously been purchased by the sons of Tripe Bucchio, Lovriča Volcassio's sons-in-law, who also were in debt to Philippa. Philippa Mençe owned a large number of properties along the line south of the cathedral to the north of the church of St Blaise. She inherited some of them,¹¹⁵ while others came into her possession as payments of debts. To pay a debt to Philippa Mençe, the Bucchia brothers either sold or relinquished their right to the possession of the parts of their houses near the church of St Blaise and the *new loggia*, as well as in the vicinity of St Mary's and the *old loggia*.¹¹⁶ Philippa Mençe owned real estate

¹⁰⁹ MHR, I: no. 118, p. 30; MHR, IV: no. 93, p. 99.

¹¹⁰ *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents*: no. CCXII, CCXIII, pp. 145-147.

¹¹¹ MHR, I: no. 119, p. 31.

¹¹² The Georgio brothers (members of the Bobaljević clan) later came to own a larger estate east of Široka Street, but the house near Holy Saviour remained in their ownership as late as 1300. MHR, IV: no. 350, p. 99.

¹¹³ *Div. Not.*, vol. 2, f. 142.

¹¹⁴ D. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*: p. 54.

¹¹⁵ Philippa (born Thoma) was the widow of Martinussius, son of Mathias Mençe, and a successful businesswoman following her husband's death. She inherited both her father's and her husband's estate and her son Thoma, as heir, relinquished much of the inheritance to his mother (D. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*: pp. 53-59; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, III: pp. 47-49).

¹¹⁶ *Venditiones Cancellariae* (hereafter: *Vend. Canc.*), ser. 31, vol. 1, ff. 162-162v (SAD); D. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*: p. 55.

in the most desirable part of eastern burgus, towards the main square. Some of this real estate was bequeathed at Philippa's death in permanent lease to the treasurers of St Mary.¹¹⁷ *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents* mentions a shop with warehouses (*stazon degli fondegi*), the lease of which Philippa bequeathed to religious purposes. These warehouses were located in *lo sistier de sancta Maria apreso Sancto Biasio in Piazza*, and were surrounded from all sides by public streets. On the south side, they were bordered *con le stazon che fono de Damianus de Volcassio*.¹¹⁸

In the space east of today's *Gundulićeva poljana* (Gundulić Square), there most likely stood a chapel of the Annunciation, built by Damianus Volcassio on the land near his houses, which he bestowed to the friars in 1296 to be managed thereafter. Damianus designated his wife Desiça as manager of the rent (*conductura seu pensione*) of the house *que est in campo* as well as of the house he had built near the church, since his son Marinus was underage. The income was supposed to be distributed for religious purposes, and the friars were among the beneficiaries.¹¹⁹ If the rent of these houses would not suffice, he allowed his house in Venice (obviously inherited) to be leased out.¹²⁰ The prestige of a family or a social group depended, among other things, on the possession of patronage rights over a church or a chapel. The patronage right was a status symbol that helped prominent families distinguish much before the closure of the rank. Shared care for a church strengthened collective memory of a family and brought its members together.¹²¹ Desiça also managed the

¹¹⁷ The commune leased from the treasury a house "formerly owned by Philippa Mençe" to be granted to Duke Hrvoje Vukčić in 1399. The house adjoined the house of Marinus Bona on the east side and Michael Resti's house on the south side (*Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CXVII, p. 48). Duke Hrvoje received some town houses to reward his disclaim of Primorje. See more in Nada Grujić and Danko Zelić, »The Palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik«. *Dubrovnik Annals* 15 (2011): pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁸ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CCXXXIII, p. 214-215. Philippa Mençe was in business relations with Petrus, son of Blasius Mençe, grandson of Pasqua Volcassio (I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 318).

¹¹⁹ *MHR*, IV: no. 1296, pp. 278-280.

¹²⁰ Beritić thinks that this chapel was the chapel of the Annunciation in *Lučarica* Street, demolished in the earthquake of 1667. In the eighteenth century, the land and the remnants of the chapel were bought by the cooper Stjepan Kiprić, who built a house on this site (L. Beritić, »Ubikacija nestalih gradjevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku«: p. 69).

¹²¹ See: Catherine E. Boyd, *Tithes and parishes in medieval Italy, the historical roots of a modern problem*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, 1952: pp. 115-119; I. Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*: p. 238; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1999: pp. 352-355.

remainder of the property she inherited following her husband's death. Documents from 1300 mention leased wooden cottages,¹²² possibly on the location of today's *Gundulićeva poljana* or further east, towards today's *Dinko Ranjina* Street.

“Volcassio block” west of Lučarica Street

The regulation of 1296 mentions *domus Volcassio* to be located in a block south of today's *Između polača*, and west of *Lučarica*.¹²³ The term *domus* as used here has a broader meaning than that of “house”: it stands for a household, a group of houses. According to M. Planić-Lončarić, this block is an example of the so-called “regular residential block”: she describes it as having a rectangular, very regular shape, bordered on the north by today's *Između polača*, and on the west by today's *Marojica Kaboga* Street. She concludes that these boundaries, western and northern sides of the block, emerged only after the 1296 regulation, while earlier the block had a more irregular shape. Planić-Lončarić speculates that a gate closed the block towards *Lučarica*. How this block had been taking shape before as well as after the 1296 regulation may be traced in the notarial documents (Figure 1, no. 3 and no. 4). The street pattern and the size of blocks mentioned in the 1296 regulation may be clearly mapped in the current urban structure of Dubrovnik.

Several documents from the 1280s show that the brothers Pasqua and Damianus Volcassio probably purchased land plots in this very block, in order to increase their estate and transform it into what would later become their residential-commercial block. In 1280, Pasqua Volcassio purchased a plot from Michael Proculo.¹²⁴ The location of the plot was described as *ante territorium Sersii Clementis* and near the land owned by Pasqua. In 1282, by an exchange with the confraternity of St Stephen, Pasqua came into possession of another plot west of the one purchased from Proculo in 1280. North of the confraternity's land there was another Pasqua Volcassio's estate, south there was a public street and westwards a house owned by *Duomo* family. His intention to accumulate property is manifest. Neighbours mentioned in the document indicate that the block may have been located north of today's *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street. In accordance to a statutory regulation of streets from 1272, that street began in the east with

¹²² *MHR*, IV: no. 380, p. 106.

¹²³ *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57.

¹²⁴ *MHR*, I: no. 225, p. 61.

“Duymo’s *furnum*”.¹²⁵ The east end of that street accommodated communal shops.¹²⁶ Today’s *Od puča* Street, running parallel with today’s *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street, was also the main communication axis in the *burgus*.

The Volcassio estate was located near the town’s commercial centre with the communal shops. For example, in 1291 the commune rented two communal shops to Sersio, Volcassio’s neighbour.¹²⁷ The plots that Pasqua purchased as shared property helped subsequently to form a block of houses owned by the Volcassio brothers. The setting of the block in the thirteenth century may have been such that Pasqua’s and Damianus’s houses were located on the perimeter, while the interior was occupied by warehouses (*fondacho*) and servants’ lodgings.¹²⁸ This was an era of intense changes in space articulation, as well as of a large mobility of town dwellers from various categories of the population.

North of Pasqua’s plots, in the space that would later come to be occupied by the Volcassio block, in the 1280s there was communal land. In 1284, a court case took place *de foris in platea*, in front of Pasqua Volcassio’s house.¹²⁹ In his 1282 testament, Pasqua Volcassio mentions *domus et stationes que sunt in campo*, the lease of which was to be managed by his wife Desa.¹³⁰ In 1282, Pasqua rented part of a communal plot.¹³¹ A year earlier, in 1281, a notarial

¹²⁵ *Et via que est a furno Doymi, vadat ab ipso furno versus ponentem recta linea usque ad viam que descendit a porta de Menci, et vadat ab ipso furno veniendo versus levantem recta linea usque ad stationes comunis que sunt in Campo...* (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 41). The Statute prescribed that a furnace (*fornus*) in a house may be exclusively built by the heir to the house, rather than the original builder (“namely, every person may do what he desires on his patrimony”). The building of furnaces was permitted only in the adjoining houses whose common wall was other than wooden separating from their neighbours (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book V, ch. 15). The 1296 street regulation described the today’s *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street ending with Ivan Celipa’s shop on the east side, and the street leading towards Menče’s gate, that is, Pasqua Picurario’s house on the western side (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57).

¹²⁶ *MHR*, I: no. 384, p. 109; *MHR*, II: no. 852, p. 194; no. 1208, p. 300.

¹²⁷ *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, I: p. 133; *MHR*, II: no. 1208, p. 300.

¹²⁸ Servants often bore their masters’ patronymic surnames, so persons renting cottages on the communal land are frequently mentioned bearing the surname Volcassio. Thus, for example, in 1284 the shoemaker Bogoe Volcassio bought half of a cottage (*capanna*) on the communal land, while in 1281 *capanna* owned by Radomilus Volcassio was registered on the communal territory. In 1299, Junius, *puer* of late Pasqua Volcassio, sold half of his wooden house on the archbishopric land (*MHR*, I: no. 688, p. 215; *MHR*, II: no. 1270, p. 321; IV: no. 50, p. 30).

¹²⁹ *MHR*, III: no. 474, pp. 177-178. On terms *campus* and *platea*, see Nada Grujić, »Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine«. *Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2003-2004): p. 153 and L. Beritić, »Ubikacija nestalih gradjevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku«: p. 61.

¹³⁰ *MHR*, I: no. 731, pp. 229-230.

¹³¹ His neighbours were the goldsmith Elia and Jacobus de Talava (who owned a cottage on the Crossio estate), Pabero and Leonardo de Cocota (*Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, I: p. 119).

document recorded that Pasqua had purchased a cottage (*capanna*) on the communal land from Michael de Syraca.¹³² Thus Pasqua rented at least two properties on the communal land north of his house block.

Let us return to the 1282 document on the exchange of real estate with the confraternity of St Stephen, by which the latter received a plot formerly owned by the Volcassios, including cottages (*territorium cum domibus de lignaminibus que sunt in dicto territorio et cum omnibus suis pertinenciis*). Its size of 4 paces was located west of the plot that Pasqua received in exchange. The position may be reconstructed using the adjoining real estate: Valius Gondula's property on the west, Stancius Zub's on the north side, Martolus Čereva's on the east side, and south also Pasqua Volcassio's (between today's *Uska* and *Kabogina* streets, south of today's *Od puča*).¹³³ While still in the ownership of the Volcassios, this plot was mentioned as property south of the land plot that in 1281 Stancius Zub had given to his daughter Serga, wife of Radost de Liutica. The size remained the same, and to the east it was bounded by a territory owned by Martolus Čereva and Georgius Gleda, to the west by Benedictus Gondula's plot, to the north by another Zub's plot, and to the south by Pasqua Volcassio's land that later would come into the hands of the confraternity of St Stephen.¹³⁴ The statutory regulation of 1296 also mentions Stancius Zub's plot as located west of the Volcassio block.¹³⁵

Pasqua purchased plots in the block south of today's *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street. In 1281, he purchased from Savinus de Cipana (Poča) a property that to the west was demarcated by Benedictus Gondula's estate, to the east by Marinus Gleda's house¹³⁶ and to the south by the monastery of St Simon's

¹³² Cf. *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, I: p. 122.

¹³³ It is interesting that in 1295 Pasqua and Damianus had a lawsuit against Martol Čereva with regard to a debt. They presented a 1268 document to acquire Martol's property (*MHR*, III: no. 591, p. 234).

¹³⁴ *MHR*, I: no. 493, p. 149.

¹³⁵ The same neighbours were mentioned in the 1296 street regulation. Stancius Zub is mentioned in a 1296 order as the eastern neighbour of Damianus Gondula and the western neighbour of Pasqua Volcassio. According to this document, Damianus Gondula's estate was located in the block between the streets *Pracatova* and *Uska*, apparently north of the estate of his brother Benedict (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57). During this period, the boundary between Stancius' and his western neighbour Damianus Gondula's estates (second and third block west of the Volcassio's block) was formed, as evidenced in the later regulation of 1296 (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57). A 1283 document discusses the boundaries between Damianus Gondula's and Stancius Zub's estates. Stancius' estate stretched 20 spans (ca. 5.12 metres) from the wall of his house and he was allowed to build whatever he wished on that land (*MHR*, II: no. 1096, pp. 269-270).

¹³⁶ There were two Marinus Gleda in this period: son of Vital and son of Orsat.

property.¹³⁷ In 1283 he bought a house from Georgius, son of Ursacius Gleda, bordered on the north by Georgius's brother Marinus's house, southwards by another Pasqua Volcassio's and Nicola Crossio's house, and westwards by a public street.¹³⁸ In August 1283, Pasqua Volcassio purchased the house of Marinus Gleda, son of Ursacius, for 150 denars, for his brother Damianus. North of this house was the *domus* of the Volcassio sons, and south the *domus* of Lampredius Mençe (Figure 1, no. 4).¹³⁹

According to the 1296 regulation, "Volcassio house" (Figure 1, no. 3) was located at the east end of the newly regulated street (today's *Između polača* Street).¹⁴⁰ This regulation also set that the house owners in the communal street stretching from Volcassio's *fondaco* to archbishopric land should pay annual rent.¹⁴¹ Further, the provision describes the houses and properties in the newly regulated street, east to west: houses and land of the Volcassio family, Stancius Zub, Damianus Gondula, Mathias Mençe, son of Marcus, and finally Triphon Georgio (and Martolus Çereva), at the western end next to the archbishopric estate. Volcassio family members as well as real estate owners named in this provision may be found in the notarial documents. "Volcassio house" is mentioned at the same location even after the fire. The eastern boundary of the Volcassio block, towards *Lučarica*, is confirmed in a 1326 council decree. The street was to be paved, and it ran south to north, *a porta Leonis usque ad fundachum illorum de Volcasse*.¹⁴²

According to a 1301 document, Pasqua Volcassio's house (possibly part of this block) was situated west of the house *super Plateam* that was sold by Maria, widow of Marinus Celipa (Cilipe)¹⁴³ to the Venetian Simon Leoni. The house was surrounded by *Platea comunis* in the east and north and Valius Sersio's tower in the south. The tower was also located west of another plot (*terra*), also

¹³⁷ MHR, I: no. 520, p. 158.

¹³⁸ MHR, II: no. 1010, p. 245.

¹³⁹ MHR, II: no. 1153, p. 285.

¹⁴⁰ *Ceterum ordinamus super dictam stratam Comunis domus taliter fabricari, hoc vero ordine, quod incipiendo a parte levantis a domo illorum de Volcassio, in duodecim passis et dimidium hedifficentur domos quatuor cum suis gotalibus palmarum trium pro gotale, et in fine illius termini dimitatur via una palmarum decem in latitudine; The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272: Book VIII, ch. 57.*

¹⁴¹ A provision from 1296 also regulated the streets north of the *Plaça*, in the suburb of St Nicholas (*The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272: Book VIII, ch. 57*).

¹⁴² *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum*, II (hereafter: MR, II). [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, 13]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1882: p. 321.

¹⁴³ A 1281 document mentions Marinus Celippa's tower, situated on his estate near Picinego (MHR, I: no. 427, p. 124). Beritić located that tower "near the old town wall", possibly near today's *Tmušasta* Street (L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*: p. 15).

sold by Maria to Simon Leoni.¹⁴⁴ West of the tower was the house of Blasius Mençe (Pasqua Volcassio's son-in-law)¹⁴⁵ and south Prodanus Bissiga's house. Valius's ancestor, Clement Sersio, had been Pasqua Volcassio's neighbour since the 1280s. According to the 1296 statutory regulation, Sersio's shops were located at the eastern end of *Od puča* Street, with Johannes Celipa's house¹⁴⁶ (that is at the east end of today's *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street) north of them.¹⁴⁷

The western boundary of Volcassio block (today's *Marojica Kaboga* Street) may be reconstructed on the basis of the 1296 statutory regulation as well as contemporary notarial documents. From the Volcassio house and following a line stretching 12.5 paces (25.6 metres), a newly regulated street was planned to accommodate four houses including the space for the gutters between them. Furthermore, from that street (today's *Između polača*) a new street was to be laid in the direction of north-south, 10 spans wide (2.56 metres), all the way to the neighbouring land owned by Stancius Zub. According to Beritić, the new street corresponds with today's *Marojica Kaboga* Street.¹⁴⁸ The street was to follow the same line also between the monastery of St Mary's plot and Ursacius Čereva's house, and pass through the gate built into the wall, through which one enters Gondula's plot and then runs further to the old town wall. A 1299 document mentions the plot of the Mljet monastery west of Pasqua Volcassio.¹⁴⁹ Ursacius Čereva's plot is also mentioned here by the notaries: in 1297 Serga, wife of late Radost de Liutica and daughter of Stancius Zub, sold a plot to Ursacius Čereva for 180 perpers. The plot was around 4 paces long.¹⁵⁰ Stancius Zub's estate and the corner of Ursacius Čereva's house were located to the

¹⁴⁴ In 1299, Maria Cilipe mortgaged her real estate to the Venetian Simone Leoni (*MHR*, IV: no. 53, p. 31). On the Leoni family, see also B. Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik«: p. 61.

¹⁴⁵ Pasqua's daughter Nicoleta married Blasius, son of Dimitrius Mençe, in 1282. Her dowry amounted to 600 perpers, although a 1235 law prescribed that the dowry should not exceed 200 perpers.

¹⁴⁶ *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57.

¹⁴⁷ The document also mentions a certain tower. See: *Elaborat Centra za povijesne znanosti (Blok na Gundulićevoj poljani - Palača u Zuzorićevoj ulici 6 - Objekt u Pracatovoj ulici 1, Zgrada općine). Analiza razvoja i stanje*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1981: pp. 4, 26 (object marked as c-101).

¹⁴⁸ *Que quidem via transeat inter territorium monasterii S. Marie de Melita et domum Ursacii Cereve et intret per portam hedifficatam in muro per quam intratur ad territoria illorum de Gondula et taliter discurat usque ad murum civitatis veteris (The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57).

¹⁴⁹ *MHR*, IV: no. 102, p. 42. According to Resti, *Luigi di Cervia* bequeathed houses to the monastery of Mljet. *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*: p. 74.

¹⁵⁰ *MHR*, III: no. 815, p. 283.

north; Martolus Čereva's estate to the east, Damianus Gondula's to the west,¹⁵¹ and the confraternity of St Stephen to the south. As discussed before, the confraternity came into possession of that land through an exchange with Pasqua Volcassio in 1282. A four-pace plot owned by Serga Liutica was described by using the same neighbours in 1281.¹⁵² In its plans to lay the streets through private estates, the commune had to adapt to the existent property relations.¹⁵³

The Volcassio block was delimited by today's streets: *Lučarica* in the east, *Između polača* in the north, *Marojica Kaboga* on the west side and *Cvijeta Zuzorić* in the south. We also established that the block south of *Cvijeta Zuzorić* was in the ownership of Pasqua and Damianus too, located near their properties in the direction of the cathedral and *Gundulićeva poljana*. Properties used for the family's residence or for lease were in highly desirable town locations. On the north side, Volcassio block faced a public street (today *Između polača*), regulated in 1296. Somewhat later, in 1304, that street was sold to private users for 600 perpers, because it was decided that house owners in the quarter of St Blaise should no longer pay fees. This decision may be accounted by a shortage in the communal budget, but most certainly by the shift of the communication axis northwards, towards the main street, *Plaça*. This marked the final articulation of the southern border of the *Plaça*, where in the fourteenth century the planned building of communal houses began. The Major Council voted in 1326 that stone houses should be built on the communal territory. One proposal stated that houses should be built north of the extant wooden houses (thus making *Plaça* narrower), but it was not accepted. Finally, it was decided that the houses should be built by the commune rather than the owners of these wooden houses, and the latter were supposed to reimburse the commune through long-term lease. The building was to begin in front of the Volcassios' houses, in the eastern

¹⁵¹ Following the public announcement of the sale, in 1297 the western neighbour Damianus Gondula filed a complaint: *Damianus Gondule presentauit se super vendicione predicta dicens, quod vult salua esse iura sua in eo quod dicta Serga videtur vendidisse de pertinenciis territorii sui* (ibidem).

¹⁵² *MHR*, I: no. 483, p. 143; no. 493 and 494, p. 149; *MHR*, II: no. 852, p. 194. Further to the west, in the description of the regulation of today's *Između polača* in 1296, after Stancius Zub's plot and before Damianus Gondula's plot, a new street was to be opened in the southward direction. It was to be 8 spans wide and reach the old town wall. Today this street is known under the name *Uska*. See: *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 57. As early as 1283, Damianus and Stancius settled on the boundaries between the estates and the width of the neighbour's estate (*MHR*, II: no. 1096, p. 269).

¹⁵³ The estate of the monastery of Mljet was obviously located south of Sergius Liutica and Ursacius Čereva, and east of Damianus and west of the Volcassio estate. Stancius Zub's property was located north of Liutica and Ursacius.

part of the *Plaça*.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the Volcassio family owned a block south of the communal land where in the early fourteenth century stood a row of wooden houses. In 1326/7, the commune decided to tear these houses down to make space for new stone communal houses for rent. First communal houses were completed around 1350. The great fire in the fourteenth century, in 1370, further strengthened the decision for the town houses to be built exclusively in stone.

The space east of Volcassio block saw major ownership changes in the fourteenth century in consequence of the demographic and economic decline, but also rise of certain patrician families. In this essay we have traced the Volcassios' real estate together with the real estate of their neighbours, as this method made it easier for us to locate the properties with greater accuracy. For example, in the early decades of the fourteenth century, Radoslava, widow of Valius Sersio, and her son Petrus (eastern neighbours of the Volcassio) ran into debt.¹⁵⁵ Following Petrus's death, the family died out. Later on, members of the Volcio family came to be mentioned on the same location (the Volcio and Sersio families belonged to the same lineage, *Vladimiri*).¹⁵⁶ Descendants of Prodanus Bissiga (Mathei),¹⁵⁷ southern neighbours of the Celipa estate, had to relinquish their properties to the Venetian Zanino Querini,¹⁵⁸ to pay off a debt. Sale of patrician estates, often to the Venetians, was not uncommon around the turn of the fourteenth century. Many impoverished patricians were forced to sell or mortgage their houses and lands to pay off their debts. In 1334, a house of the late Johannes Celipa was impounded to pay off a debt to the Venetian Nicoletto Miorato.¹⁵⁹ The noble branch of the Celipa family died out with the death of Marinçe, son of Johannes Celipa, in 1344.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Although fees were bringing 25 perpers per annum, on condition that rents should not increase (MR, V: p. 73; Danko Zelić, »Utilitas et lucrum - Općinske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku«, in: *Umjetnost i naručitelji. Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića*, vol. III, ed. Jasenka Gudelj. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010: p. 11).

¹⁵⁵ *Div. Not.*, vol. 3, f. 39 (year 1318).

¹⁵⁶ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 404. They belonged to the Gundulić and then Gučetić clan (N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, III: p. 334).

¹⁵⁷ They also belonged to the Gondula clan (Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, II. *Vlasteoski rodovi (A-L)*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: p. 71).

¹⁵⁸ B. Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik«: p. 73.

¹⁵⁹ B. Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik«: p. 79. Quirino's estate was mentioned later as well (*Div. Not.*, vol. 2, f. 142). Cvito Fisković wrote about Ragusan artisans who in 1313 carved out of stone four *balchonelli* for Martolus Tudisio and Andreas Felice (Gradi). These had to resemble the *balchoncelli* on Johannes Celipa's house on *Plaça* (C. Fisković, *Prvi poznati dubrovački graditelji*: p. 74; *Div. Canc.*, vol. 4, f. 103v).

¹⁶⁰ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, II: p. 178.

The Celipa house, located east of the Volcassio block and west of today's *Lučarica*, had at its eastern boundary a public space. In 1348 it was decided to erect the church of St Blaise in this space (communal square in front of the Major Council palace, north of the houses of the brothers Martinussius and Nicola Mençe).¹⁶¹ The description makes it clear that one of Martinussius Mençe's houses was located south of the Celipa house, and south of the space that was supposed to accommodate the church.¹⁶² Martinussius Mençe is a representative of the patriciate who in the fourteenth century accumulated great wealth and amassed real estate. He was one of the most significant creditors in the first half of the fourteenth century,¹⁶³ and he and his widow Philippa came into possession of a large number of houses in this part of the town through inheritance, purchase or repayment of debts. In the fourteenth century, the houses of Philippa Mençe are mentioned as adjoining properties to those of the Volcassio family.

With regard to the Volcassios, the family remained wealthy even after the deaths of Pasqua and Damianus. In the aftermath of the catastrophic fire of 1296, their descendants contributed large sums of money towards the financial recovery of the town. When in 1302 the commune divided the loan of 5,000 perpers among 100 persons, members of the Volcassio lineage paid off more than 20%.¹⁶⁴ Pasqua Volcassio's sons paid 502 perpers of the loan, and Desiça, Damianus's widow, paid 446 perpers.¹⁶⁵ Pasqua and Damianus as well as their descendants leased some of their real estate for the benefit of the treasury. Marinus, Damianus's only son, died very young, so after his death the real estate was managed by Damianus's

¹⁶¹ It was decided that a church should be erected in the communal street (square) in front of the palace of the Major Council, near a public street and the house of Martinussius, son of Mathias, Mençe (*MR*, II: p. 13). For the transcript of the Major Council's decree to build the church, see in I. Žile, »Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Vlaha«: p. 186; *MR*, II: p. 13.

¹⁶² Dimensions of the church were also specified: it was supposed to stretch from the communal road on the east side to Martinussius Mençe's house in the west, and end at least 2 paces from the house. The church of St Blaise, on its east side, was to stretch in its width from the southern corner of Nicholas Mençe's eastern house (one of his houses was located *apud logiam*) to the street located on the north side. The width of the communal house was supposed to remain at least 2.5 spans. On its western side, the width of the church was to match the distance from the corner of Martinussius Mençe's house to the boundary of Johannes Celipa's (*de Cilipa*) house (*MR*, II: p. 13).

¹⁶³ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, III: pp. 47-49.

¹⁶⁴ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: pp. 437-441.

¹⁶⁵ According to the chroniclers, it was then that Laurentio Volcassio apparently donated 40,000 perpers to rebuild the town quarter (*Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*: pp. 102, 235). The chroniclers might have confused the names, because Lovriča Volcassio lived later, around 1315-1363.

widow Desiça,¹⁶⁶ who remained as the usufructuary on her late husband's estate.¹⁶⁷ According to her will of 1337, Desiça designated that the lease *de domibus fundechi de platea* should continue be donated for religious purposes, the testamentary trustees being her daughter Ana and son-in-law Junius Luccari.¹⁶⁸ The same houses and shops "inside the warehouse" were later registered in *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents*. They were inherited by Ana and Junius,¹⁶⁹ and then by their sons Moretto and Nicola. Finally they came to be owned by Luca Bona and his wife Anna, a daughter of Nichola Luccari. The owners had the duty to continue to rent the shop for the benefit of the pious trusts.

North of Ana and Junius Luccari's shop there was a public street, west of it *casale* owned by Elia Čereva, and on the east side a shop of Andreas, son of Nichola Volcio. South of Ana and Junius's shop there was an interior courtyard (*corte*), and on the south side of the courtyard a house with three shops. The latter were owned by Mathias, son of Junius Volcassio, and also leased for the benefit of the treasury. West of this house there was *cassa de ser Give de Lampre de Crieva*, and on the south side a public street.¹⁷⁰ The positions of the houses, shops and the courtyard in *fondaco* show the structure of the block and its mixed residential-commercial character. Family members were connected by business ties too: Mathias's father, Junius Volcassio, traded in the Levant with Junius Luccari, husband of his niece Ana.¹⁷¹ According to *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents*, this block was located west of a house owned by Philippa Mençe, widow of the mentioned Martinussius. Namely, the house "formerly of Philippa Mençe" was bounded on the west side by a Volcio shop,¹⁷² probably the same as the shop mentioned in *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents* as located east of Ana and Junius Luccari's houses. Philippa Mençe had a number of houses in the space between the church of St Blaise and the cathedral. The

¹⁶⁶ *MHR*, III: no. 782, p. 270. Pasqua Volcassio too had a plot in this area in 1296 (*MHR*, II: no. 787, p. 271; *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 43).

¹⁶⁷ *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*: Book VIII, ch. 43. Widows enjoyed greater freedom in managing real estate than married women, though widowhood was frequently insecure. According to the Dubrovnik Statute, following her husband's death the widow enjoyed the rights to manage real estate as long as she did not remarry. She was to have a representative, in this case her brother-in-law, Pasqua Volcassio. On the position of women, see Z. Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad*: pp. 87-90, 106.

¹⁶⁸ *Testamentum Desiçe Damianusi de Uolcasso* (*Test. Not.*, vol. 4, f. 52). I am grateful to Gordan Ravančić for the copy of this document.

¹⁶⁹ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. C (B), p. 139.

¹⁷⁰ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CCVIII, p. 144.

¹⁷¹ I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 441.

¹⁷² *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. LXXXXVIII, p. 138.

house near St Blaise, mentioned in this document, may have been inherited from her husband Martinussius, though some of the houses came into her possession through the repayment of the Bucchia brothers' debts.¹⁷³

The location of the chapel of St Trinity that Pasqua Volcassio left to the treasurers to manage is not certain.¹⁷⁴ Pasqua's 1282 testament mentions a church erected near his houses, which requires consecration. According to *The Book of the Treasurers' Rents*, the chapel of St Trinity was situated *apresso la casa de Lauriça Volchasso*.¹⁷⁵ The church expenses were to be paid from the lease of Pasqua's houses and shops *que sunt in campo*. Later, a Dominican nunnery of St Mary of Angels was located on that place,¹⁷⁶ as confirmed by a document of 1422,¹⁷⁷ by which the city authorities promised a Bosnian lord Sandalj Hranić a house which had once belonged to the Volcassio family, at the time owned by the nuns of the monastery of St Mary of Angels.¹⁷⁸ The location was in any case prestigious.

Conclusion

Following their settlement in Dubrovnik, the members of the Volcassio family came to hold important offices of the state, and built family and business ties with the "old families". In a fairly short period of time, they came into

¹⁷³ *Vend. Canc. sv. 1, f. 162-162v*; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*: p. 55.

¹⁷⁴ *MHR*, I: no. 731, p. 228.

¹⁷⁵ *Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. CCVIII, p. 201. Dominican nuns of the monastery of St Mary of Angels received a house *che lago Lignussa uxor de Marinus de Dime de Mençe e lasso la ditta cassa a Laure Volcasso in perpetuum*. The house was bordered in the east by the Spavaldo (branch of the Crossios) water well and a public street; in the west with a house owned by the chapter; and on the north side by Lovriča Volcassio's house (*Knjiga rizničarskih najmova*: no. LXXXV, p. 136). The Volcassio and Mençe (Dimitrius Mençe's branch) families were called *parentella* (I. Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, I: p. 440).

¹⁷⁶ Beritić writes that the position of the chapel of St Angel was mentioned in 1281, "on the occasion of the sale of a plot owned by Stana, daughter of late Johannes Volcassio". The document, however, mentions Stana of the late Johannes Volcio rather than Volcassio (L. Beritić, »Ubikacija nestalih gradjevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku«: p. 76; *MHR*, I: no. 672, p. 210). See also Anđelko Posinković, »Povjesne crtice o dominikanskom Redu u starom Dubrovniku«. *List Dubrovačke biskupije* 17/1 (1917): p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ The house was promised when the authorities attempted to buy Sandalj's part of Konavle. In return for their concessions, the Ragusans granted citizenship and sometimes houses in the city to the lords of the neighbouring lands. See N. Grujić and D. Zelić, »The Palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik«: p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Petar's legacy was later assumed by his brother Radoslav Pavlović. See more in N. Grujić and D. Zelić, »The Palace of Duke Sandalj Hranić in Dubrovnik«: p. 12.

possession of a considerable real estate which—through inheritance, purchase and exchange—they positioned as their patrimony. In the thirteenth century this real estate was in the family ownership of Volcassio Johannis, his sons Pasqua and Damianus and their families. Notarial documents provide valuable information on the size and locations of these properties: in 1258 (1255) they mention the first property of *Volcassio Johannis* in the *burgus*, on an unknown location south of the estate of St Simon. In 1273, Pasqua purchased from the same monastery a property in the *burgus*, enclosed from all sides by the property of the Gondula brothers. In 1282, Pasqua probably exchanged this property with the Gondolas for a plot further east, adjoining his houses west of the cathedral. In the same year, he bought from the archbishopric a house next to the property he already had (which he possibly bought from Picinego in 1279). In 1283, the brothers bought two houses from Ursacius Gleda's sons (whose estate was situated to the north, near today's *Od puča* Street) and in the vicinity of the extant estate. By then, Pasqua had purchased the plots north of today's *Cvijeta Zuzorić* Street, what was to become the "Volcassio block". Next to his extant estate, in 1280 he bought a property from Michael Proculo, and in 1282 he obtained by exchange another neighbouring plot. Also, Pasqua rented wooden cottages situated on the communal land (1281, 1282). *Domus Volcassio* was the original patrimony of the family, created in the 1280s by merging several plots and forming a wall-encircled block that in its interior had warehouses and leased cottages. The block remained in their hands at least during the brothers' lives. By 1282, Pasqua had come to own an estate and a house in the block west of what would become the Volcassio block (south of Stancius Zub). Documents from 1281 and 1282 mention leaseholders living in the wooden cottages on Pasqua Volcassio's estate. This estate, together with the cottages, was exchanged with the confraternity of St Stephen. In 1278, the location of Pasqua Volcassio's estate, also known as the Volcassio sons' estate (as Damianus was still underage), was described as southwest of the Crossio estate, probably in the western part of the *burgus* of St Blaise. It is likely that this estate was also mentioned as neighbouring to the properties owned by Michael Ragnina, Marinus and Damianus Sorgo, and Mathias, son of Marinus Mençe, in the documents written between 1279 and 1281, in a dispute from 1282, and the leases of the wooden cottages between 1281 and 1283. In that part of the *burgus*, on the land "formerly owned by Bogdanus Pisino" (and in this period by Pasqua Poča/Cipana), in 1282 Pasqua bought one-quarter of a wooden cottage (*capanna*) also mentioned in 1283. Some descriptions from the documents yet remain to be reconstructed in future research.

In the thirteenth century the property market was an opportunity to invest, and the estates were also used as a security by credit transfers. Positioning and concentration of the Volcassio family estate in the eastern and northeastern part of the *burgus* in the second half of the thirteenth century was also a result of the shift of the town centre northwards, towards the *Plaça*, and eastwards, towards the main town square and the harbour. Residential buildings, the church under patronage and shops to lease were all concentrated in this area. In the western suburb the family also had several plots for lease. The planning of new streets in the space of *burgus* increased the value of their properties and stimulated a more rational use of the urban space, especially the areas alongside communication routes that could be rented for trade purposes. These developments reduced the size of individual properties, that is, encouraged an increase in the number of smaller plots. The downsizing of the plots and their increase in number was of equal interest to the commune, as it allowed better control over the space as a whole and an opportunity for planned building. The large “patrician” blocks gradually disappeared from the *burgus*, giving way to smaller, single plots which could be easily transferred or leased out. The laying of streets and plotting of the *burgus* went hand in hand with the extant property relations and often followed the present boundaries between estates, as shown in the notarial sources. The regulations show the effectiveness of the Ragusan government and the successful functioning of institutions. However, the introduction of new streets must have resulted in the demolition of some buildings and the opening of passages through private properties. The wealth of some families resulted in their ownership of a large number of properties in the *burgus* and, more generally, accumulation of capital essential for the urban society. For example, the Volcassio family took part in the renovation of the town following the 1296 fire. But in the mid-fourteenth century the family had no male offspring and died out, so much of their estate ended up in the hands of other families and institutions, through marriages and bequests. Some of these properties were burdened by perpetual rents, the income from which was intended *pro anima*, for religious deeds, managed by the treasurers of St Mary.

Residential mobility within the town was also a result of the real estate market, urban planning, and marital and clan relations with other families. Early results of the social topography of Dubrovnik’s *burgus* in the thirteenth century suggest that the contemporary political divisions of the nobility into clans may have reflected upon the distribution of the patricians estates. In this essay we have seen that the Volcassio brothers neighboured the members of

the Judas clan in the thirteenth century (Gondula, Bona, Çereva, Gleda, some Mençe), which indicates that the positioning of some families in the town space was, among other things, maybe a result of the relations between opposed clans. However, to confirm this assumption, a reconstruction of the social topography of the entire town would be necessary, as well as a multigenerational breakdown of the property relations. Eastern *burgus* was attractive to younger Volcassios because this space was oriented towards the public square and the harbour, and trade was the primary economic activity of this family. The estates of the Volcassio family were bounded in the east by the political, economic and religious centre that took its shape in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.