

Original paper  
UDC 314(497.5 Dubrovnik)“18”  
728.1(497.5 Dubrovnik)“18”  
929.5(497.5 Dubrovnik)“18”

## SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PATRICIAN HOUSES IN THE CITY OF DUBROVNIK ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1817\*

IVANA LAZAREVIĆ

**ABSTRACT:** The census of 1817 (*Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817*), taken by the Austrian authorities, is the oldest individual enumeration of the City of Dubrovnik. Based on the data available, this article analyses the spatial distribution of the patrician real property within the urban area of Dubrovnik. Although the nobility who ruled the Dubrovnik Republic until its fall in 1808 represented merely 4.02% of the overall population, the proportion of the real property in the City that they either owned or occupied (11.57%) exceeded the nobility's size by three times. Patrician houses were usually located in the elite City *saxteria*: lining the Placa or in the parallel streets next to it.

**Keywords:** Dubrovnik, census of 1817, nobility, *saxteria*, elite quarter, urban development, house

### *The population of Dubrovnik in 1817*

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the population of Dubrovnik witnessed recurrent enumerations and estimates.<sup>1</sup> The census of 1807 was taken

\* This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation, under the project number 5106.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Stulli, *Iz prošlosti Dalmacije*. Split: Književni krug, 1992: pp. 449-533; Stjepan Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike (1808.-1848)*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999: p. 199. See also: Stjepan Ćosić, »Waidmannsdorfov izvještaj o Dubrovačkom okrugu iz godine 1823«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 38 (2000): pp. 201-242.

---

**Ivana Lazarević, member of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik. Address: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, Lapadska obala 6, 20 000 Dubrovnik, Croatia. E-mail: ivana.lazarevic@du.t-com.hr.**

---

by the French authorities.<sup>2</sup> According to this count, the City itself had 4,245 inhabitants, while Pile and Ploče had 1,530 Catholics, 108 Orthodox and 227 Jewish inhabitants (Table 1).<sup>3</sup> The population size may have been somewhat greater than usual, since many inhabitants of Konavle and Župa sought refuge in Dubrovnik, having fled before the advancing Russian and Montenegrin troops. With the end of French rule, the population of Dubrovnik declined, probably due to the return of the refugees to their local area, economic out-migration, or flights from army conscription. A letter to the members of the Supreme Council of Commerce in Paris reads that because of the French occupation the number of inhabitants on the whole Republic territory decreased by 8 to 10 thousand.<sup>4</sup>

In 1815, Austrian authorities conducted a new official count of the population.<sup>5</sup> With its suburbs of Pile and Ploče, Dubrovnik had 6,274 inhabitants, whereas foreigners (110), Jews (9) and the Orthodox (40) were counted separately in *Stato nominativo di forestieri esistenti nella città e borghi di Ragusa 1815*.<sup>6</sup>

According to the census of 1817, the City of Dubrovnik with its suburbs of Pile, Ploče and the village of Bosanka had 5,598 inhabitants (Table 1).<sup>7</sup> Discrepancy

---

<sup>2</sup> *Tavola statistica di Ragusa e delle Isole Ragusa* (1807), MS 44 (State Archives of Zadar, hereafter: SAZd). See: Karl Kovač, »Crtime o statistici i o vojničkim ustanovama u republici Dubrovačkoj«. *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* 28 (1916): pp. 303-310; Stjepan Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika i demografske promjene u prošlosti*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1990: pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> This census included also the burnt down houses in Pile (134) and Ploče (9). See: S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*: pp. 22-23; Stjepan Ćosić, »O slomu Republike i ustroju francuske uprave u Dubrovniku 1808. i 1809.«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 33 (1995): p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Stijepo Obad, »Stanovništvo Dubrovnika u doba pada Republike«, in: *Beritićev zbornik*, ed. Vjekoslav Cvitanović. Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1960: pp. 241-256; S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*: p. 52; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Stato della Popolazione 1815* (Fond Intendance Dubrovačke pokrajine, State Archives of Dubrovnik, hereafter: SAD); S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 117. The data from this census may be found in an article »Statističke napomene o Dalmaciji« [Statistical Comments on Dalmatia] by an unknown author, published in April 1818 in the Viennese journal *Vaterländische Blätter* (Bernard Stulli, *Iz prošlosti Dalmacije*. Split: Književni krug, 1992: pp. 450-451).

<sup>6</sup> *Miscellanea*, vol. XVII (23), location no. 28 (SAZd); S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 117; Niko Kisić, »Popis stranaca u Dubrovniku iz 1815«. *Dubrovački horizonti* 18-19 (1978-1978): pp. 64-65. Until the first general official census in 1857, the population was counted on several occasions yet these censuses were not carried out according to the same criteria. In 1830 Dubrovnik had 6,404 inhabitants, or 6,154 in 1847 (Ivo Perić, »O stanovništvu dubrovačkog okružja i o jednom dijelu njegove imovine krajem 1830. godine«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku* 27 (1989): p. 163; S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*: pp. 24-25; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 200).

<sup>7</sup> *Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817* (Fond Okružnog poglavarstva), 1817, no. 1239, SAD (hereafter: *Popolazione 1817*).

Table 1. Number of inhabitants in Dubrovnik by sexteria in 1807 and 1817

Sexterium	Number of inhabitants	
	1807	1817
DUBROVNIK	6,158	5,598
Catholic households	5,821	4,977
Minčeta	1,285	1,047
<i>Dogana</i>	467	410
<i>Fontana Grande</i>	561	443
<i>Ospedale Civile</i>	756	601
St. Mary	645	422
<i>Forte Molo</i>	531	436
Pile - Ploče	1,530	1,550
Bosanka	48	68
Orthodox households	108	357
Jewish households	227	264

Note: In 1817, 234 Jews and 30 Catholics (servants) lived in Jewish households.

Source: *Tavola statistica di Ragusa e delle Isole Ragusa* (1807), MS 44 (SAZd); *Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817* (Fond Okružnog poglavarstva), 1817, no. 1239 (SAD); Stjepan Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika i demografske promjene u prošlosti*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1990: p. 23.

in the population age and gender structure is indicative of the traumatic circumstances in which the census was taken. A gap between men and women in the Catholic population (only 41.24% men against 58.76% women) Nenad Vekarić accounts by the post-war conditions and emigration of the economically active men. With the Orthodox, the situation was reversed: 61.06% men and 38.94% women, while the gender structure of the Jews was stable (51.28% men). The fact that the portion of Jews (4.18%) and Orthodox (6.38%) was relatively small, their gender structure had no major influence on the overall picture.<sup>8</sup> The imbalance between men and women was also evident in 1815 and

<sup>8</sup> N. Vekarić, »Promjene u spolnoj i dobnoj strukturi grada Dubrovnika izazvane ratom i padom Dubrovačke Republike«, in: *Dalmacija za francuske uprave (1806.-1813.)*, ed. Marko Trogrlić and Josip Vrandečić. Split: Književni krug – Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2011: pp. 323-337; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I - *Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011: pp. 302-306. A gap between the number of men and women is also evident in the census of 1807. The City had a ratio of 1,000 men to 1,551 women (S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*: p. 23).

1827. The census of 1815 enumerated 3,599 women and 2,675 men, while Lorenzo Vitelleschi, state civil engineer and architect, states that in 1827 the *Pretura* of Dubrovnik had 7,147 women and 6,140 men.<sup>9</sup>

By analysing the age and gender structure of the specific *sexteria*, Vekarić noted a marked correlation between the property status and emigration. In the *sexteria* housing poorer population (Minčeta and Saint Mary) the proportion of the youngest population was stable, while in the 'elite' *sexteria* (Dogana and Great Fountain) it decreased. The wealthy and middle ranks of the population tended to emigrate, while the poorer remained in the City.<sup>10</sup>

In 1817 the process of demographic transition was at the end of its first and at the start of its second stage.<sup>11</sup> With Catholics, younger population out-migrated, and the elderly contingent increased. With the nobility, the transitional process had advanced considerably in relation to the rest of Dubrovnik's population, manifested in higher mean age and small portion of child contingent. According to Vekarić, "patrician age structure reflects the real effects of the transitional process on this rank, and that, indeed, is an already fully completed phase of the transitional process, while the commoners are undergoing a phase of the stationary type (balanced child and elderly contingent) which, due to the out-migration of the economically active contingent, takes on the appearance of the regressive type".<sup>12</sup> Assessing the population on the basis of this census, he concludes that Dubrovnik's 'blood test' showed poor results: a great elderly and small child contingent, a surplus of women and shortage of men in the fertile contingent. "This is a picture of an aging city, a city deficient in several

---

<sup>9</sup> The *Pretura* of Dubrovnik covered the territory from Zaton to Plat, including the Elaphite islands. S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 117; Lorenzo Vitelleschi, *Povijesne i statističke bilješke o dubrovačkom okrugu / Notizie storiche e statistiche del circolo di Ragusa*, ed. Vinicije B. Lupis. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska - Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002: pp. 64-67.

<sup>10</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 302-306.

<sup>11</sup> Jakov Gelo has established that in Croatia the first phase took place between 1780 and 1880, the second from 1880 to 1940, and the third from 1945 to 1980 (Jakov Gelo, *Demografske promjene u Hrvatskoj 1780. do 1981. g.* Zagreb: Globus, 1997). In Dubrovnik, this process started 100 years prior to the rest of Croatia, and ended at the same time as elsewhere. See: Nenad Vekarić, »Changes in Age Patterns in the Process of Demographic Transition (Dubrovnik Data)«. *Dubrovnik Annals* 4 (2000): pp. 143-187; Nenad Vekarić and Božena Vranješ-Šoljan, »Početak demografske tranzicije u Hrvatskoj«. *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 47 (2009): pp. 9-62; again in: *Početak demografske tranzicije u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Nenad Vekarić and Božena Vranješ-Šoljan. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku and Sveučilište u Dubrovniku, 2009: pp. 9-62; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 307-311.

<sup>12</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: p. 311.

thousand inhabitants, those who had fled and never returned, but also those who had never been born but should have been born. It is a picture of a dying city, a city of fragile biological potentials. The city, indeed, will not die, but its recovery calls for a certain period of time and the necessary external impulses<sup>13</sup>.

### *Social structure of the population of Dubrovnik in 1817*

Over the centuries, the Ragusan Republic maintained the basic divide of the society into ranks and strata: nobility, wealthy citizens (*Antunini* and *Lazarini*), *popolani* and peasants. The fall of the Republic put an end to the traditional division and gave way to the blending of the once clearly-cut social strata.<sup>14</sup> Strict endogamic norms were no longer practiced, and the nobility intermarried with the non-nobles.<sup>15</sup>

Krivošić cites the data on the total number of the patricians living in the 80 city households in 1799: 600 or approximately 14% of the total population.<sup>16</sup> Inocent Ćulić in his reports from 1815/6 lists only ten noblemen as possessors (*possidenti*), who mainly lived off small rents and pensions: Antun Sorgo, Marin Bonda, Niko N. Pozza, Niko L. Pozza, Pavao Gozze, Baldo Gozze-Bassegli, Rado Gozze, Sabo Giorgi(-Bona), Orsat Ragnina and Miho Bona.<sup>17</sup>

A halt in maritime commerce and trade following the fall of the Dubrovnik Republic, as well as the taxes imposed during the French occupation, led many patrician families to financial ruin. In the first half of the nineteenth century

<sup>13</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: p. 311.

<sup>14</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 205; Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik, 2002: pp. 38-43.

<sup>15</sup> Sekundo Bucchia was the first nobleman who violated the endogamic law by marrying a labour woman of the Mihanović family from the village of Doli in 1802. Sekundo's sister-in-law, Ana, wife of Miho Zlošilo, inherited his house in Pustijerna (*Fond Zbornog prvostupanjskog građanskog i kaznenog suda u Dubrovniku, Ostavinske rasprave*, E XX-70, SAD; *Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju*, no. 145, State Archives of Split, hereafter: SAS). The last nobleman of 'pure blood' was Baldo Gradi (1861-1949). See Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela između roda i države. Salamankezi i sorbonezi*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 2005: p. 98; Irvin Lukežić, »Posljednji dubrovački vlastelin-pjesnik Nikša Matov Gradi (1825-1894)«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 46 (2008): pp. 137-225; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 318-319.

<sup>16</sup> S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika*: p. 59.

<sup>17</sup> *Miscellanea*, vol. XVII (23), location no. 16, SAZd; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 208.

a number of patrician lineages died out or emigrated.<sup>18</sup> Some noblemen were out of the state when the changes set in, and hence decided never to return. A number of them joined the Austrian Army and served throughout the Monarchy in compliance with their duty. Others moved out from the City and retreated into their villas located in the rural areas of the former Republic.<sup>19</sup> The fall of the Dubrovnik Republic marked an end to the nobility's privileged position and *de iure* the nobility ceased to exist. Individually, they applied to the new state for the reinstatement of nobility title, which was granted to them in the course of 1817 and 1818.<sup>20</sup>

By emulating the nobility's exclusiveness, *Antunini* and *Lazarini* soon faced gradual extinction. In the census of 1817 only around twenty of these families were enumerated.<sup>21</sup> During the Republic and after its fall, their members usually held administrative offices.<sup>22</sup> This was an equally difficult period for the merchants, craftsmen and sea captains, since the seafaring and trade had been brought to a standstill.<sup>23</sup>

The *popolani* were in a most difficult position, many of them constituting the city's poor. Not considering the servants and maids, who as members of patrician households lived in the elite *saxteria*, the poor mainly inhabited the peripheral parts of the city. Only a few could be found in the elite *saxteria*. For example, in the *saxterium* of *Dogana* three persons were listed as beggars, and they lived in a house without a street number near the Ploče Gate. In *Pustijerna* (*saxterium* of *Forte Molo*) 17 poor women are recorded, 9 of whom as inmates of the poorhouse. Listed among the residents of *Pustijerna* were also 26 spinners and 86 male and female servants. Overcrowded conditions in the charity institutions and poorhouses testify to the severity of the economic hardship. In the *Ospedale delle Mendiche detto degli Antonini*, located in the *saxterium* of *Dogana* (house no. 278), there were 22 wards.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: p. 320.

<sup>19</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 63, 208; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 314-315.

<sup>20</sup> J. Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike*: p. 80; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 318-319.

<sup>21</sup> *Popolazione 1817* (SAD).

<sup>22</sup> These two confraternities were abolished in 1811, all their goods being confiscated by the state and administered by the Demanium. See: S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 89, 209; Zrinka Pešorda-Vardić, »'Pučka vlastela': Društvena struktura dubrovačke bratovštine sv. Antuna u kasnom srednjem vijeku.« *Povijesni prilozi* 33 (2007): pp. 215-217; Zrinka Pešorda-Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku i Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012: p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 210-211.

<sup>24</sup> *Popolazione 1817* (SAD).

*Spatial distribution of patrician houses in 1817*

A house in the city was a status symbol, its size and location were an eloquent sign of the owner's reputation and influence, and as such family tradition considered it 'sacred'. In the early days of the commune, a landed estate was a source of income, yet with time it acquired some new dimensions. An estate and a house within the city walls had a powerful symbolic meaning.<sup>25</sup> The house epitomised the feeling of continuity, glorious past, virtues of the ancestors and family prestige. It was a place where many members of the family were born and this fact enhanced the feeling of pride and power. The coat of arms on the facade or in the lunette above the portal, as well as a chapel or a small church next to the house further emphasised this symbolism.<sup>26</sup> The coat of arms of the former proprietors was never removed from the house or destroyed, as it too was a testimony of continuity and tradition regardless of the change in ownership.<sup>27</sup> The members of a patrician lineage were expected to uphold the family heritage and hand it down to their heirs.<sup>28</sup>

There are many examples testifying to the symbolic significance of the houses in the city. Zdenka Janeković-Römer singles out the Georgio family as an illustration. Having purchased a house in the Placa and estates in Župa, Gruž and on the island of Lopud, in the mid-thirteenth century they were granted a noble status, and by the start of the fourteenth century also entered the Major Council.<sup>29</sup> One of the most rigorous punishments, that for treason,

---

<sup>25</sup> Juergen Schulz, »The houses of Tizian, Aretino and Sansovino«, in: *Titian: His World and His Legacy*, ed. David Rosand. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982: p. 83; Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1999: p. 51; Patricia Fortini Brown, »Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of Venetian Elites«, in: *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilisation of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano. Baltimore-London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000: pp. 304, 317; Nada Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu: studije o dubrovačkoj stambenoj arhitekturi 15. i 16. stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska - Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2013: p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Irena Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009: p. 130. Within the city walls the examples abound: church of St. Vid in Miho Pracat Street, church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Držić Square, chapel of the Bona family in Od puča Street, church of Our Lady of Health in Pustijerna etc.

<sup>27</sup> For example, the resident of the house no. 741 in the *sexterium* of *Forte Molo*, in 1817 was Sigismund Gradi, son of Mato, yet the coat of arms of the Ragnina adorned the lunette above the portal. Also, in the portal lunette of the Saraca palace (no. 725) stands the coat of arms of the Sorgo.

<sup>28</sup> Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: pp. 204, 242; Irena Benyovsky-Latin, »Smještaj gradskog plemstva u dalmatinskim gradovima srednjeg vijeka«. *Acta Histriae* 16/1-2 (2008): p. 39; I. Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*: p. 130.

<sup>29</sup> Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: pp. 50, 335.

Figure 1. The *sexteria* boundaries in 1817

Legend: I. Minčeta; II. Dogana; III: Fontana Grande; IV. Ospedal Civile; V. St. Mary; VI. Forte Molo (Pustijerna)

Source: *Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817 (Fond Okružnog poglavarstva)*, 1817, no. 1239 (SAD).

besides banishment also included destruction of the dwelling house.<sup>30</sup> In Venice, elite families had several houses throughout the city, but only one (commonly known as *domus magna* or *casa maior*) was of particular family significance. In most cases this house did not exceed the others in either size or extravagance, but it was the oldest and of special importance for the lineage.<sup>31</sup> According to the will drafted in 1501 by Giuliano Gondi, a wealthy merchant of Florence,

<sup>30</sup> Nella Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde. Kaznenopravni sustav Dubrovačke Republike u XVIII. stoljeću*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1997: pp. 156-157; Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 338. The same punishment awaited the conspirators in Venice. See: Dennis Romano, »Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice.« *Journal of Social History* 23/2 (1989): p. 342.

<sup>31</sup> Juergen Schulz, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice*. United States of America: Pennsylvania State University, 2004: p. 5; I. Benyovsky-Latin, »Smještaj gradskog plemstva u dalmatinskim gradovima srednjeg vijeka«: p. 40.



his heirs were to complete the construction of his palace, thereby commemorating him and the honour of the entire Gondi family.<sup>32</sup>

In a medieval city such as Dubrovnik, an increase of house plots was hardly possible, and the layout of streets and plots experienced little change over the centuries. A house could expand in size only to the adjoining plots by either purchase, marriage, inheritance or by vertical extension (adding one or more storeys to the house).

The spatial distribution of the houses within the city walls in 1817 mirrors the situation shortly after the fall of the Dubrovnik Republic. The houses of the nobility and wealthy citizens were located in the elite parts of the city, or, at that time, included the houses lining the Placa and those located in the parallel streets next to it. Historical research to date points to a different distribution pattern of the patrician houses five to six centuries earlier: the nobility was concentrated around the cathedral in the centre, as well as in the south-east part of Pustijerna.<sup>33</sup> With time, and notably after the Great Earthquake of 1667, a redistribution had taken place: noble lineages tended to occupy the locations around the Placa (Stradun).<sup>34</sup> In 1817, the nobility occupied (as residents) or owned approximately 40% of all houses in the *sexterium* of *Fontana Grande*, while their share in Pustijerna dropped to 21%, and in *Ospedal civile* down to only 13%.

Although the census of 1817 was conducted in a period marked by the nobility's great demographic recession (4.02% of the total population), the contours of the former glory could still be traced. Their share in the occupancy and ownership of real property (11.57%) exceeded that of their share in population by three times. Mapping their property by *sexteria*, they occupied 39.5% of the houses in the most elite quarter of *Fontana Grande*, 18.61% of the houses in *Dogana*, an elite part of a later date, and still owned a considerable share in

---

<sup>32</sup> Francis William Kent, »Palaces, Politics and Society in Fifteenth-Century Florence.« *Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 2 (1982): p. 46.

<sup>33</sup> Nada Grujić, »Dubrovnik - Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada.« *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 10 (1986): pp. 7-39.

<sup>34</sup> After the 1667 earthquake, communal houses on the Placa were rebuilt. As the system of communal lease could not be restored due to great expenditures, the Ragusan authorities decided to sell most of the houses to private persons. For more on this see: *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*, vols. I-II, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić. Zagreb-Dubrovnik, Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007; Danko Zelić, »Utilitas et lucrum - općinske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku«, in: *Zbornik Cvita Fiskovića*, vol. III – *Umjetnost i naručitelji*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti and Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010: pp. 9-24.

Graph 1. The proportion of nobility in the population and in the occupancy or ownership of the houses in 1817 by *saxteria*

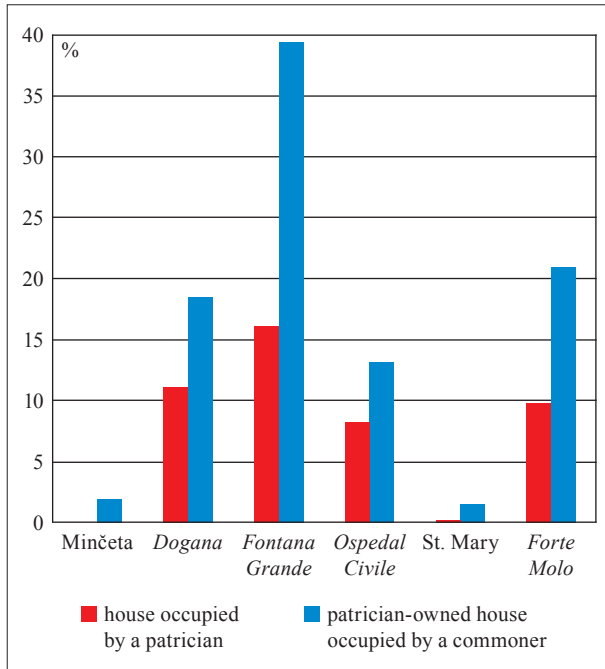


Table 2. The proportion of patrician houses by *saxteria* in 1817

Saxterium	Number of houses	Houses occupied by a patrician		Patrician-owned house occupied by a commoner	
		Number	%	Number	%
<i>Total</i>	847	57	6.73	41	4.84
Minčeta	312	1	0.32	5	1.60
Dogana	86	13	15.12	3	3.49
Fontana Grande	86	22	24.42	13	15.12
Ospedal Civile	135	11	8.15	7	5.19
St. Mary	123	-	0.00	2	1.63
Forte Molo	105	11	10.48	11	10.48

Note: Four Jewish households have not been established by *saxteria*, and for this reason they are omitted from this analysis.

Source: *Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817 (Fond Okružnog poglavarstva)*, 1817, no. 1239 (SAD).

Table 3. Noble lineages in 1817 by *saxteria*

Lineage	Total	Minčeta	Dogana	Fontana Grande	Ospedal Civile	St. Mary	Forte Molo	Pile-Ploče
Number of inhabitants	5,598	1,047	410	443	601	422	436	1,550
Number of nobles	225	4	46	72	50	1	43	9
%	4.02	0.38	11.22	16.25	8.32	0.24	9.86	0.58
Bona	12			6			6	
Bosdari	4				4			
Caboga	9		2	7				
Cerva	4		3	1				
Ghetaldi	19		1	13			5	
Giorgi-Bona	20		7		8			5
Giorgi-Bonda	5			5				
Gozze	30		6	2	6		16	
Gradi	5				3		2	
Menze	4		2	2				
Natali	14		6		8			
Pozza	19			9	7			3
Ragnina	3				2		1	
Saraca	13			5	7		1	
Sorgo	41	4	9	13	5	1	8	1
Sorgo-Cerva	6			6				
Tudisi	1		1					
Zamagna	15		9	2			4	
Zlatarić	1			1				

Source: N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: p. 308, Table 85.

the old elite *saxteria* of *Forte Molo*, i.e. Pustijerna (20.96%) and *Ospedal Civile* (13.34%). The peripheral parts of the city of older date (St. Mary) and more recent date (Minčeta) were inhabited by the poor (Table 2).

In addition to 72 patricians in the *saxterium* of *Fontana Grande*, 50 in the *saxterium* of *Ospedal Civile*, 46 in *Dogana* and 43 in *Forte Molo*, a minority of patricians lived in the suburbs of Pile and Ploče (9) (Table 3). The process of new social organisation of the urban space, anticipated in the aftermath of the Great Earthquake of 1667 by Stjepan Gradić, who in his letters proposed the spreading of the urban area to the suburb of Pile because of the lack of

space within the walls,<sup>35</sup> apparently had already started. The trend of the patricians seeking real property outside the city walls continued well into the nineteenth century.

### *The houses owned or occupied by the nobility of Dubrovnik in 1817*

The census of 1817 fails to provide data on the owners of the real property. More information on the ownership structure can be obtained from the cadastral register from 1837 and its revision from 1876, kept in the State Archives of Split.<sup>36</sup> The gap of two decades between the population census and the cadastral survey proved very propulsive in terms of the population mobility and the real property market. The data for the period 1817-1837 have been reconstructed from wills, hypothecary documents, court and notary records, etc.

In the *sexterium* of Minčeta six houses were owned by the nobility. According to the census of 1817, the family of Ivan Petar Sorgo was the only one living in this *sexterium*, while the five remaining houses were leased out.

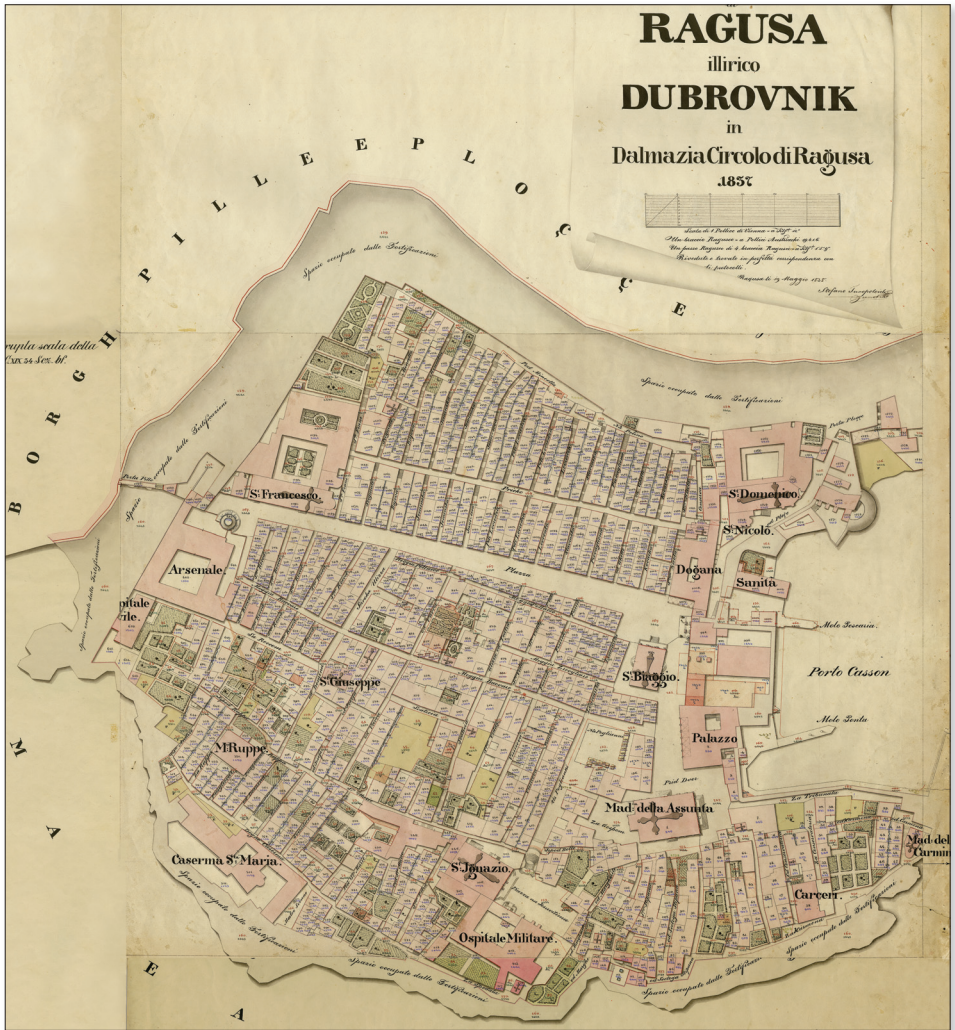
The *sexterium* of Dogana occupied the space between the Placa and Prijeko, which the patricians found attractive. In this *sexterium* five houses were owner-occupied by noble families (houses no. 261, 273, 296, 314, 320); two houses were unoccupied (houses no. 264, 265), and one house (no. 291) was leased out. The *Opera Pia* owned three houses, with the nobility as tenants (houses no. 284, 289, 312) as well as the *Demanium* (State Property) (houses no. 321, 332, 337). In one case (house no. 301) a noble family lived in a house owned by a non-noble. In addition, a noble family occupied a house no. 317, the ownership of which has not been established.

---

<sup>35</sup> Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: p. 35; Stjepan Krasić, »Obnovitelj našega grada i slobode«, in: *Stjepan Gradić, otac domovine*. Dubrovnik: Dubrovački muzeji, 2013: p. 254.

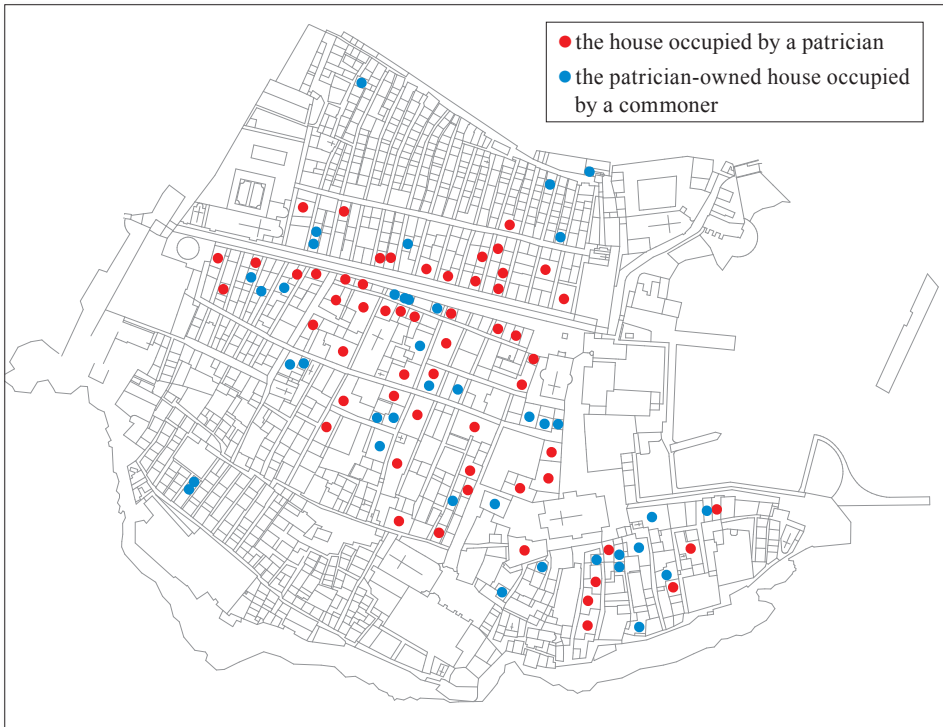
<sup>36</sup> Kamilo Ivon, »Osvrt na razvitak katastra u Dalmaciji.«, in: *Dalmacija - spomen knj. udruženja jugosl. inžinira*. Split, 1923: pp. 163-174; Tatjana Kovač, »Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju u Splitu«, in: *Blago Hrvatske iz Arhiva mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju*, ed. Stanko Piplović. Split: Historijski arhiv, 1992: pp. 11-15; Drago Butorac, »Osvrt na zemljišni katastar u Dalmaciji«, ibidem: pp. 19-29; Stanko Piplović, »Historijat prvog stabilnog katastra Dalmacije«, ibidem: pp. 29-35; S. Čosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 180; Mirela Slukan Altić, »Povijest stabilnog katastra Dalmacije - u povodu 170. obljetnice Arhiva mapa za Dalmaciju (1834.-2004.)«. *Grada i prilozima za povijest Dalmacije* 19 (2003): pp. 7-48; Irena Benyovsky, *Trogir u katastru Franje I*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest and Državni arhiv u Splitu, 2005: pp. 7-19; *Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju: katastar Dalmacije 1823.-1975. Inventar*. Zagreb-Split: Hrvatski državni arhiv and Državni arhiv u Splitu, 2006: pp. 11-28.

Figure 2. Cadastral map of Dubrovnik, AMDI, inventory number 145 (SASt)



The majority of patricians (72) lived on the other side of the Placa, in the *sexterium* of *Fontana Grande*—in 22 houses. In 1817, the nobility owned 12 houses in which they lived (no. 355-359, 365, 380, 383-384, 388, 391, 401). Four houses in their ownership were unoccupied (no. 369, 371, 379, 407), and as many as nine houses were under lease (no. 346-349, 355, 377-378, 417, 421). Seven houses were owned by the *Opera Pia* foundation with the nobles as tenants (no. 339, 341, 351, 352, 371, 420, 436). One house was state-owned (no. 394). A house no. 345 was the property

Figure 3. Patrician houses in the City of Dubrovnik in 1817



Source: *Popolazione del Circolo di Ragusa dell'anno 1817 (Fond Okružnog poglavarstva)*, 1817, no. 1239 (SAD).

of the *Domus Christi* hospital, while the house no. 431 was the property of the Piarists. It is interesting to note that all the houses within the area bounded by the streets *Između polača*, *Od puča*, *Široka* and *Pred dvorom* which in 1817 were occupied by the nobility, were actually in their ownership.

In the *sexterium* of *Ospedal Civile* the nobility lived in eight houses in their ownership (no. 518-519, 533-534, 537, 545, 552, 557). Five houses were leased out (no. 494-495, 522, 538, 547), and one was unoccupied (house no. 523). The *Opera Pia* was the owner of one house (no. 553) with patricians as tenants. House no. 549 was owned by the *Monte Pozza* foundation, while the palace of Nikola Lucijan Pozza-Sorgo was in 1817 indicated as army barracks (no. 521).

The owner of the houses no. 583 and 584 in the *sexterium* of St. Mary in 1837 was Karlo Natali. The census of 1817 records the house no. 583 as unoccupied, while that no. 584 as leased out.

In Pustijerna or in the *sexterium* of *Forte Molo* forty-three patricians lived in 1817. They owned 11 houses in which they also lived (no. 699, 705-706, 708, 719-720, 723, 725, 741, 744, 760), and leased out 9 houses (no. 686-687, 724, 726-728, 731, 740, 761). House no. 704 was owned by Nikola Pozza-Sorgo, and in 1817 it accommodated the Salt Office. In 1817 the house no. 762 was listed as granary. House no. 741 was the property of the *Opera Pia* foundation, and was leased out for life to the patrician Sigismund Gradi.

Several patrician families and individuals have been established as occupants of a number of houses. The Giorgi-Bona family were the owners of nine houses (no. 291, 353, 417, 421, 494-495, 549, 726 and 731). Nikola Pozza-Sorgo, son of Lucijan, was the owner of nine and joint-owner of three houses (no. 264-265, 267, 377-379, 522-524, 533, 704, 727). Frano Zamagna, baron of Prata, was the owner of five houses (no. 346-348, 367, 728).

### *Opera Pia and other foundations as owners of the houses occupied by the nobility in 1817*

The *Opera Pia* foundation was set up by merging several smaller trusts, its origin probably dating back to the thirteenth century, when the care for the poor became the responsibility of the Treasurer of St. Mary's (*Tesorieri di S. Maria Maggiore*).<sup>37</sup> Many grantors established special foundations or appointed their heirs to make regular annual payments to the *Opera Pia* foundation from the goods inherited.<sup>38</sup> Also, *Opera Pia* financed itself by leasing out its many buildings in the city and land in the surroundings. The foundation had considerable deposits in many European banks. Stjepan Ćosić argues that the *Opera Pia* was the principal institution of the state welfare.<sup>39</sup> In the last days of the Republic, due mainly to gross malpractice in managing this institution, a review of the foundation's property was conducted. By 1782 the foundation included 148

<sup>37</sup> Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 252; Vinicije B. Lupis, »Prilozi poznavanju dobrotvorne djelatnosti dubrovačkog zakladnog zavoda *Opera pia* (Blaga djela) i Javne dobrotvornosti«. *Dubrovnik*, N.S. 15/4 (2004): pp. 271-272.

<sup>38</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century, Ivan Volço (Volze) demanded of his heirs to finance the hospital located in his house as well as other legacies until they possessed his palace (Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 373).

<sup>39</sup> Kosta Vojnović, »Državni rizničari republike Dubrovačke«. *Rad JAZU* 127 (1896): pp. 1-101; Stjepan Ćosić, »Dubrovački zakladni zavod Blago djelo (*Opera Pia*) XIV.-XX. st.«: *Dubrave hrid* 2/4 (1995): pp. 17-19; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 190.

smaller trusts. The total liquid assets of the *Opera Pia* at the start of the nineteenth century amounted to 3 million ducats.<sup>40</sup>

Immediately upon the abolishment of the Republic in 1808, a commission was established with a task to supervise the work of all confraternities, hospitals, hospices, foundling homes, churches, schools and other charitable institutions. According to its report, in 1816 the *Opera Pia* had at its disposal only 27,917 ducats collected from rent.<sup>41</sup> Namely, French administration made frequent use of the foundation's cash in order to cover its expenditures.<sup>42</sup> Austrian authorities made no attempt to abolish the *Opera Pia* foundation, but the property was placed under the supervision of the regional treasury.<sup>43</sup> In 1817, *Opera Pia* was the owner of 12 houses, the occupants of which being the members of the nobility (houses no. 284, 289, 312, 339, 341, 351-352, 371, 420, 436, 553, 741) as perpetual lease-holders. In the past, the houses were known to be owned by the same lineage, and at one point were bequeathed to the *Opera pia* on condition that the property remained in the family's possession, and that the current possessors and heirs paid annual lease.

Public Beneficence (*Pubblica Beneficenza*) was also a state welfare organisation which cared for the poor. Following the 1846 decree of the Royal Chancery on the establishment of the foundation, it merged with *Opera Pia*, yet in 1873 separated again. The income from rent was used to finance the hospitals and poorhouses.<sup>44</sup> It was not until the twentieth century that this foundation reappeared as owner in the court records (houses no. 38, 384 [building plot 1635], 518, 547, 744 [building plot 873/1]). In 1949 this institution ceased to exist, while the *Opera Pia* has maintained continuity until the present.

Instituted on 9 January 1811, the State Property Board became responsible for the administration of the property of all abolished monasteries, the *Opera Pia* foundation, other trusts and confraternities, along with all state property.<sup>45</sup> In 1817 this Board owned 4 houses (no. 321, 332, 337, 394).

<sup>40</sup> S. Ćosić, »Dubrovački zakladni zavod Blago djelo«: pp. 18-19.

<sup>41</sup> S. Ćosić, »Dubrovački zakladni zavod Blago djelo«: p. 19; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 190; V. B. Lupis, »Prilozi poznavanju dobrotvorne djelatnosti«: p. 289.

<sup>42</sup> K. Vojnović, »Državni rizničari republike Dubrovačke.«: pp. 27-35; Stjepan Ćosić, »Dubrovnik u Ilirskim Pokrajinama.« *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 35 (1997): p. 43; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 78-79.

<sup>43</sup> K. Vojnović, »Državni rizničari republike Dubrovačke«: pp. 27-35; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 190.

<sup>44</sup> S. Ćosić, »Dubrovački zakladni zavod Blago djelo«: p. 19; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 191.

<sup>45</sup> S. Ćosić, »Dubrovnik u Ilirskim Pokrajinama«: pp. 49-50; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 88-89.



*Limitations in ownership*

## Fideicommissum

*Fideicommissum* is an old institution of the Roman law which regulated the succession of property of significance for the family's status.<sup>46</sup> These goods could not be reduced nor sold, but were tied up for the next heirs to benefit from. In this way, the owner *de facto* was in a position of a usufructuary of the property. Fideicommissum was not only employed by the nobility, but by the commoners, too.<sup>47</sup> It was established by a testator who in his will, as sole heir, appointed the firstborn son bearing his surname (*primogenitura*), and only if there were no other male heirs, the estate could be inherited by the daughters and their sons.<sup>48</sup> The heir was often in a position to pay out his brothers, and provide dowry for the sisters.<sup>49</sup> The eldest male heir was given precedence, for he was considered to be able to uphold the family continuity and ensure its unbroken descent. Female heirs did not hand down the family name, and with marriage they entered the family of their in-laws.<sup>50</sup> This arrangement of the preservation of the estate was more common in the fourteenth than in the fifteenth century, when "the logic of business partly defelected the nobility from the idea of having their heirs' hands tied with the legal protection of the family estate".<sup>51</sup> Fideicommissum was sometimes observed as custom even if it had not been formally established.<sup>52</sup> For example, as late as in 1778 Luka-Dominik Bona in his will established the

<sup>46</sup> Mario Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje s posebnim osvrtom na povijesni razvitak ustanove obiteljskog fideikomisa u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu - Pravni fakultet, 1993 (unpublished Master's thesis): pp. 42, 125-126, 158, 176; Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 335; Z. Pešorda-Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*: p. 106.

<sup>47</sup> Non-noble issues of the nobility also established fideicommissum in their wills. For example, Martol Gozze, illegitimate son of the nobleman Marin Gozze, bequeathed houses to his sons with the request that on no condition could the property be alienated (Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 337).

<sup>48</sup> See M. Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje*: pp. 125-128, 166, 181; Lujo Margetić, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo*. Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996: pp. 8, 209-210; Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 336; Mladen Andreis, Irena Benyovsky and Ana Plosnić. »Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću«. *Povijesni prilozi* 25 (2003): p. 51; I. Benyovsky-Latin, »Smještaj gradskog plemstva u dalmatinskim gradovima srednjeg vijeka«: p. 39. In France this institution was known as *droit d'aînesse* (birthright). See: Jerzy Lukowski, *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003: p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> M. Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje*: p. 166; Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 204.

<sup>50</sup> M. Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje*: pp. 180-181.

<sup>51</sup> Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 335.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 335.

fideicommissum to the benefit of his firstborn son Miho, by the census of 1817 listed to be living in the house at *Bunićeva poljana*. However, the Bona lineage had been the owner of this house, that is, the houses on this location or in the vicinity since the thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

Fideicommissum was abolished in 1812 with the introduction of the French *Code civil*. According to Josip Bersa, there soon followed a massive sale of the estates previously tied up by the fideicommissary clause. “By abolishing the fideicommissum (30 September 1811) the French have found much favour with the nobility, because they [cadets], until recently by law strongly forbidden to have any share in the legacies, have taken hold of the estates and put them up for sale for nothing”.<sup>54</sup> By a decree of 1817, the fideicommissa abolished by the French rule in the Dubrovnik district were restored.<sup>55</sup> In some cases the beneficiaries of the restored fideicommissa sued the kin who, during the French rule, freely disposed of the real property of the former fideicommissa, claiming the restitution of property or compensation. In some instances the property was given in pledge, and the restoration of fideicommissum harmed the creditors.<sup>56</sup> The re-introduction of fideicommissum slowed down the nobility’s decline, but not for long. According to Stjepan Ćosić, “the fideicommissa hindered the turnover of capital, and many houses and estates remained neglected because they were unable to sustain themselves”.<sup>57</sup> New fideicommissa were rarely established, while the old ones disappeared with the extinction of the families. In Croatia fideicommissum was abolished in 1921 with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.<sup>58</sup>

The census of 1817 made evidence of fideicommissary burden on 22 houses, 6 in the *sexterium* of *Forte Molo* (house numbers 699, 704, 706, 708, 719, 740)

<sup>53</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, ser. 10.1, vol. 83, f. 101v-112v (SAD).

<sup>54</sup> J. Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike*: p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> S. Ćosić, »Dubrovnik u Ilirskim Pokrajinama«: p. 52; S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 97, 257, 272; Frano Glavina, *Dubrovački gospari i pelješki kmetovi*. Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2010: p. 281. In France, family fideicommissa were abolished in 1792, in USA in the early nineteenth century, and by the beginning of the twentieth century they were abolished throughout Europe. After WWI they survived only in Austria and England (M. Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje*: pp. 200-201).

<sup>56</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 273. Lujo Vojnović cites the example of Nikola Pozza-Sorgo “...he did not wish to benefit from the restoration of fideicommissum, he left his estate to the creditors and died in Vienna, in poverty” (Lujo Vojnović, *Pad Dubrovnika - knjiga druga (1807.-1815.)*. Zagreb: published by author, 1908: p. 111; F. Glavina, *Dubrovački gospari i pelješki kmetovi*: p. 281).

<sup>57</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 273.

<sup>58</sup> M. Jelušić, *Sukcesivno nasljeđivanje*: pp. 201-202.

and 6 in *Fontana Grande* (house no. 358, store and warehouse in the houses no. 365, 377, 383, 417, 421), 6 in the *sexterium* of *Ospedal Civile* (no. 494-495, 522-523, 534, 549), 3 in the *sexterium* of *Dogana* (houses no. 264-265, 291) and one in Minčeta (house no. 70).

## Mortgages

Considerable data on the ownership of real property in Dubrovnik for the period of the French and Austrian rule can be found in the fund of the Hypothecary Office in Dubrovnik (1812-1908). At the start of the nineteenth century, and earlier, hardly a house in the city could be found which had not been burdened with a mortgage of some sort.

After the Republic's fall, first hypothecary loans with a fixed interest and regulated instalments were signed.<sup>59</sup> Hypothecary offices were opened throughout the territory of the Illyrian Provinces established in 1811.<sup>60</sup> In Dubrovnik, a Hypothecary Office was established in 1812, and acted under the supervision of the Court of First Instance.<sup>61</sup> The end of French rule had no major impact on the organisation of the Hypothecary Office. Among the creditors were citizens, clerics, patricians, as well as the *Opera Pia* or other state institutions. The documents contain data on the creditor, debtor, his profession and residence, principal and interest, along with the calculations of the instalments. The real property is most commonly described by house number and neighbours on all four sides.

## Conclusion

The census of 1817 is the oldest individual enumeration of the City of Dubrovnik which lists all the inhabitants by name, surname, and dwelling, providing thus a useful basis for an accurate mapping of particular houses in the urban area and for an analysis of the spatial distribution of the specific social groups in the City of the day.

---

<sup>59</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: pp. 276-277; F. Glavina, *Dubrovački gospari i pelješki kmetovi*: p. 254.

<sup>60</sup> S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike*: p. 2; Sanja Curić, *Hipotekarni ured u Dubrovniku (Ufficio ipotecario a Ragusa 1812.-1908.) - sumarni inventar*. Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2009 (manuscript): p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> S. Curić, *Hipotekarni ured u Dubrovniku*: p. 3.

Investigated in this study is the spatial distribution of the real property of the social stratum which had ruled Dubrovnik for centuries—the nobility. Given that the census contains only the house numbers of the patrician houses and the name of the *saxteria* in which they were located, it was necessary to establish the legal history of each real property until the present in order to facilitate their accurate ubication. A most thorough examination of the cadastral registers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, wills and probate procedures of the members of noble lineages, acquisition and sale contracts and other sources containing useful information on the houses, their location, boundaries with the adjacent properties, along with other details facilitating the identification of the property, has resulted in an accurate ubication of all the patrician houses enumerated in the census of 1817. According to the analysis, the members of 18 noble lineages—Bona, Bonda, Bosdari, Caboga, Cerva, Ghetaldi, Giorgi-Bona, Gozze, Gradi, Menze, Natali, Pozza, Ragnina, Saraca, Sorgo, Tudisi, Zamagna and Zlatarić—lived in 57 houses, in addition to their ownership of 41 houses the tenants of which did not belong to the noble circle. Although the nobility represented merely 4.02% of the total population, their share in the possession and ownership of real property exceeded that figure by three times (11.57%).

The spatial distribution of the patrician houses in 1817 mirrors the situation shortly after the fall of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Patrician houses were located in the elite parts of the city, in the first row of the houses lining the Placa and in the parallel streets next to it. Historical research to date shows that several centuries earlier the centre of the elite part of the city was around the cathedral and expanded towards the south-east and Pustijerna (i. e. the later *saxterium* of *Forte Molo*), and towards the south-west (later *saxterium* of *Ospedal Civile*). With time, and notably after the Great Earthquake of 1667, a redistribution had taken place: older elite parts became inhabited by the lower strata, while the elite part of the city moved northwards to the central positions around the Placa. In 1817 the nobility possessed or had in their ownership approximately 40% of the houses in the most elite *saxterium* of *Fontana Grande*, which included the southern side of the Placa and 18.5% of the houses in Dogana, an elite part of the city of a somewhat later date on the northern side of the Placa. They still had a considerable proportion of real property in the old elite areas, at the time included in the *saxteria* of *Forte Molo* (20.96%) and *Ospedal Civile* (13.34%); however, the areas were increasingly inhabited by the poor. In the older peripheral parts of the city (included in the *saxteria* of St. Mary and Minčeta), there were no patricians.

Translated by Vesna Baće