

For the Benefit of the Family and the City: Marital Networking of the New Citizens in Late Medieval Dubrovnik*

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Newcomers in the city

In 1435, during a court trial in Dubrovnik, a certain Bartholomew from the town of Senj in northern Dalmatia was summoned as a witness. But as soon as he appeared in court, a heated debate ensued as to whether his testimony could be valid given that he was a “foreigner” (*forestero*), so his statement was not “authentic” (... *lo suo testificare non é autentico*). However, the lawyer in court emphasized the fact that Bartholomew was from a Dalmatian town (*de ville e loghi dalmatino*), which obviously referred to the special position of Dalmatian citizens in Dubrovnik, since the citizens of Ragusa, in addition to belonging to their community, also felt a wider connection with Dalmatia.¹ The lawyer then pointed out that Bartholomew had stayed in Dubrovnik for a year and thus, according to the Ragusan customs and regulations, had become a *cittadino* (citizen) of Ragusa. Furthermore, the lawyer added that Bartholomew had children and a family in the city, that he bore all the burdens and obligations of the city, and served in the city guards as other Ragusan citizens. To the possible objection that Bartholomew was not born in Dubrovnik and had not been formally granted the citizenship right in the city council, the lawyer replied by saying that “if we take a closer look, two thirds of Ragusan citizens were not born as citizens (*citadini natives*) or created citizens (*creati per consegli*), and nevertheless, in all the affairs of the city, as well as in testimonies and other things, they are held and considered as citizens of Dubrovnik.”²

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¹ On the meaning of Dalmatian affiliation in Dubrovnik, see: Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Višegradski ugovor, temelj Dubrovačke Republike* [The Visegrád Privilege as the foundation of the Republic of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003), 117-122; eadem, “Gradation of Differences: Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Medieval Dubrovnik,” in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene, Balász Nagy, and Katalin Szende (London: Ashgate, 2009), 120-121.

² State Archive in Dubrovnik (hereafter SAD), *Senteze Cancellarie*, vol. 8c, f. 127. The discussion on the concepts of “native citizens” and “citizens privileged in the council,” which is reflected in this case, shows that the definition of the term “citizen” was very layered, and that it was not exclusively related

Mediterranean migrations during the late Middle Ages, including the migration of persons to Dubrovnik such as Bartholomew from Senj, and those between the two Adriatic coasts, and especially those from the hinterland, are a topic to which much historians' attention has been paid.³ With the growth of intermediary trade between the Mediterranean and the Balkans, and with its good strategic position, Dubrovnik provided significant opportunities for personal and professional gain, and it offered a shelter in times of political instability and economic (mis)opportunities in the

to the legal framework of birth rights or citizenship privileges granted in the city council, but also included certain criteria such as living in the city together with the family, payment of certain fiscal obligations, guarding the city, etc. In detail: Sima Ćirković, "Iz starog Dubrovnika: građani rođeni i građani stečeni" [From the old Dubrovnik: Citizens born and citizens by right], *Istorijski časopis* 56 (2008), 31, n. 31; Lovro Kunčević, "Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity in a City-State Context: The Case of Renaissance Ragusa," in *Whose Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 155-159; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku* [On the Threshold of Power: The Antunini of Dubrovnik in the late Middle Ages] (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012), 81.

³ On migrations towards Dubrovnik, see: Ilija Mitić, "Imigraciona politika Dubrovačke Republike s obzirom na ustanovu svjetovnog azila" [Ragusan immigration policy with regard to the institution of secular asylum] *Anali Istraživačkog centra JAZU u Dubrovniku* 18 (1979): 125-164; Stjepan Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika i demografske promjene u prošlosti* [The populace of Dubrovnik and demographic changes in the past] (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1990), 48-49; Bariša Krekić, "Dubrovnik as a Pole of Attraction and Point of Transition for the Hinterland Population in the Late Middle Ages," in *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600* (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate, 1997), XVII: 67-75; Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja u Dubrovnik tokom srednjeg veka* [Migrations of the population from South-Slavic lands towards Dubrovnik during the Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: SANU Ogranak u Novom Sadu and Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, Odsek za istoriju, 1995); Marijan Sivrić, *Migracije iz Hercegovine na dubrovačko područje od potresa 1667. do pada Republike 1808. godine* [Migrations from Herzegovina to the Dubrovnik region from the earthquake of 1667 to the fall of the Republic in 1808] (Dubrovnik and Mostar: Državni arhiv and Biskupski ordinarijat, 2003); Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: između prihvaćenosti i odbačenosti" [Foreigner in medieval Dubrovnik: Between acceptance and rejection], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26 (1993): 27-38; eadem, "Građani, stanovnici, podanici, stranci, inovjerci u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Citizens, inhabitants, subjects, foreigners, infidels in medieval Dubrovnik], in *Raukarov zbornik: zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, FF Press, 2005); Francesco Bettarini, "I toscani al servizio della città di Ragusa (Dubrovnik) nella prima metà del Quattrocento," *Medioevo Adriatico* 1 (2007): 135-150; Francesco Bettarini, "L'Adriatico come punto di incontro tra differenti culture giuridiche: il caso dei notai della cancelleria ragusea in età umanistica," *Medioevo Adriatico* 2 (2008): 33-54; Janeković Römer, "Gradation of Differences" (as in n. 1), 118-122; Francesco Bettarini, *La comunità pratese di Ragusa (1414-1434): crisi, economia e migrazioni collettive nel Tardo Medioevo* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2012). In the Mediterranean context, I draw attention to: Ermanno Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee: migranti, minoranze e matrimoni a Venezia nel basso medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014) and the contribution by the same author in this volume. On the role of the Italian newcomers in Dubrovnik, see also Paola Pinelli, "Florentine Merchants Traveling East through Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and the Balkans at the End of the 15th Century," in *Zbornik radova u čast akademiku Desanki Kovačević Kojić*, ed. Đuro Tošić (Banja Luka: ANURS, 2015), XVII: 67-75 and her article in this volume.

hinterland. On the other hand, the growth and development of the city necessarily required additional workforce and experts of various skills.⁴ Hence, the newcomers were vital to every city, including Dubrovnik. Their mobility did not imply just the movement of people, but also the transfer of goods, ideas, knowledge, culture, and information.⁵ With a thriving economy, largely but not exclusively based on the hinterland ore trade,⁶ the town under the Srđ mountain was growing into a highly urbanized community with established government structures and public institutions, and with an emerging identity of a harmonious aristocratic republic.

All this attracted a large and wide layer of newcomers, mostly from Hum (nowadays Herzegovina) and the Bosnian hinterland, from the Dalmatian communes, the Boka area (nowadays Montenegro), and the trans-Adriatic Italian coast. The last quarter of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century was the time of the largest population increase in the entire Ragusan history.⁷ The city welcomed both workforce and educated public service providers (chancellors, notaries, doctors, teachers, pharmacists) as well as enterprising persons who could contribute to its economic rise. City officials promised annual bonuses and exemption from taxes if

⁴ On the reciprocity of economic opportunities and migrations in Dalmatian cities, see: Tomislav Raukar, *Srednjovjekovne ekonomije i hrvatska društva* [Medieval economies and Croatian societies] (Zagreb: FF Press, 2003), 39-43. On “desirable foreigners” across Europe, see Miri Rubin, *Cities of Strangers: Making Lives in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 43-45.

⁵ Bariša Krekić, “On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik,” in *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600* (as in n. 3), XVIII: 321-332; Bettarini, “LAdriatico” (as in n. 3), 33-54; Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Slavensko i romansko tkanje dalmatinskog i dubrovačkog identiteta” [Slavic and Roman fabric of Dalmatian and Ragusan identity] in *Zbornik radova 39. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole*, ed. Krešimir Mićanović (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2011), 207-226. Cf. Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 8.

⁶ Mihailo Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni I* [On the history of mining in medieval Serbia and Bosnia I] (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1955); Mihailo Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni II* [On the history of mining in medieval Serbia and Bosnia II] (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1962.); Desanka Kovačević, *Trgovina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* [Commerce in Medieval Bosnia] (Sarajevo: Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine); Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, “Uloga rudarstva u privrednom razvoju gradskih naselja Srbije i Bosne tokom prve polovine XV vijeka” [The role of mining in the economic development of urban settlements in Serbia and Bosnia during the first half of the 15th century], *Godišnjak društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 18 (1968/69): 257-263; Sima Ćirković, “Dubrovčani kao preduzetnici u rudarstvu Srbije i Bosne” [The Ragusans as entrepreneurs in the mining of Serbia and Bosnia], *Acta historico-oeconomica Iugoslaviae* 6/1 (1979): 1-20; Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, “Il commercio raguseo di terraferma nel Medio Evo,” in *Ragusa e il Mediterraneo: Ruolo e funzioni di una Repubblica marinara da Medio Evo et Età moderna*, ed. Antonio di Vittorio (Bari: Cacucci, 1990), 61-78; Ignacij Voje, *Poslovna uspešnost trgovcev v srednjeveškem Dubrovniku* [The economic performance of merchants in medieval Dubrovnik] (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 2003), 144-169; Desanka Kovačević Kojić, *Srednjovjekovna Srebrenica XIV-XV vijek* [Medieval Srebrenica in the 14th and 15th centuries] (Belgrade: SANU, 2010); Paola Pinelli, *Tra argento grano e panni. Piero Pantella, un operatore italiano nella Ragusa del primo Quattrocento* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2013); eadem, “Le relazioni commerciali tra Firenze e Dubrovnik (XV-XVI secolo),” in *Firenze e Dubrovnik all'epoca di Marino Darsa*, ed. Paola Pinelli (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010); Pinelli, “Florentine Merchants” (as in n. 3), passim.

⁷ Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika* (as in n. 3), 51-52.

skilled masters pledged to stay for at least five years.⁸ Numerous persons from Italy and the Dalmatian cities responded to these calls, while the workforce mostly came from the hinterland.⁹

Philippus de Diversis from Lucca, who lived in the city between 1434 and 1441 as an appointed rector of the Ragusan school of humanities, also referred to Dubrovnik's need for craftsmen and labour in his description of the city of Dubrovnik written in 1440. He stated that Dubrovnik "needs all the strength of craftsmen and a multitude of people, both for defence and to provide assistance in supplying the necessary food and clothing."¹⁰ Alluding to the flourishing cloth manufacture that the Ragusans had established during the 1420s, he praised the wisdom of the Ragusan authorities, who, according to him, understood that especially cloth-making would contribute to the "good reputation of the city," because "many people flock to such cities, and wise men know that cloth production could not develop without a large number of people of both sexes." According to de Diversis, the Ragusan authorities have "realized that with the arrival of many foreigners, municipal income will increase, as well as rents, and that wine sellers will get the best price and that many other craftsmen will come to town."¹¹ Over time, just as de Diversis described, the number of merchants, craftsmen, servants, officials in the city administration and public services, as well as paid soldiers, grew greatly.¹² Obviously, the Ragusans demonstrated in the best manner what Miri Rubin has described as "imaginative willingness to attract and receive into towns and cities those who could provide service and skills."¹³

Although de Diversis' words transmit a picture of intense immigration flow in a very lively and dynamic city, and although at times a broad range of immigrants were welcomed, a spontaneous and vast influx of people was never allowed.¹⁴ The gates of Dubrovnik were opened to newcomers based on two main criteria in the

⁸ *Item quod quilibet forestus artista, qui voluerit venire ad standum et habitandum in Ragusio ad faciendum artem et tenere stationem, possit venire et stare Ragusii et esse exemptus ab omnibus facinoribus et angariis realibus et personalibus, exceptis de facto doane; et hec immunitas sit usque ad V annos habendo a comuni Ragusii, quod venerit usque ad unum annum, ut dictum est, ragusium ypp V a comuni anuatim, et quilibet, qui venerit, presente se domino comiti et faciat scribi quam artem. Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum* (hereafter: *Libri reformationum*), vol. 2, ed. Josephus Gelcich (Zagreb: JAZU, 1882), 25-26. Cf. *Libri reformationum*, vol. 2, 29-30.

⁹ Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika* (as in n. 3), 38-39; Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" (as in n. 3), 28; Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja* (as in n. 3), 59; Krekić, "Dubrovnik as a Pole of Attraction" (as in n. 3), passim; Janeković Römer, "Gradation of Differences" (as in n. 1), 123.

¹⁰ Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnog grada Dubrovnika* [A description of the famous city of Dubrovnik], trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004), 109-110 and 186.

¹¹ De Diversis, *Opis slavnog grada Dubrovnika* (as in n. 10), 110-111 and 186-187.

¹² Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" (as in n. 3), 29-30.

¹³ Cf. Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 8.

¹⁴ Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" (as in n. 3), 28; Janeković Römer, "Gradation of Differences" (as in n. 1), 123.

city's immigration policy¹⁵ – the one being the protection of the city from possible dangers (that could be caused by mass immigration as well) and the other being the usefulness of newcomers. Sometimes, like in 1363 after the plague hit the city once again, the city authorities appointed a committee with the task of “devising a way to fill the city with population.”¹⁶ However, the Ragusan authorities always tried to keep mass raids on the city under control. This is illustrated by a decision from July 1330, when the Major Council decided that the city should be better guarded, due to “a large number of foreigners who are in Dubrovnik and who continue to arrive,” and two nobles had to be elected captains, in charge of fifty men at their disposal, both nobles and non-nobles, to guard the city alternately every other night.¹⁷ It was always monitored where the newcomers were staying and what they were doing, and the authorities always supervised who was entering the city, emphasizing “that everyone was free to leave.”¹⁸ In addition, the other criterion for accepting newcomers – their usefulness for the city – is probably best evidenced by a conclusion of the *Consilium Rogatorum* (the Senate) from March 1380, which explicitly stated that three men should be chosen to investigate the case of the newest settlers from the hinterland, with the instructions to determine “how much they are (un)useful to the city,”¹⁹ that is, “how long it is needed for them to stay in town.”²⁰ The protection and wellbeing of the city were the foundation of the entire Ragusan policy-making, and that was even more emphasized in relation to the reception of new population and its inclusion in the urban community.

¹⁵ *Libri reformationum*, vol. 4, ed. Josephus Gelcich (Zagreb: JAZU, 1896), 18; Mihailo Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike I* [Decisions of the council of the Dubrovnik Republic] (Belgrade: SANU, 1951), 26, 94, 117, 126, and 212; *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392* [Decisions of the Ragusan councils, 1390-1392], ed. Nella Lonza and Zdravko Šundrica (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2005), 254-255; Janeković Römer, “Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” (as in n. 3), 28.

¹⁶ *Libri reformationum*, vol. 3, ed. Josephus Gelcich (Zagreb: JAZU, 1895), 277; Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja* (as in n. 3), 236; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 1: Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva* [The nobility of Dubrovnik, vol. 1: Roots, structure, and development of the Ragusan nobility] (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011), 234. Such “repopulation” measure was not Ragusan specificity, because, for example, after the plague in 1348 a similar provision *per ripopolare la città* was recorded in Venice. Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, 1993), 29.

¹⁷ *Libri reformationum*, vol. 2, 328; Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 123.

¹⁸ Janeković Römer, “Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” (as in n. 3), 31. Cf. Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 15-16.

¹⁹ *Prima pars ad faciendum tres, qui debeant investigare et videre illos, qui de novo venerunt Ragusium de Sclauonia, qui non sunt utiles civitati*. Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike I* (as in n. 15), 26; Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja* (as in n. 3), 236; Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 123.

²⁰ ... *ad investigandum et videndum illos, qui de novo venerunt Ragusium de partibus Scauonie, qui non sunt necessari ad standum hic*. Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike I* (as in n. 15), 26; Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja* (as in n. 3), 236; Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 123.

Citizenship – the highest stage of integration for the newcomers

As a kind of symbol of the utmost integration of newcomers,²¹ the privileges of Ragusan citizenship were granted primarily to qualified persons to whom the city gave part of its identity through privileges, economic benefits, and protection.²² However, until the mid-14th century, that is, until the *serrata* in 1332 and the closing of the nobility ranks,²³ there were no legal provisions that would precisely regulate the granting of Ragusan citizenship rights. The first Ragusan law regulating this issue was passed in 1364.²⁴ Ragusan citizenship had also been granted during the earlier communal era, as evidenced by the council's certificates of granted citizenship.²⁵ However, there were no legal provisions regulating the procedure until the middle of the 14th century. Obviously, the ruling political elite that was sitting in the city councils started to feel a stronger need to normatively regulate the issue of acquiring the Ragusan citizenship as the highest stage of immigrant integration, at least in a formal sense. Citizenship did not only involve the privileges and obligations of the person to whom it was granted, but it inevitably encompassed the issues of demographic, social, and political features of the city. The ruling elite reacted to the growing influx of population, driven by economic, demographic, and political reasons, taking into account the demography of the city and at the same time wanting to maintain the

²¹ Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 12-16. On the categories of newcomers and citizenship in Dalmatian towns, see an overview in: Tomislav Raukar, "Cives, habitatores, forenses u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima" [*Cives, habitatores, forenses* in medieval Dalmatian communes], *Historijski zbornik* 29-30 (1976-1977): 139-149.

²² On Ragusan citizenship: Jovanka Mijušković, "Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva u srednjem veku" [The granting of Ragusan citizenship in the Middle Ages], *Glas SANU* 246/9 (1961): 89-127; Janeković Römer, "Građani, stanovnici" (as in n. 3), 318-320; Ćirković, "Iz starog Dubrovnika" (as in n. 2); Janeković Römer, "Gradation of Differences" (as in n. 1), 117; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 80-96; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom: The Nobility of Dubrovnik Between the Middle Ages and Humanism* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015), 326-336; Lovro Kunčević, "Etnički i politički identitet predmodernog Dubrovnika (14-17. stoljeće)" [Ethnic and civic identity of pre-modern Dubrovnik (14th-17th centuries)], *Anali zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 55 (2017): 70-74. For analogous Venetian examples, see Reinhold C. Mueller, "Veneti facti privilegio: Stranieri naturalizzati a Venezia tra XIV e XVI secolo," in *La città e i luoghi degli stranieri: Italia XIV-XVIII secolo*, ed. P. Lanaro and D. Calabi (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 41-51; Reinhold C. Mueller, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale* (Rome: Viella, 2010), passim.

²³ Zdenka Janeković Römer, "The Closing of the Nobility and Council of Dubrovnik in the Political and Social Context of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," *Dubrovnik Annals* 23 (2019): 7-36.

²⁴ *Liber Omnium Reformationum Civitatis Ragusii*, ed. Aleksandar Solovjev (Belgrade: SKA, 1936), 79; Mijušković, "Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva" (as in n. 22), 109; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 82.

²⁵ *Libri reformationum*, vol. 5, ed. Josephus Gelcich (Zagreb: JAZU, 1897): 13, 21, 36, 90, 157, 187, 204, 208-209, 218, 228, 233, 234, 259, 263, 312, 332, and 363; Cf. *Libri reformationum*, vol. 1: 10, 22, 37-38, 67, 75, 339, and 344; *Libri reformationum*, vol. 2: 318-319. Cf. Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku* [Ragusan patriciate in the 14th century] (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1960), 79-81; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 82.

citizenship criteria at a high enough level to accept new citizens primarily for the benefit of the city and the community and, last but not least, for the benefit and protection of those who ruled it.

New citizens became so under certain conditions,²⁶ and the Ragusan authorities assessed the newcomers to see whether they would contribute to the betterment of the community. Formally, in order for someone to be considered a *de facto* citizen of Dubrovnik, it was not always necessary to go through the *de iure* admission procedure in the council. In the case of the aforementioned Bartholomew from Senj, it is clear that he did not pass the formal procedure for assigning citizenship, but he met several criteria necessary to be considered a citizen. A newcomer was to live in the city, preferably with his family. The lawyer stated in court that Bartholomew had been in the city for more than a year, and that he had children and a family there. Unlike some other cities, the Ragusan authorities were not particularly precise in determining the required length of residence, and it may be assumed that this was a stretchy condition that could be adjusted to the needs and assessments of the authorities. However, the importance of this criterion is also shown by the instruction intended for the Dubrovnik deputy to a local duke from the hinterland, in which it was pointed out that the Ragusan government “because of the increase and growth of its city has always accepted and will accept those who come and settle in its city forever, and in it they marry, and that they will consider them their citizens and subjects.”²⁷ Furthermore, in order for a newcomer to become a citizen of Dubrovnik, he was expected to acquire real estate in the city, which was also one of the usual criteria for obtaining citizenship. Owning real estate meant rootedness in the city, or at least, as Christiane Klapisch Zuber has pointed out, symbolized “a fictitious birth as a new citizen.”²⁸ The deadline for the purchase of real estate in Dubrovnik was not normatively regulated and was different from case to case.²⁹ At the same time, the acquisition of real estate was a good tool in controlling the financial “quality” of a new citizen, no doubt related to meeting the criteria of his financial “eligibility”. The expressions *subire et facere quecumque honera civitatis Ragusii* or *facere omnes faciones reales et personales* were regular in all oaths of the new citizens.³⁰ They had to pledge to bear all the burdens and obligations of the urban community. This criterion was also met by the aforementioned Bartholomew, who apparently did not pass the

²⁶ For an overview of a number of criteria that the new citizens had to meet, see Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 37-42. For Ragusan examples, see Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 117; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 88.

²⁷ SAD, *Lettere di Levante*, vol. 13, f. 119v; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 87.

²⁸ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Commentary”, in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub, and Julia Emlen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 244.

²⁹ Mijušković, “Dodeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva” (as in n. 22), 120-121.

³⁰ *Libri reformationum*, vol. 3: 34, 36, 66, and passim; *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392* (as in n. 15), 44, 54, 131, 205, and 226; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 88.

procedure in the council, but his lawyer did not fail to mention that he bore all the burdens and obligations, and that he also served in the city guard.³¹

In addition to the obligation to live in the city, buy real estate, and pay the municipal taxes, the newcomers could obtain the right of Ragusan citizenship by fulfilling two other conditions that are not directly mentioned anywhere, but rather implied. The first was the gender criterion: citizenship rights were granted exclusively to male newcomers and all Ragusan examples confirm this. Of course, this does not mean that women were not considered citizens. However, they acquired this status primarily through *ius sanguinis*, i.e. by being born to a citizen father, and by marrying a man who enjoyed the status of a citizen.³²

Likewise, the religion was nowhere explicitly mentioned, for it was, by all means, a self-evident criterion. After all, throughout the Christian West, the real line of demarcation was not that between citizens and foreigners, but that between Christians and non-Christians,³³ and in Dubrovnik this line of distinction was even more precise and defined by belonging to the Catholic faith. All citizens were to share the same, Catholic faith, and infidels or heretics were excluded from consuming the civil rights.³⁴ Dubrovnik sources do not discuss this condition at all, because it was inconceivable that the title of the Ragusan citizen be used by someone who did not share the spiritual, religious, moral, and ethical values of the Catholic community. In this sense, the example of wealthy Jacob Vodopija, originally from Konavle not far from Dubrovnik, is quite elucidating, as he, according to the genealogy of his family, changed his religion “inspired by God.” He converted from Eastern Orthodoxy to Catholicism and moved to Dubrovnik around 1340.³⁵ How strong this “divine inspiration” really was, and how much Jacob’s pragmatism prevailed, can only be guessed at. However, the fact remains that Jacob very quickly became one of the most prominent citizens of Dubrovnik of his time, and the “divine inspiration” in the form of conversion to Catholicism was obviously quite helpful along the way.

The newcomers to whom the city granted citizenship rights were mostly people of entrepreneurial spirit and of good financial status, who could buy real estate in the city and incorporate in the Ragusan society and economy. Sources from the 14th century increasingly call them *homines novi* or *novi cives*, and even more often *cittadini Ragusei*. Thus, the term *civis*, or even more often *cittadino*, became narrower and more class-coloured. Ultimately, at the end of the Middle Ages, it marked a new

³¹ The entire set of mentioned social and legal criteria (housing, family, real estate ownership, fulfilment of obligations) which the Dubrovnik government used while arguing whether a person was to be considered as a citizen of Dubrovnik, see in detail: Kunčević, “Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity” (as in n. 2), 155-156, esp. n. 7.

³² Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 88.

³³ Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee* (as in n. 3), 58.

³⁴ Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 125-132.

³⁵ SAD, *Vlajkijeva genealogija antunina* [Vlajki’s genealogy of the Antunini] (hereafter VGA), f. 229; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 89.

social stratum of citizens, and in the institutional sense it was made up of people gathered around the fraternity of St Anthony, founded in the mid-14th century, and later the fraternity of St Lazarus, founded in 1531, both resembling the Venetian *scuole grandi*.³⁶

On the other hand, a large number of persons, newcomers in search of bread or a safe refuge, never had the opportunity to pledge allegiance and loyalty to the Dubrovnik municipality, nor was it expected of them. The aforementioned criteria made something like that impossible for a large pool of workforce: for domestic servants, apprentices in workshops, porters in the streets, and many others who came to the city.³⁷ The number of those who really became citizens, rising from the status of inhabitants (*habitatores*) by the official granting of citizenship in the council, was very small. It should be noted that the formal criterion of admission to citizenship was not the only one that defined someone as a citizen of Dubrovnik, that is, made a new citizen from a newcomer and foreigner. Therefore, even the registered entries of granted citizenships with the "*litterae civitatis*" cannot serve to estimate the immigration flows and the number of new citizens. As Francesco Bettarini has shown on the example of Italian newcomers, in the period from 1414 to 1434 there were only four (!) newcomers from that area – physician Thomas from Ancona, Florentine Stoldo Da Rabatta, clothier Pietro Pantella from Piacenza, and Pratese Gabriello di Niccolò – who requested and obtained the legal right to be called "*cives Ragusii*".³⁸ On the other hand, Benedetto Schieri, who lived in the city for 15 years, serving faithfully and diligently as a city notary, marrying there and raising a family, never received such a privilege in the council.³⁹

As the case of Bartholomew from Senj shows, there was no sharp line between the formally and legally privileged citizens and those who are often called "those who

³⁶ On the confraternities of St Anthony and St Lazarus, see in detail: Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2) and Štefica Curić Lenert and Nella Lonza, "Bratovština Sv. Lazara u Dubrovniku (1531-1808): osnutak, ustroj, članstvo" [The Confraternity of St Lazarus in Dubrovnik (1531-1808): Foundation, organization, membership], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 54/1 (2016): 39-113. Cf. on the Venetian *scuole grandi* and the class of Venetian *cittadini*: Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia* (as in n. 16), passim; Anna Bellavitis, "Per cittadini metterete? La stratificazione della società veneziana cinquecentesca tra norma giuridica e riconoscimento sociale," *Quaderni storici* 89 (1995): 359-383; Brian Pullan, "Three Orders of Inhabitants': Social Hierarchies in the Republic of Venice," in *Orders And Hierarchies In Late Medieval And Renaissance Europe*, ed. Jeffrey Denton (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1999), 147-168; James S. Grubb, "Elite Citizens," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore, MD and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000): 339-364; Anna Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale: citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2001), passim; Monika Schmitter, "'Virtuous Riches': The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early-Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57/3 (2004): 908-969.

³⁷ Cf. Rubin, *Cities of Strangers* (as in n. 4), 92.

³⁸ Bettarini, *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), 33.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

consider themselves citizens of Dubrovnik,” being a part of the Ragusan community. They could be newcomers, foreigners, or residents who did not go through the formal procedure of receiving granted citizenship through the city council, but who lived in Dubrovnik for a long time, in the status of residents, paid all the necessary levies, actively participated in the social and economic life of the city, and enjoyed the benefits of the Ragusan identity. The categories of newcomers, foreigners, and citizens were quite complex and fluid at that time, and largely depended on one’s economic or social status, on the activities that these people were engaged in, on belonging to a particular association, such as a confraternity, or on various other social and legal circumstances.⁴⁰ Therefore, citizenship as a legal category was not the basic dividing line of social stratification in the city, but primarily a criterion of social recognizability of an individual.⁴¹ The layer of Dubrovnik’s citizens (*cittadini*), which would become their customary name in the sources, consisted of people who did not all apply for the formal citizenship privileges in the councils, but stood out for their “social capital”⁴² acquired through the art of trade, public service, education, agility, and entrepreneurial ability, and certainly through their marital networking policy, which is at the heart of this analysis.

Marriages and social networking of the new citizens

Newcomers from the category of new Ragusan citizens, those who can be called “desirable newcomers”⁴³ – such as ore, leather, spice, and textile traders, pharmacists,

⁴⁰ Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee* (as in n. 3), 57. See also the contributions by Ivan Majnarić and Fabian Kümmeler in this volume.

⁴¹ Bellavitis, “Per cittadini metterete” (as in n. 36), 376-377; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 95; Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Georgius Scambe de Gostigna, habitator Ragusii olim de Arbo, uspješan Dubrovčanin bez građanskog prava” [*Georgius Scambe de Gostigna, habitator Ragusii olim de Arbo: A successful Ragusan without citizenship*] in *Artisani et mercatores...: o obrtnicima i trgovcima na Jadranskom prostoru*, ed. Marija Mogorović Crljenko and Elena Uljanić, 8. Istarski povijesni biennale (Poreč, Pula, and Pazin: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, and Državni arhiv u Pazinu, 2019), 13-15.

⁴² Although the research on social capital has been extensive in the sphere of social sciences, the concept does not have a clear, undisputed meaning. Cf. Tristan Claridge, “Social Capital and Natural Resource Management: An Important Role for Social Capital,” unpublished thesis (Brisbane: University of Queensland Australia, 2004). Therefore I am citing the definition brought by Humnath Bhandari and Kumi Yasunobu in their comprehensive overview of social capital where they have pointed out that “social capital is broadly defined to be a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing a stock of social norms, values, beliefs, trusts, obligations, relationships, networks, friends, memberships, civic engagement, information flows, and institutions that foster cooperation and collective actions for mutual benefits and contributes to economic and social development.” Humnath Bhandari and Kumi Yasunobu, “What Is Social Capital? A Comprehensive Review of the Concept,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37 (2009/06/01): 480-510.

⁴³ Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 118.

notaries, chancellors, or doctors – quickly built their social networks,⁴⁴ which served them for social affirmation and business advancement. This analysis will be limited to one of the most important lines of their social networking – marital relations. Of course, marriages cannot be interpreted exclusively in the context of their secular social understanding, materialized through the conclusion of contracts for the purpose of establishing family ties, and consequently business arrangements. Such understanding would neglect the canonical and sacramental significance of marriage, which was equally important in the medieval society, especially after the reforms carried out and regulated by the Church since the 11th century. Marriage was both a secular and a sacramental act, and, as Zdenka Janeković Römer has pointed out, one cannot speak of separate “models of marriage.”⁴⁵ However, the network of family alliances, although being only one facet of marriage, was very important. That is confirmed by the words of the famous Benedict Kotrulj, himself one of the members of the *cittadini* who are at the centre of this paper. Kotrulj (ca. 1416-1469), a Dubrovnik citizen and descendant of the 14th-century newcomer Lawrence who had arrived from the nearby city of Kotor, praised the merchants because “they go for the better, always creating family bonds that lead them to better and better ranks...”⁴⁶

However, due to the firmly established, and from 1462 lawfully prescribed patrician endogamy in Dubrovnik,⁴⁷ marital networking could not be used to reach the highest rank. As early as the 13th century, the spousal bonds of the more notable, affluent, and powerful office-holders were beginning to concentrate among them and close the noble rank for outsiders. After the *serrata* of the city councils in the 1330s, newcomers who arrived in Ragusa could not use the opportunity of joining the ruling political elite through marital ties. In the 14th century, it was prevented *de facto*, and in the following one the aforementioned law on endogamy prevented it *de iure*. In comparison, the Venetians, for example, had a far more tolerant view

⁴⁴ This analysis will omit quantitative approach on the trail of *social network analysis*, but I refer to some studies in Croatian historiography, such as Polona Dremelj, Andrej Mrvar, and Vladimir Batagelj, “Analiza rodoslova dubrovačkog vlasteoskog kruga pomoću programa Pajek” [An analysis of genealogies of the Ragusan nobility performed with the Pajek software], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 40 (2002): 105-126. For an encyclopaedic approach on the social network analysis, see: *Encyclopedia of Social Network Analysis and Mining*, ed. Reda Alhajj and Jon Rokne (New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, and London: Springer, 2014). Cf. also: John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (2nd ed. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2000) and A. Knobbe, M. Meeng, J. Vanschoren, S. Rees-Jones, and S.M. Perring, “Reconstructing Medieval Social Networks from English and Latin Charters,” *Proceedings Population Reconstruction 2014* (2014): 1-7.

⁴⁵ Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Maruša ili suđenje ljubavi: bračno-ljubavna priča iz srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika* [Maruša or love on trial: A tale of romance and marriage from medieval Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2007), 127-130.

⁴⁶ Benedikt Kotrulj, *Libro del arte dela mercatura = Knjiga o vještini trgovanja*, trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer (Dubrovnik and Zagreb: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku and Hrvatski računovođa, 2009), 435.

⁴⁷ On the strict endogamy of the Ragusan nobility, see in detail: Zdenka Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom* (as in n. 22), 111-117.

of intermarriage,⁴⁸ while in Ragusa a member of the social layer that the sources increasingly started to identify as the *cittadini* could not climb into the highest social stratum of the ruling political elite, regardless of his fortune and reputation.

Nevertheless, marital ties played a very important role in the acquisition of the “social capital” of the new citizens, especially with marriages being a transparent display of the newcomers’ integration into the local urban society.⁴⁹ As Ermanno Orlando has pointed out, marriages were a significant sign both for the newcomers, as a guarantee of inclusion and stability in the new community, and for the majority group of the local citizens, as a pledge of order and peaceful coexistence of new and domestic population.⁵⁰

Newcomers from the circle of Ragusan citizens consistently observed the marital principles that Phillipus de Diversis praised in his description of Dubrovnik in the 15th century: “If you want to get married well, marry your equal.” In other words, to be “well-networked” corresponded to de Diversis’ notion of being “well-married”, that is, into the circle of enterprising, wealthy, and successful citizens, newcomers or their descendants in the second or third generation.

The selected examples that follow also illustrate the main migration routes by which the new citizens arrived in Dubrovnik – from the nearby Kotor, from Italy, from Bosnia and Herzegovina and, of course, from the city surroundings. Newcomers from the Italian Peninsula in particular were in a sort of privileged position in terms of being welcome in the city and their consequent inclusion in the city community.⁵¹

⁴⁸ By comparison, in Venice, whose social models were so often adopted by the people of Dubrovnik, marital ties between the Venetian nobility and the rich Venetian *cittadini* were not uncommon, especially marriages between nobles and wealthy citizens. In this way, the Venetian nobility brought fresh capital into their families, while at the same time opening the way for the *cittadini* to the most prestigious parts of society. Grubb, “Elite Citizens” (as in n. 36), 350-353. On Dalmatian cities, cf.: Zdenka Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom* (as in n. 22), 113.

⁴⁹ See in detail: Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee* (as in n. 3), 195-373 and the contribution by the same author in this volume.

⁵⁰ Orlando, *Migrazioni mediterranee* (as in n. 22), 196. Formalized social relations such as marriages that reflect the creation of new connections are much easier to follow than informal ones, like friendships, although recent research trends have shown interesting possibilities and results. Cf. Julian Haseldine, *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); Guido Alfani, *Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy, Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon, and Agnese Vitali, “Social Customs and Demographic Change: The Case of Godparenthood in Catholic Europe,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51/3 (2012): 482-504; Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Julian Haseldine, “Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe,” *AMITY: The Journal of Friendship Studies* 1 (2013): 69-88; Margaret Mullett, “Power, Relations and Networks in Medieval Europe. Introduction,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 83/2 (2015): 255-259; Nella Lonza and Vedran Stojanović, “Krsna kumstva u Dubrovniku 18. stoljeća: djeca, roditelji i kumovi kao čvorovi društvenih mreža” [Baptismal kinship in eighteenth-century Dubrovnik: Children, parents, and godparents as knots in social ties], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 54/2 (2015): 293-325.

⁵¹ Janeković Römer, “Gradation of Differences” (as in n. 1), 121.

They brought with them a variety of skills and aptitudes, whether it was Kotrulj's "parte della mercatura" or expertise needed for public administration, education, or healthcare.

For example, pharmacist Piero Salimbene arrived in Dubrovnik from Venice in the mid-14th century with his small family: wife Bartolomea and only one son, Gianino.⁵² Piero was part of a large number of Venetians who, as Bariša Krekić has established, were the most populous foreigners in Dubrovnik.⁵³ In 1365, the sources called him a Ragusan *habitor*, and his social activities testify that this status was not lower-class, but simply indicated his legal position, that is, the fact that he did not have formal Dubrovnik citizenship at that time. That Piero enjoyed a great reputation in the city is evidenced by the title *ser*, which comes up in the sources after his death.⁵⁴ Piero was a witness several times in various affairs of the Dubrovnik authorities, especially in the payment of tributes to Serbian rulers and to nobles from the hinterland.⁵⁵ After the death of his wife Bartolomea in 1368, he remarried, this time to a local girl called Maruša. His only son, Gianino (Zanino), had a successful and long entrepreneurial career in the city. He was intensely engaged in trade, often in business relations with Dubrovnik's nobles, whether he traded in goods in the Levant or in real estate. In Dubrovnik, he married, first Franuša Bratko and then Dekuša, daughter of Paul de Volzigna.⁵⁶ Furthermore, all four of Gianino's daughters married prominent members of the citizenry, whose surnames are on the list of members of the confraternity of St Anthony, which gathered the leading Dubrovnik merchants of the time, and are also in the collection of genealogies of the Ragusan *cittadino* families. Thus, daughter Catherine married Chancellor Iacopo de Ugodoncis from Bologna,⁵⁷ daughter Bartolomea married Colin Vetrano,⁵⁸ daughter Maruša married Luka Bon, and daughter Linjuša married Nikola Sojmirović.⁵⁹ Gianino's heir John,

⁵² On Gianino Salimbene, extensively: Ruža Ćuk, "Mletačka porodica Salimbene u Dubrovniku u poznom srednjem vijeku" [The Venetian family of Salimbene in late medieval Dubrovnik], *Istorijski časopis* 37 (1990): 27-61.

⁵³ The largest number of Venetians lived in the city in the period between 1311 and 1350, and decreased somewhat afterwards, which was certainly influenced by the cessation of Venetian rule in Dubrovnik in 1358. However, their presence in the city was still noticeable. Bariša Krekić, "Contributions of Foreigners to Dubrovnik's Economic Growth in the Late Middle Ages," in *Dubrovnik, Italy and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980); idem, "Venetians in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Ragusans in Venice as Real Estate Owners in the Fourteenth Century," in *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600* (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate, 1997) XI: 1-48; Janeković Römer, "Gradation of Differences" (as in n. 1), 121.

⁵⁴ Ćuk, "Mletačka porodica Salimbene" (as in n. 52), 29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁵⁶ State Archives in Dubrovnik (hereafter SAD), *Libri dotium* (hereafter LD), vol. 4, 9v. On the family tree and marital bonds, see: SAD, VGA, f. 9; and Ćuk, "Mletačka porodica Salimbene" (as in n. 52), 41.

⁵⁷ Konstantin Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 26 (1904), 192.

⁵⁸ SAD, LD, vol. 4, f. 44v.

⁵⁹ SAD, VGA, f. 9

born around 1395 in Dubrovnik, married Mary, daughter of the powerful merchant and citizen Martolo Gozza Fiffa, a descendant of the *popolano* branch of the famous noble family of Goča.⁶⁰ In parallel with the familial networking among the most prominent citizens of Dubrovnik, John developed an extensive business network. He was the owner of several sailing ships on which he sailed in the Mediterranean, especially involved in trade activities in Sicily. However, the example of the Salimbene family also shows how the ascent could be quick but also short-lived, and largely dependent on demographic factors. Namely, John and Mary had no children, and with John's death in Dubrovnik this family was extinguished, although during three generations (Piero, Gianino and John) it left a significant mark on the economic and social life of the city.

A few decades after pharmacist Piero, during the great momentum of Ragusan cloth production at the beginning of the 15th century, Giorgio Brugnoli also settled in Dubrovnik. According to the family genealogy tradition, he belonged to a Mantuan noble family, and his grandfather Galeazzo was a Doctor of Law.⁶¹ The grandfather had moved from Mantua to Venice, where he had a successful career, crowned with the title of a Venetian citizen granted to him by the Venetian doge Antonio Venier. Galeazzo's father Giorgio had come to Dubrovnik around 1420 with his wife and two children, son Galeazzo and daughter Constanza, both born in Mantua.⁶² In 1428, Giorgio was privileged with the Ragusan citizenship "together with all his heirs,"⁶³ obviously fulfilling all the conditions he, as a new citizen, should have met – real estate in the city, a family with which he settled permanently, and without a doubt "financial eligibility." The Ragusan social circle of which he was a part was attested to by the guarantors for his cloth loan taken out in 1426 – the guarantors were the city physician Thomas from Ancona, teacher Giacomo from Ferrara,⁶⁴ merchant Giorgio Gucci from Florence, and merchant Marin Dersa from the distinguished *popolano* branch of the former aristocratic family of Dersa⁶⁵ – all representing the circle of Ragusan public servants, Galeazzo's compatriots from Italy, and local entrepreneurs from the circle of local citizenry. Giorgio, while already actively engaged in clothmaking, was also appointed teacher in the city in 1431, although this seems to

⁶⁰ SAD, LD, vol. 5, f. 11; Ćuk, "Mletačka porodica Salimbene" (as in n. 52). On the Gozze-Fiffa family: Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 3: Vlasteoski rodovi M-Z* [The Nobility of Dubrovnik, vol. 3: Noble kindreds M-Z], (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), 145-147; and Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 101.

⁶¹ SAD, VGA, f. 64.

⁶² Radmilo B. Pekić, "Dubrovački Antunin Galeaco Brunjoli iz Mantove" [The Ragusan Antonine Galeazzo Brugnoli from Mantua], *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini* 45/1 (2015): 45-68.

⁶³ SAD, *Consilium Maioris*, vol. 3, f. 203v; Nicolò Villanti, "Maestri di scuola a Ragusa (Dubrovnik) nel Medioevo, 1300-1450," *Dubrovnik Annals* 22 (2018), 26.

⁶⁴ Villanti, "Maestri di scuola" (as in n. 63), 25.

⁶⁵ Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Tkanine u privredi srednjovekovnog Dubrovnika* [Textiles in the economy of Medieval Dubrovnik] (Belgrade: SANU, 1982), 23; Pekić, "Dubrovački Antunin Galeaco Brunjoli" (as in n. 62), *passim*.

have been a “backup” solution until the Ragusan city authorities found a new teacher to run the school.⁶⁶

After engaging in teaching, Giorgo retired from the textile business, which was successfully taken over by his son Galeazzo. Giorgo’s children also found suitable spouses in Dubrovnik. Daughter Constanza married Giovanni-Battistino from Faenza⁶⁷ and son Galeazzo married Franuša, daughter of one of the most influential Ragusan merchants of that time, Jacob Vodopija,⁶⁸ and the widow of Christopher Alberti Bon.⁶⁹ Thus, Galeazzo Brugnoli, a Mantuan native, built one of the most prolific Ragusan merchant careers in the 15th century. He was among the most sought-after creditors in the Ragusan textile trade, and he also had his own production and sale of cloth. In 1454, together with his son Nicholas, he was enrolled in St Anthony’s confraternity, a gathering place for the wealthy citizens of Dubrovnik, and the following year he was elected *gastaldo* of the confraternity. He then performed this duty two more times – in 1460 and 1481 – and his son Nicholas was elected to the same position in 1484.⁷⁰ Galeazzo’s descendants also married into other prominent families from the ranks of the Ragusan *cittadini*. His son Nicholas married a girl from the Nale (Nalješković) family,⁷¹ and his second marriage was with a woman from the Franko family.⁷² Nicholas’s children also married members of other distinguished *cittadini* families, his sons- and daughters-in-law coming from the Cicerović, Nalješković, and Giuliani families.⁷³ Thus, the Mantuan newcomers Brugnoli significantly marked Dubrovnik’s 15th century, and a distant memory of it is still visible today, on the premises of the Ragusan Dominican church, where Galeazzo Brugnoli’s tombstone rests against the wall, with a beautifully depicted tree of life.

A similar path on the wings of the Ragusan economy is seen in another newcomer from Italy, merchant and apothecary Monaldo Viganti from Pesaro, founder of the Monaldi family in Dubrovnik.⁷⁴ During the second half of the 15th century, Monaldo

⁶⁶ Villanti, “Maestri di scuola” (as in n. 63), 26.

⁶⁷ SAD, VGA, f. 64.

⁶⁸ On the family of Vodopija, which was aggregated into the noble ranks in 1678, see: SAD, VGA, f. 229-230; Stjepan Ćosić, “Dubrovački plemići i građanski rodovi konavoskog podrijetla” [Ragusan patrician and commoner families originating from Konavle], *Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti* 1 (1998): 58-59; Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, “Raskol dubrovačkog patricijata” [Factions within the Ragusan patriciate], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001), 333; Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela između roda i države: salamankezi i sorbonezi* [The Ragusan nobility between kin and state] (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2005), 214.

⁶⁹ SAD, LD, vol. 5, ff. 114v-115; SAD, VGA, ff. 64-64v; Pekić, “Dubrovački Antunin Galeaco Brunjoli” (as in n. 62), 47-48.

⁷⁰ SAD, ser. *Confraternities*, vol. 21, *Matrikula antunina* [The Immatriculation Book of St. Anthony’s Confraternity] (hereafter: MA), ff. 32, 32v, 35v, 37v.

⁷¹ SAD, *Pacta Matrimonialia* (hereafter: PM), vol. 2, f. 173v.

⁷² SAD, PM, vol. 2, f. 173v.

⁷³ SAD, VGA, ff. 64v-65.

⁷⁴ Bogumil Hrabak, “Trgovinske veze Pezara i Dubrovnika do 1700. godine” [Commercial connections

became one of the most important creditors in the city, developing a wide business network both with the people of Dubrovnik and with the Florentines, Catalans, Venetians, Aconitines, and Sicilians.⁷⁵ He formed business companies with his fellow Ragusan citizens, as well as with Ragusan nobles. He associated his business with entrepreneurs from the *cittadini* families of Nalješković, Ljuđinjić, and Pace, but also with the noble Sorgo family, while his business partner in the Kingdom of Naples was the aforementioned Galeazzo Brugnoli.⁷⁶ The high reputation of this newcomer from Pesaro is evidenced by the fact that he was among the invited witnesses to draw up the will of Duke Stephen (Stjepan) Vukčić Kosača in 1466, when the duke invited prominent persons to Herceg Novi to witness that solemn occasion.⁷⁷

Monaldo's affiliation with the elite civic circle was confirmed by his marriage to Petronela, daughter of Stephen Nale (Nalješković), thus establishing family ties with one of the most prominent *cittadino* families.⁷⁸ The Monaldi family also connected with the influential Latinica family⁷⁹ through the marriage of Monaldo's daughter Claire with Blaise Latinica. After the death of her husband Blaise, Claire entered into a second marriage with Giacomo Giuliani, a spice dealer and likewise a member of the *cittadini* circle. Furthermore, daughter Anuhla married a citizen, Martolo Gabrieli, daughter Tomasina made a marriage contract with Michael, son of the late Jacob Alberti from the Alberti family,⁸⁰ and son Jerome married Mary, daughter of apothecary Julian Giuliani. Finally, the grandchildren of Monaldo Viganti established marital ties in the same manner, within the circle of the *cittadino* families of Giuliani, Theodoro, Staj, and Bratosaljić.⁸¹

The marital ties of the newcomers related to public administration – Ragusan chancellors, notaries, and state secretaries, who were mostly recruited from northern Italy – clearly show that the integration of newcomers from that circle was carried

between Pesaro and Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 29 (1991): 23-79; Radmilo B. Pekić, "Monaldo Viganti iz Pezara, apotekar u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Monaldo Viganti from Pesaro, an apothecary in Dubrovnik], *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini* 44/2 (2014): 109-128.

⁷⁵ Pekić, "Monaldo Viganti" (as in n. 74), passim; Ignacij Voje, "Trgovske zveze med Dubrovnikom in Markami v 14. in 15. stoletju" [Commercial connections between Dubrovnik and the Marches in the 14th and 15th centuries], *Zgodovinski časopis* 30 (1976), 284; idem, *Kreditna trgovina u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [Credit commerce in medieval Dubrovnik] (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1976), 152 and 290; Hrabak, "Trgovinske veze" (as in n. 74), passim.

⁷⁶ Pekić, "Monaldo Viganti" (as in n. 74), 117.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 122.

⁷⁸ SAD, PM, vol. 1, f. 53.

⁷⁹ Marijan Sivrić, "Rod Dobretinić-Latinica (Latinčić), trgovci i srebrenički knezovi, darovatelji franjevačkih samostana i crkava u Bosni" [The Dobretinić-Latinica (Latinčić) family, merchants and the dukes of Srebrenica, benefactors of Franciscan monasteries and churches in Bosnia], *Bosna franciscana* 30 (2009): 105-142.

⁸⁰ SAD, PM, vol. 3, ff. 80-80v.

⁸¹ SAD, VGA, ff. 267-267v.

out through marital networking with the Ragusan *cittadini* class.⁸² During the 14th century, these civil servants were still very mobile people, who mostly stayed in the city for a short period of time, depending on the duration of the service, the agreed conditions of employment, the satisfaction of the Ragusan authorities who hired them, as well as their own satisfaction with life in Dubrovnik. But over time, the number of those who settled in the city, got married, acquired real estate, and left descendants increased significantly.⁸³ For them, Dubrovnik was not just one of the stops on their professional route, but became their new, elected home. One of the longest-serving secretaries in the Ragusan office, Bartolomeo Sfondrati, who arrived in Dubrovnik in 1460 and allegedly originated from the Cremonese noble family Sfondrati,⁸⁴ remained in the city until the end of his life in 1503, twice marrying women from the circle of Ragusan citizens. His first wife was Maruša Kotrulj, daughter of John Kotrulj,⁸⁵ and his second spouse was Magdalena Pace. It was in this layer of wealthy citizens that he saw the most suitable suitors for his numerous daughters, considering that he allegedly had as many as twenty-eight (!) children. Bartolomeo founded a real chancellery “dynasty” in Ragusa, since three of his descendants became city secretaries. The Sfondratis became so settled in Dubrovnik that a hundred years later, at the end of the 16th century, the people of Dubrovnik warmly welcomed the election of Cardinal Nicholas Sfondrati of Cremona as Pope Gregory XIV, rejoicing that he was a relative of their famous and favourite naturalized citizen Bartolomeo.⁸⁶

In addition to the aforementioned Cremonese Sfondrati, notary Dolfino de Taiaboui, also from Cremona, and chancellor Xenofont (Senofonte) Filelfo of Florence married girls from the *cittadino* families Nale (Nalješćević) and Turčinović. In 1439, Dolfino chose Francheschina Nale, daughter of Marina Nale, as his wife,⁸⁷ and Senofonte Filelfo (1433-1470), son of the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), married Jakobina, daughter of the late Florio Turčinović in 1461,⁸⁸

⁸² On the Ragusan chancellery and notaries, see: Konstantin Jireček, “Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner I,” *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903): 501-521; Jireček, “Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II” (as in n. 57), 161-214; Gregor Čremošnik, “Dubrovačka kancelarija do godine 1300. i najstarije knjige dubrovačke arhive” [The Ragusan chancellery before 1300 and the oldest books in the Ragusan archives], *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH* 39 (1924): 231-253; Stjepan Ćosić, “Prinos poznavanju tajništva i arhiva Dubrovačke Republike” [A contribution to the knowledge of the secretariat and the archives of the Dubrovnik Republic], *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994): 123-145; Bettarini, “L’Adriatico” (as in n. 3), passim; Relja Seferović, “Razočarani notar: iz kasnog dubrovačkog prijepisa djela *Historia Ragusii* Giovannija Conversinija” [A discontented notary: From a late Ragusan transcript of Giovanni Conversini’s *Historia Ragusii*], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 55/1 (2017): 131-170.

⁸³ Jireček, “Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner I” (as in n. 82), 513.

⁸⁴ SAD, VGA, ff. 351-352.

⁸⁵ SAD, VGA, ff. 351-352v; PM, vol. 2, ff. 44-44v.

⁸⁶ Jireček, “Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner I” (as in n. 82), 516.

⁸⁷ SAD, LD, vol. 5, f. 175v.

⁸⁸ SAD, PM, vol. 2, ff. 111-111v.

just a year after his arrival in Ragusa.⁸⁹ Such a quick marriage somewhat surprised Senofonte's father, who complained to him in a letter that he had not informed him about the act. However, he assessed that Senofonte obviously liked Dubrovnik as well as his chosen spouse.⁹⁰ Senofonte found his wife in one of the most respectable and wealthy *cittadino* families, and his brother-in-law, Marin Turčinović, with whom Senofonte seems to have been close and through whom he probably met his fiancée, also enjoyed good standing in the city – for many years he was the chancellor of the Slavic chancellery (*cancellarius in lingua Sclava*).⁹¹ During his service in Dubrovnik, Senofonte was often engaged in diplomatic missions – to King Ferdinand of Naples in Barletta, to dukes in Milan and Modena, to representatives of the Venetian authorities in Kotor and Korčula, and to the city of Ferrara. Senofonte found his final hour in Ragusa, passing away in 1470 without ever returning to Italy, although he occasionally thought about it.⁹² His children also remained in Dubrovnik, although grandfather Francesco invited his daughter-in-law Jakobina and grandchildren to join him in Milan.⁹³

The same pattern of finding a suitable spouse among the Ragusan *cittadino* families is seen in notary Benedetto Schieri, a newcomer from Prato.⁹⁴ Similarly to Senofonte Filelfo, only a year after arriving in the city Benedetto chose Franuša degli Ugodonici, daughter of his colleague from the chancellery office, Iacopo Ugodonici from Bologna, as his spouse.⁹⁵ When Franuša passed away the following year, he entered into a second marriage with Maruša Đivolinović,⁹⁶ the young widow of Pavle Radinov Ilić, then one of the richest Dubrovnik merchants, and daughter of the respectable citizen Đivolin (Živko) Stanišić.⁹⁷ Benedetto's daughters Nikoleta and Koža married two brothers, Jakša (Jacob) and Luka, sons of the powerful merchant Vlahota Kranković,⁹⁸ and after the death of her first husband, Nikoleta married Mato Okruljić, another distinguished *cittadino*.⁹⁹ Benedetto's sons Luka and Orsat, born

⁸⁹ SAD, PM, vol. 2, f. 111. For details on Senofonte (Xenofont) Filelfo, see: Jeroen De Keyser, "Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections in the *Epistolarium* of Francesco Filelfo", *Colloquia Maruliana* 28 (2018): 82-89.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*. Cf. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II" (as in n. 57), 206 and 207; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 206.

⁹² Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II" (as in n. 57), 197; De Keyser, "Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections" (as in n. 89), 85-86.

⁹³ Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II" (as in n. 57), 197; De Keyser, "Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections" (as in n. 89), 88.

⁹⁴ On Benedetto Schieri, see Bettarini, "L'Adriatico" (as in n. 3), *passim*, and his excellent study *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), *passim*.

⁹⁵ SAD, LD, vol. 4, f. 28v; Bettarini, *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), 153.

⁹⁶ SAD, LD, vol. 4, f. 42v.

⁹⁷ SAD, VGA, Bettarini, *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), 157 and 160.

⁹⁸ SAD, VGA, ff. 73, 74; Bettarini, *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), 224.

⁹⁹ SAD, VGA, f. 213v.

in Dubrovnik, were by then completely rooted in the city, married to girls from the *cittadino* houses of Kotrulj and Vetrano,¹⁰⁰ and Luka was engaged in some diplomatic missions as a “*dilecto citadin nostro*.” However, with Luka’s death, this family was extinguished in Dubrovnik, as he and his wife Nikoleta, daughter of Colin Vetrano, did not leave any male descendants.¹⁰¹

In addition to these few illustrative examples, there were many other similar connections between the chancellery circle and the *cittadino* circle,¹⁰² and it can indeed be concluded that this was a common pattern of marital networking among these social layers.¹⁰³

A similar pattern of inclusion in the city community through marital bonds within the group of Ragusan *cittadini* is noticeable among the enterprising newcomers from the Dubrovnik hinterland, primarily from Bosnia, Hum, and Serbia, or from the Dubrovnik surroundings. However, these newcomers arrived in the city somewhat earlier than the previously mentioned office-holders in the administrative circles, that is, around the mid-14th century or even earlier. The social layer of new citizenry then began to take shape, and it was these newcomers who formed it, attracted by the opportunities offered by the strong growth of mineral wealth trade in the hinterland. The spouses of these new entrepreneurs were mostly women who either came with them or married them upon their arrival in Dubrovnik, but very often the surnames of these wives are not known. Thus, among these settlers, marital networking most often began in the second generation of sons and daughters, as illustrated by the example of the Casella family. Stephen Casella, according to the family genealogy born around 1370, moved to Dubrovnik around 1400 from the town of Rudnik in Serbia,¹⁰⁴ and his parents Lesio and Krija remained in his hometown.¹⁰⁵ In the 1420s, he became active

¹⁰⁰ SAD, PM, vol. 1, f. 3.

¹⁰¹ Bettarini, *La comunità pratese* (as in n. 3), 224-225.

¹⁰² Margarita, daughter of the long-time chancellor Andrew of Bologna, also entered a *cittadino* family by marrying Marin Gozze-Fifa, and Anuhla, daughter of Chancellor Giacomo de Ugodonisic of Bologna, by marrying Božo (Nalješko) of Dobrič’s Nale, into the Nalješković house. Likewise, all the children of Albert Bon, a notary from Belluno, who came to Dubrovnik at the invitation of the Dubrovnik authorities around 1380 and remained in the city until his death in 1407, were married to members of reputable *cittadini* houses. Notary Gasparo de Contullis from Bologna married Petronela, daughter of Blaise Vodopija. SAD, VGA, ff. 115-116; SAD, LD, vol. 3, f.64v; vol. 5, f. 33; SAD, PM, vol. 2, f. 169. Jireček, “Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II” (as in n. 57), 190; Ruža Ćuk, “Porodica Alberto (Bono) u Dubrovniku u pozno srednjem veku” [The Alberto (Bono) family in Dubrovnik during the late Middle Ages], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004), 378.

¹⁰³ In addition to notaries and chancellors, some of the then Dubrovnik doctors, also on the salary of the Dubrovnik city administration, settled for a long time in Dubrovnik and chose spouses from the *cittadino* circle. Thus, Master Petar de Reginis from Feltre married Nikoleta, daughter of Martin Franković, and Master Pasko *medicus* married Jakomina Latinica. SAD, PM, vol. 2, f. 75; SAD, PM, vol. 3., ff. 58v-59.

¹⁰⁴ SAD, VGA, f. 82.

¹⁰⁵ SAD, Tes. Not., vol. 14, ff. 111v-113, 118v-119v; Ruža Ćuk, “Porodica Kasela iz Rudnika” [The Kasela family from Rudnik], *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 1 (1995), 100.

in the ore trade, the most prosperous industry of that time.¹⁰⁶ Stephen achieved great business successes in partnership with his partner Bojko Nenковиć, with whom he dominated the trade of silver from mines in Bosnia and Serbia, mostly in the mining centre of Srebrenica.¹⁰⁷ During those years, he was the *iudex* of Srebrenica, while his partner Bojko was the *iudex* of Zvornik in Bosnia.¹⁰⁸ In Dubrovnik, Stephen married Maruša, daughter of Bratoslav Predojević, also a powerful entrepreneur in the ore trade whose father Ilija had come to Dubrovnik from Hum in the mid-14th century.¹⁰⁹

Stephen Casella is also a vivid example of the profile of many successful Dubrovnik immigrants who climbed the social ladder owing, more or less, to the factual takeover of the mines in Bosnia and Serbia, whence ores were forwarded, primarily through Venice, to the European markets. Stephen owned numerous real estates in Dubrovnik, but also in Bosnia, as well as a large amount of silverware, clothes, vineyards, and vessels. He died in March 1449 and the business was continued by his sons Francis (Frano) and Peter, both born in Dubrovnik. In the confraternity of St Anthony, a gathering place for the Ragusan mercantile elite, Frano was first mentioned in 1462.¹¹⁰ In the family circle, Frano also followed the pattern of the then already visible, albeit informal endogamy within the elite *cittadino* group. He first made a marriage contract with the prominent citizen Natal Nale (Nalješković) to marry Catherine,¹¹¹ Natal's then minor daughter.¹¹² Catherine was also sister of the wife of Benedikt Kotrulj, with whom Frano developed a cordial friendship.¹¹³ After Catherine's death, Frano made a second marriage contract with Anžula, daughter

¹⁰⁶ How much work was involved, and thus how many earning opportunities there were, is shown by some estimates which point out that only in 1422, at the time of Stephen Casella, 5672 ounces of silver were exported via Dubrovnik, worth approximately 130,000 ducats. Cf. Kovačević Kojić, "Il commercio raguseo" (as in n. 6), 72.

¹⁰⁷ SAD, VGA, f. 82; Ćuk, "Porodica Kasela" (as in n. 105), *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ SAD, *Acta consilii minoris*, vol. 3, ff. 127, 149, and 273.

¹⁰⁹ SAD, VGA, ff. 199-199v; Ćuk, "Porodica Kasela" (as in n. 105), 100.

¹¹⁰ SAD, MA, f. 33v.

¹¹¹ SAD, PM, vol. 1, ff. 71v-72; SAD, VGA, f. 82v.

¹¹² Marriages in medieval Dubrovnik entailed a relatively complex procedure that included several points: from the first arrangements of the future marriage through intermediaries, followed by an agreement on the dowry and the wedding deadlines. These deadlines could be extended for quite a while, and therefore girls could be minors during the agreement negotiations, as was the case in the marriage contract of Frano Casella and Catherine Nale; a contract could be drawn up, followed by the marriage agreement, which, especially in the higher strata, was confirmed before a notary in a document that determined the deadline for bringing the bride to her husband's house. In addition to all this, the upper social strata usually concluded dowry documents, which regulated the amount of the dowry and the payment deadlines. It was considered that the marriage was concluded by the marriage contract, regardless of the fact that the girl could remain living in her father's house for many further years. Janeković Römer, *Maruša* (as in n. 45), 130-141.

¹¹³ His famous work *Libro del arte dela mercatura* was dedicated to Frano Casella. Zdenka Janeković Römer, "U potrazi za savršenim trgovcem" [In search of a perfect merchant], in *Libro del arte dela mercatura = Knjiga o vještini trgovanja* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2009), 15.

of *cittadino* Dominic Fifa,¹¹⁴ from the family of Goçe-Fiffa. The next generation, that of Stephen's grandchildren and Frano's offspring, also established marital networks within the circle of Dubrovnik *cittadini* with the families Butko, Mažibradić, Kotrulj, and Okruljić.¹¹⁵ However, although Frano had as many as thirteen children – nine sons and four daughters – of these nine sons only Stephen and Frano married, and of these two only Stephen had a son, Frano, who in turn had no children in the three marriages he entered into (with girls from the Turčinović, Marković, and Vodopija families), and with his death in 1544 this distinguished Ragusan family died out.¹¹⁶

As I hope to have shown, the new Ragusan citizens, with the growth of their wealth and prestige from the second half of the 14th century, embarked on the path of endogamous closure, although it was not formalized in the way as the Ragusan nobility did in the mid-15th century. Just like the patricians, they adhered to de Diversis' principle of marrying equals, and to Kotrulj's principle of striving to "constantly earn and get better, always arming themselves for more." An example that would jump out of the preferred pattern of marriages in the same social milieu is very rarely found. Since the beginning of the 15th century, the trend of increased endogamy among the *cittadini* class can be traced with all families whose appearance in the city was linked to the 14th century. On the average value, approximately 70% of all marital ties of the *cittadini* families in the 15th century were within their own circle.¹¹⁷ The importance of marital networking for the Ragusan citizens is also shown by the genealogy collection entitled *Marriages Concluded by Dubrovnik Citizens with Foreigners and Nobles, both in Dubrovnik and Abroad*.¹¹⁸ This census, which lists around 100 marriages, singled out marriages of Ragusan *cittadini* with foreigners and nobles. These marriages were recorded by names, and they were given special emphasis and importance in the status of the entire *cittadini* class. The last words of Pasko Pace, a newcomer who arrived from the island of Korčula around 1420, illustrate the importance of a good marriage. In his will, Pasko went so far as to explicitly forbid his daughters from marrying illicitly born young men, as he clearly considered that such marriages would endanger the family reputation and social status.¹¹⁹ Pasko obviously succeeded in his plan, as his four daughters were married to prominent citizens from the Milinović, Butko, and Giorgi families.¹²⁰ Furthermore, he forbade his sons to return to Korčula, although that was probably partly motivated by some political conflicts and quarrels that had forced him to emigrate in the first place. In any case, he explained the request

¹¹⁴ SAD, PM, vol. 2, f. 119; SAD, VGA, f. 82v.

¹¹⁵ SAD, VGA, ff. 82v-83.

¹¹⁶ SAD, VGA, f. 83.

¹¹⁷ Calculation based on the registered marriages recorded in the registers of marriage contracts in the series *Pacta matrimonialia*.

¹¹⁸ SAD, VGA, f. 381-384v.

¹¹⁹ On his deathbed, Pasko ordered the following: *Item voglio et ordeno che nessuna delle mie fiole non se possa maridar per bastardo. Se que quche caso fossa maridada per bastardo che non habia niente del mio, ne dota ne altro niente.* SAD, Test. Not, vol. 15, f. 99-99v.

¹²⁰ SAD, VGA, f. 154-155.

he made in his will with words of faithful devotion and gratitude to the city in which he had found a home: "... because everything I have in the world, I acquired with God's help under the auspices of the Ragusan authorities. Therefore, I want my sons to live in the shadow of the most brilliant Ragusan government, as I did."¹²¹

Finally, these few illustrative examples show the networking pattern most often followed by the newcomers who became part of the Dubrovnik *cittadino* layer. The ideal path that many probably aspired to was to gain wealth and reputation in the new city, to fit into its society, to become citizens and finally, like the physician Thomas Aldoardi, originally from Pavia, to call it "their city" and "their homeland".¹²² Business networking with persons who enjoyed certain social and economic significance went hand in hand with the marital one. Marriage ties were crucial in gaining the "social capital". Through them, the foundations for companies were built, physical capital was supplied in the form of a dowry, a better place in the society was ensured, and eventually, the circle was closing with increasing endogamy. Parallel with this process of familial, social, and business networking, at the end of the Middle Ages the title of Ragusan citizen (*cittadino*) had no longer only legal connotations, but took on a status meaning. A social stratum was formed, based on the many newcomers who arrived in the city during the 14th and 15th centuries, and who, due to the closed nature of the ruling aristocratic class, could not participate in Dubrovnik's politics and government, but nevertheless affirmed themselves as the city's social elite. In this process, the support of relatives, both agnatic and cognate, was very important. Therefore, the marriage strategy of the new citizens of Dubrovnik aimed at strengthening the family and its economic and social prosperity. Marriage ties paved the path from newcomer to citizen, weaving a network of influences, interests, and friendships. Family trees were created, many of which would flourish for centuries and leave a deep mark in Ragusan history, all for the benefit and wellbeing of the family they belonged to and of the city whose citizens they had become.

¹²¹ SAD, Test. Not, vol. 15, 98.

¹²² Risto Jeremić and Jorjo Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika II* [Contributions to the history of healthcare in old Dubrovnik II] (Belgrade: Biblioteka Centralnog higijenskog zavoda, 1939), 26-27; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti* (as in n. 2), 52-53.