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## **A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF INCOMES AND PRICES IN MEDIEVAL SERBIA (14<sup>TH</sup> AND 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)**

**Abstract:** In this paper, we intend to undertake a detailed examination of data on prices and wages in medieval Serbia during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The known prices in the territory of the Serbian state will be compared with those documented in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Kotor. Due to the absence of sources, the incomes of the Serbian nobility can be partially and indirectly ascertained, taking into account the earliest surviving Ottoman defters compiled after the fall of the Despotate. For the period preceding Ottoman rule, even less is known about the wages of other strata of society, which is why we must rely on information pertaining to the area of the Ragusan Commune. We shall endeavour to identify what kinds of goods and properties the nobility and other inhabitants could afford. Based on this, we will be able to roughly gauge their standard of living. Finally, all this may enable us to perceive broader economic and social trends.

**Keywords:** prices, incomes, medieval Serbia, Dubrovnik, houses, land, nobility, coinage.

### **Introduction**

The study of the economy in the territory of medieval Serbia is fraught with numerous challenges. It is particularly difficult to ascertain the incomes and expenses of various categories of the population. First, we are confronted with insufficient sources on these matters. The extant charters of Serbian rulers and the nobility seldom provide direct information on prices and incomes of dependent inhabitants

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and their lords. Typically, they only record the obligations owed by dependent peasants to the ruler and the nobility. Nonetheless, Ottoman defters (register books) afford us some insight into the revenues of the privileged class shortly after the collapse of the Serbian medieval state. This is important given that many sipahis used to be, certainly, Serbian nobles. Also useful are data from Ragusan sources. Naturally, it must be borne in mind that data concerning prices and wages from the Ragusan region cannot be directly transposed onto the territory of the medieval Serbian state. Our intention is to cross-reference the available information in order to shed light on the purchasing power and, to an extent, the standard of living among the inhabitants of the Serbian state in the late Middle Ages – particularly the noble class.

The matter of prices and wages in the medieval Serbian state and Dubrovnik has been a longstanding subject of scholarly examination. Some insights were provided by Čedomilj Mijatović in his studies on Serbian trade in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1</sup> A wealth of specific data on prices in Serbian lands was presented by Miodrag Purković.<sup>2</sup> An extensive study on prices and wages in medieval Dubrovnik was conducted by Vuk Vinaver.<sup>3</sup> In her works on trade in grain, wine and timber, Dušanka Dinić-Knežević compiled numerous details on the prices of these commodities.<sup>4</sup> Equally indispensable is her monograph on textiles in the economy of medieval Dubrovnik.<sup>5</sup> Significant data on prices in Dubrovnik – particularly concerning textiles – are provided by Ignacij Voje in his monograph on credit trade.<sup>6</sup> When it comes to the prices of arms in Dubrovnik, the studies of Đurđica Petrović are important.<sup>7</sup> Here, we shall not dwell upon the many other works that also contain information relevant to our subject.

It should be noted that several difficulties arise when employing the extant data. For instance, when it comes to the prices of land, vineyards or houses, we are usually

<sup>1</sup> Чедомилј Мијатовић, „Студије за историју српске трговине XIII-ог и XIV-ог века“, *Гласник Српског ученог друштва* 37 (1873) 216, 230–232, 238–240, 246; idem, „Студије за историју српске трговине XIII-ог и XIV-ог века–III“, *Гласник Српског ученог друштва* 38 (1873) 92–95, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Miodrag Purković, „O cenama u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama“, *Narodna starina* 32 (1933) 260–265.

<sup>3</sup> Вук Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала, цена и надница (средњовековни Дубровник)“, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1960) 51–94.

<sup>4</sup> Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, „Trgovina vinom u Dubrovniku u XIV veku“, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* IX (1966) 39–85; eadem, „Trgovina žitom u Dubrovniku u XIV veku“, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* X (1967) 79–131; eadem, „Промет житарица између Дубровника и ближег залеђа у средњем веку“, *Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду* XII–1 (1969) 73–87; eadem, „Trgovina drvetoм u Dubrovniku u XIV veku“, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* XIV–1 (1971) 9–30.

<sup>5</sup> Душанка Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди средњовековног Дубровника*, Београд 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Ignacij Voje, *Kreditna trgovina u srednjovekovnom Dubrovniku*, Sarajevo 1976.

<sup>7</sup> Đurđica Petrović, „Magistar Johannes–Zoane oklopar Dubrovačke republike (1433–1456)“, *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja* 18 (1972) 61–94; eadem, *Dubrovačko oružje u XIV veku*, Beograd 1976; eadem, „Оружје Србије и Европа: XII–XIV век“, in: *Европа и Срби*, ed. Славенко Терзић, Београд 1996, 143–164.

not informed of their size or features. The same holds true for horses, arms, textiles or other goods – their specific qualities are rarely known to us. Finally, prices are often recorded in different currencies, requiring due consideration of their exchange rates. Consequently, any conclusions drawn must be taken with reservation.

### Prices and revenues in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

The earliest recorded data concerning specific prices in the territory of the Serbian state date to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. In his chrysobull of 1299/1300 to the monastery of St George near Skopje, King Milutin (1282–1321)<sup>8</sup> states that he purchased „рѣпиник“ in the city of Skopje from Nikola, son of priest Dmítar Devereterev, for 200 perpers. He emphasises that he erected there a palace and a court dedicated to St George.<sup>9</sup> The term *rpinije*, according to Stojan Novaković, is linked to the Celtic measure *arepennis*, from which the French *arpent* also derives. Novaković proposed that *rpinije* equated to 100 square *sežnja* (fathoms).<sup>10</sup> Sima Ćirković, however, observed that Novaković's calculations do not align with the urban plots measured in the charter, leaving the true size of *rpinije* unknown.<sup>11</sup> Vladimir Mošin argued that the term appears solely in this charter, denoting either the site of a demolished house or a plot for constructing a larger house or court in the town.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the exact size of the land bought by the king for 200 perpers remains uncertain. Further in the same document, the Serbian ruler records the purchase of houses from Dima, son of Konde, and Manojlo Kuklev, for 30 and 20 perpers<sup>13</sup>. As is well known, the perpers in the

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<sup>8</sup> Srđan Pirivatrić concluded that, in fact, these were two charters, the first issued in 1298 and the second in 1299/1300, following the king's marriage to Simonida: Срђан Пириватрић, „Хронологија првих владарских аката краља Милутина издатих после освајања Скопља“, in: ПЕРИБОЛОС. Зборник у част Мирјане Живојиновић I, ed. Дејан Џелебџић & Бојан Миљковић, Београд 2015, 208, 212–213. For our research, however, this is not of greater importance.

<sup>9</sup> Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника, књ. I, (1186–1321), прир. Владимир Мошин, Сима Ћирковић & Душан Синдик, Београд 2011, 318–319.

<sup>10</sup> Stojan Novaković, „Рѣпиница–arepennis–arpent“, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 33 (1912) 134–136.

<sup>11</sup> Сима Ћирковић, „Мерење и мере у средњовековној Србији“, in: idem, *Работници, војници, духовници. Друштва средњовековног Балкана*, ed. Властимир Ђокић, Београд 1997, 160.

<sup>12</sup> Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија I, *Грамоти, записи и друга документарна граѓа за манастирите и црквите во скопската област*, прир. Красимира Илиевска et al., Скопје 1975, 216, n. 46.

<sup>13</sup> Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља, 319.

Serbian state was exclusively a unit of account, comprising 12 silver dinars. The term derives from the Byzantine gold hyperpyron (ὑπέρπυρον).<sup>14</sup> Given that King Milutin had only recaptured Skopje a few years before,<sup>15</sup> one might speculate that Byzantine coinage was involved. However, since the chrysobull repeatedly references the dinar as the circulating currency,<sup>16</sup> we maintain that the sums undoubtedly refer to the Serbian accounting perpers.

To contextualise these prices, we shall compare them with other records. Regarding land prices, the inventory of the Htetovo monastery's estates – compiled between November 1342 and the summer of 1343 – provides pertinent information.<sup>17</sup> The monastery of the Holy Theotokos in Htetovo (modern-day Tetovo) and its holdings lay west of Skopje,<sup>18</sup> offering a useful parallel to the earlier charter. Notably, the monastery's acquisitions, as listed in this inventory, occurred at various times, certainly before 1343, as evidenced by references to four of its hegumens and three bishops.<sup>19</sup> The tenure of Bishop Georgije of Prizren postdates 1333, while the "Vlach Bishop" ("Vlahoepiskop") first appears no earlier than 1342.<sup>20</sup> The chronology of the Htetovo hegumens is equally elusive: the *Vlahoepiskop* held office before 1342, while Nikodim is presumed to have been a contemporary of King Milutin, with his tenure ending before 1316/17.<sup>21</sup> Despite this, the temporal gap between this inventory and Milutin's charter, given that sources have been preserved, is not excessive – particularly because Ragusan sources indicate that the price revolution occurred only with the great plague of 1347–1348.<sup>22</sup> A telling detail in the inventory is hegumen Isaija's purchase of a field during "the time of famine"<sup>23</sup>, which likely explains the depressed price.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ружа Ђук, „Новац“, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ђирковић & Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 441; Вујадин Иванишевић, *Новчарство средњовековне Србије*, Београд 2001, 28; Philip Grierson, „Hyperpyron“, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, ed. Alexander Kazhdan, New York – Oxford 1991, 964–965.

<sup>15</sup> For more details see: С. Пириватрић, „Хронологија првих владарских аката“, 209–212.

<sup>16</sup> *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља*, 327–328.

<sup>17</sup> For more details about the document and the time of its creation see: Ђорђе Бубало, „О називу и времену настанка пописа имања Хтетовског манастира“, *Стари српски архив* 1 (2002) 177–193; Марија Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, *Стари српски архив* 21 (2022) 9–11, 23–54, favours dating to spring-summer 1343.

<sup>18</sup> Марија Копривица, „Хрисовуља краља Стефана Душана Хтетовском манастиру“, *Стари српски архив* 13 (2014) 161, 167–171, 174–178.

<sup>19</sup> М. Копривица, „Хрисовуља краља Стефана Душана Хтетовском манастиру“, 36; Ђ. Бубало, „О називу и времену настанка пописа“, 187.

<sup>20</sup> Ђ. Бубало, „О називу и времену настанка пописа“, 187–193; idem, „Влахо епископ или влахоепископ“, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 39 (2001/2002) 197–219.

<sup>21</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 40, 45, 42–43, 47.

<sup>22</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала, цена и надница“, 57, 69, 71; D. Dinić-Knežević, „Трговина вином“, 43, 56; eadem, „Трговина житом“, 96–97.

<sup>23</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 17, 23.

<sup>24</sup> М. Purković, „О ценама“, 263.

The inventory records numerous purchases of fields, meadows and land by the monastery, noting the price paid and occasionally the area. Exact prices are not always known as payments were sometimes made in money and in kind – wine, cheese, wool or livestock (oxen, pigs, sheep). Indirect estimates may be derived by cross-referencing Ragusan prices for these products and animals. At some places, the monetary value of the goods given in kind was specified. Notably, the highest recorded sum paid for a plot of land was a meadow bought by Bishop Ignjatije from a certain Parde Kosta “for a horse worth 30 perpers”, i.e. the horse was worth the mentioned sum.<sup>25</sup> The same bishop purchased part of a meadow from Andrijan, Parde’s son-in-law, for a mare valued at 20 perpers.<sup>26</sup> Identical prices for horses and mares appear in a charter which is a forgery in diplomatic terms as it blends charters of Kings Milutin and Dušan, but whose content is authentic.<sup>27</sup> In Emperor Dušan’s chrysobull for his foundation, the monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren (issued between 1348 and 1353),<sup>28</sup> fifty Vlachs were required to provide, as tribute in leap years, either a horse or 30 perpers.<sup>29</sup> The same document stipulates that the metropolitan, when attending the church feast on 8 November, was to receive 12 perpers or a colt,<sup>30</sup> while the Vlachs of Dobrušnica were to be gifted on St Demetrius’ Day, as *beleg*, two colts or 10 perpers<sup>31</sup> for pasturing mares. Miodrag Purković attempted to explain the disparity in colt prices by assuming the latter were of inferior quality or younger.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that a more valuable colt was selected for the metropolitan, but it is still a speculation. In Dubrovnik, horses during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century rarely exceeded 200 dinars<sup>33</sup> (with the Serbian dinar valued at 1.33–1.5 of Ragusan grosso<sup>34</sup> which is why such great discrepancy cannot be simply explained. Only in the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century did Ragusan horses reach the price of 30 perpers and mares 20 perpers.<sup>35</sup>

As one of the units of land measurement, the term *zamet*<sup>36</sup> appears in this document, the size of which cannot be determined.<sup>37</sup> We shall dwell on it as only the lands measured in *zamets* are accompanied with prices. It is recorded that a field with

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<sup>25</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 15, 21.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, 13, 19.

<sup>27</sup> Александра Фостиков, „Збирна повеља краљева Милутина и Стефана Душана Хиландару“, *Стари српски архив* 13 (2014) 79–86, 91, 102–119.

<sup>28</sup> Синиша Мишић & Татјана Суботин Голубовић, *Светоарханђелска хрисовуља*, Београд 2003, 16–17.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, 113.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, 111.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, 112.

<sup>32</sup> М. Purković, „О ценама“, 261.

<sup>33</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 61.

<sup>34</sup> В. Иванишевић, „Новчарство средњовековне Србије“, 45.

<sup>35</sup> Esad Kurtović, *Konj u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, Sarajevo 2014, 139–142, 429–435, 455–460.

<sup>36</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 12–14, 16, 18.

<sup>37</sup> С. Ђирковић, „Мерење и мере“, 160; М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 48.

a meadow of 30 *zamets*, was purchased from Kalojan and Grazej for 28 perpers.<sup>38</sup> Further below, mention is made of the purchase of a field of 7 *zamets* for one ox and 5 perpers.<sup>39</sup> In the region of Dubrovnik at the dawn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a ploughing ox was worth approximately 50 dinars,<sup>40</sup> which corresponds to somewhat more than 4 perpers. It may thus be reasonably assumed that, within the territory of the Serbian state, an ox would have been valued at no less than around 4 perpers, only in the local currency. This would bring the total price to 9 perpers, which, per unit of area, renders it significantly more costly than a purchase involving 30 *zamets*. It is beyond dispute that numerous other factors – such as the quality and situation of the land – may have influenced the price, thereby making it difficult to assess the average value of a piece of land measured in *zamets*.

The least expensive plot of land acquired by the monastery – half of Pleš – was purchased for a mere three *vedros* (buckets) of wine.<sup>41</sup> During the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one perper in Dubrovnik could procure between 1 and 3.8 *vedros* of wine if delivered immediately, which was the costliest option. If sold in advance, it was cheaper.<sup>42</sup> It seems logical that three *vedros* of wine in the region of Htetovo could not have been worth more than one or two perpers. Bishop Ignjatije also purchased the field Gumnište for 8 perpers and 9 fleeces of wool.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact value of these 9 fleeces, as wool was not traded in this manner in Dubrovnik.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, it is recorded that hegumen Isaija, during the “time of famine”, acquired land from Ćura, daughter of Krajimir, her sister Jera, and their children for 20 *kabala* of grain, along with a sack of cheese and half a side of bacon.<sup>45</sup> As is well known, according to Article 198 of Dušan’s Code, dependent inhabitants were required to pay the ruler an annual *soće* tax of one *kabao* (tub) of grain – half cleaned, half uncleaned – or one perper in dinars, for which their nobles were held accountable.<sup>46</sup> From this, it may be inferred that by the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (and likely earlier), a *kabao* of grain was valued at 1 perper, or 12 dinars.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the above field would have been worth 20 perpers. It remains unclear whether the cheese and bacon taken

<sup>38</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, 14.

<sup>40</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 60.

<sup>41</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 14.

<sup>42</sup> D. Dinić-Knežević, „Trgovina žitom u Dubrovniku u XIV veku“, 51–62.

<sup>43</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине*, 11; Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 62.

<sup>45</sup> М. Копривица, „Попис имања Хтетовског манастира“, 17, 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Душанов законик*, прир. Ђорђе Бубало, Београд 2010, 118, 223–224; Иван Божић, *Доходак царски (Поводом 198. члана Душановог законика Раковачког рукописа)*, Београд 1956, 19–25; Милош Благојевић, „Соће – основни порез средњовековне Србије. Једна перпера или кабао жита“, *Глас САНУ СССРС* (2001) 16–25.

<sup>47</sup> М. Благојевић, „Соће“, 26.

by the hegumen should be deducted from this sum. In any case, it is evident that the land purchased by King Milutin in Skopje was nearly ten times more expensive than the fields owned by the Htetovo monastery. As we do not know the exact surface of fields and plots of land, we need to be cautious, but it seems likely that urban land fetched considerably higher prices than rural land. On the other hand, houses in Skopje were valued similarly to fields in the surroundings of the same town.

For broader context, these figures must be compared with the prices of estates and houses in Kotor and Dubrovnik during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Prices in Kotor also varied considerably, depending on the location and size of a house, land or vineyard. Unfortunately, we often do not know the details about the surface area of the property purchased or leased. Generally, however, properties in and around Kotor were significantly more expensive than those in Skopje. For instance, in November 1334, Miho Buća, exchanging his estates in Ulcinj for a house in Kotor, had to pay its owner, Luka Klima Cervasi, additional 1,000 gold florins<sup>48</sup>, i.e. Florentine gold coinage introduced in 1252.<sup>49</sup> This undoubtedly concerned a luxurious stone house.<sup>50</sup> In another case from 1327, a stone house was sold for 300 perpers, while timber houses were far cheaper, with examples ranging from 9 to 50 perpers in the third and fourth decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> Notably, in September 1326, Tripun Buće leased a house to goldsmith Nikola Radogostov for 20 years at an annual rent of 15 perpers, stipulating that if Nikola paid the full 300 perpers within the term, ownership would transfer to him.<sup>52</sup> This suggests an annual rent of roughly 5% of the house's value – though without further parallels, it is unclear whether this was widespread.

It is harder to determine average prices of land in Kotor and its environs in the third and fourth decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as the sale of estate together with a vineyard or house is usually mentioned. The preserved data indicate land sales from 30 to 100 perpers,<sup>53</sup> with vineyards fetching significantly higher sums, which certainly suggests the extent to which they were valued and sought after. Vineyard prices ranged from 40 to as much as 800 perpers (or 600 Venetian perpers).<sup>54</sup> It is hard to

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<sup>48</sup> *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara. God. 1329, 1332–1337.*, ed. Antun Mayer, Zagreb 1981, 156–157, 515.

<sup>49</sup> В. Иванишевић, *Новчарство*, 23.

<sup>50</sup> *Kotorski spomenici. Prva knjiga kotorskih notara od god. 1326–1335.*, ed. Antun Mayer, Zagreb 1951, 163, 490.

<sup>51</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 151, 485; *Kotorski spomenici* II, 44, 427, 458, 568.

<sup>52</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 47, 450.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, 66–67, 87, 147, 457, 464, 484; *Kotorski spomenici* II, 84–85, 472.

<sup>54</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 54–55, 66, 72–73, 118, 143–144, 146, 235, 316, 320, 341–342, 360, 394, 398, 403, 405, 452, 457, 459, 474, 483, 487, 514, 542–544, 551, 559, 569, 571, 573–574; *Kotorski spomenici* II, 20–21, 31, 35, 56, 68, 104, 133–134, 144–145, 155–156, 159, 185, 301, 371, 396, 414, 428, 448, 452, 454, 462, 466, 479, 491, 506, 510, 514–516, 530, 550, 562, 568, 575. The Venetian perper, i.e. silver coinage, was certainly more valuable than the Serbian currency at the time. The exchange rate ranged from 1.25 to 1.69 of *krstasti* dinars per one Venetian grossi: В. Иванишевић, *Новчарство*, 42–43.

ascertain their average prices given that we are usually unfamiliar with the size of the sold vineyards. It is known to us that in a case from 1326, three quadragenales of vineyard (each with 100 vines) in Tivat were sold for 14 perpers,<sup>55</sup> while five quadragenales of vineyard of Petar Vladin in Mržep were valued at 60 perpers and 8 Venetian grossi in 1333.<sup>56</sup> It can be observed that in the mentioned examples, one quadragnolus of vineyard in Tivat was worth 4.66 perpers, while the one in Mržep seems to have been valued at a little over 12 Venetian perpers. The Kotor unit of area known as one quadragnolus amounted to 336 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>57</sup> It is evident that vineyards in Kotor could be worth as much as the most expensive stone houses.

The leasing of land and vineyards, by contrast, was markedly less costly. Thus, we know of the case when Tripun Buća, in 1332, leased a parcel of ecclesiastical land in Tivat *in perpetuity* for merely 4 dinars per annum.<sup>58</sup> A single vineyard was leased on an annual basis for 6 dinars.<sup>59</sup> A greater number of contracts stipulate that the rent for land be paid in grain rather than in money. In such instances, the lease ranged from 6 *stari* grain, to – on one occasion – 20 *stari* of grain and 4 *stari* of barley.<sup>60</sup> The Kotor *star* measured 17.462 litrae,<sup>61</sup> and was thus considerably smaller than the Ragusan one, which in the period of our interest stood at 92–93 litrae.<sup>62</sup> We make mention of this, as the price Ragusan *star* equalled between 11 and 30 grossi.<sup>63</sup> In the absence of data, similar prices can be generally assumed for Kotor. Given the wide fluctuation of prices, however, it is difficult to assess the actual value of the above leases. It seems that the leasing of larger estates took place in kind. Were we to assume, for instance, that the Kotor *star* equalled approximately 3 dinars, the highest lease recorded would amount to over 60 dinars. It has been observed that in England, until the 1370s, payment in kind remained preferable to payment in money, precisely due to such price volatility. This practice shielded farmers from the vagaries of the market, whilst more firmly binding them to their lords.<sup>64</sup>

The prices and lease rates of houses in Dubrovnik during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century also varied considerably. In around 1300, smaller houses were leased for 18

<sup>55</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 77, 461.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, 358, 557.

<sup>57</sup> Милош Благојевић, „Прилог проучавању средњовековних мера. Которски стар и квадрањол, корчулански гоњај и кварта“, *Историјски гласник* 1 (1972) 106–107.

<sup>58</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 315, 541.

<sup>59</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* II, 151, 513.

<sup>60</sup> *Kotorski spomenici* I, 405, 574; *Kotorski spomenici* II, 30, 308, 386–387, 408, 452, 533, 557, 602.

<sup>61</sup> М. Благојевић, „Прилог проучавању средњовековних мера.“, 98–105.

<sup>62</sup> М. Благојевић, „Соће“, 31–32.

<sup>63</sup> D. Dinić-Knežević, „Trgovina žitom“, 119, 121–122; Bogumil Hrabak, „Tabele kretanja cena žitarica i mahunjina u Dubrovniku (1300–1620)“, *Зборник Филозофског факултета у Приштини* 7 (1970) 126–128.

<sup>64</sup> Jordan Claridge, Vincent Delabastita and Spike Gibbs, “(In-kind) Wages and labour relations in the Middle Ages: It’s not (all) about the money“, *Explorations in Economy History* 94 (2024) 3–16.

to 24 grossi. During the first third of the century, annual lease ranged from around 60 to 100 dinars. Noble houses, however, were more expensive, with lease sometimes exceeding 300 dinars per year. Of course, the lease was lower than the sale price; thus, a house valued at 3,000 dinars was rented for as little as 60 grossi.<sup>65</sup> Quite understandably, the prices of vineyards were not uniform either, depending on their size and location. Vineyard surfaces in the Dubrovnik area were measured in *zlatica*. It is believed that one *zlatica* of land covered approximately 1,680 m<sup>2</sup>. During the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a *zlatica* of vineyard in the Ragusan župa was worth an average of 49 perpers, in Gruž 31, on the island of Šipan 42.5, and in Rijeka 43 perpers.<sup>66</sup> The *zlatica*, as a unit of area, was about five times larger than the Kotor quadragnolus.<sup>67</sup> Given the scarcity of data on vineyard prices per unit area in Kotor, it is difficult to make direct comparisons with Dubrovnik. Nevertheless, the impression is that vineyards in Dubrovnik were somewhat more expensive than those in Kotor. It is also important to note that land under vine cultivation was significantly more expensive than land of the same area used for other purposes. Vineyards were often twice as expensive, and in one case even four times as expensive.<sup>68</sup>

From the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we also have data on the prices of weapons imported into Serbia. Toma from Kotor, son of Pavle Tomin, arranged in 1329 to purchase weapons from Venetian Mafeo Riciuoli, most likely for King Stefan Dečanski. By March 1330, the said Venetian was to deliver to Toma in Dubrovnik 50 kettle hats priced at 29 grossi each (2 perpers and 5 dinars), 10 pairs of gauntlets worth 3 perpers per pair, 10 gorgets at about 8 perpers each, and 25 pairs of greaves, each costing 20 grossi.<sup>69</sup> If we sum these prices, it appears that the protective gear for a warrior's hands, legs and head cost 15 perpers and 1 dinar. This refers to parts of protective clothing that offered the best defence against crossbow bolts<sup>70</sup> – just a portion of a warrior's full equipment. A cuirass was sold in October 1349 for one ducat.<sup>71</sup> The cuirass was at that time the most advanced type of breastplate, composed of multiple small steel plates sewn into fabric made of leather or cloth and connected with threads.<sup>72</sup> An ordinary bow for arrows cost 3 perpers in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Ragusa, while a

<sup>65</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 68.

<sup>66</sup> Gregor Čremošnik, „Vinogradarstvo i vino u Dalmaciji srednjega veka“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* XLV. *Sveska za historiju i etnografiju* (1933) 16–18; В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 59.

<sup>67</sup> Милош Благојевић, „Прилог проучавању средњовековних мера“, 106–107.

<sup>68</sup> G. Čremošnik, „Vinogradarstvo i vino u Dalmaciji“, 18.

<sup>69</sup> Ружа Ђук, *Србија и Венеција у XIII и XIV веку*, Београд 1986, 130; Ђ. Petrović, *Dubrovačko oružje u XIV veku*, 123, 138; eadem, „Оружје Србије и Европа“, 148, 153, n. 41.

<sup>70</sup> DAD, *Diversa Cancellariae*, IX, fol. 101'. For the use of this and other documents from the State Archives in Dubrovnik, I am indebted to my colleague dr Neven Isailović. Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје Србије и Европа“, 149.

<sup>71</sup> Ђ. Petrović, *Dubrovačko oružje u XIV veku*, 107–108.

<sup>72</sup> Марко Алексић, „Реформа српске војске у време Стефана Душана“, *Војно-историјски гласник* 2 (2015) 10–11.

decorated one was valued at 3 ducats.<sup>73</sup> A large oblong shield, known as a pavise of standard type, cost 1 ducat, while larger versions for guard posts were somewhat more expensive.<sup>74</sup> It should be noted that at that time, one Venetian ducat was worth 24 grossi, or two Ragusan perpers.<sup>75</sup> From slightly later period, we know that well-known Prizren merchant Bogdan Kirizmić concluded a contract in 1371 with Ragusan armourer Giannino, an Italian, for the purchase of 20 horse armours for 224 perpers.<sup>76</sup> This means each of these armours cost slightly more than 11 perpers. Based on all these data, we can see how expensive quality imported military equipment was. A complete set of armour was worth as much as large plots of land. Weapons were, of course, also produced within the Serbian state<sup>77</sup>, and these were certainly cheaper than imported ones.

Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to provide any estimate of the income of Serbian nobility during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is undeniable that the influence of the nobility grew significantly during this period. At the same time, thanks to the conquest of Byzantine territories, their material wealth increased.<sup>78</sup> This is reflected in the fact that from the time of King Milutin, prominent members of the noble class began to build endowments of stone.<sup>79</sup> The power of individual nobles is illustrated by the example of Hrelja, who, when he joined Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III, reportedly commanded 1,000 soldiers.<sup>80</sup> However, it is difficult to assess what size of estates a noble needed to be properly equipped for war. We do have some data on the incomes of Byzantine pronoiarioi at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) stated in a prostagma to his son Andronikos in 1272 that a warrior who proved useful in military service could have his income increased to 24 up to 36 perpers per year.<sup>81</sup> It is worth

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, 61–62.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, 96–98.

<sup>75</sup> Pavao Živković, „Pariteti dubrovačkog novca u srednjem vijeku“, *Analiza Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 22–23 (1985) 33.

<sup>76</sup> Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје Србије и Европа“, 157.

<sup>77</sup> Ђурђица Петровић, „Оружје“, in: *Историја примењене уметности код Срба I, Средњовековна Србија*, ed. Нада Андрејевић-Кун, Београд 1977, 127–130.

<sup>78</sup> Милош Ивановић, „Краљевство и друштвена елита у земљама Немањића“, in: *Краљевство и архиепископија у српским и поморским земљама Немањића. Тематски зборник у част 800 година проглашења краљевства и аутокефалне архиепископије свих српских и поморских земаља*, ed. Љубомир Максимовић & Срђан Пириватрић, Београд 2019, 486–487, 490, 496–498.

<sup>79</sup> Иван Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 131; Милош Ивановић, „Краљ властела и војска“, in: *Свети краљ Милутин. Владар на раскршћима светова*, ed. Срђан Пириватрић, Смиља Марјановић-Душанић & Даница Поповић, Београд 2022, 270.

<sup>80</sup> *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије VI*, ed. Фрањо Баришић & Божидар Ферјанчић, Београд 1986, 364–365.

<sup>81</sup> Mark Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453*, Philadelphia 1992, 179; idem, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, 266.

noting that at that time Byzantine coinage was still gold, but of lower quality than before.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, two *praktika* from 1321 and 1323 provide evidence of three soldiers who had estates yielding incomes of 70, 72 and 80 *perpers*.<sup>83</sup> With such incomes, they were at the bottom of the ladder of the known *pronoiaroi*.<sup>84</sup> However, it is assumed that their actual incomes were higher, in fact between 150 and 220 *perpers*, which at that time corresponded to sums between 100 and 150 Venetian ducats.<sup>85</sup> From this perspective, the salary of the famous Catalan mercenaries as horsemen in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, at 23 ducats per month, does not seem excessive.<sup>86</sup> There were indeed many modest collective *pronoiaroi* who in 1342 had incomes of 10 to 12 *perpers* per year, but it is believed that they were of no higher status than peasants who had an imperial act on the reduction of their taxes.<sup>87</sup> We can only assume in principle that Serbian nobles in the territories conquered from Byzantium had incomes no less than those of the local *pronoiaroi*. With around 100 ducats per year, they could, despite other expenses they certainly had, afford appropriate military equipment.

One of the elements indicating the economic strengthening of the Serbian state and the greater purchasing power of its highest stratum is the import of expensive textiles from abroad. Data on the acquisition of these luxury goods through Dubrovnik become more frequent from the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>88</sup> However, there is relatively little information on the prices of individual textiles. As expected, those intended as gifts for Serbian rulers were very expensive. Thus, in 1280, the Ragusan Commune paid Paskoje Vuković 52 *perpers* for a cloth from Ypres intended as a gift for the Serbian king.<sup>89</sup> For King Stefan Dečanski, the Ragusans procured in 1326 twelve pieces of fabric worth 600 *perpers*.<sup>90</sup> Three years later, during peace negotiations with the same ruler, the Commune paid 592 *perpers* for 17 pieces of two types of fabric.<sup>91</sup> We can see that quality fabrics cost between around 30 and 50 *perpers* per piece. They were worth as much as a good portion of a warrior's protective gear. There were also cheaper ones, such as *vacet*, a fabric of Eastern origin that arrived in Dubrovnik via Italy, priced at 11.5 to 19 *perpers* per piece.<sup>92</sup> The cheapest was coarse

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<sup>82</sup> Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, London 1982, 290–291; В. Иванишевић, *Новчарство средњовековне Србије*, 24–25.

<sup>83</sup> M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, 359–371; idem, *Late Byzantine Army*, 172.

<sup>84</sup> M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, 586; idem, *Late Byzantine Army*, 172.

<sup>85</sup> M. Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 172–173; idem, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, 503, 586–587.

<sup>86</sup> M. Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 172–173; idem, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, 502–503, 586–587.

<sup>87</sup> M. Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 174–175.

<sup>88</sup> Р. Ћук, *Србија и Венеција у XIII и XIV веку*, 118.

<sup>89</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди*, 33.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem, 41.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem, 42; I. Voje, *Kreditna trgovina*, 261.

<sup>92</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди*, 40.

woollen cloth known as *sclavina* or *rassa* (*raša*), produced by the Vlachs. Its price ranged from 40 follari to 2 dinars per cubit, depending on the colour, with the finer quality worth up to 2.5 dinars.<sup>93</sup> This was, of course, lower-quality clothing purchased by the population of modest means.

It is clear that when we do not know the incomes of the nobility, even less can be said about the incomes of other categories of the population. It is undeniable that the rural population did not work solely for their own sustenance and to meet the needs of the privileged class.<sup>94</sup> This particularly applies to the Vlachs and craftsmen. The Vlachs, thanks to their key role in transport trade and participation in wool processing, had opportunities to engage in market activities. Similarly, rural craftsmen, who belonged to the category of *majastorija*, certainly did not work only for their lords but also produced for the market.<sup>95</sup> Their incomes are indeed impossible to estimate.

For the territory of the Ragusan Commune, we have information on the wages of various workers, which offers a framework for estimating the incomes of dependent inhabitants in the Serbian state. Almost until 1347, wages were constant. The lowest earnings were those of day labourers in vineyards and fields, about 1 dinar per day. Sailors received 0.5 to 1 dinar per day, oarsmen 1 dinar, and soldiers on guard duty the same. Assistants to masters earned around 1 to 1.4 dinars per day.<sup>96</sup> The masters themselves had higher daily wages, but even these did not exceed 5 dinars per day during this period.<sup>97</sup> It is evident that with their earnings, they could not afford luxury goods such as the expensive fabrics we have mentioned.

### **Prices and incomes from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century to the eighth decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century**

As already noted, the great plague epidemic that swept through Europe from 1347 triggered disruptions in prices and wages. While source limitations obscure these economic impacts within the Serbian lands, there is no reason to doubt that they were affected as well. Hence, we have decided to examine in the second part of this

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<sup>93</sup> Ibidem, 11–15; В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 66.

<sup>94</sup> Aleksander Panjek, “Integrated Peasant Economy as a Concept in Progress”, in: *Integrated Peasant Economy in a Comparative Perspective: Alps, Scandinavia and Beyond*, ed. Aleksander Panjek, Jaspe Larsson and Luca Mocarrelli, Koper 2017, 20–25, 42–44; Miloš Ivanović, “Diversity of the Peasant Economy in Medieval Serbia (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century)”, in: *Integrated Peasant Economy in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Aleksander Panjek, Turnhout 2024, 143–144.

<sup>95</sup> М. Иванović, “Diversity of the Peasant Economy”, 145–153.

<sup>96</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 69–71.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem, 70–72.

paper the period from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century until the fall of the Serbian medieval state, employing data arising a few decades after the establishment of Ottoman rule. It must be said that, due to the absence of sources, the majority of data in fact pertain to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, our focus shall be on the period of the State of Serbian Despots (1402–1459). It must be stressed that, in this epoch, prices and revenues in the Serbian state may have been influenced by other factors as well. Chief among these were the attacks of the Ottomans, who, from the final decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, harassed and plundered the Serbian territories, leading to the desolation of estates and the displacement of the population. Despot Stefan Lazarević, in a charter of 1406, granted to the Wallachian monasteries of Tismana and Vodita, mentions the population from the monastic estates who had departed to other regions under his rule or to Hungary. He likewise alludes to the possibility of the dependent population departing from monastic estates to Hungary or Bulgaria.<sup>98</sup> That same ruler, in January 1407, granted the Lavra of St Athanasius the right to retrieve those who had fled their estates due to the attacks of a certain Hasan.<sup>99</sup> It may be observed that, due to that, monasteries began to value more the receipt of aid in precious metals than the possession of land. Thus, Kyr Andonije, a representative of the Lavra of St Athanasius, entreated Despot Đurađ to accept back their estates and, in lieu thereof, grant them revenues from his “household”, which he did. Instead of the former 100 litrae, the monastery was to receive 120 litrae of silver.<sup>100</sup> All of this attests to unfavourable conditions for economic development. On the other hand, it is beyond dispute that the early decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century witnessed considerable development of mining and a rise in revenues therefrom.<sup>101</sup> The rise of mining towns attracted new labourers and enabled dependent peasants to sell their produce in their markets.<sup>102</sup>

We shall commence our analysis with a source that may possibly date from the very end of the previously observed period, but which is more conveniently placed in this section due to the nature of the material that shall follow. Documents bearing witness to property sales and purchases and originating from the territory of the Serbian state are rare. One such document is the so-called Prizren Tapu, which can only be tentatively dated to the period of the Serbian Empire (1346–1371).<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Андрија Веселиновић, „Три повеље из XV века за манастире Тисмену и Водицу“, *Стари српски архив* 8 (2009) 188–189, 199; Александар Младеновић, *Повеље и писма деспота Стефана Лазаревића. Текст, коментари, снимци*, Београд 2007, 352–353.

<sup>99</sup> А. Младеновић, *Повеље и писма деспота Стефана*, 240.

<sup>100</sup> Драгутин Анастасијевић, „Српски архив Лавре Атонске“, *Споменик Српске краљевске академије* 56 (1922) 15–17; Сима Ћирковић, „Две српске повеље за Лавру“, *Хиландарски зборник* 5 (1983) 94–99; Момчило Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба*, Београд 1994, 119–120, 383.

<sup>101</sup> Сима Ћирковић, Десанка Ковачевић-Којић & Ружа Ћук, *Старо српско рударство*, Београд – Нови Сад 2002, 113–121, 123–141; Сима Ћирковић, „Два закаснела полета у балканском рударству: XV и XVI век“, in: *idem, Работници, војници, духовници. Друштва средњовековног Балкана*, ed. Властимир Ђокић, Београд 1997, 104–107.

<sup>102</sup> М. Ivanović, „Diversity of the Peasant Economy“, 153–155.

<sup>103</sup> Ђорђе Бубало, *Српски номици*, Београд 2004, 143–147.

According to this document, drawn up by nomikos Nikola, it is recorded that Dobroslava, daughter of Karos, together with her two sons and daughter, sold her *court* in Prizren to Mane, brother of Dragica, for eight litrae of silver. The boundaries of the *court* were precisely noted, alongside the neighbours.<sup>104</sup> It has been calculated that the surface area of the *court* being sold was 216 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>105</sup> It is generally believed that this was a house.<sup>106</sup> However, Đorđe Bubalo, considering the surface area, the manner of measurement, and the price paid, stated that it was more likely a parcel of land. It was rightly noted that contracts on the sale of houses typically do not specify the base dimensions, but rather provide details concerning the location, the number of storeys, and the type of construction material.<sup>107</sup> A litra of silver at that time was likely worth 7.5–8 ducats,<sup>108</sup> implying that the *court* was sold for a sum of around 60–64 Venetian ducats.<sup>109</sup> Given the selling price of other houses in Serbia, Đorđe Bubalo deemed this amount to be relatively low.<sup>110</sup> This would not have been the case if compared with the prices of houses in Skopje, yet no precise evaluation is possible here owing to the absence of data concerning the characteristics of the house, hence the justified suspicion that it was not a residential facility that was sold. From approximately the same period, we have the information that in 1383 Mihailo Menčetić sold a wooden house in Srebrenica to Bogavac Pribojević Okrugli for 3.5 litrae of fine silver,<sup>111</sup> corresponding to a sum of around 28 ducats. We shall return to house prices in the 15<sup>th</sup> century further below. If it was indeed a parcel of land, the price of around 60 ducats could be equal to around 180 Serbian perpers.<sup>112</sup> This is close to the sum paid by King Milutin for land in Skopje intended for the construction of a palace and court for a church. Without doubt, the plot in Prizren was situated in a prime location, as the neighbouring estate is noted to have included the “imperial garden”.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, 147–149, 250.

<sup>105</sup> Сима Ћирковић, „Кућа (2)“, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ћирковић & Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 355; Ђ. Бубало, *Српски номици*, 149.

<sup>106</sup> Александар Соловјев, *Законодавство Стефана Душана цара Срба и Грка*, Скопље 1928, 66–67; Срђан Шаркић, *Средњовековно српско право*, Нови Сад 1995, 83; С. Ћирковић, „Кућа (2)“, 355; Милош Благојевић, „Град и жупа – међе градског друштва“, у: *Социјална структура српских градских насеља (XII–XVIII век)*, ed. Јованка Калић & Милосав Чоловић, Смедерево–Београд 1992, 80, put forward the opinion that it seems to have been “a building in the town”.

<sup>107</sup> Ђ. Бубало, *Српски номици*, 149–150.

<sup>108</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 77. The fact that the Novo Brdo and Priština litrae were somewhat heavier than the Dubrovnik litra can be disregarded here. See: С. Ћирковић, „Мерење и мере“, 147.

<sup>109</sup> С. Ћирковић, „Кућа“, 355, states that it was the price of 50–60 ducats.

<sup>110</sup> Ђ. Бубало, *Српски номици*, 150.

<sup>111</sup> Михаило Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни I*, Београд 1955, 54; Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница XIV–XV вијек*, Београд 2010, 119.

<sup>112</sup> See footnote 33.

<sup>113</sup> Ђ. Бубало, *Српски номици*, 147, 250.

Further significant data on some prices in the Serbian lands are found in the charter of Constantine Dragases from March 1388 for the church of the Ascension in Štip, whose ktetor was his voivode Dmtar. Amongst other things, the voivode purchased Ugolnica for his endowment – the nature of which remains unclear – for 8 Venetian perpers, a garden from Dobroslav Lelotev and his brother Dobromir for 5 Venetian perpers, and from Muzgović he bought a *gradina* (enclosed garden) for 5 perpers. To four men he paid 20 Venetian perpers for one mill, and to two brothers and their nephew he paid 30 perpers for another mill. From a certain Miha he acquired a garden for 2 Venetian perpers, and from Momčilo Kasteljanović he bought a field for 4 perpers.<sup>114</sup> Thus, in Dragases' domain, Venetian coinage was in use. At first glance, it is puzzling that the term "perper" is employed and not "ducat". It is certain, therefore, that this refers to Venetian silver grossi. Following the reform of 1379, the exchange rate was 18.5 grossi per one ducat. This was encouraged by the minting of a new Byzantine silver perper, which was worth half the value of the Venetian ducat.<sup>115</sup> The question remains whether "perpers" here signifies a grosso or, in fact, 12 Venetian grossi, as calculated in Crete<sup>116</sup> – which seems more likely. Such a Venetian perper was certainly of greater worth than the Serbian or Ragusan one. In the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, one ducat equalled 30–32 Ragusan dinars.<sup>117</sup> The Serbian currency was certainly of even lesser value. Hitherto, we have not had prices for gardens and mills, making comparison with other data difficult. It may be observed that mills were considerably cheaper than the land in Prizren, and yet costlier than houses in Skopje – although one must consider the temporal distance of nearly 90 years. The different prices of mills, as expected, indicate differences among them, probably based on location and quality. Gardens and *gradine*, as we observe, could be cheaper or slightly costlier than fields. Taking into account the prices of fields in the inventory of estates of the Htetovo monastery, the field which voivode Dmtar bought for his endowment was relatively cheap. Given the passage of time, it could not rival in price the most expensive pieces of land bought for the Htetovo monastery.

From the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century we have more data on the prices of houses in the territory of the Serbian Despotate. It is important to note that all such references pertain to mining towns in Serbia, and that those were residential facilities belonging to Ragusans. In a testament compiled on 9 September 1409, Junije Sorkočević states, among other things, that in the market of Trepča he owned a wooden house and a walled room, which had cost him 25 litrae. He bequeathed one

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<sup>114</sup> *Акты русскаго на святомъ Афонѣ монастыря св. великомученика и цѣлителя Пантелеимона*, Киевъ 1873, 391–392.

<sup>115</sup> Frederic Lane & Reinhold Muller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, Volume One: *Coins and Money Account*, Baltimore 2019, 403–405, 416–427.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, 423–427.

<sup>117</sup> P. Živković, „Pariteti dubrovačkog novca“, 33; B. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 75–76.

half to his sons and the other to his out-of-wedlock son Đorđe from Trepča.<sup>118</sup> Though not highlighted, it is almost certain that the amount refers to 25 litrae of silver, which would place the value of the house at 200 ducats. If, however, it refers to 25 litrae of coin, this would mean the amount must be multiplied by 240, as one litra consisted of 12 ounces, and each ounce of 20 dinars.<sup>119</sup> That would yield a total of approximately 6,000 dinars – roughly equal to no less than 150 ducats. In the first decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one ducat was worth 30–36 Ragusan grossi,<sup>120</sup> and in the fourth decade of the same century, one ducat equalled 42 Serbian dinars.<sup>121</sup> There is no doubt that this house was significantly more expensive than those in Skopje.

Another important piece of information concerning real estate prices in the Serbian state is from March 1423, when Veseoko Babčić sold his two-storey wooden house with a courtyard in Srebrenica<sup>122</sup> to Marin Gučetić for 10 litrae of silver. The buyer undertook to pay Babčić three litrae of silver or a monetary equivalent annually, for the remainder of his life. The house was situated on the *via de mercado*, the road leading to the main town square. The sale of the house was part of the arrangement whereby Marin and his brother Nikola forgave a debt owed by Veseoko to their father, Simon Gučetić. At the time of sale, Marin also gifted Veseoko twelve cubits of cloth valued at one litra of silver.<sup>123</sup> The house was later described as large and beautiful.<sup>124</sup> The price in this case amounted to around 80 ducats, though the mentioned life annuity and pre-existing debt of Veseoko Babčić must be taken into account. Of course, the exact amount of the debt is unknown, nor can the duration of the annuity be estimated. It is known that Veseoko was active in Srebrenica since 1408.<sup>125</sup> Stone houses were, as expected, more expensive. One such house was appraised at 50 litrae of silver<sup>126</sup> in Srebrenica in May 1427 – equivalent to as much as around 400 ducats. The cheapest house from this period was located in Crnča, which Paskoje Marota bequeathed to the local church of St Mary in 1464, and which

<sup>118</sup> Сима Ћирковић, Ружа Ћук & Андрија Веселиновић, „Србија у дубровачким тестаментима у XV веку (I)“, *Miscellanea* 22 (2004) 32–33; Михаило Динић, „Трепча у средњем веку“, in: idem, *Српске земље у средњем веку*, прир. Сима Ћирковић, Београд 1978, 405–406.

<sup>119</sup> Михаило Динић, *Из дубровачког архива*, књ. I, Београд 1957, 2; Милош Благојевић, „Перпера и литра у доба кнеза Лазара“, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1981) 58–60; Михаило Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни II*, Београд 1962, 77.

<sup>120</sup> Р. Živković, „Pariteti dubrovačkog novca“, 33.

<sup>121</sup> М. Динић, *За историју рударства II*, 79.

<sup>122</sup> Srebrenica most likely became part of Despot Stefan's state in 1411 or 1412: М. Динић, *За историју рударства I*, 57–58; Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница*, 19.

<sup>123</sup> М. Динић, *За историју рударства I*, Прилог II 105–106; Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница*, 115, 118–119; С. Ћирковић, „Кућа“, 355.

<sup>124</sup> Д. Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, Сарајево 1974, 268–269.

<sup>125</sup> Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница*, 177.

<sup>126</sup> DAD, *Diversa Cancellariae*, XLIV, fol. 138; Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница*, 119.

was valued at 20 ducats.<sup>127</sup> It must be borne in mind that this bequest was made already at the time of Ottoman rule, and that Crnča was a mining place of significantly lesser importance than Srebrenica or Novo Brdo.<sup>128</sup>

The stated property values in the Despotate are again worth comparing to house prices in neighbouring states. It is known that sometime between 1417 and 1419, Despot Stefan Lazarević purchased a house in Mitrovica,<sup>129</sup> in Hungarian territory, for 5 litrae of silver. In the absence of any details concerning this house, it is difficult to assess whether the sum of 40 ducats was a low price for such a property. Mitrovica had some commercial significance in this period,<sup>130</sup> though it can scarcely be compared with Serbian mining centres in terms of economic development.

For the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century we also possess information on some house prices in Kotor, dating from 1418 to 1431. It should be noted that from 1420 Kotor was under Venetian rule.<sup>131</sup> In 1418, Mirka, wife of Bogantije, sold a house for an unknown sum to Gojislava Mirojević in Kotor – a house she herself had previously bought for 15 Kotor perpers.<sup>132</sup> In 1431, Teodor de Vlado transferred a house to his brother Grašo to settle the debt of 80 Kotor perpers owed to Stefan Laurencio, Teodor's creditor. There are not many details about this house, other than that it lay within the parish of St Mary of Reka (Santa Maria Collegiata).<sup>133</sup> That same year, a house belonging to Paolo de Montelparo was put up for public auction due to a debt of 400 Kotor perpers, on the request of creditor Marin Druško, in the parish of the church of St Tryphon.<sup>134</sup> It is unclear whether the house sufficed to cover the debt. It may be observed that if these sums are taken as prices, the value of houses varied greatly – doubtless depending on the location and quality of the building.

Regarding the value of houses in Dubrovnik during the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, we possess data on residences reserved for rulers and nobility from the hinterlands. It therefore comes as no surprise that both their purchase prices and rental values were very high. In 1399, to reward Bosnian King Stefan Ostoja (1398–1404; 1409–1418) and voivode Hrvoje Vukčić for ceding land between Ljuta and Kurilo, the Ragusans decided to admit them to their patrician ranks and gift them houses worth 1,500 ducats each. When the envoys declined the proposal to have

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<sup>127</sup> DAD, *Testamenta Notariae* XVIII, fol. 99; Момчило Спремић, „Црнча у средњем веку“, *Зборник Филозофског факултета у Београду* XVIII–A (1994) 140–141; С. Ђирковић, „Кућа (2)“, 355.

<sup>128</sup> For more details about Crnča see: М. Спремић, „Црнча у средњем веку“, 127–146.

<sup>129</sup> Љубомир Стојановић, *Старе српске повеље и писма* I–1, Београд – Сремски Карловци 1929, 221; М. Ђирковић, „О сенама“, 264.

<sup>130</sup> Сима Ђирковић, „Civitas sancti Demetrii“, in: *Сремска Митровица*, ed. Радомир Прица, Сремска Митровица 1969, 68; idem, „Кретања према северу“, in: *Историја српског народа* II, ed. Јованка Калић, Београд 1982, 316.

<sup>131</sup> Иван Божић, „Доба Балшића“, in: *Историја Црне Горе* II–2, Титоград 1970, 125–127.

<sup>132</sup> Ненад Фејић, „Исправе которских нотара из XV столећа“, *Miscellanea* 8 (1980) 29.

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem, 29–30.

<sup>134</sup> Ibidem, 47.

building plots purchased and houses constructed there, they were instead presented with 3,000 ducats to procure suitable houses themselves.<sup>135</sup> After this question was officially resolved, on 25 February 1399, the Ragusans issued charters admitting both men to the nobility and granting them houses in the city. It is worth noting that these documents refer to the houses as *polače* – King Ostoja's having previously belonged to nobleman Marin Bunić, and Hrvoje's to lady Filipa.<sup>136</sup> The term *polača* generally denoted large, luxurious and solidly constructed buildings intended to endure.<sup>137</sup> This explains their exorbitant values, which far exceeded all the above examined examples. Subsequently, both King Ostoja's and voivode Hrvoje's houses were expanded with a cistern, door and balcony each.<sup>138</sup> After Hrvoje's death in 1416, records show his *polača* being leased by the Ragusan Commune in February 1418 for three years at 50 perpers annually.<sup>139</sup> A part of the sum went to the lease of the estate.<sup>140</sup> This means that the actual rental value of the palace amounted to 13–16 ducats yearly<sup>141</sup> – barely more than 1% of its value. This house later passed to Hrvoje's granddaughters, who rented it at similar rates.<sup>142</sup> It should be noted that Bosnian rulers had a house in Dubrovnik which had been obtained by King Tvrtko I (1353–1391).<sup>143</sup> The houses of Bosnian rulers were leased for 30–65 perpers annually<sup>144</sup> – comparable to rates at which the Ragusan nobility leased their houses.<sup>145</sup> The noble Pavlović family from Bosnia, meanwhile, received textiles worth approximately 50 ducats for their house.<sup>146</sup>

Luxury residences in Venice commanded even higher values than in Dubrovnik. In 1429, Bosnian magnate voivode Sandalj Hranić acquired a house in Venice worth as much as 2,000 ducats in exchange for houses in Zadar and Kotor<sup>147</sup>, which suggests his Kotor house may have been worth around 1,000 ducats.

<sup>135</sup> Gregor Čremošnik, „Prodaja Bosanskog primorja Dubrovniku 1399. god i kralj Ostoja“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* XL – II. Sveska za historiju i etnografiju (1928) 120–121; Срђан Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића Хрватинића у Дубровнику“, *Историјски часопис* 58 (2008) 353–354; Александра Фостиков, „Куће босанских владара у Дубровнику“, *Иницијал. Часопис за средњовековне студије* 12 (2024) 170.

<sup>136</sup> Љ. Стојановић, *Повеље и писма* I–1, 427–429, 446–447; G. Čremošnik, „Prodaja Bosanskog primorja“, 121; С. Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића“, 354–355.

<sup>137</sup> Љ. Стојановић, *Повеље и писма* I–1, 427–429, 446–447; G. Čremošnik, „Prodaja Bosanskog primorja“, 121; С. Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића“, 354–355.

<sup>138</sup> С. Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића“, 355; А. Фостиков, „Куће босанских владара“, 171.

<sup>139</sup> С. Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића“, 357.

<sup>140</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>141</sup> Almir Peco, *Ekonomika bosanskih velikaša u 14. i 15. stoljeću* (doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Zagreb, 2024) 130.

<sup>142</sup> С. Рудић, „О кући Хрвоја Вукчића“, 360–364.

<sup>143</sup> А. Фостиков, „Куће босанских владара“, 168–170.

<sup>144</sup> Ibidem, 173–191.

<sup>145</sup> А. Песо, *Ekonomika bosanskih velikaša*, 129, n. 496.

<sup>146</sup> Ibidem, 133, n. 522.

<sup>147</sup> Esad Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda bosanski Sandalj Hranić Kosača*, Sarajevo 2009, 358–359.

For 15<sup>th</sup>-century Serbia, we regrettably have scant information about land prices. One record shows Bishop of Peć Marko purchasing two vineyards in 1411 for six litrae of silver<sup>148</sup> (approximately 48 ducats) for his endowment – the church of St George in Ždrelnik, from Radoslav Baranović and Ratko. While the size of these vineyards remains unknown, their price appears relatively high if we take into account some other data. For instance, in February 1458, a certain priest Nikola bought five *motikas* of vineyard from Nikola Lešni for 135 aspras.<sup>149</sup> The location of the vineyard is not known. Given the late 14<sup>th</sup>-century records mentioning *gospodin* Vuk and Emperor *Pazait* (evidently Bayezid I),<sup>150</sup> it is plausible that the vineyard in question, just like the manuscript, was located somewhere in the Brankovićs' area. The 135 aspras at that time held a value slightly exceeding 3 Venetian ducats.<sup>151</sup> This vineyard was therefore considerably cheaper than those bought by Bishop Marko. It thus seems likely that the vineyards intended for the church in Ždrelnik were significantly larger. In 1431, Luca de Abbate, a resident of Kotor, sold a vineyard to blacksmith Lješko for 100 Kotor perpers.<sup>152</sup> As the exchange rate between Kotor's currency and the ducat remains unknown, we can only tentatively suggest that the price of this vineyard was roughly comparable to those purchased by Bishop Marko.

As regards the prices of various goods in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, we shall first turn our attention to weaponry. As in the preceding period, we possess data only on the prices of imported arms. It appears that in the Despotate, towards the end of the third and the early fourth decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the manufacture of complete crossbows began. Prior to that, they had been imported in large quantities via Dubrovnik.<sup>153</sup> Around the same time, the production of small arms also commenced in the Despotate.<sup>154</sup> Finally, it appears that gunpowder began to be produced in the Serbian state in roughly the same period.<sup>155</sup> Armour production, however, does not seem to have attained such a level, and thus suits of armour

<sup>148</sup> Љубомир Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи* IV, Београд 1923, 23.

<sup>149</sup> Vladimir Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije*, Dio I, *Opis rukopisa*, Zagreb 1955, 216–217, brings a somewhat different reading of the inscription than stated in his first edition: Стојановић, *Записи и натписи* IV, 29. The most significant for us is that Mošin reads the date of the record as **SIČS** (6966=1458), whereas Stojanović gives **SIČR** (6966=1455). The year proposed by Mošin seems more plausible to us, due to the mention of aspras as well, since the Brankovićs' area fell under Ottoman rule in June 1455. See: М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 430–433. It should be emphasised that aspras had already been in wide circulation in the Brankovićs' area before this period: М. Динић, *За историју рударства* II, 80. The first to draw attention to the vineyard price data was М. Purković, „О ценама“, 263.

<sup>150</sup> Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije*, 216–217.

<sup>151</sup> For the aspras-ducat parity see: Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2000, 46.

<sup>152</sup> Н. Фејић, „Исправе которских нотара“, 28–29.

<sup>153</sup> Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје“, 128.

<sup>154</sup> М. Динић, *Из дубровачког архива* I, 71; Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје“, 128.

<sup>155</sup> Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје“, 128.

continued to be largely imported.<sup>156</sup> In February 1389, the Ragusans decided to present Stefan Musić with a pair of armours valued at 50 ducats.<sup>157</sup> These were exceedingly costly, considering their prices in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This is evident from a contract concluded on 28 September 1433 between the Ragusan Commune and master Zoane, whereby he was to make for them each year 25 cuirasses with kettle hats, 15 of which were to include sleeves, a collar, and a vest of cloth; the remainder were for oarsmen. For each of the 15 cuirasses, the Commune was to pay him 8 ducats, and additional 3 for each kettle hat. For the cuirasses and helmets intended for the oarsmen, he was to receive 4 ducats apiece.<sup>158</sup> It is worth noting that this sum did not include the master's annual wage, fixed by the contract at 100 perpers,<sup>159</sup> and accordingly, the prices varied when he sold them directly to the inhabitants of the Republic of Ragusa. Thus, in 1437 he sold one cuirass for 10 ducats; in 1438 he sold a cuirass and kettle hat for 6 ducats and 8 perpers, while in that same year he charged 15 ducats for one helmet. In 1445, he sold two abdominal armours for 16 ducats.<sup>160</sup> In 1455, the Commune determined to pay 4 ducats for Zoane's iron cuirasses with a steel breastplate, 5 for those coated in a yellow protective varnish, and 8 ducats for those capable of withstanding a full shot.<sup>161</sup> Dubrovnik also paid him 4 perpers – later 2 ducats – for the repair of each individual piece of armour.<sup>162</sup> According to a contract from August 1452, Vlaho Petrojević, a native of Lastva who had settled in Novi, was to receive from Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača an irrevocable loan of 100 ducats, and in return, he was to manufacture armours which the Herzog would redeem at 8 ducats apiece.<sup>163</sup> It may be said that 8 ducats was an almost standard price for armour, although there were examples of dearer ones. In 1437, Marin Druško paid 80 perpers for a steel panciera – an abdominal plate armour – which he intended to send to Voivode Stefan Vukčić.<sup>164</sup>

Fewer details are known about the prices of other weaponry. In January 1437, Kotor blacksmith Andrija undertook to produce for merchant Simiko Brajanov 16

<sup>156</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>157</sup> Михаило Динић, *Одлуке већа Дубровачке републике*, књ. 2, Београд 1964, 504; Ђ. Петровић, „Оружје Србије и Европа“, 157.

<sup>158</sup> Ђ. Petrović, „Magistar Johannes“, 63.

<sup>159</sup> Ibidem, 63.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem, 88–89.

<sup>161</sup> Ibidem, 89.

<sup>162</sup> Ibidem, 90.

<sup>163</sup> Иво Стјепчевић & Ристо Ковијанић, „Хранићи-Косаче у которским споменицима“, *Историски часопис* 5 (1954–1955) 318–319; Сима Ђирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, Београд 1964, 124.

<sup>164</sup> Ђурђица Петровић, „Главно оружје епохе и оружари у земљи Стефана Вукчића Косаче“, in: *Српска проза данас. Косаче – оснивачи Херцеговине: Ђоровићеви сусрети прозних писаца у Билећи. Научни скуп историчара у Гацку, 20–22. септембар 2000*, ed. Радослав Братић, Гацко 2002, 530.

swords without scabbards for 12 Venetian ducats.<sup>165</sup> This would place the price of each sword somewhat below a single ducat. Naturally, this was not the rule, as more costly examples certainly existed, but it serves as a rough indication. In this period, Serbian nobles also used sabres, which were perceived as Turkish arms.<sup>166</sup> Some were evidently of great value. One sabre was pledged in Dubrovnik in 1396 for 20 ducats and 5 grossi. In 1403, one Turkish sabre was sold in the same city for 15 perpers, or 6 ducats.<sup>167</sup> A surviving note from the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century states that one sabre was valued equal to one sword and two cordes.<sup>168</sup> Crossbows sold in the Ragusan market during the early decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century cost between 2 and 3 Venetian ducats.<sup>169</sup> It is worth noting that a source from 1397 records a cannon being valued at less than 10 ducats.<sup>170</sup> Horses can also be considered a component of martial equipment. For this period, we lack data on their price in the Serbian state, but in the region of the Ragusan Commune, prices varied widely from 8 to as much as 120 perpers – approximately 40 ducats. Horses priced between 30 and 60 perpers were considered more expensive. The prices of mares, however, ranged from 6 to 28 perpers, with most prices between 10 and 20 perpers.<sup>171</sup> It is nearly impossible to determine the cost of full martial equipment. A cuirass with a kettle hat cost at least 11 ducats, but this did not constitute complete martial equipment. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the prices of military equipment, like those of many other items, rose from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century onward. The same may be said of horse prices.

Throughout the late Middle Ages, the importation of luxurious fabrics into Serbian lands continued. It is virtually impossible to determine the average price of these cloths, given the diversity in type and quality. A record from 1370 notes that a piece of *aksamit* of a Ragusan merchant was valued at 29 ducats.<sup>172</sup> A piece of cloth cost between 20 and 30 ducats at the end of the century.<sup>173</sup> At the same time, Florentine

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<sup>165</sup> Ристо Ковијанић & Иво Стјепчевић, *Културни живот старог Котора, XIV–XVIII вијек*, књ. 1, Цетиње 1957, 167; Marko Aleksić, *Medieval Swords from Southeastern Europe. Material from 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century*, Belgrade 2007, 16.

<sup>166</sup> Гавро Шкриванић, *Оружје у средњовековној Србији, Босни и Дубровнику*, Београд 1957, 61.

<sup>167</sup> Ђ. Petrović, *Dubrovačko oružje u XIV veku*, 36–37.

<sup>168</sup> Константин Лиречек, „Споменици српски“, *Споменик Српске краљевске академије* XI (1892) 71; Г. Шкриванић, *Оружје у средњовековној Србији*, 61. The corde was a type of a curved sword: Ђ. Petrović, *Dubrovačko oružje u XIV veku*, 38.

<sup>169</sup> Ђурђица Petrović, „Prve vesti o viteškim igrama u srednjovekovnom Dubrovniku“, *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja* 17 (1971) 56.

<sup>170</sup> Ђурђица Petrović, „O vatrenom oružja Dubrovnika u XIV veku“, *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja* 15 (1969) 80.

<sup>171</sup> E. Kurtović, *Konj u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, 139–142, 435–454, 456–466.

<sup>172</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди*, 64–65. For an explanation of what *aksamit* is see: Бојан Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властeosка одећа*, Београд 2020, 32; Добрила Стојановић, „Тканине“, in: *Историја примењене уметности код Срба I, Средњовековна Србија*, ed. Нада Андрејевић-Кун, Београд 1977, 288–289.

<sup>173</sup> В. Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 66.

fabrics are mentioned, valued at 46 and 38 ducats apiece.<sup>174</sup> From 1416, the manufacture of woollen cloth commenced in Dubrovnik,<sup>175</sup> and these too began to be exported to the Serbian market. Inferior-quality Ragusan cloth cost around 5 ducats per piece, while the finer types were priced between 10 and 20 ducats per *petia*.<sup>176</sup> Their retail prices in the Despotate in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century seem to have ranged from 16 to 18 ducats per piece.<sup>177</sup> In addition, there are records of cloth from Verona, Vicenza and Florence being sold in the Serbian state during this period.<sup>178</sup> Their prices ranged from 21 to 27 ducats per piece, although one high-quality Florentine fabric was valued at as much as 40 ducats.<sup>179</sup> In 1457, Marko Staj sent to Serbia via Ivan Svirčević 16 Florentine cloths valued in total at 336 ducats,<sup>180</sup> which would place each at 21 ducats. Particularly costly were the fabrics designated in 1446 by the Ragusans as a gift for Lazar Branković, son of Despot Đurađ, and his bride. For her, fabrics were to be procured from Venice, and for him, from Mantua and Florence, at a total value of 600 ducats.<sup>181</sup> It is noted that one cubit of brocade was worth 4 ducats, while the same measure of silk velvet cost 2.5 ducats.<sup>182</sup>

The true extent of imported fabric prices is best grasped when compared to the prices of garments prescribed in the *Novo Brdo Legal Code* (1412) of Despot Stefan Lazarević, specifically its second part known in scholarship as the Law of Novo Brdo.<sup>183</sup> In Article XIII, titled "On Tailors," it is stipulated that a woman's skirt cost 20 dinars, a woman's *barhan* 16, and a single-layer *barhan* 10 dinars. A man's *barhan* with buttons cost 9 dinars, a man's skirt with buttons 10, and a *barhan* with a girdle 7 dinars. The price of a man's *kontuš* (kontosion) was set at 20 dinars, as was the *kavadion*. The *mrčni plašt* was valued at 6 dinars, and *klašnje* at 4. The voivode was to receive one *svita* at both Christmas and Easter.<sup>184</sup> The *barhan* was a garment of Arabic origin worn as a summer skirt or undergarment, often under a skirt in winter.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди*, 79; Винавер, „Прилози историји племенитих метала“, 66.

<sup>175</sup> *Тканине у привреди*, 87–103.

<sup>176</sup> I. Voje, *Kreditna trgovina*, 281–287, 300, 304.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibidem*, 264.

<sup>178</sup> М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 644–646.

<sup>179</sup> I. Voje, *Kreditna trgovina*, 330–334.

<sup>180</sup> Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Тканине у привреди*, 254.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, 254.

<sup>182</sup> I. Voje, *Kreditna trgovina*, 337.

<sup>183</sup> Никола Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, Београд 1962, 20, 29–30, 32; Биљана Марковић, *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића. Превод и правноисторијска студија*, Београд 1985, 37; Сима Ћирковић, *Латинички препис Рударског законика деспота Стефана Лазаревића. Увод, текст, превод и коментари*, Београд 2005, 11–12, 16, 69; Јелена Даниловић, „Закон града Новог Брда“, *Анали Правног факултета у Београду* 38, 1–2 (1990) 19–21.

<sup>184</sup> Н. Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима*, 54; Б. Марковић, *Закон о рудницима*, 22.

<sup>185</sup> Ђурђица Петровић, „Одећа“, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ћирковић & Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 466; Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властелска одећа*, 204, 269.

The *kontuš* (kontosion) is believed to have been a long-sleeved overcoat with fur lining and belt.<sup>186</sup> The *kavadion* was a long, straight-cut robe with long sleeves, open at the front and fastened with many buttons. The term may also have denoted a coat, cloak or cavalry mantle.<sup>187</sup> The term *suknja* denoted a basic winter garment for either men or women.<sup>188</sup> The *mrčni plašt* likely referred to a riding cloak, similar to a *gunj*, *zubun* or *gonela*.<sup>189</sup> The *klašnje* referred to either coarse woollen cloth or a type of stocking.<sup>190</sup> Lastly, *svita* denoted the costliest and highest quality fabric for tailoring and can be considered a general term for the principal garment.<sup>191</sup> The article "On Leatherworkers" prescribed that the best *kožuh* was to cost 60, and a lined one 70 dinars. A man's *kožuh* (sheepskin) was to cost 20, and lined sleeves 6 dinars. Leatherworkers were obliged to gift the voivode a pair of lambskin gloves each year.<sup>192</sup>

It may be easily seen that the stated prices were likely maximum prices,<sup>193</sup> for they were relatively low when compared to the prices of imported cloths, especially if we bear in mind that a single ducat was worth 42 Serbian dinars. This implies that only *kožuh*s exceeded the value of one ducat. It is also indicated that the prices corresponded to the then-current market value of hides.<sup>194</sup> It is certain that these regulations were primarily intended to secure favourable conditions for miners and other labourers needed in mining operations.<sup>195</sup>

The provision "On Cobblers" prescribed that the finest *crevlje* (shoes)<sup>196</sup> were to cost 5 dinars, whilst the rest cost 3 dinars. The best double-soled ones were to be priced at 20 dinars, the best single-soled at 15, and reinforced shoes at 12 dinars. *Okolice*, which may have referred to sandals,<sup>197</sup> were to cost 9 dinars, and the reinforced ones 8. Old *skornje* (boots) were to be resoled for 5 dinars.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властеоска одећа*, 110, 199–200, 202–204, 207, 260, 266–267, 269.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, 200, 202, 258, 269, 485; Ђ. Петровић, „Одећа“, 466–467.

<sup>188</sup> Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властеоска одећа*, 204.

<sup>189</sup> Ibidem, 204, 485.

<sup>190</sup> Ibidem, 82, 207.

<sup>191</sup> Душанка Динић-Кнежевић, „Свита“, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ћирковић & Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 657–658; Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властеоска одећа*, 110, 296, 485; Д. Стојановић, „Тканине“, 284.

<sup>192</sup> Н. Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима*, 54; Б. Марковић, *Закон о рудницима*, 22.

<sup>193</sup> Ј. Даниловић, „Закон града Новог Брда“, 38. Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властеоска одећа*, 124.

<sup>194</sup> Б. Поповић, *Српска средњовековна владарска и властеоска одећа*, 124, п. 241. For regulated leather prices in Novo Brdo, see: Н. Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима*, 55; Б. Марковић, *Закон о рудницима*, 22.

<sup>195</sup> Ј. Даниловић, „Закон града Новог Брда“, 38.

<sup>196</sup> Ђурђица Петровић, „Цревље“, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ћирковић & Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 803–804.

<sup>197</sup> Ђ. Петровић, „Цревље“, 804.

<sup>198</sup> Н. Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима*, 54; Б. Марковић, *Закон о рудницима*, 22.

In contrast to the earlier period, it is possible to provide some estimates of the revenues of Serbian noblemen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Indirectly, some insight may be gleaned from the charter of grand *čelnik* Radič to the Athonite monastery of Kastamonitou. In the charter issued for this monastery in 1430/1431, he stipulated that the monastery should each year receive from him 20 *litrae* of silver for the purchase of food, namely grain. Upon his death, in place of the 20 *litrae* of silver, the monastery was to enjoy the revenues from seven of his villages, whose names are not specified, as well as shares from mining pits and smelteries.<sup>199</sup> By the charter from May 1433, *čelnik* Radič reaffirmed his gift of 20 *litrae* of silver annually and added two more *litrae* for the monastery hospital. Should he take monastic vows at the monastery, he was not to seek revenue from the villages, nor demand silver.<sup>200</sup> Based on this, it may be inferred that the income from seven villages was equivalent to the value of 20 *litrae* of silver, or approximately 160 ducats. Since the size of the villages that were to pass to Kastamonitou upon Radič's death is unknown, it is difficult to assess what might be the average income of Radič's villages. It is logical to presume that these seven villages were not among the poorer ones. As the grand *čelnik* held around 60 villages, along with several hamlets and abandoned villages (*selišta*)<sup>201</sup> the 160 ducats should be multiplied by nine, yielding the sum of 1,440 ducats in annual income. One must also consider that he held the marketplace of Debrč, as well as shares in mining pits and one smeltery. It appears certain, then, that his annual revenues were not less than 1,500 ducats.<sup>202</sup> Clearly, Radič had no difficulty procuring costly arms and textiles. His annual income was equivalent to the value of a palace in Dubrovnik. We know that the grand *čelnik* also had a house in Novo Brdo,<sup>203</sup> which also must have been valuable.

It is, however, more difficult to estimate the incomes of less wealthy nobles and what they could afford. It is worthwhile first to consider what level of income was necessary for a nobleman to perform his military duties. Some estimates suggest that, in Byzantium, it was more profitable to hold a *pronoia* than to depend on mercenary wages. The intent was to ensure that the *pronoiaroi* earned a sum similar to that of private landholders.<sup>204</sup> It must have been much the same in the State of Serbian Despots. Economically, there was no essential distinction between a *pronoia* and a

<sup>199</sup> Cyril Pavlikanov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230–1704. Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2018, 105–106.

<sup>200</sup> Ibidem, 110.

<sup>201</sup> For more details on the estates of grand *čelnik* Radič see: C. Pavlikanov, *Medieval Slavic Acts*, 84–104; Гавро Шкриванић, „Властелинство великог челника Радича Поступовића“, *Историјски часопис* 20 (1973) 125–136.

<sup>202</sup> Милош Ивановић, „Коњ добри и оружје“. *Властела Државе српских деспота (1402–1459)*, Београд 2024, 504–505.

<sup>203</sup> C. Pavlikanov, *Medieval Slavic Acts*, 103.

<sup>204</sup> M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, 497–503; idem, *Late Byzantine Army*, 172–175.

patrimony (*baština*).<sup>205</sup> During the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, mercenary wages in southeastern Europe ranged from 1 to 3 ducats per month. In the latter half of the same century, data indicate that wages reached as high as 5 ducats for the same period of service. Wages varied depending on the soldier's equipment and region of origin.<sup>206</sup> The salaries of hired cavalymen in the Ottoman army in the 1470s reached as much as 8 ducats monthly. Janissaries, though infantrymen, were costlier than Italian professional soldiers, whilst azaps, who were occasionally engaged, were cheaper.<sup>207</sup> If we assume an average mercenary wage in the period under consideration to be 2–3 ducats per month, this would mean a nobleman required an annual income of 24 to 36 ducats to be on an equal footing in terms of wage. We have already noted that *čelnik* Radič's seven villages yielded some 160 ducats annually. Taking this into account, we arrive at the calculation that each village may have brought in about 23 ducats in annual revenue. This could imply that a nobleman needed to possess at least one such village in order to properly perform his military duties.

It is nonetheless certain that some nobles (*pronoariroi*) had less income than this. There is a known case from the territory of Zeta, under Venetian rule, where the settlement of Podgora and five neighbouring villages were held by no fewer than 16 individuals, mostly kin. Among these villages, only Podgora had more than ten households.<sup>208</sup> Ottoman *defter*s contain precise data about the incomes of *sipahis*. Given that in the decades immediately following the fall of the Despotate there were many Christian *sipahis* in Ottoman service – likely former Serbian nobles – these data are relevant to our inquiry. In the *defter* of *Vuk's Vilayet* (the Branković lands) from 1455 – though the data pertain to an earlier time<sup>209</sup> – the principle was applied whereby *timariots* with incomes up to 3,000 *aspras* were to participate in campaigns personally. If their income exceeded this, then for each additional 3,000 *aspras* they were to bring along another warrior *cebelü*.<sup>210</sup> A sum of 3,000 *aspras* was worth, at the time, approximately 75 Venetian ducats.<sup>211</sup> Of 173 *timars* in the Branković region, only 25 were held by Christians. A total of 86 Christians were supported by these, of

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<sup>205</sup> Георгије Острогорски, *Пронија. Прилог историји феудализма у Византији и јужнословенским земљама*, Београд 1951, 136–137.

<sup>206</sup> Сима Ћирковић, „Цена најамника у југоисточној Европи крајем средњег века“, in: *Војне крајине у југословенским земљама у новом веку до Карловачког мира 1699.*, ed. Васа Чубриловић, Београд 1989, 18–20.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*, 15–16, 20.

<sup>208</sup> Josephi Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta: saeculorum XIV et XV. Prs. 2 Saeculi XV praescanderbegianam periodum complectens* VIII, München 1970, 199–205; Викентий Макушев, „О прониі въ древней Сербіи“, *Журналь Министерства народнаго просвѣщенія* CLXXV (1874) 8; Г. Острогорски, *Пронија*, 157–169.

<sup>209</sup> Татјана Катић, *Војнички дефтер из 1455. године за санџаке Крушевац, Вучитрн, Призрен и вилајете Звечан, Јелеч, Рас, Сенице и Ходидед*, Београд 2020, 27.

<sup>210</sup> *Oblast Brankovića. Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, ed. Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić i Ešref Kovačević, Sarajevo 1972, XVII.

<sup>211</sup> Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 46.

whom 31 were obliged to join military campaigns.<sup>212</sup> No fewer than 16 of the Christian timars yielded less than 1,000 aspras,<sup>213</sup> or under 25 ducats per annum. As these were typically divided among brothers or between father and sons, it is no surprise that only one was required to go to war.<sup>214</sup> Still, one must wonder how individuals such as Raša and his four brothers, who together held only 250 aspras of income<sup>215</sup> – mere 6 ducats or so annually – were able to fulfil their military obligations. Only six Christian timars brought their holders more than 3,000 aspras in yearly revenue.<sup>216</sup> It is quite clear that Serbian nobles in this region must have possessed larger estates and greater revenues in earlier times, though, regrettably, it is impossible to estimate how great. It has been calculated, however, that including hasses and timars, one soldier required, on average, 2,278 aspras<sup>217</sup> – around 57 ducats annually, or nearly 5 ducats monthly, equivalent to the wage of the most expensive mercenaries. Such revenues, however, did not allow for the procurement of luxury goods to any great extent.

Christians mostly held small timars also in the (march) of Isa-bey Ishaković, which after the conquests of 1455 encompassed the areas of Sjenica and Ras. This *krajište* also included the towns and surroundings of Zvečan and Jeleč,<sup>218</sup> which the Ottomans had occupied as early as 1396.<sup>219</sup> In this area, of 120 timars in total, 32 were held by 54 Christians.<sup>220</sup> Here, too, Christians held small timars with less than 1,000 aspras in annual revenue. The smallest, yielding just 202 akçe, was held by Oliver, Aleksije and Todor.<sup>221</sup> The largest, worth 3,166 aspras, was held by a certain Dimitrije.<sup>222</sup>

A somewhat different picture is observed in the region conquered by the Ottomans in 1458–1459, where the Smederevo Sanjak was established.<sup>223</sup> Its part was the Vilayet of Braničevo, whose detailed register from 1467<sup>224</sup> recorded 97 timars, 64 of which were held by Christians, excluding those held by members of fortress garrisons, who numbered 124.<sup>225</sup> In general, even in this area, Christians held small

<sup>212</sup> Милош Мацура, „VI Османски феудализам“, in: *Насеља и становништво области Бранковића 1455. године*, ed. Милош Мацура, Београд 2000, 521–522.

<sup>213</sup> *Oblast Brankovića*, 201–206, 297–298, 305; М. Мацура, „Османски феудализам“, 521.

<sup>214</sup> *Oblast Brankovića*, 201–206, 297–298, 305.

<sup>215</sup> Ibidem, 205.

<sup>216</sup> М. Мацура, „VI Османски феудализам“, 521.

<sup>217</sup> Ibidem, 500.

<sup>218</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine. Uvod, turski tekst, prevod i komentari*, Sarajevo 1964, XLVIII, LVI.

<sup>219</sup> Михаил Динић, „Област Бранковића“, in: idem, *Српске земље у средњем веку*, прир. Сима Ћирковић, Београд 1978, 172–175.

<sup>220</sup> Н. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 3–57.

<sup>221</sup> Ibidem, 44.

<sup>222</sup> Ibidem, 33–34.

<sup>223</sup> Ема Миљковић, „Пад Смедерева и оснивање Смедеревског санџака“, in: *Пад Деспотовине 1459. године*, ed. Момчило Спремић, Београд 2011, 292–293.

<sup>224</sup> Момчило Стојковић, *Braničevski teftar. Poimenični popis pokrajine Braničevo iz 1467. godine*, Beograd 1987, 1.

<sup>225</sup> Ibidem, 14; Ема Миљковић & Александар Крстић, *Браничево у XV веку*, Пожаревац 2007, 59.

timars. The largest, yielding 10,138 akçe, was held by a certain Vukosav, son of Radan.<sup>226</sup> This corresponded to 235–240 ducats at the then exchange rate of aspras.<sup>227</sup> This was an income no mercenary could earn in a year. Yet there were timars yielding between 50 and 200 aspras, some of them held by several persons.<sup>228</sup> These were incomes of just over 1 to 5 ducats annually – clearly not commensurate with the income of a nobleman capable of campaigning adequately. Presumably, these were rather small hereditary patrimonies of noblemen, similar to chiftliks.<sup>229</sup>

The first preserved census of the entire Smederevo Sanjak dates from 1476 and lists 84 Christian sipahis, of whom 52 had revenues of less than 2,000 akçe, and 28 less than 1,000 akçe.<sup>230</sup> On the other hand, this defter records the only known case of a Christian holding a zeamet – a fief yielding between 20,000 and 100,000 aspras.<sup>231</sup> This zeamet yielded 15,595 akçe and was held by a certain Bajica.<sup>232</sup> This corresponded to about 346 ducats, for at that time one ducat was worth roughly 45 aspras.<sup>233</sup> It is apparent that even the largest Christian-held estate of this period lagged well behind the estimated income of grand čelnik Radič. Among the former Serbian noblemen in this defter we find Miloš Belmužević, recorded as holding a timar worth 8,583 akçe, encompassing the market town of Jagodina.<sup>234</sup> As a distinguished Serbian noble, he had evidently been granted a somewhat larger timar, yet even his was nearly half the value of Bajica's. Greater still was the income of Wallachian prince Maluga, whose timar brought him 10,246 akçe annually.<sup>235</sup> The zeamet with the greatest annual income in the Smederevo Sanjak – 60,798 akçe – was held by Ibrahim-bey, son of Malkoč.<sup>236</sup> Only his income could be roughly compared to that we have estimated for grand čelnik Radič.

By way of comparison, it should be mentioned that Stefanica Crnojević, according to his agreement with Venice in 1451, was to receive an annual commission of 600

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<sup>226</sup> M. Stojaković, *Braničevski tefter*, 164–169; E. Миљковић и А. Крстић, *Браничево у XV веку*, 59–60.

<sup>227</sup> Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 46.

<sup>228</sup> M. Stojaković, *Braničevski tefter*, 15, 183, 197, 210–213, 216.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

<sup>230</sup> Ема Миљковић Бојанић, *Смедеревски санџак 1476–1560. Земља-насеља-становништво*, Београд 2004, 68–69, 73; E. Миљковић и А. Крстић, *Браничево у XV веку*, 60.

<sup>231</sup> M. Stojaković, *Braničevski tefter*, 293.

<sup>232</sup> E. Миљковић Бојанић, *Смедеревски санџак*, 73.

<sup>233</sup> Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 46.

<sup>234</sup> Бранислав Ђурђев, „Хришћани спахије у северној Србији у XV веку“, *Годишњак Друштва историчара БиХ* 4 (1952) 167; Олга Зиројевић, *Турско војно уређење у Србији (1459–1683)*, Београд 1974, 159–160. For more details on Miloš Belmužević, see: Александар Крстић, „Нови подаци о војводи Милошу Белмужевићу и његовој породици“, *Иницијал. Часопис за напредне средњовековне студије* 1 (2013) 161–184.

<sup>235</sup> E. Миљковић Бојанић, *Смедеревски санџак*, 68; O. Зиројевић, *Турско војно уређење у Србији*, 159–160.

<sup>236</sup> E. Миљковић Бојанић, *Смедеревски санџак*, 67.

ducats as captain of Upper Zeta, on the condition that he campaign for two months at his own expense for the Republic. He also had other sources of income.<sup>237</sup> Yet even the mentioned 600 ducats was far more than any Christian timariot received in the former Despotate. Undoubtedly, this is owing to the fact that Stefanica Crnojević had become a kind of local lord, but given that he did not rule over a large territory, the sum of 600 ducats seems by no means insignificant.

To obtain a more complete picture of the earnings of timariots in the latter half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one should also consult data on the wages of mining labourers during the same period. Owners of parts of mining pits paid miners from 1 to 5 aspras per day, depending on the mine and the terrain. The salaries of skilled overseers and clerks in the mines generally ranged from 4 to 5 aspras per day. Interestingly, janissaries-infantrymen earned 3–5 aspras daily, while cavalrymen and various commanders earned more.<sup>238</sup> With a wage of 30 or 40 aspras weekly, they earned at least 3 ducats per month. This amounted to 36 ducats annually – more than the 1,000 aspras we have seen was the income of most Christian timariots. Clearly, timariots had a privileged social position, which was not necessarily reflected in the revenues they enjoyed. It is worth noting that if the prices from the Novo Brdo Legal Code were taken as valid for the Ottoman period in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one could say that they were adequate in view of the earnings of mining labourers.

Finally, we must mention another source that provides evidence of monetary indebtedness in the area of the Serbian Despotate during the fourth decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This is the account book of Ragusan merchant Mihailo Lukarević, who from 1432 to 1440 recorded his debtors and their guarantors. In total, it lists over 1,200 debtors and guarantors, half of whom were from Novo Brdo, where Lukarević himself resided, while the others lived in the nearer or farther vicinity of the town.<sup>239</sup> Lukarević's debtors were largely men employed in mining, craftsmen, and rural folk. It is notable that there were numerous small debts, some amounting to as little as 1 Serbian dinar (grosso) or aspra. Debts exceeding the sum of 2 litrae of coinage were exceedingly rare.<sup>240</sup> Rightly, then, it has been observed that for the common man, money was a great and hard-won thing.<sup>241</sup> It should be noted that during the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković, the indebtedness of the local population to the Ragusans

<sup>237</sup> Josephi Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta: saeculorum XIV et XV*. Prs. 3 *Saeculi XV Scanderbegianam periodum complectens* XXI, München 1975, 46–51, 61–64, 121–127; Ђорђе Бубало, „Неколико докумената о зетском војводи Стефаници Црнојевићу“, *Историјски записи* LXXXVIII, 1–2 (2015) 32–43; Иван Божић, „Зета у Деспотовини“, in: *Историја Црне Горе II–2*, Титоград 1970, 224–226.

<sup>238</sup> С. Ћирковић, Д. Ковачевић-Којић и Р. Ћук, *Старо српско рударство*, 164–167.

<sup>239</sup> Сима Ћирковић, „Албанци у огледалу јужнословенских извора“, in: *Илири и Албанци. Серија предавања одржаних од 21. маја до 4. јуна 1986. године*, ed. Милутин Гарашанин, Београд 1988, 334–335.

<sup>240</sup> М. Динић, *Из Дубровачког архива I*, 56–90; М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 680.

<sup>241</sup> М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 680.

emerged as a significant problem. In the summer of 1432, Ragusan merchants learned that the citizens of Novo Brdo intended to request from the Despot a temporary relief from repaying their debts. The following year, Despot Đurađ decreed that debtors could not be imprisoned, and that their property could only be sold or pledged after a year had passed. He also ruled that for debtors who lived solely on their earnings, only a third of their income could be taken. Furthermore, he challenged the practice of accepting Ragusan oaths alone in disputes over debts, which is why a mixed jury was formed to adjudicate such matters.<sup>242</sup> The Ragusans succeeded in restoring the old practice, but in early 1435, the Despot once again introduced the mixed jury. Additionally, he swiftly decreed that 10 new grossi should be counted as 16 grossi of debt. To this, the Ragusans protested, arguing that 10 new grossi could not purchase what 16 old grossu could. They managed to secure the abolition of the jury, as well as the right to claim debts from both movable and immovable property, though it remains unknown what became of the exchange rate for the new dinars.<sup>243</sup> These records bear witness to the extent of indebtedness among the population of the Despotate – at least in a major town such as Novo Brdo. It is impossible to determine whether this was a consequence of declining living standards or of ever-deeper involvement in mercantile affairs.

## Conclusion

Through an examination of prices and wages in late medieval Serbia, one may discern certain movements within the economy and society of the time. Firstly, as elsewhere in Europe, it appears that payments in money gradually gained precedence over payments in kind. In the Serbian lands, a significant factor in this regard was the increasing pressure exerted by the Ottomans, which led to the devastation of many estates, rendering coinage a far more secure source of income. In principle, one might also argue that in the territories under Serbian rulers during the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was an increase in prices and wages – though clear confirmation of this is lacking. It cannot be determined whether the price of land rose. Houses in mining centres fetched considerably higher sums than they had in late 13<sup>th</sup>-century Skopje. Still, even these could not compare in prices to the opulent palaces of Dubrovnik, acquired by Bosnian rulers and the most powerful nobles. Data from Ottoman defters clearly attest that former Serbian nobles in the Ottoman Empire could not count on substantial incomes. This likely explains why some of them

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<sup>242</sup> М. Динић, *За историју рударства* II, 65–66; М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 684–685.

<sup>243</sup> М. Динић, *За историју рударства* II, 66–67; М. Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 686–687.

abandoned Ottoman lands and sought fortune in Hungary, where greater opportunities for advancement existed.<sup>244</sup> By the latter half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, wages for mining labourers in the Ottoman Empire were on a par with those of janissaries. Thus, it may be said that the status of minor timariots was more privileged in social terms than in actual disposable wealth.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of sources, almost nothing can be said of the wages of merchants and craftsmen in medieval Serbia. In principle, one might assume that craftsmen received wages similar to those in Dubrovnik. It is also noteworthy that at the time of the Despotate, the Serbian populace became increasingly indebted, compelling Despot Đurađ to take certain measures. The question remains whether this can be taken as evidence of declining living standards due to harsh political circumstances or whether it was a consequence of deeper integration into the economic flows of more developed urban centres.

Undoubtedly, this research has not exhausted the question of prices and wages. New conclusions could likely be reached by taking into account economic developments across the broader region of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Owing to this, social movements in the territory of Serbian lands could be understood even better.

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<sup>244</sup> Aleksandar Krstić, "Which Realm Will You Opt for?" – the Serbian Nobility between the Ottomans and the Hungarians in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century", in: *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, edd Srđan Rudić & Selim Aslantaş, Belgrade, 2017, 156.

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**ПРИЛОГ ПОЗНАВАЊУ ПРИХОДА И ЦЕНА  
У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОЈ СРБИЈИ 14. И 15. ВЕКА**

**Резиме**

Проучавање цена, те прихода различитих категорија становништва на подручју средњовековне Србије отежано је услед недостатка извора. Недостатак података може се у извесном смислу допунити подацима из дубровачке грађе и османских дефтера насталих у првим деценијама након пропасти Српске деспотовине. Такође, намера овог рада је да укрштањем различитих информација у извесном смислу осветли куповну моћ и стандард становништва српске државе у XIV и XV веку.

Први значајнији подаци о ценама на тлу српске државе потичу из повеље краља Милутина из 1299/1300. манастиру Св. Ђорђа код Скопља. У њој се наводи да је краљ купио један комад земљишта у Скопљу и две куће у истом граду. Већи број података о ценама земљишта среће се у попису имања Хтетовског манастира насталог негде између новембра 1342. и лета 1343. године. Постојале су велике разлике у ценама земљишта које је манастир стекао. Како нам нису познате димензије тих поседа, немогуће је оценити просечну цену одређене површине земљишта. Посредно се ту сазнаје за цене коња и кобила, које су биле у то време веће него у Дубровнику. Начелно се може рећи да су цене имовине првих деценија XIV века у Котору биле знатно више него у унутрашњости српске државе. Цена кућа зависила је умногоме од тога да ли су биле од дрвета или камена. Посебно су биле високе цене винограда, који су чини се били још скупљи на територији Дубровачке општине.

Увозна ратничка опрема била је релативно скупа. Комплетна опрема вредела је као осредњи комади земљишта. За прву половину XIV века не располажемо подацима о приходима српских властелина. Може се начелно претпоставити да у освојеним византијским областима они нису имали мање зараде него тамошњи пронијари за које се претпоставља да су остваривали приход од бар 100 до 150 венецијанских дуката годишње. Посредно сведочанство о све већој куповној моћи српског елитног слоја јесу подаци о све већем увозу луксузних тканина од последњих деценија XIII века. Квалитетне тканине су вределе 30 до 50 дуката по комаду. Опет, грубе вунене тканине могле су се купити и за нешто више од 1 дубровачког динара. На подручју Дубровника најниже зараде имали су надничари у винограду и пољу, по 1 грош дневно, док су занатлије могле зарађивати до 5 динара дневно.

Готово да не треба сумњати да је до пораста цена и у српској држави, као другде у Европи, дошло од средине XIV века услед велике епидемије куге. Треба напоменути да су на цене и приходе у српској држави утицали и све јачи напади Османлија од последњих деценија XIV века, што је доводило до пустошења

поседа и расељавања становништва. Постала су зато за манастире важнија давања у новцу, него држање поседа. Са друге стране, прве деценије XV века представљају доба великог успона рударства у српској држави.

Дубровачки документи сведоче да су током XV века куће у рударским градовима као што су Трепча и Сребреница могле бити јако скупе. Опет, биле су знатно јефтиније од палата у Дубровнику и Венецији. Много је мање података о ценама земљишта и винограда за период од средине XIV до половине XV столећа. Чини се да је земљиште на територији под влашћу Драгаша било јефтиније него оно које је куповао Хтетовски манастир. Судећи по једном примеру, виногради на територији Бранковића могли су достићи високу цену.

Цене увозног оружја су такође веома вариране зависно од квалитета. Изгледа да су просечни оклопи вредели 8 дуката. Сабље су пак могле бити веома скупе, како указују одређени подаци. Квалитетне тканине су имале сличну цену као у претходном раздобљу. Посебно оне намењене Лазару Брнаковићу и његовој невести биле су изузетно скупе. Знатно су пак биле ниже цене одевних предмета предвиђене *Новобрдским законом* из 1412. године. Чини се да су оне биле адекватне спрам зарада запослених у рударству.

Посредним путем може се претпоставити да је велики челник Радич током четврте деценије XV века могао имати годишњи приход од око 1.500 дуката. Османски дефтери из периода од 1455. до 1476. сведоче да су хришћани-спахије углавном располагали веома малим приходима, који су на годишњем нивоу били испод 25 дуката годишње. Само су ретки међу њима остваривали приходе који су на годишњем нивоу били преко 200 дуката. То је опет знатно ниже од суме којом је раније располагао челник Радич. Управо је то могао бити разлог што су неки некадашњи српски властелини напустили Османско царство и срећу потражили у Угарској. Знатно веће приходе од хришћанских-тимарника имао је и Стефаница Црнојевић, који је на простору Зете стекао статус локалног господара. Плате запослених у рударству су у то време биле више него приходи одређених тимарника, мада су они ипак уживали привилеговани положај.

Конечно, треба поменути да пословна књига дубровачког трговца Михаила Лукаревића који је од 1432. до 1440. бележио своје дужнике и њихове јемце пружа значајне информације о задуживању на тлу Српске деспотовине. Његови дужници били су из Новог Брда, где је и сам живео, као и из ближе и даље околине поменутог града. Уочава се да је у њој забележено мноштво ситних дуговања, што указује на то да је за обичног човека новац био велики и да је до њега тешко долазило. Одређене мере које је деспот Ђурађ предузимао како би заштитио дужнике из Новог Брда сведоче колико је становништво на том подручју било задужено.

Овим истраживањем питање цена и зарада није исцрпљено. До нових резултата би се вероватно могло доћи узимањем у обзир привредних кретања на ширем простору Балкана и Медитерана.