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EKONOMIKA BOKELJSKE MORNARICE

Rezime

Pomorstvo i trgovina neraskidivo povezana sa njim bili su osnovne delatnosti koje su sačinjavale privredu srednjovekovnog grada - komune Kotora. Svi oni koji su se bavili pomorstvom bili su članovi bratovštine Sv. Nikole mornara, danas poznatog pod imenom Bokeljske mornarice. Kao i svaki drugi ceh iz tog vremena, i ovo udruženje imalo je za osnovnu svrhu uzajamnu potporu svojih članova, kao i stvaranje uslova za razvoj delatnosti kojom se bave. Ubrzo po osnivanju, Bratovština ovo nadrađa, dobijajući i zaduženja vojno-odbrambenog karaktera. I više od toga, budući da u njenom članstvu nije bilo plemića, udruženje postaje i okosnica ukupnog ekonomskog i društvenog razvoja prvo samo pučana, a zatim i celokupnog razvoja Kotora. Unutrašnja organizacija bila je uređena Statutom i aktima koji su ga dopunjavali. Posebna pažnja u tim dokumentima bila je posvećena i načinu prihodovanja Bratovštine, kao i tome na šta se novac mogao trošiti. Rashodi su joj bili posvećeni, ipak, samo onome zbog čega je bila i osnovana - solidarnim i dobročinnim aktivnostima, zatim religioznim, te onima koji su je snažili i učvršćivali uslove za razgranavanje delatnosti pomoraca - trgovaca. Na vrhuncu svoje moći, koji se poklapa sa vrhuncem ovakve medijevalne organizacije privrednih aktivnosti, Bokeljska mornarica bila je jedno od najbogatijih i najsnažnijih udruženja na Jadranu.

Ključne reči: Kotor, Bokeljska mornarica, bratovština, statut, alegati, Bratovština Sv. Nikole mornara

JEL: N93, L91, O52

ECONOMY OF THE BOKA BAY NAVY (Boka Catharo Mariner Guild)

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Summary

Navigation, with the maritime trading irrefutably thereto connected, were the essential activities of the mediaeval city-commune of Kotor (Catharo) economy. All persons engaged in navigation were members of the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, nowadays known as the Boka Bay Navy, or rather Bokelj Marine. Not unlike the other guilds of its time, this guild grounded its basic objectives on rendering mutual assistance to its membership, and creating an environment in which the activities of their guild would best be served. Soon after its establishment, the Fraternity was to surpass this basic objective and engage in assignments of military-defence character actions. Since its membership did not comprise nobility, the guild was soon to become the core of an overall economic and social development, initially of the commoners primarily, thereafter to involve the entire Kotor city community development. Fraternity's internal organisation was regulated by the Statute and enactments supplementing its provisions. Particular care in these documents was devoted to be manner in which the Fraternity was financed, and the allocation of available funds. Expenditures were dispensed, nevertheless, only for those purposes for which it was actually founded - i.e. for actions of solidarity and benefaction, for religious deeds, and those that were strengthening and reinforcing support for branching out of the maritime trading activities. At the apex of its power, coinciding with the peak reached by mediaeval economic activities organised along the same lines, Boka Bay Navy was to be the one of the richest and the strongest guilds in the entire Adriatic Sea region.

Key words: Kotor, Boka Bay Navy - Bokelj Marine, fraternity, Statute, allegatum, St. Nicolas Mariner Fraternity

JEL: N93, L91, O52

Editorial Office Note: Given that there is a large number of footnotes in Italian, they are to be found at the end of the paper, starting from page 206.

Paper received: 23.04.2013

Approved for publishing: 30.04.2013

Bratovština Svetog Nikole mornara

Kotorske bratovštine karakteriše mnogo toga sličnog sa onima iz susednih sredina, s obzirom da su na njih uticale vrlo slične prilike, a kasnije su zajednički, sve bile podložne i mletačkom uzoru. Ipak, one iz Kotora, nose i zanimljive specifičnosti svoga kraja i ličnih prilika. Ova udruženja, nisu nam značajna samo zato što preko njih možemo da dobijemo podatke o istoriji zanata jednog grada, već je za nas važnija činjenica, da su one jedina društvena forma, kroz koju je građanin uopšte mogao da deluje, s obzirom na činjenicu, da je vlast u primorskim gradovima bila isključivo u rukama plemića.

Pravi primer za ovo, pružiće nam Bratovština ljudi vezanih za more, Svetog Nikole mornara, koja kao profesionalna organizacija pomoraca-građana, nije dopuštala da u njene redove uđu vlastelini, pa makar bili i pomorci, jer je zajedno, s ostalim građanskim cehovskim udruženjima, bila sastavni deo *'Universitatis populi'*, organizacije građanskog društvenog sloja, suprotstavljene udruženju kotorskih plemića *'Comunitatis'*. Pošto je zbog brojnosti članova, Bratovština Svetog Nikole mornara bila najveća, ali i ekonomski najjača, ona je u okviru *'Universitatis populi'*, imala glavnu i odlučujuću reč. Moramo stoga naglasiti, da su upravo pomorci, čija je zasluga bila nemerljiva, bili ti, koji su puku nesebično pomogli u borbi za ostvarenje njegovih kakvih takvih prava, okrnjivši tako preimućstvo plemstva, koje je kao konzervativni upravljač gradom i okolinom, kočilo svaki napredak građanskog društvenog sloja, samim tim i svaki ekonomski boljitak. I sama mletačka vlast je zbog ovog, nastojala da obuzda plemiće, tako što im je smanjivala samostalnost upravljanja gradom i distriktom, iako se Senat Sinjorije, prilikom preuzimanja vlasti 1420. godine, svečano obavezao, da će trajno poštovati punu dotadašnju autonomiju plemenitih (Mijušković, 1974, str. 75-76).

Kotor su razjedali i klasni sukobi, koji su itekako štetili pomorstvu, jer je upravo tamo bila potrebna tesna veza između brodovlasnika i nosilaca kapitala s pomorskim osobljem. Možda je još značajnije to, što grad, ne želeći da se preterano angažuje u ratu, sem bitke kod Skadra 1474. godine, za razliku od Peraštana

koji stalno imaju neku ratnu aktivnost, dolazi u pritajeni sukob sa novim gospodarem. Venecija mu zato ne daje veće povlastice, koje bi mu donele znatniji profit, a i sputava sprovođenje starih privilegija koje je već imala Bratovština Sv. Nikole mornara. I pored toga, slobodno može da se ostane pri tvrdnji za bratovštine u Kotoru, da su smatrane jednim od najjačih uporišta pučana i da su njihovi članovi, čvrsto povezani, disciplinovani i sa dobrom unutrašnjom organizacijom, stvarno predstavljali značajnu društvenu snagu.

Posebno se, među svima ostalim cehovskim udruženjima, isticala Bratovština Sv. Nikole Mornara (Gelčić, 1880, str. 157-160). Imala je kao osnovni zadatak da razvije pomorstvo, zaštiti interes samih pomoraca i da za slučaj rata obezbedi organizovani otpor. Kotorske bratovštine, inače, bile su ključne institucije kroz koje su ne samo njeni članovi, već i cela gradska komuna negovali i učvršćivali društvene, religiozne i ekonomske odnose. Mir i boljitak u gradu, počivao je na principu ravnoteže sekularnog i sakralnog, a taj se princip poštovao i u radu njegovih udruženja. Svojim bratimima, ali i njihovim porodicama, bratovštine su nudile svojevršno institucionalizovano kreiranje sopstvenog spasenja, i ovde, pre svega preko poštovanja principa hrišćanske vrline caritas.

Bratovština Svetog Nikole mornara, imala je vojnički organizovan odred mornara za odbranu grada, a po potrebi je formirala i eskadrilu brodova za dejstvo u obalnom moru (Vasiljević i Visković, 1975, str. 46). Ta organizacija je kroz istoriju imala ključni uticaj na razvoj pomorstva Boke, ali i celokupni ekonomski i društveni razvoj.

Bokeljska mornarica je prema nekim, ne posve pouzdanim izvorima najstarija bratovština, odnosno, cehovsko udruženje na istočnoj obali Jadrana, osnovana u IX stoleću. Na osnovu dokumenata *'Instrumentum Corporis nostri gloriosi gonfalonis Martyris Sancti Tryphonis'* i *'Estatto dala 'Lezenda de misser San Tryphon martire confalon et protector della Cittade de Catharo'*, Gelčić i Dabinović izveli su zaključak o ovom, najranijem, periodu njenog osnivanja. To je, međutim, prvi osporio Slavko Mijušković, pomerajući datum osnivanja kao nesporan u novije vreme. Pisani statut potiče joj iz 1463. godine. Njeno delovanje bilo je

Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity

City of Kotor fraternities shared many features similar to those of the neighbouring milieus, all of them being under the influence of very similar circumstances, later on to be rendered, again all of them jointly, susceptible to the Venetian model. Nevertheless, Kotor fraternities are to embrace also some of the interesting specificities of their home traits and personal circumstance. These fraternities are not only important for us as the means to acquire through their development pertinent data about the history of guilds existing in a given city, but more importantly to learn that they were a unique social structure through which a citizen was at all able to initiate an action, in view of the fact that the rule in the sea coastal cities was exclusively in the hands of aristocratic nobility.

True example of this will be offered by the fraternity of the seafaring men, those of the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, which was a professional guild of the seafaring citizens-mariners not allowing access into its ranks to the noblemen even if they were of a maritime provenance. Together with the other civic guilds, it was a component part of the *'Universitatis populi'*, an organisation of the civil social strata, confronting the guild of the Kotor city noblemen *'Comunitatis'*. Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, being the most numerous in number but also economically the strongest, within the *'Universitatis populi'* it enjoyed the main and decisive say. Hence we must stress that the mariners were actually the ones, with their merits immeasurable indeed, who were rendering wholehearted assistance to the population in their fight to achieve any at all possible rights, thus hampering some of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy, which as a conservative ruler over the city and its surroundings, were obstructing every progress of the civil society in the city, thus hindering any economic progress at all. Even the Venetian ruling authority was in this context striving to restrain noblemen, by reducing their independent ruling powers over the city and the district, although the Senioria Senate, when taking over the power in 1420, solemnly pledged to respect and uphold in full the

past and present autonomy enjoyed by the aristocratic nobility (Mijuskovic, 1974, p. 75-76).

City of Kotor was destabilized by the class conflicts, which were a great detriment to the maritime activities, as it was actually there that the closest ties between the ship-owners and the capital holders with mariner crews was of the utmost necessity. More importantly perhaps is to view the fact that the City, reluctant to engage actively in warfare, except for the battle of Scudari of 1474, contrary to the disposition of the Perast city dwellers continuously engaged in some kind of war games, entered in a clandestine conflict with its new master. Thus Venice became reluctant to grant any substantial privileges to the city of Kotor that would bring considerable gains, while at the same time preventing implementation of the earlier privileges already enjoyed by the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity. In spite of this it may be freely argued that the Kotor City fraternities remained one of the most powerful strongholds of the commoner population and that their members, strongly bonded, well disciplined and with a proper internal organisation, truly represented a significant people power.

Especially outstanding amongst all other guilds was the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity (Celcic, 1880, p. 157-160). It had a basic task to develop navigation, protect interests of



uređeno, pored Statuta, i njegovim dopunama - alegatima, pojedinačnim aktima kojima se normiraju posebni slučajevi ili odnosi između bratima samih, ili između njih i državnih organa (Statut Bratovštine Svetog Nikole Mornara, 2009).

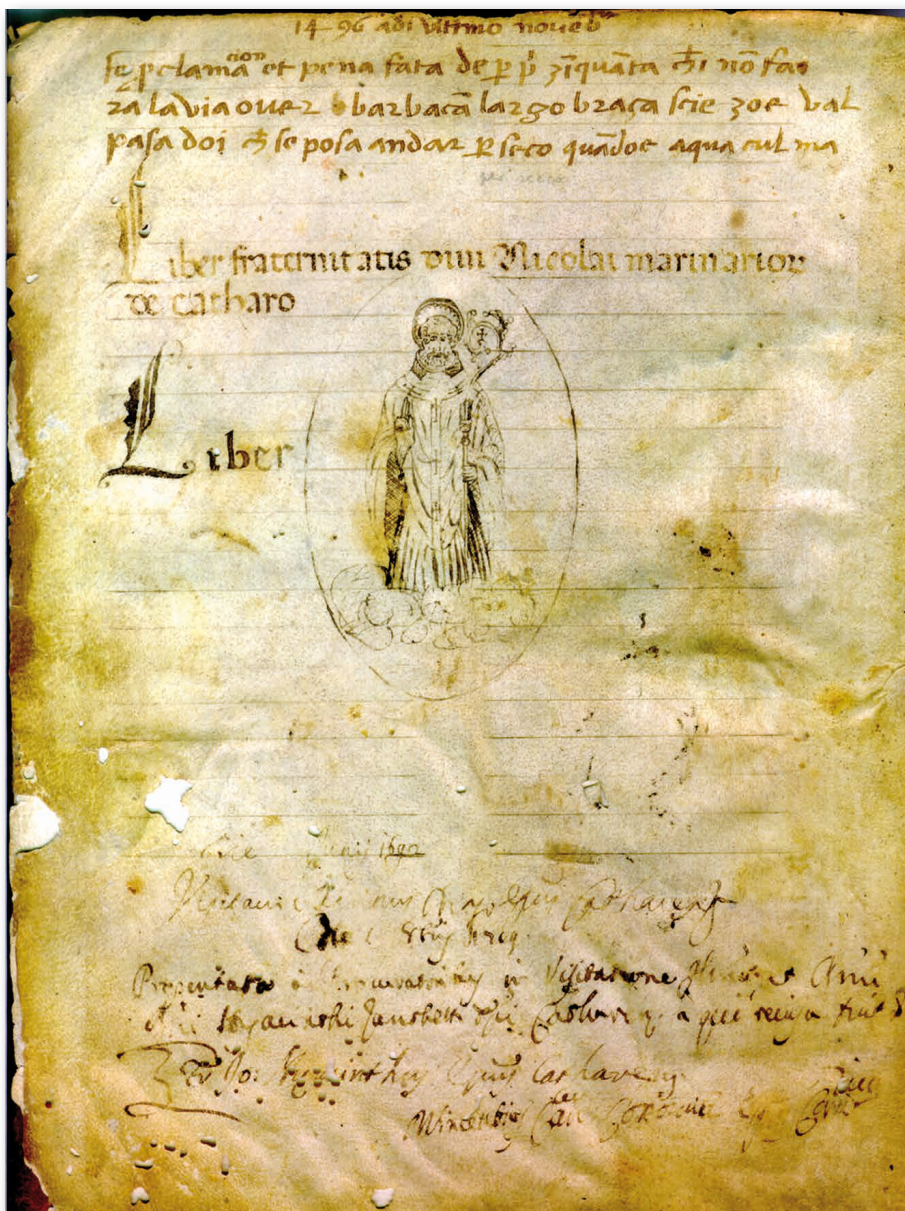
Bratovštini su pripadali brodovlasnici, zapovednici i posade brodova. Na čelu organizacije bio je gastaldus (prema langobardskom 'gastaldio' - upravitelj), tri prokuratora i dva sindika. Bratovština je potpomagala siromašne porodice, upravljala brodogradilištima, i bila angažovana u borbama na moru i kopnu. Kao cehovska i društvena organizacija nosilac je pomorskog prosperiteta Boke u razdoblju od XV do kraja XVIII veka. U svom izvornom delatnom obliku Bokeljska mornarica ukinuta je odlukom francuskih okupacijskih vlasti 1811.

Prvi dokument koji ukazuje na mogućnost postojanja jedne čvršće pomorsko-odbrambene organizacije u Kotoru, potiče iz doba Nemanjića, iz 1155. godine, u vreme vladavine velikog župana Dese. U njemu se govori o dvema kotorskim galijama, čije bi nabavljanje, održavanje, naoružanje, kao i obezbeđenje posade i veslača, bilo nezamislivo bez postojanja jednog stalnog mornaričkog udruženja.

Iako se ova Bratovština, tj. Mornarica, označavala prvobitno kao kotorska, njena teritorijalna nadležnost pre mletačke dominacije, zavisila je od opsega jurisdikcije kotorske komune, da bi u drugoj eri venecijanskog vladanja, bila uslovljena separatističkim težnjama pojedinih razvijenih pomorskih centara u Zalivu. Svoj najširi obim imala je u prvoj polovini XIV, kada je gotovo obuhvatala čitavu Boku.

Ekonomika Bratovštine

Videli smo da je osnovni cilj Bratovštine kotorskih pomoraca, bilo unapređenje zavičajnog pomorstva i međusobno pomaganje njenih članova. Statut bratovštine Svetog Nikole mornara, zajedno sa pratećim alegatima - odlukama statutarnog karaktera, bio je pogodan okvir da se jasno definišu sve obaveze finansijskog karaktera, kao i one vezane za održavanje raznih godišnjih rituala. Pored ovoga, Statut čuva i brojne podatke o karakteru pomorske privrede, reguliše obavezu plaćanja određenog procenta društvu, govori o važnim trgovačkim pijacama i slično.



mariners themselves, and in case of war to provide for an organised resistance. Kotor City fraternities where, anyhow, the key institutions in which not only its membership, but also the entire city commune was nurturing and strengthening social, religious and economic relationships. Peace and prosperity in the city was resting on the principle of a well established balance between secular and sacral, and this principle was also respected in the work of its fraternities. Membership brothers and their families were offered by the Fraternity, a particular institutionalised creation of their own salvation, and this primarily through the respect for the principle of the Christian virtue of caritas. Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity had a militarily organised echelon, set-up after the fashion of a mariner unit designated for the defence of the city, and if necessary, capable to form a squadron of ships for the defence action along the coastal sea front (Vasiljevic and Viskovic, 1975, p. 46). This organisation was to have, throughout historical developments, a crucial influence on the navigation and maritime progress of the Boka Bay, but also on its overall economic and social advance.

Boka Bay Navy, or rather a Boka Mariner Guild, according to some albeit not very reliable sources, is regarded as the oldest fraternity, i.e. the oldest guild in the eastern coastal littoral of the Adriatic Sea, established in the 9th century. Based on the documents '*Instrumentum Corporis nostril gloriosi gonfalonis Martyris Sancti Tryphonis*' and '*Estatto dala Lezenda de miser San Tryphon martire confalon et protector della Cittade de Catharo*', Gelcic and Dabinovic came to the conclusion that this was the earliest period of its establishment. However, the first to dispute this claim was Slavko Miljuskovic, shifting the date of establishment into some more recent times as an undisputable fact. The written Statute originates as early as 1463. Activities of the guild were regulated by the Statute and its supplements - *allegatum*, individual enactments prescribing rules to be applied in particular cases, or in the relations between brotherhood within the fraternity itself, or between them and the state authorities (Statute of the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, 2009).

Fraternity membership consisted of ship-owners, ship captains - commanders, and

ship crews. Fraternity organisation was headed by *gastaldus* (after the Langobardi '*gastaldio*' - administrator), three procurators and two syndics. Fraternity was focused on aiding impecunious commoner households, on managing ship-building yards, and was engaged in fights on open seas and on land. Being a fraternity guild and an organisation of a social welfare character, it was the main stronghold of the Boka Bay maritime prosperity in the period from the 15th to the 18th century. In its original operational endeavour, Boka Bay Navy, or a Boka Catharo Mariner Guild, was abolished by the decree of the French occupational forces, promulgated in 1811.

The earliest document suggesting that a certain strong entity of both a maritime and defence provenance may have been present in the City of Kotor (Catharo), dates from the times of the Nemanjic Dynasty, and 1155, at the time of rule of Grand Zhupan Desa. Document recounts of the two Kotor City galleons, the purchase of which, together with their maintenance, armament, but also the galleon crew and oarsmen required, would be unthinkable without the presence of a permanently resident maritime fraternity.

Although this Fraternity, i.e. the Boka Marine Guild, was originally designated as that of the Kotor City provenance, its territorial competences, prior to the Venetian domination, depended on where the realm of the Kotor City commune extended, which was to become restricted, in the second era of the Venetian rule, by the separatist tendencies of some other well developed maritime centres in the Boka Bay. Boka Bay Kotor Fraternity reached its broadest scope of influence in the first half of the 14th century, when it enveloped almost the entire area of the Boka Bay.

Fraternity Economics

We have seen that the basic goal of the Boka Catharo Mariner Fraternity was to promote homeland navigation and render mutual assistance to its membership. The Statute of the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, together with its *appurtenant allegatum* - decisions of a statutory character, was a convenient framework for clearly defining all the liabilities

Bez pristupanja Bratovštini, nije bilo moguće baviti se pomorstvom. Statut je tu izričit i jasan, u IX glavi - 'O onima koji žele da postanu članovi naše škole (škola, odnosno scuola u venecijanskom dijalektu medijevalnog italijanskog, sinonim je za udruženje, ceh, odnosno bratovštinu)': 'Isto tako naređujemo da svi patruni nava, malih nava, brodova, barkozija i malih barkozija, koji žele da budu članovi naše Bratovštine i da poštuju ova naša naređenja, moraju da se upišu zajedno sa svojim brodovima u ovaj naš Statut i da se zakunu da će sačuvati sve ono što se u njemu nalazi i što će ubuduće biti naređeno...'¹

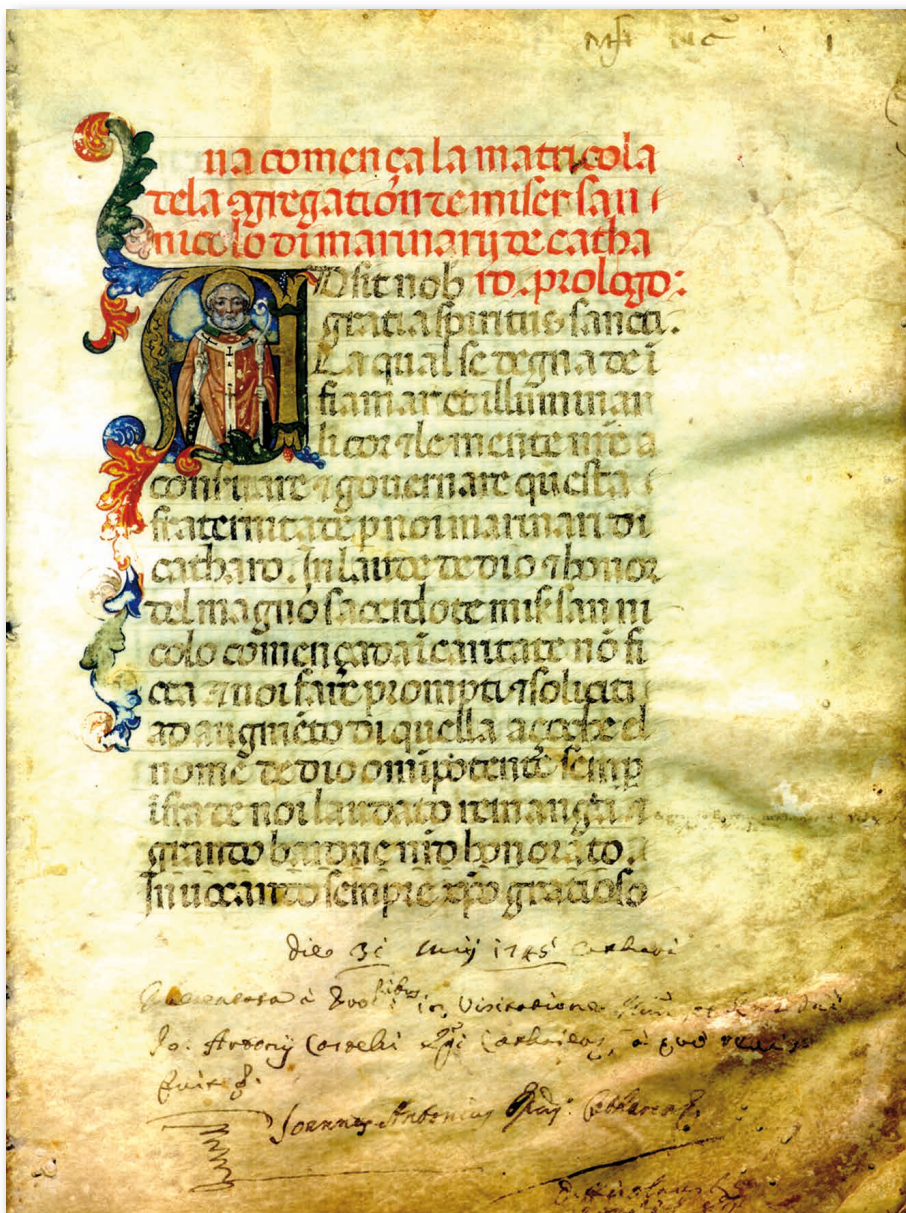
Brodovlasnici - kapetani, morali su, dakle, da pored svog imena upišu i tipove svojih plovila, jer se na taj način određivala nosivost njihovih lađi, prema čemu se pak plaćala taksa za svaki kar tereta. U samom Statutu

se kao plovila pominju: 'nave, navette, navilii, barcosii, barcoseti'. Navedeni popis patruna i brodovlasnika, smatran je sastavnim delom Statuta. Svi ti spiskovi, ostali su nažalost izgubljeni (Milošević, str. 172). Posebnim, sledećim članom X - 'O Statutu', normirala se važna obaveza šestorice predstavnika uprave, koji su bili dužni, da svake treće godine, prekontrolišu taj popis i dopune spisak imena i brodova. Za slučaj da ovo odbiju, plaćali su kaznu od pet libri u vosku.²

Ovo potvrđuju još četiri alegata, u vremenskom rasponu od preko tri decenije. Potreba da se ova obaveza nanovo utvrđuje, govori, sva je prilika, i o tome da obaveze koje je članstvo u Bratovštini nametalo, nisu bile ni male, ni jednostavne, ali nam ukazuje na još jednu okolnost, da se verovatno velika većina mornara s druge strane Zaliva, nije osećala

pripadnicima Kotorske mornarice, zbog pripadništva naseljima koja su se vremenom osamostaljivala.

Obaveza članstva za sve pomorce, osim Peraštana, koji su izašli iz organizacije još 1580. godine, izrekom se utvrđuje u alegatu br. 23, od 1631. godine.³ Ista se obaveza, takoreći istim rečima, ponavlja i u alegatu br. 29, od 1645. godine. Dodatak priprečenih visokih kazni, od čak 50 perpera, govori o činjenici da se pomorci nisu, bar ne uvek, dragovoljno učlanjivali u Bratovštinu.⁴ Konačno, odustajući od principa dobrovoljnosti, ma i prividne, u alegatima br. 36. i 38, iz godine 1666. i 1667, propisuje se, u prvom, popisivanje svih koji se bave pomorstvom, a u



of a financial character, and also those pertaining to promoting various annual ritual events. In addition, the Statute is preserving numerous accounts depicting the character of the maritime economics, regulating mandatory payments of a certain percentage due to the Fraternity, and speaks of important trading markets and similar.

Without accession to the Fraternity, it was not possible to engage in any maritime activity. Statute is very explicit and clear on that point in its Chapter IX - 'On those wishing to accede to the membership of our School (school, or scuola in the Venetian dialect of the Mediaeval Italian, is a synonym for an association, guild, i.e. a fraternity)': 'We hereinafter order that all the patroni nave, those of small nave-navette, navilii, barcosii and barcoseti, wishing to become members of our Fraternity submitting to our orders, must inscribe in Fraternity together with their ships in this our present Statute, and to give a solemn pledge to preserve everything that is present therein and which shall be so ordered in future...'¹

Ship-owners-captains therefore were forced, in addition to their name, to inscribe also the type of their vessel as in this way the carrier capacity of their vessel was appraised, and thereby the tax was set for every charo (quadratum?) of cargo. In the Statute itself, the following vessels are listed '*nave, navette, navilii, barcoii, barcoseti*'. This list of ship-owners - patrons was deemed to be an integral part of the Statute. All of these lists have remained, unfortunately, inaccessible as they have perished (Milosevic, p. 172). In a separate Chapter X - "On the Statute", an important obligation was formulated tasking six official representatives of the directorate, to diligently examine that particular list, to so proceed every third year, and amend and supplement the list of names and ships accordingly. In case the officials should neglect to diligently engaged as prescribed, they would be charged with a fine of five pounds of wax.²

This was to be further confirmed by another four allegatum prescribed over a period of more than three decades. The need for this obligation to be yet again reiterated seems to suggest that the dues imposed on the Fraternity membership were neither slight nor simple. But this also points out at yet another circumstance,

and that is that probably a large number of mariners originating from the other side of the Bay did not deem themselves to be a part of the Bay of Kotor Marine Guild, as they belonged to the settlements and hamlets that were in time gaining their own independence.

Mandatory membership for all the mariners, except for the Perast dwellers who have left the organisation as early as 1580, explicitly is stipulated in the allegatum No. 23 of 1631.³ The same obligation, in almost the identical wording, is to appear in the allegatum No. 29 of 1645. The addition of the threat of high penalties to be imposed, in an amount as high as 50 perpers, speaks of the fact that mariners were not always ready of their own free will to join the membership of Fraternity.⁴ Finally, renouncing on the principle of voluntarism, albeit illusory, in the allegatum No. 36 and 38 of the years 1666 and 1667, it is prescribed, in the former, inscription and enrolment of all those engaged in maritime activities, and in the latter confirmation of the decision previously brought to that effect.⁵

Fraternity membership, however, was not an obligation without its rewards. The assistance rendered to the brothers, Fraternity members, was both abundant and frequent as the organisation had at its disposal not only its customs revenues, but also the revenues from port taxes and some other dues collected. In addition to these regular earnings, prescribed by Statute and its allegatum, Fraternity was acquiring its assets also through donations, legations, and testamentary endowments. This pertains both to the immovable property and to the movable objects of higher value. In the last will and testament of the late Marino Belly, it reads that he will be leaving to the Fraternity all of his carpets in the value of one and a half ducats (Milosevic, 2003, p. 155). The property so acquired was to remain in the permanent ownership of the Fraternity (Gelcic, p. 14 and 15), i.e. "the property of all the mariners, both those present and those future ones", as is explicitly stated in the allegatum No. 3. The exception was only the Church of Saint Nicolas itself, which belonged to the Franciscan Order, and also everything that is bequeathed to the church itself.⁶

drugom se ta odluka potvrđuje.⁵

Članstvo, međutim, nije predstavljalo samo obavezu bez ikakvih prednosti. Zauzvrat, pomoć koja je pružana bratimima (izvorni naziv za člana bratovštine), bivala je i izdašna i česta, s obzirom da je organizacija raspolagala ne samo prihodima od carine, već je ubirala i lučke takse i neke druge dažbine. Pored ovih redovnih prihoda, propisanih Statutom i njegovim alegatima, Bratovština je imovinu sticala i prilozima, legatima, nasljedstvima. Ovo se odnosi kako na nepokretnosti, tako i na pokretne stvari od veće vrednosti. U testamentu Marina Belija, tako, stoji da iza svoje smrti ostavlja Bratovštini tepihe u vrednosti od jedan i po dukat (Milošević, 2003, str. 155). Imovina koja je ovako nastajala, ostajala je u trajnom vlasništvu Bratovštine (Gelčić, 1880, str. 14 i 15), odnosno 'svih pomoraca sadašnjih i budućih',

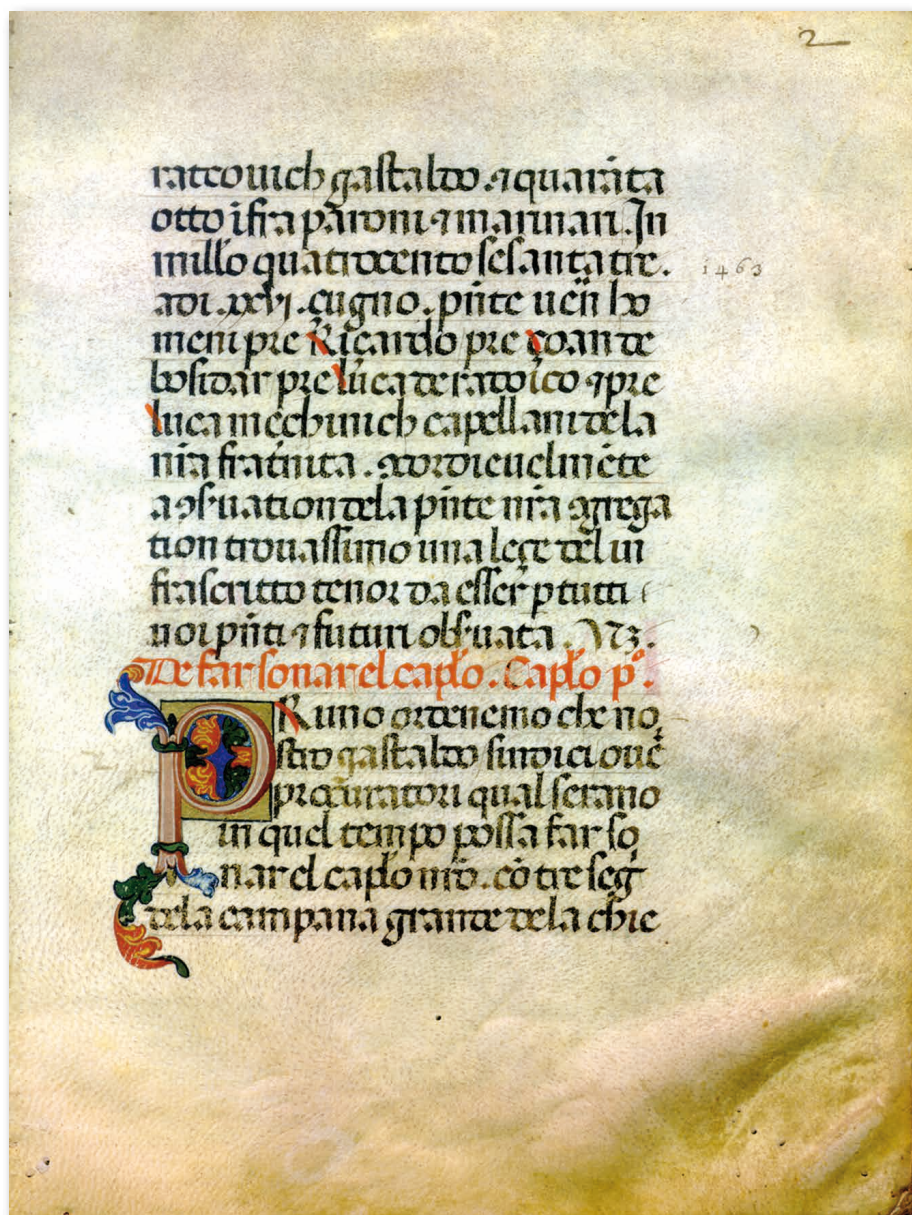
kako se to izričito kaže u alegatu br. 3. Izuzetak je bila sama crkva sv. Nikole, koja je pripadala redu franjevac, kao i sve ono što se samoj crkvi priloži.⁶

Prihodi Bratovštine

Već na samom početku Statuta, na marginama naslovne strane, bez broja glave, sa datumom 1496. godine, poslednjeg dana novembra, drugim rukopisom, određena je jedna vrsta prihodovanja od kazni, dok je na poledini naslovne strane, na margini, drugim rukopisom napisano, da se na str. 48, nalazi odluka Skupštine Škole za lučke takse, doneta za nju samu.

Bratovštini je od svih vlada bilo dozvoljeno da ubira lučku taksu, prema broju jarbola, zvanu 'alboraggio', i to na brodove i veće barke

onih mesta u provinciji koja su potpadala pod nadležnost kotorskih pomoraca. Vlasnici su je plaćali svaki put kada bi lađu izvukli na suvo (Dabinović, 1934, str. 125). Ova taksa donosila je, početkom XIX veka, oko 900 lira godišnje. Plaćanje lučke takse, uređeno je odredbom 'O plaćanju lučke takse', koja se iako veoma važna, nalazi kao nenumerisana tek pri kraju Statuta. Čudi da se ovako važan prihod reguliše tek na kraju teksta Statuta. Radi se o obavezujućoj taksi, koja se plaćala srazmerno veličini broda, prema mogućnosti nosivosti tereta. Napominje se, da je za manje karake, iznos već ranije bio utvrđen, mada se ne kaže koliki je, što znači da je bio obavezujući i pre donošenja ovog



Fraternity Revenues

At the very beginning of the Statute, on the margins of its front page, without the chapter number, and dated 1496, on the last day of November, in a different handwriting, a certain kind of revenue collection was prescribed from penalties imposed, while on the back of the front page, on the margin, and in another handwriting, it is written that on page 48 there is a decision of the Assembly of the Fraternity regarding the port taxes to be collected for its own benefit alone.

Fraternity had the permission from all the governments, to collect the port tax according to the number of ship masts, called 'alboraggio' and this on the ships and larger barcolii from those places in the province which were under the jurisdiction of the Kotor City mariners. The owners of these vessels were paying this tax every time they would pull the vessel on dry land (Dabinovic, 1934, p. 125). This tax was earning the revenue, early in the 19th century, of some 900 lira annually. Payment of the seaport tax was regulated in the provision "on Port Tax Payment" which was although very important, situated as a provision without its numbering at the end of the Statute text itself. It may appear odd that such an important source of revenue is being regulated at the very end of the Statute document. It was a mandatory tax to be paid in proportion with the size of the vessel, and according to the cargo capacity of the ship. It is noted that, for the smaller charache (?) the amount was already prescribed, although there is no mention of the amount itself, which means that it was mandatory even before the adoption of our Statute, in 1463, at the time when some earlier organisation of mariners was in existence, and certainly at the time when some earlier Statute was in force. In the said Statute, it is prescribed hereinafter, that the tax will be collected according to the size of the vessel - charache 'as usual', for the minor ships from 400 to 500 charo five ducats will be paid, for the vessels of even smaller charo, of 200 to 300 charo - four ducats of alboraggio are paid. It was further decided that two soldi were to be paid per one charo.⁷

Further in the text of the Statute, some other grounds for the tax collection were prescribed,

for example, the weight of the ship cargo in Chapter IX: '...And they are to report to our Fraternity the weight of cargo from every one of the voyages of their ship, paying one Kotor (Catharo) grosse per charo, where this obligation is irrevocably duty bound with the membership in the Fraternity. At the same time, in Chapter XI fine is prescribed for contravening the payment of this due.⁸ In order to obtain a clearer picture of the revenues so accrued, and also of their importance, we may freely say that the Chapter XI provision - "On patrons venturing in navigation", is the component part of the previous Chapter IX provision of the Fraternity Statute - 'On those wishing to become members of our Scuola'. Tax on the weight of the ship cargo is determined also in the allegate No. 23 which stipulates that all those engaged in maritime trade must pay 'four soldi per miaro' of goods no matter of what kind it is that is being exported from the Boka Bay.⁹

Tax was also collected on every vessel that was sailing from the port, as testified by the allegate No. 6 of April 1523.¹⁰ These taxes, for sailing out of port and for the weight of the transported cargo, were the most regular revenue to be collected by the Fraternity, as confirmed in the allegate No. 61 of the end of the 17th century.¹¹ Taxes were being collected also for some other purposes, which were precisely defined in the Statute itself or in the allegatum thereto - for charitable activities, and up to the renewal and maintenance of churches. Clear example of such deeds is given in the provisions "On church fees" which also pertain to the collection of taxes on every seafaring vessel sailing out of port.¹²

Tax that was collected on the transported cargo was especially complicated when speaking of the transit - or 'connected voyages', where the ship after its every travel did not return to the home port. Upon departure from Kotor, the vessel would have several stop over stations and reloading of the cargo, up to its final destination. All of the cargo would be taken into account as the basis for calculating the tax to be paid per charo of cargo on board. Every patron upon his return to port, within one month must have reported all of the cargo transported and must have paid the prescribed tax for his cargo shipped to that destination.

našeg Statuta, 1463. godine, u doba postojanja neke ranije organizacija mornara i svakako u vreme važenja nekog starijeg Statuta. Propisuje se, dalje, da se taksa ubira prema veličini broda - karake 'kako je uobičajeno', manji brodovi, od 400 do 500 kara plaćaju pet dukata, a još manji, od 200 do 300 kara - četiri dukata. Uz to, odlučeno je da se plaća po dva solda za jedan kar.⁷

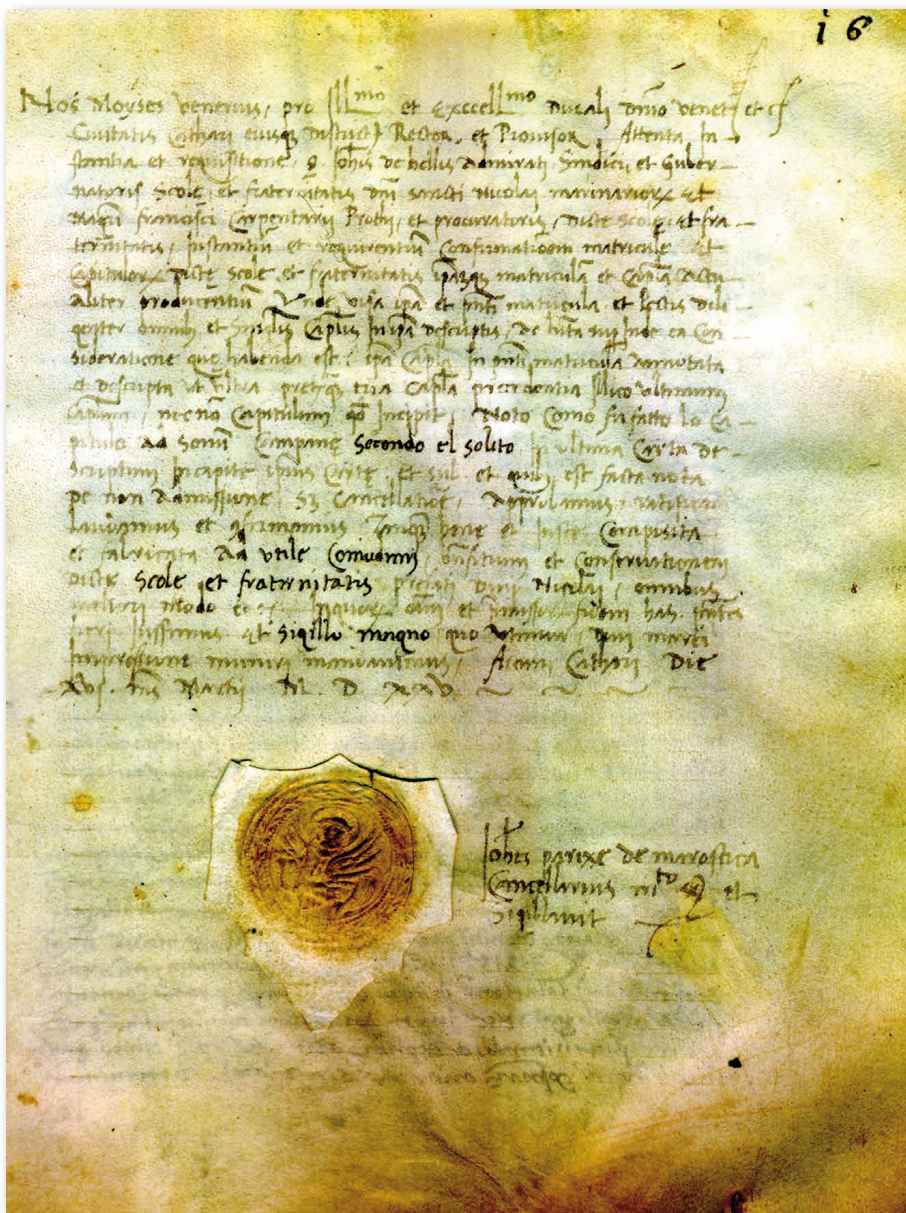
Kasnije, u daljem tekstu Statuta, propisuju se i drugi osnovi za ubiranje taksi, na primer težina broskog tovara, u IX glavi: '... I treba da prijavljuju našoj Bratovštini teret svakog putovanja svoga broda, jedan kotorski groš po karu', gde je ova obaveza nerazdvojno povezana sa samim učlanjenjem u Bratovštinu. Istovremeno, predviđena je, u XI glavi, i kazna za protivljenje plaćanju ove obaveze.⁸ Da bismo dobili jasniju sliku, o kakvim se to prihodima

radilo, i o njihovom značaju, možemo slobodno da kažemo da XI odredba - 'O patrunima koji idu na put', čini sastavni deo prethodne IX odredbe Statuta Bratovštine - 'O onima koji žele da postanu članovi naše škole'. Taksu na težinu broskog tovara ustanovljava i alegat broj 23, koji kaže da svi koji se bave pomorskom trgovinom moraju da plaćaju po 'četiri solda na jedan miljar' bilo koje vrste robe koja se iz Boke izvozi.⁹

Taksa se naplaćivala i po svakom plovilu koje isplovi, o čemu svedoči alegat br. 6, od aprila 1523. godine.¹⁰ Ove takse, za isplavljanje i za težinu prevezene robe, bile su najredovniji prihod Bratovštine, što potvrđuje i alegat br. 61, s kraja XVII veka.¹¹ Takse su se prikupljale i za različite druge namene, koje su bile precizno određene samim Statutom, ili alegatima - od karitativnih delatnosti, do obnove i održavanja

crkve. O tome jasan primer daju odredbe 'O naknadi crkvi', koje se takođe odnose na prikupljanje takse od svakog isplavljanja.¹²

Taksa koja se naplaćivala na prevezeni teret, postajala je posebno složena kada se radilo o tranzitnim - 'vezanim' putovanjima, kod kojih se brod nije posle svakog prevoza vraćao u matičnu luku. Posle polazišta iz Kotora, lađa bi imala nekoliko pristajanja i prekrcaja robe, do konačnog odredišta. Sva ta roba bila je uzimana kao osnovica za izračunavanje takse koja se plaćala po karu tereta. Svaki patrun, po povratku s puta, u roku od jednog meseca, morao je da prijavi sav prevoženi teret i da plati propisanu taksu za njega. U odredbi se



The provision also prescribes that in case the patron should fail to find the procurator of the Fraternity as he is absent out of town, he is duty bound to pay this tax to the gastald, who must deposit the same in the treasury, in the presence of his wife and two witnesses. In such circumstances, it was necessary to preserve the written document, which had to stipulate how much money was received and for what voyages the tax was paid, and on all these proceedings the witnesses so present had to give their certification. If they should have failed to do so, they would be punished each by a fine of one *perper*. Irrespective of all this, Fraternity was also been paid for engagement of every individual foreign mariner within the crew of the sailing ship, all this according to the provisions prescribed in Chapter XI of the Statute - 'On the voyage bound patrons'.¹³

Taxes were collected mainly in money. Among the money taxes the one prescribed was also the tax to be paid by the foreigners for using the tools for tolling ships on to dry land, which amounted to four Venetian *grosse*.¹⁴

In addition, some of the personal fines were also collected in money, as witnessed by the case of the *calaphata* master Radechia, in the last provision of the Statute, without number.¹⁵ Any conduct opposed to the one prescribed in the Statute was also susceptible to be fined. Examples are also given of those procurators who had forgotten to hand over the cash registers prior to their departure on a voyage (one of the chapters without number, following the Chapter XXVI of the Statute). In addition, church chaplains of the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, who would fail to officiate the holy mass, or take part in the procession, as commented upon in Chapter VI of the Statute - 'On Chaplains', their salary would be reduced for four *soldes*.¹⁶

Fraternity also had a monopoly over the sales of ship requirements and supplies, as they were the goods originating from its own arsenal. High revenues were also accrued from the real estate, from houses and land property that the Fraternity acquired through bequests or purchase and sales. In the *allegate* No. 13, for example, the sale is approved of one plot of land.¹⁷ Hence the content of the *allegate* No. 4 from the very end of the 15th century makes

a list of some ten vineyards and eight houses in the ownership of the Fraternity. Already the very next *allegate* represents fully copied last will and testament of the priest Anthon Gizdavac, who has on 15 July 1501 bequeathed to the Fraternity land in Kavco, Ljesevici and Brda, which are bearing an annual income. In the document which pertains to the rental of the House of Fraternity, of 18 December 1508, it is stated that this building, which was obviously owned by the Fraternity, was to be rented to the Chaplain Tripo Vlatkovic for the sum of 12 *perpers* per annum. It is also stated that it was agreed that he shall, in lieu of rental fee, serve mass in the Church of Fraternity, and also that the mariner Fraternity will be able to continue to use this real-estate property during the holydays of Saint Triffone. The rental money paid directly to the offices of the Fraternity, and this in cash, is commented in the *allegate* No. 14 of 3 August 1633, where the Assembly is determining the amount of rental money to be paid by the tenant Inermo Calenda, and states that the amount has already been paid.¹⁸

Allegate No. 17 speaks of the Fraternity ownership of the house with the storeroom on the ground floor, but it is actually the case of cancelling the rental of Master Hieronimo Cascalier.¹⁹ In the *allegate* No. 19 it is also commented on the care for the revenues accrued from the real estate, rental of such property, or more precisely the earnings there from: '...from rental, *livelli*, donations, legates and inheritance, and also from management of our own houses and property...'.²⁰ Obviously, the substantial revenues were coming also from permanent rentals, which is directly witnessed by the *allegatum* No. 13 and 14, where tenants are designated of the specified real estate property, and also the value of rental.²¹

Fraternity was acquiring also revenues from the individual jobs and deals of various kinds. *Allegate* No. 16 speaks of the case when it was paid for the services of 'liberation',²² while mediation in liberation cases was granted to the organisation as an old privilege.

In addition, it was also receiving a certain amount as a gift from the government - 'grazie' on the occasion of the celebration of the fiesta of Saint Triffone, which again, in the early 19th century, amounted to 100 *lira*. In the

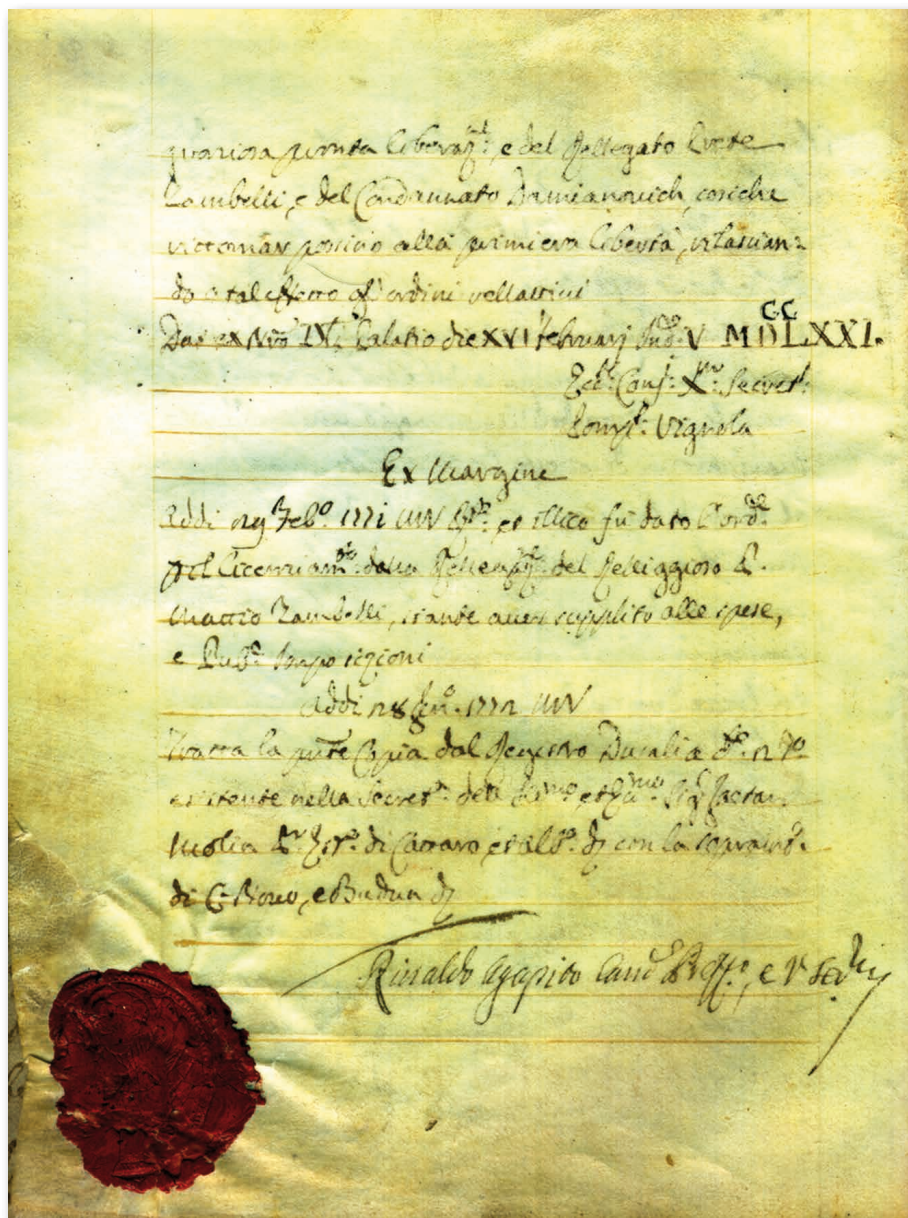
još kaže, da ukoliko patrun ne nađe blagajnika Bratovštine, zbog toga što se on nalazi van grada, da je ovaj namet dužan da plati gastaldu, koji je u obavezi da ga odloži u kasu, u prisustvu svoje žene i dva svedoka. U takvim prilikama, bilo je neophodno da se sačini pisani dokument, u kome je moralo da se kaže koliko je novca primljeno i za koja putovanja, kao i da o svemu tome, prisutni svedoci izdaju potvrdu. Ako oni ovo nisu želeli da učine, kažnjavali su se sa po jednim perperom. Nezavisno od toga, Bratovštini se plaćalo i za angažovanje svakog pojedinačnog stranog mornara u posadi broda, što je sve propisano u XI glavi Statuta - 'O patrunima koji idu na put'.¹³

Takse su se ubirale, uglavnom, u novcu. Od novčanih taksi, propisana je i ona koju plaćaju stranci za korišćenje alata po izvlačenju broda na suvo, i koja je iznosila četiri venecijanska

groša.¹⁴ Takođe, u novcu su se ubirale i neke lične kazne, o čemu svedoči slučaj kalafata majstora Radelje, u poslednjoj odredbi Statuta, bez broja.¹⁵ Za svako ponašanje koje se kosilo sa onim propisanim u Statutu, takođe su se naplaćivale kazne. Primer su i prokurator, koji bi zaboravili da predaju kasu pre odlaska na put (jedna od nenumerisanih glava, iza glave XXVI). Takođe, i kapelanima crkve Bratovštine sv. Nikole mornara, koji bi propustili da služe sv. misu, ili da učestvuju u procesiji, o čemu govori glava VI Statuta - 'O kapelanima', umanjivala bi se plata za četiri solda.¹⁶

Udruženje je imalo i monopol nad prodajom brodskih potrepština, pošto se radilo o robi iz njenog arsenala. Veliki prihodi, stizali su i od nekretnina, kuća i zemljišta, do kojih je Bratovština dolazila zaveštanjima ili kupovinom i prodajom. Alegatom br. 13, na primer,

odobrava se prodaja jednog zemljišta.¹⁷ Tako, sadržaj alegata br. 4, sa samog kraja XV veka čini popis od deset vinograda i osam kuća, koji su u vlasništvu bratovštine. Već naredni alegat predstavlja u potpunosti prepisan testament sveštenika Antona Gizdavca, koji je 15. jula 1501. zaveštao Bratovštini zemljište u Kavču, Lješevićima i Brdima, koja nose određeni godišnji prihod. U dokumentu koji se tiče najma Doma Bratovštine, od 18. decembra 1508. godine, stoji da je ova zgrada, koju je očigledno posedovala Bratovština, izdata kapelanu Tripu Vlatkoviću za 12 perpera godišnje. Još se kaže da je ugovoreno da će on, umesto zakupa, da služi mise



receipt from the end of the previous century presented to the Taxation Chamber authority, the precise amount is stated which was given to the Fraternity for this occasion - 390 Dalmatian lira and eight soldi. In this Receipt, dated 15 January 1790, it is also stated that this amount 'from time immemorial' was being granted to the Marine, and that there was no interruptions in its continuity of payment (IAK 0 22). Gelcic also underlines that the term 'ab immemorabili' was always used when speaking of privileges of the Fraternity (Gelcich, 1880, p. 49).

This money was confined with the gastaldo and the admiral. The allegato No. 20 even explicitly orders that one half of this amount is to be given to the admiral, and the second half to the church.²³ This money was mainly used for covering the costs of two banquet festivities which were organised at the Church of Fraternity and in front of the Cathedral. Gelcich states that for those same purposes, even as early as 1595, money was also given - at that time 20 ducats, and with the termination of 1700 that amount of revenue was even increased. In addition to the festive banquet ceremony, this money served also to pay for some other entertainment events and festivities for the mariners, organised on the occasion of the festivity of Saint Triffone - artificial fire works, lighting, music with the trumpet players and percussion instruments, knightly champion games, etc. (Gelcich, 1880, p. 42 and 46).

State authorities also were at times rendering assistance to the Fraternity. It may be assumed with certainty that this aid was gaining in importance to the measure in which, in time, the revenue sources were drying out for the Fraternity. One of the last allegatum, No. 99, the one stressing almost the only function which had remained in the hands of the Fraternity - the ceremonial one, is ordering the donation of 10 Dalmatian ducats for the election of the officers.²⁴

Finally, the Fraternity revenues should also include the earnings from wax and oil. Not unlike the monetary revenues, these earnings in kind were collected in the form of regular taxes, but also fines. From the reports given on the occasion of the extinction of Fraternity, in 1810, it may be concluded that every member of Fraternity was paying his regular annual

contribution for illumination of the altar and churches with 4 soldes per year - as a 'luminaria' fee, which at that time amounted to 20 lira (Milosevic, 2003, p. 136-137).

The fee in wax is already mentioned in the third chapter of the Statute - 'On Gastald'. In this chapter it is ordered that the gastald will have to pay a fine of twenty pounds of wax for every refusal to perform obligations and duties that were in that chapter so prescribed.²⁵ Guardian of the church was also liable to pay a penalty, in case he should refuse to show to the Assembly the items entrusted to him for management. The fine for this offence was determined in Chapter VIII of the Statute in the amount of 10 pounds of wax.²⁶ Members of the Fraternity administration were also susceptible to the penalty for the lack of diligence in keeping the books and records of mariners and vessels. Chapter II of the Statute prescribes such a penalty of five pounds of wax.²⁷

Fines were also paid in oil in case of failing to convene an Assembly meeting, or organise a procession. Every brother in the Fraternity who would fail to respond, according to the letter of this un-numbered provision of the Statute entitled 'Procession Orders', had to pay one half a canister of oil.²⁸ Another fine, according to an unnamed and un-numerated provision at the end of the Statute, was also charged in oil - the failure to appear at a funeral ceremony for a child of a Fraternity brother.²⁹

In the years closing to the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, when the sources of revenues from taxes and donations have dried out, Fraternity remained in a passive mode, supporting itself only from the donations paid by the members, and also from some slight amounts from the above mentioned sources and luminarii, which amounted in total, in 1819, to 330 lire. Those remaining land plots owned by Fraternity were called 'Budovina' and 'Vukovina'. The former one was in the hands of the fiefdom serf Stijepo Steznic at Krtole, who was supplying oil and heating wood, while the other property was in the hands of the fiefdom serf Ivo Zarkovic, also at Krtole, underneath Bordjiste, who was supplying wheat and fire wood. Both of these properties were bringing revenue of 140 lire (Milosevic, 2003, p. 136-137).

u crkvi Bratovštine, kao i da će organizacija mornara moći i dalje ovu nepokretnost da koristi o praznicima Sv. Tripuna. O najmu plaćenom direktno kancelariji Bratovštine, i to u novcu, govori alegat broj 14, od 3. avgusta 1553. godine, u kome Skupština određuje iznos zakupa Inermu Kalendi, te konstatuje da ga je on već izmirio.¹⁸

Alegat br. 17. govori o svojini bratovštine na kući sa skladištem u prizemlju, zapravo radi se o otkazu zakupa majstoru Jerolimu Kaskalijeru.¹⁹ I 19. alegat, dalje, kazuje o staranju o prihodima od nepokretnosti, te o njihovom najmu, tačnije o prihodima: '... od najмова, livela, poklona, legata i nasljedstva, kao i o upravljanju sa svojim kućama i posjedima...'.²⁰ Očigledno, značajan prihod dolazio je i od trajnog najma, o čemu nam neposredno svedoče alegati br. 13. i 14, kojima se određuju zakupci određenih nepokretnosti, kao i vrednost zakupa.²¹

Bratovština je sticala i prihode od pojedinačnih poslova različitih vrsta. Alegat br. 16, tako, govori da joj je plaćeno za usluge 'oslobađanja',²² a posredovanje u oslobađanju, organizaciji je bilo dato kao stara privilegija.

Osim toga dobijala se i jedna suma od poklona vlasti - 'grazie' povodom svečanosti Svetog Tripuna, što je opet, početkom XIX veka, iznosilo 100 lira. U Priznanci s kraja prethodnog veka, prezentirane Poreskoj komori, navodi se tačan iznos koji je za ovu priliku izdat Bratovštini - 390 dalmatinskih lira i osam soldi. U taj Potvrđi, datiranoj 15. januara 1790, kaže se i da se ta suma 'od pamtiveka' izdavala Mornarici, i da u tome nije bilo prekida (IAK O 22). Gelčić, inače, ističe da se termin 'ab immemorabili' uvek upotrebljavao kada je reč o privilegijama Bratovštine (Gelcich, 1880, str. 49).

Taj novac se poveravao gastaldu i admiralu. Alegat broj 20, čak izričito određuje da se polovina ove sume daje admiralu, a druga polovina crkvi.²³ Uglavnom je ovaj novac služio da se pokriju troškovi dva svečana banketa, koja su organizovana u Crkvi Bratovštine i pred Katedralom. Gelčić navodi da se za istu svrhu još 1595. godine davao novac - tada 20 dukata, a da je terminacijom iz 1700. godine taj prihod i povećan. Osim banketa, ovim novcem su plaćane i druge zabave i svečanosti za pomorce, održavane u povodu praznika Sv. Tripuna - veštačke vatre, rasveta, muzika sa trubačima

i udaraljka, viteške igre... (Gelčić, 1880, str. 42. i 46).

Državni organi su, i inače, povremeno pomagali bratovštinu. Može se sa sigurnošću pretpostaviti da je ova pomoć bivala značajnija, u onoj meri u kojoj su, vremenom, opadali izvorni prihodi Bratovštine. Jedan od poslednjih alegata, br. 99, koji naglašava skoro jedinu funkciju koja je Bratovštini ostala - onu ceremonijalnu, utvrđuje i davanje od 10 dalmatinskih dukata za izbor oficira.²⁴

Najzad, u prihode Bratovštine treba uračunati i prihode u vosku i ulju. Poput novčanih, i ovi prirodni prihodi su ubirani u vidu redovnih taksi, ali i kazni. Iz izveštaja datog prilikom gašenja Bratovštine, 1810. godine, može se zaključiti da je svaki član Bratovštine plaćao redovan godišnji doprinos za osvetljavanje oltara i crkava, od 4 solda godišnje - 'luminaria', što je tada iznosilo oko 20 lira (Milošević, 2003, str. 136-137).

Kaznu u vosku pominje već treća glava Statuta - 'O gastaldu'. U njoj se određuje da će gastald morati da plati kaznu od dvadeset libara voska za svako odbijanje izvršenja obaveza koje su mu u toj glavi propisane.²⁵ Gvardijan crkve plaća, takođe, kaznu ukoliko odbije da Skupštini pokaže stvari koje su mu poverene na upravljanje. Kazna predviđena za ovo, utvrđena u glavi VIII Statuta, jeste 10 libara voska.²⁶ I članovi uprave Bratovštine podležu kazni za neuredno vođenje knjiga pomoraca i plovila. Glava H Statuta tu kaznu propisuje na pet libara voska.²⁷

Uljem se kazna plaćala u slučaju neodazivanja na Skupštinu, ili procesiju. Svaki bratim koji se ne odazove, prema slovu nenumerisane odredbe statuta 'Naređenje o procesiji', morao je da plati pola konate ulja.²⁸ Još je jedna kazna, prema neimenovanoj i nenumarisanoj odredbi na kraju Statuta, naplaćivana u ulju - nedolazak na sahranu deteta nekog bratima.²⁹

U godinama krajem XVIII i početkom XIX veka, kada su presahli prihodi od takse i poklona, bratovština je ostala u pasivi, pa se izdržavala jedino od dobrovoljnih priloga koje su uplaćivali članovi, kao i od neznatnih iznosa s pomenutih terena i luminarija, što je ukupno iznosilo, 1810. godine, 330 lira. Ti preostali zemljišni posedi zvali su se 'Budovina' i 'Vukovina'. Prvi je držao kmet Stijepo Steznić

Fraternity Church Revenues

Activities of any mediaeval Fraternity, and even its very purpose of existence and later sustenance, would be inconceivable without the links to a certain part of the church officialdom. All particulars pertaining to the aspect of life beyond the sphere of material and business operational would necessarily be connected to the church, from its support rendered in times of need and distress, medical cure and assistance, support to education, and up to the higher spiritual deliberations. The Kotor City Mariner Fraternity was naturally linked with the patron saint of mariners and seafarers - Saint Nicolas, bestowed with the attribute of The Mariner.

The earliest witness accounts, dating from the 14th century, are connected with the church, recounting of the mariner fraternity inception that we are calling nowadays the Boka Marine Guild, of rather Bokelj Marine, accounts originating in connection with the church situated at Misulic, yet with the entire prevalence and functioning of Fraternity later on to be reliant on the Fraternity church consecrated to the Saint Nicolas Mariner. The only Fraternity in the City of Kotor (Catharo), with the privilege of having its own church, was well cognisant of how to promote the church prominence within its own organisation, and how to endow it with particular revenues as prescribed in its Statute and allegatum thereto. In the Statute itself no chapter is to be found devoted specifically to the Church itself, except for the two un-numbered ones, at the very end of the document - 'On church fees', and 'On damage caused to the church'. In the previous clauses of the Statute, Church and its position and remunerations thereto were being decided upon according to the stipulations prescribed therein. Already in Chapter I - 'The Assembly in session shall be so proclaimed by tolling of the bells', hence at the very beginning of the Statute comments are made on the church, addressing it as 'our church'. The same term is to be used further in the Statute contents, in Chapter VI - 'On Chaplains'.

The provision 'On church fees' we deem in this context to be the most significant one, and thus even more bizarre that it is situated,



in our view, in a place least appropriate. The provision prescribes that no ship shall sail out of port without paying a church tax. Instead of payment, however, it was allowed for the donation to be deposited in the church as a pledge, certainly until the return of the ship from its voyage with gains made there from it.³⁰

The importance of the church is underlined also in another provision situated in the same place, at the end of the Statute, which prescribes that no official will be allowed to cause any damages to the church, and that all the mentioned penalties and fines may be paid by the pledge - 'by policom, con poliza'.³¹

Those parts of provisions in the numerated chapters of the Statute which speak of the Church are most often devoted to the penalties and fines, which are to be paid directly to the church. Any negligence, i.e. refusal to perform duties, or non diligent performance of duties themselves, was subject to sanctions, both for the procurators and for the syndics, in Chapters IV and V.³² This type of conduct is also examined in Chapter XXVI - 'On Inventory', which also prescribes penalties and fines for administration officials if they should fail to execute handing over of their duties properly in accordance with the established procedure.³³

Supplements to the Statute, or allegatum, regulate in more detail church revenues.

u Krtolima, koji je prinosio ulje i drvo za loženje, dok je druga zemlja bila u posedu kmeta Iva Žarkovića, takođe Krtolanina, ispod Bordišta, koji je davao pšenicu i drva za gorivo. Ta oba poseda, donosila su prihod od 140 lira (Milošević, 2003, str. 136-137).

Prihodi crkve Bratovštine

Delatnost jedne srednjovekovne Bratovštine, pa ni sama svrha njenog nastanka i kasnije održanja, bila bi nemoguća bez vezivanja za određeni deo crkvene organizacije. Sve što se odnosilo na aspekte života izvan materijalne, poslovne sfere, bilo je nužno vezano za crkvu, od potpore u nevolji, lečenja, obrazovanja, sve do viših duhovnih sadržaja. Bratovština pomoraca u Kotoru prirodno se vezala za sveca zaštitnika moreplovaca i putnika - sv. Nikolu, kome je dodat i atribut 'mornar'.

Za crkvu su vezana i prva svedočanstva iz XIV veka, o nastanku udruženja pomoraca koje danas nazivamo Bokeljskom mornaricom, i to za crkvu na Mišuliću, kao i celokupno kasnije postojanje i delovanje - za crkvu Bratovštine posvećenu Sv. Nikoli Mornaru. Jedina Bratovština u Kotoru koja je imala svoju crkvu, znala je da joj odredi položaj u okviru svoje sopstvene organizacije, pa i da je obezbedi namenski određenim prihodima u svom Statutu i njegovim alegatima. U samom Statutu nijedna glava posebno nije posvećena Crkvi, sem dve nenumerisane, na samom kraju teksta - 'O naknadi crkvi' i 'O šteti crkvi'. U prethodnim članovima Statuta, Crkva, njen položaj i primanja, opredeljavani su prema sadržaju tih članova. Već u I glavi - 'Da se Skupština oglasi zvonom', dakle, na samom početku Statuta, govori se o crkvi, kao 'o našoj crkvi'. Isti termin upotrebljen je malo dalje, u VI glavi - 'O kapelanima'.

Odredbu 'O naknadi crkvi', smatramo u ovom smislu najznačajnijom, pa tim više čudi što je smeštena na, po nama, neodgovarajućem mestu. Ona određuje da nijedan brod ne može da isplovi bez plaćanja takse crkvi. Umesto plaćanja, dozvoljeno je da se u crkvu ostavi zalog, svakako do povratka broda i prihodovanja od toga.³⁰

Značaj crkve podcrtava i druga odredba koja se nalazi na istom mestu, na kraju Statuta,

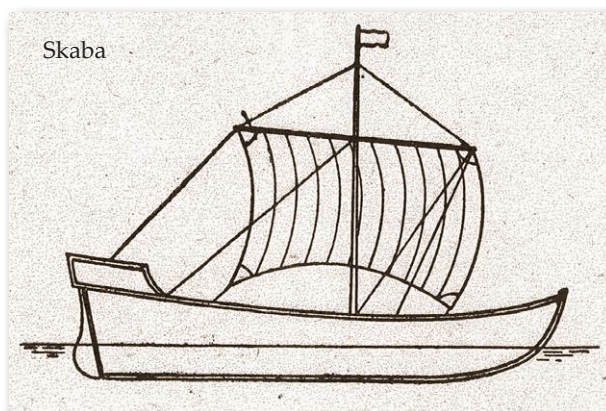
i koja propisuje da nijedan službenik ne sme da pričini štetu crkvi, kao i da se sve spomenute kazne mogu naplaćivati iz zaloga - 'policom'.³¹

Delovi odredbi u numerisanim glavama Statuta u kojima se govori o Crkvi, najčešće su posvećeni kaznama, koje se neposredno plaćaju crkvi. Zanemarivanje, odnosno odbijanje dužnosti, kao i njeno nesavesno obavljanje, tako je kažnjivo, za prokurore i za sindiće, u glavama IV i V.³² O takvoj vrsti ponašanja govori i glava XXVI - 'O inventaru', koja takođe propisuje kazne za upravne organe ukoliko ne sprovedu primopredaju dužnosti po utvrđenom postupku.³³

Dodate odluke Statutu, alegati, detaljnije regulišu prihode crkve. Posebno se u ovom pogledu izdvaja alegat broj 3, inače značajan za odnos Bratovštine i njene crkve, sačinjen 17. aprila 1453. godine. Ovaj alegat predstavlja Ugovor kojim se Bratovštini daje na korišćenje crkva Svetog Nikole, uz obavezu da povremeno, prema svojim mogućnostima bratimi treba i da popravljaju crkvu, izgrade zvonik sa zvonom, sedišta u porti, te da moraju da nabave misal, kalež, misno ruho i ostale predmete neophodne za bogoslužje.³⁴ Da se ova odluka dosledno primenjivala vidimo i iz alegata broj 37, donetog dva veka kasnije, 25. januara 1667, u kome se konstatuje da su predstavnici Bratovštine, vlasnici i osnivači crkve odlučili da jedan od prihoda - komšijska naknada, koja se davala zato što se zid nečije kuće naslanja na zid crkve Bratovštine, bude upotrebljena za crkvenu dekoraciju.³⁵

Značajno je da na njihov teret pada i plaćanje sveštenika. Za prihode crkve važna je i odredba da sve što je priloženo u korist naslednika ove crkve, pripada samostanu Svetog Franje.³⁶

U alegatu broj 6, već citiranom, određuje



Especially outstanding in this regard is the allegato No. 3, important for the relationship between Fraternity and its Church, drawn on 17 April 1453. This allegato is compiled in a Contract form, in which Fraternity is granted the right to avail itself of the church of Saint Nicolas, provided Fraternity members shall, from time to time and according to their means, care for and repair the church building, construct the bell tower together with a bell, put in place seating arrangement in the churchyard, together with the obligation to supply misalem, calicem, paramentum and other items necessary for officiating the divine mess.³⁴ This decision was being diligently implemented, as we can see in allegato No. 37, passed two centuries later, actually on 25 January 1667, where it is stated that the Fraternity members, together with the owners and founders of the Church, have decided that one of the revenues, the neighbouring fee - which is being paid in cases where walls of a person's house would be immediately adjacent and in the closest proximity to the walls of Fraternity Church - was to be used for church ornamental decoration.³⁵

It is important to note that those neighbouring persons were also obliged to pay fees to the priest of the church. An important provision important for the church revenues was the one prescribing that everything that was donated in favour of the successor to be of this church, was to be rendered to the Saint Francis Monastery.³⁶

In the allegato No. 6, already mentioned hereinabove, a certain amount was set out from every tax charged for sailing out of port, which was designated to be given to the church - or actually an amount equal to one half of such a sum paid.

Revenues collected from fines and penalties to be paid in favour of the church were set out in the allegatum and in the Statute. An example is to be found in the allegato No. 7 which pertains to the fine imposed on the Fraternity member, owner of the Caravel ship, for damages caused to the Fraternity property - breaking down of the saona (or vlaka, a wooden rail used to haul the ship) for ship hauling procedure, pronouncing the fine due to be paid within two years time to the church.³⁷

Funds allocated to the church, nevertheless

were neither accrued continuously nor in any sufficient amount. This is best witness by the allegatum No. 61 and 63, which are setting up additional taxes in favour of the church. In the former one, dated 24 April 1689, it is ordered, concordant with the times past, that every ship loaded with trading merchandise and leaving from one of the townships under the Kotor City jurisdiction, with the exception of Perast, was to pay one reale of 40 grosse, while for the Prcani dwellers (Parzagno) this would not apply as they were to pay only one half of a reale. It is noted that this decision was made based on the observation that many merchants, seized by greed, were failing to pay their due for the up-keep of the church. It is specified that it was agreed to increase this due in future for yet another grosse, to be charged on every miaro of mercantile goods that is exported. The first decision ends in the wording that from that time onwards, no trader will be able to obtain a travelling permit without previously receiving a receipt from the Fraternity procurator specifying that he has duly paid his dues to the church. In the second decision, in addition to the above mentioned grosse, payment is prescribed of yet an additional one, which comes to a total of 8 soldes for one miaro of mercantile goods.³⁸

The fact that this obligation was not always honoured is commented upon in the allegato No. 63, passed two years later, which demands from every mariner to hold a receipt certifying that he had settled his dues.³⁹

Expenditures and Grants

Funds collected by the Fraternity over the decades were growing, and whether it was the brotherhood disposing with them or rather the Church of Saint Nicolas Mariner, albeit not being the assets of any individual member of Fraternity or some of them collectively, those funds have certainly benefited every mariner member of Fraternity individually by offering him a certain material support and security. The main allocation of funds was channelled for support and upholding of Fraternity itself, of its church, but also for assistance rendered in cases of various disasters. In addition, Fraternity engaged its funds in the promotion of activities of its brotherhood and the maritime activities

se iznos koji od svake takse za isplivljavanje pripada crkvi - praktično jedna polovina.

Prihodi od kazni koji se naplaćuju u korist crkve, određeni su i alegatima, kao i Statutom. Primer nam daje alegat broj 7, koji se odnosi na kaznu bratima, vlasnika karavele, zbog nanete štete imovini Bratovštine - lomu saona (sáóne, ili vláke, drvene šine po kojima se vuče brod) za izvlačenje broda, i određuje da bude, u roku dve godine, plaćena crkvi.³⁷

Sredstva namenjena crkvi, nisu ipak pristizala u kontinuitetu u dovoljnim količinama. O tome nam svedoče alegati broj 61 i 63, koji ustanovljavaju dodatne takse namenjene crkvi. U prvom od njih, od 24 aprila 1689. godine, odlučeno je, u skladu sa prošlim vremenima, da se za svaki brod sa trgovačkom robom, koji kreće iz nekog naselja kotorske jurisdikcije, osim Perasta, plaća jedan real od 40 groša, dok za Prčanjane ovo ne važi, pošto oni plaćaju samo pola reala. Napominje se da je ovako odlučeno, pošto je zapaženo, da mnogi trgovci poneti gramzivošću, ne daju taj prilog za održavanje crkve. Precizira se, da je dogovoreno, da u buduće prilog bude povećan, za još jedan groš, na svaki miljar trgovačke robe koja se izvozi. Prva odluka se završava rečima, da od tada, ni jedan trgovac više neće moći da dobije dozvolu za putovanje, a da prethodno nije pribavio potvrdu prokuratora Bratovštine, da je isplatio svoj prilog za crkvu. U drugoj odluci, osim spomenutog groša, predviđa se uplata još jednog, što znači ukupno 8 solada za 1 miljar trgovačke robe.³⁸

Da ova obaveza nije bila poštovana, govori alegat broj 63, donet dve godine kasnije, koji zahteva da svaki pomorac mora da poseduje potvrdu o njenom izmirenju.³⁹

Rashodi i davanja

Sredstva koja je Bratovština skupljala i koja su decenijama rasla, bilo da je njima raspolagala ona sama, ili crkva sv. Nikole mornara, iako nisu pripadala pojedinačno članovima, ili nekima od njih, svakako su svakom bratimu ponaosob pružala određenu materijalnu sigurnost. Njihova osnovna namena bila je izdržavanje same Bratovštine, njene crkve, kao i potpora u slučaju raznih nedaća. Takođe, Bratovština je angažovala

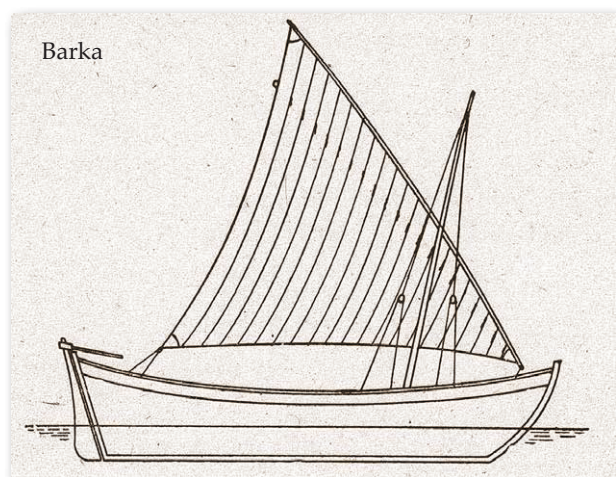
svoja sredstva i za unapređenje delatnosti svojih bratima i pomorstva uopšte. Sve ovo je osnovni pravni dokument Bratovštine uredno pobrojao i normirao.

Dobročina davanja

Bratovština je pružala pomoć svojim članovima u slučaju bolesti, nesposobnosti za dalji rad, starosti, stradanja na moru, prilikom umiranja i sahranjivanja, ali i kod obezbeđenja miraza za kćeri bratima, bez koga je udaja u ono vreme bila nezamisliva.

Uz mnoga druga dobrotvora činjenja, Bratovština je od pirata otkupljivala zarobljene pomorce, onda kada njihovi, iako trgovački, ali naoružani brodovi, nisu uspevali da odole tim napadima. U alegatu br. 6, koji smo već citirali, propisuje se povećanje takse namenjene upravo otkupljivanju roblja.⁴⁰

Bratovština se nije samo kao institucija, kolektivno, starala o svom članstvu. Negovala je i razvijala duh pomoći i solidarnosti kod svakog pojedinog bratima. Otuda nisu retki dokumenti poput Testamenta kapelana Antuna Gizdavca, koji inače predstavlja alegat broj 6, sa samog početka XVI veka. U ovom dokumentu, posle prizivanja Boga, Bogorodice i svetaca, određivanja novčanih iznosa za mise i crkve, leprozorijum, bolnicu sv. Duha, sveštenicima, Bratovštini sv. Križa i onima koji će mu pomoći u bolesti, Kotorskoj mornarici posebno ostavlja svoja imanja, sa kojih 7 stara žitarica od godišnjeg prinosa treba odvojiti za maloletnu decu mornara, za čiju odeću ostavlja i određenu količina grubog sukna (raše), te konačno, univerzalnim naslednikom



in general. All this was properly enumerated and regulated by the basic legal document of Fraternity.

Charitable grants - alms

Fraternity was offering assistance to its members in case of illness, in case of disability to continue work, old age, mariners perishing at sea, in cases of demise and burials, but also in providing dowry for daughters of brothers without which any marriage of girls in those times would be unthinkable.

Together with many other charitable endeavours, Fraternity was paying redemption money to pirates who captured mariners, at the times when their ships, although of a mercantile character yet ones well equipped and armed vessels, would not be able to resist such attacks. In the allegato No. 6, already quoted hereinabove, it is prescribed that taxes shall be increased actually for the redemption of persons enslaved.⁴⁰

Fraternity did not engage only as an institution, and collectively, in the care for its membership. It was grooming and developing spirit of *caritas* in its endeavours and solidarity within every one of its individual mariner brother. Thus ample documents are to be found, the likes of the last will and testament bequest of the Chaplain Anton Gizdovac, contained in the allegato No. 6, from the very beginning of the 16th century. In this document, after calling on God Almighty, Holy Virgin and holy fathers, after bequeathing monetary amounts to be given for the holy mess and for the needs of the church, for the upkeep of the leprosarium, and for the Saint Spirito Hospital, bequest to the priests, to the Fraternity of Saint Cross, and those who are to assist him in his ailing predicament, he leaves to the Kotor Marines especially all of his lands and real estate property, from which 7 measures of wheat from the annual crop harvest were to be given to the underage children of mariners, and for the clothing of those children a certain quantity of coarse cloth (*rasha*) is also left, and finally, he proclaims the universal heir to his property the Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity, i.e. its impecunious members.

Humanitarian role of Fraternity is directly and clearly identified in the six separate

chapters. The Assembly, according to Chapter XII of the Statute - 'On Impecunious Brothers', was the one that was deciding on the aid to be rendered to the impecunious member, and just how much importance was allotted to the prompt reaction in case of distress of such a brother, is best witnessed by the process facilities when deciding on the aid to be given, those that are actually prescribed in this Chapter, stipulating that in such a case, it was sufficient to have the presence of one *gastaldo* and one *syndic* and procurator, while for the quorum to be obtained the presence of only six brothers would suffice.⁴¹

Furthermore, it was stipulated that assistance will be rendered also to a daughter of an impoverished brother mariner, to collect on her behalf sufficient money for the dowry. In Chapter XIII of the Statute - 'On brothers unable to provide for their daughter's marriage' it is specified that the Assembly shall set aside a certain sum for the purchase of a wedding gown for the future bride-to-be.⁴²

Regarding the case of a mariner deceased during the voyage, who was temporarily buried outside of Kotor City, in Chapter XV of the Statute - 'On those who have deceased beyond the Bay', it is stated that their earthly remains will be transported to a common burial ground (where every member of Fraternity had the right to be buried if he should so wish) and the transfer of earthly remains was to be made by his colleague, who would be paid for such a deed two or two and a half ducats, depending on the longer or shorter distance, from Hvar (Lesena) or Duraco.⁴³

In the framework of charitable provisions, there is also the one stipulated in Chapter XVIII - 'On those who can not cover the costs of their own burial', where it reads that Fraternity will pay for the funeral, in accordance with the distinction of the deceased and the opinion of the directorate officials of this brother whose family is short of funds to pay for the burial of its dearly beloved.⁴⁴ This provision is followed by the next one contained in Chapter XIX - 'On those unable to attend all of the three days of vigil over the deceased', which is actually its supplement, and where it is specified that the Fraternity will cover also the costs of the requiem mess which must be officiated on the

proglašava Bratovštinu Sv. Nikole Mornara, odnosno njene siromašne članove.

Humanitarna uloga bratovštine neposredno je prisutna u šest posebnih glava. Skupština je, po glavi XII Statuta - 'O siromašnim bratimima', bila ta koja je odlučivala o pomoći siromašnom članu, a koliki se značaj pridavao brznoj reakciji na nevolju nekog bratima, govore procesne olakšice za odlučivanje o pomoći, koje se upravo ovom glavom utvrđuju: u tom slučaju, bilo je dovoljno prisustvo starešine i po jednog sindika i prokuratora, dok je za kvorum bilo dovoljno samo šest bratima.⁴¹

Dalje, bilo je predviđeno i da se pomogne kćerki nekog siromašnog člana, da joj se prikupi novac za miraz. Glavom XIII Statuta - 'O bratimima koji ne mogu da udaju kćeri', precizira se da će Skupština odrediti sumu, za kupovinu suknje za buduću nevestu.⁴²

Za pomorca koji je umro na putu, i koga su sahranili privremeno van Kotora, glavom XV Statuta - 'O onima koji umiru van Zaliva', rečeno je da će njegove kosti u zajedničku grobnicu (svako od pripadnika Bratovštine, imao je pravo da se sahrani, ako želi, u zajedničku grobnicu), preneti njegov kolega, kome će se platiti dva ili dva i po dukata, u zavisnosti od veće, odnosno manje udaljenosti od Hvara, odnosno Drača.⁴³

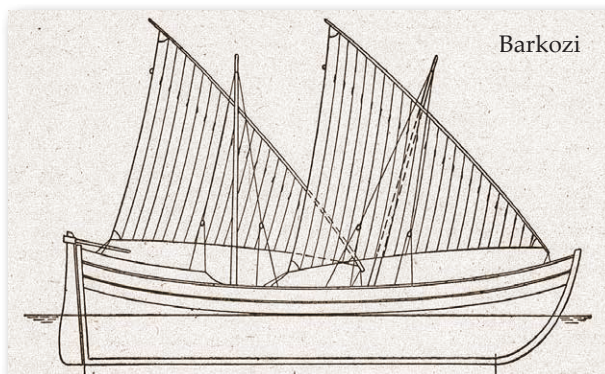
U okviru milosrdnih odredbi, nalazi se i ona u glavi XVIII - 'O onima koji ne mogu podmiriti trošak svog pokopa', u kojoj se kaže, da će Bratovština platiti sahranu, prema ugledu pokojnika i oceni upravnih organa, onom svom bratimu, čija porodica nema sredstava da to plati.⁴⁴ Na ovu odredbu, nadovezuje se sledeća, XIX - 'O onima koji ne mogu biti sva tri dana na bdenjima', koja praktično čini njenu dopunu, gde se prezizira, da će udruženje snositi i troškove za misu zadušnicu, koja se mora dati trećeg dana po pogrebu, ukoliko bliski srodnici nemaju novca za to.⁴⁵ Poslednja odredba ove grupe, XX - 'O mornaru strancu', kaže, da će na teret Bratovštine, pasti troškovi ukopa stranog pomorca, koga je smrt zadesila u Kotoru.⁴⁶ Svojevrsna dopuna ove odredbe Statuta, predstavlja alogat broj 34, donet dva veka kasnije, 1. septembra 1660. godine, čiji je sadržaj izjava kojom je Tripo Frano, ostavio grobnicu koju je izgradio u crkvi Bratovštine, za ukop stranih pomoraca, ostalih stranaca koji preminu u Kotoru, ili siromašnih.⁴⁷

Redovna davanja

Od samog nastanka, Bratovština je bila ustrojena kao strukturisana organizacija, čije organe vode izabrani službenici, od najviših - gastalda, preko sindića i prokuratora, do povremeno angažovane mladeži za periodične i namenske poslove. Uz ove, u službenike Bratovštine mogu se ubrojati i duhovnici i laici vezani za crkvu Sv. Nikole Mornara i franjevački samostan uz koji se nalazila - kapelani i gvardijani, skupa sa njegovim pripravnicima. Za svoju službu svi oni su bili plaćeni iz kase Bratovštine, od njenih redovnih i povremenih prihoda.

Gastald je biran među članstvom, svakako među najviđenijim i najbogatijim pomorcima. Otuda ne čudi što se o njegovim primanjima, kao zvaničnika Bratovštine, nigde ne govori. Očigledno se može zaključiti da je svoju funkciju, doživljavanu kao najveću čast među bokeljskim pomorcima, obavljao besplatno.

Ova, najviša funkcija Bratovštine, regulisana je Glavom III Statuta.⁴⁸ Birao se na godinu dana. Pored mogućnosti da saziva Skupštinu, njegov glavni zadatak, bio je da čuva sve vredne stvari udruženja: glavnu knjigu u kojoj se nalazio i Statut, krst, kadionicu, razne predmete od srebra, svileni ornat (sveštenska odežda, svečano odelo), i druge dragocenosti, kao i kasu u kojoj je bio pohranjen novac organizacije. Nju su, prema članu XXVI Statuta - 'O inventaru', morali da mu predaju sindići i prokurator, najkasnije u roku od 15 dana, od dana kada je stupio na dužnost.⁴⁹ Pored ovog, starešina je morao jednom godišnje da napravi i poseban inventar nekretnina, uz pomoć sindića i prokuratora, a bio je obavezan i da ga da na uvid Skupštini ili nekom od članova uprave, ukoliko bi ovi to zatražili.



third day after the burial, in case the next of kin would be short of money to provide for it.⁴⁵ The last provision in this groups, the one in Chapter XX - 'On the foreign mariners', stipulates that at the expense of Fraternity, all costs of burial of a foreign mariner will be covered, if the demise of the deceased occurred in the City of Kotor.⁴⁶ A particular supplement to this provision of the Statute is given in the allegate No. 34, passed two centuries later, on 1 September 1660, containing the statement given by Trifon Pietro quondam Francesco, who bequeathed the burial crypt or vault that he had built at the Fraternity church, for the burial of the foreign mariners, and other strangers demised in Kotor, or those impecunious ones.⁴⁷

Regular dues and grants

From its very inception, Fraternity was set up as a structured organisation with its bodies headed by the elected officials, from the highest ranking ones - the gastalds, through the syndics and procurators, and down to the temporarily engaged youth for some seasonal and particular assignments. Together with this lot, Fraternity officials may be also deemed to have been both the spiritual leaders and laymen officials connected with the church of Saint Nicolas Mariner, but also those of the Franciscan Monastery close at its hand - its chaplains and guardians, together with their apprentices. All of them were being paid for their services from the Fraternity coffers, both from its regular and provisional revenues.

Gastald was elected from amongst the mariner brotherhood, certainly amongst the most distinguished and the most opulent mariners. Hence it does not come as a surprise that his remunerations, in the role of the top official functionary of Fraternity, are never mentioned anywhere. Obvious conclusion is that for his function, experienced as the highest possible honour amongst the Boka Catharo Mariner Guild, he was not paid and was working and acting pro bono.

This highest function within the Fraternity ranks was regulated in Chapter III of the Statute.⁴⁸ He was elected for a term of office of one year. In addition to the power to convene the Assembly, his main task was to safeguard

valuable objects of Fraternity: the main book containing the Statute, the cross, thurible censer, various silver utensils, a silk ornate clothing attire (ceremonial priestly officiating robes and garments), and other valuables, but also the coffers holding the money of the organisation. In accordance with the provisions of Chapter XXVI of the Statute - 'On Inventory', these coffers had to be handed over to him by the syndics and procurators not later than 15 days from the day he had taken the office.⁴⁹ In addition, the highest official had to make a special inventory list of immovable property once every year, with the assistance of the syndics and procurator, and was duty bound to submit it to the Assembly for inspection, or to one of the members of the administration, in case they should so request.

The first chapter of the Statute that speaks of the salary remunerations given to one of the officials is Chapter IV, where there is a mention of procurators, who were paid for their services in the amount of three percent from everything that they have collected, for the duration of their function. Cashiers - treasurers or procurators, were having the term-of-office in the duration of one year, and they were elected at the same church holiday - Saint Saviour's Day, the same time when the gastalds were being elected, which indicates that probably earlier, some previous mariner brotherhood or guild, was having Saint Saviour as its patron saint (Dabinovic, 1934, p. 124). Tasks of procurators, precisely defined in the Statute, were the following: to collect all the revenues of Fraternity, in the presence of two witnesses, to keep a detailed book-keeping on what they have collected, but also on all the items that they were not able to collect, and to safeguard and keep in the coffers all the money so collected. In truth, they were actually and in fact not in possession of the money as it was kept and guarded by the gastald, but every procurator was entrusted with one of the keys to the coffers. They were submitting proper accounts on all these proceedings to the Assembly, or any of its members, at his request, and were duty bound to present also all the bills and accounts. Provisions of Chapter XXIV stipulate that they were the only ones authorised to pay expenses of the organisation (Mijuskovic, 1970, p. 74). In addition, they were also authorised to engage in forcible

Prva glava Statuta u kojoj se govori o plati nekom od službenika, jeste glava IV, u kojoj se govori o prokuratorima, kojima se za službu plaćalo tri posto od svega što su ubrali, dok im je ta funkcija trajala. I blagajnicima, prokuratorima, mandat je trajao godinu dana, a birani su na isti praznik - Spasovdan, kada i gastald, što nas upućuje, da je verovatno ranije, neko pređašnje pomorsko udruženje kao svog sveca zaštitnika, imalo Svetog Spasa (Dabinović, 1934, str. 124). Zadaci prokuratora, tačno su određeni Statutom: bili su dužni da ubiraju sve prihode Bratovštine, uz prisustvo dva svedoka, da vode precizno knjigovodstvo o onome što poberu, ali i o svemu što nisu uspjeli da naplate, kao i da sav taj novac čuvaju u kasi. Istina je, da oni faktički nisu bili u njenom posedu, pošto je nju čuvao gastald, ali je svakom od blagajnika, bio poveren po jedan njen ključ. O svemu ovome podnosili su račun Skupštini, ili bilo kom njenom članu, na njegov zahtev, a bili su dužni i da prezentiraju sve račune. Odredbom XXIV, jedino su oni bili ovlašćeni za uplatu troškova organizacije (Mijušković, 1970, str. 74). Pored ovog, bili su ovlašćeni i za prinudnu naplatu. Statut sadrži i interesantno rešenje, kojim se kaže, da ako ova lica ne uspeju da ustanovljeni iznos prinudno naplate u roku od dva meseca, da istu vrednost moraju da daju od svojih para, što je pak bila svojevrsna kazna za nehat. Ako bi oni ovo odbili da učine, kažnjavani su globom od 10 libara voska za crkvu, što je opet bilo predviđeno IV članom Statuta Bratovštine.

I manastirskim dobrima, takođe su raspolagali prokurator. Za vreme kotorskog

biskupa Rajmunda Agoutija (1331-1334), donet je Zakon o izboru manastirskih prokuratora. Svakako da je imao svoju dugu tradiciju, jer se kaže da je donet u skladu sa starim običajem - *secundum antiquam consuetudine*. Do 1372. godine, sudije su zajedno sa Većem dvanaestorice, kasnije i Većem umoljenih, birali gradske činovnike, među njima i po dva prokuratora, za svaki manastir u gradu i okolini. Njihovu funkciju, najbolje možemo da sagledamo preko primera koje nam pruža arhivska građa: iz isprave od 31. jula 1463. godine, možemo da saznamo da su u to vreme prokurator manastira Svetog Franje bili Gregor de Gimo, Bazilije Marinov de Bezantis i Mihailo Trifunov de Buća. U dokumentu se zatim govori o ključnoj ulozi prokuratora manastira: ustupanju manastirskog zemljišta u zakup. Radilo se o imanju, vrtu manastira Svetog Franje izvan gradskih vrata Svetog Nikole na Škurdi, koje je za stalno dato Urbanu i Simku de Mekši. Prokurator su inače za takvu odluku, morali dodatno da imaju i odobrenje manastirskog gvardijana (u ovom slučaju Fra Marina iz Dubrovnika), redovnika (male braće), kotorskog providura i sudija.

Prokurator su još bili ovlašćeni ne samo da izdaju kuće koje su manastiri imali u svom posedu, već i da zakupninu koju su dobijali, daju trećim licima. Tako su isti ovi prokurator, ispravom od 29. novembra 1436. godine, dali svešteniku Nikoli de Mekši, vikaru, najamninu od 30 groša, od kuće obučara Stojka Jagne na Šuranju, koliko je ovaj inače plaćao manastiru. U ovoj ispravi, još su prodali za 400 perpera, Jakubu i Leonardu de Eskulu, vinograd manastira Svetog Franje na Puču, uz obavezu da daju desetinu prihoda kapelanu crkve Svetog Tripuna. Kroz ove primere, možemo da sagledamo da su prokurator crkava, imali gotovo istu ulogu kao i prokurator bratovština, kao i da su kotorske crkve, pored svojih redovnih prihoda, isto kao i bratovštine, punile svoje kase i preko zemljišne rente, od davanja zemlje u zakup, bilo na određeni period, bilo na večita vremena - *dare ad tempus, dare ad*



collection of receivables. The Statute contains also an interesting arrangement stipulating that if such a person should fail to forcibly collect the due claims within a period of two months, due claims must be compensated by that same person in the same value from his own money, which was a particular punishment for the lack of diligence. If the person sanctioned would refuse to so proceed, he was sanctioned with the fine of 10 pounds of wax for the church, as prescribed in Chapter IV of the Fraternity Statute.

Monastery property was also in the hands of procurators. At the time of the Kotor City bishop Raymond Agouti (1331-1334), Law on the election of monastery procurators was passed. It certainly had its long tradition, as it is said that it was passed in accordance with the old custom and tradition - *secundum antiquam consuetudine*. Until 1372, judges were together with the Council of the Twelve, and later on with the Council of the Placated, electing city officials, among them two procurators for each one of the monasteries in the city and its vicinity. Their function may best be assessed through the examples offered to us by the archive documents: document of 31 July 1463 where we can learn that at that time procurators of the Saint Francis Monastery were Gregorius de Gimo, Basilius Marinov de Bezantis and Mihael Trifunov de Bucha, the document further commenting on the crucial role held by the monastery procurator: awarding monastery land for rental. This was actually the land plot situated in the gardens of the Saint Francis Monastery, outside of the city gate of Saint Nicolas at Scudra, which was ceded in permanent rental to Urbano and Simko de Mekshi. Procurators had to acquire for such a decision an additional approval of the Monastery guardian (in this case Fra Marino of Dubrovnik), that of the Little Friar Brothers, of the Kotor City providura, and that of the judges.

Procurators were also authorised not only to rent to tenants houses owned by the monasteries, but also to give so collected rental fees to the third persons. Thus those same procurators, in the document of 29 November 1436, gave to the priest Nicola de Mekshi, the vicar, a rental fee in the amount of 30 grosse from that house rented by the cobbler Stojko Jagne at Suranj, the amount that this one was paying to the Monastery. In this document, it

is stated that they have sold for 400 perpers, to Jacob and Leonard de Esculo, a vineyard of the Saint Francis Monastery at Puc, provided they should give one tenth of the revenues to the chaplain of the Church of Saint Triffone. Through these cases we can gain an insight into the fact that church procurators had an almost identical role with the procurators of the fraternities, and that the Kotor City churches, in addition to their regular income, just the same as the fraternities, were filling their coffers also through the rental of land, giving the land on lease either for a certain period of time, or for some times immemorial - *dare ad tempus*, *dare ad affectum perpetuum*, or *affectus ad perpetuum*. In addition to the above stated duties, Venetian provider Nicolo Pizani, passed, on 5 March 1432, yet another law regulating procurators obligation to supervise timely maintenance of church buildings in order to prevent their fall into ruin. These legal provisions especially were a dire necessity of those times as many of the Kotor City churches and monasteries were falling in disrepair, while rehabilitation and reconstruction works were never undertaken. This law prescribed an inventory to be made of all the church and monastery properties and assets, and the list of inventory to be kept at the municipal city offices, prescribing in particular that once a year the list was to be revised, and that on the Saint George's Day. In the inventory list, all the movable and immovable property had to be listed and all the church valuables inscribed, but also those of the fraternities (Zivkovic, 2010, p. 61 and 62).

Work of the cashier was supervised and the financial control conducted by the supervisors-syndics, with a mandatory presence of a gastald, as the third member of the control operation. They were elected by secret ballot, for a term-of-office of two years. All those who were reluctant to accept such function were fined with a penalty of 30 pounds of wax for the church. Their basic task was to examine the accounts, at the most three times a year, but also more frequently if necessary, if they should deem it appropriate. Their report on conducted control was presented to the Assembly. Every Fraternity member was practically duty-bound to accept election of another brother to the post of a syndic, as in the case of contrary, if he was

affictum perpetum ili *affictus ad perpetuum*. Pored navedenih obaveza, mletački providur Nikola Pizani, doneo je 5. marta 1432. godine još jedan zakon, kojim je regulisano da prokuratori imaju obavezu i da nadziru blagovremeno održavanje crkvenih građevina, kakao bi se sprečilo njihovo ruiniranje. Ove zakonske odredbe, gotovo da su u to vreme bile preko potrebne, jer su se brojne kotorske crkve i manstiri nalazili u propadanju, pošto se sanacije i obnove nisu preduzimale. Ovim zakonom, naloženo je da se popišu sva crkvena i manastirska dobra, kao i da se taj spisak čuva u gradskoj kancelariji, s tim što je precizirano, da se jednom godišnje mora revidirati i to o Svetom Đorđu. U popisu, inventaru, morale su da se navedu sve pokretne i nepokretne stvari i da se upišu sve crkvene dragocenosti, isto kao i kod bratovština (Živković, 2010, str. 61 i 62).

Poslovanje blagajnika, finansijsku kontrolu, obavljali su nadzornici-sindici, uz obavezno prisustvo gastalda, kao trećeg člana. Birani su tajnim glasanjem, na rok od dve godine. Svaki onaj ko nije želeo da se prihvati ove funkcije, kažnjavao se sa 30 libara voska za crkvu. Njihov osnovni zadatak, bio je da najviše tri puta godišnje pregledaju račune, ali i češće, ako procene da je to neophodno. Svoj izveštaj o obavljenoj kontroli, iznosili su pred Skupštinu. Svaki član je praktično, imao obavezu da prihvati izbor nekog bratima na mesto sindika, jer u suprotnom ukoliko bi se protivio njegovom izboru, morao je da plati kao kaznu, 30 libara voska za crkvu.

U svrhu ispravnog finansijskog rada, sindici su vodili knjigovodstvo preko 'velike sveske'. U '*quaterno grande*', po članu XXII Statuta, upisivali su sve prihode i rashode Bratovštine, a samu knjigu, kao što smo već naveli, čuvao je uz ostale dragocenosti gastald, u kasi sa ostalim dragocenostima.

Pored velike, XXIII članom Statuta, bilo je predviđeno postojanje i 'male sveske'-'*del quaterno piccolo*'. Njena svrha, bila je ta, da se na određeni način postoji (obavlja) uvid u poslovanje i onih bratima, koji nisu bili na upravnim funkcijama. Malu knjigu, vodio je neko od 'dostojnih' članova, 'prikadni'-*parconevole* (udeoničar, investitor u trgovačke poduhvate koje su vodili patruni), čiji je zadatak isto bio da pribeleži sve prihode koje su sakupili

blagajnici. S vremena na vreme, knjigovodstvo velike i male knjige se upoređivalo, kako bi se sprečile finansijske zloupotrebe u udruženju.

Rad sindika obavljan je *pro bono*, što zaključujemo iz činjenice da se ne pominju nikakva njihova primanja u glavi V Statuta, koja reguliše njihov položaj i rad.

Sveštena lica, kapelani su, prema glavi VI Statuta, dobijali 40 perpera godišnje plate, isplaćivane iz dva puta. Osim plate, za svaku procesiju bivali su plaćeni sa po dodatna četiri groša. Prihod kapelana povećava se i odredbama glave VII, u kojoj se propisuje da za praznik Sv. Nikole služe sve službe i mise, uz sveštenike same crkve, i dodatna četiri sveštenika iz drugih crkava. Svima njima predviđena je za to nagrada od dva perpera. Na isti način, nagrađivani su jednim perperom ukupno kapelani i četiri gostujuća sveštenika o prazniku Duhova (glava XVII - 'O godišnjoj proslavi').

Sveštenici crkve Bratovštine imali su i prihode pri bdenjima i sahranama, ako bi zamenjivali nekog od bratima (glava XIX - 'O onima koji ne mogu biti sva tri dana na bdenjima'). O značaju duhovnog karaktera okupljanja u Bratovštine, svakako govore ove brojne odredbe Statuta, kojima se određuju prihodi sveštenstva. Pored svih numerisanih glava, na kraju Statuta, nalaze se i dve nenumerisane, koje takođe govore o tome. Prva, 'Dodatak za kapelane' jednostavno konstatuje da kapelani imaju dodatak od pet perpera, dok druga, 'Dodatak gorespomenutih', kaže da se kapelanima daje po četiri perpera, što svakog ponedeljka drže pomen mrtvima.

Gvardijan, laik koji se starao crkvi-crkvenjak, iz redova bratima, dobijao je godišnju platu od deset perpera, a njegov pomoćnik pripravnik od šest, što je sve regulisano odredbama glave VIII - 'O gvardijanu crkve'.

Ta raznolikost i učestalost u davanjima, jasan je pokazatelj dobrog finansijskog stanja Bratovštine, na vrhuncu njene moći. O tome postoji i jedan zanimljiv, neposredan dokument. Naime, XVII glava Statuta, stavljena je van snage 1579. godine, upravo pod motivacijom preterane raskoši, odlukom dalmatinskog apostolskog vizitatora, veronskog biskupa Augustina Kaurija, kako je zapisano na margini uz samu glavu Statuta.

to protest against such an election, the member so opposed had to pay the fine of 30 pounds of wax for the church.

For purpose of conducting properly their financial duties, syndics were maintaining book-keeping through "a Greater Book" or '*quaterno grande*', where after the provisions of Chapter XXII of the Statute, they were recording all the revenues and expenditures of Fraternity, while the book itself, as we have already stated, was in the safekeeping, together with other valuables, of the gastald, in the coffers together with other valuables.

In addition to the Greater Book, Chapter XXIII of the Statute also prescribed keeping of a 'Small Book' - '*del quaterno piccolo*'. Its purpose was to provide for an insight into the business of those brothers who were not holding managerial functions. The Small Book was kept by one of the "trustworthy" members, those "deserving" - *parconevole* (shareholder, investor in trading ventures conducted by the patrons) members, whose task was to record all revenues collected by the procurators. From time to time, bookkeeping of both the greater and the small book were compared in order to prevent any financial misuses in the Fraternity.

Work of the syndics was performed on a *pro bono* basis, as we may conclude from the fact that none of their remunerations have been mentioned in Chapter V of the Statute regulating their status and work.

Clerical personalities, chaplains in particular, according to Chapter VI of the Statute, were receiving 40 perpers as an annual pay, to be paid in two tranches. In addition to their pay, for every procession they were rewarded with additional amount of four grosse. Income of the chaplains was increased also after the provisions in Chapter VII, where it is prescribed that for the Saint Nicolas Day, all church services and mess were to be served by the priests of the church itself, but also by additional four priests from other churches. All of them were to be rewarded by an amount of two perpers. In the same way reward of one perper

in total was given to chaplains and four visiting priests during the Saint Spirit's Day (Chapter XVII - 'On the annual holiday celebrations').

Priests of the Fraternity church had also an additional income for funeral vigils and burial ceremonies, if they were acting in lieu of one of the brothers (Chapter XIX - 'On those who could not attend all of the three days of vigil'). The importance of gatherings of a spiritual nature, bringing closer together Fraternity membership, is certainly evident in many provisions of the Statute, prescribing earnings for the clergy. In addition to all the above cited chapters, at the end of the Statute what is to be found are the two, un-numbered ones, that are also speaking on this subject. The first one, 'Supplement for the Chaplains' simply states that chaplains are to receive an additional amount of five perpers, while the other one, 'Supplement to the aforementioned' states that chaplains are to be given four perpers for officiating requiem mess every Monday for the brothers deceased.

Guardian, a lay person taking care of the church affairs - a sexton, from amongst the ranks of Fraternity mariner brotherhood, was receiving an annual salary of ten perpers, and his assistant and apprentice was receiving six perpers, all this having been regulated in the provisions of Chapter VIII - 'On the church guardian'.

This diversity and frequency of remunerations is a clear indicator of a good financial position that the Fraternity enjoyed at the peak of its power. There is to be found, in this respect, a very interesting document dealing



Ulaganja i zajmovi

Sva ta sredstva Bratovštine, svakako su omogućavala njenim članovima, i da pod povoljnijim uslovima dođu do zajma koji bi im pomogao u radu. Sami osnovni dokumenti Bratovštine, ni Statut, ni njegovi alegati, o tome ne govore posebno, osim u jednom slučaju. Pa i tada, kazuje se o pozajmljivanju sredstava od crkve. Odredba Statuta bez broja, pod nazivom 'Zabrana pozajmica bez zaloge', propisuje da se sredstva crkve ne mogu uzimati na zajam, bez zaloge. Ukoliko bi zaloga izostala, predviđena je kazna od deset libara voska.⁵⁰ Ostaje, međutim, nejasno na koga se odredba o kazni odnosi - zajam je neko, u ime crkve morao da isplati, što valjda ne bi učinio bez prethodno primljene zaloge; opet, onaj kome su sredstva bila potrebna, i ko je želeo da uzme zajam, teško da bi mogao da plati kaznu.

Bratovština Sv. Nikole mornara nije svakako bila, što je očigledno iz ovih odredbi, društvo za investiranje, nego cehovska organizacija za

potporu svojih članova i profesionalni razvoj njihove delatnosti. Ona je to jasno odredila u svom Statutu iz 1463. godine, birajući put pune profesionalizacije svojih upravnih struktura sa vlasnicima brodova - patruni i mornarima koji stvarno plove, uklanjajući iz njih i suvlasnike brodova - *parcenevoli*, koji istovremeno nisu bili pomorci koji plovo, već samo ulagači kapitala, kao i kalafate - brodograditelje, koji se takođe nisu ostiskivali na more. S druge strane, Bratovština je forsirala monopol svoje profesionalne organizacije, određujući da niko sa područja kotorske komune ne može da plovi i trguje, ako pak nije član Bratovštine pomoraca. To je opet značilo, da svi moraju novčano da doprinesu u određenom procentu od svoje trgovačke zarade. U srednjovekovnom periodu, zatvoreni tip ovakvog ekonomskog korporativnog sistema, imao je izuzetan uspeh i donosio je ogromnu zaradu samoj Bratovštini, ali i njenim članovima, kojima je upravo takvo organizovanje omogućavalo daleko povlašćeniji položaj u poslovanju.

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Izvori:

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directly with this matter. Namely, Chapter XVII of the Statute was abolished, deleted and pronounced void without effect in 1579, actually motivated by an excessive opulence, in the decision pronounced by the Dalmatian Apostolic Visitation official, the Verona Bishop Augustine Kaury, as duly noted in the margins of that very Chapter of the Statute.

Investments and Loans

All of these assets acquired by the Fraternity were certainly allowing its membership to acquire loans under favourable conditions in order to help them in their work. Yet no basic documents of Fraternity itself, and neither its Statute nor its *allegatum*, are recounting any specific issues on this matters, except in one particular case. Even in that case what is stated is that the funds have been borrowed from the church. Statute provision, without number, entitled 'Prohibition of borrowing without a pledge', prescribes that the church funds can not be borrowed, without giving a pledge. If the pledge should be absent, fine was prescribed in the amount of two pounds of wax.⁵⁰ It remains unclear, however, who would be the subject of such a fine - the loan certainly had to be disbursed by someone in the name of the church, which no person would certainly do without previously receiving an asset pledged in its stead; yet again, the person in dire need of such funds, wishing to borrow them through a loan, would be hardly in a position to pay the respective fine so imposed.

Saint Nicolas Mariner Fraternity was certainly not a society intent on investment purposes, as evident from all of these provisions, but it was a guild organised for rendering support and assistance to its membership and to the professional development of their basic maritime activity. It had clearly stipulated its goals in the Statute of 1463, selecting the path of full professional orientation of its managerial structure, in cooperation with the ship owners-patrons and mariners who were truly engaged in maritime navigation ventures, eliminating from their ranks the co-owners of ships - *parcenevoli*, who were not the navigating seamen, but only investors of capital, and also the calaphate - ship-builders, who were neither the seafaring men. On the other hand, Fraternity was enforcing the monopoly of its professional organisation, ruling that no one from the area of the Kotor City commune may navigate and trade outside of the mariner Fraternity membership. This in turn designated that all of them had to give their contribution in money of a certain percentage from their trading gains. In the mediaeval times, such a closed-ended type of economic corporate system had an outstanding success and contributed enormous gains to the Fraternity itself, but also to its membership, where such an organisational structure actually allowed for them to attain a much more privileged position in their business operations.

Fusnote / Endnotes

1. 'Item ordenemo che tuti li padroni de nave, navete, navilij, barcosi et barcoseti, quali volono esser de questa nostra fraternita et sotometerse a questi nostri ordeni. Se debiano far iscriver con li suo navilij in questa nostra matricula, et curar a servar tuto quello in essa sta e per avignir serra ordenato...'
2. 'Item ordenemo che siano per li nostri gastaldo, sindici et procuratori sia examinata questa nostra matricula de tre ani in tre ani, çoe li paroni et lor navilij scriti in questa nostra matricula, et quelli non fosseno scriti, como disemo nel capitolo precedente, siano scriti per li diti nostri gastaldo et ufficiali. Et se per negligentia de tal nostri ufficiali non fosse fata diligente examination et non fosse scritto alchuno di tal patroni, pagano pre nominati ufficiali alla nostra fraternita livre V de cera.'
3. '...Che tute quelle persone, siano di che stato et conditione esser si vogliono, habitanti in questa Città et nel territorio, ecetuato il luoco di Perasto, che navigano, o intendono darsi alla navigatione, non possino ciò fare se prima non saranno descritti nella nostra Scuola di San Nicolò di Marinari, con gli oblighi a che sono tenuti gli altri confrati della medesima Scuola, soto la pena sudita.'
4. '...li così sia ingionto a tuti quelli ch'esercitano l'arte della marinarezza, così nella Cità come nel territorio, ecetuata la terra di Perasto, debbano nel termine di giorni oto prossimi venturi farsi descrivere nella sudeta scola, soto pena alli contrafacenti di perperi cinquanta, applicata la mità alla Magnifica Canceleria Fiscale et l'altra per beneficio dell'antedeta chiesa. Intendendosi che quelli che al presente non si trovano in questa Cità, ritornati che sarranno debbano eseguir l'istesso, soto pena accenata.'
5. '...comandiamo che debba imediate esser formato un rolo delli marinari tuti, tanto della Cità di Cataro quanto delle terre e ville della giurisditione, qual rolo dovrà esser tenuto e conservato nella Scuola loro...'
6. '...Item ad omnes oblationes et quaecumque legata bonorum mobiliarum et stabiliium, quae facerent pro marinarios presentes et futuros dicæ capellæ sancti Nicolai, sint Fraternitatis marinariorum presentium et futurorum, aliae vero oblationes et legata rerum mobilium et stabiliium, quae fient dicæ capellæ per hereditarios et alios exceptis marinariis, sint conventus sancti Francisci, cuius est et fuit dicæ capella sancti Nicolai, sine contradicione alicuius personæ.'
7. 'Item fo fato i capitolo che le charache paga secondo è sta solito li soi arboragi li navilij menor zoe de 500 in 400 quando passa, zingue ducati che paga arburago li altri menor de 200 in 300 quando passa, quatro ducati che paga arburagio. Item fo fato in capitolo che paga ogniun do soldi per charo.'
8. Glava IX i XI: ' Et resonder ala nostra fraternita de ogne viaço dela portada di suo navilij grosso uno de Catharo, del caro.', i '... chi contrafacese paghi alla Scola perperi 1.'
9. '...Che tuti quelli che navigheranno, come di sopra, siano tenuti a pagar per ogni miaro di robba di qual si sia sorte, che estrareranno sopra le loro barche o vasselli fuori di queste Bocche, o di altri luochi, soldi quatro per miaro...'
10. '...Che nell'avvenire oltre li soldi quaranta che sono in obligo di pagar tuti li vascelli et fregate per ogni viaggio... siano anco obligati dar et pagar per ogni viaggio soldi vinti, ch'in tuto saranno soldi sessanta de pichi...'
11. '...fù stabilito nei tempi trasandati dalli precedenti confrati, ch'ogni patron di nave, naviglio, o altra barca da questa giurisditione, ecetuato il loco di Perasto, dovesse avanti la sua partenza da questa Cità, per cadaun viaggio riconoscer la chiesa, cioè li padroni da Cataro et altri luochi della giurisditione, con un reale di grosseti quaranta, et quelli di Parzagno con mezzo reale solamente... resti obbligato e tenuto ogni patron e mercante ch'estrazesse robba, cioè mercantia da questa Cità, per qualsiasi loco, oltre il solito grosseto, contribuirne nell'avenire un altro grosseto, e così oto soldi in tuto per ogni migliario di robba...'
12. 'Item che nissuno navilio se possa partir senza pagar la gesia, overamente dar el pegno in gesia in pena quella parera a lor.'

13. '... 'Item ordenemo che tuti patroni li qual vano al viaçio et partendose dal porto de Catharo per andar in Puia, Marca, Romania over altrui, et de la trovasse altri viaçi per Venexia, Dalmatia, Albania over altrui. Et non tornando a Catharo per tanti viaçi, quanti fara for del colpho de Catharo, per tanti resonda alla nostra fraterni ta la quantita se contien in capitolo de so pra notato... Et siando çonto el navilio ala riva de Catharo, patron de quello sia tinuto per fina un mexe satisfar in man di nostri procuradori de tuti viaçi havera fato, da po la partita de Catharo, suo navilio...'
14. ' Item se qualche forestiero vignesse a tirar suo navilio in terra et etiam volesse tuor li ordegni over vasi della dita scuo la, che paga del centenaro venetiano grossi quatro.'
15. '...Et casu quo dito Radechia non volesse andar, habia a pagar la pena grossi quatro per cadauna volta. Etiam se li diti patroni non volessero chiamar lo dito Radechia, habbian li pagare la sua giornada.'
16. '...Et per lor fatiga habiano grossi IIII per cadauna procession. Et quello chi vinera a falir che non vinesse o mandasse per lui, cada in la prenominata pena de grossi IIII per fiata.'
17. '... Item fo proposto che si posa vender uno teren in Marcevac, di quadragnoli doi, per quanto sarà stimato.'
18. '...fo presa la parte ch'Inermo Calenda si possi descomprar d'ogni volta che portarà perperi quindessi, de grossi undessi, per affitto, il qual hoggi mi ha venduto,...
19. '...fo optenuta la parte che maestro Hieronimo Cascalier deba alibar il magazin che si trova de conto nostro, zoè de la schola nostra, et è soto la casa de sua habitation medemamente è et essa de dita nostra scola. La qual casa fo concessa a dito maestro Hieronimo la possi habitar usque ad libitum nostrum, et del dito magazin; fo assignato termine al sopradito maistro Hieronimo per fine mese di ferver, proxime futuro, et questo a beneficio de la giesia et scola nostra.'
20. '...cura nel riscuotere, ricuperare et effetualmente acquistare gli affiti, livelli, donationi, legati et heredità lasciatile, et nel far governar case et possessioni sue...'
21. '...et fo presa la parte di poter tramutar uno livelo con messer Trifon Bucia et suo fratele, il qual ne paga perperi quatro in perpetuo, posto in Carni Plat, et lui chonsegnarne altro livelo di perperi quatro, qual paga ser Trifon, pagar dito Chocic in perpetuo. Et si vignise a mancho il dito livelo di ser Trifon soprascrito, che posiamo andar sopra il nostro livelo di Carni Plat.' i '... fo presa la parte ch'Inermo Calenda si possi descomprar d'ogni volta che portarà perperi quindessi...'
22. '1555 adì ferver, Ser Michiegli antescrito come gastaldo, ha receputo da li nobil nomini di queste terre per liberatione fato del bando ottenuto dal Clarissimo Provvedador in tempo del levar di standardo ha receputo in reson di lire 6 soldi 5 per ducati, ducati numero 3. De li quali soprascritti danari ha dato lire 8 per descomprar uno chalex, quale hanno sta inpegnato per bisogno de la gesia.'
23. '...che li saranno concesse nelle soleninita delle feste di San Triffone, siano partite per la metà, cioè una metà per la chiesa di San Nicolò predeto, et l'altra di esso Armiraglio. Con conditione che quando saranno dati pegni o denari per le sudete gratie, debbano esser immediate partite per la metà come di sopra...'
24. '...che gli saranno accordati dal militare e di 10 ducati dalmati che gli veranno corrisosti dalla Reggia Cassa, perchè formi la solita tavola ed elega !/ li suoi uffiziali.'
25. '...Et quello che sera trovato et tolto per el nostro capitolo, refutara, paga de pena alla nostra scola livre XX de cera.'
26. '...Et tal cose dito deba ben governar, et sempre in la creation del nostro gastaldo presentarle in capitolo nostro soto pena de livre X de cera.'
27. '...Et se per negligentia de tal nostri officiali non fosse fata diligente examination et non fosse scritto alchuno di tal patroni, pagano pre nominati officiali alla nostra fraternita livre V de cera.'
28. 'Item ordenemo quando sona Capitolo, overo la procession che va atorno la tera che vegna tuti fradelli. Non vegnendo che pagano mezza canata d oio.'
29. 'Item fo fato in capitolo che quando moresse qualche fiol over fiola deli nostri fradeli,

- maxime qualcun deli fradelli, et non vignesse ad acompagnare, per cadauna volta paga canata una de oglio, et che se possa dare in poliça.’
30. ‘Dela satisfation ala gesia’: Item che nissuno navilio se possa partir senza pagar la gesia, overamente dar el pegno in gesia in pena quella parera a lor... Non posa partir alcun naviglio se patron non paghi alla chiesa, overo lasci la piegaria.
31. ‘De dano dela gexia’: Item che nissuno official possa far in danno de la gesia: et che tute le predite pene se possa scoder con poliza.
32. ‘...paga livre X de cera alla nostra chiezia.’, odnosno ‘...pageno alla nostra chiezia livre XXX de cera per uno.
33. ‘...Et li diti castaldo, sindici et procu ratori fossero negligenti esaminare dito inventario, como di sopra dixemo, et consegnar tute cose prenominate al castaldo novo per satio di çorni XV da po la sua creation, pageno livre X de cera alla nostra chiezia.’
34. ‘...Item quod dici marinari Cathari, presentes et futuri, cogantur et debeant de temporibus in tempus, secundum possibilitatem eorum reparare dicam capellam, sive Ecclesiam, et ipsam tenere copertam et in ipsa ecclesia facere palam altaris, campanile et campanam, misalem, calicem, paramentum et alia necessaria cultui divino, et bancos circa ipsam ecclesiam, pro usu suae Fraternitatis.’
35. ‘...di dare lire cento e cinquanta di questa moneta, in recognitione et compenso del comodo havuto d’appoggiarsi, come a fato con l’estesa di sua casa, alle mura della chiesa di San Nicollò... per adobamento e ornamento nella chiesa, cioè nelle solenità, così delli marineri come ancho feste mobili et festività più principali della religione, nella chiesa di San Nicolò solamente...’
36. ‘...cum illa provisione qua fuerint in concordia cum capellano, vel capellanis quos elegerint...’
37. ‘...che ser Zuan Caulovich diè portar doi peze de vasse, qual peze forono rote soto suo navilio. Et casu quo non portarà dice peze, che dico ser Zuan paga alla giexia perperi dodixi in termeme de anni doi proximi che diè vignir.’
38. ‘...Con savia delliberation fù stabilito nei tempi trasandati dalli precedenti confrati, ch’ogni patron di nave, naviglio, o altra barca da questa giurisditione, ecetuoato il loco di Perasto, dovesse avanti la sua partenza da questa Cità, per cadaun viaggio riconoscer la chiesa, cioè li padroni da Cataro et altri luochi della giurisditione, con un reale di groseti quaranta, et quelli di Parzagno con mezzo reale solamente. Quel dannaro, poi, con relligiosa pietà veniva impiegato al honor della chiesa, e santo suddeto. È con ogni modo, di presente, così invalsa l’avidità di molti che, ricusando sodisfare a tempio divino d’un così giusto e tenue procento, si fanno leciti partire senza recognitione alcuna, onde defraudata la Scolla non può supplire all’occorrenze e bisogni del culto di Dio. Parimente fù stabilito che oltre la recognitione suddeta dovesse cadaun mercante contribuir alla chiesa suddeta grosseto uno per ogni miaro di robba o mercantie ch’estrasesse, ma di presente, accresciuti li disendii della Scolla, si conosce necessario trovar compenso e modo per potervi supplire e sostentare il decorso della medesima per tanto. L’andera parte ch’alcun patron di nave, naviglio o altra barca di questa Cità e giurisditione, non possa haver dall’ufficio della cancelleria pretorea le necessarie eseditioni, nel tempo vorà partire per qualsisia loco, se prima non haverà una fede da uno delli procuratori della Scolla in scritto, siggillato coll’impronta della Scolla di san Nicolò, d’haver puntualmente saldato e sodisfato la chiesa delli suoi dritti...’
39. ‘... con cui fu saviamente disosto che non potesse esser rilasciata dall’Ufficio della Cancellaria, alcuna fede e seditione ad alcun padrone di nave, o naviglio, o altra barca di volere partire da cotesta giurisditione, ecetuoato il solo luoco di Perasto, se prima non avesse fede, giurata da uno delli procuratori della Scolla stessa, siggilata con l’impronta di san Nicolò, d’haver pontualmente saldato e soddisfato la chiesa da suoi giusti e consueti dritti...’
40. ‘...et soldi vinti alla recuperatione de poveri schiavi, siano anco obligati dar et pagar per ogni viaggio soldi vinti...’
41. ‘...qual capitolo debiano esser nostro

- gastaldo e uno sindaco, e uno over doi procuratori, et al manco di altri fradelli sie. Et li sia proposto la neccessita de tal nostro fratello. Et quella sovention sera ordinata per el dito capitolo, quella li sia fata...
42. 'Item ordenemo che quando fosse alchuno di nostri fratelli impotente a maritar le sue fiole, quello sia sovenuto de una gonela per una del prexio serra el nostro capitolo ut supra ordinato.'
43. '...che conduca li ossa de tal nostro fratello a Catharo, et la chiezia nostra honorevelmente lo faça sopelir in le sepulture nostre, con li altri fradelli. Et per fatiga del conducente, se li ossa se trovarano esser de la de Lesena over de la de Duraço, habia ducati tre. Et in qua ducati uno e meço. Et per lo simile sia fato alli nostri parçoneveli...
44. '...che morendo alchuno di nostri fradeli, over parçoneveli et non possando far la sesa de suo sopelir, la scuola nostra faça secundo la condition del moriente...'
45. 'Item ordenemo che morendo alchuno di nostri fradeli over parçoneveli e non habiando dove de che far el terço çorno la sua vigilia, la nostra scola faça con li nostri cappellani con la messa in canto per lemosena di quelli capellani se daga dala nostra scola grossi quatro.'
46. 'Item ordenemo che quando se trovasse alchuno marinaro foristiero de morir in Catharo, et non habiando de sopelirse, la nostra scola lo sepelisa nelle nostre sepulture, con la sesa secondo la condition del moriente. Sopra qual corpo vadano tanto dupieri do et le candele... Morendo un marinaro foreste povero, va sepelito con uso della chiesa et nelle loro sepulture come li proprij'
47. 'Dechiarò io Trifon Pietro quondam Francesco, colla inerente nota, senza di mio proprio pugno, che l'archa fata da me fare nella chiesa di San Nicolò de Marineri, rinuncio quella alla Scola delli medesimi, ma obligandola di ricever in quella tuti li marineri forestieri et altre sorte de persone pur estera, et a tut i li altri che in quella sepelir potesero, senza paga e ricognizione alchuna, ma a solo ogieto di carità per tale dichiaro la mia intenzione.'
48. 'Item ordemo che el di dela Ascensione sia adunato el nostro capitolo, al son dela campana, como de sopra ordenemo, et in quello sia trovato uno sufficiente di nostri fratelli che sia nostro castaldo. Et quello sia boleta et per maior parte del nostro capitolo affirmado, per uno anno tanto, con sacramento de augmentar et exaltar et mantinir con tuto el suo poder el stado de la nostra fraternita. Et quello castaldo sia tinuto et obligato a tinir la nostra matricula et quella demonstrar ad ogni requisition del nostro capitolo over de alchun di nostri ufficiali, et etiam tinir et governar la nostra croxe et tuti argenti et altre robe de valor, et la cassa deli dineri, et quelli sempre aparichiati tinir ad ogni requisition del nostro capitolo, over di nostri ufficiali. Et quello che sera trovato et tolto per el nostro capitolo, refutara, paga de pena alla nostra scola livre XX de cera.'
49. '... et consegnar tute cose prenominate al castaldo novo per satio di çorni XV da po la sua creation...'
50. 'Item che nisuno possa imprestar li deneri dela gesia sen za pegno sicuro, soto pena de livre diexe de cera.'