

**APPRENTICESHIP IN ŠIBENIK AND RAB IN
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS**

By

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Abstract

The main goal of this study is to examine the position of craftsman apprentices in Šibenik and Rab in the fifteenth century.

The research questions were to find out similarities and differences in making apprenticeship contracts, to examine apprentices' age, the duration of the apprenticeship, commitments, and emotional relationship between the apprentice and the master, the number of apprentices per master, apprentices' origin, further destiny, and their material culture.

The study was done by using qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis on published and unpublished apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik and Rab. Comparing means using independent t-test analysis on the duration of apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft. Furthermore, correlation analysis was run to determine the relationship between the duration of apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft. The analysis results were also compared with existing Croatian and European historiographical studies on the subject, particularly the communal statute laws and notary records from the medieval cities of Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, and Zadar.

The research provided rich findings in all the research questions about the position of apprentices, except in two cases. Namely, research showed that there were no girl apprentices in the analyzed period. Furthermore, the records provided very little pieces of information about the material culture of the apprentices. Concludingly, Venetian influence on the notary is visible, as similar patterns on how to make an apprenticeship contract are followed, no matter which communal town notary records one takes.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Birin, SB: BV | <i>Ante Birin, Šibenski bilježnici. Bonmatej iz Verone (1449-1452)</i> [The Notaries of Šibenik. Bonmateo de Verona (1449-1452)] |
| Birin, SB: JD | <i>Ante Birin, Šibenski bilježnici - Juraj de Dominicis (1469.-1470.)</i> [The notaries of Šibenik - Georgius de Dominicis (1469.-1470.)] |
| DAZD | <i>Državni Arhiv u Zadru [State Archive in Zadar]</i> |
| DAZD, SB: AC | <i>Šibenski bilježnici. Antun Campolongo (1440-1483).</i> [The Notaries of Šibenik. Antun Campolongo (1440-1483)] |
| DAZD, SB: RF | <i>Šibenski bilježnici. Rafael Ferro (1448-1454)</i> [The Notaries of Šibenik. Rafael Ferro (1448-1454)] |
| DAZD, SB: AM | <i>Šibenski bilježnici. Antonio de Martinis (1461-1488)</i> [Notaries from Šibenik. Antonio de Martinis (1461-1488)] |
| DAZD, RB: AF | <i>Rapski bilježnici. Andrija Fajeta (1441-1458)</i> [The notaries of Rab, Andrija Fajeta (1441-1458)] |
| DAZD, RB: MM | <i>Rapski bilježnici. Marin Maroman (1474 – 1514)</i> [Notaries of Rab, Marin Maroman (1474 – 1514)] |
| MSHSM | <i>Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium</i> |

Introduction

For many years, historical research has dealt with social and economic history within which one has come up with a multitude of useful insights and a detailed overview of the history of various layers of medieval society. It went from researching major events such as wars or politics, due to the great number of sources about it, to more specific research interests which are often fragmentally documented in the sources.

More frequent dealing with narrower historical issues has also been slowly occurring in Croatian historiography, encouraged by foreign history. Nevertheless, one aspect of history is still sparking interest in Croatian historians because it has not reached its peak in research as it had in foreign historiography, and that is the history of childhood. This should not be understood as something negative; one should keep in mind how this is influenced by the availability of sources and the very small amount of information they provide about childhood.

Based on foreign models the first work dealing with the history of childhood in Croatia was published in the 1990s,¹ which influenced further research.² This was also the thread that encouraged the selection of the topic of this thesis, in which my two fields of study are combined in a specific way, namely history and pedagogy. It should be emphasized that pedagogy does not necessarily deal only with children, as there is a branch of pedagogy,

¹ Zdenka Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad: dubrovačka obitelj od XIII. do XV. stoljeća* [The kindred and the city. The family in Dubrovnik from the thirteenth till the fifteenth Century], (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 1994). She presented the position of children in family and the society in Dubrovnik.

² Marija Karbić, "Što znamo o nezakonitoj djeci u gradskim naseljima u međurječju Save i Drave tijekom srednjeg vijeka," [What we know about illegal children in urban settlements in the Sava and Drava rivers during the Middle Ages], *Scrinia Slavonica* 2 (2002): 168-177; ead. "Prilog poznavanju položaja djece u srednjovjekovnim gradskim naseljima u međurječju Save i Drave," [Contribution to knowledge of the position of children in medieval urban settlements between the Sava and Drava rivers area], *Scrinia Slavonica* 3 (2003): 57-69.

andragogy, which deals with people of the third age. However, in this thesis, children are the focus of my interest, specifically craft apprentices.

Following the example of papers that have already been written on the subject in the historical framework of the fifteenth century, for the cities of Dubrovnik, Split, and Rijeka,³ one of the aims of this thesis is to present a case study to open new research perspectives and to add more in-depth insights about apprenticeship in two Dalmatian communal towns: Šibenik and Rab. Comparative analysis will expand the wealth of insights about its functioning and the apprentices' everyday life under different governments in distinct historical frameworks and point out the similarities and differences to see if there were patterns regarding apprenticeship. This comparative approach is chosen to be the leading method of my research.

Since it is impossible to write about apprenticeship without touching economic and social history, it is worth saying a few words about craft production and its peculiarities as part of historiographical research. Today, in Croatian historiography, there is no unified definition of whom one counts as a craftsman in the Middle Ages. Due to the ambiguity related to the concept of craftsmen, researchers' estimates of the ratio of the number of craftsmen to the rest of a town's population are often very uneven, ranging from a meager 12%, through a more realistic 25% to an extremely high 50%.⁴ Recently it has been accepted

³ Dragan Roller, *Dubrovački zanati u XV. i XVI. stoljeću* [Crafts in Dubrovnik in the XV. and XVI. century] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1951); Josip Lucić, *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku do početka 14. stoljeća* [Crafts and services in Dubrovnik until the beginning of the 14th century] (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1979); Tonija Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika i pomoćne radne snage u Splitu sredinom 15. stoljeća" [The position of craft apprentices and auxiliary labor force in Split in the mid-15th century]. *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, 29 (2011): 127 – 147; Ozren Kosanović, "Obrtnički šegrti i pomoćnici te služinčad u Rijeci prve polovice 15. stoljeća" [Craftsmen apprentices, craftsmen helpers and servants in Rijeka in the first half of the 15th century], *Povijesni prilozi*, vol. 33 br. 46 (2014): 47-67

⁴ Tonija Andrić, *Život u srednjovjekovnom Splitu* [Life in medieval Split. Everyday life of the craftsmen in the 14th and 15th centuries] (Zagreb, Split: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet, 2018), 55.

that craftsmen as a special layer can only be talked about if their activity is the primary source of their existence, and all other activities, such as farming or trade, are only an additional source of their income or consequences of the accumulation of capital. According to this definition, craftsmen should also include employees in service activities, that is, barbers or millers if this is their primary source of existence. More acceptable, however, is the view that craftsmen are the ones who produce something, that is, they create something new from raw materials.⁵

Accordingly, in the definition of a craftsman by Tonija Andrić, the criterion should be own production, not a category of a primary source of income.⁶ For the first time in Croatian historiography, craft professions were divided into categories by Dragan Roller in 1951,⁷ and his principle was later taken over by Josip Lučić⁸ in studies about crafts in medieval Dubrovnik. The studies of the mentioned historians and their significance for this thesis will be discussed in the next chapter on the review of the historiography.

One of the goals of this thesis will be to find out the number of apprentices per craftsman by using quantitative analysis. The question of why this is so that some craftsmen did not have apprentices while others had them, will be problematized, as well as what was the role of apprentices in the further economic development of the communes.

The analysis of notary records will cover one part of the economic activities of the communal towns. The center of interest in my study are craft professions, specifically craftsmen apprentices, the demand for them, and generally their position in society. Based on the preserved apprenticeship contracts my goal is to present the rights, position, and

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Roller, *Dubrovački zanati*, 1959.

⁸ Lucić, *Obrti i usluge*, 1979.

obligations of craft apprentices, their age and origin, their number per master, the duration of service, amount of compensation for the contracted work, terms of signing the contract, obligations of the masters to the apprentices and apprentices towards the masters, their relationship with each other, the material culture of apprentices, and the apprentices' further fate. Using the method of comparison with other Dalmatian communal towns can help to deepen the knowledge about these economic processes in the fifteenth century.

Therefore, the attention in this thesis, unlike the already frequently studied medieval craftsmen, will be directed towards an even narrower group, namely future craftsmen, that is, apprentices. Accordingly, the field of interest of this work is defined within the field of research on the history of childhood, medieval everyday life, and social history.

As an additional motivation for my research, I would like to state the conditionality of the place of my origin, Dalmatia, which has a multitude of sources in the archives that are just waiting to be analyzed. Consequently, the local history of two Dalmatian communal towns seemed like a logical choice.

Chapter 1 Overview of sources, historical context, historiography, methodology, and terminology on apprenticeship

Before analyzing the apprenticeship contracts, in the following sections, I will offer an overview on the state of research of sources, European and Croatian historiography, methodology, and terminology on apprenticeship, which will be used in this study about Šibenik and Rab.

Section 1.1 Sources overview

Sources from Šibenik which will be used in this study are two monographs on Šibenik's notaries written by Ante Birin. Among a variety of records such as court records, rent contracts, marriage contracts, last wills, etc. they also consist of fifteen apprenticeship contracts which are transcribed and will be used for comparative analysis.⁹ Besides those two published and transcribed sources of Šibenik's apprenticeship contracts, I will also use samples from unpublished and non-transcribed manuscripts, namely of three notaries, Antun Campolongo (1440-1483)¹⁰ who wrote 51 apprenticeship contracts, and Rafael Ferro (1448-1454)¹¹ who wrote nineteen apprenticeship contracts. In addition, I will use records of notary

⁹ Ante Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici. Bonmatej iz Verone (1449-1452)* [The Notaries of Šibenik. Bonmateo de Verona (1449-1452)], (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016), 65-66, 112-113, 118-119, 136, 150-151, 155-156, 204-205, 245-245, 254-255, 296-297, 318-319, 326-327, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: Birin, SB: BV; id., *Šibenski bilježnici - Juraj de Dominicis (1469.-1470.) / Notai di Sebenico - Giorgio de Dominicis (1469.-1470.)*, [The notaries of Šibenik - George de Dominicis (1469.-1470.)], (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Državni arhiv u Zadru; Državni arhiv u Šibeniku, 2018), 172, 236, 345, 361, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: Birin, SB: JD.

¹⁰ DAZD, *Šibenski bilježnici. Antun Campolongo (1440-1483)*. [The Notaries of Šibenik. Antun Campolongo (1440-1483)], kut. 10/Vb: fol. 42r-42v, fol. 50r, fol. 84r; kut10/Vc, fol. 31v; kut10/Vd, fol.55r-55v; kut.10/Xh, fol.203r-203v, fol.205v, fol.208v-209, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: DAZD, SB: AC.

¹¹ DAZD, *Šibenski bilježnici. Rafael Ferro (1448-1454)* [The Notaries of Šibenik. Rafael Ferro (1448-1454)], kut. 15, sv. 8/a fol. 61r, 61'r, fol. 62r, fol. 101r, fol.103r, fol.103v, fol.175r; sv.8c, fol. 145r, fol. 178r, fol.180r, fol.182r, fol.184r; sv.8d, fol. 7r, 15r, fol.16r, fol37r; sv.8e, fol.1r, fol.107r; sv.8d, fol.184r, fol.187r. in the following footnotes abbreviated as: DAZD, SB: RF.

Antonio de Martinis (1461-1488)¹² who wrote a contract of emancipation of an apprentice, and a list of the members of a carrier's fraternity from Šibenik, to which I will also refer to in the analysis. The total number of analyzed apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik is 85.

The total number of records from Šibenik notaries in the State Archive of Zadar, as they are presented in Table 1, is 27.¹³ All of them have at least one full archive box of their writings, some of them have even four boxes, which makes a full room of 286 boxes to go through and single out apprenticeship contracts from all other types of notarial acts. This is the reason why I chose a sample of two notary records, also because the handwritings from some notaries are faded, information is barely visible and uncompleted, which makes them rather unusable. Other handwritings are quite hard to decipher, and some notaries like *Petrus de Serenis* did not make a single apprenticeship contract. Therefore, this thesis is not a complete overview of apprenticeship contracts from Rab and Šibenik, but a case study from selected notary records.

¹² DAZD, *Šibenski bilježnici. Antonio de Martinis* (1461-1488) [Notaries from Šibenik. Antonio de Martinis (1461-1488)], kut 20, sv. B/VII, fol. 159-159a, fol.171, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: DAZD, SB: AM.

¹³ DAZD *Bilježnici Šibenika. Notarii civitatis et districtus Sibenici*; http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1_15137 printed review of archival fonds, 17.05.2021.

| Number of the box and the name of the notary | Duration of the service |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Slavogost</i> | 1386- |
| 2. <i>Zilius de Albanis</i> | 1398-1400 |
| 3. <i>Mihovil condam Iohannis</i> | 1414-1435 |
| 4. <i>Pietrobono Pagano</i> | 1436-1437 |
| 5. <i>Baptist de Ponte</i> | 1438- |
| 6. <i>Juraj de Dominicis</i> | 1469-1470 |
| 7. <i>Indricus de Indricis</i> | 1431-1434 |
| 8. <i>Petrus condam Iohannis</i> | 1434- |
| 9. <i>Jakov Vucsich</i> | 1433-1434 |
| 10. <i>Bartholomeus Arnulfus</i> | 1434-1435 |
| 11. <i>Christophorus Lovato</i> | 1437-1439 |
| 12. <i>Marin Ferro</i> | 1426- |
| 13. <i>Antun Campolongo</i> | 1440-1483 |
| 14. <i>Frane et Petrus de Serenis</i> | 1441-1443 |
| 15. <i>Rafael Ferro</i> | 1448-1454 |
| 16. <i>Bonmateo de Verona</i> | 1449- |
| 17. <i>Manfred Petronja</i> | 1455-1458 |
| 18. <i>Karatus Vitale</i> | 1451-1470 |
| 19. <i>Ilija Banjvarich</i> | 1457-1467 |
| 20. <i>Christophorus condam Andreii</i> | 1457-1484 |
| 21. <i>Ante de Martinis</i> | 1461-1488 |
| 22. <i>Gregorius condam Laurentii de Dominicis</i> | 1470-1494 |
| 23. <i>Daniel Compolongo</i> | 1483-1487 |
| 24. <i>Martin Campbellis de Gaivanis</i> | 1488-1518 |
| 25. <i>Nikola de Rubeis</i> | 1489-1498 |
| 26. <i>Petrus Makarunich</i> | 1497-1503 |
| 27. <i>Vicko de Martinis</i> | 1500- |

Table 1: Notaries of Šibenik and their duration of service.

Sources from Rab which will be used for comparison are five apprenticeship contracts from the article of Zoran Ladić “Na razmeđu djetinjstva i zrelosti - O naučnicima - šegrtima u kasnosrednjovjekovnim istočnojadranskim komunama” [On the crossroad between childhood and maturity. The relationship between masters and their apprentices in the late Middle Ages]¹⁴. Besides those already analyzed apprenticeship contracts, based on his notes about some of the contracts from Rab, I have come across only two more apprenticeship contracts

¹⁴ Zoran Ladić, “Na razmeđu djetinjstva i zrelosti - O naučnicima - šegrtima u kasnosrednjovjekovnim istočnojadranskim komunama” [On the Crossroad between Childhood and Maturity. The Relationship between master's and their Apprentices in the Late Middle Ages], in Mogorović Crljenko, Marija ed. *4. istarski povijesni biennale. Filii, Filiae...: Položaj i uloga djece na jadranskom prostoru*, Zbornik Radova, svezak 4. Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine-Državni arhiv u Pazinu (2011): 69-96.

which he did not use nor analyze, written by notary Andrija Fajeta (1441-1458)¹⁵ and one contract from notary Marin Maroman (1474 – 1514),¹⁶ which I have transcribed and analyzed for this thesis. I have also used the doctoral dissertation of Meri Kunčić for further information about craftsmen and their apprentices from Rab.¹⁷ Even though the sample is relatively small, it is representative enough, as it covers all the research questions, so that certain conclusions can be drawn from it. This is particularly true regarding the question of whether there are similarities or differences on making an apprenticeship contract.

The statutes of the cities of Šibenik¹⁸ and Rab¹⁹ are also two of the most important sources, from which I will use the provisions relating to craftsmen. According to the statutes, the household consisted of blood relatives who lived in the same house and ate the same bread; it also included servants and, in craftsman families, apprentices. Therefore, the terms family (*familia*), and household were identified, which I will refer to in the thesis. Through the statutes, one also has an insight into the position of the child within the family, in his rights and obligations. The terms used to denote a child help to define the concept of childhood, the age of entry into, and the duration of the apprenticeship. In addition, in this thesis I will also refer to, among others, the statutes of Split,²⁰ Trogir,²¹ and Zadar,²² as well

¹⁵ DAZD, *Rapski bilježnici. Andrija Fajeta (1441-1458)* [The notaries of Rab, Andrija Fajeta (1441-1458)], kut.1, sv.1, fol. 95, fol.100, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: DAZD, RB: AF.

¹⁶ DAZD, *Rapski bilježnici. Marin Maroman (1474 – 1514)* [Notaries of Rab, Marin Maroman (1474 – 1514)], kut. 4, sv. 4, fol. 193, in the following footnotes abbreviated as: DAZD, RB: MM.

¹⁷ Meri Kunčić, “Život i djelatnost obrtnika i umjetnika u Rapskoj komuni u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća” [Life and work of artisans and artists in the communal town of Rab in the second half of the fifteenth century], doktorska disertacija (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011).

¹⁸ Slavko Grubišić - Zlatko Herkov, *Knjiga statuta, zakona i reformacija grada Šibenika - Volumen statutorum legum, et reformationum civitatis Sibenici* [Book of statute, laws, and reformations of the city of Šibenik] (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1982).

¹⁹ Lujko Margetić - Petar Strčić, *Statut Rapske Komune - Statutum Communis Arbae* [Statute of Rab Commune - statute communis Arbae] (Grad Rab: Adamić, 2004).

²⁰ Antun Cvitanić ed., *Statut grada Splita* [Statute of the city of Split] (Split: Književni klub, 1988).

²¹ Marin Berket - Antun Cvitanić - Vedran Gligo, *Statut grada Trogira* [Statute of the city of Trogir], (Split: Književni krug, 1988).

²² Šime Batović - Josip Kolanović - Stijepo Obad, *Statuta Iadertina – Zadarski statut* [Statute of Zadar], (Zadar: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Zadru; Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, 1997).

as the statute of the Republic of Dubrovnik from 1272,²³ to compare the provisions concerning crafts to give a wider comparative perspective. The statutes are of prescriptive nature, precisely because of that my research is meaningful as I will show how the provisions were applied in praxis, in day-to-day records, which may reveal some discrepancies. Furthermore, the time frame of my research is relatively widespread, therefore, it is possible to follow the trends, not only conditions at a specific time.

Section 1.2 Historical context

Croatian historiography traditionally recognizes three major geographic regions of urban life. These regions overlap with the division of Croatian space into the Eastern Adriatic coast, the central, so-called “mountainous region,” and the *interamnium* of the Sava and Drava rivers. Politically, in the Middle Ages, the territory of Croatia was divided into several regions, such as the Kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia or Slavonia. The coastal city communes had their own legal mechanism, greatly influenced by the Venetian legal system.²⁴ Urban changes in Eastern Adriatic towns during the early decades of the fifteenth century reveal the Venetian intention of imposing its sovereignty and protection, as well as its efforts to bring the local needs in line with the aspirations of the metropolis.²⁵ However, autonomy or self-government was expressed through independent statutes.

Notarial records from Šibenik and Rab testify the amount of legal influence of the *Serenissima*. In between Venetian and communal government, the Ottoman invasions also

²³ Mate Križman - Josip Kolanović, *Statut grada Dubrovnika* [Statute of the city of Dubrovnik] (Karlovac: Historijski arhiv, 1990).

²⁴ Irena Byenovski Latin, “Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: The newcomers and the city (An introductory study)” in Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, eds. *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property* (Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014:11-34), 25-26.

²⁵ *Ibd.*, 28.

left their mark on the daily life of Šibenik and Rab, as refugees from the hinterland came to the cities, in search of shelter. Therefore, those three aspects of historical context are implemented in this study. Comparing apprenticeship contracts in the period from 1440. to 1483, I will search for similarities and differences influenced by historical context on making them, to find out if there were patterns on how to make them. If there were patterns, I will compare them with regulations of Venetian notaries on making apprenticeship contracts, to see how much it influenced Dalmatian notaries. I will also decipher how much historical circumstances, like the Ottoman invasion, changed the stability of the terms of apprenticeship contracts.²⁶ Finally, based on the chronological comparison, I will analyze how much the position of apprentices changed over time.

The microeconomies of those towns are self-sustainable and craftsmen make approximately 25% of the town's population.²⁷ Within this framework, craftsman apprentices will be studied.

Section 1.3 Overview of foreign and Croatian historiography on apprenticeships

It should be noted that Western European historiography began to investigate the involvement and contribution of craftsmen in the creation of medieval everyday life in the sixties of the twentieth century. Croatian medieval historiography has an ascending path following European trends. In a way, this fact is one of the reasons for choosing the topic of

²⁶ Giovanni Colavizza, Riccardo Cella and Anna Bellavitis, "Apprenticeship in Early Modern Venice," in Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2019: 106-137), 9.

²⁷ Kolanović, *Šibenik*, 256.

this thesis. The chronological and thematic review of foreign historiography provides insight into previous research, as well as insight into methodological possibilities of research.²⁸

In this thesis, along with the relevant Croatian literature, some of the relevant works of foreign historians are used that contribute to the comparison and obtaining a broader picture of the spatial and time frame.

David Herlihy made a major contribution in his book *Medieval Households*,²⁹ which presents important information on medieval families. Also, in his article “Medieval Children”³⁰ the author talks about medieval everyday life, provides a clear conceptual definition of family structures, possible relationships in families, and systematically depicts the historical development of the institution of the family from the period of late Antiquity to the late Middle Ages.

Phillipe Ariès in *Centuries of Childhood*³¹ points out a change in the concept of childhood through the centuries, stating that in the Middle Ages childhood was not recognized as a special stage in life, but only at the beginning of the seventeenth century was formed as a term. He comes to his conclusions primarily by using the literary works of Molière and Montaigne and the iconography of works of art as sources to confirm his thesis. Namely, the author claims that the sources of the thirteenth century do not contain childhood motifs, but they only appear in the paintings of later centuries. He accordingly states that the experience of childhood gradually took shape only in later centuries. The importance of this

²⁸ Kunčić, “Život,” 22.

²⁹ David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985)

³⁰ David Herlihy, “Medieval Children” in *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978 - 1991*, 215-243 (Providence - Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995)

³¹ Philippe Ariès, *Vekovi detinjstva* [Centuries of childhood] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1989), original: *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Pion, 1960)

work is that, after the book was published, it has awakened interest in more detailed research on the history of childhood that I will refer to, which also aimed to deny its conclusions³².

Nicholas Orme is the author of the book *Medieval Children*,³³ which aimed to refute Ariès' thesis by successfully offering many examples from medieval records. Also, the author says in another book named *English Schools in the Middle Ages*³⁴ that medieval schools were created primarily because of men, as medieval literature testifies mainly to the education of men. He divides schooling according to social classes and states that certain occupations were more appropriate for some children than for others, citing examples of children from royal families, children of nobles, or children of craftsmen and merchants. In his work, the author also discusses the future of children whose parents were servants.

In *Childhood in the Middle Ages*,³⁵ Shulamit Shahar underlines the stages of childhood and the characteristics that belong to them, starting with descriptions of childhood that are a legacy of ancient times. Her view of childhood comes out of the family framework and brings information, for example, about schooling, customs, church influences, or accidents in which the victims were children. As for apprenticeships, the author provided information on the age the children would leave home to study a certain craft, and what these crafts were. She discusses working hours and the payments to the apprentices. In the last chapter of her book, the author problematizes the love relationships between the apprentice and the mother of the family in which apprentices would come.

³² Edward Tompkins McLaughlin depicted already with numerous examples the sensitive world of children which Ariès denied. His work represents the beginning of research on childhood more than half a century before Ariès appeared on the scene. More in his *Studies in Medieval Life and Literature* (New York – London: Putnam's Sons, 1894)

³³ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

³⁴ Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in The Middle Ages* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973)

³⁵ Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 1990).

Danièle Alexandre Bidon and Didier Lett, in their book *Children in the Middle Ages*,³⁶ present the perception of children from the fifth to the fifteenth century through two thematic frameworks, the image of the child in Christianity and the image of the child in society. As part of the second thematic framework, the chapter entitled “Apprenticeship” describes the everyday life of apprentices and the diversity of male and female obligations during an apprenticeship. Problematizing the possible exploitation of child labor, the authors discuss children’s work and stolen childhood.

Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby in *A History of Private life II: Revelations of the Medieval World*³⁷ present a child’s life from the moment it is born to the moment he leaves the family. Among other things, they discuss apprenticeships and the emotional connection between parents and children.

Barbara Hanawalt in her article “Medievalists and the Study of Childhood”³⁸ presented an overview of previous insights in the historiography on the history of childhood. She particularly refers to Ariès and points to his unfoundedness in the treatment of the sources, mostly emphasizing that he referred only to the more elite strata of society. In this regard, she provides a further historiographical review of historians who referred to Ariès and came to different results in their work. Using their results, she cites terminology about medieval childhood, taking over the division of the same according to Bidon and Lett. Also, she states that the beginning of apprenticeship in London was at the age of 14 years in the fourteenth century, which increased to the age of 18 years in the fifteenth century.

³⁶ Daniel Alexandre Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

³⁷ Philippe Ariès - Georges Duby, *A history of Private life II. Revelations of the Medieval World* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

³⁸ Barbara Hanawalt, “Medievalists and the Study of Childhood,” *Speculum*, Vol. 77, No. 2, April (2002): 440 – 46.

Peter N. Stearns in *Childhood in World History*,³⁹ guides by the thesis that childhood exists in all societies. He describes the socially conditioned shaping of childhood in different times and different areas. His focus of interest is on a change in society that caused a change in the perception of childhood and discusses the way how the most widespread religions have influenced the concept of childhood. The volume problematizes old and new debates about the distinctive features of childhood in Western countries throughout the centuries, including child labor.

Furthermore, articles by Catherine Richardson,⁴⁰ Gerhard Jaritz,⁴¹ David Austin,⁴² Katherine L. French,⁴³ Roberta Gilchrist,⁴⁴ Cornelia B. Horn,⁴⁵ and Jane Eve Baxter⁴⁶ provide information about material culture, social history, everyday life history, and archaeological research. They are offering a multitude of insights about childhood and apprenticeship, which I will refer to in my work.

Croatian historiography has offered a lot of analysis based on notary records on the topic of craftsmanship. The issue of craftsmanship is primarily related to the development of cities, so it is a part of urban history.⁴⁷ Also, the problem of craftsmanship tosses the field of social, economic, and cultural history as well as art history and, in the last thirty years, there

³⁹ Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁰ Catherine Richardson, "Havying nothing upon hym saving onely his sherte:" Event, Narrative and Material Culture in Early Modern England, in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. C. Richardson, 209-221 (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁴¹ Gerhard Jaritz, "Poverty Constructions and Material Culture," in *The Sign Languages of Poverty* ed. Gerhard Jaritz, 7-17 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

⁴² David Austin, "Presence of Poverty: Archeologies of Difference and Their Meaning," in *The Sign Languages of Poverty*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, 19 – 41 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

⁴³ Katherine L. French, "Genders and Material Culture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras, 197 - 212 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴⁴ Roberta Gilchrist. *Gender and the Material Culture. The Archaeology of Religious Women*. (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁴⁵ Cornelia B. Horn, "Childrens play as social ritual," in *Late Ancient Christianity* ed. Virginia Burrus, 95 - 116 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010)

⁴⁶ Jane Eva Baxter, "The Archeology of Childhood," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, no. 37 (2008): 159-175.

⁴⁷ Kunčić, "Život," 22.

have been works that synthesized the results of these different historical areas and singled out the issues of craftsmanship as a separate category with different aspects of the study. One of these aspects includes craft apprenticeship.

The works of Croatian historiography dealing with the topic of childhood will also be used when interpreting sources. In Croatia, research on childhood history began in the 1990s when Zdenka Janeković Römer published her book on family in late medieval Dubrovnik. She also presented the position of children in the family and society. Following her research, Marija Karbić presented the position of children between the Sava and Drava rivers.⁴⁸ Marija Mogorović Crljenko dealt with the position of Istrian women and childcare, and, in 2011, as part of the Istrian Historical Biennale, published a collection dedicated to children⁴⁹ in which several papers deal with medieval topics. At the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, the course “Childhood in the Middle Ages” by Zrinka Nikolić Jakus can be found in the offer of elective courses, and she was also a mentor of one of the first graduate papers dedicated to the image of childhood in Croatian medieval narrative sources, written by Tea Cerovečki.⁵⁰ The aforementioned examples indicate an increase in interest when dealing with the topic of medieval childhood in Croatian medieval historiography.

Through a review of childhood in general, the topic of crafts apprenticeship is quite covered for Eastern Adriatic communal towns, unlike for the city of Varaždin, where Jasmin Medved did research on craftsmanship in the fifteenth century and stated that despite the lack of mention in medieval notary records, it is likely that craftsmen from that area also had

⁴⁸ Karbić, “Što znamo,” 168-177; ead. “Prilog poznavanju položaja djece,” 57-69.

⁴⁹ *Filii, filiae...: Položaj i uloga djece na jadranskom prostoru* [Position and role of children on the Adriatic area], 4. Istarski povijesni biennale, zbornik radova, ed. Marija Mogorović Crljenko (Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine – Museo del territorio parentino, Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Sveučilište Juraj Dobrila u Puli, 2011).

⁵⁰ Tea Cerovečki, “Slika djeteta u narativnim djelima hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja,” [The image of a child in medieval Croatian narrative sources], diplomski rad (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 2010).

apprentices, either their sons or those who would come to lessons for a certain period.⁵¹ Marija Karbić, in her papers on the history of children in the Middle Ages in urban settlements between the Sava and Drava rivers, also reflects on craft apprentices.⁵² In her diploma thesis, Monika Cvitanović mentions girls who apprenticed with a seamstress in Rijeka in the fifteenth century.⁵³

Zoran Ladić's works provide information⁵⁴ on the position and role of craft apprentices in eastern Adriatic communal towns in the developed Middle Ages in which he problematizes cycles of age, childhood, and adulthood based on apprenticeship contracts and city statutes. Meri Kunčić, with her doctoral dissertation on medieval Rab, also brings new information about apprenticeship, while Tonija Andrić⁵⁵ deals with the craftsmanship of medieval Split. Her methodological contribution is much used in my study.

Neven Budak, based on the research of the position of *servi*, *famuli*, and *ancillae*⁵⁶ indicated the need for further research of other members of medieval households, like apprentices, while Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, among others, also dealt with the topic of medieval childhood in her work.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Jasmin Medved, "Obrtništvo grada Varaždina u XV. stoljeću" [Craftsmanship in Varaždin in the 15th Century], *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu* 24 (2013); 451.

⁵² See note 48.

⁵³ Monika Cvitanović, "Život žena u Rijeci u 15. stoljeću" [The life of women in Rijeka in the 15th century], diplomski rad (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012).

⁵⁴ Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 69-96.

⁵⁵ Andrić, "Prilog metodologiji," 31-54; ead. "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 127 – 147.

⁵⁶ Neven Budak, "Struktura i uloga serva i famula u komunalnim društvima na istočnom Jadranu" [The structure and role of the families of servi and famuli in the communal societies on the eastern Adriatic], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 14 (1985): 347-360; id., "Oslobađanje serva i ancila i napuštanje upotrebe njihove radne snage na istočnom Jadranu," [Liberation of servii and famuli and abandonment of their working force on the eastern Adriatic], *Historijski zbornik* (1985): 115-130; id., "Trgovina radnom snagom na istočnom Jadranu – razvoj i značaj," [Trade with human labour force along the eastern Adriatic – development and significance], *Historijski zbornik* (1984): 105-138.

⁵⁷ Zrinka Nikolić, *Rodaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and kith: Dalmatian urban nobility in the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003); ead., "Ramljaci i Bosanci u dalmatinskim gradovima u četrnaestom i petnaestom stoljeću" [The inhabitants of Rama and Bosnia in the Dalmatian towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], in "*Bosanski ban Tvrtko pod Prozorom u Rami*," ed. Tomislav Brković, 347-373 (Prozor, Sarajevo, Zagreb: Općina Prozor-Rama, Synopsis d.o.o. Sarajevo, Synopsis

Zdravka Jelaska in her work on a medieval family in Trogir also mentions apprentices.⁵⁸ Along with her, Josip Kolanović,⁵⁹ Ozren Kosanović,⁶⁰ Marko Vodopija,⁶¹ Nada Klaić, and Ivo Petricioli⁶² also brought information about the position of apprentices, which will be used as comparative examples in my study.

A comparison of the historiographical writings on the cities of Rab and Šibenik, especially on craftsmanship, with other communal towns, could offer parallels and similarities of the role and functioning of craftsmen in the city. Grga Novak in his book on the history of Split⁶³ stated that in Dalmatian towns, unlike in Italian ones, a particularly rich craft layer which exported its products outside the city did not develop, but one concentrated on the local needs. He also states that Split's notary writings, as well as those of Split's utility office, have not been preserved. Only Thomas the Archdeacon brings some information about the goldsmith and embossing craft. But the works of sculptors, carvings, as well as buildings themselves testify to how craft production existed. Novak gives an example of Trogir documents showing how craftsmen made contracts, whether they bought or sold something, took apprentices, made wills, or were mentioned as witnesses or on other occasions.

d.o.o. Zagreb, 2016); ead., "Povijest djetinjstva u srednjem vijeku i povijest emocija: osjećaji roditelja prema djeci kao primjer istraživačkog pristupa temi osjećaja u prošlosti" [History of Childhood and History of Emotions: parent's feelings towards their children as an example of research approach to the subject of emotions in the history], *Historijski zbornik* vol. 68, br. 2 (2016): 377-381.

⁵⁸ Zdravka Jelaska, "Trogirska srednjovjekovna obitelj (XIII.- XIV. stoljeće)" [Medieval family in Trogir (13th - 14th century)], *Povijesni prilozi* vol. 18, br. 18 (1999): 9-51.

⁵⁹ Josip Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnom srednjem vijeku* [Šibenik in the late Middle Ages], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995).

⁶⁰ Kosanović, "Obrtnički šegrti," 47-66.

⁶¹ Marko Vodopija, "Skica gradskog društva: zadarski obrtnici u polovici 14. stoljeća" [The diagram of city society: Zadar's craftsmen in mid-14th century], diplomski rad (Zagreb: Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište, 2018).

⁶² Nada Klaić - Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku* [*Zadar in the Middle Ages*] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976).

⁶³ Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita. Knjiga prva (od prehistorijskih vremena do definitivnog gubitka pune autonomije 1420. g.)* [History of Split. Book one (from prehistoric times to the definitive loss of full autonomy in 1420.)], (Split: Matica Hrvatska, 1957).

However, he warns that it should be borne in mind that the existing documents do not mention all crafts that were in town, and thus more likely, a smaller part of craftsmen.⁶⁴

The decision of the Grand Council in Split of 27 October 1367 on craftsmanship, prescribed in the statute states how within one month after the decision each master should have at least one apprentice in the workshop, under the threat of a fine of ten Venetian *librae*. If one of the masters did not follow the regulations within a month of the sentence, he would be punished again, until he obeyed the law.⁶⁵ Eleven years after this regulation, on August 28, 1378, the conclusion was expanded in a way that every year two nobles were to be elected for a term of one year, who would take care that fathers gave their children to craftsmen to study the craft with them. If a father did not respond to that call, he would be fined 25 Venetian *librae*.⁶⁶ The Statutes of Rab and Šibenik did not have similar clauses. Novak also states that farmers, fishermen, and sailors did not belong to craftsmen. Even though they made up most of the population at the time, they did not reside within the city walls, but in the suburbs (*varoš*).⁶⁷

Section 1.4 Methodology

The basic methodological approach applied in this study is a quantitative and qualitative analysis of sources. The main reason why the quantitative method is used for sources such as notarial documents is the fact that private law documents, such as contracts and wills, almost regularly provide the same types of data on persons living in the communal town where the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 420–422.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 422. according to *Statuti di Spalato* [Statute of Split], G. Alačević, *Suppl. Bull. Dalm.* II – X.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 427.

document was created. Following the given rules for writing private law documents from the end of the thirteenth century, relatively regularly, the names of the parties, i.e., fathers, guardians, marital status, origin, legal and social status, occupation are recorded, which provides the possibility to spread this data into certain groups of data. Based on comparative analysis one can come up with sometimes more precise and sometimes less precise results depending on the availability of sources for individual cases.⁶⁸

Croatian historiography began to apply the quantitative methodology in the 1980s, based largely on notary records, in the study of certain aspects of everyday life on the eastern Adriatic coast. Indications of this approach are visible in the works of Dragan Roller and Josip Lučić, researchers on medieval Dubrovnik, while Tomislav Raukar⁶⁹ was the first to use the mentioned method in his works and based on this approach offered several insights about the social structure, economic groups, and demographic trends in Dalmatian communal towns. Sabine Florence Fabijanec⁷⁰ and Meri Kunčić also used quantitative methods of source analysis in their works. This method is extremely valuable for the investigation of the

⁶⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁹ Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: ljudi, prostor, ideje* [Croatian medievalism: people, space, ideas], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997); id., *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku [Studies on Dalmatia in the Middle Ages]*, Split: Književni krug, 2007; id., “Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u 14.stoljeću” [Communal societies in Dalmatia in the 14th century], *Historijski zbornik*, br. 33-34 (1980-1981): 183-193; id., “O nekim obilježjima trgovine dalmatinskih gradova u srednjem vijeku. U povodu priloga M. M. Frajdenberga, Srednjovjekovna trgovina u Dalmaciji – problemi i argumenti” [Some features of the trade of Dalmatian cities in the Middle Ages. On the occasion of M.M Frajdenberg's contribution, Medieval Trade in Dalmatia – Problems and Arguments], *Historijski zbornik*, br. 23-24 (1970-1971): 411-442; id., “Prilog poznavanju sistema prihoda dalmatinskih gradova u 14. stoljeću” [Contribution to the knowledge of the income system of Dalmatian cities in the 14th century], *Historijski zbornik*, br. 21-22 (1968-1969): 343-370.

⁷⁰ Sabine Florence Fabjanec, “Djeca pod okriljem odraslih. Odrastanje na istočnom Jadranu u srednjem vijeku” [Children under the auspices of adults. Growing up on the East Adriatic in the Middle Ages], in Marija Mogorović Crljenko (ed.), *Filii, filiae...: Položaj i uloga djece na jadranskom prostoru, Zbornik radova s četvrtog istarskog povijesnog biennalea*, sv. 4. (Poreč: Zavičajni Muzej Poreštine; Državni arhiv u Pazinu; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 2011): 131 – 145.

plague epidemic, which affected Dalmatia in 1348, especially in the research of demographic losses.⁷¹

Despite the effectiveness of the quantitative method in the study of social history, it also has its drawbacks. Namely, despite the legal regulation of the business in utilities, the contracting parties could still agree on many things outside the notarial agreement, so in these cases, the notary records would not fully reflect the reality of the medieval world. Finally, for transactions of lesser value, a notary document was not even drawn up, because it had to be paid in the end.⁷²

In addition to the quantitative method, it was necessary to apply other methodological patterns, primarily qualitative analysis of contracts between craftsmen and apprentices, as well as part of the content of the legal code – the city statute, which stipulated the conditions for entering employment that had to be respected by all Rab's and Šibenik's notaries and their clients. Therefore, as for any research on social history, it was important to find the right measure between quantitative and qualitative approaches because by simply counting individual data, the broader context of social events is lost.

Section 1.5 Terminology

The choice of terms “craftsmen” and “craftsmen apprentices” used in this thesis is conditioned by the continuity of their general acceptance in modern contemporary European medieval studies as technical terms. In addition to papers in the field of historiography or art

⁷¹ From the historical records we find out how Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar were affected by the plague, but only for Dubrovnik we have well preserved narrative sources (unlike other cities where narrative sources are partially preserved) based on which it is possible to presumably measure mortality caused by the plague. On the application of quantitative methods in mortality research in certain European countries during the plague see more in Gordan Ravančić, “Historiografija o epidemiji Crne smrti s polovice 14. stoljeća” [Historiography on the Black Death epidemic from the mid-14th century], *Povijesni prilozi*, god. 26, br.33 (2007): 199 – 201.

⁷² Andrić, “Prilog,” 40 – 41.

history, the use of these concepts is particularly pronounced in lexicography and encyclopedias. As the latest example of the use of terms, there is an encyclopedic entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*.⁷³ Namely, one of the entries is entitled “artisans and craftwork” which refers to the understanding of the concepts of “craftsmen” and “craftsmen apprentices” in the Middle Ages.⁷⁴ These concepts are also used in Croatian historiography, in examples of Dragan Roller’s work on Dubrovnik’s crafts in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance and Josip Lučić’s on craft and service activities in Dubrovnik in the early and developed Middle Ages.

Studies by Dragan Roller and Josip Lučić, due to the similarity of the content structure, indicate the justifiability of grouping individual crafts. When grouping, craftsmen are named after the craft to which they belong. The very term “craftsman” is the easiest to understand because even today most of the medieval craft professions are called crafts. However, it should be borne in mind that it combines various medieval professions, such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, and woodworkers. These professions were based on manual work for which education was required. The length of education depended on the type of craft,⁷⁵ and it is also one of the goals of this thesis to gain information about the duration of the apprenticeship commitment.

When identifying craft apprentices in sources, it is interesting that not all notaries appoint apprenticeship contracts in the same way. For example, in Trogir notarial contracts, the apprentice is only in a few cases marked with the word *discipulus*.⁷⁶ The apprenticeship

⁷³ Robert E. Bjork (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. vol.1. A-C (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 191.

⁷⁴ Kunčić, “Život,” 17.

⁷⁵ Kunčić, “Život,” 17-18.

⁷⁶ Miho Barada, *Monumenta Traguriensia – Trogirski spomenici. Zapisnici pisarne općine trogirske od 31. I. 1274. – 1. IV. 1294.* [Trogir monuments. Records of the office of the municipality of Trogir 31. I. 1274. – 1. IV. 1294.], second part, sv. 2. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* vol. 45. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1950), Further: MSHSM, vol 45, 244.

contract itself is recognized by the fact that the boy is taught by someone (a parent or a tutor, because he could not conclude a contract) *ad standum et serviendum*,⁷⁷ to live and serve the master for *docere/discere artem*⁷⁸ learning a particular craft. It does not specify the salary for his work, as opposed to a service contract *ad serviendum*,⁷⁹ where the learning part is omitted, in which the adult man commits himself and enters into a contract as an auxiliary labor force (*astrinsit et locavit se*).⁸⁰ Interestingly, these two exemplary apprenticeship and service contracts from Trogir, are signed in the same year, 1264 with a gap of two months, with the same master *Petrus de Hungaricus*.⁸¹ Therefore, differences between an apprenticeship contract and a service contract are obvious and recognizable. They show that in addition to salary, the key phrase in the apprenticeship contract is *artem suam docere*, which determines the main difference from service contracts.⁸² Vice versa, in Šibenik's apprenticeship contracts, when entering a craft, a boy is always, in each contract, referred to as a *discipulus*, and the contract itself is named that way, *conductio discipuli*, and the same is valid for the communal towns of Split, Zadar, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik.

Therefore, it is not questionable what kind of a contract it is. When addressing a service contract, it is clear from the naming of the contract, *conductio famuli* (a servant).⁸³ All servants made the contracts themselves, as they were all full age, meaning older than fourteen or sixteen years, for the duration between one and four years,⁸⁴ unlike apprenticeship contracts that lasted longer. There is an example from Šibenik of one servant who made a

⁷⁷ Barada, *Monumenta Traguriensia – Trogirski spomenici. Zapisci pisarne općine trogirske od 21. X. 1263. – 22. V. 1273*. [Trogir monuments. Records of the office of the municipality of Trogir 21. X. 1263. – 22. V. 1273], First part, sv. 1. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* vol. 44. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948), Further: MSHSM, vol. 44, 85.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ MSHSM, vol. 44, 68 – 69.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ MSHSM, vol. 44, 85; MSHSM, vol. 44, 68 – 69.

⁸² Kosanović, “Obrtnički šegrti i pomoćnici,” 49.

⁸³ Birin, SB: BV, 225-226, 270-271; Birin, SB: JD, 108-109, 155-156, 158-159, 259-260, 218-219; DAZD, SB:AC, vol. 10.I.b, fol.47r-47v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

lifelong service contract because he was, as stated in the contract, *homo paupericus et nihil habens in hoc mundo*.⁸⁵

Notary records of Rab are different in their terminology. There, the term *famulus* is most often used for the identification of apprentices. Only in rare contracts from Rab, one can find that the notary recorded instead of *famulus* the term *discipulus*.⁸⁶ The term *famulus* denotes free people in Dalmatian communal towns whom certain restrictions are imposed only during the duration of the contract by which they entered into someone's service, as opposed to *servus* and *ancilla* that since the beginning of the thirteenth century stands for a non-free workforce employed in the household and fully owned by the master.⁸⁷ Since the fourteenth century, there was the release of *servi* and *ancillae*⁸⁸ and most of the people in the cities were marked with nicknames or matronyms or places of origin, not with a mark of service or status. Neven Budak, while investigating the movements and directions of trade and the diversion of labor from the eastern Adriatic coast, warned that due to the economic losses caused by the emigration, the authorities sought to keep the servants of the communal towns and maids in their territory, giving them freedom.⁸⁹ Namely, it seems to have become cheaper to hire paid labor force than to buy slaves. This phenomenon probably encouraged the masters to give their slaves freedom with redemption. Most of the cases granting freedom are recorded through the last wills of the masters.⁹⁰ Despite the above, it seems that the term “*conductio servientis*” was still used in service contracts and “*famulus*” was used for apprentices in the notary records from Rab.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Birin, SB: BV, 270-271.

⁸⁶ Ladić, “Na razmeđu djetinjstva i zrelosti,” 85, according to the State Archives in Zadar (here: DAZD), *Rapski bilježnici* [Notaries from Rab] Marin Maroman, kut. 4, sv. 3, fol 95`

⁸⁷ Budak, “Struktura i uloga,” 347, note 2.

⁸⁸ Id., “Oslobađanje serva,” 115 – 130.

⁸⁹ Id., “Trgovina radnom snagom,” 136.

⁹⁰ Id., “Oslobađanje serva,” 126.

⁹¹ Ladić, “Na razmeđu djetinjstva,” 84 –87, paragraph b) Example of Rab.

It is also interesting that the organization of documents by the notary official itself was different in the cities. For example, in the notary records from Trogir, from the thirteenth and fourteenth century, only from the keywords *docere/discere artem*, an apprenticeship contract can be recognized, as the entries are only listed by the order numbers as the cases were coming to the notary, and there is no inscription on the margins about what kind of a notary act it is. Therefore, one must go through all kinds of notary acts to find the ones one needs, in my case, to find the apprenticeship contracts. Kosanović states that in the fifteenth century in Rijeka the formulation of contracts for taking servants and apprentices followed a pattern. In the margins, the notary indicated the type of contract in question.⁹²

Notary records from Šibenik already indicate often in the margins of the pages that it was an apprenticeship contract, *conductio discipuli*,⁹³ which makes the search easier, but this is still not a binding model. However, over time a more orderly indication of documents in the notary office can be recognized, and only sometimes mistakes occur. For example, in one contract, the notary Antun Campolongo made a mistake by naming a contract *conductio famuli*, while later in the contract it is stated how the apprentice *Thomasius* will be a good *discipulus*.⁹⁴ In another contract, he corrected himself right at the beginning by crossing the word *discipuli* and writing *famuli*, as it was a service contract.⁹⁵ Likewise, notary Raffael Ferro made the same mistake but in a reversed way, by naming an auxiliary labor contract which is noted with the term *ad laborandum*, as *conductio discipuli*.⁹⁶ Finally, by comparing the use of the very term *discipuli* in the notary records it is noticeable that the development of the use of the term occurs, in the earlier sources like the ones from Trogir, only rarely by

⁹² Kosanović, “Obrtnički šegrta,” 49.

⁹³ Concluded based on personal work on Rab and Šibenik sources in the State Archives in Zadar, for example *conductio discipuli or conductio famuli*, clearly stated in the margin, DAZD, *Notari Šibenika* [Notaries of Šibenik], Karatus Vitale (1451-1470), kut. 18, Vol 15, 1a1, fol. 36 r, fol. 37 r, fol. 38 r, fol. 50 r; Vol 15, 1a2 fol. 1r, fol. 2r, fol. 4r, fol. 6r, fol. 7v.

⁹⁴ DAZD, SB. AC, kut. 10, vol. I.a, fol. 39v-40r.

⁹⁵ *Ibd*, kut.11, sv.5, fol73v-74r.

⁹⁶ DAZD SB; RF, kut. 15, sv.8a, fol. 175r.

appointing the apprentice explicitly as an apprentice, but the notary used other forms of service contracts for compiling a contract for teaching purposes, using a few keywords for teaching to illustrate the type of contract in question. The contracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries emphasize the more frequent use of the term *discipuli*. In the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, however, the contract, if it is named at all, is appointed as a service contract (as for ordinary servants), only from the content of the contract (*docere artem*) it is seen as an apprenticeship contract, while the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century have an exact distinction in the listing of apprenticeship contracts as *conductio discipuli*.

There is also a distinction in the terminology of naming a master in apprenticeship contracts. Sometimes, an apprentice enters apprenticeship with a *protomagister artis* and in other contracts with a *magister artis*. In contracts from Šibenik, it happens in only two cases, and with the same *protomagister Petrus marangunis*.⁹⁷ There is also one case when an apprentice entered an apprenticeship with a *protomagister Georgius lapicida de Iadra*, whose father was *condam Matheius protomagister lapicidus*, also a stonemason.⁹⁸ E. Hilja brings an explanation of what the term *protomagister* means stating how in the broadest sense it should be understood as the “master builder,” but in at least three different meanings. As an individual title, it denotes a builder who is also an architect, a planner, as a communal function, it means the supervisor of the public (communal) construction works and official authority in all disputes related in addition to construction works of the communal town, and some cases denote a master who manages works on a specific construction task.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ DAZD, SB: RF, kut. 15, sv.8a, fol. 61r, fol. 62r.

⁹⁸ Ibid, sv. 8c, fol.184r.

⁹⁹ Emil Hilje, “Zadarski protomajstor Andrija Desin” [*Protomagister Andrija Desin from Zadar*], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 34 (1994:85-109), 96.

Early modern Venetian notary records bring one more possible difference concerning the term *protomagister*. In some crafts, this distinction was captured by different titles: a “chief master” (*capo maestro*) headed the workshop while a “master” (*maestro*) had passed the masters’ examination but lacked a workshop of its own.¹⁰⁰

Besides the prefix *proto* before the master’s name, there are several cases when *ser* stands before the craftsman’s name. Usually, that expression in notarial writings was reserved for patricians, but in this case, it meant that the craftsman was an important and honorable citizen of the communal town, meaning well-respected and rich, which provided him that prefix, as patricians are not craftsmen.¹⁰¹

Another fact would be good to mention at the end of this section, and this is another category by which boys are named, namely, except as craft apprentice, boys are mentioned in the sources by the term *puer*. *Puer* is a servant, of a lower position than a *serviens* but a higher position than a slave because he is free. These are mostly boys who accompany the merchants, guard, and groom their horses, perform the services needed by the master, taking care of their hygiene, and guarding their goods. They are also mentioned as storekeepers or as sailors on ships, while some are mentioned as shepherds.¹⁰² As a rule, they were accompanied by the master and did not do hard physical work because it did not suit their age. After a while, they separated from their master and were then listed in the sources as *puer quondam*. It was a kind of legitimacy so that business partners would have confidence in the apprentice if he had been in the service of his master for a long time, that he could be trusted. In his later independent life, Lucić states they did relatively well.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Giovanni Colavizza, Riccardo Cella and Anna Bellavitis, “Apprenticeship,” 3.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 158.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 159.

Chapter 2 Comparative analysis and interpretation of apprenticeship contracts

In the following sections, I will present a comparative analysis and interpretation of apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik and Rab.¹⁰⁴

Section 2.1 Age of apprentices

Right at the beginning, it should be said that contracts written by the notary from Šibenik, Rafael Ferro, do not specify the age of apprentices. Other contracts mostly do specify the age, but some are faded therefore it is not possible to read them. Nevertheless, based on the comparative analysis of contracts, it can be concluded that apprentices' age was from seven years old onwards, most of them approximately at the age of fourteen (listed in Table 2).

¹⁰⁴ Birin, SB: BV, 65-66, 112-113, 118-119, 136, 150-151, 155-156, 204-205, 245-245, 254-255, 296-297, 318-319, 326-327.

Birin, SB: JD, 172, 236, 345, 361.

DAZD, SB: AC, **kut. 10**, vol. **I.a**, fol. 39v-40r; vol. **Ic**, fol.71r-71v, fol. 80r-81v, fol. 80r-81v; vol. **I.d**, fol. 100v, fol. 130v-131r; vol. **I.e**, fol.52v-53r, 53r-53v, fol. 53v, fol.74v-75r; vol. **I.g** fol. 180v, fol. 190v-191r; **I.h**, fol. 203r-203v, fol. 205v, fol. 208v-209r, fol. 210r-210v; **vol. Ii**, fol.271r; **kut. 11**, vol.1, fol.209r-209v; vol.4, fol.13v, fol.18v, fol.70v-71r, fol.93r-93v, fol.114v-115r, fol.164r-164v, fol.251v-252r, fol.263v-264r, fol. 281v-282r, fol. 349v-350r; vol.5, fol.37v-38r, fol. fol.38v-39r, fol. 43v, fol. 51v-52r, fol.54r-54v, fol.59r- 59v, fol.77v-78r, fol.93v-94r, fol.135v-136r, fol.146v-147r, fol.153v-153r, fol.160v-161r, fol.164r, fol. 172r-172v, fol. 195r, fol.218v, fol.247r.

DAZD, SB: RF, **kut. 15**, sv. **8/a** fol. 61r, 61'r, fol. 62r, fol. 101r, fol.103r, fol.103v, fol.175r; sv.**8c**, fol. 145r, fol. 178r, fol.180r, fol.182r, fol.184r; sv.**8d**, fol. 7r, 15r, fol.16r, fol37r; sv.**8e**, fol.1r, fol.107r; sv.**8d**, fol.184r, fol.187r.

Ladić, „Na razmeđu,” 84-87.

DAZD, RB: AF, **kut.1**, sv.1, fol. 95, fol.100, sv. 6, fol.2.

| Type of craft | Communal town | N | Duration of apprenticeship | | | Age of an apprentice entering the craft | | |
|---------------|---------------|----|----------------------------|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|
| | | | Median | Min | Max | Median | Min | Max |
| Barber | Rab | 1 | 5 | 5 | 5 | / | / | / |
| Barber | Šibenik | 4 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 15.5 | 14 | 16 |
| Blacksmith | Šibenik | 1 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Carpenter | Šibenik | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Cooper | Rab | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | / | / | / |
| Cooper | Šibenik | 1 | 5 | 5 | 5 | / | / | / |
| Currier | Rab | 1 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Currier | Šibenik | 16 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 16 | 12 | 16 |
| Goldsmith | Šibenik | 1 | 7 | 7 | 7 | / | / | / |
| Shipbuilder | Rab | 8 | 8 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 14 |
| Shipbuilder | Šibenik | 9 | 5.5 | 3 | 8 | 15 | 14 | 16 |
| Shoemaker | Rab | 2 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Shoemaker | Šibenik | 31 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 10 | 16 |
| Stone mason | Rab | 1 | 6 | 6 | 6 | / | / | / |
| Stone mason | Šibenik | 10 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 14 | 12 | 16 |
| Tailor | Šibenik | 10 | 4.5 | 3 | 8 | 13.5 | 9 | 16 |

Table 2: Age of apprentices and duration of apprenticeship in Šibenik and Rab.

At the age of seven, children would enter a new period in the childhood phase, that is, the transition from the first stage of *infantia* to the second stage of *pueritia* or childhood. According to canon law, boys were of legal age from the age of 14 or 16, while girls from the age of 12 or 14, and then the period of *pueritia* would end and would mark the beginning of the third phase in the life of children when boys and girls were separated and they would start education for the future period of adolescence that would last until they become full of age, which is regulated by the laws of each medieval town for itself.¹⁰⁵

Medieval authors, and consequently medievalists, present different views regarding when adolescence ended and *juventus* began. Georges Duby stated that it ended when boys completed knightly training and then became young men when they called themselves *juvenis* and formed a special socio-economic group in which they stayed until they gained marital

¹⁰⁵ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 21 – 31.

status. Dante Alighieri says that the age of 25 is a termination of youth because then the soul develops completely, and the young ones become independent of the guardian or parents. The law makes the distinction between an adult male and a young man under the law of inheritance. Coming of age did not signify maturity, which especially in Mediterranean families depended on the father's authority and finally, on the length of the father's life. However, regardless of the differences in opinion, it was widely accepted that children are not the property of parents, but that they are entrusted to God and that parents are obliged to care for them, protect them, raise them as good Christians and educate them.¹⁰⁶ According to Gučetić, one of the four laws of parents towards children is the acquisition of knowledge.¹⁰⁷ Children's education is taken care of by the father as a *pater familiae*, the head of the family and his role is to provide the children with a good teacher. For this purpose, children go from home to schools or enter apprenticeships or, in bourgeois noble families, the teacher comes to the house to teach children.¹⁰⁸ The family represented a certain guarantee of social security. By giving the child to a master to apprenticeship, the parent ensured that the child would have this security.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Marija Karbić, "Položaj djeteta u srednjovjekovnom društvu" [Position of a child in medieval society], *Zbornik predavanja održanih tijekom Branimirove godine u arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu povodom 1130. obljetnice od godine uklesane uz ime kneza Branimira na oltarnu gredu iz Gornjeg Muća* ed. Maja Bunčić – Anita Dugonjić, 82-89 (Zagreb: Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu 2019), 83.

¹⁰⁷ Nikola Gučetić, *Upravljanje obitelji* [Managing a family] (Zagreb: Biblioteka Scopus, 1998), 167 – 169.

¹⁰⁸ James Bruce Ross, "Middle-class Child in Urban Italy (14th to Early 16th Century)," *Lucius* 6 - 7 (2005): 280 - 298.

¹⁰⁹ Mirna Tomašević, "Obitelj i djeca u Statutu Dubrovačke Republike: osvrt na čedomorstvo, napuštanje i posvojenje djece," [Family and Children in the Statute of the Republic of Dubrovnik: review on child infanticide, abandonment and adoption], *Pravnik*, vol. 47, br. 95 (2015): 77.

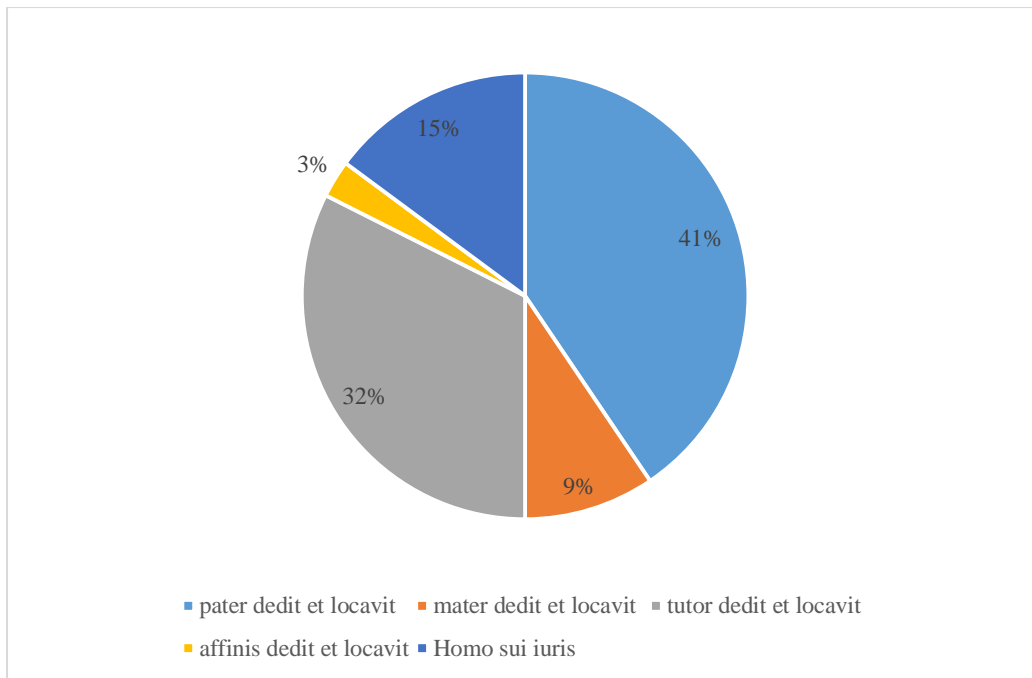


Figure 1: Pie chart showing who made an apprenticeship contract in Šibenik and Rab per percentage.

According to the apprenticeship contracts, one can distinguish when a father¹¹⁰ or mother,¹¹¹ or a guardian (brother or father's brother),¹¹² gave (*dedit et locavit*) a boy into an apprenticeship. In eleven contracts *homines sui iuris* gave themselves into an apprenticeship.¹¹³ It is visible that in two contracts a father-in-law gave his son-in-law into an apprenticeship (*affinis suus*).¹¹⁴ These two examples clearly show how a power of a father over his son was passed to a father-in-law because the boys were still not of full age. They also indicate that it was probably a marriage out of benefit, a contracted marriage since the bride and the groom were not of full age and could not make a marriage contract themselves.

¹¹⁰ Birin, SB: BV, 112, 118, 119, 155, 204; DAZD, SB: AC, kut. 10, sv. **Ic**, fol.71r-71v, fol. 80r-81v, fol. 90r-90v, fol. 90r-90v; sv.**I.d**, fol. 130v-131r, fol. 100v; **I.h**, fol. 208v-209r, fol. 210r-210v; **I.i**, fol.271; kut **11**, sv.**1**, fol.209r.-209v; sv.**4**, fol 18v, 263v-264r; sv.**5**, 38v-39r, fol.146v-147r, fol.172r-172v; DAZD, SB: RF, kut. 15, sv. 8a, fol.61, fol.61', sv.8b, fol.103r, fol.103r', sv8c, fol.145r, fol.182r, fol. 184r, sv8d, fol. 37r, sv.8g, fol. 187r, DAZD, RB: AF, kut.1, sv.1, fol. 95, fol.100, fol. 17a, fol. 35a

¹¹¹ SB: BV, 65, 150, SB: JD, 361; DAZD, SB: AC, kut.10, sv. **Ie**, fol. 52v-53r; **I.h**, fol. 205v; kut.**11**, sv.**4**, fol.114v-115r, 251v-252r RB: AF, kut. 2, sv. 11, fol.8.

¹¹² DAZD, SB: BV, 150, SB: JD, 345, 236; DAZD, SB: AC, kut. 10, vol. 10.**I.a**, fol. 39v-40r; **I.e**, fol.74v-75r; **I.g** fol. 190r-191v; **I.h**, fol. 203r-203v; kut. **11**, sv. **4**, fol.13v, fol.70v-71r, fol.93r-93v, 164r-164v, 281v-282r, 349v-350r, sv.**5**, fol.37v-38r, fol.43v, fol. 160v-161r, fol.218v; DAZD, SB: RF, kut. 15, sv. 8a, fol. 101r, 61r, fol.62r, sv8c, fol.182r, sv.8d, fol.16r, sv8d, fol.107r, sv8g, fol.187r.

¹¹³ DAZD, SB: AC, kut. 10, vol. **Ie**, fol. 53r-53v, fol 53v, sv. **I.g** fol. 180v, sv.**5**, fol.51v-52r, fol.54r-54v, fol. 77v-78r, fol.93v-94r, fol.153v-153r, fol.164r, fol.195r, fol. 247r,

¹¹⁴ Birin, SB: BV, 135, 296; DAZD, SB: RF, kut. 15, sv. 8a.

They will also not have shared the same house till the groom finished his apprenticeship. Another fact is visible from these contracts and that was caring of a father for the future of his daughter, by checking that she would have a skilled husband being able to provide them good future after he mastered the craft in which he was given to apprenticeship.

The statute of Rab prescribed that, if a boy was not fourteen years old, he could not represent himself or enter a legal contract, equally no woman before she reached the age of twelve could make a will about her goods.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the statute of Šibenik prescribed two years longer for boys being of full age, prescribing that, if a boy was not sixteen years old, he could not do the aforementioned acts, meaning that, when he reached the age of sixteen years, he became *homo sui juris*, of full age. Equally, no woman before she reached the age of fourteen could make a will about her goods in Šibenik.¹¹⁶ Those two-year differences may indicate a bigger need for a workforce on the island of Rab, compared to Šibenik, where a workforce from the hinterland was available. It could also indicate the preference of the workforce to live and work in the city on the mainland, not on the island. In 15% of the analyzed cases, a boy as *homo sui juris et etatis legitime* (of full age) entered an apprenticeship and made a contract himself (*dedit et locavit se*).¹¹⁷ Further analysis of those contracts will be done in the next chapter about the duration of the apprenticeship.

If they could not make a will, boys could not make an apprenticeship contract either and all decisions were made in their place by their parents or guardians when the child was orphaned.¹¹⁸ Given the beginning of sexual maturity and the need to start education, it could be assumed that all boys in the analyzed contracts in which the age is not stated, were certainly under the age of 14 in Rab, and under the age of 16 in Šibenik, because someone

¹¹⁵ Margetić – Strčić, *Rapski statut*, 100. – 101.

¹¹⁶ Grubišić - Herkov, *Knjiga statuta*.

¹¹⁷ Birin, SB: BV, 245, 255; id., SB: JD, 172.

¹¹⁸ Ladić, “Na razmeđu,” 76.

made the contract for them.¹¹⁹ The upper age limit by which masters received apprentices was, according to A. Teja, thirty years.¹²⁰ According to the contracts, it is not possible to determine the exact age when apprentices could start their education because it was not legally regulated and there is no visible pattern for any craft indicating the necessary age for entering an apprenticeship.

As for the cases when a mother gave a child to apprenticeship, Shahar underlays the problem of psychological consequences left behind by separation. Given that there could have been a huge age difference between fathers and sons, many fathers did not meet the age at which the child left home, and due to the lack of a father, the mother was forced to give the child into apprenticeship because there was no other choice to prepare him for life, even though she was convinced that the child was suffering. In such families, mothers were placed as protectors who found separation difficult, and Shahar equally points to the growing up of these boys, whose emotional development due to poor or no contact with the parent, except in times of illness, suffered and was not following their age.¹²¹

On the contrary, Herlihy believes that these boys were over-pampered and that there was often excessive mutual dependence between mother and son. There are cases when widows tried to keep their sons as long as possible at home, this being one of the reasons for the postponement of marriage.¹²² According to the statutes of Šibenik, the tutoring role belonged only to men, and women were granted tutor duty only if they became widowed.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Birin, SB: BV, 65; SB: JD, 346, 361.

¹²⁰ A. Teja, *Aspetti de la vita economica di Zara dal 1289 al 1409. Parte III: L'esercizio dele arti e maestri* (Zadar: 1942.), 23 according to Nada Klaić – Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku [Zadar in the Middle Ages]*, (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 465.

¹²¹ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 234.

¹²² Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 228.

¹²³ Grubišić - Herkov, *Knjiga statuta*, 145.

In the Statute of Rab, a woman was legally equally important as a husband, and upon her husband's death, she became the head of the family.¹²⁴

A relatively large number of widows in the contracts indicate the need for existential care to be the main reason for giving a child to a craft master.¹²⁵ Likewise, the relatively large representation of widows in different types of craft contracts could point to the fact that boys who had a father who was a craftsman, learned the craft from him, and therefore there was no need to write a contract about it. An example of a craftsman giving his son to another master is recorded in one contract from Rab, in 1477, where a master shipbuilder gave his son to another master, also a shipbuilder, for an apprenticeship.¹²⁶ Another such example is recorded in Šibenik when a stonemason gave his son as an apprentice to another stonemason for the duration of two years.¹²⁷ In 1470, a tailor gave his younger brother to a currier craft master.¹²⁸ In the last case, the tailor became the custodian of his younger brother, due to their father's death. These examples would confirm that only the exception from the rule is noted. There is only one case in contracts from Šibenik mentioning how one apprentice entered the apprenticeship with a master whose father was also a stonemason¹²⁹ but, there is no saved apprenticeship contract of it.

Nevertheless, there is one peculiar apprenticeship contract from Šibenik in which *Michaelus Clapotich*, a citizen of Šibenik, gave his son *Radoslaus* to his father, a shipbuilder from Trogir.¹³⁰ It shows how a craft is continued within the family, but it is not clear if the craft had been continued for three generations, since the apprentice's father *Michaelus* is only

¹²⁴ Margetić – Strčić, *Rapski statut*, 45.

¹²⁵ Birin, SB: BV, 65, 150, SB: JD, 361; DAZD, SB: AC, kut.10, sv. Ie, fol. 52v-53r; **Lh**, fol. 205v; kut. **11**, sv.4, fol.114v-115r, 251v-252r; DAZD, RB: AF, kut. 2, sv. 11, fol.8.

¹²⁶ Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 85.

¹²⁷ Birin, SB: BV, 155.

¹²⁸ Birin, SB: JD, 345.

¹²⁹ DAZD, SB: RF, sv. 8c, fol. 184r.

¹³⁰ DAZD, SB: AC, 263v-264r.

named as *habitor Sibenici*. Nevertheless, two further destinies are visible from the contract. *Michaelus* was a craftsman's son who, upon emancipation, left his place of origin, and went to live and work in Šibenik, but he gave his son *Radosclaus* to his father, to the city from which he went away. The contract shows how the third generation returned to the city of origin, at least for five years, for the duration of the apprenticeship.

However, only a few cases prevent conclusions in this regard and require further research on a larger number of apprenticeship contracts. Furthermore, in a higher social stratum, it was believed that strangers could better raise a child than their parents, particularly during adolescence, which is the period of apprenticeship. It might be assumed that some craftsmen believed the same. In that regard, the fourteenth-century Florentine merchant Paolo of Certaldo advised: "If you have a son who does nothing good...deliver him into the hands of a merchant who will send him to another country. Or send him yourself to one of your close friends...Nothing else can be done. While he remains with you, he will not mend his ways."¹³¹ Therefore, it is still questionable how many children studied the craft with their fathers, and how many fathers found it to be better for a child to send him away to study the same craft with another master.

What is evident from the example of a tutor giving a child into an apprenticeship, is the care of the city for the child, that after the death of the parents, the children were never left alone, but the municipality appointed guardians who were responsible for their property and upbringing.¹³² It is important to distinguish one clause about the rights of a tutor in Rab, which is the fact that he had the right over only one-quarter of the apprentice's *acquis*, which is an attempt to restrict tutor rights, as in other communal towns the tutor had right over

¹³¹ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 237.

¹³² Tomašević, "Obitelj i djeca," 78

everything an apprentice gained during an apprenticeship.¹³³ This is another example that confirms, that from birth to independence, children were legally protected throughout the eastern Adriatic by providing them with basic material care, regardless of their legal status.¹³⁴

Since there is no pattern in stating the age of the boys, it is difficult to explicitly determine exactly what age the boy should have reached to start an apprenticeship in a particular craft profession. However, it could be assumed that in the period of fifteenth century there was no exact age at which one could begin to study a craft in Šibenik or Rab or other Dalmatian communal towns. For comparison, the age of apprentices is mentioned in a study done by Andrić in 2011 in only 33 of the 88 preserved and analyzed fifteenth-century apprenticeship contracts in Split. These notary records indicate that boys entered service between the ages of ten and sixteen, with the most fourteen-year-old ones in the analyzed contracts, and therefore this age between ten and sixteen could be accepted as the usual age at which apprenticeship began.¹³⁵ The material from Šibenik and Rab shows a similar trend (see Table 2).

Personal assessment of parents or guardians and masters on physical fitness and motor skills of the child was crucial for entering the apprenticeship.¹³⁶ It should also be borne in mind that some children were sent to be craft apprentices to provide them with better living conditions, which could have been one of the main reasons for the placement of the child in apprenticeship.¹³⁷

Upon completing an apprenticeship, the boys would become journeymen, and could marry, and only after the end of the *pueritia* period would they receive legal responsibility

¹³³ Margetić – Strčić, *Rapski statut*, 47.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 132.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 134.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 132.

and be able to open their craft if financially possible. From the processed notary records and the statute, this legal continuation of the life of the young man, independent from the father and master craftsman, is visible.

It should be borne in mind that ending childhood and gaining the age of a boy at the age of fourteen did not always mean that he was automatically equated in all other social and legal aspects with adults. This is especially evident in the statute of Rijeka in a clause stating how ending the childhood period and getting the right to create a will did not mean that a boy was of full age. He would only be considered so at the age of eighteen years, when being able to participate in a law trial, even then only if he had a guardian.¹³⁸ The statute of the city of Poreč prescribes in detail if he did not have a guardian, then only by reaching the age of 25 he could represent himself in the courthouse.¹³⁹ This is also evidenced by the reference in the Trogir statute *De quanta etate esse testis*, which states that no person under the age of sixteen could be a witness in civil lawsuits.¹⁴⁰ This is also supported by the example of the Pag statute from 1433, which states that a person under the age of 25 could not be appointed as a utility judge.¹⁴¹ These examples show that the path to a legally and socially fully mature and responsible person in the communal societies of the eastern Adriatic was very gradual.¹⁴²

According to Ladić, the greatest role in determining the duration of childhood, the beginning and end of an apprenticeship, and coming of age in the eastern Adriatic towns and communal statutes was determined by the sexual and reproductive maturity of boys entering an apprenticeship. Namely, the existential instinct of the community for continuous

¹³⁸ Zlatko Herkov, *Statut grada Rijeke*, 145.

¹³⁹ Mirko Zjačić, *Statut grada Poreča iz 1369. godine* [Statute of Poreč from 1369.], 100 – 101.

¹⁴⁰ Ladić, “Na razmeđu,” 74 – 75.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., according to Dalibor Čepulo (ed.), *Statut grada Paga* [*Statute of Pag*] (Pag: Matica Hrvatska Pag - Sveučilište u Zagrebu: Pravni fakultet, 2011), 47.

https://www.pravo.unizg.hr/_download/repository/Pravna_bastina_i_drustveno_okruzenje_Paskog_statuta_Dalibor_Cepulo.pdf (accessed 27.03.2021).

¹⁴² Ladić, “Na razmeđu,” 75.

maintenance of its traditional, social, and economic role played the greatest role in the legal determination of adulthood.¹⁴³ “This could only be accomplished by procreation.”¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, it is necessary to observe the issue of craft apprentices who entered an apprenticeship at the beginning of childhood and ended it when they came of age to start a family.¹⁴⁵

In addition to the notary records, children are also observable in archaeology, although in foreign research, so archaeological evidence of apprentices can be differentiated from the work of masters according to some characteristics. For example, standardization in the final production of a product is an indicative example of the expertise of the person who created the product, and, on this basis, archaeologists conclude that it can be very well distinguished whether the product found at an archeological site as part of a craft workshop is the work of a master or an apprentice. Also, the master craftsman will use a better type of raw material to make the product. After all, the level of his skill is high enough to go into the risk of shaping expensive raw materials, which will certainly not be given to an apprentice, because the apprentice must learn the proper way of manufacture. Therefore, at archeological sites, one can find visible skipped steps in the process of manufacture that are prescribed to an apprentice.¹⁴⁶

Through an interdisciplinary approach in archaeology, in 1999 Patricia Crown linked the psychological development of children with the archaeological products of their work. She concluded that certain types of errors are directly related to children’s cognitive development and not to a lack of experience or expertise. This knowledge helped to distinguish between those apprentices who were old enough and who had fully developed

¹⁴³ Ibid., 77-78.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 78.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Baxter, “The Archeology of Childhood,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* No. 37 (2008): 167.

cognitive skills, unlike younger children whose cognitive skills are still developing. Focusing on ceramics, Crown was able to identify unprofessionally made products, thus discovering how differences in symmetry show the different ages of children, which she divided into two groups. Those from children of four to six years of age are works which were made by children playing, and those from nine to twelve years of age, whose works are more precise, are products of apprentices.¹⁴⁷

In 2002, Elizabeth Bagwell, based on the work of Patricia Crown, researched the ability to distinguish two-dimensional and three-dimensional space in children. Thus, on 78 miniature vessels found in the village of Pecos Pueblo in New Mexico, she analyzed variables in construction techniques, construction standardization, and symmetry that differed from larger vessels of the same collection. Based on these differences vessels of simpler construction were identified as children's and apprentices' products.¹⁴⁸

Another technique used to identify apprentices is to analyze fingerprints on clay products and miniature vessels. The smaller and simpler-made products are associated with children's production in the context of a game in which children made craft products by imitating the master. By doing so they were culturally assimilated into a future occupation. These products may also testify to the early age of children received in apprenticeships.¹⁴⁹ Due to biological development, children have smaller hands as opposed to adults and diminished fine manual work skills that prevent direct imitation of an adult master.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. according to Patricia L. Crown, "Socialization in American southwest pottery decoration," in *Pottery and People: A Dynamic Interaction*, ed. J. Skibo, G. Freinman, 25-43 (Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 2000).

¹⁴⁸ Baxter, "The Archeology of Childhood," 168, according to Elizabeth Bagwel, "Ceramic form and skill: attempting to identify child producers at Pacos Pueblo - New Mexico," in *Children in the Prehistoric Puebloan Southwest*, ed. K. A. Camp, 90-107 (Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 2002).

¹⁴⁹ Baxter, "The Archeology of Childhood," 168.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

These interdisciplinary examples from philosophy, historiography, and archaeology, enriched with knowledge of psychology show that an interdisciplinary approach uniquely contributes to the understanding of past societies¹⁵¹ and is the basis on which further research should be conducted in historical research. However, the problem we encounter when trying to do such interdisciplinary research in Croatian historiography according to the above examples is that one does not have preserved or, at least, so far analyzed material sources in archaeology where some clues about apprenticeship could be found.¹⁵² Nevertheless, the rules of the psychological development of children can be related to the duration of the apprenticeship, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Likewise, the attitude of medieval society towards children can be related to the philosophical reflections of that time in the spirit of Christianity in the observed area, which is manifested in the above examples of contemporaries' views on the concept of childhood and the care of the communal town and family for their children.

Section 2.2 Duration of apprenticeships in Rab and Šibenik

Unlike the age of entry into service, apprenticeship contracts always determine the duration of apprenticeships (see Table 2), although it was not legally regulated in either Rab or Šibenik nor in other Dalmatian communal towns. For example, the statute from Rab has no remarks on craftsmanship, and the Statute of Šibenik also, showing that the councilors who voted for statutes and reformations, were not interested in relations between craftsmen and

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 172.

¹⁵² Croatian archaeology on the issue of medieval childhood is only based on remains of children's graves around sacral places. They provide information about the customs and rituals of burying children in context with the notion of social identity of the child as a full member of the Christian community based on the location of the excavation. More detailed information is provided by research conducted for the early modern age. More in Tatjana Tkalčec, "Odabir mjesta za pokop djece u novom vijeku na primjeru Crkvara kod Orahovice" [Choosing a place to bury children in the New Age on the example of Crkvar near Orahovica], *Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici*, vol. 4 (2016): 161-201.

people who entered employment with them. Craftsmen, masters, assistants, and servants were left to resolve the issues of common obligations by their agreement.¹⁵³

According to the data preserved in apprenticeship contracts, the average length of education of a craft apprentice can be determined. Based on the notary records of the fourteenth century, Nada Klaić and Ivo Petrocioli were the first in Croatian historiography to do a systematic and statistical study about the duration of apprenticeships, and in their book *Zadar in the Middle Ages*,¹⁵⁴ one can find how they calculated the time of apprenticeships for the most important craft professions as follows in Table 3.

| | Craft | Duration of the apprenticeship |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | Barbers (<i>barbitonsores</i>) | 2-8 years |
| 2. | Blacksmiths (<i>ars fabrili</i>) | 3-4 years |
| 3. | Boilermakers (<i>ars caldarie</i>) | 1-6 years |
| 4. | Construction profession, especially masonry and stonemasonry (<i>ars murarie; ars murarii; ars incidendi et fabricandi lapides</i>) | 3-10 years |
| 5. | Coopers (<i>ars botarie</i>) | 8 years |
| 6. | Goldsmiths (<i>ars aurificaria</i>) | 2-8 years |
| 7. | Leather production (<i>ars pelliparie</i>) ¹⁵⁵ | 3-8 years |
| 8. | Maritime affairs (<i>ars marinarie</i>) | 2-5 years |
| 9. | Notaries(<i>notarii</i>) | 12 years |
| 10. | Oar makers (<i>ars remarie</i>) | 5-9 years |
| 11. | Pharmacy (<i>ars speciarie</i>) | 5-10 years |
| 12. | Production of bows and ballistae (<i>ars arcorum et balistarum</i>) | 3-6 years |
| 13. | Shoemakers (<i>ars calegarie, sutorie</i>) | 3-10 years |
| 14. | Tailors (<i>ars sartorie</i>) | 3-7 years; |
| 15. | Textile trade (<i>ars drapparie, drapparii</i>) | 3-10 years |
| 16. | Trade profession (<i>merçarii, ars merçarie, especially ars mercante in panni i.e., bakers</i>) | 5-10 years |
| 17. | Woodworkers and shipbuilders (<i>ars marangonie, calafadie</i>) | 3-8 years |

Table 3: Type of craft and the duration of apprenticeship in years in Zadar

Based on the analysis of apprenticeship contracts in Šibenik and Rab, by comparing means from Table 2, using independent t-test analysis on the duration of the apprenticeship

¹⁵³ Klaić – Petrocioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 464 – 465.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 465 – 466.

¹⁵⁵ In Dubrovnik, in the 13th century, there is a difference between two professions, *pelliparii*, the ones who prepare and sell skin while *pillicarii* are the ones who sell furs. Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 87.

and the age of an apprentice entering the craft, the duration of the commitments is as follows (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

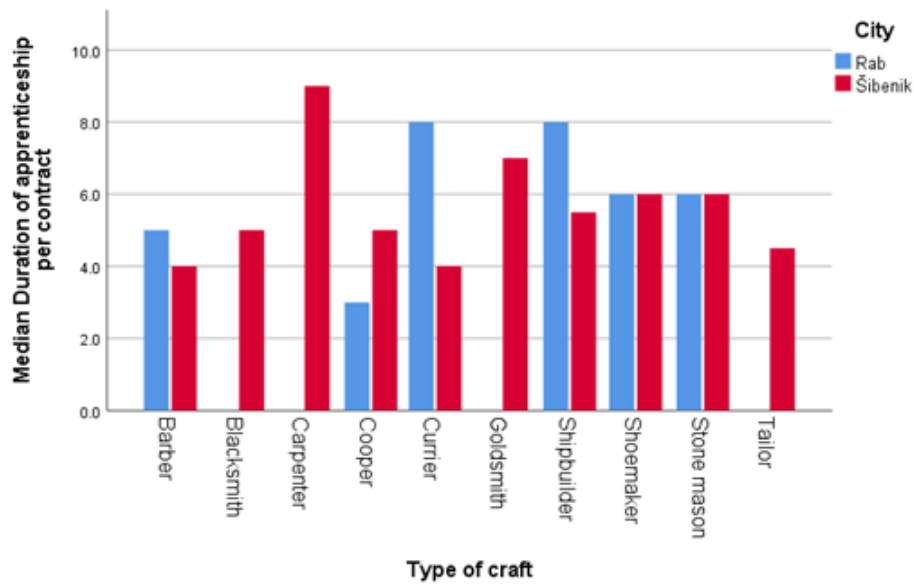


Figure 2: Clustered bar median on the duration of apprenticeship per contract by type of craft per city

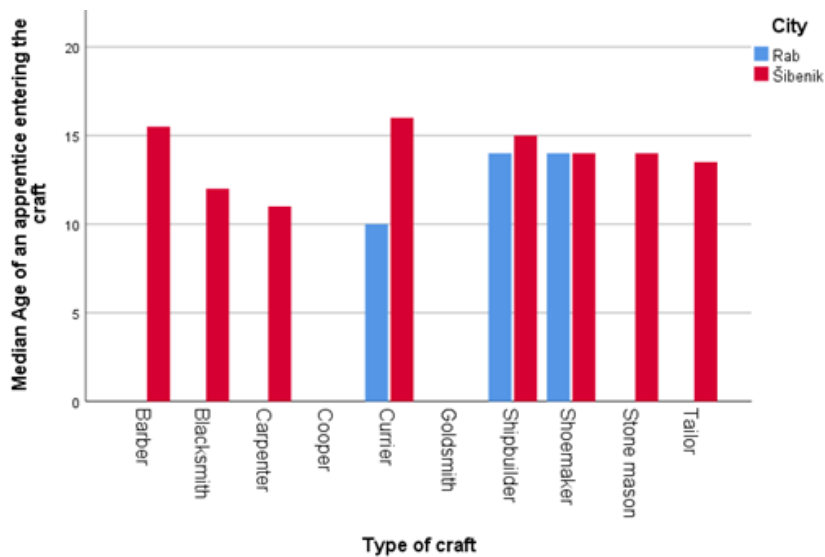


Figure 3: Clustered bar median on the age of an apprentice entering a craft per contract by type of craft per city

This study found that neither the duration of apprenticeship in Šibenik (5.125 ± 1.727) and Rab (7.143 ± 2.268 , $p = .072$) nor the age of an apprentice entering the craft in Šibenik (15 ± 1.0) and Rab (12 ± 3.464 , $p = .106$) were significantly different from each other. Since

the difference in duration between the cities almost reached statistical significance, including more sources, might give further evidence in finding significant differences between these two cities.

By comparison with other communal towns, Rab and Šibenik were no exception regarding the duration of apprenticeships, as the length of apprenticeships in certain craft professions was not the same in all cities, that is, it was not legally regulated. Only in Dubrovnik, it was proscribed that in the cloth-making craft, apprentices under the age of 18 should not be taken into an apprenticeship for a period of fewer than four years.¹⁵⁶ Since it was the craft that brought Dubrovnik the greatest profit, the Republic regulated its business.¹⁵⁷

There is one exceptional case from which it is not understandable for which craft a contract is made. Magister Marcus is the only magister in the analyzed contracts who has two titles, he is *magister murarius et marangonus*.¹⁵⁸ The duration of the apprenticeship with him is six years, but it is unclear whether it is for the stone mason craft, or carpentry, or both.

The comparison of the sources from the period I deal with indicates that masters engaged in the same craft did not always teach their apprentices equally. For example, based on Table 2, for the shoemaker craft, for which there are the most concluded contracts because shoemakers were like in other Dalmatian communal towns the most numerous group of craftsmen, the duration of a contract varies between three and seven years. The range for tailor apprentices also varies between three and seven years, the same is valid for curriers, while ship builders make contracts from three to nine years. As a rule, no craft can normally be rounded off by only one exact number of years, which is confirmed by comparison with

¹⁵⁶ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 133.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 132-133 according to Roller, *Dubrovački zanati* [Dubrovnik's crafts], 60.

¹⁵⁸ DAZD, RB: MM, kut. 4, sv. 4, fol. 193.

other cities, in which the duration of apprenticeships was also unevenly defined; for example, the apprenticeship for a shoemaker in Split lasted from three to seven years,¹⁵⁹ while the same in Florence lasted only three years.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, one can only talk about the upper limit of the duration of apprenticeships, which, following the city statute, would be the acquisition of maturity age.¹⁶¹

The undefined duration of apprenticeship raises the question of what influenced the master's decision on the length of training of an apprentice. Although the contracts do not specify the age of apprentices, it could be assumed that younger boys stayed longer in training with the master. Also, in addition to the age of the apprentice, the decision could have been influenced by the personal assessment of the master on the physical and intellectual abilities of the boys.¹⁶² Furthermore, one might wonder whether it really took so long to acquire certain skills, or whether craft masters deliberately excluded young people from the modern vocabulary of the race for survival in the labor market within the communal town. Did independent masters provide themselves with a low-paid workforce through extended study time?¹⁶³

Based on the assumption that children of younger age had longer apprenticeship contracts, a Spearman's correlation was run to determine the relationship between the duration of the apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft in Šibenik and Rab. There is a strong, negative correlation between the duration of apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft, which reached statistical significance ($r_s(47) = -0.639, p < .0005$), as seen in Figure 4.

¹⁵⁹ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 133.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 134.

¹⁶¹ Margetić – Strčić, *Rapski statut*, 100. – 101.

¹⁶² Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 134.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

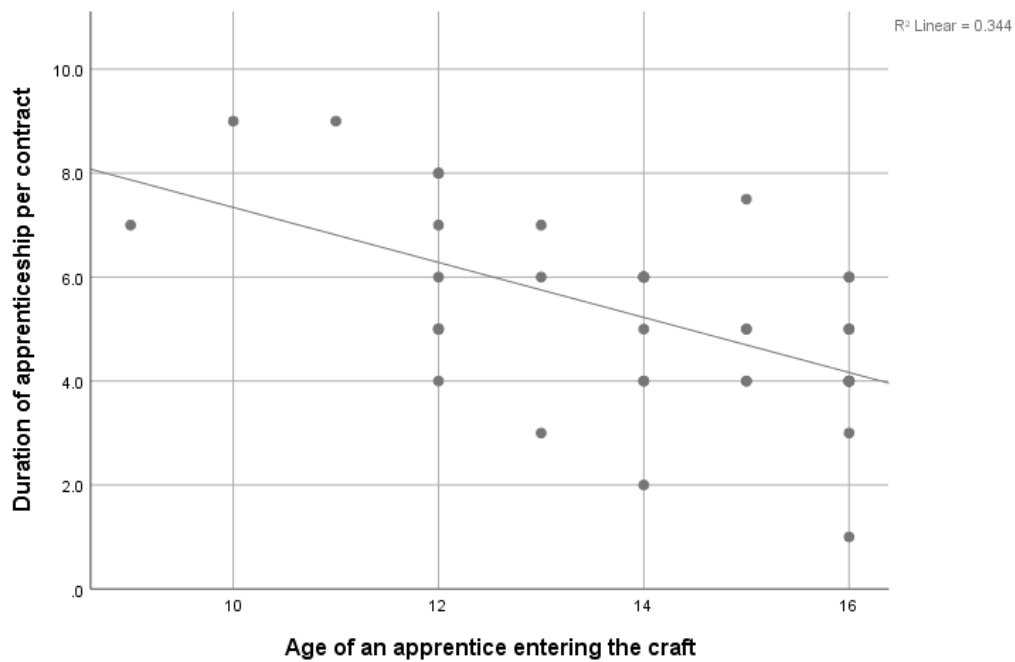


Figure 4: Simple scatter of duration of apprenticeship per contract by age of an apprentice entering the craft.

Perica Vujić states that it was in the interest of craft masters to keep the boys the longest possible as apprentices because they did not have to pay them, and the boys managed to master the craft after three years, so the remaining years would have been unnecessary.¹⁶⁴ Undoubtedly, some crafts required more time to study, depending on their complexity and the nature of the work itself.¹⁶⁵

Speaking about the length of apprenticeships in terms of exploiting apprentices, the auxiliary workforce should not be forgotten, as it also appears in contracts. Masters would make contracts with already learned individuals if they needed help in the workshop and they would pay a certain salary for their work.¹⁶⁶ Thus, at the same time, a rent worker and an apprentice could be found in some workshops, as seen in two contracts from Trogir.¹⁶⁷ Such

¹⁶⁴ Petrica Vujić, “Dubrovačko (ne)prihvatanje stranaca” [Dubrovnik’s (in)acceptance of foreigners]. *Rostra, Časopis studenata povijesti Sveučilišta u Zadru*, vol. 3. no. 3. (2010): 19-38, 28.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Andrić, “Položaj obrtničkih naučnika,” 142-143.

¹⁶⁷ MSHSM vol. 44, ug. br. 142, 68 – 69; ug. br. 179, 85 – 86.

an agreement mostly benefited the master the most, because one of the workers did not have to be paid.

Late medieval sources talk about the restriction by fraternities on the duration of apprenticeship. For example, Dubrovnik's fraternity of scratchers (scratching, i.e., combing raw wool before weaving) determined under the threat of a monetary fine that their apprentices should not be taken for a period of fewer than 2 years, while the tailor's fraternity limited this period to 6 years.¹⁶⁸ Accordingly, it could be concluded that after all, the length of the service depended on the agreement between the master and the parents/guardians of the boy who entered the service¹⁶⁹ or on existential reasons, as previously stated. Boys who did not have a father were given to a master at a younger age. Parents who gave the child for a long term were poorer and ensured the existence of their child together with the teaching of the craft profession for a longer time.¹⁷⁰

Ladić distinguishes one phenomenon regarding the duration of apprenticeships of full-age men and younger boys. which occurred because of the Ottoman invasion in the hinterland. In four contracts from Šibenik, analyzed by Ladić, apprentices are males of full age (*aetas legitime annorum sexdecim*).¹⁷¹ As full age men and being refugees from the Ottomans from Šibenik hinterland, they had a shorter apprenticeship time. Zrinka Nikolić also brings information about an apprentice *Alegretus* who came to Šibenik from Jajce in Bosnia, as a refugee from the Ottomans.¹⁷²

This indicates the need to consider the circumstances of concluding contracts that were dictated by the chaotic situation caused by the Ottoman invasion. Maybe, parents from

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 135 according to Roller, *Dubrovački zanati*, 70, 73, 75-77.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Lucić, *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku*, 74.

¹⁷¹ Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 92.

¹⁷² Nikolić Jakus, "Ramljaci i Bosanci," 361.

the hinterland gave their sons to a craftsman from communal towns because their fields were burned, looted, or destroyed. This way, the parents showed love and care for their sons, to whom they ensured survival by moving them from the dangerous district area and sending them to safety, to a city protected by walls and a military crew.¹⁷³ Besides the four contracts analyzed by Ladić to confirm this phenomenon, I have found three more contracts from Šibenik indicating the same happening. Those contracts are recognizable by two differences from the contracts of underage boys. In these contracts, *homo sui juris*, a man of full age, *habitor* from the hinterland (*Nicolaus Ratchouich de Luca de villa Srapalgli districtus banatus Croatie*, *Blasius Vuchoslauilich de villa Do districtus Corni Croatie*, *Georgius Iurchouich de Charuatea*) gives himself into an apprenticeship.¹⁷⁴ The second difference is the shorter duration of the apprenticeship, the longest time is five years, as it is assumed that an older man will easily and faster gain the necessary craft skills in comparison with young boys whose motor skills are still developing. These are examples of one more aspect on which one can analyze apprenticeship contracts, that is, the influence of negative military-political circumstances on the apprentices' everyday life.

There were cases when the service was terminated even before the expiry of the agreed deadline. For example, a stonemason apprentice *Petrus* did not want to continue working for his master, for no mentioned reason. The master was willing to liberate him from the service even though the arranged time of six years for the apprenticeship was not fulfilled. The only condition of liberation from the commitment were two clauses, the first one forbidding *Petrus* to work for any other master in the city, but he was generally free to do stonemason craft on his own. The second clause, however, forbade *Petrus* to return to the city to work in the stonemason craft for four years and three months, being the time left following

¹⁷³ Ibid., 91 – 93.

¹⁷⁴ Birin, SB: BV, 245, 255; SB: JD, 172.

the contract if it would not have been terminated.¹⁷⁵ What the reason for the termination of the contract was stayed unanswered.

Besides this case of agreed termination of the contract, it happened also that the contract was considered annulled in the event of the departure of the master from the communal town, I have, however, not found any such example in the notary records from Rab or Šibenik. If one goes back to the provisions of the statute of Rab, one can find a law saying that it is not allowed to take away from the island someone's servant, maid, auxiliary labor force, or apprentice without the permission of the owner of that person or the permission of the city council.¹⁷⁶ Since only a few cases witness contract termination, it could be assumed that switching masters, or interrupting a contract seems to have been relatively uncommon in the analyzed apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik and Rab.

Furthermore, in a wish to avoid court costs for ending an apprenticeship, when a master and apprentice jointly agreed to end a contract, there was no need for legal intervention.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, it could also be one of the reasons why termination of a contract is rarely traced in analyzed notary records.

According to notary records from other Dalmatian communal towns, it is known that sometimes there was a possibility of extending the contract. In 2011, a study by Andrić recorded one case of extending a stonemason's apprenticeship contract for another three years.¹⁷⁸ I have not found such an example in the analyzed apprenticeship contracts from Rab or Šibenik. The only example of some kind of extension of an apprenticeship contract, but with another master, is the contract of *Iohannes filius quondam Mathei Valentich de Laualle*,

¹⁷⁵ Birin, SB: BV, 119-120.

¹⁷⁶ Margetić - Strčić, *Statut Rapske Komune*, 153.

¹⁷⁷ Patrick Wallis, "Apprenticeship and training in premodern England," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 68, No. 3 (2008): 832-861, 844.

¹⁷⁸ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 135-136.

who was an eight-year-old orphan and was first given by his tutor into an eight-year apprenticeship with a shipbuilder master *Georgius*. Upon finishing the contract, as he became of full age (*etatis legitime*) he gave himself into apprenticeship with a master *Nicolaus* for the duration of six years.¹⁷⁹

Section 2.3 Obligations of apprentices and craftsmen

It is very characteristic that the statute of Šibenik as well as the statute of Zadar, which are very similar almost like a copy of each other, do not deal with the problems of craft production at all. A few scattered chapters prove that the organization of working production was left to the masters themselves and their assistants, apprentices, and servants, or that the issues of common obligations should be solved by the same custom or contract. Accordingly, it follows that there was no interest from the commune for obligations or the relationship between masters and persons entering employment with them.¹⁸⁰ If we draw parallels of similarity regarding the statutes of other Dalmatian communal towns, the same is to be found in each statute.

More information about each other's obligations gives us an analysis of apprentices' contracts that tell us about how the masters should deal with the apprentices and vice versa. The obligations are predominantly the same in all analyzed contracts because the latter are predominantly uniform in terms of content and style. The duration of the commitment is stated at the beginning of the contracts, followed by the mutual obligations. The apprentices always come first, then the masters. It is stated that an apprentice must respect the master, and obey him and his family, take care of his goods, be loyal, and should not steal from the

¹⁷⁹ Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 85-86.

¹⁸⁰ Klaić – Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 464. - 465.

master. The master must take care of the apprentice's clothes, food and give him a place to stay. The master also promises that he must take care of the apprentice if he gets sick. Everything is concluded with the promise that the master will teach the boy a good trade, and with a mutual promise of respecting the obligations from the contract. If a master or an apprentice does not fulfill what is promised in the contract, they must pay a penalty. In each contract from Šibenik, the punishment for breach of contract is 25 Venetian *librae* which testify that there was a rule for the notary on making a contract that was followed. As for the apprentice, the penalty must be paid by the person giving him into apprenticeship.¹⁸¹

Besides the masters' obligation of feeding and clothing ab apprentice and assuring a place to live for him, which is mention in each analyzed contract, Shahar stated that besides training the apprentices for future occupation, a master passed over craftsmen's class and ethos values, such as economic success and fair play in financial dealings, family honor, loyalty to the secular corporation, namely to the town, and readiness to fulfill various functions within its framework; piety, which encompassed fidelity and veneration of the patron saints of the town and the guild, acts of charity and relief; as well as identification with the urban culture.¹⁸²

Based on the comparison of the contracts with contracts from the thirteenth century, namely with contracts from Trogir which are the oldest preserved ones for Dalmatian communal towns, a large difference in salary is visible, that is, apprentices' severance package upon completion of the apprenticeship. Namely, for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is very small. If there is one at all, then it is not expressed in money, but a working tool is considered as a gift that an apprentice gets upon finishing the apprenticeship. Only in five from 33 apprenticeship contracts from Trogir in total which I have analyzed an

¹⁸¹ Birin, SB: JD, 361-362, exemplary contract.

¹⁸² Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 228.

apprentice gets a working tool upon finishing the craft. Those lucky apprentices are only four out of fifteen shoemakers and one tanner.¹⁸³

Based on the analysis of the contracts from Šibenik, in the fifteenth century, every apprentice, regardless of the craft, besides the knowledge of it, must also receive a working tool, which was *secundum consuetudinem Sibenici*.¹⁸⁴ In addition, stonemasons' apprentices were the only ones who got severance pay in money as well, for example, one apprentice got seven golden ducats.¹⁸⁵

As for severance packages in other communal towns, in Split, a significantly small number of apprentices received money, in Rijeka, about eighty percent of the apprentices received only money or money with tools at the end of the apprenticeship,¹⁸⁶ while in Zadar in most cases the master gave *utensilia artis* to the apprentice. Only in professions that do not have tools, such as trade, according to Klaić and Petricioli, the master sometimes gave some money to the apprentice. For example, the trader Toma was obliged to pay six Venetian pennies to an apprentice Ivan after six years of fulfilling the promise of standing, working, guarding, selling, trading in and out of the shop, and working in and out of the shopkeeper's house.¹⁸⁷ The severance package, as Klaić and Petricioli state, probably depended on the demand for labor in the craft in question: where the demand was higher, the salary and the severance pay were also higher.¹⁸⁸

Finally, it could be assumed that the representatives of nobler businesses such as goldsmiths, could give a higher severance package, namely in money, upon completion of the

¹⁸³ MSHSM, vol. 44, 36, 41, 88, 239; MSHSM, vol. 45, 176, 85-86.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Birin, SB: BV, 92-93.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 137, according to Kosanović "Obrtnički šegrti," 56.

¹⁸⁷ Klaić – Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 468.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

apprentice's contract. After all, the respectability of goldsmiths among craftsmen is evidenced by the fact that already in the thirteenth century, in the city of Zadar, they had their street *contrata aurificum* which was in the center of the city near today's People's Square (Narodni trg).¹⁸⁹ However, one contract from Šibenik testifies that there was no difference in goldsmiths' apprentices' severance pay, as it is not expressed in money but, like in all other contracts except stonemasons, in clothing and a working tool.¹⁹⁰

This development to larger severance packages may perhaps also speak to the lower number of children in the family, that is, child mortality due to plague in the later period, which is why the demand for individual apprentices became higher, in parallel with a higher salary and larger severance packages. In general, severance pay upon finishing the apprenticeship was not legally regulated as it is visible from the statutes and seems to have depended solely on the goodwill and material condition of the master.¹⁹¹

The terms used in the contracts to describe the obligations of the master and the apprentice are reminiscent of those that could be described as the duties of parents towards children and vice versa; sometimes it is even explicitly mentioned like that.¹⁹² For example, the Dubrovnik statute states that the duty of parents towards their children is to provide them with appropriate clothing; this duty is handed down from father to master.¹⁹³ In the same way, also the duty of children towards parents is obedience, respect, and care in old age.¹⁹⁴ Except for the last, respect and obedience in apprenticeship contracts are transferred from father to master: it is the obligation of the apprentice to respect the master, to listen to him, and to be submissive to him. As a contribution to this, Gučetić stated that from birth to the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 460.

¹⁹⁰ DAZD, SB: AC, kut.11, sv.4, fol.93r-93v.

¹⁹¹ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 138.

¹⁹² Karbić, "Položaj djeteta," 87.

¹⁹³ Križman - Kolanović, *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, Knjiga IV, Glava XLIV.

¹⁹⁴ Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 106-107.

age of seven, the most insisted was that the parent teaches his child to respect him or her, even to the point of calling the father a “master”, while after the age of seven, the most important duty of the parents became to set the child to knowledge, that is, to educate him with good skills.

Section 2.4 The relationship between apprentices and craft masters

By entering the service, the craftsman’s apprentice spent most of his time with the master. What did this cohabitation look like? Did one side benefit more from that relationship? Was the relationship strictly business or was there mutual trust and respect and a certain degree of closeness in which a young apprentice was considered as part of the family, did respect and trust develop between them? ¹⁹⁵ Since apprentices were accepted into the master’s family, the same rules of conduct were valid for them as for the other family members. ¹⁹⁶ From the insufficient data of apprenticeship contracts, it is not possible to describe the emotional relationship between masters and apprentices, but it is possible to describe some situations from their daily lives. ¹⁹⁷

In some Dalmatian communal towns, apprenticeship contracts contain special clauses forbidding apprentices to steal from masters or running away from work. ¹⁹⁸ In all contracts from Rab and Šibenik, I found the same clause, which says that if an apprentice escapes from a master, steals some goods from him or makes some damage, those who have made the contract with the master, a parent or guardian, are obliged to reimburse the master, that is, they are guarantors for the good behavior of the one they gave into an apprenticeship. Does

¹⁹⁵ Andrić, “Položaj obrtničkih naučnika,” 141.

¹⁹⁶ Fabijanec, “Djeca pod okriljem odraslih,” 143.

¹⁹⁷ Andrić, “Položaj obrtničkih naučnika,” 141.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

the introduction of such prohibitions in contracts indicate the frequency of such behavior? It certainly shows that such a danger existed, and its introduction into almost every contract leads to the conclusion of its frequency.¹⁹⁹ The contracts do not provide information on any other form of punishment for such behavior of the apprentices.

In the contracts from Šibenik, some clauses prohibit masters from beating and humiliating their apprentices, not to force them to work at night, on Sundays and holidays when they themselves did not work.²⁰⁰ The statute of Split also contains a clause prohibiting work at night in craft workshops and shops on Sundays and holidays.²⁰¹

The question is whether the apprentices' misconduct was a response to their mistreatment by the master; or was the master's demands the result of boyish misdeeds, laziness, and petty fraud for which they had to take punitive measures?²⁰² Probably, an affirmative answer is possible in both cases.

By entering apprenticeships, an apprentice became part of the master's household, as the household was the community of people living under the same roof regardless of their kinship. The term encompasses all household members, thus making the apprentice part of the master's family for the duration of the apprenticeship.²⁰³ Janekovic-Römer explicitly states that craft families expanded almost without exception in one particular way, by hiring one or more apprentices who would become members of their household.²⁰⁴ The main word in the house was always led by *pater familias*, the oldest male member of the household whose authority extended to all members of the community. As the medieval family was

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. according to Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 223-225; Kolanović, *Šibenik*, 261.

²⁰¹ Cvitanić, ed., *Statut grada Splita*, 898.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Andrić, *Život*, 228. – 229; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 132; Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 140; Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 19. – 20.

²⁰⁴ Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 24.

formed based on a patrilinear system, relations in the family were based on authority and hierarchy, and such a situation was legitimized,²⁰⁵ the same was reflected in apprenticeship. Entering an apprenticeship, the authority moved from a father to the master,²⁰⁶ there is the development of a master's paternal relationship with the apprentice in which all methods of upbringing were allowed.²⁰⁷

In Šibenik and Zadar (as those two statutes are like one another) it was considered that the "master must rule over his people and if he beat up someone who lived on his bread, he was not punished".²⁰⁸ According to the fact that the statute of Rab does not contain such a clause, could we assume that the two communal towns differed in disciplinary methods? Before answering that question, I will offer a comparison with other Dalmatian communal towns concerning that question to get to the answer.

According to the Dubrovnik statute, in the law on the authority of parents over sons and daughters, the power of punishment and beating referred to the right of the father to flog and punish sons and daughters with impunity. The same authority was given to the brother over siblings, older sister over younger sisters and brothers, uncle and aunt, and grandparents over their grandchildren, both female and male.²⁰⁹ One such case is cited by Lucić from Dubrovnik sources in 1284, in which the apprentice Bratko complained that his master coat tailor Fusko de Zerepo, whom he had been serving for seven years, beat him at work, whereby blood began to leak from his nose and lip. The master defended himself that the apprentice often ran away and did not want to work. Because of this, he slapped him. To the

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 216.

²⁰⁶ Ross, "A middle-class child," 280 - 298.

²⁰⁷ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 142.

²⁰⁸ Fabijanec, "Djeca," 210-213.

²⁰⁹ Križman - Kolanović, *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, knjiga IV, glava XXIII.

question of where the blood came from, he answered that he did not know.²¹⁰ The statute of Split also states that children were forbidden to beat parents, but if parents beat children, even with blood spills, no punishment would apply to them.²¹¹ Shahar also cites the possibility of physical violence against the apprentices, after which the contract would be annulled and the child would go to another family.²¹²

Whether the master used punishment as a disciplinary method is not visible from the contracts of Rab and Šibenik, but it certainly stands as a possibility because the use of force as a means of discipline was common and legally allowed. Therefore, the fact that there is no mentioning of disciplinary methods in the statute of Rab does not necessarily mean that the craft masters did not use them.

In European historiography, there are examples of establishing family connections between masters and apprentices, by marrying the master's daughter. It could be assumed that there were such cases in Dalmatian communal towns, even though I have not found such examples in the sources. For example, the Statute of the City of Dubrovnik contains the law *On the Son-in-Law, who is accepted instead of the son*,²¹³ so-called *domazetstvo*. It was the "adoption" of a son-in-law by whom he acquired rights to the property of his father-in-law and mother-in-law while maintaining fidelity to his wife's bed, but the law protected his wife's primacy as biological heir. The adoption of the son-in-law occurred somewhat more frequently in rural areas, in those families where the workforce was lacking. This law does

²¹⁰ Lučić, *Obrti i usluge*, 247.

²¹¹ Križman - Kolanović, *Statut grada Splita [Statute of the City of Split]*, knj. IV, glava 72, 670; glava 30, 628.

²¹² Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 235.

²¹³ Križman - Kolanović, *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, Knjiga IV, 175.

not use the term *adoptio*, but *afiliatio*.²¹⁴ Therefore, there is the possibility of such cases, especially if the master had no heirs to whom he would leave a craft.

The only possibility which could indicate how an apprentice became a member of the master's family is the last will of *domina Catherina relictā quondam magistri Anthonii Foeta barberii*, which mentions *Paulus magister barberius*, husband of her daughter Lucia.²¹⁵ Knowing that the barber's son was notary Andrija Fajeta himself, this last will could indicate that he wed his daughter to another barber to continue the family craft when he could not leave it to his son, who went for a different craft.

Andrić cites an example of good relations between an apprentice and a master, according to a recorded last will in which master Stjepan entrusted his wife to his apprentice on his deathbed. Namely, if the latter continues to live in his house for the next three years and takes care of his wife, the apprentice will be richly rewarded, even with half of his stonemason's tools. For the above example, Andrić states that it depicts the development of paternity, that is, the family relationship between a master and an apprentice.²¹⁶

One example of a good relationship between the master and an apprentice, I have found in the last will, where a master *Andreas Sulfo magister carpentarius* leaves to *Jurgio famulo suo pro labore suo totam vnam eius vineam positam in Pasturano*.²¹⁷ There is an unspecified reason why he is one of his heirs, or maybe he valued him very much. What is visible from the contract is how he gets it for his labor, meaning he was a good and obedient worker, who proved himself.

²¹⁴ Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "O napuštanju, udomljivanju i posvajanju djece u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku i Dalmaciji" [About abandonment, foster care, and adoption of children in medieval Dubrovnik and Dalmatia], *Istarski povijesni biennale* 4 (2011): 15-32, 28-30, according to Tomašević, "Obitelj i djeca u Statutu Dubrovačke Republike: osvrt na čedomorstvo, napuštanje i posvojenje djece" [Family and children in the statute of Dubrovnik Republic: about child infanticide, abandoning and adoption], 90.

²¹⁵ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.2, sv.11, fol. 162.

²¹⁶ Andrić, "Položaj obrtničkih naučnika," 142.

²¹⁷ DAZD, RB: AF], kut.2, sv.6, fol. 73

An example of the dark side of relationships within a new family is given by Shahar in the last chapter of her book *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, where she refers to love affairs that boys who would come to a new house used to have with the mothers of those new families.²¹⁸ It is to be assumed that these were older boys, at the end of the apprenticeship, or they may have also been young men on a shorter contract period, that is, an auxiliary workforce. Such cases I have not found in the analyzed sources from Rab and Šibenik, but it should be left open that sometimes something like that may have happened.

The sources I have analyzed do not provide detailed data to further description of interrelationships. However, it could be concluded that the lives of the children of poor parents were different from the lives of children from better off families insofar as such children of poor families could feel parental love only in early childhood because they had to leave home in search of bread and were employed as apprentices or servants with foreign families.

Section 2.5 Apprentices' number, origin, and further destiny

Right at the beginning of this chapter, it should be said that concerning the demographic changes “before the sixteenth century there is no exact data according to which the average number of inhabitants of Dalmatian communal towns could be determined”.²¹⁹ The first censuses were made to identify military-capable persons in the event of a siege.²²⁰ Accordingly, the exact quantification and origin of the inhabitants of the town and district of the Šibenik and Rab area are difficult to assume unless expressively stated in the notary

²¹⁸ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 218.

²¹⁹ Andrić, *Život*, 20.

²²⁰ Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 169.

records. Such an analysis of all existing notary records of these two towns is not made so far, due to the great amount and variety of sources needed to be analyzed which is out of range of this Master thesis.

If we ask the question about the number of craft apprentices per master, then it is evident according to the analyzed contracts that it was about one or two apprentices per master. How many children there were in the family from which the apprentice came is difficult to guess. However, based on Andrić's analysis for the fifteenth century in which she gives information that craftsmen mostly had small, nuclear families, with one or possibly two children, it should be considered that more children were born, but not all of them survived. Namely, due to poor living standards and frequent poverty, it was not easy for craft families to feed many children. If they were joined by an apprentice, and perhaps maids, living costs increased, and family relations necessarily deteriorated.²²¹

The mentioned number of one or two apprentices per craftsman speaks in favor of the fact that crafts were focused on local needs, which is why there are no more than two apprentices at the same time per master. It could also present a more modest income from the craft itself, likewise, it could mean that the craftsmen operated in the form of natural exchange of goods with less purchasing and sales power than traders.

Before trying to analyze the origin of apprentices, I would like to highlight several important determinants about the structure of Rab's and Šibenik's population, as well as the structure of the population in other Dalmatian communal towns, which functioned on the same principle, to define the key differences between *cives*, *habitatores*, and *forenses*, which I will later refer to when analyzing the contracts. Only the *cives* had the right to own real estate in the city. Real estate ownership was the basic but not the only criterion of citizenship.

²²¹ Andrić, *Život*, 216.

Apart from the citizens, there were also “ordinary inhabitants” - *habitatores*. These were mainly the lower strata of the population, who had the opportunity to acquire the rights of citizens.²²²

The statute of Šibenik prescribes if a person lived in Šibenik for 12 years he could become *cives*.²²³ Therefore, it is visible from the contracts how people who were noted as *habitatores Sibenici* were newcomers, some of them even had Slavic names²²⁴, which tells that they came from the hinterland or some other communal town on the coast. Citizenship was lost if the citizen did damage to the commune. Then, the citizen, regardless of his status, was expelled from the commune and his civil rights were temporarily or permanently taken away.

Forenses were persons born outside the territory of the communal town and subject to the jurisdiction of the domicile area. As such, they were excluded from participating in government. Yet, being foreigners was often a temporary category until they became residents, settled in the communal town, and acquired real estate, based on which they could become full citizens.²²⁵

The masters whom the apprentices joined were inhabitants of the city of Rab or Šibenik who owned or rented a property, a craft workshop, and a house. Thus, for instance, a contract from Šibenik states that it was concluded in *apotheca ipsi magistri mercatoris*²²⁶, and each contract confirmed that the master craftsman was *de Sibenici*. One notary from Šibenik, *Karatus Vitale*, always begins a notary act with the phrase *in apotheca mei notarii*,

²²² Raukar, “*Cives, habitatores, forenses*,” 139-149.

²²³ Grubišić - Herkov, *Knjiga statuta*, 93.

²²⁴ DAZD, SB: AC, kut. 13, sv.8c, fol.187r (*Theotomir homo sui iuris habitante Sibenici*), sv.8d, fol.7r (*Miroslavus homo sui iuris*).

²²⁵ Mladen Andreis, Irena Benyovski Latin, Ana Plosnić, “Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću” [Social topography of Trogir in the 13th century], 41.

²²⁶ DAZD, SB: AC, kut.13, sv. Vc, fol. 31v.

indicating a widespread usage of the term *apotheca*. A notary from Rab indicates that a contract was concluded *in stacione magistri Pauli barbitonsoris*.²²⁷

The system of identification at that time was based on personal name and father's surname in comparison to the earlier centuries when only name and father's name without a surname was stated, which did not always enable the identification of members of the commune. In the fifteenth century, identification is quite easier as all the apprentices' names and surnames are stated in each contract.²²⁸ Together with the names, the origin of apprentices was also noted, therefore it is visible that 29 apprentices from Šibenik were children of citizens of the town, and 46 of them were children from newcomers; for eight apprentices the origin is unknown because the contract is faded. In the case of Rab, six apprentices were children of citizens of the town, and eight of them were children from newcomers. The names and origins are listed in Table 4.

The study of Vesna Jakić Cestarić, based on a linguistic method, precisely, on anthroponym analysis, was inspiring for further origin analysis. According to the results of her research on medieval Zadar, she stated that the ethnicity of the population of the communal town could be seen by the number of folk names or folk suffixes on general Christian names. Some of the recognizable Croatian folk suffixes are: -ača, -ica, -ka, -e, -uša, -oša, -hna, -na, and -a, when replacing -ia or -i.²²⁹ Guided by these findings an anthroponym analysis will be done to determine whether the apprentices' names are dragged by Romanesque or Slavic origin, based on which their origin could be determined.

²²⁷ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.1, sv. 6, fol. 35a

²²⁸ Contracts are analyzed by the order they are listed in the footnote 104, and in the same order they are listed in the Table 4 in the Appendix.

²²⁹ Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, "Jezični odnosi srednjovjekovnog Zadra u svjetlu osobnih imena," [Linguistic relations of medieval Zadar in light of personal names], doktorska disertacija (Sveučilište u Zagrebu 1977), 23.

In all documents, the names are written in the Latin version of the name, with the suffix -us. The names *Georgius, Petrus, Marcus, Michaelus, Nicholaus, Iohannus, Thomasus* have Roman and Christian origin. Names like, for example, *Vuchasinus, Vucna, Radoius, Stoianus, Theotomir, Dobromir, Miroslavus, Stanislavus, Radislavus* have Slavic origin, other names have Christian and folk origin. The name *Michaele* often appears in the contracts from Šibenik as it is the name of the patron saint of the city.

Newly settled residents, who came from the hinterland, although they bear the folk name, often gave Christian names to children by coming to the city.²³⁰ This can be seen as the expression of a desire to acquire social status. Thus, Christian names were regularly in parallel with folk names.²³¹ For example, apprentices like *Marcus filius Vuchnae, Georgius filius Vucat, Blasius filius Bogischa, Iohannes filius Stojanus, Georgius filius Dobromirus* have Romanized Christian names. They come from the *districtus Sibenice* and, are given into apprenticeship by parents who have Slavic and folk names.

Andrić states that it is almost certain that the bearers of the Latinized names pronounced their names in a Croatized form, as they communicated in this language daily. But since the notary wrote the entire document in Latin, he also wrote the Latinized form.²³² Sometimes, however, a notary recorded the same names in Latin and the Croatian form or used only the Latin case extension suffix -us in the Croatian name.²³³

The representation of folk, Christian and foreign names is not equal. It can be concluded from the analysis of the apprenticeship contracts from Rab and Šibenik notary records that the rule of Christian name-giving was prevailing. The fifteenth century was ruled

²³⁰ Jakić-Cestarić, "Jezični odnosi," 57.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Andrić, *Život*, 31.

²³³ Ibid.

by the “symbiosis of linguistic expression”,²³⁴ which was first marked by Petar Skok²³⁵ in Croatian linguistic.²³⁶ Based on the analyzed contracts, the same is confirmed.

Irmgard Mahnken’s²³⁷ research on Dubrovnik patricians brought to light strong evidence of consistency in the succession of ancestral and relatives’ names on the father’s and mother’s sides. This Roman and Byzantine custom has remained in Dalmatia to this day, and it brings us a sure confirmation of the Slavic share in the noble layer of citizens and that according to the origin of the anthroponyms, the population of cities cannot be divided into Romans and Slavs, because in most families there are both, and Christian names cannot be attached to ethnic characteristics at that time.²³⁸

Based on all the above, children’s parents were mostly from district origin or the inhabitants of the city or its hinterland who became *habitatores* of the city. According to the analyzed contracts, it is not visible how many apprentices returned to their places of origin after completing their apprenticeship.

The legality or illegality of children at birth may be tied closely related to origin. The importance of this for apprentices is that illegally born children during the Middle Ages were limited in their rights. For example, they could not become priests,²³⁹ illegal birth could have

²³⁴ Jakić-Cestarić, “Jezični odnosi,” 23.

²³⁵ Petar Skok, “O simbiozi i nestanku starih Romana u Dalmaciji i na Primorju u svjetlu onomastike” [About the symbiosis and development of old Romans in Dalmatia in the onomastic light], *Razprave IV*, (1928): 1 - 42, 24.

²³⁶ Vesna Jakić Cestarić, “Nastajanje hrvatskoga (čakavskog) Splita i Trogira u svjetlu antroponimima XI. stoljeća” [The development of dialect from Split and Trogir in the light of XI. century anthroponyms], *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik 5* (1981): 93-112, 96.

²³⁷ Irmgard Mahnken, “Die Personennamen des mittelalterlichen Patriziats von Dubrovnik als Quelle zu ethnographischen Untersuchungen,” *Slavistična revija* 10 (1-4) (1957): 279— 295.

²³⁸ Vesna Jakić Cestarić, “Nastajanje hrvatskoga,” 96.

²³⁹ “In the year 1078, the Council of Poitiers concluded *ut filii presbyterorum et ceteri ex fornicatione nati ad sacros ordines non promoveantur*, and Gratian's decree says that *presbiterorum etiam filii ad sacra officia non sunt admittendi*. “According to M. Karbić, “Što znamo,” 170, footnote 13. M. Karbić also notes that although “the opinion that illegitimate children could not receive the holy order prevailed, some theologians felt that this was not the right thing to do, and they also invoked St Jerome, who warned that according to genealogy in Matthew's gospel (Matthew 1:3), Christ himself dragged the origins of Fares, the illegitimately born son of

made it impossible for them to be a member of the guild, which was the case in cities in the area between the Sava and Drava rivers.²⁴⁰

Marija Karbić gives examples of how according to 1447. tailor's guild rules from Križevci, the candidate for the master had to prove that he was the son of lawful parents.²⁴¹ She also states that the statute of the guild of locksmiths and scrapers from Križevci from 1510 required that the future master had to be a rightful son.²⁴² The rules of the Gradac goldsmith's guild from 1519 also state that a candidate for a master should show a sheet proving that he was born in a marriage according to the provisions of the Church, and a boy who wanted to learn the goldsmith's trade had to prove that he was born in marriage, from an honest father and an honest mother.²⁴³ The statute of the Varaždin weavers' guild of 1561. states that when admitting a future master to the guild, one should ask whether he was born from honest law and that no master was allowed to admit an apprentice if he was not from "postene posztelia porogien" (born from an honest bed).²⁴⁴ These examples testify to the importance of origin when entering an apprenticeship. There are no similar examples in the rules of the fraternities from Rab or Šibenik with clauses that limited entry based on origin.

In the State Archive in Zadar, there is a statute of the most popular fraternity from Rab, whose members were from all social classes from the communal town of Rab, including craftsmen, This is the statute of the Flagellant Confraternity of St. Christopher from 1443,

Judas and Tamara (Genesis 38: 25). In conclusion, "illegal children could become priests, if given dispensation," *ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Karbić, "Što znamo," 170.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Mirko Androić, "Nauvka tkalechkoga mestre modussi nauade, red, szloboschine y prauicze". Pravila ceha tkalaca u Varaždinu iz godine 1561. na hrvatskom jeziku" [Rules of the Weaving Guild in Varaždin from the year 1561 in Croatian language], *Arhivski vjesnik* 10 (1967), 65.

which, however, has no mentioning of apprentices.²⁴⁵ There are also four statutes of fraternities from Šibenik kept in the State Archive in Zadar, which I have examined, the statute of the fraternity of Our lady of Karmel, the statute of the Saint Michael Fraternity, the statute of the Fraternity of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and the statute of the Corpus Christi Fraternity, which also do not mention apprentices.²⁴⁶ Fraternities from Šibenik were mostly church ones. Craftsmen and apprentices upon finishing the apprenticeship could become members if they would satisfy the conditions of the fraternities' rules (matrikula). However, there is a shoemaker and curriers fraternity in Šibenik, the fraternity of Saint Andrew from 1242. Even though the statute of the fraternity of Saint Andrew does not have clauses that limit entry based on the origin, it does have clauses on apprentices, which state how an apprentice who learned the currier craft in Šibenik, must pay one ducat in gold, give a small loaf of a quarter of a kilogram flour, and a little wine and oil as a condition of entering the fraternity.²⁴⁷

Based on the rare Dalmatian guild clauses on apprenticeship, it is to be concluded how Venetian notarial influence was present only in patterns of making a contract, while it differed in many other aspects. Firstly, almost every Venetian guild had clauses on apprenticeship. Furthermore, *Giustizia Vecchia* made sure that *Stato di Mare* controls every legal aspect of its economy, therefore it supervised all guilds, except those in wool, silk, and Murano glass.²⁴⁸ Therefore, it had a greater influence on apprenticeship than the Dalmatian communal town legislature. The main legal difference between Venetian and Dalmatian apprenticeship is that, after 1396, the *Giustizia Vecchia* passed a new law about the

²⁴⁵ Zoran Ladić, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora u Rabu. Diplomatička i povijesna analiza s kritičkim prijepisom matrikule" [The statute of the flagellant confraternity of St. Christophor in Rab. Diplomatic and historical analysis with critical transcription of the statute], *Starine*, Zagreb: HAZU, 64 (2012): 61-112.

²⁴⁶ DAZD *Bratovštine u Dalmaciji* [Fraternities in Dalmatia] 335, kutija 25, knj. 1.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁴⁸ Giovanni Colavizza, Riccardo Cella and Anna Bellavitis, "Apprenticeship," 4.

registration of apprenticeship contracts with an explicit prohibition against using a notary for contracts. The reason given was that apprentices were being forced to sign less favorable contracts in front of a public notary.²⁴⁹ All analyzed contracts in my thesis are from even later chronological dates and all of them are made in front of a public notary.

Secondly, in 1444, the law became even stricter, with a fine of 100 lire for offenders. At the end of the fifteenth century, Venetian craftsmen were required to register any apprentices hired for a period longer than one month,²⁵⁰ which means that there was even an apprenticeship register, which, based on my analysis, does not exist for Dalmatian notaries.

Young men who had finished their education stayed in the city as an auxiliary workforce with already known craftsmen, or went to another city in search of work, while some if they had luck, started their own business.²⁵¹ One such example of continuing work on his own upon finishing the apprenticeship, having become master, and emancipating from the father is referred by Antonio de Martinis, a notary from Šibenik, on January 2.1486. *in domo habitacionis magistri Radiuoi Radiuoeuich sutoris claudi habitatoris Sibenici*. It is an act of emancipation of *magister Ioannes Radiuoeuich sutor* from his father, the lame shoemaker.²⁵² What is visible from this contract is how the son had enjoyed education in the same craft as the father. Upon completion of his education, the son went on his own. But it must be said that he probably took over the craft workshop from his father, as the latter retired due to illness (“as he was lame”, as stated in the contract).

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 5.

²⁵¹ Andrić, “Položaj obrtničkih naučnika,” 140-141.

²⁵² DAZD, SB: AM, kut 20, sv. B/VII, fol. 171.

Andrija Fajeta, a notary from Rab, recorded one contract for *magister Georgius marangonus, filius Damiani marangoni*²⁵³ from which is visible how the same pattern is observable in the commune of Rab when a son continues his father's craft. Even though those notary records are not apprenticeship contracts, they do testify to the further destiny of apprentices who learned the same craft as their father to inherit it within the family. I neither found their apprenticeship contracts in the Šibenik nor the Rab case. Therefore, it could be a confirmation that fathers did not make an apprenticeship contract with their children.

The notary Andrija Fajeta himself is also an example of an apprentices' further destiny. Namely, his father *barberius Antonius* gave him into an apprenticeship to become a notary,²⁵⁴ which he finished successfully. This is an example of another possibility that happened when a father craftsman gave his son into an apprenticeship with a master of a different craft, meaning that it was not obligatory and not to be seen as a pattern that a son would inherit his father's craft.

Another example of apprentices' further destiny is evidenced in the last will of *Radoslaus famulus magistri cerdonis Petri Clum* in which he *sana corpore et bone memorie desponens se ire contra Turchos et infidelles pro fide chatolicha et pro salutis anime sue*, left one-third of his goods to *Matheus primicerius Arbe* and two thirds to his wife.²⁵⁵

Furthermore, there is also a contract from 1474, based on which *Valent magister marangonus* bought a vineyard from Donatus de Iadera.²⁵⁶ The same Valent was an apprentice of master *marangonus Bartolus de Arbo* in 1462.²⁵⁷ This is an example of how an apprentice continued working in his craft, stayed in Rab, and made enough money to be able

²⁵³ DAZD, RB: AF], kut.1, sv.1, fol. 138.

²⁵⁴ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.2, sv.8, fol. 94, note given to me by generosity of Zoran Ladić.

²⁵⁵ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.2, sv.11, fol.37a.

²⁵⁶ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.1, sv.6, fol.30.

²⁵⁷ DAZD, RB: AF, kut.1, sv.5, fol.17.

to buy a vineyard as an additional source of income, as it is known that the wine trade was most profitable.

When talking about craftsmen landowners it is important to differentiate two types of craftsmen, the ones who did not cultivate the land themselves but let it be done by peasants, and that land became an investment and additional source of their income. Others, who did not earn enough money from their primary craft profession had to cultivate it themselves as a means of ensuring their existence. Such craftsmen were shoemakers, tailors, and barbers.²⁵⁸ Therefore, when an ex-apprentice, magister Valent bought a vineyard, it indicated that he had become a rich and successful craftsman, concerning the fact that he also became a master, as it is visible from the contracts, and he did not stay just a *marangunus*.

The way of establishing a reputation and becoming an acknowledged master of a craft was long. Kunčić brings the example of *Marcus filius Paulini* who is called *arangunus* in a notary act from 1459 regarding the purchase of a boat Ten years later he is called *magister murarius*, meaning that during ten years he had accomplished fulfill the conditions of becoming a master, which was gaining reputation, affirmation of craft fraternity, and loyalty of clients.²⁵⁹ In the analyzed period, the title *protomagister* was only owned by one master from Rab,²⁶⁰ and two masters from Šibenik.²⁶¹ A similar situation can be recognized for other communal towns. Only a few craftsmen owned that title,²⁶² which indicates how rare it was for an apprentice to become a *protomagister*.

²⁵⁸ Kolanović, *Šibenik*, 96.

²⁵⁹ Kunčić, "Život," 93.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 96.

²⁶¹ DAZD, SB: RF, kut. 15, sv.8a, fol. 61r, fol. 62r; Birin, SB: BV, 65 - 66.

²⁶² Kunčić, "Život," 97-98.

Section 2.6 Apprentice's material culture

Based on my analysis of apprenticeship contracts from Šibenik and Rab, only fragmentary aspects of the apprentice's material culture are recorded. However, they do provide information about the apprentice's diet, clothing, footwear (types, materials, colors, and prices), and craft working tools.

Each contract stated that the master had an obligation to feed the apprentice. A variety of food could only be afforded by the wealthier social strata, the rest had meals consisting of one type of food, such as barley porridge or dry bread.²⁶³ Therefore it could be assumed that the latter was apprentices' meal.

Each contract also mentions that the apprentice had to serve his master, and that service often included other jobs besides studying the craft. One Šibenik's apprenticeship contract specifically states that the apprentice would not be obliged to "do laundry and carry water,"²⁶⁴ while another one states that the boy must participate in all tasks in the household.²⁶⁵ Such clauses confirm that the apprentice also had to participate in daily work in the household, in tasks unrelated to the study of crafts.

In all analyzed contracts clothing and footwear are mentioned as part of what the boy should receive after the expiry of the apprenticeship. For example, one contract from Šibenik specifically states the type of clothing: *unum mantellum et unam gonellam de grisio nigro, unum biretum pretio librarium trium parvorum, unam camisam, unam mudantam de lana, unum cingulum*)²⁶⁶ and shoes (*unam caligarum panni latini, unum par subtularium*).²⁶⁷ Also,

²⁶³ Ibid., 264.

²⁶⁴ Kolanović, *Šibenik*, 261.

²⁶⁵ DAZD, B: GL, kut 21/1a, fol. 65r, according to Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 91.

²⁶⁶ Birin, SB: BV, 65 - 66.

in all other apprentices contracts from Šibenik and Rab, each piece of clothing is specially named, except only three contracts, one in which clothes and shoes are named by the collective nouns *vestius et calciamenti*,²⁶⁸ while in the other one the apprentice kept the same clothes and shoes that he had when entering the apprenticeship.²⁶⁹ In the last one, the types of clothes the apprentice got were not specified, but it was stated that a master gave him some new clothes according to his conscience.²⁷⁰

Besides the type of clothing, the price of only one type of clothes was indicated in some contracts, and that is a square hat which cost three small Venetian *librae*.²⁷¹ The price of new shoes was also three small Venetian *librae*.²⁷² All other types of clothes are just listed without indicated price. Clothes' materials are mainly wool and flax. From prices and materials, it is visible that masters did not spend a lot of money on apprentices. After approximately five years of apprenticeship duration, the apprentices had paid it off with their work.

These examples show a significant distinction in terms of the naming of clothing in contracts of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. By comparing sources from Rab and Šibenik in terms of clothing with those from the thirteenth century, although from other communal towns, it is visible that the indication of individual pieces of clothing is more frequent in the fifteenth century. However, one can assume that the base colors of clothes did

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 156.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 205.

²⁷⁰ Birin, SB: JD, 362.

²⁷¹ Birin, SB: BV, 66, 113, 246; Ladić, "Na razmeđu," 84; DAZD, ŠB: AC, kut. 10.**I.d**, fol. 100v, fol. 130v-131r, **I.e**, fol.52v-53r, fol.74v-75r, **I.g** fol. 180v, **I.g** fol. 190v-191r, **I.h** fol. 203r-203v, fol. 205v, fol. 208v-209r, fol. 210r-210v, kut.11, sv.4, fol.13v, fol.18v, fol.70v-71r, fol.114v-115r, fol.164r-164v, sv.5, fol.51v-52r, fol.93v-94r, fol. 146v-147r, fol.153v-153r, fol.160v-161r, fol.164r, fol.218v; DAZD, SB: RF, kut.15, sv.**8d**, fol. 7r, fol.36v, sv.**8e**, fol.106v-107r, fol.106v-107r, sv.**8g** fol.183v-184r,

²⁷² Birin, SB: BV, 246; DAZD, SB: AC, kut.11, sv.4, fol.93r-93v; DAZD, SB: RF, kut.15, sv.8g, fol.187r-187v.

not change. The gray, beige, black, and brown clothes were made of coarser materials that fit the social position of the apprentices.

In addition to the obligation that the master must give food, clothing, and footwear (*dare vitium, vestium et calciamentum*), to his apprentice, at the end of the apprenticeship most apprentices would receive working tools as a gift. These clauses are the same in all contracts and speak about the same position of all who entered apprenticeship. Only in few contracts are parts of the tools specifically listed, in other contracts craft tools are marked with a collective noun. A comparison of sources from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries from other communal towns leads to the conclusion that naming tools did not become more frequent.

Namely, almost all contracts from Šibenik for the period from 1449 to 1452 state that the apprentice should receive *instrumentum artis predictae* or *unum cuiuslibet instrumente artis predictae secundum consuetudinem*.²⁷³ The phrase “based on the custom” confirms the pattern of making an apprenticeship contract. Carriers’ apprenticeship contracts specified that the apprentice got animal skin as a raw material for further production at the end of his apprenticeship. In one contract the type of skin was not indicated,²⁷⁴ but in another one, it is indicated that it was the skin of an ox, which valued fifteen *denarii*.²⁷⁵

Interestingly, in many contracts, a bread knife is one of the things that the apprentice got upon finishing his apprenticeship.²⁷⁶ Court writings of the late medieval periods throughout Europe often prohibit the carrying of knives, except bread knives, since the latter

²⁷³ Birin, SB: BV, 65-66, 112-113, 118-119, 136, 150-151, 155-156, 204-205, 245-245, 254-255, 296-297, 318-319, 326-327.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 297; DAZD, SB: AC, kut 11, sv.4, 281v-282r,

²⁷⁵ DAZD, SB: AC, kut. 11, sv.4, 281v-282r.

²⁷⁶ Birin, SB: BV, 66, 113, 119, 136, 151, 246, 255, 297, 319; DAZD, SB: AC, kut.10, vol. **I.g** fol. 180v, **I.h** fol. 203r-203v, fol. 205v, fol. 208v-209r, fol. 210r-210v, **I.i** fol.271, kut.11, sv.4, fol.13v, fol.18v, fol.70v-71r, fol.93r-93v, fol.114v-115r, fol.164r-164v, fol.251v-252r, fol.263v-264r, 281v-282r, 349v-350r, sv.5, fol.51v-52r, fol. 54r-54v, fol.59r- 59v, fol.93v-94r, fol.153v-153r, fol.164r, fol.218v,

was in daily use.²⁷⁷ However, it might be assumed that in case of necessity, a bread knife could also be used as a means of self-defense, which was given to the apprentice from a master for the apprentice's self-protection and to ensure him with a tool for a daily meal which was no longer provided by the master.

Even though the sources make it impossible for us to compare the differences in the details of the apprentice's material culture, they point to the same practice of concluding contracts and confirm that the apprentice comes without personal belongings, except for the clothes he wears, and the master provides him with everything necessary for life during the apprenticeship. Upon completion of the apprenticeship, the apprentice becomes partly richer in the aspect of material culture than he was before entering the apprenticeship.

²⁷⁷ Kristina Judaš, "Nasilni zločini protiv osoba u sudskim spisima zagrebackog Gradeca u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [Crimes against persons in court records of late medieval Gradec], diplomski rad, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2013, 37.

Chapter 3 Female Apprentices

Further analysis of contracts and their comparison with contracts from other communal cities leads to the fact that there was no female apprentice in Šibenik or Rab, nor in any other town. Girls are marked as *puellae* in the sources, they are sometimes as numerous as boys in the contracts, but boys' jobs are differentiated based on a craft in which they entered apprenticeship, while maiden contracts just refer to entering the service of a maid and nothing else. Lucić states that in Dubrovnik treaties from the thirteenth century they are not as numerous as boys, only four of them, which were listed as *puellae*. The sources in issue are not even contracts for entry into service, but allegations of a dowry, loan of money, or mentions of receiving money from masters in their last wills, from which he concludes that they served in houses.²⁷⁸

In addition to listing girls by the term *puellae* in the sources we find contracts for entering service, thus making girls *ancille*, that is, maids. Most of the girls from poorer city families worked as maids.

The pattern of their service contracts is like apprenticeship contracts. If a girl was a minor, she was handed over to the service. On another hand, if a girl was of full age, she entered the service on her own and undertook to faithfully guard and serve the master and his belongings and carry out his will. If a girl stole anything, she had to return the stolen, or she had to compensate for the monetary value of the stolen item. If a girl was a minor, the person who gave her into service was a guarantor that she would not escape from the service. The master's duty was to provide food, clothing, and shoes for the duration of the service. The only other condition, in contrast to an apprenticeship contract, is the marrying clause, under

²⁷⁸ Lucić, *Obrti i usluge*, 159.

which the master had to release a girl if she was to marry in the meantime, upon which she became the property of her husband.²⁷⁹ Janeković Römer said that the girls sometimes lived separately from their husband after marrying, although this was mostly avoided, while in some contracts it was agreed that the master was obliged to pay the dowry to the girl at the end of her service as a salary for work.²⁸⁰

For example, it is testified in a contract made by notary Antun Campolongo for *conductio puelle Elene*, who was eight years old and an orphan that she was given into service by her tutor Petrus de Canali from Šibenik to a *magister sartor Iohannes* and his wife, for the duration of service of eight years. They had to secure her clothes, food, and bed. By the end of her service, she would be of full age and should get thirty Venetian gold ducats, which she could use for her dowry.²⁸¹ Even though it is a contract made with a craftsman, it is not an apprenticeship, but a service contract, as there is no mentioning of learning a craft.

At the end of the service, the girl received a certain severance package, if that was arranged in the contract, while some served for life only for accommodation and food.²⁸² The gifts of mistresses to their maids were sometimes conditioned on the girl not being allowed to marry before the death of the mistress. In this, the mistress's affection for these girls is manifested, but also the means of pressure that were in the hands of the masters are visible.²⁸³

This testifies to how the education of girls was slightly different from the boys. The latter had far greater opportunities to acquire knowledge than girls. The girls were taught about marriage, children, household, and the basics of the Christian faith. The culmination of

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 230.

²⁸⁰ Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 45, 122. – 125.

²⁸¹ DAZD, ŠB: AC, kut. 13, sv.10/vc, fol. 72r.

²⁸² Lucić, *Obrti i usluge*, 230; Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 123.

²⁸³ Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 125.

life and life's progress was marrying because it was the only way a girl could achieve her life function - motherhood.²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, for Dubrovnik sources from the thirteenth century, Lucić found no record about man bakers, but only about female bakers. The special status of female bakers is also explained by the fact that their children could be named after their profession, for example, in a record from 1285, a man is named Jurka the son of a female baker (*Jurcus de fornaria*).²⁸⁵ Lucić also states that he found a source where there was an innkeeper named Dominka and a female baker of the same name. It might be concluded that this was the same person because innkeepers always kept a fire in furnace fireboxes to store food for guests.²⁸⁶ Contracts were recorded in which female bakers even owned or bought a house in the city.²⁸⁷ These examples confirm the presence of women in production, but no contract for the studied period for Dalmatian communal towns brings data on female apprentices.

After marrying, the women of poorer commoners worked in the house, in the shop, and the field, selling food products at the market, thus having slightly higher rights in marriage. The need for additional earnings forced them to perform all kinds of jobs, often weaving, sewing, and embroidering for money, and when the cloth trade flourished in the fifteenth century, we find in the sources how the commoners became involved in this business in large numbers as spinning ladies.²⁸⁸ Only then can we trace in the sources the appearance of females participating in the workshop but even then on a very limited level, and they are not noted as apprentices. They work in their fathers' or husbands' workshop in between the house duties. Only foreign literature has allegations about female apprentices,

²⁸⁴ Ibid. 107.

²⁸⁵ Lucić, *Obrti i usluge*, 127.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ For example, Dobrača (*Dobracha fornaria*) in 1287; she bought half of a house for 7 perpers; Dominka (*Domincha fornaria*) in 1281, owns a house in the city. Ibid., 126.

²⁸⁸ Janekovic-Römer, *Rod i grad*, 131.

but even sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources testified only a small number of female apprentices. For example, in a study on an apprenticeship in early modern Venice, only eleven female apprentices were identified in 5,000 analyzed apprenticeship contracts, based on the Venetian apprenticeship register. Women were mostly apprenticed in the textile trades.²⁸⁹ For Croatia, however, given the lack of sources, the topic of female craft apprentices remains open to research for the period after the fifteenth century that might provide more source records.

²⁸⁹ Giovanni Colavizza, Riccardo Cella and Anna Bellavitis, “Apprenticeship,” 9.

Conclusion

Based on my analysis on apprentices in late medieval Šibenik and Rab, similar patterns on how to make an apprenticeship contract were found, which were not prescribed in the town statutes, nor is there any surviving book of notary instructions on how to write it. The analysis showed that, no matter which communal town notary records one takes similar rules of making an apprenticeship contract were followed. Exceptions to the rule point out different fragments of peculiar existence within the daily life of the commune and different aspects of the apprenticeship itself which existed as a specific form of education instead of the institutionally organized educational system.

The analysis also showed that apprentices were given into apprenticeships for several reasons. The first reason was the existential nature of caring for the child and ensuring basic living conditions, in the sense that the child, as an apprentice, could have a roof over his head, food, clothes, and shoes. The second reason was related to the first. Namely, if a child was an orphan, then his guardian cared for the child by giving him into an apprenticeship. By that, he also fulfilled the Christian obligation of benevolence and caring for orphans. The same was in the interest of the communal towns, whose care for children was manifested through statutory provisions. The third reason was to continue a craft in the family. A fourth reason was conditioned by military and political circumstances, namely, due to the Ottoman invasion in the hinterland, parents sent their children to the city to learn crafts and thereby provide them a better future within the security of the town's fortification. The cases when full age men from the hinterland gave themselves into an apprenticeship for the same security-based reason, testify to the difficult situation caused by the Ottoman invasion.

The age of apprentices depended also on these stated reasons for entering an apprenticeship. It also depended on the personal assessment of the parents, the guardian, or

the master on the physical development and skills of the child. In addition, this study found that the age of an apprentice entering the craft in Šibenik and Rab was not significantly different from each other.

Unlike the age of entry into service, apprenticeship contracts always determined the duration of apprenticeships. Although it was not legally regulated in the town statutes, several conclusions could be drawn about the length of apprenticeships. Namely, younger boys stayed longer in training with the master as opposed to the older ones who were soon to become full age. It could be proven in the case study of Šibenik that there was a strong, negative, correlation between the duration of the apprenticeship and the age of an apprentice entering the craft, which reached statistical significance. Secondly, a master's assessment of the physical and intellectual abilities of the boy could also have influenced the length of the apprenticeship. Some crafts required more time for study, depending on their complexity and the nature of work. Finally, the length of service also depended on the agreement of the master and parents/guardians of the boy who entered the service and was closely related to existential reasons. The final duration of apprenticeships, even with the same master, was at the end variable according to all the above-mentioned factors. In addition, my study found that the duration of apprenticeship in Šibenik and Rab was significantly different from each other.

The obligations of apprentices to their masters were the same in all contracts. Namely, the apprentice had to obey the master. If he destroyed or stole something, or ran away, the one who gave the child into apprenticeship had the obligation to compensate for the damages. Besides learning the craft, an apprentice often had to perform other services entrusted to him by the master, such as participating in household duties.

The master craftsman, in most cases, had the obligation to provide food, clothing, and footwear, unless otherwise specified in the contract. Based on the comparison with contracts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, namely from Trogir, a large difference in the apprentice's salary upon completion of the apprenticeship was visible. Namely, in this period, the salary was very small, if there was one at all. It was not legally regulated and depended solely on the goodwill and material condition of the master. In the fifteenth century, the salary was higher and sometimes expressed in currency, and every apprentice, regardless of craft, got his working tools as per custom.

As for the relationship between the master and his apprentice, by entering apprenticeship, the authority passed from the father over to the master, an apprentice became part of the master's household, and the master's authority over the apprentice became unquestionable and based on obedience and respect. All legal methods of education were permissible and justified. There were cases of good relations between masters and apprentices, which are visible in the master's last will in which he left some goods to an apprentice or when he made an apprentice become an actual part of his family by marrying his daughter to the apprentice after the latter had finished his apprenticeship.

As for the number of apprentices per master, the demand from certain crafts influenced the need to take apprentices. Therefore, it is visible from the contracts that there was a greater need for carriers and shoemakers due to the military circumstances and the nature of their profession. Also, stonemasons made many contracts, due to the need for a workforce for construction at Šibenik's cathedral in the analyzed period. The origin of apprentices is equally divided into inhabitants from the analyzed cities and the hinterland.

The further fate of apprentices is possible to follow in other notarial acts, such as last wills, emancipation contracts, marrying contracts, etc. These testify that some apprentices

took over the family workshop, others became journeyman or became auxiliary labor force. After years of proving their abilities, they could become members of the craft fraternity and craft masters, while only a few best ones became *protomagistri*.

In conclusion, apprenticeship was one of the main forms of inculturation in which the apprentices' repetitive obligations, in a certain space and time, surrounded by the material culture of the craft workshop, formed him as a person belonging to a certain social layer. His material culture reproduced and maintained the difference between the social groups, through the clothes he wore and the obligations he performed according to the postulate of obedience that passed from father to master. The role that belonged to him as part of the master's household, within the norms and rules of a medieval society influenced by Christian ideas in medieval Dalmatian communes, indoctrinated him for the continuation of communal economy and procreation. The apprentice became partly richer in the aspect of material culture upon leaving the apprenticeship, compared to when he entered the apprenticeship.

Based on the patterns of similarity in each contract, it can be concluded that there was a rule on how to make apprenticeship contracts, which is neither prescribed in the town statute nor is there any surviving book of notary instructions on how to write it. The same pattern is visible in Venetian notary offices, which testifies Venetian legal influence. However, the position of apprentices was better in medieval Venice, since guilds regulated every aspect of apprenticeship, while in Dalmatian towns only a few guilds had regulations on apprenticeship, and contracts were mainly privately agreed between the master and the one who gave the child in apprenticeship.

Finally, the analysis of apprenticeship contracts found no female apprentices, which testifies that boys had far greater opportunities to acquire knowledge compared to girls. Females were taught about marriage, children, household, and the basics of Christian faith.

The culmination of life and life's progress was marrying, because it was the only way a girl could achieve her life function - motherhood. Nevertheless, the economic activity of females in medieval Dalmatian towns is a topic still to be studied, as many notary records show their participation in daily life.

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Appendix

Table 4: Names and origin of apprentices from Šibenik and Rab

| Dates | Names of apprentices from Šibenik | Origin of apprentices from Šibenik | Dates | Names of apprentices from Rab | Origin of apprentices from Rab |
|-------------|--|---|----------|--|---|
| | Notary Antun Campolongo | | | Notary Toma Stančić | |
| 12.12.1440. | <i>Thomas, filius Andrei Marcouich</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | 9.1453. | <i>Tomasus, filius Agniae (mater dedit et locavit)</i> | <i>de partibus Sclavonia, constitutus in Arbo</i> |
| 22.04.1442. | <i>Radoslauus, filius Iura Ruschovich</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | Notary Andrija Fajeta | |
| 30.04.1442. | <i>Radoslauus, filius Dragi Cipich</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | 08.1453. | <i>Valentus, filius Ielenitzae, uxor Martini Sopich (mater dedit et locavit)</i> | <i>habitor de Arbo</i> |
| 1442. | <i>Michael, filius Iuricsi Dismanich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | 07.1460. | <i>Martinus filius Georgii Falsicha</i> | <i>de Scrixia</i> |
| 29.08.1442. | <i>Petrus Nicolich, Gregorius Iurgieuich piliparius et Petrus Thudorouich sartor, eorum parens et amicus</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | 04.1467. | <i>Paulus Sclauuso</i> | <i>de Arbo</i> |
| 1442. | <i>Slischum, filius Scillae relicta condam Laurentii</i> | <i>de Samarni? districtus Sibenici</i> | 03.1471. | <i>Petrus Slavus, filius Tomasi (pater)</i> | <i>de Busano</i> |
| 10.03.1443. | <i>Andreas Iurgieuich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Chliueno</i> | 10.1473. | <i>Iohannes, filius condam Mathei Valentich (orphanus) (tutor presbiterus Iohannes Illianich dedit et locavit)</i> | <i>de Laualle</i> |
| 10.03.1443. | <i>Billoslaus Vlatchouich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de cathuno Iohannis Sopchouacz (Vlachus)</i> | 05.1474. | <i>Iohannes, filius Gregorii</i> | <i>habitor de Arbo</i> |
| 10.03.1443. | <i>Georgius, nepos mag. Pavli Celuchnovich</i> | <i>habitor Sibenici</i> | 1478. | <i>Iohannes, filius condam Mathei Valentich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Laualle</i> |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|----------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 12.09.1443. | <i>Bartholus Gergureuich, cognatus de Iadri Lucich de Tinino</i> | <i>de villa Tuchouie bannatus Coruatie</i> | | Notary Marin Maroman | |
| 1.10.1443. | <i>Petrus Radelich, germani consanguineous de Bilcini Marcouich et Milloslauri Radioieuich de Petrouopoglie</i> | <i>de Petrouopoglie</i> | 11.1476. | <i>Martinus, nepos Simonis Drasius (tutor dedit et locavit)</i> | <i>habitor de Arbo</i> |
| 5.10.1443. | <i>Valentus filius Stoyae Dragossi (mater)</i> | <i>de villa Ramelgliane districtus Tinini</i> | 02.1477. | <i>Jacobus, filius Iohannis Charatelic (pater)</i> | <i>de Pago, habitator de Arbo</i> |
| 7.10.1443. | <i>Simonus, filius Radoslauri Radissich</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | | | |
| 7.10.1443. | <i>Radichus, filius Georgii Chiusdinich</i> | <i>de villa Vsdolgie bannatus Coruatie</i> | | | |
| 12.11.1443. | <i>Georgius, filius Michaelis Milatovich</i> | <i>de villa Grebat districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| (unreadable) | <i>Nicolaus, filius Petri ? (unreadable) murarius</i> | / | | | |
| 13.01.1444. | <i>Carisius, filius Martini Mirossevich</i> | <i>de villa Chozisterich banatus Coruatie</i> | | | |
| 20.01.1444. | <i>Radosinus, filius Iordani</i> | <i>de villa Porchum distructus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 2.03.1444. | <i>Radoslaus, frater Georgii Glinberich</i> | <i>de Bilghane bannatus Coruatie</i> | | | |
| 26.3.1444. | <i>Martinus, nepos Marci Gerdossich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 29.4.1444. | <i>Paulus, filius Miroslavae, uxor Milloshii</i> | <i>de villa Pocrounich de districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 27.06.1444. | <i>Radmilus, cognatus de Alegreti Bogdanovich</i> | <i>de Liesena</i> | | | |
| 31.09.1444. | <i>Michael, filius Radoslavae, uxor Michaelis</i> | / | | | |
| 12.10.1444. | <i>Radoslaus filius Michaelis Clapotich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 23.10.1444. | <i>Vuchicius, nepos Radoii (unreadable) Claptich</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 5.12.1444. | <i>Radoslavus, frater Dragi Michiuilich</i> | <i>de villa Mochico, districtus</i> | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | <i>Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 31.01.1447. | <i>Lancilagus? (faded, unclear)</i> | / | | | |
| 3.02.1447. | <i>Iohannus, filius Georgii Butchouich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 12.02.1447. | <i>Radoius, frater (?faded)</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 27.02.1447. | <i>Iohannes, condam Nicolai</i> | <i>de Corbatia</i> | | | |
| 28.02.1447. | <i>IohanesVuchouich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de villa Orli, districtus Tinino</i> | | | |
| 13.03.1447. | <i>Vuchachinus Vuchouich</i> | <i>de villa Orli, districtus Tinino</i> | | | |
| 13.04.1447. | <i>Matheus Radoycheuic (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de catuno Petri Vissich (Vlachus)</i> | | | |
| 2.05.1447. | <i>Michaelus filius condam Iohannis (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| <i>Faded, 1447.</i> | <i>Matheus, (?faded)</i> | / | | | |
| 30.06.1447. | <i>Michaelus, filius Pauli Ratchouich</i> | <i>de burgo Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 5.07.1447. | <i>Thomasus Petrouich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de villa Verchricha?</i> | | | |
| 31.07.1447. | <i>Andreus, affinis Georgii Vuchxich de Sibenico</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | | | |
| 9.08.1447. | <i>Petrus Incatenich?</i> | <i>de villa Chivicsarias distructus Tinino</i> | | | |
| 26.08.1447. | <i>Petrus, filius Georgii</i> | <i>de villa pechiane districtus Verveni</i> | | | |
| <i>Faded, 1447.</i> | <i>Jacobus condam Georgii</i> | <i>de vila Sfinci districtus Traguri</i> | | | |
| 4.11.1447. | <i>Marinus filius condam Angelini de Alemania, Michaelus condam Petri de Spaleto (tutor)</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 4.12.1447. | <i>Paulus Radmilouich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>Vlachus</i> | | | |
| | Notary Rafael Ferro | | | | |
| 25.08.1448. | <i>Anthonijs Bubolouich (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Chenesauas</i> | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1448. | <i>Iohannes filius Luciae, uxor Thomasi (mater)</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 1448. | <i>Matheus, filius Jelitzae Pavlovich (mater)</i> | <i>de Cerminice, districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 1448. | <i>Iohannes, filius Luciae, uxor Gregorii (mater)</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 1448. | <i>Ostoyus, filius Jelitzae, uxor condam Jurai Radoslavich</i> | / | | | |
| 25.02.1449. | <i>Stanislav, nepos de Iohanni</i> | <i>de villa Orislic, districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 28.08.1448. | <i>Radovanus, filius Georgii Subassic</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 08.1448. | <i>Ratchus, frater Jacobi Jurievich</i> | / | | | |
| 20.12.1448. | <i>Iohannes, nepos magistri sartoris Matheus</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 3.03.1449. | <i>Michael, filius Marci</i> | <i>de villa Ozrisie, districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| ?01.1449. | <i>Georgius, filius Dobromiri Braunovich</i> | <i>de villa ?, districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| ?02.1449. | <i>Radoslavus, homo sui iuris, etatis legitime</i> | / | | | |
| 28.12.1449. | <i>Marcus, filius ? Catrovich</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 28.11.1449. | <i>Theotomir, homo sui iuris, etatis legitime</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| ?09.1449. | <i>Iohannes, filius condam Stoyani, nepos Nicolai</i> | <i>de villa Perpina, districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 1449. | <i>Marinus, filius Dragi</i> | <i>de Ragusa, habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 13.01.1449. | <i>Mirolavus, homo sui iuris, etatis legitime</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 14.02.1449. | <i>Stephanus Grubanovich, homo sui iuris, etatis legitime</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 02.1449. | <i>Michael, filius condam ?, nepos Fidei</i> | <i>de villa ?</i> | | | |
| 26.03.1449. | <i>Staphanus, filius Michaelis</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 1452. | <i>Blasius, filius condam Radoslavi, nepos Bogisi</i> | <i>de villa Vrpolje, districtus</i> | | | |

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| | | <i>Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 09.12.1453. | <i>Petrus, filius condam Simonis, homo sui iuris</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | | | |
| 1453. | <i>Martinus, homo sui iuris</i> | <i>de Tinino</i> | | | |
| 8.08.1454. | <i>Radoius, filius condam Christophori, nepos ?</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| | Notary Bonmatteo de Verona | | | | |
| 9.04.1449. | <i>Bartholus, filius Ostoyae Iurgieuich (mater dedit et locavit)</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 24.05.1449. | <i>Vuchasinus, filius Georgii Marchouic (pater)</i> | <i>Habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 26.05.1449. | <i>Georgius, filius Vucati Marchouich Budelich (pater)</i> | <i>de villa Visocha districtus Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 9.06.1449. | <i>Petrus Miglianouich, affinis de Dragoi Pribatouich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 9.06.1449. | <i>Marcus, filius Vuchnae relicta condam Georgii Plafsich et nepos Paulis Plafsich</i> | <i>de Petroupoglie districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 10.06.1449. | <i>Michael, filius Iohannis Stepanich Dobgloz (pater)</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 30.06.1449. | <i>Michael, filius Luca Dobrignanin (pater)</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 16.07.1449. | <i>Nicolaus Ratchouich (homo sui iuris etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Luca de villa Srapalgi dictrictus banatus Croatie</i> | | | |
| 23.07.1449. | <i>Blasius Vuchoslauilich (homo sui iuris etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de villa Do districtus Corni Croatie</i> | | | |
| 14.08.1449. | <i>MatheusPetrouich, affinis de Radoi Petrouich</i> | <i>de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 23.10.1450. | <i>Alegretus condam Vuchni (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de villa Stionistach districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 9.11.1450. | <i>Stafanus filius Iohannis (etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Antibaró</i> | | | |

| | Notary Juraj de Dominicis | | | | |
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| 20.11.1470. | <i>Matheus, filius Marae relicta condam Dragani Lucich</i> | <i>de villa Siroche districtus Sibenici</i> | | | |
| 3.11.1470. | <i>Stephanus, frater Iohannis Scocinich</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 16.05.1470. | <i>Francus condam Petri, nepos Simonis Vuladoeuvich dictus Bubica</i> | <i>habitor de Sibenico</i> | | | |
| 26.03.1470. | <i>Georgius Iurchouich (homo sui iuris etatis legitime)</i> | <i>de Charauatea (de Croatie*?)</i> | | | |