

LEGISLATIVE ACTS IN AGRICULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT IN NOVI VINODOLSKI (CROATIA) IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Ž. BARTULOVIĆ,¹ D. HAMAN²

¹University of Rijeka, Faculty of Law, Rijeka, Croatia

²Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Agrobiotechnical Sciences Osijek, Osijek, Croatia

Corresponding author: daniel.haman@fazos.hr

Abstract. This paper presents analysis of urbariums as legal acts that regulate mutual rights and obligations of feudal lords and serfs. Urbariums are usually not unilateral acts of the feudal lord imposing obligations on the serfs, but the term contract is also used originally because the consent of both parties is required, regardless of the fact that the subjects are in a weaker position. Urbariums can be compared with modern acts of labor law, i.e. collective agreements. Urbariums are usually researched exclusively from the legal aspect, leaving data on agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as the use and protection of uncultivated land (pastures and forests) usually neglected. As such data can be investigated on the basis of mandatory payments of serfs to feudal lords and their work obligations, this paper aims to elaborate different types of income and expenditure accounts arising in 1593 in Vinodol, as compiled by the manager Marko Oršić, and determined by the Urbarium of Novi from 1606 and 1653. From the data on the restrictions on the use of uncultivated land, it can be determined that the inhabitants of that time carefully guarded it against excessive use or destruction, which could be defined today as an example of sustainable development.

Keywords: Novi Vinodolski, 17th century, urbarium, agriculture, sustainable development.

INTRODUCTION

Vinodol is a fertile valley on the Croatian coast, some 24 kilometres long and 2 to 3 kilometres wide. Its Latin name *Vallis vinearia* emphasises viticulture as a main economic activity, yet olive growing, animal husbandry and other forms of agriculture are also well developed. The Vinodol Law from 1288 lists 9 municipalities, among which there is Novi Vinodolski, a village and a marine port in the southeast of the valley.

Urbariums are historical legal acts used for regulation of relations between feudal lords and serfs working on manors from the 13th century until the abolition of feudalism in 1848. Urbariums are divided according to the scope of data they contain. Some of them contain names, sizes of estates and all payments done by serfs, while others contain only incomplete pieces of information. Urbarial documents were issued to individuals, groups of serfs or to whole villages in cases when some obligations were changed, when inhabiting new areas and when some exemption from payments was to be applied. In the 18th century, urbariums were considered as a public legal document by which the ruler passed general urban regulations. For example, Maria Theresa adopted Slavonian Urbarium in 1757 (HAMAN et al., 2021), by which she set limits to maximum obligations of serfs, so feudal lords and serfs could only agree on less obligations (HORVAT et al., 1986; BARTULOVIĆ, 2008).

In general, urbariums were not unilateral acts passed by feudal lords in order to impose obligations on their serfs, but they were treated as a sort of contracts because serfs as subordinated subjects also had to accept willingly the set regulations. There was a situation in the Pazin County when representatives of feudal lords imprisoned representatives of serfs to force them to agree to the increase in amount of burden imposed on them in the new urbarium adopted by a mayor in 1598 (MARGETIĆ, 2012). Despite of such occurrences, urbariums as legal acts were important in prevention of feudal lords' arbitrariness.

Urbariums can be considered as predecessors of present-day labour acts and collective agreements. To a certain extent, such acts were private contracts because they regulated mutual relationship between landlords and serfs with respect to long-term, hereditary lease of land with strong real rights, whereby serfs were obliged to compensate for the use of the land. Furthermore, even before the 18th century, urbariums were considered public acts since they were also used to regulate obligations of serfs to maintain public roads, to build and maintain fortresses, etc. Such obligations of serfs to perform public services were not connected to private lease of the feudal lord's land, but to their duty to serve to their feudal lord and to fulfil his public, administrative and judicial tasks. However, when cultivating the land or performing public works, serfs were entitled to receive certain compensation. Every worker had a daily meal (bread and wine), which can be compared to the present-day worker's food allowance benefit. When serfs worked on the feudal lord's land (allodium) and such work was not part of the common labour burden, they were entitled to get monetary compensation, i.e. per diems for a certain type of work, as determined by urbariums. For example, monetary compensation was approved in different amounts for men and women, for different types of work, such as picking grapes and mowing. In this sense, historical urbariums can be treated as predecessors of modern labour acts (VRBOŠIĆ and HAMAN, 2014).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The Vinodol Law was written in 1288 in Glagolitic script of the Croatian language. It is Croatian oldest legal act containing data that are valuable in analysis of Vinodol agricultural activity (HAMAN, 2021). In the article 5, the Vinodol Law mentions cattle, small livestock and other domestic animals (*goved, brav, skot*); the article 8 prohibits theft of domestic animals from barns (*skot, v osiku*), grain kept in barns (*gumno*), honey from beehives (*ulnici v mesti gdi se shranaju pčele*) and arson of field crops (*požganje*). The article 27 mentions sheep as a means of paying fines. The article 45 determines the reward for finding cattle and small animals (*mala živina*). As of articles 48, 52 and 54, the value of an ox is set to 8 *libars* (l), while article 51 states 10 l, which facilitates comparison of then and today's livestock value and amounts of fines. The articles 49 and 50 regulate the confiscation of cattle. The article 66 mentions shepherds and ploughmen, and the article 13 states obligation of denary payments. Currencies mentioned in the document are mark (8 libars) and libar (6 soldins, abbreviated as sz). In order to understand agriculture of that time as a basis of medieval feudal economy, it is important to state that women living in Vinodol (widows, daughters, sisters of the deceased) could also inherit real estate and land if they were willing to take over obligations and provide services to the feudal lord, as defined by the article 32 (MARGETIĆ, 1980).

Although there is no data for Novi, records are retrieved for the other municipalities in Vinodol from the 1593 income and expenditure accounts kept by Marko Oršić, a manager of Vinodol serving to the feudal family of Zrinski. However, such accounts can be compared and analysed to make conclusions about the situation in Novi as well. The Grobnik accounts specify the income called *bir* collected from the manor's pergolas and vineyards, as well as exemption from payment, e.g. blacksmiths were exempt because of the importance of their work. Annual income (*od lyta*) was secured from husbandry (*nalyske male*, small animals, probably sheep); from *sulj* (*odkwp welyke sywine*), from selling of locks, wool (*wone*), sheep's cheese and curd (*zkwthe*), animal leather (sheep, lambs, goats), flocks of sheep (*stan*), from head shepherd, of *permanije* for sheep and Perman wheat. The carpenter (*czymerman*) was to receive income from the Podkilavac settlement, the income called *arbadija* from hay mowing, family allowance (*kwch*) and the denary from the Gerovo settlement. The accounts also state the types of obligations collected from serfs: *bir, sulj, permanija, arbadija*, annual payment per household,

i.e. family, etc. Agriculture, wheat cultivation, viticulture and animal husbandry were well developed in Vinodol.

In the municipality and port of Bakar, municipal income (*bir*) is again mentioned, as well as exemptions from payment (for two vineyards, for hay mowers of three feudal estates, for the households and priests and deacons in Hreljin, St. Lucia, etc., for blacksmiths; *sulj* from *nalyske drobne sywyne* according to the register; from locks, from *wlaske podymycze*, from serfs' land, purchase of burdens in cash, for selling of wine and wheat, tax from the serfs' households, among whom there were also women. In Bribir, free men were obliged to pay *knapschyna*, a compensation for horses that transport cargo to Ozalj. According to this, fees were called *bir*, *sulj*, *podimnica*, *knapschyna*, household tax, etc.

The expenses (*trachenye*) in Grobnik were recorded as: wages per serf for planting of vineyards (*nazayenye*) of 14 sz; for digging, tying and weeding, for *korwne pretrezati*, for harvesting and carrying of must to the town 16 sz; for harvesting at the Grobnik fields 8 sz, for threshing of grains 16 sz, for mowers 1 libra, for crop pickers 16 sz; salt for cheese and cottage cheese made from landlord's sheep milk; oil for workers; candles; sauerkraut for serfs and *heroes*; cloth for shepherds' shirts and wheat, compensation for shepherds in the mountains (MARGETIĆ, 1980). Such regulations confirm the fact that viticulture and agriculture were the main activities and that peasants were entitled to receive wages for performance of certain agricultural works.

Urbariums of Novi from 1606 and 1653 were written on 11 sheets. They described obligations and services (*dusnost i slusba*) of serfs, i.e. commoners and general legal customs (*popissani zakoni, od staryh nassih naidoszmo*) for free man (serfs released from obligations), as well as for incoming Vlachs who also had various obligations. As of the article 1, swearing was prohibited. The fine for swearing was 10 days of imprisonment on water and dry bread and exposure in logs in front of the church during mass. Gambling was also prohibited with a fine of two ducats. The article 2 determined the obligation of free men to protect the town from attacks, robbers and fire (*ognia*), whereas it was obligatory that two men stayed in the castle day and night by the gate to prevent other people's cattle from grazing. The article 4 determined the obligation of keeping watch at the town gate by two guards. The article 3 regulated maintenance of peace and order in the port and the obligation to trade exclusively in the port. As of the article 5, it was prohibited to steal and to damage vineyards and plantations. The article 6 prohibited damage and entrance into vineyards (*braid*) and saltworks (*soline*) owned by feudal lord. Large cattle and horses (*siuince ali parip*) should be retained until the damage was paid, while small cattle were confiscated for the castle.

According to the article 7, judges were authorised to judge in the first instance, and there was a right to appeal to the feudal lord and to the court of three towns (*trih gradi*). The article 8 determined the obligation to cut, prepare and deliver wood, lime and stone for maintenance of the castle and the town. Inhabitants were obliged to maintain fences and dig around the feudal lord's saltworks, and any rebellion was punishable according to the article 9. Lord's vineyards, especially Rupa, had to be cultivated and vines planted, and for that hard work serfs should receive bread (*cipov*), but not wine (article 10). All fish, caught birds and wild animals (*zuirine*) had to be offered to the feudal official at the established price (article 11). According to the article 12, all fees had to be paid on time. The article 13 set general restriction on real estate trading because houses, fields and vineyards could not be sold or given as a mortgage to foreigners and to inhabitants of Senj, who did not provide services or payments to the feudal lord, unless they lived there. Inhabitants of Novi could not leave and serve to other lords without prior permission. If there was no heir or a close relative (brother, sister, mother, brother's son or daughter) after someone's death, their property and real estate belonged to the

feudal lord (as of the article 14). If serfs should divide the inherited property, like son from father or brother from brother, an authorised official should listen to the reasons and make a decision (art. 15). Animals could not be kept in the town, and if someone had a stable for a horse or cow, they had to obtain a permission from an official to keep animals closed in it (art. 16). The feudal lord had a monopoly on salt and only if he did not dispose of any salt, it could be bought elsewhere (art. 17). Quarrels, swearing and disobedience to the governor (*porkulab*) and feudal captain were prohibited (art. 18). It was forbidden to cut wood without permission of the feudal lord or his officials in Zagora, because people of Novi did not cultivate those areas, so the feudal lord took them for himself (art. 19).

On sheet 6r, there is a title written: *Vrbarium Nouoga grada pri moru u kojem szu popisani zakoni, dusnosti, slusba kmetou i szlobodniakou recenoga grada*, which can be interpreted as a text from 1653, because it contains repetitions of some obligations, rights and regulations that were mentioned before. When a town, castle, tower or house were built, all serfs were obliged to cut and process wood and planks and to bring them to town without any compensation (art. 20). They were also obliged to help the builders (art. 21), to work at limestone at the request of the feudal lord (art. 22), to repair and clean the saltworks and to bring planks from the mountain for free (art. 23). However, the work on the construction of new saltworks was paid (art. 24). The serfs were obliged to cultivate the Rupa vineyard without pay, and the feudal lord should generously provide them with bread instead (*glauu kruha*) (art. 25). Serfs were also expected to work in other vineyards owned by the feudal lord or the town, to cultivate vines, and to bring wood to them (art. 26), to pick grapes, make wine and bring wine to the town. Workers who dug, cut or weeded in vineyards were paid 10 sz, cutters and other workers received 8 sz, a grape picker got 4 sz, and workers who transported must or wine got 14 sz per day. Owners of oxen were obliged to plough at a daily wage of 14 sz, diggers working after ploughmen got 6 sz, manure drivers 12 sz, women who weeded or reaped 6 sz, those who threshed grain 15 sz and food, mowers got 15 sz, and haymakers 10 sz. Transport of hay was not paid.

According to the article 36, serfs were obliged to cut and deliver wood to the castle for the feudal lord and officials without any compensation. They transported fish, oil, fabric and other goods for the court or the town without pay to Bosiljevo. As of the article 37, they carried salt from the sea to Bosiljevo and grain from Bosiljevo to the sea for a pay of 6 l per load. For their feudal lord, inhabitants of Novi were obliged to travel by sea to Rijeka, Trieste, Senj, Rab, to other islands and beyond at their own expense, and they should have travelled on foot with the mail whenever ordered (art. 38). They were obliged to transport by sea their feudal lord, officials, their servants and other people, for which they received food (art. 39). Their duty was also to go to war against the Turks and to give the feudal lord a share of the loot (art. 40). Referring to animals, they had to give 10 sz as *szulieuina* for a cow or bull, and 5 sz for a calf (art. 41), while no fee was given for oxen (art. 42). For small livestock (sheep and goats), they were obliged to give every 15th head, and every 10th head to the church. In cases of smaller flocks, peasants pay 7 *beči* for each animal. The same amount was paid for bees (*pčelceu*) (art. 42). From the vineyards, peasants gave every 15th bucket of grapes to the feudal lord, and every 10th bucket of grapes to the church, but as the feudal lord's vineyards were neglected due to disobedience, peasants were obliged to give every 9th bucket, and to the church every 10th bucket (art. 43). Elderly persons (old men) who worked with the governor on determination of amounts of wine income for each individual were entitled to a meal. A serf who hid wine or gave it away before paying lost his wine (art. 44). *Biri*, i.e. income as a tax for land, house and field, was entered in a personal register along with names of serfs and free men, their estates and vineyards (art. 45).

Knapi, i.e. free men were obliged to pay 1 ducat per year for the house (*hisa*) or family unless the feudal lord exempted them from that obligation (art. 46). According to the decision of the late duke Nikola Frankopan, the serfs were obliged to give 100 fathoms of wood or as many ducats, but, at the request of commoners, it was determined that such fee would be given when a son or daughter was born to the feudal lord or if his family member died, because serfs could sell their products only in the port of Novi (art. 47). The income from such sale was probably more generous, so the feudal lord gave up the older form of collecting fees. This is also a proof that serfs were trading their products, but in the feudal lord's port, i.e. in the area designated for trade, by which they increased their income. Fees or taxes were paid annually, half on St. George's Day, half on St. Michael's Day, and they were collected by the captain, who handed them over to the governor (*porkulab*). *Porkulab* was authorised to pay out daily wages to workers, yet those workers who arrived late for work (*ki ne bi zaran/zorom na delo doszal*) received only half of the daily pay (art. 48). There was an old regulation stating that two free men should keep watch in the castle day and night, and also perform tasks for the feudal lord (art. 49). Two men had to keep watch at the gates every day (art. 50). In case of great need to defend themselves from Turks or other enemies, free men were obliged to defend the town with weapons, and when *porkulab* gave the order, they should arrest foreigners or natives in the town or outside and bring them to the castle (art. 51). At their request, Vlachs were exempted from denary payment, but instead, they had to transport salt from the sea, and wheat from the interior (from *Heruatou*) and other goods (art. 52) (ADAMČEK, 1980). They paid tax of 1 ducat per house (art. 53), had to go to war and to contribute to the town's and fief's prosperity under the threat of punishment (art. 54). They also had to trade in the port of Novi (art. 55) (ADAMČEK, 1980). Urbarium of Novi was adopted on 23 August 1653 in Novi, and the signature on it bears the seal of the Duke Juraj Frankopan. It was attached by the list of 7 free men from Novi, and the eighth man was the one who carried the flag in front of the army. The capitul of Novi (*kapitul*) was also exempt from taxes. New fee men performed everything as determined by the document. At the end, it was written that it was made in the harbour of his majesty the king on 16 January 1686 as a copy and a confirmation of the original urbarium of the Duke Juraj Frankopan, according to the royal commissioner Simon de Thomasis (MARGETIĆ, 1980).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the Middle Ages, land was considered to be the most important type of ownership. The understanding of ownership back then is reflected in the fact that the supreme ownership (*dominium eminens*) over all land belonged to the ruler. There is a difference between direct ownership (*dominium directum*) of the feudal lord to whom the land was given as a gift or as a fief. Peasants who cultivated the land were entitled to beneficial ownership (*dominium utile*). Speaking of the rights of commoners, i.e. serfs to the land, over time their beneficial ownership was transformed from the obligatory-legal, contractual relation of hereditary leasing of land into a strong real right similar to the right of ownership given to the person who cultivated the land (BARTULOVIĆ, 2008; BARTULOVIĆ and RADIĆ, 2018).

Bir is a historical term that denotes a fee given to the feudal lord for the use of cultivated land (HERKOV, 1956). Following the mentioned articles, it is evident that serfs had *dominium utile* over the land that they received for cultivation, but had to pay certain fee to the lord. Such fee is called *bir*. According to MARGETIĆ, the first records of *bir* originate from the 16th and 17th centuries, when *bir* emerged as a main form of tax or fee. It was paid in cash. Feudal lord determined the amount of *bir* per household, not per capita. He had the right to exempt certain serfs from payment. In the Urbarium of Novi from 1606, the article 45 states: *Nadalje bir ili rečeni prihodi koliko tko plaća od zemlje ili kuće, ili njive oni su zapisani u osobnom registru*

gdje su popisana imena kmetova, slobodnjaka i njihove zemlje i vinogradi (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997; BARTULOVIĆ and RADIĆ, 2018).

Ognjiščina. In the area of Bribir, Grižane and Drivenik, serfs were obliged to pay fees in wheat, which was called *ognjiščina*. It was an in-kind giving collected from each household, regardless of the harvest quality and the number of household members. Such giving in kind was collected in narrower part of Vinodol, which indicates that it was a very old form of taxation not requiring a more developed administrative apparatus that would determine the amount of giving, as it was a sort of lump amount. According to the Urbarium of Bribir from 1610-1612, *ognjiščina* equaled one quart, and according to the Urbarium from 1700, each household gave about 14 litres of wheat. The article 5 of that Urbarium states: *Isto tako rečeni podložnici dužni su dati godišnje za prihod fogar ili ognjišća svaki posebno, osim onih koji su slobodni, od žita uobičajenu punu mjeru od koje mjere ulaze tri u jedan naš uobičajeni star. Službenik u uobičajeno vrijeme sa starijima odnosno sucima popisat će savjesno podložnika po podložnika te ubrati žito i s njime raspoložiti po odluci više vlasti* (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997; BARTULOVIĆ and RADIĆ, 2018).

Potoka refers to giving of goods from serfs' vineyards. It was determined that peasants shall give to the lord every 15th bucket of harvest, however, the data from the first half of the 15th century prove that in Bribir, *potoka* was determined for every 11th bucket. Margetić considers it to be true in other Vinodol municipalities as well. The article 43 of the Urbarium of Novi from 1653 stated an increase in taxes, being determined as every 9th bucket (*spud*): *Nadalje, od vinograda su do sada davali svako petnaesto vedro ili spud gospodinu u grad, a deseto crkvi, ali u međuvremenu su gospodski vinogradi jako opustjeli i nisu ih redovno htjeli obrađivati ni petnaesto (vedro) mnogi ne predaju kao i za druge njihove nepokornosti i prekršaje gospodin milostivi hoće i zapovjeda da od sada moraju svako deveto vedro ili spud, a ne petnaesto u grad davati, a crkvi deseto i da taj propis i dužnost budu stalni*. According to MARGETIĆ, it was an arbitrary increase in obligations, but the feudal lord tried to justify such increase by explaining that the giving of every fifteenth bucket was introduced by agreement, i.e. that the serfs were obliged to provide certain services, which they avoided, so the agreement ceased to be valid and the old rule was reintroduced. If the ninth part is collected after the tenth part, then it amounted to a tenth of the income. This leads to conclusion that original obligation of in-kind giving in Vinodol amounted to one tenth of wheat, wine and livestock (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

Sulj is an in-kind giving collected as a compensation for usage of pastures (Mažuranić, 1975). *Sulj* dates back to the 16th and 17th centuries. Margetić connects the word *sulj* with Latin *solium* (soil). *Sulj* is a giving to the feudal lord for grazing of large and small livestock on uncultivated land. The amount of such giving was gradually decreased. In Trsat, there is no data about *sulj*, but this can be explained by the fact that there were not enough pastures for cattle. *Sulj* was to be collected by an official called *graščik*, except in Grobnik where it was done by *perman*, also a municipal official. There are records in urbariums that giving of *sulj* decreased over time. The Bribir Urbarium from 1610-1612 records that Bernardin Frankapan reduced *sulj* for inhabitants of Bribir from every tenth head of cattle to every fifteenth one, meaning that for fifteen heads of cattle, *sulj* was to be given in kind of one head of cattle. In the Urbarium of Grižane from 1544, the amount of *sulj* was the same, so MARGETIĆ is convinced that it was done so during the lifetime of Bernardin Frankapan, until 1529, probably because of his generous nobility and his wish that a part of his income remained for commoners, or maybe it was only a temporary disburden because of some natural disaster. Between 1566 and 1569, *sulj* was decreased in Grobnik, Bakar and Hreljin from every fifteenth to every twentieth head of cattle. The same occurred in Grižane in 1569, as explained: *da bi nam dali vsaki kmetić težaka ednoga u naša trsja vsako leto, mi da jim dajemo spiza*. Margetić reflects on the causes of such decrease

by connecting it with the lord's interest in maintaining work force on his allodium, as it was more economically beneficial than getting in-kind compensation, so he reduced the amount of *sulj* and demanded delivery of work instead. According to MARGETIĆ, the lowering of *sulj* in Vinodol occurred in the following way: firstly, from 1453-1459, Bernardin Frankapan reduced *sulj* in Bribir and Grižane, and probably also in Novi Drivenik, from every tenth to every fifteenth head of cattle; secondly, from 1550-1556, Nikola Zrinski reduced *sulj* in Grobnik, and probably also in Bakar and Hreljin, also from every tenth to every fifteenth head of cattle; then from 1556-1559, Juraj, Nikola and Kristof Zrinski lowered *sulj* further from every fifteenth to every twentieth head of cattle for inhabitants of Grobnik, and probably also of Bakar and Hreljin; and at last, in 1569, Stjepan Frankapan lowered *sulj* in Grižane also from every fifteenth to every twentieth head of cattle (MARGETIĆ, 1980; BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

In its article 6, the Urbarium of Bribir from 1700 defined the following: "*Nadalje obvezni su dati od svakih dvadeset glava ovaca ili koza za prihod sulj jednu glavu sa svojim mladunčem i od glava četrdeset jednu glavu s mladunčetom i jednu jalovu. Ako pak nedostaje jedna životinja do broja dvadeset obavezan je dati životinju s mladim, a tko nema dvadeset ili devetnaest glava, nije dužan dati životinju već koliko ima glava (to se zove nališki), od svakog pojedinog je dužan dati u novcu soldi tri i po, kažem tri i po. Od tih životinja koje se ubiru za sulj daje se jednu glavu s mladunčetom satniku i jednu glavu grašćikima za njihov trud kako je to do sada bilo uobičajeno raditi* (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

The Urbarium of Novi from 1763 recorded further decreasing of *sulj* to every fiftieth head of cattle and substitution of in-kind giving with monetary one: *Ostaje nadalje kao obveza rečenih podložnika u Zagonu godišnje plaćanje doprinosa sulj u skladu sa starim urbarom od svakih 50 glava malih životinja, ovaca ili koza, jednu glavu a za te (glave) lira 5,5 s time da ostaju slobodni gospodski sudac, satnik, kapetan knapa, grašćik i kapetan kmetova od gore rečenih novčanih opterećenja za trud i odgovornost što je imaju prilikom ubiranja, kako je bilo i prije* (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

Inhabitants of Vinodol were supposed to guard the pastures so that no foreigners use them, as the feudal lord could not collect taxes from foreigners. Residents of certain municipalities had their own interest in safeguarding the pastures, as they did not want them to be used by someone who was not obliged to pay *sulj*. As of the article 2, the Urbarium of Novi from 1606 (1653) determines: *...dužni su uz istu kaznu ne samo knapi nego i drugi stanovnici Novog čuvati i braniti granice i međe od popaše, štete i sile stranaca ili ljudi sa granice...* The same was stated in the Urbarium of Novi from 1763, in the article 4: *...da čuvaju naša područja i granice šuma i zemlje od nedozvoljene paše, šteta i nasilja izvana ili od ljudi susjednih našim područjima* (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

The Vinodol Law does not contain any data about clearings of land, yet it can be assumed that such cleared land was treated as cultivated land. Although such land was sometimes called municipal, as in the Urbarium of Bribir from 1700 (*pezzo di comunale*), and in the Urbarium of Hreljin from 1700 (*terreni comunali*), municipalities, i.e. their residents could use land only if compensating for it, i.e. by giving *dominium utile* while recognising the feudal lord's *dominium directum*. Municipality had no right to dispose of that land, as it was reserved for the feudal lord. In 1642, Petar Zrinski closed a contract with residents of Grobnik to determine the jurisdiction of the feudal lord to issue permits for clearing and cultivation of new areas: *Suci ne smiju (dozvoliti) u ovoj gospoštiji ili u gradu bilo što obrađivati ili krčiti bez znanja našeg oficijala. Isto i za Bakrane*. The Urbarium of Novi from 1763 distinguishes *bir* collected for old and new land, meaning for cultivated and newly cleared areas. *Old bir* for land that was already cultivated (*il vecchio provento bir*) was set to 475 liras and 7 soldins, and *new bir* (*il medemissimo nuovo provento detto*) was 150 liras and 11 soldins. This was entered in the records of Vinodol

income accounts six years later, in 1769. Obligation of payment was comprised into one amount of 611 libars, approximately the same as in 1763. That record mentioned also obligation of payment for cleared land, but this was in reference with areas that were to be cleared or just cleared land for which no payment was collected before. Payment was to be made in the amount of half a solid for 10, 15 or 20 square orges, depending on the quality of land. Forests were also owned by the feudal lord, and inhabitants were not allowed to exploit them without paying certain fee. Unfortunately, there is no records on the use of forests, except that there is an entry in the Urbarium of Novi by which cutting of wood was completely forbidden in Zagorje. It seems that the land there was once cultivated, but then abandoned, so the feudal lord took it over again as of his right of direct ownership (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

In Vinodol, selling of real estate to foreigners was not allowed, so people who lived outside the Vinodol estate could not buy a property there. The contract that Petar Zrinski made with residents of Grobnik in 1642 determines the following: *...neka se nitko od naših podložnika ne usudi prodati strancima bilo kakve nekretnine*. The Urbarium of Hreljin from 1700 also prohibited selling of real estate to foreigners (art. 38). The article 13 of the Urbarium of Novi also determined some restrictions related to the sale and mortgage of real estate to foreigners, especially to inhabitants of Senj (BARTULOVIĆ, 1997).

Monetary compensation for work performed by serfs-commoners. In addition to the above data, the Urbarium of Novi also states the reimbursement for work in Grobnik, as well as food expenses. It is peculiar that fees or wages for work have not been analysed in detail so far. For the work in vineyards, *nazayenye vinograda*, cutters got 8 sz, diggers 16 sz, binders earned 16 sz, workers who placed stakes got 16 sz, for sowing the wage was 8 sz, for mowers 1 l, for collectors 16 sz. Women who weeded grain received half as much, i.e. 8 sz. Workers had also a right to have a cooked meal, as there was a record of cost referring to food for workers in the amount of 61 quarts of oil, one bacon and cabbage. In Bakar, meals for workers were made out of millet, oil, pork and sauerkraut. There was a separate regulation referring to work of shepherds, as for their service the feudal lord paid clothing, shoes and an annual wage, according to the records of 1593. In 1599, expenses were recorded for shepherds and new number of wages was mentioned. In 1610-1612, wages for work in the field were confirmed.

For working in vineyards, a man was paid 8 sz, and a woman 4 sz. Haymakers were not entitled to food and drink for their work. Transport of animals from Trsat to Grobnik and Ozalj was paid 6 l. For transport of wood, 2 serfs were exempted from paying *sulj*, as well as those who carried mail. A contract from 1642 obliged the women to spin and weave the feudal lord's wool for a wage of probably 8 sz. There were changes occurring from 1700, as 12 serfs were chosen to plough, carry manure, sow and cultivate land for a monetary compensation. The urbarium from 1726 introduced new regulations for those 12 people, as the situation worsened because each commoner had to give two workers to perform ordered work, meaning that they had to work for 2 days a year on allodium, along with those 12. There was no mention of working hours, but there is a record in the Urbarium of Novi from 1606 mentioning: *ki ne bi zaran na delo doszal, da musze nima pod punoma, nego za pol dneua platiti* (MARGETIĆ, 1995; BARTULOVIĆ and UČUR, 2022).

CONCLUSIONS

Urbariums as legal acts have been researched by legal historians. Urbariums contain important historical data on agriculture and economy of the area for which they were specifically compiled. They should be researched interdisciplinary, especially by scientists dealing with the history of economy, agriculture and society. As an example of possible research, the authors researched urbariums valid for settlements of Novi in the Vinodol area on the Croatian coast.

That area is well-known by the Vinodol Law from 1288, however urbariums and related contracts, records on income and expenditure, and similar accounts have not been sufficiently researched yet. Those legal documents represent an excellent source of information on various agricultural activities, such as crop growing, viticulture, livestock breeding, beekeeping, fishing, trade of agricultural products, feudal taxes paid in kind, reasons for exemption from taxes, their increase or decrease, which depended on economic, but also on social situation in that area. In addition, urbariums prove that serfs had obligations to feudal lords, but were also paid for performing certain jobs that were not considered part of feudal obligations, so the feudal lord treated them like employees. In this sense, urbariums can be considered as predecessors of modern labour acts, collective agreements, as well as individual employment contracts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADAMČEK, JOSIP, 1980, Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća, JAZU, Zagreb, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Liber, Croatia.
- BARTULOVIĆ, ŽELJKO, 1997, Neka pitanja stvarnih i obveznih prava, Vinodolski zakon (1288.), Krčki i Senjski statut (1388.), Rijeka, Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Rijeka, Croatia.
- BARTULOVIĆ, ŽELJKO, 2008, Povijest hrvatskog prava i države, kompendij, Rijeka, Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, Croatia
- BARTULOVIĆ, ŽELJKO; RADIĆ, ŽELJKO, 2018, Frankopanska baština u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji, Putovima Frankopana, Rijeka, Primorsko-goranska županija and Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci: 375-428, Croatia.
- HAMAN, DANIEL, 2021, The Vinodol Law provisions related to wheat as the most important agricultural crop in the Middle Ages, Proceedings of the 56th Croatian and 16th International Symposium on Agriculture, Vodice, Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Fakultet agrobiotehničkih znanosti Osijek: 420-423, Croatia.
- HAMAN, DANIEL; ILJKIĆ, DARIO; VARGA, IVANA, 2021, Legal and organizational situation in agriculture of the Virovitica County and the City of Osijek in the second half of the 18th century, International Journal Vallis Aurea 7 (1), Požega, Veleučilište u Požegi and DAAAM International Vienna: 73-84, Croatia.
- HERKOV, ZLATKO, 1956, Građa za financijsko-pravni rječnik feudalne epohe Hrvatske, I. svezak, Zagreb, Djela JAZU, 47, JAZU, Croatia.
- HORVAT, MARIJAN; BASTAIĆ, KONSTANTIN; SIROTKOVIĆ, HODIMIR, 1968, Rječnik historije države i prava, Zagreb, Informator, Croatia.
- MARGETIĆ, LUJO, 1995, Grobnički urbari, Grobnički zbornik, posebna izdanja, knj. 1., Rijeka, Katedra čakavskog sabora Grobnišćine, Croatia.
- MARGETIĆ, LUJO, 1980, Iz vinodolske prošlosti, Pravni izvori i rasprave, Rijeka and Zagreb, Liburnija i Školska knjiga, Croatia.
- MARGETIĆ, LUJO, 2012, Srednjovjekovni zakoni i akti na Kvarneru, Zagreb and Rijeka, Nakladni zavod Globus, Naklada Kvarner, Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, Croatia.
- MAŽURANIĆ, VLADIMIR, 1975, Prinosi za hrvatski pravno-povijesni rječnik, I.-II. dio, Zagreb, Pretisak Informator, Croatia.
- OPĆA ENCIKLOPEDIJA Leksikografskog zavoda Jugoslavije, Zagreb 1963.-1969.
- UČUR, MARINKO ĐURO; BARTULOVIĆ, ŽELJKO, 2022, Nomotehnički aspekti Vinodolskog zakona iz 1288., Grobnički zbornik 11, Rijeka, Katedra čakavskog sabora Grobnišćine: 1-10, Croatia.
- VRBOŠIĆ, JOSIP; HAMAN, DANIEL, 2014, Naknade za rad tijekom druge polovine 18. stoljeća na području Virovitičke županije s posebnim osvrtom na osječki kotar i sam grad Osijek, Pravni vjesnik 30 (1), Osijek, Pravni fakultet u Osijeku: 55-72, Croatia.