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FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS: SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)

Abstract: An analysis of original medieval material at the level of historiographical examination sheds light, in general, on what the Serbian medieval city represented compared to other urban medieval forms, both synchronously and diachronically. Written source material of different provenance has been used. In the case of Belgrade, the data from the Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević were analysed. In the case of Smederevo, the basis was epigraphic material, and in the case of Priština, a copy of the inscription from the Priština fortification, preserved in a manuscript that is kept today in the Saint Panteleimon monastery. A particular focus was placed on the fortress of Novi in Boka, which herzog Stefan Vukčić-Kosača transformed into an urban settlement.

Keywords: city, fortress, fortify, build, economy, trade, craftsmanship, Middle Ages, Serbia.

The fortification and economic strengthening of urban settlements were important processes in the development of all towns, which went through them in different ways. The importance of an urban settlement was not correlated to the existence of fortifications. Numerous urban settlements in the continental part of the Serbian lands were not fortified, but experienced vibrant economic growth. Some of these developed in the immediate vicinity of fortresses, while a part of prominent towns were fortified. The Serbian medieval state reached the pinnacle of urbanisation processes in the first half of the 15th century. Different types of towns and cities

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emerged and co-existed in its territory – old Byzantine cities, mining urban settlements, capital cities, fortifications with suburbs and, market places. Each urban settlement was a separate entity where economic, social and political functions were developing.¹

An analysis of original medieval material at the level of historiographical examination sheds light, among other, on what the Serbian medieval city. This paper will attempt to answer how medieval writers described it.

When it comes to the city in the Serbian medieval state from the aspect of our topic, there is no written source material that could, for instance, be compared to the description of Dubrovnik by Philippus de Diversis.² The written source material is of different provenance.

Medieval legal documents provide important material for some aspects of urban life. Under Article 127 of Dušan's Code, the inhabitants of the town and its župa had the obligation to rebuild *the city and the tower*.³ Villages granted to monasteries were often exempted from the obligation of *city-building*.⁴ There were also exceptions. In the charter of Despot Stefan Lazarević, it was clearly emphasised that the villages belonging to the Monastery of Great Lavra of St Athanasius on Mount Athos were not released from the obligation to build Belgrade.⁵

¹ Владета Петровић, "Градска насеља у доба првих Немањића", у: *Стефан Провенчани и његово доба*, Београд 2020, 411–427. Владета Петровић, Гордана Гаврић, "Цркве у српским средњовековним утврђењима и градским насељима (XII–XV век): изабрани примери", *Историјски часопис* 71 (2022) 35–62, 37.

Considering the historical, natural, and geographical conditions, the most important settlements in the area of the medieval Serbian state can be classified into three groups. The first group consists of the old urban centers in the fertile valleys of the Morava-Vardar Valley, Kosovo and Metohija, through which the most important roads in the Peninsula passed. The second group includes the settlements created in the immediate vicinity of the large mining areas and the roads leading to them, while the third group consists of cities on the Adriatic coast and in its immediate hinterland.

² In his *Descriptio* of Dubrovnik, Philippus de Diversis pointed out many things concerning every medieval city: the city should be built in a place suitable for trade and for people's health; where there is plenty of water, where the climate is good and mild; the city should be fortified with thick walls with large towers and everything else that is necessary for the fortification of the city and the safety of citizens. See Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnog grada Dubrovnika*, са латинског превео Иван Божић, Dubrovnik 1973, 15–20.

³ Никола Радојчић, *Законик цара Стефана Душана 1349. и 1354.*, Београд 1960, 67, 124. Александар Соловјев, *Законик цара Стефана Душана 1349. и 1354. године*, Београд 1980, 280–281. *Душанов законик*, приредио Ђорђе Бубало, Београд 2010, 100, 196.

On the meaning of the word *tower* in medieval Cyrillic sources and in this article of Dušan's Code, see Jovanka Kalić, "Was verstand man in den mittelalterlichen serbischen städten unter 'Kula'", *Balkanoslavica* 7 (1978) 15–24, 18.

⁴ On the obligation of city-building, see Марко Шуица, *Градозиданије*, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, приредили Сима Ћирковић и Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 125–126. Владета Петровић, "Град у ћириличној дипломатичкој грађи", in: *Урбанизација у источној и југоисточној Европи*, Београд – Нижњи Новгород 2019, 140–143.

⁵ Александар Младеновић, *Повеље и писма деспота Стефана*, Београд 2007, 260, 262, 264.

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The source material of another genre type offers possibilities for different interpretations or is often fragmentary. Hagiographies most often contain only brief notes that the ruler has built a *city*. Constantine the Philosopher writes that Prince Lazar has built many fortifications and mentions the construction of Kruševac by name. The emphasis is on the construction of fortifications, including the construction of the Lazarica church.⁶ In his idealised description of Serbia, this excellent writer points out that the country was protected: *it is surrounded by too high mountains (and) such cities as can be found in small numbers in many countries. They are remarkable for their high towers and fortifications, and (are supplied with) water that is called the joy of the cities.*⁷ Constantine the Philosopher also left a valuable description of the reconstruction of medieval Belgrade during the reign of Despot Stefan Lazarević, which is an exceptional source for understanding how the medieval man understood the city, i.e. what a settlement had to have in order to be considered a city. Analysing his data, we must always keep in mind the topoi of hagiographic literature. While describing the remodelling of Belgrade, the author speaks of the construction of the “seven-summit city”.⁸ In addition to fortifying the city, Despot Stefan Lazarević issued a charter for Belgrade in order to spur its economic development. The charter has not been preserved, and information about its content is given by Constantine the Philosopher in chapters 38 and 51 of the *Life of Stefan Lazarević, the Serbian Despot*. Pursuant to the charter, the city residents were granted privileges such as personal freedom, freedom of movement, exemption from hard labour, the right to free trade in the country with the exemption from customs duties, and the right to international trade in Hungary and neighbouring countries. Along with these measures, he encouraged that *the richest people* from other cities settle in Belgrade.⁹ Based on archaeological research, the spatial division of Belgrade during the time of Despot Stefan Lazarević implied the division into the castrum (Upper Town) and civitac (Lower Town) – the fortified part of the urban settlement. A significant part of the settlement was outside the fortification. The suburbs developed along the road that led from the Eastern Gates of the city to today’s Cara Dušana Street, where the medieval square was most likely located. The suburbs spread towards the west (the area of the present-day Cathedral Church on the Sava slope).¹⁰

⁶ Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, превод и напомене Гордана Јовановић, Београд 2009, 33.

⁷ Ibidem, 21.

⁸ Ibidem, 57–59. For an analysis of the source value of Constantine’s description of Belgrade, see: Јованка Калић, “Нова сазнања о прошлости Београда”, *Историјски гласник* 1 (1971) 53–66. eadem, “Опис Београда у XV веку”, *Зборник Филозофског факултета* 12/1 (Београд 1974) 443–453. Марија Бајаловић – Хаџи-Пешић, “Унутрашње утврђење београдског града, V”, *Годишњак града Београда* 44 (1997) 67–88, 68–74.

⁹ Јованка Калић, “Београдска повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића”, in: *Средњовековно право у Срба у огледалу историјских извора*, Београд 2009, 189–197, 195.

¹⁰ For more details on the spatial division of Belgrade, see Марко Поповић, *Београдска тврђава*, Београд 2006, 117–121.

Numerous urban settlements in the medieval Serbian lands sprang up in the wave of urbanisation, which was conditioned by the development of trade. These settlements were created at the foot of fortresses, at road intersections, near caravan stations or at the places of occasional fairs.¹¹ At the foot of certain fortresses, suburbs were formed where merchants and artisans lived. Over time, places around the fortress could grow into larger urban settlements. That process often did not leave numerous written testimonies. With the intensification of construction activity in the mid-14th century, fundamental changes in the design of the medieval city also took place. Wider or narrower suburbs, with residential houses and other public buildings, developed around larger fortresses, which were defended by garrisons. Fortifications were no longer built only in inaccessible locations, but also in suitable places in the plains, near rivers and road communications, where a civilian settlement could also be located.¹² Some of them later ceased to exist and some developed into well-known cities, depending on whether they retained their former economic importance after the collapse of the Serbian state. As they changed their appearance over time, it is today difficult to say what Serbian medieval cities looked like. The dilapidated houses where the medieval people lived disappeared, and only fortresses remained.¹³

It is assumed that Smederevo was an open urban settlement without ramparts. Σφεντέρμος, is mentioned in the charter of Byzantine Emperor Basil II in 1019. It belonged to the Braničevo bishop.¹⁴ Smederevo is also mentioned in the Ravanica monastery charter of Prince Lazar.¹⁵ The people of Dubrovnik appeared in Smederevo as early as 1408.¹⁶ The construction of the Smederevo ramparts left no traces in written medieval sources, as is the case with Belgrade. One epigraphic source testifying to the construction of the fortress has been preserved. According to the

¹¹ For more details on unfortified urban settlements, see Божидар Зарковић, *Тргови и урбанизација Србије у средњем веку*, Косовска Митровица 2017. Владета Петровић, Гордана Гаврић, "Црква као огледало урбаног простора. Свето и профано наслеђе средњовековног Трговишта", in: *Богословље и духовни живот Карловачке митрополије у оквиру 800 година аутокефалне Српске православне цркве*, Београд – Нови Сад 2019, 189–209.

¹² Иван Здравковић, "Постанак и развитак наших средњовековних вароши-градова", *Рашка баштина* 2 (1980) 179–187, 179; Гордана Симић, *Донжон куле у фортификацији средњовековних градова*, Београд 2010, 84.

¹³ Момчило Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба*, Београд 1994, 720.

¹⁴ Heinrich Gelzer, "Ungerdruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893) 22–72, 43. See also Стојан Новаковић, "Охридска архиепископија у почетку XI века", *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 76 (1908) 1–62, 37–38. Сима Ћирковић, "Смедерево – престоница српске деспотовине", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 61–69.

¹⁵ Александар Младеновић, *Повеље кнеза Лазара*, Београд 2003, 54, 62, 83, 94, 101, 113, 120.

¹⁶ Михаило Динић, *Грађа за историју Београда II*, Београд 1958, 13–14. About the Dubrovnik settlement in Smederevo see Десанка Ковачевић, "Дубровачка насеобина у Смедереву у доба Деспотовине", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 103–120.

inscription on the southern wall of the Cross Tower, the fortification was built between 1428 and 1430: *In Christ God, pious Despot Đurađ Branković, the lord of Serbia and the Littoral of Zeta. By his order, this city was built in the year 6938 (1430).*¹⁷ Ottoman chronicler Oruç notes that the fortress in Smederevo was built by Đurađ Branković secretly from Sultan Murat II. According to an older, Oxford manuscript, this took place in the Hijri year of 831 (22 October 1427 – 10 October 1428), and according to a younger, Cambridge manuscript it happened in the Hijri year of 838 (7 August 1434 – 26 July 1435).¹⁸ Most researchers believe that it was not possible to build such a large fortification in such a short time. Đurađ Bošković argued that the inscription on the Despot's tower refers only to the construction of the Small Town, and that the other parts of the town were built at a later time.¹⁹ Also, most researchers believe that there were several phases in the construction of Smederevo: the first phase concerns the construction of the Small Town, the second pertains to the construction of the Great Town, and the third – to the addition of polygonal towers by the Ottomans.²⁰ However, Aleksandar Deroko pointed out, "in terms of the general arrangement and equipment of the walls and towers, the city was conceived as a fortification set up for combat only with cold weapons and stone-throwing devices."²¹ All the towers in the Small Town, with the exception of the donjon, were completely open to the town yard. The towers of the Great Town and of the Small Town were subsequently arched over by a brick arch. In this way, the platforms on the highest floor were set up. Aleksandar Deroko believes that these platforms were built to mount lighter cannons in the period between 1453 and 1456.²²

There are sources that contain arguments for drawing different conclusions. A note from Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle testifies to the existence of the Smederevo fortress in the late 14th century. Aşıkpaşazade states that after Olivera married Sultan Bayezid I, the Sultan returned the Smederevo and Golubac fortresses to Stefan Lazarević at her persuasion. Based on this information, Nedim Filipović concluded

¹⁷ Млађан Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, Смедерево 2011², 26–27.

¹⁸ Недим Филиповић, "Неколике биљешке око Смедерева", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 122–123.

¹⁹ Ђурђе Бошковић, „Споменица петстогодишњице смедеревског града“, *Старинар* 8–9 (1933–1944) 326–329, 327–328.

²⁰ Александар Дероко, "Смедеревски град", *Старинар* 2 (1951) 59–98, 64–65. Млађан Цуњак, "Прилози познавању српске средњовековне материјалне културе", *Саопштења Републичког завода за заштиту споменика културе* 18 (1986) 229–238, 229. Idem, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, 59–79. Марко Поповић, *Смедеревски град*, Београд 2013, 55–73.

²¹ А. Дероко, "Смедеревски град", 59–79, 66.

²² А. Дероко, "Смедеревски град", 59–98, 66–67. Млађан Цуњак and Дејан Радовановић believe that Despot Đurađ Branković, after the first fall of the Despotate, began to build cannon holes in front of the entrance to the Small Town and cannon platforms on the towers. See Млађан Цуњак, Дејан Радовановић, "Смедеревска тврђава, резултати истраживања на кули 10 у 1984.", *Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије* 19 (1995) 116–118. In detail with older literature М. Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, 49–78.

“...that in the area where today’s Smederevo fortress is located, there was some, by all means a smaller, fortified stronghold.”²³ According to two Bulgarian scientists, a cartographic source also testifies that the Smederevo fortress existed in the late 14th century. It is a map of a part of the Balkan Peninsula by an anonymous author.²⁴ The cities are shown in the form of vignettes, and most of them have a flag. The flags have a cross, a crescent or there is no symbol. Of the 66 cities mapped, the flags of 14 cities have a cross and 26 a crescent moon, while the rest are either without a flag or without a mark. The fortress of Smederevo (Smedrico) is marked in the map.²⁵ The dating of the map is still disputable.²⁶ The fact that the Smederevo fortress is in the map served Milica Nikolić to conclude that the map could have been created after 1430 and before 1453.²⁷

There was also the practice to protect cities better by subsequently building a fortress. In case of danger, the inhabitants took shelter in nearby fortresses. The

²³ Н. Филиповић, “Неколике биљешке око Смедерева”, 121–142, 122. The information that Golubac was in the Ottoman hands is correct. After the Battle of Kosovo, Golubac fell under Turkish rule and was unsuccessfully besieged by the Hungarian army in 1399. See Вељан Трпковић, “Турско-угарски сукоби до 1402.”, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1959) 93–121, 118–119. Сима Ђирковић, *Голубац у средњем веку*, Пожаревац 1968, 10–11.

²⁴ The map is kept in the National Library in Paris: Codex Latinus 7239 on pages 113v and 114r. See Veselin Beševliev, “Eine Militärkarte der Balkanhalbinsel aus den letzten Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Балканско езикознание* VII/2 (Софија 1963) 39–48, 39. Милица Николић, “Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије”, in: *Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae* II, Београд 1979, 67–90, 81.

²⁵ М. Николић, *Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије*, 81–83.

²⁶ Veselin Beševliev dates the map to the period between 1394 and 1396, based on the information that the flag over Vidin contained a cross – which testifies that the city was still in Bulgarian hands; see V. Beševliev, “Eine Militärkarte der Balkanhalbinsel aus den letzten Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts”, 48. Franz Babinger believes that the map was made between 1452 and March 1453 because he considers an unnamed fortification to be Rumelihisari; see Franz Babinger, “An Italian Map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–1453)”, *Imago Mundi* VIII (1951) 8–15. Florio Banfi disagrees with Babinger’s dating. He believes that this fortress existed even before Rumelihisari and that it was drawn by Buondelmonti in his map from 1422. Banfi dates the map to October 1443 and believes that the map was made by Paolo Santini in Hungary for King Vladislav before his attack on the Turks; see Florio Banfi, “Two Italian maps of the Balkan Peninsula”, *Imago Mundi* XI (1954) 17–24. Peter Koledarov dates the map to the period between 1388 and the fall of the Tarnovo Empire in 1393, based on the flag over Archer; see Петър Коледаров, “Втората българска държава в страните карти от век”, *Векове* 4 (1973) 22–26, 26.

²⁷ М. Николић, “Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије”, 83. Also see Slobodan Ćurčić, “Visible and invisible aspects of building the fortified palace of Smederevo and its historical significance”, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 50/2 (2013) 835–851, 838. The arguments of Bulgarian scientist Veselin Beševliev (see note 23) seem quite strong to us, and we should not lightly dismiss the possibility that Smederevo was fortified earlier. In addition, the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle mentions the Smederevo fortress in the last decade of the 14th century.

inhabitants of Srebrenica took shelter in the subsequently built Srebrenik. The same happened with the Olovac fortress near Olovo, while the inhabitants of Fojnica took refuge in the Kozograd fortress.²⁸ A similar case happened near Priština. Priština was a largely unfortified urban settlement. Emperor John Kantakouzenos considers Priština an unfortified village. It contained the court of Emperor Dušan.²⁹ With the development of mining production from the nearby mines near Novi Brdo, Janjevo and Trepča, and being on an important busy road, Priština developed over time into a significant economic centre, with flourishing trade and crafts. Silver and gold from nearby mines were traded in this market place.³⁰ It has been established with certainty that there were eleven specialised crafts in Priština. In the early Ottoman period, three mahallas were named after crafts: *Pojasar*, *Štitar* and *Lukar*.³¹ One interesting source about the construction of the fortress in this urban settlement has been preserved. It was probably a copy of the inscription from the Priština fortification, preserved in a manuscript that is kept today in the Saint Panteleimon monastery.³² *Pious master Vuk Stepan, the son of pious sebastokrator Branko, built a beautiful city (i.e. fortress) in the place of Priština.* In this charter, Vuk Branković clearly states the reasons for the construction of the fortress: *Turkish attacks on the Christian race.*³³ Earlier historiography had no information on any medieval fortification in

²⁸ Десанка Ковачевић–Којић, *Градска насеља средњовјековне босанске државе*, Сарајево 1978, 261.

²⁹ *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије VI*, превод и коментари Сима Ђирковић и Божидар Ферјанчић, Београд 1986, 387.

³⁰ Customs duties were collected in the markets and they were the main trade income. They represented a tenth of the value of the sold goods and, after the income from the duties of the dependent population, they were the most important source of income for the ruler. It is therefore no wonder that Serbian rulers paid full attention to trade, its development and regulation, and customs. The customs system and method of customs revenue collection in medieval Serbia were finally established by the late 13th century and basically remained as such until the fall under Turkish rule. Customs duties were not collected at the border, but in the markets where the goods were sold, and only on the goods sold. If the merchant had any goods left, he could go to another market where the procedure was repeated. Customs duties were paid on all goods in the last market in case the merchant wanted to go to other countries. See Андрија Веселиновић, “Царински систем у Србији у доба Деспотовине”, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1984) 10–16, 7–38.

³¹ For more details about Priština in the Middle Ages: Десанка Ковачевић–Којић, “Приштина у средњем вијеку,” in: *Градски живот у Србији и Босни (XIV и XV вијек)*, Београд 2007, 57–91.

³² See Анатолий Аркадьевич Турилов, “Последний отголосок идеи ‘Царства Сербов и Греков’ (Градоданная надпис Вука Бранковича 1378–1379. Гг.)”, in: *Исследования по славянскому и сербскому средневековью*, Београд 2014, 519–538, 527–528.

³³ Анатолий Аркадьевич Турилов, “Последний отголосок идеи ‘Царства Сербов и Греков’ (Градоданная надпис Вука Бранковича 1378–1379. гг.)”, in: *Исследования по славянскому и сербскому средневековью*, Београд 2014, 519–538, 532–533.

Priština, and no attempt was made to ubicate it.³⁴ Among the Serbian population in the 19th century, there was a legend that the remains of the *courts* of King Milutin were located in the very heart of the city.³⁵ Since Vuk Branković's inscription mentions a metropolitanate in the city, it can serve as a good guideline for ubication. The Christian mahalla *Mitropolit* was recorded in Ottoman censuses from 1487 until the reign of Sultan Selim. The Pirinaz mosque was built with the material of the old metropolitanate.³⁶ Moreover, when it comes to Priština from the time of Vuk Branković, after the collapse of the Serbian Empire, the regional lords built their residences in urban settlements. The main residence of Prince Lazar became Kruševac, a fortified town, a military and state centre and a fortified feudal court.³⁷ The following generations of Serbian rulers were also drawn to urban centres. Belgrade and Smederevo were being built, becoming political, economic and cultural centres. They contained the rulers' courts where the ruler resided and where central government authorities operated. On the other hand, numerous urban settlements became the backbone of the branched state administration system. In them, the administration belonged to the local authorities through which the central authority – the ruler – collected revenues and implemented measures important for trade, mining, crafts and general life in the city.³⁸

³⁴ Атанасије Урошевић, "Приштина (Антропогеографска испитивања)", *Зборник радова* 14. Етнографски институт 2 (1951) 1–35. Војислав Јовановић, "Косовски градови и дворци XI–XV век", *Задужбине Косова: споменици и знамења српског народа*, Призрен–Београд 1987, 365–384, 382–383. Божидар Зарковић, *Тргови и урбанизација Србије у средњем веку*, Косовска Митровица 2017, 293–295. Весна Зарковић, *Приштина на размеђи векова*, Лепосавић 2019, 14–18.

³⁵ Тодор П. Станковић, *Путне белешке по Старој Србији 1871–1889*, Београд 1910, 84–85. А. Урошевић, "Приштина (Антропогеографска испитивања)", 26.

³⁶ Милојко В. Веселиновић, "Кроз Косово", *Годишњица Николе Чупића* 14 (1894) 298–350, 304, 307. Бранислав Нушић, *Косово, опис земље и народа*, Нови Сад 1903, 10–12. Олга Зиројевић, *Цркве и манастири на подручју Пећке патријаршије до 1683. године*, Београд 1984, 170, 253. Милан Ивановић, "Црквени споменици XIII–XX века", in: *Задужбине Косова: споменици и знамења српског народа*, Призрен–Београд 1987, 387–547, 513. It is possible that the area around the Pirinaz mosque contains the remains of the fortification built by Vuk Branković.

For more details on mahallas in Priština for the 1477–1569 period see: Rahman Şahin, "Priştine şehri mahalleleri (1477–1569)", *Journal of Süleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences* 40 (2021/2), 306–329.

³⁷ Мирко Ковачевић, "Профана архитектура средњовековног Крушевца", in: *Археолошка истраживања Крушевца и моравске Србије*, Београд 1980, 13–29.

³⁸ Сима Ћирковић, "Двор српских владара: од утврђења до градског насеља", in: idem, *Работници, војници, духовници: друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 423–434. Марко Поповић, "Утврђења моравске Србије", in: *Свети Кнез Лазар. Споменица о шестој стогодишњици Косовског боја 1389–1989*, Београд 1989, 71–87.

FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS:
SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)

It is justified to assume that the role of rulers and powerful feudal lords had a significant and, in some cases, decisive importance for such development. The granting of trade privileges to some settlements was a necessary precondition for smooth economic and social development of the city. The original medieval material about Novi in the Bay of Kotor clearly shows what legal, political and financial means a ruler used in order to establish and develop an urban settlement. Herzog Stefan Vukčić-Kosača intended to make Novi, a fortress in the Dračevica župa, an economically prosperous city. The people of Dubrovnik were frightened by the powerful magnate's intention. They interpreted the herzog's actions in Novi as his intention "to make a city out of a fortress".³⁹ In 1449, he opened a weaving mill in Novi, provoking resentment among the people of Dubrovnik. In addition, in order to create a strong economic centre, he took measures to increase the population – he constructed and gave incentives for the construction of houses. He attracted new inhabitants, particularly from the ranks of artisans by giving them *faith and free passage*, and by *waiving taxes for several years*. He publicly proclaimed that the settlers in Novi would not be charged or prosecuted for debts. If the Dubrovnik reports are to be believed, he even allowed people accused of theft and robbery to settle in Novi, without the fear of persecution. A large number of people from Dubrovnik and Kotor appeared among the settlers.⁴⁰

According to the Kotor accusations, in addition to opening the weaving mill, the herzog settled and organised craftsmen for the production of weapons and ballista (crossbows). The herzog lent money to artisans so that they start production and he purchased their products.⁴¹ In 1450, he succeeded in granting to the city of Venice the right to trade and transport food to Novi. In addition to grain, wine, meat, oil, etc., food also implied salt. It was only this approval, which was later often renewed, that ensured the future of Novi. In 1451, the herzog managed to obtain trade privileges from King Alfonso. However, the people of Kotor managed to achieve that all goods arriving in Novi were cleared through the Kotor customs.⁴²

So the herzog implemented measures similar to those that Despot Stefan Lazarević undertook in Belgrade. The city residents were granted privileges that included personal freedom, freedom of movement, exemption from hard labour, the right to free trade in the country with the exemption from customs duties, and the right to

³⁹ Сима Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, Београд 1964, 122. Lett. Di Levante XV, 32', 25. II 1450: . . . come voleva far **del castello la cita**...

See also Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, 124–125, 312.

⁴⁰ С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 122. Ignacij Voje, "Sukno iz Hercegnovega", *Zgodovinski časopis* 19–20 (1965–1966) 181–185.

⁴¹ С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 124. Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, 202.

⁴² С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 126.

international trade in the neighbouring countries.⁴³ The role of rulers in the economic development of urban settlements in these two cases is undoubted and pivotal.⁴⁴

⁴³ See J. Калић, “Београдска повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића”, 189–197.

⁴⁴ This indicates that even cities without a high degree of city self-government experienced significant economic prosperity. On the degree of autonomy of urban settlements in medieval Serbia, see a comprehensive study: Сима Ћирковић, “Неостварена аутономија: градско друштво у Србији и Босни”, in: idem, *Работници, војници, духовници: друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 259–276.

Владета Петрович

**УКРЕПИТЬ ГОРОД И СОЗДАТЬ ГОРОД ИЗ КРЕПОСТИ: СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ
ПРИМЕРЫ (XIV–XV ВВ.)**

Резюме

Анализ источников средневекового материала на уровне историографического мышления, в основном, показывает, что представляет собой сербский средневековый город по сравнению с другими городскими средневековыми формами, как синхронно, так и диахронно. Используются письменные источники различного происхождения. В случае Белграда кратко проанализированы данные из *Жития деспота Стефана Лазаревича*. В случае Смедерева в качестве основы взят эпиграфический материал, на основе которого предыдущие исследователи ориентировались в анализе Смедеревской крепости. В работе приводятся аргументы, указывающие на возможное более раннее возникновение Смедеревской крепости. В случае Приштины, копия надписи из приштинского укрепления, которая сохранена в одной рукописи, находящемся сегодня в монастыре Святого Пантелеймона, говорит нам, что и этот средневековый город имел свою крепость. Особое внимание уделено укреплению Нови в Боке, который герцог Стефан Вукчич-Косача преобразовал в городское поселение. Жителям города, как и в случае Белграда во время деспота Стефана Лазаревича, были предоставлены привилегии, включающие личную свободу, свободу передвижения, освобождение от работы, право свободной торговли в стране с освобождением от таможенных сборов и право на международную торговлю в соседних странах.

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**УТВРДИТИ ГРАД И ОД ТВРЂАВЕ СТВОРИТИ ГРАД: НЕКИ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНИ
ПРИМЕРИ (XIV–XV ВЕК)**

Резиме

Анализа изворног средњовековног материјала на нивоу историографског промишљања, углавном, показује шта представља српски средњовековни град у односу на друге урбане средњовековне форме, како синхроно, тако и дијахроно. Коришћен је писани изворни материјал различите провенијенције. У случају Београда кратко су анализирани подаци из Житја деспота Стефана Лазаревића. У случају Смедерева за основу је узет епиграфски материјал на

основу којег су досадашњи истраживачи полазили у анализи Смедеревске тврђаве. У раду се износе аргументи који указују на могући ранији настанак Смедеревске тврђаве. У случају Приштине, копија натписа из приштинског утврђења, која је сачувана у једном рукопису који се данас налази у манастиру Светог Пантелејмона, нам говори да је и овај средњовековни град имао своју тврђаву. Посебна пажња указана је утврђењу Нови у Боки, које је херцег Стефан Вукчић—Косача преуредио у градско насеље. Становницима града, као и у случају Београда у време деспота Стефана Лазаревића, додељене су привилегије које су подразумевале личну слободу, слободу кретања, ослобођење од работа, право слободне трговине у земљи уз ослобођење од царина и право на међународну трговину у околним земљама.