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SERBIAN MEDIEVAL FORTRESSES AND THEIR SUBURBS (13–15TH CENTURIES)

Abstract: The paper deals with the suburbs of Serbian medieval cities. In the first half of the 15th century, almost all major Serbian cities had their suburbs, often unfortified. They were the centres of economic life and the majority of the urban population lived there. The inhabitants of these cities included numerous artisans – potters, blacksmiths, masons and armourers – who worked to meet the everyday needs of the population and the city. Within fortified suburbs, there were numerous residential buildings for civilians and facilities for storing food, beverages and weapons.

Keywords: city, fortress, ramparts, suburbs, trade, craftsmanship, water supply system, food, beverages, Middle Ages, Serbia, Novo Brdo, Prizren.

In the early Middle Ages, the Serbian state was not a highly urbanised area. Many late antique cities disappeared, and the emergence of new urban structures occurred in a different social milieu. This discontinuity of urban life is one of the most distinctive features of the interior of the Balkans, though variations in its duration can be observed in some regions. In the central part of the Peninsula, where the most significant communication routes ran along the Morava and Vardar valleys, several Roman settlements continued to exist during the medieval period.¹ An analysis of

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¹ Сима Ћирковић, “Неостварена аутономија: градско друштво у Србији и Босни”, у: исти, *Работници, војници, духовници: друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 259–260. Vladeta Petrović, “Terrestrial Communications in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in the Western Part of the Balkan Peninsula”, in: *The World of the Slavs: Studies on the East, West and South Slavs : Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archeological Evidence (7th to 11th Centuries AD)*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Belgrade 2013, 235–287. Исти, “Трансформација урбаних насеља централног Балкана током раног средњег века”, у: *Споменица др Тибора Живковића*, ур. Ирена Цвијановић, Београд 2016, 151–165, са старијом литературом.

published findings from the western part of the Balkan Peninsula shows that 20% of late antique and early Byzantine fortifications were used during the early Middle Ages.² The actual percentage was likely higher, as by the mid-9th century, there were 40 cities in South Slavic principalities, at least 40% of which bore Slavic names.³ The oldest Slavic settlements have been archaeologically investigated within several older urban centres, yielding significant results in the suburbs of Belgrade⁴, Gradina on Jelica⁵, Martinići⁶, Ras–Gradina above Pazarište⁷, Ras–Postenje near Novi Pazar⁸, Vrsenice⁹, Orlovine above Mali Zvornik.¹⁰ Another type of new settlements were typical Slavic fortifications, of which the one at the Divičmeđ site near present-day Mladenovac has been ascertained and explored so far. The construction of fortifications, whose analogies can be found with Slavic fortifications in Bohemia and Moravia, was necessitated by Hungarian raids and Serbian-Bulgarian wars. Life in fortifications lasted until the 11th century, when it was disrupted by Basil II's conquests or uprisings in 1040 or 1072.¹¹ A medieval layer of habitation has been identified in numerous late antique and early Byzantine fortifications along the Danube, between Belgrade and the Timok river, most commonly dated to the 10–12th centuries. The

² Medieval layers have been confirmed at 233 sites out of 1,176 remains of late antique and early Byzantine fortifications. This number is likely even higher given that they have been poorly explored, and because the ramparts were often repaired only in the upper zones. These modifications are often very difficult to ascertain due to the condition of those parts of fortifications. Dejan Bulić, "The Fortifications of Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period on the Latter Territory of the South-Slavonic Principalities and Their Re-occupation", in: *The World of the Slavs: Studies on the East, West and South Slavs: Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archeological Evidence (7th to 11th Centuries AD)*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Belgrade 2013, 225.

³ Tibor Živković, "The Urban Landscape", in: *The World of the Slavs: Studies on the East, West and South Slavs: Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archeological Evidence (7th to 11th Centuries AD)*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Belgrade 2013, 31.

⁴ Гордана Марјановић-Вујовић, „Најстарије словенско насеље у Београду“, *Годишњак града Београда* 25 (1978) 17–16.

⁵ Дејан Булић, „Трагови средњовековне материјалне културе са локалитета Градина на Јелици“, *Историјски часопис* 50 (2003) 154–162. Михаило Милинковић, *Градина на Јелици – рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље*, Београд 2010.

⁶ Војислав Кораћ, *Мартинићи: остаци средњовековног града*, Београд 2001.

⁷ Душан Мркобрад, „Рас–Постење: фазе развоја утврђења“, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 36 (1997) 203–217.

⁸ Marko Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd 1999.

⁹ Marko Popović i Vesna Bikić, *Vrsenice : kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje*, Beograd 2009.

¹⁰ Дејан Булић, "Земљано-палисадне и сухозидне адаптације и градње раносредњовековних утврђења на тлу Србије", у: *Балкан, Подунавље и Источна Европа у римско доба и у средњем веку*, ур. Олга Румјанцева и Станко Трифунковић, Москва 2022, 208–226, 219–221. Дејан Радичевић и Драган Ђирковић, "Прилог проучавању раносредњовековних мозаичких перли на тлу Србије", *Нова античка Дукља* 14 (2023) 129–158, 131–135.

¹¹ Велибор Катић, „Дивичмеђ – раносредњовековно насеље, утврђење или град“, *Гласник Српског археолошког друштва* 19 (2003) 197–221.

remains of these cities are located in today's Vinjica, Orašje, Kostolac, Ram, Veliko Gradište, Veliki Gradac, Tekija, Prahovo, and near Trajan's Bridge.¹² In addition to the Danube region, another equally studied area of early Byzantine fortifications is in the Raška region, near present-day Novi Pazar. Multi-year systematic research has been conducted at the sites of Vrsenice, Ras–Gradina above Pazarište, and Ras–Postenje near present-day Novi Pazar. The oldest layers of all three fortifications represent the remains of Roman-Byzantine ramparts, restored during the 9th and 10th centuries.¹³

The establishment of an independent Serbian state at the time of Stefan Nemanja and Stefan the First-Crowned, and its expansion, marked a turning point in the urban development of the Serbian territory. The first level of urbanisation involved the adoption of new urban patterns through the expansion of the Serbian state and the conquest of numerous Byzantine cities. The second level was the formation of mining cities, driven by an upturn in Serbian mining that began in the mid-13th century. The third level involved the latest wave of smaller new settlements formed around temporary squares. Depending on their primary functions, there are basic types of urban settlements. We can clearly differentiate among residential cities, conquered old Byzantine cities, mining urban settlements, marketplaces and fortifications with suburbs.¹⁴

Among the urban settlements of the Nemanjić state, coastal cities stood out in terms of their social and spatial organisation.¹⁵ Danj, Sard, Drivast, Shkodër, Svač,

¹² Милица Јанковић и Ђорђе Јанковић, "Подунавски градови поменути као пострадали 1072. године", *Годишњак града Београда* 25 (1978) 41–53.

¹³ М. Поповић и В. Бикић, *Vrsenice : kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje*, 97–100.

¹⁴ Владета Петровић, "Градска насеља у доба првих Немањића" у: *Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба*, ур. Ивана Коматина, Београд 2020, 411–427, 413. Isti, "Spatial Structure of Serbian Medieval Cities (XII–XV Centuries)", in: *Urbanisation in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, edited by A. A. Gordin & A. Rastović, Nizhny Novgorod – Belgrade 2021, 11.

¹⁵ The literature on the town on the eastern Adriatic coast is quite extensive, so we have made a selection of the most important works that primarily deal with the towns that were part of the Serbian state in the 13th century. Илија Синдик, *Комунално уређење Котора*, Београд 1950. исти, "Однос града Будве према владарима из династије Немањића", *Историјски часопис* 7 (1957) 23–35. Josip Lučić, "Комунално уређење далматинских градова у XI столјећу", *Zbornik Zavoda za povijesne znanosti istraživačkog centra JAZU* 10 (1980) 209–235. Tomislav Raukar, "Комунална друштва у Далмацији у XIV столјећу", *Historijski zbornik* 33–34 (1980–1981) 139–209. Sima Ćirković, „Srednji vijek“, u: *Bar grad pod Rumijom*. Bar 1984, 9–34. Ludwig Steindorff, "Stari svijet i novo doba. O formiranju komune na istočnoj obali Jadrana", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 16 (1986) 141–152. Žika Bujuklić, *Pravno uređenje srednjovekovne budvanske komune*, Budva 1988. Сима М. Ђирковић, "Почеци социјалне хијерархије у Срба", *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 1/3 (1994) 223–235, 228–230. Милош Антоновић, *Град и жупа у Зетском приморју и северној Албанији у XIV и XV веку*, Београд 2003. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Introduction: „Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property“, in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages*, Zagreb 2014, 13–34. Владета Петровић, "Градска насеља у доба првих Немањића", 411–427.

For the spatial appearance of medieval coastal cities that belonged to the Serbian medieval state, see: Cvito Fisković, "O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora", *Споменик САН* 103 (1953) 71–101. Ђурђе Вошковић, *Stari Bar*, Beograd 1962. Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић,

Ulcinj, Budva, Bar and Kotor had similar urban layouts. All these cities had walls that encompassed the settlement consisting of residential, public and church buildings, and other structures. The streets were narrow and irregular, with widths often varying from corner to corner, averaging around two metres. Squares were the centers of urban life, irregular in shape, just like the entire traffic network. In some cases, the position of city gates probably influenced the formation of squares. Other squares in the centres of coastal cities were mainly formed in front of churches, or churches were built on the already formed squares. Water supply issues were resolved differently in each city. For instance, Kotor and Budva had drinking water wells both within the city and nearby. Bar had large cisterns, but also a well accessible only from the suburbs via a protective tunnel. Ulcinj relied exclusively on cisterns.¹⁶ In medieval Bar, there are remains of both single-room structures and more complex ones, especially when it comes to the houses of the Bar nobility and wealthier citizens. Buildings typically had at least one floor, often two or three. Each structure was owned by single families. When families grew, subsequent internal repairs and extensions were made. The ground floor often housed a cellar accessible from street level, with a separate entrance and staircase leading to the upper floors, used for living, sleeping, dining and cooking. Narrow spaces were left between houses for water drainage, where waste, wastewater, and even faeces were disposed of.¹⁷ However, examples of medieval residential architecture are limited. Few houses were made of stone. Most were built from wood, with fire easily destroying residential facilities. Later, local authorities introduced regulations prohibiting the construction of wooden houses.¹⁸ The inhabitants of these cities had a special status defined by unique urban statutes.¹⁹ It is

Градови и утврђења у Црној Гори, Београд–Улцињ 1975. Ђурђе Бошковић, Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић, *Улцињ*, том I, Београд 1981. Mladen Zagarčanin, *Stari grad Bar*, Bar 2008. Isti, “Srednjovjekovni grad Svač. Rezultati iskopavanja 2012. godine i nova zapažanja”, *Nova antička Duklja* 8 (2017) 177–234.

¹⁶ Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић, *Градови и утврђења у Црној Гори*, 161–163.

¹⁷ Ђурђе Вошковић, *Stari Bar*, 218–222. Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић, *Градови и утврђења у Црној Гори*, 96–97. The urban traffic network in Ulcinj took its basic form in the Middle Ages. All residential buildings were facing the street. This position was only partially altered during the multi-century Ottoman period in Ulcinj. See Ђурђе Бошковић, Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић, *Улцињ*, том I, 145–146.

¹⁸ Павле Мијовић и Мирко Ковачевић, *Градови и утврђења у Црној Гори*, 162.

¹⁹ In the coastal towns of the southern Adriatic that belonged to the Serbian medieval state from the first half of the 12th century to the late 14th century, such as Kotor, Budva, Bar or Shkodra, a communal organisation developed in the hinterland, with smaller or larger autonomy. Savo Marković, “Statuta et leges civitatis Antibari (prilog proučavanju statuta medievalnog Bara)”, *Povijesni prilozi* 23 (2002) 19–42; *Средњовјековни статут Будве*, прир. Мирослав Лукетић и Жика Бујуклић, Будва 1988; Žika Vučklić, *Pravno uređenje srednjovekovne budvanske kotune*, Budva 1988; Lucia Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, Corpus statutario delle Venezie 15, Roma 2002; Nevenka Vogojević-Gluščević, *Statut grada Skadra iz prve polovine XIV vijeka sa dodacima, završno sa 1461. godinom*, Podgorica 2016; Сима Ђирковић, “Превод повеље цара Стефана Душана граду Скадру”, *Стари српски архив* 6 (2007) 113–121.

important to note that all these cities were under Byzantine rule for several centuries and, in ecclesiastical terms, under Roman jurisdiction.²⁰

In the continental part of the Serbian state, fortifications that served as the seats of powerful feudal lords were important strategic strongholds and, together with rulers' fortresses, formed a unique defensive system. Maglič, for instance, was built on the old traditions of Byzantine military architecture. Inside the fortification, residential buildings were constructed from durable materials. However, Maglič retained the character of a fortress, and no civilian settlement developed around it.²¹ In the case of fortresses, it is equally difficult to give their morphological picture as it is to delineate their specific purposes. The question of which fortresses held primarily a military-strategic significance, and which served as noble residences and regional centres, has not yet been fully answered by either history or archaeology. While many fortifications functioned as regional centers, some also had the purpose of controlling and securing key transportation routes. Others combined multiple functions, and some even changed their purpose over time, as was the case with Višegrad near Prizren.²² Some fortresses served simultaneously as fortified noble residences and regional centers, and could also have open suburbs. In this context, distinct spatial divisions are seen, such as in Stalać, where there is a specific section within the fortress for the residence of rulers/nobility, storage, food preparation rooms, a smithy, a well, storerooms, workshops, and buildings for garrison accommodation.²³ On the other hand, nobles' fortresses were significant defensive points that, together with larger fortresses, formed a unique defensive system of the country.

Under some fortresses, suburbs developed into centres of trade and craftsmanship. This process of urbanisation, anchored in the strongholds of authority, peaked in the first half of the 15th century, when almost all major Serbian fortresses had their suburbs. They were the hubs of economic life and were home to most of the urban population.

Suburbs included numerous residential buildings for the civilian population, churches, storage facilities for storing food, beverages and weapons. City streets and

²⁰ Ивана Коматина, *Црква и држава у српским земљама од XI до XIII века*, Београд 2016, 192–228; 300–334. Катарина Митровић, “Краљевство од искона: Барска (архи)епископија и Дукља”, у: *Српска краљевства у средњем веку*, Краљево 2017, 47–83.

²¹ Марко Поповић, *Maglički zamak*, Београд 2012, 193–201.

²² Emperor Dušan donated the nearby fortress of Višegrad to the Holy Archangels monastery near Prizren to serve as a granary and wine cellar, and a monastery storage instead of a *pyrgos*. See Синиша Мишић и Татјана Суботин-Голубовић, *Светоарханђеловска хрисовуља*, Београд 2003, 88, 120. Earlier, King Milutin gave the fortress of Višegrad to the Prizren Bishopric to serve as a refuge in case of an attack. See Синиша Мишић, “Хрисовуља краља Стефана Уроша III Призренској епископији”, *Стари српски архив* 8 (2009) 15–16, 21, 34. Милица Николић, “Властелинство Свете Богородице на Љевиши”, *Историјски часопис* 23 (1976) 41–42.

²³ Dušica Minić, *Srednjovekovni Stalać*, Београд 2007, 44–49. Systematic archaeological explorations have not been conducted at the Great Town fortress; see: *ibidem*, 38.

squares stretched among them. Archaeological research in Novo Brdo provides insights into the spatial organisation of suburbs. The city was divided into three parts: the Upper Town, Lower Town, and suburbs. The Upper and Lower Towns were strongly fortified. The large area on the eastern side encompassed the suburbs, which were also included in the defence system, had weaker ramparts and possibly an embankment with a palisade.²⁴ In the third Novo Brdo unit, an extensive suburb located to the east of the fortress, numerous traces of stone structures and former communication routes were observed. In the centre of the suburbs, there was a large square around which streets radiated. Not far from the square stood the cathedral church of St Nicholas, one of the largest Serbian medieval churches.²⁵ In the suburbs, in addition to this church, there were several smaller Orthodox buildings, some of which have been preserved as ruins, while the existence of others is indicated by specific toponymy. The Byzantine custom of erecting smaller family endowments was also practiced in medieval Serbia, as evidenced by the mentioned New Brdo small churches, as well as smaller churches in Prizren. Their ktetors were either nobles or prominent and wealthy citizens.²⁶ The existence of several churches in Novo Brdo's suburbs is quite understandable, given that the city's population is estimated at 8,000 to 10,000.²⁷ As smaller churches were located away from the fortification and the central square, it is assumed that the initial urban area was not precisely demarcated and that most quarters gravitated towards the central part of the settlement. Outside the suburbs, around one kilometre southeast of the fortified part of the city, lay the Lower Square. The Saxon church (Santa Maria), as the main Roman Catholic church, was built there to serve – in addition to the majority Serbian Orthodox population – the Catholics: Saxons, Kotorans and Dubrovnik merchants, who resided there temporarily or permanently.²⁸ Apart from this main Catholic church, constructed in the first half of the 14th century, one more church existed in the suburbs, erected

²⁴ Марко Поповић и Гордана Симић, *Утврђења средњовековног града Новог Брда*, Београд 2020, 119–139.

²⁵ Марко Поповић и Игор Бјелић, *Црква Св. Николе: катедрала града Новог Брда*, Београд 2018, 213–217.

²⁶ Hans Buchwald, "Byzantine Town Planning – Does it Exist?", in: *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453), Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001)*, ed M. Grünbart et al., Wien 2007, 73. Владета Петровић, "Друштвено раслојавање у српским средњовековним рударским градовима", *Наша прошлост* 12 (2011) 83–86, са старијом литературом.

²⁷ Мирко Ковачевић, "Израчунавање броја становника средњовековног града Новог Брда", у: *Насеља и становништво области Бранковића 1455. године*, ур. Милош Маџура, Београд 2001, 271–274.

²⁸ "Sancta Maria in Dogni Terg". See Михајло Динић, *Из српске историје средњег века*, Београд 2003, 586–587, и напомена 23. *Србија у дубровачким тестаментима (1414–1436)*, књиге 10, 11 и 12, сабрали и приредили Андрија Веселиновић и Дејан Јечменица, Београд 2016, 102. М. Поповић и Г. Симић, *Утврђења средњовековног града Новог Брда*, 21, 23.

around 1380, and its remains have not been uncovered to date. Roman Catholics were organised under a parish within the jurisdiction of the Kotor Bishopric.²⁹

There were several residential settlements in the environs of Novo Brdo that were not directly connected to the city's urban structure. The closest to the suburbs was Provalija, and slightly further away was Plavica, now one of the mahalles of the Bostane village.³⁰ Numerous other settlements belonged to the *city metochion* of New Brdo, scattered along the Kriva river, but their names have not been preserved in medieval written records.³¹

Houses in suburbs and marketplaces were most often built of wood. Smaller buildings were also constructed as log cabins, sometimes placed on stone plinths. For larger buildings, the half-timber ("bondruk") technique was commonly applied. In houses built using this technique, the infill was often made of planks or logs, while walls made of wattle and daubed with mud were less common. Heating was provided by open hearths protected by low stone walls or brick ovens. The roofs were pitched with two or four slopes, covered with straw or shingles. The area of the houses usually ranged from nine to 35 square meters. They could have one or several rooms. In some cases, a porch was attached. Some of them also had a second floor. In such cases, the ground floor was built of stone, and the upper floor was made of wood or a combination of stone and wood.³² In one of the explored houses in Novo Brdo (Lower Town, house no. 3), with an area of around 59 m², the floor was paved with bricks (29x36x4 cm).³³

In stone two-storey houses in Trgovište (15–17th centuries), the ground floor of the houses was of a commercial character, while the upper floors were residential. In some buildings, a large number of niches and hiding places of various shapes were found. Niches were also located in the vestibule area, usually placed in pairs facing each other. The ground floors of the buildings, mostly dug into the hillside, were dark and suitable for storing goods and food. Grains were also stored in above-ground structures – granaries, made of wood or stone. There were also specially built structures for storing grainy food.³⁴

Grains, as one of the most important agricultural products, were also stored in pits, as clearly specified in the chrysobull of King Milutin for the Gračanica monastery.³⁵ On

²⁹ М. Динић, *Из српске историје средњег века*, 656–657. М. Поповић и Г. Симић, *Утврђења средњовековног града Новог Брда*, 37.

³⁰ М. Динић, *Из српске историје средњег века*, 587–588.

³¹ Владета Петровић, "Градски метох", у: *Споменица академика Милоша Благојевића (1930–2012)*, ур. Синиша Мишић, Београд 2015, 142–143.

³² Гордана Милошевић, *Становање у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 1997, 170–171.

³³ М. Поповић и Г. Симић, *Утврђења средњовековног града Новог Брда*, 201–207.

³⁴ Душица Минић, "Нека запажања о градњи кућа у средњовековном Трговишту", *Гласник Српског археолошког друштва* 5 (1989) 94–96; Г. Милошевић, *Становање у средњовековној Србији*, 99–102.

³⁵ *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника*, Том I, Београд 2011, 503.

the estate of Saint George, the Skopje pyrgos *Hrptati* was a *soknica* (a place where agricultural products were kept). We do not know its size or manner of construction, but it is significant that the chrysobull mentions that the tower was located in front of the monastery palace.³⁶ Emperor Dušan donated the nearby fortress of Višegrad to the Holy Archangels monastery near Prizren to serve as a *granary and wine cellar, and a monastery storage instead of a pyrgos*.³⁷ This means that large estates used so-called grain pits for storing harvested grains. They were dug and built into the ground. Significant quantities of grain could be stored in them, and seeds were well protected from fire, pests and theft, but not always from moisture.³⁸

In some fortifications, food storages were located on the lowest level of the donjon. This is the case in Maglič. The tower had three levels, two of which below the entrance level.³⁹ The main tower in Stalać had five levels, and the entrance was on the third. The floors below the entrance level had no openings and probably served as storage spaces.⁴⁰ It is assumed that the basement of the palace in the Golubac fortress was used as a food and beverages storage, and it is not excluded that there was a kitchen in the northern part.⁴¹ At the lowest level of the main tower of the Small Town in Smederevo, a room of 4.15x4.1 metres has been preserved. This room, which had its own entrance, was probably a cistern or food storage.⁴² The main tower of the fortified Resava monastery had six levels. The entrance to the tower was eleven meters above the monastery courtyard. Below this entrance level, a circular room with a calotte was built, which is assumed to have served as a granary.⁴³ It is important to note that these structures could change their function. For example, in June 1382, the Dubrovnik authorities ordered the preparation of the cisterns of St Mary for storing communal grain, and in April 1383, *masari* were allowed to line the interior of the cistern of St Mary with boards to store grain.⁴⁴ If this practice of using cisterns for grain storage was followed in Dubrovnik, we believe cisterns were used for the same purpose, especially in cases of danger, in the fortifications and cities of medieval Serbia.

Granaries or grain pits were also found in numerous fortifications and urban settlements. These were mostly dugouts of various foundations, with walls daubed with a layer of clay, stone or wooden planks. Granaries were located inside or outside residential buildings. When located within buildings, they were covered with stone

³⁶ *Ibidem*, 323.

³⁷ С. Мишић и Т. Суботин-Голубовић, *Светоарханђеловска хрисовуља*, 88, 120.

³⁸ Милош Благојевић, *Земљорадња у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 2004, 105.

³⁹ Гордана Симић, *Донжон куле у фортификацији средњовековних градова*, Београд 2010, 99.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 105.

⁴¹ Гордана Симић, "Палата Голубачког града", *Саопштења* 22–23 (1990–1991) 80–81, 83.

⁴² Млађан Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава*, Смедерево 2011, 59.

⁴³ Г. Симић, *Донжон куле у фортификацији средњовековних градова*, 108.

⁴⁴ Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, "Trgovina žitom u Dubrovniku u XIV veku", *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 10 (1967) 117.

slabs or wooden lids. Those built outdoors had small, vaulted roofs or wooden canopies. Archaeological evidence has confirmed them in Trgovište, Jeleč, Stalać, Gradina above Trgovište...⁴⁵

In addition to food storage, one of the most important problems during the construction of fortifications and civilian settlements was the issue of water supply. The manner of use of water resources in medieval fortifications and urban settlements was conditioned by the topographical, geological and hydrological characteristics of each site. Fortifications mainly used cisterns, less often wells, as well as water from nearby springs, streams and rivers. Medieval water supply systems certainly existed in Plana⁴⁶ and the Studenica monastery⁴⁷. In some urban settlements, shallow dams were used in riverbeds to supply channels flowing through urban settlements.⁴⁸

Due to the high demand for drinking and technical water, larger urban settlements had multiple combined water supply sources – river, spring, well and atmospheric water. For instance, from ancient times the city of Prizren was supplied with natural spring water from rich sources within the settlement, whose position allowed water to flow by natural fall. Where such possibilities were unavailable, wells were used, or water was brought from Cvilen mountain. In the charter of Emperor Dušan to the Holy Archangels monastery near Prizren, it is stated that the Emperor also donated a field in the Prizren plain called Đurovište, “between the roads to the water conduit, as the conduit from Bistrica leads to Ograđenik”. The same charter also mentions that the border between Višegrad, the Ascension of Christ church, and the church of St Nicholas partly ran along the water conduit to Cvilen.⁴⁹ It is possible that shallow dams were built in the Bistrica riverbed in some places to supply the channels flowing through the urban settlement. They were certainly used for irrigation and the operation of watermills. These small channels, which supplied each courtyard with water, were of exceptional importance. They provided households with clean water for washing and sometimes for drinking. The water from the channels was also used for washing latrines and was necessary for the proper functioning of the sewage system.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Г. Милошевић, *Становање у средњовековној Србији*, 193.

⁴⁶ Tatjana Mihailović, “Plana Water Supply – Medieval Technical Enterprise”, in: *Archaeotechnology: studying technology from prehistory to the Middle Ages*, ed. Selena Vitezović & Dragana Antonović, Belgrade 2014, 295–313.

⁴⁷ Марко Поповић, *Манастир Студеница : археолошка открића*, Београд 2015, 188–189.

⁴⁸ Владета Петровић, “Водоснабдевање у утврђењима и градским насељима средњовековне Србије (XIII–XV век)”, у: *Између Подунавља и Средоземља : тематски зборник посвећен проф. др Синиши Мишићу поводом његовог 60. рођендана*, Ниш–Пожаревац 2021, 133–151.

⁴⁹ R. Findrik, “O staroj mreži kanala u Prizrenu i njihovoj zaštiti”, *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 13 (1962) 72; С. Мишић и Т. Суботин-Голубовић, *Светоарханђеловска хрисовуља*, 90, 121.

⁵⁰ Серафим Николић, *Призрен од средњег века до савременог доба (урбанистичко-архитектонски развој)*, Призрен 1998, 141.

In medieval Srebrenica, there were drainage channels covered with slabs. See Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, Сарајево 1978, 274.

The population of cities consisted of merchants and numerous craftsmen – potters, blacksmiths, masons, armourers, who worked for the everyday needs of the population and the fortification. In mining urban settlements, a large number of people were engaged in mining-related jobs. Of course, in larger economic centres, other crafts also existed. In Novo Brdo, based on data from the merchant house of Mihailo Lukarević, the names of 50 local craftsmen (with the surrounding area: 82) and 13 occupations are known. All craftsmen lived in the suburbs. Craftsmen had their own organisations with a master craftsman at the head.⁵¹ The economic boom, primarily driven by the development of mining, contributed to the strengthening of the merchant urban class. Dubrovnik merchants played a significant or, in some cities, dominant role in trade activities.⁵² The city authorities set market rules. In Novo Brdo, the voivode, knez and purgers enacted market regulations. The enforcement of regulations was overseen by four citizens chosen by them.⁵³

Trade activities were carried out in stores located within the buildings in the suburbs. The example of Srebrenica shows that the business and residential parts of the city were not separated. Moreover, stores were most likely located in two-storey buildings.⁵⁴ A similar spatial organisation was probably present in the houses explored in Trgovište. Trade was conducted in rooms on the ground floor, while the upper floor was used for living.⁵⁵ In Dubrovnik sources, such commercial establishments are called *bottega* or *stacun*. In archival materials, there are numerous examples mentioning that merchant goods were stored and sold in merchants' houses.⁵⁶ With this layout of stores and the connection between residential and business functions of facilities in suburbs, our medieval cities began to resemble Western European ones.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Blacksmiths, tailors, goldsmiths, shoemakers, furriers, butchers, carpenters, saddlers, hatters, gunsmiths, candlemakers, bakers and stonemasons. See Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, “Друштвена структура рударских градова”, у: *Социјална структура српских градских насеља*, Смедерево–Београд 1992, 36–41. М. Динић, *Из српске историје средњег века*, 645–648.

⁵² Д. Ковачевић-Којић, “Друштвена структура рударских градова”, 39–40. М. Динић, *Из српске историје средњег века*, 653–656.

⁵³ Никола Радојчић, *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, Београд 1962, 52–53.

⁵⁴ Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Средњовековна Сребреница: XIV–XV вијек*, Београд 2010, 115–117.

⁵⁵ Г. Милошевић, *Становање у средњовековној Србији*, 180.

⁵⁶ Константин Жиречек, *Споменици српски*, Београд 2007, 57, 73, 87. Ivan Karuč complains to the Dubrovnik rector that Nikša Peščić and his companions forcibly broke into his house in Trepča and looted his merchandise: “*напаха на кѣкю . . . где кѣплѣ кѣпѣвахъ на мѣмѣ стачѣнѣ*”. In Trgovište, in September 1422, some Dubrovnik citizens looted стачѣнѣ of Brajko Vogojević.

In Srebrenica, a theft of 180 ducats occurred in the house of the Dubrovnik nobleman Đurađ Dragojević Gučetić. A Dubrovnik citizen says that the ducats were stolen, while “*кѣѣ ни програгена ни подѣкопана ни врата штворена*”. It is obvious that the house was not built of solid material...

⁵⁷ Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, 269.

Some urban settlements that emerged at the time when urbanisation was at its peak in medieval Serbia later developed into well-known cities, while others disappeared. Fortifications (*castra*) ceased to be important centres of urban development. The Ottomans retained only larger fortresses, while abandoning and systematically destroying the others. The Ottomans did not favour the numerous fortifications from earlier times. Once the domestic feudal social structure was dismantled, the need for their further development disappeared.⁵⁸ The urban cores of Serbian Christian cities became the foundation for the development of Ottoman cities.⁵⁹ The fate of each individual urban centre depended on its economic significance and its place in the new urban network created after the fall of the Serbian state. Over time, cities that continued to exist within the Ottoman Empire underwent significant morphological changes. Some cities were partially transformed, some experienced significant, economic and demographic growth, while others faced stagnation and a substantial reduction in both economic and demographic terms.

⁵⁸ Владета Петровић, “Пљеваљски крај у позном средњем веку – прилог истраживању носилаца урбаног развоја”, *Гласник Завичајног музеја. Пљевља* 2 (2001) 75–89.

⁵⁹ Драгана Амедоски и Владета Петровић, *Градска насеља Крушевачког санџака (XV–XVI век)*, Београд 2018, 76–86.

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SZERB KÖZÉPKORI VÁRAK ÉS KÜLVÁROSAIK (13–15. SZÁZAD)

Rezümé

A középkori várak és erődök árnyékában külvárosok alakultak ki, amelyek a kereskedelmi és kézműves tevékenység, a gazdasági élet központjai voltak, és bennük élt a város lakosságának nagy része. A külvárosokban számos polgári lakóépület, templomok, élelmiszer-, ital- és fegyvertároló létesítmények voltak. Az épületek között kialakultak a város utcái és terei. A külvárosi házak és a piacterek többnyire fából épültek. Természetesen kőházak is voltak, amint azt Trgovište példája is alátámasztja. Magtárak vagy gabonagödrök számos erődítményben és városi településen találhatók. Ezek többnyire különböző alappal rendelkező ásott gödrök voltak, a falakat agyag-, kő- vagy fadeszkaréteggel bélelték ki. A magtárak lakóépületeken belül vagy kívül helyezkedtek el. A középkori erődítmények és városok vízellátását a domborzati, geológiai és hidrológiai adottságok határozták meg. A nagy ivóvíz és technológiai víz iránti igények miatt a nagyobb városi települések több kombinált vízellátási forrással rendelkeztek: folyó-, forrás-, kút- és légköri vizet is használtak.

Владета Петровић

СРПСКЕ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ ТВРЂАВЕ И ЊИХОВА ПОДГРАЂА (13–15. ВЕК)

Резиме

У сенци тврђава развијају се подграђа, као центри трговачке и занатске делатности. Она су била средишта привредног живота и у њима је живела већина градског становништва. У подграђима су се налазиле бројне стамбене зграде цивилног становништва, цркве, објекти за чување хране, пића и оружја. Између њих су се простирале градске улице и тргови. Куће у подграђима и трговиштима најчешће су грађене од дрвета. Наравно било је и камених кућа као што је случај у Трговишту. Житнице или житне јаме налажене су и у бројним утврђењима и градским насељима. То су углавном били укопи различитих основа, са зидовима обложеним слојем глине, каменом или дрвеним даскама. Житнице су се налазиле у унутрашњости стамбених објеката или изван њих. Начин коришћења водених ресурса у средњовековним утврђењима и градским насељима био је условљен топографским, геолошким и хидролошким карактеристикама сваког локалитета. Већа градска насеља су због великих потреба за питком и техничком водом, имала више комбинованих извора водоснабдевања – коришћена је речна, изворска, бунарска и атмосферска вода.