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The Noble Families of Butovan and Botono in Medieval Zadar: Family Structure, Property Reconstruction, and Social Life¹

This paper presents the genealogy (family structure), urban family estates, and social life of the Zadar-based noble families of Butovan and Botono during the 13th and 14th centuries (until the 1390s) in order to determine their similarities and differences (whether they were one or two different families). Research has been based on various types of sources, primarily published and unpublished archival material preserved at the State Archive in Zadar (notarial and court documents).

Keywords: medieval Zadar, noble families, genealogies, urban and social history

The Zadar-based families of Butovan and Botono have not yet been in the focus of detailed research, and their individual members have mostly been mentioned only in studies on Zadar's nobility or general topics related to the city's past. Modern historians have differed in their opinions on whether these were two different families or a single one whose name has been recorded in different ways.²

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² Roman Jelić has identified Butovan as a noble family of Zadar "that also appears in the sources as Botono, Bottonis, Bottono, Butoanne", *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (hereafter: HBL), vol. 2 (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslava Krleža, 1989), 540, s. v. "Butovane". Vitaliano Brunelli mentions Martinuš Butovane also as Martin de Botono and de Butovane, even though he otherwise distinguishes between them in his *Storia*

We have therefore addressed this question here primarily by developing genealogies for both families, including their mutual relations and their links with other noble families and with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. We have also reconstructed the situation of their family estates in the urban area and the development of their family properties (including the relations of ownership/possession) from the 13th to the late 14th century.³ Publishing in 1901 a list of members of the Major Council from the late 13th century, according to a transcript made by Lorenzo Fondra in the 17th century, Luka Jelić mentioned a person called *Buico de Butouanne*, under which name he added *Buico de Bottonis* (in Fondra's transcription). This was Jelić's interpretation of the family name (according to the documents he had consulted while writing his work), because Butovan is not mentioned either in Fondra or in other transcripts of the said list. This has probably been the cause of the subsequent misunderstanding and confusion of the two families among the historians.⁴

della città di Zara dai tempi più remoti sino al 1815 compilata sulle fonti, 1. (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche, 1913), 415, 436, 444, 447, 456, 498. The two families are considered as separate in: Konstantin Jireček, *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901-4)], 251, 255; Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409. Prošlost Zadra II* [Zadar in the Middle Ages before 1409. Zadar in the past II] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 243-244, 258, 308, 492, 517, 539, 546; Vesna Jakić Cestarić, "Zadarska ženska osobna imena u XIII stoljeću – odraz i rezultanta prethodnih simbiotskih procesa u gradu i porijekla novijih doseljenika" [Female personal names in 13th-century Zadar: A reflection and result of symbiotic processes in the city and the origin of the recent newcomers], *Radovi Centra JAZU u Zadru* 24 (1977): 148-149, 158, 165, 173; Tomislav Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, 1409-1797. Prošlost Zadra III* [Zadar under the Venetian rule, 1409-1797. Zadar in the past III] (Zadar: Narodni list; Filozofski fakultet, 1987), 40, 106-107, 607-608; the following editors of various sources have listed them as different families in the indices: Šime Ljubić, ed., *Listine o odnošajih između južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents on the relations between Southern Slavs and the Venetian Republic], vol. 12 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1893) (hereafter: *Listine*), 66, 70; Mirko Zjačić, ed., *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika (Notarilia Jadertina), Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Henrika i Creste Tarallo 1279.-1308.*, vol. 1 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 1959) (hereafter: SZB 1), 238, 240; Mirko Zjačić, Jakov Stipišić, eds., *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika (Notarilia Jadertina), Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Ivana Qualis Nikole pok. Ivana Gerarda iz Padove 1296... 1337.*, vol. 2 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 1969) (hereafter: SZB 2), 265-266; Jakov Stipišić, ed., *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika (Notarilia Jadertina), Spisi zadarskog bilježnika Franje Manfreda de Surdis iz Piacenze 1349-1350.*, vol. 3 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 1977) (hereafter: SZB 3), 186; Tadija Smičiklas, ed., *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije / Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1908) (hereafter: CD 6), 747, 749; Robert Leljak, Josip Kolanović, eds., *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika 4 (Notarilia Iadertina), Andreas condam Petri de Canturio. Bilježnički zapisi 1353.-1355.*, vol. 1 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2001) (hereafter: SZB 4), 667; Branimir Glavičić et al., eds., *Opsada Zadra / Obsidio Iadrensis*, MSHSM 54, Scriptores VI (Zagreb: HAZU, 2007) (hereafter: *Obsidio*), 296, n. 33 and 298, n. 45.

³ The time frame has been defined based on the archival material processed in our URBES research (13th century, 14th century until the 1390s). On social topography (exploring the role of individual social groups in the construction and formation of urban units and their situation within the city area), see Mladen Andreis, Irena Benyovsky, Ana Plosnić, "Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću" [Social topography of Trogir in the 13th century], *Povijesni prilozi* 25 (2003): 37 (and n. 1); Sandra Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga plemstva u urbanom razvoju Zadra u vrijeme Ludovika I. Anžuvinca (1358-1382)" [The role of urban nobility in the urban development of Zadar at the time of Louis I of Anjou (1358-1382)] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2017), 1-2.

⁴ Luka Jelić, "Moći sv. Šimuna Bogoprimatea u Zadru: hagiografsko-povjestna studija" [Relics of St Simeon the God-Receiver in Zadar: A hagiographical-historical study], *Rad JAZU* 145, book. 55 (1901),

Our source materials mostly consist of the published and unpublished notarial and court records from the 13th and 14th centuries preserved at the Zadar State Archive.⁵ Parts of the material from the State Archive in Zadar, the HAZU Archive, and the Archive of the St Mary's have also been published in *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije / Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*,⁶ and the records of the Venice Councils related to Zadar (and the families of Butovan and Botono) in the 14th century are available in *Listine o odnošajih između južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents on the relations between Southern Slavs and the Venetian Republic].⁷ The most im-

190-192 (33-35), 200 (43); Lorenzo Fondra, *Istoria della insigne reliquia di San Simone profeta che si venera in Zara* (Zadar: Fratelli Battara, 1855), 68-72.

⁵ Published sources (1279-1356): SZB 1, SZB 2, SZB 3, SZB 4, Robert Leljak, Josip Kolanović, eds., *Zadarski bilježnici 5 (Notarii Iadrenses), Andreas condam Petri de Canturio. Bilježnički zapisi. 1355-1356*, vol. 2 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2003) (hereafter: SZB 5); Robert Leljak, ed., *Inventari fonda Veličajne općine zadarske 1325-1385* [Inventories of the collection of the glorious municipality of Zadar, 1325-1385], vol. 1 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2006) (hereafter: MCI 1); Jakov Stipišić, ed., *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara pokojnog Petra iz godine 1385*. [Inventory of the possessions of Mihovil the draper of the late Petar from 1385] (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2000) (hereafter: *Inventar, Mihovil*); idem, "Inventar dobara zadarskog patricija Grizogona de Civaellis iz 1384. godine" [Inventory of the possessions of Zadar's patrician Grizogono de Civaellis from 1384], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU* 8 (1977): 375-410. Unpublished archival sources (1365-1390s): Croatia (hereafter: HR) – State Archive in Zadar (hereafter: DAZD) – collection 31 – Bilježnici Zadra [Notaries of Zadar] (hereafter: BZ), Vannes condam Bernardi de Firmo (hereafter: VBF), b. 1, fasc. 1, Petrus d. Perencanus, condam domini Açonis de Lemicetis de Padua (hereafter: PP), b. 1, fasc. 1, 6, 9-13, 17-18, b. 2, fasc. 1, 5-6, 18-19, Articuius de Rivignano (hereafter: AR), b. 1, fasc. 1, 3, 4, b. 2, fasc. 4 and 6, b. 5, fasc. 3, Petrus condam Bartholomei de Annobonis de Serčana (hereafter: PS), b. 1, fasc. 1 and 2, b. 2, fasc. 9-10, 12, 31, presbiter Helyas (hereafter: PH), b. 1, fasc. 1, Johannes quondam Baldinocti de Baldinoctis de Casulis (hereafter: JC), b. 1, fasc. 2-3, Raymundus filius ser Comini de Modiis de Asula (hereafter: RM), b. 1, fasc. 1, Theodorus de Prandino de Vincencia (hereafter: TP), b. 2, fasc. 3-10, Pergamene zadarskih bilježnika [Parchment sheets of Zadar's notaries] (hereafter: PZB), b. 1. Court records, as an original series of medieval court minutes from Zadar, have been reconstructed by Tomislav Popić, *Krojenje pravde. Zadarsko sudstvo u srednjem vijeku 1358-1458* [Tailoring justice: Zadar's judiciary in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Plejada, 2014), 175-232; idem, "Zadarski sud Curia maior ciuilium i njegovo djelovanje" [Zadar's court Curia maior ciuilium and its operation] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2011), 1-229; idem, "Izvorne cjeline srednjovjekovnih zadarskih sudskih zapisnika u arhivskom fondu 'Curia maior ciuilium'" [Original series of Zadar's medieval judicial records in the "Curia maior ciuilium" archival collection], *Historijski zbornik* 64 (2011), no. 2: 321-376. The oldest register has been published by Gordan Ravančić, "Curia maior civilium - najstariji sačuvani registar građanskih parnica srednjovjekovnog Zadra (1351-1353)" [*Curia maior civilium*: The oldest preserved register of civil court cases in medieval Zadar (1351-1353)], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43 (2001): 85-160 (hereafter: Ravančić, "Curia"). Court records have been preserved in HR – DAZD – collection 22 – Općina Zadar [Zadar Municipality], Veliki dvor zadarske komune / Curia maior ciuilium communis Iadre (hereafter: CMC), box 1-7. Most data on the Butovane and the Botono are found in court books: HR-DAZD-22-CMC – Curia dominorum rectorum (hereafter: CDR), *Liber possessorum*, RM, JC, box 2, fasc. 3; *Liber sententiarum*, RM, Coradus condam Rangerii de Padua (hereafter: CR), box 6, fasc. 5 and 6; *Liber de contradictis*, CR, box 6, fasc. 6/3; *Districtae*, Rangerius f. ser Coradi de Padua/CR (hereafter: RC/CR), box 2, fasc. 5; *Petitiones de stabilibus*, CR, box 2, fasc. 4, and *Petitiones ciuiles mobilium*, CR, box 1, b. 1, fasc. 3.

⁶ Tadija Smičiklas et al., ed., CD, vol. 6-18 (Zagreb: JAZU; HAZU; 1908-1990); Hodimir Sirotković et al., eds., CD *Dodaci/Supplementa*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: HAZU, 2002), (hereafter: CD SUPP 2).

⁷ *Listine*, vol. 1-3, 4 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1868-1872, 1874).

portant narrative source for this period is certainly the account on the Venetian siege of Zadar in 1345-1346,⁸ and valuable data can also be found in the necrologue of the monastery of St Mary, preserved at the National Library in Budapest.⁹ We have also analysed the list of members of Zadar's Major Council from 1283, which was kept in the old chest of St Simeon in Zadar, and was discovered and transcribed in 1632. It is cited in the manuscripts of Lorenzo Fondra from 1686 and Luka Jelić from 1901.¹⁰

Using a variety of sources (especially last wills, inventories, inheritance disputes, marriage and dowry contracts, property transfer contracts, etc.) and identifying patterns of name inheritance (from ascendants and collaterals), we could reconstruct various genealogical links.¹¹ In our research on the situation of family estates (spatial reconstruction) and the development of ownership-possession relations, we have applied the methodological patterns of social topography.¹² The obtained information has been systematized in databases for the 13th and 14th centuries (Excel, Access) and analyzed and processed according to the aforementioned methodological patterns. In addition to the textual form, results of the conducted research have also been presented in the form of genealogical tables and imaging templates.¹³

⁸ *Obsidio*, 1-348.

⁹ Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti" [Two hitherto unknown manuscripts from St Mary in Budapest], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 13-14 (1967), 125-229. We have used the original from the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OsZK), Cod. Lat. 48 (Kalendarium et Obituarium S. Mariae), saec. XIII-XIV (hereafter: Necrologue).

¹⁰ Jelić, "Moći sv. Šimuna Bogoprimaoca u Zadru", 200 (43); Fondra, *Istoria*, 68-72.

¹¹ Problems in researching genealogy include the repetition of first names within the same generation in various family branches, presence of the same first name with the family name in various versions, or various systems of writing the same name.

¹² Generally on the role of notarial documents in this type of research, see Irena Benyovsky Latin, Sandra Begonja, Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Immovable Property in Legal Actions as Documented in the Notarial Records: The Case of 13th-Century Dalmatian Cities", *Mesto a Dejiny* 7, no. 2 (2018): 6-54. Those methodological patterns were introduced to Croatian historiography by Irena Benyovsky Latin, see her studies on the urban development of Dubrovnik and Trogir: Andreis, Benyovsky, Plosnić, "Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću", 37-41; Mladen Andreis, Irena Benyovsky Latin, Ana Plosnić Škarić, "Socijalna topografija Trogira u 14. stoljeću" [Social topography of Trogir in the 14th century], *Povijesni prilozi* 33 (2007): 105-106; Irena Benyovsky Latin, Stipe Ledić, "Posjed obitelji Volcassio u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Volcassio family estates in medieval Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 51 (2013): 27-29. Also, S. Begonja applied same methodological patterns (by I. Benyovsky Latin) in her thesis (with slight modifications), see Begonja, "Uloga gradskog", 13 (n. 65).

¹³ See the genealogy of the Butovan and Botono families in Appendix 1 and 2. Appendix 3 shows the situation (spatial distribution) of properties in individual city blocks. Appendix 4 shows a segment of the cadastral map of Zadar (the Franciscan cadastre) with the proposed location of the family estates of Butovan (red) and Botono (blue) within the same city block. The map has been taken from: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, "Mappe catastale", <http://www.catasti.archiviodistatotrieste.it/Divenire/document.htm?idUa=10653093&idDoc=10659976&first=13&last=13> (last accessed on June 3, 2019).

Butovan

In the 13th century, two members of the Butovan family are mentioned in notarial and court records – *vir nobilis Johannes de Butiuan* (*1240-*1249)¹⁴ and his son Krševan (Grizogon) *Butouanne* (*1283-*1292) – as witnesses and leasees.¹⁵ We do not, however, find any information about their urban estates or properties there.

In the period from 1303 to 1389, when there are generally more notarial sources available,¹⁶ the Butovan family is mentioned more often as well. Krševan (Grizogon) had six sons – Ivan (*1308-1332), the first native archbishop of Zadar (1320-1332) after the 12th century,¹⁷ the city judge Martinuš (*1314-1347),¹⁸ Nikola (*1317-*1341),¹⁹ Zojlo (*1317-1349),²⁰ and possibly also Vid, Bishop of Hvar,

¹⁴ For the first time in 1240, in a large lawsuit around some lands in Gorica near Biograd between the monastery of St Cosimas and Damian and Petrico de Forte, in an unspecified connection with the heirs of Ivan de Ragno, CD 4, doc. 107, pp. 116-117. He may have originated from Gorica-Raštan in the wider area of Biograd. More on the estates in: Tomislav Galović, "Policorion – Rogovski kartular. Diplomatičko-povijesna analiza" [Policorion – The cartulary of Rogovo: A diplomatic-historical analysis] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2010), 254-264. He is also included in the list of Zadar's noblemen involved in the peace treaty with Venice (1247) and as a witness (1249): Zrinka Nikolić, "The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir and Zadar" (PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2004), 111, n. 478; *Listine* 1, doc. 96, p. 74; CD 4, doc. 346, p. 393.

¹⁵ SZB 1, doc. 134, p. 37; doc. 137, p. 37 (1279, 1283); CD 6, doc. 375, p. 444; CD 7, doc. 83, p. 102; SZB 1, doc. 227, p. 202; doc. 229, p. 204; doc. 255, p. 215; doc. 262, pp. 220-221. The date of death is found in Necrologue (August 8), year not indicated (fol. 10v).

¹⁶ Due to the increased activity of notarial offices: Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 9-12, 47; Nikolić, "The Formation", 5-6 and n. 15. On Zadar's notaries in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Branka Grbavac, "Zadarski notari u 13. i 14. stoljeću" [Zadar's notaries in the 13th and 14th centuries] (MA thesis, University of Zagreb, 2006).

¹⁷ Parish priest at the church of St Mary Major: CD 8, doc. 169, p. 188 (1308) and St Matthew (SZB 2, doc. 84, p. 127); attorney of the monastery of St Cosmas and Damian: CD 9, doc. 15, pp. 19-20; archbishop: CD 8, doc. 465, p. 568; cf. Serđo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i crkvene prilike u Zadru početkom XIV. stoljeća" [Papal legate Gentilis and the ecclesiastical situation in Zadar during the early 14th century], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 40 (1998): 68, 70. He died on March 11, 1332 (Necrologue, fol. 2r).

¹⁸ Witness in 1314 (CD 8, doc. 291, p. 349); judge in 1315 (CD 8, doc. 331, pp. 406-407) and again in 1340 (CD 10, doc. 382, p. 545). In 1321, he was one of the peace arbiters between St Cosmas and Damian on the one side, and Miha Skolatura on the other, over Žirje (CD 9, doc. 3, pp. 3-5; doc. 15, pp. 18-21). Shortly before the siege of Zadar in 1345, he was a representative of Zadar in negotiations with Venice, and a member of the Zadar delegation to King Louis in Bihać. Cf. *Obsidio*, p. 296, n. 33; *ibid.*, lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 126-128. He was positively dead in 1347 (CD 11, doc. 276, p. 363). The date of his death is recorded in Necrologue (June 30), year not indicated (fol. 7r).

¹⁹ He was selling wine on the island of Pašman (SZB 2, doc. 92, p. 131); witness in 1341 (CD 10, doc. 429, p. 607; doc. 442, p. 625).

²⁰ Witness: CD 8, doc. 440, p. 540; SZB 2, doc. 9, p. 99; doc. 85, p. 128; doc. 94, p. 132; doc. 138, p. 147; CD 9, doc. 308, p. 375. Together with Jakov Fanfonja, he founded a trade company for selling fabric and other goods, with Cvitan de Drauez as a salesman (SZB 2, doc. 44, 45, pp. 112, 113; CD 8, doc. 368, p. 449); *dacium tabernarum Pagi*, SZB 2, doc. 229, p. 182; salt plants on the island of Pašman: SZB 2, doc. 72, p. 123. Examiner in 1322, 1324, 1325, and 1340: CD 9, doc. 58, p. 70; doc. 175, p. 220; doc. 192, p. 237; CD 10, doc. 412, p. 586. The date of his death is recorded in Necrologue (November 27), year not indicated (fol. 15r).

(* 1322)²¹ and Goja or Gaja (*1303-1304).²² Besides the archbishop, Martinuš was the most prominent member of the family, with Zojlo and Nikola also excelling in economic activity: they owned land, vineyards, and salt plants on the islands of Pašman and Ugljan, in Petrčane, Bibinje, and Murvica.²³ In 1318, Martinuš sold two thirds of his lease in Zemunik, which he had acquired for 2000 *librae* from the commune of Zadar, to Zojlo and Jakov Fanfonja.²⁴ Although his urban estates are not recorded, there is a *contrata* in the city bearing his name (1346), in which a land (*locus*) of Petar de Matafaris is mentioned.²⁵ The main evidence that we are dealing with two different families here is also related to Martinuš. Namely, in the inventory of Bivald, son of Grgur de Botono (1346) there is a public document on the division of family properties (paternal and maternal) between the brothers Bivald and Zojlo de Botono and Martinuš de Butovan from 1341, the latter acting on behalf of his sons and heirs for the part of the late Nikolota, sister of Bivaldo and Zojlo.²⁶ This implies that the late Nikolota de Botono was most likely the wife of Martinuš de Butovan, and Bivald's daughter Nikolota (Kolica) was probably named after her.²⁷

²¹ Older historians of the Zadar church mention Vito de *Butuane* as a brother of Archbishop Ivan and the bishop of Hvar and Brač in 1322, who was allegedly succeeded by a nephew of the same name in 1349. The only source for one of the bishops named Vito would be a tombstone in the Franciscan monastery of Zadar, [Croatia – The Research Library of Zadar - Giovanni Tanzlingher Zanotti, “La dama cronologica” or “Notizie storiche di Zara”, 28254 Ms. 762, 37], but according to the epitaph, it cannot be concluded with certainty whether he was a contemporary of Archbishop Ivan. Giuseppe Ferrari Cupilli attributed the plate to Vito from 1349, mentioning that it used to be in St Francis’ but was destroyed in 1859. He also found a mention of Vito from 1322, but considered it an error, [Croatia – The Research Library of Zadar - “Materiali di storia ecclesiastica zaratina vavevoli specialmente per la vita di prelati illustri,” 14994, Ms. 260, 38-38’]; Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara cristiana 1* (Zadar, 1877), 200-201, 369. It is significant that Farlati mentions none of these Vitos in his *Illyricum sacrum*. The version on two bishops of Hvar of the same name is probably a historiographical construction, but one bishop of Hvar should not be ruled out completely.

²² Recorded in a damaged document as a witness: ...*Gaia condam Grisogoni de Butouano*... SZB 2, doc. 124, p. 61. Jakić Cestarić has argued that it was a woman named Goja, but that is hardly credible (as the person was a witness to a document), cf. Jakić Cestarić, “Zadarska ženska osobna imena u XIII stoljeću”, 149.

²³ SZB 2, doc. 40, p. 111; doc. 55, p. 117; doc. 72, p. 123; doc. 139, 140, p. 147; doc. 173, pp. 160-162; doc. 229, p. 182 (*dacium tabernarum Pagi*); CD 10, doc. 82, pp. 125-126; CD 10, doc. 306, pp. 420-421; doc. 460, pp. 650-652.

²⁴ SZB 2, doc. 175, pp. 162-163.

²⁵ ... *in contrata Martinussii de Butouano*, MCI 1, doc. 8, p. 67. The location of this land proved crucial in identifying the family estate of Butovan at the same locality, see below (Kolan de Butouano). In the medieval period, certain city districts (and even the *curia*) were named after prominent noble families, both in Italian and in Dalmatian cities, cf. Jacques Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas (Europe in the Middle Ages)* (Amsterdam; New York; Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1977), 147-148; Begonja, “Uloga gradskoga”, 150 (n. 901, 903). He must have died around 1346, since his heirs are mentioned a year later: CD 11, doc. 276, p. 363; *Obsidio*, 296, n. 33; SZB 3, doc. 39, p. 25 (1349).

²⁶ MCI 1, doc. 10, 13v, p. 99 (September 14, 1341).

²⁷ 1350, SZB 3, doc. 122, pp. 83-84.

His brother Nikola also seems to have been related to the Botono family, since his mother-in-law Prodana, widow of Grizogon, son of Lovro (de Laurencio), paid the dowry to the nobleman Mateo de Cessamis for his wife Prodana, daughter of the late Grgur de Botono (1333).²⁸ Nikola's son Ivan is mentioned as a hostage in Venice after the siege of Zadar, which is also the only reliable information about him.²⁹ By the mid-14th century, all the Butovan brothers were probably deceased,³⁰ and only Martinu's line was continued with a single son, Nikola or Kolan,³¹ who was an admiral's vicar on the island of Hvar during the time of King Louis I of Anjou.³² Perhaps this office explains the absence of Butovans among the rectors of Zadar in the second half of the 14th century, although this absence may also indicate the small size of the family. Kolan's sister Katarina was a prioress at St Mary's³³ and the links between this monastery and the Butovan is also evident from the fact that its Necrologue includes four names from this small family during the first half of the 14th century, and none from the Botono family.³⁴ Kolan also maintained good relations with the nearby Dominican monastery of St Plato, in whose chapel he wanted to be buried according to his last will from 1385.³⁵ His son Antun married

²⁸ CD 10, doc. 82, p. 125; Branka Grbavac, "Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi u doba Ludovika I. Anžuvina" [Zadar's noblemen as royal knights during the rule of Louis I of Anjou], *Acta Histriae* 16 (2008): 99.

²⁹ Listine 2, doc. 692, p. 438; Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme kuge, rata, zatočeništva. Zadarske plemićke obitelji i posljedice mletačke opsade 1345./1346. i Crne smrti" [Times of plague, war, and captivity: Zadar's noble families and the consequences of the Venetian siege in 1345/1346 and the Black Death], *Povijesni prilozi* 55 (2018): 25.

³⁰ In the codicil of his last will from October 1349, Zojlo appointed his wife Ruža as the administrator of the property and children of the late Martinuš (SZB 3, doc. 39, p. 25).

³¹ He is first mentioned in 1354 (SZB 4, doc. 201, p. 328; doc. 277, pp. 435-436). Some have suspected that there may have been two different persons (Obsidio, 296, n. 33), but based on the situation of estates in Putevac or Pusterla (1367 and 1384) neighbouring on those of the family de Matafaris, we have established that it was a single person (HR-DAZD-31-ZB, PP, Instrumenta, b. 1, fasc. 6, fol. 6; fasc. 1, fol. 32a-32v). Besides Nikola/Kolan, in 1354 Vitulo, son of the late Kršo, is mentioned once as a witness (SZB 4, doc. 201, p. 328), which may indicate a link to the aforementioned Vito, Bishop of Hvar. This was perhaps what led some later authors (Tanzlingher Zanotti, Cupilli) to double both the name and the bishop; however, given the scarcity of data, no definite conclusions can be made.

³² As a vicar in Hvar, in June 1370 (CD 14, doc. 190, p. 267); Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga plemstva", p. 103, n. 673; Brunelli, *Storia della città*, 498.

³³ In a document from 1391, she is mentioned as a daughter of the late Martinuš de Butouano, VBE, b. 1, fasc. 1/4 – Instrumenti et decem testamenti 1390-1391, f. 71. In other documents, she is recorded either as Catarina de Butouano or even as Catarina de Martinussio: e.g. HR-DAZD-31-ZB, JC, b. 1, fasc. 1, no. 3, fol. 111v-112 (1388); PS, b. 1, fasc. 2, no. 2 – testamenti registrati (1390-1408), f. 453. Since she was a prioress, she is often mentioned as an executor of last wills or receiving legations for the monastery: 1383, doc. 310, p. 392; 1388, CD 17, doc. 114, pp. 155-157; HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 1, fasc. 3, no. 4, 11v; 1389, HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 2, fasc. 4, f. 34; 1391, CD 17, doc. 282, pp. 384-385; 1394, CD 17, doc. 424, p. 605; doc. 425, p. 607.

³⁴ Several winter months are missing from the Necrologue and thus one cannot exclude the possibility that the Botonos were not mentioned there after all.

³⁵ Last will: HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 17-18, 18' (codicil). In June 1398, his inheritance on the island of Pašman is mentioned: CD 18, doc. 237, p. 346.

Jelena (d. 1387), daughter of Jakov, who was a son of Jurislav from the Karinjani kindred,³⁶ and then in 1392 Pelegrina, daughter of Count Budislav from the Misić branch of the Šubići,³⁷ which also testifies to the relations between the Butovan family and the nobility from the Croatian hinterland. Another link between the Butovan and the Botono is the neighborhood of Antun and Kolica, widow of Ivan de Botono (Banicella), who donated a house to her daughter Mihelina in the area of St Michael's (1389).³⁸ These properties may have been situated within the block opposite St Michael's church, near the family estates of Butovan and Botono in Pusterla / Putevac.³⁹ However, although there are similarities between the situation of these properties and that of the mentioned estates,⁴⁰ we have not been able to establish with certainty that they were identical⁴¹ and must leave this issue open for further discussion. So far, Antun's life and activity have been poorly researched,⁴² and he seems to have been the last descendant of the family.⁴³

Based on the placement of properties owned by the noble families of Matafaris and Nassis,⁴⁴ we could situate the family estate of Martinuš and his son Nikola (Kolan) and Kolan's successors in the period from 1367 to 1389. In the neighbourhood of their large and smaller family houses (*domus magna/domus habitationis*,⁴⁵ *domus*

³⁶ Jelena's last will: HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 34' (April 26, 1387); Ivan Majnarić, "Rod Karinjana krajem XIV. i tijekom prve polovice XV. stoljeća" [The Karinjani kindred at the end of the 14th and during the first half of the 15th century], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za pov. i društ. znan. HAZU* 25 (2007): 44.

³⁷ HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 2, fasc. 6, fol. 49r.

³⁸ Neighbours: the noblemen Kolan (Nikola), son of Damjan de Zadulinis, Petar, son of Zojlo de Nassis, the Counts of Krbava, and the estates of St Plato's monastery: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 2, fasc. 4, f. 50.

³⁹ Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 236, Appendix *Map*, 423-424. Regarding the fact that Petar de Nassis and the monastery of St Plato were nearby (the latter as owning an unidentified property), we are inclined to believe that these properties were located nearer to the monastery and the existing estates in Putevac, rather than above the church of St Michael's. Cf. Appendix 3, D.

⁴⁰ The similarity is in the position of the main street (*de borea*) and the situation of the Botono house and the Butovan estate. However, the arrangement of the neighbouring properties does not correspond to the situation of Putevac in 1389. Cf. Appendix 3, D.

⁴¹ The crucial data on the type of property and the other neighbours of Antun de Butouano are missing.

⁴² S. Dokoza mentions him as a buyer of salt in the second half of the 14th century in "Zadarsko plemstvo i sol u drugoj polovici 14. i početkom 15. stoljeća" [Zadar's nobility and salt in the second half of the 14th and the early 15th century], *Povijesni prilozi* 49 (2015): 111, 118. In our database, Antun is mentioned only once in relation to real estate, namely in a document from 1389, as a neighbour of Kolica, widow of Ivan de Botono (Banicella), who donated a house in the area of St Michael's to her daughter (HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 2, fasc. 4, f. 50).

⁴³ Jelena's last will from April 26, 1387 mentions her son Nikola (HR-DAZD-31, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 34'), but later on there is no trace of him in the sources. He must have been dead by 1423, when a legation from his inheritance is mentioned (HR-DAZD-31, Theodorus de Prandino, b. 2, fasc. 3-10, f. 402r).

⁴⁴ Begonja, "Uloga gradskog", 151-152.

⁴⁵ The term *domus magna* in the notarial records indicates that it was the main family mansion of a noble family, next to which there were often smaller family houses for lease (*domus parua*), cf. Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Smještaj gradskog plemstva u dalmatinskim gradovima srednjeg vijeka," [The situation of urban nobility in medieval Dalmatian cities], *Acta Histriae* 15 (2003): 39-40; Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 144, 233 (n. 1413).

de muro/lapidea), there were properties of the family of Ivan, son of Bivald de Botono (*domus*), of the heirs of Petar de Matafaris (*loca, jardinus*), and of the monastery of St Plato (*ortus*).⁴⁶ Considering the fact that a document from 1367 first defined the location of Nikola's larger family house as neighbouring on the heirs of Petar de Matafaris, we have concluded that this is the same location as Petar's lands in the *contrata Martinussii de Butouano* from 1346,⁴⁷ which points to Martinuš as the first established owner of the Butovan estate. The lands of the Matafaris family originally belonged to Matej, son of the late Sergij de Cessamis or his brothers, namely until 1341,⁴⁸ indicating that all three families, related to each other by close marital and family ties, lived at some point in the same area.⁴⁹ Although it was only on the neighboring land plots of the Matafaris family (1378-1389)⁵⁰ that there was a change in property relations, the family estates of Butovan and Botono, as well as their boundaries, remained in the possession of these families until the end of the 1380s,⁵¹ which testifies to their continuity in this area.

⁴⁶ HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 6, fol. 6 (1367), PS, b. 2, fasc. 12, fol. 3v (1378), AR, b. 1, fasc. 1, fol. 32-32v (1384). See also Appendix 3, A-C.

⁴⁷ See the previous note.

⁴⁸ Matej's brothers, Jakov and Zojlo de Cessamis, sold the said lands (*loca*) in the district of St John *de Posterula*, from the inheritance of their late brother, to Petar de Matafaris. However, their location is not given: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PZB, b. 1, br. 22 (1341); Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 297.

⁴⁹ Matej had family ties with both the Botono and the Butovan – he was the husband of Ivan's aunt, Prodana, daughter of the late Grgur de Botono; cf. Appendix 2.

⁵⁰ Petar's heirs, his grandson Mafej (1378) and Filip (from 1384), were present at the location until 1389 (a garden and some land plots). Filip inherited (or bought) Mafej's land between 1378 and 1384 (there is no precise data). Since Filip sold most of his land plots to Petar de Nassis and to merchant Nikola, son of the late Stanko, in the period from 1384-1389, we could follow the changes at the boundaries of that city block: NW [*borea*] and SW [*quirina*]) and the boundaries of the Botono and Butovan estates. According to the records from 1384 and 1385, Filip's land was located next to both houses of Kolan's and Ivan's heirs (he did not buy the part of Kolan's land next to the second house), cf. Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 151. However, it remains unclear whether Filip sold the entire land at that point – he sold two minor land plots in a similar location to Petar de Nassis and merchant Nikola (1387, 1389): cf. Appendix 3, C (marked in red). There is no attested change of ownership over Kolan's house (Petar de Nassis), as suggested by Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 215 (n. 1290). The house most probably remained a property of his heirs, see further, Antun. Documents: n. 45 (1378, 1384), HR-DAZD-31-BZ, RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, fol. 95 (1385), 210v-211 (1387), PS, b. 2, fasc. 31, fol. 12v (1389). For the locations of these lands in 1385, 1387, and 1389, see Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 151 (n. 910, 911), 152 (n. 912).

⁵¹ According to the data given in the previous note, new drafts were made for the position of these properties (correcting the claim in S. Begonja's dissertation on the possible spatial expansion of the Botono family to a part of Kolan's family house, and of Filip de Matafaris to a part of the land plot sold in 1385: Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 157). No change has been established in the boundaries of the Botono estate. Also, we are correcting S. Begonja's claim in n. 912 (p. 152) and n. 1290 (p. 215) that Petar de Nassis bought the *domus magna* from the heirs of Kolan de Butouano. These errors were a result of the incomplete sketching of the location of these properties. Cf. the differences in Appendix 3 (A-C) and Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", Appendix 4 (*Skice položaja nekretnina gradskoga plemstva* [Sketches of the position of the properties of urban nobility], Matafaris, reconstruction of the Matafaris lands (Petar, Mafej), Putevac, 1367, 1378, 1385, 1387, 1389, p. 397).

Botono

In the period from 1221 to 1308, there were several members of the Botono kindred⁵² whose urban estates and family properties were not recorded. Although Ivan Ostojić mentions Vita de Botono (1221) as a prioress (the second from the foundation) of the monastery of the Poor Clares of St Nicholas, and then Klara as a prioress of St Mary's (1274),⁵³ referring to the old chronicles, there are no reliable contemporary sources to support this information, so Bivald de Botono (*Betono, Becono*) (*1283-1308) can be considered as the first reliably attested member of the family who bore the family's distinctive name.⁵⁴ In Jelić's edition of a late 13th-century list of the nobility, Bivald is given as Bivko *Butouanne*, which does not have any confirmation in the original sources.⁵⁵ He is recorded as a witness, an examiner judge, and as one of the monetary guarantors to the Šubići while negotiating the peace treaty between Count Juraj I Šubić and Venice in 1294.⁵⁶ His connection to the Šubići (including his brother Frano) is also evident from his role in the dispute over some property with the members of the Šubić kindred (Miroslav, son of Count Grgur).⁵⁷ In subsequent documents, there is no mention of Frano's descendants, while Bivald is recorded as having three sons with his wife Tihoslava, daughter of Črno de Mergy: Černul, Ivan, and Grgur (1290).⁵⁸ In addition to Bivald's branch, there was a branch of Grgur de Botono in the 13th century. He was a brother or relative of Frano and Bivald, and is recorded as a witness during the 1280s,⁵⁹ while his grandson of the same name, attested in the first decades of the 14th century, might be Grgur, son of the late Madije.⁶⁰ Thus, the Botono kindred branched already in the first half of the 14th century, which

⁵² Unlike the Butovan, the Botono can be called a kindred, since already in the late 13th century there were several separate branches whose common ancestor cannot be identified despite the fact that they were obviously related.

⁵³ Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictines in Croatia and the region], vol. 2 (Split: Benediktinski priorat – Tkon, 1964), 73, 85; vol. 3 (Split: Benediktinski priorat – Tkon, 1965), 333, 335. In agreement with Ostojić, see also Vesna Jakić Cestarić, "Ženska osobna imena i hrvatski udio u etnosimbiotskim procesima u Zadru do kraja XII. stoljeća" [Female personal names and the Croatian contribution to the ethno-symbiotic processes in Zadar before the end of the 12th century], *Radovi Centra JAZU u Zadru* 21 (1974): 320; eadem, "Zadarska ženska osobna imena u XII stoljeću", 148.

⁵⁴ On the name Bivald, see Jakić Cestarić, "Zadarska ženska osobna imena u XII stoljeću", 173. He was probably last mentioned as a judge in 1308 (CD 8, doc. 203, p. 245).

⁵⁵ See above, n. 4.

⁵⁶ Examiner judge: CD 6, doc. 360, p. 425; CD SUPP 2, doc. 55, p. 121 (1283); witness, CD 7, doc. 224, p. 256; CD 8, doc. 203, pp. 243-245 (1296, 1308); *Listine* 1, doc. CCLXIII, p. 184 (1294).

⁵⁷ *Rinaldus (!) et Franciscus de Bottono, fratres de Jadra*, *Listine* 1, doc. CCCLV, pp. 232-233.

⁵⁸ Her mother was called Draga, and she had a brother called Vid and a sister called Darija, married to Deša de Fanfogna, SZB 1, doc. 29, pp. 63-64 (1290). Judging from the last will, her sons seem to have been minors at the time.

⁵⁹ SZB 1, doc. 49, p. 14.

⁶⁰ SZB 2, doc. 42, p. 112 (1317).

probably allowed them to survive in spite of losses during the war and plague in the 1340s.

Bivald's line was continued by his sons Grgur called Grško (*Grescus*, *1294-⁶¹1333)⁶¹ and Černul (*1305-1307).⁶² Judging by the number of the attested members, Grgur's family branch seems to have been the most numerous. Grgur/Grško⁶³ had two sons, Bivald (*1322-1346)⁶⁴ and Zojlo/Žuva (*1328-before 1372),⁶⁵ and a daughter called Nikolota (married Butovan);⁶⁶ two daughters from the second marriage, Dobra (married Soppe) and Katena (married Šubić),⁶⁷ and two daughters from the third marriage with Strija: Kreša de Cande and Prodana (married first Cessamis and then Sloradis), as well as a son called Matej (*1350-1369).⁶⁸ The last will of Prodana de Botono is an exceptionally important document because it reveals the long-lasting connections between the Botono family and the Dominican monastery of St Plato (1396). It also emphasizes the tradition of burying family members in a monastery.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Grgur *dictus Grescus* (Grško), documented as a witness in 1294, *Listine* 1, doc. CCLXIII, p. 184. Cf. Jakić Cestarić, "Zadarska ženska imena u XIII stoljeću", 173.

⁶² Attested as an examiner in 1305 (without his father's name): CD 8, doc. 99, p. 111. B. Grbavac states that Črne, son of Bivald de Botono, left in his last will 6 small *librae* to notary Mihovil, son of Leonardo (1307), but the name of the testator cannot be inferred from the original record: Grbavac, "Zadarski notari", 133, n. 348; SZB 2, doc. 164, p. 90. Since there is no mention of any heirs of the third son, Ivan, we presume that he died while still a minor.

⁶³ Died in 1333: CD 10, doc. 82, p. 125.

⁶⁴ MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 96. In some documents published in the *Codex diplomaticus*, Bivald is given as Butovan [*Ego Biual]dus Butouani iudex examinador*: CD 9, doc. 59, p. 71 (1322); *Biualdo Gregorii de Botto[uano]*: CD 10, doc. 172, p. 239 (1335). However, judging from the nature of the edition, and confirmed by consulting the original documents, these are additions made during the transcription. The index of CD 9 [Zagreb: JAZU, 1911], 624] also identifies the Botono with the Butouani, but it was compiled by Emilij Laszowski, who was not an expert for Zadar's source material. Bivald is recorded with various versions of the family name *Butuno* (examinador judge, 1323), *Betono* (*iudex*, 1329), and *Botono* (witness, 1339): CD 9, doc. 90, p. 104; doc. 95, p. 111; doc. 101, p. 120 (1323); doc. 393, p. 484 (1329); CD 10, doc. 355, p. 506 (1339); yet none of them points to the form Butouane or a similar variant.

⁶⁵ Witness: CD 12, doc. 182, p. 242; doc. 337, p. 440; doc. 437, p. 584; SZB 5, doc. 231, p. 362; CD 13, doc. 194, p. 269 (1354, 1356, 1357, 1359, 1362); executor of the last wills of Krševan, son of the late Damjan de Fanfogna, and Tiha, widow of Lovro: CD 11, doc. 472, p. 615 (1350); CD 12, doc. 436, p. 580 (1359); procurator of St Chrisogonus: CD 12, doc. 216, p. 287; doc. 412, p. 547; doc. 422, p. 560; doc. 480, p. 637; doc. 485, p. 644. Zojlo is mentioned as deceased in October 1372: CD 14, doc. 332, p. 448.

⁶⁶ MCI 1, doc. 10, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁷ Dobra was the wife of Stjepan de Soppe and Katena of Stjepan, son of Ilija Šubić: MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 96. They may have been daughters from the same marriage as Bivald, Zojlo, and Nikolota (documented in the inventory), but are not mentioned in the division of property between Bivald, Zojlo, and Martinuš in 1341.

⁶⁸ Prodana, wife of Matej de Cessamis (1333-1341) and then Ivan (Zanino) de Sloradis (1352-1396): CD 10, doc. 82, p. 125; CD 18, doc. 107, pp. 158-163 (1396); Ravančić, "Curia", doc. 50, 136; MCI 1, doc. 29, p. 242.

⁶⁹ Prodana commissioned her tomb next to St Plato's church *...vbi iacent sui antiqui...* and assigned donations for the salvation of her soul, as well as the soul of her husband and her brother Matej: CD 18, doc. 107, pp. 159-162.

There were also family ties with the monastery of St Chrysogonus, where Grgur's son and Bivald's brother, Zojlo, is mentioned as a procurator/attorney (1355, 1359).⁷⁰ Zojlo was married several times⁷¹ and had a son called Grgur.⁷² Zojlo's properties as well as those of his heirs are recorded (after 1328) in the area of St Chrysogonus (1355-1388), which indicates that at one point Zojlo moved from the family hospice to the vicinity of the said monastery, which was most likely related to his new family, but also to his office in that institution.⁷³

Matej de Botono is recorded in the documents from the 1350s and died sometime around 1369. He is most often featured as a witness and the attorney of the Zadar commune.⁷⁴ His role as the executor of the last will of Frano, son of Bogdo de Lourechna, points to the connections with that family, as evidenced by the fact that his niece, Nikolota (Kolica), daughter of Bivald, son of Grgur, was to marry Frano in the late 1340s. We have no data that would allow us to infer from which family his widow Fumija had come, but her daughter Gracija was married to the nobleman Kozica (Koša) de Begna.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ CD 12, doc. 216, p. 287; doc. 412, p. 547; doc. 422, p. 560; doc. 480, p. 637; doc. 485, p. 644. As Žuve, son of the late Grgur de Botono, is mentioned as the procurator of the same monastery (1354, CD 12, doc. 186, pp. 246-247; 1361, CD 13, doc. 76, pp. 107-108), it was probably the same person, although Žuve is a variant of the name Ivan. The property inventory of the late Prija, widow of Nikola de Civaellis, mentions Zojlo as an executor of the last will (1360) and then Žuve as the same executor (1362), besides Šimun, son of Bivald de Botono: Stipišić, "Inventar dobara zadarskog", 11v (p. 395) and 12r (p. 396). Žuve de Botono was last mentioned in 1364, n. 85. Zojlo was last mentioned around 1362, and his heirs around 1376-1380: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PS, b. 1, fasc. 2, 42-42v, b. 2, fasc. 9, 22, PP, b. 2, fasc. no. 19, 24v.

⁷¹ The first wife Bona (died in 1352): CD 12, doc. 99, p. 140 (1352); the late Bira: HR-DAZD-22-CMC, *Liber de contradictis*, CR, b. 6, fasc. 6/3, 8v (1361); Stamosa (Stana): HR-DAZD-31-BZ, JC, b. 1, fasc. 3, no. 1, 177 (32) (1382); RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 332v (1388).

⁷² Grgur is featured in the records from the 1370s and 1380s (executor of the last will of Ivan de Botono, a witness and tribune at the Zadar court): CD 14, doc. 332, p. 448; HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 17, 5, b. 2, fasc. 6, 7; PS, b. 2, fasc. 18, 12, b. 1, fasc. 1, no. 5, 142v-143; RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 83v; HR-DAZD-22-CMC (CDR), *Liber possessorum*, JC, b. 2, fasc. 3, 12, 20, 24v, 25v.

⁷³ Zojlo is mentioned as a neighbour of the Figazolisi and Petrico families (1355), and so are his son Grgur (1387) and his wife Stana (1388). Even though the type of property is not defined with Zojlo and Grgur, with Stana these were a house and a land plot. Their position (as well as that of the neighbouring estates) indicates that it was the same location, described in various documents from various angles (linked by the Figazolisi). Several other urban localities were situated next to the Petrico family (a butcher's shop, the Galellisi estate), which indicates links with these families: SZB 5, doc. 76, p. 120 (1355), HR-DAZD-22-CMC (CDR), *Liber possessorum*, RM, b. 2, fasc. 3, 47v (1387); HR-DAZD-31-BZ, RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 332v (1388). Other locations: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 2, fasc. 19, 24v, PS, b. 1, fasc. 2, 42-42v, b. 2, fasc. 9, 22.

⁷⁴ Witness: SZB 4, doc. 129 and 130, p. 218 (1353); *aduocatus communi*, HR-DAZD-22-CMC, *petitiones ciuiles mobilium*, CR, b. 1, fasc. 3, 21v (1358). His inventory is relatively modest compared to Bivald's: MCI 1, doc. 29, pp. 241-242 (1370).

⁷⁵ SZB 3, doc. 198, p. 136 (1350); *Inventar, Mihovil*, doc. 18, p. 118. Cf. HR-DAZD-22-CMC, *petitiones de stabilibus*, CR, b. 2, fasc. 4, 6-6v. Maybe Fumija was Fina, daughter of Prodana, daughter of the late Martinus (1358), cf. Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Žensko upravljanje nekretninama u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća u Zadru" [Female Management of Real Estate in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century in Zadar], *Historijski Zbornik* 59 (2006): 50. Kozica, son of the late Matej de Begna, received a dowry for Gracija de Botono from the executor of the last will of her late father, Matej de Botono (1367): CD 14,

At one point, the lineages of de Botono kindred had different political affiliations. Bivald, son of Grgur, participated in a mission to the Venetian captain of the sea, Civran, at the beginning of Zadar's anti-Venetian rebellion (August 1345), and was the leader of a commoners' uprising with his eldest son Grgur, for which they were executed. The aim of this revolt was to force the noble authorities to surrender to the Venetians.⁷⁶ Bivald's fate probably explains why his sons Bartol and Ivan, his brother Zojlo, and his offspring did not end up in Venetian captivity, as happened with their relatives Mihovil Černin and his son Nikola. Miha, who was an examiner in Zadar during the suppression of the Zadar rebellion, died as a hostage in Venice.⁷⁷

There is a preserved property inventory of the executed Bivald and it allows us to conclude that he left behind two sons, Ivan and Bartol, and several daughters: Marija, at that point widow of Ivan (Živko), son of Jurislav Veletić from Bribir, who then married Marinelo Zudenigo from Rab (1349), Nikolota, who would soon marry Ludovik Cega from Trogir, and Dobrica, nun at the monastery of St Demetrius, later joined there by her sister (J)elena.⁷⁸ Besides Bivald's sister Prodana, his daughter Mary was also associated with the Dominican monastery of St Plato.⁷⁹ Bivald's inventory shows that the family was wealthy and had possessions on the island of Ugljan and in Cerodol and Puntamiki, salt plants and sheep on the island of Pag, and Bivald also invested in trade companies.⁸⁰

Bivald's son Ivan, nicknamed "Banicella", managed to rehabilitate Bivald's branch in Anjou Zadar. He not only often served as an examiner judge,⁸¹ his daughter

doc. 139, pp. 192-194. Although late in 1349 Nikolota (Kolica) was to marry Frano de Bogde, who was in captivity in Venice, he died during a plague epidemic and she soon married Ludovik Cega. Cf. Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme kuge", 22.

⁷⁶ *Obsidio*, cap. 7, 138-139; cap. 11 and 12, 250-259; and n. 45 on page 298; Klaić, Petricioli, *Zadar*, 307-308. Bivald's death is attested by his property inventory, presented that year: MCI 1, doc. 10, pp. 85-106.

⁷⁷ Ravančić, "Curia", doc. 23, pp. 112-113; *Listine* 3, doc. CXXI, pp. 80-81; doc. CLIII, p. 102; Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme kuge", 25.

⁷⁸ Barte and Ivan (and perhaps also the said daughters) were the children of Bivald and his wife Katarina, who is mentioned in the inventory: MCI 1, doc. 10, pp. 86, 90, 96, 104-105; SZB 3, doc. 13, p. 10; doc. 28, p. 18; doc. 259, p. 175. Barte probably died of plague, since his heirs are not mentioned: SZB 3, doc. 226, p. 155. On (J)elena, see: CD 16, doc. 118, p. 128 (1380.). Jelena, the prioress of St Demetrius, is mentioned as Ivan's sister in 1385: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 45r. During her mandate, in 1384, the monastery's procurator was Koša, son of Matej de Begna, who was the husband of Gracija, daughter of Matej de Botono: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 1, fasc.1, 177-177v (1384). Cf. Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme kuge", 22.

⁷⁹ Marija donated her rights from the *instrumentum dotis* (1337) to the Dominicans, where her dowry of 1000 small *librae* is recorded. Her rights to the dowry were donated to Stjepan of Split, vicar of the Dominican order in Dalmatia, and the monastery of St Plato in Zadar (1368): HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 9, f. 49v-50v.

⁸⁰ MCI 1, doc. 10, pp. 85-105.

⁸¹ Executor and procurator of his father's last will: MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 86; SZB 3, doc. 121, p. 83; examiner judge: CD 12, doc. 422, p. 561 (1359); CD 13, doc. 290, p. 398 (1364); CD 15, doc. 37, p. 55 (1374); doc. 73, p. 96 (1375). The nickname "Banicella" is attested in the 1380s (in the records mentioning his

Mihelina (*1389-* 1392) from his marriage with Nikolota, daughter of the late Stjepan de Qualis,⁸² married the royal knight Guido Matafar (1368-1408), son of Vučina, while her sister Cecilia (*1390-1405) married Šimun de Rosa.⁸³ The date of Ivan's death is not known, but can be roughly determined by the last records of his activities (1377-1383).⁸⁴

Besides the family estate of Butovan, Ivan's family properties (the house) as well as the properties of his successors (1378-1387) were located in the area of Putevac/Pusterla.⁸⁵ The house was a larger building and probably also included some land. How he acquired these properties is not known, but after his death they were taken over by his heirs.⁸⁶ Ivan's properties (*ortus, domus, locus* of St Plato's in lease) are also recorded next to the monastery of St Plato's and family hospices of the relatives of Šimun, son of Bivald, and Črno, son of Miha de Botono (1359-1377).⁸⁷ A comparison of Ivan's properties in both locations indicates that they were parts of the same, large family estate that may have once belonged to his grandfather Grgur, or his father Bivald and uncle Zojlo (1328).⁸⁸ Accordingly, it is possible that Ivan inherited his father's half of that hospice (or all of it) as his only male heir.⁸⁹ However, since we lack any documents that contain data on the properties located at the corner of this city block (to the left of the Botono estate),⁹⁰ we must leave this hypothesis open for further discussion.

wife): HR-DAZD-31-BZ, RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 155 (1386); AR, b. 1, fasc. 3, no. 3, 36v; CD 17, doc. 126, pp. 170-171.

⁸² HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 2, fasc. 1, 5v; Ivna Anzulović, "Pavao Pavlović – istaknuti Zadranin 14. i 15. stoljeća (oko 1330.-33. - 1416.)" [Pavao Pavlović: A prominent citizen of Zadar in the 14th and 15th centuries (ca. 1330-33 – 1416)], *Zadarska smotra* 1-2 (1995): 83.

⁸³ Popić, "Zadarski sud", 135. Mihelina made a last will because of the plague, even though she did not fall ill, according to which her sister was already widowed and had a daughter called Kolica (Nikolota), obviously named after her grandmother, same as Cecilija: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 89-90 (1392).

⁸⁴ He is last mentioned alive in 1377, while his *commissaria* was noted down in 1383: CD 15, doc. 223, p. 314 (1377); HR-DAZD-22-CMC (CDR), *Liber possessorum*, JC, b. 2, fasc. 3, f. 22 (1383).

⁸⁵ Cf. Butovan, p. 81 (documents in n. 47, 51).

⁸⁶ Possibly also his wife Kolica, who had a residential house (1389): HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 2, fasc. 4, f. 50. Cf. Appendix 3 (A-D).

⁸⁷ The location of these properties was researched by S. Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 196-197. There is a document that mentions Ivan in this location until as late as 1377 (a *domus* in the neighbourhood of land plots owned by the monastery of St Plato): CD 15, doc. 223, p. 314 (1377).

⁸⁸ Although the location of the hospice is stated in the area of St Michael's (1328) and the position of Ivan's properties next to the monastery of St Plato and in Putevac, it is possible that this is the same property described from different angles in different documents. According to Appendix 3 (A-C, E, and F) and Appendix 4, Ivan's properties were situated in the same city block next to the monastery of St Plato and opposite St Michael's church, which indicates that the notaries recorded the same properties in two neighbouring areas, which is also attested in case of other noble families; cf. Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 145, 191-192.

⁸⁹ Bivald also bought a garden in the area of St Michael's church in 1342, which may refer to the location of Ivan's garden next to St Plato's; MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 99.

⁹⁰ See Appendix 4 (marked in white).

One of the descendants of the family branch of Grgur de Botono from the 13th century, who had a son called Madije and a grandson called Grgur (1317), may have been Šimun, son of Bivald and grandson of Madije, meaning that Bivald was a brother of Grgur, son of Madije.⁹¹ Šimun's sisters were called Prija, wife of Nikola de Ciualellis, and Gracija, *priora* of St Demetrius.⁹² Šimun, who was the executor of the last will of the executed Bivald, son of Grgur, together with his relatives Bart and Ivan, also held the rector's office in as many as 9 mandates.⁹³ He also served as the procurator and syndic of the monastery of St Demetrius, as Zadar's judge and the procurator of the Zadar Commune (1359, 1363), and he was a loyal subject to the King.⁹⁴ Šimun is also mentioned as a merchant,⁹⁵ even though a nobleman, and with his trading partner, Ivan de Gallo, he rented the islands of Kornati, probably to breed small cattle and sell the produce.⁹⁶ His close connections with the Anjou authorities are evident from the fact that he left the rights to a palace (hospice) in the area of St Anastasia to Archdeacon Krševan, a chaplain of the Queen, in 1361.⁹⁷ Given that the palace was most likely located near the royal estate, it is possible that Šimun also performed some kind of royal service in the 1360s.⁹⁸ Considering these important connections with the Anjou rulers and their supporters, it must have been the same Šimun who was the husband of Mary, associated with the Zadar noble family of Georgiis.⁹⁹

⁹¹ See Appendix 2, the genealogical tree of the Botono family.

⁹² On Prija, see n. 71. On Gracija: SZB 3, doc. 49, p. 32; SZB 5, doc. 127, pp. 191-192.

⁹³ He used to be erroneously identified as a son of Bivald, son of Grgur, but the latter's property inventory does not confirm that (Cf. *Obsidio*, 298-299, n. 45 with documents in: MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 86 and SZB 3, doc. 259, p. 175 (1350); examiner judge: CD 10, doc. 382, p. 545 (1340); CD 11, doc. 32, p. 45; doc. 36, p. 50; doc. 40, p. 54; doc. 48, p. 63 (1343); doc. 111, p. 150; doc. 125, p. 166 (1344); CD 13, doc. 416, p. 585 (1366); rector: CD 12, doc. 418, p. 552 (1359); HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 10, fol. 6'-7' (1365), fol. 4-4' (1366), b. 1, fasc. 13, fol. 14-15 (1369), b. 1, fasc. 18, fol. 4-4' (1367); Nikolić Jakus, "The Formation", 96; Branka Grbavac, "Prilog proučavanju životopisa denoveškog i zadarskog plemića Baltazara de Sorbe, kraljevskog admirala" [A contribution to the research on the biography of Genua's and Zadar's nobleman Baltazar de Sorba, a royal admiral], in: *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*, ed. Lovorka Čoralčić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 230.

⁹⁴ Procurator/syndic of the monastery: CD 12, doc. 418, pp. 552-554 (1359); CD 13, doc. 23, pp. 31-32 (1360); doc. 50, p. 63 (1360); Zadar's judge/procurator of the commune: HR-DAZD-22-CMC, *Liber sententiarum*, CR, b. 6, fasc. 6/1 (1359), 10 (1359); CD 13, doc. 233, p. 312 (1363).

⁹⁵ CD 13, doc. 262, pp. 357-358 (1364); Nikolić Jakus, "The Formation", 158.

⁹⁶ *Listine* 4, doc. CXVI, p. 67 (1364); Nikolić Jakus, "The Formation", 166.

⁹⁷ Even though the exact location of the palace (*palacium/hospicium*) is unknown, it might have been the same building as the residence of Zadar's Archdeacon Krševan, a chaplain of the Queen: MCI 1, doc. 27, pp. 228-229 (1370).

⁹⁸ On the royal estate in the district of St Anastasia, see Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 112-114, 143-144, 336-337. Cf. on Rafael de Rouor, vicar of the royal knight Baltazar Sorba at the Royal Chamber and the County of Hvar-Brač: Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 117, 131.

⁹⁹ Marija was a sister of Priba, wife of Andrija, son of the late Matej de Georgiis, and mother of the nobleman Mateja de Georgiis, and had family lands precisely in the area of St Anastasia; cf. Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 131 (and n. 807).

Šimun, son of Bivald de Botono, is also recorded as the owner of a family hospice (palace) in the area of St Plato, next to the garden of Ivan, son of Bivald and grandson of Grgur de Botono, and a large family hospice of the late Lovro, son of Krešo, later owned by Černul de Botono (1359-1368).¹⁰⁰ Considering that he had already been present in this location before renouncing at the palace near St Anastasia, we are of the opinion that it was the property of his family (maybe his father Bivald), although there is no definite evidence in the sources.

The family branch of Grgur's brother, Černul de Botono, is recorded with fewer members. Črne married Nikolota de Scolatura and had several children with her – Bivol, Tižica, and Mihovil (Miha).¹⁰¹ Miha was the only one to have offspring. He is recorded in the sources as a witness, examiner judge, and judge, and died in captivity in Venice before 1349.¹⁰² He married twice – with his first wife, Jakobina (d. 1342), he had a son, Nikola, and a daughter, Marica, and with his second wife, Tomazina, he had two sons called Matej and Černul. We have no data on the mother of goldsmith Frano, if this Miha was his father at all, and it is possible that he was an extra-marital son.¹⁰³

Nikola is mentioned as a politically influential person at the time of the Anjou rulers – he was in Venetian captivity after 1346, and after escaping from the Venetian prison he entered the service of King Louis, as evidenced by his post as a judge for Ban Nikola Seč in 1359.¹⁰⁴ He married Katarina, daughter of Grgur de Zadulinis, whose brother was Grgur, son of the late Grgur de Zadulinis.¹⁰⁵ Kolica de Botono¹⁰⁶ was also connected to the Zadulinis family (at least judging by real

¹⁰⁰ His hospice and he as a neighbour are recorded in documents in 1359, 1368, and 1369: CD 12, doc. 436, p. 580-582 (1359); HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 10, fol. 5-5v; *ibid.*, *carta debiti*, fol. 5v-6 (1368); b. 1, fasc. 12, fol. 18-18v (1369).

¹⁰¹ According to the testimony of Tomazina, widow of Černul's son Miha, Nikolota was a daughter of Miha de Scolatura (Rosa): Ravančić, "Curia", doc. 23 (f. 13), p. 113. Frane is not recorded as Mihovil's son in this testimony. On the late Bivol and Tisiča there is no information in other sources.

¹⁰² Witness: SZB 2, doc. 149, p. 150 (1318); examiner, CD 10, doc. 320, p. 455 (1339), doc. 370, p. 524 (1340); CD 11, doc. 256, p. 335 (1346); *iudex*, CD 10, doc. 144, pp. 201-202 (1335); *iudex examiner*, CD 10, doc. 375, p. 529 (1340); doc. 421, p. 595; doc. 428, p. 606; doc. 434, p. 616 (1341). On his death: SZB 3, doc. 49, p. 32; Ravančić, "Curia", doc. 13, p. 112.

¹⁰³ Marica's mother Jakobina, owner of an extra-urban property (1342): CD 11, doc. 21, p. 29. Since neither Nikola nor Marica are recorded in Tomazina's testimony, he was probably also a son from the first marriage. A different testimony on Mihovil's sons comes from Marin de Saracho, who mentions Černul and Nikola, but not Matej. On Matej, similar to the case of Bivol and Tisiča, there is no data in other sources, and it may be presumed that he died without heirs: Ravančić, "Curia", doc. 23 (f. 13), pp. 112-113.

¹⁰⁴ Nikolić Jakus, "The Formation", 75 (and n. 315); CD 12, doc. 480, p. 637. It is possible that his step-mother Tomazina did not mention him in his testimony before the court concerning the inheritance as he was a fugitive during the Venetian rule and his property was subject to confiscation.

¹⁰⁵ CD 13, doc. 313, pp. 431-432 (1365). On Katarina and the properties of the Zadulinis, see: HR-DAZD-22-CMC (CDR), *Liber possessorum*, JC, b. 2, fasc. 3, 25-25v; Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 237, n. 1443.

¹⁰⁶ Kolica as a neighbour of Kolan, son of Damjan de Botono and his son Juraj, in the areas of St Michael's and Babe, HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 1, fasc. 3, no. 3, fol. 36v; b. 2, fasc. 4, f. 50; Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 236.

estate), which indicates the ties between the two families. Nikola's sister Marica is documented as a nun at the monastery of St Demetrius in 1347.¹⁰⁷

Unlike with Matej, there is far more data available on Černul nicknamed "Abram". In the period from 1353 until the late 1380s, he is mentioned as a witness, heir of the last will of his (half-)brother Frane, rector, court-appointed property divisor, procurator of the royal admiral Matej, son of the late Jakov de Cessamis, and his vicar for the islands counties.¹⁰⁸ Apart from his political connections to the Cessamis family, he also had some family ties with them (his son Frane married Urša, daughter of Jakov de Cessamis), and he himself married Marija de Zadulinis, daughter of Frane de Zadulinis.¹⁰⁹ Although Frane was most likely hers and Černul's son, the documents indicate that the mother and the son were not in the best of relationships.¹¹⁰ Frane seems to have had no offspring,¹¹¹ and was probably the last member of the family.

In the 1350s, there is a mention of goldsmith Frane, son of the late Miha de Botono. Whether he was an extra-marital son of Miha, son of Černul, a half-brother of Nikola, Matej, and Črne "Abram" (although not mentioned as such), or an offspring of the previous commoners' lineage of the Botono, is hard to say. He married twice, first Nikolina (1353) and then Marketa Rubei, daughter of the butcher Luka, son of Stjepan Rubei, and had two children – Ivan and Berula. His last will does not mention any relation with noble relatives.¹¹²

The descendants of Černul, son of Bivald, had a family property in the area of St Michael's church. In the period from 1349 to 1387, there was a *domus (habitationis)* in the possession of his son Mihovil's family. Mihovil's house (*domus*) from 1349 is the same house that was sold to the goldsmith Ivan, son of the master goldsmith Gerardin, after his death (payment of debts). Mihovil's son Črne is recorded as the owner of this house in 1365, and he rented it to the same goldsmith Ivan,¹¹³ which indicates that he may have bought it from him between 1349

¹⁰⁷ CD 11, doc. 323, p. 429.

¹⁰⁸ Witness: CD 12, doc. 126, p. 173 (1353); HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 10, 34 (1368); b. 1, fasc. 11, 1, and 3 (1369); PS, b. 1, fasc. 1, no. 2, 49v; b. 2, fasc. 10, 9 (1377); JC, b. 1, fasc. 1, no. 2, 63, 76; CD 16, doc. 338, p. 448; doc. 339, p. 450 (1384); his brother's heir: CD 12, doc. 401, p. 522 (1358); rector: MCI 1, doc. 45, p. 310; doc. 46, p. 320 (1380, 1381); court-appointed property divisor: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, RM, b. 1, fasc. 1, 38 (1384); procurator of the royal admiral and vicar: HR-DAZD-22-CMC (CDR), *Liber possessorum*, RM, b. 2, fasc. 3, 58 (1389); Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar*, 492.

¹⁰⁹ Grbavac, "Zadarski plemići", 98; Popić, "Zadarski sud", 98.

¹¹⁰ Frane launched the dispute with the aim of erasing her from Černul's last will: Popić, "Zadarski sud", 98.

¹¹¹ In the preserved last will of his wife Urša from 1400, he is listed as her heir, while the children are not mentioned: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 118'-119.

¹¹² CD 12, doc. 401, p. 522; SZB 4, doc. 60, p. 106; Jelić, "Butovane", last accessed on June 3, 2019. <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=3268>.

¹¹³ The house was sold by Miha's procurator, Šimun, son of Bivald de Botono, with the help of his sister Gracija de Botono (as an intermediary). Part of the money from sale was paid to Tomazina de Botono

and 1365. Černul's late brother Frane had a *domus habitationis* with shops in the same area (1358). Frane left the house to his son Ivan, which was then bought by Petar de Lubauac at a public auction and sold to Černul that same year (1372).¹¹⁴ Considering that both Mihovil's and Frane's houses are recorded in the *contrata* of St Michael's (there is no description of the location), we are of the opinion that they may have been situated in the same place (as a family house divided into two parts). Since Černul already owned his father's house at the time, and now also owned his brother's house (separate houses), he may have thus gathered together the "lost" family properties in that location. Černul himself lived in one of those houses in 1387.¹¹⁵

Černul also bought a large family hospice at a public auction (houses with additional amenities) from the family of the late Lovro, son of Grizogon, located near St Plato's (1359), in the vicinity of Ivan and Šimun de Botono.¹¹⁶ Since Černul's family was connected to that family,¹¹⁷ we are of the opinion that the auction sale was agreed with Černul in advance. Judging by the situation of the property near the Count's Palace, this purchase may have been important to Černul for political reasons as well. The sale of this large complex, separated by a wall from the neighboring family estates of the Botono, to Frizon de Prottis (a royal vicar of Senj) in 1368¹¹⁸ further strengthened Černul's reputation as closely associated with the royal authority. Within a year, which is as long as he held this property, Frizon joined the two separate houses into a single architectural unit, which he sold to Miha, son of the late Federik de Nassis, whose family was creating a "family estate" in the city block opposite the monastery of St Plato.¹¹⁹ Although members of the Nassis family are attested in several locations next to the Botono (Putevac, St Michael's square, St Plato), there is no evidence of close family ties between them.¹²⁰ Having sold the property to Frizon, Černul bought a large house

(of which she retained a part and with the rest paid Miha's debts to Ivan, son of the late Miha de Fanfogna): SZB 3, doc. 49, p. 32 (1349). Cf. HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 1, 16v (1365).

¹¹⁴ Ivan may have lost it due to his own or his father's debts (1372): CD 14, doc. 303, pp. 411-412.

¹¹⁵ (*domus habitationis... in contrata sancti Micaelis*), HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AR, b. 1, fasc. 3, br. 2, 15v.

¹¹⁶ CD 12, doc. 436, pp. 580-582 (1359).

¹¹⁷ CD 10, doc. 82, p. 125. Černul's mother Tomazina was also the executor of the last will of the late Tiha, widow of Lovro, son of Grizogon, who may have had family ties with the late Lovro's family: CD 12, doc. 436, pp. 580-582 (1359).

¹¹⁸ HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 10, fol. 5-5v; *ibid.*, *carta debiti*, fol. 5v-6 (with the same date).

¹¹⁹ HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 12, fol. 18-18v. On the Nassis estate in the block opposite the monastery of St Plato in the 1370s and 1380s: Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 206-207, 209-210, Appendix *Map*, 423-424.

¹²⁰ We have managed to establish a link between them through the family ties of Nassis-Cessamis. Marica, daughter of the late Dominik de Nassis, a niece of Petar de Nassis, was married to Matej, son of the late Jakov de Cessamis, whose sister was a daughter-in-law of Černul de Botono: Grbavac, "Zadarski plemići", 98; Begonja, "Uloga gradskoga", 207, 214. The Cessamis were also connected to the Nassis through Jakov's brother Zoilo. His daughter Katarina de Cessamis married Grgur, son of Damjan de Nassis: Grbavac, "Zadarski plemići", 100.

(*domus magna*) in the main square from Filip de Matafaris,¹²¹ where he most likely lived until he bought his brother's house in the area of St Michael's in 1372 (in which he most likely still lived in the 1380s). In addition to the listed properties, Černul bought some more properties in the city square in the early 1380s,¹²² as his political power in the commune gradually increased.

Unlike the Butovan, who were associated with St Mary's, the Botono were especially related to the Dominicans: besides the male monastery of St Plato, it was also with the nunnery of St Demetrius, in which the *priorissa* Gracia is mentioned (1347), her sister Jelena (likewise *priorissa* in the 1380s), and Marica, daughter of Miha, and although not mentioned in the list of nuns from 1347, there would have also been Dobrica, daughter of Bivald, son of Grgur.¹²³ Šimun Bivald, son of Madije, Gracia's and Jelena's brother, was the procurator/attorney of the monastery.

Conclusion

The noble families of Butovan and Botono were two different families, as evidenced by the differences in their established genealogies, intermarital relations, and separate family possessions (although in the same neighborhood). All Butovans originated from Ivan from the mid-13th century, whose grandchildren exerted significant political and social influence by the mid-14th century, after which, due to demographic losses, they survived exclusively through one family branch (Martinuš). The Botono can already be considered as a kindred, which by the end of the 13th century had two main family branches. The main family estates of Butovan and Botono were located in the same city block, in the vicinity of St Michael's church and the Count's Palace, next to the Dominican monastery of St Plato. In this area, the two families of Butovan and Botono lived on separate estates for several generations, which indicates strong family ties between them. The presence of large estates of the other members of the Botono family in their neighborhood testifies to the tendency to grouping different family branches in the same area, next to the Dominican monastery of St Plato, to which they were connected through burial and donation rituals. Similarly, the Botono were associated with St Michael's church and thus two of their family branches had properties in its vicinity. The proximity of the Count's Palace must have also played a role in decisions on where to situate their estates, given the rich political career of the individual

¹²¹ HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PP, b. 1, fasc. 13, 2v.

¹²² He also bought two solid houses with the adjacent lands at a public auction: HR-DAZD-31-BZ, PS, b. 1, fasc. 1, no. 4, 109v-110.

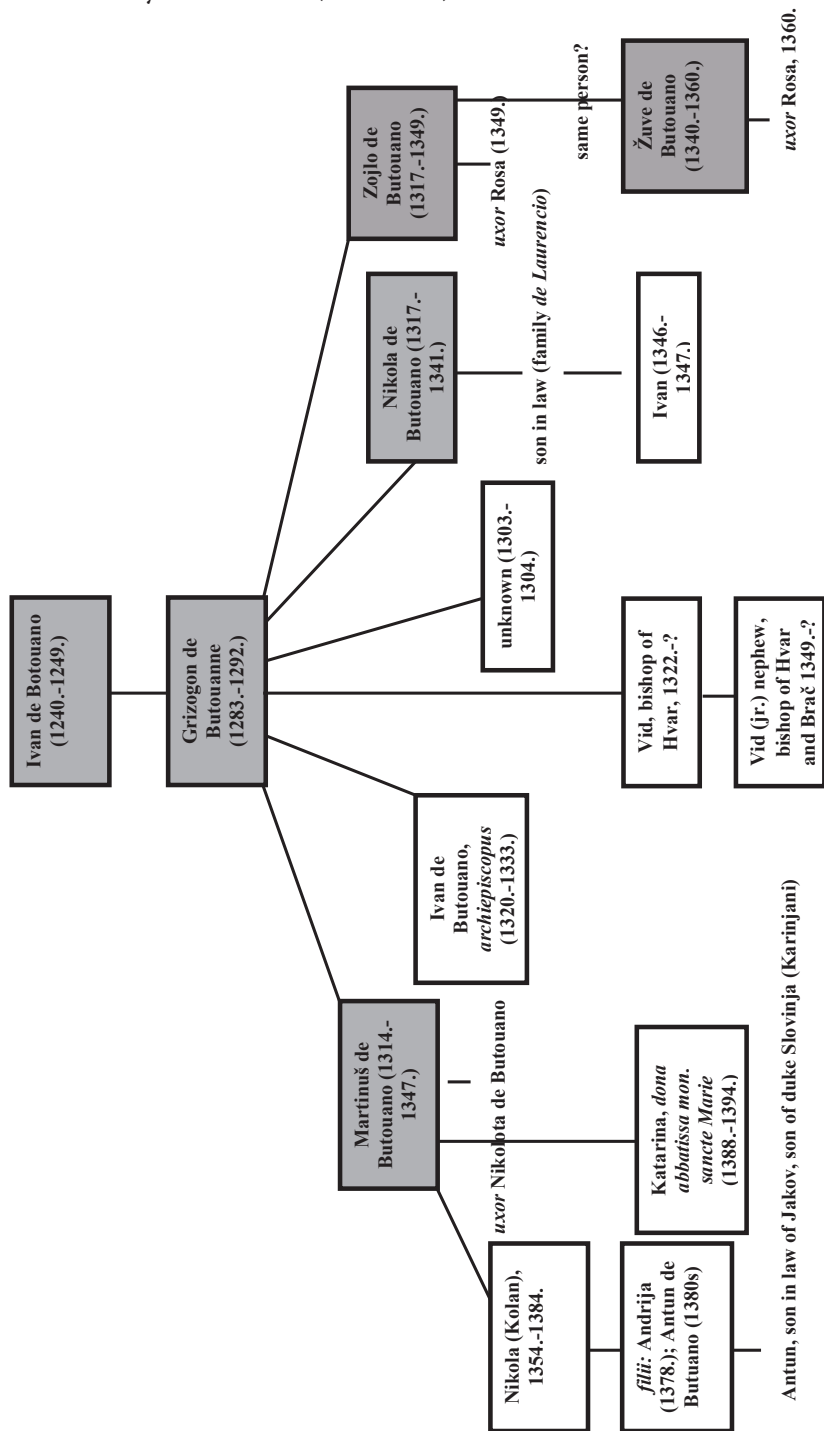
¹²³ CD 11, doc. 323, pp. 428-429. Dobrica as a nun: MCI 1, doc. 10, p. 96. Gracia de Bivaldis was also *priora* in 1355 (SZB 5, doc. 127, pp. 191-192), and in 1380, when Gracia was already deceased, this post was held by Jelena (CD 16, doc. 118, p. 128).

members (especially during the Anjou period). Although some members of the Botono kindred had their properties next to the monastery of St Chrysogonus (Zojlo), with which they were connected by holding posts there, this was not the case with the Dominican nunnery of St Demetrius, where most of the offices were held by the Botono. The Butovan held offices at the monastery of St Mary, and this fact, as well as their potential to reach some of the highest position in ecclesiastical hierarchy, indicates that they belonged to the older and distinguished families in Zadar. Both families were associated with other noble families in various ways, both inside and outside of Zadar, who mostly belonged to the “pro-Anjou” political faction in the second half of the 14th century. Owing to their numbers, the Botono managed to connect with more influential families than the Butovans, who were already on the verge of extinction. In certain periods of the tumultuous 14th century, some of the members of the Botono kindred are documented on different political sides (Bivald, son of Grgur as the leader of a commoner’s uprising against the Zadar authorities during the Venetian siege of Zadar), although this seems not to have caused their weakening or prolonged threat to the kindred or even the “traitors” branch. Marriage links with members of prominent “pro-Anjou” kindreds confirm this, and the situation of the kindred’s main properties in the city seems to have contributed to such connections.

APPENDICES

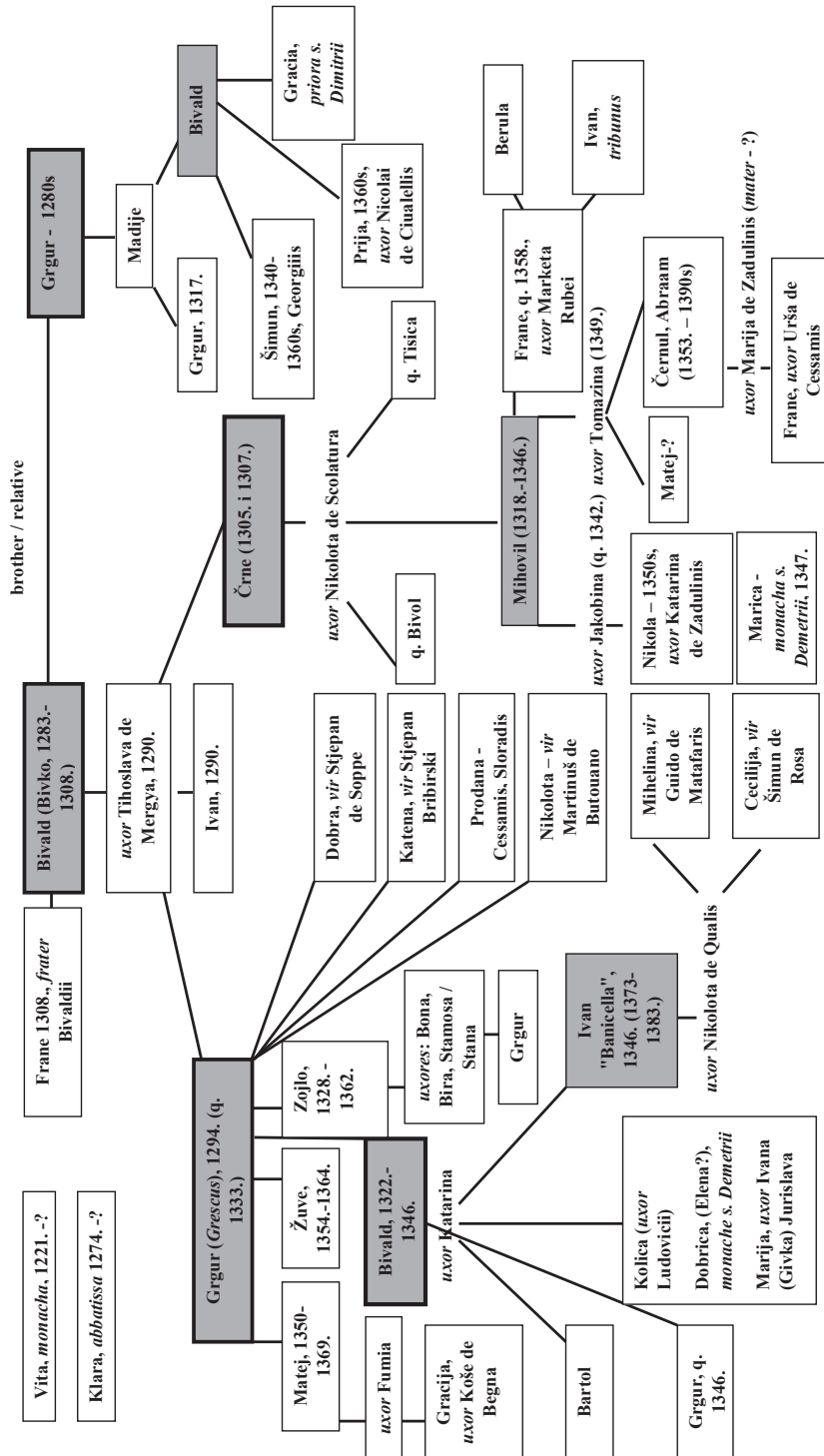
APPENDIX 1

The Noble Family of Butovan (*Butouano*)



APPENDIX 2

The Noble Family of Botono



APPENDIX 3

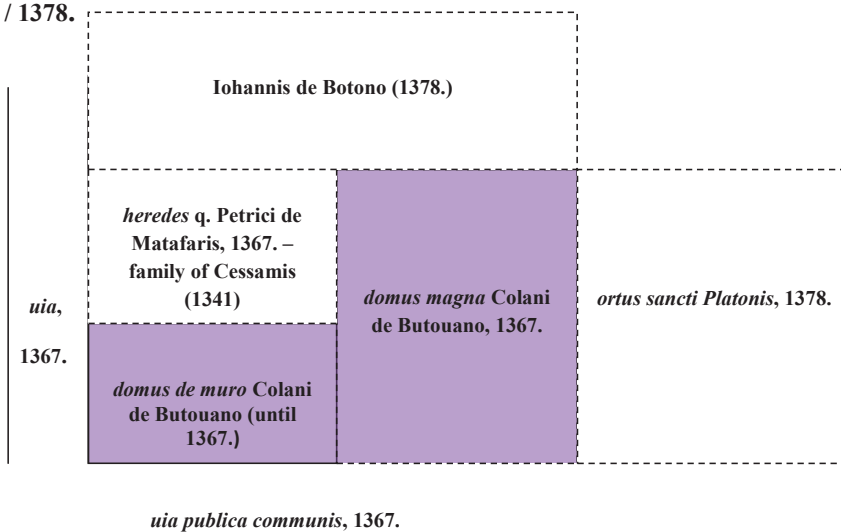
Spatial distribution of urban properties (Butovan and Botono)

Spatial distribution of urban properties (Butovan and Botono)¹

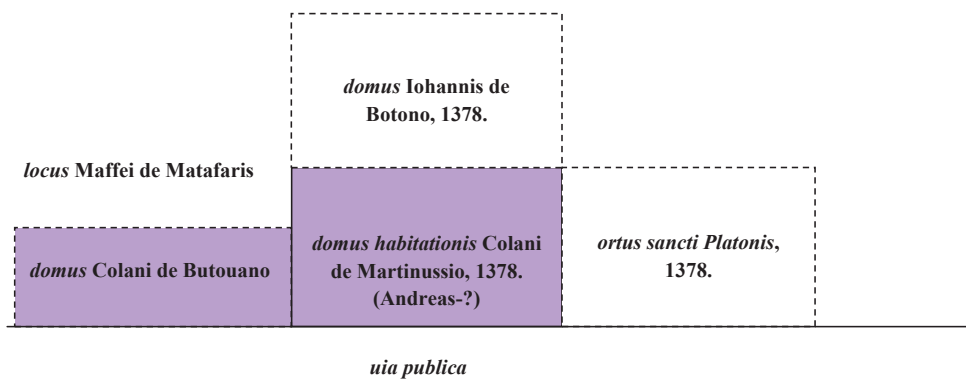
Butovan

Putevac / s. Michael, 1367.-1389.

A.) 1367. / 1378.

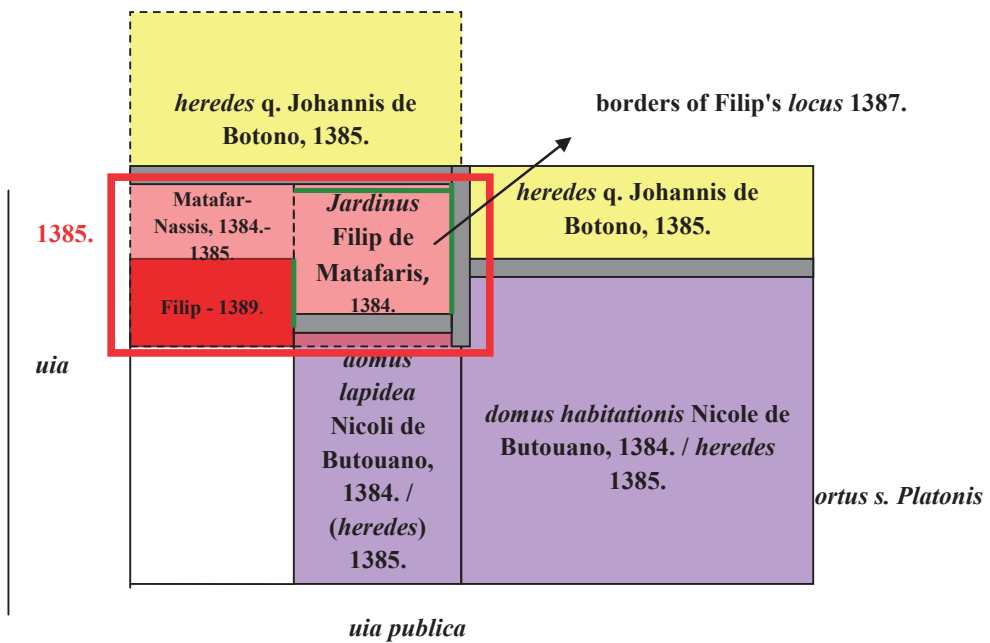


B.) 1378.

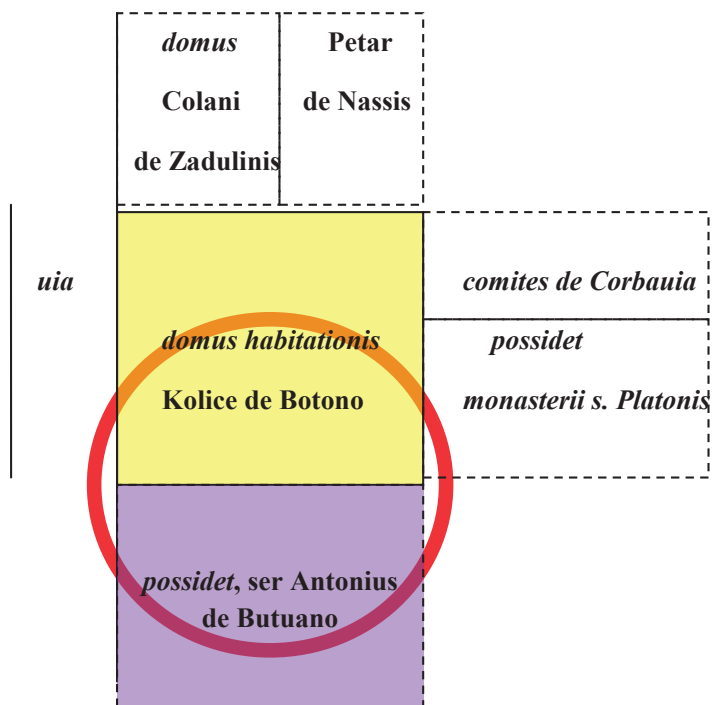


¹ For A-C and E in this appendix, basic sketches are taken from research in PhD diss., Begonja, „Uloga gradskoga plemstva“, appendix 4, *Matafaris* p. 397, *Važni Zadrani i stranci u Ludovikovom Zadru* p. 409. Those basic sketches were fundamental for an additional upgrades in this appendix.

C.) Putevac 1384. / 1385. / 1387./ 1389.

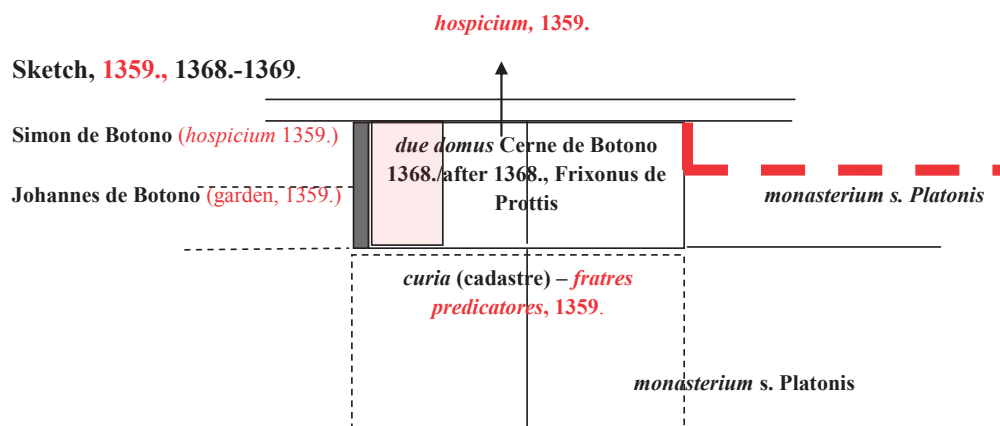


D.) Antun de Butouano, s. Michael (next to Putevac ?), 1389.



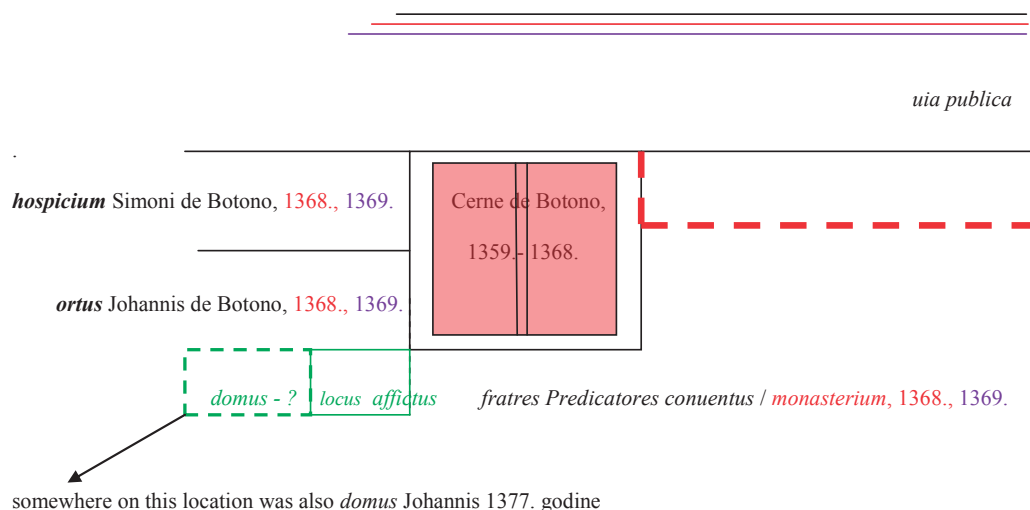
E.) S. Begonja – the location of family estate of Botono (s. Plato)

The reconstruction of Frizon de Prottis's real estates next to monastery of s. Plato (1368.-1369.)



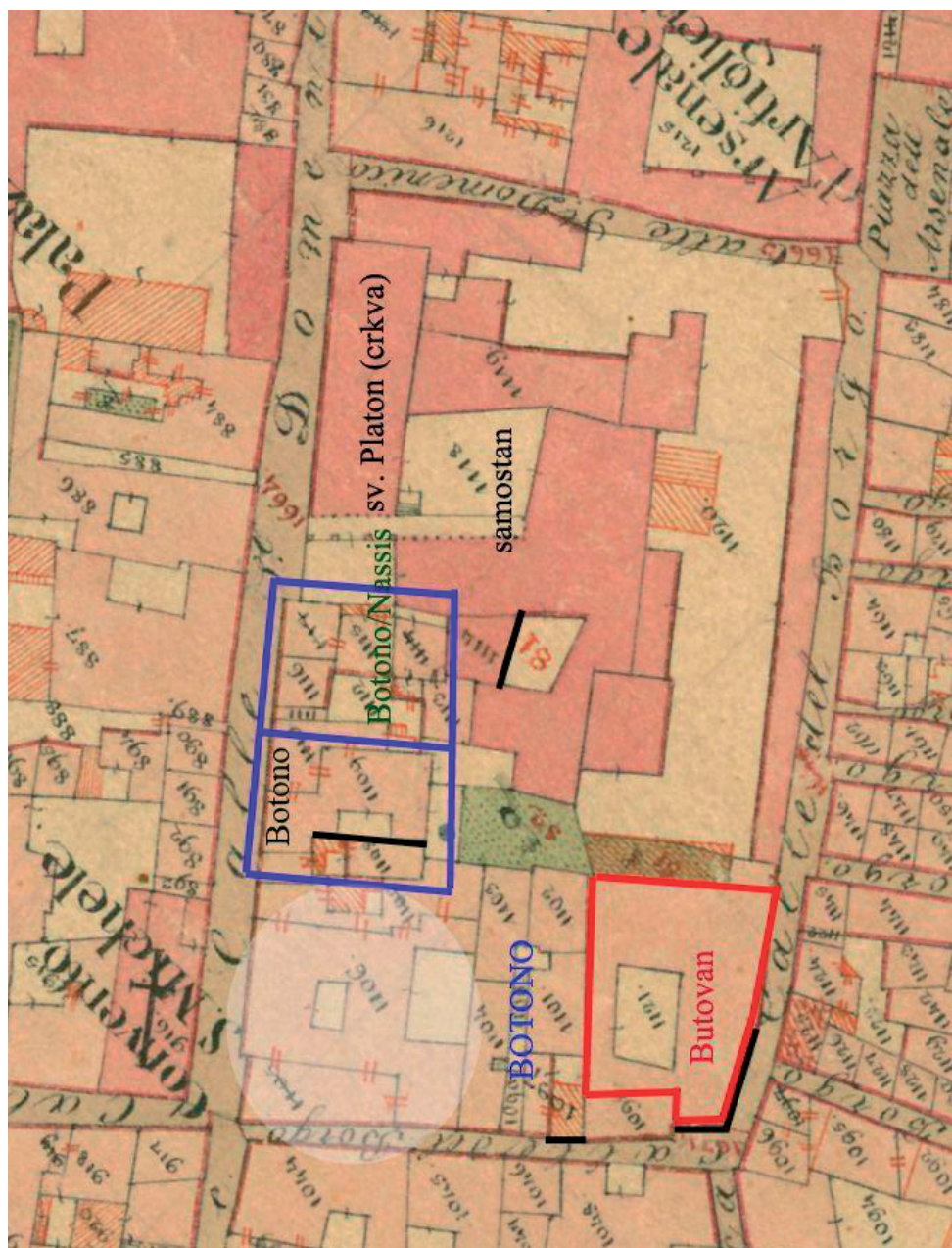
- The red line is the correction of the sketch in dissertation (the line of the street on *auster* side)

F.) Documents 1359., 1368., 1369., 1377.



APPENDIX 4

Segment of the cadastral map of Zadar (the Franciscan cadastre) with the proposed location of the family estates of Butovan (red) and Botono (blue, white?)



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Plemićke obitelji Butovan i Botono u srednjovjekovnom Zadru - obiteljska struktura, rekonstrukcija posjeda i društveni život

Sažetak

U ovom radu istražena je temeljna rekonstrukcija okvirnih genealogija (obiteljska struktura), gradskih obiteljskih posjeda i društvenog života zadarskih plemićkih obitelji Butovan i Botono u razdoblju 13. i 14. stoljeća (do 1390-ih). Istraživanje je provedeno na temelju različitih izvora, u prvom redu objavljenog i neobjavljenog arhivskog materijala Državnog arhiva u Zadru (notarski i sudski dokumenti). S obzirom na veličinu, razgranatost obiteljske strukture, društvene veze kao i smještaj gradskih nekretnina (odvojenost obiteljskih posjeda), riječ je o dvije različite obitelji koje su imale zabilježen društveni utjecaj u određenim razdobljima 13. i 14. stoljeća. Među njima su postojale bliske obiteljske veze, potvrđene kroz nekoliko generacija čak i u smještaju njihovih glavnih obiteljskih posjeda na istim gradskim lokacijama. Za razliku od Butovan, obitelj (rod) Botono imala je više glavnih obiteljskih posjeda u blizini najvažnijih gradskih samostana i crkvi kao i komunalnih građevina, što svjedoči o njihovim vezama sa tim istim institucijama. Te veze mogu se jasno uočiti i kroz obnašanje različitih komunalnih (i kraljevskih) i crkvenih dužnosti pojedinih njihovih članova u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća. Iako malobrojna, obitelj Butovan imala je velik društveni utjecaj u najvišim crkvenim (prva polovica 14. stoljeća) ali i u određenim političkim krugovima (druga polovica 14. stoljeća), što ukazuje da su pripadali krugu starijih i uglednijih zadarskih plemićkih obitelji. Obje obitelji su se povezivale različitim vezama i sa ostalim plemićkim obiteljima unutar i izvan Zadra a koje su većinom pripadale „pro-anžuvinskoj“ političkoj struji u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: srednjovjekovni Zadar, plemićke obitelji, genealogije, urbana i društvena povijest

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