

GLAGOLITIC CONFRATERNITIES' BOOKS OF THE ZADAR AREA AND THEIR VALUE AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Glagolitic confraternities' books are important sources for studying the everyday life of ordinary people as they are full of onomastic, demographic, sociological, historical and linguistic data. This article defines confraternities' records and problems in determining the name of a particular book. Distinctions can be made between the main book of the confraternity (madrikula, codex), books of accounts (kvaterani, notebooks), books of income and expenditures (datja i prijatja, prijaće i trošnje), treasury logs of the parish church with confraternity records, fishing cost statements, endowment records (knjige lašov, legata), records of debtors, books with various lists and annotations such as fascicles with lists of deceased brothers, and lists of judges, gastalds or procurators.

To determine the type of codex as well as the sequence of entries, it is important to know the historical context, as well as the operating mode of confraternities in general, and then thoroughly investigate the work of the confraternity to which the codex refers. It is only then possible to complete the sequence of pages of a damaged book, which will again after the restoration serve the scholarship of researchers from different areas. Thus, through the books of confraternities, complemented by docu-

ments preserved in various archival fonds, we can reconstruct the life of a particular village in the past.

The Confraternities' books are digitized within the project Digitization, bibliographic description and research of texts written in Glagolitic, Croatian Cyrillic and Latin scripts until the end of 19th century in the Zadar and Šibenik area (Written heritage).

In the Zadar area, remains of many confraternities' books have been found and preserved that are full of information for studying the everyday life of people. This paper deals with the different types of confraternities' books and issues of terminology and definition. Distinctions can be made between the main book of the confraternity (*madrikula*, codex), books of accounts (*kvaterani*, notebooks), books of income and expenditures (*datja i prijatja, prijaće i trošnje*), fishing cost statements, endowment records (*knjige lašov, legata*), records of debtors, treasury logs of the parish church with confraternity records, and books with various lists and annotations such as *fascicles* with a list of deceased brothers or a list of the confraternity members or a list of judges, gastalds or procurators. These codices and all other documents were written by priests who were the main promoters of literate culture, and they played an extensive role in educating the entire community as can be seen through their activities in confraternities.

Confraternities in General

Confraternities as civil and religious associations had to go through a certain procedure when they were founded to obtain permission from both civil and church authorities because their rules encompassed a wide range of charitable, political, cultural and other tasks and goals. In the Zadar area, confraternities were founded from the 12th century onwards. Venetian authorities did not interfere too much in confraternities' work, and the remaining manuscripts show (regardless of the lack of documentation) that not much attention was paid to the regular record keeping as most codices lack many minutes of the annual assemblies or records of income and expenditures, the latter being created primarily upon the transfer of funds at the annual assemblies. Records were not regularly kept because confraternities were often unofficially founded even before obtaining consent from the civil and church authorities,¹ and some were ex-

1 The Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Sutomišćica was officially founded on 31 December 1745. However, before it was officially established, the confraternity operated unofficially, as evidenced by an earlier record dated 1743 that has been preserved. Its use continued even after the opening of the official codex so there was a period when the minutes of the annual assemblies were kept in both

tinguished and later restarted.² In the Zadar area, there were many examples of termination and revival of confraternities throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and also of the merging of several confraternities into one.³ Almost every confraternity faced some kind of moral or financial crisis, as can be observed in their records. In the late 18th century, Austrian authorities started to abolish confraternities and directed their assets

codices simultaneously. See *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Blažene Gospe i duš o purgatorija, 1743-1821* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Souls of Purgatory); *Glagoljska madrikula Gospe od Karmena i Duš od Purgatorija* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the Holy Souls of Purgatory), Sutomišćica, 1745 – 1821; Grozdana Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe sv. Eufemije u Sutomišćici na otoku Ugljanu u 18. stoljeću“, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, Vol. 27 (2009): 165-227.

- 2 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula sv. Roka, Rava, 1764. - 1892.* (Glagolitic Codex of St. Rocco, Rava, 1764-1892); Franov-Živković, „Svakidašnji život na Ravi i poštivanje običaja ispunjavanja zadužbina (laši, legata) ravskog stanovništva, in Grozdana Franov-Živković, Ivica Vigato, *Glagoljske madrikula bratovštine sv. Roka 1764. – 1892.; Glagoljska kopija iz libra kvaterna 1769. – 1849., Riznica glagoljske kulture i hrvatske pismenosti otoka Rave*, Monumenta glagolitica Archidieocesis Iadertianae, (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti i Sveučilište u Zadru, 2016), eds. Pavao Kero and Josip Faričić, 17, 18: The *Confraternity of St. Rocco existed before the year 1747, which is mentioned as the year of its establishment in the codex. Given that there are examples of confraternities being established and then extinguished after a certain time, it is likely that the school existed before. Namely, the first pages of the codex include four rules dating from earlier years, and the annual assembly of 1710 is mentioned. Probably the records of the confraternity were not kept regularly and accurately so that the brothers met again in 1747, established new rules and began keeping records of the confraternity from scratch. It can be assumed that the confraternity was founded after 1603, because it was not mentioned in Priuli's visitations. At the beginning of the codex, the old rules no. 12-15 were written, but there are two different rules no. 12. (one from the earlier codex and one from the new record).* Similar to the confraternities of Sutomišćica and Rava, see: Archive of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula sv. Jakova* (Glagolitic Codex of St. Jacob), Soline, 1750 - 1826; Franov-Živković, „Glagoljska Madrikula sv. Jakova u Solinama (Dugi otok) od god. 1750. do 1826.“, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 51 (2009), 139.
- 3 In Vrsi, the Confraternity of St. Trinity merged with the Principal School of St. Michael. See Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula svetog Mihovila, Vrsi (kod Nina), 1700.-1822.* (Glagolitic Codex of St. Michael), Vrsi (near Nin), 1700-1822); Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine župe svetog Mihovila u Vrsima“, *Vrsi kroz povijest 2*, (Vrsi: Matica Hrvatska – Povjereništvo Vrsi, 2015), 23-42.; Vladislav Cvitanović, „Glagoljska Madrikula sv. Mihovila u Vrsima (kod Nina)“, *Radovi Instituta JAZU*, Zadar, sv. XIX, 187 – 243. Merging of the Confraternity of St. Peter from Bubnjane and St. John the Baptist of Tinj, see Local Heritage Museum of Biograd na moru, *Glagoljska Madrikula bratovštine sv. Petra i sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723. – 1767.* (Glagolitic codex of the Confraternities of St. Peter and St. Ivan the Baptist in Tinj and Bubnjane 1723-1767); Franov-Živković, „Bratovština (skula) župe sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i župe sv. Petra i Pavla u Bubnjanima u 18. stoljeću, *Radovi zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*“, 53, (2011.), 163-187.; Franov-Živković, „Madrikula Bratovštine sv. Petra i ss. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723. – 1767.“ in *Glagoljska Madrikula bratovštine sv. Petra i sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723. – 1767.*; (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2012.); VII – XII; [1 – [20], ed. Pavao Kero; In Kali, the Confraternity of St. Sacrament and the Principal School of St. Lawrence were merged in the 18th century. See articles by Franov-Živković, “O kaljskim bratovštinama u razdoblju od 14. do početka 20. st.“, *Kali* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, Hrvatska akademija znanosti u umjetnosti, Općina Kali, 2017), 175-236.; Franov-Živković, „O kaljskim običajima od 15. stoljeća do početka 20. st.“, *Kali* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, Hrvatska akademija znanosti u umjetnosti, Općina Kali, 2017), 237-274.

to finance cultural and educational activities. Some of the confraternities that were not abolished at that time were abolished by the French authorities at the beginning of the 19th century.⁴ Other confraternities continued their work.⁵ Some of the abolished fraternities were renewed in the mid-19th century but no longer had the role that they had performed before the 19th century.⁶ In some cases there were tensions between ecclesiastical and secular authorities related to the confraternities' work.⁷ Control was to some extent exercised by religious authorities in the form of visitations by the local archbishop or bishop.⁸

The founders of confraternities were mostly prominent villagers, representatives of civil, military (police) and religious authorities, as well as members of the councils of the elders (remnants of the old Croatian customary law).⁹ At the founding assembly of a confraternity, the founders voted for the *kapituli* (rules) to which all confraternity members would

- 4 Alojz Štoković, „Bratovštine na istočnoj obali Jadrana, Prilog proučavanju socijalne povijesti na Sređozemlju od XI. do XVII. stoljeća,” *Vjesnik DAR*, 47-48/, 2006-2007, 142, 143; Hubert Jedin, *Velika povijest crkve*, V, (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1978), 435, 436.
- 5 Franov-Živković, “O kaljskim bratovštinama”, 175-236.; Carlo Frederico Bianchi, *Kršćanski Zadar*, II. dio, (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija i Matica hrvatska Zadar, 2011), 104-107; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula sv. Sakramenta (Glagolitic Codex of the Blessed Sacrament)*, Kali, 1675 until today.
- 6 See Franov-Živković, “O kaljskim bratovštinama”, 175-236.; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula Gospe od Luzarija (Glagolitic Codex of Our Lady of the Rosary)*, Kali, 1619 – 1733; *Glagoljska madrikula škole sv. Trojstva (Glagolitic Codex of School of St. Trinity)*, Kali, 1683 - 1807 and 1857 until today; *Glagoljska madrikula sv. Križa (Glagolitic Codex of St. Cross)*, Kali, 1717 - 1807, and 1857 until today; *Glagoljska madrikula Gospe 7 žalosti (Glagolitic Codex of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows)*, Kali, 1729 - 1807, and 1858 until today; *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine sv. Ante (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Anthony)*, *Vinjerac*, 1725 – 1820; Ljubač, *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine sv. Josipa (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Joseph)*, 1776 – 1825
- 7 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula svetog Mihovila, Vrsi (kod Nina)*, 1700. – 1822. (Glagolitic Codex of St. Michael, Vrsi (near Nin), 1700-1822); Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine župe svetog Mihovila u Vrsima”, *Vrsi kroz povijest 2*, (Vrsi: Matica Hrvatska – Povjereništvo Vrsi, 2015), 23-42.
- 8 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Funds: *Vizitacije ninske biskupije (Visitations of the Nin Diocese)* vol. 1-3; *Vizitacije Zadarske nadbiskupije (Visitations of the Zadar Archdiocese)*, vol. 1-3; Oliver Modrić and Josip Kolanović, *Vodič Arhiva Zadarske nadbiskupije*, (Zadar: Državni Arhiv Zadar i Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2013).
- 9 Franjo Smiljanić, *Studije o srednjovjekovnim Slavenskim/Hrvatskim institucijama*, (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2010); Smiljanić, „Novi pogledi na običaj biranja seoskog kralja na zadarskim otocima”, *Zbornik otok Rava*, (2008), 439-443.; Franov-Živković, „Glagoljski mandat iz 1750. o postrojanju teritorijalnih snaga zadarskih otoka”, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU u Zagrebu*, 33/ 2015., 199-215.; Franov-Živković, „Društveni položaj pripadnika mletačkih teritorijalnih snaga (černida) sa zadarskog područja u 17. i 18. stoljeću na temelju glagoljskih matičnih knjiga i ostalih dokumenata”, *Acta Histriae*, 26, 2 (2018), 473-502. Accessed July 13, 2018. http://zdjip.si/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/AH_26-2018-2_Živković.pdf.

adhere. The number of articles in the rules was different in different confraternities. In rare cases, the rules were completely copied from other confraternities. Such a case has been found so far only in Preko and Sutomišćica.¹⁰ The number of members in a confraternity also depended on mutual agreement. A confraternity could have a limited or unlimited number of members, just as it would depend on mutual agreement whether it would be mixed or only male or female, or just a priestly confraternity. New members of a confraternity could be admitted by succession “*na sviću*,” upon the proposal of a candidate by the other brothers, or at a candidate’s request to enter the confraternity; in the two latter cases, all the brothers at the annual assembly voted (by ballot) as to who of the brothers would be admitted to the confraternity. If a person wanted to leave the confraternity, he would have to pay a penalty. In elite confraternities, such as priestly ones, we found the waiting lists for admission to the confraternity called *prokura*. In the process of ballot (voting) the brothers decided who would enter the confraternity. In confraternities, in most cases the number was limited so that many people from the list (*prokura*) never managed to enter.¹¹

In the rules entered at the beginning of a codex, it was determined who would be members of the confraternity’s governing body and in what way the election to that administrative body would be made, and some codices included the records of the elected elders’ duties and the penalties for non-fulfilment of those duties. The number and the names of the confraternity administrative bodies’ members differ from one fraternity to another, and the way of electing the members of administrative bodies

10 Until 1770, the Parish of St. Euphemia in Sutomišćica covered the villages of Preko, Poljana and Sutomišćica, so that the inhabitants of these villages joined the common confraternities. After the establishment of the Parish in Preko in 1770, a confraternity was established in Preko on 17 June of the same year that had the same name as that in the Parish of St. Euphemia: Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the Holy Souls of Purgatory. The rules of the confraternity of Sutomišćica bearing the same name were used a template for their rules. See articles Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe sv. Eufemije u Sutomišćici“, 165-227.; Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe Blažene Gospe od Ruzarija u Preku na Otoku Ugljanu u 18. st. i 19. st.“, *Radovi zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 52, (2010), 231-259.

11 State Archives in Zadar, *Biogradska glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije 1720. - 1841.*, (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Biograd, 1720-1841); Franov-Živković, “Biogradska glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije 1720. - 1841.”, in *Biogradska glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije 1720.-1841.*, (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2012), VII – XV, ed: Pavao Kero.

is also different. In most confraternities, the election was conducted by voting (ballot) by all members of the confraternity; sometimes the chief judge was elected, who then would elect his assistant(s),¹² and sometimes new judges would be elected by the old judges.¹³

The rules prescribe that all brothers must gather together upon the death of one of the members, the mass must be chanted and the candles lighted, and a mass must be chanted on All Souls' Day for all the deceased brothers. There are also defined ways of bell tolling if a brother passes away and the duty of the *gastald* is to inform all brothers and sisters at their homes that a brother is deceased. The rules prescribe the arrangements for the funeral service of dead brothers, who is to organize the funeral, how many masses should be given by each brother (sister) for the dead brother, the way of praying for the dead brothers and the requirement that every member must have a certificate (policy, license) as evidence that he or she has performed all their obligations. The priests who are members of the confraternity determine the number of masses they should hold for the dead brothers.

Although there was a provision that every person could only be a member of one confraternity,¹⁴ many parishioners were members of several confraternities at the same time and participated in their governing bodies. In each village there was the main confraternity (*Vela skula*, "principal school"), which was linked to the main parish church and bore the name of the main patron saint of the village. It was the leader of the progress of the whole village, participated in the construction of all major infrastructure projects in

- 12 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula svetog Mihovila, Vrsi (kod Nina), 1700. – 1822.* (Glagolitic Codex of St. Michael, Vrsi (near Nin), 1700-1822); Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine župe svetog Mihovila u Vrsima“, 23-42.; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Ljubač, *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine sv. Josipa 1776. – 1825.* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Joseph, 1776-1825); Blaga Bunčuga, Pavao Kero, Marija Kero, *Glagoljska madrikula bratovštine Sv. Josipa župe Svetog Martina u Ljupču 1776. – 1818.* (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, Sveučilište u Zadru 2017), eds: Pavao Kero and Josip Faričić.
- 13 Local Heritage Museum of Biograd na moru, *Glagoljska Madrikula bratovštine sv. Petra i sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723. – 1767.* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist in Tinj and Bubnjane, 1723-1767); Franov-Živković, „Bratovština (skula) župe sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i župe sv. Petra i Pavla u Bubnjanima“, 163-187.; Franov-Živković, „Madrikula Bratovštine sv. Petra i ss. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723. – 1767.“, VII – XII; [1] – [20].
- 14 Juraj Batelja, *Povijesne crtice o Zadarskoj nadbiskupiji u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, Euharistijski kongresi u Preku (1925.) i Benkovcu (1938.), Zadarska trilogija*, Part II, (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2014), 66; *Legal aspect of the confraternity life became even more prominent in 1604 when Clement VIII with his Constitution Quaecumque subordinated all confraternities to bishops' authority and determined the laypeople may be registered in only one confraternity.*

both the church and the village, and promoted all major cultural, political, charitable, etc. events in the village. It had a higher income than other confraternities, more property (land for cultivation), its cemetery,¹⁵ furniture, church supplies, ecclesiastical books, and so forth.¹⁶ Smaller confraternities were organized around some individual altars and small chapels. For some villages in the Zadar area, there were records of several confraternities¹⁷ (e.g., Sukošan (8), Pašman (7), Sali (5), Tkon (4), Kali (5), etc.).

Confraternities' Records

Confraternities' codices (madrikula)¹⁸ contain the rules (*kapituli*), and lists of founders and new members, sometimes with a note on the manner of admission of a person into the confraternity (succession or ballot)¹⁹ and

- 15 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Sutomišćica, *Knjiga primitaka i izdataka Bratovštine Sv. Sakramenta 1765. – 1803* (Record of Income and Expenditures of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament 1765 – 1803), The book includes the list of graves and those buried in church graves; see more in Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe sv. Eufemije u Sutomišćici“, 165-227.; Franov-Živković, “O kaljskim bratovštinama“, 175-236.
- 16 Petar Runje, *Duhovni život na zadarskim otocima u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, (Zadar: Gradska knjižnica Zadar, 2008); Runje, *Glagoljica u zadarskoj nadbiskupiji u srednjem vijeku*, (Zadar: Gradska knjižnica Zadar, 2005); Runje, *O knjigama hrvatskih glagoljaša*, (Zagreb: Provincijati franjevac trećeredaca, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1998); Runje, „O knjigama glagoljaša u drugoj polovici 14. i u 15. stoljeću u Zadarskoj nadbiskupiji“, in *Iskoni be slovo*, (Zagreb: Provincijati franjevac trećeredaca, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2001, 57 - 67.
- 17 Pavao Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa zadarske nadbiskupije*, (List of Glagolitic Codices in the Zadar Archdiocese), (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2008), the first edition; Pavao Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa zadarske nadbiskupije*, (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2015), eds. Pavao Kero i Josip Faričić, the second edition. Some books are lost today.
- 18 The confraternities' codices that include rules are recorded (according to Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa u Zadarskoj nadbiskupiji* (List of Glagolitic Codices in the Zadar Archdiocese, 2015): Banj (2); Biograd na moru (1); Božava (1); Brbinj (1); Dobropoljana (1 – in the List of Glagolitic Codices, page 25, it was by mistake recorded as the Glagolitic Treasury Log 1739 – 1798. There are not many entries of income and expenses, but it mostly includes rules, list of founders, list of brothers, and minutes of the annual assemblies, i.e., it is the codex of the Confraternity of St. Cross); Kali (4); Kukljica (2); Ljubač (1); Molat (1); Olib (2); Pašman (5, provided the Codex of St. Anthony the Abbot 1767 – 1818 is the second codex of the Confraternity which includes the rules copied from the first codex in 1519); Polača (1); Preko (1); Premuda (1); Rava (1); Sali (2); Sestrunj (1); Soline (1); Sukošan (5); Sutomišćica (3); Sveti Filip i Jakov (1); Tinj and Bubnjane (1); Tkon (2); Ugljan (1); Veli Iž (2); Vinjerac (1). Confraternities' codices without rules: Banj (2), Bibinje (1); Diklo (1); Dragove (2); Kali (1); Kožino (1); Kukljica (1); Olib (2); Pašman (3); Sali (3); Sukošan (4); Sutomišćica (1); Tkon (2); Veli Iž (1); Vrsi (1); Zaglav (1); Žman (1). Some of these books have been lost, others are kept in the Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, as well as some in the State Archives in Zadar and some in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- 19 Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe Blažene Gospe od Ruzarija u Preku“, 231-259.

the amount of the membership fee each new brother had to pay when joining (in money or in kind). *Madrikula* also contained minutes of the annual assemblies together with minutes of auctions (*kanta*) held after the second day of the assembly. Some codices include other records: income and expenditures, various debtors' lists, endowments, last wills and testaments and other records. Some codices include records of several fraternities at once, sometimes with those records separated one from another such as Božava²⁰ and Molat.²¹

Confraternities' books of accounts (kvaterani, **notebooks**)²² include various notes regarding the work of confraternities, such as minutes of the annual assemblies, income and expenditures, last wills and testaments related to endowments (*laše*), contracts for sale or donation of land to the confraternity, and orders and circular letters of church and civil authorities and others.

- a) This may be the second book of a confraternity, opened after the first *madrikula* is completely filled. It may include all the records similar to those in the main book of the confraternity, such as the list of members, but also minutes of the annual assemblies. It does not include any information on the founding of the confraternity or rules (*kapituli*) and no founders' lists, except in rare cases when rules are copied, and then it is especially emphasized that it is a copy from the old *madrikula*. A problem may arise if the rules fall out of the first codex or if the codex is incomplete (damaged, missing parts) so we cannot determine whether it is the first codex with the rules or the second one where the rules were not sup-

20 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Božava, *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine sv. Nedilje 1712. – 1836.* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Domenica 1712 – 1836). It consists of separate records of three confraternities: St. Domenica, St. Bartholomeus, St. Spirit. See article Franov-Živković, „Uloga crkvenih bratovština u svakidašnjem životu Velog Rata, Verone i Polja u 17. i 18. stoljeću“, *Veli Rat*, (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013), 291-308.

21 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Molat, *Glagoljske madrikule 1630.-1757.* (Glagolitic Codices 1630-1757) consist of four parts, i.e. four codices: Codex of the Confraternity of the Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, 1630; Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Confraternity of St. Mary Mother of Mercy for Brgulje 1757, Confraternity of St. Michael, 1746; Confraternity of the Holy Rosary (Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa* (List of Glagolitic Codices), 2015, 40).

22 Preserved for the following villages: Brbinj (2); Olib (2); Preko (1); Radošnovci (1); Rava (1); Vlašići (1); Vrgada (1). (Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa* (List of Glagolitic Codices), 2015).

posed to be entered.

- b) On the other hand, it can be a book of accounts kept in parallel with the main book of the confraternity. It may also include various other data. These books of accounts can refer to one or more confraternities and may contain common records of one or more confraternities and church accounting records. This is especially the case with *Vele skule* (principal schools), the main confraternities in a village that were joined by a large number of villagers, sometimes the entire village.²³

Records of income and expenditures (datja i prijatja, prijače i trošnje)²⁴ include only the revenues and expenditures of confraternities. Sometimes the entire record of income and expenditures is erroneously called *madrikula* (see Olib, Sutomišćica).²⁵ In one of the books of income and expenditures of the parish of Sutomišćica we found a list of graves (*Popis pogrebica*)²⁶ including the list of graves with burial plots and the list of deceased persons buried in those graves.

The treasury log of the parish church with the records of confraterni-

- 23 An example is the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in Kali. See: Bianchi, *Kršćanski Zadar*, 104-107: *The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which in 1808 was joined by two hundred brothers. Since 9 December 1821, the whole community participates in the confraternity.* Franov-Živković, "O kaljskim bratovštinama", 175-236.
- 24 The following Books of Income and Expenses have been preserved: Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Knjiga prihoda i rashoda župe Murvica, XVIII. – XIX. st.* (Book of Income and Expenses of the Parish of Murvica, 18th – 19th century); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Računi Bratovštine duš od purgatorija, Olib, 1723. – 1750.* (Accounts of the Confraternity of the Holy Souls of Purgatory, Olib, 1723 – 1750); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Sali, Glagoljska knjiga rashoda 1709. – 1876.* (Glagolitic Book of Expenditures, 1709-1876); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Tkon, *Glagoljsko-latinička knjiga primitaka i izdataka 1793.-1846.* (Glagolitic-Latin Book of Income and Expenditures); State Archives in Zadar, *Zadar, Knjiga prihoda i rashoda bratovštine sv. Antuna opata* (Book of Income and Expenses of the Confraternity of St. Anthony the Abbot) (Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa* (List of Glagolitic Codices) 2015).
- 25 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Gospe od Luzarija i Karmena u Olibu 1684. – 1793.* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary and Mount Carmel in Olib 1684-1793) contains only income and expenses of this confraternity, so that instead of *Madrikula* it should be named Book of Income and Expenses. It is the same situation with the three books of confraternities of St. Euphemia, Holy Souls of Purgatory and Corpus Christi in Sutomišćica; Books that include only income and expenses and are named as such are found in Pašman *Libar dobitka Sv. Marije 1747. – 1820.* (Book of Receipts of St. Mary 1747 – 1820) and three books in Sutomišćica.
- 26 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Sutomišćica, *Knjiga primitaka i izdataka Bratovštine Sv. Sakramenta 1765. – 1803.* (Book of Income and Expenses of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament 1765 – 1803). The book includes the List of graves and those buried in church graves; Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe sv. Eufemije u Sutomišćici“, 165-227.

ties – occasionally the records with the rules of a confraternity are joined to the treasury log of the church itself.²⁷

Fishing cost statements²⁸ recorded sales and earnings from fishing, concessions on fishing areas, drawing of lots.

Books of endowments (laše, legata)²⁹ include the lists of the endowments of confraternity members and also of people who are not members of the confraternities.

Debtors' records³⁰ – special booklets written in two manners. The first type included a list of all debts of a particular member of the confraternity, by their names or by their households. Others include lists conducted by households or by names of household patrons.

Books with various lists and notes.³¹ These are various lists and records on individual sheets, mutually different, which have been collected and

- 27 Example: Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljski blagajnički dnevnik župne crkve u Brbinju 1706.-1807.* (Glagolitic Treasury Log of the Parish Church in Brbinj, 1706-1807) includes the rules of the School of Corpus Christi (the Blessed Sacrament) of 1663. In addition to these rules, the book also includes entries pertaining to other confraternities: St. Spirit, St. Rocco, Blessed Virgin Mary, Blessed Sacrament; records of these confraternities are not preserved at all and the mentioned *Treasury Log of the Parish* is also lost; See: Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Ist, Glagoljska knjiga dobara crkve sv. Nikole 1727.-1854.* (Glagolitic Book of Assets of the Church of St. Nicholas 1727-1854). This book of assets includes records about the confraternities of Ist. In Olib, such book is named *Glagoljski kvateran prokuratorov župne crkve 1766.-1784.* (Glagolitic Book of Accounts of Procurators of the Parish Church 1766 – 1784). The procurators were trustees i.e. persons in charge of activities of a church. The List of Glagolitic Codices (*Popis glagoljskih kodeksa*), 2015, p. 53 reads: *Such book is called „libar od fontiga“ as the Glagolitic book of accounts of Our Lady of the Rosary reads: What a person is due to pay was written in „libar od fontiga“ in 1765 (p. 28)“*; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Sestrunj, Glagoljski blagajnički dnevnik župne crkve sv. Petra 1799. – 1826.* (Glagolitic Treasury Log of the Parish Church of St. Peter, 1799-1826). This treasury log recorded the operations of the confraternity of Our Lady of Good Health; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Žman, Glagoljski kvateran crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja 1757. – 1843.* (Glagolitic Book of Accounts of the Church of St. John the Baptist, 1757 – 1843). This book of accounts mentioned the confraternity of St. Spirit. There is a number of treasury logs of St. Paul's Monastery in Školjić or of St. Michael's Monastery in Zaglav without any notes about confraternities. (Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa* (List of Glagolitic Codices, 2015, 67 – 70 and 130). There are also *Računi don Pere Pletikose 1815.-1816.* (Accounts of Don Pero Pletikosa 1815-1816) recorded as a supplement to the archives of Benedictine Abbey of St. Cosmas and Damian in Tkon.
- 28 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Vrgada, Glagoljski ribarski troškovnik* (Glagolitic Fishing Cost Statement).
- 29 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Olib, Glagoljski libar legatov 1755.-1874.* (Glagolitic Book of Endowments 1755-1874); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Libar lašov crkve Svete Marije, Sali* (Book of Endowments of St. Mary's Church in Sali). Sometimes, the lists of endowments (*laši*) are found in some other codices such as *Kali Godovi* where endowments are recorded by households and by individuals at the end of the book.
- 30 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Pašman, Glagoljski libar dužnika Sv. Marije 1766.-1809.* (Glagolitic Book of Debtors of St. Mary 1766-1809); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Utomišćica, Libar di se pišu oni ki fale i ki ostaju dužni 1767. – 1804.* (Book of Defaulters and Debtors, 1767-1804).
- 31 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Olib, glagoljske bilješke 1575. – 1605.* (Glagolitic Notes 1575-1605)

bound into a single book. Thus, we find **Fascicles with a list of deceased brothers**³² – which besides the list of brothers who passed away may also contain penalties for those brothers who failed to appear at the funeral or perform any other duty toward their dead brothers as prescribed in the rules. **The list of judges, gastalds, procurators** for the parish of Sutomišćica has 46 pages.³³

Records on confraternities' activities can be found in vital records, missals and breviaries, on separate sheets in various fonds of the State Archives in Zadar and the Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese.

The Confraternities' books are digitized within the project *Digitization, bibliographic description and research of texts written in Glagolitic, Croatian Cyrillic and Latin scripts until the end of 19th century in the Zadar and Šibenik area (Written heritage)*. Head of the project is Assistant Professor Marijana Tomić, PhD.

The project is being carried out at the University of Zadar by the Department of Information Sciences in co-operation with Vestigia Manuscript Research Centre of University of Graz, Austria. The associates come from several departments of Zadar University as well as from Croatian and European institutions interested in different aspects of manuscripts (particular of text written in Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic (called *Bosančica*) scripts), early printed books research, information sciences and digital humanities. It is supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Academy of Arts and Humanities and the Universities of Graz and Zadar.³⁴

32 Sutomišćica, *Libar di se pišu oni ki fale i ki ostaju dužni 1767.-1804.* (Book of Defaulters and Debtors, 1767-1804).

33 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Popis sudaca, gaštalda, prokaratura raznih bratovština župe Sutomišćica 1699. – 1821.* (List of Judges, *Gastalds*, Procurators of Various Confraternities of the Sutomišćica Parish 1699-1821).

34 „Pisana baština: portal digitalizirane hrvatske pisane baštine zadarsko-šibenskog područja“. Accessed July 13, 2018. <https://pisanabastina.unizd.hr/>.

Glagolitic Confraternities' Books and their Value as Historical Documents

Confraternity books are full of information on the everyday life of the population from earlier periods. The everyday life of people in history is increasingly studied by historians and other scholars (sociologists, ethnologists, art historians, literary historians and other researchers).

The major problem in researching historical everyday life is the lack of written sources,³⁵ which stems from the fact that most documents are not preserved. Even more important is the fact that most people were illiterate, so that only a small part of the literate population was able to record individual events, while the memory of the rest of the population was based on the oral tradition. Individuals who were better off were able to document certain moments of their lives, for example, writing their last will and testament (they could afford to pay for scribes, notaries, and had property they could bequeath) or initiate litigation related to their personal status or property. The poorest sections of the population, with the exception of information that is captured in vital records and confraternities' books or records of a crime committed, remain largely forgotten in the past. That is why these Glagolitic priests' records are important for the history of a particular village. They, as members of the community in which they were born themselves, made records of their neighbours, either in special notebooks, on the margins of other codices, or even on the margins of printed missals and breviaries. The entries in the vital records and books of confraternities are not written in a matter-of-fact, purely administrative way, but they still include various descriptions or even expressions of feelings, from which we can deduce the life of the individuals to whom they relate.³⁶ They include inscriptions not only about the important persons in

35 Franov-Živković, „Društvena slika ugljanskih sela od 15. do 18. stoljeća prema podacima iz glagoljskih vrela“, PhD diss, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013; Carl Ginzburg, *Sir i crvi, kozmos jednog mlinara iz 16. st.*, (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1989); Peter Burke, *Junaci, nitkovi i luđe, narodna kultura predindustrijske Europe*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991); Peter Burke, *Istorija i društvena teorija*, Beograd: Equilibrium, 2002); Peter Burke, *Što je kulturna povijest?*, (Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 2006); Marc Bloch, *Apologija historije ili zanat povjesničara*, (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2008); Bloch, *Feudalno društvo*, (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001); Bloch, „Za komparativnu historiju europskih društava“, in: *Uvod u komparativnu povijest*, (Zagreb: Golden marketing, - Tehnička knjiga 2001), 37-64.

36 Read more in Franov-Živković, „Društvena slika ugljanskih sela od 15. do 18. stoljeća prema podaci-

the village, such as village heads (judges), captains or other officers of the territorial forces, members of the councils of the elders, priests and other monks, landowners and the like, but also about members of the marginal groups such as women, the poor, the sick, orphans, and others.

The Glagolitic priests lived similar daily lives to those of their fellow villagers, but they were literate and aware that events must be recorded. As there were not many literate people (Puhov, *Vizitacije potpis skapetana sela* (Visitation List of Village Captains...),³⁷ they were the promoters of the literate culture of their surroundings, especially in terms of documents written in Croatian language and Glagolitic script. These documents provide a partial image of a village in the past, as well as an image of individuals (regardless of their wealth), entire families and the entire society to which they belonged. The very presence of the Glagolitic priests made the population aware that they should write down their last wills and testaments (the last wills that were recorded by the Glagolitic priest, and so the person who recorded them did not need to be paid, or at least not paid in full as was the case with the last wills recorded by a Zadar notary),³⁸ make various agreements in written form, etc.

The life of a village included involving all the locals in various confraternities and active participation in their activities. In the confraternities' books we find economic records of confraternity business, such as the agricultural crops they grew or livestock they bred, where they used to sell them, whether the year was fertile or poor, as well as different weather conditions. There are records of investments such as building and restoring churches, fraternal courts, altars and church inventories, wells, roads, clearing the village and everything else that was needed for a quality common life. Significant events in the village were recorded, such as arrivals of archbishops, visitators or other church dignitaries, the consecration of the

ma iz glagoljskih vrela", PhD diss, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013.

37 Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, IV a 80/17; IV a 80/41; IV a 80/39; IV a 80/10.

38 Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), p. 245 wrote the following about the last wills: „hundreds and hundreds of preserved LAST WILLS AND TESTAMENTS were written in the matter-of-fact language of notary forms which makes it difficult to access the spiritual life of individuals. Are we allowed at all to touch a human's sensitivity in their twilight years if the last will says nothing about it directly? It was exactly in the last wills and testaments written in the Glagolitic script by village priests that we find the feelings of the dying person and much private data that would not be found in the last wills recorded by notaries.

church, or the common sacrament of confirmation. The confraternities' books include many interesting things from the daily life of a village such as accidents, scandals, quarrels, government changes, traveling to other brethren and pilgrimages, endowments (*laše*), purchase and donation agreements, litigation, mutual support of confraternity members, loans, debts, and other matters.³⁹ The confraternities' books show various civil and religious customs prevailing in certain regions.⁴⁰

Thanks to the efforts of the Glagolitic priests, the writers of these manuscripts, as well as those who have contributed to the preservation of these documents by their efforts, there are many documents from the entire Zadar area covering the issues of everyday life of the rural population, unlike in some other areas.⁴¹ Documents preserved from the area of the Zadar islands are particularly numerous.

Discovery and Restoration of Glagolitic Confraternities' Codices and other Documents

Many of these confraternities' codices and other volumes of the Zadar area were found in very poor condition and needed reconstruction and arrangement before restoration. This enormous job was done in the Zadar area by Monsignor Pavao Kero, Ph.D. In most of the books found in parish houses or privately owned, there were no marked pages, and it was a major problem to arrange a book in chronological or any other sequence. They had to be compared with other confraternities' books to identify the sequence of the entries and the way in which they were composed. After determining the sequence of entries, the book was sent to restoration.

A) The sequence of entries in most Glagolitic confraternities' codices is the following:⁴²

39 Franov-Živković, "O kaljskim bratovštinama", 175-236.; Franov-Živković, „O kaljskim običajima, 237-274.

40 Franov-Živković, "O kaljskim bratovštinama", 175-236.; Franov-Živković, „O kaljskim običajima, 237-274; Franov-Živković, „Glagoljski mandat iz 1750.“, 199 – 215.

41 Franov-Živković, „Društvena slika ugljanskih sela od 15. do 18. stoljeća prema podacima iz glagoljskih vrela“, PhD diss, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013; Ginzburg, *Sir i crvi*; Burke, *Junaci, nitkovi i lude*; Burke, *Istorija i društvena teorija*; Burke, Što je kulturalna povijest?; Bloch, *Apologija historije ili zanat povjesničara*; Bloch, *Feudalno društvo*; Bloch. „Za komparativnu historiju europskih društava“, 37-64.

42 In some books that had the role of the second codex, when the rules are copied from an earlier codex,

1. Rules (*kapituli*) - At the beginning of the codex, when the confraternity is founded, the *kapituli* (rules) are written down. Blank pages or blank sections are later filled in with rules that were subsequently voted upon.
2. List of brothers - A list of confraternity founders is recorded following the rules. In most of the codices, the sequence is such that first monks are listed, followed by male and then by female members of the confraternity. After the founders, names are added by dates of entry into the confraternity, either to these lists or, if filled, new lists are made.

In some of the codices, all members of the confraternity were listed together (male, female, and *monastic*) on a single list by sequence (date) of entry in the confraternity.⁴³

In addition to the first name and surname of the confraternity member, in the majority of confraternities the amount of the membership fee in cash or in kind was entered.

3. Minutes of the annual assemblies contain records on the election of the administrative body of the confraternity, on the transfer of funds from the past years, the lists of debtors from the past year(s), auctions (*kanti*) and other matters.
4. At the end of the book (sometimes scattered throughout the book) there are various entries, donation agreements, endowments, sales contracts, orders of civil and religious authorities related to the work of the confraternity (or confraternities in general), and records of major investments (purchase of altars, restoration of churches, confraternity houses (confraternity court), purchase of church furniture or other items), or loans.

B) Books of accounts (*kvaterani*) could be kept in two ways:⁴⁴

the rules may be in the middle or at the end of the book.

43 Franov-Živković, „Bratovštine (skule) župe Blažene Gospe od Ruzarija u Preku“, 231-259; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine duš od purgatorija 1770. - 1819.* (Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of the Holy Souls of Purgatory, 1770-1819); Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljski kvateran Bratovštine Gospe od Luzarija, 1778. - 1845.* (Glagolitic Book of Accounts of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1778-1845).

44 See chapter 2 above.

- A *kvateran* may be the second book of the confraternity that was opened after the first codex was filled. It contains everything contained in the first book of the confraternity except the rules (*kapituli*).

- Most books of accounts consist only of a list of receipts and expenditures, followed by a list of auctions (*kanta*) and a list of debtors. Debts can be recorded by brothers⁴⁵ or by households.⁴⁶

Example of the discovery of a book of accounts (*kvateran*) in Radošince

When the *kvateran* of Radošince was found in a private house in Sali, with its covers heavily damaged by fire and unbound, the sheets disordered and mostly damaged, many sheets with a part missing or more precisely, and mostly only a small piece of a sheet preserved, it was necessary to first determine to which type of Glagolitic codex it belonged, and then to try arrange the sequence of the sheets without pagination. The sheets had to be classified by groups in the way a book of accounts should be arranged or compared with other available books of accounts.

First, we identified the name of the *kvateran*, that is, the village to which it belonged. Considering it was found in Sali, logically one might come up with the conclusion that this was the book of accounts for the parish of Sali. However, by reading the Glagolitic notes it was concluded that the *kvateran* must be from Radošince, and that it was a combination of church accounts and the accounts of the confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua from Radošince. After reading the data, a reason emerged as

45 Pavao Kero, Grozdana Franov-Živković: *Glagoljski kvateran Župe sv. Ante u Radošincima 1784. – 1795.*; (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2013); Franov-Živković, „Kvateran (knjiga računa) crkve i bratovštine sv. Ante u Radošincima 1784. -1795.“, *Glagoljica i glagoljaštvo u biogradskom kraju*, (Biograd-Zadar: Matica hrvatska Zadar, Sveučilište u Zadru, Grad Biograd, 2014, 131 – 148; 131-148; Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Glagoljski kvateran Župe sv. Ante u Radošincima 1784. – 1795.* (Glagolitic Book of Accounts of St. Anthony's Parish in Radošince 1784-1795).

46 Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, Pašman, *Glagoljski libar dužnika Sv. Marije 1766.-1809.* (Glagolitic Book of Debtors of St. Mary 1766-1809); Pašman, *Libar dobitka Sv. Marije 1747. – 1820* (Book of Receipts of St. Mary 1747-1820). Such a sequence of debtors is found in the codex of Kukljica. Archives of the Zadar Archdiocese, *Kukljica, Latinička madrikula Bratovštine Duha Svetoga 1819.-1935.* (Latin Codex of the Confraternity of St. Spirit, 1819-1935)

to why it ended up in Sali. Namely, the person who made the entries and signed the *kvateran* was Don Bože Končić, a priest of Radošinovci, who was born in Sali and who, after leaving the service at Radošinovci, brought this *kvateran* with him to his birthplace, as it included some of his private accounts such as that of building a ship.

After naming the book, the long process of arranging the sheets and their portions started. They were arranged and then rearranged several times and the sequence was finally determined: first, debtors were listed, each on one sheet (which corresponds to the number of brothers of the confraternity that, according to Bianchi, should be 30),⁴⁷ followed by a list of the church accounts, revenues and expenditures, loans and various other entries. Only when the full transliteration was done could the *kvateran* be arranged entirely because it was only then clear what was wrong in the original arrangements. After arranging the *kvateran*, the book was sent for restoration.

List of Glagolitic Codices of the Archdiocese of Zadar and Monumenta glagolitica Archidioecesis Iadertinae

In order to better explore the written Glagolitic heritage, Don Pavao Kero and his associates came up with the idea of making a list of all the codices from the Zadar area that were known, starting with the lists made by Vladislav Cvitanović, Amos Rube Filipi, Ante Strgačić, Petar Vlasanović, Blaž Jurišić, Nedo Grbin, Vjekoslav Štefanić,⁴⁸ but also a number of

47 Bianchi, *Kršćanski Zadar*, 319.

48 Kero, *Popis glagoljskih kodeksa* (List of Glagolitic Codices) 2015, preface, 5-8: Glagolitic priest Don Vladislav Cvitanović was the first person who listed the Glagolitic codices of the Zadar Archdiocese. He was followed by Glagolitic priests Don Rube Filipi, Don Ante Strgačić and Don Petar Vlasanović. Later, they were joined by Dr. Blaž Jurišić. The lists of codices were published by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (former Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts) in the following sequence: - Don Vladislav Cvitanović, *Starine* (Antiques), 42 (1949), pp. 349-370; 43 (1951), pp. 259-270; 47 (1957), pp. 197-221; *Radovi Instituta JAZU* (Works of the Institute of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Zadar, 1972, XIX, pp. 187-243; - Don Rube Filipi, *Starine* (Antiques), 43 (1951), pp. 271-279; - Don Ante Strgačić, *Starine* (Antiques), 43 (1951), pp. 280-287; - Don Petar Vlasanović, *Starine* (Antiques), 43 (1951), pp. 276-279; - Dr. Blaž Jurišić listed only the Glagolitic monuments of the island of Vrgada, and his work was published also in the publication of the former Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Rad* (Works), 1962, 327, pp. 85-184). Most codices were listed by Don Vladislav Cvitanović, 210 units. 16 codices were listed by Filipi, 27 codices by Strgačić, and 11 by Vlasanović. These four

newly discovered codices which, together with the unsigned codices of the parishes, the State Archives in Zadar, Zagreb and Split and the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts total, in the second edition, 541 codices. They encompassed a total of 72 parishes of the Zadar area. In the first edition, before the List went to print, Father Božo Sučić of St. Paul's Monastery in Školjić near Preko submitted a list of 23 codices from that monastery, which was then added at the end of the book. The first edition of the book published by the Permanent Exhibition of Religious Art was printed in 2008. After a few years, it was noticed that the earlier list was no longer sufficient because more Glagolitic codices were found, and there was also new research and new findings related to the codices already listed so work on the second edition of this book began.

In the second edition of the Glagolitic codices of the Zadar Archdiocese, the number of codices grew from 430 to 541, i.e., 111 codices more than in the previous edition. In this edition, previous lists were checked and updated, the current condition of the books was described, and whether they were published or not. Unfortunately, it was found that 34 Glagolitic codices from previous lists of the mentioned authors are lost today. This edition also includes codices located in libraries and archives outside Croatia, primarily in the Russian National Library, which contains a rich collection of codices and manuscripts, mainly from the Zadar area, i.e., in the famous Berčić collection. The list was made by the late Svetlana Olegovna Vialova, a famous expert and researcher of this collection and of Croatian Glagolitic script in general. The publishers were the Permanent Exhibition of Religious Art and the University of Zadar. In addition to Don Pavao Kero, Prof. Josip Faričić also appeared as an editor.

After the first edition of the Glagolitic codex list, the idea appeared that in further research many scholars, especially those who are not well acquainted with Glagolitic materials and also amateurs, would benefit from the publication of facsimiles and transliterations of particular codices. The

Glagolitic priests listed 264 codices total. If six bibliographic units by Blaž Jurišić are added to these, the result is that they listed total 270 codices. Nedo Grbin listed the codices of Zaglav, from which 10 bibliographic units were taken (Nedo Grbin, „Glagoljica crkve i samostana sv. Mihovila na Zaglavu“. *Zaglav, Zagreb - Zaglav, 1998, 67-92*), while 64 bibliographic units were taken from Štefanić's list (Vjekoslav Štefanić, *Glagoljski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije*, (Zagreb: JAZU, I./1969, II./1970).

name MONUMENTA GLAGOLITICA ARCHIDIOECESIS IADERTINAE was invented by Pavao Galić, PhD, who was also the graphic editor of the series until his death in 2013.

From 2008 to the end of 2016, a total of 27 books were published in 21 volumes. They included 39 books (baptism, marriage and death records), one record of persons who had the Sacrament of Confirmation, one record of souls, six books of confraternities (*madrikula*), two books of accounts (*kvaterani*), one Glagolitic *godovi*, and one copy from Latin script without facsimile, one list of masses, and two collections of texts. There were a total of 54 Glagolitic codices. The following locations are covered: Olib, Kali, Polača, Tin - Bubnjane, Bibinje, Biograd, Radošincevi, Grusi - Briševo, Tkon, Kukljica, Pašman, Mali Iž and Ljubač. *Berčićev zbornik duhovnog štiva* (Berčić's collection of spiritual readings) was published in 2017. The records of deaths of Božava are in press, and two records of deaths of Sukošan are in process of preparation. Each book consists of a transliteration and facsimile of the code and two or more articles in each book.

Books of confraternities and books of accounts (*kvaterani*) published in *Monumenta*:

Vol. VII „*Biogradska glagoljska madrikula Bratovštine Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije 1720.-1841.*“ (*Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Biograd, 1720 – 1841*), Zadar, 2012.

Vol. VIII „*Glagoljska Madrikula bratovštine sv. Petra i sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Tinju i Bubnjanima 1723.-1767.*“ (*Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist in Tinj and Bubnjane, 1723 – 1767*), Zadar, 2012.

Vol. X „*Glagoljični dio Madrikule Blažene Gospe od Zacheća u Bibinjama 1710.-1892.*“ (*Glagolitic Part of the Codex of the Blessed Mary of the Immaculate Conception in Bibinje, 1710 – 1892*), Zadar, 2013.

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Vol. XIX „*Riznica glagoljaške kulture i hrvatske pismenosti otoka Rave*” (*Treasury of Glagolitic Culture and Croatian Literacy of the Island of Rava*) – second of four published books consists of the transliteration and facsimile of *Glagoljska madrikula bratovštine sv. Roka 1764.-1892.* (*Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Rocco 1764 – 1892*) and *Glagoljske kopije iz libra kvaterna 1769.-1849.* (*Glagolitic Copy of the Book of Accounts, 1769 – 1849.*).

Vol. XXI „*Glagoljska madrikula bratovštine sv. Josipa župe svetog Martina u Ljupču 1776.-1818.*” (*Glagolitic Codex of the Confraternity of St. Joseph of the Parish of St. Martin in Ljubač, 1776 – 1818*).

Conclusion

Glagolitic records of confraternities are important sources for studying the everyday life of ordinary people because they are full of onomastic, demographic, sociological, historical and linguistic data. When a book of confraternity is discovered, it is necessary to determine which type of record it is. This is important to be able to determine the sequence of the sheets or entries, that is, to determine which records are missing. The main problem arises when finding a codex of a confraternity that does not contain rules (*kapituli*), for which it cannot be determined whether it was the codex of a fraternity (*madrikula, matrikula*) with missing rules (i.e., whether it originally had rules at all) or whether it was the second book of a confraternity which may have contained rules, but only as a transcript of a former codex or it was a book of accounts or another category. The chronology of entries and the further investigation of the confraternity in question are also very important, just as the determination of the foundation date and the range of activities are very important in order to determine the sequence of the minutes of the annual assemblies and other important data. After determining the sequence of the sheets, and important data on the codex, i.e., the confraternity and which place to which it

belongs, the book is forwarded for restoration and binding, and the data is entered into the Glagolitic codex list. After that, the book is prepared for publication.

To determine the type of the codex as well as the sequence of entries, it is important to know the historical context, as well as the general operating mode of confraternities, and then thoroughly to investigate the work of the confraternity to which the codex refers. Only then is it possible to complete the sequence of the pages of the damaged book, which will again after the restoration serve researchers of different areas for their scholarly work. Thus, through the confraternities' records, complemented by documents preserved in various archival fonds, we are able to reconstruct the life of a particular village in the past.

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GLAGOLJSKE KNJIGE BRATOVŠTINA ZADARSKOG PODRUČJA I NJIHOVA VRIJEDNOST KAO POVIJESNIH DOKUMENATA

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*bratovštine, madrikule
bratovština, knjige računa,
svakodnevni život,
Monumenta glagolitica
Archidioecesis Iadretinae,
digitalna humanistika*

SAŽETAK

Glagoljske evidencije bratovština su važni izvori za proučavanje svakodnevnog života maloga čovjeka jer su prepune onomastičkih, demografskih, socioloških, povijesnih i jezičnih podataka. U članku se definiraju evidencije bratovština i problemi pri utvrđivanju naziva pojedine knjige. Razlikujemo knjige bratovština (madrikule), knjige računa (kvaterane, bilježnice), knjige prihoda i rashoda (datja i prijatja, priaće i trošnje), blagajničke dnevnikne župne crkve sa zapisima bratovština, ribarske troškovnike, knjige lašov (legata), knjige dužnika, knjige s raznim popisima i bilješkama, sveščice s popisom umrle braće, popise sudaca, gaštalda, prokaratura.

Mnoge od ovih evidencija bratovština su na zadarskom području pronađene u jako lošem stanju te je bilo potrebno rekonstruiranje i sređivanje prije davanja na restauraciju. Ovaj ogroman posao je na zadarskom području odradio mons dr. sc. Pavao Kero. U većini knjiga pronađenih po župnim kućama i u privatnom vlasništvu nisu bile obilježene stranice te je bio veliki problem složiti knjigu po kronološkom ili nekom drugom redu.

Prilikom pronalaska neke knjige bratovštine je potrebno odrediti o kojoj vrsti knjiga bratovštine je riječ. To je važno da bi se mogao utvrditi redosljed listova odnosno zapisa, odnosno da bi se moglo pronaći koji zapisi nedostaju. Glavni problem nastaje prilikom pronalaska knjige bratovština koja ne sadrži kapitule, za koju se ne može odrediti da li je to bila prva knjiga bratovština (madrikula, matrikula) čiji su kapituli

nestali (odnosno da li je ona izvorno imala uopće kapitule), da li je riječ o drugoj knjizi bratovština u kojoj su možda kapituli postoje ali samo kao prijepis neke ranije madrikule ili je riječ o knjizi računa ili nekoj drugoj kategoriji knjige. Jako je važna i kronologija zapisa te daljnja istraživanja o pronađenoj bratovštini, utvrđivanje datuma osnivanja i raspon djelovanja da bi se mogao odrediti redosljed zapisnika sa godišnjih skupština te drugi važni podatci. Nakon utvrđivanja redosljeda listova, važnih podataka o knjizi, tj. kojoj bratovštini pripada i kojem mjestu, knjiga se daje na obnovu i uvezivanje te se podatci upisuju u Popis glagoljskih kodeksa. Nakon toga se se knjiga priprema za objavljivanje (na primjer: u nizu Monumenta glagolitica Archidiececisi Iadertinae).

Dakle, za utvrđivanje vrste kodeksa kao i redosljeda zapisa važno je poznavati povijesni kontekst, kao i općenito način rada bratovština, a nakon toga kompletno istražiti rad bratovštine na koju se kodeks odnosi. Tek je tada moguće kompletirati redosljed stranica oštećene knjige, koja će opet nakon obnove poslužiti istraživačima različitih područja za njihove znanstvene radove. Na taj način preko knjiga bratovština, a upotpunjeno dokumentima sačuvanim po raznim arhivskim fondovima možemo rekonstruirati život pojedinog naselja u prošlosti.

Na Sveučilištu u Zadru izvodi se interdisciplinarni znanstveni projekt Digitalizacija i istraživanje tekstova zadarsko-šibenskog područja iz razdoblja do kraja 19. st. pisanih glagoljicom, bosančicom i latiničicom (Pisana baština) u sklopu kojeg se digitaliziraju i glagoljske madrikule bratovština.

Projekt je inicirao Odjel za informacijske znanosti Sveučilišta u Zadru u suradnji s Vestigia institutom za istraživanje rukopisa sa Sveučilišta u Grazu. Suradnici dolaze s više odjela Sveučilišta u Zadru te više hrvatskih i stranih institucija koje se bave različitim aspektima istraživanja rukopisa (posebno tekstovima pisanim glagoljicom i hrvatskom ćirilicom - bosančicom), stare tiskane građe, informacijskim znanostima i digitalnom humanistikom. Projekt ima potporu Ministarstva kulture RH, Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti i Sveučilišta u Zadru i Grazu.