

*Nena Židov*

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# R × O × V × A × Š × I

*TALLY STICKS*



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ZBIRKA SLOVENSKEGA ETNOGRAFSKEGA MUZEJA

THE COLLECTION OF THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM



KNJIŽNICA SLOVENSKEGA ETNOGRAFSKEGA MUZEJA  
*SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM LIBRARY*



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# ROVAŠI





## ZA UVOD

V tem delu so predstavljeni in obravnavani rovaši, ki jih hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej. Da so rovaši tako rekoč univerzalen pripomoček, s katerim si je človek pomagal pri zapisovanju različnih podatkov, skušam pokazati s primeri od drugod, a zaradi časovnih, prostorskih in finančnih omejitev zgolj fragmentarno.

Ko sem ob raziskavi in pisanju ljudem omenjala, s čim se ukvarjam, ali jih spraševala po rovaših, sem marsikoga spravila v zadrego. Nekateri sicer poznajo katero od fraz, v katerih se pojavlja beseda *rovaš*, in iz njih slutijo, kaj pomeni, vendar le redki poznajo njen izvorni pomen. Od kod pravzaprav beseda in kaj pomeni? Tudi tisti redki posamezniki, ki vedo, kaj je rovaš, ga največkrat povezujejo z evropsko kmečko kulturo 19. in začetka 20. stoletja, saj večino še ohranjenih rovašev danes hranijo etnografski muzeji. Vendar pa ima rovaš tako na Slovenskem kot drugod po svetu precej daljšo zgodovino. Sodi namreč med enega prvih izumov človeštva in ga poznajo v vseh družbah oz. kulturah; gre torej za splošno razširjen pripomoček, povezan s človekovo potrebo po zapisovanju (zapomnitvi) določenih dejstev.

Z opismenjevanjem so ga zamenjali drugi pripomočki in načini zapisovanja podatkov, najdlje pa se je, vsaj v Evropi, obdržal med nepismenim kmečkim prebivalstvom. Uporaba rovašev je začela zamirati zaradi vse večje pismenosti in zapisovanja na papir. Ker se je pismenost najprej širila predvsem med ljudmi v višjih družbenih plasteh, so ti poslej zapisovali podatke na papir, za sporazumevanje z nepismenimi pa so še uporabljali tudi rovaše (samostojno ali skupaj z zapisi na papirju). Na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju so bili rovaši večinoma razširjeni do začetka 20. stoletja, nekatere vrste pa, kljub opismenjevanju vsega prebivalstva, vse do srede 20. stoletja.

Beseda *rovaš* se danes v slovenskem jeziku pojavlja v frazah, povezanih z različnimi področji življenja, tako v vsakdanjih pogovorih kakor v raznovrstnih komentarjih, povezanimi s politiko, gospodarstvom ...; v njih največkrat pomeni 'dolg' ali 'račun'. Rovaš najdemo v slovenskem pesništvu (npr. pesem Neže Maurer "Na moj rovaš"), v imenu društva (npr. Kulturno društvo Rovaš Drašiči) in poslovnih organizacij (npr. Rovaš, podjetje za ekonomsko organizacijske storitve d.o.o.). V slovenščini je iz rovaša izpeljan izraz *rovašenje*; to je v preteklosti pomenilo označevanje živine, ki je šla na skupno planinsko pašo, z zarezami. Tako so npr. ovcam napravili določeno število zarez ali lukenj v uhlju, goveji živini pa zareze v rogove (Božič 1956: 75). Izraza *rovaš* in *rovašenje* sta se v zvezi z vzrejo živali ohranila vse do danes, ko rovašenje pomeni označevanje plemenskih živali za pasemske namene, rovaši (znaki) pa so lahko v obliki črk V, U ali v obliki lučnice (Šegula 2005: 39).

## UNIVERZALNA POTREBA PO ZAPISOVANJU PODATKOV

Potreba človeka po zapisovanju oziroma označevanju nekaterih podatkov je splošna; sega v davno preteklost in je poznana na vseh zemeljskih celinah, le da so ljudje v različnih časih tej potrebi stregli z različnimi pripomočki in na različne načine.

Po mnenju raziskovalcev sodijo kosti in palice z zarezi med najzgodnejše človeške izume, saj so bile poznane kmalu po pripomočkih za lov in že v času pred izumom kolesa, pa tudi precej dolgo so ostale v rabi. Po nekaterih ocenah naj bi se pojavile vsaj pred 40 tisoč leti v povezavi s človekovo potrebo po razvidu oziroma računanju. Tako najdemo zareze na stenah ob številnih prazgodovinskih poslikavah živali v jamah, kar je verjetno povezano s štetjem. Sama tehnika se kljub stoletnim razvojnim, zgodovinskim in kulturnim spremembam do danes ni kaj dosti spremenila (Ifrah 2000: 64). Med najstarejše in najbolj razširjene pripomočke za štetje sodijo kosti z oznakami. Najstarejše arheološke najdbe iz paleolitika kažejo, da so si že takrat ljudje pomagali z zarezi na kosteh. Arheologi so v zahodni Evropi, npr. v Franciji in na Češkem, izkopali številne kosti z zarezi. Ti rovaši so stari med 20 in 35 tisoč let. Uporabljali so jih najverjetneje lovci, ki so z zarezo označili vsako ubito žival, ločene kosti pa so morda uporabljali za označevanje različnih vrst ubitih živali (medvedi, bizoni, volkovi ...). Med kostmi je tako okoli 30 tisoč let stara kost s 55 zarezi, ki so jo leta 1937 izkopali v kraju Dolní Věstonice na Moravskem; zareze so v dveh nizih, notranje razdeljenih v skupinah s po pet zarezi. Domnevajo, da je lovec v kost zarezoval število ubitih živali (Ifrah 2000: xix, 62).



Kost z zarezi iz Konga, 20–18 tisoč let p. n. š. (Institut royal des Sciences naturelles de Belgique, Bruxelles).

The Ishango bone, Congo, between 20,000 and 18,000 BC (Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences, Brussels).



Za razvid oziroma štetje so bili v rabi tudi rogovi, o čemer priča npr. v Franciji (Brassempouy) izkopan rog severnega jelena iz obdobja 19–12 tisoč let pr. n. št.; ima vzdolžen kanalček, ki ločuje niza prečnih zarez, na eni strani razdeljenih na skupine po tri in sedem in na drugi strani na pet in devet zarez (Ifrah 2000: 62). Leta 1960 so v tedanjem belgijskem Kongu odkrili 10 cm dolgo kost (*Ishango bone*) s skupki zarez; bila naj bi iz časa med 20–18 tisoč let pr. n. št. Nekateri raziskovalci menijo, da gre za rovaš, drugi pa, da za nekakšen koledar.

Poleg kosti in palic so za štetje oziroma označevanje podatkov povsod po svetu uporabljali tudi vrvice, ki so jih vozli. Zelo poznan je perujski pripomoček kipu (*quipu*), ki v jeziku Inkov pomeni vozlel, včasih im. govoreči vozlel, narejen iz osnovne, okoli pol metra dolge vrvi, na katero so bile v skupinah privezane tanjše vrvice, ki so jih vozli. Število vozlov in vrste vozlov so lahko označevale liturgične, kronološke in statistične podatke, vozli pa so lahko služili tudi kot koledarji in sporočila. Dogovorjen pomen so imele tudi nekatere barvne vrvice, tako v zvezi s konkretnimi predmeti kot abstraktnimi pojmi. Poleg barve so bili pomembni število vozlov in njihova razporeditev ter dolžna vrvic in njihova razporeditev. Kipu so Inki uporabljali predvsem kot pripomoček za označevanje rezultatov štetja (od vojaških zased do davkov, količin pridelka, zaklanih živali, zapisov o dostavi, popisa prebivalstva idr.) (Ifrah 2000: 68).

Za označevanje z vozli na vrvicah in za njihovo branje so bili v vaseh, mestih in delih inkovskega imperija odgovorni kraljevi uradniki, varuhi vozljev (*quipucamayocs*), ki so opravljali tudi regionalne letne popise pridelka in prebivalstva po



Kipu (replika), Peru, 15.–16. stoletje.

Quipu (replika), Peru, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century  
(Science Museum, London).

socialni pripadnosti. Seštevke na vrvicah so poslali v prestolnico Cuzco. Stoletja so kipuje uporabljali v Peruju, Boliviji in Ekvadorju. Sredi 19. stoletja so npr. pastirji na planoti Antiplano v osrednjih Andih uporabljali vrvice za razvid nad številom živali v čredah; z belimi vrvicami so označevali število ovac in koz, na zelenih vrvicah so šteli govedo. Še danes Indijanci v Boliviji in Peruju uporabljajo zelo podoben pripomoček, *chimpu* (Menninger 1992: 252–255; Ifrah 2000: 69–70). Med uporom proti Špancem leta 1680 so Puebli v vse sodelujoče vasi razposlali vozlane vrvice s podatkom o datumu vstaje. Pri Hopijcih pa so vozlane vrvice služile kot nekakšen koledar, ki je določal zaporedja obredij (Malotki 1983: 484).

Število delovnih dni so z vrvičnimi vozli označevali Aravkanci na območju Čila in deloma Argentine. Ko so šli na delo, so nosili s seboj dve vrvici: na eni je bilo toliko vozlov, kolikor dni so morali delati, na drugi pa so naredili vozle ob koncu vsakega delovnega dneva, dokler se število vozlov na obeh vrvicah ni ujemalo. Ko so načrtovali kak upor proti Špancem, so si pošiljali puščice ali kosti ubitega Španca z nitjo, ki je imela toliko vozlov, kolikor dni je še manjkalo do upora (Benigar 1988: 22).

Sicer pa so vozlane vrvice ali slame izpričane tudi v drugih delih sveta. V Palestini, npr., so rimski pobiralci davkov v 2. stoletju uporabljali dolge vrvi. Arabci so uporabljali vrvice z vozli ne le kot pripomoček za štetje, temveč tudi za pripravo pogodb, kot potrdila in računovodske knjige. Razvidi nad številom s pomočjo vozlov so bili v preteklosti poznani tudi na Kitajskem. Na Japonskem so na otočju Ryukyu v Tihem oceanu delavci z vozli imeli razvid o zaslužku. Na Okinawi so še v 20. stoletju za štetje količin žita, tofuja in rib uporabljali *warazan*, števnii pripomo-



*Warazan*, otočje Ryukyu, Okinawa, Japonska, prva polovica 20. stoletja (Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien).

*Warazan*, Ryukyu Islands, Okinawa, Japan, 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> century (Museum of Ethnology, Vienna).

ček iz riževe slame (Pallestrang 2004: 61). Delavci v nekaterih bolj hribovitih predelih so uporabljali slamnate kite za štetje delovnih dni, dolgov itn., podobni pa so pripomočki s Karolinskih otokov, Havajev, zahodne Afrike in tisti, razširjeni med ameriškimi Indijanci. Tudi moleki iz vozlanih vrvic za štetje molitev so poznani v številnih verstvih (Menninger 1992: 252, 255; Ifrah 2000: 70–71).

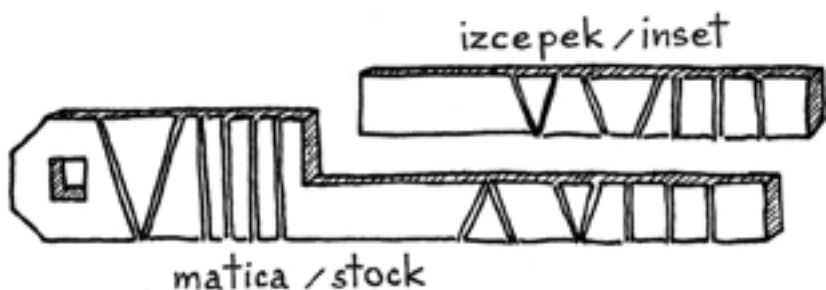
Označevanje količin na vrvicah je bilo poznano tudi v Evropi. Ostanke nekoč očitno zelo razširjenega vozlanja je bilo do začetka 20. stoletja še najti med nemškimi mlinarji, ki so z vrvicami in vozli vzdrževali razvid o poslovanju s peki: z različnimi vrstami vozlov so označevali količine in vrste moke, ki so jo dostavljali pekom (Menninger 1992: 255–256; Ifrah 2000: 70). V Srbiji so vozlati na robcih (Drobnjaković 1933) in na Slovenskem na vrvicah. V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so lastniki z vozli na resah označili dolžino sukna, ki so ga odnesli k valjarju (Škarpa 1933: 177). Nekateri obrtniki v Evropi pa so za pregled nad dolgovi in terjatvami uporabljali kose usnja, na katere so naredili zareze (Dolenc 1935: 166).

V 9. in 10. stoletju so bile v Evropi poznane pravne listine, imenovane *charta partita* ali *hirograf*, ki so jih, podobno kakor dvodelne rovaše, uporabljali za dokazovanje istovetnosti. Na list papirja ali pergament so napisali enaki besedili, potem pa so med besedili naredili še večje znake ali črke, list prepognili in po sredini cikcakasto ali valovito obrezali ali pretrgali. Vsaka stranka je dobila svoj del, pristnost dokumenta pa so, med drugim tudi na sodišču, dokazovali z ujemanjem znakov, črk in obeh delov lista (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1266; Bogičević 1953: 210; Menninger 1992: 232).

## OPREDELITVE IN VRSTE ROVAŠEV

Rovaš je bil v preteklosti najbolj razširjen pripomoček za zapisovanje števil, količin in sporočil, služil je kot dokazilo in obračunska knjiga. Rovaši v širšem pomenu besede so lahko iz različnih materialov (les, kost, rogovi, okli, glina, kovina ...), v ožjem pomenu pa so to leseni pripomočki z zarezanimi (in pozneje tudi zapisanimi) znaki.

Po številu sestavnih delov so rovaši enodelni in večdelni. Enodelni rovaši so iz neolupljene ali olupljene veje, palice, deščice ali letve, ki imajo lahko različno število robov oziroma stranic. Na rovaših so zareze. Razvojno nekoliko mlajši so večdelni rovaši, največkrat sestavljeni iz dveh, redkeje iz treh delov. Za večdelne rovaše je značilno, da se ob sestavljanju delov sestavijo tudi na njih zarezne oznake. Medtem ko so si z enodelnimi rovaši predvsem pomagali pri štetju oziroma za pregled nad podatki, so bili dvodelni rovaši tudi eden prvih pripomočkov za preprečevanje goljufij, saj so veljal tudi za dokazilo – ujemajoče se zareze na obeh delih so onemogočale goljufanje oziroma so veljale kot potrdilo o poslovanju med osebama. Dvodelni rovaši so se v Evropi uveljavili v srednjem veku v zvezi s potrebo po razvidu izmenjav in dolgov. Sčasoma so se iz preprostih dvodelnih rovašev, izdelanih iz vzdolžno preklane veje, palice ipd., razvili dvodelni rovaši, sestavljeni iz daljšega dela – matice, ki je imela tudi nekakšen ročaj, namenjen držanju. Daljši del rovaša z ročajem je vedno obdržala oseba, ki je bila lastnica denarja ali drugih dobrin, krajši del – izkolek – pa tisti, ki si je denar ali dobrine sposodil.



Dvodelni rovaš (risba po Vilfan 1944: 106).

Double tally stick (drawing after Vilfan 1944: 106).

Rovaše lahko ločimo tudi po njihovi funkciji oz. rabi (davčni, sposojevalni, volilni, glasovalni, žrebalni idr.) in glede na osebe, ki so jih uporabljale (mlinarski, pekovski, gostilničarski, trgovski, vozniški idr.). Za rovaše so največkrat uporabljali mehkejšje vrste lesa in vanj so z raznimi pripomočki zarezovali dogovorjene oznake.

Pomembna stopnja pri razvoju rovašev je bilo označevanje lastništva z zarezanimi oznakami, voščenimi pečati, vžganimi znamenji, zapisi s pisali ipd.

Rovaši so bili zelo pomembni dokumenti, zato so jih ljudje skrbno hranili. Manjše rovaše so npr. v Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem nosili v roki, imeli so jih v žepu, v nedrjih, za pasom, v torbi, dolge rovaše pa so uporabljali tudi za oporo pri hoji (Škarpa 1933: 171). Bosanski trgovci so rovaše zavijali v usnje (Bogičević 1953: 211).

Nekateri raziskovalci med rovaše uvrščajo tudi lesene koledarje in palice za sporočanje. Leseni koledarji so bili razširjeni tako v Evropi in tudi med zunajevropskimi skupnostmi, t. i. palice za sporočanje, ki so služile za sporazumevanje oziroma prenašanje sporočil med posamezniki in skupnostmi (Bogičević 1953: 209), pa so uporabljali v številnih skupnostih zunaj Evrope, npr. avstralski staroselci, Indijanci in Inuiti.

## ROVAŠ V JEZIKU

### Izvir besede

Poleg izraza rovaš so na Slovenskem poznana še druga poimenovanja, npr. *rabuš* (Štrekelj 1909: 48), *roš*, v zahodni Sloveniji pa je bil zaradi bližine italijanskega jezika v rabi tudi izraz *škontrin*, na Cerkljanskem izraz *zaznamvalna palca*.<sup>1</sup>

Nekateri vidijo korenine besede *rovaš* v slovanskih jezikih, večina pa jih meni, da je beseda madžarskega izvira. Menninger (1992: 225) je prepričan o izviru iz slovanske besede *rubatj*, ruski *rubitj* (vrezati, zarezati), ki naj bi bila povezana tudi z ruskim plačilnim sredstvom – rubljem. Tudi po Miklošiču in Mažuraniću je beseda slovanskega izvira (deblo, *ry-*, *rvati*), enako je za Pleteršnika (1895: 439) koren besede *ry-* slovanski. Med zagovorniki madžarskega izvira besede je bil Jagić (iz madž. *roni*) (Dolenc 1935: 170). Tudi Štrekelj (1909: 48) je menil, da je prišla beseda k Slovanom iz madžarščine: *ro* sodi v ugrofinsko besedišče, zato naj bi Madžari poznali rovaše že pred preselitvijo, od njih pa naj bi se poimenovanje razširilo tudi med sosednje narode (Ortutay 1981: 375–376). Po Bezlajevem mnenju ima slovenski *rovaš* izhodišče v madžarski besedi *rovás* (ta pa iz madž. *ró*, rezati, zarezati) (Bezljaj 1995: 200). O večji verjetnosti, da rovaš izvira iz madžarskega *ró* kakor iz slovanske besede *rovъ* (rov), je prepričan tudi Snoj (1997: 546).

### Sledi v jeziku

Da je rovaš tako rekoč univerzalen pripomoček, v preteklosti razširjen na različnih geografskih območjih, kaže tudi dejstvo, da je poznan v številnih jezikih, in da se je v njih ohranil vse do danes v frazah, ki govorijo večinoma o računih in dolgovih.

Različni jeziki poznajo za rovaš različne izraze: v hebrejščini izraz *teomin* (dvojčka), v grščini *symbolon* (na dvoje razdeljen oz. razrezran predmet, ki ga je mogoče sestaviti v enoto), v latinščini izraza *tallia* in *tessera*; *tessera* (izkaznica, ploščica) in *taglia* (rovaš, mera, davščina), ki sta še v rabi v italijanskem jeziku, poleg njiju pa še *scontrino* (od *scontrare*, primerjati; v sodobni italijanščini *scontrino*, potrdilo, pobotnica). Francozi in prebivalci francosko govorečih kantonov v Švici imajo izraza (*en*)*coche* in *taille* (*taille*, zarezati), Španci pa *talla*, *tarja* in *tara*. Na Hrvaškem sta najbolj razširjena izraza *raboš* in *rovaš*, v Dalmaciji tudi *zariza*, *roska*, *rozga* (Škarpa 1933: 169–170), v Srbiji in Bosni *rovaš* in *raboš*, v Makedoniji *raboš* in *rabuš*, v Črni Gori *rabuš*, v Bolgariji *raboš*, *rabuš*, v Romuniji *ravas*, *raboj*, na Češkem *rabuše*, *vrubovka*, *vrub*, tj. zareza (Burian 1959: 1), na Slovaškem *rováš*, na Madžarskem *rovás*, albanski jezik ima izraz *rabush*.

Na Poljskem uporabljajo besedo *rowas*, v Ukrajini *ravaš*, *revaš* in v ruščini *birka* (*бирка*). Rovašu za označevanje dolgov so v Rusiji rekli *dolgovaja birka* (*долговая*

<sup>1</sup> Teren 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, zv. 18, str. 58 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

*бурка*), v sodobni ruščini pa je *birka* napisna ploščica oz. etiketa na različnih izdelkih.<sup>2</sup> Na Švedskem rečejo rovašu *karvstock*, na Nizozemskem *kerfstok*, v Avstriji med najbolj razširjena poimenovanja sodita *Robisch* in *Spanholz*, v Nemčiji pa *Rabusch*, *Rabisch*, *Rawisch*, *Rosch*, *Rasch*, *Kerbholz* in *Kerbstock*. V nemško govorečih kantoni Švice je v rabi izraz *Tessel*. Angleški jezik pozna izraze kot *score* (hist. zarez, rovaš, palica z zarezami) ali *tally* (hist. rovaš, zarez, račun, obračun; polovica, ki ustreza drugi polovici; eden od dveh predmetov, ki tvorita celoto), *tally stick*, *notched stick*. *Tally* izvira iz francoske besede *taillé*. Rovašem so rekli v Angliji v 13. stoletju tudi *tallia dividenda* (razpolovljena palica) ali kar *dividenda* (razpolovljenka), od koder naj bi po mnenju nekaterih izviral tudi bančniški izraz *dividenda* (Menninger 1992: 238).

Pri Arabcih korenina glagola *farada* pomeni "narediti zarezo, zarezati" in "določiti delež" (pogodbe ali nasledstva) nekemu (Ifrah 2000: 66). In sledi rovaša so celo v kitajščini, kjer besedo pogodba simbolizirata znaka na vrhu, eden predstavlja palico z zarezami, drugi nož, spodaj je simbol za velikost. Pogodba ali sporazum v kitajščini je torej "velik rovaš" (Menninger 1992: 233).

Nekateri jeziki imajo tudi posebna izraza za sestavna dela dvodelnega rovaša. Tako je npr. v angleščini daljši del *stock*, izrezan krajši del pa *foil* ali *inset*. Oseba, ki je obdržala daljši del, se je imenovala *stockholder* (Menninger 1992: 239). V Nemčiji so poznali za izkolek izraz *Gegenkerb*, na Dunaju izraza *Weibl* za matico in *Mannl* za izkolek. Francozi in francosko govoreči Švicarji matici rečejo *taille*, izkolku pa *échantillon* ali *contretaille* (Žontar 1940a: 311). V nemško govoreči Švici sta bila poznana izraza *Krapfentessel* za matico in *Beitessel* za izkolek (Pallestrang 2004: 59). V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem je daljši del *matica* ali *cil rovaš*, krajši pa *cipak* ali *piščak*. Mesto, na katerem delajo zarez, imenujejo *biliga*, na matici je ročaj *drška* ali *držak* (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1265). Pogosto pa daljšemu delu rečejo *kokoš* ali *kvočka* (koklja) in krajšemu *pile* (pišče), kar velja za Srbijo in Bosno (Delić 1892: 89). Podobno je tudi pri Bolgarih, kjer je matica *majka* in izkolek *pile* oziroma *ščenè* (Žontar 1940a: 311).

V slovenščini so v zvezi z rovašem poznane fraze: *smejali so se na njegov rovaš*; *uganjati norčije na rovaš sosedov*; *bogastvo si je pridobil na rovaš revežev*; *pomota na rovaš naglice*; *pri njem ima še nekaj na rovašu* (mu je dolžan) (Bajec 1985: 545). Pleteršnik (1895: 429) omenja frazo *imava še nekaj na rovašu*, v zvezi z rošem pa je *na roš*, tj. na račun, fraza *naredimo roš* pomeni "glasujmo" (glasovanje z zarezami). Rovaš je največkrat omenjen v povezavi z računi in obračuni, zato ni presenetljivo, da Glonarju (1936: 341) beseda rovaš pomeni kar račun ali obračun, s pripisom, da je to "prvotno palica iz dveh polovic, preko katerih so se delale zarez, s katerimi so se označevale dobave in plačila" (prav tam).

<sup>2</sup> Za podatke se zahvaljujem prevajalki iz ruskega jezika Lijani Dejak.

Podobno kakor v slovenščini so tudi v drugih jezikih podobne fraze, ki največkrat pomenijo dolg ali račun. Tako na Hrvaškem npr. poznajo fraze *metnut ću te na raboš*; *urezat ću te na raboš*, kar bi lahko pomenilo tudi grožnjo ali maščevanje (Škarpa 1933: 172), ali fraze, npr. *imati koga na rovašu* (biti komu dolžan), *biti komu na rovaš* (zameriti se komu), *biti na čijem rovašu* (biti odvisen od koga) (Opačić 2006). Iz Bosne je fraza *ti brate samo raboši*, ki lahko pomeni, da dolžnik ne more ali ne namerava odplačati dolga, fraza *stavio sam te u svoj raboš* pa v prenesenem pomenu lahko pomeni tudi grožnjo (Bogičević 1953: 208). Tudi Čehi imajo fraze *máš u mne vroubek*; *příčísti něco na vrub*; *jednati na vlastní vrub* (Kašlík 1943: 43; Burian 1959: 1) ali npr. *pít na cizi vrub* (piti na tuj račun).

V nemškem jeziku je fraza *etwas auf dem Kerbholz haben*. Tudi na Nizozemskem poznajo podobne fraze z besedo rovaš, ki jih uporabljajo, kadar račun postaja previsok (*de kerfstock loopt te hoog?*) ali kadar se hočejo znebiti osebe, ki noče plačati računa (*is de kerfstock ijzeren*) (Menninger 1992: 227). Veliko fraz, povezanih z rovašem, je v angleškem jeziku, npr. *to keep tally with somebody in they were tallies for each other*, pri čemer se beseda *tally* uporablja v pomenu medsebojnega ujemanja; tako npr. fraza *the account does not tally* pomeni, da izračun ni pravilen, *tallyman* pa je trgovec, ki prodaja na obroke. Tudi Francozi poznajo frazo *acheter à la taille*, ki pomeni kupovati na kredit (Menninger 1992: 227, 233–234).



## OZNAKE NA ROVAŠIH

Nekateri zarežani znaki na rovaših imajo oseben ali tudi lokalni pomen, "brati" jih zna le določen krog ljudi, saj gre za znanje, ki se je prenašalo iz roda v rod. Nekateri znaki pa so, presenetljivo, tako rekoč univerzalni; to so znaki, ki so si jih izmislili ljudje, da bi zadostili svojim vsakdanjim potrebam (Menninger 1992: 223). Ponekod zareze na rovaših imenujejo kar *kmečke številke*, vendar poimenovanje ni ustrezno, saj rovašev niso uporabljali le kmetje.

Za rovaše so največkrat uporabljali mehke vrste lesa, da so vanje laže vrezovali razne znake. V Bosni so bili npr. rovaši največkrat iz leske, jesena, lipe, bora, vrbe, dreva in cera (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 208). Vrezovali so z različnimi pripomočki – z noži, britvami, ostrimi kovinskimi ploščicami, žagami ipd. Zareze na rovaših so lahko preproste, rovaši pa so lahko tudi pravi rezbarski izdelki (npr. švicarski mlekarški rovaši). Na njih so raznovrstne zareze, ki so povezane oziroma si sledijo v zaporedjih in skupinah, ločijo se po obliki, dolžini, globini in položaju. Najpreprostejše zareze v obliki črte so lahko postavljene vodoravno, navpično ali poševno, vrezane so različno globoko, zareze so lahko na stranici rovaša, na robovih, potekajo okoli rovaša ... Poleg zarez so na rovaših pogosto tudi pike, krogi, zvezdice in podobni znaki.

Med najbolj razširjenimi znaki je preprosta zarez (I), ki največkrat označuje število ena – pomeni lahko npr. en mernik, en dan, eno žival itn. Pomoč pri štejeju so lahko zaporedja krajših in daljših zarez, ko je npr. vsaka deseta zarez daljša. Naslednja zelo pogosta oznaka je V (včasih obrnjena, kot  $\Lambda$ ), največkrat povezana s številom 5. In tretji najpogostnejši znak je križ (X), povezan s številom 10. Ob znakih I, V in X utegnemo prenažno domnevati, da gre za rimska števila, vendar ni tako. Na rovaših tudi ni drugih rimskih števil (L, C, M). Omenjeni trije znaki s pripadajočimi vrednostmi so med oznakami na rovaših najsplošnejši (Menninger 1992: 240–242).

Pastirji v Švici so z znaki I, V in X označevali količino mleka: I = 1 liter, V = 5 litrov, X = 10 litrov. Pol litra mleka so označili s črtico, ki so jo zarežali postrani (/) (Rütimayer v: Bogičević 1953: 213). Pastirji na Valaškem na Češkem so za označevanje števila prevzetih ovac uporabljali naslednje znake: + = 10,  $\Lambda$  = 5, I = 1, pri čemer so še posebej označili ovce, ki niso dajale mleka (Domlupil 1904: 208). Oznake I, V in X so bile najpogostnejše tudi na davčnih rovaših v Romuniji (Hémardinquer 1963: 146). V Transilvaniji so uporabljali znake I = 1,  $\Lambda$  = 5, X = 10, oznake za 50 in 100 pa so bile različne (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem je I = 1 in X = 10. Mlinarji so težo moke označevali takole: • (luknjica) ali \* (zvezdica) = 100, N = 50, X = 10, V, / ali \ = 5, I = 1, znake pa

so vedno pisali z desne proti levi. Če je imel isti kmet pri mlinarju več vreč, npr. tri, je vsebino vseh treh rovašev prenesel na stran večjega rovaša, na drugo stran pa je označil skupno težo vseh treh vreč. 452 je skupaj zapisal takole: IIN••••. Če pa je šlo za enoto, ki je bila nekoliko manjša od sto, npr. 96, je lahko namesto IVXXXXN ( $50+40+5+1=96$ ) zapisal • IIII ( $100-4=96$ ) (Škarpa 1933: 172–175, 181).

Znaki X, V, I in O, navpične, vodoravne in poševne črte in pike se pojavljajo povsod, vendar imajo ti znaki v različnih okoljih pogosto različno vrednost. Tako je v Bosni znak X ponekod označeval 100 enot, I = 10, • = 1. V Tuzli je pomenilo I = 1, V = 5, O = 50, X = 10 ali 100. V Zemaljskem muzeju v Sarajevu so na rovaših oznake z vrednostmi: X = 100, / = 50, I = 10, pika = 1, polovica pokončne črte = 5. Zelo podobne oznake so uporabljali tudi v Srbiji: pri znakih gre za kombinacijo pokončnih in poševnih črt in znaka X, številčne vrednosti pa so od 1 do 1000 (Bogičević 1953: 212–13).

S konca 19. stoletja je zapis iz Bosne o tem, kako si je kočijaž s konjsko vprego zapisal 1678 opek, ki jih je dostavil naročniku. Vzel je 2 cm dolgo, 11 mm široko in 6 mm debelo paličico in jo označil takole: s križci je označil stotice, zato je bilo na paličici 16 križcev (1600). Zareza je pomenila 10, zato jih je bilo na rovašu sedem (70). To bi bilo skupaj 1670. Ena zareza je bila polovična, tj. oznaka za 5. Z noževno konico je naredil še tri vdolbinice, vsaka je predstavljala število 1 – skupaj torej natančno 1678 (Delić 1892: 89).

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX IIIIIII••• = 1678

V Srbiji so pastirji zarezovali naslednje znake: I ali • = 1, / = 5, X = 10 (Drobnjaković 1933).

V nekaterih primerih je bilo treba pri rovaših označiti tudi lastništvo, predvsem kadar je kdo hranil večje število rovašev, ki so pripadali različnim osebam. Označba lastništva je iz rovaša ustvarila ekonomski pripomoček, pri čemer je znamenje simboliziralo ime lastnika (Ifrah 2000: 66). Lastništvo so označevali na različne načine, poleg dogovorjenih zarezanih znakov tudi z voščeniimi pečati, vžiganjem in z zapisovanjem. Označili so hišno številko ali lastnikovi začetnici. Nekateri obrtniki v Bosni so na rovaše zarezovali svoj zaščitni znak, ki je spominjal na črke, ali pa simbole svojih dejavnosti; tako je npr. pekač označeval peka in vreča mlinarja. Bosanski trgovci so imeli za svoje stranke rovaše, ki so jih označevali po lastnikih: motika je simbolizirala kupca, ki je bil kopač, puška je predstavljala lovca in sprehajalna palica starejšo osebo. Oznake lastništva so ponekod tudi vžigali, na rovaše pa so tudi pisali z ogljem, kreda in svinčnikom (Bogičević 1953: 206–207, 212). Tudi na Češkem so lastništvo rovaša označevali z vrezanimi ali vžganimi znaki (Kašlík 1943: 43). Ko je bil dolg poplačan ali dolžnost opravljena, so največkrat oznake izrezali ali rovaš uničili (pogosto sežgali). Rovaše, pri katerih so oznake izrezali, so lahko uporabljali večkrat.

Oblike zapisovanja, podobne tistim na rovaših, so se ohranile dalj časa. Tako so npr. pivovarji in vinski trgovci označevali sode z znakom X, ki ima številčni pomen. Krčmarji so s kredo označevali količine pijače, ki so jo dajali na kredit. In vojni piloti so med svetovnjima vojnama označili število sestreljenih sovražnikovih letal in število opravljenih bombnih napadov z zarezovanjem silhuet letal ali bomb na letalski trup (Ifrah 2000: 67). Zapisovanje, podobno tistemu na rovaših, se je dolgo ohranilo tudi pri igrah s kartami.

Mesarji v Bosni so na začetku 20. stoletja dolgove zapisovali na tram, kavarnarji v Sarajevu pa po stenah, vratih, tramovih ... Ko se je nabralo 10 črtic, so jih zbrisali in nadomestili z znakom X. Gostilničarji so v kletih na sodih označevali število iztočenih litrov pijače. Na začetku 20. stoletja je neki trgovec v Sarajevu za vodenje knjigovodstva uporabljal knjigo, v katero je zapisoval znake (črte, pike, loke, kroge ...), ki so jih sicer zarezovali na rovaš (Bogičević 1953: 206–207).

Tudi na Slovenskem so enote od ena do štiri največkrat označevali s črtami (I), peto enoto s kljuko (V) in deseto s križem (X). V zvezi z njimi je bil konec 19. stoletja na Slovenskem poznan rek *Kljuka pet, križ deset, dva pa tri, kol'ko to st'ri?* (Hudovernik 1883: 5). Sicer pa so bile v rabi tudi druge – poševne črte, zvezdice, luknjice ..., ki so imele dogovorjen pomen v lokalnih skupnostih. S t. i. *kmečkimi številkami* so npr. v soseski zidanici v Dragomlji vasi v Beli krajini označevali količine sposojenega vina. Za firkelj so zarezali črto (I), za pet firkljev kljuko (V) in za deset križ (X). Za petdeset firkljev so križu dodali še vodoravno črto, tako da je nastala nekakšna zvezdica. Na rovaš so zapisali hišni številki 19 kot IIIIVX in 26 kot IVXX (Dular 1963/64: 44).



Brentarska palica z zarezanimi znaki I in X, Jeruzalem, 70. leta 20. stoletja (SEM, gl. kat. št. 37).

Grape picker's tally stick with the carved symbols I and X, Jeruzalem, 1970s (SEM, see cat. no. 37).

Poleg znakov, ki spominjajo na rimske številke, so bili v rabi tudi drugačni načini zapisovanja podatkov: ponekod je bilo prvih devet zarez krajših, vsaka deseta pa daljša. Tako so npr. v Prlekiji na brentarske palice vsako enoto označevali z zarezo na robu palice, pri vsaki deseti so napravili zarezo okrog palice (Stanek 1940: 353). Na Grabrovcu

v Beli krajini so za sposojen maseljč vina v rovaš zavrtali ali zapikali luknjo, za pol firklja zarezali vodoravno zarezo do pol širine rovaša, za firkelj čez celo širino. V drašički so-seski so sposojen polič vina označili s kratko zarezo čez vso širino rovaša, za firkelj pa še eno zarezo z nasprotne strani, da sta obe zarezi napravili *jarčiček*. Za pet firkljev so zarezali *jarčiček* postrani, deseti firkelj so označili s križem (Dular 1963/64: 44).



Rovaš z zarezami in zapisom s svinčnikom, Predgrad, 1887 (SEM, gl. kat. št. 35).

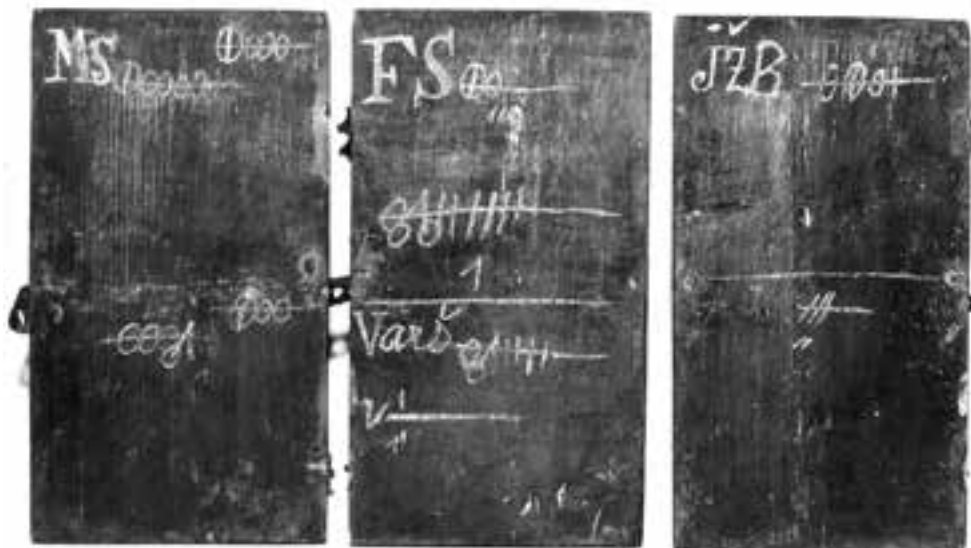
Notched tally stick with pencil inscription, Predgrad, 1887 (SEM, see cat. no. 35).

Ponekod so (vsaj delno) pismeni na isti rovaš nekatere podatke označili z zarezami in druge zapisali s svinčnikom. Lastništvo rovaša so npr. označili tako, da so na rovaš z mokrim črnilnim svinčnikom zapisali hišno številko (zarezovanje arabskih števil bi bilo težavno), hišna imena ali poklice (npr. mlinar) (Dular 1963/64: 44). Na vozniške rovaše so v Ljubljani v 40. letih 20. stoletja število voženj zarezovali, ime voznika pa zapisali s svinčnikom. Kadar je šlo za poslovanje med pismeno in nepismeno osebo, je največkrat pismena (obrtnik, trgovec) vodila dodaten razvid z zapisi v knjigah (npr. barvarji), nepismena pa le na rovašu.

Nekatere zapise, podobne tistim na rovaših, najdemo tudi drugod. Fužinarji na Gorenjskem so npr. uporabljali za razvid nad svojim poslovanjem s kovači in oglarji lesene obračunske knjige – z usnjenimi trakovi povezane lesene ploščice. Čez črno ploščico so potegnili vodoravno črto, potem pa so pod, nad ali čeznjo zarisali dogovorjena znamenja (kroge in črtice) za oznako količine denarja. Primerek take knjige hrani Kovaški muzej v Kropi (Žontar 1940a: 311; Vilfan 1944a: 248; Gašperšič 1956: 62).

V Prlekiji so ob mlačvi količine pridobljenega žita označevali s črtami, ki so jih naredili s kredo ali svinčnikom na mlatilnico, velnico ali vrata. Vsaka deseta je bila drugačna (Stanek 1940: 353). Tudi med trgovci in gostilničarji je bilo razširjeno dajanje živil in pijače “na kredo”; količine sposojenega blaga so označevali s črtami, zapisanimi s kredo. V okolici Cerknega, npr., je gostilničar zapisal neplačano vino s kredo na tram vrat: I = 1; V = 5; X = 10; Ø = 100.<sup>3</sup> Tudi nekateri drugi obrtniki, npr. kovači, so na podboje vrat zarezovali hišne številke svojih dolžnikov in zanje opravljena dela (Vilfan 1944: 110). Ponekod na Bizeljskem še danes za vsako prineseno

<sup>3</sup> Teren 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, zv. 18, str. 44; Teren 2, Šmarje-Sap-Polica, 1949, zv. 11, str. 37 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).



Lesena obračunska knjiga fužinarja Matije Šolarja iz Krope, 19. stoletje (Kovaški muzej, Kropa).

Wooden accounts book from the foundry of Matija Šolar, Kropa, 19<sup>th</sup> century (Iron Forging Museum, Kropa).



S kredo označene letne evidence o številu Brent na leseni steni nad vrati hrama, Piršembreg, 2003 (zasebna zbirka Miloša Poljanška).

Annual records of the number of grape baskets, made with chalk on the wooden wall above the door of the store room, Piršembreg, 2003 (private collection of Miloš Poljanšek).

brento s kredo zarišejo črto na leseni steni nad vrati hrama, da imajo pregled nad količinami pridelanega grozdja v posamičnih letih. Razmeroma dolgo se je ohranilo zapisovanje s črtami za izide pri igrah s kartami.

Namesto zarez oziroma črt so si v preteklosti ponekod pri štetju pomagali tudi s fižoli in vozli na vrvici. Na Cerkljanskem in v okolici Grosupljega so npr. za vsak mernik žita, ki so ga odnesli v kaščo, vzeli en fižol, na koncu pa so jih sešteli in tako imeli pregled nad skupnim številom mernikov.<sup>4</sup> Po vozlih na vrvici pa so npr. na Dolenjskem vedeli, kolikšno je število delovnih dni najetih delavcev.

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<sup>4</sup> Teren 2, Šmarje-Sap-Polica, 1949, zv. 11, str. 37 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

## PRIMERI RABE ROVAŠEV ZUNAJ EVROPE

Da so rovaši univerzalen pripomoček, dokazuje dejstvo, da so bili v rabi dolga stoletja, in to ne le v Evropi, temveč tudi v kulturno različnih družbah drugod po svetu. V Afriki so na goratem severu Alžirije Kabili (Leqvyael ali Kabyle) uporabljali nekakšne žrebalne rovaše, da bi med člane skupnosti kar se da pravično razdelili meso zaklane živine. Vsak član skupnosti je dal rovaš s svojo oznako vodji skupnosti, ta jih je premešal in dal pomočniku, ki je na vsak rovaš dal kos mesa. Vsak član je potem poiskal svoj rovaš s pripadajočim kosom (Février 1959 v Ifrah 2000: 66). V Afriki so uporabljali rovaše tudi pri trgovanju. O tem priča npr. 42,5 cm dolg in 2 cm širok rovaš iz Gambije, ki so ga v 19. stoletju uporabljali za trgovanje z arašidi in ga danes hranijo v Narodnem muzeju Škotske v Edinburghu.<sup>5</sup>



Rovaš za trgovanje z arašidi, Gambija, 19. stoletje.

Tally stick used in the ground nut trade, Gambia, 19<sup>th</sup> century (© The trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Avstralski staroselci so rovaše, imenovane palice za sporočanje oziroma kurirske palice (*messenger sticks*) ali tudi *govoreče palice* (*talking sticks*), uporabljali za medsebojno sporazumevanje. Različne skupine so si podajale 20 do 30 cm dolge palice z zarezanimi črtami in pikami, ki so jih največkrat uporabljali, ko so vabili sosednje skupine na ceremonialna in bojna srečanja in igre z žogo. Maori so na lesenih palicah imeli seznam svojih prednikov (Feest 1999: 201), na otočju Fidži pa so si na roč gorjače z zarezami označevali število živali in sovražnikov, ki so jih z njo pobili (Menninger 1992: 39).

Rovaše so uporabljali domorodci v Ameriki. Med Aravkanci na območju Čila in deloma Argentine so bili poznani leseni rovaši, na katere so si kmečki delavci (*peon*, *peonage*) označevali delovne dni (Benigar 1988: 22). V Južni Kaliforniji so še v bližnji preteklosti indijanski delavci z zarezami na palicah šteli delovne dni; z debelejšo ali globljo zarezo so označili konec vsakega tedna, s križcem pa vsak štirinajsti dan. Kavboji so si na puškino cev označevali število ubitih bizonov (Ifrah 2000: 64).

Med severnoameriškimi Indijanci je bila zelo razširjena uporaba lesenih paličic z zarezami, ki so označevale izide različnih iger (Culin 1975). V Nacionalnem muzeju ameriških Indijancev (National Museum of American Indian, Washington) hranijo več primerkov rovašev, ki so jih Indijanci uporabljali pri igrah, med drugim tudi

<sup>5</sup> Spletni vir: <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-080-683-C> (19. 5. 2009).

lesene rovaše, imenovane *disesdodi*, iz leta 1905, ki so jih Čerokezi uporabljali za zapis zadetkov pri igri z žogo.<sup>6</sup> Med Indijanci ob obrežju severozahodnega Tihega oceana je poznana igra *slahal*, pri kateri število doseženih točk prav tako označujejo na lesenih rovaših (v preteklosti so bili iz kosti). Indijanska skupina Lummi (država Washington) jih je pri igri *slahal* uporabljala vsaj še v 30. letih 20. stoletja.<sup>7</sup>

T. i. palice za sporočanje ali kurirske palice so etnične skupine severnoameriških Indijancev uporabljale za medsebojno komuniciranje. Seneki so npr. z njimi vabili poglavarje sosednjih skupin k obredom, ki so potekali na določen dan in ob določenem času. Onondagi so imeli majhen lesen rovaš s 27-imi zarezi za nekakšno žalno knjigo za 27 umrlih poglavarjev. Suji so imeli konec 18. in na začetku 19. stoletja tanko palico z zarezi, ki naj bi predstavljale njihovo zgodovino (Marshack 1972: 139). Ponekod v Severni Ameriki so na rovaše zapisovali podatke o vojnih aktivnostih (Feest 1999: 201). Indijanci so rovaše oziroma lesene koledarje uporabljali tudi



Indijanci Lummi z bobnom in rovaši pri igri *slahal*, Bellingham, ok. l. 1930–1933.

Group of Lummi men playing the game "slahal" with drum and tally sticks, Bellingham, ca. 1930–1933 (University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, NA1820).

<sup>6</sup> Spletni vir: <http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=20363&objtype=Games,%20Toys,%20Gambling:%20Ball%20game%20items&objid=Tally/Scorekeeping%20sticks> (19. 5. 2009); <http://www.nmai.si.edu/subpage.cfm?subpage=search&second=results&keyword=tally+stic> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Spletni vir: [http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/social&CISOPTR=1171&CISOBX=1&REC=3](http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/social&CISOPTR=1171&CISOBX=1&REC=3) (3. 7. 2009).





Rovaš z označenimi dogodki med letoma 1833–1921, Indijanci Akimel O'odham (Pima), Arizona. Calendar stick documenting events from 1833 to 1921, Akimel O'odham (Pima), Arizona (Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 104878, 104878D; photo by: Ernest Amoroso).

za sezname dogodkov, tako npr. Pimi na območju Arizone in Sonore (Mehika). V Nacionalnem muzeju ameriških Indijancev hranijo 92 cm dolgo leseno palico, na kateri so z zarezi označeni dogodki med letoma 1833 in 1921.<sup>8</sup> Med Indijanci so bili v rabi tudi leseni koledarji; tako so npr. Hopijci za označevanje časa uporabljali približno 30 do 50 cm dolge palice, imenovane *koho* (Malotki 1983: 487).

Rovaši so bili razširjeni tudi v Aziji. O uporabi rovašev na Kitajskem je poročal že Marko Polo (1254–1324). Pred uvedbo pisave so tam poznali palice z zarezi za dokazovanje pogodb, dogovorov in poslov. Ostanke uporabe lesenih rovašev se danes kažejo v ideogramu, ki pomeni pogodbo; sestavljen je iz dveh znakov – eden pomeni palico z zarezi in drugi nož (Ifrah 2000: 66). Iz Laosa so poročila o uporabi palice za sporočanje iz 19. stoletja (Harmand v Ifrah 2000: 64), rovaše pa so za označevanje raznih storitev uporabljali tudi v Sibiriji (Feest 1999: 201).

Kačini v Burmi (zdaj Mjanmar) so si z dvodelnimi rovaši pomagali pri sklepanju pogodb, tako da je imela vsaka stran identično dokazilo (Feest 1999: 201). Prebivalci Nikobarskega otočja v Indijskem oceanu so na rovaše označevali število obranih kokosov.



Kitajska pismenka, ki pomeni pogodbo.

The Chinese ideogram signifying "contract".

<sup>8</sup> Spletni vir: [http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=113332&objtype=Indigenous%20Knowledge%20\(Map,%20Calendar,%20etc.\)](http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=113332&objtype=Indigenous%20Knowledge%20(Map,%20Calendar,%20etc.)) (20. 8. 2009).

Ker navadna palica ne bi zadoščala, so odrezali približno pol metra dolgo bambusovo palico in jo na eni strani po dolžini razcepili v več delov. Zareze na razcepljenih delih so označevale število obranih kokosov (Menninger 1992: 227). V 19. stoletje sodijo poročila o uporabi zarez na lesenih deščicah in na palicah v Indokini, kjer so na planoti Boloven na deščice zapisali ime prodajalca, kupca, prič, datum dostave, vrsto dobrin in ceno (Harmand v Ifrah 2000: 65–66). Na Sumatri so napovedovali vojno tako, da so poslali palico z zarezami skupaj s perjem, koščki kresilne gobe in ribami, pri čemer je število zarez ponazarjalo število napadalcev, ki bodo hitri kot ptiči (perje), vse bodo uničili (kresilna goba oz. ogenj) in utopili (riba) svoje sovražnike (Février v Ifrah 2000: 64).

Podobno kot avstralski staroselci in ameriški Indijanci so tudi Inuiti uporabljali posebne palice za sporočanje med sosednjimi skupinami. Tako je npr. skupina Inupiaq na severu Aljaske vsaj še konec 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja uporabljala posebne palice (*ayauppiaq*) z zarezami, s katerimi so vabili sosednje skupine na praznovanja s plesom. Oznake na palici so kurirju pomagale, da ni pozabil na sporočila, ki jih je moral prenesti v sosednjo vas, na palico pa so privezali tudi predmete, ki so simbolizirali zelena darila.<sup>9</sup> Z otoka Nunivak v Beringovem morju je vodja skupine vsako pomlad na celino poslali kurirja, ki je prijateljske skupine oziroma trgovske partnerje povabil na otok na praznovanje. Kurir je imel s seboj palico z zarezami, ki so označevale vabljeni ljudi in zelena darila. Preden je kurir odšel na pot, mu je vodja skupnosti razložil pomen zarez (Lowry 1994: 33).



Inuit, ki je prišel vabiti na praznovanje s plesom s povabilom v obliki palice z zarezami, Barrow, Aljaska, med 1896 in 1913.

An Eskimo who has come with invitation represented by notches on the sticks to a dance feast, Barrow, Alaska, between 1896 and 1913 (Alaska State Library, Historical Collections, ASL-P320-22).

<sup>9</sup> Spletni vir: [http://vilda.alaska.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/cdmg21&CISOPTR=848&REC=17#metainfo](http://vilda.alaska.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/cdmg21&CISOPTR=848&REC=17#metainfo) (14. 5. 2009).

## PRIMERI RABE ROVAŠEV V EVROPI

V Evropi rovaši nedvomno sodijo med najbolj razširjene lesene dokumente. Rovaše so kot račune ali zapise obveznosti uporabljali že zgodnji Germani. Franki in Alemeni so dolgove in obveznosti označevali na palici, imenovani *festuca* (Menninger 1992: 228). V preteklosti so rovaše poznali v Angliji, Franciji, Italiji, Nemčiji, Avstriji, Švici, v skandinavskih deželah, na Madžarskem, med slovanskimi narodi ..., njihovo dolgo rabo pa potrjujejo že omenjene arheološke najdbe z območja Evrope. Da so bili v rabi vsaj v srednjem veku, dokazujejo nekateri ohranjeni arhivski viri. Pisne in slikovne vire dopolnjujejo materialni primerki – rovaši, ki so bili v rabi od najstarejših obdobj pa do 20. stoletja in jih hranijo številni evropski muzeji. Zanimivo je, da so se v različnih krajih Evrope pojavljale zelo podobne vrste rovašev, ki so jih uporabljali na podobne načine in za podobne namene.

O rovaših je razširjeno mnenje, da so jih uporabljali le nepismeni kmečki ljudje in so bili pomembni le v lokalnih skupnostih kot dokument ljudskega prava. Vendar ohranjeni viri kažejo, da so imeli rovaši v evropski preteklosti zelo pomembno vlogo tudi v drugih okoljih, npr. v mestni in državni upravi, kjer so veljali za pravne dokumente. V zgodovini Anglije so bili npr. zelo pomembni v angleški kraljevi zakladnici, kjer so bili rovaši uradni državni razvidi oz. sezname. Od 12. stoletja so



Davčni rovaši iz angleške kraljeve zakladnice, 15. stoletje.

English Exchequer tallies, 15<sup>th</sup> century (Science Museum, London).

namreč imeli zakladnični uradniki v knjigah in na rovaših pregled o plačilu davkov in drugega denarja v kraljevo zakladnico, upravniki grofij pa so jih uporabljali pri pobiranju davkov in nakazovanju kralju. Na dvodelne rovaše so označevali prejeta plačila, en del je imel pobiralec, drugi del je kot potrdilo obdržal plačnik. Leta 1782 so rovaše v Angliji prepovedali, vendar so kljub temu ostali v rabi do leta 1826. Leta 1834 so rovaše iz kraljeve zakladnice uničili, veliko so jih sežgali pred stavbo parlamenta in ogenj je zajel tudi sam parlament. Ko so obnavljali Westminsterško opatijo, so našli več sto rovašev iz 13. stoletja, ki so bili v rabi v kraljevi britanski zakladnici, ter dokumente in ostanke usnjenih vreč, v katerih so jih verjetno hranili (Menninger 1992: 236–238). Nekaj primerkov rovašev iz kraljeve zakladnice se je ohranilo vse do danes.

Kaže, da so tudi na Irskem razvid plačil v kraljevo blagajno označevali na rovaših. Med izkopavanji v mestnem središču Waterforda v letih 1986–1992 so našli tudi 24 cm dolg rovaš iz tisinega lesa. Domnevajo, da je na rovašu zapis o letnem davku, ki ga je waterfordski župan plačeval v kraljevo blagajno v Dublin. Del rovaša so hranili v Dublinu, drugega pa v Waterfordu. Ohranjeni rovaš je v zbirkah Waterfordskega muzeja zakladov (Waterford Museum of Treasures).<sup>10</sup>



Davčni rovaš (detajl), Waterford, Irska, 13. stoletje.

Tax tally (detail), Waterford, Ireland, 13<sup>th</sup> century (by kind permission of Waterford Museum of Treasures).

Med najstarejše sledi o uporabi rovašev na Češkem sodi zapis o rovaših v mestni knjigi Olomouca iz leta 1510, ki kaže na to, da je mestna uprava uporabljala rovaše za zapisovanje finančnega stanja posameznikov, kot priznано pobotnico oziroma vrednostni papir, v zvezi z razsojanjem o dolgovih in pri zemljiškoknjižnih prenosih. Rovaše omenjajo tudi zemljiški registri iz 17. stoletja v občini Odrlice v okrožju Litovel (Burian 1959: 2–3).

<sup>10</sup> Spletni vir: <http://askaboutireland.ie/reading-room/arts-literature/the-virtual-museum/waterford-museum-of-treas/commercial/tally-stick/> (12. 3. 2009).

V Franciji je rovaš omenjen v Napoleonovem Državnem zakoniku (*Code civile* oz. *Code Napoléon / Code civil des Français*) iz leta 1804. 1333. člen govori o rovašu kot potrdilu o dostavi dobrin strankam (Žontar 1940a: 311; Menninger 1992: 231; Ifrah 2000: 66).

Rovaš je omenjen tudi v 25. členu *Zakonika Kraljevine Srbije* iz leta 1887:

*Peki, mesarji, mlekarji, dostavljalci vode, svečarji in njim podobni morajo dokazovati z rovašem – matico, na katero se je podpisal ali dal svoj pečat tisti, ki je stvari prejel. Rovaš je popoln dokaz o količini, kadar se ujema z izkolkom, ki ga ima obtoženi. Tudi brez izkolka je popoln dokaz, kadar obtoženi noče pokazati izkolka ali pa ga je zaradi nepazljivosti izgubil. Če pa obtoženi dokaže, da je izkolek izgubil po naključju in brez svoje krivde, potem je prepuščeno občinskemu sodišču, da oceni tak dokaz.* (Bogičević 1953: 205; prev. N. Ž.)

V Srbiji je dokazovanje z rovašem kot pravna institucija veljalo še v 30. letih 20. stoletja (Dolenc 1935: 392). Tudi v Imotski krajini na Hrvaškem naj bi v začetku 20. stoletja sodišče upoštevalo rovaše kot dokazno sredstvo (Škarpa 1933: 172).

V Evropi so bili v rabi enodelni in večdelni (največkrat dvodelni) leseni rovaši, njihove funkcije pa so bile številne. Poglejmo nekaj najbolj razširjenih ali najznačilnejših rab rovašev.

### Davčni rovaši

Rovaši so imeli v Evropi zelo pomembno vlogo pri zapisovanju raznih dajatev zemljiškemu gospodu, cerkvenim, lokalnim in državnim oblastem. Že rimski pisec in učenjak Plinij starejši (\*23–†79) je pisal o lesenih rovaših, ki so jih Rimljani uporabljali za razvid nad plačilom davkov (Bogičević 1953: 204). Kaže, da so bili takšni rovaši poznani tako na lokalni kot (ponekod) tudi na državni ravni po vsej Evropi.

V srednjem veku so bili rovaši v zvezi z izterjavo davkov zelo razširjeni med Madžari. V 11. in 12. stoletju so za izterjevanje in potrjevanje plačila davkov uporabljali pisne sezname, na nižjih stopnjah javne uprave pa tudi rovaše. V 15. stoletju je bil izdan kraljev ukaz, po katerem so morali vaški sodniki iz vseh županij dodajati k pisnim seznamom vsaka tri leta tudi matice rovašev. Na rabo rovašev pri izterjavi davkov v srednjem veku kaže tudi povezava rovašev z davki, saj je izraz rovaš pomenil *adó* (davek), *megróvás* izterjavo davka, *rovó* pa davkarja. V 13. stoletju se je cerkveno desetinsko okrožje imenovalo *kés* (nož), ime torej izvira iz noža, ki so ga uporabljali za zarezovanje rovašev. Verjetno se je prav iz besedišča madžarske državne in cerkvene uprave beseda rovaš razširila med manjšine in sosednje narode (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

Rovaše za zapis davkov so uporabljali v Franciji: pobiralec davkov si je plačane količine označil na lesen rovaš. Kakor je bilo že omenjeno, so tudi v Angliji upo-

rabljali rovaše za označevanje plačanih dajatev in seznam prihodkov in stroškov (Ifrah 2000: 65). Davčni rovaši (*contrastock*) so bili v rabi na Nizozemskem.

Tudi v Bolgariji je imel konec 19. stoletja vsak kmet pri županu spravljeno svojo palico – štirobi rovaš. Na eni strani je bilo označeno, koliko mora plačati, na drugi pa, koliko je že plačal. Vsaka palica je imela tudi oznake lastništva. Poleg davčnih rovašev za označevanje dolgov posameznikov so imele občine tudi zbirni rovaš – dolg drog z zarezami. Leta 1883 so imeli v vasi Pazarel pri Sredci okoli 250 kratkih rovašev in štiri zbirne rovaše (Rutar 1891: 447). V Romuniji so imeli dvodelni rovaš za vsakega gospodarja – matica je bila pri županu, izkolek pa pri gospodarju. Pobiralci davkov so se imenovali *rabojarii* (iz *raboj*=rovaš) (Hémardinquer 1963: 146). Tudi Mari (Čeremisi) ob srednji Volgi v Rusiji so uporabljali dvodelne davčne rovaše. Pobiralec davka je imel za vsakega posestnika en rovaš, na katerem so bili vrezani spoznavni znak, označeno število članov in znesek davka. Označbo za davek so po plačilu izrezali, isti rovaš je bil v rabi lahko tudi več let (Menninger 1992: 239–240).

Davčne rovaše so poznali na osrednjem Hrvaškem, npr. v Draganih (Vilfan 1944: 110), s trirobimi rovaši pa so pobirali davke v Dalmaciji (Škarpa 1933: 175). Tudi v Bosni so v času turške oblasti poznali štirobe davčne rovaše za zapis oddanih dajatev. Enodelni rovaš so vaške starešine z zarezo okoli palice razdelili na toliko delov, kolikor je bilo domačij v vasi. Na pripadajoči del so označili, koliko davka naj



Davčni rovaš, Lichtenvoorde, Nizozemska  
(Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem).

Tax tally, Lichtenvoorde, Netherlands  
(Netherlands Open-Air Museum, Arnhem).

bi posamična domačija plačala in koliko ga je že. Tako so po rovaših poročali o pobranih dajatvah zemljiškemu gospodu, *spahiji*. Rovaše pa so pri pobiranju davkov uporabljali tudi turški uradniki (Drobnjaković 1933; Bogičević 1953: 205).

Tudi iz južne Srbije so poročila o uporabi dolgih rovašev, na katere so označevali dajatve hiš, pri čemer so znake zarezovali od spodaj navzgor. V Šumadiji so npr. uporabljali štirirobe, okoli pol metra dolge palice. Primerek davčnega rovaša iz okolice Pirota, dolg 92 cm, hranijo v Etnografskem muzeju v Beogradu (Drobnjaković 1933). Tudi srbski izraz za davek, *porez*, naj bi izviral iz (davčnega) rovaša oziroma zarez (Rutar 1891: 447).

### Rovaši za označevanje opravljenega dela

V Evropi so bili na rovaših za razvid nad opravljenim delom označeni učinek dela ali število delovnih dni. V Estoniji so nanje zapisovali opravljeno tlako in število delovnih dni (Rank 1997: 118); takšne rovaše so poznali tudi na Finskem (Menninger 1992: 231). Lesene rovaše so v 19. stoletju uporabljali v švicarskem kantonu Wallis; tudi tam so označevali delovne dni, ki so jih kmetje opravili za lokalno skupnost, na osnovi števila zarez pa je sledilo plačilo (Pallestrang 2004: 59).

Lesene rovaše so v angleških pokrajinah Kent, Herefordshire in Vzhodni Sussex do srede 19. stoletja uporabljali za pregled nad količino nabranega hmelja. Ko je hmelj v septembru dozorel, so ga morali čim hitreje pobrati, zato so poleg domačih najemali tudi sezonske delavce. Za zapisovanje količine nabranega hmelja so uporabljali dvodelne rovaše: matice z izvrtanimi luknjicami je imel nadzornik nanizane na vrvice, pripadajoče dele pa so hranili nabiralci. Zareze so označevale število obranih mernikov hmelja, za katere je sledilo plačilo. Seveda so se morale zarez na obeh delih rovaša ujemati. Poleg lesenih rovašev so v Angliji od konca 18. do srede 20. stoletja za isti namen uporabljali tudi manjše kovinske, največkrat okrogle ploščice,



Rovaš za obiranje hmelja, Kent, Anglija, pridobljen l. 1902.

Hop tally, Kent, England, collected in 1902 (Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford).



Kovinska ploščica z označenim številom mernikov obranega hmelja, Kent, Anglija, okoli 1830–1870.

Hops token with the number of bushels of picked hops, Kent, England, around 1830–1870 (Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).

na katere so navadno vtisnili začetnici izdajatelja (posestnika) in število mernikov. V Pitt Riversovem muzeju v Oxfordu imajo zbirko lesenih rovašev in kovinskih ploščic, povezanih z obiranjem hmelja.<sup>11</sup> Zbirko kovinskih ploščic za vodenje evidence o količinah nabranega hmelja hrani tudi Fitzwilliamov muzej v Cambridgeu.<sup>12</sup>

V Hrvaškem Zagorju so nadzorniki (*špani*) skrbeli, da so kmetje opravljali delo na posesti zemljiškega gospoda, pregled nad opravljenim delom najetih delavcev pa so imeli označen na lesenem rovašu (Kotarski 1916: 55–56). V okolici Zagreba so opravljeno delo označevali na dvodelnih rovaših: nadzornik je z zarezi z nožem označeval delovne dni, matico je obdržal sam, izkolek pa je dobil najeti delavec (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1264). V Hrvaškem Zagorju si je ponekod nadzornik označeval opravljeno delo kmetov z zarezi na rovaš, zvečer pa je dal delavcem kot potrdilo pločevinaste ploščice. Vsake tri mesece je sledil obračun, kjer je provizor preštel ploščice, špan pa zareze na svojem rovašu. Ob novem letu so opravili obračun pri zemljiškem gospodu (Kotarski 1916: 56). Tudi v Bosni so rovaše uporabljali za zapisovanje delovnih dni najetih delavcev. S posebnimi znaki so zapisovali delo, ki je bilo opravljeno v celem dnevu, pol dneva, tretjini ali četrtini dneva (Bogičević 1953: 211). Na Poljskem je na lesen rovaš označeval opravila delavcev nadzornik, imenovan *karbownik* (Babnik 1883: 91).

### **Rovaši kot potrdilo za prevzeto blago**

V srednjem veku so v italijanskih samostanih uporabljali dvodelne rovaše kot potrdilo, da so v hrambo prejeli denar ali druge dobrine. Lastnik je moral ob odho-

<sup>11</sup> Spletni vir: <http://england.prm.ox.ac.uk/englishness-hop-tallies.html> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Spletni vir: [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguesummary.html?\\_searchstring=AG='cm'%20and%20\(OB='hop%20token'%20when%20OT='subseries'\)&\\_function=\\_xslt&\\_limit\\_=50&\\_resultstylesheet\\_=images](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguesummary.html?_searchstring=AG='cm'%20and%20(OB='hop%20token'%20when%20OT='subseries')&_function=_xslt&_limit_=50&_resultstylesheet_=images) (19. 5. 2009).



du pokazati svoj del rovaša, da je dobil nazaj stvari, ki jih je dal v hrambo (Edler v Apostolou in Crumbley 2008: 61).

V številnih evropskih deželah so razni obrtniki uporabljali dvodelne rovaše kot dokazilo oziroma potrdilo, da so od strank v obdelavo oziroma predelavo prejeli material. Na rovaših so hkrati označevali tudi količine prejetega materiala, po obdelavi pa so z njimi tudi lažje identificirali lastništvo. Takšni rovaši so bili najbolj razširjeni med obrtniki – valjarji, barvarji, strojarji, mlinarji, peki ...

Dvodelne rovaše so uporabljali **tkalci, valjarji in barvarji**. V Srbiji so barvarji prejo, prejeto v barvanje, označili z rovaši tako, da so matico privezali na prejo, izkolek pa so dali lastniku kot potrdilo o predanem materialu. Ko je lastnik prišel po prejo, so se morale zarezati na njegovem delu rovaša ujemati z zarezi na delu rovaša, ki je bil privezan na prejo. Na enak način so nekateri valjarji sukna, ki so imeli valjarne ob planinskih rekah, označevali nevaljano sukno, ki so ga pobrali po okoliških vaseh, da bal ne bi pomešali med seboj. Ponekod na jugu Srbije so valjarji uporabljali rovaše do srede 20. stoletja (Drobnjaković 1933; Filipović 1951: 21). Sredi 50. let 20. stoletja so rovaše še vedno uporabljali tudi valjarji in barvarji sukna v Bosni (Bogičević 1953: 207).

Rovaše so uporabljali tudi makedonski valjarji. Njihovi rovaši so bili največkrat iz leskove veje, dolgi 3–4 cm. Na eno polovico rovaša je valjar vrezal nekakšen žlebiček, s pomočjo katerega je lahko rovaš prišil na sukno, na drugo polovico rovaša pa je zarezal pokončne in poševne črte, ki so označevale težo sukna. Poševne zarezne so pomenile 5 kg, navpične 1 kg, tanjše navpične pa 0,5 kg. Potem je paličico razpolovil in eno polovico prišil na sukno, drugo polovico pa je dal lastniku, da ob



Mlinarski rovaši, Lika, Hrvaška, 1920  
(Etnografski muzej Zagreb).

Millers' tallies, Lika, Croatia, 1920  
(Ethnographic Museum Zagreb).

vračilu valjanega sukna ne bi prišlo do pomot. V novejšem času so začeli nekateri valjarji namesto rovašev uporabljati kovinske ploščice s številkami (Nedelkovski 2002: 125, 127).

Tudi barvarji v Bosni so matico privezali na sukno, izkolek pa je dobil lastnik. Ko je bilo sukno pobarvano, ga je lastnik spoznal po ujemanju zarez na matici in izkolkku, ki so označevale tudi količino prinesenega sukna (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 207). V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so lastniki sukna na balo prišili gosto obšit košček sukna, imenovan *biliška*. Na koščku so bili različni znaki – križ, zvezda, pika, eden ali več kolobarjev ..., ki so označevali lastništvo. Koščki so bili v dvojnikih, tako da je enega obdržal lastnik (Škarpa 1933: 177).

Rovaše kot potrdilo o prejemu usnja v strojenje so uporabljali številni **strojarji**. V Estoniji so imeli dvodelne rovaše za označevanje kož, prejetih v strojenje. Del rovaša so pritrdili na kožo, drugi del pa je prejel lastnik kot potrdilo o oddani koži in za lažjo potrditev lastništva po obdelavi (Rank 1997: 118).

**Mlinarji** so z rovaši označevali vreče žita, ki so jih lastniki prinašali v mlin. Tako so na Češkem uporabljali rovaše vsaj že v 16. stoletju (Burian 1959: 2). Tudi vaški mlinarji v Bosni so imeli dvodelne rovaše – del so privezali na žakelj, drugega pa je dobil lastnik (Bogičević 1953: 207–208); enako so ravnali mlinarji na Hrvaškem. Na območjih, kjer je bilo več mlinov, je vsak mlinar označil svoje rovaše (Škarpa 1933: 197–180).

### **Rovaši za zapisovanje dolga**

Obračunske rovaše so največkrat uporabljali obrtniki, ki svojih storitev niso računavali sproti, ker je bilo v navadi, da so delo obračunali po določenem času, največkrat tedensko, mesečno ali letno.

V Alzaciji so rovaše uporabljali vaški kovači. Vsakič, ko je kmet prišel podkovat konja, je kovač zarezal v dvodelni rovaš. Rovaš je bil sicer last kmeta, vendar je del rovaša kmet hranil doma v hlevu, drugi del rovaša, na katerem je bilo označeno tudi lastništvo (začetnici lastnika in hišna številka), pa je imel kovač na vrvici, v šopu skupaj z rovaši drugih kmetov. Kmet in kovač sta opravila obračun ob novem letu. Rovaše so uporabljali tudi **peki**; kmetje, ki so imeli svoje žito, niso pa imeli krušne peči, so kruh nosili peč k vaškemu peku, v zameno so mu prinašali moko. Pek je za vsak spečen hlebec na rovaš naredil zarezo, ob koncu leta pa sta kmet in pek s pomočjo rovaša obračunala moko in peko (Klein 1981: 161–162).

Podeželski peki v okolici Dijona v Franciji so še na začetku 70. letih 20. stoletja uporabljali dvodelne rovaše za zapis o številu štruc, ki so jih dali posamičnim strankam, pri čemer je matico obdržal pek, izkolek pa je dobila stranka. Oba kosa rovaša je pek zarezal vsakič, ko je stranka vzela hlebec kruha. Plačilo je sledilo na določen



Pekovska rovaša, Anglija, 17. stoletje.

Bakers' tallies, England, 17<sup>th</sup> century (Science Museum, London).



Pekovski rovaši, Ballum, Nizozemska, 50. leta 20. stoletja (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem).

Bakers' tallies, Ballum, Netherlands, 1950's (Netherlands Open-Air Museum, Arnhem).

dan, npr. enkrat tedensko. Na koncu tedna sta zložila deščici, zarezje so se morale ujemati in račun je bil s tem potrjen. Rovaše so uporabljali tudi peki v Belgiji (Ifrah 2000: 65), Angliji in na Nizozemskem.

Dvodelne rovaše z zarezami na obeh delih so uporabljali peki v Bosni, pod turško upravo tako pri poslovanju z ljudmi kot z vojsko, ki je z rovaši obračunavala količi-

no kupljenega kruha. Konec 19. stoletja so v Bosni uporabljali dvodelne rovaše za označevanje števila oddanega turškega kruha (*asker tain*) in s tem povezanega dolga (Bogičević 1953: 204, 207; Delić 1892: 89).

V Srbiji so dajali peki kruh "na rovaš"; pekovski rovaši so bili štirirobi in dolgi od 20 do 30 cm. Izkolek je bil izklan iz približno dveh tretjin matice in ga je obdržal kupec, matica pa je ostala pri peku. Za vsak kruh, ki ga je dal pek stranki, je naredil zarezo čez oba dela rovaša, ki ju je zložil skupaj. Pri obračunu sta sestavila matico in izkolek in preštela zareze. Ko je bil dolg poplačan, so zareze z nožem odrezali. Ponekod na jugu Srbije so peki uporabljali rovaše vse do srede 20. stoletja (Drobnjaković 1933; Filipović 1951: 21).

Rovaše za zapisovanje dolgov pa so uporabljali tudi, kadar so si stranke **sposojale denar ali razne dobrine**, ki jih ob prevzemu niso mogle plačati. Na rovaših so Judje z zarezi označili količino posojenega denarja, potem pa so rovaš vzdolžno preklali – del je obdržal lastnik, drugega prejemnik posojila. Londonski muzej (Museum of London) npr. hrani primerek takega rovaša (iz jelše ali leske, dolg 5,3 cm) iz 13. stoletja.<sup>13</sup> Na podoben način so si zapisovali tudi vsote denarja, ki so jih posojali cerkev, lokalne skupnosti in premožni posamezniki (obrtniki, trgovci).

Za pregled nad posojenim denarjem so v kraju Visperterminen v Švici uporabljali lesene zadolžnice. Vaška skupnost je imela skupen sklad, iz katerega so si lahko kmetje sposojali denar. Sposojajo so označili na rovašu (*Kapitaltessel*), ki ga je dal kmet vodji lokalne skupnosti. Na eni strani rovaša je bil kmetov znak, na drugi strani pa oznake za dolg. Rovaši so bili skozi luknjice na koncu paličice nanizani na vrvi, hranili so jih do poplāčila dolga. Enako so označevali denar, ki so si ga sposodili v cerkvi (Menninger 1992: 235; Pallestrang 2004: 59).

Tudi Čuvaši in Mari (Čeremisi) v osrednji Rusiji so imeli v 19. stoletju rovaše za zapisovanje sposojenega denarja. Rovaš je bil vzdolžno razpolovljen, na oba dela so z zarezi označili količino sposojenega denarja, čez oba dela pa je svoj znak zarezala še priča. Posojilodajalec in posojilojemalec sta označila vsak svoj del rovaša in si ju izmenjala (Ifrah 2000: 66).

Premožnejši kmetje v Bosni so na rovaše označevali denar, ki so ga posojali revnejšim kmetom. Za vsakega dolžnika so imeli rovaš s posebnimi oznakami, rovaše pa so skrbno hranili na posebnih mestih (Bogičević 1953: 208).

Med dobrinami je bil pogost predmet sposoje žito. V Estoniji so za to imeli dvodelne rovaše (Rank 1997: 118), enako tudi premožnejši kmetje v Bosni, ki so žito posojali revnejšim kmetom (Bogičević 1953: 205, 208).

Zelo razširjena je bila uporaba rovašev med **gostilničarji**, ki so gostom dajali pijačo na up oziroma "na rovaš". Za ta namen so rovaše uporabljali gostilničarji v Bosni,

<sup>13</sup> Spletni vir: <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/English/Collections/OnlineResources/RWWC/objects/record.htm?type=object&id=372215> (19. 5. 2009).

kavarnarji pa so na rovaš označevali tudi število skodelic popite kave (Bogičević 1953: 207). Na Češkem so vaški gostilničarji imeli na rovaših razvid nad količino piva, ki so ga dajali kmetom. Okoli martinovega so kmetje svoje dolgove poplačali z ječmenom (Domluvil 1904: 206). V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so gostilničarji uporabljali rovaše tudi za zapis prejete masti in za prodano vino (Škarpa 1933: 173).

Podobna je bila raba rovašev pri **trgovcih**, ki so kupcem dajali produkte "na up", tako npr. v mestih Bosne in Hercegovine. Rovaše za trgovanje z nepisanimi strankami so uporabljali trgovci v Sarajevu pri takšni prodaji tudi, ko so sami že bili pismeni. Nekateri so imeli določene znake za različne vrste produktov. Vsaka stranka je imela pri svojem trgovcu svoj rovaš, vanj so trgovci vrezali spoznavne znake, da so jih ločili med seboj. Nekateri trgovci so v rovaš zarezali svoj znak, da so jih kupci, ki so kupovali pri več trgovcih, lahko ločili (Bogičević 1953: 206).

### Pastirski rovaši

V tistih delih Evrope, kjer so poznali skupno pašo, so imeli pastirji na rovaših seznane števila in lastništva živine in drobnice v čredi, pa tudi druge preglede, npr. o različnih kategorijah živine po starosti, spolu, mlečnosti, kakor tudi razvide s količinami pridobljenega mleka, sira, masla ipd. Pastirski rovaši so bili zelo razširjeni med pastirji v švicarskih Alpah. Pastirji so nanje označevali število glav živine v čredi, število sterilnih živali, število ovc in koz. Za raznovrstne podatke so uporabljali tudi večdelne rovaše (Ifrah 2000: 64). Na območju Lötschental v Švici so imeli posebne



Mlekarski rovaši, kanton Graubünden, Švica, 19. stoletje (Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Wien).

Milk tallies, Canton of Graubünden, Switzerland, 19<sup>th</sup> century (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Vienna).

trirobe rovaše, imenovane *Alpscheit*, nekakšna potrdila o pravici do paše živine na komunskih pašnikih. Ob vseh treh robovih so dele rovaša izrezali v pravilnih razmikih. Kmetje so hranili te izrezke o svoji pašni pravici v izrezljanih šatuljicah, kravji pastir pa je hranil rovaše (Menninger 1992: 234). V zvezi s skupno pašo so uporabljali rovaš, ki je določal vrstni red varovanja živine, ki se je na mihaelovo vračala s planinskih pašnikov, in rovaš za delitev oziroma odvoz kravjega gnoja v dolino. V Švici so imeli v 19. stoletju posebne rovaše, ki so določali vrstni red hiš, ki so morale poskrbeti za hrano in bivališče za kravjega pastirja (Pallestrang 2004: 56, 58).

Pastirji so uporabljali pet- do osemrobe mlekarske rovaše iz jelše ali jesena, dolge 15 do 20 cm. Na rovašu so s simboli označili lastnike krav, pod njimi pa je pastir označeval količine mleka, ki so ga dajale krave posamičnega kmeta. Mleko, ki so ga dnevno namolzli, so morali predelati in takoj dostaviti. Kjer so bili pašniki v bližini vasi, je prišel vsak dan en kmet na pašnik in naredil sir iz mleka vseh krav. Da so si sir pravično razdelili, so na rovaše zapisali količine mleka krav posamičnega lastnika. Mlekarske rovaše so uporabljali tudi še v 20. stoletju (Menninger 1992: 229–230).

Rovaše so uporabljali tudi pastirji v Angliji. Ovčji pastirji v pokrajini Ceredigion v Walesu so uporabljali štiristrane rovaše: na prvo stranico so označili skupno število ovac, na drugo število jagenjčkov, na tretjo število kastriranih ovnov in na četrto stranico ime lastnika. Štiri primerke takšnih rovašev, dolgih okoli 30 in širokih okoli 1,5 cm, hra-



Mlekarski rovaš, Harris, Škotska, nazadnje v rabi leta 1879.

Milk tally, Harris, Scotland, last used in 1879 (© The trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).



Rovaši za štetje ovac, Wales, Anglija, prva polovica 20. stoletja.

Tally sticks for counting sheep, Wales, England, first half 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ceredigion Museum, Aberystwyth, Wales).

ni Ceredigionski muzej (Ceredigion Museum).<sup>14</sup> Na Škotskem so uporabljali rovaše za zapis števila krav molznic. Takšen, okoli 12 cm dolg rovaš, ki je bil v nazadnje v rabi leta 1879, hrani Škotski nacionalni muzej (National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh).<sup>15</sup>

Tudi na Sardiniji so na dvodelne rovaše lastniki označili število živine, ki so jo zaupali pastirju. Nekateri ovčji in kozji pastirji so se združevali, da so si lahko gospodarneje organizirali delo (paša, molža, predelava mleka itn.). Navadno so se združevali pastirji, ki so imeli približno enako število glav drobnice, vendar so kljub temu dnevno merili količine namolzenega mleka. Vsak pastir je imel svoj rovaš, *musròju*, za delitev mleka. Rovaš je imel več funkcij: bil je merska enota, pripomoček za merjenje, pripomoček za vodenje evidence o količinah namolzenega mleka v več dneh in nekakšna evidenčna knjiga o namerjenih in skupnih količinah mleka (Maxia).

Madžarski pastirji so pri skupni paši uporabljali rovaše za zapis števila ovac posamičnih gospodarjev in količin namolzenega mleka. Na štirirobi rovaš so na eno stran označil število ovc mlekaric, na drugo stran število neplodnih ovac, na tretjo pridelok mleka in na četrto lastninska razmerja gospodarjev. Posamične gospodarje so ločili z zarezanimi križci (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

Rovaše so vsaj že v 16. stoletju uporabljali tudi pastirji na Češkem (Burian 1959: 2). Na štirirobo ali na sprehajalno palico, ki je hkrati služila tudi kot rovaš, so zarezovali znake na štiri stranice. Najprej so palico po dolžini razdelili na polja, ki so pripadala posamičnim kmetom, potem pa so za vsakega lastnika ovac zarezovali skupno število ovac ali backov, pridelano maslo ali sir ter sol, ki so jo pastirji dajali ovcam. V Valaškem na Moravskem so ovčji pastirji v prvi polovici 19. stoletja upo-

<sup>14</sup> Spletni vir: <http://pilgrim.ceredigion.gov.uk/index.cfm?articleid=1692> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Spletni vir: <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-000-143-&scache=5ma8q4b033&searchdb=scan> (11. 3. 2009).

rabljali rovaše, na katere so označevali število ovac posamičnih kmetov, pri čemer so si označili tudi mlečnost ovac. Na rovaš so označili tudi število vseh ovac, ki so jih imeli na pašniku, in količine sira in masla, ki so ga dali lastnikom ovc, ter količine soli, ki so jih pastirji dali ovcam (Domlupil 1904: 207; Kašlik 1943).

Pastirske rovaše so uporabljali v Srbiji, kadar je šlo za skupno pašo. Pregled nad številom živali so imeli na rovaših lastniki živine (ovac) in pastirji. Ovčar je imel rovaš s toliko stranicami, kolikor je bilo lastnikov ovc. Na vrhu rovaša je bila luknjica, da si ga je ovčar lahko privezal okoli pasu. Pod luknjico je z britvijo naredil zareze, ki so označevale število ovc posamičnega gospodarja, sledile so količine mleka in drugo. Ponekod so bili v rabi okoli 10 cm dolgi rovaši, nanje so označevali količino mleka, ki je pripadala posamičnemu gospodarju. Ponekod po Srbiji so bili v 30. letih 20. stoletja pastirski rovaši še vedno v rabi (Drobnjaković 1933), v nekaj krajih na jugu Srbije pa so pastirji uporabljali rovaše vse do srede 20. stoletja (Filipovič 1951: 21). V Makedoniji so pastirji uporabljali rovaše za merjenje mleka. Dva primerka hranijo v Muzeju Makedonije v Skopju.



Rovaš za merjenje mleka (Muzej na Makedonija, Skopje; foto: Vladimir Bocev).

Milk tally (Macedonian Museum, Skopje; photo by: Vladimir Bocev).

Rovaše so imeli tudi pastirji v Bosni. Poleg takšnih, ki so bili podobni rovašem pri drugih pastirjih, so poznali še poseben rovaš, ki nekoliko spominja na palice za sporočanje. Ko je kmet poslal dečka na planinski pašnik k pastirju, mu je dal leseno palico z zarezi, iz katerih je lahko pastir razbral, koliko sira mora poslati gospodarju in katere krave naj bi predčasno prignal v Sarajevo (Rütimayer v Bogičević 1953: 209).

### Vozniški rovaši

Tridelne rovaše so uporabljali na Dunaju pri odvažanju snega. Srednji del z ročem je hranil prevoznik (kočijaž), en stranski del je imel nadzornik, ki je bil navzoč pri nakladanju snega, drugi stranski del pa nadzornik, ki je skrbel za razkladanje snega. Vsi trije deli so bili označeni z istim številom. Število opravljenih voženj so z zarezi označili na vse tri dele rovaša. Prevoznik je svoj del rovaša zataknil za škorenj, nadzornika pa sta stranske dele rovašev različnih prevoznikov nataknila na žico in jih imela obešene za vratom. Srednji del rovaša, ki ga je imel prevoznik, so imenovali *Weibl* (ženička/baba), pripadajoča dela pa *Mannl* (možiček/dedec). Poleg tridelnih so uporabljali tudi dvodelne rovaše z enakim poimenovanjem se-



stavnih delov (Haberlandt 1895: 54). V Celovcu so na rovaše označevali prevoz gradbenega materiala, v Trstu pa so jih poleg prevoznikov gradbenega materiala imeli tudi tovorni čolnarji (Vilfan 1944: 108).

Število voženj ali količine prepeljanega materiala so na rovaše označevali tudi prevozniki v Bosni. Splavarji na Drini so sredi 20. stoletja z rovaši šteli število splavov, ki so jih spustili po reki. Kočijaž v kraju Čajnič v Bosni je konec 19. stoletja na rovašu, ki ga je nosil za pasom, imel zapisano število opek, ki jih je dostavil s konjsko vprego (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 207–208). V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so si mornarji na rovaš označevali količine vina, ki so ga naložili na čoln (Škarpa 1933: 176), in število butar lesa, ki so jih trgovci predali čolnarjem.

### Števni rovaši

Pri nekaterih opravilih so bili v rabi rovaši, na katere so označevali količine le zaradi statistike o letni pridelavi. Med takšne sodijo tisti, ki so jih uporabljali za štetje v skedenj pripeljanega žita na Poljskem, ali brentarske palice, na katere so brentarji na avstrijskem Štajerskem označevali dnevne količine obranega grozdja. Ob koncu dela so jih pustili v prostoru za prešanje grozdja (Pallestrang 2004: 60, 61). Tudi v Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so uporabljali rovaše, npr. za razvid nad količino obranega grozdja in oljk (Škarpa 1933: 176).

### Drugi rovaši

Kaže, da so v Evropi vsaj v poznem srednjem veku uporabljali rovaše pri kopanju rude. Tako so jih v Srbiji in Bosni uporabljali saški rudarji za pregled nad količino izkopane rude (Bogičević 1953: 203), v 16. stoletju pa so jih uporabljali tudi rudarji na Češkem (Burian 1959: 2).



Uporaba rovaša pri izkopavanju rude  
(Skarić 1939, sl. 25).

The use of a tally stick in mining ore  
(Skarić 1939, ill. 25).

Na enodelnih lesenih rovaših so v preteklosti šteli glasove. V severni Italiji so z zarezami v rovaš volili, npr. zastopnike v vaških skupnostih (Dolenc 1935: 170; Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1265). Podobno je bilo tudi v Istri na Hrvaškem. Po Valvasorjevih podatkih so v 17. stoletju tako volili župana, zastopnike vaške skupnosti, mestnega vratarja, sodnega slugo, mežnarja, kovača idr. (Vilfan 1955: 116; 1996: 139).

V nekaterih evropskih vaseh so imeli rovaše, s pomočjo katerih so urejali zaporedje in razvid del, ki so jih morali opraviti vsi člani vaške skupnosti (nočna straža, nošenje zastav, gozdna dela, zvonjenje ...). Veliko takšnih rovašev je bilo v 19. stoletju v rabi v Švici. Na štirirobe rovaše so s hišnimi znamenji določali zaporedje opravil, npr. za nočno stražo, varovanje živine na paši in ob vrnitvi s planin, za izterjavo od cerkve sposojenega denarja, skrb za vaškega pastirja, nošenje križa in zastave na procesiji itn. Na rovaših je bil določen tudi vrstni red za pravico do bika in kozla za razplod, za peko kruha (Pallestrang 2004: 58–59). Tudi v Nugli pri Roču v hrvaški Istri so morali vsi vaščani zaporedoma skrbeti za zvonjenje v cerkvi. Kot dokaz o opravljeni dolžnosti je krožila dolga palica, na katero je vsakdo zarezal svojo črko. Starejši so črke zarezovali v glagolici, mlajši v latinici (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1944a: 246). Poljski čuvaji v Bosni so imeli palice, na katere so se opirali pri hoji in nanje označevali število živine, ki je povzročila škodo na polju, njihove lastnike in vrsto škode (Bogičević 1953: 208).

Na Češkem so bili rovaši v rabi v pivovarstvu za razvid nad številom varjenj piva, odmerjeno količino sladu, količino odkupljenega piva, izdajo deputatnega piva, piva, prodanega v gostilne. Tako so npr. v kraju Rakovník že leta 1550 z rovaši urejali pivovarniške račune, v Jindřichovem Hradcu pa so konec 16. stoletja rovaše uporabljali pri varjenju ječmena. Rovaše so uporabljali za pregled nad obdelavo lesa, npr. pri žaganju hlodov (Burian 1959: 2). Tudi na Hrvaškem so uporabljali rovaše pri sekanju drv.<sup>16</sup> Rovaši so bili v rabi v gradbeništvu; v Ostravi na Češkem so jih npr. začeli uvajati konec 18. stoletja (prav tam).

Na območju pokrajine Wallis v Švici so bili pomembni rovaši, povezani z vodo. Tam so bili namreč za gospodarstvo pomembni vodni kanali, ki so tekli s hribov, posebno poleti, ko je bila orna zemlja izsušena. Zato so uredili posebne kanale za namakanje, po katerih so preusmerjali vodo na polja kmetov. Ker je bil vodni tok last vse vaške skupnosti, so se morali dogovoriti, na čigave njive in za koliko časa bodo preusmerjali vodo. Pregled nad pravico do vode (v urah) so vzdrževali na rovaših. Luknje na štirio-glati palici so označevale število namakalnih dni, na posamično luknjico z vrvico privezani rovaši pa število namakalnih ur (Menninger 1992: 235; Pallestrang 2004: 59).

<sup>16</sup> Primerka takšnih rovašev hrani Etnografski muzej v Zagrebu.



Vodni rovaši, kanton Wallis, Švica, 1705 (Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Wien).

Water tallies, Canton of Wallis, Switzerland, 1705 (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Vienna).

Ponekod v nemško govorečem delu Švice so fantje poznali posebne “Miklavževe palice”, na katere so označevali “dobra dela”, ki so jih opravili med letom. Na Miklavžev predvečer so palico z zarezi pokazali Miklavžu in glede na število zarez dobili ustrezno darilo. V južnih delih Alzacije se je uporaba “Miklavževih palic” ohranila do preloma 19. v 20. stoletje (Klein 1981: 163).

Na Irskem so imeli rovaš (*bata scoir*) v 19. stoletju celo v šolskih učilnicah, ko so se trudili, da bi izkoreninili irski jezik in irske otroke naučili angleščine. Otroci so imeli za vratom vrstico z obešeno leseno paličico, nanjo je učitelj naredil zarezo vsakič, ko je otrok spregovoril irsko. In na koncu dneva je sledila kazen (npr. zaušnica), odvisna od števila zarez (Coleman 1998: 96; Crowley 2005: 122).

Turške oblasti v Bosni naj bi (po ustnem izročilu) zaradi protiturškega delovanja bosanskih hajdukov leta 1822 na rovaš označevale, katere kmete je treba iz maščevanja ubiti. Bosanske ženske so na vrhu preslice z zarezi označevale starost svojih otrok, kmetje pa so na stenah hiš z zarezi označevali starost otrok in njihov napredek v rasti (Bogičević 1953: 204, 210–211). V Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem so uporabljali rovaše pri oddaji vina in oljk, imeli pa so tudi *molitvene rovaše* – paličice z zarezi in vdolbinicami, s katerimi so šteli opravljene molitve (Škarpa 1933: 178, 170, 172).

Nekateri so rovaše uporabljali tudi v bolj “zasebne” namene. Po podatkih sodobnika naj bi flamski slikar Pieter Brueghel (1520–1569) v Antwerpnu živel z mladim dekletom, s katerim bi se bil poročil, če ne bi imelo slabe razvade, da je rado lagalo. Dogovorila sta se, da bo Brueghel za vsako laž zarezal v palico in če bo palica polna zarez, se z njo ne bo poročil (Menninger 1992: 226).

## Leseni koledarji

Nekateri raziskovalci med posebne oblike lesenih rovašev uvrščajo tudi koledarje ali pratike, ki so jih ljudje v preteklosti uporabljali za označevanje mesecev, tednov in prazničnih dni. V Evropi so bili leseni koledarji v rabi od zgodnjega srednjega veka in so se ponekod ohranili do konca 19. stoletja; takšne koledarje so poznali npr. v Nemčiji, Angliji, Franciji, Avstriji, v Skandinaviji in na Balkanu (Graber 1954: 372–373).

Oblikovno v Evropi prevladujeta dve vrsti koledarjev: plošče za posamične mesece, povezane z vrstico, in tri-, štiri- ali šeststrane palice ali letve, pogosto z luknjico za obešanje na eni strani. O danskih koledarjih z runskimi zapisi je Ole Worm že leta 1643 napisal knjigo *Fasti Danici* (Gavazzi 1930: 332). Lesene koledarje so na Norveškem imeli za pregled nad letnimi časi in prazniki. Njihova uporaba se je začela zmanjševati na začetku 19. stoletja, ko so se začeli uveljavljati natisnjeni koledarji (Haugen 1947: 145). Prav tako so lesene koledarje poznali na Švedskem. Pa tudi z območja avstrijske Koroške sta ohranjena koledarja iz 17. stoletja, narejena iz hruškovega lesa v obliki palice z ročajem (Graber 1954).

Lesene koledarje so uporabljali na razsežnem območju od Dalmacije, Bosne, Vojvodine in Banata do Bolgarije (Gavazzi 1930). Južno od Tamništa v Srbiji naj bi pastirji uporabljali lesene koledarje do okoli leta 1910 (Filipović 1951: 122). Do konca 19. stoletja so imeli lesene koledarje v številnih hišah v Bosni. Najdlje so se ohranili med pastirji, ki so z živino odhajali na planinske pašnike. Leskovo vejo so obdelali tako, da so dobili štirirobo letev, pri izdelavi koledarjev pa so jim pomagali učitelji, duhovniki in drugi pisмени ljudje, ki so vedeli, kdaj so cerkveni prazniki oziroma so sami že imeli natisnjene koledarje. Na lesenih koledarjih so bile oznake za nekaj mesecev. Dele koledarja za že pretekle tedne so od palice odrezali in jih zavrgli (Grdić-Bjelokosić 1891: 457; Bogičević 1953: 209; Filipović 1958: 223).

Lesene koledarje so uporabljali tudi pastirji na Hrvaškem. Primerek z otoka Olib, ki so ga uporabljali tamkajšnji pastirji, hrani Etnografski muzej v Zagrebu. Gre za 74 cm dolgo štiristranično letev s 4 cm dolgimi stranicami v prerezu, ki ima na enem koncu luknjico za obešanje. Na vsakem robu so zareze za dni v treh mesecih. Nad zarezami za praznične dni so na stranici še dodatne oznake. Glede na to, da ni oznak za nedelje in premične cerkvene praznike, je Gavazzi (1930: 332–333) sklepal, da gre za stalni koledar.

Nekoliko drugačne lesene koledarje so poznali v Estoniji: izdelani so bili iz šestih (včasih tudi iz sedmih) tankih lesenih deščic, na vsaki strani deščice pa so bile zarezane oznake za en mesec (Rank 1997: 19).

## RABA ROVAŠEV NA SLOVENSKEM

Zgodba o rovaših na Slovenskem močno spominja na tiste drugod po Evropi: rovaši so bili podobnih vrst, tudi načini rabe in označevanja so bili podobni. O njihovi rabi na Slovenskem pričajo arhivski, pisni, slikovni in ustni viri ter ohranjeni primerki, shranjeni v muzejih in pri posameznikih. Vilfan je zapisal, da “je bil rovaš glavna beležnica našega kmeta in obrtnika” (Vilfan 1944: 106). Konec 19. stoletja so bili rovaši še v rabi v številnih slovenskih krajih (Babnik 1883: 75), vendar se jih je v naslednje stoletje ohranilo razmeroma malo. Med poglavitne razloge, da je ohranjeno le malo primerkov, sodi zaton uporabe številnih vrst rovašev ob koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja. Drugi razlog je dejstvo, da so rovaše po uporabi največkrat uničili. Če pa se je kaka palica, paličica ali deščica z zarezami le ohranila, je bila za zbiralce “starin” povsem nezanimiva. In to se kaže tudi v naših muzejih. V nekaterih slovenskih muzejih, kjer imajo tudi etnološke zbirke, rovašev sploh nimajo, v drugih pa le posamične primerke. Skromno je v muzejskih zbirkah tudi število njihovih naslednikov – rošev in španov. Tako imajo npr. v Posavskem muzeju v Brežicah nekaj brentarskih palic in dva šopa rovašev za sposojo vina. V Pokrajinskem muzeju v Celju imajo nekaj rošev, v Pokrajinskem muzeju v Mariboru pa en rovaš. V Pokrajinskem muzeju Murska Sobota hranijo nekaj španov, v Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj nekaj brentarskih palic in kopije španov. V Belokranjskem muzeju v Metliki imajo nekaj šopov rovašev iz belokranjskih soseskih zidanic.<sup>17</sup>



Rovaš, Leskovec, 1901 (Pokrajinski muzej Maribor).

Tally stick, Leskovec, 1901 (Maribor Regional Museum).

V slovenski etnologiji so rovaši razmeroma skromno preučeni, so jim pa zato več pozornosti posvečali nekateri pravniki. Tako sta na rabo rovašev na Slovenskem in potrebo, da se jih razišče, prva leta 1883 opozorila pravnik Janko Babnik in Aleksander Hudovernik, ko sta se ukvarjala z ljudskim pravom. Babnik je zapisal: “Še danes se rovaš v mnogih krajih po Sloveniji rabi, vredno bi bilo, da se njegova raba natanko preišče in opiše” (Babnik 1883: 75). Vendar pa so postali rovaši predmet

<sup>17</sup> Rovaši so iz Dragomlje vasi, Lokvice, Slamne vasi in Drašičev (Dular 1963/64: 44).

raziskav šele sredi 20. stoletja, ko številnih vrst rovašev ni bilo več. S preučevanjem rovašev se je ob raziskavah ljudskega prava začel v 40. letih 20. stoletja sistematičneje ukvarjati pravnik Sergij Vilfan in je o tem zapisal: "Preden izgine ta zanimiva pravna starina iz našega ljudskega življenja, je zato umestno, da skušamo zapisati čim več podatkov o njenem bistvu, obliki in rabi" (Vilfan 1944: 106).

Rovaš je lahko veja, palica, kol ali lesena deščica, za katere so na Slovenskem največkrat uporabljali lesko, lipo, smreko, domači kostanj, hrast, bukev, dren in vrbo. Po obliki so rovaši nerazklani enodelni in razklani (ali razžagani) dvodelni ali tridelni. Enodelen je iz enega kosa lesa in služi predvsem štetju, medtem ko se pri dvodelnem in tridelnem veja, palica ali deščica prekolje, izkolje ali razžaga na dva oziroma tri dele tako, da so dogovorjene oznake (zareze) vidne na vseh delih. Rovaš je navadno razdeljen tako, da je celotna dolžina ohranjena le pri enem delu, za katerega je v številnih slovanskih jezikih poznan izraz "koklja", za krajši izklan del pa "pišče", kar pa za Slovenijo ne velja (Vilfan 1944: 106). Dosedanje raziskave niso razkrile, ali imamo za daljši del z ročem splošno uveljavljen slovenski izraz; izraz *matica* je namreč Sergij Vilfan prevzel po poimenovanju iz Dalmacije na Hrvaškem. Za izklan del poznamo poimenovanje iz Bele krajine – *izkolek* (ker je del izklan iz veje oziroma deščice) ali *cepek* (ker je del izcepljen). Pri ljubljanskih prevoznikih gradbenega materiala sta bila v rabi izraza *mandlc* (za izkolek) in *vajblc* (za matico) (Vilfan 1944: 106), ki sta tesno povezana s poimenovanjema, poznanima med prevozniki snega na Dunaju (*Weibl, Mann dl*) (Haberlandt 1895: 54). V zahodni Sloveniji so ponekod izkolku pri žrebalnih rovaših rekli *zrno*.

### Davčni rovaši

Rovaši za oznako dajatev so bili največkrat enodelni. V Prekmurju so do začetka 20. stoletja uporabljali enodelne lesene rovaše za zapis oddanih dajatev. Vsak gospodar, ki je moral plačevati davek, je imel svoj rovaš, na katerem so bile zapisane oddane dajatve. Rovaš je bil spravljen v hiši (nepismenega) župana (Vilfan 1944: 110; 1944a: 246–247; 1996: 146).

Davčni rovaši so bili v rabi tudi v zahodni Sloveniji, imeli so jih posamični gospodarji. Bili so iz enega kosa lesa, z zarezi razdeljeni na več delov. Za vas Črnotiče



Davčni rovaš, Prekmurje, začetek 20. stoletja (SEM, gl. kat. št. 2).

Tax tally, Prekmurje, early 20<sup>th</sup> century (SEM, see cat. no. 2).

je za čas okoli leta 1900 poznano, da sta imela tudi vaška poljska čuvaja, *vardjana*, vsak svojo palico, na katero sta z znamenji I, V in X zarezala hišne številke in k vsaki od njih podatke o številu govedi in ovc ter višini dolga za komunski davek, ki sta ga pobirala po hišah (Vilfan 1996: 220–221). V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju sta ohranjena davčni rovaš iz Prekmurja (kat. št. 2) in ponazorilo davčnega rovaša iz zahodne Slovenije (kat. št. 21).

### Rovaši za označevanje opravljenega dela

V obdobju fevdalizma so dvodelne rovaše uporabljali za štetje oziroma dokazovanje opravljenih tlake, pozneje pa enodelne ali dvodelne rovaše kot potrdilo o opravljenem delu najetih delavcev. Na Dolenjskem so v preteklosti uporabljali približno meter dolge *šihne palice* iz leske, na katere so gospodarji zarezovali število delovnih dni (*šihte*) svojih najemnikov; na eno stran so zarezovali cele *šihte*, na drugo pa *polšihte*. Kmečki gospodarji so v hiši za tramom hranili palice za pregled nad delom, ki so ga zanje opravili najemni delavci – kajžarji; ti so navadno hodili delat 40 dni na leto. Gospodarji in hlapci so imeli na dvodelnih rovaših pregled nad prejemki, ki jih je hlapec med letom od gospodarja dobil vnaprej. Za vsak obrok, ki ga je dal gospodar hlapcu “na račun”, sta vsak na svoji palici naredila zarezo. Gospodar je zarezal vsak delovni dan, potem pa za vsako zarezo rovaš še ovil s sukancem.<sup>18</sup> Vsak je svoj del rovaša skrbno hranil. Po oznakah na palicah sta ugotovila, koliko mora ob izteku pogodbe gospodar hlapcu še plačati.<sup>19</sup>



Rovaš za štetje delovnih dni kolonov, kakršne so uporabljali v Goriških Brdih.

Tally stick for counting the workdays of coloni, used in Goriška Brda.

Podobne rovaše, *škontrine*, so poznali tudi na Primorskem, kjer so jih gospodarji uporabljali za štetje delovnih dni kolonov. Vodoravno narejena zareza je pomenila delo celega dne, postrani narejena poldnevno delo, zareza okrog rovaša pa je označevala sedmi dan oziroma teden. Na Šentviški gori so kmetje število delovnih dni najetih delavcev označevali z vrvico. Za vsakega delavca je imel gospodar vrvico, *špago*, na katero je za vsak delovni dan naredili vozec.<sup>20</sup>

Ponekod v Halozah so viničarji delovne dni označevali na enodelnem, približno 30 cm dolgem lesenem rovašu tako, da so za celodnevno delo naredili dolgo zare-

<sup>18</sup> Teren 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, zv. 20, str. 36; zv. 21, str. 29 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>19</sup> Teren 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, zv. 21, str. 29 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>20</sup> Teren 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, zv. 18, str. 75 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

zo, za del dneva pa krajšo. Ob izplačilu je bil to dokaz o opravljenem delu, čeprav ni omogočal delodajalčevega nadzora (Vilfan 1944:109). Podobne enodelne rovaše za zapisovanje dnin so imeli tudi v okolici Idrije (Vilfan 1996: 144). V Porabju (Gornji Senik) so na začetka 20. stoletja uporabljali enodelne rovaše: nanje so najeji delavci, ki so pomagali pri žetvi, z zarezi v obliki črtic in križcev označevali število požetih snopov in na osnovi zarez dobili plačilo (Kozar - Mukič 1996: 134).

V Istri so uporabljali rovaše v obliki palic za razvid nad opravljenostjo zvonjenja in čuvanja ure v stolpu. "Rovaš zvonarjev", kakor so ga imenovali, je šel v tisto hišo, ki je bila na vrsti za zvonjenje (Grašič 1940: 419; Vilfan 1944: 247; 1996: 146). Na Ospu so rovaše uporabljali tudi vaški čuvaji, *guardiani*; na palico so zapisovali škodo, ki so jo ljudje ali domače živali povzročili v vinogradih, na poljih, gozdovih.<sup>21</sup>

### **Špani – nasledniki rovašev za označevanje opravljenega dela**

Sodobnejša oblika rovaša za razvid nad opravljenim delom je kovinski *špan* (tudi *špon*, *špen* ali *pleh*). Izraz izvira iz nemške besede *Span*, tj. deščica ali trska, kar potrjuje, da gre za naslednika rovašev. Beseda je prevzeta je iz madžarske *ispán* (oskrbnik, 'župan', ta pa je sposojena iz slovenske besede *župàn* (Bezljaj 1995: 95; Vilfan 1996: 143; Snoj 1997: 641).

Beseda *špan* ima v slovenskem jeziku več pomenov: 1. je nadzornik na posestvu, ki ga zemljiški gospod izbere med tlačani; 2. je načelnik srenje oziroma vaški župan; 3. je kovinska ploščica kot potrdilo o opravljenem delu (Bajec 1985: 1097). Špan je tudi usnjeno dokazilo, ki ga je izročil usnjar stranki, ko mu je prinesla kožo v strojenje (Kelemina 1933: 86), oziroma je služil za prepoznavanje ustrojene kože.

Špana v pomenu nadzornika na posesti zemljiškega gospoda so npr. poznali na Dolenjskem. Tam je bil v vsaki vasi mož, ki je od posestnikov pobiral davek za gmajno in skrbel, da so kmetje hodili na tlako in oddajali desetino. V uporabi je imel njivo *župnco*, cela njegova posest pa se je imenovalo *španija*.<sup>22</sup> Špan je bil prvotno "prostak", tj. človek prost tlake in desetine, in ga je sprva imenoval zemljiški gospod, pozneje pa so ga volili vaščani. V zvezi z izrazom so dokaj pogosta tudi hišna imena *pri Španu*, *Špaju*, *Špančku*, *Španku* ipd.<sup>23</sup> Na Slovenskem je poznana tudi fraza *v španoviji* (*u špon / u španovijo*), ki pomeni souporabo oziroma solastništvo. Kmetje so npr. imeli *v španoviji* travnik, vodnjak, mlatilnico, brano, traktor idr.

Špan kot kovinska ploščica za razvid nad opravljenim delom je bila v rabi predvsem v Slovenskih goricah in Halozah. Gospodar je dal delavcu špan ob koncu delovnega dne oziroma za potrdilo o opravljenem delu in kot osnovo za izplačilo. Ploščica je bila največkrat iz železne pločevine, zato so ji ponekod rekli tudi *pleh*, lahko pa tudi iz pocinkane železne, bakrene ali medeninaste pločevine. Bile so raz-

<sup>21</sup> Teren 4, Marezige, 1950, zv. 14, str. 25 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>22</sup> Teren 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, zv. 20, str. 42 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>23</sup> Teren 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, zv. 20, str. 44; zv. 22, str. 14 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).



ličnih oblik: kvadratne, pravokotne, trikotne, rombaste ali šesterokotne, špani pa so “celi”, “tričetrtinski” in “polovični”. Kvadratne oziroma pravokotne ploščice pomenijo delo celega dneva (cel špan), kadar pa je delček ploščice odrezan, pomeni, da gre za delo, opravljeno v treh četrtinah dneva (tričetrtinski špan). Trikotne ploščice označujejo delo, opravljeno v pol dneva (polovičen špan). Na kovinsko ploščice so s štanco vsekane ali vtisnjene gospodarjeve začetnice in njegova hišna številka, včasih tudi zaporedno število špana. Vsak špan ima na vrhu, v levem ali desnem vogalu, luknjico, da so jih delavci lahko nanizali na srobot, vrstico ali žico. Špane so običajno izdelovali domači kovači in pozneje kleparji (Vodan 2000: 49).

Gospodarji so špane po opravljenem delu dajali najetim delavcem (*tabrharji*, *težaki*, kočarji, mali želarji), razširjeni so bili med viničarji v Slovenskih goricah in Halozah. Služili so za štetje delovnih dni in posredno za plačilo najemnih delavcev. Z njimi so zapisovali celoletno delo najetih delavcev, določeno delo ali delo, opravljeno v določenem času, dodatno delo viničarjev, nekateri gospodarji pa so jih uporabljali le občasno, ko niso imeli ne denarja ne dobrin, da bi z njimi plačali delavce (Stanek 1940: 354). Gospodarji so sicer imeli pregled nad opravljenim delom in oddanimi špani zapisan v posebnih obračunskih knjigah,



Tričetrtinski in cel špan kmeta iz Slovenskih goric, prva polovica 20. stoletja (SEM, gl. kat. št. 176 in 177).

Three-quarter and full farmer's tokens from Slovenske gorice, first half 20<sup>th</sup> century (SEM, see cat. nos. 176 and 177).

delavci pa so doma hranili nize španov posamičnih gospodarjev. V primeru, da je delavec kak špan izgubil, je bil tudi ob izplačilo (Stanek 1940: 354; Vilfan 1944: 109; 1996: 143–144).

Najeti delavec je dobil za vsak opravljen delovni dan po en špan. V Slovenskih goricah je en dan pomenil najmanj 10 ur dela. Če so delali manj, so dobili polovični oziroma tričetrtinski špan. Za najtežavnejša dela so dobili špan in pol za dan. Delavci so na leto zbrali tudi več kot sto španov, ki so jih obračunali ob novem letu (na tepežni dan). Obračun je potekal na gospodarjevem domu. Ta je ob pregledu v zvezku delavcu seštel opravljeno delo (število voženj, ur oranja itn.) in količine dobrin, ki mu jih je dal (število prašičkov, količine krompirja, žita idr.), ter to preračunal v delovne dneve (*težake*<sup>24</sup>). Delavec je na mizo položil vse zbrane špane, kmet

<sup>24</sup> *Težak* je bil tudi merska enota za merjene vrednosti kakega dela.

pa je preveril, ali so vsi njegovi. Tako sta hitro ugotovila, ali se gospodarjeve usluge in dobrine ujemajo s številom španov – torej, ali sta si *kvit* oziroma *gljeh*. Če se je pokazalo, da je bil gospodar delavcu še kaj dolžan, mu je razliko izplačal v denarju ali dobrinah (prašički, koruza, žito idr.). Če pa je bil dolžnik delavec (kar se je menda ponekod dogajalo kar pogosto, saj so gospodarji radi precenjevali svoj prispevek), se je dolg prenesel v naslednje leto in delavec je začel dobivati nove špane šele, ko je dolg odslužil. Jesenski prašiček je bil npr. vreden osem, spomladanski pa 10 španov, prevoz na območju občine je znašal en špan, zunaj občine dva ali več; ura oranja je bila vredna en špan. V zameno za špane so kmetje *težakom* dajali tudi listje in drva. Obračun so največkrat sklenili s pogostitvijo (Vodan 2000: 49–50). Pred drugo svetovno vojno je npr. v Spodnji Voličini 15 *plehov* pozimi veljalo za malega prašička, poleti pa je viničar zanj odštel 10 *plehov* ali *taverhov*.

V Prlekiji so uporabljali špane v vinskih gorica h na posestvih meščanov, verjetno tudi kmetov. Posestniki so manjšim kmetom dovolili, da na njihovih zemljiščih grabijo listje, kosijo travo ipd., v zameno pa so jim morali biti na razpolago za delo. Gospodar ali upravitelj je dajal dninarju za vsak opravljen delovni dan po en špan in po dva, če ni jedel pri njem, ter si zapisoval njihove številke. Dninar je špane ob koncu dogovorjenega dela predložil kot dokazilo, da jih je odslužil (Vilfan 1944: 109).

S špani so v vzhodnih Slovenskih gorica h označevali delo viničarjev v gorica h (škropljenje in kopanje vinogradov, vožnja in nošenje gnoja ipd.) in na gospodarjevem posestvu (podiranje drevja, prevoz drv idr.). Za vsako opravljeno delo je dobil viničar en špan, ob novem letu pa je zbrane predložil lastniku vinograda in dobil plačilo v denarju ali dobrinah (žito, drva, prašič) (Koren 1967: 100). Nekateri najemni delavci, tako npr. viničarji iz okolice Svetega Jurija ob Ščavnici, so pregled nad svojim delom imeli tudi sami: v zvezke so zapisovali ime oziroma priimek gospodarja, število delovnih dni in vrsto opravljenega dela. Prav tako pa so tudi gospodarji imeli nekakšne delovne knjige, v katere so zapisali dela, ki so jih oni opravili za najete delavce (npr. oranje, prevoz gnoja idr.).



Zvezek z evidenco opravljenega dela (*knjiga za gor pisat težake*), ki ga je v letih 1947–1959 vodila viničarka Kristina Čagran iz Ženika (Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota; foto: Marko Habič).

Notebook with records of work done, kept by the wine-grower Kristina Čagran from Ženik in 1947–1959 (Murska Sobota Regional Museum; photo by: Marko Habič).

V vzhodnih Slovenskih goricah so s špani označevali delo viničarjev v goricah (škropljenje in kopanje). Obračun je bil ob novem letu. Če je imel viničar več španov, kakor so bile vredne dobrine, mu je gospodar obljubil, da bo spomladi dobil prašiča. V Grabšincih je npr. viničar, ki je imel "v dobrem" več kot 36 španov, dobil od gospodarja drva ali zrnje, za 12 španov 3–4 vozove nežaganih drv, za 10 španov prašiča, za 7–8 španov pa 50 kg zrnja. Podobno je bilo tudi v Kutincih, kjer je viničar za 32 španov dobil drva, za 30 španov krmo in za 20 španov njivo v najem. Nekateri viničarji so privezovali in pleli tudi trto, ki je rasla v bližini gospodarjeve hiše. Za omenjeno delo so dobili špane, ki so se ob novem letu obračunali v naturalijah. Špane so prejeli tudi za podiranje dreves v gozdu in za prevažanje drv k gospodarjevemu domu. Ponekod so s špani potrjevali prevoz gnoja in gnojenje vinogradov (Koren 1967: 99–100).

Kakor omenjeno, je špan tudi enota za opravljeno delo oziroma delovni dan, ki ga je moral posameznik odslužiti za kako uslugo. V vinskih goricah v Prlekiji so npr. posestniki na svojem posestvu manjšim kmetom dovolili grabiti listje, kositi ipd., kmet pa je moral v zameno odslužiti določeno število delovnih dni – *španov* (Vilfan 1944: 109). Špani v funkciji nekakšnega plačilnega sredstva<sup>25</sup> so se ponekod v Slovenskih goricah ohranili vse do 70. let 20. stoletja (Vodan 2000: 48).

### Volilni in glasovalni rovaši

Iz Valvasorjevih zapisov je razvidno, da so v 17. stoletju v Istri z volilnimi rovaši izbirali župana. Člani lokalne skupnosti so se najprej ustno dogovorili, kdo izmed njih bo na leseno palico označeval glasove za župana. Zaupanja vreden izbranec si je pripravil trirobo leskovo palico. Z njo je hodil od enega do drugega člana soseske, ti pa so mu prišepnili, za koga od dvanajstih kandidatov volijo. Glasove je označeval z zarezi na določene dele palice, ki so pripadali posamičnim kandidatom. Člani soseske seveda niso smeli vedeti, katerim kandidatom pripadajo posamični deli palice. Tisti, ki je prejel največ glasov, je postal župan, drugi in tretji pa podžupana. V 18. stoletju je moral izide potrditi še zemljiški gospod. Na enak način so v preteklosti glasovali tudi za mestnega vratarja, sodnega slugo, cerkovnika in občinskega kovača (Vilfan 1944: 107–108). Z uvedbo občinske uprave in občinskih volitev so se spremenili tudi načini volitev, zato so volilni rovaši sredi 19. stoletja zgubili to vlogo, tu in tam so jih uporabili le še za volitve vaškega starešine in poljskih čuvajev (Vilfan 1955: 120).

Ponekod na Primorskem so župana volili tudi s pomočjo fižola, tako npr. na Ospu pred prvo svetovno vojno, sicer pa so volitve županov z rovaši nadomestile

<sup>25</sup> Plačilno sredstvo v obliki okroglih ali kvadratnih ploščic je poznano tudi v fužinarstvu. Fužinarska gospoda je od 16. stoletja do konca 18. stoletja žebjarje plačevala s svojim denarjem. Vsak izdajatelj je na ploščice vtisnil svoji začetnici, žebjarji pa so s ploščicami lahko nakupovali v trgovinah, ki jih je določila gospoda. Primerke "plačilnih" ploščic hrani Kovaški muzej v Kropi.

volitve z lističi,<sup>26</sup> v Marezigah pri Kopru pa so volili tudi s slamicami – od treh kandidatov je postal župan tisti, ki je potegnil najdaljšo.<sup>27</sup>

Na podoben način kakor nekoč župane so pozneje v istrski vasi Podgorje člani fantovske skupnosti izbirali svojega župana in dva do tri podžupane. Glasove so



Tiriobi rovaš za volitve župana in podžupanov, kakršne so uporabljali v Slovenski Istri (risba po Vilfan 1996a: 163).

Three-edged tally stick used in the election of mayors and deputy mayors in Slovene Istria (drawing after Vilfan 1996a: 163).

zbirali tako, da so jih 'rezali na palico'. Najprej je fantovska skupnost izbrala zaupanja vrednega fanta za označevanje glasov. Ta je pripravil približno meter dolgo leskovo palico, ki je imela na eni strani ročaj, drugi daljši del pa je prirezal tako, je bila v prerezu trikotna oziroma je imela tri robove. Da jih je laže razločil, je na ročaju en rob skrivaj zaznamoval z majhnim križcem, ki ga je med volitvami prekrival s palcem. Sam je moral namreč natančno vedeti, kateremu kandidatu pripada kateri del palice, drugi fantje pa seveda tega niso smeli ugotoviti. Z rovašem je hodil od enega do drugega fanta in vsak mu je na uho prišepnil ime tistega, kateremu je dal svoj glas. Vse oddane glasove je zarezal na ustrezni del palice. Prepovedano je bilo voliti samega sebe, preglasni volivci pa so bili kaznovani. Ko so bili zbrani glasovi vseh navzočih, so jih prešteli. Tisti z največ zarezami oziroma glasovi je postal župan fantovske skupnosti, drugi in tretji pa podžupana. Tako so v Podgorju izbirali župana fantovske skupnosti do prve svetovne vojne (Vilfan 1944: 107–108; 1955: 116–117; 1996: 138–140).

Rovaši so imeli pomembno vlogo tudi pri pravadah, ki so jih obravnavala ljudska sodišča (Dolenc 1924: 183); tam so lahko bili poleg prič in lokalnih ogledov dokazno sredstvo tudi rovaši. Prva poročila o uporabi glasovalnih rovašev na Slovenskem so iz 16. stoletja. Sodbe s pomočjo rovašev so takrat razglašali v Prekmurju (Dolenc 1935: 170, 480), uporabljala pa so jih tudi ljudska sodišča v Istri, kjer so civilne pravde na manjših območjih vodili župani. Župani, iz lokalnega prebivalstva izbrani zastopniki, so najprej vodili obravnavo, potem pa povzeli njeno bistveno vsebino in predložili dva mogoča načina rešitve. Med predlogoma so se odločali *prisedniki*, *sodci* (posamezniki, ki so bili med člani skupnosti deležni posebnega ugleda), s skrivnim glasovanjem z rovašem. Predsednik sodišča je glasove v prid eni ali drugi rešitvi za-

<sup>26</sup> Teren 8, Kobarid, 1951, zv. 2, str. 19 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>27</sup> Teren 4, Marezige, 1950, zv. 15, str. 14 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

rezoval na določena dela rovaša. Seveda je lahko pri označevanju glasov prišlo do goljufij, zato so se deželni stanovi Kranjske (npr. blejski stanovi) leta 1528 in tudi pozneje vladarju pritoževali nad takim načinom delovanja kmečkega sodstva. Kmečko sodstvo in glasovalne rovaše, imenovane *leseni zapisniki*, je v 17. stoletju kritiziral tudi Valvasor.

*Od nikogar ni mogoče pričakovati, da bi se pri takem nerednem pravosodstvu pravdal pred kmeti in župani, ki režejo sodbe na rovaš (Robasch), kajti kmetje in podložniki teh koncev se drže takega reda: kadar hočejo soditi, nakaže župan, ali kdor pač ima sodno palico v roki, prisednikom dve poti, izmed katerih se odločijo za eno in sodijo. Pri tem zareže tisti, ki drži sodno palico v rokah, izbiro in sodbo vsakega posameznika na rovaš. Stranka, ki ima več izbire ali glasov, ta je dobila pravdo. Iz tega lahko vaše kraljevsko veličanstvo spozna: Če župan ali postavljeni sodnik hoče, bo zadevo tiste stranke, ki ji je naklonjen, tako primerno prikrojil, da bodo prisedniki nasedli in dali tisti stranki svoj glas.* (Valvasor, nav. v Vilfan 1996: 138)

Kljub pritožbam in možnostim zlorab so glasovalne rovaše uporabljali tudi po- slej. Tako so bili npr. med beneškimi Slovenci v dolini Nadiže v rabi vse do srede 19. stoletja: ko so se morali gospodarji ali člani soseske ob manjših sporih ali pri glasovanjih o skupnih zadevah odločati med dvema predlogoma, so na dveh koncih palice delali zareze (Babnik 1883: 75; Vilfan 1944: 106–107; 1996: 137–138). Rovaše omenjajo nekateri sodni zapisi, tako npr. zapisniki vinogorskih pravn in zapisniki metliškega mestnega sodišča iz 18. stoletja (Vilfan 1944: 108).

### **Rovaši kot potrdilo za prevzeto blago**

Na krajših dvodelnih lesenih rovaših so obrtniki – tkalci, valjarji (*valharji*), barvarji in mlinarji – označevali v delo prejet material, pri čemer je en del rovaša obdržala stranka, s pripadajočim delom pa je obrtnik označil prejeti material (Vilfan 1996: 141). Matico je največkrat obdržal obrtnik, stranka pa je dobila izkolek. Rovaš ni bil le potrdilo za oddan material, temveč so imeli z njegovo pomočjo lahko tudi seznam količin v predelavo prejetega materiala, po predelavi pa so lastniki svoje blago s pomočjo rovaša tudi laže prepoznali.

Tkalski rovaši so bili dolgi približno 5–10 cm, bili so leseni in dvodelni. Nanje so označili težo k tkalcu prinesenih klobčičev volne, lanu idr. prediva. Del rovaša je tkalec vtaknil v prinesene klobčiče, drugega pa je dal lastniku. Ko je stkal tkanino, je vanjo zataknil leseno matico. Po pripadajočem izkolku je kmet vedel, katera tkanina je njegova.

Do prve svetovne vojne so stkano blago nosili k suknarjem oziroma valjarjem, ki so v valjalnicah (stopah) gostili stkane volnene in lanene tkanine v sukno oziroma raševino.<sup>28</sup> Tudi valjarji so uporabljali dvodelne valjarske rovaše (kat. št.

<sup>28</sup> Sukno je tkano z volneno prejo, raševini pa je dodana še lanena.

18, 23, 27). Matico so pritrldili na prejeto tkanino, izkolek pa je dobil lastnik kot potrdilo za oddano tkanino in z njim jo je po obdelavi laže spoznal, saj se je med valjanjem skrčila.

Rovaše so uporabljali barvarji volne, preje in tkanin, nekateri pa so tkanine tudi potiskali. Ko so kmetje prinesli k barvarju volno ali prejo, je barvar na dvodelni rovaš označil količino izročnega materiala. Izkolek je dobil lastnik, barvar pa je na matico označil še lastništvo in jo z žico pritrldil na oddan material. Ko so lastniki



Tkalski rovaš (ponazorilo), Suhorje (SEM, gl. kat. št. 22).

Weaver's tally (illustration), Suhorje (SEM, see cat. no. 22).

prišli po pobarvano volno ali prejo, so jo spoznali po pripadajočem rovašu (Žontar 1940a: 311). Podobno je bilo tudi, ko so prinesli v barvanje tkanine, le da je v tem primeru barvar matico pritrldil na tkanino.

Tkalcji, valjarji in barvarji so večinoma uporabljali na eni strani priostrene paličice, na katere so lahko napisali tudi priimek oziroma ime lastnika. Zapičili so jih v klobčič oziroma tkanino. Tkalski in valjarski (stoparski) rovaši so bili izdelani na več načinov. V leseno paličico so naredili zareze in potem del paličice izklali ali pa so uporabili enako dolgi, do polovice izklani in skladni paličici. V zahodni Sloveniji so uporabljali valjarske rovaše iz lesene deščice, ki so jo na sredi postrani prerežali, potem pa oba kosa zložili in čez oba naredili zareze. Enaka je bila raba dveh ločenih paličic, na kateri so naredili enake zareze (npr. V in X), eno paličico so zataknili v volno, drug del pa izročili lastniku. Označke na paličicah so včasih označevale tudi težo



Valjarski rovaš (ponazorilo), Barka (SEM, gl. kat. št. 27).

Fuller's tally (illustration), Barka (SEM, see cat. no. 28).

prejetega materiala v funtih; tako so npr. tkalci ponekod na Dolenjskem označevali prejeto volno.

Po prvi svetovni vojni je število tkalcev, valjarjev, barvarjev in tiskarjev blaga zaradi uveljavljanja cenениh izdelkov tekstilne industrije močno upadlo (Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 20), saj so potujoči kramarji tudi v odročnejše podeželske kraje pri našali tovarniško izdelano in potiskano blago (Makarovič 1974: 60). Presenetljivo dolgo – do okoli leta 1950 – pa so bili tkalski rovaši v rabi ponekod v severovzhodni Sloveniji (Vodan 2000: 48).

Podobno kakor tkalci, valjarji in barvarji so dvodelne lesene rovaše uporabljali mlinarji: del rovaša so zataknili za prejeto vrečo z žitom, drugi del pa je dobil lastnik, da je po mletju lahko določil svojo moko. Na mlinarske rovaše so označevali tudi količine in vrste prinesenega žita.

### ***Roši – nasledniki valjarskih in barvarskih rovašev***

Poleg označevanja v delo prejetega blaga na dvodelnih lesenih rovaših je bila med valjarji, barvarji in tiskarji blaga razširjena tudi uporaba kovinskih ploščic – *rošev*, ki so vedno imeli svoj dvojnik. Roš (tudi *rož*) izvira iz besede rovaš oziroma je njegov sinonim: *na roš* (na račun); *naredim roš* (glasujem) (Bezljaj 1995: 200). Tudi v Glonarjevem *Slovarju slovenskega jezika* sta roš in rovaš sinonima (Glonar 1936: 341).

Eno ploščico je obrtnik privezal oziroma prišil na prejeto blago oziroma izdelek, dvojnik pa je dobil lastnik kot potrdilo, da je oddal blago in da je lažje spoznal blago po obdelavi (prim. Kotnik 1949: 15; Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 19; Makarovič 1974: 59). Barvarji so imeli seznam prejetega blaga tudi v posebnem zvezku: vanj so si zapisovali oznake na roših, imena oziroma priimke lastnikov blaga in želje v zvezi z barvanjem in tiskanjem. V Pirčevi barvarni v Kranju so npr. uvedli redno knjigovodstvo ob koncu 19. stoletja (Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 19). Takšno označevanje in pregled nad prejetim blagom sta bila poznana v vseh evropskih barvarnah (Dular 2000: 33).

Roši so bili za večkratno uporabo. Ko je barvar stranki vrnil pobarvano blago, je roš, ki ga je odstranil s tkanine, in pripadajoči roš, ki ga je prejel od lastnika blaga, uporabil pri naslednji stranki. Ni mogoče z gotovostjo trditi, kdaj so začeli kovinski roši na Slovenskem nadomeščati lesene rovaše, zagotovo pa so jih najprej začeli uporabljati večji, v mestih živeči barvarji. Najstarejši roš, ki ga hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej, sodi na konec 18. ali začetek 19. stoletja in je iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju (kat. št. 171).

Roši so bili iz različnih materialov, različnih oblik in z različnimi oznakami. Največkrat so bili izdelani iz medeninaste, bakrene ali železne pločevine različnih debelin, ki so jo včasih obojestransko ali enostransko pocinkali. Najpogostejši so bili

okrogli, kvadratni ali pravokotni, redkeje enostransko zaobljeni ali kapljaste oblike. Kvadratne in pravokotne ploščice so imele običajno prirezane vogale. Roš je imel luknjico ali dve, skozi njo so ga privezali ali prišili na blago. Luknjice so bile največkrat okrogle, redkeje štirikotne (najdemo jih le na najstarejših primerkih rošev, ki jih hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej). Če je imel roš le eno luknjico, je bila največkrat na vrhu, redkeje ob strani, če sta bili dve, sta bili na levem in desnem robu ali zgoraj in spodaj.

Na ploščico so s štanco vtisnili črkovne in številčne oznake, največkrat začetnici imena in priimka barvarja, redkeje le začetnico priimka. Pod začetnicami je bilo vtisnjeno število. Nekateri barvarji so svoje roše označili le z vtisnjenimi številkami, zato so jim na Štajerskem rekli *numera*.<sup>29</sup> Poleg začetnic imena in priimka barvarja so na roših nekaterih barvarjev tudi začetnice krajev, kamor so do prve svetovne vojne hodili na sejme. Takšne oznake so bile za valjarje in barvarje uporabne predvsem v primerih, ko so lastnikom vračali blago kar na sejmu. Tako je npr. valjar Ivan Keber na sv. Ahaca (22. junija) prihajal na sejem v Šoštanj, kjer je ob predložitvi roša-dvojnika zvaljano blago predal lastnikom (Kotnik 1949: 15). Tudi barvar Hofbauer iz Vitanja je valjano in barvano blago nekaterim kmetom vračal na sejmih. Roši kmetov, ki so blago prevzeli na sejmu v Dravogradu, si bili označeni s črko D, iz Mislinje s K in iz Oplotnice z B.<sup>30</sup> Izjemoma so bili na roših tudi drugi znaki, npr. zvezdica (\*), enačaj (=) ali črtica (–) na sredi roša. Pomen teh znakov še ni povsem pojasnjen. Zvezdica na roših barvarja Hofbauerja iz Vitanja je označevala blago, ki



Roš in njegov dvojnik iz Hofbauerjeve barvarne, Vitanje, 1. polovica 20. stoletja (SEM, gl. kat. št. 51 in 52).

Token and its double from the Hofbauer brewery, Vitanje, 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> century (SEM, see cat. nos. 51 and 52).

<sup>29</sup> Teren 20, Vitanje, 1963, zv. 1, str. 16 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>30</sup> Teren 20, Vitanje, 1963, zv. 1, str. 1–15 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).



je bilo barvarjeva last.<sup>31</sup> Poleg blaga, ki so ga barvarji dobili v barvanje od kmetov, so ga namreč nekateri tudi kupovali, ga pobarvali in prodajali na sejnih (prim. Markarovič 1974: 64).

Strojarji so svojim strankam za potrdilo o prejetju kože v strojenje dali kos usnja, ki se je ponekod imenovalo *špan* (Vilfan 1944a: 247; 1944: 109).

### Rovaši za označevanje dolga

V preteklosti so bili na Slovenskem zelo razširjeni rovaši za zapis dolgov, t. i. *računski lesovi*, v blagu ali denarju. Ta vrsta rovaša je bila lesena in največkrat dvodelna. Dvodelni rovaši so upniku omogočali pregled nad njegovimi dolžniki in njihovimi dolgovi, pregled nad svojim dolgom pa je imel tudi dolžnik. Dvodelni rovaš je preprečeval goljufije z obeh strani, tako upnika kakor dolžnika; matico je vedno obdržal upnik, izkolek pa dolžnik. Rovaše za zapis dolgov oziroma vnaprej oddanih dobrin ali opravljenih del, ki so jih obračunavali ob dogovorjenem času (npr. mesečno, letno), so uporabljali trgovci in nekateri obrtniki (gostilničarji, peki, mesarji, mlinarji, apnarji). V Beli krajini so imeli takšne rovaše v soseskih zidanicah.

Prve omembe rovašev z označenimi dolgovi so iz 14. stoletja in se nanašajo na rudarje in fužinske delavce, omenjeni pa so tudi v gorskih pravadah in zapisih metliškega mestnega sodišča iz 18. stoletja. Najstarejši zapis o rovaših kot zadolžnicah je v Jeseniškem rudniškem redu iz leta 1381. Med določili o delavcih med drugim omenja obračunavanje zadolženosti (na rovaš) delavcev pri delodajalcih. Na rovaš so si sposojali blago tudi fužinski delavci, kar pa je bilo zanje lahko precej nevarno. Prihajalo je namreč do prezadolževanja. Tako se je menda v 16. stoletju dogajalo, da so delavci "na rovaš" prejeli toliko živeža, da mezde v denarju niso dobili tudi po petnajst let. V primeru, da je delavec svoj del rovaša izgubil, je veljal mojstrov rovaš, če je ta nanj prisegel (Vilfan 1996a: 191, 300).

Gostilniške rovaše so gostilničarji uporabljali za pregled nad dolgovi pivcev, ki so pili na up. Če pivce ni mogel plačati, je gostilničar vzel leseno palico ali deščico in vanjo z zarezi označil količine popite pijače, potem pa je palico preklal, dal polovico dolžniku, drugo polovico pa je obdržal. Ob prvem dolgu je gostilničar na palico ali deščico zarezal tudi dolžnikovo hišno številko ali rovaš kako drugače označil, da je vedel, čigava je neplačana pijača. Gostilničarji so navadno svoj del rovaša preluknjali, saj so jih hranili obešene na vrvi ali žici v šopih. Ko si je hotel dolžnik sposoditi nove količine pijače, sta z gostilničarjem sestavila matico in izkolek in oba dela ponovno označila. Ko pa je dolžnik svoj dolg poplačal, mu je gostilničar izročil svoj del rovaša (Hudovernik 1883: 5), dolg izrezal ali pa rovaš uničil. Podobne

<sup>31</sup> Teren 20, Vitanje, 1963, zv. 1, str. 1–15 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

rovaše so uporabljali tudi trgovci in različni obrtniki, kadar jim stranke niso sproti plačale računa za prodano oziroma dobavljeno blago. Tudi v teh primerih je matico vedno obdržal upnik, torej tisti, ki je prodajal, izkolek pa dolžnik (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1996: 141).

Rovaše v obliki štirioglate palice in dolge približno en meter so uporabljali apararji za pregled količine oddanega apna.<sup>32</sup>

Dvodelne, ponekod tudi enodelne, rovaše za zapis dolga so uporabljali v belokranjskih soseskih zidanicah (*cerkveni hrami, hisi, kleti*), ki so navadno stale v bližini podružničnih cerkva in so bile last vaške skupnosti. Ob ustanovitvi so v njih člani vaške skupnosti zbrali zaloge vina in ponekod tudi žita, oboje pa so po potrebi prodajali (tudi zunaj skupnosti) ali posojali članom in dolg označevali na rovaše (Žontar 1957: 78). Vino so si člani soseske sposojali ob večjih kmečkih opravilih (košnja, žetev, mlatev), ko jim ga je doma zmanjkalo, pa tudi ob nedeljskih popoldnevih, ko so se zbirali v zidanci. Žito so si sposojali ob slabih letinah (Dular 1963/64: 42, 45). Večina soseskih zidanic je zaradi trtne uši, ki je uničila vinograde, prenehala delovati med letoma 1880 in 1890, le nekaj se jih je ohranilo do druge svetovne vojne. Po vojni so nekatere obnovile svoje delovanje; v 60. letih 20. stoletja jih je bilo devet. Namesto rovašev so za zapise o sposoji začeli uporabljati knjige dolžnikov (Dular 1994: 171–172). Danes deluje le še soseska v Drašičih, v katero je bilo leta 2008 povezanih 65 vinogradniških družin.



Soseska zidanica v Drašičih, 2008  
(foto: Nena Židov).

Neighbourhood wine cellar in Drašiči, 2008  
(photo by: Nena Židov).

<sup>32</sup> Teren 12, Brkini, 1955, zv. 20, str. 18 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).



Šop rovašev v soseski zidanici v Drašičih, 2008 (foto: Nena Židov).

Bundle of tally sticks from the neighbourhood wine cellar in Drašiči, 2008 (photo by: Nena Židov).

Soseskino zidanico so upravljali dva do trije cerkveni ključarji (*cekmeštri, šekutorji, cerkvenjaki*), ki so jih izvolili vaščani. Med njihove naloge je sodil tudi pregled o sposoji. Kmetje, ki so si sposodili vino, so ga morali ob novem pridelku vračati s petdesetodstotnim pribitkom (*vračanje na poldrugo*). Za vsak sposojen firkelj vina je moral kmet jeseni vrniti firkelj in pol mošta. Nečlanom, vinskim trgovcem in gostilničarjem pa so vino tudi prodajali. Tudi žito so člani skupnosti ob žetvi vračali s petdesetodstotnim pribitkom. Žito so v nekaterih soseskih zidanicah sposojali do prve svetovne vojne. Iz pridobljene razlike so člani soseske poplačali stroške vzdrževanja podružnične cerkve, vaških poti, pogrebne stroške članov soseske in pomagali ubogim (Dular 1963/64: 41–42, 47, 50).

Cerkveni ključarji so sposajo označevali na dvodelne ali enodelne rovaše. Če so imeli vino in žito v isti zidanici, so imeli zanju posebne rovaše, ponekod (npr. v Dragomlji vasi) pa so na eno stran rovaša zapisovali dolgove za vino in na drugo dolgove za žito. Izkolek je vedno dobil dolžnik, v šop nanizane matice pa sta ključarja hranila na steni v zidanici (Žontar 1957: 79; Dular 1963/64: 44). Vsi rovaši so imeli na enem koncu luknjico, da so jih lahko zbrali na vrstico, žico ali vrbovo vejo (*bekev* ali *mekev*) (Vilfan 1969: 128), privezano na lok.



Šop rovašev za izposajo vina, Bela krajina, konec 19. stoletja (SEM, gl. kat. št 42).

Bundle of tally sticks used in lending wine, Bela krajina, late 19<sup>th</sup> century (SEM, see cat. no. 42).



Občni zbor soseske, Drašiči, 1974 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM; foto: L. Struna).

Neighbourhood assembly, Drašiči, 1974 (SEM Documentation Department; photo by: L. Struna).

Ključar je imel v zidanici vedno pripravljenih nekaj palic. Ob prvi sposoji vina je na palici označil količino (število firkljev) in palico razklal na dva dela. En del je ostal v zidanici in ključar je nanj napisal ime dolžnika, hišno številko ali ga kako drugače označil. Vse polovice, ki so ostale v zidanici, je zvezal in jih obesil na steno. Drugi del rovaša je kmet odnesel domov in ga prinesel v zidanico, ko si je znova hotel sposoditi vino. V tem primeru sta s ključarjem sestavila oba dela in napravila nove zarez. Ko je kmet dolg povrnil, sta oba dela uničila ali pa je ključar dal svoj del dolžniku (Lokar 1912: 19).

V vzhodni Beli krajini so uporabljali tudi enodelne rovaše, približno 30 cm dolge leskove, kostanjeve ali hrastove štirioglate količke, ki jih je pripravil ključar ali član soseske. Enodelni rovaši so zahtevali večje zaupanje do ključarja, saj dolžnik ni imel nobenega dokazila. Na zgornjem koncu so imeli rovaši luknjico, da je lahko ključar vse nanizal na srobot, vrvico ali žico in jih privezal na leskov lok (*locenj*), ki ga je obesil na steno. Lastništvo rovašev je označil tako, da je na vrh rovaša (*s kmečkimi številkami*) vrezal ali (s svinčnikom) napisal hišno številko. Namesto številčnih oznak so bili količki zaradi prepoznavnosti na vrhu tudi le različno prirezani. Rovašev niso uporabljali le ob sposoji vina, temveč tudi ob jesenskem pobiranju mošta, ko si je ključar šop rovašev obesil čez ramo in pri vsaki hiši na ustrezen rovaš označil količino prejetega mošta. S postopnim in vsaj delnim opismenjevanjem ljudi so po drugi svetovni vojni rovaše povsem spodrinile knjige dolžnikov (Dular 1963/64: 43–44, 53). V kleti danes edine še delujoče soseske v Drašičih imajo še vedno na steni obešen lok z rovaši in obiskovalcem tudi predstavijo njihovo uporabo.

### Pastirski rovaši

Rovaše so uporabljali tudi pastirji, predvsem ob skupinski paši. Na enodelni rovaš, imenovan tudi *pastirski les*, so zaznamovali skupno število živine ali število živine posamičnega lastnika. Takšni rovaši so bili v rabi npr. v Podkorenu, primerek od tam hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej (kat. št. 41). V primeru skupne paše so na rovaš označevali tudi količine pomolzenega mleka, če pa so imeli skupno sirarstvo, so uporabljali enodelne rovaše za označevanje količin mleka, ki jih je dajala živina posamičnega lastnika, in na tej podlagi so ob koncu pašne sezone delili sir. Ti podatki veljajo predvsem za konec 19. stoletja, verjetno pa so jih za te namene uporabljali



Rovaš za merjenje mleka, kakršne so uporabljali v Slovenski Istri.

Milk tally used in Slovene Istria.



Rovaš za označevanje števila živine, Podkoren, 1880 (SEM, gl. kat. št. 41).

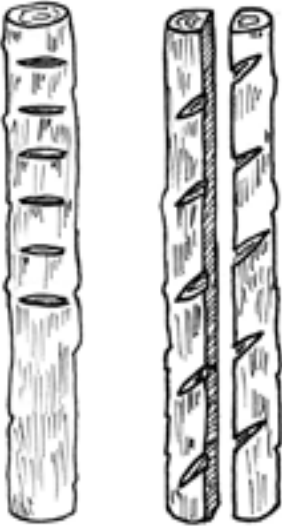
Tally stick for recording the number of cattle, Podkoren, 1880 (SEM, see cat. no. 41).

že v srednjem veku (Vilfan 1944: 110; 1996: 146, 382–383; 1996a: 245). Rovaše za merjenje mleka so imeli tudi v Istri, kjer je ena zareza pomenila en *librc* (33 dkg).

### Vozniški rovaši

Do srede 20. stoletja so bili v rabi vozniški rovaši za zapis števila voženj in s tem posredno tudi količin dostavljenega blaga (gradbenega materiala). Na podeželju so jih uporabljali za označevanje števila prevozov gramoza za popravilo cest. V Ljubljani so vozniškemu rovašu rekli *rubežen* in *škontrin* (ital. *scontrino*); *škontrin* so verjetno prinesli Furlani, ki so se ukvarjali z gradbeništvom. Ljubljanski prevozniki, ki so z Ljubljanskega barja vozili šoto, so število voženj označevali na rovaš, ki si ga je voznik zataknil za škorenj. Približno do konca druge svetovne vojne so vozniške rovaše uporabljali v gradbenih podjetjih v Ljubljani za štetje voženj, ki so jih zanje opravili najeti prevozniki. Vozniški rovaši so bili izdelani iz razžaganih deščic različnih oblik in iz različnega lesa. Da so razločevali rovaše posamičnih voznikov, so z dletom izkolek ločili od matice z različnimi vijugami ali v različnih kotih odsekali od ročaja. Pozneje so na oba dela s svinčnikom napisali tudi voznikovo ime. Matico je vzel voznik in jo zataknil v pločevinast obroč na leseni ograji (*trugi*) voza, za škorenj ali konju za komat. Drugi del rovaša je imel *polir*, zastopnik podjetja, ki je vodil gradnjo. Vsak pripeljan voz je zastopnik podjetja označil tako, da je zložil oba dela rovaša in z nožem ali žago naredil zarezo. Ob izplačilu so zastopniki gradbenega podjetja prešteli oziroma primerjali število voženj na matici in izkolkku.

Poleg enodelnih in dvodelnih so bili vsaj v Ljubljani v rabi tudi tridelni vozniški rovaši z matico in izkolkoma na vsaki strani. Z njimi so šteli količine (npr. v peskokopu) prejetega in na gradbišče pripeljanega materiala. Tudi v tem primeru je imel prevoznik matico. Ob prevzemu materiala jo je postavil skupaj z izkolkom dobavitelja gradbenega materiala



Enodelni in dvodelni vozniški rovaš *koporar*, kakršne so uporabljali v Goriških Brdih.

Single and double carters' tallies, used in Goriška Brda.

(npr. nadzornikom peskokopa ali gramozne jame) in napravil zarezo čez en izkolek in matico, ob dostavi materiala na gradbišče pa je vodja gradbišča zarezo podaljšal še na svoj izkolek. Naposled je lahko podjetje z dobaviteljem gradbenega materiala in prevoznikom obračunalo stroške. V Ljubljani sta v 40. letih dvajsetega stoletja dvodelne vozniške rovaše uporabljali npr. gradbeni podjetji Leopold Bricelj in Matko Curk, dvo- in tridelne pa gradbeno podjetje G. Tönnies. Po drugi svetovni vojni so začela vozniške rovaše nado-



Vozniška rovaša, Ljubljana, 1944 (SEM, gl. kat. št. 6 in 7).

Carters' tallies, Ljubljana, 1944 (SEM, see cat. nos. 6 and 7).

meščati potrdila o opravljenih vožnjah (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1944a: 246; 1996: 142–143). Trije primerki voznških rovašev, ki so bili v 40. letih dvajsetega stoletja v rabi v Ljubljani, so shranjeni v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju (kat. št. 5, 6, 7).

### Števeni rovaši

Števeni rovaši so največkrat enodelni in so bili namenjeni štetju oziroma zapisovanju različnih stvari ali dejavnosti, pri čemer je bil njihov namen predvsem statistične narave.

Med števene rovaše na Slovenskem sodijo *palice za štetje brent*, vinogradniških posod, v katerih so pri trgatvi prenašali grozdje v vinsko klet ali do voza. Kakor so različna poimenovanja za brente (*brenta* – Dolenjsko, deloma Štajersko; *püta* – Prekmurje, Slovenske gorice), so različna tudi poimenovanja palic za štetje brent: na Dolenjskem in deloma Štajerskem so jih imenovali *brentarska palica*, v Slovenskih goricah *pütarska palica*, na Bizeljskem *kou* ali *palca*, v okolici Krškega *obiralna palca*.

Na začetku 20. stoletja so ponekod (npr. na Bizeljskem) še šteli brente z dvodelnimi rovaši ali dvema ločenima palicama – s palico nosača brent in z rogovilo, s katero



Vrezovanje v brentarsko palico na državnem posestvu v Cerovcu, 1972 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM; foto: Fanči Šarf).

Carving marks on a grape picker's tally on the state-owned Cerovec estate, 1972 (SEM Documentation Department; photo by: Fanči Šarf).



so mezgali grozdje. Ker pa je šlo pri štetju predvsem za pregled nad letnim pridelkom grozdja, so večinoma uporabljali le (enodelne) brentarske palice (Vilfan 1944: 109–110), ki jih ponekod uporabljajo še danes. V preteklosti so jih menda uporabljali v Istri (Kuret 1989: 37), najbolj razširjene pa so bile predvsem v vinogradih slovenske Štajerske (Prlekija, okolica Slovenskih Konjic, Bizeljsko), v okolici Krškega in ponekod na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini. Palica oziroma kol je bil na Dolenjskem iz neobeljene veje domačega kostanja, na Štajerskem iz klane smrekovine; s takšnimi so v vinogradih podpirali trte. Vsak brentar je imel svojo palico ali kol, na katerega se je opiral pri prenašanju brent in hkrati nanj z zarezi šteli brente, ki jih je prinesel v zidanico oziroma stresel v stiskalnico. Največkrat so vsako brento označili z zarezo, vsako deseto pa s križcem. Zvečer so po zarezah ugotovili število prinesenih brent in ponekod seštevke napisali na vrata ali steno zidanice, da so ob koncu trgatve pridelok primerjali s prejšnjimi leti (Vilfan 1944: 109–110; 1944a: 246; 1996: 145).

Brentarske palice so uporabljali eno leto ali več let. Na enoletno uporabo kažejo zareze v enem nizu oziroma le na eni strani palice, več nizov na različnih straneh pa lahko kaže na večletno uporabo. Nekateri vinogradniki so v palice vrezovali tudi le-



Vrezovanje v brentarsko palico, Bizeljsko, 1981 (Goriški muzej; foto: Naško Križnar).

Carving marks on a grape picker's tally, Bizeljsko, 1981 (Gorica Museum; photo by: Naško Križnar).



Krajevni grb Podgradja z brentarsko palico (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM; foto: Marko Habič, Nena Židov).

The coat of arms of Podgradje includes a grape picker's tally (SEM Documentation Department; photo by: Marko Habič, Nena Židov).

tnice trgatve. Vinogradniki so brentarske palice namenoma hranili po več let, da so mogli po zarezah na palicah in zapisih na vratih ali stenah zidanic primerjati količine pridelanega grozdja po letih. Zareze na brentarskih palicah so namreč večinoma služile ugotavljanju letnega pridelka (Vilfan 1996: 145; Vodan 2000: 47–48).

Na nekaterih vinorodnih območjih so se brentarske palice ohranile do danes, ponekod še vedno v prvotni funkciji, ponekod pa bolj iz navade ali iz potrebe po ohranjanju trgatve “po starem”. Brentarska palica je upodobljena tudi v vaškem grbu vasi Podgradje v Prlekiji in simbolizira vinorodno območje (Serec 2001: 42), zato je danes na tamkajšnji krajevni tabli.

Rovaše so uporabljali na Primorskem v zvezi z najemniki zemlje – koloni. V Goriških Brdih so ob prihodu novega kolona opravili inventuro: število trt so takrat označili z zarezami na rovašu, zato so nastop novega kolona imenovali tudi *ko smo trte šteli*. Rovaše je gospodar hranil do kolonovega odhoda, ko sta napravila obračun. Z rovaši so vzdrževali tudi pregled o delitvi pridelka, npr. grozdja, mošta in vina, med lastnikom in kolonom. Cvet kot kakovostnejši del pridelka je pripadal gospodarju, prešanino in tropine pa je dobil kolon (Vilfan 1992: 144–145; 1996: 371).

V Selški dolini in okolici Slovenskih Konjic so v preteklosti uporabljali enodelne rovaše za štetje košev gnoja, ki so jih stresli na njivo (Vilfan 1996: 145–146).

V partizanskih spominih so omenjeni zapisi števila ubitih sovražnikov z zarezi v puškinem kopitu.

### Žrebalni rovaši

Žrebalne rovaše so uporabljali za čim pravičnejšo razdelitev skupnih dobrin med pripadnike lokalne skupnosti. Bili so leseni in dvodelni. Uporabljali so jih v zahodni Sloveniji, kjer so jih imenovali *špica* ali *škontrin* (za *jegranje*), samo žrebanje pa *igranje* ali *jegranje na špice* (Goriška Brda, Istra). Z njimi so v preteklosti med člane soseske delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Zložili so toliko kupov sena, drva, stelje, listja idr., kolikor je bilo gospodarstev. Za vsak kup so pripravili okoli 5–15 cm dolgo paličico, vanjo so vrezali znamenja in jo razklali tako, da so bila znamenja vidna na obeh delih. Ponekod v Goriških Brdih (Biljana) v paličico niso zarezovali, temveč so jo le razlomili na dva dela. V obeh primerih so del paličice zataknili h kupu skupnega pridelka, pripadajoči del pa so dali v posodo ali klobuk. Člani vaške skupnosti so za kupe žrebali tako, da so iz posode ali klobuka izvlekli polovico paličice. Vsakdo je dobil tisti kup, pri katerem se je izžrebana paličica ujemala s pripadajočo polovico, zataknjeno pri kupu. Na Krasu med Socerbom in goro Slavnik so z žrebalnimi rovaši delili steljo, seno in drva. Pripravili so toliko kupov, kolikor je bilo hiš oz. gmajnskih upravičencev, pri čemer ni bilo pomembno, kolikšen je bil delež opravljenega dela. Drva in steljo so na ta način nehali deliti po letu 1900 (Vilfan 1996: 144–145; 1996a: 245).

Žrebalne rovaše so ponekod začeli nadomeščati z žrebanjem s pomočjo lističev, ki so jih “vzdigovali” oziroma “vlekli”. Tako so npr. v Borjani občinski moške v skupnem gozdu določili in s številkami označili drevesa, namenjena za posek. Iste številke so napisali tudi na lističe, ki so jih nato vlekli predstavniki kmečkih gospodarstev. Posekali so lahko drevo s številko, ki je bila na izžrebanem lističu.<sup>33</sup> Podobno so si v vasi Svino razdelili skupni gozd. Najprej so gozd razdelili na približno enake dele in jih označili s številkami, potem pa so za dele žrebali z lističi.<sup>34</sup> Tudi pri delitvi



Žrebalni rovaš, Črnotiče (SEM, gl. kat. št. 11).

Tally stick for drawing lots, Črnotiče (SEM, see cat. no. 11).

<sup>33</sup> Teren 7, Kobarid, 1951, zv. 2, str. 19 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

<sup>34</sup> Teren 7, Kobarid, 1951, zv. 27, str. 2–3 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

deležev s skupne gmajne (npr. košnja stelje) so žrebalne rovaše zamenjale številke. V Gradcu pri Pivki, npr., so skupni pridelek razdelili na toliko delov, kolikor je bilo gospodarjev, in deleže oštevilčili. Potem so enake številke zapisali še na lističe in jih dali v klobuk, iz katerega so jih gospodarji vlekli.<sup>35</sup>

### Leseni koledarji

Z dogovorjenimi zarezi v les so v preteklosti označevali tudi koledarske dni. Leseni koledarji ali pratike so bili na Slovenskem v rabi vsaj še v 18. stoletju. Konec 19. stoletja naj bi tak koledar visel v gradu Strmol (Benkovič 1895: 56). Po doslej zbranih podatkih pa sta se na Slovenskem ohranila dva primerka lesenih koledarjev. Lesen koledar za leto 1756, izdelan iz 140 cm dolge in 8,5 cm široke letve z vrezanimi znaki (možici, živalce in črtice), hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej. Koledar je iz Višnje gore in je prišel v muzej leta 1899 (Smrekar 1900; Vilfan 1944: 110; 1944a: 247; Makarovič 1995: 46). Oblikovno je poseben koledar, izdelan iz okrogle lesene plošče s premerom 13 cm in debele 1 cm, ki ga hranijo v frančiškanskem samostanu v Novem mestu. Na eni strani je koledar za leto 1783 in na drugi za leto 1784. Ima vrezane oznake za delovne dni in nedelje ter označene praznike in svetniške godove. Zarezani so obrazi svetnikov in svetnic, ob nekaterih pa so tudi njihovi simboli. Ob mučenikih so orodja, s katerimi so bili umorjeni, označene so celo lune. Kole-



Lesen koledar iz leta 1756 (Slovenski etnografski muzej; foto: Marko Habič).

Wooden calendar from 1756 (SEM; photo by: Marko Habič).

<sup>35</sup> Terenski zapis Marije Makarovič, 1978 (Oddelek za dokumentacijo SEM).

dar je nedvomno izdelek večje rezbarske roke; morda so take koledarje izdelovali menihi v samostanih in jih pošiljali med ljudi. Ker pa koledar ni zelo velik, so ga lahko nosili s seboj, morda gre celo za primerek žepnega lesenega koledarja (Benkovič 1895a: 768; Schindler 1959). Z vse obsežnejšim opismenjevanjem so lesene koledarje zamenjali tiskani.



Lesen koledar za leti 1783 in 1784 (Franciški samostan Novo mesto; foto: Nena Židov).

Wooden calendar for 1783 and 1784 (Franciscan monastery, Novo mesto; photo by: Nena Židov).

## ZA KONEC

Rovaši, do danes povsem pozabljeni pripomočki za pomnjenje, zapisovanje, označevanje različnih stvari, so imeli v preteklosti vsega človeštva zelo pomembno vlogo. Povezani so bili z razvojem števil in štetja, v nekaterih obdobjih in krajih so bili del uradnega prava, od koder so se nato preselili v t. i. ljudsko pravo. Iz uporabe so se umikali z opismenjevanjem, zato ni presenetljivo, da so se za poslovanje najdlje obdržali med nepismenimi kmeti in obrtniki. V preteklosti so nadomeščali računalna, potrdila, dobavnice, račune, poslovne knjige, pogodbe. Z uvedbo naštetih in še nekaterih drugih pripomočkov, ki večinoma temeljijo na črkovnih in številčnih simbolih, so bili skoraj povsem izrinjeni iz življenja ljudi. Nadomestilo jih je zapisovanje podatkov na papir, v zadnjem času pa tudi različni načini analognega in digitalnega zapisovanja. Tako bi lahko celo za kreditne kartice rekli, da so naslednice rovašev, le da so dolgovi zapisani magnetno, pri čemer eno papirnato potrdilo ostane pri prodajalcu, drugi del pa za svoj pregled stroškov obdrži kupec. Za razloček od rovašev, kjer je bil običajno "izdajatelj" posojilodajalec, se pri bančnih karticah v sposajo vključi še tretja oseba – banka. In pregled o prejetih in oddanih dobrinah je danes namesto z rovaši dokumentiran z elektronskim branjem črtnih kod. Tako kakor so nekdaj na varnih mestih nosili in hranili rovaše, to danes počnemo z njihovimi nadomestki. In prav presenetljivo je, ko ugotovimo, kako so se



Brenta in brentarski palici za leta 1986–1987 in 1990–1991 v vinski kleti, Dunaj pri Krškem, 2009 (foto: Nena Židov).

Grape picker's basket and tallies for 1986–1987 and 1990–1991 in a wine cellar, Dunaj near Krško, 2009 (photo by: Nena Židov).

podobne vrste rovašev in podobni načini uporabe razvili v različnih delih sveta, kjer (vsaj za zelo oddaljeno preteklost) le težko govorimo o medkulturnih vplivih. Zdi se, da gre pri rovaših za pripomoček univerzalni potrebi človeka po razvidu nad količino, ki so jo v različnih kulturah oz. družbah reševali na zelo podobne načine.

Rovaši – ti некоč tako pomembni in neogibni pripomočki v življenju tako rekoč vseh ljudi, so, vsaj v večjem delu Evrope, začeli proti koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja zgubljati pomen in jih danes skoraj ne najdemo več, niti v spominu ljudi. So pa pustili svoje sledi v večini evropskih jezikov, kar velja tudi na Slovenskem. Danes le še redki vedo, kaj pomeni beseda rovaš. Nekateri jo sicer poznajo iz rekov, vendar ne vedo natančno, od kod izvira. Večina vrst rovašev že dolgo ni več v rabi. Kot poslednjo ohranjeno obliko rovašev pa lahko ponekod v vinorodnih krajih (npr. v Slovenskih goricah in na Bizeljskem) še najdemo brentarsko palico.



Brentarji, Haloze, okoli leta 1930 (Pokrajniski muzej Ptuj).

Grape pickers, Haloze, around 1930 (Ptuj Regional Museum).

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# TALLY STICKS





## INTRODUCTION

This book presents and discusses the tally sticks in the collection of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Tally sticks are an almost universal device used to record a variety of data and I will undertake to illustrate this universal nature with examples from around the world; due to limitations of time, space, and financial resources, this survey will however necessarily remain fragmentary.

In the course of my research and the writing of this book I occasionally mentioned to people what I was working on or asked them about tally sticks, and many of them were uncertain about the term. Although some would know one or another of the phrases in which the word *rovaš* (tally stick) appears and guess from them what it means, few knew its original meaning. So where does the word come from and what does it mean? Even the few people who know what a tally stick is usually associate it with Europe's peasant culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, because most of the preserved tally sticks are today in ethnographic museums. However, the tally stick has a much longer history in Slovenia as well as elsewhere around the world; it is indeed one of the earliest inventions of mankind and common in all societies and cultures; it truly is a universally common device related to man's need to record certain facts.

The spread of literacy led to tally sticks being replaced by other devices and ways of recording data, and they survived longest, at least in Europe, among the illiterate peasant population. The use of tally sticks started to decline because of increased literacy and the use of paper records. Because literacy first spread among the members of the higher classes, they recorded data on paper, but continued to use tally sticks (independently or combined with paper records) to communicate with illiterate people. Tally sticks were common in Slovene ethnic areas until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and despite the increased literacy of the entire population some types were used until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

The word *rovaš* (tally stick) has been preserved in modern Slovene in phrases related to different areas of life, in ordinary conversation as well as in comments on politics, the economy, etc.; in these cases the word usually means "debt" or "account". It is also used in poetry (e.g. in Neža Maurer's *Na moj rovaš*), in the name of a society (Kulturno društvo *Rovaš Drašiči*), and that of a company (*Rovaš, podjetje za ekonomsko organizacijske storitve d.o.o.*).

The expression *rovašenje* ("notching"), derived from *rovaš*, used to refer to marking the animals taken together to the mountain pastures with cuts. Sheep, for instance, were marked with a certain number of cuts or holes in their ears, and cattle with notches on the horns (Božič 1956: 75). The terms *rovaš* and *rovašenje* have

been preserved in animal husbandry to the present day, but *rovašenje* now means to mark breeding animals and the *rovaši* (symbols) take the form of the letters V or U, or a tiny hole (Šegula 2005: 39).

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## THE UNIVERSAL NEED TO RECORD DATA

Man's need to record or mark certain data is universal; it goes back to ancient times and was common on all continents, but in different periods of time people met this need with different devices and in different ways. Researchers consider notched bones and sticks to be among the earliest of man's inventions, since they were common soon after the invention of hunting tools, but before the invention of the wheel, and remained in use over thousands of years. Some experts claim that they first emerged at least 40,000 years ago in connection with the need to keep evidence – to count. Notches have indeed been found on cave walls, alongside numerous prehistoric paintings of animals, and they were probably connected with counting. In spite of centuries of developmental, historical, and cultural changes, the technique itself has not changed much to the present day (Ifrah 2000: 64). The use of notched bones is one of the oldest and most common accounting techniques. The oldest archaeological finds show that people made notches on bones as early as the Palaeolithic. Archaeologists have unearthed numerous notched bones in Western Europe, e.g. in France, as well as in the Czech Republic. These tally sticks are between 20,000 and 35,000 years old. They were most probably used by hunters, who made a notch for every animal killed, and separate bones may have been used for different kinds of animals (bears, buffaloes, wolves, etc.). Among these excavated bones is an approximately 30,000 year old bone with 55 notches unearthed in Dolní Věstonice, Moravia, in 1937. The notches are arranged in two series and each series is subdivided into groups of five notches. It is assumed that the hunter thus marked the number of animals he had killed (Ifrah 2000: xix, 62).

Horns were also used for recording and accounting purposes, as is illustrated by the reindeer horn excavated in France and dating from between 19,000 and 12,000 BC (Brassempouy); it has a longitudinal groove which separates two series of transverse notches, each divided into groups of three and seven notches on one side, and into groups of five and nine notches on the other side (Ifrah 2000: 62). In 1960, a 10 cm long bone (the Ishango bone) with several groups of notches was found in the then Belgian Congo; it is dated to between 20,000 and 18,000 years BC. Some researchers assume that it is a tally, others that it is a kind of calendar.

In addition to bones and sticks, knotted strings were used around the world for accounting or recording data. The *quipu* is a famous accounting device from Peru (the word means *knot* in the Inca language, and the device is sometimes called “talking knots”); it consists of a piece of cord, around half a metre long, to which thinner strings are tied in groups and these strings were knotted. The number and types of knots marked liturgical, chronological, and statistical data, and the knots could

also be used as calendars and messages. Some coloured strings had conventional meanings, referring both to actual objects and to abstract notions. As well as the colours, the number of knots was important, their distribution, the length of the strings and their distribution. The Incas mainly used the *quipu* as an accounting device (from military matters to taxes, crops, slaughtered animals, records on deliveries, population censuses, etc.) (Ifrah 2000: 68).

In the villages, towns, and regions of the Inca Empire the task of making knots in the *quipus* and deciphering them was the responsibility of royal officials called *quipucamayocs* (“keepers of the knots”), who also carried out the annual regional censuses of crops and the population by social classes. The results knotted on these strings were sent to the capital Cuzco. The *quipus* was in use for centuries in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, shepherds and cowherds on the Antiplano in the central Andes used strings to keep tallies of their flocks; they used white strings to record the numbers of their sheep and goats, and green strings for cattle. Even today Native Americans in Bolivia and Peru use a very similar device, called a *chimpu* (Menninger 1992: 252–255; Ifrah 2000: 69–70). During the preparations for the Pueblo revolt against the Spaniards in 1680, knotted strings with the date of the uprising were sent to all the participating villages. Knotted strings served as a kind of calendar, marking the sequences of rituals, among the Hopi (Malotki 1983: 483–487).

The Araucans in the territory of Chile and partly Argentina used knotted strings to mark the number of workdays. When they went to work they took along two strings. The number of knots on one of them told them how many days they had to work, and they made one knot on the other string at the end on every workday until the numbers of knots on both strings matched. When they planned an uprising against the Spaniards, they sent out arrows or the bones of a killed Spaniard together with a string that had as many knots as there were days left until the uprising (Benigar 1988: 22).

Knotted strings or straws are attested in other parts of the world. In Palestine, for instance, Roman tax collectors used long cords. Arabs used knotted strings not only as a counting device, but also in the preparation of contracts, as certificates, and account books.

Methods of recording numbers with knots were also known in China. On the Japanese Ryukyu island chain in the Pacific Ocean workers kept evidence of their earnings with knots (Menninger 1992: 252). Even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century the *warazan*, an accounting device made from rice straw, was used on Okinawa to count quantities of grain, tofu, and fish (Pallestrang 2004: 61). Workers in remote mountainous areas used plaited straw to count their days of work, debts,



etc., and similar devices can be found on the Caroline Islands, Hawaii, in West Africa, and among the Native Americans. Many religions use rosaries made of knotted strings to keep count of prayers (Ifrah 2000: 70–71; Menninger 1992: 252, 255).

Recording quantities on strings was also common in Europe. Remnants of a once apparently widespread practice of knotting survived among German millers until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: they used knotted strings to record their dealings with bakers. Different types of knots were used to record the quantities and types of flour they delivered (Menninger 1992: 255–256; Ifrah 2000: 70). Knots were made in handkerchiefs in Serbia (Drobnjaković 1933) and on strings in Slovenia. Dalmatian cloth owners marked the length of the cloth they took to the fuller with knots on the fringes (Škarpa 1933: 177). Some tradesmen around Europe recorded their debts and claims with incisions on a piece of leather (Dolenc 1935: 166).

In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, legal documents called *charta partita* or *chirographs* were used in Europe as evidence of identicalness in the same way as double tally sticks. Two identical texts were written on a sheet of paper or parchment, larger signs or letters were added in between them, the sheet was folded and then cut or torn along the middle in a zigzag or wavy line. Each party received one part and the genuineness of the document was proved, including in court, by the matching signs and letters of both parts of the sheet (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1266; Bogičević 1953: 210; Menninger 1992: 232).

## DEFINITIONS AND TYPES OF TALLY STICKS

Tally sticks were the most common device for recording numbers, quantities, and messages in the past; they served as proof and as account books. Tallies in the wider sense of the word were made of different materials (wood, bone, horns, tusks, clay, metal, etc.), but in the narrow sense they were wooden sticks with notched (and later also written) marks.

According to the number of their parts, tally sticks are divided into single and split (double, triple) tallies. Single tallies were unbleached or bleached branches, sticks, boards, or laths, with a varying number of edges or sides, and notches were made on such tallies. In terms of development, split tally sticks are somewhat newer, and they were usually split into two or, rarely, three parts. It is typical of split tally sticks that the notches were made when the parts were held together. While single tallies mostly served as a counting device or for recording data, split tallies were one of the first devices used to prevent cheating, since they were also used as evidence – the matching notches on both parts prevented cheating and they were used as proof of business deals between two individuals.

Split tallies spread in Europe in the Middle Ages in connection with the need to record exchanges and debts. Simple split tallies, made of a branch or stick split lengthwise, gradually developed into split tallies consisting of a longer part, called a stock, which had a kind of handle, and a shorter part. The longer part was always kept by the person who loaned money or goods, while the shorter part, the foil or inset, was kept by the person who borrowed the money or goods.

Tally sticks are further divided based on their function (for taxes, loans, voting, drawing lots, etc.) and on the occupations that made use of them (millers, bakers, innkeepers, merchants, carters, etc.). Tally sticks were usually made of softwood and the conventional symbols were made on them with various tools. An important phase in the development of tally sticks was marking ownership with notched symbols, wax seals, burned symbols, records made with writing utensils, etc.

Tally sticks were very important documents and particular care was taken of them. In Dalmatia (Croatia), for instance, people carried small tally sticks in their hands, pockets, in their bosom, tucked into a belt, in a bag, etc., while long tally sticks were also used as walking sticks (Škarpa 1933: 171). Bosnian merchants used to wrap their tally sticks in leather (Bogičević 1953: 211).

Some researchers include wooden calendars and messenger sticks among tallies. Wooden calendars were common both within and outside Europe, while messenger sticks served for communication or sending messages between individuals and communities (Bogičević 1953: 209), and were used by many communities outside Europe, for instance among the Australian aborigines, Native Americans, and the Inuit.

## THE TALLY STICK IN LANGUAGE

### The origin of the term

In addition to the term *rovaš*, other names are used in Slovenia, e.g. *rabuš* (Štrekelj 1909: 48), *roš*, *škontrin*, which derives from neighbouring Italian in western Slovenia, and *zaznamvalna palca* (“marking stick”) in the Cerklje area.<sup>1</sup> Some authors assume a Slavic origin for the word *rovaš*, but most hold that it is of Hungarian origin. Menninger (1992: 225) believes that it stems from the Slavic word *rubatj*, Russian *rubitj* (cut, notch), which he thinks to be connected with the ruble - the Russian currency. Miklošič and Mažuranić also believe that the word is of Slavic origin (from the root *ry-*, dig), and so does Pleteršnik (1895: 439) because the word’s root *ry* word is Slavic. A Hungarian origin is advanced by Jagić, who holds that *rovaš* derives from the Hungarian *roni* (Dolenc 1935: 170). Štrekelj (1909: 48) also thinks that the Slavs adopted the word from Hungarian: *ro* belongs to the Ugro-Finnish vocabulary and the Hungarians are therefore thought to have been familiar with tally sticks before their migration, and the term then spread to the neighbouring (Slavic) peoples (Ortutay 1981: 375–376). According to Bezljaj, the Slovene word *rovaš* stems from the Hungarian word *rovás*, which itself derives from the word *ró* (cut, incise) (Bezljaj 1995: 200). Snoj (1997: 546) is equally convinced that it is more likely that *rovaš* derives from the Hungarian *ró* than from the Slavic word *rovъ* (tunnel).

### Traces in language

That the tally stick was a virtually universal device, common in very different geographical areas in the past, is supported by the fact that there are words for it in numerous languages, and that they have been preserved in phrases, which to the present day largely refer to accounts and debts.

Different languages use different names for the tally stick: *teomin* (twins) in Hebrew, *symbolon* (put together, assemble) in Greek, *tallia* and *tessera* in Latin; *tessera* (certificate, tag) and *taglia* (tally stick, measure, tax) are still used in Italian, as well as *scontrino* (from *scontrare* = compare; in modern Italian *scontrino* = receipt).

The French and the inhabitants of the French speaking Swiss cantons use the expressions (*en*)*coche* and *taille* (*tailler* = incise), and the words *talla*, *tarja* and *tara* are used in Spanish. The most common expressions in Croatia are *raboš* and *rovaš*, in Dalmatia also *zariza*, *roska*, *rozga* (Škarpa 1933: 169–170), *rovaš* and *raboš* in Serbia and Bosnia, *raboš* and *rabuš* in Macedonia, *rabuš* in Montenegro, *raboš*, *rabuš* in Bulgaria, *ravas*, *raboš* in Romania, *rabuše*, *vrubovka*, *vrub* (= inci-

<sup>1</sup> Field trip 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, notebook 18, p. 58 (SEM, Documentation Department).

sion, notch ) in the Czech Republic (Burian 1959: 1), *rováš* in Slovakia, *rovás* in Hungary, and *rabush* in Albanian. The Polish word is *rowas*, the Ukrainian *ravaš*, *revaš*, and the Russian *birka* (бирка). A tally stick for recording debts was called a *dolgovaja birka* (долговая бирка) in Russian, and in modern Russian a *birka* is a tag or label on various products.<sup>2</sup> A tally stick is called a *karvstock* in Sweden, *kerfstok* in the Netherlands, the most common names in Austria are *Robisch* and *Spanholz*, and *Rabusch*, *Rabisch*, *Rawisch*, *Rosch*, *Rasch*, *Kerbholz* and *Kerbstock* are used in Germany.

In the German speaking cantons of Switzerland the term *Tessel* was used. English has expressions like *score* (historically: notch, tally stick, notched stick) and *tally* (hist. tally stick, notch, bill, account; the half that matches the other half; one of two objects that make a whole), *tally stick*, *notched stick*.

*Tally* derives from the French word *taillé*. In 13<sup>th</sup>-century England tally sticks were also called *tallia dividenda* (split stick) or *dividenda* (a stick to be divided) and some theories say that the banking expression *dividenda* derives from it (Menninger 1992: 238).

The Arabic verb-root *farada* means both “to make a notch” and “to assign a share (of a contract or inheritance) to someone” (Ifrah 2000: 66). Traces of tally sticks are even found in Chinese, where the word contract is symbolised by two characters: at the top are the characters for a notched stick and knife, and the third character at the bottom stands for “large”. A contract or agreement in Chinese is thus literally a “large tally stick” (Menninger 1992: 233).

Some languages have special terms for the parts of a split or double tally stick. In English, for instance, the longer part is called the *stock*, and the split-off shorter part the *foil* or *inset*. The person (creditor) who kept the longer part was called the stockholder (Menninger 1992: 236–238). In German, the term for the foil was *Ge-genkerb*, in Vienna the terms *Manderl* and *Weiberl* were used for the stock and foil respectively. The French call the stock *taille*, and the foil *échantillon* or *contretaille* (Žontar 1940a: 319). In German-speaking Switzerland the expressions *Krapfentessel* for the stock and *Beitessel* for the foil were in use (Pallestrang 2004: 59). In Dalmatia, the longer part is called the *matica* or *cil rovaš*, and the shorter part the *cipak* or *pišćak*. The area where the notches are made is called the *biliga*, and the stock has a handle referred to as the *drška* or *držak* (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1265). The longer part is often referred to as the *kokoš* or *kvočka* (hen) and the shorter one as the *pile* (chick) in Serbia and Bosnia (Delić 1892: 89). Similar expressions are used by the Bulgarians, where the stock is called a *majka* and the foil a *pile* (chick) or *ščenè* (Žontar 1940a: 319).

<sup>2</sup> My sincere thanks to the Russian translator Lijana Dejak for this information.

The Slovene language has several phrases containing the word *rovaš*: *smejali so se na njegov rovaš* (they had a laugh at his expense); *uganjati norčije na rovaš sosedov* (to play tricks on one's neighbours); *bogastvo si je pridobil na rovaš revežev* (he made a fortune on the back of the poor); *pomota na rovaš naglice* (an error due to haste); *pri njem ima še nekaj na rovašu* (he is indebted to him) (Bajec 1985: 545). Pleteršnik (1895: 429) mentions the phrase *imava še nekaj na rovašu* (we have something to settle), and in connection with the synonym *roš* the expression *na roš* = on account, and the phrase *naredimo roš* (literally: let's tally up) = let's vote (voting with notches). The tally stick was mostly used in connection with bills and accounts and it is therefore little surprise that to Glonar (1936: 341) the word *rovaš* directly means invoice/bill or account, and he adds that it was originally a stick with two halves across which notches were made to record deliveries and payments (ibid).

As in Slovene, other languages have comparable phrases which usually refer to a debt or account. In Croatia we come across the phrases *metnut ću te na raboš*; *urezat ću te na raboš* (I'll put / mark you on my tally stick), and this may also mean a threat or refer to vengeance (Škarpa 1933: 172), and phrases like *imati koga na rovašu* (have something on one's tally – owe someone), *biti komu na rovašu* (be on someone's tally – offend someone), *biti na čijem rovašu* (depend on someone) (Opačić 2006). The Bosnian phrase *ti brate samo raboši* means that the debtor cannot or does not intend to pay off his debt, and the phrase *stavio sam te u svoj raboš* figuratively means a threat (Bogičević 1953: 208). The Czechs use the phrases *máš u mne vroubek*; *přičísti něco na vrub*; *jednati na vlastní vrub* (Kašlík 1943: 43; Burian 1959: 1), and *pít na cizi vrub* (drink on someone else's tab).

A German phrase is *etwas auf dem Kerbholz haben*. Similar phrases with the word for tally stick are used in the Netherlands, e.g. when a debt becomes too great (*der kerfstock loopt te hoog*), or when someone wants to get rid of a person who does not want to pay his share of the bill (*is de kerfstock ijzeren*) (Menninger 1992: 227). English has many phrases including the term tally: *to keep tally with somebody* and *they were tallies for each other*, in which the word tally is used for matching items; the phrase *the account does not tally* means that the calculation is wrong, and the *tallyman* is a salesman who sells goods against payment by instalments. The French phrase *acheter à la taille* means to buy on credit (Menninger 1992: 233–234).

## TALLY MARKS

Some tally marks had a personal or local meaning and could only be “read” by a limited circle of people, because the skill was passed on from generation to generation. However, some marks are surprisingly universal; these are symbols invented to meet people’s everyday needs (Menninger 1992: 223). In some places tally marks were simply called “peasant numerals”, but this designation is not appropriate because tally sticks were not only used by peasants.

Tally sticks were usually made of softwood to make it easier to incise the various marks. In Bosnia, for instance, tally sticks were mostly made of hazel, ash, linden, pine, willow, dogwood, or Turkey oak (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 208). The marks were made with a variety of tools – knives, razors, sharp small metal plates, saws, and the like. The notches on tally sticks were often simple, but some were the genuine products of a woodcarver (e.g. Swiss herdmen’s tally sticks). They reveal a variety of notches which are connected or follow one another in series and groups. The notches differ in form, length, depth, and position. The simplest notches in the form of lines were horizontal, vertical, slanting; their depths differ and the marks may also extend to the side of the tally stick or the edges, run around the stick, etc. In addition to notches, tally sticks often show dots, circles, stars, and similar symbols.

One of the most common marks is a simple notch (I), which mostly stands for the number one – it meant for instance one bushel, one day, one animal, etc. To make counting easier there may be sequences of shorter and longer notches, where every tenth notch is longer. The next most common mark is V (sometimes upside down -  $\Lambda$ ), usually referring to the number 5, and the third most common mark is a cross (X), signifying the number 10. The marks I, V, and X may lead us to the mistaken assumption that they are Roman numerals, but they are not and no other Roman numerals (L, C, M) are found on tally sticks. These three symbols and their corresponding values are the most common marks on tally sticks (Menninger 1992: 240–242).

Shepherds and cowherds in Switzerland used the marks I, V, and X to denote quantities of milk: I = 1 litre, V = 5 litres, X = 10 litres; half a litre was marked by a slanting line (/) (Rütimayer in: Bogičević 1953: 213). Shepherds in the Czech region of Wallachia used the following marks for the number of sheep in their care: + = 10,  $\Lambda$  = 5, I = 1, and they had special marks for sheep that did not produce milk (Domlivil 1904: 208). The marks I, V, and X were also the most frequent ones on tax tallies in Romania (Hémardinquer 1963: 146). In Transylvania, the marks I = 1,  $\Lambda$  = 5, X = 10, were used, while the marks for 50 and 100 changed in the course of time (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

In Dalmatia I was 1 and X was 10 (Škarpa 1933: 172, 173). Millers recorded the weight of flour like this: • (hole) or \* (star) = 100, N = 50, X = 10, V, / or \ = 5, I = 1, and the marks were always made from right to left (Škarpa 1933: 174, 181). If one and the same farmer had several bags with the miller, for instance three, the miller transferred the quantities of the three tally sticks to a larger one and marked the total weight of the three bags on the other side of the stick. 452 was written like this: IIN••••. If the total was slightly below one hundred, e.g. 96, this was either marked IVXXXXN (50+40+5+1=96) or • IIII (100-4=96) (Škarpa 1933: 174, 175).

The marks X, V, I and O, vertical, horizontal and slanting lines, and dots appear everywhere, but they have different values in different environments. In Bosnia the mark X stood for 100 units in some places, I = 10, • = 1. In Tuzla, however, I = 1, V = 5, O = 50, X = 10 or 100. The tally sticks in the National Museum in Sarajevo have marks with the following values: X = 100, / = 50, I = 10, dot = 1, half a vertical line = 5. Very similar marks were used in Serbia: they include combinations of vertical and slanting lines, and the symbol X, and the values range from 1 to 1000 (Bogičević 1953: 212-13).

An account from Bosnia from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century illustrates how a carter with a horse team recorded the 1678 bricks he delivered to a customer. He took a 2 cm long, 11 mm wide and 6 mm thick stick and marked the quantity with one cross for every hundred and so there were 16 crosses on the stick (1600). A notch stood for 10, and there were 7 notches on the stick (70). This gave a total of 1670. One notch was cut only halfway, signifying the number 5. He finished by using the point of a knife to make three tiny indentures, each representing the number 1 – giving a total of exactly 1678 (Delić 1892: 89): XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX IIIIII<sub>1</sub>••• = 1678

Shepherds and cowherds in Serbia carved the following signs: I or • = 1, / = 5, X = 10 (Drobnjaković 1933). In some cases it was necessary to mark the owners on the tally sticks, especially when someone held a large number of tally sticks belonging to different people. Marking the owner turned the tally stick into an economic tool as the mark symbolised the name of the owner (Ifrah 2000: 66). Ownership was marked in different ways: beside conventional notches, wax seals, burning, and inscriptions were used.

The mark included the house number or the owner's initials. Some Bosnian tradesmen carved into their tally sticks their trade mark, resembling letters or the symbols of their trade; a baker, for instance, would be symbolised by a baking plate, and a miller by a bag. Bosnian merchants had tally sticks for their clients and they were marked according to their owners: a hoe symbolised a client who was a digger, a gun represented a hunter, and a walking stick an older person. Ownership marks were burned in, and symbols were written on the tally sticks with charcoal, chalk,

or a pencil (Bogičević 1953: 206–207, 212). Incised or burned ownership marks were also used in Bohemia (Kašlík 1943: 43). When the debt was paid or a duty performed, the marks were usually removed or the tally stick destroyed (often burned). Tally sticks from which the marks were removed could be used several times.

Ways of recording similar to the ones on tally sticks were preserved for a long time. Brewers and wine merchants marked barrels with the sign X, which had a numeral meaning. Innkeepers marked the quantities of drinks they had served on credit with chalk, and in the two world wars fighter pilots marked the number of downed enemy planes, and bomber pilots the number raids flown by cutting the silhouettes of planes or bombs on their plane's fuselage (Ifrah 2000: 67). Recording methods similar to the ones used on tally sticks also survived in card games for a long time.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bosnian butchers recorded debts on a beam, coffeehouse owners in Sarajevo marked them on a wall, door, beam, etc. When the number reached ten lines, they removed them and replaced them with an X. Innkeepers marked the number of served drinks on the barrels in the cellar. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century a merchant from Sarajevo kept his accounts in a ledger, in which he wrote the same signs (lines, dots, arches, circles) that were used on tally sticks (Bogičević 1953: 206–207).

In Slovenia, too, units from one to four were usually marked with lines (I), the fifth unit with a tick (V), and the tenth with a cross (X). A proverb from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is related to these marks: *Kljuka pet, križ deset, dva pa tri, kol'ko to st'ri* (A tick is five, a cross ten, two and three, how much does that make) (Hudovernik 1883: 5). Other marks were also in use – slanting lines, stars, holes – which had conventional meanings in local communities. In the neighbourhood wine cellar of Dragomlja vas, Bela krajina, the quantities of loaned wine were marked by what were known as peasant numerals. A line (I) was cut for one jug of wine, a tick (V) for five jugs, and a cross (X) for ten. To record fifty jugs a horizontal line was added to the cross, turning it into a kind of star. The house number 19 was written as IIIIVX, and 26 as IVXX on tally sticks (Dular 1963/1964: 44).

In addition to these marks, which are reminiscent of Roman numerals, other ways of recording data were used: in some places the first nine notches were short and every tenth longer. In Prlekija, for instance, each unit on a grape picker's tally was marked with a notch on the edge of the stick, and for every tenth unit an incision was made around the stick (Stanek 1940: 353). In Grabrovec, Bela krajina, a loaned *maseljč* of wine (around 3.5 dcl) was marked by boring or stabbing a hole in the tally stick, half a *firkelj* (around 2.5 dcl) was marked with a horizontal notch across half the width of the tally stick, and a whole jug with a notch across the entire



width. In the Drašiči neighbourhood, a loaned *polič* of wine (around 7.5 dcl) was marked with a short notch across the entire width of the tally stick, a *firkelj* with an additional notch from the opposite site, turning the two notches into a tiny channel. Five *firkelj* were marked with a slanting groove and the tenth *firkelj* with a cross (Dular 1964/64: 44).

Those who were (at least partly) literate marked some data on the tally sticks with notches and others with a pencil. The ownership of a tally stick was, for instance, marked by writing the house number with an ink pen (carving Arabic numerals would have been difficult), the house name or occupation (e.g. miller) (Dular 1963/64: 44). In the 1940s, a carter in Ljubljana marked the number of transports on his tally, but wrote his name on it with a pencil. When a deal involved a literate person and an illiterate one, the literate one (tradesman or merchant) usually kept additional evidence with entries in a ledger (dyers, among others) and illiterate ones only on their tally sticks.

Records similar to those on tally sticks are also found in other environments. Foundries in Gorenjska kept evidence of their dealings with blacksmiths and charcoal burners in wooden account books – wooden tablets tied together with leather straps. They drew a horizontal line across a black tablet and then made the conventional marks (circles and lines), denoting quantities of money, below, above, or across this line. A specimen of such a ledger is in the Iron Forging Museum in Kropa (Žontar 1940a: 311; Vilfan 1944a: 248; Gašperšič 1956: 62).

In Prekija, threshing was accompanied by recording the quantities of the thus obtained grain with chalk or pencil lines on the threshing machine, scoop, or door. Every tenth line was different (Stanek 1940: 353). It was also customary among merchants and innkeepers to keep evidence of served food and drinks “*na kredo*” (chalking them up); the quantities of loaned goods were marked with chalk lines. An innkeeper from the environs of Cerkno used to chalk up the quantity of unpaid wine on a door lintel as follows: I = 1; V = 5; X = 10; Ø = 100.<sup>3</sup> Some other tradesmen, smiths among others, carved the house numbers of their debtors and the work carried out for them on the door lintel (Vilfan 1944: 110). Even nowadays in some parts of Bizeljsko every basket of grapes brought to the cellar is chalked up on the wooden wall above the cellar’s door to record the grape crops of individual years. In card games drawing lines to record results was also preserved for quite a long time.

In some places, instead of using notches or lines, counting was done with beans or knots on a string. In Cerkljansko and the environs of Grosuplje, for instance,

<sup>3</sup> Field trip 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, notebook 18, p. 44; Field trip 2, Šmarje-Sap-Polica, 1949, notebook 11, p. 37 (SEM, Documentation Department).

for every bushel of grain brought to the granary one bean was put aside; at the end of the day they were counted to establish the total number of bushels.<sup>4</sup> Knots on strings were used in Dolenjska to count the number of workdays performed by hired hands.

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<sup>4</sup> Field trip 2, Šmarje-Sap-Polica, 1949, notebook 11, p. 37 (SEM, Documentation Department).

## EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF TALLY STICKS OUTSIDE EUROPE

That tally sticks are a universal device is substantiated by the fact that they were in use over many centuries, not only in Europe but also in societies with very different cultures around the world. In Kabyle, the mountainous north of Algeria, a kind of tally stick was used for drawing lots to divide the meat of a slaughtered animal between the members of a community as fairly as possible. Every member of the community handed over a tally stick with his symbol to the head of the community, who after shuffling them gave them to his assistant, who then attached a piece of meat to every tally stick. The members then each sought out their tally stick with the attached meat (Février 1959 in Ifrah 2000: 66). In Africa, tally sticks were also used in trade. This is among others attested by a 42.5 cm long and 2 cm wide tally stick from Gambia, which was used in the groundnut trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is now in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.<sup>5</sup>

The Australian aborigines used tally sticks, called messenger sticks, for communication purposes. Different groups exchanged 20 to 30 cm long sticks with notched lines and dots and they were mostly used when inviting neighbouring groups to ceremonial and war meetings, as well as ball games. The Maori kept a list of their ancestors on wooden sticks (Feest 1999: 201), and the Fiji islanders made notches on their clubs to mark the number of animals and enemies killed (Menninger 1992: 39).

Tally sticks were also used by Native Americans. Wooden tally sticks were in use among the Auracans in the area of Chile and Argentine, where farm hands (*peones*) marked their workdays (Benigar 1988: 22) on them. Not so long ago, Indian workers in Southern California counted their workdays with notches on sticks; a wider or deeper notch marked the end of the week, and a cross was made every fortnight. Cowboys marked the number of killed buffaloes with notches on their gunstocks (Ifrah 2000: 64).

The use of small wooden sticks with notches, marking the result of various games, was very common among North American Indians (Culin 1975). The National Museum of the American Indian (Washington) has several specimens of wooden tally sticks called *disesdodi*, from around 1905, which the Cherokee used for scorekeeping in ball games.<sup>6</sup> The Native Americans living on the shores of the north-western Pacific played the game *slahal*, in which the number of points made was marked on wooden tally sticks (earlier on bones). The Lummi

<sup>5</sup> Internet source: <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-080-683-C> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Internet source: <http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=20363&objtype=Games,%20Toys,%20Gambling:%20Ball%20game%20items&objid=Tally/Scorekeeping%20sticks> (19. 5. 2009); <http://www.nmai.si.edu/subpage.cfm?subpage=search&second=results&keyword=tally+stick> (19. 5. 2009).

Native Americans (in the state of Washington) used them in the game *slahal* until at least the 1930s.<sup>7</sup>

Messenger sticks were used by neighbouring ethnic groups of Native Americans. The Seneca, for instance, used to invite the chiefs of neighbouring groups to rituals that took place on a fixed day and at a fixed hour. The Onondaga had small wooden tally sticks with 27 notches as a kind of mourning book for 27 deceased chiefs. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Sioux used a thin notched stick representing their history (Marshack 1972: 139). Elsewhere in North America data on wars were recorded on tally sticks (Feest 1999: 201). The Native Americans also used tally sticks or wooden calendars as lists of events, e.g. the Pima in the area of Arizona and Sonora (Mexico). The National Museum of the American Indian has a 92 cm long wooden stick on which the notches record the events between 1833 and 1921.<sup>8</sup> Native Americans also used wooden calendars; the Hopi used 30 to 50 cm long sticks, called *koho*, to record time (Malotki 1983: 487–491).

Tally sticks were also widely used in Asia. Marco Polo (1254–1324) mentioned the use of tally sticks in China. Before the introduction of writing, notched sticks were used there as evidence of contracts, agreements, and business deals. Traces of the use of wooden tally sticks are still evident in the ideogram signifying “contract”; it consists of two signs – one signifying a notched stick, and the other a knife (Ifrah 2000: 66). The use of messenger sticks is reported in Laos in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Harmand in: Ifrah 2000: 64) and tally sticks were used to mark various services in Siberia (Feest 1999: 201).

The Kachin of Burma used split tally sticks to confirm contracts so that each party had identical proof (Feest 1999: 201). Coconut counting in the Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean was done by taking a bamboo rod, splitting the ends like a broom and making notches in the resulting strands. Because an ordinary stick would not suffice, they cut off a half-metre long bamboo rod and split it into several strands at one end. The notches on the split strands marked the number of collected coconuts (Menninger 1992: 227). Accounts on the use of notches on wooden tablets and sticks in Indochina date from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where on the Boloven plateau the names of the seller, buyer, witnesses, data, kind of goods, and price were written on a wooden tablet (Harmand in Ifrah 2000: 65–66). In Sumatra, war was declared by sending a notched stick with feathers, pieces of flint, and fishes; the number of notches indicated the number of attackers, who were as fast as birds (feathers), would destroy everything (flint = fire) and drown (fish) their enemies (Février in Ifrah 2000: 64).

<sup>7</sup> Internet source: [http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/social&CISOPTR=171&CISOBX=1&REC=3](http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/social&CISOPTR=171&CISOBX=1&REC=3) (3. 7. 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Internet source: [http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=113332&objtype=Indigenous%20Knowledge%20\(Map,%20Calendar,%20etc.\)](http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=113332&objtype=Indigenous%20Knowledge%20(Map,%20Calendar,%20etc.)) (20. 8. 2009).

In a similar way to the Australian aborigines and Native Americans, the Inuit used special messenger sticks for communication between neighbouring groups. The Inupiaq group in the north of Alaska still used special notched sticks to invite neighbouring groups to celebrations and dances in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The marks on a stick helped the messenger not to forget the message he had to bring to the neighbouring village, and objects were tied to the stick which symbolised desired gifts.<sup>9</sup> Every spring the elder of a group on the island of Nunivak sent a messenger to the mainland to invite befriended groups and business partners to the island to celebrate. The messenger carried a notched stick, on which the people invited and desired gifts were marked. Before he went on his way, the elder explained to him the meaning of the notches (Lowry 1994: 33).

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<sup>9</sup> Internet source: [http://vilda.alaska.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/cdmg21&CISOPTR=848&REC=17#metainfo](http://vilda.alaska.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/cdmg21&CISOPTR=848&REC=17#metainfo) (14. S. 2009).

## EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF TALLY STICKS IN EUROPE

Tally sticks are certainly among the most common wooden documents in Europe. They were used by the Early Germans as bills or records of duties. The Franks and Alemanni recorded debts and duties on a stick called a *festuca* (Menninger 1992: 228). Tally sticks were used in the past in England, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, among the Slavic peoples, etc., and their long use has been confirmed by archaeological finds from around Europe. That they were certainly used in the Middle Ages, if not earlier, is further substantiated by archive sources. Written and pictorial sources complement the material specimens – tally sticks used from ancient times to the 20<sup>th</sup> century – which are now in numerous European museums. It is interesting to note that in different places of Europe very similar tally sticks appeared, and that they were used in similar ways and for similar purposes.

It is commonly thought that tally sticks were used only by illiterate peasants and that they were important as documents of common law only in local communities. However, sources show that tally sticks had a very important role in other environments in Europe as well in the past, e.g. in town and state administrations, where they were considered legal documents. In the history of England they were very important in the Royal Treasury, where tally sticks were considered to be official government records or lists. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards the officers of the Treasury recorded paid taxes and other moneys in ledgers as well as on tally sticks; the sheriffs of the counties used them to collect taxes and sent them to the monarch. Double tallies were used to record payments received: one part was kept by the collector, and the other part represented the payer's receipt. Tally sticks were banned in England in 1782, but they nevertheless remained in use until 1826. In 1834, the tally sticks from the Royal Treasury were to be destroyed and when a huge amount of them was burned in the furnaces beneath Parliament, the building caught fire. When Westminster Abbey was renovated, several hundred tally sticks from the 13<sup>th</sup> century were discovered, which had been used in the Royal Treasury, as well as documents and remnants of leather bags in which the sticks were probably kept (Menninger 1992: 236–238). Some specimens from the Royal Treasury have been preserved to the present day.

Records of payments made to the Royal Treasury on notched tally sticks seemed to have been practised in Ireland too. A 24 cm long yew tally stick was found during excavations in the town centre of Waterford in 1986–1992. It is thought to contain a record of the annual taxes the mayor of Waterford paid to the Royal Treasury in Dublin. One part of the tally stick was kept in Dublin and the other part in Waterford. The tally stick is today in the collections of the Waterford Museum of Treasures.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Internet source: <http://askaboutireland.ie/reading-room/arts-literature/the-virtual-museum/waterford-museum-of-treas/commercial/tally-stick/> (12. 3. 2009).

One of the oldest traces of the use of tally sticks in Bohemia is an entry in the municipal register (*Stadtbuch*) of Olomouc from 1510; it indicates that the town administration used tally sticks to record the financial condition of individual citizens, and as valid receipts or securities in connection with judgements about debts and transfers in the land register. Tally sticks are also mentioned in the land registers of the municipality of Odrlice in the Litovel district from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Burian 1959: 2–3).

The tally stick is mentioned in the French Napoleonic Code (*Code civile / Code Napoléon / Code civil des Français*) from 1804. Article 1333 refers to the tally stick as a receipt for the delivery of goods to customers (Menninger 1992: 231; Ifrah 2000: 66; Žontar 1940a: 311).

The tally stick is also mentioned in article 25 of the Code of the Kingdom of Serbia from 1887:

*Bakers, butchers, milkmen, water deliverers, candle makers and the like must prove their claims with a tally stick – a stick on which the person who received the goods has put his signature or seal. The tally stick is conclusive evidence of the quantity if it matches the foil the accused has. Even without the foil, it is conclusive evidence if the accused refuses to show the foil or has lost it due to negligence. But if the accused can prove that he lost the foil by accident and without blame, it is left to the municipal court to judge this kind of evidence.* (Bogičević 1953: 205)

Providing evidence with tally sticks as a legal institution was preserved in Serbia until the 1930s (Dolenc 1935: 392). In Imotska Krajina, Croatia, tally sticks were reportedly considered as evidence in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Škarpa 1933: 172).

Single and split (mostly double) tally sticks were in use for a great variety of purposes in Europe. Let us now look into some of the most common or typical uses of tally sticks.

### **Tax tallies**

Tally sticks played a very important role in Europe in recording the various duties due to landlords, the church, and local and state authorities. The Roman writer and scholar Pliny the Elder (\*23–†79) wrote about the wooden tallies which the Romans used to record taxes paid (Bogičević 1953: 204). It seems that tax tallies were common all over Europe at the local level and, in some countries, also at the national level.

Tally sticks were very common for the purpose of collecting taxes among the Hungarians in the Middle Ages. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, written lists were used for collecting taxes and confirming payments, but at the lower levels of the public administration tally sticks were also used. A 15<sup>th</sup> century royal decree ordered the village judges of all the municipalities to add the stocks of tally sticks to the

tri-annual written records. The use of tally sticks in collecting taxes in the Middle Ages is further indicated by the association of the word (*rovaš*) with taxes: it indeed meant *adó* (tax), *megróvás* meant tax collection, and *rovó* tax collector. A church tithe district was called a *kés* (knife) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a name deriving from the knife used to notch tally sticks. The word *rovás* probably spread from the use in the Hungarian state and church administration to the ethnic minorities and neighbouring nations (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

Tally sticks recording taxes were used in France: the tax collector marked the sums paid on a wooden tally stick. As mentioned above, tally sticks were used in England to record duties paid and lists of revenues and expenses (Ifrah 2000: 65). Tax tallies (*contrastock*) were further in use in the Netherlands.

In late 19<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria, every peasant had a four-sided tally stick that was kept by the mayor. One side recorded what he had to pay, and another side how much he had paid already. Every stick carried the symbol of its owner. Beside tax tallies recording the debts of individuals, the municipalities also kept a joint tally – a long notched pole. The village of Pazarel near Sredca had around 250 short tallies and four joint tallies in 1883 (Rutar 1891: 447). Tax tallies were in use in Romania, where every farmer had a split tally stick: the stock was with the mayor and the foil with the farmer, the tax collectors were called *rabojarii* (from *raboj*=tally) (Hémardinquer 1963: 146). The Mari (Cheremis) on the middle Volga in Russia used split tax tally sticks. The tax collector had a tally stick for every household; carved on every stick were an identifying symbol, the number of household members and the amount of tax due. After the tax was paid, the mark cut off and the same tally stick was sometimes used for several years (Menninger 1992: 239–240).

Tax tallies were used in central Croatia (e.g. in Draganići) (Vilfan 1944: 110), and three-sided tax tallies in Dalmatia (Škarpa 1933: 175). Four-sided tally sticks were used to record duties paid in Bosnia under Turkish rule. The village elders divided a single tally stick with incisions into as many parts as there were homesteads in the village. On each part they marked how much tax an individual homestead had to pay and how much it had paid already. The tally sticks were used to report the collected taxes to the landlord – the *spahija*. Turkish officials also used tallies to collect taxes (Drobnjaković 1933; Bogičević 1953: 205).

The use of long tally sticks has also been reported in southern Serbia, where the duties of individual houses were marked on them, with the marks cut from bottom to top. In Šumadija, a four-sided stick, around half a meter long, was used. The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade has a specimen of a tax tally from the environs of Pirot that is 92 cm long (Drobnjaković 1933). The Serbian expression for tax, *poroz*, is assumed to derive from the (tax) tally and its *zareze* (cuts, notches) (Rutar 1891: 447).



### Tally sticks recording work done

Around Europe tally sticks were also used for recording work done, units of work done, and the number of workdays. Performed *corvée* and the number of workdays were marked on a tally stick in Estonia (Rank 1997: 18); such tally sticks were also known in Finland (Menninger 1992: 231). Wooden tally sticks were used in the Swiss canton of Wallis in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; here too, they recorded the number of workdays which the peasants performed for the local community, and payment followed based on the number of notches (Pallestrang 2004: 56).

In the English counties of Kent, Herefordshire, and Eastern Sussex, until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, wooden tally sticks were used to record the quantity of hop harvested. When the hop ripened in September, it had to be picked as quickly as possible, and the farmers therefore hired seasonal workers in addition to their domestic hands. To record the quantity of picked hop they used double tally sticks: the stocks with holes drilled in them were kept by the “tally man” (overseer, measurer) on a string, and the matching parts by the pickers. The notches recorded the number of picked hop bushels for which payment was due. The notches on both parts of the tally stick had to match of course. Besides wooden tally sticks, small metal tokens, usually round ones, were used for the same purpose in England from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; the initials of the issuer (the hop farmer) were usually imprinted on them, as well as the number of bushels. The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford has a collection of wooden tally sticks and metal tokens related to hop picking.<sup>11</sup> Another collection of metal tokens for recording the quantities of picked hop is in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.<sup>12</sup>

In Zagorje (Croatia) overseers (*špani*) were responsible for the work the peasants had to carry out on the estates of the landlords, and they recorded the work done by hired hands with marks on wooden tally sticks (Kotarski 1916: 55–56). In the environs of Zagreb work done was marked on double tally sticks: the overseer marked the workdays with notches using a knife, kept the stock and gave the foil to the hired hand (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 1264). In Zagorje, some overseers marked the work done by peasants with notches on a tally stick, and gave the workers sheet metal tokens in confirmation in the evening. Accounts were settled every three months: the steward counted the tokens and the overseer the notches on his tally stick. The final account with the landlord was settled at New Year (Kotarski 1916: 56). In Bosnia, too, tally sticks were used to record the workdays of hired workers. Special marks recorded whole, half, and quarter workdays (Bogičević 1953: 211).

<sup>11</sup> Internet source: <http://england.prm.ox.ac.uk/englishness-hop-tallies.html> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Internet source: [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguesummary.html?\\_searchstring=AG='cm'%20and%20\(OB='hop%20token'%20when%20OT='subseries'\)&\\_function=\\_xslt&\\_limit=\\_50&\\_resultstylesheet=\\_imagecs](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguesummary.html?_searchstring=AG='cm'%20and%20(OB='hop%20token'%20when%20OT='subseries')&_function=_xslt&_limit=_50&_resultstylesheet=_imagecs) (19. 5. 2009).

A supervisor, called a *karbownik*, marked the work done by labourers on a wooden tally stick in Poland (Babnik 1883: 91).

### Tally sticks as receipts for goods received

Medieval Italian monasteries used double tally sticks as receipts for money or other goods given to them in storage. When leaving the monastery, their owner had to show his part of the tally stick to receive back the things he had put in storage (Edler in Apostolou and Crumbley 2008: 61). Various tradesmen in many European countries used double tally sticks as evidence or receipts that they had accepted material to be processed from their customers. They also marked on them the quantities of material received and after finishing the material the tally sticks were used to identify the owners. Such tally sticks were most common among fullers, dyers, tanners, millers, bakers, etc.

Double tally sticks were used by **weavers, fullers, and dyers**. Serbian dyers marked the yarn received for dyeing with a tally stick by attaching the stock to the yarn and giving the customer the foil as a receipt for delivered material. When the customer collected the yarn the notches on his part of the tally stick had to match the notches on the part of the tally stick that was attached to the yarn. In the same way some fullers, who had a mill on a mountain river, marked the raw cloth they collected in the neighbouring villages in order not to get it mixed up. In some places in southern Serbia fullers used tally sticks until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Drobnjaković 1933; Filipović 1951: 21). Tally sticks were still in use among Bosnian fullers and dyers in the mid 1950s (Bogičević 1953: 207).

Tally sticks, usually made of a 3 to 4 cm long hazel branch, were also used by Macedonian fullers. The fuller carved a narrow hole through one half of the tally stick and used it to sew the stick to the cloth; vertical and slanting notches marking the cloth's weight were cut on the other half of the stick. A slanting notch meant 5 kg, a vertical one 1 kg, and a thin, vertical notch 0.5 kg. He then cut the stick into halves, sewed one half to the cloth and gave the other half to the cloth's owner to avoid errors when he returned the fulled cloth. More recently, some fullers used metal tokens with numbers instead of tally sticks (Nedelkovski 2002: 125, 127).

Bosnian dyers also tied the stock to the cloth, giving the foil to the owner. When the cloth was dyed, the owner could identify it by the matching notches on the stock and foil, which also marked the quantity of cloth delivered for dyeing (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 207). In Dalmatia, cloth owners sewed a densely trimmed piece of cloth, called a *biliška* (note) to a cloth bale. The note contained various symbols – a cross, star, dot, one or more circles, etc., identifying the owner. Twin notes were made and the owner kept one of them (Škarpa 1933: 177).

Many **tanners** similarly used tally sticks as receipts for delivered leather. Double tally sticks were used to mark hides brought for tanning in Estonia. One part of the tally stick was attached to the hide, and its owner received the other half as a receipt for the delivered hide and easier confirmation of ownership after treatment (Rank 1997: 18).

**Millers** marked the grain bags farmers brought to the mill with tally sticks. Tally sticks were used for this purpose in Bohemia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, if not earlier (Burian 1959: 2). Village millers in Bosnia also used double tally sticks – one part was tied to the bag, and the other one given to the farmer (Bogičević 1953: 207–208); millers in Croatia operated in the same way. In areas with several mills, every miller marked his personal tally sticks (Škarpa 1933: 197–180).

### **Tally sticks for recording debts**

Accounting tally sticks were mostly used by tradesmen who were not paid for their services on the spot, because it was customary to settle accounts by periods, mostly weekly, monthly or yearly.

Tally sticks were used by village **farriers** in Alsatia. Every time a farmer had a horse shod, the farrier made a notch on a double tally stick. The tally stick was the farmer's, but he kept one part of it at home in the stables, and the other part on which his ownership was marked (his initials and house number) was kept by the farrier on a string, together with the tally sticks of other farmers. The farmer and farrier settled their accounts around New Year.

**Bakers** also used tally sticks; farmers who had their own grain, but no bread oven, took their loaves to the village baker and gave him flour to pay for the service: for every loaf he baked, the baker made a notch on the tally stick, and at the end of the year the baker and farmer settled the quantities of flour and loaves based on the notches on the tally stick (Klein 1981: 161–162). In the early 1970s, countryside bakers from the environs of Dijon still used double tally sticks to record the number of loaves given to individual customers; the baker kept the stock and the customer was given the foil. The baker made a notch on both parts of the tally stick every time the customer took a loaf of bread. The accounts were settled on a fixed day, e.g. once a week. At the end of the week the two parts were put together, and if the notches matched, the bill was confirmed. Tally sticks were also used by bakers in Belgium (Ifrah 2000: 65), England, and the Netherlands.

Double tally sticks, notched on both parts, were used by bakers in Bosnia under Turkish rule, both in dealing with ordinary people and the army, which used tally sticks to account for the quantity of bread it purchased. In late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Bosnia double tally sticks were used to mark the number of delivered Turkish bre-

ad (*asker tain*) and the related debt (Bogičević 1953: 204, 207; Delić 1892: 89). Serbian bakers marked the loaves provided to customers on tally sticks; bakers' tallies were four-sided and 20 to 30 cm long. The foil was cut out of around two thirds of the stock and kept by the customer, while the stock remained with the baker. For every loaf the baker gave to a customer, he made a notch across both parts of the tally stick after putting them together. The account was settled after composing the stock and foil and counting the notches. When the bill was paid, the notches were removed with a knife. In some places in the south of Serbia, bakers continued to use tally sticks until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Drobnjaković 1933; Filipović 1951: 21).

Debt recording tallies were also used when customers borrowed **money or merchandise** which they could not pay immediately. Jewish money lenders marked the sums of loaned money on a tally stick with notches and then split the stick lengthwise – they kept one part and gave the other to the loan recipient. The Museum of London has a specimen of such a tally stick (5.3 cm long, alder or hazel) from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> They recorded the loans made to churches, local authorities, and wealthy individuals (tradesmen, merchants) in a similar way.

To keep evidence of loaned money, wooden promissory notes were used in Visperterminen, Switzerland. The village community had a joint capital fund from which the farmers could borrow money. Every loan was marked on a tally stick (*Kapitaltessel*), which the farmer handed over to the head of the local community. On one side of the tally stick was the farmer's sign, and on the other side the debt was marked. These tallies were strung on a cord through the holes in their ends and kept until the debts were paid. The same method was used for recording the loans the farmers obtained from the church (Menninger 1992: 235; Pallestrang 2004: 59).

The Chuvash and Mari (Cheremis) of central Russia used tally sticks for recording loans of money in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The tally stick was halved lengthwise, and the sums of money loaned were marked with notches on both parts, after which a witness carved his mark across both parts. The creditor and debtor each marked their half of the tally stick and exchanged them (Ifrah 2000: 66).

Prosperous farmers in Bosnia marked the amounts they loaned to poor farmers on tally sticks. They had a tally stick with special symbols for every debtor and kept them in a secure place (Bogičević 1953: 208). Grain was often the subject of loans. For this purpose a double stick was used in Estonia (Rank 1997: 118) and by prosperous farmers in Bosnia who loaned grain to poor farmers (Bogičević 1953: 205, 208).

<sup>13</sup> Internet source: <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/English/Collections/OnlineResources/RWWC/objects/record.htm?type=object&id=372215> (19. 5. 2009).

The use of tally sticks was further very common among **innkeepers**, who served their guests drinks on credit or “on the tab”. Bosnian innkeepers used tally sticks for this purpose, while coffee house owners used them to mark the number of cups of coffee consumed (Bogičević 1953: 207). Village innkeepers in Bohemia used tally sticks to record the quantities of beer they delivered to farmers. The farmers settled their debts in barley around St Martin’s Day (Domlivil 1904: 206). Dalmatian innkeepers used tally sticks to record lard received and wine sold (Škarpa 1933: 173).

**Merchants** made similar use of tally sticks when they gave customers merchandise on credit, e.g. in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Tally sticks were used by Sarajevo merchants to trade with illiterate customers, even if they were literate themselves. Some used conventional symbols for various kinds of merchandise. Every customer had a tally with the merchant and the merchants carved identification symbols on them to differ between their customers. Some merchants carved their own symbol on the tally sticks so that customers who frequented several merchants could tell them apart (Bogičević 1953: 206).

### **Shepherds’ and cowherds’ tally sticks**

In parts of Europe where common pasturing was practised, shepherds and cowherds recorded the numbers of animals and their owners on their tally sticks, as well as other information, e.g. the different categories of animals by age, sex, milk yield, and the quantities of milk, cheese, butter, etc. Tally sticks were common in the Swiss Alps. They were used to mark the number of animals in the flock, the number of sterile animals, and the numbers of sheep and goats. They also used parallel tallies (Ifrah 2000: 64) for other kinds of data. A special three-sided tally stick, called an *Alpscheit*, was used in the Lötschental as a kind of certificate of their right to pasture animals on communal pastures. Small pieces were cut out of each of the three surfaces at regular intervals. The farmers kept these inset pieces as evidence of their individual pasture rights in ornately carved boxes, and the shepherd or cowherd kept the tally stick (Menninger 1992: 234). In another use related to communal pasturing a tally stick determined the order of guarding the cattle when it returned from the mountain pastures on St Michael’s Day, and another tally stick record the transport of cow dung to the valley. Special tally sticks were in use in Switzerland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to determine the order of the houses responsible for providing board and lodging to the cowherd (Pallestrang 2004: 56, 58). The cowherds used five-to-eight-sided milk tallies, 15 to 20 cm long, made of alder or ash. They marked the owners of the cows on the tally stick with symbols and below these symbols they recorded the milk yields of the cows of the individual farmers. The daily milk yield had to be processed and delivered immediately. As the pastures

were close to the village, a peasant came to the pasture every day to make cheese from the milk of all the cows. The recorded quantities of milk yielded by the cows of every individual farmer made sure that the cheese was shared out evenly. Milk tallies were still in use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Menninger 1992: 229–230).

Such tally sticks were also used in Britain. Shepherds in the Ceredigion area of Wales used four-sided tally sticks: the total number of sheep was marked on the first side, the number of lambs on the second; the third recorded the number of castrated rams, and the fourth the farmer's name. Four specimens of such tally sticks, around 30 cm long and 1.5 cm wide, are kept in the Ceredigion Museum.<sup>14</sup> Tally sticks were used to record the number of milk cows in Scotland. Such a tally stick, around 12 cm long and last used in 1879, is in the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.<sup>15</sup>

Double tally sticks were also common in Sardinia; their owners marked on them the number of animals they had entrusted to a shepherd. Some shepherds in Sardinia joined forces to organise their work (pasturing, milking, processing milk, etc.) more efficiently. They usually had about the same number of animals, but they nevertheless recorded daily the milk yield. Every shepherd had his own tally stick - *musròju* – for the division of the milk. The stick had several functions: it was a unit of measurement, a counting device, a device for keeping records on the quantities of milk yielded over several days, and a kind of account book on measured and total quantities of milk (Maxi).

Hungarian shepherds used tally sticks on communal pastures to record the number of sheep from individual farmers and the quantities of milk yield. They marked the number of milk sheep on one side of a four-sided tally stick, the number of infertile sheep on the second side, the milk yield on the third side, and the farmers on the fourth side. Individual farmers were separated by notched crosses (Ortutay 1981: 375–376).

Tally sticks were used by shepherds in Bohemia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, if not earlier (Burian 1959: 2). A four-sided stick or walking stick, which also served as a tally, was marked on all four sides. First the stick was lengthwise divided into fields signifying individual farmers, and for every sheep owner they carved the total number of sheep or young lambs, processed butter or cheese, and the salt the shepherds fed the sheep. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, shepherds from Wallachia, Moravia, used tally sticks to record the number of sheep owned by individual farmers, as well as their milk yield. They further marked the total number of sheep they had on the

<sup>14</sup> Internet source: <http://pilgrim.ceredigion.gov.uk/index.cfm?articleid=1692> (19. 5. 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Internet source: <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-000-143-&scache=5ma8q4b033&searchdb=scan> (11. 3. 2009).

pasture and the quantities of cheese and butter they gave the owners, as well as the quantities of salt the sheep were fed (Domluvil 1904: 207; Kašlík 1943).

Shepherd's tally sticks were used in Serbia where communal pasturing was practised. Evidence of the number of animals was kept on tally sticks by the sheep owners and shepherds. The shepherd had a tally stick with as many sides as there were sheep owners. At the top of the tally stick was a small hole for tying it to the shepherd's belt. The shepherd made notches below this hole, marking the number of sheep of individual farmers, followed by the milk yield and other information. In some places around 10 cm long tally sticks were in use to record the quantities of milk belonging to individual farmers. In the 1930s, tally sticks were still in use here and there in Serbia (Drobnjaković 1933), and in the south of Serbia some shepherds used tally sticks until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Filipović 1951: 21). Macedonian shepherds used tally sticks to measure the milk yield, and there are two specimens in the Macedonian Museum in Skopje.

Tally sticks were also used in Bosnia. In addition to those which were similar to the tally sticks used by shepherds and cowherds elsewhere, a special tally reminiscent of a messenger stick was in use. When a farmer sent a boy to the herdsman on the mountain pasture, he gave him a wooden stick with notches from which the herdsman could read how much cheese he was to send to the farmer and which cows he was to take down to Sarajevo in advance, that is before the end of the pasture season (Rütimayer in Bogičević 1953: 209).

### **Carters' tally sticks**

Viennese carters engaged in snow removal used triple tally sticks. The central part including the handle was kept by the carter, one side part by the supervisor present at the snow loading, and the second side part by the supervisor responsible for unloading. All three parts were marked with the same number. The number of transports was marked with notches on all three parts of the tally stick. The carter stuck his part of the tally in his boot. The two supervisors hung the side parts of the tallies of the different carters on a wire and carried them around their neck. The central part of the tally, kept by the carter, was called a *Weibl* (female), and the corresponding part a *Mannl* (male). Besides triple tallies, double ones were used with the same names for the parts (Haberlandt 1895: 54). Transports of building material were recorded on a tally stick in Klagenfurt and in Trieste, where they were also employed on cargo boats (Vilfan 1944: 108).

The number of transports or quantities of delivered material was also marked on tally sticks in Bosnia. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century rafters on the Drina still thus marked the number of log rafts they floated down the river. A carter from Čajnić, Bosnia,

recorded the number of bricks delivered with a horse team on a tally stick, which he kept stuck in his belt (Delić 1892: 89; Bogičević 1953: 207–208). In Dalmatia, sailors marked the quantities of wine they loaded onto their boat on a tally stick (Škarpa 1933: 176), as well as the number of bundles of wood merchants handed over to them.

### **Accounting tally sticks**

In some activities tally sticks were used to record quantities only for the sake of statistical data on annual crops. Such were the tallies used to count the grain brought to the barn in Poland, or the grape pickers' tallies, on which the pickers marked the daily quantities of picked grapes in Austrian Styria. At the end of the workday they left them in the room where the grapes were pressed (Pallestrang 2004: 60, 61). Tally sticks were among others used for recording the quantities of picked grapes and olives in Dalmatia (Škarpa 1933: 176).

### **Other tally sticks**

Tally sticks were used in mining ore in Europe in the Late Middle Ages. Saxon miners used them in Serbia and Bosnia to record the quantities of mined ore (Bogičević 1953: 203), and Bohemian miners made use of them in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Burian 1959: 2).

Single tally sticks were also used in the past to count votes. In Northern Italy representatives in village communities were elected by notches on a tally stick (Dolenc 1935: 170; Mažuranić (1908–1922: 1265). Similar practises existed in Croatian Istria. According to Valvasor, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the mayor, representatives of the village community, the town gatekeeper, court usher, sexton, and smith were elected in this way (Vilfan 1955: 116; Vilfan 1996: 139).

In some European villages tally sticks were used to determine the order of and record tasks to be performed by all the members of a community (night watch, flag bearing, forestry work, the ringing of bells, etc.). Many such tally sticks were employed in Switzerland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. House symbols carved on four-sided tally sticks determined the order of the tasks, e.g. the night watch, guarding the cattle on the pasture and when taking them back home from the mountains, collecting money borrowed from the church, providing for the village herdsman, cross and flag bearing in processions, etc. Tally sticks also regulated the order for the right to employ a breeding bull and for baking bread (Pallestrang 2004: 58–59). In the village of Nugla near Roč in Croatian Istria, all the inhabitants had to take turns in ringing the church bells. Evidence that they had performed their duty was kept on a long stick, on which each inhabitant carved his letter. Older inhabitants carved



their letter in the Glagolitic script, younger ones in the Latin script (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1944a: 246). Field guards in Bosnia had sticks they used for walking as well as to record the number of cattle that caused damage in the fields, their owners, and the kind of damage (Bogičević 1953: 208).

Tally sticks were employed in Bohemian breweries to keep evidence of the number of times beer was brewed, the quantities of malt added, the quantities of beer purchased, free beer given, and of beer sold to inns. The Rakovník brewery kept its accounts on tally sticks in 1150, and they were used in Jindřichov Hradec when barley was brewed in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Records on timber processing, e.g. sawing logs, were kept on tally sticks (Burian 1959: 2) and, similarly, when cutting firewood, in Croatia.<sup>16</sup> Another kind of use was practised in building, introduced among others in Ostrava, Bohemia, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (ibidem).

Tally sticks related to water rights were important in the canton of Wallis, Switzerland. The farmers relied heavily on the water channels running from the mountains, especially in summer when the arable land lay dry. They constructed special irrigation channels to direct water to the fields of individual farmers. Because the water flow was owned by the entire village community, they had to agree whose fields would receive water and for how long. Records of the water rights (in hours) were kept on tally sticks. The holes on a rectangular stick marked the number of irrigation days, and the tally sticks tied to the individual holes with strings recorded the number of irrigation hours (Menninger 1992: 235; Pallestrang 2004: 59).

Boys in German-speaking Switzerland kept special “St Nicholas sticks”, on which they marked the “good deeds” they performed during the year. At the eve of St Nicholas’s Day they presented their notched sticks to St Nicholas and were given presents in accordance with the number of notches. The custom of “St Nicholas sticks” survived in southern Alsatia until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Klein 1981: 163).

A tally stick called a *bata scoir* was used in school classes in Ireland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was related to efforts to eradicate the Irish language and teach the children English. The children had a string with an attached small wooden stick around their neck and the teacher made a notch on it every time a child spoke Irish. At the end of the day punishment (e.g. slaps) was meted out in accordance with the number of notches (Coleman 1998: 96; Crowley 2005: 122).

According to oral legend, the Turkish authorities in Bosnia fought the anti-Turkish activities of the Bosnian hajduks in 1822 by marking on a tally stick which peasants were to be killed in revenge. Bosnian women marked the age of their children with notches at the top of a distaff, and peasants marked the age and growth of their

<sup>16</sup> Two such specimens are in the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb.

children with incisions on the walls of the house (Bogičević 1953: 204, 210–211). Tally sticks were used in the delivery of wine and olives in Dalmatia, and people also had *prayer tallies* – small sticks with notches and dents to count the prayers said (Škarpa 1933: 178, 170, 172).

Some tally sticks were used for more “personal” reasons. A contemporary of Pieter Brueghel (1520–1569) reports that the Flemish painter was living with a young girl in Antwerp and wanted to marry her, but that she was given to lying. The two agreed that Brueghel would make a notch on a stick for every lie she told, and that he would not marry her if the notches reached the end of the stick (Menninger 1992: 226).

### Wooden calendars

Some authors count the wooden calendars and almanacs which people used to mark the months, weeks, and feast days in the past, as special forms of tallies. Wooden calendars were in use in Europe from the Early Middle Ages on and were preserved here and there until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; they were common in Germany, England, France, Austria, Scandinavia, and the Balkans (Graber 1954: 372–373). Two different forms of calendars were most commonly used in Europe: tablets for the individual months, tied together with a string; and three-, four- or six-sided sticks or laths, often with a hole at one end for hanging them on the wall. Ole Worm wrote a book entitled *Fasti Danici* (Gavazzi 1930: 332) on Danish calendars with entries in runic script in 1643. Wooden calendars were used in Norway to keep track of the seasons and feast days. Their use started to dwindle in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the first printed calendars appeared (Haugen 1947: 145). Wooden calendars were also common in Sweden. In Austrian Carinthia, two pearwood calendars in the form of sticks with a handle, dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, have been preserved (Graber 1954).

Wooden calendars were in use in areas of Dalmatia, Bosnia, Vojvodina, and the Banat, as well as Bulgaria (Gavazzi 1930). Shepherds and cowherds seem to have used wooden calendars south of Tamnište in Serbia until around 1910 (Filipović 1951: 122). Many homes in Bosnia continued to use wooden calendars until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were preserved longest among shepherds and cowherds who took animals to mountain pastures. A hazel branch was fashioned into a four-sided lath and in the making of calendars the shepherds and cowherds were assisted by teachers, priests, and other literate people, who knew the dates of the church feast days, or already had printed calendars. Only a couple of months were marked on these wooden calendars. The parts for the weeks that had passed were cut off and discarded (Grđić-Bjelokostić 1891: 457; Bogičević 1953: 209; Filipović 1958: 223).

Wooden calendars were also used by Croatian shepherds and cowherds. The Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb has a specimen of a wooden calendar from the island of Olib that was used by the local shepherds and cowherds. It is a 74 cm long, four-sided lath with 4 cm long sides, and it has a hole for hanging at one end. It has notches for the days of three months on each side. Above these notches there are additional marks for the feast days. Given that there are no marks for Sundays and variable church feast days, Gavazzi (1930: 332–333) considered it to be a permanent calendar.

Somewhat different wooden calendars were used in Estonia: they consisted of six (occasionally seven) thin wooden tablets, and notches for the days of one month were made one each side of every tablet (Rank 1997: 19).

## THE USE OF TALLY STICKS IN SLOVENIA

The story of the tally stick in Slovenia is very similar to elsewhere in Europe: tally sticks were of similar kinds, and the ways of use and marking were alike. Their use in Slovenia is attested by archive, written, pictorial, and oral sources, as well as preserved specimens in museums and private collections. Vilfan wrote that “the tally stick is the principal notebook of our peasants and tradesmen” (Vilfan 1944: 106). Tally sticks were still in use in many places around Slovenia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Babnik 1883: 75), but very few survived into the next century. One of the main reasons why so few tally sticks have been preserved was the dwindling use of many types of tally sticks around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Another reason is that they were usually destroyed after use. And if any notched stick, lath, or board did survive, it was of no interest to collectors of “antiques”. These circumstances are reflected in our museums. Some Slovene museums with ethnological collections have no tally sticks at all, while others have only a handful of specimens. Metal tokens, the successors of tally sticks, are similarly poorly represented in museum collections. The Posavje Museum in Brežice, for instance, has a couple of grape pickers’ tallies and two bundles of tally sticks for wine loaning. The Celje Regional Museum has a handful of tally sticks, the Maribor Regional Museum a single one. The Murska Sobota Regional Museum has several tokens, the Ptuj Regional Museum some grape pickers’ tallies and replicas of tokens. The Bela krajina Museum in Metlika has a few bundles of tally sticks from the region’s neighbourhood wine cellars.<sup>17</sup>

Slovene ethnology has carried out very little research into tally sticks, but they received more attention from certain lawyers. The lawyers Janko Babnik and Aleksander Hudovernik, who were researching common law, were the first to draw attention to the use of tally sticks in Slovenia and the need to research them, in 1883. Babnik wrote: “Tally sticks are still in use in many places in Slovenia and it would be worth studying and describing their use in detail” (Babnik 1883: 75). Tally sticks however became a subject of research only much later, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, when many kinds no longer existed. In the course of his research into common law, the lawyer Sergij Vilfan approached tally sticks in a more systematic way in the 1940s, and he wrote the following about them: “It is thus appropriate that we should try to record as many data as possible about the essence, forms, and uses of tally sticks before these interesting legal antiques vanish from folk life” (Vilfan 1944: 106).

A tally stick could be a branch, stick, club, or wooden lath and the kinds of wood mostly used for them in Slovenia were hazel, linden, spruce, sweet chestnut, oak, bee-

<sup>17</sup> The tally sticks are from Dragomlja vas, Lokvica, Slamna vas, and Drašiči (Dular 1963/64: 44).

ch, dogwood, and willow. In terms of form, tally sticks are single or split/sawn double or triple. A single tally stick was made of a solid piece of wood and primarily used for counting, whereas with double and triple tallies the branch, stick, or board is split, cut out, or sawn into two or three parts to make it possible for the conventional symbols (notches) to be visible on all parts. The tally stick is usually divided in such a way that the entire length is preserved only in one of its parts, and in many Slavic languages the term “hen” is used for the stock, and “chick” for the shorter, cut-off part (the foil), but these terms were not common in Slovenia (Vilfan 1944: 106). Past research has not yet yielded a commonly accepted Slovene term for the longer part with a handle; the term *matica* was adopted by Sergij Vilfan after the name used in Dalmatia. The cut-off foil is known by the names that were in use in Bela krajina – *izkolek* (cut-off, because one part was cut off the branch or lath), or *cepek* (split off). Carters of building material in Ljubljana used the terms *mandlc* (for the foil) and *vajblc* (for the stock) (Vilfan 1944: 106), and they derived from the names used by the snow clearing carters of Vienna (*Weibl, Mann dl*) (Haberlandt 1895: 54). In western Slovenia, the foil of a tally stick for drawing lots was sometimes called a *zrno* (“seed”).

### Tax tallies

The tally sticks used for recording taxes were usually single ones. Single tallies were used to record paid duties in Prekmurje until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Every farmer who had to pay taxes had his own tally stick on which paid taxes were recorded. The tally stick was kept at the home of the (illiterate) mayor (Vilfan 1944: 110; 1944a: 246–247; 1996: 146). Tax tallies were also in use in western Slovenia. Each was made of a single piece of wood, divided with notches into several sections that corresponded to individual farmers. Accounts related to the time around 1900 mention that the two field guards (*vardjana*) of the village of Črnotiče each had their own stick, on which they carved the symbols I, V, and X for the house numbers and for each of them the number of cattle and sheep, and the amount of tax the inhabitants owed for the communal tax, which the guards collected from door to door (Vilfan 1996: 220–221). The Slovene Ethnographic Museum has an original tax tally from Prekmurje (cat. no. 2) and an illustration of a tally stick from western Slovenia (cat. no. 21).

### Tally sticks recording work done

Double tally sticks were used to count and record corvée performed in the feudal era; later single or double tallies were used as certificates for the work done by hired hands. Hazel sticks, around a metre long and called *šihtne palice*, were used in Dolenjska; the farmer carved on them the number of workdays performed by the

hired hands; the notches for whole workday were carved on one side, those for half workday on the other. Farmers kept the sticks recording the work done for them by hired hands (smallholders) behind a beam in the house; the workers were usually hired for a period of 40 days a year. Farmers in Dolenjska and their farm hands recorded advance payments on double tallies. For every instalment the farmer paid in advance, each made a notch on his own tally. The farmer made a notch for every workday and then wrapped a thread around every notch.<sup>18</sup> They both took great care of their tallies. The notches on the sticks told them how much the farmer owed the hand at the end of his contract.<sup>19</sup>

Similar tally sticks, *škontrine*, were used by farmers in Primorska to count the workdays of their *coloni* or tenant farmers. A horizontal notch meant a whole day's work, a slanting notch half a day, and a cut around the tally marked the seventh day or a whole week. Farmers on Šentviška gora marked the number of workdays of their hired hands with a string. The farmer had a string for each worker and made a knot on it for each workday.<sup>20</sup>

Vineyard workers from Haloze marked their workdays on a single tally, around 30 cm long: for a whole day's work they carved out a long notch, and for a part of a day a short one. When payment was due, the tally served as a record of the work done, but the winegrower had no control over it (Vilfan 1944:109). Similar single tallies were used to record workdays in the environs of Idrija (Vilfan 1996: 144). Single tallies were still used in Porabje (Gornji Senik) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hired hands who helped bring in the harvest made notches on them in the form of lines and crosses to record the number of harvested bunches of hay, and they were paid in accordance with the notches (Kozar - Mukič 1996: 134). Tallies in the form of sticks were used in Istria to keep record of duties performed – ringing the bells and guarding the clock in the tower. The “bell ringers’ tally”, as it was called, was passed on to the house that was next in line for ringing (Grašič 1940: 419; Vilfan 1944: 247; 1996: 146). Tallies were used by the village guards of Osp; they recorded on them the damage people or domestic animals caused in the vineyards, fields, and forests.<sup>21</sup>

### ***Tokens recording work done as the successors of tally sticks***

A more recent form of tallying work performed made use of metal tokens (*špan, špon, špen, pleh*). The word *špan* derives from the German word *Span*, a lath or splinter, confirming that it is the successor of the tally stick. The word was borrowed

<sup>18</sup> Field trip 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, notebook 20, p. 36; notebook 21, p. 29 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>19</sup> Field trip 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, notebook 21, p. 29 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>20</sup> Field trip 11, Cerkljansko, 1954, notebook 18, p. 75 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>21</sup> Field trip 4, Marezige, 1950, notebook 14, p. 25 (SEM, Documentation Department).

from the Hungarian *ispán* (steward), ‘župan’, a loanword from the Slovene *župàn* (mayor) (Bezljaj 1995: 95; Vilfan 1996: 143; Snoj 1997: 641). The word *špan* has several meanings in Slovene: 1. Steward of an estate, chosen from the subjects by the landlord; 2. Head of a commune or village mayor; 3. Small metal plate certifying work done (Bajec 1985: 1097). A *špan* was also the leather receipt a tanner gave to a customer who brought him a hide for tanning (Kelemina 1933: 86), and it further served to identify the tanned hide. The term was used in the sense of steward on the estate of a landlord in Dolenjska and elsewhere. In every village one man was appointed to collect the tax on the communal fields and to make sure that the peasants performed their corvée and brought in the tithe. He had the use of a field called a *župnca*, and his entire property was called a *španija*.<sup>22</sup> Originally, a *špan* was a free-man, who was exempted from corvée and the tithe, and he was initially appointed by the landlord, but later elected by the villagers. Some quite frequent house names contain the word: *pri Španu*, *Špaju*, *Špančku*, *Španku*, etc.<sup>23</sup> The Slovene phrase *v španoviji* (*u špon / u španovijo*) means shared use or ownership. Peasants had, for instance, the shared use of a meadow, well, threshing machine, harrow, tractor, etc.

The *špan* was in use as a metal token for recording work done in particular in Slovenske gorice and Haloze. The farmer gave a token to the worker at the end of the workday or after a job was finished as a certificate and the basis for payment. Tokens were usually made of sheet iron and were therefore in some places called *pleh* (sheet metal), but there were also galvanised iron, sheet copper, and brass tokens. The tokens were square, rectangular, triangular, rhombic, or hexagonal, and they were either “full”, “three-quarter”, or “half” tokens. Square or rectangular tokens signified a whole day’s work (a full token), when a piece of the token was cut off it signified a job done in three-quarters of day (a three-quarter token). Triangular tokens stood for work done in half a day (a half token). The initials of the farmer and his house number were cut or imprinted on the token with a punch, occasionally joined by the token’s consecutive number. Every token had a little hole in the top left or right corner so that the workers could thread them on a piece of clematis vine, a string, or piece of wire. They were usually made by the local blacksmith or, later, tinsmith (Vodan 2000: 49).

Farmers used to give tokens to hired hands after the work was done and they were common among the vineyard workers of Slovenske gorice and Haloze. They served for counting the workdays and indirectly for paying hired labour. They were used to record the work of hired hands over a whole year, a specific job, or a job performed within a certain period of time, and the additional jobs performed by

<sup>22</sup> Field trip 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, notebook 20, p. 42 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>23</sup> Field trip 5, Šentvid pri Stični, 1950, notebook 20, p. 44; notebook 22, p. 14 (SEM, Documentation Department).

vineyard workers: some farmers used them only occasionally, when they were short of money or kind to pay the workers (Stanek 1940: 354). Farmers kept evidence of the work done and handed out tokens in special accounts books, and the workers kept the strings of tokens received from individual farmers at home. When a worker lost a token, he was not paid (Stanek 1940: 354; Vilfan 1944: 109; 1996: 143–144).

A hired hand received one token for a day's work. In Slovenske gorice, one workday was at least 10 hours of work. If they worked less, workers were given a half or three-quarter token. They were given a token and a half for one day's work on the heaviest jobs. In a year's time a worker would gather several hundred tokens and he was paid around New Year (Childermas, December 28). The accounts were settled at the farmer's home. Based on the records in his notebook he added up the work done (number of cart transports, hours of ploughing, etc.) and the quantities of kind he had given to the worker (number of piglets, quantity of potatoes or grain, etc.), and converted these into workdays (*težaki*<sup>24</sup>). The worker laid all the tokens he had gathered out on the table and the farmer checked if they were all his. This was a quick way of establishing whether the farmer's services and goods matched the number of tokens – whether they were quits. If the comparison showed that the farmer owed the worker, he paid the difference in cash or kind (piglets, maize, grain, etc.). If the worker owed the farmer (this seems to have occurred quite frequently, because the farmers tended to overrate their contributions), the debt was carried over into the next year and the worker started to receive new tokens only when the debt was settled. An autumn piglet, for instance, was worth eight tokens, a spring piglet 10, a transport within the municipality was worth one token, outside it two or more tokens; one hour of ploughing was worth one token. Farmers also used to give the workers leaves or firewood in exchange for tokens. After the accounts were settled, the farmer usually treated the workers to a hearty meal (Vodan 2000: 49–50). Before the Second World War, the value of a young piglet was 15 tokens in Spodnja Voličina in winter, but a vineyard worker had to give only 10 tokens for it in summer.

Tokens were used in the vineyards of Prlekija owned by townspeople and probably also by peasants. Landowners allowed smallholders to gather leaves, mow grass, etc., on their land, but the smallholders had to be available for work in exchange. A farmer or farm manager gave the day labourers one token for every workday, or two tokens when the labourer did not eat at his home, and recorded the numbers of the tokens. At the end of the agreed work, the day labourer submitted the tokens as evidence of the work done (Vilfan 1944: 109).

Vineyard workers in the eastern parts of Slovenske gorice recorded work done in the vineyards (spraying and digging the vineyards, carting and carrying dung, etc.)

<sup>24</sup> A *težak* also was the unit of measurement for the value of a job.



and on the farmer's property (cutting trees, firewood transports, and the like). For every job done, the vineyard worker received one token and he presented them to the vineyard owner at New Year, when he was paid in cash or kind (grain, firewood, a piglet) (Koren 1967: 100). Some smallholders, e.g. the vineyard workers from the environs of Sveti Jurij ob Ščavnici kept records of their work themselves; they had a notebook in which they entered the name of the farmer, the number of work-days, and the kinds of job they had performed. The farmers, too, had a kind of work notebook, in which they recorded the work they performed for the smallholders (ploughing, dung transports, etc.).

In the eastern parts of Slovenske gorice tokens were used to record the work of the vineyard workers (spraying and digging) and the accounts were settled around New Year. If the worker had more tokens than the value of what he had received in kind, the farmer promised him a piglet in spring. In Grabšinci, a vineyard worker who had a "surplus" of 36 tokens was given firewood or grain by the farmer: 12 tokens were worth 3–4 carts of unsawn firewood, 10 tokens a piglet, and 7–8 tokens were worth 50 kg grain. Similar values were in use in Kutinci, where a vineyard worker received firewood for 32 tokens, fodder for 30 tokens, or could rent a field for 20 tokens. Some vineyard workers also bound and weeded the vines growing close to the farmer's house. For this kind of work they were given tokens which were settled in kind at New Year. They were also given tokens for felling trees in the forest and carting firewood to the farmer's home. In some places tokens were given as certificates for dung transports and for fertilising the vineyards (Koren 1967: 99–100).

As mentioned above, a token could represent the unit of work done or one workday, which an individual had to perform in exchange for a service granted to him. Landowners from the vineyards of Prlekija allowed smallholders to gather leaves, mow grass, etc., on their land, but the smallholder had to perform a certain number of workdays – *špani* – in exchange (Vilfan 1944: 109). Tokens serving as a kind of currency<sup>25</sup> survived here and there in Slovenske gorice into the 1970s (Vodan 2000: 48).

### Voting with tally sticks

Valvasor's accounts show that a tally stick was used in the election of mayors in Istria in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The members of a local community first agreed who among them was to mark the votes on a wooden stick. This trustworthy individual then prepared a three-sided hazel stick. He proceeded to every member of the ne-

<sup>25</sup> Such currency in the form of round or square tokens was also common in foundries. Foundry owners paid their nail makers with their own currency from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Every issuer of such tokens imprinted his initials on them, and the nail makers could use them in shops designated by their masters. Specimens of such payment tokens are in the Iron Forging Museum of Kropa.

ighbourhood in succession and they whispered him the name of one of the twelve candidates. He marked the votes with notches on the part of the stick that corresponded to the candidate. The members of the neighbourhood were of course not allowed to know which part of the stick corresponded to which candidate. The candidate who had the most votes became the mayor, and the second and third ranked were appointed vice-mayors. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the outcome of the elections still had to be approved by the landlord. The town's gatekeeper, court usher, sexton, and municipal smith were elected in the same way in the past (Vilfan 1944: 107–108). The introduction of municipal administration and elections changed the election practises and the use of tally sticks in elections therefore lost its function in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, though it was preserved here and there, but only for electing the village elder and field guards (Vilfan 1955: 120).

In some places in Primorska, such as in Osp before the Second World War, the mayor was elected using beans but elsewhere tally sticks were replaced by slips of paper<sup>26</sup> in the election of mayors; in Marezige near Koper drawing straws was used – the candidate (out of three) who drew the longest straw, was appointed mayor.<sup>27</sup>

In a way similar to the election of mayors in the past, the members of the young men's community in the Istrian village of Podgorje elected their "mayor" and two to three "vice-mayors". The votes were collected by carving them on a stick. The community first chose a trustworthy member to mark the votes. He then fashioned a roughly one metre long hazel stick with a handle at one end, and shaped the other, longer end into a triangular form or three sides. To differentiate between them, he marked every edge on the handle with a tiny cross, which he hid under his thumb during the elections. He of course had to know exactly which part of the stick corresponded with which candidate, and to make it impossible for the other young men to find out. He then proceeded from one member to the next and each of them whispered him the name of the candidate he voted for. He carved all votes cast on the corresponding parts of the stick. Candidates were forbidden to vote for themselves and rowdy voters were fined. After the votes of all the men present were collected they were counted. The candidate with the most notches or votes became the "mayor" of the young men's community, and the second and third ranked "vice-mayors". The mayor of the young men's community in Podgorje was elected in this way until the First World War (Vilfan 1944: 107–108; 1955: 116–117; 1996: 138–140).

The tally stick also had an important role in trials conducted at people's courts (Dolenc 1924: 183); besides witnesses and visits to the scene, tally sticks were considered legal evidence. The first accounts on the use of tally sticks in trials in Slove-

<sup>26</sup> Field trip 8, Kobarid, 1951, notebook 2, p. 19 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>27</sup> Field trip 4, Marezige, 1950, notebook 15, p. 14 (SEM, Documentation Department).

nia date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Decisions arrived at by using a tally stick were at the time pronounced in Prekmurje (Dolenc 1935: 170, 480), and the method was also used by people's courts in Istria, where civil actions in small areas were conducted by the mayor. The mayor, a representative elected from among the local inhabitants, first conducted the trial, then summarised its essential content and proposed two ways of solving the matter. The court's assessors (individuals who were held in high esteem among the members of the community) had to decide between the two proposals by secret voting on a tally stick. The chairman of the court carved the votes for either of the solutions on separate parts of the tally. It was of course possible to cheat in marking the votes, and the Estates (e.g. of Bled) complained in 1528 and later years with the Emperor about these practices of the peasant courts. Valvasor criticised the peasant courts and voting with tally sticks, called "wooden records" in a similar vein in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

*No one can be expected to stand trial in front of peasants and mayors given the irregular conduct of the law, because these people carve their decisions on a tally stick (Robasch). The peasants and subjects from these parts use the following method: when they want to reach a decision, the mayor or whoever holds the court's tally stick, suggests to the assessors two ways to solve the matter, from which they have to choose one and pronounce their decision. The person holding the tally stick carves the decision of every individual on the stick. And the party that gathers more votes wins the trial. Your Royal Highness will understand that if the mayor or the appointed judge wants the party that enjoys his favour to win, he will suitably tailor its presentation for the assessors to fall for it and give their votes to that party.* (Valvasor, quoted in Vilfan 1996: 138)

In spite of the complaints and the risk of cheating, tally sticks remained in use for a long time. They were used among the Venetian Slovenes from the Nadiža/Natisone Valley until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: when the farmers or members of a neighbourhood had to decide between two proposals in minor disputes or voted on common matters, they carved notches on two ends of a stick (Babnik 1883: 75; Vilfan 1944: 106–107; 1996: 137–138). Tally sticks are mentioned in courts records, e.g. in trials about vineyards and in the records of the town court of Metlika, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Vilfan 1944: 108).

### **Talla sticks as receipts for cloth received**

Tradesmen – weavers, fullers, dyers, and millers – marked the cloth they received for processing on short double tally sticks; one part of the tally was given to the customer, and the tradesman used the other part to mark the received cloth (Vilfan 1996: 141). The tradesman usually kept the stock and the customer received the foil. The tally sticks were not only receipts, since they also made it possible to make

a list of the quantities of received material, and after the cloth was processed the owners could identify their cloth by the tallies.

**Weaver's tallies** were 5–10 cm long, double sticks. A weaver marked the weight of the balls of wool, flax, or other yarn customers brought him on such sticks. He then stuck one stick into the balls, and gave the other to the customer. After weaving the cloth he stuck the wooden stock in it. The customer identified which cloths were his by the corresponding foil.

Until the First World War raw cloth was taken to a dyer or fuller, who used fulling mills to turn it into cloth or sackcloth.<sup>28</sup> Fullers used double **tally sticks** (cat. nos. 18, 23, 27). The stock was attached to the cloth received; the foil was the customer's receipt and further used to identify his cloth after processing because fulling made it shrink.

Tally sticks were used by the **dyers** of wool, yarn, and cloth, and some of them also printed cloth. When peasants brought wool or yarn to the dyer, he marked the quantity of the received material on a double tally stick. The peasants received the foil, and the dyer marked the material's owner on the stock and attached it to the material with a wire. When the customer came to collect his dyed wool or yarn, he could identify it by the matching stock (Žontar 1940a: 311). Things were similar when cloth was brought for dyeing, but the dyer then attached the stock to the cloth.

Weavers, fullers, and dyers mostly used short sticks sharpened at one end, on which they could write the customer's surname or name. They stuck these sticks into the balls or cloth. Weavers' and fullers' tallies were made in several ways. Notches were carved on a wooden stick and one part of the stick was then cut off; or they used two sticks of equal length, cut off half way, to make them match. In western Slovenia fullers' tallies were wooden laths, cut into two pieces down the middle at an angle, the pieces were then put together one on top of the other and notches made across both parts. An identical use was that of two separate sticks on which the same notches were made (e.g. V and X); one stick was stuck into the wool and the other handed to the customer. The marks on the stick occasionally marked the weight of the received material in pounds (500 g); weavers in some places in Dolenjska marked received wool in this way.

The numbers of weavers, fullers, dyers, and cloth printers dropped sharply after the First World War due to the spread of cheap textile industry products (Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 20); pedlars brought industrially made and printed cloth to the most remote places in the countryside (Makarovič 1974: 60). The use of weavers' tally sticks survived here and there in north-eastern Slovenia for a surprisingly long time – until around 1950 (Vodan 2000: 48).

<sup>28</sup> Cloth is woven from wool yarn; to make sackcloth linen yarn is added.

Like weavers, fullers, and dyers, millers also employed double tally sticks: they stuck one part of a tally stick into the bag of grain and gave the other part to the customer to identify his flour after milling. The quantities and types of grain brought to the mill were marked on the tallies.

### ***Metal tokens as the successors of fullers' and dyers' tally sticks***

Besides recording cloth received for processing on double tally sticks, it was common among cloth fullers, dyers, and printers to use pairs of metal tokens (*roši*, sing. *roš*). The word *roš* (also *rož*) derives from *rovaš* and is used as its synonym, for instance in the phrases *na roš* (on the tab) and *naredim roš* (I vote) (Bezljaj 1995: 200). Glonar's *Dictionary of the Slovene Language* lists *roš* and *rovaš* as synonyms (Glonar 1936: 341).

The tradesman would attach or sew one token to the received cloth or products and give its double as a receipt to the customer, who then also used it to identify his cloth after treatment (cf. Kotnik 1949: 15; Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 19; Makarovič 1974: 59). Dyers kept a list of cloth received in a special notebook, in which they entered the symbols from the tokens and the names or surnames of the customers and their wishes relating to dyeing and printing. In the Pirc Dyeing Mill in Kranj, regular accounting was introduced in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 19). Such ways of marking cloth and keeping evidence of received cloth were common in all dyeing mills in Europe (Dular 2000: 33).

The metal tokens were designed for repeated use. When a dyer returned dyed cloth to a customer, he used the token he removed from the cloth, and the corresponding one which he was given back by the customer, for the next client. It is not possible to ascertain exactly when metal tokens started to replace wooden tallies in Slovenia, but they were undoubtedly first used by the big dyers from the towns. The oldest metal token in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum dates from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and stems from the Pirc Dyeing Mill in Kranj (cat. no. 171).

The tokens were made of different materials, took different forms, and bore different symbols. They were usually made of sheet brass, copper or iron of different thickness, and some were galvanised on one or both sides. The most frequently used ones were round, square, or rectangular, while less frequent ones were rounded on one side or drop shaped. The square and rectangular tokens usually had bevelled corners. Every token had one or two little holes through which it was bound or sewn to the cloth. Most holes were round, rarely rectangular (these are found on the oldest specimens of tokens in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum). A token with only one hole usually had it at the top, less often on side, and if there were two holes, they were on the left and right edges or at the top and bottom.

Letters and numerical symbols were punched into the tokens, usually the dyer's initials, less frequently only the initial of his surname. A number was punched below the initials. Some dyers marked their tokens only with punched numbers, and they were therefore referred to as *numera* in Štajerska.<sup>29</sup> Beside their initials, some dyers added the initials of the places where they frequented fairs until the First World War. Such marks were useful to fullers and dyers in particular when they returned cloth to their customers at the fair. The fuller Ivan Keber, for instance, visited the fair in Šoštanj on the feast day of St Achatius (June 22), where he returned fulled cloth to his customers against the twin tokens (Kotnik 1949: 15). The dyer Hofbauer from Vitanje also returned fulled and dyed cloth to peasants at fairs. The tokens of the peasants who received their cloth back at the fair in Dravograd were marked with the letter D, those from Mislinja with the letter K, and those from Oplotnice with the letter B.<sup>30</sup> In rare cases other symbols were punched into the tokens, e.g. a star (\*), an equals sign (=) or a line (–) in the centre of the token. The meaning of these symbols has not been fully clarified. The star on the tokens of the dyer Hofbauer from Vitanje signified cloth that was the dyer's property.<sup>31</sup> Besides the cloth dyers received for dyeing from peasants, some of them also bought cloth, dyed it, and sold it at fairs (compare Makarovič 1974: 64).

Tanners issued their customers as a receipt for hides brought to them for tanning a piece of leather, which was in some places called a *špan* (Vilfan 1944a: 247; 1944: 109).

### Tally sticks for recording debt

Tally stick recording debts in goods or money used to be very common in Slovenia. They were called *računski lesovi* (accounting sticks) and were usually double tallies. They enabled creditors to keep evidence of debtors and their debts, while they also gave debtors evidence of their debts. Cheating by either side was prevented as the creditor always kept the stock and the debtor the foil. Merchants and some tradesmen (innkeepers, bakers, butchers, millers, lime burners) used tallies to record debts, goods given in advance, or work done, and these accounts were settled at an agreed time (e.g. monthly, yearly). Such tallies were also used in the neighbourhood wine cellars of Bela krajina.

The first references to tally sticks recording debts are from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and relate to miners and foundry workers; they are also mentioned in the records of vineyard trials and those of the town court of Metlika from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest reference to tally sticks as promissory notes is in the Mining Order of Jese-

<sup>29</sup> Field trip 20, Vitanje, 1963, notebook 1, p. 16 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>30</sup> Field trip 20, Vitanje, 1963, notebook 1, pp. 1–15 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>31</sup> Field trip 20, Vitanje, 1963, notebook 1, pp. 1–15 (SEM, Documentation Department).

nice from 1381. The provisions concerning the workers mention how their debts with their employer (recorded on tally sticks) were settled. Foundry workers also borrowed merchandise and had the debt recorded on a tally stick, but this was quite a risk for them as they often incurred excessive debts. It seems to have occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that they bought so many foodstuffs “on the tab” (tally) that they no longer received wages in cash, even for a period of fifteen years. If a worker lost his part of the tally stick, the foreman’s tally was seen as sufficient evidence if he swore on it (Vilfan 1996a: 191, 300).

**Innkeepers’ tallies** were used to record the debts of customers who consumed on credit. When a customer could not pay on the spot, the innkeeper took a wooden stick or lath and made notches on it, marking the quantity of consumed drinks, split the stick in two halves, gave one half to the debtor and kept the other half. When the first debt occurred, the innkeeper carved the debtor’s house number or some other symbol on the stick or lath to identify the debtor. Innkeepers usually made a hole in their part of every tally stick to keep them in bundles on a string or wire. The next time the customer wanted to consume drinks on credit, the innkeeper and customer put the stock and foil together and made new notches on both parts. And when the customer paid his debt, the innkeeper gave him the stock (Hudovernik 1883: 5), cut off the debt, or destroyed the tally. Similar tallies were used by merchants and various tradesmen when their customers did not pay the bill for bought or delivered goods on the spot. In these cases, too, the seller always kept the stock and the customer the foil (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1996: 141).

Tallies in the form of rectangular sticks, around one metre long, were used by lime burners to record the quantities of lime they delivered to customers.<sup>32</sup>

Double tallies, and in some places single ones, were used to record loans from the **neighbourhood wine cellars of Bela krajina**. These were usually located close to the filial church and owned by the village community. When the cellar was founded, the members of the village community gathered stocks of wine and, in some places, grain as well, and both were sold (including outside the community) or loaned to members, while their debts were recorded on tally sticks (Žontar 1957: 78). Members also borrowed wine from this cellar on the occasion of the biggest farming operations (mowing, harvest, threshing), when they ran out of wine at home, as well as on Sunday afternoons when they gathered in the wine cellar. Grain was also borrowed in times of poor harvests (Dular 1963/1964: 42, 45). Most of the neighbourhood wine cellars stopped operating in the 1880–1890 period when the vineyards were destroyed by the phylloxera plant louse, and only a handful survived until the Second World War. Some cellars revived their operation after the war and

<sup>32</sup> Field trip 12, Brkini, 1955, notebook 20, p. 18 (SEM, Documentation Department).

nine were still operating in the 1960s. Instead of on tally sticks, they recorded loans in debtor ledgers (Dular 1994: 171–172). A single neighbourhood wine cellar is still operative today in Drašiči. In 2008 its membership consisted of 65 wine-growing families.

Such a cellar was managed by two to three keepers of the church, who were elected by the villagers. One of their tasks was to keep evidence of loaned wine. Peasants who borrowed wine from the cellar had to return it with a 50 percent surcharge when the new wine was ready. For every borrowed *firkelj* of wine the peasant had to return a *firkelj* and a half in the autumn. Wine was also sold from the cellar to non-members, wine merchants, and innkeepers. The same rule of a 50 percent surcharge was applied to borrowed grain, which had to be returned after the harvest. Grain was loaned from some neighbourhood wine cellars until the First World War. The accumulated surplus was used by the members of the neighbourhood to cover the expenses of maintaining the filial church, village roads and funeral expenses for its members, and to help the poor (Dular 1963/64: 41–42, 47, 50).

The keepers of the church recorded the loans on single or double tallies. If they kept wine and grain in the same cellar, they used separate sticks, though in some places (e.g. Dragomlja vas) one side of a tally stick was used to record wine loans and the other side grain loans. The foil was always given to the debtor, and the keepers kept the stocks arranged in bundles on the wall of the cellar (Žontar 1957: 79; Dular 1963/64: 44). All tallies had a hole at one end to thread them on a string, wire, or willow branch attached to a bow (Vilfan 1969: 128). The keeper always had a couple of sticks ready in the cellar. Upon the first wine loan he marked the quantity (in jugs) on the stick and split it in two halves. One half remained in the cellar and the keeper wrote the name of the debtor on it, his house number, or marked it in some other way. All the halves remaining in the cellar were tied together and hung on a wall. The peasant took the other half home and brought it with him to the cellar when he wanted to borrow more wine. In this case the two halves were put together and the keeper and peasant made new notches. When the peasant paid his debt, either both parts were destroyed, or the keeper handed the stock to the debtor (Lokar 1912: 19).

In eastern Bela krajina single tally sticks were also used; they were rectangular hazel chestnut, or oak sticks, around 30 cm long, fashioned by a keeper or a member of the neighbourhood. Single tally sticks required greater confidence in the keeper, because the debtor had no proof. The sticks had a hole at the top end to thread them on a piece of clematis vine, a string, or wire, and tie them to a hazel bow that was hung on a wall. The owners of the tallies were recorded by carving or writing (with a pencil) the house number at the top of the tally. Instead of using numerals



to identify their owners, some of the tallies were bevelled in different ways at the top end. Tallies were used not only for wine loans, but also in the autumn collection of must, when the keeper carried the bundle of tallies across his shoulder and at every house marked the quantity of must he received on the corresponding tally. When after the Second World War the population became gradually more literate, tally sticks were completely replaced by debtor ledgers (Dular 1963/64: 43–44, 53). In the cellar of the only still operating neighbourhood wine cellar in Drašiči, a bow with tally sticks still hangs on the wall and its use is demonstrated to visitors.

### Shepherds' or cowherds' tally sticks

Tally sticks were also used by shepherds and cowherds, especially where communal pasturing was practised. A single tally, called a "shepherd's stick" was used to record the total number of animals or the numbers of animals from individual farmers. Such tally sticks were used in such places as Podkoren, and the Slovene Ethnographic Museum has one specimen (cat. no. 41). In the case of communal pasturing, the quantities of yielded milk were also recorded on the tally stick, and if the farmers had joint cheese making, the quantities of milk yielded by the animals of each farmer was marked, while the cheese was shared out at the end of the pasturing season according to the marks on the tally. These data refer in particular to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but tally sticks were probably used for the same purposes as early as the Middle Ages (Vilfan 1944: 110; 1996: 146, 382–383; 1996a: 245). Milk tallies were also in use in Istria, where one notch meant one *librc* (33 dcg).

### Carters' tallies

Carters' tallies were used until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century to record the number of transports and indirectly the quantities of delivered goods (building material). In the countryside they were used to mark the number of transports of gravel for road repair. A carter's tally was called a *rubežen* or *škontrin* (Italian *scontrino*) in Ljubljana. The expression *škontrin* was probably introduced by Friulian builders. The carters of Ljubljana who transported peat from the Ljubljana Marshes marked the number of transports on a tally stick, which the carter kept stuck in his boot. Until around the end of the Second World War, carters' tallies were used by building companies in Ljubljana to count the number of transports carried out for them by hired carters. Carters' tallies were made of sawn laths of different shapes using different kinds of wood. To differ between the tallies of individual carters, a chisel was used to separate the foil from the stick at an angle, or the foils were cut off from the handles at different angles. Later, the carter's name was written in pencil. The carter took the stock and stuck it in a sheet metal ring on the wooden frame of his cart, his boot, or

the horse collar. The other part of the tally was kept by the company's representative – the site foreman. For every delivered transport the foreman put both parts of the tally together and made a notch with a knife or saw. When the carters were paid, the foreman counted and compared the number of notches on the stock and foil.

In addition to single and double tallies, triple ones were also in use, at least in Ljubljana, which consisted of a stock and two foils. These were used to count the quantities of the material loaded (e.g. in a sand pit) and delivered to a building site. In this case, too, the stock remained with the carter. After loading the material he put the stock together with the foil kept by the supplier of the material (e.g. the foreman of a sand or gravel pit) and made a notch across one foil and the stock, and when he delivered the material to the building site, the clerk of the works extended the notch across his foil. The builder could then settle his accounts with the supplier and carter. In the 1940s, double carters' tallies were used in Ljubljana by the construction companies of Leopold Bricelj and Matko Curk, and the G. Tönnies Construction Company used double and triple ones. After the Second World War, carters' tallies were gradually replaced by paper receipts for deliveries (Vilfan 1944: 108; 1944a: 246; 1996: 142–143). The Slovene Ethnographic Museum has three specimens of carters' tallies of the kind used in Ljubljana in the 1940s (cat. nos. 5, 6, 7).

### Counting tallies

Counting tallies were usually single ones, used to count or record various items or activities, and their purpose generally was of a statistical nature. One type used in Slovenia was for counting the baskets in which grapes were brought to the wine cellar or cart during the grape harvest. Grape baskets have different names (*brenta* in Dolenjska and parts of Štajerska; *püta* in Prekmurje and Slovenske gorice), and the names of this specific counting tally also differ: it was called *brentarska palica* in Dolenjska and parts of Štajerska, *pütarska palica* in Slovenske gorice, *kou* or *palca* in Bizeljsko, and *obiralna palca* in the environs of Krško.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the delivered baskets of grapes were recorded on double tally sticks, or in some places (e.g. Bizeljsko) on two separate sticks: on the picker's tally and on the masher that crushed the grapes. Because these records were primarily intended to provide an overview of the annual grape crop, (single) grape pickers' tallies were mostly used (Vilfan 1944: 109–110), of the kind that are today still in use here and there. They seem to have been used in Istria in the past (Kuret 1989: 37), but they were most common in the vineyards of Štajerska (Prlekija, the environs of Slovenske Konjice, Bizeljsko), the environs of Krško, and here and there in Dolenjska and Bela krajina. In Dolenjska, the tally was made from an unbleached branch of sweet chestnut, in Štajerska from a split spruce; such sticks were primarily

used for supporting the vines. Every grape picker had his own tally on which he leant when carrying full baskets, and on which he made notches to count the baskets taken to the wine cellar or emptied into the grape press. Usually, one notch was made for each basket, and every tenth basket was marked with a cross. The notches were counted in the evening to establish the total number of baskets delivered, and in some places this total was written on the door or wall of the wine cellar to compare it with the crops of previous years (Vilfan 1944: 109–110; 1944a: 246; 1996: 145).

Grape pickers' tallies were used for one year or more. One-year use is indicated by notches in a single row or on just one side of the tally, while several rows on different sides may indicate that the tally was used over several years. Some winegrowers carved the year of the harvest on the tally. They stored the grape pickers' tallies for several years to compare the grape crops by year through the notches on the tallies and the records written on the door or wall of the wine cellar. The notches on the grape pickers' tallies served mostly to establish the annual crop (Vilfan 1996: 145; Vodan 2000: 47–48). In some winegrowing areas grape pickers' tallies still serve the same function, either out of habit or because of a conscious effort to preserve grape harvesting traditions. A grape pickers' tally is depicted in the coat of arms of the village of Podgradje in Prlekija, and because it symbolises the area's winegrowing tradition (Serec 2001: 42) it also features on the village signpost.

Tally sticks were used in Primorska in dealings with *coloni* or tenant farmers. The arrival of a new tenant farmer in Goriška Brda was accompanied by stock taking: the number of vines was marked with notches on a tally, and the start of a new tenant farmer's operation was thus referred to as "*when we counted the vines*". The landowner kept the tally until the tenant's departure, when they settled their accounts. Tallies were also used to keep evidence of the division of the crops, e.g. grapes, must, or wine, between the landowner and the tenant farmer. The landowner received the best part of the crop – the juice – and the tenant farmer the pomace (Vilfan 1992: 144–145; 1996: 371).

Single tallies were used in the past to count the baskets of dung strewn on the fields in the Selce Valley and the environs of Slovenske Konjice (Vilfan 1996: 145–146).

Memoirs by World War II partisans mention that they marked the number of enemies killed with notches on their gunstock.

### **Tally sticks for drawing lots**

Tally sticks for drawing lots were used to ensure that common goods were shared out evenly between the members of a local community. To this purpose double tally sticks were employed. They were called *špica* or *škontrin (za jegranje)* in western Slovenia and the drawing was called *ígranje* or *jegranje na špice* (Goriška Brda,

Istria). The members of a neighbourhood used them to divide the crops from the communal lands. They first made as many heaps of hay, firewood, litter, leaves, etc. as there were farms. For every heap a 5 to 15 cm long stick was fashioned, on which symbols were cut and it was then split in a way that the symbols were visible on both parts. In some places in Goriška Brda (Biljana), the stick was not notched but simply broken in two. In both cases, however, one part of the stick was stuck into a heap of the communal crop and the other part was put in a vessel or hat. The members of the village neighbourhood then drew lots by taking one half of a stick from the vessel or hat. Every farmer received the heap with the matching half. Between Socerb and Slavnik on the Karst, tally sticks were used to share out litter, hay, and firewood. As many heaps as there were houses or households entitled to communal crops were prepared, regardless of the share of work done. Sharing our firewood and litter in this way was abandoned after 1900 (Vilfan 1996: 144–145; 1996a: 245).

Tally sticks for drawing lots were here and there replaced with slips of paper, which had to be “drawn”. In Borjana, for instance, the municipal authorities selected and numbered the trees in the communal forest that were to be felled. The same numbers were then written on slips of paper, which were drawn by the representatives of the farms. They were then allowed to fell the tree with the number corresponding to that on the drawn slip.<sup>33</sup> The communal forest of the village of Svino was shared in a similar way. First the forest was divided into roughly equal parts and these were marked with numbers; lots were then drawn from the slips of papers with the same numbers.<sup>34</sup> For the division of shares in the communal lands (e.g. mowing for litter) the numbers were replaced by tally sticks. In Gradec near Pivka, the total crops were divided into as many shares as there were farms and the shares were numbered. The same numbers were written on slips of paper, which were put in a hat and the farmers then drew lots.<sup>35</sup>

### Wooden calendars

Calendar days used to be marked with conventional notches on wooden objects. Wooden calendars or almanacs were in use in Slovenia until at least the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Such a calendar is said to have hung at Strmol Castle in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Benkovič 1895: 56). Data gathered so far indicate that only two specimens of wooden calendars have been preserved. One is a wooden calendar for the year 1756, made from a 140 cm long and 8.5 cm wide lath with carved symbols (little men, animals,

<sup>33</sup> Field trip 7, Kobarid, 1951, notebook 2, p. 19 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>34</sup> Field trip 7, Kobarid, 1951, notebook 27, pp. 2–3 (SEM, Documentation Department).

<sup>35</sup> Field record of Marija Makarovič, 1978 (SEM, Documentation Department).

lines) and is in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. The calendar is from Višnja gora and was acquired in 1899 (Smrekar 1900; Vilfan 1944: 110; 1944a: 247; Markarovič 1995: 46). A quite special form of calendar is kept in the Franciscan Monastery of Novo mesto: it is made of a 1 cm thick round wooden board with a diameter of 13 cm. The calendar for 1783 is on one side and that for 1784 on the other side. The calendar reveals carved symbols for the workdays and Sundays, and the feast and saint days are also marked. The faces of saints are carved on the calendar, some also with their attributes. Martyrs are accompanied by the instruments they were murdered with, and even the phases of the moon are marked. The calendar is undoubtedly the product of a skilled woodcarver; such calendars were possibly made by monks and distributed to lay people. Because the calendar is quite small, it could easily be carried on one's person and, who knows, it may even be the first specimen of a wooden pocket calendar (Benkovič 1895a: 768; Schindler 1959). Wooden calendars were replaced by printed ones when literacy increased.

## CONCLUSIONS

Tally sticks, nowadays completely forgotten devices for memorising, recording, and marking very different things, played an eminently important role in the past. They were connected with the development of numbers and counting, and in some periods and places they were part of official law, from where they passed into common law. Spreading literacy caused their use to decline and it is therefore no surprise that they were longest preserved for business dealings among illiterate peasants and tradesmen. They functioned as counting tools, receipts, delivery notes, invoices, account ledgers and contracts. Following the introduction of new devices, which were mostly based on letter and numeral symbols, tally sticks were almost completely eradicated from people's lives. They were replaced by data written on paper and, more recently, by various ways of analogue and digital recording. One might even say that credit cards are in a way successors of tally sticks, albeit the debts are now magnetically recorded: one paper slip is the seller's confirmation, and the buyer keeps the second one as evidence of his expenditures. Unlike tally sticks, where the issuer was usually the lender, a third person – a bank – is included in the use of credit cards. Evidence of received and supplied goods is today kept, instead of on tally sticks, by bar codes which are read optically. In the same way as tally sticks were carried and kept in safe places in the past, their modern replacements are carefully kept. What is perhaps most astonishing is that similar types of tally sticks and similar ways of using them developed in different parts of the world, where (at least in the very remote past) we can hardly assume intercultural influences. It thus seems that tally sticks met a universal need to record quantities, and that this need was solved in very similar ways in different cultures.

The tally stick – once a so important and necessary device in daily life – started to lose its importance, at least in most of Europe, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is today nearly completely absent from people's memory. But it has left traces in most European languages and this is also true of the Slovene term *rovaš*. Few people today know what the word means. Some know phrases in which it is used, but are unsure where it comes from. Most types of tally sticks have long since stopped being used. The last preserved form of tally sticks is the grape picker's tally used in some winegrowing areas, such as Slovenske gorice and Bizeljsko.

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# KATALOG PREDMETOV

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS





## UVODNA OPOMBA

Katalog predmetov obsega rovaše, roše in špane, ki jih hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej (SEM). Lesene rovaše ter njihove kovinske naslednike roše in špane je muzej pridobil v različnih časovnih obdobjih in na temelju različnih pobud. Nekateri rovaši so bili prvotno v zbirkah Kranjskega deželnega muzeja in so kasneje prešli v last Etnografskega muzeja, današnjega SEM. Sem sodijo predvsem primerki šopov rovašev za izposajo vina iz belokranjskih soseskih zidanic.

Pomembno vlogo pri pridobivanju različnih vrst rovašev in podatkov o njih so imele tudi muzejske terenske ekipe, ki so posamične primerke pridobile predvsem ob preučevanju vinogradništva in ljudskega prava. Tako so brentarske palice prihajale v daljšem času v kustodiat za agrarne dejavnosti v povezavi z vinogradništvom. Največ zaslug za današnjo zbirko ostalih rovašev (davčni, vozniški, tkalski, valjarski, žrebalni ...) ima nedvomno pravnik Sergij Vilfan, ki je ob svojih raziskavah ljudskega prava veliko pozornosti namenil tudi rovašem. Del raziskav je opravil samostojno, del pa v muzejskih terenskih ekipah.<sup>1</sup> Večino rovašev, ki jih je pridobil na terenu, je predal muzeju. Po njegovi zaslugi imamo tako danes lepo zbirko različnih vrst rovašev.

Roše je muzej pridobil v letih 1999 in 2000, ko je kustos SEM Andrej Dular pripravljal razstavo *V podobe ujeti indigo – Modrotisk na Slovenskem*. V muzej so prišli iz rok nekdanjih barvarjev oziroma njihovih potomcev: 14 rošev iz Hofbauerjeve barvarne v Vitanju je muzeju podaril Alojz Hofbauer, 21 rošev iz Wagnerjeve barvarne v Radovljici smo pridobili od Marije Wagner in 90 rošev iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju od Darje Okorn - Kern. Špane nam je v času priprav na prvi del stalne razstave SEM *Med naravo in kulturo*, na kateri smo med drugim želeli opozoriti tudi na zbirko rovašev in njihovih naslednikov, podaril Anton Vodan.

V katalogu so torej zbrani rovaši in njihovi nasledniki roši in špani, ki jih hranimo v zbirkah SEM. Pri roših in španih gre za originale, pri rovaših pa tudi za ponazorila, ki so jih domačini naredili po spominu v času, ko rovaši niso bili več v rabi. Nastanek večine ponazoril temelji na Vilfanovih raziskavah.

Katalog je razdeljen v dva dela, v razdelek z rovaši (leseni) in razdelek z roši in špani (kovinski). V obeh so predmeti razvrščeni po rastočih inventarnih številkah SEM. Pri vseh kataloških enotah so poleg imena predmeta podatki o kraju in času izdelave, o uporabi, materialu in merah. Pri vsakem predmetu je navedena inventarna številka SEM, pri nekaterih tudi stara inventarna številka. Ko gre pri rovaših za ponazorilo, je na to opozorjeno ob imenu predmeta. Prav tako je pri rovaših še podatek o njegovi funkciji

<sup>1</sup> Ljudsko pravo je raziskoval na terenih Šentjurij - Škocjan - Turjak (1948), Šmarje - Sap - Polica (1949), Šentvid pri Stični (1951), Mokronog (1951), Kobarid (1951), Šentjernej (1952), Goriška Brda (1953) in Brkini (1955).

in številu sestavnih delov. Katalog obsega 183 enot, pri čemer so rovaši, ki so povezani z vrstico ali obešeni na loku, predstavljeni kot skupina. Ob vsaki kataloški enoti je fotografija predmeta.

Katalogu predmetov so dodana kazala predmetov, razvrščenih po funkciji, številu sestavnih delov, kraju uporabe oziroma izdelave in materialu.

**Uporabljene krajšave:**

inv. št. = inventarna številka SEM

stara inv. št. NM = stara inventarna številka Narodnega muzeja

stara inv. št. G = stara inventarna številka v Grebenčevi zbirki<sup>2</sup>

kat. št. = zaporedna številka v katalogu

v = višina

d = dolžina

š = širina

2 r = premer

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<sup>2</sup> Predmeti, ki jih je zbral prof. Oto Grebenc v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Leta 1929 so bili predmeti odkupljeni in predani Narodnemu muzeju. Po drugi svetovni vojni je del zbirke prevzel tedanji Etnografski muzej (Makarovič 1962: 243–252).

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The catalogue of objects includes the tally sticks and tokens held by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. The museum acquired the wooden tally sticks and their later replacements, metal tokens, at different times and as a result of different initiatives. Some tally sticks were originally part of the collections of the Carniolan Provincial Museum and were later transferred to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. These include sets of tally sticks that were used in loaning wine between neighbouring wine cellars in the Bela krajina region.

An important role in the acquisition of different types of tally sticks and the gathering of data on them was played by the museum's research teams, which acquired individual specimens mostly in the course of their research into wine growing and common law. The tally sticks used by grape pickers, for instance, arrived at the museum over a longer period by way of the department of agrarian activities and in connection with wine growing. The greatest contribution to the existing collection of other tally sticks (used by taxmen, carters, weavers, fullers, for drawing lots, etc.) was undoubtedly made by the lawyer Sergij Vilfan, who in his research into common law dedicated considerable attention to tally sticks. He carried out part of this research independently, and part as a member of the Ethnographic Museum teams.<sup>1</sup> He handed over most of the tally sticks he acquired in the field to the museum. Vilfan must thus be credited for the rich variety of types of tally sticks in the present collection.

The metal tokens for marking cloth (*roši*) were acquired by the museum in 1999 and 2000 when the curator Andrej Dular designed the exhibition *Indigo caught in images – Blueprinting in Slovenia*, and they were acquired from former dyers or their descendants. 14 metal tokens from the Hofbauer Dye Mill in Vitanje were donated to the museum by Alojz Hofbauer, 21 metal tokens from the Wagner Dye Mill in Radovljica were acquired from Marija Wagner, and 90 metal tokens from the Pirc Dye Mill in Kranj from Darja Okorn-Kern. Other metal tokens for counting work-days (*špani*) were donated by Anton Vodan at the time of the preparations for the first part of the museum's permanent exhibition, *Between Nature and Culture*, where we wanted to present the collection of tally sticks and what replaced them.

This catalogue covers all the museum's tally sticks and their later replacements, metal tokens. The metal tokens are original items, while the tally sticks include illustrations which were made from memory by locals at a time when tally sticks

<sup>1</sup> Vilfan carried out research into common law in the field areas of Šentjurij - Škocjan - Turjak (1948), Šmarje - Sap - Polica (1949), Šentvid pri Stični (1951), Mokronog (1951), Kobarid (1951), Šentjernej (1952), Goriška Brda (1953), and Brkini (1955).

were no longer in use. Most of these derive from Vilfan's research into tally sticks.

The catalogue is divided into two sections: wooden tally sticks and metal tokens. In both the objects are classified in the ascending order of the museum's accession numbers. The following data are listed for every catalogue unit: the name of the object, data on the place and time of production or use, the material, and dimensions. Every object is listed with the accession number and in some cases the old accession number is also mentioned. Tally sticks that are illustrations are marked as such after the object's name. For every tally stick the function is given, as well as the number of its pieces. The catalogue includes 183 units; tally sticks attached to a string or hanging from a bow are treated as single units. Every catalogue unit is accompanied by a photograph of the object.

The catalogue of objects is completed by indexes of the objects, classified by function, number of pieces, place of use or production, and the material.

### Abbreviations:

acc. no. = Slovene Ethnographic Museum accession number

old acc. no. NM = old accession number of the National Museum

old acc. no. G = accession number in the Grebenc Collection<sup>2</sup>

cat. no. = consecutive number in the catalogue

h = height

l = length

w = width

d = diameter

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<sup>2</sup> These objects were collected by professor Oto Grebenc in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were purchased by and transferred to the National Museum in 1929. After the Second World War, a part of the collection was transferred to the then Ethnographic Museum (Makarovič 1962: 243–252).

## ROVAŠI / TALLY STICKS

1.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / verjetno Štajersko / pred 2. svetovno vojno / les / d = 86 cm / inv. št. 2575.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / probably Štajersko / before WWII / wood / l = 86 cm / acc. no. 2575.*



Olupljena bukova palica z odebelitvijo na vrhu. Tik pod vrhom so okoli palice zarezana števila 1 2 3 4, vzdolž palice pa so na štirih straneh zarezani znaki I in X. Desetim ravnim zarezam vedno sledi znak X. Pod odebeljenim delom je palica nekoliko ožgana, na nekaterih delih ima razpoke. Rovaš je bil v rabi za štetje brent obranega grozdja.

2.

**ROVAŠ – davčni** / enodelen / Prekmurje / začetek 20. stoletja / les / d = 102 cm / inv. št. 2832.

*TALLY STICK – taxes / single / Prekmurje / early 20<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l = 102 cm / acc. no. 2832.*



Štiriroba in nekoliko ukrivljena palica iz lipovega lesa. Na eni stranici so zarezani znaki I, V in X v različnih kombinacijah. Posamične kombinacije so ločene z manjšimi sredinskimi zarezami. Nekateri znaki so na spodnjem robu odrezani. Na nasprotni strani palice je s svinčnikom napisano št. 17 in z nalivnim peresom dvakrat podčrtan podpis Matjašič Štefan ter napisa Rovaš in Lipa. Vidne so sledi dveh žigov časopisa Novine. Rovaš je uporabljal vaški župan za označevanje oddanih dajatev.

3.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / dvodelni / neznan kraj / pred 2. svetovno vojno / les / d (rovašev) = 12,3 cm – 17,2 cm / inv. št. 2833.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / double / provenance unknown / before WWII / wood / l (tally sticks) = 12.3 cm – 17.2 cm / acc. no. 2833.*



Na vrstico nanizan šop devetih različno dolgih paličic iz smrekovega, orehovega in leskovega lesa. Vsaka paličica je po delu dolžine izklana. Gre za dvodelne rovaše, vendar so v šopu le matice. Vsaka ima na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero teče vrstica. Nad ali pod luknjico so zarežani znaki ali kombinacije znakov I in V, na eni matici je zarežana številka 5. Na ožjem delu paličice so deli zarežanih znakov I, V in X (preostali deli znakov so na manjkajočih izkolkih).

4.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / dvodelni / neznan kraj / pred 2. svetovno vojno / les / d (rovašev) = 11 cm – 19 cm / inv. št. 2834.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / double / provenance unknown / before WWII / wood / l (tally sticks) = 11 cm – 19 cm / acc. no. 2834.*



Na vrstico nanizan šop osmih različno dolgih paličic iz smrekovega lesa. Sedem paličic je po delu dolžine izklanih, ena po vsej dolžini. Gre za dvodelne rovaše, vendar so v šopu le matice. Sedem paličic ima na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero teče vrstica. Pod luknjico so zarežani znaki ali kombinacije znakov I, V in X. Na ožjem delu paličice so deli zarežanih znakov I, V in X (preostali deli znakov so na manjkajočih izkolkih). Polovica paličice, preklane po vsej dolžini, je brez luknjice, zato je v šopu privezana z vrstico.

5.

**ROVAŠ – vozniški** / tridelen / Ljubljana / sreda 20. stoletja / les / d (celote) = 25,7 cm; š = 2,5 cm / inv. št. 3187.

*TALLY STICK – carter's / triple / Ljubljana / mid 20<sup>th</sup> century / wood / l (total) = 25.7 cm; w. = 2.5 cm / acc. no. 3187.*



Deščica iz smrekovega lesa je po dolžini razžagana v tri plasti tako, da se srednji del drži ročaja, zgornji in spodnji del pa sta izžagana. Ob straneh so zareze, ki tečejo čez vse tri dele. Na gornjem delu je s svinčnikom zapisano: *Voznik Černe / jama Battelino / 1m / gramoz iz stene / stavba kemična to.* Spodnji del manjka. Rovaš je uporabljalo podjetje Tönnies iz Ljubljane za štetje prepeljanih vozov gramoza.



6.

**ROVAŠ – vozniški** / dvodelen / Ljubljana / 1944 / les / d (celote) = 29,5 cm; š = 2,5 cm / inv. št. 3188.

*TALLY STICK – carter's / double / Ljubljana / 1944 / wood / l (total) = 29.5 cm; w. = 2.5 cm / acc. no. 3188.*



Deščica iz smrekovega lesa je po dolžini razžagana v dve plasti tako, da se spodnji del drži ročaja, gornji del pa je izžagan. Ob strani so zareze, ki tečejo čez oba dela. Na gornjem delu je s svinčnikom zapisano: (Mozej) / Capožnik od dne 20.–22. IV. 44 / dovoz krogel / m<sup>2</sup> 28 – a 60 =; na spodnjem: (Mozej) / Capožnik od dne 20.–22. IV. 44. Rovaš je uporabljalo podjetje Leopold Bricelj iz Ljubljane za štetje prepeljanih vozov gramoza.

7.

**ROVAŠ – vozniški** / dvodelen / Ljubljana / 1944 / les / d (celote) = 32,5 cm; š = 3,5 cm / inv. št. 3189.

*TALLY STICK – carter's / double / Ljubljana / 1944 / wood / l (total) = 32.5 cm; w. = 3.5 cm / acc. no. 3189.*



Deščica iz smrekovega lesa je po dolžini razžagana v dve plasti tako, da se spodnji del drži ročaja, gornji del pa je izžagan. Na prehodu med ročajem in izžaganim delom je z dletom narejen valovit prehod, tj. oznaka, po kateri so se ločevali furmani. Ob strani so zareze, ki tečejo čez oba dela. Rovaš je uporabljalo podjetje Matko Curk iz Ljubljane za štetje prepeljanih vozov gramoza.

8.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Trebelno pri Mokronogu / 1951 / les / d = 98 cm / inv. št. 6593.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Trebelno near Mokronog / 1951 / wood / l = 98 cm / acc. no. 6593.*



Olupljena bukova palica. Vzdolž palice je strnjen niz devetintridesetih zarez. Les je na nekaterih delih razpokan in ponekod naluknjan od lesnega črva. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljalo za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Trebelnega.

9.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 9,3 cm / inv. št. 7003.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 9.3 cm / acc. no. 7003.*



Dve štirirobi paličici z zarezanimi znaki IIX, ki tečejo čez obe paličici. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Črnotič.

10.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 26 cm / inv. št. 7004.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 26 cm / acc. no. 7004.*



Olupljena vrbova paličica, na enem koncu koničasta, na drugem diagonalno porezana. Na porezanem delu so zarezane oznake XII, polovica porezanega dela je izklana. Izkolka z istimi oznakami ni. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Črnotič.

11.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 14 cm / inv. št. 7005.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 14 cm / acc. no. 7005.*



Neolupljena vrbova paličica, na enem koncu koničasta, na drugem diagonalno porezana. Na porezanem delu sta zarezani oznaki XX, polovica porezanega dela je izklana. Če matico in izkolek zložimo skupaj, se sestavita tudi zarezani oznaki. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Črnotič.

12.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 10,5 cm / inv. št. 7006.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 10.5 cm / acc. no. 7006.*



Opis predmeta je enak kot pri kat. št. 11.

13.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 8,5 cm / inv. št. 7007.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 8.5 cm / acc. no. 7007.*



Opis predmeta je enak kot pri kat. št. 11, le da so na porezanem delu zarežani znaki IIII.

14.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 8 cm / inv. št. 7008.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 8 cm / acc. no. 7008.*



Opis predmeta je enak kot pri kat. št. 11, le da je na porezanem delu zarežan znak Λ.

15.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 9 cm / inv. št. 7009.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 9 cm / acc. no. 7009.*



Opis predmeta enak kot pri kat. št. 11, le da so na porezanem delu zarežani znaki III.

16.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 10,5 cm / inv. št. 7010.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 10.5 cm / acc. no. 7010.*



Opis predmeta enak kot pri kat. št. 11, le da je brez izkolka.

17.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Črnotiče / izdelan leta 1953 / les / d = 16,5 cm / inv. št. 7011.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Črnotiče / made in 1953 / wood / l = 16.5 cm / acc. no. 7011.*



Opis predmeta enak kot pri kat. št. 11, le da je na porezanem delu zarežana oznaka X in je brez izkolka.

18.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – valjarski** / dvodelen / Javorje pri Ilirski Bistrici / izdelan leta 1955 / les / a = 7 cm; b = 7,2 cm / inv. št. 7449.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – fuller's / double / Javorje near Ilirska Bistrica / made in 1955 / wood / a = 7 cm; b = 7.2 cm / acc. no. 7449.*



Dve neolupljeni leskovi paličici. Vsaka paličica je po dolžini do polovice izklana. Če paličici z izklanimi deloma zložimo skupaj, sta skladni. S takšnimi rovaši so valjarji označevali tkanine, ki so jih prejeli v valjanje. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Javorij.

19.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Rožice / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 5,5 cm / inv. št. 7450.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Rožice / made in 1955 / wood / l = 5.5 cm / acc. no. 7450.*



Neolupljena leskova paličica, na eni strani porezana po vsej dolžini. Na porezanem delu so zarežani znaki IIIV, paličica je po dolžini preklana na dva dela. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Rožic.

20.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Povžane / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 7,5 cm / inv. št. 7451.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Povžane / made in 1955 / wood / l = 7.5 cm / acc. no. 7451.*



Neolupljena leskova paličica, ki je na enem koncu diagonalno porezana, na eni strani ima po celotni dolžini odstranjeno lubje, en del paličice je izklan. Čez oba dela rovaša je zarežan znak I. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Povžan.

21.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – davčni** / enodelen / Gabrk pri Ilirski Bistrici / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 50 cm / inv. št. 7452.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – taxes / single / Gabrk near Ilirska Bistrica / made in 1955 / wood / l = 50 cm / acc. no. 7452.*



Štiriroba palica iz lipovega lesa. Na stranicah so zareze, obarvane s črnilnim svinčnikom, in napisi, prav tako s črnilnim svinčnikom. Po dolžini je rovaš razdeljen na pet delov. Na stranicah si sledijo zareze in napisi:

1. III·VI·/·IIIII·..·IIII·3·R·6·st·2/vA·st·1//

2. ,st,/ st./ st./ / / /

3. / Vaški / starinski / Roveš / Gaberk / Tomažič Lovrenc / Gaberk 13 /

4. / st. dol / st. dol / st. dol. / st. dol. / st. dol. / st. dol. / st.

Takšne rovaše so uporabljali vaški župani za označevanje oddanih dajatev. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Gabrka.

22.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – tkalski** / dvodelen / Suhorje / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 11,5 cm / inv. št. 7453.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – weaver's / double / Suhorje / made in 1955 / wood / l = 11.5 cm / acc. no. 7453.*



Konusna paličica, na kateri je s svinčnikom napisano *IME*. Pripadajočega dela ni. S takšnimi rovaši so valjarji označevali tkanine, ki so jih prejeli v valjanje. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Suhorij.

23.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – valjarski** / dvodelen / Suhorje / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 11,5 cm / inv. št. 7454.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – fuller's / double / Suhorje / made in 1955 / wood / l = 11.5 cm / acc. no. 7454.*



Štiriroba paličica z izklanim delom, čez oba dela sta zarezani oznaki XV. Na matici je zarezan napis *IME*. S takšnimi rovaši so valjarji označevali tkanine, ki so jih prejeli v valjanje. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Ostrovice.

24.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Gabrk pri Ilirski Bistrici / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 8 cm / inv. št. 7455.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Gabrk near Ilirska Bistrica / made in 1955 / wood / l = 8 cm / acc. no. 7455.*



Olupljena leskova paličica. Del paličice je izklan. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Gabrka.

25.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Gabrk pri Ilirski Bistrici / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 11 cm / inv. št. 7456.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Gabrk near Ilirska Bistrica / made in 1955 / wood / l = 8 cm / acc. no. 7456.*



Neolupljena leskova paličica, na enem koncu je del lubja izrezan. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Gabrka.

26.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Račice / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 8,5 cm / inv. št. 7457.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Račice / made in 1955 / wood / l = 8.5 cm / acc. no. 7457.*



Neolupljena paličica, na sredi je delček lubja izrezan. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Račic.

27.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – valjarski** / dvodelen / Barka / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 10 cm / inv. št. 7458.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – fuller's / double / Barka / made in 1955 / wood / l = 10 cm / acc. no. 7458.*



Štiriroba leskova paličica je na sredini diagonalno razpolovljena. Na vsakem delu so po tri daljše in ena krajša zareza. S takšnimi rovaši so valjarji označevali tkanine, ki so jih prejeli v valjanje. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Barke.

28.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Podbeže / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 3,5 cm / inv. št. 7459.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Podbeže / made in 1955 / wood / l = 3.5 cm / acc. no. 7459.*



Neolupljena leskova paličica, na dveh straneh po vsej dolžini obrezana. Na eni od obrezanih strani je s svinčnikom zapisano število 29. Pripadajočega dela ni. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Podbež.

29.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Gradišče pri Materiji / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 5 cm / inv. št. 7460.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Gradišče near Materija / made in 1955 / wood / l = 5 cm / acc. no. 7460.*



Polovica po dolžini preklane neolupljene leskove paličice. Na preklanem delu sta zarezani oznaki IX. Pripadajočega dela ni. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Gradišča.

30.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / dvodelen / Potok pri Vremah / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 3 cm / inv. št. 7461.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / double / Potok near Vreme / made in 1955 / wood / l = 3 cm / acc. no. 7461.*



Polovica po dolžini preklane olupljene leskove paličice. Na robu paličice je zarez. Pripadajočega dela ni. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Potoka.

31.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – žrebalni** / večdelen / Hotična / izdelan leta 1955 / les / d = 43 cm / inv. št. 7462.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – drawing lots / multi-part / Hotična / made in 1955 / wood / l = 43 cm / acc. no. 7462.*



Delno olupljena leskova palica ima po vsej dolžini izrezane delčke. S takšnimi rovaši so med člane vaške skupnosti delili pridelke s skupne gmajne. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Hotične.



32.

**ROVAŠ (ponazorilo) – za označevanje dolga** / enodelen / Črneča vas / izdelan leta 1956 / les / d = 15,5 cm; š = 1,6 cm / inv. št. 7715.

*TALLY STICK (illustration) – debt recording / single / Črneča vas / made in 1956 / wood / l = 15.5 cm; w. = 1.6 cm / acc. no. 7715.*



Paličica z luknjico na enem koncu. Nad luknjico sta zarezana znaka II in pod luknjico znak I, na stranici paličice je zapisano število 1. Ob ožji stranici so tri zarezne. Na takšne rovaše so v soseski zidanici označevali izposojeno vino. Rovaš je izdelal domačin iz Črneče vasi.

33.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Podbočje / okoli leta 1930 / les / d = 117 cm / inv. št. 7718.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Podbočje / around 1930 / wood / l = 117 cm / acc. no. 7718.*



Neolupljena leskova palica, na spodnjem delu koničasta. Vzdolž palice so na štirih straneh zarezani znaki I in X. V nekaterih nizih sledi znak X devetim, v nekaterih pa desetim znakom I. Med nizi zarez teče okrog palice še ena širša zarez. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljal za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Podbočja.

34.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Slinovce / 1955 / les / d = 127 cm / inv. št. 7719.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Slinovce / 1955 / wood / l = 127 cm / acc. no. 7719.*



Neolupljena leskova palica. Na zgornjem koncu sta zarezani začetnici imena izdelovalca in uporabnika M. K. Pod njima sta vzdolž palice na štirih straneh v različnih zaporedjih zarezani oznaki I in X. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljal za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Slinovc.

35.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / enodelni / Predgrad / 1887 / les / d (rovašev) = 7,5 cm – 21 cm / inv. št. 9015/a–v.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / single / Predgrad / 1887 / wood / l (tally sticks) = 7.5 cm – 21 cm / acc. no. 9015/a–v.*



Na vrstico nanizan šop dvaindvajsetih različno dolgih paličic iz lipovega in smrekovega lesa. Vse paličice imajo na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero teče vrstica. Na paličicah so zarežani znaki I, V in X, na nekaterih so zareze, ki gredo okoli cele paličice. Nekatere paličice so porezane. Na eni paličici je s črnilom zapisana letnica 1887. Na nekaj paličicah so zapisi s svinčnikom (*Ivan Spehar bros / Speharski Rovaši / Kargetan / Ivekov / Miserič*). Nekatere paličice imajo luknjice od lesnih črvov, nekaj jih je na koncu odlomljenih. Rovaše so uporabljali v cerkveni zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

36.

**ROVAŠI (ponazorilo) – za označevanje dolga** / enodelni / Drašiči / izdelani leta 1966 / les / d (rovaši) = 15 cm – 20 cm / inv. št. 12663.

*TALLY STICKS (illustration) – debt recording / single / Drašiči / made in 1966 / wood / l (tally sticks) = 15 cm – 20 cm / acc. no. 12663.*



Na vrbovem loku je privezana vrstica, na kateri visi enaindvajset paličic iz lipovega lesa. Paličice imajo na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero teče vrstica. Pod ali nad luknjico so s svinčnikom zapisana števila od 1 do 21, ki označujejo člane soseske. Takšne rovaše so v soseski zidanici uporabljali za označevanje izposojenega vina.

37.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Jeruzalem / 70. leta 20. stoletja / les / d = 98 cm / inv. št. 14752.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Jeruzalem / 1970s / wood / l = 98 cm / acc. no. 14752.*



Olupljena hrastova palica z izrastkom, ki ima vlogo ročaja. Vzdolž palice so štiri nizi zarežanih znakov I in X tako, da devetim ravnim zarezam sledi znak X. Palica je na zgornjem delu poškodovana (počena in prelomljena), zato je ovita z žico in ima zabitih več žebeljev. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljal za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Jeruzalema.

38.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Veličane / 70. leta 20. stoletja / les / d = 113 cm / inv. št. 14754.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Veličane / 1970s / wood / l = 113 cm / acc. no. 14754.*



Trirobi kol iz smrekovega lesa. Na eni od stranic so zarezani znaki I in X tako, da devetim ravnim zarezam sledi znak X. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljal za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Veličan.

39.

**ROVAŠ – brentarska palica** / enodelen / Veliki Brebrovnik / 70. leta 20. stoletja / les / d = 112 cm / inv. št. 14755.

*TALLY STICK – grape picker's / single / Veliki Brebrovnik / 1970s / wood / l = 112 cm / acc. no. 14755.*



Olupljena palica. Vzdolž palice so na več straneh nizi krajših in daljših zarez, ki so razporejene tako, da devetim krajšim zarezam vedno sledi ena daljša. Rovaš je izdelal in uporabljal za štetje brent obranega grozdja domačin iz Velikega Brebrovnika.

40.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / dvodelni / Valična vas / prva četrtina 20. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 9 cm – 14 cm / inv. št. 20336 / stara inv. št. NM 16748.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / double / Valična vas / first quarter 20<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 9 cm – 14 cm / acc. no. 20336 / old acc. no. NM 16748.*



Sedem paličic iz lipovega lesa, ki imajo na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero so nanizane na vrvico. Od vsake paličice je en del izklan. Na ožjem delu paličic so ravne zareze. Gre za matice. Rovaše so verjetno uporabljali v cerkveni zidnici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

41.

**ROVAŠ – pastirski** / enodelen / Podkoren / 1880 / les / d = 11,5 cm / inv. št. 20337 / stara inv. št. G 11435.

*TALLY STICK – shepherd's / single / Podkoren / 1880 / wood / l = 11.5 cm / acc. no. 2033 / old acc. no. G 11435.*



Količek iz lipovega lesa. Na obeh straneh so zarezani znaki I, V in X. Nekateri delčki znakov so izrezani. Rovaš so uporabljali za štetje živine na skupni paši.

42.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / dvodelni / Bela krajina / konec 19. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 5,5 cm – 18 cm / inv. št. 20426 / stara inv. št. NM 8128.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / double / Bela krajina / late 19<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 5.5 cm – 18 cm / acc. no. 20426 / old acc. no. NM 8128.*



Paličice iz lipovega lesa imajo na eni strani luknjico, skozi katero so nanizane na vrvi, ki sta privezani na lok. V zgornjem nizu je 11 in v spodnjem 37 paličic. Od vsake paličice je en del izrezan. Na paličicah so zarezani znaki I, V in X ter slabo vidni zapisi s svinčnikom. Rovaše so uporabljali v soseski zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

43.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / enodelni / Bela krajina / konec 19. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 14 cm – 24 cm / inv. št. 22614 / stara inv. št. NM 8127.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / single / Bela krajina / late 19<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 14 cm – 24 cm / acc. no. 22614 / old acc. no. NM 8127.*



Štiriindvajset paličic iz lipovega lesa, ki imajo zgoraj luknjico, skozi katero so nanizane na vrstico, ki je privezana na olupljeno palico (ostanek loka). Na večini paličic so nad luknjico s svinčnikom napisane ali zarezane arabske številke, ki označujejo člane soseske. Na paličicah so zarezani znaki I, / in X, na nekaterih pa so slabo vidni napisi s svinčnikom (*Čurila; ive ...; Miko ...*). Rovaše so uporabljali v soseski zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

44.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / dvodelni / Bela krajina / konec 19. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 6 cm – 19 cm / inv. št. 22615 / stara inv. št. NM 8130.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / double / Bela krajina / late 19<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 6 cm – 19 cm / acc. no. 22615 / old acc. no. NM 8130.*



Lesen lok (na vrhu je prelomljen) ima na vsaki strani luknjico, ki ju povezujeta vrvici, na katerih so nanizane lipove lesene paličice. Paličice imajo na vrhu luknjico, skozi katero teče vrvica. Na zgornji vrvici je nanizanih 27 paličic, na spodnji 42 paličic. Nad ali pod luknjico so s svinčnikom zapisane arabske številke, ki označujejo člane soseske. Na ožjem delu paličic so zarezani znaki I in X, v nekaj primerih tudi isti znaki zapisani s svinčnikom. Na nekaterih paličicah so oznake odrezane. Na nekaj paličicah so slabo vidni napisi s svinčnikom. Večina rovašev je podobne vrste, gre za matice. Rovaše so uporabljali v soseski zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

45.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / enodelni / Bela krajina / konec 19. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 18,5 cm – 24 cm / inv. št. 22616 / stara inv. št. NM 8129.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / single / Bela krajina / late 19<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 18.5 cm – 24 cm / acc. no. 22616 / old acc. no. NM 8129.*



Lesen lok (na vrhu je prelomljen), na katerega je privezana vrvica z nanizanimi enaindvajsetimi paličicami iz lipovega lesa z luknjicami na vrhu. Nad luknjico so s svinčnikom zapisane arabske številke, ki označujejo člane soseske. Na paličicah so zarezani znaki I, / in X. Na nekaterih paličicah so napisi s svinčnikom (*Križevska vas 1877; 25. marca 1877 Karlovič; Mlinar*). Rovaše so uporabljali v soseski zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.

46.

**ROVAŠI – za označevanje dolga** / enodelni / Bela krajina / konec 19. stoletja / les / d (rovašev) = 15 cm – 23,5 cm / inv. št. 22617.

*TALLY STICKS – debt recording / single / Bela krajina / late 19<sup>th</sup> c. / wood / l (tally sticks) = 15 cm – 23.5 cm / acc. no. 22617.*



Ostank lesenega loka (večji del ga manjka), na katerega je privezana vrvica z nanizanimi devetnajstimi paličicami iz lipovega lesa z luknjicami na vrhu. Nad luknjico so zarezane ali s svinčnikom zapisane arabske številke, ki označujejo člane soseske. Pod luknjico so zarezani znaki I, \ in X. Na nekaterih paličicah so zareze odrezane. Na nekaj paličicah so napisi s svinčnikom (*Janes Težak; Ta pušel je Rosalnički; Rosalnice; boldin (?)*, Božakovo, 1875). Rovaše so uporabljali v soseski zidanici za označevanje izposojenega vina.



ROŠI IN ŠPANI / *METAL TOKENS*

47.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / pred 1. svetovno vojno / medenina /  $2r = 2,6$  cm / inv. št. 20491.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / before WWI / brass /  $d = 2.6$  cm / acc. no. 20491.*



Okrogla ploščica iz medeninaste pločevine s pravokotnima luknjicama ob straneh. V ploščico so vtisnjene začetnici J H (Johan Hofbauer),<sup>1</sup> črka K (oznaka za Mislinjo) in število 33. Roš je iz Hofbauerjeve barvarne v Vitanju. Barvar ga je uporabljal za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

48.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / pred 1. svetovno vojno / medenina /  $2r = 2,5$  cm / inv. št. 20492.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / before WWI / brass /  $d = 2.5$  cm / acc. no. 20492.*



Okrogla ploščica z luknjicama ob straneh. V ploščico so vtisnjene začetnici J H (Johan Hofbauer), črka K (oznaka za Mislinjo) in število 43, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 47.

49.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / pred 1. svetovno vojno / medenina /  $2r = 2,5$  cm / inv. št. 20493.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / before WWI / brass /  $d = 2.5$  cm / acc. no. 20493.*



Vtisnjene začetnici JH (Johan Hofbauer) in število 55, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

50.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina /  $2r = 2$  cm / inv. št. 20494.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass /  $d = 2$  cm / acc. no. 20494.*

<sup>1</sup> Johan (Ivan) Hofbauer je vodil barvarno v Vitanju od 1884 do 1939 (Dular 2000: 27–28).



Vtisnjene začetnici A H (Alojz Hofbauer)<sup>2</sup> in na glavo obrnjeno število 36. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

51.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2 cm / inv. št. 20495.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2 cm / acc. no. 20495.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 50.

52.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,6 cm / inv. št. 20496.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.6 cm / acc. no. 20496.*



Vtisnjene začetnici A H (Alojz Hofbauer), črka B (oznaka za Oplotnico) in število 41. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

53.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,6 cm / inv. št. 20497.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.6 cm / acc. no. 20497.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Alojz Hofbauer, sin Ivana Hofbauerja, je vodil barvarno v Vitanju od 1939 do 1954 (Dular 2000: 27–28).



54.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,6 cm / inv. št. 20498.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.6 cm / acc. no. 20498.*



Vtisnjene začetnici A H (Alojz Hofbauer), črka B (oznaka za Oplotnico) in število 42, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

55.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,7 cm / inv. št. 20499.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.7 cm / acc. no. 20499.*



Vtisnjene začetnici A H (Alojz Hofbauer), črka B (oznaka za Oplotnico) in število 43. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

56.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,7 cm / inv. št. 20500.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.7 cm / acc. no. 20500.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 55, le da je privezan na vrstico.

57.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,5 cm / inv. št. / 20501.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.5 cm / acc. no. / 20501*



Vtisnjene začetnici A H (Alojz Hofbauer), križec in število 63. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

58.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,5 cm / inv. št. 20502.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.5 cm / acc. no. / 20502*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 57.

59.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20503.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20503.*



Vtisnjene začetnici AH (Alojz Hofbauer) in število 86, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

60.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Vitanje / pred 1. svetovno vojno / medenina / roš: 2 r = 2,6 cm; karton: 7,3 x 6,7 cm / inv. št. 20504.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Vitanje / before WWI / brass / TOKEN: d = 2.6 cm; cardboard: 7.3 x 6.7 cm / acc. no. 20504.*



Vtisnjene začetnici JH (Johan Hofbauer), črka D (oznaka za Dravograd) in število 16. Ploščica je z vrvico privezana na pravokotni karton. Na kartonu je s svinčnikom napisano *Župančova 15.60 cent*, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 48.

61.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2 r = 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20507.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / d = 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20507.*



Okrogla ploščica iz bakrene pločevine z luknjico na vrhu in vtisnjениm številom 43. Roš je iz Wagnerjeve barvarne v Radovljici. Barvar ga je uporabljal za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

62.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker /  $2 r = 2,3 \text{ cm}$  / inv. št. 20508.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper /  $d = 2.3 \text{ cm}$  / acc. no. 20508.*



Vtisnjeno število 68, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

63.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker /  $2 r = 2,4 \text{ cm}$  / inv. št. 20509.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper /  $d = 2.4 \text{ cm}$  / acc. no. 20509.*



Vtisnjeno število 149, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

64.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker /  $2 r = 2,4 \text{ cm}$  / inv. št. 20510.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper /  $d = 2.4 \text{ cm}$  / acc. no. 20510.*



Vtisnjeno število 756, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

65.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / med 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2 r = 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20511.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / during WWII / copper / d = 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20511.*



Vtisnjeno število 2802, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

66.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / med 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2 r = 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20512.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / during WWII / copper / d = 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20512.*



Vtisnjeno število 2888, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

67.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / po 2. svetovni vojni / baker / 2 r = 2,8 cm / inv. št. 20513.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / after WWII / copper / d = 2.8 cm / acc. no. 20513.*



Vtisnjeno število 0168, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

68.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / po 2. svetovni vojni / baker / 2 r = 2,8 cm / inv. št. 20514.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / after WWII / copper / d = 2.8 cm / acc. no. 20514.*



Vtisnjeno število 0469, spodnji rob ploščice manjka, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

69.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2,3 x 2,3 cm / inv. št. 20515.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 2.3 x 2.3 cm / acc. no. 20515.*



Kvadratna ploščica s posnetimi vogali in vtisnjnim številom 294, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

70.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2,3 x 2,3 cm / inv. št. 20516.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 2.3 x 2.3 cm / acc. no. 20516.*



Vtisnjeno število 425, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 69.

71.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / medenina /  $2 r = 2,7$  cm / inv. št. 20517.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / brass /  $d = 2.7$  cm / acc. no. 20517.*



Okrogla ploščica iz medeninaste pločevine, vtisnjeno število 850, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

72.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / medenina / 2 r = 2,7 cm / inv. št. 20518

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / brass / d = 2.7 cm / acc. no. 20518*



Vtisnjeno število 859, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 71.

73.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / medenina / 2 r = 2,7 cm / inv. št. 20519.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / brass / d = 2.7 cm / acc. no. 20519.*



Vtisnjeno število 724, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 71.

74.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / medenina / 2 r = 2,5 cm / inv. št. 20520.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / brass / d = 2.5 cm / acc. no. 20520.*



Okrogla ploščica iz medeninaste pločevine z luknjicama ob straneh. V ploščici so vtisnjene začetnici A W (verjetno Anton Wagner)<sup>3</sup> in število 76, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

75.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / medenina / 2 r = 2,6 cm / inv. št. 20521.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / brass / d = 2.6 cm / acc. no. 20521.*

<sup>3</sup> Anton Wagner (roj. 1884) je barvarno vodil od leta 1920 do 2. svetovne vojne (Dular 2000: 25).



Vtisnjeno število 130, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 74.

76.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / konec 19., začetek 20. stoletja / medenina / 2,4 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20522.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.4 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20522.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz medeninaste pločevine s posnetimi vogali in kvadratno luknjico ob desnem robu. V ploščico so vtisnjene začetnici A W (verjetno Alojz Wagner)<sup>4</sup>, znak = (je enako) in število 23, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

77.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 2,9 x 1,9 cm / inv. št. 20523.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 2.9 x 1.9 cm / acc. no. 20523.*



Pravokotna ploščica iz bakrene pločevine z zaobljenima vogaloma in luknjico na levi strani. V ploščico je vtisnjeno število 458, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

78.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 3,2 x 2 cm / inv. št. 20524.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 3.2 x 2 cm / acc. no. 20524.*



Vtisnjeno število 774, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Alojz Wagner (roj. 1853), sin Antona Wagnerja, je barvarno vodil v letih 1880–1920 (Dular 2000: 25).

79.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 3,2 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20525.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 3.2 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20525.*



Kapljasto oblikovana ploščica iz bakrene pločevine z luknjicama zgoraj in spodaj. V ploščico je vtisnjeno število 509, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 61.

80.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 3,2 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20526.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 3.2 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20526.*



Vtisnjeno število 526, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 79.

81.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Radovljica / pred 2. svetovno vojno / baker / 3,2 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20527.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Radovljica / before WWII / copper / 3.2 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20527.*



Vtisnjeno število 551, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 79.



82.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo /  $2r = 2,9$  cm / inv. št. 20531/1<sup>5</sup>.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron /  $d = 2.9$  cm / acc. no. 20531/1.*



Okrogla ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine z luknjico na vrhu. V ploščici so vtisnjene začetnici M P (verjetno Matija Pirc)<sup>6</sup> in število 101. Roš je iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju. Barvar ga je uporabljal za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

83.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo /  $2r = 2,9$  cm / inv. št. 20531/2.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron /  $d = 2.9$  cm / acc. no. 20531/2.*



Vtisnjeno število 104, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

84.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo /  $2r = 2,9$  cm / inv. št. 20531/3.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron /  $d = 2.9$  cm / acc. no. 20531/3.*



Vtisnjeno število 105, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

85.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo /  $2r = 2,9$  cm / inv. št. 20531/4.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron /  $d = 2.9$  cm / acc. no. 20531/4.*

<sup>5</sup> V inventarni knjigi SEM je pod inv. št. 20531 zavedenih 60 rošev. Za potrebe kataloga sem jih označila s številkami 20531/1–60.

<sup>6</sup> Matija Pirc (1824–1891) je prevzel obrt leta 1856 in jo vodil do smrti. Od leta 1887 je pri delu intenzivno sodeloval tudi sin Metod (1866–1891) (Kobe - Arzenšek 1968: 19).



Roš je dvojniki predmeta s kat. št. 84.

86.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/5.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/5.*



Vtisnjeno število 108, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

87.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/6.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/6.*



Vtisnjeno število 109, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

88.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/7.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/7.*



Vtisnjeno število 121, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

89.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/8.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/8.*



Vtisnjeno število 123, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

90.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/9.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/9.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 89.

91.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/10.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/10.*



Vtisnjeno število 128, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

92.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/11.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/11.*



Vtisnjeno število 143, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

93.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/12.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/12.*



Vtisnjeno število 144, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

94.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/13.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/13.*



Vtisnjeno število 147, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

95.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/14.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/14.*



Vtisnjeno število 148, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

96.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/15.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/15.*



Vtisnjeno število 152, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

97.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/16.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/16.*



Vtisnjeno število 153, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

98.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/17.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/17.*



Vtisnjeno število 154, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

99.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/18.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/18.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 98.

100.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/19.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/19.*



Vtisnjeno število 156, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

101.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/20.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/20.*



Vtisnjeno število 158, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

102.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/21.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/21.*



Vtisnjeno število 161, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

103.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/22.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/22.*



Vtisnjeno število 169, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

104.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/23.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/23.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 103.

105.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/24.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/24.*



Vtisnjeno število 175, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

106.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/25.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/25.*



Vtisnjeno število 178, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

107.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/26.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/26.*



Vtisnjeno število 179, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

108.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/27.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/27.*



Vtisnjeno število 182, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

109.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/28.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/28.*



Vtisnjeno število 184, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

110.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/29.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/29.*



Vtisnjeno število 187, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

111.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/30.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/30.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 110.

112.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/31.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/31.*



Vtisnjeno število 188, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

113.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/32.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/32.*





Vtisnjeno število 189, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

114.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/33.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/33.*



Vtisnjeno število 190, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

115.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/34.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/34.*



Vtisnjeno število 191, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

116.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/35.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/35.*



Vtisnjeno število 192, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

117.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/36.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/36.*



Vtisnjeno število 199, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

118.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/37.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/37.*



Vtisnjeno število 203, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

119.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/38.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/38.*



Vtisnjeno število 210, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

120.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/39.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/39.*



Vtisnjeno število 217, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

121.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/40.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/40.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 120.

122.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/41.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/41.*



Vtisnjeno število 220, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

123.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/42.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/42.*



Vtisnjeno število 221, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

124.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/43.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/43.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 123. Črka P je slabo vidna.

125.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/44.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/44.*



Vtisnjeno število 227, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

126.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/45.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/45.*



Vtisnjeno število 228, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

127.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/46.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/46.*



Vtisnjeno število 230, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

128.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/47.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/47.*



Vtisnjeno število 232, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

129.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/48.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/48.*



Roš je dvojniki predmeta s kat. št. 128.

130.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/49.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/49.*



Vtisnjeno število 236, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

131.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/50.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/50.*



Vtisnjeno število 237, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

132.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/51.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/51.*



Vtisnjeno število 239, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

133.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/52.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/52.*



Vtisnjeno število 241, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

134.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/53.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/53.*



Vtisnjeno število 245, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami.

135.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/54.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/54.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 134.

136.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/55.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/55.*



Vtisnjeno število 246, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82. Predmet ima dvojnik z enakimi oznakami. Ploščica je poškodovana.

137.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/56.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/56.*



Roš je dvojniki predmeta s kat. št. 136.

138.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/57.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/57.*



Vtisnjeno število 247, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

139.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/58.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/58.*



Vtisnjeno število 248, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

140.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/59.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/59.*



Vtisnjeno število 251, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

141.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2 r = 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20531/60.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / d = 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20531/60.*



Vtisnjeno število 252, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 82.

142.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/1<sup>7</sup>.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/1.*



Pravokotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico na vrhu ter v levem zgornjem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene začetnici P M (verjetno Pirc Matija) in število 21. Roš je iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju. Barvar je uporabljal roš za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

143.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,8 x 2,8 cm / inv. št. 20532/2.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.8 x 2.8 cm / acc. no. 20532/2.*



Kvadratna ploščica z luknjico na vrhu. V ploščico je vtisnjeno število 22, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 142.

144.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/3.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/3.*



V pravokotno ploščico je vtisnjeno število 23, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 143.

<sup>7</sup> V inventarni knjigi SEM je pod inv. št. 20532 zavedenih 22 rošev. Za potrebe kataloga so označeni s številkami 20532/1–22.



145.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,6 x 3,2 cm / inv. št. 20532/4.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.6 x 3.2 cm / acc. no. 20532/4.*



Vtisnjena številka 24, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

146.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,6 x 3,1 cm / inv. št. 20532/5.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.6 x 3.1 cm / acc. no. 20532/5.*



Vtisnjeno število 46, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

147.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,8 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/6.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.8 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/6.*



Vtisnjeno število 50, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

148.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,8 x 3,1 cm / inv. št. 20532/7.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.8 x 3.1 cm / acc. no. 20532/7.*



Vtisnjeno število 59, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

149.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/8.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/8.*



Vtisnjeno število 60, ploščica je na spodnjem robu nekoliko poškodovana, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

150.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,9 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/9.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.9 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/9.*



Vtisnjeno število 63, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

151.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,8 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/10.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.8 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/10.*



Vtisnjeno število 64, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

152.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 2,9 cm / inv. št. 20532/11.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 2.9 cm / acc. no. 20532/11.*



Vtisnjeno število 65, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

153.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/12.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/12.*



Vtisnjeno število 66, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

154.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3,1 cm / inv. št. 20532/13.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3.1 cm / acc. no. 20532/13*



Vtisnjeno število 67, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

155.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/14.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/14.*



Vtisnjeno število 69, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

156.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/15.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/15.*



Vtisnjeno število 75, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

157.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,8 x 2,8 cm / inv. št. 20532/16.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.8 x 2.8 cm / acc. no. 20532/16.*



V kvadratno ploščico je vtisnjeno število 77, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

158.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/17.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/17.*



V pravokotno ploščico je vtisnjeno število 80. Predmet ima dvojnik z enako oznako, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

159.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/18.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/18.*



Roš je dvojnik predmeta s kat. št. 158.

160.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/19.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/19.*



Vtisnjeno število 84, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

161.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/20.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/20.*



Vtisnjeno število 85, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

162.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,7 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/21.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.7 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/21.*



Vtisnjeno število 90, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

163.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 2. polovica 19. stoletja / železo / 2,5 x 3 cm / inv. št. 20532/22.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 2<sup>nd</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.5 x 3 cm / acc. no. 20532/22.*



Vtisnjeno število 97, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 144.

164.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,2 x 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20533/1<sup>8</sup>.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.2 x 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20533/1.*

<sup>8</sup> V inventarni knjigi SEM so pod inv. št. 20533 zavedeni štirje roši. Za potrebe kataloga so označeni s številkami 20533/1–4.



Kvadratna ploščica iz pocinkane medeninaste pločevine s porezanimi vogali z luknjicama ob straneh. V ploščico sta vtisnjeni začetnica P. (Pirc) in število 178. Roš je iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju. Barvar je uporabljal roš za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

165.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,2 x 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20533/2.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.2 x 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20533/2.*



Ploščica iz medeninaste pločevine, vtisnjeno število 262, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 164.

166.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,2 x 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20533/3.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.2 x 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20533/3.*



Vtisnjeno število 287, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 165.

167.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,2 x 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20533/4.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.2 x 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20533/4.*



Vtisnjeno število 328, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 165.

168.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2 r = 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20534/1<sup>9</sup>.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / d = 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20534/1.*

<sup>9</sup> V inventarni knjigi SEM so pod inv. št. 20534 zavedeni štirje roši. Za potrebe kataloga so označeni s številkami 20534/1–4.



Okrogla ploščica iz pocinkane medeninaste pločevine z luknjicama ob straneh. V ploščico sta vtisnjeni začetnica P. (Pirc) in število 181. Roš je iz Pirčeve barvarne v Kranju. Barvar je uporabljal roš za označevanje blaga, ki ga je prejel v barvanje.

169.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,5 x 2,5 cm / inv. št. 20534/2.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.5 x 2.5 cm / acc. no. 20534/2.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz enostransko pocinkane medeninaste pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico v gornjem levem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene število 128. in črki I: S:, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 168.

170.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / 1. polovica 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,2 x 2,2 cm / inv. št. 20534/3.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / 1<sup>st</sup> half 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.2 x 2.2 cm / acc. no. 20534/3.*



Vtisnjene začetnici S P (Simon Pirc)<sup>10</sup>, število 157 in zvezdica. Na nepocinkani strani sta vtisnjeni črki S S, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 169.

171.

**ROŠ – za označevanje blaga** / Kranj / konec 18., začetek 19. stoletja / medenina / 2,4 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 20534/4.

*TOKEN – for marking cloth / Kranj / late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> c. / brass / 2.4 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 20534/4.*



Ploščica z luknjico ob gornjem robu. V ploščico sta zarezani črki A (Andrej?)<sup>11</sup>, ena od njiju je obrnjena na glavo, na sredini ploščice je križec, spodaj številka 3 in črka Z, ostalo kot pri kat. št. 169.

<sup>10</sup> Simon Pirc je barvarno vodil od leta 1809 do 1851 (Kobe - Arzenšek 1964: 19).

<sup>11</sup> Andrej je bil sin Lovra Pirca, ki se je z barvarstvom ukvarjal že v 18. stoletju. Po očetovi smrti je Andrej leta 1797 obrat povečal in moderniziral ter ga vodil do leta 1808 (Kobe - Arzenšek 1964: 19).

172.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 4 x 4 cm / inv. št. 20575.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 4 x 4 cm / acc. no. 20575.*



Trikotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico na vrhu. V ploščico so vtisnjene črki A N (lastnikovi začetnici) in število 20 (hišna številka). Gre za polovičen špan (delo, opravljeno v pol dneva). Špane so uporabljali kmečki gospodarji in najeti delavci za vodenje evidence o številu delovnih dni.

173.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 3,5 x 3,5 cm / inv. št. 20650.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 3.5 x 3.5 cm / acc. no. 20650.*



Rombasta ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico na vrhu. Gre za cel špan (celodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

174.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 4 x 4 cm / inv. št. 20652.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 4 x 4 cm / acc. no. 20652.*



Opis enak kot pri kat. št. 172, le da je število 20 zgoraj, črki A N pa spodaj.

175.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,6 x 4 cm / inv. št. 20654.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.6 x 4 cm / acc. no. 20654.*



Šesterokotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine z luknjico na vrhu. Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 174.



176.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,3 x 2 cm / inv. št. 22620.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.3 x 2 cm / acc. no. 22620.*



Pravokotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico v gornjem desnem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene število 13 (hišna številka) in črki J A (lastnikovi začetnici). Gre za cel špan (enodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

177.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,3 x 1,9 cm / inv. št. 22621.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.3 x 1.9 cm / acc. no. 22621.*



Opis enak predmetu s kat. št. 176, le da je gornji levi vogal ploščice odrezan, špan je tričetrtinski (delo, opravljeno v tričetrt dneva).

178.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,9 x 2,4 cm / inv. št. 22622.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.9 x 2.4 cm / acc. no. 22622.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico v gornjem desnem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene števili 18 in 200 (hišna številka in številka špana) ter črki J B (lastnikovi začetnici). Gre za cel špan (celodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

179.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,4 x 2,6 cm / inv. št. 22623.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.4 x 2.6 cm / acc. no. 22623.*



Pravokotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine z luknjico v gornjem desnem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene število 8 (hišna številka) in črki F S (lastnikovi začetnici). Gre za cel špan (celodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

180.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,4 x 2,6 cm / inv. št. 22624.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.4 x 2.6 cm / acc. no. 22624.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico v gornjem levem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene črki M W (lastnikovi začetnici) in število 27 (hišna številka). Gre za cel špan (celodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

181.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,4 x 2,6 cm / inv. št. 22625.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.4 x 2.6 cm / acc. no. 22625.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine in luknjico na vrhu. V ploščico so vtisnjene črki K A (lastnikovi začetnici) in število 564 (hišna številka). Gre za cel špan (celodnevno delo). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.

182.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,2x 2,8 cm / inv. št. 22626.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.2x 2.8 cm / acc. no. 22626.*



Trikotna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico na vrhu. Gre za polovičen špan (delo, opravljeno v pol dneva). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 179.

183.

**ŠPAN – za štetje delovnih dni** / Slovenske gorice / 1. polovica 20. stoletja / železo / 2,2x 2,8 cm / inv. št. 22627.

*TOKEN – counting workdays / Slovenske gorice / 1<sup>st</sup> half 20<sup>th</sup> c. / iron / 2.2x 2.8 cm / acc. no. 22627.*



Kvadratna ploščica iz pocinkane železne pločevine s porezanimi vogali in luknjico v gornjem levem vogalu. V ploščico so vtisnjene črke L M Z (lastnikove začetnice) in število 27 (hišna številka). Spodnji desni vogal ploščice je odrezan, špan je tričetrtnski (delo, opravljeno v trčetrt dneva). Ostalo kot pri kat. št. 172.



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dr. Nena Židov

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