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## THE WILLS OF DALMATIAN PHYSICIANS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS FROM 14<sup>TH</sup> AND FIRST DECADE OF 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY\*

**Abstract:** The paper analyzes ten wills of Dalmatian physicians and their family members from 14<sup>th</sup> and first decade of 15<sup>th</sup> century that were preserved in State archive in Zadar and State archive in Dubrovnik. Physician's wills are valuable source for study of different aspects of social life within communities, but also produce certain insights important for history of science and medicine. Content of those wills enables apprehension of social and material status of physicians and their family members and purposes for which they directed their assets. At the same time, it is possible to notice that physicians, as did other citizens of that time, followed socially acceptable form in distribution of estate. Authors in the paper also analyzed part of inventory of Šibenik physician Antun from Spilimberg regarding the list of important medical books mentioned physician possessed, for they witness that such medical literature was present in libraries of certain physicians and was used in Dalmatian communities.

**Keywords:** wills, history of medicine

Non MeSH: Middle Ages, Dalmatia, Zadar, Dubrovnik, history of science

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## Introduction

The wills are one of the best and data rich kind of private-legal documents that enable study of commercial, social, legal, cultural and spiritual topics of medieval Dalmatian communities, but simultaneously give certain possibilities for historical-scientific, in this case historical-medical, interpretations. Wills were made for all strata of urban population, so were for physicians and their family members, and they complement our understanding of life of medieval man in a community and its district and physicians' adaptation to that milieu. How they were to be composed to be legitimate was specified by community statute.<sup>1</sup> According to statutes of Dalmatian towns the will could be made by male person with 14 years of age and female with 12 years of age. There are no formal differences between wills of higher and lower class, just in their content since testaments of richer citizens were mostly more complex for larger estate was to be divided.

Using experiences and methodology directions of European medievalists, it was only in 1990s that Croatian historians started analyses of wills as a source not only for religious life of individuals, but also other aspects of everyday life of communal population. Historians of medicine turned to testaments just lately and focused on later history periods. In newer medical literature recorded were analyses of these sources mostly for 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. [2,3]

There are few pioneers studying wills among medievalists that should be mentioned. So Zdenka Janeković Römer researched late medieval messages of Dubrovnik citizens and with her studies brought attention to this type of private-legal documents. [4,5] First systematic study of citizens' wills in late medieval Dalmatia performed Zoran Ladić who published results in 2012 in the book *Last Will: Passport to Heaven. Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia*, [6] and many other articles. [7,8] Elvis Orbančić researched testaments of citizens of Istra region, [9] while Lovor-

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1 For instance, each citizen of Zadar community and its district could write his will on his own. In it he was supposed to fill in day, month and year of its composition. Such a testament he should confirm with known, i.e. usual seal and give it to the office of Zadar municipality procurator or to sacristy of abbey of Mala braća, of Dominican abbey, of abbey of nuns of St. Nikola, abbey of nuns of St. Marija de Melta outside town of Zadar, or to abbey of St. Marija in Zadar. If not in own handwriting, the will could, by order of testator, be written by hand of Zadar notary. So the person who wanted will to be written by notary's hand should first call and ask notary to make testament. After that, notary was supposed to verbatim write testator's will and names of successors with surnames and what each of them is to succeed in accordance with testator's wishes. Such will was to be read in front of two witnesses, males, and testator was to approve it in front of one of procurators of Zadar municipality or one examiner or judge of grand court and it had to be sealed, closed and sealed with a known seal to avoid amending and erasing. Procurator, judge or examiner of Zadar municipality was obliged to submit such will to notary's disposition. After that, procurator, judge or examiner was to check its integrity and seal before opening, and to give it open to be entered into notary's log. Mentioned procurator, judge or examiner was obliged to take it with him and preserve it until notary produce full public form of the will, and after that he was to return to notary document he preserved. Notary's duty was to submit will recorded in notary log in extended form to successors written in the testament and to trustees and to give each his own copy, keeping for himself authentic original. [1]

ka Čoralić analyzed testaments of Croatian diaspora in Venice. [10] Čoralić, together with medicine historian Tajna Buklijaš analyzed both wills and inventory of Zadar physicians from the first half of 17<sup>th</sup> century. [3]

Research of wills so far was primarily linked to religious and social life of citizens and gave image of Dalmatian urban cores and their everyday life. This paper is mostly focused on possibilities to regard wills in the context of history of medicine and science. To wit, testaments were being made also for some members of Dalmatian communities with university education and were involved in activities neither administrative, nor commercial or religious. Therefore, we used preserved wills of Dalmatian physicians as representatives of the group of highly educated citizens who belonged to specific medical milieu and tried to put into context their status in the community and possible differences in patterns of will format. Furthermore, through inventory of legacies we tried to enter that segment of historical-scientific research that consider certain artefacts, in our case those listed in mentioned inventories, can better reveal of how certain scientific-medical cognizance fitted into local ambiance, and give suggestions on way knowledge spread, also on influence on presence of certain ideas and existence of certain cultural circles.

Through analyzing wills it was unavoidable to emphasize material, social and family status of Dalmatian physicians and their family members, and their mental and physical state that prompted them to write testaments, the way they distributed their assets and insight into other data obtainable from these sources.

### **Physicians, families, wills**

The paper discusses ten wills written in time span from 1337 to 1408, and preserved in notary documents kept in State archive of Zadar and State archive of Dubrovnik. For this paper analyzed were following testaments: The first one is will of Dubrovnik physician Antun from Italian town Montefiore in the region Marche made in 1337. [11] That is also oldest preserved will of some physician who served in some Dalmatian town. Next preserved will is that of Dubrovnik surgeon Mihovil composed in 1371. [12] A year later composed was the will of Kataruča, daughter of Dubrovnik physician Bartolomej, [13] and in 1387 of Zadar physician Nikola, a son of late Zanino de Rido of Padova, written by notary Artikucije of late Dominik from Rivignano. [14] In the year 1391 made was testament of lady Matija, widow of physician Nigro Franjin. [15] That same year the will made Dubrovnik surgeon Grgur of late Paxiusa from Verona. [16] The next will analyzed in the paper was composed in 1392 at Zadar notary Vannes Bernardov from Fermo for lady Katarina, wife of physician Petar from Bologna. [17] Apart from that one, the same notary in 1403 composed her new testament. [18] Zadar notary Vannes Dominikov from Fermo made in 1392 will of surgeon Franjo of late David from Armenia, [19] and seven years later, i.e. in 1399. made was testament of Dubrovnik physician Kristofor from Benevento. [20] The last will considered in the paper was composed in 1408 for Zadar physician

Antun from Conegliano. [21] That those were exceptionally educated professional officials respected in society is proved by the fact that their titles in documents were often accompanied by adjectives *circumspectus*, *sapiens*, *scientificus* and similar. Out of five Zadar wills in three of them notaries mentioned social position of testator. So, physician magister Franjo, son of late David from Armenia and Matija, wife of Zadar physician Nigro Franjin were defined as Zadar inhabitants (*habitor/habitatrix Iadre*), [19,15] while Katarina, wife of physician Petar from Bologna was defined as Zadar citizen (*civis Iadre*). [18] On the other hand, for physicians Nikola, son of late Zanin de Rido, and Antun from Conegliano Zadar notary Artikucije from Rivignano during composing of will highlighted just the fact they were paid by Zadar community (*salariatus communis Iadre*). [21,14] It is interesting that in case of Dubrovnik physicians and their family members their social position within community was not listed, just in some cases it was emphasized they were paid by Dubrovnik community. So for surgeon Grgur from Verona and physician Kristofor from Benevento it was listed they were *salariati Ragusii*. [16,20]

### Why wills?

Despite social status, other data wills described were reasons for composition, physical and psychic condition of testator at the time of will composition, and chosen recipients of testament legacies. Zadar notary Vannes Bernardov from Fermo at the beginning of wills of spouses of Zadar physicians Petar from Bologna and Nigro Franjin recorded formulation that emphasized fear of sudden death: *Cum nil sit certius morte et nichil incertius hora mortis et dies mortis ab omnibus penitus ignoretur* [18,15] and that was also the most common reason that inspired Dalmatian citizens to compose will, but also one of central motifs of late medieval religiousness in Western Christianity. [22] Also, it is important to highlight that dying without a will meant testator did not divide legacies *pro remedio anime* and *ad pias causas*, i.e. he did not manage to achieve, among European testators obvious, strategy aimed at soul salvation and eternal life.

As far as psychic and physical condition of testator is concerned, Dubrovnik physician Antun from small town of Montefiore while composing his will in 1337 emphasized he was *bona et sana mente atque memorie*, but that he lied in bed ill (*iacens in lecto infirmus corpore*). [11] Zadar physician Nikola composed his will in 1387, *sanus mente, sensu et intellectu* which was, nevertheless, precondition for will composition,<sup>2</sup> but emphasized was that at the moment of its composition he was ill (*egritudine pergrauatus*), without specifying particular illness. [14] Similar physical condition made Franjo of late David from Armenia compose his will, so notary Vannes Dominikov from Fermo emphasized that at the time of will composition he was *corpore languens*, i.e. physically enervated [19], and for Antun from Conegliano was recorded he was

2 Particularly, per stipulations of Dalmatian statutes, will could not be composed by underage persons, i.e. girls younger than 12 and boys younger than 14, or feeble-minded persons.

*infirmirate corporea pergrauatus*. [21] On the other hand, wives of Zadar physician Nigro Franjin and surgeon Petar from Bologna, Matija and Katarina, prepared their wills in good health, emphasizing as a reason their fear of sudden death and that they didn't want to die with no testament (*timens diuinum iuditium periculum repentine mortis nolens ab intestato decedere*). [15,17] Although composing of will by physically healthy persons was not rarity among Dalmatian testators, still majority of them did that before some long trip, either for business or religious reasons, i.e. when leaving for pilgrimage to some distant pilgrim destination in Europe or the Holly Land. On the other hand, Dubrovnik surgeon Mihovil, Kataruča, daughter of physician Bartolomej and physician Kristofor in their wills wrote only the fact they composed will with good mind and memory (*bona mente et cum bona memoria*), omitting reason that made them compose their testaments. [12,13,20] As unique and interesting example we single out Dubrovnik surgeon Grgur who wrote in his will: *Ego magister Gregorius de Verona condam domini Paxii sanus mente et timens de mortallitate volo et ordino meum ordinamentum et testamentum vltimum*. The fear of mortality in his will indicates that plague was ravaging in Dubrovnik at the time. [16,20]

### The structure and content of wills

When it comes to distribution of legacies, wills of physicians and members of their immediate families follow standard pattern of late medieval wills. In that way all ten analyzed wills reflect typical two-way strategy in choosing recipients of testament gifts. On one hand, testators paid a lot of attention to distribute legacies to their family members, while on the other they donated much of their legacy to religious purposes, i.e. *ad pias causas* i *pro anima sua*.

Particularly interesting in mentioned wills and something that should be emphasized straight away is the fact that certain physicians left testament legacies to institutions based in towns or communities they were originally from. That fact does not come as a surprise since foreigners (*forenses*) composing wills in Dalmatian towns quite often remembered their place of origin just in their testaments, leaving donations to religious institutions (churches, monasteries, priests, brotherhoods, *pauperes Christi*) or to family members in towns they were born in or were connected to in some other way.

Understandably, biggest and most valuable part of their movable and immovable property most of testators left to their family members. As already mentioned in introductory part of the paper, the oldest known will of some Dalmatian physician is the one by Antun from Montefiore who served in late 1320s. In January of 1329 government of Dubrovnik extended his employ for a year, with a salary of 20 perpers, and in February of 1333 again for one year with a salary of 7 libras. In May of the same year he made a contract with priest Marci from Kotor that he would treat him for two years covering medicines expenses, and in case of successful outcome will receive from Marci 15 gold ducats. [23] In the will he composed in 1337 most of his property he left to his family. So, he bequeathed to his nephew legacy of 200 libras.

Same amount he left to his sister Jakobina, while to his sister Franciska he bequeathed 500 libras if she wished to join a monastery. In case she didn't want to become a nun, he insisted that amount be spent for charity purposes for her and his soul as she determined. To Paulucio, son of Franjo from Montefiore, Dubrovnik citizen, he bequeathed 200 libras and 22 cubits of muslin fabric that was in some of his chests. To his nephews Jakobuci and Francisko from Montefiore he left by his will 50 libras each. In his testament Antun also listed debts of certain citizens that should be collected, also his own debts, although accounts receivable exceeded much amounts owed. It should be noted that list of debts to be paid was usually written towards the end of will and is inherent part of all wills in developed and late Middle Ages, in Dalmatia and whole of Mediterranean. It was considered, as were other strategic elements i.e. legacies, necessary for testator's soul to enter eternal life. Antun's will particularly shows his business connection with Kotor nobleman Nikola Bućo, who was supposed to return large amounts of money. Among those, most interesting are ones related to Antun's medical practice. For instance, Nikola was indebted 30 perpers for medicines Antun brought him into Slavonija (that most probably refers to Kotor and its area). Still, even more interesting is the fact that on Antun's behalf Nikola received salary of 1000 perpers from Serbian king in two-and-a-half years period, and another 250 perpers for three-and-a-half years of service. That meant that Antun from Montefiore practiced medicine also at the court of Serbian king Stefan Dušan (*rex Rascie*). [11,24,25]

Dubrovnik surgeon Mihovil and his service were mentioned in 1355 when he declared in front of Dubrovnik prince that certain merchant was that ill he couldn't go on a trip. In July of 1356 his service was prolonged for a year with a salary of 300 perpers. Sources from 1365 mentioned that he would take out stone from Radan Dobravčić, and once stone was given into Radan's hands we would receive 10 and half perpers, with another 10 and half in case he cured him completely. In case patient died, he would receive nothing. [23] Unfortunately, the epilogue of that case is unknown. Mihovil's will, composed in 1371, showed he had no children, so he left his property to closest family members. To his nephew Baldasar he left valuable money legacy of 30 ducats, while to Tarsija, daughter of certain magister Mihovil, he left as a gift one cloak, green in color and with large buttons. All other moveable and immoveable property he left to his four nephews to be divided into four equal parts. Testament contained Mihovil's request to pay ten perpers to physician Petar and twelve perpers to pharmacist Nikola. [12] Mihovil died soon afterwards, since in January 1371 two of his nephews, both of them surgeons, declared they received everything left to them and their brother by uncle Mihovil. They took to Dubrovnik with them brother's power of attorney composed in Lecce in Apulia, probably town where Mihovil himself came from. [23]

Zadar physician Nikola, a son of Zanino de Rido from Padua also had no descendants. In the will composed in 1387 he left to Benevenuta, a member of his household (*familiari sue*) 200 libras for her dowry, and specified that apart from that amount she can't claim anything of his property. He also requested that Albertino, a

member of his household (*familiari suo*) should be paid his salary and remainder of his wife Margarita's dowry, as previously agreed. On top of that he left him another 50 libras. Next, he requested in his testament that 50 golden ducats be returned to Andela, a sister of magister Petar from Vicenza. She should also be given all the money he received for selling property of magister Petar himself. On top of that he left her two silver glasses, two silver belts and one silver chain magister Petar left him. He also acquitted her all her debts. In his will he insisted his wife Antonija should take Andela with her, in case she did not marry before her return to Padua. To Antonija, who was also his executrix, he left estate situated in village of Parole in Padua district, the one he bought from Antonija's son. He also left her all rents in villages Paroli and Vacarini in Padua district, and a house he lived in before leaving to serve in Zadar. On top of that he left her five more houses situated in Padua in area Putei Lavazi that were being rented and used to be her dowry. All mentioned Antonija was to enjoy until her death, but just if she remained widow, i.e. did not remarry. For universal successor of remaining mobile and immobile property he named his brothers doctor of law Danijel and Andrija de Rido, citizens of Padua. After Antonija's death they were to inherit all houses and properties left to her. In case Danijel and Andrija had no male offspring, all Nikolas property were to inherit closest de Rido relatives. [14] Zadar surgeon Franjo of late David from Armenia in his will composed in 1392 also left most valuable part of his property to members of his immediate family. So, first legacy is the one for his daughter Magdalena to whom he left money legacy of 20 gold ducats. He also left her worthy clothing made of expensive fabrics of crimson color that was symbol of power and authority since Roman times. On top of that he left her two small knives coated in gilded silver, having also silver chain and one female silver belt. On the other hand, to his wife Marica who was also named one of executors, he left objects needed in household. So, in accordance with dowry practice and law he left her one better bed that was in his house, then four sets of linen and two better covers. He also left her all clothing to use. For principal heir of his estate he named son Juraj. In case son died before adulthood, he insisted his property be divided into two parts, one of them to be gifted for his soul as executors see it fit, while the other half was intended for his wife Marica. [19]

Surgeon Grgur from Verona was serving in Dubrovnik for more than 10 years. In his will composed in 1391 he left one third of his possessions to his wife Radoslava, while two thirds were for his daughter Richadona whom he also named principal executrix. Money legacy of four golden ducats was bequeathed to pharmacist Nikola, son of magister Franjo from Ortona. It is interesting that Grgur, just two days after testament, also composed a codicil, i.e. an annex to the will<sup>3</sup> in which he requested

3 Codicil is personal-legal document through which testator changes certain regulations or legacy receivers, quantity of legacy, type of legacies, executors recorded in last will. Testament and codicil together make one body for majority of legacies from testament remained effective, so executors were obliged to compare codicil with the will and change legacy types and receivers in accordance with a codicil.

that, besides Marin de Bodaça and Marin's wife, executor should also be surgeon magister Ivan de Papia. [16,20]

Physician Kristofor from Benevento was serving in Dubrovnik for many years. In July 1360 government of Dubrovnik reinstated him for a year with a salary of 150 ducats, and in June of 1363 again for one year with a salary of 200 ducats. In May of 1366 he pledged to heal some cobbler from Bar, and was supposed to receive two ducats for that. In October of 1378 his employ was prolonged for another year, and that was repeated each year afterwards. It seems he was not employed from 1393 to 1395, but then his employ was renewed with a salary of 700 perpers plus accommodation. He was serving as Dubrovnik physician for next three years, but in October 1399 Great council of Dubrovnik refused to renew contract because he was old and incapable to adequately perform medical service. Still, in order to repay him they decided to pay him monthly award of 10 perpers for as long as he lived and resided in Dubrovnik. He didn't enjoy his award for a long time, since in July of the same year he composed his will, and deceased probably early in 1400. [23] In testament he left worthy money legacies to his daughters and son. So, to Orsela he bequeathed 200 perpers and 100 perpers to each of her inheritors. Same amounts he bequeathed to other daughter Maruša and her inheritors. From the will we find out that Kristofor also had extramarital daughter who lived in Apulia, and to her he also left money legacy of 100 perpers, and 50 perpers to her inheritors. To his son Rusko he bequeathed 300 perpers. Money legacies Kristofor left also to his servants. To maid Pripna he bequeathed 20 perpers, to Milica 50 perpers to marry, while to maid Dobrica who lived in his house he bequeathed 25 libras and allowed her, if she wished so, to keep on living in the same house. To servant Ostoja he bequeathed 15 perpers. [20] That is quite similar to what Zadar physician Antun from Coneglaiano did in his will composed in 1408, where he bequeathed to his sisters Agneta and Mihaela worthy money legacies of hundred golden ducats each *pro earum dilectione*. Same amount he left to his mother Katarina who was one of testament executors. To his wife Katarina, also one of executors, he left 200 golden ducats, all clothing, precious stones, all goldware and silverware. He also left her at disposal all his property while she remained widow, and after death or in case she remarried he wanted them to come into hands of his executors and his son Bazilije whom he named major beneficiary of his property. In case Bazilije died before adulthood, one half was to go brother Petar and his children, and in case they die before adulthood then to his sisters Agneta and Mihaela. The other half of his property was to be sold, and obtained money to be divided to hospices, orphanages and to Waldensians. [21]

Apart from wills of physicians themselves, it is interesting to take a look at will of their family members and property distribution in them. The oldest known will of some physician's family member is the one by Kataruča, a daughter of Dubrovnik physician Bartolomej that shows that family members mostly did similar things. So Kataruča in her will composed in 1372 left to her mother money legacy of 40 perpers and one green cloak. She also bequeathed her 150 perpers in case her daughter died.

Thirty golden ducats she left to her daughter, and in case she died they were intended to brother preachers in Dubrovnik for salvation of her soul. To her husband Serden she gave 50 perpers to be taken from her dowry that amounted to 300 perpers. [13]

As already mentioned in the text, saved were two wills of Katarina, wife of magister Petar, surgeon from Bologna, and there is significant difference between their contents for one was made eleven years later. In the first will composed in 1392 that Katarina named for executrix her aunt Prodana, wife of Zanino de Sloradis and her husband Petar. The first testament was very brief and did not reveal much information. From it one can conclude that it was made by young person who named universal inheritors of her property her children she expected to have from marriage with Petar. In case she had no children or they died before adulthood, then prime executor was to be husband Petar. Also, in her testament she requested from executors to sell all her clothing and to divide obtained money for her soul as they considered to be best. [17] From data contained in Katarina's will composed in 1403, and from that from 1392 it is possible to reconstruct Katarina's family background. Namely, she came from respectable Zadar noble family de Sloradis. Katarina was daughter of Filip de Sloradis who, besides Katarina, had daughter Pavica, and she and Zadar nobleman Andrija de Cesamis were named executors in will composed in 1403. One of first Katarina's will requests concerned division of money legacy worth 60 libras that were to be taken from her estate and executors were to divide them for her soul as they considered to be best. For universal inheritors she named son Filip and daughter Dijana that she got from marriage with Petar. In testament she expressly forbade her husband Petar to sell or to misuse in any way the house she possessed in Zadar, in vicinity of St. Vid. She also specified that neither her children nor anybody else can sell mentioned house, but have to leave it as bequest to their children after their death. In case they died, house was to be given to her sister Pavica. She also bequeathed that, in case she gave birth to some more children, they also get equal share of her property. It is interesting that in the will from 1403 she excluded her husband Petar from executors, and unlike previous testament, she did not leave him any legacy. [18]

On the other side, interesting is the case of Matija, widow of physician Franjo, where she did not make any particular legacy to family members, probably for there were none. Only to Zadar merchant Filip, the son of late Cvitan de Bosco, one of her executors, she bequeathed piece of land with planted olives, situated in Cerodol. [15] It is important to note that in all analyzed wills we find legacies *pro remedio animae* or *ad causas pias*, in most cases left to various monasteries and churches.<sup>4</sup> One of

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4 Most important reason for donating to monasteries and churches was testator's wish that monks and nuns at the time of death and burial, and at the time of liturgical ceremonies pray for their souls to be admitted to Heaven. It was believed that the more clergy from monasteries and churches should pray simultaneously for testator's soul in order to expedite transition from this into eternal celestial life. Therefore Dubrovnik surgeon Mihovil bequeathed to cathedral church of St. Marija Veća (Maioris) in Dubrovnik for tenth (decima) and first fruits (primicia) 4 perpers. Then he left to

the reasons for legacies to certain monasteries and churches was support for their building or renovation.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from money legacies, Dalmatian testators bequeathed churches liturgical objects or material for their building, thus participating in decorating and equipping certain churches with liturgical and other inventory. Donated were chalices, crosses, icons, altar decorations and various other objects. So, Dubrovnik physician Antun from Montefiore left to church of St. Margaret in Dubrovnik 15 ounces of silver for making of one cross, [11] while physician Kristofor left *uno challixe a sancto Allexandro de Albania*. [20] It is possible that refers to church in Lješ (Lezhë) in Albania. Daughter of Dubrovnik physician Bartolomej, Kataruča, bequeathed to church of St. Katarine one painted tablecloth (*tubalia picta*), [13] while Zadar physician Antun from Conegliano left to Franciscans on the island of Pašman one annotated psalter (*psalterium glossatum*). [21]

Very common kind of legacies of Dalmatian testators were clothing, and they were also left for religious purposes. In most cases items were either richly decorated and expensive Mass clothes donated to church institutions or individuals, or simple cloths made of coarse fabric and intended for *pauperes Christi* and generally for members of poor layers of society (servants, maids, laborers, apprentices and such) or for solidarity-charity institutions such as hospices and orphanages for abandoned children. [26] So, in the will of Matija, widow of Zadar physician Franjo it was requested from executors to dress 25 poor persons in grey tunics.<sup>6</sup> That is an interesting example, for it contains data on cloths color. Namely, research showed that most popular colors in late Middle Ages among lower social strata were black, brown and grey. Physician Antun from Conegliano requested that his eight cloaks (*vestimenta a dorso*) situated in Venice be sold and obtained money given to Waldensians and other *miserabilis personis pro anima sua*. [21] On the other hand, Dubrovnik physician Kristofor bequeathed 15 perpers for clothing for poor. [20]

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all female monasteries within town 12 groschen each, while to Dubrovnik Franciscans and Dominicans he bequeathed 3 perpers each, further he left to any priest in Dubrovnik 4 groschen, and to Petar, chaplain of church of St. Vlaho he bequeathed 3 perpers. [12] Other Dubrovnik physicians and their family members followed similar pattern. Namely, Kataruča bequeathed to cathedral of St. Marija for tenth and first fruits 12 groschen, [13] surgeon Grgur from Verona 5 perpers, [16] and physician Kristofor from Benevento 2 perpers. [20] Besides cathedral of St. Marija, Kataruča made gift to church of St. Vlah, leaving it legacy of 12 groschen. [13] On the other side, surgeon Grgur and physician Kristofor gave gift to Franciscans of Dubrovnik by legacy totalling 6 perpers. [16,20] Kristofor donated not only to Franciscans, but also to female Benedictine monastery of St. Toma de Pusterla bequeathing them four perpers and to church of St. Gvido in Naples with worthy money legacy of 15 golden ducats. [20] Matija, widow of physician Franjo made donations to Zadar church institutions. To Zadar female Benedictines, i.e. monastery of St. Marija she bequeathed 30 libras pro anima sua. [15]

5 For instance, Zadar physician Nikola set apart significant amount of money, 200 ducats, for Carmelites of Padua for renovation of their monastery (pro reparatione monasterii). [19]

6 *Item reliquid quod dicti sui commissarii teneantur de bonis suis post eius obitum induere de vna tunica grisia viginti quinque pauperes Christi pro anima sua* [15]

Both meals and foodstuff as legacies *ad pias causas* were mentioned in analyzed wills. So Kataruča, the daughter of Dubrovnik physician Bartolomej ordered to preparation of two meals (*prandium*), one for the soul of her late father, another for her own. [13]

Very common practice encountered in wills composed in different Dalmatian communes was that when testators had no heirs, or in case of heir's death, executors were demanded to sell entire property and obtained money proceed to poor and for religious purposes. So Matija, widow of physician Franjo requested in her testament that executors after her death sell things from her house and obtained money donate to Waldensians who were also named primary inheritors of her property. [15] Dubrovnik physician Kristofor in his will composed in 1399 demanded that after his death all his houses, vineyards and land, also all other moveable and immoveable property be sold and money divided to poor for his soul and souls of his ancestors. [20] On the other hand, Katarina, wife of surgeon Petar in her will from 1403 demanded that in case of death of her heirs (son and daughter) all her property be sold through executors, and obtained money be donated for Masses served for her soul, and for religious purposes (*piis elemosinis*) and to Waldensians that were in this case also named primary heirs of the property. [18] Similar case was recorded in the will of Zadar surgeon Franjo from Armenia who specified that, in case of death of major heir, one half of his estate executors should divide *pro anima sua*. [19] Physician Antun from Conegliano also declared that in case of death of his son Bazilio one half of his estate should be sold, and money given to hospices, orphanages and Waldensians. [21]

Especially interesting is testament legacy of Zadar physician Nikola who demanded that part of his estate, specifically 600 libras should be set apart and given to six young girls from Zadar, one hundred libras each for her marriage. [19] On the other hand, Dubrovnik surgeon Grgur from Verona demanded in testament that, in case his daughter died with no heirs, his property be given to his brother who, two years afterwards, should sell it and divide money for young girls to marry, for his soul. [16,20] (25) This type of legacies was very common among Dalmatian testators in late Middle Ages. [7] Certain European historians consider those legacies reflected testator's wish to help and support procreation in urban societies that were at the time hit by frequent plague epidemics, resulting in significant decrease of urban populations. [27] In case of Zadar physician Nikola it is possible that he was mimicking and identifying with acts of certain saints, since by tradition Christian saint Nikola also donated eligible young women with no money for marriage.

Special legacy types *pro anima* and *ad pias causas* mentioned in wills of Dalmatian testators were Masses and pilgrimages. For instance, Zadar physician Nikola bequeathed 100 libras for Masses to be served for his soul, and his executors had to organize that. [19] Practice of pilgrimage as religious act is testified by one of analyzed wills. That is the one of Kataruča, daughter of Dubrovnik physician Bartolomej who insisted one person be sent on a pilgrimage to Archangel Mihael on Monte

Gargano, and another one to St. Marija Ratačka in Boka Kotorska. [13] That example shows it was a substitute pilgrimage, common case among testators who left certain amount to some physically and mentally sane person to make pilgrimage to some pilgrim destination on their behalf.

It is important to notice that in analyzed wills of Dalmatian physicians and their family members was not mentioned a single medical instrument or single medical book, although they certainly have them in their possession. From the will of Dubrovnik physician Antun from Montefiore we learn he possessed a chest with books, but unfortunately which books remains unknown. We should emphasize Dalmatian physician not only possessed books, but also copied them, as witnessed by case of physician Jakobin of late Alberto de Mainentibus from Vicenza (Jacobinus condam Alberti de Maynentibus de Vincentia) who worked as communal physician first in Trogir, then in Zadar, and finally in Italian town Chioggia. [28] In 1393 he copied so called old translation (*vetus versio*) of Aristotle's Politics. That was famous Latin translation from Greek, done by Willam Moerbeke (around 1215–1286) who therefore introduced Aristotle in Europe. This copy is particularly significant since it is one of oldest preserved manuscripts of translation of that Aristotle's work. [29]

### Inventories

Looking for contemporary sources that could reveal relevant data we researched one more type of notary documents linked with legacies, and those are so called inventories of goods (*inventarium bonorum*). Subject of research of inventories and levels of material culture in Croatian historiography are relatively poorly researched.<sup>7</sup> Composing of inventories was duty of will commissaries or testament executors the testator named in his will, and method for composing was regulated by statutory law. For instance, Zadar statute prescribed that will executors of a deceased had to start inventory of property fifteen days after testator's death, and it had to be completed within sixty days. In case some person died suddenly and could not compose the will and name executors, they were appointed by Zadar court (*curia*). The statute also precisely defined form of inventory, and what had to be listed. Those were all moveable and immoveable goods, those that move (i.e. cattle), all rights, prosecutions, debts, credits, obligations, where it was necessary to list names of people related to accounts receivable and payable of testator. So composed inventory executors were obliged to submit before expiry of sixty days to city prince and his curia, i.e. court, and he had to store it in the office of Zadar community procurator (*procuraria communis Iadre*).

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7 Important study on semblance of a Lopud house, based on analysis of inventory, wrote in 1954 Nada Beritić. [30] In 1977 Jakov Stipišić published inventory of Zadar nobleman Grisogona de Civaellis [29] Same author also published inventory of Zadar draper Mihovila [31] In 2005 Mladen Ančić published valuable study on inventory of goods of Split notary Toma of late Kolucije from Cingola. [32] Still, biggest contribution to research of inventors and level of material culture in late medieval Šibenik gave Goran Budeča. [33] In publishing inventories significant role played Robert Leljak. [34]

[35] Stipulations regarding composing of inventory were part of other Dalmatian statutes, among which by far most precise was the statute of Šibenik community.<sup>8</sup>

The oldest preserved inventories of Dalmatian people date from 1320s. Those are inventories of Zadar citizens stored in series *Magnifica communitas Iadrae*. It should be noted that among them for 14<sup>th</sup> century and first decade of 15<sup>th</sup> was not saved a single inventory of physicians who at the time served some Dalmatian community. First saved inventories of physicians and their family members origin from Šibenik community from second half of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Among them, for this research the most interesting was inventory of magister Antun from Spilimberg who was *artium et medicine doctor*, made in accordance with all mentioned statutory regulations on June 5 1465. Inventory was composed by Šibenik notary Karotus Vitalis at the time of prince Ludovik Baffo, and for executors were named surgeon Marko, who was also servant of Šibenik community, then respectable patrician Juraj Linjičić and Antun's wife Elena. [36]

In inventory individually were itemized all objects of Antun's moveable property (cloths, kitchenware, linen, furniture and usual household objects, but also jewelry and decorative artisan objects). The inventory was written globally without specification where certain item was situated. From inventory it becomes obvious he was wealthy Šibenik citizen whose home was fitted with luxury objects. For instance, Antun possessed luxurious cloths made of silk, purple vest in inventory listed as *zupon pauonazo*, then silver cutlery, three silk pieces of linen for cradle and other. [33] Still, the most valuable thing mentioned in inventory was the fact Antun possessed large library containing 36 different library units. From the very list of books, in inventory detached under title *Conto de libri* it is visible Antun paid special attention to purchasing books related to his occupation, i.e. medicine. [36] So, he had in his possession books of renowned Italian physician and philosopher Jakov from Forli (Giacomo della Torre, Jacobus de Forlivo, 14<sup>th</sup> century) titled *Liber grando dicto Iacobi de Forli sopra Ipocrate*, then *Vn libro dicto Iacobi de Forli sopra primo de Uicena* and *Vn libro grando intermezado dito Iachomo de Forli sopra li tegni*. Those are Jakov's works *Expositio in Aphorismos Hippocratis*, *Expositio in primum librum Canonis Avicennae* and *Super tres libros Tegni Galieni*. Antun also possessed several books of Persian scientist Avicena – *Libro vno de Uicena*, *Vn libro grando dicto quarto de Vicena*, *Vn libro grando dicto quinta de Vicena*, then two books of Vilim from Saliceto (Guillelmus de Placentia), famous Italian 13<sup>th</sup> century surgeon, teacher of Lanfranko from Milan. His first book in inventory was listed as *Vn libro mezan couerto de corilo verde in carta bona dito Soielmo de Placentia*. It is possible that is his famous work *Chirurgia* while the other book in the inventory was listed as *Liber grando dito quarto et ultimo de la pratica de Goielmo de Placentia*. That is actually Vilim's book *Practica* also men-

8 Šibenik statute contain seven provision related to inventories of goods, but also five provisions recorded in Reformations of the same statute and that makes it by far the most valuable source for study of inventory of goods according to statutory law in Dalmatia. [35]

tioned under title *Summa conservationis et curationis*. In his library Antun had books of Gerard from Cremona, Italian translator from Arabic into Latin (12<sup>th</sup> century). In the inventory they were listed as *Vn libro mezan in carta bona couerto de corio biancho dito Mansorius magistri Girardi Cremonensi* and *Vn libro mezan in carta bona dito diuision de maistro Girardi Cremonexe*. Both were Latin translations of medical books of Persian scientist al-Razi, known under Latinized name Rhazes or Rasis. The first one is translation of Razi's work *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* that in Toledo Gerard translated into Latin around 1187 under the title *Liber ad Almansorem*. It was the most read medieval medical handbook in Europe at the time. The second one was Gerard's translation of Razi's book named *Liber divisionum*. Antun in his library possessed *Vn libro grando in carta bona dito Serapione de le medixine simplice*. That is book of Arabic physician Serapi junior (Serapio iunior, ibn Sarabi) who lived and worked at the end of 12<sup>th</sup> or at the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century, and was often mixed in literature with Serapio senior (Yahya ibn Sarafyun). Serapio junior wrote the medical handbook in Arabic, and towards the end of 13<sup>th</sup> century it was translated into Latin. Latin translation was in use in 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century under the titles *Liber Serapionis aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, *Serapionis aggregatoris de simplicibus comentarii*, *Liber de simplicibus medicamentis* and *Liber de simplici medicina*. Serapion's handbook was widely accepted in late medieval medical circles, and parts of Latin text correspond to parts of preserved Arabic text *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* attributed to Ibn Wafid, Arabic pharmacologist and physician from Toledo (11<sup>th</sup> century), in Europe known as Abenguefit. Physician Antun from Spilimberg was also owner of the book titled *Tractatis de febribus disligatus*, whose author was Ivan de Tornamira (Iohannes de Tornamira), physician active in 14<sup>th</sup> century whose carrier was divided between papal court in Avignon and medical school of Montpellier university. Inventory also contains book *Vn libro grando couerto de corio rosso dito Jacobi de Dondi in bombaxina*. That is the book whose author was Jakov de Dondis (Jacobus de Dondis, Jacopo Dondi dall'Orologio, 14<sup>th</sup> century), professor of medicine and astronomy who is considered possible designer of mechanical clock built in Padua in 1344 and destroyed in 1390, but whose replica even today is on the tower in Padua. It is possible Antun possessed his most famous work, i.e. treatise on pharmacology titled *Aggregator medicamentorum, seu de medicinis simplicibus*, written in 1355. Another interesting medical book was listed in inventory as *Vn libro grando couerto de cor negro in carta bona dito le Consolation de medixine*. That is most probably book *Liber de consolatione medicinarum simplicium* whose author was Persian physician Yuhanna ibn Masawaih junior, known under Latin name Mesue. Antun also possessed book described in inventory as *Vn libro mezan in bambaxina dito Zuan de Casale sopra lanemia*. It is possible that refers to 14<sup>th</sup> century book by Italian Franciscan Giovanni di Casale, dealing mostly with theology and natural sciences, such as physics and mathematics. Besides mentioned ones, Antun in his library had more medical books whose authors we could not figure out, such as *Vn libro grando in carta bona dito De ascolidis*, *Vn libro mezan couerto de coris rosso in bambaxina commenza super*

*capitolo de cura, Vn libro mezan senza tauole in carta bona dito Maurus*. Preserved inventory shows Antun's interest for philosophical works, so in his library he had Aristotle's *De animalibus* (*Vn libro in carta bona el testo de Aristotele De animalibus*), then commentary on that Aristotle's book (*Vn libro in bambaxina che comento de dito libro*), a work by Dutch scholastic philosopher Marsilio of Inghen titled *Vn libro in bambasina Marsilio De generatione e corruptione*. That is actually Marsilio's book *Quaestiones super libris De generatione et corruptione Aristotelis*. He also possessed book on logics by English Franciscan and philosopher Vilim Okamski (*Libro dito Loyca de maistro Zoielmo Ocham*) and others. It is interesting that in his library there was no mention of ancient poets, satirists and historians, prime interest was focused on his occupation. [37] It is worth mentioning no medical instruments were listed in inventory, while in later period, according to research by Buklijaš and Čoralčić, inventories included such items. [3]

### Conclusion

Based on analyzed wills and inventories of Šibenik physician Antun from Spilimberg we can notice that physician active in Dalmatia in 14<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, despite being foreigners, adapted to local habits of their environment. It seems some of them chose Dalmatian towns to be their permanent retreats. Having in mind they were highly educated members of community, it seems they married members of high social standing, as witnessed by a case of surgeon Petar from Bologna who in Zadar community married women from old and respectable Zadar family de Sloradis. In the surroundings they worked in, they were well socially respected because of the fact they were performing important town service, as was the case with Zadar physicians Nikola and Antun. They were exceptionally educated professional servants respected in Zadar society, as witnessed by the fact that in their wills composed by notary Artikucije from Rivignano Nikola was described with attributes *circumspectus* and *sapiens*, Antun with *scientificus*. Besides, in other types of notary documents they were often recorded as witnesses in other people's affairs, and that indicates they formed lasting friendships with some.

Analysis of their wills allows conclusion they belonged to richer part of communities, as clearly proved in case of Zadar physician Nikola who possessed six houses in Padua, and of Dubrovnik's Antun from Montefiore who was owed huge amounts from different debtors. Analysis of will legacies also showed they left most of their property to their family members, but part of property was donated for charity and solidarity purposes, or simply for salvation of their souls, something that was ingrained and generally accepted at the time. In analyzed wills one can feel their concern for salvation of their souls. That is confirmed by the fact certain legacies had specific formulation *pro anima sua* which proves that, according to beliefs of the time, their interests were focused on painless and quick transfer of their souls from this into eternal life.

In regard of type of legacies, virtually everything they possessed was object of their donations. They bequeathed money, clothing, Mass objects, estates and houses. Of course, the type of legacy primarily depended on recipients, and in late Middle Ages their number increased. As recipients of legacies in analyzed wills, mentioned were different groups and individuals from all social strata of community, and sensibility favored town destitute, members of household, and that could be considered a reflection of social Christianity typical for urban centers of late medieval Europe. Besides, wills of Dalmatian physicians and their family members show that legacies they donated to church institutions, towns they came from and those where they served were significant and insured their functionality.

Finally, from the standpoint of history of medicine and science we can notice that in analyzed wills there was no mention of legacies donated strictly for education of particular individual, purchase of books and other educational equipment or for direct support of any educational institution. One can notice that Dalmatian physicians who composed their wills possessed book with medical content, as shown in case of Šibenik physician Antun from Spiliberg who worked in the second half of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Antun's inventory provides a list of most important medieval medical handbooks that circulated in Europe at the time. That proves that physicians serving in Dalmatia belonged to one European scientific and cultural community, using same sources and advocating same medical doctrines. Physicians of that time were a part of same expert community educated in usual educational centers of that time, especially in Italy, while on the other hand they were also part of local population, community they worked in and belonged to. As other higher or lower ranked members of that community they shared its philosophical and religious values, and fitted into steady social determinations. Accordingly, they composed their wills and donated material values acquired during their lives, mostly as previously explained, to family, church, poor people, so not a single found will violated that pattern.

### Rezime

U radu se analizira deset oporuka dalmatinskih liječnika i članova njihovih obitelji iz XIV i prvog desetljeća XV stoljeća koje su sačuvane u Državnom arhivu u Zadru i Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku. Oporuke liječnika predstavljaju vrijedan izvor za proučavanje raznih aspekata društvenog života unutar komuna ali i daju pojedina saznanja važna za povijest znanosti i medicine. Iz sadržaja oporuka možemo pratiti društveni i materijalni status liječnika i članova njihovih obitelji te namjene u koje su usmjeravali svoja materijalna sredstva. Ujedno je moguće zapaziti kao su liječnici kao i ostali onodobni komunalni građani pratili društveno prihvatljiv obrazac u raspodijeli ostavštine. Autori u radu analiziraju i dio inventara šibenskog liječnika Antuna iz Spilimberga koji je vezan uz popis važnih medicinskih knjiga koje je navedeni liječnik posjedovao i koje svjedoče da se takva vrsta medicinske literature nalazila u knjižnicama pojedinih liječnika te koristila u dalmatinskim komunama.

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