

Doctoral Dissertation

**Beyond Poverty and Charity:
Organization and Activities of the Franciscans of Dalmatia
Before the Division of the Order**

By Sanja Miljan

Supervisor: Prof. Gábor Klaniczay

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

From the 13th century onwards, mendicant orders signified an important change in the perception of religious orders by urban communities. Opposing previous religious regulations, these orders moved from isolated places into cities, first just outside the city walls, and then inside them. In towns, their location was mainly at the city gates, which affected their overall status and role within urban communities. In this thesis, I examined these processes in relation to the Franciscans of the Province of Dalmatia, which was an area theoretically stretching from Trieste in Italy to Durrës in Albania. Due to insufficient preservation of source material, this research focused only on the friaries located in present-day Dalmatia. Thus, the thesis examined the organization of the friars in Dalmatia and their activities within and outside their Province, whether they were performing their duties within the Order, other ecclesiastical authorities or services serving urban communes or royal families. The thesis aimed to enlighten the position and connections between the Franciscans and various groups or layers of society in urban Dalmatian milieu, and how these connections were being presented or represented. The justification for such an approach was confirmed by the fact that these networks of support were presented in literally all social structures with the support of everyone (from the highest ecclesiastical and regnal milieu to the lowest social strata). The implication of such support is also connected to the nature of the order, thus showing different patterns from previous religious communities of the earlier period. This implication can be regarded also to a broader level, since the analysis was not done for other provinces yet. Furthermore, this dissertation will set grounds for further research of other orders, not only mendicants, in the area of Dalmatia and the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

The thesis is divided into four larger sections, in eleven chapters. The introductory part, after offering a general introduction to the topic, deals with primary sources and historiography. With their main sources scarce and fragmented, the key information about Franciscans can be found in testaments of inhabitants of Dalmatia, or documents attesting to their execution of testaments or other types of records such as notarial instruments. Additional information was extracted from normative and narrative sources, which provided both institutional and ceremonial grounds. How I researched these materials to answer my research questions was elaborated in chapter three. Besides quantitative, qualitative and comparative analyses, majority of research questions were addressed using prosopography, which proved to be the most important methodological approach. Chapter four, "Presence of the Franciscans in Dalmatia, Foundation of the Friaries and the Province," examines the historiographical debates which troubled modern historians, but not exclusively because some debates are still lasting. Furthermore, I also wanted to reflect, but briefly, on the

political events which shaped the 14th-century Dalmatia. This context was imperative for clarifying the conditions which the Franciscans faced during their establishment in cities and the impact which these events had on the Order itself. The topography of certain friaries in Dalmatia was possible to present in the case of the friaries in Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik, Krk and Senj, showing some common trends and patterns in terms of their spatial organization outside and inside of city walls. With this sub-chapter ended the introductory part of the thesis.

The second part, “Organization of the Franciscans in Dalmatia,” covered a wide array of topics, from organization of life in the friaries, mobility and services and concept of property. Thus, chapter five, “Organization of life in the friaries of the Province,” discusses the structure of friaries in Dalmatia. Due to available sources, the emphasis of the chapter was more on the friaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik, starting from the end of the 13th century to the end of the 14th century. Analysis showed that the individual friars followed the patterns of three-year periods, and when possible, friars were identified according to place of origin, or, when lucky, belonging to certain families more precisely. Chapter six, “Mobility within the Province, offices and services of friars,” examines the wide range of topics, since the friars had many roles within the friaries and in the communal society. The starting point was the mobility of friars within the Province in general, then focusing on various offices and services of friars in more detail. Every office of the Order was connected with certain obligations, which dictated where a certain friar could be located or relocated. Some offices required more mobility than others, as was that of the Minister Provincial or that of a *custos*. On the other hand, friars were not only holding offices within their Order but were a part of broader ecclesiastical structures. This is especially true for institutions and higher dignitaries – archbishops and bishops of Dalmatian (arch)bishoprics. The appointment of Franciscans to these functions further improved the position and reputation of the Order within the urban community of particular city communes. Some types of friars’ services extended beyond the Province, such as services that the friars provided for the Crown or their missionary work in Bosnian territory. This is a particularly complex issue, both regarding historiography and sources as well. The presented problematics occurred even before the establishment of the Vicariate of Bosnia (1339/1340). It should be emphasized that in Bosnia, the Franciscans came into conflict with the Dominican Order, who had been present there before them, however, the reception of the order of preachers was not so well received. Chapter seven, “The property of the Franciscans in Dalmatia,” questions whether the Franciscans could (and would) have an immovable property, since this was forbidden in their Rule. To address this issue, I compared regulations of urban statutes from various city communes, showing a difference in their approaches to this matter. From this analysis, my impression is that until the beginning of the 15th century, there is no written trace that the friars of Dalmatia had any objections or concerns about having an

immovable property, regardless of certain prohibitions in the statutes. In practice, friars even rented out some of their immovables for annual income. However, as was seen with some other research questions, it cannot be excluded that their attitude in fact would change only with the stronger presence of the observant movement in the 15th century, when they will adhere more strongly to the vow of poverty and renunciation of all material possessions.

The third section of the thesis, “Relations and Networks of the Franciscans,” covers again wider range of topics regarding the relations of Franciscans in both local urban milieu and their higher reach in the Kingdom of Hungary. Chapter eight, “Living of charity of others: donations and bequests for everyday life and in the service of spiritual economy,” categorized various types of donations and bequests given to friars according to their needs: food and nourishment, clothing and household, *pro opere* and *pro laborerio*, as a form of spiritual exchange, liturgical items, and pilgrimage voyages. Chapter nine “From the highest to the lowest echelon of society supporting the Franciscans,” examines the supporters of Franciscans of (and in) Dalmatia from the highest to lower layers of society, as the title indicated. For the royal families of Anjou, and Louis I of Hungary in particular, to his wife Elisabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, strong Franciscans influence is visible on many levels. For Louis I the Great and his wife Elisabeth the inclination was most visible through the spread of the cult of St Louis of Toulouse in Dalmatia. This was not solely a pious manifestation, but like many more, had a political component as well. The peak was the choice of the place where the Treaty of Zadar will be signed, meaning precisely in the friary in the sacristy of the church of St Francis, at the altar dedicated to St Louis. Royal agenda also included the court in Hungary. Individuals from Dalmatian prominent families had their places in the structure of the royal court, as their loyal royal knights. In Dalmatia, the agency of King Louis’ royal knights from Zadar and Trogir showed that they supported not only the Dalmatian friars, but Bosnian ones as well. Furthermore, the two aristocratic families, the counts of Bribir (the Šubići) and the counts of Krk, also stand out for their preferences towards the Franciscans, as do several other prominent families from Dalmatia too. This agency was also manifesting in the cases of procurators of friars who were laymen and usually members of Dalmatian patriciate. Medieval society was not only practical. It was also a world of rituals, gestures and solemn activities. To provide an overview of participation of friars in solemn activities involving almost the entire city community, it was necessary to include narrative sources, which vividly pictured funerals and various other processions. Chapter ten, “Outreach and relations of Franciscan outside of the Province of Dalmatia,” examines the Order’s educational aspects, namely how the community supported the friars’ departure to various study centers, mainly in Italy, where they eventually served and what were the career paths of these well-educated friars.

The fourth and last section concludes and rounds the topic of organization and activities of the Franciscans of Dalmatia. While one cannot neglect the fact that the order has been in the scope of Croatian historiography, the systematic research of my thesis, focusing especially on the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia, will, I believe, lay grounds for further research. In general, it shed more light on how the friars of this (one) Province functioned in practice. Thus, it can be taken as a basis for comparative analysis of other provinces of the Mediterranean. But before that, it showed how the influence of friars affected various layers of the local society and *vice versa*. Thus, as was said, the thesis will set a starting point for future research, that will aim at comparing the Franciscans of the Province of Dalmatia with those who served in other Order's Provinces or broadening the chronological scope of the topic into the 15th century, with which also incorporating the first stages of the observant movement, which only started to grow roots during the period covered by my dissertation.



DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

CEU Doctoral School of History
Medieval Studies Department



AUTHORSHIP DECLARATION

I, the undersigned Sanja Miljan, doctoral candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present doctoral dissertation is exclusively my own work, based on my research and relies only on such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the doctoral dissertation infringes on any person's or institution's copyright.

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Budapest, 24th June, 2025

Sanja Miljan

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Sanja Miljan

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I INTRODUCTORY PART

1. INTRODUCTION

“In that same year on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when I was studying at Bologna, I saw Saint Francis preaching in the square in front of the town hall, and almost the entire city had gathered there. His sermon began with the subject “Angels, men, demons.” About these three rational spirits, indeed, he preached so well and so wisely that many educated men who were present marveled not a little at the words of this simple man. Nevertheless, he did not possess the manner of a preacher but, as it were, simply of someone speaking openly and spontaneously. The whole theme of his words dealt at length with the subjects of extinguishing enmities and reestablishing the bonds of peace. His clothing was shabby, his appearance mean, and his face unsightly, but God had bestowed such great effect upon his words that many noble clans, among whom the savage passion of ancient enmities had raged furiously with great outpouring of blood, were led back once more to peaceful ways. In fact, the veneration and devotion that people had for him were so great that men and women would rush in throngs to him, struggling to touch the hem of his garments or snatch a piece of his rags.”¹

These words of famous Croatian archdeacon Thomas of Spalato described the impressions of a Dalmatian educated man, member of the high echelon of communal society about a man whose charisma, life and agency will, soon after these words were copied down, start a movement which will change the face of religious life globally. The whole essence was that Francis himself abolished the earthly possessions to achieve divine on Earth, thus presenting himself as *alter Christus*. The story of the Franciscan Order revolves around the concept of poverty, as was emphasized in both their Rule and Constitutions. These were not the only postulates of the Order, but they were exactly what the society of the time needed to move forward from the teaching and practices of the contemporary religious orders.

When observing the history of the Franciscan Order in the Middle Ages, the whole dynamics in the Order revolves around the question of following the vow of poverty and to which extent it can be followed without steering too much from the path that the founder Saint Francis intended for his followers. It seems that the Order was never able to find common ground between those who wanted to follow the Rule precisely and those who adhered to the Rule with a more practical approach

¹ Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split. Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*, ed. by Damir Karbić – Mirjana Matijević Sokol – James Ross Sweeney (Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2006), p. 179.

considering the circumstances of everyday life and the influence which they enjoyed in society. The conflict between these two sides would sometimes bring triumph to one side, sometimes to the other, but all potential victory was short-lived, and all it did was to delay the inevitable – the division of the Order.

The spread of the Order continued in the 13th century, and their influence grew exponentially. Since the Holy See continued to give the friars various privileges, which did aid their growth, but at the same time distanced them from the initial Franciscan ideal, the ideal that Saint Francis intended for the whole Order. Even before the death of Saint Francis, friar Elias continued to lead the Order, but only until 1227, when John Parenti was elected as the minister general. There were three main issues which stemmed from the Franciscan Rule: how to keep the Gospel, how to maintain an absolute restriction of owning, and how to reconcile desired absolute poverty with owning property which friars already owned? The answer from the pope, in this case Gregory IX, came in the bull *Quo elongati* in 1230. In the bull, several issues were addressed. First, that the content of the Testament of Saint Francis is preferable as guidance, but it is not mandatory. Second, that the friars should only keep to the Evangelical advice expressed in the Rule. Third, that installing a nuncio and handing charity in money for immediate needs to *spiritual friends* is not against the Rule. Fourth, the friars should not own anything as individuals and as community and have no right to immovable goods, but only *de facto* right to use books and tools, but not without the permission of the cardinal protector. The fifth part concerned some regulations about the duties of minister general (and minister provincial). After diminishing the power and the authority of the Testament of Saint Francis, there was nothing in the way of the friars obtaining papal privileges. Another papal bull from Gregory IX in 1231, *Nimis iniqua*, condoned the behavior of certain prelates towards friars, and giving the full autonomy, meaning that they were exempted from the bishop's jurisdiction, except when it came to matters of the foundation of friaries and preaching.² Already by the mid-century, the Order changed from their initial nature in several aspects. The friaries were no longer simple buildings outside of cities, but they moved within the cities, and the autonomy which the friars enjoyed attracted more enemies within the secular clergy. Poverty was no longer in the focus of their lives, friars had steady incomes, especially in the friaries for studying. Begging transcended from being an additional means to being the main source of income, giving the Franciscans a final image as being the Order of beggars. The life of friars resembled the monastic life, but this new way of life required more complex

² Lázaro Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva* [The history of the Franciscans] (Zagreb: Hrvatska kapucinska provincija sv. Leopolda Bogdana Mandića – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2013), pp. 49-51. Robson has a whole chapter on papacy and friars, especially popes Innocent III, Honorius III and Gregory IX and their strategies concerning the Order. Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 69-80.

management of property and money, which further differed from the original nature of the Order.³ During the period of the 14th and the 15th century, the Order formed into two groups, those who wanted to live truthfully according to the Rule, which would be called Observants, and those who wanted a milder following of the Rule and more legally arranged life, who will be named Conventuals. The most troubling period of the life of the Order was during the pontificate of John XXII (1321-1334), who did not agree with the ideology of the Order but only relied on his own judgement. External circumstances which had an influence on the growing decadence of the Order were the Hundred Year War (1339-1453) and the plague (1348-1350), and later the Great Schism (1378-1418). The plague reduced the number of friars and those that remained had more material possessions at their disposal, which did not help convey the message of poverty. Pope Benedict XII, who was a Cistercian, proclaimed new Constitutions in 1337, which did not mention poverty or any ban on money. Fortunately, in 1354, the Constitutions of Narbonne called *Statuta farineriana* were reinstalled, but still some issues on money and possession were not resolved in practice.⁴ This may be an extremely oversimplified overview of the circumstances which influenced the emergence, spread and agency of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia, but are needed for better understanding of a complex topic.

The topic of this dissertation is about the organization and the agency of the Franciscans in Dalmatia which go beyond the ideals of charity and poverty. Deliberately, I have chosen an entire Province because without such a wide scope, if focusing on only one friary, many phenomena regarding the nature of the Order would not be seen from the available material. The idea was to provide a concise depiction of the complex problematics stretching across almost the whole East Adriatic coast. In general, Franciscans were divided into Provinces, and the Province of Dalmatia stretched alongside the Adriatic coast from Trieste in Italy to Dürres in present-day Albania. The Province was divided into four custodies with their friaries, from south to north: the Custody of Dubrovnik (Dürres, Ulcinj, Shkodër, Bar, Kotor, Dubrovnik and Daksa), the Custody of Split and Zadar (Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Skradin, Bribir, Zadar, Pag), the Custody of Rab (Rab, Senj, Krk, Cres, Modruš) and the custody of Istria (Pula, Poreč, Piran, Kopar, Trst, Milj, Bale). Just from this list it is evident that it will be impossible for me to include all the friaries. There are several reasons for this decision. First and foremost, the most preserved written material (as will be seen in the chapter dealing with sources), regards Zadar and Dubrovnik. Also, the nature of the preservation of sources completely excluded the north custody, that of Istria, because for that period there are only sporadic

³ Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva*, pp. 53-54. There are many works on the issue of poverty in the Franciscan Order, Todeschini focused on wealth within the Order according to the initial vow of poverty and how did friar navigate the market (Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth: From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2009), while Thornton focused and defining and redefining the new nature of poverty for the Franciscans. Ryan Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty and Franciscan Economic Thought 1209-1348* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2023).

⁴ Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva*, pp. 79-81. On Great Schism (1378-1417), see: Moorman, pp. 384-389.

mentions in charters dealing with general questions. For some friaries, although they belonged to custodies which theoretically had extant sources, however, again, notarial deeds from earlier period are not preserved, as in case of Split and Šibenik and sometimes Trogir. This does not mean that some research questions were not possible to reconstruct from the scarce information. However, some custodies, because of the cases of the friaries in Krk and Senj, proved to be a surprise because of the abundance of the records regarding the Franciscans and their activities in the cities. The area of the custody of Dubrovnik, which includes the friaries in present-day Albania, is represented almost exclusively by the friary in Dubrovnik, since the southern friaries did not leave traces in the sources. When saying this, I do not mean that they did not leave traces in contemporary sources, but some archival fonds faced similar destiny as the one of the famous State Archive in Naples. And whoever does research in any archives knows that sometimes water can do greater damage than fire. Thus, it may seem that the majority of sources revolve around the friaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik. As will be seen on the map depicting all conventual friaries in the Province of *Sclavonia*/Dalmatia, the greater part of the presentation concerns the following friaries from north to south: Krk, Senj, Zadar, Bribir, Skradin, Šibenik, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik. Furthermore, I need to address the fact that the Province of Dalmatia was officially called *Sclavonia* and only changed its name to Dalmatia in the end of the 14th century, but I have chosen to use the name Dalmatia throughout most of the thesis, since the name *Sclavonia* could be misleading for some readers, who could assume that the territory in question refers to the historical Croatian territory of medieval Slavonia. Either way, the territory, that is, the core of the Province coincides more with the historical and present-day Dalmatia, so this terminology made much more sense to avoid any confusion.

This was not the only limitation of the thesis. Abundant written sources from the notarial registers proved that the end of the timescope had to be situated before the 15th century. Thus, the logical chronological end is 1409, when Dalmatia, after long political struggles, came under Venetian rule. This period brought again changes in the administrative, political, social and ecclesiastical life of the area; this period stays intact for some other lucky researchers in the future. So, the chronological focus is the Angevin 14th century, which was a turbulent and calm period at the same time, allowing Dalmatian communes to thrive despite the problems and wars between different polities on a global and local level.

All of these ecclesiastical and political changes did not happen abruptly, they were of slow motion because it took time for change to find roots in the fabric of society. Observance, for instance, took its time to find grounds in Dalmatia and we see discrepancies from friary to friary. A similar slow process of establishment is also characteristic of the Vicariate of Bosnia, upon which I touched only the surface. The reason for this is that in fact it was an institutional area with friaries within the

territory of the custody of Dubrovnik (and diocese on the ecclesiastical level) and the city commune as a part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. The influence of Bosnian friars reached deep into the custody of Zadar – Split, with the island of Pašman. As will be seen and concluded, the question of an autonomous Bosnian Vicariate and its friars went hand in hand with the penetration of the Observant Movement. In such a way, both of these questions are beyond the problematics of this research. Of course, the question that everybody wanted to answer was when started the presence of the Observant Movement in the Dalmatian friaries? Although in other provinces the Observants were active from the 14th century onwards, in Dalmatia it took much longer to see these trends and from what could be seen until now, the friars were still acting unified until the beginning of the 15th century and there were no conflicts among between them or any distinction which would indicate any changes in their behavior. So, unfortunately, this question, although quite attractive, will still remain unanswered. The idea was to offer a paradigm in the research of this province in earlier periods in order to see when the changes happened, how they were manifested in certain friaries and on the level of the whole province. This, however, was not the only question that was attractive and needed for our better understanding of the phenomena of foundation, agency and further development of the Franciscan community.

Structurally, the text of this thesis is divided into two major parts. The first part revolves around the general organization of the Franciscans in Dalmatia, while the second one deals with the relations of friars with (and within) the community and their networks. For a better understanding of the organization of the Franciscans in Dalmatia, it was necessary to provide an insight into the friars who were residing in the friaries. Although it was possible to compile an archontology list in the form of a table of three-year periods in only two friaries (Zadar and Dubrovnik), these tables contain valuable information which helps to understand the functioning of the friaries. The information which can be read from it includes the number of friars residing in these friaries during certain time periods, the places of origin of the friars, whether those were native of the province or not, the changes in manpower in comparison to the 13th and the 14th centuries, and the differences between the two said friaries. The table is in fact a great introduction into the lives and activities of individual friars and their mobility within the Province of Dalmatia.

Since the friars were not “just” residing in a friary and some of them were holding a certain office, each office in the Order had to be individually discussed – Minister Provincial, custos, vicar, guardian, lector and inquisitor. More than this, Franciscans did not only obtain offices within their Order, but also outside it and there are many Franciscan friars who were appointed as archbishops (of Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik) and bishops (of Krk and Trogir) in Dalmatia. This was a popular trend from the second half of the 13th century onwards, which was in fact quite early in the history of friars

in Dalmatia. Friars did not only hold ecclesiastical offices in Dalmatia, but they were also appointed to various services for the communes and most importantly, the Crown. In addition, other activities and services of the friars should not be disregarded, especially their missionary work, mostly concerning the territory of Bosnia.

Mendicant Orders, and Franciscans in particular, were an urban phenomenon, but what made them different from other Orders which came before them? They were, as other Mendicants, living inside the city gates and were integral part of the community. One important aspect of the Order, which made them popular in the first place, was their vow of poverty, especially concerning not owning anything on their own (and begging to survive). However, alongside the individual poverty there is always some common property, and one cannot be discussed without the other. First, it was needed to observe the normative sources which reflected the attitude of communal authorities towards the ownership of property by ecclesiastical institutions, whether it was meant in general or it concerned a specific ecclesiastical order. City statutes were presented for the communes of Zadar, Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Split and Trogir, because for these city communes, regulations were applicable for the researched period. Since normative sources only provide one point of view or better to say, one side of the story, it was needed to observe specific examples which show instances when property was donated (or bequeathed) to friars in Dalmatia. Examples were found in many friaries, that same as those which have statutory regulations concerning property (Zadar, Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Split and Trogir), but also additional ones, such as Senj, Krk, Skradin and Bribir.

The second major section of the text deals with the relations and networks of the Franciscans in Dalmatia. Since bequests were meant to provide for a significant part of the everyday life of friars, there is a developed typology of bequests given to friars by denizens of Dalmatia. The first three types of bequests concern a mundane sphere of life: food and nourishment, clothing and household, and money given for *pro opere* and *pro laborerio*. Two other types of bequests given to friars deal with ecclesiastical and spiritual aspects, meaning mainly various liturgical items and performance of Masses for the souls of testators, as well as pilgrimage bequests as a manifestation of piety and devotion.

The Franciscan Order was supported by all layers of society, from the highest to the lowest. The highest layers supporting friars in Dalmatia were the royal families, in particular the house of Anjou. King Louis I of Anjou was not the only supporter from his family, together with his wife, Elisabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, their patronage towards the friars can be detected through several spheres works of art, cult of saints, and the agency of their loyal royal knights, an extended hand of the royal power. Two aristocratic families stood out in their support of friars – the counts of Bribir and the counts of Krk, and each of them had to be individually discussed. However, there were more

members of high society in favor of the Franciscans Order and several patrician families, mostly either originating from Zadar or Dubrovnik, were singled out according to designated criteria traced through sources, although not all criteria had to be fulfilled to be considered noteworthy. However, there was a service which came into close connection with the friars, and that was the one of the procurators, who dealt with the legal acts on behalf of the friars, usually concerning various monetary and property transactions. On the other hand, while members of higher social strata left more trace in sources, for members of lower social strata, it was far more difficult to make certain conclusions. In this aspect, they were either artisans, inhabitants or even agricultural workers, both men and women belonging to that social stratum. While they may not have had the resources of certain kings or nobleman, they still displayed piety and devotion towards the Franciscan Order, which was manifested in other aspects: having little, they donated a lot. By including them, the statement that friars were supported and preferred by all comes to a full circle.

The outreach of the friars is discussed in the matters of education and their mobility outside the Province. However, the education path of certain friars did not start outside the Province, but sometimes in their local friaries, where they would receive money from family members as a way of encouragement to continue their studies abroad, which would sometimes be fruitful, and sometimes in vain, but most of the time the destiny of this encouragement to attend studies would be unknown. Some friars were mentioned in the sources while they were already on their studies outside the Province of Dalmatia, and it is no wonder that it was usually in Bologna and Padua. There is also a specific case when studies were not only attended in Italy, but also in England, thus setting path(s) for those who will come after.

2. PRIMARY SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

2.1. Primary sources

Main sources for this research are written sources of different characters. The typology of the primary sources, due to the complexity of the topic of the dissertation, is quite diverse. Its complexity is reflected in several ways: type of sources (purpose of documents, publishers of sources, diversity of mentioning) and places of storing them. All of which will be explained in the following section. First and foremost, due to the limitations of the topic, I am focused primarily on written documents. Some of these have been published while others remain in the archives. As for any topic related to Dalmatian provenience, the major archives are those of Zadar and Dubrovnik, alongside the archives of Dalmatian friaries. The state archive in Zadar (Državni arhiv u Zadru) keeps most of the information from the majority of Dalmatian communes, while the state archive in Dubrovnik (Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku) is one of the richest archives of the Mediterranean. The third archive that I consulted, is the archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (because some documents through the years have found their way there).⁵

Material and visual sources from the friaries are also considerable, but have been omitted on purpose, together with their artistic legacy, making them thus topics that deserve consideration and have already received some scholarly attention in the past. Also, by trade, I cannot enter into the sphere of art historian's work. In a few cases I have included analysis of Franciscan material heritage to further clarify some research questions that needed explanation in argumentation. Therefore, most of my sources are written sources. They are charters (notarial deeds, bulls, etc.), normative and narratives sources, sources of other nature, sometimes even being unique (such as necrologies in the case of one friary or records about friars studying in Bologna) or histories recorded by their contemporaries which walk the fine line between sources and works of historiography and one can argue both. Again, all of these sources are combined, some are published while others are not, but regardless, they are taken into consideration since the history of the Franciscans of the Province of Dalmatia is extremely complex.

In order to present the primary sources that I have used; I need to explain the motives that led me to conduct my thesis. For the research conducted for my master's thesis, I dealt with the Franciscan Order in the city commune of Zadar, focusing on the economic position of their friary, the structure and manpower within the friary, and the relationship that the friars had with the commune of Zadar

⁵ Fortunately, most of the fourteenth-century notarial documents exist in photocopies in the Institute of Historical and Social Sciences of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, due to their project on the *supplementa* of the *Codex diplomaticus*, and with the curtesy of their employees, I was able to use the documents there, which minimized my visits at the archives of Dubrovnik and Zadar.

and their inhabitants. Although the research itself was supposed to be a case study, and it produced some interesting facts on the functioning of the Order in the Zadar commune, even at this stage the topic needed to evolve beyond one friary, that is, one commune. One of the aspects of the Franciscan Order, besides their vow of poverty, was their mobility throughout the whole Province of Dalmatia, as this mobility involved the functioning of the whole Order, it was not possible to narrow my research only to the friary in Zadar. This meant that I started to broaden my area of interest to more friaries even before starting my doctoral thesis but mainly doing this sporadically while trying to follow the paths of individual friars through the whole Province of Dalmatia. Therefore, more friaries had to be included, mainly in present-day Dalmatia: Zadar, Trogir, Split, Šibenik, Bribir, Senj, Skradin, Rab, Pag, Cres, Kotor and Dubrovnik.

It is important to emphasize that during the period of my interest (from the beginnings of the Order to the first decades of the 15th century) the whole Order, and in particular the Province Dalmatia was functioning as a whole, and the conflict between the two factions (which in the end led to the division of the Order) was only in its infancy and it was not visible in the documents from the communes. Unfortunately, the Observant Movement in the end left an impact not only on the Order itself, but also on the preservation of the documents, which complicated my research. For instance, after the Franciscans were divided into Conventuals and Observants, the documents were also divided, which meant that some documents remained in the archives and libraries of one or the other faction.

Almost all of the friaries in the Province of Dalmatia that I have chosen for my research are the friaries of a Mediterranean urban society, with the one exception – the friary of Bribir, and Bribir itself, which was basically an endowment of the Šubići, aristocratic family of inland Croatia. I have also included the friaries from the Dalmatian islands, such as Pag, Rab, Cres, as much as the topic and period allowed it. This research on the Franciscans in Dalmatian towns was possible primarily due to the abundance of sources which have been preserved. The data for Franciscans can be found in various documents, mainly charters. Their division is the same as general typology on two basic categories: public and private charters, the first issued by the highest representative of authority, such as rulers or the pope, and private charters issued in offices and the chancellery of authorized individuals in the form of a contract.

Public documents that give relevant information about Franciscans of the Province Dalmatia originate from the first half of the 13th century, and primarily they consist of papal bulls, of which some are even preserved in the friaries themselves.⁶ Some of these concern Franciscans on a wider

⁶ Such charters are kept in the archives of particular friaries, of which are particularly important those of the Franciscan friary of Zadar and Šibenik. The inventory of the parchments kept in the archive of Zadar is published in the volume on

and more general level, namely general Franciscan privileges and indulgences addressed to Minister General of the Order, and part of them mentioning Franciscans on a more narrow and local level, such as documents which were addressed to the provincials and friars of the Province Dalmatia. In the latter, Franciscans are, for instance, called to preach the Crusade or to fight against heresy. Individual friars are listed only in the case of their instalments as (arch)bishops, or as witnesses in some legal acts. Some of these documents are published in the source series entitled *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, in volumes IV-XVIII, and in two volumes of supplements to them: the first published in 1998, and the second in 2002.⁷ Individual notarial documents issued from the notarial registers as charters or diplomas have also been taken into consideration of the authors when preparing the volume.

Except in *Codex diplomaticus*, part of the charters, which by their content refer to the general history of the Order, and more indirectly to the history of Dalmatian friars, are kept in specific collections of sources. From the 18th century onwards, papal bulls, which are kept in the registries of the Vatican Secret Archive, have been systematically published according to the pontificate of individual popes in the series *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum pontificum constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens tribus ordinis minorum, clarissarum et poenitentium...*, first edited by Ioannes Hyacinthus Sbaralea.⁸ Sbaralea published four volumes (1759-1768), which chronologically cover the period from the pontificate of Honorius III, to Boniface VIII, and *Ad Bullarium Franciscanum Supplementum* in 1780. German Franciscan historian, Konrad Eubel, continued the series with volumes V-VIII (1898-1904), which cover the pontificates from Benedict XI to Martin V, and several years later he also published in the same series a volume *Bullarii Franciscani epitome* (1908). The collection in general had its continuation in the series *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum: continens litteras romanorum pontificum annorum 1378-1484 pro tribus ordinibus S.P.N. Francisci ulterius obtentas*, which was edited by Cesare Cenci in two volumes.⁹ Information from these sources and its type are supplemented by documents from series

the history of the friary: "Inventar pergamena samostana Sv. Frane u Zadru" [Inventory of the Parchments of the Friary of St. Francis of Zadar], in *Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru* [The Friary of St. Francis of Zadar], ed. by Justin Velnjć (Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane, 1980), 160-184.

⁷ *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vols. 4-18, ed. by. Tadija Smičiklas et al. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907-1914). *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Dodaci. Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Supplementa*, vols. 1-2, ed. by Josip Barbarić, Jasna Marković et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1998-2002).

⁸ *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum pontificum constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens tribus ordinis Minorum, Clarissarum, et Poenitentium a seraphico patriarcha Sancto Francisco institutis concessa*, vol. 4-7, ed. by Ioannes Hyacinthus Sbaralea et al. (Roma: Typis Sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide, 1759-1804).

⁹ *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum: continens litteras romanorum pontificum annorum 1378-1484 pro tribus ordinibus S.P.N. Francisci ulterius obtentas*, ed. by Caesar Cenci, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata, Roma: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 2002-2003).

Documenta Vaticana ad franciscanes spectantia in two volumes, for the period from the end of the 14th to the end of the 15th century.¹⁰

While the types of documents kept in the archives of the friaries themselves give us a valuable insight into what friars considered to be worth saving in their archives, they only cover one part of the story, and it is not even close to the actual amount of documents which existed during the period. However, for the research of the history of Franciscans in Dalmatia and their social context, networks and political activity, private charters provide much more detailed data. These charters are divided into notarial deeds and charters issued by cathedral chapters. The development of communal society and urbanization during the medieval period led to the abandonment of oral culture and the need for the writing of the private-legal documents, which resulted in the massive production of charters with its peak in the Angevin period. The production of so many charters led to the need to form an institution dealing with their issuance, and the product of this process was the notariate, which was developed in Dalmatian towns.¹¹ Since mendicant orders lived within the city walls, this position enabled them to be an integral part of communal life, so it is no wonder that most of the data concerning Franciscans are found precisely in such notarial deeds.

The main source for my thesis were notarial deeds. Friars are mentioned in every type of notarial document (instruments, testaments, notarial records and inventories), but their distribution differs significantly.¹² However, most of the sources that mention the Franciscans in the city communes in the Province of Dalmatia are last wills and testaments. For most of the population the writing of a testament occurred once in a lifetime (although higher layers of the society could write their wills several times), and it is important to take into consideration that many people from the lowest layers would not even write a testament, either because they could not pay for it, or because they had no property to bequeath to their heirs or for pious purposes. Bequeathing for pious purposes was done to help save the soul of the testator, so they would leave bequests to various convents, friaries, churches and hospitals, but also to the poor and lepers.¹³ Among the recipients of these bequests (monetary or in objects) were Franciscans, either the community as a whole or to individual

¹⁰ *Documenta Vaticana ad franciscales spectantia, ann. 1385-1492*, ed. by Caesar Cenci (Grottaferrata, Roma: Editiones Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 2002-2005).

¹¹ On the typology and discussion, cf. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Studia diplomatica. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske diplomatike* [Studia diplomatica. Discussions and contributions of the Croatian diplomatics] (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2014), pp. 12-13. For more details on notariate in Dalmatia, see: Branka Grbavac, *Notarijat na istočnojadranskoj obali od druge polovine 12. do kraja 14. stoljeća* [Notariate on the East Adriatic Coast from the Second Half of the 12th to the End of the 14th Century] (Zagreb, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, unpublished PhD Thesis: 2010).

¹² For a typology of private charters, see: Grbavac, *Notarijat na istočnojadranskoj obali*, 81-89.

¹³ On bequests of the Zaratine testators see: Zoran Ladić, *Last Will: Passport to Heaven* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012), 183-198.

friars. Friars mentioned by name can also be noted in testaments as executors, or more rarely, as witnesses to the composing of testaments.

The most numerous types of notarial deeds are instruments, because they were the “instruments” of the organization of life in a medieval commune. Instruments can be defined as contracts between two equal parties, which deal with frequent and everyday matters, those in which most of the city population would engage at a certain point of their lives, and certainly not only once. Although instruments are generally most numerous, Franciscans are noted in them more rarely, although the significance of the data given in these documents is not negligible. Franciscans are mentioned mostly in receipts, which are confirmations that they received bequests from the executors of testaments, which means that even these types of instruments are indirectly connected with testaments. Besides these, Franciscans are noted in instruments noting appointments of their procurators, borrowing or lending money, and purchase contracts.

For various Dalmatian cities the distribution of notarial deeds varies in variety, content, and level of preservation. The distribution of the extant material is also uneven. Luckily, many of the notarial deeds are extant and are now kept in the State Archive of Zadar – notarial deeds of Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Korčula and Rab. Most of the sources for these towns are preserved in the registers of their notaries, and some of them, mostly the oldest ones, are published.

For Zadar, the archival series is called *Notarii civitatis et districtus Iadrae*, and it covers a wide timespan, period of 1279-1843. From this series, sources are published in five volumes covering the period until the mid-14th century, and according to their contents, those mentioning the Franciscans are mainly testaments. Here we are talking about the register of notaries Henry and Creste Tarallo, John Qualis of Padua, Francis Manfred de Surdis of Piacenza, Andrew of Cantù.¹⁴ Same principle in publishing was applied for almost every city commune of Dalmatia. Thus, in the case of Šibenik there is a series titled *Notarii communis Sibenici* and it covers the period of 1386-1797. Only two registers that cover my time frame are published (registers of notaries Slavogost and Zilius de Albanis),¹⁵ but it should be underlined that in the case of Šibenik in general there are not many

¹⁴ *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Henrika i Creste Tarallo: 1279-1308. Notariorum Jadrensiu Henrici et Creste Tarallo acta quae supersunt: 1279-1308*, ed. by Mirko Zjačić, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika. Notarilia Jadertina*, vol. 1 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 1959); *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Ivana Qualis Nikole pok. Ivana Gerarda iz Padove: 1296-1337. Notariorum Jadrensiu Johannis Qualis Nicolai quondam Johannis Gerardi di Padua acta quae supersunt: 1296-1337*, ed. by Mirko Zjačić – Jakov Stipišić, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika. Notarilia Jadertina*, vol. 2 (Zadar: Historijski arhiv u Zadru, 1969); *Spisi zadarskog bilježnika Franje Manfreda de Surdis iz Piacenze 1349-1350*, ed. by Jakov Stipišić, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika. Notarilia Iadertina*, vol. 3 (Zadar: Historijski arhiv u Zadru, 1977); *Andrija Petrov iz Cantù: bilježnički zapisi 1355.-1356.*, ed. by Josip Kolanović – Robert Leljak, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika. Notarilia Jadertina*, vol. 4 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2001); *Andrija Petrov iz Cantù: bilježnički zapisi 1355.-1356.*, ed. by Josip Kolanović – Robert Leljak, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika. Notarilia Jadertina*, vol. 5 (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2003).

¹⁵ *Spisi šibenskog notara Slavogosta 1386* [Records of the notary Slavogost 1386], ed. by Mirko Zjačić, *Starine JAZU* 44 (1952): 201–296.

documents for the period of my research. Split also has an archival series containing registers of notaries, *Notarii Civitatis et districtus Spalati*, covering the time span of 1341-1774, and the oldest volume has been published. Here we are talking about the register of notary John of Ancona.¹⁶

In general, the major problem with these sources is that they were preserved unequally. This is due to later political developments, passing of time, loss of records, moving them across the territory, which most certainly resulted in some losses, to say the least. Usual enemies of archival records, as water, mice and men had some influence in the distribution of the preserved material as well. The quantity of Dalmatian records is extraordinary if compared to any other archives in the territory. Although from the beginnings of record-keeping in the communes only some individual notarial registers are extant, but in later periods the entire communal notarial corpus was preserved. The material for Zadar is abundantly preserved from the 1360s onwards, Šibenik from 1386 to 1797, but records from Split were initially only fragmentarily preserved, but from the 15th century the corpus is complete.

The second archive I consulted for published and unpublished material was that of Dubrovnik (the time range goes from 1278 to the beginning of the 19th century), which is abundant in sources. Four volumes which cover the period only until the beginning of the 14th century are registres of notaries Tomassino de Savere, Aco de Titullo and Andrew Bennessa.¹⁷ Archive of Dubrovnik has a different range of archival units preserved there and they are organized differently than those in Zadar. Even the documents, whether they are testaments and instruments, differ in their form from those originating in other communes: they are shorter in length and lack the formulas that are common for Dalmatian communes, but this difference only shows how Dubrovnik was quite exceptional and different from other city communes in Dalmatia, and that their status was reflected even in the manner in which they wrote their private documents.

¹⁶ *Spisi splitskog bilježnika Ivana pok. Čove iz Ankone od 1341. do 1344.* Acta notarii Spalatensis Iohannis quondam Čove de Ancona ab anno 1341 usque ad annum 1344, ed. by Jakov Stipišić, Ante Nazor, Splitski spomenici. Monumenta Spalatensia, vol. 1, MSHSM, vol. 53 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2002).

¹⁷ *Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1278-1282.* [Registry of the notary Tomazin de Savere 1278-1282], ed. by Gregor Čremošnik, Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Notae et acta cancellariae Ragusinae, sv. 1, Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. 1, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, vol. 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951); *Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1282-1284. Notae et acta notarii Thomasini de Sauere 1282-1284: Diversa cancellariae I (1282-1284) i Testamenta I (1282-1284)*, ed. by Josip Lučić, Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Notae et acta cancellariae Ragusinae, vol. 2, Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. 2, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, vol. 4 (Zagreb: JAZU – Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1984); *Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1284-1286 = Notae et acta notarii Tomasini de Sauere 1284-1286. : Zapisi notara Aca de Titullo 1295-1297 = Notae et acta notarii Aconis de Titullo (1295-1297): Diversa cancellariae I (1282-1284) i Testamenta I (1282-1284)*, ed. by Josip Lučić – Mate Suić, Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Notae et acta cancellariae Ragusinae. vol. 3, Monumenta historica Ragusina; vol. 3, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, sv. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU – Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1988.); *Zapisi notara Andrije Beneše 1295-1301. Notae et acta notarii Andreae Bennessae 1295-1301: Praecepta rectoris II (1299-1301) i Testamenta II (1295-1301)*, ed. by Josip Lučić, Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Notae et acta cancellariae Ragusinae, vol. 4, Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. 4, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, vol. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU – Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1984).

The case of the city commune of Trogir shows the aforementioned inequality in source preservation. For the period of my research there is no notarial registers extant, so the main source that was used concerned the records of city authorities. In the state archive of Zadar there is an archival series organized according to the communal chancelleries of the communes, and their city counts. For Trogir the archival unit is called *Commune Tragurii* and covers a period of 1312-1797. Three volumes of these documents have been published already, but I have not found abundant information about Franciscans in them, noted as a community, or as individual friars.¹⁸ However, luckily, one notarial busta entitled *Testamenta Tragurii 1370* (1370-1378) is preserved in the Archive of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The notary in question is Vannes Dominici Iohannis de Fermo, whose both testaments and other codicils were luckily preserved and published.¹⁹ Once again, it should be underlined that the Trogir documents are preserved fragmentarily only, with a larger number from the beginning of the 14th century, then increasingly from the 1360s and 1370s.

Together with notarial deeds, other types of sources were consulted as well, such as normative and narrative sources. Normative sources can be divided into two parts: those that concerned the whole Order, and those that were directed towards the friars in Dalmatia. To have a better understanding of the nature of the Order itself, to see how and if the rules they followed changed over time, we have to look into their Constitutions.²⁰ For normative sources in the more narrow sense, I have examined the position of the Franciscans in Dalmatian city statutes, how the Franciscans were perceived on a legal theoretical level, to contrast it with the situation in practice, and compare statutory regulations within the whole area of the Province of Dalmatia. Statutes are available for most cities where the friaries and Franciscans were present: Zadar,²¹ Dubrovnik,²² Rab,²³ Trogir,²⁴

¹⁸ *Trogirski spomenici. Dio I.: Zapisci pisarne općine Trogirske* [Monuments of Trogir. Part I: Records of the notariate of the commune of Trogir] 1/1, MSHSM, vol. 44, ed. by Miho Barada (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948); *Trogirski spomenici. Dio I.: Zapisci pisarne općine Trogirske* 1/2, MSHSM, vol. 45, ed. by Miho Barada (Zagreb: JAZU, 1950); *Trogirski spomenici. Dio II.: Zapisci sudbenog dvora općine trogirske* [Monuments of Trogir. Part II: Records of the judicial court of the commune of Trogir] 2/1, MSHSM, vol. 46, ed. by Miho Barada (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951); *Trogirski spomenici*, ed. by Marin Berket (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1989).

¹⁹ Marija Karbić – Zoran Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU” [Testaments of citizens of the city of Trogir kept in the Archive of CASA], *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43 (2001): 161-254.

²⁰ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, vol I (Saeculum XIII), ed. by Cesare Cenci – Georges Mauilleux, *Analecta Franciscana* XIII, n.s. 1 (Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi Fondazione Collegio S. Bonaventura, 2007); *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, vol II (Saeculum XIV/1), ed. by Cesare Cenci – Georges Mauilleux, *Analecta Franciscana* XVII, n.s. 5 (Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi Fondazione Collegio S. Bonaventura, 2010).

²¹ *Zadarski statut: sa svim reformacijama odnosno novim uredbama donesenima do godine 1563. Statuta Iadertina: cum omnibus reformationibus usque ad annum MDLXIII factis*, ed. by Josip Kolanović – Mate Križman (Zadar – Zagreb: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Zadru – Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, 1997).

²² *Statut grada Dubrovnika sastavljen godine 1272. Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno MCCLXXII*, ed. by Ante Šoljić – Zdravko Šundrica – Ivo Veselić (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002).

²³ *Statut rapske komune iz 14. stoljeća* [The statute of the commune of Rab of the fourteenth century], ed. by Petar Strčić – Lujo Margetić (Rab-Rijeka: Grad Rab & Adamić, 2004).

²⁴ *Statut grada Trogira. Statuta et reformationes civitatis Tragurii*, ed. by Marin Berket – Antun Cvitanić – Vedran Gligo (Split: Književni krug, 1988).

Šibenik,²⁵ Split,²⁶ and Korčula.²⁷ In these types of sources Franciscans are mostly not mentioned specifically but fall into the category of “an ecclesiastical institution” for which the same rules applied, whether it was Franciscans or any other ecclesiastical institution. However, when evaluating statutory sources, one should use caution, since some restrictions and prohibitive rules were not necessarily enforced on the practical level of everyday life in the commune.

Some narrative sources give valuable information about Franciscans, but of course, to a limited extent, and they are mostly mentioned sporadically. Some of the sources consulted were the *Historia Salonitana* of Thomas the Archdeacon from Split (who even describes his listening to St Francis during one of his preaching in Bologna),²⁸ the *Historia de gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum* of Miha Madii from Split,²⁹ the chronicle *Summa historiarum tabula a Cutheis de gestis civium Spalatinorum* of the Anonymous chronicler,³⁰ the *Obsidio Iadrensis*,³¹ and the *Memoriale* of Paul de Paulo, the diary of nobleman of Zadar.³² For the case of Dubrovnik, I have consulted the history of the city by John de Ravenna (Conversini)³³ and the description by Philip de Diversis.³⁴ However scarce the references, these sources will be used to provide a broader and more vivid image of Franciscans and their role in the city by contemporary writers, where we can actually see how they were perceived in the local community, by local historians, and other prominent members of the society in their own time.

There are also other types of sources I have consulted for this thesis, some are broader in terms of geography, while others focus exclusively on one friary, but there are unique for particular friaries in the medieval period. This brings us to mention the series *Analecta Franciscana*, which publishes

²⁵ *Knjiga statuta, zakona i reformacija grada Šibenika* [The Book of the Statutes, Laws and Reformations of the City Šibenik], ed. by Zlatko Herkov (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1982).

²⁶ *Statut grada Splita. Splitsko srednjovjekovno pravo. Statuta civitatis Spalati. Ius Spalatense medii aevi*, ed. by Antun Cvitanić (Split: Književni krug, 1985).

²⁷ *Korčulanski statut. Statut grada i otoka Korčule iz 1214. godine. Statuta et leges civitatis et insulae Curzulae*, ed. by Antun Cvitanić – Zvonimir Šeparović (Zagreb & Korčula: JAZU, Pravni fakultet u Zagrebu, Pravni fakultet u Splitu & Skupština općine Korčula, 1987).

²⁸ Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana, Povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika* = *Historia Salonitana: historia salonitanorum atque spalatinorum pontificum* (Introduction, Latin text, and translation in Croatian done by Olga Perić, historical context written by Mirjana Matijević Sokol) (Split: Književni krug, 2003).

²⁹ *Incipit historia edita per Micam Madii de Barbazanis de Spalato de gestis Romanorum Imperatorum et Summorum Pontificum*, ed. by Vitaliano Brunelli, *Programma dell'I.R. Ginnasio superiore di prima classe in Zara alla fine dell'anno scolastico 1877-78*, (Zadar: I. R. Ginnasio superiore di prima classe, 1878).

³⁰ *Summa historiarum tabula a Cutheis: De gestis civium Spalatinorum sub brevitate compilata ex diversis Chirographis*, ed. by Johann Georg Schwandtner, in *Scriptores rerum hungaricum veteres ac genuini*, vol III (Vindobonae: 1748), 636-653.

³¹ *Opsada Zadra. Obsidio Iadrensis. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 54, ed. by Branimir Glavičić – Vladimir Vratović – Damir Karbić – Miroslav Kurelac – Zoran Ladić (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2007).

³² Ferdo Šišić, “Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii Iadrensis (1371-1408),” *Vjestnik Kr. Hrv.-Slav.-Dalm. zemaljskog arkiva* 6 (1904) 1-2.

³³ Unpublished manuscript.

³⁴ Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika* [The description of the famous city of Dubrovnik], ed. by Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Dom i svijet: Zagreb 2004).

smaller collections of thematically organized sources, and from which I have used volumes six and eleven. Volume six contains the necrology of friars from Dubrovnik, which was compiled in the 18th century by a friar and writer from Dubrovnik, Sebastijan Slade (Dolci).³⁵ Volume eleven contains important sources of information about the education of the friars in Bologna, where we can also trace a number of friars from Dalmatia, whether they were residing in the friary there or listening to lectures from certain professors.³⁶ Cesare Cenci published the documents about the life of friars in Assisi, and the friars from the Province of Dalmatia are also mentioned residing there.³⁷

This brings us to the classical historiographical works of the early modern period dealing with histories, in which there were publishing sources regarding the history of an area or the history of a particular matter. Except for the sources which directly mention members of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia, source material can be found in more general historical works, such as those of Daniele Farlati³⁸ and Luke Wadding.³⁹ Farlati, in his famous work *Illyricum Sacrum* refers, among other things, to the biographies of bishops, all the while transcribing and quoting certain documents. Since there were bishops who were Franciscans, this historical work can be used as a semi-source material, since the author gives transcriptions of certain documents when discussing a topic. However, this type of historical work should in the end be taken as it is – interpretation of the author's opinions, and the reader should use caution and not only transmit the author's theories as a fact, but since my interest is only in the transcriptions of documents and the information contained within, this error can be avoided. Wadding had a similar approach in his monumental work on the Franciscan Order named *Annales Minorum*, where he sometimes included fragments of documents, sometimes short notes, but sometimes transcribed almost ten pages of documents. The same caution for Farlati applies with Wadding as well, but the data they both used and wrote down is priceless, especially considering that some documents and information got lost over the centuries, but thanks to their merit and diligence we still have access to them.

³⁵ *Necrologium: Conventus mimatensis Ordinis fratrum minorum conventualium ab an. 1290 usque ad an. 1790*, ed. by Chlodeveus Brunel, *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 6 (Florence: ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1917).

³⁶ *Chartularium studii bononiensis S. Francisci (saec. XIII-XVI)*, ed. by Celestino Piana, O.F.M., *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 11 (Florence: ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1970).

³⁷ *Documentazione di vita assissana, 1300-1530*, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata (Roma): Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1974-1976).

³⁸ Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 8 vols., Venice 1751-1817. For the research on Franciscans in Dalmatia, worth consulting are the following volumes: vol. 3 (Ecclesia Spalatensis olim Salonitana), vol. 4 (Ecclesiae suffraganeae metropolis Spalatensis), vol. 5 (Ecclesia Jadertina cum suffraganeis et ecclesia Zagrabiensis), vol. 6 (Ecclesia Ragusina cum suffraganeis et ecclesia Rhiziniensis et Catharensis). Parts of the story connected with the diocese of Trogir have been published by Jadranka Neralić: Daniele Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi: s dodacima i ispravcima Jacopa Coletija* [Bishops of Trogir. With accessions and corrections by Jacopo Coleti], translated by Kažimir Lučin, introduction and notes by Jadranka Neralić (Split: Književni krug 2010).

³⁹ Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol 1-10 (Florence, Ad Quarras Aguas (Quarracchi), 1931-).

The story of the Franciscans in the province of Dalmatia focusing on written documents is rather diverse. There are a lot of sources scattered around in various places and published in numerous different collections. At first glance, to an inexperienced eye, this would seem too much, however, all of these various sources had to be consulted in order to obtain a more comprehensive and clearer image of the Franciscans in Dalmatia.

2.2. Historiography

In this chapter, the discussion on the issue of the historiography of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia will focus solely on two big aspects. One will be regarding general histories of the Order, while the second will be on specific studies on friaries and topics involving friars. To be more specific, first I will list general works on the histories of the Franciscan Order as a whole and how historiography has been approaching grey friars as an urban phenomenon in different regions and what their main goal was. From this overview of global historiography, I will move on to the friars of Dalmatia and how they were researched, first on the general level of the Province of Dalmatia, and then on the level of certain friaries in Dalmatia. However, before passing on specifics, I would like to emphasize that historiography on the Franciscans is at the same time minimal and abundant, because the question of Franciscans has been an interest of both fellow friar historians and “professional” historians alike. Both of these groups brought something to the table, especially when dealing with specific questions, which will be explored further in the following lines.

2.2.1. General works on the Franciscan Order

Although the Franciscan Order has been studied by various scholars from different regions, therefore belonging to the sphere of various global and national historiographies, only few tackled with the general history of the Order and here I will mention the most important three of them, according to the timespan which they were covering. I have chosen this line of analysis because the majority of the interesting stories were beyond my chronological scope of research, namely after the presence of the Observant phenomenon. From the works which include the general history of the Franciscan Order from its very beginnings to modern times, it is important to note the work of the Spanish friar from the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin and a historian, Lázaro Iriarte, *Historia Franciscana*.⁴⁰ Although chronologically it is not the first book written of the history of the

⁴⁰ Lázaro Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva* [History of the Franciscans] (Zagreb: Hrvatska kapucinska provincija sv. Leopolda Bogdana Mandića – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2013). The work has been originally published in 1979, and was translated into English in 1982, but the Croatian edition was published on the occasion of the 800th year anniversary of the arrival of St Francis in Croatian lands, and this edition was prepared by the Franciscans Capuchins of the Croatian Province of St Leopold Bogdan Mandić.

Franciscan Order, Iriarte covers the largest timespan of the history of Franciscans. From the authors who focused on the general history of the Franciscans in the Middle Ages, it is necessary to include the work of John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*.⁴¹ The book first presents St Francis and follows his activity throughout his life, and the state of the Order after his death until the Council in Vienna in 1312. Moorman's work has been fundamental to all medievalists researching Franciscan history and it certainly is a starting point in any related research. The influence of John Moorman has surely been present in the works of Michael Robson, who wrote a similar overview of Franciscan history in the Middle Ages, but covering just a slightly briefer period than Moorman's. The chronology of Robson's book, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, ends with the death of John of Capistrano in 1456.⁴² This book is not so extensive as the one of Moorman, but its objective was to concisely present the general history of the Franciscans during the Middle Ages and the influence they had within the medieval Church and lay society. Without these works, it is very difficult to understand the history of the Franciscans of Dalmatia/Sclavonia, and they will be used when (and how) general events in the Order influenced the brothers further away in the Adriatic Sea.⁴³ Many works also dealt with the problematics of the economy of the Franciscans, either within the scope of the phenomenon of mendicant orders, focusing solely on one country, or placing emphasis on friars of one city.⁴⁴

⁴¹ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁴² Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006).

⁴³ Franciscan phenomenon is so widespread that there is none European or American (there I mean, both American continents) that did not research the Order in its histories and historiographies. Here, for instance, it is worth mentioning The Franciscan Institute, located in the St. Bonaventure University, in the state of New York, their activity and publication. See more: <https://www.sbu.edu/academics/academic-resources/franciscan-institute>. Historiographies on the Franciscan Order have been diverse and extensive, and it would be overwhelming to go into detail on the works on certain Franciscan Provinces and areas and their main authors, but from general overview about organization and activity of friars of certain European countries, I would like to present the work of John B. Freed about friars in Germany. The work is of seminal importance, they only problem is that the research focused to the earliest history of the order in German lands, until the end of the 13th century (John B. Freed, *The friars and German society in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1977)). More often, the emphasis was placed on the activity of one friary or friars within one city, from Germany to England. Cf. Michael Robson, "The Greyfriars of Lincoln c. 1230-1330: The Establishment of the Friary and the Friars' Ministry and Life in the City and its Environs," in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context*, ed. by Michael Robson – Jens Röhrkasten (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 113-137; Idem, "The Franciscans in the custody of York: Evidence drawn from chronicles and annals," in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities. The British Isles in Context*, ed. by Anne Müller – Karen Stöber (Berlin: LIT, 2009), pp. 341-367; Jens Röhrkasten, "The Origin and Early Development of the London Mendicant Houses," in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. by T. R. Slater – Gervase Rosser (Aldershot: Ashgate: 1998), pp. 76-99.

⁴⁴ However, topics were dealt with within the scope of the phenomenon of mendicant orders, they focused solely on one country, or the emphasis was placed on friars of one city. Paul Bertrand, "Économie conventuelle, gestion de l'écrit et spiritualité des ordres mendiants. Autour de l'exemple liégeois (XIIIe-XVe siècle)," in *Économie et religion. L'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Nicole Bériou – Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2009), pp. 101-128; Antonio Rigon, "Mendicant Orders and the Reality of Economic Life in Italy in the Middle Ages," in *The Origin, Development and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. by Donald S. Prudlo (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 241-275; Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan wealth from voluntary poverty to market society*, Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, Saint Bonaventure University, 2009; Beatrix Romhányi, "Quête et collecte des aumônes chez les frères mendiants de Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2016) CXXII: 302-325; Jens Röhrkasten, "L'économie de couvents mendiants de Londres à la fin du Moyen Âge, d'après l'étude de documents d'archives et des testaments," in *Économie et religion. L'expérience des ordres*

Of importance were also works dealing with the topic of the Franciscan arrival in the urban centers, mainly in different parts of Italy and their topography. Some are more applicable to the cases of friars and friaries of Dalmatia, others just for general ideas and usage. Of major significance for this work was the thematic volume *Mobilità e interculturalità. La città di fronte a nuovi sistemi di relazione / Mobility and interculturality. The city facing new relational systems*, edited by Andreina Milan, Giuseppina Muzzarelli and Guido Zucconi, within the series *La città globale. La condizione urbana come fenomeno pervasivo / The Global City. The urban condition as a pervasive phenomenon*.⁴⁵ Similar approach that pre-dated these studies was done by Caroline Bruzelius. Especially in the study “The dead come to town. Preaching, burying, and building in the Mendicant Order,”⁴⁶ and later in the book titled *Preaching, Building, and Burying. Friars in the Medieval City*, where she discusses how the friars, with their ideas of apostolic poverty and their activities in the community have changed the urban landscape by taking religion outside to the public and also to domestic spaces. One result of this was that the friaries of the Mendicant Orders became cemeteries within urban milieu, containing family tombs, shields, and private altars.⁴⁷

2.2.2. Principal works on the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia and its friaries

The Franciscan Order and its role in urban life has always captured the minds and the interest of historians around the world. Although there are many works which have been dealing with the history of the Franciscan Order, the activity of friars in Dalmatia and their activity was not researched as a whole yet. The historiography in Croatia has produced many works on the Franciscans, but their field of interest has been somewhat narrow. Almost all of the authors were (and are) members of the Franciscan Order, whether they are from the Conventual, or Observant branch, and their interest remained mainly in the sphere of the ecclesiastical history, not connecting it with the social aspect and putting it in a broader context.

The first fundamental work on the Franciscans in Dalmatia to truly tackle this subject was brought by an Observant Friar, Donat Fabijanić. In the second half of the 19th century, more precisely

mendiants (XIIIe – XVe siècle), ed. by Nicole Bériou – Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2009), pp. 211-245.

⁴⁵ There are many studies for major Italian cities, from Ravenna and Piacenza to Padua and Venice. Cf. *Mobilità e interculturalità. La città di fronte a nuovi sistemi di relazione / Mobility and interculturality. The city facing new relational systems*, ed. by Andreina Milan – Giuseppina Muzzarelli – Guido Zucconi, *La città globale. La condizione urbana come fenomeno pervasivo / The Global City. The urban condition as a pervasive phenomenon*, ed. by Marco Pretelli – Rosa Tamborrino – Ines Tolić (Torino: AISU International, 2020).

⁴⁶ Caroline Bruzelius, “The dead come to town. Preaching, burying, and building in the Mendicant Order,” in *The year 1300 and the creation of a new European architecture*, ed. by A. Gajewski – Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 203-224.

⁴⁷ Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying. Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2014).

in 1863, he published the first volume of the book *Storia dei frati minori dai primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bossina fino ai giorni nostri*,⁴⁸ which is divided in 16 chapters. This volume covers the period from the life of St Francis, his arrival to Dalmatia and the foundation of the first friaries there, until the 19th century, that is, until the author's contemporary times. His works also serve as source material, since he also included a small collection of chosen documents, a total of 31 charters concerning Franciscan Order from 1228 to 1537, and the transcriptions of these documents will be used further by later historians. The following year Fabijanić published the second volume,⁴⁹ which has a different structure, and is divided according to Observant provinces and custodies, but this division comes from the author's period, that is, the 19th century. Each province is discussed in a separate chapter, with the list of every friary belonging to it, and at the end of the volume, there is a list of the provincials. Although the work of Fabijanić set the ground for further research, he was not the first one to write on the history of the friars in the Province of Dalmatia. Even in the 16th century, more precisely, in 1587, Friar Franciscus Gonzaga published in Rome his primary work titled *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*. Although Gonzaga is often quoted in the historiography of the Franciscans of Dalmatia, his focus on Dalmatian Friars in his work was occasional and limited and therefore it is not comparable with the work of Donat Fabijanić, but it is certain that Gonzaga's legacy has sparked the interest not only of Fabijanić, but also of every subsequent scholar dealing with Franciscan Order in Dalmatia.⁵⁰

Following the chronology further, at the beginning of the 20th century there were several contributions in the journal *Arhivum franciscanum historicum*, which were mainly dealing with the beginnings of the organization of the provinces in the Franciscan Order. Jeronim Golubović published an article "Series provinciarum ordinis fratrum minorum saec. XIII et XIV," giving a review of the Franciscan provinces according to the year of their foundation, their internal division and number, by using the records of the General Chapters of the Order. The Province of Sclavonia (Dalmatia) can be traced in the sources from 1248, and Friar Jacob de Alexandris from Mantua is noted as the first Minister General who was in Sclavonia (*in Sclavonia fuit, quae Dalmatia appellatur*).⁵¹ The article of Josip Milošević follows the work of Golubović but focusing on the Province of Sclavonia/Dalmatia ("De provincia Sclavonie") and its custodies which were of Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik.⁵² Benvenut Rode's article "De antiquitate provinciae, O.F.M. nunc Dalmatiae" is available in the same volume

⁴⁸ Donat Fabijanić, *Storia dei frati minori dai primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bossina fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. 1 (Zadar: Tip. Fratelli Battara, 1863).

⁴⁹ Donat Fabijanić, *Storia dei frati minori dai primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bossina fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. 2 (Zadar: Tip. Fratelli Battara, 1864).

⁵⁰ Franciscus Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*, Rome, 1581, pp. 430-437.

⁵¹ Jeronim Golubović, "Series provinciarum ordinis fratrum minorum saec. XIII et XIV," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908): 1-22.

⁵² Josip Milošević, "De provincia Sclavonie," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908): 235-237.

of the journal, which starts with the story of St Francis' arrival to Croatian lands on his way to Syria. He states that Francis himself founded the Province in 1212 when he stepped on the Croatian coast after a storm, and the place of its foundation, according to Rode, is Zadar.⁵³

From more recent works which deal with the Province on a broader level, we should mention the thematic volume *Franjo među Hrvatima* [Francis among Croats] from 1976, which contains works from the historical, theological, and spiritual aspect, and although it is written for a broader audience, still one text was useful. Fra Karlo Jurišić gave a historical review of Franciscan beginnings and the arrival of St Francis in Croatian lands, and brief history of Franciscan communities among Croats, whether they were male or female, or even Third Lay Order.⁵⁴ Another volume has proved to be more relevant to this topic, *Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca nekad i danas* [Croatian province of Franciscan conventuals then and now], which was edited by the Conventual Friar Ljudevit Maračić, and the chapter by Friar Marijan Žugaj was used for my topic since it is covering the period from 1217 to 1559, and followed by useful maps of the development of the Province and the list of provincials.⁵⁵

The questions about the earliest history of the Province continue to be the topic of research. *Sv. Franjo Asiški u Hrvatskoj 1212. godine: Radovi s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa u prigodi osam stoljeća od dolaska sv. Franje u Hrvatsku i o počecima franjevačkoga reda među Hrvatima održanog u Splitu i Zadru 1. i 2. listopada 2012.* [St Francis of Assisi in Croatia in 1212: Volume of proceedings from international conference of the occasion of eight centuries since the arrival of St Francis in Croatia and about the beginnings of the Franciscan Order among the Croats] is the title of volume from which several texts will be used in the following parts, when dealing with other historiographical debates among various Franciscan authors.⁵⁶

Most of the Croatian historiography on the Franciscan Order is focusing on individual friaries, and it mostly depends on the state of the friary itself and the sources available for its research. It is not uncommon that most of the works were on more fruitful friaries, such as Zadar and Dubrovnik,

⁵³ Benvenut Rode, "De antiquitate provinciae, O.F.M. nunc Dalmatiae," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908): 506-514.

⁵⁴ Karlo Jurišić, "Dolazak sv. Franje Asiškog u Hrvatsku" [The Arrival of St Francis of Assisi in Croatia], in *Franjo među Hrvatima, zbornik radova franjevačkih zajednica u prigodi 750. obljetnice smrti sv. Franje Asiškog (1226.-1976.)*, ed. by Hrvatin Gabrijel Jurišić (Zagreb: Središnji odbor za proslavu 750. obljetnice smrti sv. Franje Asiškoga, 1976), pp. 137-140; 142-143.

⁵⁵ Marijan Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217-1559)" [Croatian Franciscan Province of Conventuals (1217-1559)], in *Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca nekad i danas*, ed. by Ljudevit Maračić (Zagreb: Provincijalat franjevac konventualaca 1989), pp. 11-56.

⁵⁶ *Sv. Franjo Asiški u Hrvatskoj 1212. godine: Radovi s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa u prigodi osam stoljeća od dolaska sv. Franje u Hrvatsku i o počecima franjevačkoga reda među Hrvatima održanog u Splitu i Zadru 1. i 2. listopada 2012.* [St Francis of Assisi in Croatia in 1212: Volume of proceedings from international conference of the occasion of eight centuries since the arrival of St Francis in Croatia and about the beginnings of the Franciscan Order among the Croats], in Kačić. *Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetoga Otkupitelja*, vol. XLVI-XLVII, Split, 2014-2015.

and even Šibenik, since they have impressive collections and cultural heritage in their archives and libraries, so I will present these three in separate sections.

The path towards research on the Franciscan Order, and on the friary of St Francis in Zadar was made by aforementioned Friar Donat Fabijanić. In the year 1882 his book *Convento più antico dei frati minori in Dalmazia* saw the light of day,⁵⁷ serving as a type of guide of the friary in Zadar. After giving a brief history of friars in Zadar, the author described every part of the friary and listed what could be found there at that moment. He described the library, church, chapels, choir, sacristy, bell, organs, and stone inscriptions which remained intact until his time. Unfortunately, after Fabijanić, the friary in Zadar did not incite a particular interest of historians for a long time, mostly until the end of the 20th century. There was some information on the friary within a broader frame of topics. Therefore, at the end of the 19th century, the work *Zara Christiana*⁵⁸ by Carlo Federico Bianchi on the ecclesiastical history of Zadar, the friary of St Francis is presented in the section where the author examines each ecclesiastical institution within the commune, although most of the information is taken from Fabijanić in a form of a lengthly quote.

The most extensive volume on the friary in Zadar was published in 1980, *Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru* [Friary of St Francis in Zadar], during the 700th anniversary of the dedication of the church of St Francis in Zadar.⁵⁹ The volume contains various articles written from different aspects: history, arts, and natural sciences, but two of them focus on the general history of the friary. First one is by Atanazije J. Matanić “Franjevački počeci u Zadru” [Franciscan beginnings in Zadar], which covers the early period of Franciscan history in Zadar, mainly the arrival of St Francis in Dalmatia and the official foundation of the first friaries there.⁶⁰ The article of Justin Velnić narrowed the topic and focuses on the friary in Zadar, describing its foundation and the phases in its construction, then the spiritual activity of friars within and outside the friary, and the short history of Franciscan community until the 1970s.⁶¹

Besides works which directly address the friary in Zadar and works on the ecclesiastical history, the friary is also present in literature primarily dealing on the history of Zadar, as in the book

⁵⁷ Donat Fabijanić, *Convento piu antico dei frati minori in Dalmazia* (Prato: Raineri Guasti Editore Libraio, 1882).

⁵⁸ Carlo Federico Cav. Bianci, *Zara Cristiana* (Zadar: Tipografia Woditzka, 1877).

⁵⁹ *Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane, 1980).

⁶⁰ Atanazije J. Matanić, “Franjevački počeci u Zadru” [Franciscan Beginnings in Zadar], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane, 1980).

⁶¹ Justin Velnić, “Samostan Sv. Frane u Zadru. Povijesni prikaz njegova života i djelatnosti” [The Friary of St Francis in Zadar. Historical Review of its Life and Activity], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 25-101. In the volume there were other article which could provide some information on different aspects of Franciscan activity in the sphere of science and arts, although most of it comes from outside of my research period. Ivo Petricioli, “O važnijim umjetninama u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru” [On Important Artwork in the Franciscan Friary in Zadar], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 109-127; Anđelko Badurina, “Iluminirani rukopisi u samostanu svetog Frane u Zadru” [Illuminated Manuscripts in the Friary of St Francis in Zadar], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 129-137; Žarko Dadić, “Franjevački samostan u Zadru i prirodne znanosti” [Franciscan friary of Zadar and Natural Sciences], in *Samostan sv. Frane*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 139-144.

of Vitaliano Brunnelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, on the history of Zadar from its very beginnings to 1409,⁶² and in the fundamental historiographical work by Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*. [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409], which deals with the economic, social, and political history of the city,⁶³ and therefore will be used extensively while trying to put into context the history of friaries within the city. Finally, I have to add that from the context of social and economic history I have dealt with the friary of Zadar and have published several articles on different aspects of life of Zaratine friars: economy,⁶⁴ bequests,⁶⁵ education,⁶⁶ and the structure and organization of the friary in Zadar.⁶⁷

Following the example of the friary of Zadar and its volume celebrating the 700th anniversary of dedication of the church, five years later, in 1985, a volume has been published on the friary of Minor Fratres in Dubrovnik. The volume is even more extensive than the one of Zadar and covers several interesting topics. Atanazije Matanić speaks of the Franciscan beginning in Dubrovnik in general,⁶⁸ while Justin Velnić goes further into detail with the history of the friary and the activity of friars there, from their first habitat and the foundation and following restorations of the present-day friary, and the activity of friars there, covering mostly the period beyond my research period, even up to the twentieth century.⁶⁹ Ante Marinović discussed the laws concerning the friars in Dubrovnik,⁷⁰ and since the library of the friary still holds many cultural treasures, there are several articles on it:

⁶² Vitaliano Brunnelli, *Storia della città di Zara dai tempi più remoti sino al 1409 compilata sulle fonti e integrata da tre capitoli sugli usi e costumi* (Trst: Edizioni LINT, 1974). Here I have used the second unaltered edition, while the first one was published in Venice in 1913. The author discussed the arrival of Franciscans in Zadar, the foundation of the friary and its earliest history, and their connection with the convent of St Nicholas belonging to Poor Clares.

⁶³ Nada Klaić – Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*. [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultetu Zadar, 1976).

⁶⁴ Sanja Miljan, “Ekonomska aktivnost franjevaca u Zadru u 14. stoljeću” [Economic activity of the Franciscans in Zadar in the fourteenth century], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 35 (2017), 26-46.

⁶⁵ Sanja Miljan – Suzana Miljan, “Bequests to the Franciscans of the City Commune of Zadar (Dalmatia) in the Fourteenth Century: A Study of Piety, Family Ties and Class Solidarity,” in: *L'économie des couvents mendiants en Europe central: Bohême, Hongrie, Pologne, v. 1220-v. 1550*, ed. by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins – Ludovic Viallet (Rennes: Presse Universitaire Rennes, 2018), pp. 297-312.

⁶⁶ Sanja Miljan – Suzana Miljan, “Notes on the education of the Franciscans of Zadar in the fourteenth century,” in: *Szent Márton és Benedek nyomában: Tanulmányok Koszta László emlékére*, ed. by Tamás Fedeles – Zsolt Hunyadi (Szeged-Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2019), pp. 327-341.

⁶⁷ Sanja Miljan, “Structure and organisation of Franciscans in Zadar in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,” in: *Reform and Renewal in Medieval East and Central Europe: Politics, Law and Society*, ed. by Suzana Miljan – Éva B. Halász – Alexandru Simon, Minerva, III. Acta Europaea, 14 / Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe, 14 (Cluj Napoca – Zagreb – London: Academia Romana – Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – UCL SSEES, 2019), pp. 505-520.

⁶⁸ Atanazije J. Matanić, “Franjevački Dubrovnik u svom povijesnom presjeku” [Franciscan Dubrovnik in its historical review], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Kršćanska sadašnjost-Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, 1985), pp. 29-36.

⁶⁹ Justin Velnić, “Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku. Povijesni prikaz života i djelatnosti” [The Friary of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik. Historical review of their life and activity], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, pp. 95-184.

⁷⁰ Ante Marinović, “Dubrovačka legislacija glede prosjačkih redova” [Ragusan Legislation on the Mendicant Orders], in *Samostan Male braću u Dubrovniku*, pp. 37-71.

Mijo Brlek on the library,⁷¹ Anđelko Badurina on illuminated manuscripts,⁷² Ivo Lentić on the treasury,⁷³ and Đino Sukno on the epigraphical monuments.⁷⁴ This volume alone has provided a solid ground for future research and there were articles at least covering some aspect of the history of Franciscans in Dubrovnik. I would like to single out the article by a social historian Zrinka Pešorda titled “Prilog povijest franjevacu u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” [Contribution to the History of Franciscans in Medieval Dubrovnik], where the author had a different approach to the history of friars. She discussed similar things that very already discussed before, especially in the aforementioned volume on the friars in Dubrovnik, but looking at the history of the Franciscans as a part of the urban history and putting it into a broader context of not only the history of Dubrovnik, but also the history of the entire Kingdom.⁷⁵ Donal Cooper in his text “‘In loco tutissimo et firmissimo’: The Tomb of St. Francis in History, Legend and Art,”⁷⁶ addressed the pilgrimages to Assisi performed by the Dalmatian inhabitants.

While Zadar and Dubrovnik are friaries with a specific historical significance and organization, Šibenik had two things that made it distinguished: its cultural heritage preserved in the library and the archive. In addition, this is the place of origin of the first Croatian saint, Nikola Tavelić. Zadar and Dubrovnik also had rich libraries, but that was to be expected from the larger friaries being practically centers of the Province, but for such a small friary, it was exceptional. Therefore, it is no wonder that most of the historians focused on these two aspects while researching the friary of Šibenik. The topic of the cultural remains was first discussed in the volume *Kulturna baština samostana svetog Frane u Šibeniku* [Cultural Heritage of the Convent of St Francis in Šibenik], which was published in 1968 and has two articles which fit into my timeline. The article of Marin Oreb gives a standard review of the history of the friary itself and its library and archive.⁷⁷ Šime Jurić talks

⁷¹ Mijo Brlek, “Knjižnica Male braće u Dubrovniku” [The Library of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, pp. 587-613.

⁷² Anđelko Badurina, “Iluminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku” [Illuminated Manuscripts of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, pp. 517-562.

⁷³ Ivo Lentić, “Riznica Male braće u Dubrovniku” [The Treasury of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, pp. 563-570.

⁷⁴ Đino Sukno, “Epigrafski spomenici franjevačkog samostana u Dubrovniku” [Epigraphical Monuments of the Franciscan friary in Dubrovnik], in *Samostan Male braće*, pp. 795-822.

⁷⁵ Zrinka Pešorda, “Prilog povijest franjevacu u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku” [Contribution to the History of Franciscans in Medieval Dubrovnik], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 24 (2000) 45: 29-57.

⁷⁶ Donal Cooper, “‘In loco tutissimo et firmissimo’: The Tomb of St. Francis in History, Legend and Art,” in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. by Roger Cook (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 1–37.

⁷⁷ Marin Oreb, “Samostan sv. Frane u Šibeniku” [The Convent of St Francis in Šibenik], in *Kulturna baština samostana svetog Frane u Šibeniku* [Cultural Heritage of the Convent of St Francis in Šibenik] (Zadar: Institut Jugoslavnske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968), pp. 7-38. Oreb also published the article on the archive and the library of the friary: “Arhiv i biblioteka samostana sv. Franje u Šibeniku” [Archive and the library of the friary of St Francis in Šibenik], *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 3-4 (1966): 116-126.

more about the library of the friary in Šibenik, with a special review on its collection of incunables,⁷⁸ which was the continuation of the work done previously by Krsto Stošić, who is an authority of this topic.⁷⁹ After several works which were dealing with the friary in Šibenik, one friar decided to compile a synthesis of all information on the friary and its members. In 2015, Nikola Mate Roščić, wrote his capital work calling it also “an attempt of a historical review”.⁸⁰ My overall impression on the book is quite mixed. It is a good starting point for research, since the author is constantly referring to other authors, but oftentimes he is almost literally repeating the same information, and I would dare to say, with minimal rephrasing. But at least the reader can find further articles on the cultural heritage in the library and friary of Šibenik, so maybe this was actually the purpose of the author, regardless of its shortcomings. In the end, a part of title is “an attempt” and this purpose has been fulfilled. In the end, another volume worth mentioning is the one on St Nicholas Tavelić, which was published in 2019 as a product of conference held in Šibenik in 2017. Besides the articles dealing with the saint itself, his martyrdom and canonization, the volume provided an insight to the life of the Franciscan Order and the life of the community in Šibenik during the times of St Nicholas Tavelić. Daniel Patafta wrote an overview of the Franciscan history on general level,⁸¹ Tomislav Galović and Ivan Majnarić gave a historical background on the level of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the commune of Šibenik,⁸² and I wrote on the activities of Franciscan Order in Šibenik.⁸³

In some other friaries where celebratory conferences were held the conference proceedings were never published. This is the case with the friary in Trogir. In October 2018, there was a conference titled *Osam stoljeća štovanja Gospe od Anđela i prvog franjevačkog samostana u Trogiru* [Eight centuries of the Veneration of the Lady of Angels and First Franciscan Friary in Trogir], which presented the results of many interdisciplinary oral papers on the history of Trogir, among which there

⁷⁸ Jurić, Šime, “O knjižnici samostana franjevac konventualaca sv. Frane u Šibeniku s posebnim osvrtom na njezinu zbirku incunabula” [About the library of the convent of Conventual Franciscans St Francis in Šibenik, with a special review on its collection of incunables], in: *Kulturna baština samostana sv. Frane u Šibeniku*, pp. 39-64.

⁷⁹ Krsto Stošić, “Inkunabule samostana sv. Frane u Šibeniku” [Incunables of the friary of St Francis in Šibenik], in: *Croatia Sacra* 7(1934): 79-98. Stošić also wrote: “Rukopisni kodeksi samostana Sv. Frane u Šibeniku” [Manuscript codices of the friary of St Francis in Šibenik], *Croatia Sacra* 5 (1933): 18-61.

⁸⁰ Nikola Mate Roščić, *Samostan i crkva sv. Frane u Šibeniku. Pokušaj povijesnog prikaza* [The Friary and the Church of St Francis in Šibenik. An attempt of a historical review], Šibenik, 2015.

⁸¹ Daniel Patafta, “Franjevački red u doba Nikole Tavelića” [The Franciscan Order in the times of Nicholas Tavelić], in: *Sv. Nikola Tavelić mučenik – njegovo vrijeme i trajna poruka. Zbornik radova Četvrtog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa “Franjevački velikani” o sv. Nikoli Taveliću, Šibenik, 20.-21. listopada 2017*, ed. by Daniel Patafta – Nedjeljka s. Valerija Kovač (Zagreb, Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Hrvatska franjevačka provincija sv. Ćirila i Metoda – Hrvatska provincija sv. Jeronima franjevac konventualaca, 2019), pp. 27-45.

⁸² Tomislav Galović – Ivan Majnarić, “Hrvatska i Šibenik u Tavelićevo doba. Presjek kroz povijest Kraljevine i grada u 14. stoljeću” [Croatia and Šibenik in the Times of Tavelić. Review of the History of the Kingdom and City in the fourteenth century], in: *Sv. Nikola Tavelić mučenik – njegovo vrijeme i trajna poruka*, pp. 47-66.

⁸³ Sanja Miljan, “Djelatnost franjevac u Šibeniku od kraja 13. do početka 15. stoljeća: velika pobožnost i aktivnost u malom samostanu” [The activity of the Franciscans in Šibenik from the end of the thirteenth century until the beginning of the fifteenth century: great piety and agency in a small convent], in: *Sv. Nikola Tavelić mučenik – njegovo vrijeme i trajna poruka*, pp. 67-80.

were those dealing with the history of the Franciscan Order. The work unfortunately remains unpublished. Yet, we cannot claim that the commune of Trogir and their Franciscans have not been researched, mainly because of work of Irena Benyovsky Latin, dealing with the influence of Mendicant Orders on urban history.⁸⁴

For the topic of landscape and topography in Dalmatia, for the period of the Middle Ages, two communes were researched the most: Trogir and Dubrovnik. The main authority in this field is Irena Benyovsky Latin, who published several articles dealing with the topography of these two communes in Dalmatia. For Trogir, Irena Benyovsky Latin examined various topics, from more general to specific, sometimes in cooperation with other historians. General studies on topography and space focused on private⁸⁵ and public areas⁸⁶ of the city, communal regulations,⁸⁷ social⁸⁸ and economic⁸⁹ topography, as well as the urban development of Trogir during the first decades of the Venetian rule in the 15th century, but information on the Franciscan Order in them is scarce and occasional.⁹⁰ However, there are two articles concerning Mendicant Orders within the milieu of urban history, which are focused on the impact and importance of the Mendicant Orders in shaping the spaces and community, “Mendicants and Dalmatian Towns in the Middle Ages,”⁹¹ and “The burg of Trogir at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century – the influence of Franciscans and Dominicans on the formation of the urban space.”⁹²

⁸⁴ Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Mendicants and Dalmatian Towns in the Middle Ages,” *Povijesni prilozi* 15(1996) 15: 241-260; “Trogirsko Prigrađe na prijelazu 13. u 14. stoljeće – utjecaj dominikanaca i franjevac na oblikovanje prostora” [The Burg of Trogir at the End of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century – the Influence of Franciscans and Dominicans on the Formation of the Urban Space], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 27 (2003) 52: 47-56.

⁸⁵ Irena Benyovsky, “Privatni prostori grada Trogira u kasnom srednjem vijeku” [Private Areas in the City of Trogir in the Late Middle Ages], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 29 (1996) 1: 53-67.

⁸⁶ Irena Benyovsky, “Trogirski trg u razvijenom srednjem vijeku” [Town Square in Trogir in the Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi* 16 (1997) 16: 11-32; Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Izgradnja gradskih fortifikacija u Trogiru od 13. do 15. stoljeća” [The Building of the City Fortifications in Trogir from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 28 (2010): 17-48; Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Medieval square in Trogir: space and society,” *Review of Croatian History* 14 (2018) 1: 9-62.

⁸⁷ Irena Benyovsky, “Komunalno reguliranje gradskog prostora u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru” [Communal Regulation of the City Space in Medieval Trogir], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 21 (2003): 29-43.

⁸⁸ Irena Benyovsky – Mladen Andreis – Ana Plosnić, “Socijalna topografija Trogira u 13. stoljeću” [Social topography of Trogir in the 13th Century], *Povijesni prilozi* 22 (2003) 25: 37-92; Irena Benyovsky – Mladen Andreis – Ana Plosnić, “Socijalna topografija Trogira u 14. stoljeću [The social topography of the fourteenth-century Trogir],” *Povijesni prilozi* 26 (2007) 33: 103-192.

⁸⁹ Irena Benyovsky, “Gospodarska topografija Trogira u srednjem vijeku” [Economic topography of Trogir in the Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi* 24 (2005) 28: 23-44.

⁹⁰ Irena Benyovsky, “Urbane promjene u Trogiru u prvim desetljećima mletačke vlasti (1420.-1450.)” [The urban development of Trogir during the initial period of the Venetian rule (1420-1450)], *Povijesni prilozi* 21 (2002) 23: 71-85.

⁹¹ Irena Benyovsky, “Mendicants and Dalmatian Towns in the Middle Ages,” 241-260.

⁹² Irena Benyovsky, “Trogirsko prigrađe na prijelazu 13. u 14. stoljeće – utjecaj dominikanaca i franjevac na oblikovanje prostora” [The Burg of Trogir at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century – the influence of Franciscans and Dominicans on the formation of the urban space], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 27 (2003) 52: 47-56.

For Dubrovnik there is also a substantial number of articles on topography in various aspects, which have occasionally included information on the Franciscan Order,⁹³ although one article, which was published last year, gives more insight into the spatial organization of the city of Dubrovnik and space and role which the friars obtained.⁹⁴

Other city communes and position of friaries within them were not yet the subject of research of Croatian historians and scholars of filial disciplines as was done in the cases of the aforementioned towns, with the exception of Krk. For Krk, there is a recent study published by Tomislav Galović, in which he extensively collected and discussed archival sources, previous historiographical research, and briefly touched upon a spatial urban organization of the friary. The friary is located adjacent to the city's perimeter wall on the northern side, which is next to the upper city gate.⁹⁵ Other smaller city communes do not allow such systematic research, due to its lack of sources.

⁹³ Valentina Zovko, "Socijalna topografija Dubrovnika krajem 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća na primjeru obitelji De Sorgo (Sorkočević)" [Social Topography of Dubrovnik at the Example of Family Sorkocec Between 13th and 14th Century], *Povijesni zbornik* 3 (2009) 4: 17-34; Matko Matija Marušić, "Urbani krajolik i vlasnička topografija kasnosrednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika prema seriji Venditiones Cancellariae" [Urbanistic Landscape and the Topography of Ownership of the Late Medieval Dubrovnik according to the series Venditiones Cancellarie], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 41 (2017): 97-108; Irena Benyovsky Latin – Zrinka Pešorda Vardić – Ivana Haničar Buljan, "Antunini na Placi: prostorni razmještaj članova Bratovštine sv. Antuna duž dubrovačke Place u 15. stoljeću" [Antunini in the Placa: The Spatial Arrangement of Members of the Confraternity of St Anthony along Dubrovnik's Placa in the 15th Century], *Povijesni prilozi* 37 (2018) 55: 57-136; Irena Benyovsky Latin – Zrinka Pešorda Vardić – Gordan Ravančić – Ivana Haničar Buljan, "Urbana elita i prostor Dubrovnika od kraja 13. stoljeća do Crne smrti: primjeri posjeda obitelji Menče i Ljutica u dubrovačkom burgusu – tri generacije susjeda iz dva staleža" [Urban Elite and the Dubrovnik Area from the Late 13th Century to the Black Death: Menče and Ljutica Family Estates in the Burgus of Dubrovnik – Three Generations of Neighbours from Two Social Strata], *Povijesni prilozi* 38 (2019) 56: 15-73; Irena Benyovsky Latin – Ivana Haničar Buljan, "Socijalna topografija srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika: primjer posjeda obitelji Menče u burgusu na prijelazu 13. u 14. stoljeće" [Social Topography of medieval Dubrovnik: The Estates of the Menče family in Dubrovnik during the 13th and Early 14th Centuries], *Povijesni prilozi* 39 (2020) 59: 68-121.

⁹⁴ Irena Benyovsky Latin – Ivana Haničar Buljan, "Gradu Dubrovniku pripojen (je) drugi, novi grad koji se dosad zvaše predgrađem...: faze oblikovanja dubrovačkoga burgusa tijekom 13. stoljeća" [The City of Dubrovnik Has Been Joined by Another, New City, Previously Called a Suburb: Stages in the Formation of Dubrovnik's burgus during the 13th Century], *Povijesni prilozi* 43 (2024) 66: 7-69.

⁹⁵ Tomislav Galović, "City and Friary: The City of Krk and Its Franciscan Friary in the Middle Ages," in *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: The City and the Church*, ed. by Irena Benyovsky Latin – Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2024), pp. 233-273.

3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Methodology used in this work dwells on the scope of the French historiography. First and foremost, nobody can deny the influence the French research had on the usage of serial sources, which was later developed further and spread in the majority of European historiographies. The usage of testaments as serial sources developed and was analyzed with quantitative methods. This was done by many, such as Jacques Chiffolleau, or for the cases of Dalmatia, Zoran Ladić. His approach was later followed by the majority of researchers dealing with notarial deeds.⁹⁶ Testaments were not exclusively used by the historiographers of the Latin West (or local Croatian usage), because also a substantial breakthrough was done for the methodological usage of testaments in the research of Central Europe, as is the case of Katalin Szende and Judit Majorossy for town of late medieval Hungary.⁹⁷ As was seen in the part dealing with sources, although not exclusively, but the main source for this research were testaments. Testaments provide an insight into the private life of testators and various questions regarding the relationship with the friars as a community, friars are individuals, friaries, enlargements, endowments, etc., can be seen there. Of course, this information cannot be regarded individually, but collectively in the wider context of development of Franciscans in Dalmatia and have to be combined with other types of sources and secondary literature.

Thus, for the topic of development, organization and agency of religious order, I had to combine this method with several different approaches, which were required by the available sources. The methodologies varied on the topic which was examined and on the questions which needed to be answered. In general, qualitative analysis was the most frequently used method. This will be explained in detail when presenting various research questions.

The second approach was prosopography. Ever since its inception, this approach has been more connected to social history because it comprised major attributes of the collective biography of a certain social group. Usually, it was used as a tool for social historians, particularly those dealing with family history.⁹⁸ It also combines sociology and anthropology, in the style of the *Annales* school. Already Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie used it in his seminal works.⁹⁹ However, the American sociologists developed the story further, as it usually happened, so various aspects were presented in

⁹⁶ Ladić, *Last Will: Passport to Heaven*.

⁹⁷ Cf. for the case of late medieval Bratislava, *Das Pressburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)–1529*, Teil 1: 1410–1487, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Kommission für Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Dritte Abteilung: Fontes Iuris. Band 21/1, ed. by Judit Majorossy – Katalin Szende (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2010); *Das Pressburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)–1529*, Teil 2: 1487–1529, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Kommission für Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Dritte Abteilung: Fontes Iuris. Band 21/2, ed. by Judit Majorossy – Katalin Szende (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014). Or various aspects of testamentary culture of Central Europe in the cases of research of Katalin Szende.

⁹⁸ Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100 (1971) 1: 46-79.

⁹⁹ Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou Village Occitan de 1294 a 1324* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

the journal dealing particularly with history and collective biography. In the past decade or so, it entered the sphere of religious studies, thus various research groups applied it to monastic studies, such as, for instance, the history of the Carthusian order.¹⁰⁰ Franciscan studies also benefited tremendously from the methods. When the data allowed it, the prosopography was also used to recreate the connections between friars and certain noble families and the lives of friars, whether it was their educational path or while trying to find a certain pattern to relocations of friars within and outside the Province.

The third approach was the comparative one. Usually, the method was used to see if there are similarities or differences in the development of various structures and institutions in different places. In my case, it was used to find similarities and differences between two of the largest and most important friaries in Dalmatia – friaries in Zadar and Dubrovnik. These two friaries were chosen to provide a nice comparative approach since they were the only ones for which there was enough information to make any comparisons, more in the positivistic narrative way. Thus, in some cases the topic needed to be approached qualitatively, meaning that sometimes only presenting documents newly discovered was needed, because such an attempt opened new questions and will provide basis for the future.

Archontology as method was also applied, giving a great advantage for the work, because I managed to complete lists of officials for both the level of the province and the level of individual friaries. It could be seen that archontology as a genre of arranging data proved to be useful not only for the list of political officials, but also for religious prelates, as was often done in Hungarian historiography. Croatia still waits for the publication of the works of Damir Karbić for Croatia and Dalmatia. The problems with the later cases emerged because the data had to be drawn from completely unpublished material from the archives around Dalmatia. This is even true for the period of the 14th century, the period of the Angevin rule. What could be seen from the sources, choosing such a broad topic of Franciscans in Dalmatia was a blessing and curse at the same time. Time-consuming mining work in the archival material proved to be exhausting, and often did not provide answers, but was just opening new questions. However, the idea is not to provide the answers although this might sound strange when providing results of any research. Yet, we should start with research questions and a particular approach to certain topics.

How did the Province function in practice? In this respect, two aspects should be regarded: the question(s) of organization and the scopes of influence. This will be explored through the concept of networks, meaning relations and networks formed on the levels of the province, the friaries, the

¹⁰⁰ Cf. works of Kimm Curran of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

city communes and the kingdom alike. It is known that the province was organized in several custodies, but the question is, did this division emerging in the 14th century function like that? As already mentioned, not all custodies could be researched due to lack of source material, only three out of them, but they showed interesting patterns. A further question is whether the Province of Dalmatia was organized from above or from below. Since I will argue that the organization started from below (regardless of the origins of friaries, being endowment or not), but friars moved within the province from all four custodies.

Historiographical debates about origins always incorporated the story about St Francis' arrival to Croatian lands into their narrative and their imaginary, so the question was what was in fact true, or even if the truth mattered. If the Franciscans in Zagreb, capital of Croatia, 400 km away from Zadar, also had the story of arrival of St Francis incorporated into their narrative, then is the story true or why it even matters if it is? In the case of one friary, as we will see, not only story about St Francis was present in the chronicles of friary but also the story about St Anthony as well. So, I will argue that in majority of the researched friaries this was a *lieu de mémoire*. Gradual change of the name of the province happened at the time when our story ends, more or less. As was rightfully pointed out, the reasons for the change were understandable, they were not connected with purely ecclesiastical, administrative purposes, but also with political itinerary on a larger scale. The presence of Venice, the Ottomans and emergence of the newly founded Vicariate of Bosnia certainly had some influence as well.

The story about the friaries in the city communes starts by choosing a place for the friars to establish themselves after their arrival in a city commune in Dalmatia. There is, of course, a difference between establishing a presence in a city commune and the organized establishment of the community there, and these two processes can be decades apart. However, the official establishment of a Franciscan community in a certain city commune is sometimes almost impossible to assign to a specific year, but, nonetheless, determining a period from which Franciscans performed their activities in city communes is important. Second aspect on Franciscan initial presence is the position of their initial habitation. Were friars in Dalmatia following popular trends and located themselves in suburban parts outside the city walls and if so, when did this change, that is, their translocation within the city walls occur. Furthermore, what were the reasons for moving from these suburban areas, was it due to external reasons or international trends, or did it concern internal conflicts or local disputes.

After their relocation within the city walls, where were the friars placed, and did this position have deeper meaning or symbolic value or can we make a distinction between the two? I will argue that their positioning next to prominent places within city walls actually put them in the centre of life.

Did their position have an influence on all layers of society within the city, or only on higher layers, in which vicinity they were mostly placed?

How was life organized within a friary (friaries)? Different friaries showed different patterns, but only two could be studied in detail. Concerning friars who were residing in these friaries, where did they originate from? Did they originate from inside the Province or from outside? If they originated from areas outside of the Province, where were they coming from? Furthermore, did the fluctuation of friars from other Provinces stop at certain point and did friaries in Dalmatia close themselves to “foreign” friars? Since friaries in Zadar and Dubrovnik were studied in detail, can we see some similarities or differences between the two? Although the nature of the Order was being mobile and not residing for long in one friary, can we also see some “local” friars residing in their place of origin for a very long time? And last, if a friary was closing itself by not having friars from outside of the Province, did this closure occur on the level of the Province or was it only on the level of a single custody.

Many friars could be found in the sources while residing in a friary or while holding a certain office, however, their entrance in the Order is often overlooked. We may ask therefore, how did friars enter the Order and what was the procedure, how did they depart from their lay life and enter the ecclesiastical one. Of course, there is always the question of how can these beginnings in a friar’s life be traced and how much of their initial life in the Order can be reconstructed?

On the other hand, when friars would officially enter the Order and reside in a friary or friaries in the Province, their career paths can be reconstructed, especially those which revolve around a certain office, such as Minister Provincial, custos, vicar, guardian and lector. Who were these individual friars who obtained these offices? Did they appoint Dalmatian friars or friars from other province, maybe from Italy? Was there a certain pattern in appointing friars in a specific office and did this pattern change in the course of two centuries? What would happen to these friars after their specific office ended, did they “upgrade” to a higher office or did they relocate to a similar office, but in another friary?

When the Franciscan Order established themselves more within the ecclesiastical sphere, resulting in establishing themselves in the chair of St Peter, the same pattern was followed on the ecclesiastical level of Dalmatia. It will be questioned whether the archbishops and bishops who originated from the rang of the Franciscans facilitated the privileges of the Franciscans in Dalmatia. Even more, did the appointment of Franciscan archbishops and bishops impact the treatment of friars within a certain city commune and to which degree? Finally, it will be questioned if the situation was different in the beginning and in the 14th century alike.

Certainly, the 14th century was the Angevin century in Dalmatia. This brought some problems, but also prosperity. Friars also played a political role on the local level of their communities, but also on the level on Kingdom. It will be questioned whether belonging to certain families within the urban milieu influenced their agency or the positions were open for prominent individuals because of their own education and reputation in the community? This will open a pathway towards Bosnia and show the beginnings of friaries which will later on prove to be a stronghold of Christianity within Ottoman Europe.

Theoretically, the Franciscans were poor. This poverty can be examined on several levels. Ecclesiastical property was the question of not only the ecclesiastical institutions, but also communal authorities. It will be presented how statutes of the city communes regarded property in the hands of the Franciscans. Rules were always one thing, and practice something else. The examples from city to city and friary to friary questioned the theoretical impostulation of not having property and not handling money. The variety of the properties, not only in the 14th century, but even before, will be put in doubt whether the theory really defined the practice.

Were friaries living of the charity of others? What forms of donations and bequests were predominant or living of charity for Franciscans? Was it food and nourishment, clothing and household? For which purpose was money bequeathed? Hypothesis would be that bequests *pro opere* and *pro laborerio* were in accordance with postulation of the Mendicant Orders, stating that as long as the construction of a church or a friary was not done completely, it was perceived to be poor. What was the most frequently given bequest to friars, and could some bequests be considered as spiritual exchange? Parts of spiritual exchange were not necessarily liturgical objects, altarpieces, icons or chalices, but could have been *peregrinatio* as well. One of the most expressive ways of showing piety was travelling to various pilgrimage sites, and I will examine the role of Assisi for the inhabitants of Zadar and Dubrovnik.

The agency of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia could not be possible without the support of the highest to the lowest layers of society. Since higher layers of society left more written evidence in sources and in history, their involvement will be further examined. Were the Angevins the firmest supporters of Franciscans in Dalmatia, as they were everywhere else or will Dalmatia prove to be a bit different example. Can the same be said for the house the Kotromanići of Bosnia? Can the former and the latter be seen in the visual representations of the cult of saints in the friaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik alike? The mediators between the royal houses and the Franciscans were certainly royal knights whose political agency cannot be disputed. The two aristocratic families proved to be of crucial importance with both support and endowment of friaries. Were these friaries endowments

of these families due to their immense preference towards the Franciscans or did these families only use this narrative in the later period?

Franciscans were integrated into the fabric of the medieval urban society in Dalmatia. Archbishops, bishops and the city patriciate will show great inclination towards them as well. The question is whether these families were doing that as part of their political agency or due to the fact that they were neighboring the Franciscans or that they had family members entering the Order. One cannot discard their artistic representations within friaries either, or that they chose these friaries as a final resting place for their family tombs.

A service by layman which served the friars was that of the procurator. Proof that the role of a procurator was not only of communal and legal matters, political agency of procurators and their connections to friars in Dalmatia will be examined on the basis of exemplary careers of several individuals (one of them even involving a family member of a Franciscan saint). Artisans certainly supported Mendicant Orders as well. This again, as in the case of city patriciate, is reflected in social topography, but contrary to the higher echelons of urban society, they left less traces in the sources.

A final question will be to which extent Dalmatian Franciscans were in fact mobile outside of their province? With the shift of manpower during two different periods for two different friaries and for two different places in Italy, education was important. What did it take to go and to study in Bologna and what in Padua? In the end, how in fact Dalmatian friars made it all the way to England?

4. THE PRESENCE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN DALMATIA, THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRIARIES AND THE PROVINCE

Historians and historiography assumed that the Franciscans arrived in the Croatian lands during the times of St Francis, during one of his voyages to missionary travel. Based on his oldest biographies, Thomas of Celano, Julian of Speyer and St Bonaventure, St Francis came to Dalmatia in 1211/1212 during his travelling from Ancona towards the Middle East. Due to weather and storms, he was forced to make port in one of the Eastern Adriatic cities, although unfortunately it was not written which one it was.¹⁰¹ This story will encourage a long lasting and almost never-ending debate on which commune did Francis' ship took port in Dalmatia. Furthermore, in a similar context, there was also another journey of St Francis which intrigued the historians, and that is the one Francis made in the period 1219/1220. It is also perceived that Francis, while returning in 1220 from Palestine, on his way to Venice, again traveled along the whole Eastern Adriatic coast.¹⁰² The traditional dates of the foundation of the Franciscan friaries in the area of the Province of Dalmatia are: Trogir in 1214, Pula in 1227, Dubrovnik in 1227-1228, Zadar in 1228, Šibenik in 1229 and Split in 1229. Franciscans organized various institutions in Dalmatia, according to traditional historiography, and certainly managed different forms of social and religious activities.¹⁰³

During the life of St Francis, the Order was divided into 12 provinces, from which 6 were situated in Italy, and 6 outside it. The number of provinces grew larger more and more, until it reached 72 in 1239. Since that represented too many provinces to manage, this number was soon reduced significantly to 32,¹⁰⁴ after which, in 1288, Pope Nicholas IV forbade the foundation of new provinces without the special permission of the Holy See. However, still in 1239, when there were 32 provinces, and the Franciscan Province in Croatian lands was named *Provincia Sclavonia Sancti Seraphini*.¹⁰⁵ This territory included the area from Trieste (in Italy) and Istria, down south all the way to Kotor and Dürres (in Albania). According to the list of provinces and friaries which was compiled in 1340, the Province was divided into four custodies with their friaries: the Custody of Dubrovnik (including friaries in towns of Dürres, Ulcinj, Shkodër, Bar, Kotor, Dubrovnik and Daksa), the Custody of Split and Zadar (including Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Skradin, Bribir, Zadar, Pag), the Custody of Rab (including Rab, Senj, Krk, Cres, Modruš) and the Custody of Istria (including Pula, Poreč, Piran,

¹⁰¹ Some historians consider that this port was in Zadar, as Atanazije Matanić in his article "Franjevački počeci u Zadru," p. 9, and Justin Velnjić in his article "Samostan sv. Frane," pp 29-31, while some, as Marijan Žugaj, consider that it was the port in Trogir (Marijan Žugaj, *Hrvatska provincija franjevača konventualaca (1217-1559)*, p. 11).

¹⁰² Matanić, "Franjevački počeci u Zadru," pp. 8-12.

¹⁰³ Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996.), p. 221.

¹⁰⁴ Matanić, "Franjevački počeci," p. 13; Žugaj does not discuss the matter of changing the numbers of the provinces, just states that first there were around 11 provinces in 1239, and then it was 24 and finally in 1398, it was 36 (Žugaj, *Hrvatska provincija*, p. 16).

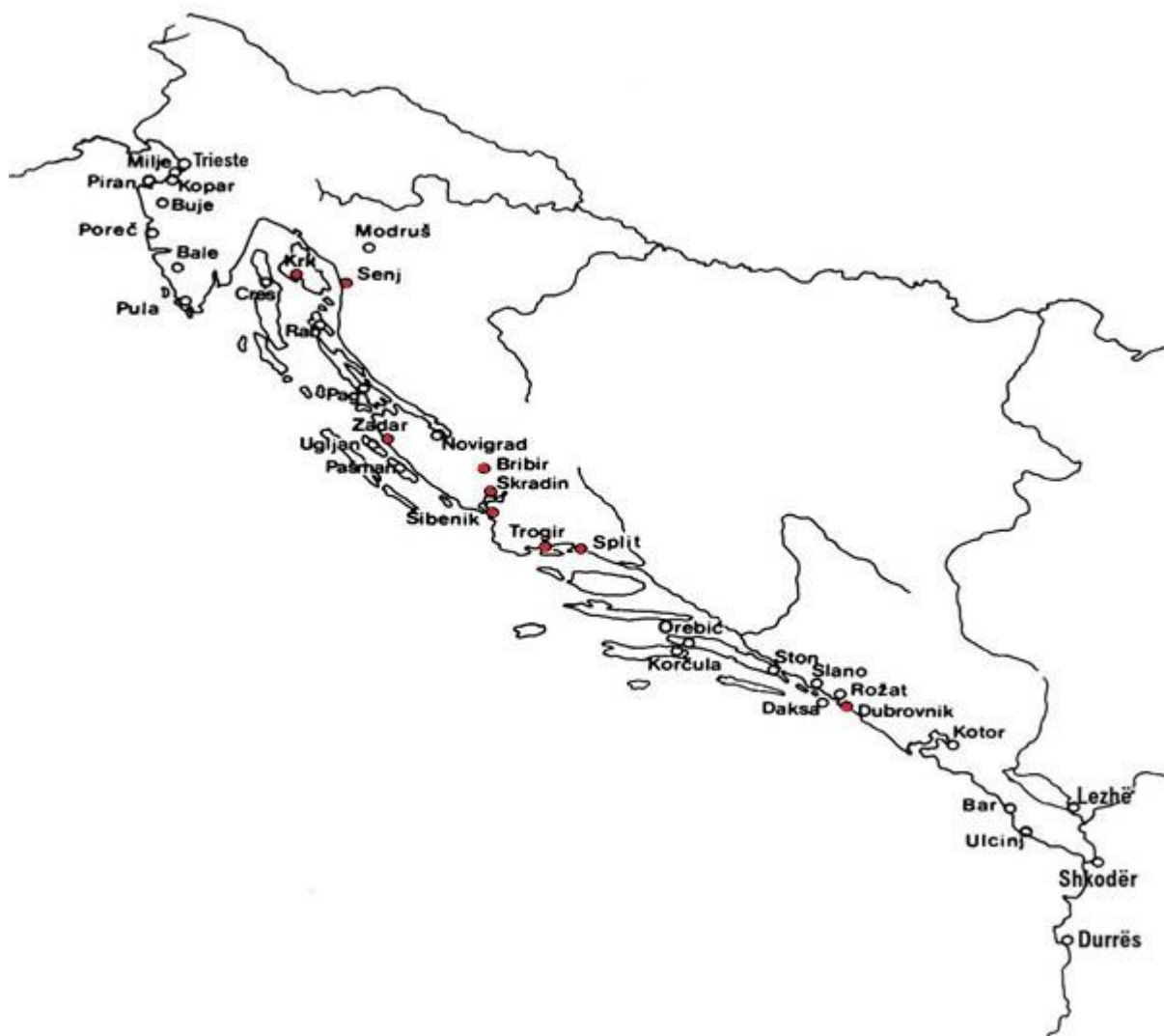
¹⁰⁵ Matanić, "Franjevački počeci u Zadru," p. 13.

Kopar, Trst, Milj, Bale).¹⁰⁶ This division of the Province to custodies did not mean that the communication between different custodies was either prevented or limited the communication between different parts of the Province and that the Province did not function as a unit. In 1398, the Province of Sclavonia officially changed its name to the Province of Dalmatia, since the name *Sancti Seraphini* was now given to the Province of Umbria, and the new protector of now Province of Dalmatia was none other than St Jerome.¹⁰⁷

The question arises how in fact the Province, divided into custodies, functioned in practice. I will argue that custodies did exist, and potentially had some significance, but the orientation of this research was more placed on the friaries in particular city communes. This was lead by the sources available. Therefore, on the map below, friaries that were presented in the following text are based on the territory of three custodies, more or less. Friaries that were taken into consideration were both those founded by the friars themselves and those that were the results of endowments of Croatian aristocratic families.

¹⁰⁶ Matanić, “Franjevački počeci u Zadru,” pp. 15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Žugaj, “Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca,” p. 20; Benyovsky, “Mendicants and Dalmatian towns,” p. 242.



Province of Slavonia/Dalmatia (1239-1398); indicated in red are the friaries which are the foci of the research

Adjusted by the author on the basis of Marijan Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija konventualaca (1217-1559)," p. 17

4.1. Historiographical debates on the Province of Dalmatia

There are several questions which have been in the focus of Croatian historiography on the Franciscans of Dalmatia. Most of them are still debatable and a consensus has not been reached among the historian friars of the Order. The first question concerns the arrival of the founder on the Dalmatian coast, or more precisely in Slavonia, which was the previous title of the Province. According to some authors, Francis not only came to our coast on one occasion, but there is also the tradition of a double, or better to say, second arrival of the saint in Dalmatia, the first time while departing to the Holy Land, and the second time after returning from it.

The story of the first (or for some the only) arrival of St Francis is reported both by Thomas of Celano¹⁰⁸ and Bonaventure.¹⁰⁹ This famous trip occurred in 1212, when Francis was traveling from Ancona to the Holy Land, but the unfavorable winds casted his boat to the coast of Sclavonia. Since the actual place of Francis' arrival is not written, many friaries have inherited traditions embedded that it was precisely their friary that was founded by the saint himself during this trip. Three friaries stood out in these claims: Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik, although most of the historiographers supported the traditions of Zadar or Dubrovnik.

Those who have been more inclined to believe it was Zadar were Franciscus Gonzaga,¹¹⁰ Donat Fabijanić,¹¹¹ Benvenut Rode,¹¹² Justin Velinić,¹¹³ and Atanazije Matanić,¹¹⁴ and Stanko Josip Škunca.¹¹⁵ This mainstream opinion holds grounds because of Zadar's geographical position. But Dubrovnik also had a substantial number of friar historians, mainly those from Dubrovnik, supporting the claim of Dubrovnik to have been visited by St Francis in 1212, such as Rastić,¹¹⁶ Dolci Slade, Tvrtković, Cekinić Kuzmić, Jurić¹¹⁷ and Tadić.¹¹⁸

There were suggestions for other friaries in the Province, for instance, Marijan Žugaj believes that Trogir was visited by St Francis, considering that two years later he sent his brothers there and since the actual friary was founded as the first one in Sclavonia, in 1214.¹¹⁹ Stanko Josip Škunca also names Trogir as a potential place for the arrival of St Francis (since it is by tradition the first founded friary), but alongside with Zadar, of course.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁸ Thomas of Celano, *Vita prima S. Francisci Asisiensis*, 1, c. XX, nr. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior Sancti Francisci*, c. IX, n. 5.

¹¹⁰ Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae*, pp. 433-435.

¹¹¹ Fabijanić, *Storia dei frati minori*, pp. 16-20; Fabijanić, *Convento piu antico dei frati minori in Dalmazia*. Prato: Raineri Guasti Editore Libraio, 1882.

¹¹² Benvenut Rode, "De antiquitate provinciae, O.F.M. nunc Dalmatiae," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908.): 505-512.

¹¹³ Justin Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru – Povijesni prikaz njegova života i djelatnosti" [The friary of St. Francis in Zadar. Historical review of its life and activity], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zadar: Samostan sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 29-30.

¹¹⁴ Atanazije Matanić, "Franjevački počeci u Zadru" [Franciscan beginnings in Zadar], in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, ed. by Velnić, Justin (Zadar: Samostan Sv. Frane, 1980), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁵ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Povijesni pregled franjevačke Provincije Sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri*, 2006, pp. 9-12.

¹¹⁶ J. Resti (Rastić), *Chronica Ragusina*, Scriptores II (Zagreb: JAZU, 1893), p. 82.

¹¹⁷ Franjo Jurić, *Je li sv. Franjo bio u Dubrovniku* [Was St Francis in Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Prava Crvena Hrvatska, 1914).

¹¹⁸ Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku* [Travelling of passengers in old Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Turistički savez u Dubrovniku, 1939), p. 180.

¹¹⁹ Marijan Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevaca konventualaca (1217-1559)" [The Croatian Province of Franciscans Conventuals (1217-1559)], in *Hrvatska provincija franjevaca konventualaca nekad i danas*, p. 11. Žugaj is making this assumption on two grounds: first, since the Province is called Sclavonia by Celano and Bonaventure, thus excluding Zadar and Dubrovnik, which were under the Venetian rule then, and secondly, according to information that the friary in Trogir was built by Desa, son of Luke in 1214, which can be seen from his last will from 1234, when he bequeathed all of his possessions to the friary.

¹²⁰ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Povijesni pregled franjevačke Provincije Sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri* (Pula – Zadar: Provincijalat franjevačke provincije u Dalmaciji i Istri, 2006), p. 7.

However, the trip and the shipwreck of St Francis in 1212 is not the only tradition connecting the saint with the Dalmatian coast and similar tradition was transmitted for St Francis' visit while returning from the Holy Land in 1219/1220, although the *vitae* do not mention that he set foot on the East Adriatic coast.

Another matter that concerned friar historians was the exact time of the foundation of the Province of Dalmatia. This question has been brought up by Gonzaga in his capital work *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis*,¹²¹ while Oktavijan Spader claimed that it was St Francis himself who founded the Province of Sclavonia/Dalmatia in 1212 and was its patron, which, in his opinion, is why the Province was given the name of St Seraph in the first place.¹²² Golubović's opinion is that the Province of Sclavonia could have been founded at the same time as the Province of Hungaria, that is, around 1228 (officially), but that it was probably between 1239 and 1248,¹²³ and this periodization is also supported by Milošević,¹²⁴ although both of them are speaking of a timeline and not a definitive year of the foundation of the Province. Fabijanić presumes that the Province was founded already in 1227, since in the letter of canonization of St Francis in 1228, Gregory IX addressed the letter to *episcopi Istriae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae*, and *ad conventum Iadrensem*. From this letter he concluded that it was sent to the provincialate in Zadar, which was the most respectable friary of the region, and it was presumed that it will be distributed to other bishops of the Province.¹²⁵ Personally, this letter does not seem like a sufficient proof that the Province was formed already then, since the presence of friars and the formation of friaries did not automatically mean the formation of a separate Province. Justin Velnić also hesitates between several possible years of the foundation of the Province. His *terminus a quo ad quem* is between 1223 and 1230, but most certainly before 1232 and that it is counted as one of the 32 provinces which were founded during the lifetime of St Francis and just after his death, so between 1227 and 1232.¹²⁶ Atanazije Matanić, according to my opinion, offered the most logical explanation about the original Province of Sclavonia and its foundation. He stated that in the beginnings, before 1226, their friaries were integral part of the province named Provincia Theutoniae, spreading across the territory of the former Roman Empire (from Denmark to Dalmatia), or later the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. He is also very reluctant to put into chronological sequence the foundation of the Province with the chronology of the foundation of the Province of Hungary, but with certainty he states that both provinces existed simultaneously in 1232.¹²⁷ I would like to

¹²¹ Franciscus Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* (Rome, 1581), pp. 430-437.

¹²² Oktavijan Spader, *Schema clarissimorum apostolicorum hominum Provinciae Dalmatiae* (Bononiae, 1695).

¹²³ Jeronim Golubović, "Series provinciarum ordinis fratrum minorum saec. XIII et XIV," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908): 13.

¹²⁴ Josip Milošević, "De provincia Selavonie," *Arhivum franciscanum historicum* 1 (1908): 236-237.

¹²⁵ Fabijanić, *Storia dei frati Minori in Dalmazia e Bossina*, vol. 1, p. 407.

¹²⁶ Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 135-136.

¹²⁷ Matanić, "Franjevački počeci u Zadru," p. 14.

underline the fact that speaking about the Province of Sclavonia prior to that year enters the sphere of speculation because there is no direct data about the actual foundation. It is certain that the friars were starting to organize themselves, however, the foundation itself was a gradual and slow process, which needed more time to develop. Be that as may, the situation changed by the end of the 14th century.

In 1398, the Province of Sclavonia of St Seraph changed its name to the Province of Dalmatia of St Jerome. This move was not done hastily or quickly, since it was first introduced in 1393 on the General Chapter in Cologne, when it was said that the name of St Seraph was to be given to the Seraph Province in Umbria and that the new protector of the Province was to be St Jerome. Furthermore, the Province was to be called Dalmatia. It seems that there was some resistance among the friars, but finally, on the 10th of April 1398, Pope Boniface IX made his final decision that the Province has to change its name, stating that it was due to “some understandable reasons” (*ob nonnullas causas rationabiles*).¹²⁸ This sentence alone had the historians asking what could have been these understandable reasons and why was it even necessary to change the name of the Province in the first place? And why was this “understandable” decision delayed for five years? Until now, when talking about these questions of the Province of Dalmatia, we have not seen any division among friar historians concerning various theories and opinions, but in this case, there are two currents on the question why this change occurred – a Conventual and an Observant one.

Conventual friars, such as Bernardin Polonijo and Marijan Žugaj, were more inclined to think the name of the Province was changed due to political motives and external influence. Polonijo discussed this in his unpublished work *Spicilegium de Franciscanis Conventualibus*, where he states that while the first signs of humanism began to show, in Dalmatia the Venetian influence was gaining strength, especially after the death of King Louis I of Hungary-Croatia in 1382, who was preventing the Venetian expansion and jurisdiction on Dalmatian lands.¹²⁹ Marijan Žugaj went further in length to explain the change of the name of the Province because of political pressures. He is trying to further this claim by the fact that Friar Nicholas, Minister Provincial of the time, who was opposed to the change of the name, was shortly removed from his position on the 14th of July 1402 by Pope Boniface IX and replaced by Friar Peter of Pag, who might have been a Venetian informant or more inclined towards Venice. However, since Nicholas was soon reinstalled in his position as a Minister Provincial, it seems that he has either stopped opposing this decision or that the reasons for his replacement were not of political nature. On the other side, provincials sometimes signed their names in public

¹²⁸ Konrad Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. VII (Romae 1904), 82, n. 249; *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, an. I, fasc. IV, p. 506.

¹²⁹ Bernardin Polonijo, *Spicilegium de Franciscanis Conventualibus juxta Orientale Adriae fretum*, I., Archive of the Province in Zagreb, box 10, 33-34; Ljudevit Maračić, *Konventualni franjevci u Hrvata. Arhivski prinosi i pabirci* [Conventual Franciscans in Croatia. Archival contributions and remains] (Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost-Hrvatska Provincija Sv. Jeronima Franjevac konventualaca, 2021), pp. 28-29.

documents as *minister Provinciae Albaniae, Dalmatiae et Ystriae*, which would mean that they were not keen on using the name Dalmatia alone.¹³⁰ However, although this theory has some bearing, meaning that the change did not go smoothly and that there were those who opposed it, it has a flaw in assuming the impact of the Venetian influence at the end of the 14th century. Namely, from the mid-century, and even at the end of the 14th century, Venice had not yet been governing Dalmatia. The sale and purchase of Dalmatia to Venice by Ladislas of Naples occurred much later, in 1409, and it is difficult to believe that Venetians and their political engagement in Dalmatia was a contributing factor to their change of the name in 1398.¹³¹

On the other hand, Observant friars, such as Atanazije Matanić and Donat Fabijanić, look for internal reasons for the change of the name of the Province, which was, according to them, the consequence of inter-Franciscan attempts of clearing out relations on Croatian lands. Matanić sees the change of the name of the Province as the final division of the borders between and older-founded Province of Sclavonia and much newer Vicariate of Bosnia, which founded new friaries within the borders of the Province of Sclavonia from the mid-14th century: Ston on the Island of Pelješac (1347), on the Island Pašman and Badija near the Island Korčula (both in 1392), Rožat or Rijeka near Dubrovnik (1393), Slano and on the Island Ugljan (both in 1400). Matanić was not sure why the Province changed their protector to St Jerome but presumed that it was probably because he was a “domestic” saint and therefore more acceptable, since he has been attributed to the origin of Glagolitic script and the beginning of Croatian literacy, and his cult in general was more widespread among Franciscans in general in this period. However, he also concludes that this change of the name cannot be considered as a real division, which will come later, but maybe just a glimpse of discord in the life of the Franciscan Order.¹³² On the basis of the recent research conducted by Ines Ivić it is quite clear that first and foremost, the choice of St Seraph as first saint protector of the province is connected with the iconography and associates him with St Francis himself (both as regards stigmata, *de facto* becoming *alter Christus*). Furthermore, she agrees with the previous scholarship, but develops the story further because the choice of St Jerome can be also seen in preferences of inhabitants of Dalmatia and the Franciscan order in general in promoting the saint.¹³³ One cannot dispute the relevance of St Jerome for Croatia, even more so since the Croatian Province of the Third Order of Franciscans (Glagolitic) took St Jerome as their patron, although unofficially. This happened before

¹³⁰ Žugaj, *Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217.-1559.)*, pp. 20-21.

¹³¹ Maračić, *Konventualni franjevci u Hrvata*, pp. 30-31.

¹³² Atanazije Matanić, “Od “Provincije Sklavonije” sv. Serafina do “Provincije Dalmacije” sv. Jeronima god. 1393.” [From the Province of Sclavonia of St Seraph to the Province of Dalmatia of St Jerome], in: *Pod zaštitom svetoga Jeronima*, ed. by Josip Sopta – Cvito Fisković (Dubrovnik: Provincijalat Franjevačke provincije Sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri, 1999), pp. 19-26.

¹³³ Ines Ivić, *The Birth of a National Saint: The Cult of Saint Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia*, doctoral thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2020).

the official change of the name of the Province of Sclavonia and also before the official establishment of the Third Order, but as has been shown, this inclination was visible not in official change yet in visual representation. In this case we are talking about the usage of St Jerome on their seal, presumably already in the course of the 14th century.¹³⁴

4.2. Concise Overview of Political Events of 14th-century Dalmatia

Social and political circumstances caused the emergence and the development of the Mendicant Orders as a response to negative occurrences within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, causing the return to the roots of the true faith by advocating true values of Christ and voluntary poverty. At the same time, due to the influx of more and more people into the cities by the colonization processes, the need for new convents arose. Although Franciscans would initially be situated just outside the cities on the travel routes, very soon they were relocated and were no longer isolated, but needed to be inside the cities, making them an urban phenomenon.¹³⁵ This is particularly true for the territories of the Angevin kingdoms, where friaries were pushed within the city walls.

The 14th century is marked in the history of Dalmatia as one of the most turbulent and decisive periods in the Middle Ages caused by political circumstances. The century could be divided into two periods: the period of the kindred of Bribir and Venice until the Treaty of Zadar in 1358, and the period of the Angevin integration until the beginning of the 15th century. In the beginning of the century, the family of Šubići of Bribir, one of the most powerful families in the Kingdom, were dominating the political scene and they played an important role in the arrival of Charles I (Caroberto) on the throne of Hungary. When the Angevins began their rule in the Kingdom, the family kept the prerogatives of the royal authority, for instance, Ban Paul Šubić was in control of Zadar and had the power to name city count and rectors.¹³⁶ In general, Zadar had and still has a very preferable geographical position in the middle of the Eastern Adriatic coast, being one of the main naval ports and the intersection of road from Western Europe and Venice to Byzantium and Levant, and even merchant roads to Croatia and Bosnia led through Zadar. Moreover, all political actors saw it as such, the kings of Hungary, the doges of Venice and various Croatian noblemen.¹³⁷

In the first decade of the 14th century, until the death of Paul I (1312), the authority of the Šubići in Dalmatia, besides Zadar and Dubrovnik under Venetian rule, was so strong that it sidelined the dynastic change and the arrival of the Angevins on the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.

¹³⁴ Ljudevit Maračić thus names this part in his book as under the auspice of St Jerome. Cf. *Konventualni franjevci u Hrvata. Arhivski prinosi i pabirci*, pp. 37-39.

¹³⁵ Robson, *Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁶ Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir. An Example of the Croatian Noble Kindred*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Budapest: Central European University 2000), pp.70-75; pp. 77-80.

¹³⁷ Klaić – Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 149-184.

The first decades of the rule of Charles I were marked with his attempts to establish and maintain the royal authority in Dalmatian cities, which would change their loyalty back and forth between the king and Venice. The decline of the power of the Šubići after Paul's death was used by Charles I to remove them as a threat to his authority and to establish his reign completely in the whole territory. In the decade after the defeat of Mladen at Blizna in 1322, the kindred's power declined even more and its influence in Dalmatia weakened, and this enabled Venice to assert itself even more and get a hold of the cities in the Eastern Adriatic coast.¹³⁸ The consequence of the disputes in the communes, and feudal and royal struggles for power was that Venice spread its authority on several communes in Dalmatia: Šibenik and Trogir in 1322, Split in 1327 and Nin in 1329. From the second quarter of the 14th century, Venice ruled over all the Dalmatian cities and islands, from Kvarner to Dubrovnik, but in general, the development of the communal societies was not stalled, and the contracts with Zadar, Trogir, Šibenik, and Split, signed in different times, did not contain any economic restrictions.¹³⁹

The situation changes in the times of King Louis I, whose politics, as opposed to his predecessor, was interested in a better control of the Adriatic coast as the route towards south Italy, on which Louis claimed hereditary rights. Encouraged by this reinforced interest, inhabitants of Zadar tried again to overthrow the Venetian rule in 1345, but the king's attempt to crush the Venetian siege ended with a catastrophic defeat in 1346.¹⁴⁰ However, this changed the attitude of Venice towards Dalmatian cities, especially Zadar, and their economy was deteriorated, making it subordinated. After the renewed war, the king's military victory was secured by the treaty of Zadar in 1358. After that, the rule of Venice was overthrown from the Eastern Adriatic, which left an open space for the Angevin dynasty to attempt the integration of the territory, which led to the golden era for Dalmatian cities in their administrative, political and social role in the Kingdom.¹⁴¹

Speaking about Dubrovnik in this period, it was also liberated from Venice alongside most of the Dalmatian coast and put under Angevin rule. Besides small tributes and contributions of naval forces when it would be needed, Dubrovnik did not have many restrictions under the Angevins and enjoyed immense autonomy. In Dubrovnik the rector was a local patrician, and their trade was free from almost any interference from Hungary, and these fifty years until the beginning of the 15th century are Dubrovnik's maritime golden years. This state of matter will continue for the next 129 years, where Dubrovnik remained formally under Hungarian rule but in practice they were depending

¹³⁸ Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.)" [The Šubići of Bribir until the loss of hereditary honor of ban], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22 (2004): 1-26.

¹³⁹ Tomislav Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću" [The communal societies in Dalmatia in the XIV century], *Historijski zbornik* 33-34 (1980-1981) 1: 139.

¹⁴⁰ Miroslav Kurelac – Damir Karbić, "Ljetopis "Obsidionis Iadrensis libri duo", njegovo historiografsko i povijesno značenje," in *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 3-20.

¹⁴¹ Klaić – Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 297-322, 325-337.

on Ottomans for its economic prosperity, since in 1397 they signed the treaty with Ottomans to secure free trade in the Balkans.¹⁴² However, it should be said that even conflicts and difficulties did not prevent the Dalmatian cities and Dubrovnik from maintaining traveling ties in continuity, because, through Dalmatia, Ragusan ships sailed to Venice and back, and the cities of Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar, and others attracted Ragusan merchants. Furthermore, many inhabitants of these cities not only visited Dubrovnik but also settled there permanently.¹⁴³

Returning to the Angevin integration of Dalmatia, by the political merger of the coastal and the continental part of the Croatian lands, Dalmatian towns gained the prerequisite for the economic and social development. This was not regressed or slowed down even by the economic politics of Venice or fiscal demands of the Angevins. The sudden economic and social development of the cities in Dalmatia was strengthened over time and not even the death of Louis in 1382 could break the fruitful growth of the communal societies. This period of prosperity lasted until the end of the 14th century, that is, until the arrival of Sigismund of Luxembourg on the throne in Hungary,¹⁴⁴ resulting in the sale of Dalmatia in 1409 by Ladislav of Naples, King Claimant. However, despite all this, the consequences of the Angevin integration maintained a strong continuity until the reestablishment of the Venetian rule in the Eastern Adriatic in 1409.¹⁴⁵

In general, the second half of the 14th century was marked as the period of general prosperity in Dalmatian cities, and it will be argued that the Franciscan Order had a crucial part in this, especially after the expulsion of Venice from the Dalmatian cities. Namely, the treaty of Zadar was signed in the sacristy of the church of St Francis, and the place of such a solemn act was not chosen randomly, but with the purpose, which will be further discussed to present the friars as the extended hand of the royal court.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Oleh Havrylyshyn – Nora Srzentić, *Institutions Always “Mattered”: Explaining Prosperity in Mediaeval Ragusa (Dubrovnik)* (London-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 53. In the first half of the 14th century, Dubrovnik had conflicts with Serbian rulers, from the second half of the 13th century to first several decades of the 14th century, but in the latter, Dubrovnik managed, with the help of Venice, to preserve their independence. The situation with Serbia changed for the better under the rule of Stephen Dušan (Beriša Kekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries: A City Between East and West* (USA: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 24-25).

¹⁴³ Kekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁴ Klaić – Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 350-370; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A history of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London – New York: IB Tauris, 2001); *Vjekoslav Klaić, Povjest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća*, vol. II/1-2 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901).

¹⁴⁵ Raukar, “Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću,” 140. For more see: Mladen Ančić, “Od tradicije “sedam pobuna” do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika. Razvojna putanja Zadra u prvome desetljeću 15. stoljeća,” *Povijesni prilozi* 28 (2009) 37: 43-96.

¹⁴⁶ In 2022, the volume on the topic of the Treaty of Zadar was published titled *Zadarski mir: Prekretnica Anžuvinskog doba*, ed. by Mladen Ančić – Antun Nekić, which contains multiple articles dealing the different aspects of the Angevin period in Croatia.

4.3. Franciscans' topography within the city communes in Dalmatia

Mendicant Orders, in this case Franciscans and Dominicans, as an urban phenomenon, from the 13th century onwards, shaped the landscape of each city where they resided and influenced their urban development. Although the Franciscans were initially focusing on preaching on the road, meaning they were constantly travelling without fortifying themselves in one place, the spread of the Order showed that this type of life was not sustainable. This led to the building of the friaries but still following a similar principle of being “on the road”, meaning outside city walls, but at the same time near towns, since they were performing their activities there. However, this position at the crossroads had its perils and potential dangers and soon the friaries were most likely being relocated into the suburban areas of towns, just right next to the city gates. After the death of St Francis, the friaries were in the process of building in majority of larger cities in Europe. The building was endorsed by the rulers or counts, depending on the context, or even feudal lords, by donating lands and large sums of money, although nonetheless, some friaries would be built outside of town and city walls. In the mid-13th century, the bishops were offering the friars already finished churches within cities, which belonged to other Orders (mostly Benedictines) or other ecclesiastical institutions, at least in Dalmatian context, as will be argued below.¹⁴⁷

Franciscans will soon take over important functions within the religious milieu, performing liturgical services and by the end of the 13th century, the Order was so widespread that there were not many cities in Europe where they were not present. In the beginning of the 14th century, friars finished their first phase of development, and they will fortify themselves within the cities. During difficult times, such as the Great Plague 1348-1352, Franciscans, as well as most of the population in Europe, were deeply affected by the loss of population, but their care for the sick and those in need helped friars gain sympathy and love within their communities and civil authorities, and during the second half of the century, the building of the Franciscan friaries continued, especially in the Western parts of Europe. However, although the building of the friaries was initially influenced by external factors, such as diseases or general urbanization of Europe, from the second half of the 15th century the building of friaries mainly stemming from their internal turbulence, that is, the conflict between the Conventuals and Observants, which led to further building of the friaries, each group on its own. Despite this, both Conventual and Observant friars had difficulties acquiring a minimum number of friaries to form a separate province or at least a custody, which further complicated the organization of the Order.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Anđelko Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog prostora* [The role of the Franciscan friaries in the urbanization of the territory of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Institut za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1990), pp. 32-33.

¹⁴⁸ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog prostora*, p. 33.

Speaking about Franciscan influence upon the spatial organization of the cities and the neighboring areas, it was already established that friars were first located in the suburban areas of towns, which had a consequence of further forming the space surrounding it. Since they were occupying unshaped and unspecified urban areas, their friaries, with their regular geometric shape established further organization and building the area. According to them, the network of streets and roads will be planned in advance and even the size of insula – the friary will occupy a space of one or four city insulas, depending on its size. Since the Franciscan churches were frequently visited by people who wanted to hear them preaching, it will be necessary to form the expansion of city roads for easier communication between friars and their public. Friars were usually located next to the city gates, and the word for the gates was also a synonym for the city quarter, so it was not only topographical, but a legal term, which meant that its inhabitants had a legal obligation to guard the gates and the wall of the city. City gates were managed by the city authorities, and they were entrusted to individuals or groups which were equipped to guard it, and they chose the Franciscans, giving their friaries also a defensive character. The friaries being next to the city gates meant that they were most likely located at the beginning of the most frequently traveled road in the city (for instance Dubrovnik, Rab, Krk), and the monumental volume of the friaries would give a representative character to the city itself.¹⁴⁹

This was no different in the cities of Dalmatia during this period. However, before being situated in the city, friars took positions outside of cities in neighboring areas, mostly near the routes, which was practical since they encountered many different types of people and could focus mainly on their preaching activities. Similar circumstances occurred also with friars in Dalmatian cities.

4.3.1. Friars in Zadar and their friary

Whether St Francis arrived in Zadar during his lifetime is of less importance, but the Franciscan Order established itself very early on in the town and soon established social networks which rooted the friars in the contemporary urban society. The church was erected next to the small church of St Jerome on the west side of the Zaratine peninsula, and the friary itself was built on the part of the garden which belonged to the Benedictine nuns. In fact, not only did the nuns donate that part of the garden to friars for building their friary, but they also crossed from the Benedictine Order to the Order of Poor Clares eventually with the convent of St Nicholas.¹⁵⁰ The friars were also instructed to provide four friars to perform the divine service in the convent and the church of Poor

¹⁴⁹ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁵⁰ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 31. CD-S I, doc. 98, p. 135.

Clares, which started in 1259,¹⁵¹ but was finally fulfilled only in 1262.¹⁵² Franciscans were acting as the protectors of the convent of St Nicholas and were entrusted with their management¹⁵³ which is not surprising since they belonged to the same Order and were located next to each other.

The theory of the Zadar friary being the place of Francis' arrival is established further by the legend of the healing of a Benedictine nun from the convent of St Nicholas, the story that is brought by Fabijanić. When St Francis got shipwrecked in Dalmatia, while trying to find a quiet place for prayer, he took shelter in the small church of St Jerome. While he was praying, he got called by the Benedictine sisters to visit them because one sister, who was bedbound and had not moved from her bed for three years, wanted to see this strange holy passenger. Francis arrived in their convent, prayed and preached, and the nun healed and could walk as if she was never sick at all. As an act of gratitude for this miraculous healing, the nuns gifted to friars in Zadar a part of the garden from the south side of their convent, next to the little church of St Jerome. On this spot the friars will build their friary, and the Benedictine nuns will soon take the rule of St Clare.¹⁵⁴ The garden of the Benedictines nuns of St Nicholas in the legend was truly given to the Franciscans as a donation where they can build their friary and there is an actual document from 1249 when Dabrica, the abbess of the convent of St Nicholas of Zadar, with the permission of the Archbishop Lawrence of Zadar, donated a garden to friars of Zadar.¹⁵⁵ This documents dates from the later period, but shows that the connection between the convent of St Nicholas and the friary of St Francis in Zadar was not accidental and that it had grounds on previous events.

Speaking about the exact year of the arrival of Franciscans in Zadar, there are two documents which shed some light on the times when the friary was officially founded in Zadar. Both documents are dated from the year 1228. In the first document the Archbishop Guncel of Split was writing about the obligation to receive the verdict of the Friar Gvarin and his fellow friars considering the conflict with the chapter in Split, which was done in presence of witnesses, among which there were the two Franciscans named Nicholas and Jakomin. Since this document is not dated, its time of writing is reconstructed by the events which occurred during the conflict of Guncel and the chapter in Split, and therefore, this information should be used with caution. Moreover, it was only noted that the friars Nicholas and Jakonim were present, which did not necessarily mean that the friary in Zadar was

¹⁵¹ CD V, doc. 640, p. 131.

¹⁵² CD V, doc. 723, pp. 219-220.

¹⁵³ CD V, doc. 768, pp. 270-272; CD VII, doc. 236; pp. 268-273; CD VII, doc. 238, pp. 275-277; CD VII, doc. 259, pp. 299-300; ASSF, Perg. 80; ASSF, Perg. 88.

¹⁵⁴ Fabijanić, *Convento il piu antico*, p. 20; Velnić, "Samostan Sv. Frane," p. 31, Škunca, *Povijesni pregled franjevačke provincije*, p. 9. Škunca says that this legend is very old, and it was found in the Venetian archive in the collection of the Benedictine nuns and Poor Clares of St Nicholas in Zadar by Father Vignali. These notes came into possession of Father G. A. Bomman (*Storia civile ed ecclesiastica della Dalmazia, Croazia e Bosna*, Venezia, 1775), t. I, lib. 6), who then gave it to Fabijanić.

¹⁵⁵ CD-S I, doc. 98, p. 135.

founded.¹⁵⁶ However, the second document gives a more credible confirmation of the presence of friars in Zadar. The document in question is the bull of the Pope Gregory IX from 1228, in which he proclaimed Francis as a saint and established the 4th of October as his holiday. The key information concerning this bull is that it was directed to the archbishops and bishops in Istria, Dalmatia and Slavonia, and that it was sent *Ad conventum Jadertinum*.¹⁵⁷ Although technically these two documents are proving that the friary did perform its activities during these years, it could be further concluded that the friary could have been founded even during the life of St Francis.¹⁵⁸ Since one thing is the date of the foundation and the date of the building is quite another, the year of the building of the friary in Zadar is considered to be 1249, when the friars received the said garden from the Benedictine nuns. The construction on the friary was a long process and during the years there were many upgrades and renovations to it even after the 15th century, so it is difficult to establish the exact date of finishing all the constructions and reconstructions.¹⁵⁹

Spatial organization of the friaries within the urban setting was of the utmost importance for both friars and the city community. The friary in Zadar held an important position in the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia, not only by being one of the earliest founded friaries in the Province, but also as a significant factor in shaping of space in the city and lives of its inhabitants. In general, the friary in Zadar is registered as a monument of the Croatian national culture, and it was a constitutional part of the city. As was mentioned before while talking about the legends and traditions on St Francis' potential arrival to Zadar, the story goes that the saint took shelter on the territory of Zadar in the little hospice of St Anthony the abbot, not far away from the small church of St Jerome in the western part of the city, which was at that time still a predominantly deserted and unorganized space intended for fishing activities. This place was considered as the first place of habitation for friars in Zadar, after the inhabitants donated several smaller houses. From this primary core, the friary grew into the shape that remains until today, but it was a very long and gradual process consisting of multiple stages of construction, which were done according to circumstances and needs of the city. First expansion of the friary started around the time when the Franciscan type of a friary was established and officially legalized in 1260. The planning of the expansion started before with the donation of the garden by the Benedictine nuns of St Nicholas. Although the plan of the construction was not preserved, by the finished product it is evident that the construction was done according to premade plans which had to include immediate construction of the friary, as well as future building of the church which was

¹⁵⁶ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 32. The charter is published in: CD III, doc. 268, p. 301.

¹⁵⁷ Original copy of the charters is preserved until today in: ASSF, Perg. 3; "Inventar pergamena sv. Frane u Zadru," p. 160. It was published by Fabijanić (*Storia*, vol. 1, doc. 1, pp. 407-408). See also: Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru," p. 32.

¹⁵⁸ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru," p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru," p. 37.

being built at the same time. The limited space for building in the town was a decisive factor on the plans of the final shape, for instance, the width was too narrow and disproportional when compared to its length. The final shape of the friary was probably around the end of the 15th, or even middle of the 16th century, since friars would occasionally buy or receive houses for the expansion until this period, which resulted in increase of the length of cloister and connecting it with the church in one complex.¹⁶⁰

This meant that as the friars grew stronger and gained more support from the inhabitants in the city, their needs also grew greater, and they needed to expand their living space and space for activities. The initial environment or place of habitation for friars was a seacoast on the edge of the town, low and secluded, where the fishermen would dry their nets and fix their ships, and which had an open view on the sea and nearby islands from its opposite side. This environment was the foundation on which the Franciscans in Zadar were starting their activities and life in the town. In a much later period, in the 16th century, the environment changed due to historical circumstances, and the city was fortified due to their fear of the Ottoman Empire. By building a *bedem* next to the friary, the isolation and solitude was further emphasized.¹⁶¹

The emergence of the gothic style in the architecture of Zadar occurred already in the second half of the 13th century, which is best observed in the friaries of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans alike.¹⁶² The exact time of the building is not known; however, it is assumed that the building of composite parts, together with the cloister happened during that period. Most probably, the church was built before the consecration, so that the service could have been held there regularly. The inscription in stone, on the right side of the arch in the choir reads the date of 13th of October 1280. Also, it is assumed that this is the first church done in Gothic style in Dalmatia; styled in simple, preacher style and rectangular in shape with a square apse. The one-nave space is covered with a wooden roof structure with a cross-ribbed vault and Gothic-style windows on the facade and side walls.¹⁶³ The friary was located southwest of the church and has survived to this day, of course, with certain modifications over the centuries.¹⁶⁴

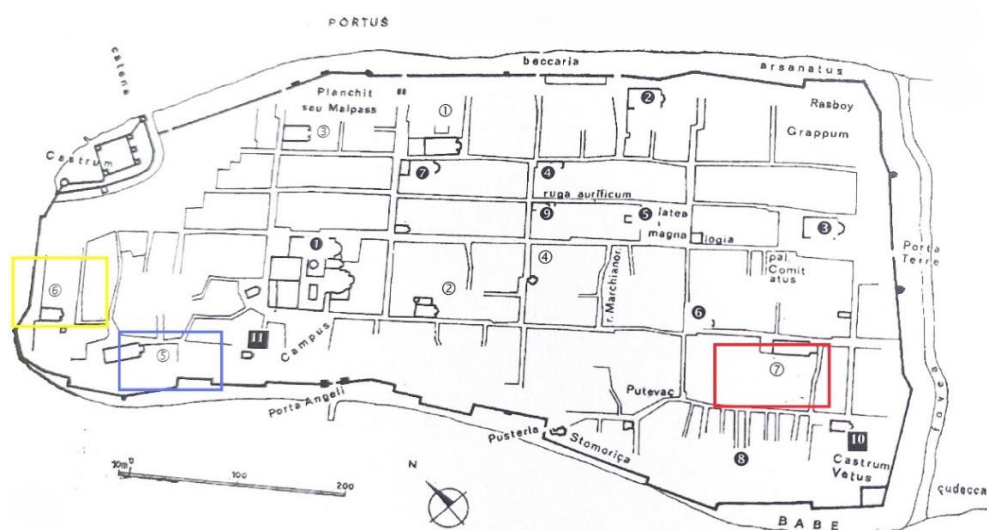
¹⁶⁰ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru," pp. 35-37.

¹⁶¹ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru," pp. 45-47.

¹⁶² Ivo Petricoli, "Lik Zadra u srednjem vijeku," *Radovi instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 11-12 (1965): 152.

¹⁶³ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," pp. 47-49; Emil Hilje, *Gotičko slikarstvo u Zadru* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1999.), pp. 13-14.

¹⁶⁴ Petricoli, "Lik Zadra," p. 167.



Position of ecclesiastical buildings in late medieval Zadar – St Francis (blue), St Dominic (red) and St Clare (yellow) (taken from Zoran Ladić, *Last Will*, p. 434)

For better contextualization of the space and community in Zadar, there should be a brief overview of history and activities of other mendicant orders, when it is possible, of course. The arrival of the Dominican Order in Zadar occurred very early on, only twelve years after the confirmation of their Rule by Pope Honorius III, due to invitation of archbishop of Zadar, Dominic Franco. Friars were first assigned a land in 1244 by the city count of Zadar, Leonardo Quirin, next to the church of St Thomas (Silvester) to build their friary outside the city walls, alongside some houses of certain inhabitants of Zadar. However, this location was deemed unfit, and this resulted in an intervention of the pope himself. Pope Innocent IV wrote a letter to Archbishop Lawrence in 1245, saying that the Dominicans do not have a friary in the city. On the same day, Innocent IV wrote to the abbot of St Damian in Zadar demanding that the abbot of St Cosmas and Damian in Tkon on the island Ugljan gives refuge to the Dominicans from Zadar.¹⁶⁵ What in fact happened, remains unclear.

However, in 1248, the abbot of the Benedictine Order of St Platon donated, with the permission of Lawrence, the archbishop of Zadar, the church of St Plato with the friary and a garden for the settlement of Dominicans. Similar situation occurred with the Franciscans, when the location within the city walls was unknown, but in their case, the (later) former Benedictine nuns only donated

¹⁶⁵ Zoran Ladić, "Dominikanci i stanovnici zadarske komune u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku" [Dominicans and the inhabitants of the Zadar commune in the high and late middle ages], in *Dominikanci na hrvatskim prostorima 1221.-2021.*, ed. by Ana Biočić – Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina / Katolički bogoslovni fakultet u Zagrebu, 2024), pp. 135-136.

them a garden where they would build their own friary. Later these nuns chose to follow the rule of St Claire and became Poor Clares. Now, returning to the Dominicans, they surely accepted the offer from the Benedictine nuns and resided within the city walls, on the offered grounds from then onwards. In 1267, the building of new church of St Dominic (St Plato) and friary began and lasted until 1280. After the friary of St Dominic was fully built, the Dominican Friars decided to renovate and expand the old friary of St Plato, finishing it in 1302.¹⁶⁶ This all suggests the similarities and differences in development of mendicants within the city walls of Zadar, due to circumstantial and spatial complexity, as is visible from the map above, keeping the Friars Minor and Poor Clares actually in vicinity of one another, grouped alongside the city walls. Dominicans on the other hand were on the eastern side along the same city walls.

4.3.2. Friars in Trogir and their friary

In Trogir, the Franciscans had several relocations due to various reasons. In the beginning, they were residing in the suburban area outside the city, which followed the general rule in the Order during its beginnings, especially considering the primary nature of the Order at that time. The reason why friars first took shelter in the suburban area purely due to practical reasons, such as land being cheaper in this area than within the city walls. Furthermore, in this case (and sometimes others), friars would obtain land for the friary from the testaments of the inhabitants of the cities and therefore, the position of the land was conditioned by this, and friars did not have influence over it. In general, first signs of Franciscan presence in Trogir originate from 1224, when they were given permission by the Bishop Treguan to inhabit the territory of the bishopric of Trogir, but the first friary was established from the bequests of the testament of Desa of Luke from the kindred LuciĆ in 1234. Unfortunately, this location was too far from the city and deemed uncomfortable by friars, which ultimately led to the relocation of friars to a different land more suited for them.¹⁶⁷

Relocation was instructed by the pope in 1264 and aided by the bishop of Trogir Columban, who originally belonged to the Franciscan Order. Having a bishop or archbishop who primarily originated from the Franciscan Order would usually work in their favor, although it is not said that they were discriminated by other, non-Franciscan (arch)bishops. Anyways, Bishop Kolumban sold everything from the hereditary estates given to friars by Desa and in 1265 and bought two lands with shack hut near the lands of Nicholas of Albertini and Nocent of Martin and laid foundations for the Franciscan church there. However, in this suburban area, the Franciscans came into conflict with the

¹⁶⁶ Ladić, "Dominikanci i stanovnici zadarske komune u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku," pp. 136; 140.

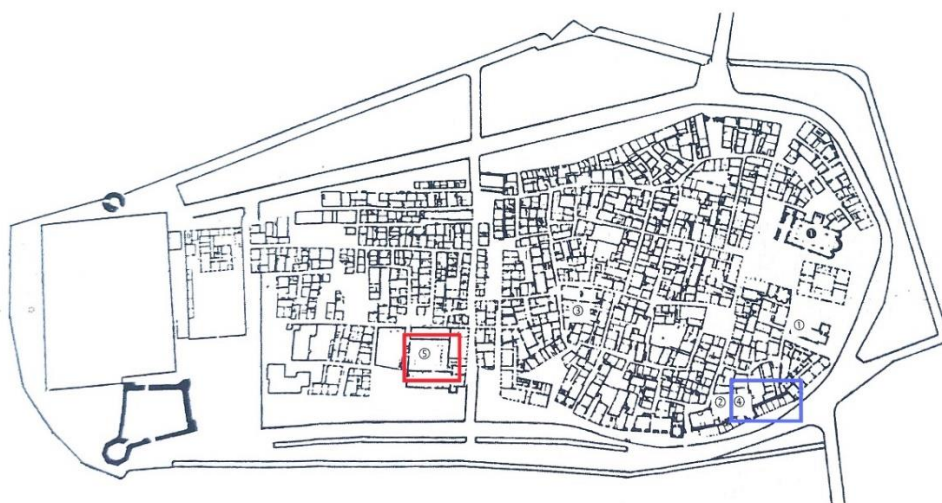
¹⁶⁷ Irena Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir: space and society] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), pp. 227-228.

Dominicans from Split over the ownership of the land and the chapel consecrated to St Francis, from which the Dominicans claimed that the permission was given to them by the previous pope Urban IV. In the end, the chapel and land were handed over to the Dominicans and they were given land for the friary in 1266 on the land on which the graveyard was located, next to the chapel of St Francis, public road and the palace of canon Nocent of Martin. This meant that the Franciscans had to move again, and it took several years to sell previous lands and buy a new one, which was done by the bishop.¹⁶⁸

In 1266, the procurator of the friars, Luke, son of Matt from the kindred LuciĆ bought the garden from the patrons of the church of St George, which was located next to the said church on the coast and close to bridge leading to the town and the building of the new friary began in 1271. The friars remained in this location until 1315, when the friary was torn down by the community due to their fear that Ban Mladen II will use it as his stronghold during his potential attack on Trogir, which in the end never happened, but left friars again without a place to live. Now the new location was to be inside of the city, and it was decided that the friars should relocate into the benedictine convent of St John the Baptiste for the period of twenty years, and Benedictines were temporarily relocated into the female convent of St Nicholas. In 1318, the Franciscans were paid three thousand pounds for the renovation of their friary and later they were given the female Benedictine convent of St Peter, where they remained during the 14th century. Although friars wanted to stay permanently here within the city, they did not acquire concession from the Pope John XX, and their previous friary and since the church on mainland was destroyed by gubernator Camillo Orsini in 1420, they were assigned a new place in 1430 on the island of Čiovo. However, the planning and building of their friaries, and well as their previous properties, for which there are indications that it remained in friar's possession, were under the control of Venice after it took authority over Trogir in 1420, and in 1432, the guardians and priors had to list their properties and present annual reports to the count.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, pp. 228-230.

¹⁶⁹ Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, pp. 231-233.



Position of ecclesiastical buildings in late medieval Trogir – Franciscans (blue) and Dominicans (red) (taken from Zoran Ladić, *Last Will*, p. 435)

The Dominicans obtained a land in the suburban part of Trogir at the expense of the Franciscans, and after the sale was finalized, the building of a complex began. The church was built on the land first belonging to Nicholas Albertini, but since this was not enough space for building a complex, more land was needed. Therefore, the prior of the friary, Friar Michael of Durrës, bought three wooden houses belonging to the kindred Lucić in neighboring area in 1304. The building of the church of St Dominic was at the end of the 13th century, but more work was needed, and it was expanded towards the west in the beginning of the 14th century, when the cloister was built. Most of the bequests given to Dominicans served for improvement and upgrade of the friary and the church. The space in front of the church developed into the city square, on which there is information that even earlier, that is, in the 13th century, the inhabitants would gather to solve legal issues or for leisure.¹⁷⁰

4.3.3. Friars in Dubrovnik and their friary

From its very beginnings, the Franciscan order spread very quickly to the Province of Dalmatia and continued its fruitful activity, and Dubrovnik, due to its geographical position, history and administration, nurtured a special bond and affection towards the Mendicant orders, especially

¹⁷⁰ It is interesting to mention that during the Venetian rule in the 15th century the friary was further upgraded, of instance, the addition of a new cloister on the north side. Cf. Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, pp. 235-236.

the Franciscans.¹⁷¹ The central question of historians, both domestic and foreign, was to identify which towns did St. Francis visit during his lifetime, because these places later in history (and imagery) had enormous significance in the Franciscan tradition. The idea that Dubrovnik was a friary, that is, a commune that Francis visited in 1212, was supported by a significant number of historians.¹⁷² There are also two stories about St Francis during his visit to Dubrovnik. The first concerns his prophecy about the future of the city, which took place during a ceremony in his honor. The nobles asked Francis about the future of the city regarding the influence of the Moon, to which he replied that the future of the city depends on its continued loyalty to the Holy Catholic Church. The second story tells about Francis' miraculous healing of a young man during the grape harvest. A young man named Giraldo was mortally wounded when a stone fell on him and crushed him in a mill press. Giraldo's father turned to Francis in spirit and the young man was miraculously brought back to life.¹⁷³ It should be emphasized that the story about the prophecy refers to Francis' arrival in Dubrovnik in 1212, while the story about the young man is not dated. Some say that this also happened when Francis was in Dubrovnik, and some say that after Francis' canonization, and due to the somewhat unclear wording of the story, the healing could have been performed during Francis' life, but also after his death.¹⁷⁴ There is also a tradition about Francis' second arrival in Dubrovnik, when he was returning from the Holy Land in 1219/1220. Although this tradition is not supported by the biographers of St Francis, it derives from the assumptions about his itinerary and usual sea routes, claiming there is a possibility that Franjo passed through Dalmatia and that there was certainly a need to stop in one of the communes along the way. Dolci and Farlati were among those who advocated this theory,¹⁷⁵ and Lukarić dated the year incorrectly and claimed that his arrival was in 1223, not 1219/1220.¹⁷⁶ Lukarić also claimed that the patriciate, since Francis was already known at that time, probably made a festive welcome for him and gave him gifts, and the rest of the Franciscan historiographers of Dubrovnik believe that this visit is connected with the beginnings of the Franciscan presence in Dubrovnik.¹⁷⁷ According to tradition, Francis stayed in a cabin between the small church of St Margaret and St Stephen. According to Dolci, a stone inscription was found near

¹⁷¹ More on the history of the Franciscan Order in Dubrovnik, see: Atanazije J. Matanić, "Franjevački Dubrovnik u svom povijesnom presijeku," pp. 29-36.

¹⁷² This theory has been supported by multitude of historians, among which were: Rastić, Dolci-Slade, Cekinić, Kuzmić, Tvrtković, Jurić i Tadić. For a detailed discussion, see: Justin Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku – povijesni prikaz života i djelatnosti," pp. 95-184, and for a review on the beginnings of the Franciscan Order in Dubrovnik, see: Zrinka Pešorda, "Prilog povijesti franjevac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku," *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 24 (2000) 45: 31-35.

¹⁷³ Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," p. 95, not. 4.

¹⁷⁴ Velnić, same, not. 4. Historians could not decide on the exact place where this miracle occurred; some claimed that it was St Martin on Gruž, some that it was on the island of Šipan.

¹⁷⁵ Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. 6 (Venecija: Colleti, 1800.), p. 96. Dolci-Slade writes about this in his work *Monumenta historica provinciae Ragusinae Ordinis Minorum S. P. N. Francisci* (quoted in the work of Velnić).

¹⁷⁶ Jakov Lukarić writes about this in his work *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* (quoted in the work of Velnić).

¹⁷⁷ Dolci-Slade, Tvrtković, Cekinić, Kuzmić, to some degree also Rode.

the church of St Margaret, which recorded Francis' stay in this cabin. This inscription was supposedly later given to the Sisters of the Third Order in the Sigurat Monastery for safekeeping, but the stonemason, when laying the pavement from the church to the neighboring house, built the same stone into the pavement in front of the church and destroyed the inscription on it. This cabin was considered a holy place by various authors and according to tradition, it was actually the first residence of the Franciscan friars in Dubrovnik, until they took over the monastery of St Thomas in the suburbs.¹⁷⁸

It is not known with certainty when the Franciscans first came to Dubrovnik. Although traditional stories give earlier dates and there is a possibility that they were living there earlier, they are noted with certainty in documents from 1234 and 1235. The first document in which the Franciscans are mentioned is the joint testament of John, son of Michael Gundulić and John's wife Dobroslava, who give a bequest of three *perperos ad opera fratrum Minorum*.¹⁷⁹ The second document is of different character; where the Dubrovnik municipality determines the dowry conditions for girls and other customs during marriage, and Franciscan friars are mentioned by name as witnesses in this act. Friars who are witnesses are: Friar Sixto, who was provincial of Dalmatia, Friar Andrew, who was deacon of Venice, and Friar John of Brescia.¹⁸⁰ Based on these two oldest documents, it is difficult to determine when the Franciscans really came to Dubrovnik and founded the friary, since the community could have existed even before these documents. To further complicate this matter, it should be emphasized that the existence of a community does not necessarily mean the existence of a friary, as will be seen in the following lines.

It seems that in the case of the friars from Dubrovnik, there was no consensus even on the year of their arrival. The potential year of arrival of the Franciscans in Dubrovnik is stated as follows: 1219 (Rode), probably after or during the second visit of Francis to the city, 1225 (Farlati), when the Dominicans also came during the time of Bishop Arengerius, 1227/1228 (Mandić, Roščić), when the saint was still alive, and in 1235 (Gjelčić, Škurla), when they were recorded by name in the aforementioned document. It seems that 1219 would be too early a year for the foundation of the friary, and 1235, on the other hand, is too late, since they were already recorded a year earlier while receiving a bequest from the will, which meant that they had already established themselves in the city.¹⁸¹ Whether the Franciscans came during Francis' life or after his death, and whether they might have come when the Dominicans came as well, is difficult to conclude based on written sources, but it would be safe to say that the principle of *aurea mediocritas* should prevail in the dating of their

¹⁷⁸ This was also the opinion of Kuzmić (quoted in the work of Velnić).

¹⁷⁹ CD III, doc. 345, pp. 399-402; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 97.

¹⁸⁰ CD III, doc. 378, pp. 435-438.

¹⁸¹ Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 97-98.

arrival in Dubrovnik. However, none of those years ultimately diminishes the fact that the Franciscans established themselves in Dubrovnik's communal society from its very beginnings.

As for the place where the Franciscan friary was originally situated, in the monastery of St Thomas, it is also not possible to reach a consensus about the year when the Franciscans permanently settled there, since no written source tells when the friary was founded. For some historians, the document from 1235 marked the year of foundation (Rastić), but for some this was only the information from a later period (Bogišić, Jireček), and some consider the year 1250 as the year of foundation of the friary (Andrijašević, Farlati, Gjelić, Škurla, Dolci). It seems that this disagreement on the year of foundation was related to different notions of when exactly the friary was founded: when was the friary first built or when was it subsequently extended?¹⁸² I am more inclined to the opinion that the original construction of the friary is more important than the additions, especially since the friaries were constantly upgraded and it would be difficult to determine which addition is the one that marks the "completion."

The organization of space in Dubrovnik was influenced mostly due to external, but also internal circumstance, especially in the period from the end of the 13th to the first several decades of the 14th century. This process was initiated by the transformation of the suburban area, which was then incorporated into the city, and the Franciscans moved according to these changes.¹⁸³ Initially, Franciscans were situated outside the city, in the church of St. Thomas, in location called *Jamine in occiduo Suburbi, quod vulgo Pille*. This is in concordance with a place where friars would be situated in the beginning period of the Order in general, outside the city walls, along the road that leads into the city from the west, in a secluded place and close to the leprosarium. Unfortunately, that friary was soon demolished at the request of Count Paolo Morosini during the conflict with Serbian King Uroš II Milutin 1317-1318, so that it would not be used as a stronghold during the siege.¹⁸⁴

Another circumstance which impacted the change in shape of the city occurred in 1296, when the fire destroyed a part of the *burgos* and authorities needed to plan a new layout of the city. After the first friary was demolished, it was decided that the new friary would be built inside the walls, which corresponded to the perception and spirit of the mendicant orders at the time, when they were usually located next to one of the city gates. The accommodation of the Franciscans in Dubrovnik was on the west side of the main street Placa/Stradun, next to the city gates of Pile. This similar position was also present in other Dalmatian cities, as was seen in the case of Zadar and Trogir, and

¹⁸² Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 98-99.

¹⁸³ Benyovsky Latin – Haničar, "Gradu Dubrovniku pripojen (je) drugi, novi grad koji se dosad zvaše predgrađem...: Faze oblikovanja dubrovačkog *burgosa* tijekom 13. stoljeća," p. 29, n. 138; p. 33.

¹⁸⁴ Benyovsky Latin – Haničar, "Gradu Dubrovniku pripojen (je) drugi," p. 29, n. 138; p. 33; Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 99-100.

it corresponded to the character of the Order, which is involved in all spheres of communal life, as a symbolic protector of religion and city walls.¹⁸⁵ After being established in Dubrovnik, the friars became an integral part of the community, serving the inhabitants in any worldly or spiritual, as their family, friends and spiritual advisors.

Thus, in the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik, there were several friaries belonging to the Franciscan Order. The first one was in the town of Dubrovnik, first outside the city walls, and then within the city from the 1320s. The second friary was of St Savin, located on the island of Daksa in front of the entrance to the port of Gruž and Rijeka of Dubrovnik, which was founded by Savin Getaldić in 1291. Other friaries in the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik did not belong to the Province of Dalmatia, but to the Vicariate of Bosnia: these were the friaries in Ston from 1349, which was finished in the end of the 15th century, in Rijeka Dubrovačka in 1393 and Slano in 1399.¹⁸⁶ Although Daksa also belonged to the Province, the main focus is on the friary in Dubrovnik, since the sources enable the narrative about the establishment and development the most.

All these friaries were located in strategically favorable positions: in Dubrovnik at the city gates, in Rijeka Dubrovačka “controlling” the access from the immediate hinterland, in Slano at the connection of three roads: from the field of Popovo, the valley of Neretva and island Pelješac, and Ston on the isthmus itself connecting the peninsula with mainland. The position of these friaries had its perils and benefits, good travel routes by land and by sea in all directions, and at the same time, these strategical and exposed positions were also places of peace, quiet and contemplation. Considering their position according to settlements, all were at the edge of them, some spatially closer and some further away from it, but still connected to it, while Daksa is located on a small island which does not have a capacity for a large population so its position cannot be analyzed in such manner.¹⁸⁷

Franciscans in the areas of the Republic of Dubrovnik accepted the cloister type of friaries. The shape of the cloister is regularly square, but there were always slight deviations from the shape, but nonetheless, three large Mendicant convents in Dubrovnik were shaped in like a rhombus: the friary of Friars Minor, the friary of the Dominicans and the convent of Poor Clares. They were all beveled in the same direction, that is, the longer diagonal was laid in the direction of north-east to south-west. Although the reasons for this decision could be due to artistic expression or their location, it is most likely done to avoid unfavorable winds, giving better insolation in winter and shield from direct sunlight in summer.¹⁸⁸

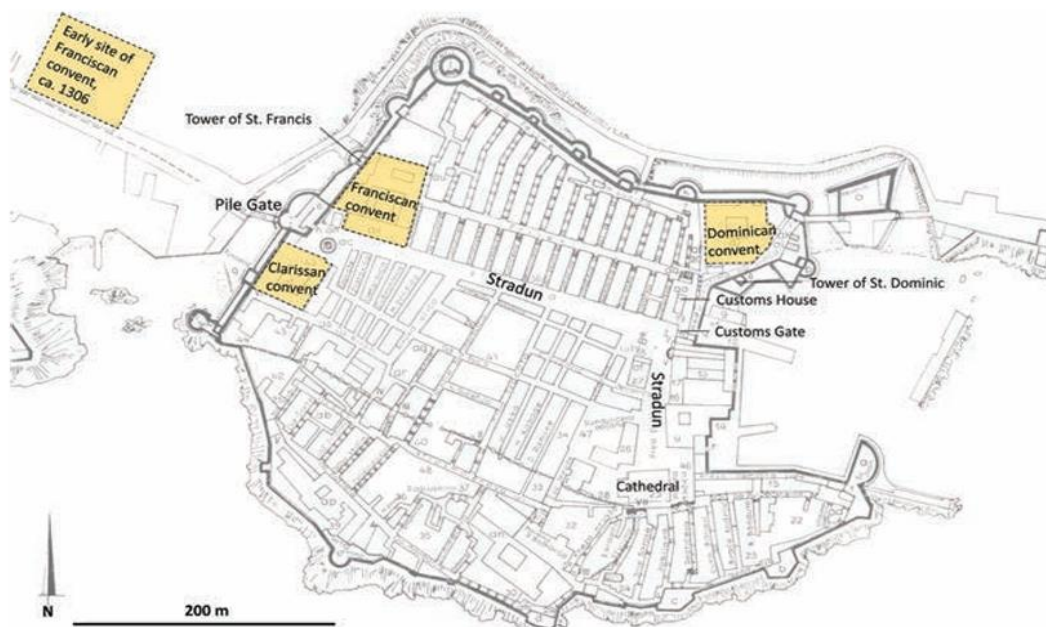
¹⁸⁵ Benyovsky Latin – Haničar, “*Gradu Dubrovniku pripojen (je) drugi*,” pp. 46-48; Pešorda, “Prilog povijesti franjevača,” pp. 33-34.

¹⁸⁶ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁷ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁸⁸ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, pp. 14; 58.

Another characteristic of the friaries in this area partially stems from their positions – since they were located in a strategical point, their shapes will also follow this purpose and have a fortifying role, which was the case mostly for those belonging to the Vicariate of Bosnia, except Ston, and there is also assumption that Daksa had the same role, judging by its church. The influence friaries had on the towns was much stronger in the architectural details and decorations. While the friaries were built by foreign respectable masters, which brought certain “innovations” in technical and stylistic sense, but the manpower doing actual physical building were local builders, who learned new skills and were able to apply it in their future work. Therefore, certain aspects present in the building of friaries, that is, architectural details such as frames and the shapes of windows and doors, will soon spread to other types of buildings in the surrounding area, but in smaller dimensions and more modest representations.¹⁸⁹



Position of ecclesiastical buildings in late medieval Dubrovnik – St Francis, St Dominic and St Clare (taken from Joseph C. Williams, “The Coordinated Development of the Mendicant Convents,” p. 150)

As it was mentioned, the friary in Dubrovnik was placed next to the west gates of the city, the Pila Gates, right next to the main area of the town – Stradun, so that the church which forms the south wing of the complex of the friary, sits on its lateral side alongside Stradun and its south wall forms a line of facades of other buildings of the north side of Stradun. On north, the complex of the friary

¹⁸⁹ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, pp. 58-59.

with building and gardens forms a triangle which consists of gates of Pila, the street of Medović and Minčeta tower. This space was regulated after the fire in 1296, written formally in the statute. In 1317, during the war with Uroš II, the authorities in Dubrovnik gave to Franciscans the land next to city walls from the present day Stradun to the north, under the condition that there should be space between the friary and the city walls. In the north they were given the street that was between theirs and the land of the family de Sörgo. The land on which the friary was built was owned by Marin of Michael de Sclavio, land where the present-day friary is located was owned by the family de Sörgo, and the land where Minčeta tower was built was owned by the family de Mençe. As it was mentioned, the shape of the friary was mainly square, but slightly slanted and converted into rhomb. Furthermore, their relocation had an impact on the surrounding space, since because of them, the new city wall was moved towards the west, and after the building of the friary was finished, the direction of the main street Placa was changed.¹⁹⁰

Although the friary on the small island of Daksa, due to the insufficient amount of data available, was not researched in detail in this thesis, it will be shortly referred here as the second friary belonging to the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia in reference to its position and shape. The friary was located at the south side, on the top of a steep inaccessible cliff from the seaside, at the entrance to port of Gruž and Rijeka of Dubrovnik, which was geographically good position to observe any ship that was approaching the city. The shape of the friary is not quite possible to determine, since from the whole complex from the 14th century today only remains their church, and even it was adapted. However, due to some remains, it is assumed that the church was on the south side of the complex, while the friary was at its north-eastern side, and was attached to it with just a wall of the west wing. The cloister was in the shape of a rhomb, and the whole complex was enclosed from the seaside by a strong protective wall, from which today only remains its foundations.¹⁹¹ The lack of sources and physical remains do not diminish the fact that the Franciscan Order has been rooted into the landscape of surrounding area of Dubrovnik since there were numerous friaries on its territory, even if some friaries belonged to the Vicariate of Bosnia.

In Dubrovnik, the Franciscans were not the only mendicant order present within the city walls, as is seen from the map above. Dominicans were present in the area from 1225, also located outside the city at unknown location. Then the land was donated by the family Palmotić in 1228 and dedicated

¹⁹⁰ Benyovsky Latin – Haničar, “*Gradu Dubrovniku pripojen (je) drugi*,” pp. 46-48; Joseph C. Williams, “The Coordinated Development of the Mendicant Convents and City Walls of Dubrovnik,” in *The Mendicants and the Urban Mediterranean, c.1200-1500*, ed. by Jon Paul Heyne – Austin Powell (London – New York: Routledge, 2025), pp. 148-169; Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, p. 63.

¹⁹¹ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, p. 71.

to St Marry of the Assumption. A new friary within the city walls is first mentioned in 1282, located in the northeast corner of the city, while the year of its official foundation is 1306. Construction of the complex was supervised by foreign *protomagistri* and the main parts of the church were probably completed by 1366. By the council's decree in 1301, which supported the construction as a matter of securing the city, and the general position of the friary, it is assumed that this area of the city was not safe enough as long as the Dominican friary was not completely built, and by their moving to this zone, the urban perimeter was adjusted to include them. In the last quarter of the 14th century, or more precisely, in 1381, the fortification tower of St Dominic was constructed. Dominican complex, as opposed to the Franciscan complex, was hardly a part of the city except by its location being surrounded by municipal walls.¹⁹²

The earliest history of Poor Clares in Dubrovnik is not particularly known, until they, in 1280, moved from their church of St Vitus from the location outside the city walls into a privately donated plot inside the city. Their new location bordered Stradun to the south just inside the Pile Gates, in the vicinity of the Franciscans, which were instructed to provide protection and pastoral care for Poor Clares, the same as it was instructed in other Dalmatian cities, for instance, Zadar.¹⁹³

All in all, it is worth underlying that regarding the spatial organization of the mendicants, completele accurate is the conclusion given by Joseph C. Williams, when stating that both “the Dominican and conventual Franciscan churches loomed behind the gates, each with an associated defensive tower watched over by Dominic and Francis, while the cloistered Clares occupied a pocket of moral purity close to the Franciscan brothers and conspicuously out of the reach of the public behind a major square. These arrangements did not result from an ideal vision. The site strategies of the mendicant houses in Dubrovnik took form not according to the guiding will of either the civic authorities or the religious orders, but according to the terms of their interdependence as they were negotiated over time, in physical space.”¹⁹⁴ Although it sounds a bit romanticized, however, the conclusion in fact is comparable to spatial organization of mendicants in other Dalmatian city communes, as was visible from the previous results as well.

4.4.4. Friars and their friaries in Krk and Senj

As is the case for all friaries in Dalmatia, there is no official document on the establishment of the Franciscan friary in Krk, and possible dates from other written sources where friars are noted

¹⁹² Williams, “The Coordinated Development of the Mendicant Convents and City Walls of Dubrovnik,” pp. 154-159.

¹⁹³ Williams, “The Coordinated Development of the Mendicant Convents and City Walls of Dubrovnik,” p. 159.

¹⁹⁴ Williams, “The Coordinated Development of the Mendicant Convents and City Walls of Dubrovnik,” p. 165.

can help to at least establish their arrival and beginnings there. In the 16th century, that is, in the first half of the century, the traditional stories of the arrival of St Francis to Krk started to emerge and it was assumed that the friars arrived around that time and established themselves in the suburban part of Krk. These traditions are based on transcriptions which mention the year 1216, and they have three main points: the arrival of St Francis and St Anthony in Krk, the beginning of the Franciscan presence there and the content of the Rule of Hermits, which was given to the friars. Although this tradition is from the later period, the closeness and connection between Dalmatia and Marche and Italian peninsula, it is not unlikely that the message and charisma of St Francis did not reach all the way to Dalmatia, or in this matter, Krk, where people wanted to follow his initial example and live a life according to the nature of the Order.¹⁹⁵

As is common for other friaries, there were several years which were marked by different historians as the year when the friary in Krk was established. Vladislav Brusić thinks that friars arrived in Krk even during the lifetime of St Francis. Some think that the friary of St Francis in Krk was established in 1244, some that it was in 1249, and some concluded that it was in fact in a later period, in 1271 or 1277. There is also a theory that friars were established in Krk even later than this. Friar Stephen Ivančić agreed with the theory of John Kubić (Cubich) that friars were inhabited in Krk during the time of bishop Lambert, who was a Franciscan himself, around 1290-1297, and that they build the church of St Francis.¹⁹⁶ Although one can argue that a bishop who is also the member of the Franciscan Order would support and endorse friars, this seems to be far too late for friars to establish themselves in Krk. However, Petar Runje agrees with the opinion of Marijan Žugaj, who stated that the Franciscan Order established their friary in Krk before 1249, which is based on a written evidence.¹⁹⁷ On this year, there is an information from Dubrovnik on a friar John of Krk, who was present while there was an arrangement being made between the archbishoprics of Bar and Dubrovnik.¹⁹⁸ Although this could mean that there was a friary in Krk before this year and friar John belonged to it, it could also only mean that friar John of Krk entered the Order in another friary and was present in Dubrovnik in 1249.

Most of the evidence on the presence of friars in Krk comes from bequests given to them in various testaments around the last quarter of the 13th century, the first ones being in 1271 by Spreza de Dominico of Krk, in 1277 by Stošija/Staša Aurumelechino, and in 1283 by Desa de Benessa. Furthermore, at the end of the century, the confraternity of St Francis was established next to the

¹⁹⁵ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku" [First news on the Franciscans in the town of Krk], *Krčki zbornik: godišnjak Povijesnog društva otoka Krka* 74 (2016): 20-23.

¹⁹⁶ On the basis of Petar Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)" [History of the Conventual Franciscans in Krk (part I)], *Krčki zbornik* 76 (2021): 32.

¹⁹⁷ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku," p. 23.

¹⁹⁸ CD IV, doc. 335, pp. 378-380.

friary and the church of St Francis, and on February 7, 1300, the rules for its members were described in a special document.¹⁹⁹ Although for some friaries the information in written sources is not so abundant as for others, the fact that a confraternity was founded and established in such an early period, almost even before the 13th century, shows that very early on, there were many more people, even laypersons, who wanted to live by the rule of St Francis.

The friary was erected on the very end of the city at the north side, and the city walls constituted its external side. It is presumed that the church was built at the end of the 13th century. Later it was elongated, and its main entrance was located just behind the third window on the south side of the church. The main entrance was facing the garden, and the side entrance was built during the elongation of the church. Around that time, there is a contract between friars (guardian Friar Louis of Durrës, Friar Nicholas of Krk and Friar John of Kotor) and Marin Marzerio, inhabitant of Krk and son of late Natalo from Zadar, who was given permission to have his tomb made in front of the main entrance of the church.²⁰⁰

In the case of the city and the friary in Senj, it is assumed that Franciscans arrived shortly after the Templars departed from there. Since the traces of Templars were removed from Senj in 1269, but, as everywhere else, they left the city prior to this date. All the rights which the Templars held over Senj and its surrounding area were passed on to the counts of Krk, who could have been the ones who brought the Franciscans there. In Senj, friars inhabited the area of the present-day Travec, which was at the end of the road which led from Slavonija through Vratnik to the coast.²⁰¹ In general, it can be confirmed that friars were present in Senj before 1272, the year where there are written records on their habitation. Namely, in that year, a certain James, the son de Ivanko of Senj, donated his two gardens, located near the Franciscan church, next to the well and the public road. Since the Franciscan church already existed in that year, it can be confirmed that friars were present in Senj before that year, as it was common that friars arrive in the city before officially establishing their presence in written sources.²⁰²

The claim that the counts of Krk were the ones who brought friars in Senj is based on several pieces of information. After the confirmation that the church existed already in 1272, twenty years

¹⁹⁹ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku," pp. 24-26. For the rules of confraternity cf. CD VII, doc. 319, pp. 363-367.

²⁰⁰ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku," pp. 25-26; Petar Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," p. 32.

²⁰¹ Mile Bogović – Josip Frković, "Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici" [The History of Monasticism in Senj and the surroundings], *Senjski zbornik* 48 (2021): 75- 77.

²⁰² ...*dimitto, do et concedo pro anima mea meorumque defunctorum fratribus minoribus de Segnia duos ortos meos positos Segnie apud ecclesiam et ortum ipsorum fratrum minorum et apud puteum et viam publicam, ut amodo habeant, teneant et possideant cum suis omnibus proprietatibus cum omnimoda potestate* (CD V, doc. 70, p. 622). Also, cf. Bogović – Frković, "Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici," p. 83.

later, in 1292, from a document, it is evident that the friary was built as well and that their guardian was present performing his duties. The location of the friary and the connection with the counts of Krk are confirmed in one document. In 1295, Count Ugrin, with the consent of the counts of Krk, Leonard and his nephew Bartholomew, donated a garden to friars in the vicinity of the large well and public road, the latter being the same phrasing as was in the document in 1272. The friary and the church in Senj were located in a territory which had a suburban character, where with the house there were gardens for agricultural work, and it seems that the counts of Krk were also located near the friars.²⁰³ In 1298 there was a consecration of the Franciscan church, done by Peter, the bishop of Korčula, but however, it seems that this church was in fact a new one.²⁰⁴ This would mean that the friars first built an initial, smaller, church for their needs in 1272, and then after finishing the construction of their friary, there was a need for a bigger church, which was consecrated soon after the completion of the building of friary. This friary and the newly built bigger church remained preserved until the 1540s, and the very complex that the Frankopani mentioned in the 15th century, was built, gifted and ornated by their ancestors, the counts of Krk. Although this is not irrefutable evidence that the counts of Krk were in fact the ones who brought Franciscans to Senj and later helped to build their facilities and gave them monetary endorsement, it is not an uncommon occurrence during this period in Dalmatia, meaning that it was actually their endowment, although this was not explicitly said in older sources until the 15th century. Furthermore, there were tombs of the counts of Krk in the church in Senj, which is always a sign of preference and close relationship which certain individuals had with the Franciscan Order. Before the 15th century, the only known member of the counts of Krk buried there was Count John V, the father of Count Nicholas IV, who was the first one to call himself Frankopan. John died in 1393 in Senj and was buried in the Franciscan church couple of days after his death.²⁰⁵ As was also reported by Zaratina patrician, Paul de Paulo in his famous *Memoriale* and mentioned before.

Speaking of the location of the complex which consisted of the friary and newer church, it is interesting that the character of it changed according to historical circumstances and the development of the city. In the beginning, it was located within the city, which was confirmed in multiple documents. This continued until the end of the 14th century, while in the 15th century it is written that it was located outside the city walls (*extra muros civitatis*), although its location did not change. What happened was that the city was surrounded by walls during this century, which was necessary considering potential external threats and in general historical circumstances, leaving the friary and the church outside the city but at the same time in the vicinity of the walls. Although the exact year

²⁰³ CD VII, doc. 192, pp. 212-213; Bogović – Frković, “Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici,” p. 77, 83.

²⁰⁴ CD VII, doc. 262, p. 303.

²⁰⁵ Bogović – Frković, “Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici,” pp. 83-85; 89.

is not known, in 1435, the friary and the church were already outside the city. In the end, the complex was destroyed around 1540, or even sooner, along with any house or building around the city walls, in order to prevent the Ottomans from using it as a refuge in a potential attack on Senj, which was a common practice during the times of their invasion.²⁰⁶

Contrary to other city communes and mendicants in Dalmatia, in the cases of Krk and Senj there is no extensive research concerning spatial organization and topography in the researched period. This is also due to lack of sources and information about the topic, yet more information about the relationship between the Franciscans and the Dominicans will be offered when presenting the cases of papal bulls and the bishops as Franciscans in the text that will follow.

²⁰⁶ Bogović – Frković, “Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici,” pp. 86-87; Blaženka Ljubović, “Inventarizacija i zaštita građe iz razrušene crkve sv. Franje u Senju i njezina buduća namjena” [Inventory and Protection of Materials of the Destroyed Church of St Francis in Senj and Its Future Purpose], *Senjski zbornik* 42-43 (2015-2016): 341-442.

II THE ORGANIZATION OF FRANCISCANS IN DALMATIA

5. THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE IN THE FRIARIES OF THE PROVINCE

The organization of life in the friaries of the Province of Dalmatia depicts the life of friars, who were residing all over the province in some part of their career path. Major emphasis will be placed on the friaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik, because these two friaries provided the most extensive information about all friars residing there on a more permanent or completely temporary basis. As shall be seen from the text below, the cases of the friars who were composing testaments when entering the order are especially interesting for us. Major emphasis was placed on the reconstruction of the details coming from their testaments, as well as the circumstances and their detailed family ties. It will show that friaries were not places which were empty, on the contrary, many friars were present at the same time in the course of both 13th and 14th centuries alike.

5.1. Friars in the friary in Zadar after the foundation

In order to understand better the organization of the Order and the connection of the friars within the Province, I have compiled a list of the friars who resided in Zadar at a certain point of their life in the Order. A complete list is impossible to compile, since rarely do documents mention more friars at once, except in depositions when the Franciscans received some bequests or in other transactions that had to be proclaimed in the chapter where all friars from the friary in Zadar had to be present. Below is a table of the friars in the three-year terms, because there is an assumption that the regular mobility spans were determined by the Provincial chapters where the new administration was elected. The names are included in the table only if it is possible to confirm the presence of those friars in Zadar. When a person was present in the friary in the year when one period would end and another would start, the line was drawn around July and August, depending on the date of the document. The three-year periods were determined with the aid of the series of minister provincials compiled by Marijan Žugaj. Other services were reconstructed from the compilation of records that I used for the research.

List of friars in Zadar according to the three-year periods (1271-1403)²⁰⁷

Three-year period	Minister Provincial (vicar)	<i>Custos</i>	Guardian (vicar)	<i>Lector</i>	Other friars
1271-1274	Girolamo Masci		Benedict (1271)		
1274-1277	Michael of Zadar (from 1276)				
1277-1280	Michael of Zadar (1278 in Zadar)				
1280-1283	Michael of Zadar			Jerome (1280)	
1283-1286	Michael of Zadar				Marin de Formino (1284)
1286-1289	Michael of Zadar (until 1288)				Gualfredo (1288); George (1288)
1289-1292	John de Agnania (from 1291) Nicholas of Zadar		Simon of Koper (1289)		
1292-1295	Nicholas of Zadar				Thomas de Salbe (1294)
1295-1298	Nicholas of Zadar		Rinald		Andrew de Sorgo, Marin de Formino, Anastasius of Bologna, Thadeus, Zanin of Bologna (1296)
1298-1301	Nicholas of Zadar				Benedict (1298), Bonmerkato (1301)
1301-1304	Pax (from 1302, when he was in Zadar)		George (1301 and 1302)		Hugolin Arpinelli (1301), Anthony of Pula, Nicholas of Zadar (1302); Bonmerkato (1304)
1304-1307	Pax			Andrew (1307)	Bonmerkato, Elias de Lemesio (1304); James of Zadar (1304 and 1306)
1307-1310	Pax (until 1308)				Elias of Paris, Peter of Bologna, James of Zadar, Prodole of Krk (1308)

²⁰⁷ Marijan Žugaj – Dionizije Drnić, “Kronotaksa provincijala Hrvatske Provincije od 1217. do danas” [Chronotaxis of the Minister Provincials of the Croatian Province from 1217 until today], in *Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca*, pp. 101-102.

1310-1313	Anthony of Pula (from 1311)				
1313-1316	Anthony of Pula				
1316-1319	Anthony of Pula				
1319-1322	Fabian				
1322-1325	Fabian				
1325-1328	Francis of Trieste			Bartholomew of Zadar (1328, Necrologue)	
1328-1331	Fabian (second time?)				
1331-1334	Michael of Poreč				
1334-1337	Martin				
1337-1340	Vicar Martin (inquisitor) (1337)				Mark, Francis (inquisitor) (1337)
1340-1343	Silvestre				
1343-1346	Silvestre				Gregory of Ugljan (1346)
1346-1349	Silvestre		Quirinus of Krk (former guardian, 1348)		
1349-1352	Michael of Zadar				
1352-1355	Michael of Zadar (1354 in Zadar)				
1355-1358			Peter Gisda of Kotor		
1358-1361	Emmanuel (1361 in Zadar)				Marin called Cuneies? (1361)
1361-1364	John Marzari of Trieste (?)				
1364-1367	John Marzari of Trieste (?)				Michael of Zadar (1366)
1367-1370	John Marzari of Trieste (?)	Paul of Šibenik (1368)	Vicar Doimus of Bar (1370)		Dominic of Pag, Francis of Split (1370)
1370-1373	Dominic of Saron, Vicar Peter Gisda		Matthew of Zadar (1373)		Dominic of Pag, Dominic of Trogir, Francis of Split, Marin

	of Kotor (1373)				of Zadar, (1370); Kršul Mamolić of Zadar (1372); John of Cres, Stephen of Zadar (1370 and 1373); Doimus of Split, Martin of Split (1373)
1373-1376	Dominic of Saron		Vicar George of Zadar (1373)		Benedict of Zadar (inquisitor), Cosmas of Zadar (inquisitor), Francis of Split, John of Cres, Michael of Split, Nicholas of Šišan, Stephen of Zadar, Vitus of Zadar (1373)
1376-1379	Minor of Durrës (1377 and 1379 in Zadar)		Anthony of Split (1377)		Chrysogonus of Zadar, Peter, son of Nadreča, Doimus of Split (1377)
1379-1382	Minor of Durrës		Mark of Krk (1379)		John of Cres, Frederick Jurjević of Zadar, Dominic of Trogir (1379)
1382-1385	Minor of Durrës	Nicholas of Split (1384)	Nicholas of Trogir (1384)	Benedict of Zadar (1382, 1384 and 1385)	Damian Tugomirić (1383); John of Cres, Nicholas of Zadar, John of Klis, Marin of Split, Paškvalin of Zadar (1384); Augustin of Zadar (1385)
1385-1388	John de Janua (from 1386)	Paul of Šibenik (1387)	John of Klis (1387)	Anthony of Trogir (1387)	Benedict of Zadar (1385); Francis of Zadar (1386); Michael of Zadar (1387); Benedict of Zadar, John of Zadar, Vitus of Zadar, Berengar, Peregrin (1388)
1388-1391	John Marzari of Trieste (second time?)		Benedict of Zadar (1390)		Marin of Split, Nicholas of Zadar (1390)
1391-1394	Nicholas of Zadar (from 1392)	Benedict of Zadar (1394)	Nicholas of Split (1391 and 1392); Benedict of Zadar (1393), Vicar Jerome of Split (1393)		
1394-1397	Nicholas of Zadar (Vicar Benedict of Zadar, 1395)				Michael of Šibenik (1396)

1397-1400	Nicholas of Zadar		Dominic of Trogir (1400)		
1400-1403	Nicholas of Zadar (1403 in Zadar)		Dominic of Trogir (1401-1402)		

Considering the composition of the friary membership and the mobility (or immobility) of the friars, we can see several interesting patterns. The first is concerning the office of the provincial, where we can see that there were friars which would originate from Zadar, or those which would originate from the Dalmatian Province, but not from friary of Zadar, and those that would originate from other Provinces, that is, from Italy. Some would either way reside in Zadar during a certain period of their service, and some would not. Here I would emphasize a special group of friars, those that come from Trieste, which technically belonged to the Province of Dalmatia, but in practice they would be considered as Italian friars: Francis from Trieste in 1320s,²⁰⁸ John Marzari from Trieste in the 1360s and probably at the end of the 1380s.²⁰⁹ However, we also have provincials who were originating from outside the Province of Dalmatia, also from Italy. Such are the examples of these provincials: John from Anagni (custody of Campagna) in the end of the 13th century, Dominic from Saronno (province of Milan) in the 1370s (working along with his vicar, Peter Gizda from Kotor), John from Genoa in the 1380s, and also Girolamo Masci, the first noted provincial of Dalmatia, for whom it is not written where he is from.²¹⁰

There were not only provincials which were originating from Italy, but also other, “regular” friars who were residing in Zadar, such as Marin de Formino (1284 and 1296),²¹¹ Gualfredo (1288 and 1292),²¹² Thomas de Salbe (1294),²¹³ those from Bologna (Anastasius and Thadeus in 1296,²¹⁴ Peter in 1308),²¹⁵ and it is interesting to observe that after the 1310s, there are practically no Italian friars residing in the convent of Zadar, although there were Italian provincials of Dalmatia, but their paths did not cross there. The reason for not having Italian friars residing in Zadar in the 14th century (even those from Trieste), I will argue, could be seen in the practical functioning of the Province, where a part of Italy might have been adjacent to Dalmatian one, and the connection with Italy was maintained more consistently in the beginning, but later they separated and became quite distinctive from one another.

²⁰⁸ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 43.

²⁰⁹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 44.

²¹⁰ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 44.

²¹¹ CD VI, doc. 385, p. 463; SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90.

²¹² SZB I, doc. 13, pp. 50-51; SZB I, doc. 35, pp. 67-69.

²¹³ SZB I, doc. 40, pp. 74-75.

²¹⁴ SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90.

²¹⁵ CD VI, doc. 169, p. 188.

There is a group of friars for whom there was no written evidence beyond one friary. Starting with Zadar, there were friars who were only residing there, without moving within the Province. Some were only noted once, some more times, therefore meaning that they were with certainty residing there for longer periods. Friar Bonmerkato resides in the friary in Zadar in 1301²¹⁶ and 1304,²¹⁷ and he made a mark in Zadar not only as a recipient of bequests, but also as a spiritual advisor (*apatrinus*). Exclusively in Zadar are noted friars: Dominic of Pag,²¹⁸ Stephen of Zadar,²¹⁹ James of Zadar²²⁰ and Mihael of Šibenik.²²¹ As it can be seen, the place of origin of the friars was not of crucial importance and did not affect their potential decision to stay in Zadar during their life in the Order.

On the mobility of friars in the Province of Dalmatia relying on the example of the friary of Zadar, we can see certain patterns. As the number of friars from Italy declines in the 14th century, we can see that the friars from geographically further places, such as Trieste, Koper, Durrës and Kotor were not present in the convent of Zadar in general, although they belonged to the Province, and Zadar was considered its center. The origin of the friars themselves could have an impact on whether they would reside in the convent of their origin, but it was not a rule. The number of friars in Zadar increased towards the end of the 14th century, especially in the category of “regular” friars. Beside them the largest number came from Split and Trogir, which is no wonder considering their vicinity. It is interesting to notice that the convent of Zadar did not only attract friars from the mainland, but also from the islands, such as Krk, Cres, Ugljan, Pag. Those from Dubrovnik were, however, lacking; it is very rare to see friars originating from Dubrovnik reside in Zadar, or elsewhere in the Province for that matter, as will be seen below.

5.2. Friars in the friary of Dubrovnik after the foundation

The same type of table was done also for the friary of Dubrovnik, where each friar who was presumably present was written down together with the exact year when he was supposed to reside there. If the friar performed any service, it was also noted, although in the case of friary in Dubrovnik, there were not many friars noted with their offices, and from this table, it looks like it was consisted

²¹⁶ SZB II, doc. 79, p. 34.

²¹⁷ SZB II, doc. 127, pp. 64-65; SZB II, doc. 129, pp. 65-66.

²¹⁸ Testamenti Zara I, fol. 18'-20'; DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 10, fol. 7-7'.

²¹⁹ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 10, fol. 7-7' (1370); DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 1, fol. 13 (1373); *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara pokojnog Petra iz godine 1385.*, ed. by Jakov Stipišić (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti u Zadru, 2000), doc. 12, pp. 115-116 (1373).

²²⁰ Velnić, “Samostan sv. Frane,” p. 77 (1304); CD VIII, doc. 114, pp. 128-129 (1306); Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* 5, p. 92 (1308).

²²¹ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. I/2, fol. 31-32 (1396); DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 175' (1400).

more of “regular friars” who did not obtain any office within the Order. The same principle of reconstruction applies to Dubrovnik as was in the case of Zadar.

List of friars in Dubrovnik according to the three-year periods (1271-1403)²²²

Three-year period	Minister Provincial (vicar)	<i>Custos</i>	Guardian (vicar)	<i>Lector</i>	Other friars
1271-1274	Girolamo Masci				
1274-1277	Michael of Zadar (from 1276)				
1277-1280	Michael of Zadar				
1280-1283	Michael of Zadar				
1283-1286	Michael of Zadar				Marin of Zadar, Martin of Rab, Peter of Krk, Philip of Brescia (1284); Janino of Zadar, Peter de Rexa, Lawrence Vngaro, Nicholas of Dubrovnik (1286)
1286-1289	Michael of Zadar (until 1288)				
1289-1292	John de Agnania (from 1291) Nicholas of Zadar				
1292-1295	Nicholas of Zadar				
1295-1298	Nicholas of Zadar				
1298-1301	Nicholas of Zadar		(Stephan of Shkodër) (1300)		Gualfredo (1299)
1301-1304	Pax (from 1302)				Peter of Krk, Gualfredo, Francis of Bologna, Andrea of Krk (1302); Luca, James, Damian de Binçola of Dubrovnik, Zayslavo de Binçola of Dubrovnik, Nicholas Deodati, Martin de

²²² Žugaj – Drnić, “Kronotaksa provincijala Hrvatske Provincije od 1217 do danas,” pp. 101-102.

					Binçola of Dubrovnik (1303)
1304-1307	Pax				John de Sorsio, Gualfredo, Francis (1305); Gualfredo, James, Damian (1306); Gualfredo, Vito de Ragnina of Dubrovnik, John de Sersio, Nicholas de Viçhca, Sabino de Pecorario, Martin de Binçola of Dubrovnik (1307)
1307-1310	Pax (until 1308)				Damian, John de Sossio, Gualfredo, Damian de Binçola of Dubrovnik, Peter de Çhare of Bar, Sabino, Theophil (1308)
1310-1313	Anthony of Pula (from 1311)				
1313-1316	Anthony of Pula				
1316-1319	Anthony of Pula				Theophil, Peter of Bar, Mile ... (1318)
1319-1322	Fabian				
1322-1325	Fabian				Peter de Çate of Bar, Basilius of Bar (1324); Guilielmo, Francis, lector of Apulea, James, Gavçe de Magsi, Theophil, Sabino de Pecorario (1325)
1325-1328	Francis of Trieste				Sergnode Soverio (?) (1325); Guilielmo, Francis de Apulea (1326); Gavçulo (1327), Marino Dunpinçe (1328)
1328-1331	Fabian (second time?)				Gavçe (1329); Theodor of Dürres (1330)
1331-1334	Michael of Poreč				
1334-1337	Martin				Mathew (1335); Philip, Give (1336)
1337-1340	Vicar Martin (inquisitor)				
1340-1343	Silvestre				Paul of Dubrovnik, James, Vito de Cassiga, James de

					Glisura (1341); Nicoletto, Luche de Valiach (1342)
1343-1346	Silvestre				Theodonus (1345);
1346-1349	Silvestre		Duomo (1348)		James de Glisura, Theodor, Zanino de Georgio (1346); Nicholas of Mark of Ulcinj, Cino de Albanna Mamulla, Domagna, Damian of Split, Matheo de Slamatiça, Nicoletto, Luca, Mate, Nicholas (inquisitor), Dimitrius, Peter de Gisda (1348)
1349-1352	Michael of Zadar		Duomo of Split (1349), Matheo Rosso (1350)		Tripe (1350)
1352-1355	Michael of Zadar		Matheo Rosso (1354)	Marin (1354)	Matheo Rosso, Nicholas of Mark of Ulcinj, Crnja of Albania, Vlaho of Radovan (1354), Lawrence of Dubrovnik (1355)
1355-1358					Matheo Rosso, Georgio de Gradna (?), Maroe de (?) (1357); Dionisio, Give, the son of sword maker Marcelo (1358)
1358-1361	Emmanuel		Peter Gisda of Kotor (1358)		Matheo Rosso, Andrew of Trogir, John (1359)
1361-1364	John Marzari of Trieste (?)		Andrew of Kotor (1362)	Nicholas (1363)	Matheo de Slamatica, Andrea de Tollan, Andriol of Shkodër (1362); Matheo de Slamatica, Milos, Andrea de Tollan, Mathe de Volcina, Andrea (nephew of Martin de Binçia), Mathe, Nale, son of Marin of Šipan, Dessa, bishop of Mrkan, (1363); Matheo de Slamatica (1364)
1364-1367	John Marzari of Trieste (?)		Duomo of Split (1366 and 1367)		James of Imota (1366); Marin of Dubrovnik, Peter Muco (1367)
1367-1370	John Marzari of Trieste				Nicoe, son of Damian, Dessa of Trogir (1368); Andrusch,

	(?)				Vitus, Androlo, Peter (1370)
1370-1373	Dominic of Saron, Vicar Peter Gisda of Kotor		Andrew of Dürres (1371) Nicholas of Dubrovnik (1373)		Priboe (1370); Andrea, Androlo (1372)
1373-1376	Dominic of Saron		Peter Gisda of Kotor (1374)		Andrea de Tolano (1373); Lawrence de Mençe of Dubrovnik, Nicholas de Bonda of Dubrovnik (1375)
1376-1379	Minor of Durazzo		Nicholas Prdikobila (1377), Peter Gisda of Kotor (1378)		Peter Gisda of Kotor (1379)
1379-1382	Minor of Durazzo				Peter Gisda of Kotor (1379)
1382-1385	Minor of Durazzo		Andrew of Dürres (1382)		Simon (1383); John, Peter Gisda of Kotor (1384)
1385-1388	John de Janua (from 1386)		Symon (1387)		Andrea (1386); Deodatus, Belsice, Sergio of Dürres, Dominic called Dragat (1387); Francis of Dubrovnik, Michael of Dubrovnik, Marin, Martin, Koja, Anthony of Split (1388)
1388-1391	John Marzari of Trieste (second time?)	Simon de Dragulino (1391)			Simcho, John of Padua (1390);
1391-1394	Nicholas of Zadar				Andrusco (1391), John of Padua (1392); Paul, son of Cvetko (1393); Sergio (of Dürres?) (1394)
1394-1397	Nicholas of Zadar (Vicar Benedict of Zadar)				Nicholas de Bonda of Dubrovnik (1395)
1397-1400	Nicholas of Zadar		George (1399)	John (1397)	Gregory of Dubrovnik, Michael of Dubrovnik (1397)
1400-1403	Nicholas of Zadar				

It is to be expected that there are some differences and some similarities between the friaries in Zadar and in Dubrovnik. At the end of the 13th century, it seems that in Dubrovnik there were more friars from different parts of the Province, such as Zadar, Rab and Krk, but also an example of a friar who obviously belonged to the Province of Hungary, since he was named Lawrence *Ungaro*.²²³ The difference between Dubrovnik and Zadar is that in Dubrovnik there were less friars from Italy, in contrast to Zadar. There were some at least in the 13th and in the beginning of the 14th century. There was one friar named Gualfredo, who was also in Zadar, presumably for a shorter period, while he remained in Dubrovnik for much longer, at least from 1295 to 1308 and was an active member of the friary.²²⁴ However, since it was not stated from which city in Italy Gualfredo is from, only his name “sounds” Italian, this does not necessarily have to mean that he was really Italian. The same logic would apply to Friar Guilelmo, who was in a friary in Dubrovnik around 1326.²²⁵ Furthermore, in sources concerning Dubrovnik, it was problematic to identify whether a friar was Franciscan or Dominican, since in some documents they are only named as friars but not written from which order. The identification of such friars was possible either from other documents where they were explicitly mentioned as originating from Dubrovnik, or by an assumption according to the context of each document. In general, it seems that in Dubrovnik friars were sometimes noted without their place of origin. The first assumption would be that when a place of origin was not noted down, they would be natives of Dubrovnik. However, then we have a problem, and we should ask ourselves, how come in some cases, such as Lawrence,²²⁶ Paul²²⁷ and Marin,²²⁸ Dubrovnik as a place of origin was noted down. In some cases, it was clear, either by their name or family connection that they were otherwise connected to Dubrovnik, so maybe the first assumption is not incorrect. Another difference between Zadar and Dubrovnik is that in Dubrovnik only a few services were written down in documents, which would not be so strange for some services, but at least the guardians of the friary would have been preferable to be noted. Geographically it is not surprising that in the 14th century (and in general) the friary mainly consisted of friars from Dubrovnik and friars from further south in the Province: Dürres, Shkodër, Bar, Ulcinj, and less from the upper parts of the Province, such as Zadar, Trogir, Split, etc., which coincides with the state in the friary in Zadar, since there are not many friars from Dubrovnik later in the 14th century, probably due to its distance. It seems that, although the Province functioned as one space, it still had certain geographical divisions and the friars were “separated”

²²³ CD VI, doc. 463, pp. 544-547.

²²⁴ Dubrovački 4, doc. 1297, pp. 280-281 (1295); Dubrovački 4, doc. 1315, p. 290 (1296); Dubrovački 4, doc. 1407, pp. 338-339; doc. 1421, pp. 345-346; DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 2'-3 (1299), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 7 (1302), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 23' (1305), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 27' (1306), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 34 (1307), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 37'-38; DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 41' (1308).

²²⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 22.

²²⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 51'.

²²⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 63'.

²²⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 22-22'.

within it, probably custodial boundaries. To reiterate, the Province of Dalmatia was divided into four custodies and the custody of Dubrovnik consisted of friaries in Dürres, Ulcinj, Shkodër, Bar, Kotor, Dubrovnik, Daksa,²²⁹ which mostly coincides with most frequent places of origin of friars who were residing in Dubrovnik.

For Dubrovnik, there were also friars who resided exclusively in the friary and only several will be mentioned, since there were so many who seemed to be more stationary than those in Zadar. In this category, some friars would belong to different noble families from Dubrovnik: there was a family de Binçola, who had three friars in their family, Damian,²³⁰ Martin and Zayslavo.²³¹ Although there were no other families from Dubrovnik who had multiple friars in their families, but there were other friars from noble families in the city, such as Vito de Ragnina,²³² Sabino de Pecorario,²³³ Zanino de Georgiis,²³⁴ Lawrence de Mençe,²³⁵ and Nicholas de Bonda.²³⁶ Around eight friars for which the family name is specifically known may not seem much in comparison to how many friars were fluctuating in the friary in Dubrovnik, but usually when a friar would enter the Order, he would become part of the Franciscan family and afterwards it would be more complicated to locate to which birth family they originally belonged to, and in Zadar there were much fewer friars with family names.

5.3. Other friaries after the foundation

For other friaries, it was possible to get a small amount of information on friars residing in friaries, but they should also be noted here, no matter how little context it might provide. For instance, in Senj in 1325, while giving permission to a former judge and his wife to build an altar dedicated to St Mary and for themselves a tomb in the church of friars in Senj, a substantial number of friars were mentioned: Silvester, the minister provincial, Lazarus, the *custos* of Rab, Quirinus of Krk, the guardian in Senj, Demetrius of Shkodër, *lector* in Senj, Peter of Zadar, socius of minister provincial, Martin of Pag, Stephen of Cres, Cive of Dubrovnik, John of Krk, Thomas de Dobregno.²³⁷ Furthermore, in another instance, in 1374, during the process of sale and purchase, friars present there were: Mark of Krk, the guardian in Senj, Quaterno of Shkodër, the *lector*, Peter of Kotor, Quirino de Busanna, Lucha of Split, and Demetrius of Shkodër.²³⁸ Several years later, in 1380, during another

²²⁹ Matanić, "Franjevački počeci u Zadru," p. 13.

²³⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11; DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11'.

²³¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11'.

²³² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 34.

²³³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 17'.

²³⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 76-76'.

²³⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/1, fol. 126.

²³⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/1, fol. 126-126'.

²³⁷ CD XI, doc. 156, pp. 203-205.

²³⁸ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69.

sale and purchase, there were fewer friars noted in Senj: Nicholas Storto of Krk, the guardian in Senj, Gregory of Pag, Quirino de Busanna, but it was also written that there were others from the friary, so there were probably more people in the friary, at least matching the previous number of friars.²³⁹ Although the guardian was not the same as in 1374, but at least one friar remained in Senj for at least the timespan of six years, Quirino de Busanna. For such a small and at first glance, friary of minor importance, the Franciscan community was active in everyday activities, especially in the legal matters of property.

5.4. Entering the Order

Another interesting procedure was attested in the case of Dubrovnik and Trogir (although one of the friars in question originated from Šibenik). For the two friars in the 14th-century Dubrovnik there are extant testaments made by friars when entering the Order,²⁴⁰ while for the first one, originating from Šibenik but being a friar in Trogir, he composed his last will while in novitiate, which was explicitly stated. In general, the process of composing the last will when entering the Franciscan Order can be regarded as two-fold, one in just regular procedure when entering the friary, and second, as a token of ultimate vow of poverty. In the following lines, I will argue that it is the combination of both things, especially regarding the fact that both friars did have some “earthly” possessions to give up when entering a mendicant order.

In general, the vow of poverty has always been a fundamental principle of the life of the friars and other members which chose to follow their way of life. Adhering to this principle of poverty was not without difficulties and there was always a question to which degree the vow of poverty should be followed. Actually, this question arose many times in Franciscan history, and the inability to solve it ultimately led to the final division of the Order in the 16th century.²⁴¹ However, despite these various frictions and disagreements within the Order on a higher level, the life of friars in certain communes was not excessively affected, since we can all agree that theory is one thing, while practice is something completely different.

²³⁹ CD XVI, doc. 82, pp. 89-91.

²⁴⁰ These two testaments are published in: Sanja Miljan – Goran Budeč, “Živeći zavjet siromaštva: dvije oporuke franjevacu u Dubrovniku pretkraj 14. stoljeća” [Living the vow of poverty: two testaments of Franciscans in Dubrovnik at the end of the 14th century], in: *Magistra famosa. Zbornik u čast Mirjani Matijević Sokol*, ed. by Ivan Botica et al. (Split: Književni krug, 2023), pp. 627-642.

²⁴¹ For a more recent work of Franciscan historiography on the vow of poverty, its developmental phases and Franciscan economic thought, which goes hand in hand with the ideal of poverty, see: Ryan Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty and Franciscan Economic Thought 1209-1348*. For further clarification on Franciscan economic thought, see: Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth: From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society*.

The first ever testament made by a friar in Dalmatia was made on the 15th of November 1374 in Trogir. The friar in question, Paul, the son of late George Vidojević, comes from a family of Šibenik. The testament explains that at the point when it was composed, Friar Paul was still a novice and wanted to dispose of his goods and property. However, from his goods he first wanted to buy himself a good breviary worth 20 ducats, which is a substantial worth for a breviary, but he probably wanted to use it for future services or leave it to the friary in the future. Furthermore, it is worth underlining that in the first place, he is bequeathing goods to his family and in the second place, he is giving his possession to Bosnian friars. From his family, we know that he is the son of George Vidojević, who is deceased when Friar Paul was composing his last will, but we know that other members of his family are living. Thus, he was dividing his property and bequeathing it to his family – his brother Peter and sister Joanne and appointing his paternal uncle Dragonja and his mother Vlada as executors of his last will. It is interesting that the third executor is ser Gregory Dragojević, but we don't know the level of their connection at this moment. The only ones to whom Friar Paul bequeathed outside his family were friars from Bosnia, on two occasions. First, he commissioned one icon worth 25 pounds to be given to the church of Blessed Mary in Glamoč in the Vicariate of Bosnia in honor of the glorious Virgin. On the other hand, if Paul's brother Peter would not have children, Paul's part of the goods would be distributed into two parts: half would go to the poor and half to the friars in Bosnia, in a manner as the executors of his testament will deem fit.²⁴²

²⁴² *Testamentum fratris Pauli de Sibenico.*

*In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno natiuitatis eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo quarto. Indictione duodecima. Regnante domino nostro domino Lodouico serenissimo rege Vngarie et tempore quidem venerabilis patris domini Grisogoni Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia episcopi Traguriensis et egregii ac potentis viri domini Francisci de Georgiis de Iadra regii militis et de eius mandato honorabilis comitis eiusdem ciuitatis Tragurii suorumque iudicum nobilium virorum dominorum Augustini Casoti, Cige Iosep, Petri Michatii et Stipe Nicole. Die XV mensis nouembris. Frater Paulus filius condam Georgii Uidoeuich ordinis sancti Francisci minorum adhuc nouicius existens sanus mente, sensu et intellectu per gratiam Iesu Christi uolens bona sua disponere et ordinare ipsorum bonorum suorum ac rerum per hoc presens nuncupatiuum testamentum sine scriptis per hunc modum facere procurauit. In primis uoluit dictus testator et ordinauit quod de bonis suis soluatare (!) tertia pars debitorum patris sui et debita omnia ipsius testatoris siqua reperientur lege probata uel manifesta. Item uoluit dictus testator quod de dictis bonis suis ematur sibi unum bonum breuiarium ualoris ducatorum uiginti. Item reliquid dictus testator quod sui comissarii infrascripti faciant fieri unam anconam ualoris librarum uigintiquinque paruorum loco Beate Marie de Dlamoch de vicaria Bosene in honore ipsius virginis gloriose. Item reliquid dictus testator Petro, fratri suo, Iohanne sorori sue, recluse, medietatem residui omnium bonorum suorum ad tenendum, utendum, usufructandum et possidendum in uita sua et post eius mortem quod distribuatur pauperibus Dei. Uolens dictus testator quod de predicta medietate post mortem dicte Iohanne sui comissarii infrascripti dent aliquam partem aliis sororibus suis secundum quod eis uidebitur expedire vel secundum earum egestatem. Item reliquid dictus testator aliam medietatem residui predicti Petro fratri suo ad tenendum, possidendum et usufructandum in uita sua. Et post mortem si dictus Petrus reliquit filios uel filias uoluit dictus testator quod dicti filii uel filie dicti Petri possideant domos quas dictus testator possidet in ciuitate Sibenici libere et pleno iure. Sed si dictus Petrus decederit sine liberis uult dictus testator quod dicta medietas dicto Petro relicta distribuatur pauperibus Dei dando et distribuendo aliquam partem fratribus de Bosna sicut melius uidebitur comissariis infrascriptis. Commissarios autem suos elegit, fecit, constituit et ordinauit ser Gregorium Dragoeuich, ser Dragognam patrum dicti testatoris et dominam Vladam matrem eiusdem ad omnia presentis testamenti danda distribuenda et executioni mandanda. Et hanc esse uoluit suam ultimam uoluntatem quam ualere uoluit iure testamenti uel codicilli seu cuiuscumque alterius ultime uoluntatis. Actum Tragurii in statione Nicole Damiani presentibus presbitero Iohanne Catholica et presbitero Barte condam Polastri testibus vocatis et rogatis et ser Nicola Damiani examinatore (Marija Karbić – Zoran Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU," *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43 (2001), doc. 14, pp. 180-181.*

Contrary to the cases from Dubrovnik, as will be seen below, in the case of Friar Paul, all the information about him, about his family and kin is mentioned only in this source. His future activity in the Order is not known, and although there are also several other friars bearing the same name of Paul who originated from Šibenik, and whose career can be reconstructed to a certain extent, none of them can be identified as our Paul, although some of these individuals could fit the timeframe of Friar Paul's supposed activity. However, I will argue that most probably Friar Paul was overlooked in historiography because he was only mentioned in one source, consisting of one busta of testaments kept in the archive in Zagreb, and when it was published in the early 2000s, it happened in a journal which did not draw the attention of modern and Franciscan scholarship alike. So, he is not noted in *Croatian Franciscan Biographical Lexicon* from 2010.

The other two cases of the friars from Dubrovnik composing testaments proved to be more fruitful for our research. The first one is Friar Lawrence de Mençe from 1375.²⁴³ The Menčetić family is a part of the circle of the oldest and longest-lasting noble families of Dubrovnik, which reached their peak in the 14th century.²⁴⁴ From the testament, we know that Friar Lawrence was the son of Nicholas, but it was difficult to place him with certainty in the genealogy. In contrast, Lawrence's personal information testifies that he had a fruitful professional career. The assumption is that he was born around 1355, which would mean that he joined the Franciscan order when he was about 20 years old. In previous historiography he was often incorrectly called Lawrence *de Monte*,²⁴⁵ but he really played a significant role not only in his Order and city, but also in the Kingdom. The first written information on Lawrence was recorded when he was sent as a *nuncio* to both King Sigismund of Luxembourg and Ladislav of Naples in 1399, and in 1404 he took over the position of guardian in the friary of Dubrovnik, for which position he should have had a longer service in the Order before arriving at this position. He was the custodian of Dubrovnik in 1413, when Anti-pope John XXIII sent him as his chaplain to Bosnia and Dalmatia in order to win believers and clergy to his side. In the same or the following year, the same anti-pope appointed him provincial of Dalmatia,

²⁴³ *Testamentum fratris Laurencii de Mence*
MCCCLXXV, die IV Novembris

Ego quidem frater Laurencius condam Nicole de Mence ordinis Minorum non professus, volens facere meam professionem, facio meum ultimum testamentum cum mea sana mente. Dimicto partem meam Stagni et Punte cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentiis Giucho, condam Pasche de Mençe filio naturali, cum ista condicione quod in festo Nativitatis Domini secundo proximo futuro debeat dare meo epitropo ducatos auri L, quos ille epitropus debeat distribuere prout sibi uidebitur et placebit et summam dederit in dicto termino quod dictus epitropus vendat dictam partem et faciat quicquid sibi uidebitur et placebit de denariis vendicionis ipsius. Facio meum epitropum ser Martholum de condam Petro de Thiodisio et cetera. Ser Blasius de Grede iudex et ser Michael de Babalio testis. Quod quidem testamentum fuit authenticatum in MCCCLXXVI, die ultimo Februarii, a domino rectore ser Andrea Dobre de Binčola et iurato iudice ser Blasio de Grede et ser Martholo de Thiodisio ex eo, quia facta fuit ipsis plena fides, quia ipse frater Laurencius fecit professionem (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/1, fol. 126).

²⁴⁴ Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 3. Vlasteoski rodovi (M-Z)* (Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), vol. 3, p. 59.

²⁴⁵ The possibility that this was the same person as Lawrence Menčetić was noted by Žugaj in his work *Nomenklator*.

thus coming into conflict with the provincial Nicholas of Zadar. This dispute was also brought before the Doge of Venice, Tomasso Mocenigo, in 1414, who turned to the General Minister of the Order, Antonio Vinitti de Pereto, to resolve the dispute between them. Unfortunately, the dispute did not end favorably for Lawrence, since the doge sided with Nicholas. At the Council of Constance (1415), where the schism in the Franciscan Order was resolved, Lawrence officially lost his position as the Provincial of Dalmatia.²⁴⁶

As for Lawrence's last will, in it he leaves his part of the land in Ston to a certain *Givcho* (Živko), the illegitimate son of *Pasche de Mençe*, so it can be assumed that they certainly have some family connection, although it is strange why Lawrence did not mention it in his testament. Until proven otherwise, it would be safe to assume that they were therefore either cousins or some distant relatives. However, most likely at that time their family connection was common knowledge to most of the people around them, so it was not even necessary to have it written down in the document. A certain Živko from the Menčetić branch moved to Ston and there established the branch of the commoner family Galović, is mentioned in the sources, and it is easily possible that it is the same person from the testament of Friar Lawrence. Speaking about the further life path of Živko, we have written information that during the division of the land in Dubrovnik's coast in 1399, he received a quarter of the part in Kurili (Petrovo Selo). It is interesting that Živko's family continued the tradition of joining the Mendicant Orders, so his two descendants followed the same path as his cousin Lawrence, the only difference being that one member joined the Franciscan Order and the other the Dominican order. This branch of the Galović family is assumed to have died out in the first quarter of the 16th century.²⁴⁷

There is an interesting note in Lawrence's testament in which the city count of Dubrovnik, *ser Andrea Dobre de Binçola*, the judge *ser Blasius de Grede*, and the executor of the will, *ser Martholus de Thiodisio*, testified that Lovro was already ordained on February 29, 1376, which confirms that he really made his last will when he entered the order, and they testified that the last will was carried out. The most important and largest part of his bequests, as already mentioned, went to his cousin Živko, to whom Lawrence left his part of Ston and Punta with all the rights that belonged to him. The condition was that by Christmas fifty ducats should be given to the executor of the will (*ser Martholus de condam Petro de Thiodisio*), who should then sell the said parts to him for that amount, and with the money he would receive from this sale he can do as he sees fit. Lovro's testament may not be full of information about the bequests and wealth that Lovro voluntarily gave up fulfilling his wish of

²⁴⁶ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 60.; Marijan Žugaj, *Nomenklator franjevac konventualaca hrvatske provincije Sv. Jeronima 1217-1559*. (Zagreb: no publisher, 1993.), p. 65; *Hrvatski franjevački biografski leksikon*, eds Franjo Emanuel Hoško-Pejo Čošković-Vicko Kapitanović (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža [etc.], 2010.), p. 342.

²⁴⁷ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, pp. 46, 63.

living the Franciscan ideal of poverty, but it still shows how he took care of his family, whether it was close or distant. It is also interesting that the testaments of the Franciscan friars Lawrence Menčetić and Nicholas Bonda were written in the register one after the other (with a time gap of one week), which was certainly not accidental and shows that they both entered the order at the same time. As will also be seen from the case of the next testament, this was not the case, as I will argue, where the friars or individuals bequeathing the property was done solely for safe keeping, in these cases, these two individuals followed the Franciscan rule to the letter and took the vow of poverty.

The third testament here is the testament of Friar Nicholas Bonda.²⁴⁸ The Bonda family, according to certain historians, originated from Epidaurus, while others say, from Kotor. Be that as may, they were one of the oldest noble families in Dubrovnik.²⁴⁹ Unfortunately, not much is known about Friar Nicholas Bonda, but we can reconstruct other members of his family. Nikola's grandfather was Andrew Petranjin, the count of Zaton and Rijeka in 1284, and Nicholas' father, Savin (ca. 1285 – ca. 1367). Savin's brothers and Nicholas' uncles were Pasko and Marin. Pasko, as a representative of the commune, went to Apulia to obtain grain in 1360, and Marin was a canon. Nicholas had one brother, Unučet, whose sons were Savin, a canon, and Andrew.²⁵⁰ Since the testament of Nicholas Bonda is longer and more complex than the one of Lawrence Menčetić, it is necessary to try to solve several questions first, some of which are not directly written in Nicholas's testament, but they give a broader context. First, since Nicholas, in addition to leaving his worldly goods that should be sold

²⁴⁸ *Testamentum fratris Nicolai de Bonda*

In nomine Christi amen. Anno domini MCCCCLXXV, indictione XIII, die XI mensis novembris. Ego frater Nicolaus ordinis sancti Francisci adhuc non professus, videlicet filius ser Savini de Bonda, quantum ad mundum, facio meum ultimum testamentum sic exponens. Inprimis volo quod dentur pro decima et primicia grossi VI. Item volo quod vinea que est in Zuppana, que fuit mei patris, vendatur per manum meorum epitroporum quam cicius poterit. Item volo quod vendatur duo domus lapidee que sunt posite in Pusterula et de denariis dicte vendicionis volo quod debeat satisfieri et distribui testamentum mei patris sicut ipse ordinavit. Item volo quod dentur Ziue Junii de Chaboga yperperi CCC, quos denarios ego inveni per quaternum mei patris quia fuit ei debitor ex eo quia ipse tenuit multo tempore suas possessiones. Item volo quod pars que nobis fuit data pro communi in Brenno sit heredis Pasche de Bonda. Item volo quod pars Stagni et Punte cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis, que fuit mei patris, sit Giue supradicti pro yperperis DC, et post mortem mee matris, et quod dictus Çiue non possit intrare ad possedium dicte partis donec non dederit dictos perperos DC meis epitropis. Item volo quod pars quam habeo cum angardia yperperorum VI, quod sit supradicti Ziue, sic in Stagno, sicut in Punta, cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis et eciam cum toto vassellamine arganeis et ordegnis que in Stagno et in Punta reperientur tantum de ista parte, quam sibi donavi, quantum de illa, quam sibi vendidi. Et volo quod intelligatur post mortem mee matris, sic ista pars, sicut alia. Item volo si, quod Deus auertat, si Ziue suprascriptus moriretur ante Mirussam meam matrem non habendo heredem matronilem, post mortem Mire, mee matris, ambo partes Stagni et Punte debeant vendi illi qui plus dabit, sic illa quam sibi vendo, sicut illa quam sibi donavi. Item volo quod totum quicquid superauerit post satisfacionem testamenti mei patris eciam et mei, mei epitropi possint dispensare et distribuere ad eorum bonam conscienciam pro amore Dei, sicut eis videbitur. Item volo quod suprascripta Mire mea mater, sic in vita sua, sicut in morte, possit facere et ordinare suam dotem totam eciam et massariciam domus sicut sibi placebit. Et super hiis constituo meos epitropos et commissarios, thesaurarios sancte Marie et Ziue filium Junii de Chaboga. Hoc autem testamentum et cetera.

MCCCCLXXVI, die XVI Februarii. Prefatum testamentum per dominum rectorem ser Andream de Binçola et iuratum iudicem ser Blasium de Grede et ser Martholum de Thiodisio, hoc testamentum fuit authenticatum ex eo quia facta fuit ipsis plena fides, quia ipse fecit professionem (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/1, fol.126-126').

²⁴⁹ Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 2. Vlasteoski rodovi (A-L) (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012), p. 134.

²⁵⁰ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 2, p. 137.

off to financially settle various bequests, had the goal of fulfilling the bequests from his father's will. Therefore, the first step was to find his father's testament and see what is written there. Namely, Nicholas wants the executors to sell as soon as possible the vineyard in Šipan, which belonged to his father, as well as two stone houses in Pusterula, and he is doing this so that the sale of these properties would satisfy the bequests which had already been determined in the will of his father Savin de Bond, who made it on September 22, 1367. It is interesting that in his will, his father Savin also executed the bequests that were determined according to his parents' testaments, as well as that he expressed his wish that his wife and son settle all his debts, which we see that in the end Friar Nicholas (or Nikša, as his father addressed him in his last will) wanted to respect during his entry into the Franciscan Order. It seems that it is no wonder that Nicholas decided to join the Franciscan order, since his father, according to his testament, showed inclination towards Mendicant Orders, both Franciscans and Dominicans. Savin Bonda not only left them monetary bequests, both for masses and for works in churches, for the latter 400 perpers, but also wished that both orders receive the rest of the money that would remain after all other bequests are distributed.²⁵¹

The person around whom most of Friar Nicholas' testament revolves is *Zive (Živko) Junii de Chaboga*, so the second question that needs to be asked is who exactly was this Živko? Although the Chaboga family produced many members, it was problematic to accurately identify Živko, but it was made possible by using the study of Irmgard Mahnken. Živko's father was *Junius Give de Caboga*, who was a merchant who traded fabric and leather and who, like his wife, died in 1363 during the plague epidemic. Mahnken states that they had only one son, *Give Junii de Caboga*, who was a minor when they died, and gives a nice overview of his activities and life, as well as the lives of his descendants. Give or Živko, was nominated for the Small Council every year during the 1380s, but he never managed to get elected and held positions of mediocre importance. In 1380, he received permission to export two and a half *miliarium* of iron, for which he had to undertake to import 100 *starium* of wheat to Dubrovnik. Živko's special contribution to the life of city commune were certainly his sons: legitimate Nicholas and illegitimate son Luka, whose joint businesses became part of the oldest preserved documents of this nature under the title *Libro di negocio di Nicolo e Luca Caboga and Giornale del Libro della Compagna di Nicolo e Lucha de Chaboga et comenca nell'anno 1437-1438*.²⁵²

The third question, perhaps even the most important, as well as the most complicated to solve: what is the link between Nicholas and his family (especially his father) to Živko *Junii de Chaboga*, since he is so represented in Nicholas' last will? This turned out to be a significantly more difficult

²⁵¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/1, fol. 25-25'.

²⁵² Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 2, p. 152; Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku: Genealoške table* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1960), pp. 168-169.

question to answer, because in the testament of Nicholas' father Savin, the only person from the Chaboga family that was written down was Blaise Chaboga, who, together with Mark Georgio, was a sworn witness to the writing of Savin's testament and reported it, as it was customary before the city count and judges. Since Živko, as already mentioned, lost both his parents as a minor during the plague epidemic, perhaps the connection with the Bonda family goes back even before Živko's birth. However, even though for now there is no stronger and more obvious connection between the two than purely business relations, it is not excluded that this will not be found out in the future in further and more thorough research of the sources.

Returning to Nicholas's testament and all bequests that need to be fulfilled, the testator wants to settle some of his debts, and returns to the said Živko *Junii de Chaboga* 300 *perpers*, which he received from a quarter of his father's estate, who was in debt to Živko, since Živko had a long time in his possession. He also sells to the same Živko his part of Ston and Punta (also the former property of his late father) for 600 *perpers*, but only after the death of his mother, and explicitly states that Živko must not come into possession of this land until then, and that he must pay the said sum to his executors of the will. There is another condition about this land. Namely, if Živko dies before the death of his mother and if he has no legitimate heirs, both parts of Ston and Punta should be sold to whoever will give a higher price. After all these conditions are met, especially those already determined from his father's will, the executors can dispose of the rest of the goods as their conscience dictates in accordance with their love of God. It is also emphasized that Nicholas' mother Mira, both in life and in death, can dispose of her dowry and the house as she wishes. It is interesting that one of the executors of his will is the same Živko *Junii de Chaboga*, with whom he is obviously closely related, and it is hard to believe that this connection was of a purely economic nature, although for now it is not possible to find any other written evidence of friendship or family relations.

Nicholas' last will, which is also primarily due to his departure to the Franciscan order, is a kind of expression of respect for his parents, who must be taken care of both spiritually and financially before Nicholas himself renounces all the privileges of his wealthy life and begins to follow the path of poverty. In this will, the emphasis is mostly on paying off debts and selling property to one person, but also on the other hand, on taking care of his mother, whom he does not want to deprive of material goods during her life. Just because he chose the path of poverty and did not have any possessions, it does not mean that his mother must follow his example, and since it is most likely that his mother is old, he wants to ensure her a comfortable old age.

6. MOBILITY WITHIN THE PROVINCE, OFFICES AND SERVICES OF FRIARS

6.1. Mobility of Friars

Although with sometimes limited information, it is important to analyze further the lives of individual friars and how they had to be mobile during their life in the Order. This subchapter will mainly focus on the mobility within the Province of Dalmatia, but not exclusively since it is necessary to establish certain patterns. In general, friars were organized in one unique Province and as such, due to their mobility, they cannot be connected exclusively to one friary within the Province, although some friars were leading more stationary life than others. On the other hand, as was shown in previous subchapters, others were moving outside of the Province either performing service for the community or as a part of their educational and career path. Unfortunately, this kind of analysis was only possible to be made for two friaries, Zadar and Dubrovnik, since for others there is not a large enough database to make such assumptions. As it was said, there will be two groups of friars singled out: those who frequently moved from friary to friary and those who were mainly stationed in the friary of one commune. This criterion of their movement should be observed according to need and services within the Order, since some services (provincial, lector, vicar) did require the mobility of the person performing it. On the other hand, although movement and relocations within the Province were enabled or maybe even encouraged by the Order, friars who did not perform any service could reside in only one friary during their whole life in the Order, and others would go where they were needed, inside or outside the Province.

Of course, as we saw previously, there were groups of friars that would reside only in one friary. That either in Zadar or in Dubrovnik. However, there were also several friars who were both in friaries in Zadar and Dubrovnik, I will name here three of them. Friar Andrew de Sargo, was in Dubrovnik in 1282²⁵³ and 1283,²⁵⁴ and in 1296 in Zadar.²⁵⁵ Friar Gualfredo was first in Zadar in 1288²⁵⁶ and 1292,²⁵⁷ and moved to Dubrovnik, where he was noted on multiple occasions and in longer timespan, from 1295 to 1308 and was involved in the life of the community in Dubrovnik.²⁵⁸ The third friar is Peter Gisda from Kotor, who performed different services within these two friaries and

²⁵³ Dubrovački 2, doc. 845, pp. 192-193.

²⁵⁴ Dubrovački 2, doc. 1329, pp. 363-365.

²⁵⁵ SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90.

²⁵⁶ SZB I, doc. 13, pp. 50-51.

²⁵⁷ SZB I, doc. 35, pp. 67-69.

²⁵⁸ Dubrovački 4, doc. 1297, pp. 280-281 (1295); Dubrovački 4, doc. 1315, p. 290 (1296); Dubrovački 4, doc. 1407, pp. 338-339; doc. 1421, pp. 345-346; DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 2'-3 (1299), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 7 (1302), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 23' (1305), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 27' (1306), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 34 (1307), DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 37'-38; DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 41' (1308).

within the Province and he shifted between friaries. First, he was in Dubrovnik in 1348,²⁵⁹ then in Zadar as a guardian in 1356,²⁶⁰ then a guardian in Dubrovnik in 1358,²⁶¹ then again in Zadar as the vicar of the Province in 1373,²⁶² then again as a guardian in Dubrovnik in 1374 and 1378,²⁶³ and just as a “regular” friar in 1379²⁶⁴ and 1384.²⁶⁵ Besides being a guardian in both friaries, he was also present at the chapter in Senj in 1374 during legal acts.²⁶⁶

Among the friars who were mostly connected with one friary there is one friar who was the pillar of the community in Zadar for a long time. Friar Benedict from Zadar spent most of his life in the friary in Zadar and performed various offices, from which most of them were tied to his place of habitation, that is, the friary. The only time when he was noted outside of the friary was when he was in Bologna in 1356²⁶⁷ and 1357,²⁶⁸ when he probably obtained a certain degree, since he performed many services which required him to be an educated man. He was noted as inquisitor when he was in Zadar in 1373,²⁶⁹ but due to the nature of such an office, there was a high probability that he had to travel, although it was not written in sources where he should go. Later, almost in continuity, he is noted in documents in Zadar in the period from 1382 to 1394, sometimes performing the function of the *lector*,²⁷⁰ guardian²⁷¹ or *custos*,²⁷² and sometimes performing a spiritual service as a confessor²⁷³ or legal, as the executor of the testaments of inhabitants of Zadar.²⁷⁴

Benedict was not the only friar to go outside of the Province for his education, and as it was said in the section about education, there were friars who chose this kind of path for themselves. Francis of Zadar was in Bologna in 1389,²⁷⁵ while John de Grisogonis did the same, but two years later, and in Padua.²⁷⁶ Nicholas of Zadar travelled the most, that is, to four universities: 1378 in

²⁵⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 129.

²⁶⁰ SZB IV/II, doc. 190, pp. 290-291.

²⁶¹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 90.

²⁶² Stipišić, *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 15-16.

²⁶³ Ante Liepopili, “Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku,” *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, razreda historičko-filološkog i juridičko-filozofičkoga* 220 (1919): 36; Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 90.

²⁶⁴ CD XVI, doc. 24, pp. 30-33.

²⁶⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 177-179.

²⁶⁶ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69; CD XV, doc. 49, pp. 69-72.

²⁶⁷ AF 11, p. 244.

²⁶⁸ AF 11, p. 39.

²⁶⁹ Stipišić, *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

²⁷⁰ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f V, fasc. 1, fol. 614-616 (1382); DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 14-15; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42 (1384.); DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 15-16', CD XVI, doc. 407, pp. 524-528 (1385).

²⁷¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 72-73 (1390); DAZd, ZB, VDF, b. I, fasc. II/2, fol. 4 (1393).

²⁷² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 21.

²⁷³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 77-77'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 79'-80' (1391).

²⁷⁴ DAZd, ZB, RM, b I, fasc. III, fol. 21-22 (1388); DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 89-90; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 21 (1391).

²⁷⁵ AF 11, p. 273.

²⁷⁶ SART. 1, p. 990, nr. 31; p. 1269, nr. 8.

Padua,²⁷⁷ 1382 in Bologna,²⁷⁸ around 1384 in Cambridge,²⁷⁹ and around 1393 in Oxford,²⁸⁰ on which two universities he acquired the title of a bachelor. Besides being away outside of the Province, Nicholas also spent a significant amount of time in the Province, which is clearly visible from the fact that he was chosen as minister provincial of Dalmatia.²⁸¹ Although there was not much information about Nicholas residing elsewhere after he became the minister provincial (he may have actually died soon after), from other examples of minister provincials it is evident that they needed to travel a lot, as the office itself required them to do. There is an example similar to that of Friar Nicholas, but with one significant difference. The friar in question, Minor of Dürres, who first became a provincial and then went to studies. He was the minister provincial while residing in Zadar in 1377,²⁸² and two years later he was still performing the same service but just changed his place of residence to Trogir.²⁸³ Shortly after he is located in Assisi in 1380,²⁸⁴ and four years later he is mentioned at the chapter in Padua.²⁸⁵ The same year he returned to Zadar with the title of the master of theology,²⁸⁶ but after there was a lack of information about his activities, and he is mentioned much later, in 1403 as the bishop in Svač (present day Montenegro),²⁸⁷ and in the same year as the archbishop in Dürres.²⁸⁸

As it was seen, the type of office or service which a certain friar performed played a crucial role in influencing the amount of mobility and relocation which will be needed during a lifetime in the Order. As it was seen, the office of the minister provincial required a more active and dynamic life, and the individual performing it had to be ready to depart to any friary which needed his help. Another minister provincial who is noteworthy is Friar Anthony from Pula, who resided in several friaries. At the beginning of his career, in 1302, he was located in Zadar,²⁸⁹ then as the minister provincial he was in Senj in 1312,²⁹⁰ in Trogir in 1315,²⁹¹ and finally becoming a bishop in Pula in 1319/1320.²⁹² Maybe the place of origin had influenced Friar Anthony to take a position as the bishop in Pula, and usually the Istrian part of the Province was somehow neglected, although there were

²⁷⁷ SART. 1, p. 989, nr. 27.

²⁷⁸ AF 11, p. 267.

²⁷⁹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

²⁸⁰ ASSF, Perg. 82; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 74.

²⁸¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 114-115' (1400); DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. I/2, fol. 41'-42 (1403).

²⁸² DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 6, fol. 37'-38.

²⁸³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

²⁸⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

²⁸⁵ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

²⁸⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

²⁸⁷ *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani*, ed. by Konrad Eubel, vol. 1 (Monasterii, sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1913.) (further on: HC1), p. 233.

²⁸⁸ HC1, p. 466.

²⁸⁹ CD VIII, doc. 32, pp. 35-37.

²⁹⁰ CD VIII, doc. 260., pp. 314-315.

²⁹¹ CD VIII, doc. 324, pp. 397-399; Lucius, vol. 542, pp. 43-44/I, pp. 15-22; CD VIII, doc. 448, pp. 547-548.

²⁹² Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

other minister provincials originating from there, just as Michael of Poreč. Another minister provincial with a similar path was Michael of Zadar. He was first noted as the lector in Triest in 1341,²⁹³ and as the minister provincial he is located in Senj in 1354,²⁹⁴ where he also resided at least in 1370.²⁹⁵ Michael was not only the minister provincial, but he also performed the service of a syndic in Zadar in 1366.²⁹⁶ He ended his career similarly as Anthony of Pula, and became the bishop, but in Osor in Cres.²⁹⁷ Just from these two examples we can see that, although some services worked on a local or custodial level, minister provincials had to cover the whole area of the Province of Dalmatia.

Although it is logical that a minister provincial had to travel throughout the whole Province, sometimes even stationary services would require travel, but in a bit different sense than the minister provincials. It could be considered that if a friar was doing such an exemplary job at one friary as a guardian, then he was sent to another to perform the same service as guardian. Such an example is aforementioned Friar Peter Gisda of Kotor, who was the guardian of the friary in Zadar in 1356,²⁹⁸ and two years later went on to obtain the same service in the friary in Dubrovnik.²⁹⁹ There is one friar who was also the guardian in one friary but needed to relocate to perform other services in the Province, but not those of a guardian. Friar Francis was generally stationed in Triest as a guardian, where he is mentioned in 1321 and 1329,³⁰⁰ and Trieste was probably his place of residence, and that only time he would leave was to perform a service or function for the Order. Therefore, in 1331 he relocated to Kotor, where he was the lector, spiritual advisor and the executor of the will.³⁰¹ Afterwards he also departed from Trieste and was in Zadar in 1337 as the inquisitor,³⁰² and two years later he returned to Trieste where in 1339 he resumed his service of the guardian.³⁰³ The case of Friar Peter is actually not so ordinary, since he relocated from Trieste to Kotor, which is a very long distance almost the whole length of the Province, however, since Friar Peter was a lector and an inquisitor, he was surely an educated man and important for functioning of the Province. Therefore, one service led to others, but probably only if the person had done satisfactory job and enjoyed respect from friars within the Province.

²⁹³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, pp. 77.

²⁹⁴ CD XII, doc.162, pp. 216-218.

²⁹⁵ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41

²⁹⁶ DAZd, ZB, PP, fasc. 3, fol. 26, nr. 94.

²⁹⁷ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 4, fol. 46'.

²⁹⁸ SZB V, doc. 190, pp. 290-291.

²⁹⁹ Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 36.

³⁰⁰ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 30

³⁰¹ Kotorski I, doc. 732, pp. 257-258.

³⁰² CD X, doc. 257, pp. 344-346.

³⁰³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 30.

6.2. Offices (Minister Provincial, *custos*, vicar, guardian, *lector* and inquisitor)

In the following lines, it is necessary to observe various offices within the Franciscan Order and the individuals who obtained it. The Province of Dalmatia did not have an official centre of its authority, but, in the Angevin period (1358-1409), Zadar was the capital city of Croatia and Dalmatia, the city was of importance for the friars themselves. The significance is not only visible on the level of Province, but also on the level of the whole Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, especially in the context of the geographical position, which enabled the relocation of friars within and outside the Province.

6.2.1. Minister Provincial

The Minister provincials were friars elected either by the provincial chapter or the minister general, who were responsible for the government of the order and visited the friaries within the province. However, since there was no official seat in Dalmatia, that is the friary in a certain city, there were frequently relocated in the Province, although that was not the only reason for their mobility, of course. Besides not having an official center, they needed to visit different friars and deal with current issues or potential problems or just supervise and advice friars in different friaries. However, since the provincial had to travel frequently around the Province, the assumption would be that they would not be of older age, although certain maturity and experience was surely necessary to manage this office. Therefore, presumably the ideal age for being a provincial would be around 40 years old, although this does not mean that provincials could not be either younger or older than this. In the following lines there is going to be list of provincials who either originated from Zadar or were at certain times residing there, and there is going to be a short review of each of them.³⁰⁴ Based on the analysis of the available rotation and relocation of friars in the Province, it can be concluded that the mandate of a provincial lasted three years, although some provincials were in office for longer periods, that is, with several subsequent mandates, from observing the number of their years on the job. The list of the provincials from Zadar or those who were residing in the friary goes as follows:

1. Mihael of Zadar (1276-1288)
2. Pax (1302-1308)
3. Anthony of Pula (1311-1319)
4. Mihael of Zadar (1349-1355)
5. Emanuel de Famagosta/de Cypro (1358-1361)
6. Minor of Durrës (1376-1385/6)
7. Nicholas of Zadar (1392-?)

³⁰⁴ Cf. Chapter on the organization of life in friaries of the province.

The first known provincial originating from Zadar was Michael, for whom it seems that his mandate in managing the Province of Dalmatia lasted for 12 years, that is, 4 mandates. The document mentioning him as such dates from 1278, when Pope Nicholas III addressed a letter to him, in which he blesses the friars and wishes that the Jews are protected from any injustice.³⁰⁵ In an otherwise not fully reliable source, the *Necrology*, the time of his death was noted down as the 9th of July 1295.³⁰⁶ We can assume that at least the year of the death was correctly written, but in general, it is difficult to assume when Michael actually died.

The place of origin of next provincial named Pax is not known, but he was residing in Zadar as provincial in 1302, when he was a witness during the agreement regarding the election of councilors for managing the incomes of the cathedral church.³⁰⁷ According to the Marijan Žugaj, Friar Pax obtained his office for two mandates, but he is no longer found in the sources associated with Zadar, which is not surprising since the preservation of documents in the beginning of the 14th century was still substantially diminished.³⁰⁸

Anthony of Pula was residing in Zadar even before becoming a provincial, in 1302, also being a witness alongside the aforementioned Friar Pax.³⁰⁹ His office lasted from 1311 to 1319, that is, three mandates. As the provincial of Dalmatia, in 1312 he was located in Senj, when the vicar of the custody of Rab, Dominic from Triest, instructed by Anthony, waived the right to two houses in the name of the friary in Senj. These two houses were bequeathed to the friary in the testaments of Peter or Bartholomew from Zadar and Mihailo Vazanella from Krk.³¹⁰ He was also acting as the provincial in Trogir in 1315, when the council of Trogir made some changes to the convents due to attacks of Ban Mladen,³¹¹ and when the friars returned the palace and the tower of St John to the community in Trogir, where they immigrated temporarily after their friary was destroyed.³¹² His office as provincial ended when he became the bishop in Pula, which was around 1319 or 1320,³¹³ and he was still acting as such in 1325.³¹⁴ The date of his death is the 19th of October.³¹⁵

Michael of Zadar was provincial from 1349 to 1355, that is, As the provincial of Dalmatia he is mentioned in 1354, when he received a house and a vineyard on behalf of the friary in Senj, which

³⁰⁵ CD VI, doc. 216, pp. 251-253.

³⁰⁶ Žugaj, *Nomenklator franjevača konventualaca*, p. 77.

³⁰⁷ CD VIII, doc. 32, pp. 35-37.

³⁰⁸ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

³⁰⁹ CD VIII, doc. 32, pp. 35-37.

³¹⁰ CD VIII, doc. 260, pp. 314-315.

³¹¹ CD VIII, doc. 324, pp. 397-399.

³¹² CD VIII, doc. 448, pp. 547-548.

³¹³ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

³¹⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 18.

³¹⁵ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

was donated by Countess Elisabeth, the widow of Duimo, the count of Krk,³¹⁶ and in the same friary in Senj he was listed as the former provincial in 1370.³¹⁷ Michael was located in Zadar only after his office as provincial ended, in 1366, when he as a syndic arranged the arrival of the new chancellor,³¹⁸ and in 1377 as the bishop of Osor and a witness during the reading of the royal letters.³¹⁹ As it is visible from the example of Friar Michael, provincial would relocated frequently around the Province, and they would move on to other different ecclesiastical positions after the end of the provincialate.

Friar Emanuel, the provincial from 1358 to 1361, is only mentioned in Zadar at the end of this office, that is, in 1361, when he also performed a service as a spiritual advisor (*patrinus*) of Bartholomew of late Mauro de Grisogonis, who bequeathed him a sum of three ducats in his testament,³²⁰ which was a substantial amount of money.

Next provincial is Minor of Durrës, for whom there is more information on his career path and life in the Order. His office as the provincial of Dalmatia lasted from 1376 to 1385/1386, which is approximately around three mandates. He was residing in Zadar as provincial in the beginning of this office, in 1377, while giving a statement on behalf of friars in Zadar that they received money from several members of the family de Saladinis.³²¹ However, it seems that he did not stay for long in Zadar, since he is mentioned in Trogir in 1379, and after that he even travelled outside the Province, in 1380 in Assisi, and in 1384 in Padua.³²² His travelling to Padua was not only for business, but also how obtained his degree (probably even sooner than 1384), since he is mentioned at the chapter on the same year in Zadar as the master of theology.³²³ However, his career path does not stop here. Next year he is noted in the catalogue of the minister general of Order as the provincial of Dalmatia,³²⁴ and later, in 1403 he took over the position of the bishop in Svač,³²⁵ and was elected as the archbishop of Durrës.³²⁶ Friar Minor of Durrës is an extraordinary example of a Franciscan friar with longstanding and respectable career, who obtained different ecclesiastical offices.

The last provincial in the observed period had a similar career path as Minor of Durrës, in the same of being a successful and respectable member of the Order. The friar in question is Nicholas of Zadar, whose office of the provincial of Dalmatia started in 1392, but, unfortunately, it is not known when it ended. The difference between Minor and Nicholas is that Nicholas attended his studies

³¹⁶ CD XII, doc.162, pp. 216-218.

³¹⁷ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41.

³¹⁸ DAZd, ZB, PP, fasc. 3, fol. 26, nr. 94.

³¹⁹ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 4, fol. 46'.

³²⁰ Testamenti Zara I, fol. 5-9'.

³²¹ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 6, fol. 37'-38.

³²² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

³²³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

³²⁴ AFH 15 (1922), p. 348.

³²⁵ HC1, p. 233.

³²⁶ HC1, p. 466.

before becoming provincial. First in 1378, he is found on the list of students in Padua who were present when Francesco Turchetto performed a Mass in front of them in the chapel *delle Stimmate*,³²⁷ and then in 1382 in Bologna as a witness to the writing of the last will.³²⁸ In Zadar, he was present at the chapter in 1384, where he was titled as a bachelor of Cambridge,³²⁹ and he was still (or again) in Zadar in 1390 when he received a bequest.³³⁰ However, this title was not the only one which he received. He was noted as the Bachelor of Theology from Oxford in 1393, in a document where the Friar Peter, the bishop of Novara, named him as his chaplain.³³¹ As the provincial of Dalmatia he is mentioned in 1400, when he was the executor of the testament,³³² and he was clearly fond of residing in his place of origin, Zadar, and respected by its inhabitants, since the magister Paul, the son of late ship-builder Butko of Zadar instructed him to choose one friar to go to pilgrimage of the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.³³³

Connected with the office of a provincial, there is another friar worth mentioning. Peter of Zadar was noted in 1345 in Senj as *socius* of the provincial, as a witness during the giving of permission to erect an altar and the tomb in the church of friars in Senj.³³⁴ Socius was the companion for officials of the community and for to be a companion of the provincial, a person had to be of good character and respected in the community. According to the archontology of provincials of Dalmatia, Peter was supposed to be socius of Friar Silvester, who was the provincial from 1340 to 1349.³³⁵ Although this is the only information on the service of the socius, it shows that the provincials, besides occasionally having vicars as their deputies (at least in Dalmatia), had help from other friars, which could have had a more personal preference and attachment than a professional one.

From these examples it could be concluded that friars who were elected for the position of the provincial, progressed in their career path and later held other high ecclesiastical positions, as was the office of the bishop or archbishop. The reputation which they obtained from being a provincial could lead to other offices or services, even for lay authorities, as that of the communal syndic or the executors of the testaments, or performed spiritual services, such was the one of the spiritual advisors to the inhabitants of the city.

³²⁷ SART. 1, p. 989, nr. 27.

³²⁸ AF 11, p. 267.

³²⁹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

³³⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 72-73.

³³¹ ASSF, Perg. 82; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 74.

³³² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 114-115'.

³³³ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. I/2, fol. 41'-42.

³³⁴ CD XI, doc. 156, pp. 203-205.

³³⁵ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

6.2.2. *Custos*

As was already mentioned, the Province of Dalmatia was theoretically divided into four custodies: the custody of Dubrovnik, the custody of Split-Zadar, the custody of Rab and the custody of Istria.³³⁶ Each custody had its center and its *custos*, who is a friar appointed to supervise groups of friaries in a particular territory under the authority of the minister provincial, and who could also be considered as an assistant to the provincial and would be in charge of solving the relationship between friaries inside of a certain custody. The following list contains *custodes* and the years when they were performing this service, although the duration of their office was not possible to reconstruct.

List of *custodes* in Zadar:

1. Paul of Šibenik (1368)
2. Nicholas of Split (1384)
3. Paul of Šibenik (1387) (second time)
4. Benedict of Zadar (1394)

Paul of Šibenik, who was in 1368 in Split, is in fact listed as the *custos* of Dalmatia, which could be interpreted as that sometimes the custody of Split-Zadar would be titled as the custody of Dalmatia, further emphasizing that it was considered as the center of the Province.³³⁷ Only in 1387 is Paul named as the *custos* in Zadar, which examining some account books from Pag.³³⁸ However, Paul did obtain another office within the Order during the years that he was not a *custos*. In 1381, while being a lector in Šibenik, he was allowed to travel with one companion in the Province of Hungary, the Vicariate of Bosnia and in the royal courts of Hungary and Bosnia, and he could choose this companion from the Province of Friar Felix from Genoa, although it is not clear which Province would this be.³³⁹

Between the two mandates of Paul of Šibenik, the *custos* in Zadar was Friar Nicholas of Split, who was present on the chapter of St Francis in 1384.³⁴⁰ Nicholas obtained other prominent positions: in 1388 he was the lector in Split,³⁴¹ and in 1391³⁴² and 1392 the guardian of the friary in Zadar.³⁴³ Furthermore, he was the *custos* in Rab around 1401, when Friar John from Trieste, *nuncio* of pope

³³⁶ Matanić, "Franjevački počeci," pp. 15-16.

³³⁷ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 98.

³³⁸ Stošić, "Rukopisi i kodeksi samostana sv. Franje u Šibeniku," p. 26.

³³⁹ Stošić, "Rukopisi i kodeksi," p. 26.

³⁴⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

³⁴¹ CD XVII, doc. 112, pp. 152-154.

³⁴² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 87-87'.

³⁴³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25.

Boniface IX, named him the preacher for the war against the Ottomans.³⁴⁴ From this it would seem that when a friar was a *custos* in one custody, he could without much difficulties transfer to another custody and obtain the same office.

The last of the mentioned *custodes* was Benedict of Zadar, noted as such in 1394.³⁴⁵ Benedict was also a friar with an exemplary career in the Order: from studying in Bologna in 1356³⁴⁶ and 1357,³⁴⁷ being inquisitor in 1373,³⁴⁸ lector in Zadar in 1382,³⁴⁹ 1384,³⁵⁰ and 1385,³⁵¹ vicar of the Province in 1395.³⁵² Furthermore, he was also the guardian of St Francis in Zadar in 1390³⁵³ and 1393,³⁵⁴ while simultaneously being the executor of the last will of Dražica, the daughter of late Jadrije Franculić. He continued his service as the executor of the last will on three other occasions: in 1388,³⁵⁵ and twice in 1391,³⁵⁶ and he was also chosen as a spiritual advisor in 1391 on two occasions.³⁵⁷

Which offices are still missing from the sources researched until now? *Custodes* in the Province of Dalmatia who were at some point residing in the friary in Dubrovnik were not found yet, which seems strange, especially since the regional structure of the manpower in two friaries (Zadar and Dubrovnik) would indicate that the Province functioned on the basis of custodies, making geographical groups in these two friaries. This was the initial theory which would be logical and potentially applicable for later periods or larger provinces. However, the record of one individual recorded in the case of Dubrovnik is that in one testament Simon de Dragulino was mentioned as *custos* in Dubrovnik in 1391.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, Zadar and Dubrovnik were not the only custodies in the province. In the case of custody of Rab, we have extant records about two *custodes*, both in fact in the friary in Krk and originating of Krk: Nicolittus (or Nicolinus) of Krk was *custos* in the friary in 1370³⁵⁹ and another (almost) namesake, Friar Nicholas of Krk was *custos* in Krk in 1374³⁶⁰

³⁴⁴ ASSF, Perg. 83; same document is published as: Giuseppe Praga, "Documenti trecenteschi d'interesse triestino e istriano nell'archivio de Francescani di Zara," in Giuseppe Praga, *Scritti sulla Dalmazia*, ed. by Egidio Ivetić, vol. 1 (Rovinj: Centro di Ricerche Storiche – Rovigno, 2014), pp. 565-566.

³⁴⁵ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 21.

³⁴⁶ AF 11, p. 244.

³⁴⁷ AF 11, p. 39.

³⁴⁸ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

³⁴⁹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f V, fasc. 1, fol. 614-616.

³⁵⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 14-15; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

³⁵¹ CD XVI, doc. 407, pp. 524-528 (original in the register: DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol 15-16').

³⁵² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 21.

³⁵³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 72-73.

³⁵⁴ DAZd, ZB, VDF, b. I, fasc. II/2, fol. 4.

³⁵⁵ DAZd, ZB, RM, b I, fasc. III, fol. 21-22.

³⁵⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 89-90; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 21.

³⁵⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 77-77'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 79'-80'.

³⁵⁸ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 96.

³⁵⁹ Bart. 14, CD XIV, 296s.

³⁶⁰ CD XIV, doc. 47, p. 65.

and in 1397.³⁶¹ From the following, it was very difficult to make any conclusion about functioning of custodies in the province, except for the fact that besides Zadar as centre of province and kingdom alike, custodies were of no relevance for Dalmatian Franciscans, at least in the period of the history before the rise of Observant movement.

6.2.3. Vicar

The office of the vicar is noted in the documents ambiguously and can be divided into two categories: the vicar of the province and the vicar of the friary. The vicar of the province was the deputy of the provincial, and there are only two friaries from the sources which obtained this position. In the year 1337, Friar Martin was the vicar and also the inquisitor and served as a witness in which the archbishop Nicholas de Matafaris resolves the convent of St Nicholas from excommunication and interdict due to tenth.³⁶² For Martin there was no further information, and it is not known how long he held the position of the vicar of the Province. Peter Gizda of Kotor was titled the vicar of the Province in 1373, when he was present on the chapter in Zadar when the friars were selling a brick house covered with stone plates, alongside the land which had two shops on ground floor. This was sold to Andrew of late Nicholas Bono from Zadar, who was performing this on behalf of the draper Michael from Zadar.³⁶³ The last known vicar of the Province of Dalmatia in this period was Friar Benedict from Zadar, which was only one of his many offices he obtained during his life in the Order. He was the vicar in 1395, when he was noted as such while dealing with the payment of certain construction works on the church in Zadar.³⁶⁴

The list of known vicars of the friary in Zadar:

1. Dujam of Bar (1370)
2. George of Zadar (1373)
3. Francis of Split (1377)
4. Jerome of Split (1393)

The first mention of the vicar of the friary in Zadar, who was in fact a deputy of the guardian, originated from the late 14th century, in 1370. That year, Friar Dujam of Bar made a statement of received payment from the executors of the testament of Joanne of late John from Zadar.³⁶⁵ Usually it would be the guardian who made such statements of receipt of bequests, but it could be that the

³⁶¹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 82. Cf. 1397: *custos conventus Veglae* (Bart., 18).

³⁶² CD X, doc. 257, pp. 344-346.

³⁶³ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

³⁶⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 21.

³⁶⁵ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 10, fol. 7-7'.

guardian was absent from the friary at that time, and during this period, the first noted guardian was Friar Matthew in 1373, so this scenario is not entirely impossible.

Next time the vicar was noted was in 1373, in the document concerning the sale of the house and two stores, Friar George of Zadar. It is evident that George was the vicar of the friary, since he is listed alongside with the vicar of the Province, Peter Gisda of Kotor, meaning that they both performed their duties at the same time in Zadar.³⁶⁶ Since the guardian of the friary in Zadar is not mentioned in that document, it is also possible that he was either absent or was not installed yet on this position.³⁶⁷

Francis of Split was the vicar of the friary in Zadar in 1377, while present on the chapter concerning receiving a bequest,³⁶⁸ and although Friar Anthony from Split was the guardian at that time, he could have been prevented by some business and therefore was absent at that time, so Francis took over his role and duties. Furthermore, Francis remained in the friary in Zadar, but was mentioned in documents as a “regular” friar without any office on two occasions: in 1370³⁶⁹ and 1373.³⁷⁰ The last vicar of the friary in Zadar in this period is Jerome of Split, who was written in as such in 1393, also as the confessor of Dražica, the daughter of late Jadrije Franculić, who bequeathed him with 25 pounds for her soul.³⁷¹ It is also interesting that Friar Jerome became the guardian of the friary of St Francis in Split in 1400,³⁷² which could be considered as a promotion on a more significant position for him.

6.2.4. Guardian

Guardian was a friar who was elected on the Provincial Chapter, who was responsible for the well-being of the community in an individual friary. Since it would be too extensive to discuss individual friars who were guardians in all friaries, sometimes being impossible too, as I have argued, the following list brings names of guardians of the friary in Zadar with a very short commentary:

1. Benedict (1271)
2. Simon from Koper (1289)
3. Rinaldo (1298)

³⁶⁶ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

³⁶⁷ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 1, fol. 13. It is also possible that he has spent his first term as guardian in Dubrovnik where he received bequest of 21 perpers from George Germanus (Liepopili, “Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku,” p. 53).

³⁶⁸ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 6, fol. 37'-38.

³⁶⁹ Testamenti di Zara 1, fol. 18'-20'; DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 10, fol. 7-7'.

³⁷⁰ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

³⁷¹ DAZd, ZB, VDF, b. I, fasc. II/2, fol. 4.

³⁷² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 34.

4. Hugolino Arpinelli (before 1301)³⁷³
5. James (1301)
6. George (1301 and 1302)
7. Quirino of Krk (before 1348)³⁷⁴
8. Petar Gisda of Kotor (1356)
9. Matthew of Zadar (1373)
10. Anthony of Split (1377)
11. Mark of Krk (1379.)
12. Nicholas of Trogir (1384)
13. John of Klis (1387)
14. Benedict of Zadar (1390)
15. Nicholas of Split (1391 and 1392)
16. Benedict of Zadar (1393)
17. Dominic of Trogir (1400-1403)

Technically, the principle of three-years mandate can be also applied to mandates of guardians, there is one case that does not fit the patterns. At the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, within one year, two guardians are noted in the sources. The reason behind this mention is not because one was ending his office, and the other was just being installed, but this may have brought to our attention that this overlap signified potential problems. Friar Dominic of Trogir was the guardian from 1400 to 1403,³⁷⁵ but at the same time, in 1402, Simon of Zadar was in this position as well.³⁷⁶ As was suggested before, it is always a possibility that Dominic was somehow unable to perform his duty as a guardian or travelling elsewhere around the Province, and Simon took over Dominic's duties as guardian. Upon returning to the friary, Dominic resumed his role.

From these eighteen guardians which are mentioned in the sources, four of them obtained the office of the guardian in other friaries besides Zadar, which could be considered as a logical step in their career, because they can use the experience the gained from one friary and transfer it easily to another. Friar Quirino of Krk, besides being a guardian in Zadar, was the guardian of friary in Senj in 1345.³⁷⁷ Although it is not certain in which year Friar Quirino was the guardian in Zadar, it was most certainly before 1348.

³⁷³ CD VIII, doc. 13, pp. 14-15.

³⁷⁴ *Inventari fonda veličajne općine zadarske Državnog arhiva u Zadru (godine 1325.-1385.)*, ed. by Robert Leljak (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2006), doc. 24, p. 204.

³⁷⁵ 1400. (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 156'), 1401. (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 225), 1402. (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 325'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 331') i 1403. (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 351'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 353; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 389').

³⁷⁶ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 52.

³⁷⁷ CD XI, doc. 156, pp. 203-205.

Peter Gisda of Kotor was the guardian in Zadar in 1356, but his main activities revolved around the friary in Dubrovnik, where he was the guardian on at least three occasions. He was first in Dubrovnik as a guardian in 1358,³⁷⁸ in Zadar in 1373,³⁷⁹ but leaving on the same year to Senj.³⁸⁰ In Dubrovnik he is again the guardian in 1374³⁸¹ and 1378.³⁸² Although it might seem that Friar Peter was the guardian in Dubrovnik all the time, nonetheless, there was another friar in this office, Friar Matthew in 1376.³⁸³

Friar Mark from Krk, before being a guardian in Zadar in 1379, first started in the friary in Senj in the same position as the guardian in 1373, when he, on behalf of the friary, received in a bequest a construction site,³⁸⁴ mill,³⁸⁵ and also gave a house with a certain annual rent.³⁸⁶ It is necessary to add that Friar Mark was also the guardian of the friary in Krk in 1392.³⁸⁷

The second largest friary that was possible to reconstruct was the friary of St Francis in Dubrovnik. Guardians in Dubrovnik are listed chronologically:

1. Stephen from Shkodër (1300)
2. Duomo (1348) – maybe the same as the following³⁸⁸
3. Duymo of Split (1349)
4. Matheo Rosso (1350; 1354)
5. Peter Gisda of Kotor (1358)
6. Andrew of Kotor (1362)
7. Duymo of Split (1366-1367)
8. Andrew of Durrës (1371)
9. Nicholas of Dubrovnik (1373)
10. Peter Gisda of Kotor (1374)
11. Nicholas Prdikobila (1377)
12. Peter Gisda of Kotor (1378)
13. Andrew of Durrës (1382)
14. Symon (1387)

³⁷⁸ Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 36.

³⁷⁹ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

³⁸⁰ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69; CD XV, doc. 49, pp. 69-72.

³⁸¹ Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 36.

³⁸² Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 36.

³⁸³ Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 53.

³⁸⁴ CD XV, doc. 43, pp. 60-64.

³⁸⁵ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69.

³⁸⁶ CD XV, doc. 49, pp. 69-72.

³⁸⁷ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 69.

³⁸⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 88'.

15. George (1399)

In the case of the friary in Dubrovnik, the office of a guardian and friars obtaining it can be followed in more detail than it was in the friary in Zadar. According to this list, it can be concluded that the exchange and fluctuation of friars was less visible – that is, it was more likely that friars who were situated in the friary or held an office of a guardian once would repeat it several times during their career and life in the Order. This happened in multiple instances, starting from Friar Duymo of Split, who was the guardian in 1349 (or even in 1348) and then much later in 1366-1367. Although it can be argued that it could have been a different Duymo of Split, as it is seen from the example of Peter Gisda of Kotor, the same can be concluded for Friar Duymo of Split. However, before chronologically moving on to the discussion on friar Peter Gisda of Kotor, there is another friar obtaining the office of a guardian for a longer period, that is Matheo Rosso, who was noted as such in two years: 1350 and 1354.³⁸⁹ Although there is no consistent documentation which could shed more light on the continuity of guardian's office by Friar Matheo, it is highly likely that he had been performing this service for two consecutive three-year terms, especially since there is still no information on another friar appointed as guardian until 1358. Peter Gisda of Kotor had also a large gap between first appearing as a guardian in 1358, and then again establishing himself at the head of the friary in 1374. It is not sure how long did his office of a guardian last, since it was "interrupted" in 1377 by Friar Nicholas Prdikobila. However, Petar Gisda soon returned to being guardian in the friary in Dubrovnik, that is, next year 1378. The last friar being a guardian on several occasions in Dubrovnik was Andrew of Durrës, twice: first in 1371 and second in 1382.

However, if a certain friar would be guardian in the friary in Dubrovnik, this did not mean that they did not remain there after their office ended, sometimes proving their attachment to a specific friary. Friar Matheo Rosso, who was guardian in Dubrovnik in 1350 and 1354, was noted on the same year, 1354 as a "regular" friar without any office, which could mean that he recently ended his office (for whichever reason), although his successor was not found in the sources which were researched. Matheo Rosso is still in Dubrovnik for a long time, since he is mentioned again in 1357 and in 1379, from which it can be assumed that he stayed in continuity in the friary in Dubrovnik at least until 1379, or maybe even longer.

Friar Peter Gisda of Kotor, besides being the guardian in Dubrovnik in 1358, 1374 and 1378, he also the vicar of the Province of Dalmatia in 1373, and was mentioned in a document written in Zadar, which means that he was present there at the chapter during a legal act of sale.³⁹⁰ Furthermore,

³⁸⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 27-27'.

³⁹⁰ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116. More on the connection between the draper Michael and the Franciscans concerning the ownership of immovable property see: Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Ser Micouillus Petri,

since he was sent on a mission by the Republic of Dubrovnik on a matter of winning over the inhabitants of Kotor to the side of the King Louis in 1379,³⁹¹ a possible timeline in the life of Friar Peter can be reconstructed. After being the guardian in 1358, Peter probably gained more experience, maybe even education of some sorts, and proceeded to move onwards in the Order and gained more respect from higher instances, which was the reason why they appointed him as the vicar of the Province, which he was still in 1373, which would mean that he was vicar even before this year, since he transferred to Dubrovnik in 1374. Furthermore, besides an interruption of Nicholas Prdikobila in 1377, which could occur due to some unexpected reasons, Peter could have been a guardian in Dubrovnik almost during this period of three to four years, but ended it in 1379, when he was sent to Kotor on a mission. However, this mission did not last long, since he returned the same year again in Dubrovnik and remained there probably at least from 1379 to 1384. In this respect, Friar Petar Gisda of Kotor is somewhat similar to Friar Benedict of Zadar, who also obtained different offices within the Order, which needed occasional relocations on his behalf, but remained “faithful” to his primary friary where he enjoyed respect from not only his fellow brothers, but also inhabitants of the city. For Friar Benedict this friary and city was Zadar, and for Friar Peter it was Dubrovnik.

The situation in the other friaries is difficult to reconstruct from the scarce sources. Therefore, it was not possible to compile these types of lists. However, some information can be gathered. For instance, for the case of the friary in Split, it was possible to identify some individuals. Their careers can be followed only rarely, and the chronology of the office is with great gaps in succession(s). The first guardian in Split is a certain Friar Peter in 1274,³⁹² whose origin is not known. For the subsequent two, Friar Albert of Split (1341-1342)³⁹³ and Friar James of Split (1359),³⁹⁴ we can argue that they were natives of the Split commune. The next two guardians were not of the friary in Split, but from other Dalmatian towns. Cosmas of Šibenik was listed as guardian in 1362,³⁹⁵ then in 1370 and 1371.³⁹⁶ For the following guardian of the friary in Split we know he came from Cres. In 1366 John of Cres was guardian in Split,³⁹⁷ but we can also reconstruct that he was later in Zadar, where he served as

draparius, civis Iadre – život kao znak vremena” [Ser Micouillus Petri, draparius, civis Iadre – Life as a Sign of Time], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 56 (2014.), pp. 51-52.

³⁹¹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 90.

³⁹² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 90 (BARADA I, vol. II, 16 nr. 34)

³⁹³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 9. (HAZ splitski, box 1, vol. 1, 9', 33)

³⁹⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 55. (HAZ SpA bilj., box 1, vol. 4, 29')

³⁹⁵ HAZ SpA, box. 2, vol. 5.

³⁹⁶ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 64. Cf. HAZ SpA, box. 3, vol. 8, vol. 2, 84 (1370), 125 (1371).

³⁹⁷ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 45 (HAZ splitski, box 2, vol. 6, f. 1, p. 10, box. 2, vol. 5, p. 32)

the chaplain of convent of St Nicholas (Poor Clares), that was already mentioned above. And the final friar that was recorded as guardian of the friary in Split was Friar Peter in 1390.³⁹⁸

The situation is no better for Trogir, or Šibenik for that matter. But let us start with the friary of Trogir. We managed to find only three individuals who were guardians in the friary in Trogir, two being recorded in the 13th century: Friar John in 1274³⁹⁹ and Dominic in 1294. For the latter, there is also a possibility that he held another office, that of the guardian in Cres in 1302.⁴⁰⁰ The last friar mentioned as guardian of Trogir is a certain Jerome in 1356.⁴⁰¹ The situation is no better in the case of Šibenik. Martin of Rab was guardian in 1298,⁴⁰² followed with almost a century-long gap, because Nicholas is recorded as guardian in 1388.⁴⁰³ And then again, more than a decade of gap, because a certain friar Paul is mentioned as guardian in Šibenik in 1399.⁴⁰⁴ It is potentially possible that he is the same friar as Friar Paul of Nicholas who was mentioned in the same year (1399) as being both guardian and lector.⁴⁰⁵

In Senj the situation is even worse. We have a mentioning of a certain Friar Marcoco as guardian in 1298,⁴⁰⁶ and about Friar Domoje, guardian of the friary in Senj in 1360, we know he originated from the city of Bar.⁴⁰⁷ Just slightly more interesting information is regarding the friary in Bribir. We know that Radoslav, who was a guardian of the friary in Bribir in 1353, originated from the commune of Split.⁴⁰⁸ Only one interesting information comes from 1370. Then, Friar John is mentioned as guardian of the friary in Bribir, but he was also the confessor of the count of Bribir, John Slavogosti.⁴⁰⁹

6.2.5. Inquisitors and *Lectors*

As I will argue, identifying a degree of education of any friar was not so easy to do and sometimes it is necessary to “read between the lines”. In contrast to friars which could have attended universities and those with written degrees attached to their names, there is also a certain number of friars for which their state of education (formal or informal) is implied due to the service they are

³⁹⁸ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 90 (CD XVII, p.191).

³⁹⁹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p.43.

⁴⁰⁰ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 28.

⁴⁰¹ CD XII, 336ss.

⁴⁰² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 71.

⁴⁰³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 79.

⁴⁰⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 87.

⁴⁰⁵ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 88.

⁴⁰⁶ CD VII, doc. 262, p. 303.

⁴⁰⁷ CD XIII, doc. 27, p. 39.

⁴⁰⁸ CD VII, doc. 114, p. 157.

⁴⁰⁹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 43.

performing. These services are, foremost, the one of an inquisitor, and the one of a *lector*. The service in the Franciscan Order that required a certain degree of education was the one of inquisitors. The inquisition arrived in Croatian lands around the same time as Mendicant Orders, and Zadar was the center of the inquisition for Dalmatia.⁴¹⁰ On the general level, in 1254, Pope Innocent IV gave various privileges and pardons to the Franciscan inquisitors and preachers against heresy due to their missions.⁴¹¹ On the provincial level, on the same year, the same pope instructed the minister general of the Franciscan Order and his vicar in Dalmatia that the friars should preach to heretics and impose to them the authority of inquisitors.⁴¹² Furthermore, in 1298, Pope Boniface VIII instructed to the provincial of Slavonia/Dalmatia to name two friars who would act as inquisitors in Serbia, Rascia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia and Istria, and for archbishoprics of Dürres, Bar, Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar with its belonging dioceses, in order to suppress heresy.⁴¹³ Unfortunately, there is no credible source from which it would be visible how their service of inquisitors worked in practice in Dalmatia. The first inquisitors in Dalmatia were mentioned in the first half of the 14th century, but they were just noted as such in documents not relating to their service of inquisitors. In 1337, Martin and Francis, inquisitors, were witnesses during the implementation of a certain legal act. Martin was also the general vicar of the Province of Dalmatia,⁴¹⁴ and Francis the *lector* in Kotor in 1331,⁴¹⁵ making him one of the friars who simultaneously perform both the service of a *lector* and inquisitor. However, he was not the only one who was both inquisitor and *lector*. Friar Benedict of Zadar was also both, which would prove the theory that educated friars were performing this kind of service. Benedict was the *lector* in Zadar in 1382,⁴¹⁶ and named as the inquisitor during a sale contract from 1373. Alongside Benedict, there was another inquisitor, Friar Cosmas.⁴¹⁷ One friar was named inquisitor in a longer time span. Anthony of Tolentino, who was residing in the Province of Dalmatia, was the inquisitor twice, in 1392 and 1399. In 1392, as the inquisitor in Dalmatia he was the emissary of the commune in Trogir to the doge Antonio Venier due to resolving some conflicts in Trogir. Doge, at friar's request, ordered the commander of the Venetian fleet in Adriatic that he should assist the city authorities in Trogir in calming these disorders.⁴¹⁸ It seems that he was also mentioned as the inquisitor in Dalmatia in 1399, but his activities were not defined in detail.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁰ Franjo Šanjek, "Inkvizicija," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 24 (2000) 46: 230.

⁴¹¹ CD-S I, doc. 131, pp. 175-176 (ASSF, Perg. 13).

⁴¹² ASSF, Perg. 12; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 161; Šanjek, "Inkvizicija," p. 232.

⁴¹³ ASSF, Perg. 56; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 164; Šanjek, "Inkvizicija," p. 232.

⁴¹⁴ CD X, doc. 257, pp. 344-346.

⁴¹⁵ Kotorski 1, doc. 732, pp. 257-258.

⁴¹⁶ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, fV, fasc. 1, fol. 614-616.

⁴¹⁷ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116.

⁴¹⁸ CD XVII, doc. 327, pp. 448-449.

⁴¹⁹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 18.

Starting with *lectors*, they were teachers in the friaries, who were teaching theology to other friars, which implied that they themselves had to receive prior theological education and possess substantial knowledge on the subject. Since *lectors* did not have any official title which would signify their degree of education, it is difficult to conclude an exact degree of education for each friar who was a lector.⁴²⁰ Going chronologically, the first *lector* was Jerome, who was in Zadar in 1280 as witness and advisor,⁴²¹ which is really early to have a *lector* in the province of Dalmatia. Soon afterwards, there was a new *lector* in Zadar, Stephen, who was one of the participants during an intervention of Bishop John of Bologna when arranging the matters concerning the tithe of convent of St Nicholas of Poor Clares in Zadar.⁴²² This is the only information about Stephen, and next year, he was succeeded by Nicholas of Zadar, who was noted as the *lector* in 1302 and 1304. In May 1302 in one document, he was listed as the *lector* in Zadar,⁴²³ but in late October of the same year, he is no longer named *lector*, just as Friar Nicholas.⁴²⁴ There is a possibility that there was a shift of *lectors* at that time and that someone else was performing this service, or that there was no *lector* at that time because it was not mandatory that each friary has a lector at all times, but on the other hand, maybe it was highly likely that the notary just did not write his service next to his name. Nicholas is again mentioned as the *lector* in Zadar in 1304, while being an executor of the testament of Dobrice, the widow of the stonemason James.⁴²⁵ From this timeline it is not clear how long a certain friar performed this service, since some were mentioned several times throughout the years, while some were noted only once. Next *lector* in Zadar was Friar Andrew, who was appointed as archbishop in Bar.⁴²⁶ After Andrew there is a gap where there is no *lector* written in sources, until 1328, when the new *lector* was Bartholomew of Zadar, as it seems.⁴²⁷ After him there was a stagnation of documents concerning *lectors*, which is partly due to the lack of preserved sources from the half to the end of the 14th century in Zadar.

Friar Benedict is noted in documents as the *lector* of Zadar in three years: 1382, 1384 and 1385, and he is the same friar that was in Bologna in 1356,⁴²⁸ and 1357,⁴²⁹ so his time there was not in vain, and he was probably not only residing in the friary. In 1382 he was mentioned as *lector* in a

⁴²⁰ Bert Roest, "The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns and Tertiaries," in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo*, (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2002), pp. 83-115.

⁴²¹ CD VI, doc. 297, pp. 352-354. He was mentioned as such in the Necrology of the Franciscans as well (Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 56).

⁴²² CD VIII, doc. 14, pp. 16-17.

⁴²³ CD VIII, doc. 21, pp. 24-25.

⁴²⁴ CD VIII, doc. 32, pp. 35-37.

⁴²⁵ SZB II, doc. 138, pp. 71-72; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 74.

⁴²⁶ According to Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 10.

⁴²⁷ According to Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 20.

⁴²⁸ AF 11, p. 244.

⁴²⁹ AF 11, p. 39.

testament where he was both the executor and the recipient of bequests.⁴³⁰ He was addressed as *lector* in two more instances in 1384, when the testament was written next to his room in the garden of the friary in Zadar,⁴³¹ when the chapter made a statement of receipt of a bequest, although Benedict was not present there, although the reason of his absence is not written.⁴³² Next year, 1385, Benedict is *lector* in the first document,⁴³³ but in the end of September of the same year his service is not listed down,⁴³⁴ so there could have been a change of service around summertime. The last *lector* in service in Zadar during the 14th century was Anthony from Trogir in 1387.⁴³⁵ Anthony, besides being *lector*, was a bachelor, but the fact that he was a bachelor is simply added value to his education, and this in particular confirms that even without the title of bachelor, lectors had to have some sort of official educational degree.

Zadar was not the only friary in Dalmatia where there were *lectors* present, but they were not so systematically mentioned. In Dubrovnik, the first *lector* was Friar Francis in 1325, but not the *lector* of Dubrovnik, but Apulia, but he was probably in Dubrovnik at that time, since he received money from the testator Simon of Andrea de Benesa.⁴³⁶ Afterwards there was also a gap for almost 25 years and the next *lector* was Friar Andrew of Dürres in 1348, but he was the *lector* in Dubrovnik,⁴³⁷ and was succeeded soon after by Friar Nicholas in 1354.⁴³⁸ In 1363, new *lector* in Dubrovnik was Friar Nicholas, who received 5 perpers from Marin Poli de Sono in his testament.⁴³⁹ The last noted *lector* in Dubrovnik in the 14th century was Friar John, who was given a bequest in the testament of *dominus* Peter de Vielers of France in 1397.⁴⁴⁰ This 40-year gap between any information on the *lectors* in Dubrovnik can be explained by the discrepancy of preserved sources, since it is hard to believe that there were no *lectors* during this period.

Friars of Dalmatia were *lectors* in various friaries around the Province as well. Friar Francis was the *lector* in Kotor in 1331, and spiritual advisor (*patrinus*) and executor of the testament in Kotor.⁴⁴¹ Michael of Zadar was a *lector* in Trieste in 1341,⁴⁴² George of Zadar in Senj in 1360,⁴⁴³ and

⁴³⁰ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f V, fasc. 1, fol. 614-616.

⁴³¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 14-15.

⁴³² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42. However, in the document, all the places where Benedict's absence was noted were crossed over, which could mean that between the chapter and actual issuing of the document, Friar Benedict could have already returned to Zadar.

⁴³³ CD XVI, doc. 407, pp. 524-528 (original entry in the register: DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol 15-16').

⁴³⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol 20-21.

⁴³⁵ Stošić, "Rukopisi i kodeksi," p. 26.

⁴³⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 10'.

⁴³⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 40'-41'.

⁴³⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 27-27'.

⁴³⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 61'-62'.

⁴⁴⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 94.

⁴⁴¹ Kotorski 1, doc. 732, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁴² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

⁴⁴³ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41.

Nicholas of Split the *lector* in Split in 1388.⁴⁴⁴ Nicholas of Split performed other service, but not in Split, but in Zadar, where he was a *custos* in 1384,⁴⁴⁵ and a guardian of the friary in both 1391⁴⁴⁶ and 1392.⁴⁴⁷

From the listed data it is not too visible how long the service of the *lector* in a friary lasted. However, considering that all the services within the Province and the friaries were filled at the same time, it is most likely that *lectors* were also switched at the same time as everybody else. According to the examples of friars Benedict from Zadar and Nicholas from Zadar, it can be concluded that this switch was done in the fall or late summer, probably in August, which was probably at the same time when the chapters were held, since that would be the most practical procedure.

Although this is digression in discussion about certain services of the friars, it should be mentioned that the question of *lectors* goes hand in hand with the question of education. Historians have interpreted the presence of *lectors* with the assumption that the friary in Zadar had a *studium* of theology from its earliest mentioning of lector in 1260. The degree of this *studium* in Zadar was considered as *studium generale*.⁴⁴⁸ This may be or may not be true. However, there is a manuscript preserved in the friary in Zadar, which dates from 1355, and it contains the lectures from arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, the subjects which are what makes a quadrivium. The texts provide an insight into how these subjects were handled and taught in the friary.⁴⁴⁹ In any case, the presence of a *lector* shows that there really existed a school of some type, but in the case of Zadar in the 14th century, it was probably a custodial school, and not a provincial one.

6.3. Process of learning and the circulation of manuscripts

To provide a better insight into manuscripts from the friaries all around the Province of Dalmatia would require detailed and extensive research of at least several friaries' archives and/or libraries, which would go beyond the scope of this thesis, especially since some friaries are still in the process of arranging their archives and libraries. On the other hand, manuscripts and books in friaries which were written before the 15th century are not systematically preserved, which would on one hand simplify the analysis, but on the other hand, gives sporadically information on the subject. However, it is necessary to provide at least some perception on the book culture of friars in Dalmatia, a discussion to a certain extent will be provided in the following lines.

⁴⁴⁴ CD XVII, doc. 112, pp. 152-154.

⁴⁴⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

⁴⁴⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 87-87'

⁴⁴⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25.

⁴⁴⁸ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," pp. 73-74.

⁴⁴⁹ Dadić, "Franjevački samostan u Zadru i prirodne znanosti," in *Samostan sv. Frane*, pp. 139-140.

Circulation of books in the Franciscan Order was mostly possible since each friary with a *studium* had an exponentially growing library where individual friars had freedom to use these books as they wished. Higher *studium*, such as general ones, had chained books for outsiders and unchained for friars living in the friary. Lesser *studium* had even more freedom to circulate books, since they only had them unchained. Most of the friars who borrowed books were students, lectors, masters of theology, and preachers. Lectors and magister needed books for their lectures on the Bible and the *Sentences* in the friary schools, or any books which were a part of the scholastic curriculum. Sometimes books would be borrowed for a long term, even life-long. This occurrence was very common as a part of studying in the middle ages, where friars would write annotations or notes on the margins of books they were using, showing their longevity in possession of the item.⁴⁵⁰

Not only those who lived in the friary were allowed to borrow books. Prelates belonging to the Franciscan Order (bishops, archbishops, cardinals, inquisitors) also used the books kept in friaries, and sometimes these books would be problematic property, usually after the death of the said prelates. If they would die without the testament, according to *ius spoli*, these books (among other possessions) would be the property of the papacy. However, nonetheless, usually the books which were identified as belonging to a certain friary would be returned to their rightful owners, but only if identified as such. The lack of identification of books as belonging to a certain friary could result in further circulation of books outside the Franciscan Order.⁴⁵¹

The interest in education and intellectual curiosity of the friars of Dalmatia can be observed by analyzing the books which were preserved (manuscripts) or which were in their possession, or their attitude towards books in general. Some information can be, of course, found in bequests given to friars, usually meaning money for books. Such was the case with Friar Marin de Formino of Zadar, whose relative Dobra, the daughter of late Domagna Guerero from Dubrovnik, in 1284 bequeathed 35 perpers for books and other necessities.⁴⁵² Unfortunately, the bequest is quite general and not precise, so it is not known what kind of books he needed to acquire, how many or of which value. In other instances, the value of books was precisely written, and some were intended to be, according to their price, quite exquisite. In 1385, Friar Benedict from Zadar was bequeathed by the draper Michael of late Peter 20 ducats to buy a Bible concordance.⁴⁵³ However, this was not the only valuable books intended for a certain friar. The same amount of 20 ducats was bequeathed to Friar Michael of Šibenik, son of late George of James from Šibenik to purchase one breviary, although this was to be carried

⁴⁵⁰ Neslihan Şenocak, "Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Methods, and Critics," *The Journal of Religious History* 28 (2004) 2: 146-153.

⁴⁵¹ Şenocak, "Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order," pp. 152-153.

⁴⁵² Dubrovački 2, doc. 1293, pp. 331-332; CD VI, doc. 385, pp. 462-463.

⁴⁵³ CD XVI, doc. 407, pp. 524-528 (original entry in the registry: DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 15-16').

out by a third party. Namely, in 1400, Susan, the widow of the late city count John Nikolić of the kindred Šubić of Bribir gave the right to Friar Michael to take over the debt of money for a breviary, from Martin of late Peter Kamenarić from Šibenik, since he owed her that money.⁴⁵⁴ Unfortunately, there is no information whether Friar Michael did in fact “collect” this debt from Martin or was this bequest somehow converted into something different, but this type of instructions was peculiar and not common while observing testaments concerning friars in Dalmatia. However, since this matter concerned a prominent member of society, the widow of a late city count, it would be of interest to ensure that this bequest was carried out according to these instructions.

Although it is difficult to trace the destiny or circulation of books in friaries, there are several preserved manuscripts which provide evidence on the usage of books by friars. In the volume *Liber sermonum*, stored in the friary in Šibenik and originating from the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century, there is a note which shows that it probably was in the possession of friars from another friary, those from Zadar. In this volume there is a note from 1387, where it is written that the friars of Zadar (and in Zadar) were going through some account books of Pag. In the note, friars are mentioned by their names and functions (most of them): Paul of Šibenik, a custos in Zadar, Anthony of Trogir, a baccalaureate and lector in Zadar, Gregory of Zadar, John of Klis, the guardian of Zadar, and Nicholas of Zadar.⁴⁵⁵ It is safe to assume that this volume was first located in Zadar and only arrived in Šibenik in the later period. Perhaps this transfer of books from Zadar to Šibenik occurred when the observant movement prevailed in the friary in Zadar, and conventual friars had to be relocated in other friaries along the Adriatic coast, and decided to carry their books with them, especially since Šibenik was not far away from Zadar. This hypothesis on the reasons of transfer of the book, however, cannot still be proven from the researched source material.

There is another manuscript for which it could be assumed that it was transferred from Zadar to Šibenik as well. Books sometimes followed their owners wherever they were transferred, and after their death would stay in the friary where they died, or maybe the owner would leave the book in its original friary and transfer to another one without it. As it was customary before, as it is even today to write your name in the book to mark it belongs to you, a certain friar did exactly that. Friar Marin of Split, who was in Zadar in 1384,⁴⁵⁶ in the manuscript from Šibenik wrote that this volume was his property. This was done at the end of the *Quadragesimale*, originating from the beginning of the 15th century. The book does not have an index, but it contains 39 sermons for Lent and one sermon each

⁴⁵⁴ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 175'.

⁴⁵⁵ Stošić, “Rukopisi i kodeksi,” p. 26.

⁴⁵⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

for St Gregory, St Benedict and the Annunciation.⁴⁵⁷ From this very short description there is at least some image for which occasions friars would preach the most.

There is another friar which left his signature on a manuscript from Šibenik. Friar Dominic of Trogir, who was the guardian in Zadar from 1400 to 1403,⁴⁵⁸ signed his name on the margins of the manuscript Bible. It is assumed that this codex originated from the second half of the 11th century, and it consists of: *Liber psalmodum* (103), *Liber proverbiorum*, *Salomonis*, *Hecclesiastes*, *Liber Sapientie*, *Paralipomenum*, *Liber Ezrae*, *Tobie*, *Judith*, *Machabeorum*, *Evangelium Mathei*, *Acta Apostolorum*, and 14 Epistles of St Paul.⁴⁵⁹

There is evidence on preserved liturgical books in a certain friary, in this case the friary of Zadar. Miniature paintings, which are mainly preserved in the codices of the Franciscan friary of Zadar, show no significant elements of the monumental paintings, and it is therefore assumed that they were in fact imported.⁴⁶⁰ Among these manuscripts, there are four deemed of the most value, four antiphonaries, *Antiphonarium de tempore*. Antiphonary is a liturgical book intended to be used in the liturgical choir to perform chants during various parts of liturgical rites. Each antiphonary manuscript was used for a different period of the year: first for Advent and Christmas, second for Easter and through the year, third from December to June, and the last one from June to the end of the year. According to these miniature paintings, this antiphonary originates from the 14th century belonging to the Venetian circle, although figurative illuminations show signs of the 13th century retardation, meaning that it could have been made even earlier. Since the last manuscript contains two depictions of St Anthony and three depictions of St Francis, its Franciscan origin is without a doubt.⁴⁶¹

Although there is not much information on the friary schools in the 14th century in Dalmatia, there is some indication that they were functioning even then and that liturgy was not the only interest for friars, but also natural sciences. In the library of the friary of Zadar, there is one manuscript which contains the lectures belonging to four fields of the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. This text was compiled in 1355 and most probably right there in Zadar, and it seems to be a rare text from the lectures of the field of *quadrivium* in the 14th century. It is interesting that the next text concerning natural sciences in the friary in Zadar originates from the 17th century, which makes this earlier text even more impressive.⁴⁶² In fact, this manuscript is a part of the larger section later

⁴⁵⁷ Stošić, "Rukopisi i kodeksi," p. 35.

⁴⁵⁸ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 156'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 225; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 325'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 331'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 351'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 353; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 389'.

⁴⁵⁹ Stošić, "Rukopisi i kodeksi," p. 39.

⁴⁶⁰ Hilje, *Gotičko slikarstvo*, p. 18.

⁴⁶¹ Badurina, "Iluminirani rukopisi u samostanu svetog Frane u Zadru," in *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, pp. 131-133.

⁴⁶² Dadić, "Franjevački samostan u Zadru i prirodne znanosti," pp. 139-140.

titled *De artibus liberalibus*, or manuscript R81. There is a relatively new research of Stanislav Tuksar, where he did preliminary research on the second part of this manuscript. The text is very short, barely two pages, in Latin language and gothic script, unnumbered addition bonded into the first part. The text is quite concise and contains a review of the foundational theoretical assumptions on music (the numerological problematics of the intervals), part of the *quadrivium*, taught in church schools and universities in the high middle ages. The potential author of this text is Friar Nicholas of Zadar, who went to the university in Oxford. He is more inclined to consider that the manuscript was written in 1360 rather than 1355 (as it was first assumed), that is, after the Treaty of Zadar in 1358, when natural sciences and culture prospered and flourished not only in Zadar or Dalmatia, but also in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. The author also suggests a theory that the manuscript could have been compiled in the cultural circle of the Dominican friars in Zadar around the foundation of the solemn *studium* of the Province of Dalmatia in 1396, as the first university on Croatian lands. Why did he consider this as a possibility? Because there are also manuscripts from the Dominican provenience located in the Franciscan friary in Dubrovnik, so there could have been a similar pattern.⁴⁶³ Although there is some disagreement whether this *studium* was a provincial or even general,⁴⁶⁴ two things could be concluded: education among the mendicant orders in Dalmatia flourished in the 14th century, and the Dominicans were more inclined to materialize these tendencies, since there is no equivalent of such studies in the Franciscan friary in Zadar.

Friary in Zadar is not the only one with a substantial amount of books in their library, and library in the friary in Dubrovnik was also impressive. There were different types of manuscript and books, and some were illuminated manuscripts. Although it is an assumption that there was a substantial number of illuminated manuscripts in the friary in Dubrovnik initially, there are only around 24 manuscripts which are preserved until today, and from these 24, only 5 originated until the 15th century. It is not certain if these manuscripts survived the earthquakes, fires or were they brought to the friary in Dubrovnik from other friaries. These six illuminated manuscripts are: fragments of a book of rites around the 11th–12th centuries, fragments of a breviary from the 12th century, fragments of an antiphonary from the end of the 13th century, book of rules of the confraternity of mariners in

⁴⁶³ Stanislav Tuksar, "Rukopis R81 iz 14. stoljeća s glazbenom tematikom u Franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru" [The 14th Century Manuscript R81 with Music Topics from the Franciscan Monastery in Zadar], *Arti musices* 42 (2011) 2: 261-269.

⁴⁶⁴ Franjo Šanjek and Tomislav Raukar were claiming that the Dominican studium in 1396 in Zadar was a provincial, while Stjepan Krasić argued that it was in fact *studium generale*. For more, see: Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru*; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje*; Krasić, *Generalno učilište Dominikanskog reda*.

Split from the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th century, *Breviarium romano – seraphicum* from the end of the 14th century.⁴⁶⁵



The image of St Nicholas on the first page of the rulebook for the confraternity of mariners in Split
(taken from Anđelko Badurina, “Iluminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku,” p. 543)

Concerning books stored in the library of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik, their systematic organization started during the times of development of studies, especially those connected with the universities. The beginnings of the library of friary in Dubrovnik are unknown, but it is assumed that it the fondus was from the transcribed, donated or purchases codices, or the codices which remained after a certain friar died and his property was left to the friary. It is not possible to trace the development of the library in such an early period, but certain information is still available. Friary in Dubrovnik had friars which were scribes. For instance, 1384-1385, certain Friar Dompnus de Tragurio transcribed a codex in the friary of Dubrovnik, which contained 266 pages, and is now located in the Bodleian library in Oxford. This codex, on pages 192v-201r contains a *Catalogus Ragusinus generalium ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*.⁴⁶⁶ Another friar who performed similar activities in the friary of Dubrovnik was Friar Rafael of Zadar, who lived at the turn of the 14th

⁴⁶⁵ Badurina, “Iluminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubovniku,” pp. 517-527.

⁴⁶⁶ Brlek, “Knjižnica Male braće u Dubrovniku,” pp. 590-591.

to 15th century, and was noted in the sources as a transcriber of books and musician. He transcribed mainly choir books, which were used during various feasts.⁴⁶⁷ However, as with most of the collections in friaries, more codices and books originated from the 15th century onwards.

The friary in Šibenik, although small in size, is full of written treasures, although it has the same problem as other friaries – for the earliest period (in this case until the middle of the 15th century), there is no direct evidence that the library and the archive existed, although it was a practice in the Order that each friary had to have both. Confirming the existence of a library is a fact that in this period there are 50 codices, as well as educated friars residing there, for instance, Friar Martin of Rab, titled *vir eruditissimus*, and Friar Fabian of Šibenik, the minister provincial and papal legate. The library multiplied during different period of history and obtained many books, which were mainly studied by Krsto Stošić. Here I will only refer to those which fit into my timeline. The most important two codices from this period are: *Breviarium Franciscanum de Breberio* from the 14th century, which contains the Necrology of the Šubići of Bribir and *Liber Sermonum*, since it contains a famous “Šibenska molitva”, one of the oldest monuments of Croatian language written in Latin letters. Besides this, codices from other friaries made their way to Šibenik and stayed there, as it was seen in the examples from Zadar, and now Bribir. Other friaries whose codices ended being stored in Šibenik are Kotor, Pag, Skradin and Split.⁴⁶⁸



Breviarium Franciscanum, codex nr. 68, 14/15th c.

(taken from Nikola Mate Roščić, *Samostan i crkva Sv. Frane u Šibeniku*, p. 96)

⁴⁶⁷ AF 6, doc. 4, p. 404.

⁴⁶⁸ Oreb, “Samostan Sv. Frane u Šibeniku,” pp. 19-22.

A special section of great importance in the library of Šibenik consists of the group of incunabula, but they date from the 15th century, counting around 146 incunabula and 2 fragments. Although this goes beyond the timeline of this thesis, this collection contains material from different branches of science: theology and philosophy, law, philology and fine literature (antique and humanistic writers), mathematics and natural sciences. By its content, one can gain a better understanding which books and authors were used in the education of friars in Šibenik, or which were brought there by certain individual friars. Most of the material forms a well-rounded and characteristic selection of texts from different branches of sciences, which would serve its function and purpose being in a certain friary during the 15th century.⁴⁶⁹

One extraordinary finding in the friary of Šibenik is an old manuscript which contains the text of life of the Blessed Agnes of Prague. It was accidentally found in volume number 36, which contains 7 manuscripts written in different hands. The manuscript is written in the gothic miniscule in the second half of the 14th century and has 16 pages. It contains 15 lines from the end of the second letter from St Clare to Agnes, and complete text of the third and fourth letter. It also contains *littere misse pro canonizacione sororis Agnetis*. It continues the text about her life but missing the last 10 lines and epilogue and miracles. It is assumed that the manuscript was transcribed in Rome.⁴⁷⁰

6.4. Franciscans as Bishops and Archbishops in Dalmatia

The cases of Franciscans as bishops and archbishops in Dalmatia is very interesting because of the nature of origins of Dalmatian city communes. Ecclesiastical organization in Dalmatia is much older than the Franciscans themselves and church structures of the system of dioceses predated them in the same geographical area. It should be also underlined here that Dalmatian cities, except for Šibenik, inherited the organization and space from the period of antiquity. The topic of the organization and development of the activity of bishops and archbishops of Dalmatia is rather complex and was the matter of research of Mišo Petrović in his recent thesis. There he claims that when the mendicants came to Dalmatia, they had problems with the spread of order(s), therefore found aid in the form of local episcopate and clergy.⁴⁷¹ The situation of ecclesiastical organization

⁴⁶⁹ Šime Jurić, "O knjižnici samostana franjevac konventualaca Sv. Frane u Šibeniku s posebnim osvrtom na njezinu zbirku incunabula," pp. 39-64.

⁴⁷⁰ Krsto Stošić, "Naši stari rukopisi o bl. Janji iz Praga" [Our old manuscripts about the Blessed Agnes of Prague], *Bogoslovska smotra* 19 (1931) 2: 223-229. Extensive research on Agnes of Prague and hagiographic texts was done by Christian-Fredrick Felskau, "Shaping the Sainthood of a Central European Clarissan Princess. The Development and Fate of the Earliest Hagiographic Texts on Agnes of Bohemia and St. Clare's Epistolary Tradition," in *Les saints et leur culte en Europe centrale au Moyen Âge (XI^e-début u XV^e siècle)*, eds. by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins – Olivier Marin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 125-172.

⁴⁷¹ Mišo Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia: The Cases of Split, Trogir and Zadar (1270-1420)*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Budapest: CEU, 2021), pp. 27-28.

was furthermore complicated due to political activity of city authorities, Venice and Kingdom of Hungary, especially after the period of Charles I. But we shall come to this while presenting individual cases of bishops and archbishops and Franciscans.

After establishing themselves in Dalmatia, the Franciscan Order gained popularity not only within the community in city communes, but also in ecclesiastical circles. It was only a matter of time when the members of the Franciscan Order would take up offices outside their Order. Franciscan friars of Dalmatia entered the milieu of the office of bishops and archbishops starting from the mid-13th century, and this phenomenon was reaching its peak in the period from the end of the century and beginning of the 14th century. During this period, friars appointed to such honors and offices would usually originate from outside of the Province of Dalmatia, that is, from various parts of Italy. Although friars obtaining this office were noted as learned and honorable men, for some little is known of them before this appointment, while for others there is enough information to describe an elaborate career path. However, since this occurred in an earlier period in the history of the Franciscan Order and in general the preservation of written documents until the 14th century was not very systematic, therefore, it is difficult to reconstruct career paths of some friars (arch)bishops. However, just by looking at the number of Franciscans performing these offices in Dalmatia, it becomes clear that there was a shift in trends in the appointment of bishops and archbishops, which meant that the Franciscan Order was included in the local ecclesiastical milieu. In the text that follows, there will be a distinction between friars as (arch)bishops in Dalmatia who originated from outside the Province, and friars who were from the Province, that is, local friars. For foreign friar (arch)bishops it was possible to make a division according to different city communes, but the same criteria did not apply when speaking about friars from the Province who obtained service outside Dalmatia.

In the beginning, just after Franciscans were established in most parts of the Province of Dalmatia, there were some frictions between friars and ecclesiastical authorities. Sometimes conflicts between friars and authorities can be assumed by observing papal bulls issued on various matters, whether they were directed to friars on the level of the Province of Dalmatia or pertaining to a certain friary/city commune. The earliest sign of conflict concerning friars and archbishops occurred in Zadar, showing that certain popes provided protection to friars who would be badly treated by ecclesiastical authorities. To be more precise, in 1235, Pope Gregory IX reprimanded the archbishop of Zadar for causing difficulties to Franciscans, who are preachers of true faith in Zadar.⁴⁷² This warning from the pope was not without cause or genuine concern of how friars were being treated and shows that they enjoyed papal support. It seems that even ten years later, the animosity was not

⁴⁷² ASSF, Perg. 7.

resolved, since in 1245, Pope Innocent IV ordered that Hungarian and Croatian bishops should not disturb the Franciscans, but these instructions also concerned the Dominicans, since soon there was another decree directed to them,⁴⁷³ which means that both Mendicant Orders enjoyed papal protection. The same tone continued in the next decade. In 1255, Pope Alexander IV reprimanded all archbishops, bishops and prelates of Dalmatia, Istria and Slavonia for their treatment of Franciscans.⁴⁷⁴ The protection was still needed even after this decree, and next year, the same pope forbade other types of mistreatment, meaning the regulations concerning taxes should not be imposed to the Franciscans, that their alms should not be taken or they should not be harassed in any way.⁴⁷⁵ Since these two decrees were given in two consecutive years, papal authorities were surely striving towards better relations between these groups or just trying to ensure a better position of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia. It is safe to assume that the conflict situation between (arch)bishops and Franciscans was resolved, since there was a decree in 1259, where the archbishops of Zadar and Bar were declared as protectors of Franciscans of the Province Slavonia/Dalmatia.⁴⁷⁶ However, this matter concerned pope Martin IV on a more local level, and in 1283, he instructed to archbishop of Zadar to provide a more efficient protection of Franciscans from various attacks.⁴⁷⁷

Besides papal decrees which instruct better treatment of members of the Franciscan Order, what is the safest way of resolving potential conflicts between these two groups – by appointing members of the Franciscan Order as bishops or archbishops in different city communes. Before even discussing specific examples of friars as (arch)bishops, it is possible to conclude around which time friars were starting to be installed on this position. This occurred around 1256, since in that year, there were privileges which dealt with the relationship between Franciscan administrative bodies (minister general, minister provincial and vicar) towards friars who were appointed as bishops or employed in the service of the bishop. More precisely, Pope Alexander issued two bulls in that year, one where Franciscan officials are forbidden to exert authority over Franciscans which are in the personal service of the bishop,⁴⁷⁸ and another where it was forbidden to install a friar as a bishop without previously obtained an approval of minister provincial of the Province to which said friar belonged to.⁴⁷⁹ On the other hand, when a friar was appointed as a bishop or any other ecclesiastical position, they were, as it was written in the decree from 1257, instructed to leave behind their books and other objects to the

⁴⁷³ CD IV, doc. 246, pp. 280-282.

⁴⁷⁴ ASSF, Perg. 11.

⁴⁷⁵ CD-S I, doc. 175, pp. 222-223 (ASSF, Perg. 31).

⁴⁷⁶ CD-S I, doc. 190, pp. 237-238 (ASSF, Perg. 33).

⁴⁷⁷ CD-S II, doc. 56, pp. 122-123 (ASSF, Perg. 46).

⁴⁷⁸ CD-S I, doc. 164, p. 212 (ASSF, Perg. 26).

⁴⁷⁹ CD-S I, doc. 165, pp. 212-213 (ASSF, Perg. 27).

friary where they were residing.⁴⁸⁰ After the relations between friars and bishops were regulated, friars gained more privileges, such is the one from 1265 by Pope Clement IV, in which they, in case of the bishop's death, can continue to perform their duties which they obtained during the bishop's lifetime without a special permission. They can continue to do so until a new bishop is installed.⁴⁸¹

6.4.1. Franciscans as archbishops of Zadar

Appointing of Franciscans as archbishops in Zadar started in the end of the 13th century, and with friars from Italy. Three Franciscans were on the archbishopric's seat consequently each after another. In 1291, Pope Nicholas IV appointed John of Anagni.⁴⁸² John is different from other examples of friars, since just before becoming an archbishop in Zadar he was a minister provincial of Dalmatia, from 1288 to 1291. He was an archbishop until 1297, after which he transferred to Trani in south Italy, where he died in 1299. It should be underlined that Trani was a place which served as a residence for popes during the 13th century.⁴⁸³ Although John originated from Italy, the story says that he in fact arrived here with his father as a boy, and the minister provincial Jerome Masci took him in the friary of Zadar, which would, in that case, make him a Dalmatian friar who resided in friary in Zadar,⁴⁸⁴ which is actually an interesting episode of interplay between papacy, ecclesiastical structures and the Franciscans in Dalmatia.

John was immediately followed as archbishop by Henry of Todi in 1297, when he was appointed by Pope Boniface VIII.⁴⁸⁵ Henry was in fact a *professor* in the Franciscan Order and therefore an experienced and educated member of the community. Unfortunately, he died only two years after being appointed.⁴⁸⁶ Henry was replaced by another friar, James of Foligno in 1299, also a *professor* in the Franciscan Order.⁴⁸⁷ Friar James performed his duties as an archbishop diligently, being familiar with people and circumstances in the commune from the very beginning of his service. It is presumed that both Henry and James were in fact personally selected by the pope himself and that they were already on good terms with the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia. Since there is information about James in 1311, but in 1312 it was written that the archbishopric was vacant, the latter year would be considered the end of his office.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁰ CD-S I, doc. 179, p. 229 (ASSF, Perg. 21).

⁴⁸¹ CD-S I, doc. 213, p. 270 (ASSF, Perg. 37).

⁴⁸² CD VII, doc. 15, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸³ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, pp. 294-295.

⁴⁸⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 44.

⁴⁸⁵ CD VII, doc. 244, pp. 283-284.

⁴⁸⁶ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 295.

⁴⁸⁷ CD VII, doc. 296, pp. 343-344.

⁴⁸⁸ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 296.

6.4.2. Franciscans as archbishops of Split

The commune in Split had one Franciscan friar coming from a different Province than other communes. While friars would usually originate from various towns of Italy, friar Peter was a Franciscan who came from Hungary and who was also a professor. Even before obtaining an archbishopric, he was a chaplain in Naples, first of Charles Martel in 1294 and of Queen Mary in 1297.⁴⁸⁹ While comparing other examples which were and will be presented here, Peter stood out not by being a *professor* in the Franciscan Order, but by his connection with the royal house of Naples. He was installed as an archbishop in 1297 by Pope Boniface VIII, where him being the chaplain to Queen Mary was especially emphasized.⁴⁹⁰ Peter had a long-lasting career in Split and was at the head of the archbishopric until 1324, when his successor was named.⁴⁹¹

6.4.3. Franciscans as archbishops of Dubrovnik

In Dubrovnik, Franciscan archbishops originated mainly from Italy. The first election of a Franciscan as an archbishop occurred in the mid-13th century. Aleardo (of Sardinia) was elected in 1258, and it is presumed that he held this office until 1268. However, as it was a custom to transfer from one (arch)bishopric to another, Aleardo in 1276 was transferred to Rab in a document issued by Pope John XXI.⁴⁹² Aleardo returned there around 1277 and very soon died, around 1278.⁴⁹³ The timeline concerning him being in Rab in 1276 and returning to Sardinia just one year afterwards seems a bit rushed, but there is always a possibility that his health was deteriorating and that he wanted to return home to spend his last days there. The time elapsed for another archbishop from the Franciscan Order was not long, and in 1279 Friar Marc of Venice was elected as archbishop, but he died before officially entering the diocese.⁴⁹⁴ Therefore, quick action was needed and it is not surprising that Pope Nicholas IV installed Friar Philip, another member of the Franciscan Order, as archbishop in Dubrovnik.⁴⁹⁵ However, somehow the position of archbishop did not suit Friar Philip Bonacorsi of Mantua and he did not accept this appointment. The reason for this is not known, but later, in 1289, he is mentioned holding the office of the bishop in Trento. There is a ten-year gap between these two data, so it is not certain how long he held this office. In the end, he returned home to Mantua in 1302 where he died not long afterwards.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁹ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 279.

⁴⁹⁰ *...fratrum ordinis Minorum professorem, capellanum carissime in Christo filie nostre Marie regine Sicilie illustris.* CD VII, doc. 239, pp. 277-278.

⁴⁹¹ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 280.

⁴⁹² CD VI, doc. 164, p. 177.

⁴⁹³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 9.

⁴⁹⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 70.

⁴⁹⁵ CD VI, doc. 263, pp. 314-316.

⁴⁹⁶ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 29.

The trend of Franciscan archbishops continued in Dubrovnik in 1281, with the appointment of Bonaventure of Parma in 1281 by the Pope Martin IV.⁴⁹⁷ Bonaventure performed the duties of the archbishop for a very long time, until 1302, being an integral part of the ecclesiastical authority in Dubrovnik.⁴⁹⁸ Subsequently, there came a significant time gap in Dubrovnik when Franciscans were not appointed as archbishops, and only in 1322 there was another one, named Lawrence, who was appointed as archbishop by Pope John XXII,⁴⁹⁹ but his office did not last long, since he died the following year.⁵⁰⁰

6.4.4. Franciscans as bishops of Krk

There were four friars who obtained the office of the bishops in the bishopric of Krk during the period from 1258 to 1311. The first friar chosen for the office of bishop there was Bonacursus, a friar who originated from Venice (1258) and held the office for many years. He was appointed as a bishop of Aquila in 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV, a Franciscan and former Provincial of Dalmatia.⁵⁰¹

The end of the 1280s brought commotion in the bishopric of Krk. It seems that after the death of Marin, bishop of Krk, in 1289, there was an election between two friars from the Mendicant Orders, Friar John of Krk from the Franciscan Order, and Zachary from the Dominican Order. Since these events were taking place whilst Pope Nicholas IV's pontificate, it is not surprising that the pope chose a Franciscan friar Lambert over the Dominican friar Zachary. It is not known how a local friar, John of Krk was not in fact chosen for the office, and Lambert's origins are not known, but the official explanation was that Lambert was a learned and pious man for this office and that it was imperative that the bishopric should promptly have its bishop.⁵⁰² Although some authors claim that the place of origin of Friar and Bishop Lambert is not known, others state that he is from Ripatransono (Marche), which is certainly plausible. Lambert remained in his office as a bishop from 1290 to 1297, but this was not the only service he performed. He was in fact *familiaris* of pope Nicholas IV, but Lambert also served another pope. In 1296, Pope Boniface VIII appointed him as his vicar in Rome, all due to his many virtues. Next year, Lambert was appointed as the bishop of Aquino, where he remained until 1309.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ CD VI, doc. 335, pp. 396-397

⁴⁹⁸ During various sentencing (CD VI, doc. 394, pp. 476-477; CD VI, doc. 416, pp. 499-500), collecting a debt (CD VI, doc. 395, p. 477), obtaining permit to transport grain (CD VI, doc. 487., pp. 576-578), passing on judgement on various matters (CD VI, doc. 576, pp. 682-684), etc.

⁴⁹⁹ CD IX, doc. 34, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁰⁰ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 65.

⁵⁰¹ Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," pp. 36-37.

⁵⁰² Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," pp. 37-38.

⁵⁰³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 64; Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," p. 38.

There were other Franciscan bishops of Krk during this period, but information about them is scarce. Friar Matthew was the bishop of Krk from 1297/1298 to 1302, and he was succeeded by another Franciscan friar on the bishop's seat, Friar Thomas from Montefiore (Marche), who was the bishop of Krk from 1302 to 1311, and in 1308 he is located with Cardinal Gentile from Montefiore and with Friar Nicholas in Senj.⁵⁰⁴

6.4.5. Franciscans as bishops of Trogir

Contrary to other foreign friars which held the office of bishops or archbishops in Dalmatia, but originated from Italy and some from Hungary, there are two friars in the 13th century which were in fact originating from Dalmatia. The first known Franciscan friar who became a bishop in the Province of Dalmatia in the 13th century was Friar Columban, appointed by Pope Alexander IV to the bishopric of Trogir,⁵⁰⁵ an office which he held from 1255 to 1276. His duties as the bishop in Trogir were sometimes connected with the friars themselves, such as finding them a place where they could be relocated.⁵⁰⁶ It is assumed that he was from the island of Rab, although that cannot be proven with certainty. Although Columban was a bishop for a long time in Trogir, he, due to the dissatisfaction of the archbishop of Split and the clergy in Šibenik, had to resign in 1276 and afterwards he proceeded to Italy where he remained until his death in 1279. It is interesting that after his death, the body of Columban was transferred back to Trogir, where he was buried in the cathedral.⁵⁰⁷ Even if there is a possibility that Columban was not from Rab, he was certainly fond of Trogir and wanted to remain there even after his death. The second local Franciscan friar was soon elected as bishop in Trogir, named Gregory Machinatura, who himself originated from Trogir, from supposedly a noble family. Besides this, there is not much information about Gregory, besides his years of service as the bishop of Trogir, which was from 1282 until his death in 1297.⁵⁰⁸

6.4.6. Other bishops along the province

As it was seen, most of these Franciscan friars appointed as bishops and archbishops in Dalmatia were foreigners mostly from Italy who did not belong to the Province of Dalmatia, with few exemptions: two friars being from Dalmatia and one from Hungary. Employing a foreigner was a strategic move to ensure objectivity while dealing with ecclesiastical matters in the communes. On

⁵⁰⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 99.

⁵⁰⁵ CD IV, doc. 519, pp. 601-602.

⁵⁰⁶ CD V, doc. 834, p. 344.

⁵⁰⁷ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 289.

⁵⁰⁸ Petrović, *The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia*, p. 290.

the other hand, there were Franciscan friars who were from the Province of Dalmatia and later became bishops either inside or outside of the Province. Anthony of Pula was similar to John of Anagni, since he was also the minister provincial of Dalmatia, also residing in Zadar in 1302, before obtaining any specific office.⁵⁰⁹ Later on, he was the minister provincial in Dalmatia from 1311 to 1319, that is, three mandates, travelling all around the province and dealing with various matters: in 1312 in Senj,⁵¹⁰ and in Trogir in 1315.⁵¹¹ His office as a provincial ended when he became the bishop in Pula, which was around 1319 or 1320,⁵¹² and he was still acting as such in 1325.⁵¹³ Since Anthony was originally from Pula, being appointed as a bishop there could be marked as a form of a retirement after such fruitful career in the Order. This is also different from the other examples above, where friars would not have such a successful career in the Order but outside it.

Similar to Anthony, but in a much later period, there is another friar who also achieved a remarkable career in the Order before taking up the position of bishop and archbishop. Minor of Durrës was the minister provincial of Dalmatia from 1376 to 1385/6, residing in the Province – Zadar in 1377⁵¹⁴ and in Trogir in 1379, and outside the Province – in 1380 in Assisi, and in 1384 in Padua.⁵¹⁵ Although for some years there is no information on Minor's activities inside and outside the Order, in 1403 he took over the position of the bishop in Svač,⁵¹⁶ but soon after, he was elected as the archbishop of Durrës.⁵¹⁷

It seems that being a minister provincial could be considered as a prerequisite on becoming a bishop after a fruitful career in the Order. Michael of Zadar, minister provincial of Dalmatia from 1349 to 1355, obtained office within the Order even before becoming minister provincial: he was a *lector* in Trieste in 1341,⁵¹⁸ and as minister provincial he was noted mainly in Senj: in 1354 while being minister provincial,⁵¹⁹ and also in 1370 as former minister provincial.⁵²⁰ For Michael it is interesting that he started his career outside of the Order much earlier before becoming a bishop. In 1366, he was employed as a syndic in Zadar,⁵²¹ and afterwards it is not clear when he became a bishop

⁵⁰⁹ CD VIII, doc. 32, pp. 35-37.

⁵¹⁰ CD VIII, doc. 260, pp. 314-315.

⁵¹¹ CD VIII, doc. 324, pp. 397-399; CD VIII, doc. 448, pp. 547-548.

⁵¹² Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija," p. 43.

⁵¹³ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 18.

⁵¹⁴ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 6, fol. 37'-38.

⁵¹⁵ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77. Minor probably obtained his degree in Padua, maybe even sooner than 1384, since he is mentioned at the chapter on the same year in Zadar as the Master of Theology (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42). However, in 1385, he is noted in the catalogue of the minister general of Order as the provincial of Dalmatia, so it is not certain when did his office end (AFH, vol. 15 (1922.), p. 348).

⁵¹⁶ HC1, p. 233.

⁵¹⁷ HC1, p. 466.

⁵¹⁸ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

⁵¹⁹ CD XII, doc. 162, pp. 216-218.

⁵²⁰ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41.

⁵²¹ DAZd, ZB, PP, fasc. 3, fol. 26, nr. 94.

in Osor on island Cres, since he is mentioned as such in 1377, but only as being a witness during the reading of royal letters.⁵²² What connects these three friars is that they were minister provincials of Dalmatia and had remarkable career before becoming (arch)bishops. This would mean that experience and expertise were decisive factors for (arch)bishops in a certain city, and only friars which fit these criteria could be chosen for such honors.

6.5. Services of Friars to the community and the Crown

For the Franciscan Order to be present in all the aspects of life in the Middle Ages, whether it was in Dalmatia or in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia in general, meant assuming a more active role, and using their knowledge or peaceful and trusting nature to help in times of need and trouble, or in everyday activities which ensured a normal functioning of the community. These activities and offices performed by friars of Dalmatia could fall either under the category of secular or lay activities, and sometimes their advisory skills were put to the test.

As one of the advisory activities needed for lay authorities was that of a syndic, who would usually be a lay person, but not always. One case of a friar as a syndic was noted in the second half of the 14th century in Zadar. In 1366, Friar Michael of Zadar, was instructed to go as a syndic to Ravenna and to arrange the arrival of a potential candidate Minginum de Mečan, for the position of a new communal chancellor in Zadar. In this document about arranging the arrival of Minginum, it was noted what kind of virtues the new communal chancellor should possess and the money which he will be paid for this office. However, one clause shows that syndic was not a mere companion to the chancellor, but that his role was much more decisive. Namely, the decision of employing Minginum as a communal chancellor was not definitive, and Friar Michael had to see if he was worthy of this honor and if he would not meet the criteria written in the document, syndic could pick another chancellor anywhere in Marche (Italy).⁵²³ This only shows that the judgement of Friar Michael was trusted and appreciated and that he was not only carrying out orders, but could decide according to his conscience. The question which came to mind was whether Minginum was indeed the communal chancellor after Friar Michael went to arrange his arrival and if not, what could be the reason for this. Although it is difficult to establish the precise archontology list of people performing a service of the communal chancellor in Zadar, it was noted that in March 1367, as *publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et Iadre ad ciuilia cancellarius* there was another person, and not Minginum de Mečan. The person who was established at this position was Cleric Brunetto of Francis of Firmo,⁵²⁴ but the reason

⁵²² DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 4, fol. 46'.

⁵²³ DAZd, ZB, PP, fasc. 3, fol. 26, nr. 94.

⁵²⁴ CD XIV, doc. 7, pp. 11-12.

for this decision is hard to claim without further context. Why did they not install Minginum as communal chancellor, and did Friar Michael have a say in making this decision, in other words, did Friar Michael meet Minginum and consider him not worthy, then deciding to recommend someone else? Whether this was the doing of Friar Michael or just some “higher force” that prevented Minginum to assume this office, it is not possible to say with certainty.

Friars were known for their humility, piety, and their peaceful and sometimes diplomatic nature, so it is not surprising that they were chosen to be emissaries in different missions. In times of trouble and need, the inhabitants of Zadar needed a neutral and trustworthy person as an emissary to King Louis I. In the chronicle *Obsidio Iadrensis*, which tells the story of the siege of Zadar during the rebellion against the Venetians in 1345-1346, Friar Marin was sent as an emissary to the king on several occasions. Friar Marin was described as a learned and wise man, who was sent as the emissary of people from Zadar to King Louis to seek help and protection, which the king promised to fulfill.⁵²⁵ After the King made this promise, Friar Marin returned to Zadar and conveyed what the king told him and gave them a letter which the king wrote for the people of Zadar.⁵²⁶ It seems that the community was satisfied with Friar Marin’s work and when the need arose, he was sent again as an emissary to the king Louis, because they were afraid that the Venetians will engage in a battle from which Zadar will not be able to defend itself. This time, the king answered their prayers by arriving personally with his army in front of Zadar.⁵²⁷ It was actually a wise decision from the inhabitants of Zadar to choose Friar Marin as an emissary to King Louis, since they knew he had a “soft spot” for the Franciscan Order and that he would be more likely to grant their pleas if they came from a Franciscan friar. Furthermore, although it is not noted how educated Friar Marin was, or what was meant by saying that he was a learned man, still it shows that friars were perceived as educated men at who the people from their commune relied upon to perform political and diplomatic activities for the greater good and for saving the community. Events which preceded the Siege of Zadar in 1345/46 were the result of a complex long-lasting political circumstances between Zadar and the Venetians. In general, the possession of Zadar, due to its geographical position within Dalmatia and general strategic importance, had been the goal for first the Kings of Croatia, and later Kings of Hungary-Croatia and Bans of Croatia (counts of Bribir of the Šubić kindred), and, of course, Venice. Starting as early as 1115, Zadar was under Venetian rule on several instances, with autonomy and self-government, depending on the political circumstances. Likewise, there were many uprisings and overthrowing of Venetian rule during these three centuries, with more or less success. From the end of the 13th century, Ban of Croatia, Paul of Bribir of the Šubić kindred and his brothers imposed their

⁵²⁵ *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 154-155.

⁵²⁶ *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 162-163.

⁵²⁷ *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 226-228.

dominion on other Dalmatian cities, Croatian magnates, Bosnia and Hum, and it is no wonder that Zadar played a crucial role in his political agency. Furthermore, Ban Paul I of Bribir and his brothers George I and Mladen I played an important role in the installment of the Angevin kings on the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. In the first half of the 14th century, the system of Venetian rule in Zadar was based on the agreement in 1313, which remained until the conflict in 1345 and the Siege of Zadar by Venetians.⁵²⁸ However, the shift in power occurred after the death of King Charles Robert I, and the arrival of his son Louis I the Great on the throne, who succeeded to implement royal power on the territory of Croatian lands. Most of the Croatian magnates acknowledged his royal authority (besides few), and Dalmatian cities sent their emissaries to him as confirmation of his sovereign. Zadar's emissaries arrived too late for the meeting with the king, and this action was viewed extremely negative by the Venetians and caused a harsh reaction. Venice deployed land and naval army blocking the city and proposed an unconditional capitulation of the city of Zadar. Zaratins, after seeing this, in return decided to resist by proclaiming the subordination to the royal authority, which led to the siege of Zadar by the Venetian forces.⁵²⁹

Another friar was considered by the community to be a trustworthy person and was sent by authorities on a political and diplomatic mission. In 1379, James de Mençe, the count of Dubrovnik, instructed to Nicholas de Gondola to go as an emissary to Ban Nicholas Szécsi and to justify the attack done on Kotor by the community of Dubrovnik. To be safe that this meeting goes well, they have sent Friar Peter Gisda from Kotor to accompany him, since he originated from Kotor and can advocate better in this delicate matter.⁵³⁰ The fact that Friar Peter was from Kotor did influence the decision to send him there as well, but this was not the only reason, since he would need to be a person with good reputation who has gained the respect of people not only in Dubrovnik, but also in Kotor to be taken seriously.

Friars could be employed in one office by a lay person or by an ecclesiastical person. Such a twofold office is that of a chaplain. The most important chaplain was already mentioned as Friar Damian. His service to queen Elizabeth has been already discussed, but it is interesting that his donations from the queen were issued by her daughter Mary in a document from 1389, when the chapter of Zadar sent out a notarized and authentic transcription of the charter from 1383, and by this reconfirming the charter of her mother Elizabeth. By donating the estate to Friar Damian and by confirming the estate of his nephews, queens were in fact showing appreciation not only to Friar

⁵²⁸ *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 54-58.

⁵²⁹ *Obsidio Iadrensis*, pp. 59 -60. *Obsidio Iadrensis* provides an Anti-Venetian point of view, while there is another chronicle which has a pro-Venetian character, *Chronica Iadertina*. In *Chronica Iadertina*, the siege of Zadar is described as a response of the nefarious deeds of corrupted Zaratins.

⁵³⁰ CD XVI, doc. 24, pp. 30-33

Damian, but also to his family.⁵³¹ Friar Damian's connections with Zadar were multiple, although during his career as a Franciscan friar his activities were focused on Bosnia. Since he was a Croatian nobleman from the hinterland of Zadar,⁵³² he maintained good relations with other noblemen from Zadar. In 1380 he was, as mentioned, an executor of the last will of a royal knight Mafeus de Matafaris,⁵³³ and Grisogono de Civaletis bequeathed him with 25 ducats, for him to distribute it to the friars in Bosnia as he would deem necessary.⁵³⁴

Besides being chaplains to lay people, friars could also be chaplains to ecclesiastical people. Ecclesiastical institutions which seemed to employ friars were convents and bishops. John of Cres was acting as a chaplain to the convent of St Nicholas in Zadar, which belonged to the Order of Poor Clares, and he was in this position for a long time, that is, ten years. He is noted as such in the standard type of documents, mainly in those where the friars confirm that they received a certain bequest in a previously written testament. The first time he was noted as a chaplain was in 1373, when the chapter of friars in Zadar stated that they received 500 pounds by Nicoletta, the daughter of late Damian de Begne, and the widow of late Nicholas de Fangogna to make a cross.⁵³⁵ The same procedure involving John of Cres as a part of the chapter of friars in Zadar, and as a chaplain of Poor Clares in the same city communes, he again stated, among others, that the bequest of 100 pounds was received by the executors of the testament of shoemaker Radoje.⁵³⁶ The last time when John of Cres was written down as a chaplain to the convent of St Nicholas was in 1384, doing the same as in previous documents, but now that the bequest of 37,5 pounds was received from the legacy Saladin of late Cosa de Saladinis.⁵³⁷ More than 10 years of performing a certain service must have meant that Friar John performed well and that there was no need to replace him, but it also shows that friars were in charge of protecting the female members of their Order and attending to their spiritual and mundane needs.

Being a chaplain to Poor Clares was not the only ecclesiastical type of service. Sometimes chaplains could perform their duties on a more personal and individual level. In that manner, one friar had a connection leading indirectly to the pope himself. The document from 1393 proving this was the actual appointment of Friar Nicholas of Zadar as a chaplain to Friar Peter, who was the bishop of Novara and the papal envoy. Furthermore, Friar Nicholas was an educated man, since in the

⁵³¹ Mladen Ančić, "Registar Artikucija iz Rivignana (Registrum Articutii de Rivignano)" [The Registry of Articutio of Rivignano], *Fontes* 11 (2005), doc. 2, pp. 84-87.

⁵³² About Damian Tugomirić's kindred see the doctoral thesis of Ivan Majnarić *Srednje i niže plemstvo u širem zadarskom zaleđu od polovice XIV. do polovice XV. stoljeća* [Middle and Lower Nobility in the Broader Zaratine Hinterland from the Middle of the 14th to the middle of the 15th centuries] (Zagreb: FFZg, 2011), pp. 114-117.

⁵³³ DAZd, SZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 4, fol. 111'-112'.

⁵³⁴ DAZd, SZB, RM, b. I, fasc. III, fol. 3-6'.

⁵³⁵ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 1, fol. 13.

⁵³⁶ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 11, fol. 35-35'.

⁵³⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

document, it is written that he was the baccalaureate of theology at the university of Oxford.⁵³⁸ The place where this document was retrieved is also significant – the archive of the friary in Zadar, where parchments with various topics were stored, but for which friars considered to be important to them. J. Velnić states that Friar Nicholas was also appointed as the chaplain of Ladislav of Naples and co-friar of the Carthusian Order, but he did not quote the document from where he got this information.⁵³⁹

The importance and reputation of friars in the Province of Dalmatia was visible also in services which the friars themselves performed for lay authorities, which shows that there were not only educated friars within the Order, but also those who enjoyed a tremendous confidence of the whole community in Dalmatia. They could perform the service of the syndic and decide on the choice of a chancellor or be emissaries in the critical moments for the community and commune, such as during wartime. Besides these services which had a more political aspect to it, there was a specific form of service which combined the spiritual and social service in one – the service of a chaplain, whether it was for a lay or ecclesiastical authority and institution. One service of the chaplain stands out among others – the chaplain to the queen, which additionally emphasizes the status which the Order and their individual had obtained in the Province, extending beyond the level of the commune.

6.6. Missionary agency in Bosnia

6.6.1. Friars of Dalmatia on Bosnian territory before the foundation of the Vicariate of Bosnia

The Province of Dalmatia shared a part of its territory with another Franciscan administrative unit, the Vicariate of Bosnia, which was founded in 1339/1340. Although the history of the Vicariate of Bosnia and its relationship with the Province of Dalmatia requires extensive research, which is not possible at this moment, nonetheless, this topic deserves a certain degree of discussion. Since Bosnian territory was constantly subjected to heretical activities, as it was seen, the Franciscan Order, especially friars from the Province of Dalmatia, were instructed to eradicate it and therefore establishing their base for missionary activity. However, it is an oversimplified overview of a complex situation, which cannot be fully enlightened here, only presented in correlation with the Province of Dalmatia from the sources which were used for this research, therefore observing the matter from a different prism.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ ASSF, Perg. 82; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p 74.

⁵³⁹ Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p 74, n. 57.

⁵⁴⁰ As it was hinted above, the understanding of the foundation and beginnings of the Vicariate of Bosnia would require detailed monographic research. Complexity of this topic is not only due to the nature of the sources, but also due to their interpretation. Even until present day, historians are still using anachronic terminology which do not correlate to social reality of the studied period nor its territory. Such approaches caused continuous iterating of outdated theories of its

Bosnia territory had problems with heretical movements very early on, just at the turn from the end of the 12th century, when in 1199/1200 Vukan, knez of Duklja, reported to the Pope Innocent III that heresy was present in Bosnia, which attracted more than 10 thousand Christians, alongside Ban Kulin. From this time onwards, heresy became an epitome for the Bosnian territory, which resulted in constant political pressure and missionary activities as a response to this phenomenon. Without going too much into detail, it is noteworthy that in 1223, the papacy installed a Dominican friar John of Wildeshausen as the bishop of Bosnia, and the bishopric of Bosnia was exempt from the metropolitan jurisdiction and put under the direct authority of the pope.⁵⁴¹

Franciscan presence in Bosnia probably started in the middle of the 13th century, at least from written sources, and it was instigated by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. In the letter of the Pope Innocent IV in 1248, it was instructed that the Franciscan minister provincial, alongside with the bishop of Senj, should investigate the orthodoxy of Ban Ninoslav.⁵⁴² This letter was sent at the same time as the one from the same pope, where he was reprimanding the archbishop of Kalocsa to not go against Ban Ninoslav, and that aforementioned friar and bishop would diligently inquire on this matter, basically giving them jurisdiction over it.⁵⁴³ In 1254, in general, Innocent IV gave permission to the Franciscan minister general and his vicar in Dalmatia to preach to heretics and gave them the authority of inquisitors.⁵⁴⁴

The connection between Bosnian lands and the Franciscan Order was further deepened by the agency of one minister provincial of Dalmatia, Jerome Masci, who held this office 1260-1274 and therefore was familiar with the situation in the Province and its neighboring lands. Jerome was elected as Pope Nicholas IV in 1288, as the first pope from the Franciscan Order. Among his many activities was missionary work, which spread to various lands, and it is not surprising that friars from the Province of Dalmatia were entrusted with these missions as well.⁵⁴⁵ Franciscans were already active in fighting against heresy in a part of Bosnia which were in authority of Serbian king Stefan Dragutin and already instructed in sending friars of Dalmatia there in 1291.⁵⁴⁶ The status of friars as protectors

significance and functioning, especially on matters concerning the foundation of the Vicariate of Bosnia. This was the shortfall of not only ecclesiastical historians, but also urban historians.

⁵⁴¹ Srećko M. Džaja, "Katoličanstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini od Kulina bana do austro-ugarske okupacije" [Catholicism in Bosnia and Hercegovina from ban Kulin until the Austro-Hungarian Occupation], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 16 (1992) 30: 154; 157.

⁵⁴² CD IV, doc. 306, pp. 342.

⁵⁴³ CD IV, doc. 305, pp. 341-342.

⁵⁴⁴ ASSF, Perg. 12.

⁵⁴⁵ For instance, in 1291, he appealed to the minister provincial of Sclavonia/Dalmatia to find six friars to willingly go to Palestine as missionaries and protectors of the Holy places. ASSF, Perg. 52.

⁵⁴⁶ On the same year 1291, Nicholas IV first expresses his joy on the willingness of the king that he sends two educated friars from the Province of Dalmatia to parts of Bosnia which are under his authority (BF IV, pp. 236-237) and the second letter to the minister provincial of Dalmatia to choose these aforementioned friars as inquisitors in these parts of Bosnia (BF IV, pp. 238-239); Marijan Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci" [Vicariate of Bosnia and Franciscans Conventuals], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 13 (1989) 24: 4. For extensive overview of the history of the Vicariate of

in these lands was further established by Pope Boniface VIII, who in 1298 gave authority to the minister provincial of Dalmatia to choose two friars suited for investigating heresy in parts of *Serviae, Rasciae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Bosnae, atque Istriae Provinciae Sclavoniae* and Minister Provincial, or his vicar in his absence can appoint or even replace inquisitors after their death. Although the description of the territory which was under their jurisdiction is a bit confusing by phrasing it like all these lands belonged to the Province (which was probably mistake in writing since Province was not so vast), but either way this authority included the territory of Bosnia, where friars were to be sent.⁵⁴⁷

Franciscan missionaries from the Province of Dalmatia were in general well received in Bosnia, although it was not without some difficulties. Namely, Franciscans came into conflict with the Dominican Order over missionary activity in Bosnia.⁵⁴⁸ In fact, the Dominicans were the first ones to act as missionaries in Bosnia. The sources depicting their presence are scarce, but it is presumed that they arrived in the 1320s, even before the naming of the first Dominican bishop in 1233. However, their activities in Bosnia were not marked as successful, probably due to lack of support from Bosnian bans.⁵⁴⁹ On the other hand, as it was mentioned, the Franciscans arrived in Bosnia in 1248 to inquire about heretical claims concerning Ban Ninoslav, soon gaining authority of inquisitors and in 1291 sent two friars to investigate heresy there. However, Pope John XXII unknowingly entrusted the mission to the Dominican Order, which then required for Franciscans to prove their right by presenting previous papal bulls. In 1327, Pope John XXII instructed to the archbishops of Split and Zadar to investigate both Dominicans and Franciscans on their rights to inquisition.⁵⁵⁰ This matter was heartily defended by friar Fabian, who was successful, and which resulted in Pope John XXII revoking these privileges given to Dominicans several months later, forbidding them to use this privilege anymore and entrusting it to Franciscans once again.⁵⁵¹ The Dominicans did not lay this matter to rest and disputes on authority over inquisitory activities in Bosnia continued. In 1330 archbishops of Split and Trogir were now instructed to send Dominicans and Franciscans to the pope himself.⁵⁵² It is not certain when the dispute ended, but it is how it ended, with Franciscans regaining their rights to inquisition, since in 1337, Pope Benedict XII was supporting Franciscan inquisitors in

Bosnia until the 18th century, see: Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna. Razvoj i uprava Bosanske Vikarije i Provincije 1340. – 1735*. [Franciscan Bosnia. The Development and Administration of the Vicariate of Bosnia and the Province 1340-1735] (Rome: Hrvatski povijesni institut, 1968).

⁵⁴⁷ BF IV, pp. 474-475; ASSF, Perg. 56; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 164, Žugaj, “Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci,” 4; Šanjek, “Inkvizicija,” p. 232.

⁵⁴⁸ More on the Dominicans in Bosnia, see Salih Abdulah Jalimam, “Dominikanci u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni” [The Dominicans in Bosnia], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 12 (1988) 22: 73-86, and on their conflict with the Franciscans see: Salih Abdulah Jalimam, “Spor dominikanaca i franjevaca u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni” [The conflict of the Dominicans and the Franciscans in medieval Bosnia], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 13 (1989) 23: 9-19.

⁵⁴⁹ Džaja, “Katoličanstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini,” p. 161.

⁵⁵⁰ CD IX, doc. 279, pp. 337-338.

⁵⁵¹ CD IX, doc. 289, pp. 348-349.

⁵⁵² CD IX, doc. 410, pp. 499-500.

Bosnia and neighboring area. It is presumed that the failure of the Dominicans to overtake the missionary activities in Bosnia laid in the fact that This inquisitory missions of Franciscans could be better perceived as missionary activities, which could have been continuous from their first arrival in 1248, which was further supported by authorities in Bosnia, first 1300-1322 by Paul and Mladen Šubić, who were known supporters of the Franciscans, and then afterwards, after Mladen's defeat in 1322, by the arrival of Bosnian Ban Stephen II Kotromanić, who was catholic. Long lasting Franciscans missionary activities in Bosnia, where they enjoyed support from rulers and papal authorities only further established a stronghold which resulted in the official foundation of the Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia.⁵⁵³

6.6.2. Vicariate of Bosnia and Franciscans of Dalmatia until the end of the 14th century

All these factors mentioned above contributed to the actual establishment of the Vicariate of Bosnia, which occurred in 1339/1340 by the agency of Minister General Gerardus Odonis. The reason why it was named Vicariate instead of Province is because in 1239, the General Chapter decided that the number of provinces should not be enhanced anymore, and any territorial unit which would be established in the future, should carry the name Vicariate (*vicariatus*). After officially establishing the Vicariate of Bosnia, there was a matter of manpower, meaning from where friars should be imported, at least in the beginning. Friars which originated from Croatian historical areas, from Dalmatia and Slavonia were not enough anymore, and General Minister made a promise to import friars from all parts of the Order. It could be assumed that Gerard tried to fulfill this task, but not to Ban Stephen's satisfaction. The problem with "foreign" friars, besides not bringing enough of them, did not speak "Slavic language and Stephen wanted those friars which would quickly learn the language. This, of course, had an impact on the demographic structure of future friars in Bosnia. There is also information brought by Gonzaga that the Pope Urban V sent friar Cosmas of Zadar with 50 his co-friars to preach among "infidels" of Bosnia, Rascia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Wallachia. From this information, the conclusion would be that the number of friars had to be at least several hundred if such a loss of 50 friars would not impact them. By the agency of these 50 friars around 15 friaries (*loca*) were erected.⁵⁵⁴ This number of 50 friars, in my opinion, seems a bit excessive, just considering this aspect that the number of friars that would be left after this needed to be suffice for the normal functioning of the Province. Mathematically it would be difficult to calculate how many friars there were in each friary for a such wide Province from Trieste to Durrës. Although it might seem like it

⁵⁵³ Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija i franjeveci konventualci," pp. 5-6; Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217-1559)," p. 18.

⁵⁵⁴ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217-1559)," pp. 18-19.

would be enough friars in friaries, several hundred seems too much. From observing the number of friars residing in Zadar and Dubrovnik, which were the largest in the Province, the largest number of friars residing at the same time was around 12, and that was in a later period in the second half of the 14th century, and the number was probably lower in the earlier periods, and certainly so in smaller friaries. However, since it is not possible to calculate the number of friars in each friary during this period, this transfer of manpower from the Province of Dalmatia to Bosnia is still possible.



Spatial organization of the vicariate of Bosnia in 1375

(Taken from Jozo Džambo, *Franjevci u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* (Sarajevo: Zaklada kulturno-povijesni institut Bosne Srebrne, 2022), p. 111)⁵⁵⁵

The issue with research on Vicariate of Bosnia in correlation with the Province of Dalmatia is that the Vicariate territorially included parts of the Province as well, and some friaries belonged to the Vicariate of Bosnia, although mostly from the beginning of the 15th century. In the 14th century

⁵⁵⁵ I would like to thank Dr. Neven Isailović for providing me with the photo.

it was those which were mainly located on the broader area of Dubrovnik. It was Ston (on the island Pelješac), founded in 1349,⁵⁵⁶ Rijeka Dubrovačka in 1393⁵⁵⁷ and Slano in 1399.⁵⁵⁸ From 1400 to 1430 it was friaries in Novigrad near Zadar, Korčula/Badija, Konavle/Pridvorje, Pašman (Zadar), Rožat and Sitnica near Jablanac across the island Rab.⁵⁵⁹

Besides territorial intertwining of the territory, friars of Dalmatia were going on missionary work in Bosnia. The most famous friar there as a missionary was the future saint Nicholas Tavelić, who before dying in Jerusalem in 1391, was in Bosnia for around 12 years, which is a substantial amount of time.⁵⁶⁰ Maybe it is not important whether 50 friars from Dalmatia were sent to Bosnia at once, maybe what is important is that the friars of Dalmatia had deep connection with the Vicariate of Bosnia, in more ways than one. Missionary work was certainly important and surely many friars from Dalmatia travelled to Bosnia due to it, but on the other hand, many friars who were located in Bosnia had their roots in Dalmatia and were supported by the inhabitants from different city communes.

Going into detail about every bequest from the inhabitants of Dalmatia to friars in Bosnia would be too extensive and require too many pages. The general impression which was gained by examining documents concerning friars in Dalmatian city communes is that friars from Bosnia, since many of them originate from Dalmatia, were a part of their community, indicating that maybe the division between one Franciscan entity and another did not mean much to the inhabitants, at least in the case of Province of Dalmatia and Vicariate of Bosnia, especially since some Bosnian friaries were located on the territory of the Province. Friars from Vicariate of Bosnia frequently resided in the Province of Dalmatia. Some were there during their office of vicars and were usually residing in Zadar or had close connections with inhabitants of Zadar. Bartholomew of Alverna was there as the vicar in 1380, written down in the testament of a royal knight Maffeus of late John de Matafaris, and acting like his executor, which meant he certainly had to be present there.⁵⁶¹ His is again mentioned as the vicar in Bosnia in 1388, when he received a bequest from Magdalena, the widow of Daniel de Varicassis.⁵⁶² Following friars shows that the border between friars of Dalmatia and Bosnia was more fluid. Friar Marin of Split, who resided in Zadar in 1384,⁵⁶³ and in Senj in 1390,⁵⁶⁴ was later on the

⁵⁵⁶ In 1347, Pope Clement VI gave permission to friars of the Vicariate of Bosnia to receive two places to build their friaries: one in Ston, and other in Đakovo (CD XI, doc. 272, pp. 359-360).

⁵⁵⁷ In 1465, the friary in Rijeka Dubrovačka came under the authority of the Province of Dubrovnik. Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja*, p. 81.

⁵⁵⁸ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja*, p. 89.

⁵⁵⁹ Friaries from the territory of Slavonia which belonged to the Province of Hungary had the same faith, such is the case of friary in Velika (Požega). Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217-1559)," p. 20.

⁵⁶⁰ Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevac konventualaca (1217-1559)," p. 19.

⁵⁶¹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 4, fol. 111'-112'.

⁵⁶² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁵⁶³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

⁵⁶⁴ CD XVII, doc. 191, pp. 273-274.

vicar in Bosnia in 1406, when he is located in Vesela Straža, when the king Stephen Ostoja put the count Brajan Ohmučević Grgurić under the protection of the Franciscans of the Vicariate of Bosnia.⁵⁶⁵ The case of friar Marin of Split shows further that it was much easier to transfer between these two territories and that Vicariate was still relaying on manpower from Dalmatia.

Connection on a more personal level with Bosnia originated from the highest instances. The wife of Louis I of Anjou, Elisabeth of Bosnia, was the daughter of the same Stephan II Kotromanić and inherited inclination towards Franciscans in general from both her father and her husband, and this also included friars of Bosnia, besides those in Dalmatia. Her chaplain was friar Damian Tugomirić, which is known from a document in 1389.⁵⁶⁶ Friar Damian was a nobleman who originated from the hinterland of Zadar, and he can be considered as both Dalmatian and Bosnian friar, since he is mentioned most frequently during his agency in Bosnia. However, he was also the executor of the testaments of royal knight Maffeus de Matafaris in 1380,⁵⁶⁷ and Grisogono de Civalelis, the latter bequeathing him even 25 ducats for him to distribute it to friars in Bosnia as he deems fit.⁵⁶⁸ Branka Grbavac made the connection between the royal knights from Zadar and Trogir from the loyal circle of Louis I of Anjou (and his wife Elisabeth) and friars in Bosnia,⁵⁶⁹ which will be explained further in the subchapter on Angevine royal family and their connection with the Franciscan Order, but here I will only present the example of aforementioned royal knight Maffeus and his bequest to Franciscans in Bosnia in 1380. He wanted one of the executors of his testament to be either aforementioned friar Bartholomew, the vicar of Bosnia, or Friar Damian, or Friar Anthony, all belonging to Franciscans in Bosnia, that is, whoever of these three friars would be there at needed time, which could be understood that Maffeus had only one criterion – to have one Bosnian friar as the executor, and he considered these three friars as best suited for this task. Besides Bosnian friar as the executor of the last will, Maffeus bequeathed a large sum of money to friars in Bosnia, 500 pounds for his and the souls of his ancestors.⁵⁷⁰

Other families who were supporting Bosnian friars besides friars from the Province of Dalmatia, were other patrician families of Dalmatia. The connection between friars from Bosnia and the family de Grisogonis from Zadar goes much deeper than money bequeathed to them, and it is in connection with the foundation of the friary of St Duymus on the island of Pašman, belonging to the

⁵⁶⁵ Györy Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 11 vols. (Buda 1829-1844), vol. 10/4, doc. 252, pp. 552-555; Euzebij Fermedin, *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis: ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752*, MSHSM (Zagreb: JAZU, 1892), doc. 436, p. 80.

⁵⁶⁶ Mladen Ančić, "Registar Artikucija iz Rivignana (Registrum Articutii de Rivignano)," doc. 2, pp. 84-87.

⁵⁶⁷ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 4, fol. 111'-112'.

⁵⁶⁸ DAZd, ZB, RM, b. I, fasc. III, fol. 3-6'.

⁵⁶⁹ Branka Grbavac, "Oporučni legati Zadrana i Trogirana bosanskim franjevcima u doba Tvrtka I.," in *Bosanski ban Tvrtko «Pod Prozorom u Rami»*, ed. by Tomislav Brković (Prozor – Sarajevo – Zagreb: Synopsis, 2016), pp. 137-161.

⁵⁷⁰ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 4, fol. 111'-112'.

Zaratin district. The initiator of the idea is Mauro of late Francis, who in 1370 bequeathed 200 pounds to build a church in the honor of St Duymus.⁵⁷¹ After his death, his mother, mother Pelegrina confirmed his bequest in her first testament in 1382.⁵⁷² In 1386, the church was built, at first, it was not under the authority of any Order. However, several years later, in 1389, Pelegrina give the friars who were banished from Bosnia her property in Pašman, which included the church of St Duymus.⁵⁷³ Her second (1390) and third testament (1392) instructed the building of a friary around the church of St Duymus in Pašman, along with all of her possessions there and cattle.⁵⁷⁴ Although for the family de Grisogonis this type of foundation was not isolated case, meaning that they founded other churches for different Orders on the territory of Zadar and its vicinity,⁵⁷⁵ from the sources it is evident that they supported Bosnian friars on Pašman by giving them bequests frequently, whether it was clothes, money or artwork which was probably intended for the main altar.⁵⁷⁶ Since the friary in island Pašman was founded, other inhabitants in Zadar were bequeathing various items and money for Bosnian friars there, as was the case of Fantina, the wife of Blaze de Soppe in 1394, bequeathed 50 pounds for clothes,⁵⁷⁷ and in 1398 Nuncio, a sword maker, the son of the late Parino of Florence, bequeathed 25 pounds for his soul.⁵⁷⁸

Friars from Bosnia were as well bequeathed by the inhabitants of Zadar, naming several examples: in 1384 Cresius de Civaellis bequeathed 25 ducats for his soul,⁵⁷⁹ in 1391 Nadalino of late Vitus de Zadulinis bequeathed 30 pounds for clothes,⁵⁸⁰ Gregory of late Gregory de Zadulinis in 1391 bequeathed 100 ducats for fabric and other necessary items, as well as reparations of the friary,⁵⁸¹ and in 1400 Duymus of late John de Grisogonis 90 ducats, 3 pounds and 12 soldos for fulfilling bequests from the testament of his father John, as well as 50 pounds for his late maternal grandmother Kolica

⁵⁷¹ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 9'-13'; Emil Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana na zadarskim otocima" [Founding of Franciscan friaries in the Islands of Zadar], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 45 (2003): 8. There were several works on Franciscans on the island Pašman: Justin Velnić, "Franjevci na otoku Pašmanu" [Franciscans on the island Pašman], in *Otok Pašman kroz vjekove i danas. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zadru 2-4. prosinca 1981.* (Zadar, 1987), pp. 171-181; Emil Hilje, "Osvrt na najraniju povijest crkve i samostana sv. Duje na Pašmanu" [Review of the Earliest History of the Church and Friary of St Duymus on Pašman], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 28/15 (1988/1989): 135-144; Nikola Jakšić "Osnutak franjevačkog samostana na Pašmanu 1392. godine" [The Foundation of the Franciscan Friary on Pašman in 1391], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 32/1 (1992): 351-356.

⁵⁷² The testament of Pelegrina from 1382 is a damaged document and I was not able to gather that information from it (DAZd, ZB, PP, b. IV, fasc. 17 (4), fol. 12-13), therefore I relied on the information from the article of Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 8.

⁵⁷³ Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," pp. 8-9.

⁵⁷⁴ Testaments both contain the same information: 1390 (CD XVII, doc. 204, pp. 287-291), and 1392 (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 97'-99'); Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 9.

⁵⁷⁵ Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 8.

⁵⁷⁶ Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," pp. 8-10.

⁵⁷⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 26.

⁵⁷⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 109'-110.

⁵⁷⁹ DAZd, ZB, RM, b I, fasc. III, fol. 3-6'.

⁵⁸⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 77'-78'.

⁵⁸¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 81'-82'.

and 100 ducats for his brother Andrew.⁵⁸² Inhabitants in Dubrovnik did not fall behind with their bequests and I shall name several examples: Doma, the daughter of Marin de Golla from Kotor and the wife of Pasquo of Peter de Ragnina in 1363 bequeathed 40 perpers for oil,⁵⁸³ Martin of late Andrea de Sorgo 50 perpers for clothes, oil and other necessities,⁵⁸⁴ in 1381 Bogavce de Toloe 50 perpers for clothes,⁵⁸⁵ in 1384 Martolo de Tudisio 50 perpers,⁵⁸⁶ and in 1387 Matcho de Suisda 10 ducats.⁵⁸⁷

As it was mentioned, in the custody of Dubrovnik, there was a friary in Ston (Pelješac) which belonged to the Vicariate of Bosnia, and inhabitants of Dubrovnik frequently donated money for various items and needs to friars located there, not excluding them from the spiritual economy. There are many so I will only mention some: Martolus de Buagnolo (1353) bequeathed 10 perpers in general for friars there, 20 perpers for works on the church and 5 perpers annually for the church and other necessities,⁵⁸⁸ Mikša, the son of Domagna de Mençe (1354) 15 perpers,⁵⁸⁹ Lawrence de Caboga, the son of Gave 20 perpers for masses and a bed (1355),⁵⁹⁰ Agha, wife of late Nicholas de Crosio (1363) 30 perpers in general and 15 perpers for clothes and grain,⁵⁹¹ Drasa, the wife of Ratko Milošević de Čuspani (1363) a pair of earrings,⁵⁹² Mišo de Lucha (1363) 100 perpers and arranged his burial there,⁵⁹³ Martolo de Tudisio (1384) 30 perpers for masses,⁵⁹⁴ and Anne, the wife of late James de Mençe (1394) 200 perpers.⁵⁹⁵

Furthermore, personal relationships were important and cannot be excluded even when they are not visible from written sources, that is, there is always a possibility that some friars of Bosnia were friends or family, even if it was not stated so in the document. In some cases, written records could indicate potential future connection. Friar Paul, the son of late George Vidoevich originated from Šibenik. Tand wrote his testament in 1374 while entering the Order in Trogir, leaving all his earthly possessions behind. Except for a breviary for himself, his property was divided between his family (his brother Peter and sister Joanne) and friars from Bosnia. First, he instructed to make one icon worth 25 pounds and give it to the church of Blessed Mary in Glamoč in the Vicariate of Bosnia

⁵⁸² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 121-122'.

⁵⁸³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 308'.

⁵⁸⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 89'-90.

⁵⁸⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 15-16.

⁵⁸⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 177-179.

⁵⁸⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 120-122'.

⁵⁸⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 21-21'.

⁵⁸⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 24.

⁵⁹⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 29.

⁵⁹¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 62'-63.

⁵⁹² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 178.

⁵⁹³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 299'-300.

⁵⁹⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 177-179.

⁵⁹⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 136-136'.

in honor of the glorious Virgin. Friars from Bosnia will receive another share of his property, that is, if Paul's brother does not have children, Paul's part of the goods will be divided into two parts: half would go to the poor and half to friars in Bosnia.⁵⁹⁶ Since friars of Bosnia were the only ecclesiastical Order which Friar Paul supported, or anyone in general besides his family to which he wished to leave bequest, there can be two reasons for this. First, it could be likely that Friar Paul's family originated from Bosnia or had family there and Paul wanted to honor this. Second, although there is no written trace of Friar Paul's life in the Order, there is a possibility that he, after entering the Order in Trogir, wanted to relocate to Vicariate of Bosnia at some point in his life in the Order.

⁵⁹⁶ M. Karbić – Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira," pp. 180-181. Re-published transcription of the testament is available in the subchapter dealing with friars who wrote their testaments while entering the Order.

7. THE PROPERTY OF THE FRANCISCANS IN DALMATIA

The three concepts – immovable property, charity and poverty, are intertwined in the history of the Franciscan Order, and one cannot exist without the other. Friars cannot live in poverty without refusing immovable property, and immovable property cannot be given to the friars without the charity of people around them. The issue of poverty went back and forth with the pope as a main figure to either approve the ideal of poverty or to impose the owning of immovable property.⁵⁹⁷ The whole *usus pauper* controversy gained a new perspective from 1279 and reaching its boiling point in 1318 with the death of four friars burned at the stake who defied the papal authority of John XXII and his bull *Quorumdam exigit*.⁵⁹⁸ All the strives in the 13th and 14th century which had the goal of achieving the life deriving from the “the original Rule” and absolute poverty came all to its conclusion – the Observant Movement, and its ultimate consequence – the Division of the Order in 1517.⁵⁹⁹

The very core of values of the Franciscan Order starts with their *Regula bullata* of 1223, in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapter. The fourth chapter is about forbidding the friars to accept money in any form. Chapter five deals with the manner of working and accepting wages for their work, which can be anything necessary for their temporal needs, except money in any form. In the sixth chapter, it is further explained that friars should not appropriate anything for themselves, meaning neither a house nor a place, or anything else.⁶⁰⁰

To repeat concisely what was mentined before, the question of how to restrict the ownership of immovable property was addressed in various bulls. The conclusion of the bull of Gregory IX *Quo elongati* in 1230 concerning immovable property or any other goods was that friars do not own anything, nor as individuals or as a community. Furthermore, they have no right to immovable goods, but only the *de facto* right to use books and tools, only with the permission of the cardinal protector.⁶⁰¹ Pope Innocent III in his bull *Ordinem vestrum* from 1245 stated that the movable and immovable goods, which were not taken by the benefactors for themselves, belonged to the Apostolic See with no intermediary, and established the office of the procurator or papal representative, which brought significant difficulties to friars by limiting their agency by having to obtain permission of the Roman

⁵⁹⁷ Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 308-319; Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty and Franciscan Economic Thought*, p. 43.

⁵⁹⁸ David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty. The Origins of Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 1989). The same author wrote more in depth on the same issue: David Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to prosecution in the century after Francis* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Park, 2001).

⁵⁹⁹ Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva*, pp.77-93; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 441-585.

⁶⁰⁰ There is a volume dealing with the Rule of Friars Minor and its development from its beginnings until modern time: *Rule of the Friars Minor 1209-2009: Historical Perspectives, Lived Realities*, ed. by Daria Mitchell, Spirit and Life Series, vol. 14 (New York: Franciscan Institute, 2010). Articles which proved to be useful for the topic are by Michael F. Cusato, “Alms-Asking and Alms-Giving as Social Commentary and Social Remedy,” pp. 59-79; Michael W. Blastic, “Minorite Life in the Regula Bulla: A Comparison with the Regula non Bullata,” 99-120, and Pero Vrebac, “The Rule and Life,” pp. 121-124.

⁶⁰¹ Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty and Franciscan Economic Thought*, pp. 67-69.

Curia for any exchange of goods. A breve *Quanto studiosius* in 1247 as an addition to *Ordinem vestrum*, stated that minister provincials can personally name or replace procurators or “trusted people,” transferring the whole management to friars.⁶⁰² Pope Nicholas II in the bull *Exiit qui seminat* in 1279 proposed the *usus facti* as the most basic use of things, and different from other concepts as property, possession, usufruct or even right. Its main point was to distinguish between legal usage and real usage, permitting only the latter, but this usage, above all, must be moderate.⁶⁰³

However, the question of Franciscans (not) owning immovable property is a complex question, which was addressed more by foreign scholars, who tried to explain the discrepancy between the nature of the Mendicant Orders and historical circumstances which could change the core of their nature. Or to put it more directly, how could mendicant friars be paupers but still own immovable property? Giacomo Todeschini made a difference between money and wealth obtained in general and its usefulness under certain circumstances to individuals or a community. By drawing a parallel in the same sense with owning immovable property, he suggests that Francis’ prohibition of ownership can be explained in practice as friars using these buildings given to them by donors or protectors as circumstantial goods, but which do not actually belong to them. For instance, he states that the first Franciscan friary in Bologna actually belonged to the Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia but was at the friars’ disposal and use. However, he mentions an example where friars renounced the immovable property donated to them. In Canterbury, Alexander, master of the friars’ hospital, donated a small land and built a chapel for friars, but since they refused the ownership of this, it was then the property of the city, while friars only used it.⁶⁰⁴ In general, every immovable property belonged (or should) belong to the Holy See, but every mendicant order (in Dalmatia Franciscans and Dominicans) and region had their own rules and characteristics, even if they were not officially stipulated. In Dalmatia, scholars which dealt with the history of the Franciscan Order did not dwell on the issue of their ownership or property, whether it was “real” ownership or just usage, but understood it as a fact which did not diminish their character of belonging to the order of poor beggars. Even if some would mention the statutory regulations which would prohibit the ownership of immovable property, they did not question the legitimacy of any donation or bequest which would technically contradict this. However, since the timeline of my research ends with the end of the 14th century, I cannot exclude the possibility that the prohibition of owning property did not arise from the 15th century onwards, especially when the observant movement officially takes roots in the Province of Dalmatia.

⁶⁰² More detailed discussion on *Ordinem Vestrum* and *Quanto Studiosius*, see: Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty*, pp. 74-82; Iriarte, *Povijest franjevaštva*, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁰³ Thornton, *Franciscan Poverty*, pp. 126-132.

⁶⁰⁴ Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth*, pp. 70-72. On the other hand, regarding the Dominicans, Beatrix Romhányi discussed the estates of the Dominican Order in medieval Hungary in the 15th and the 16th centuries, which further shows that the discussion on the ownership by mendicant orders can be observed more clearly in the later periods. Beatrix Romhányi, “Domonkos kolostorok birtokai a késő középkorban,” *Századok* 144 (2010): 395-410.

Complexity of the period was even more influenced by the political situations in the nearest vicinity, ie Venetian purchase of Dalmatia, Ottomans in Bosnia, etc.

Before proceeding with the regulations on owning property in Dalmatia, there should be an overview of the regulations relating to religious orders, among them the Franciscans, in urban statutes.⁶⁰⁵ Speaking about the economic position of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia, it is evident that the income which enabled a normal life for friars was mainly obtained from bequests from townsmen of the communes in Dalmatia. These bequests were given in two general forms: monetary contributions and material possessions, the latter being usually objects for everyday use, such as clothes, books, liturgical objects, etc. However, there was one thing that was unattainable to them – immovable goods, that is, real estate.⁶⁰⁶ It is one thing to own a valuable object and pass it on to future generations in the Order, but completely another to accumulate property within the communes. To understand this issue better, we must provide an overview of the legal system, in the case of Dalmatia, with statutes of the communes alongside the Adriatic coast, to see what was written in the case of Franciscans inheriting property. Here, the historians are very fortunate when dealing with the area of present-day Dalmatia, since the abundance of primary sources also means abundance of statutes of numerous communes. To clarify the issue concerning Franciscan ownership of immovable property, we must distinguish two points of view, or two questions: how did the Franciscans themselves view their ownership of property (namely the question of renting out their properties) and how did the lay authorities react to potential Franciscan ownership?

7.1. Urban Statutes on Ecclesiastical Property

7.1.1. Zadar and Dubrovnik

Every aspect of city life in Dalmatian city communes was regulated by its statutes. In the case of Zadar and its statute of 1305 (as it is traditionally interpreted in historiography regarding legal

⁶⁰⁵ I would like to underline that there is a great discrepancy of information about Orders in general in statutes, and there is an even further dispersion of information on mendicant or other religious orders in particular. It is important to mention that in Dalmatia there are other communes with Franciscan friaries which have their own statutes, and which will be occasionally mentioned in the research when the example was needed, as the commune of Skradin, which is a small commune with a much shorter statute. Furthermore, there are some which do not even have statutes of their own, such as Senj and Bribir, but nonetheless, they were included since they were a part of the Franciscan Province of Dalmatia and they can provide an insight into how the ownership of property was handled in cases where there were no statutes to begin with, let alone any prohibition.

⁶⁰⁶ For more on immovable properties in general in the 13th-century Dalmatia, see: Irena Benyovsky Latin – Sandra Begonja – Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, “Immovable property in legal actions as documented in the notarial records: The case of 13th-century Dalmatian cities,” *Mesto a Dejiny* 7 (2018) 2: 6-54.

history),⁶⁰⁷ there is a regulation which states that no citizen of Zadar or inhabitant of the district of Zadar should sell or donate or in any form transfer an immovable property in Zadar or in the district of Zadar to any convent or religious place, or a monk and nun, or any religious or ecclesiastical person, nor to bequeath it to aforementioned people and institutions: ... *Statuimus quod nullus Iadratinus seu Iadrensis districtus vendere audeat vel donare, aut quocumque titulo vel contractu transferre in aliquod monasterium vel locum religiosum, aut in aliquem monachum vel monacham seu religiosam aut ecclesiasticam personam aliquas res immobiles seu possessiones de Iadra vel de Iadrensi districtu, nec etiam valeat seu possit easdem res relinquere in ultima voluntate eisdem personis et locis superius interdictis.*⁶⁰⁸ Although friars are not specified in this regulation by name, it is a generic stipulation for the commune to prevent the alienation of the citizens' properties and passing them permanently to ecclesiastical institutions.

Although the aftermath might be the same, the statute of Dubrovnik from 1272 has a specific regulation concerning the ownership of property regarding the mendicant orders. The regulation states that in principle no person can and should leave any immovable property to any mendicant order, or as it was written in the original: ...*quod de cetero nulla persona possit vel debar dimictere aliquam possessionem stabilem alicui regule mendicancium.* However, if there were such a person who would leave property to them, the city count, the Minor Council and three legal and distinguished procurators must sell the property within two years of the said document. The Order to which this property was intended should receive the money from this sale or living supplies, if friars required food, or to receive other things which would be necessary for the Church, as these three procurators would consider fit. However, if there would be some money left from all of this, procurators should give and distribute it to paupers and pious people, or for marriage of orphaned and poor young girls and women, or for other necessities, but in either case, this should be done with no delay until all money from this sale is distributed.⁶⁰⁹

From these two regulations we can conclude that it was quite difficult for Franciscans (and probably for any other Order) to obtain any property, mostly via last wills and testaments, and that authorities were not lenient to bequests given to any ecclesiastical institutions, including the Franciscans. The reason why the statute of Dubrovnik specifically excluded the mendicant orders (*regule mendancium*) from owning immovable property (while others used the phrasing like “all religious orders”) could be interpreted as a reaction to the rapid spread of popularity of Mendicant

⁶⁰⁷ About the status of each statute, manuscripts, books, publications and historiography, cf. Damir Karbić – Marija Karbić, *The Laws and Customs of Medieval Croatia and Slavonia: A Guide to the Extant Sources*, ed. by Martyn Rady (London: UCL SSEES, 2013).

⁶⁰⁸ *Zadarski statut: sa svim reformacijama*, book III, chapter 14, pp. 258-261.

⁶⁰⁹ *Statut grada Dubrovnika 1272*, book 8, chapter XCVI, pp. 508-509.

Orders and the fear of lay authorities that this preference will result in too many donations or bequests directed at them.

7.1.2. Šibenik

Smaller city communes which accommodated proportionally smaller friaries, namely Šibenik, Trogir and Split also had similar regulations about immovable property. In the case of Šibenik, there were two regulations concerning the protection of ecclesiastical property or goods. In the book III, it is shortly stated that the goods of the Church and the commune of Šibenik should be preserved,⁶¹⁰ while in the book IV, the focus is only on ecclesiastical goods, that is, immovable goods (*bona immobilia*), and how it should not be alienated or transferred and in the case that it is, not without permissions from several instances.⁶¹¹

The regulation on prohibition of donating any immovable property is found in later regulations, in the Book of Reformation, in 1380. had a similar phrasing to the one in Dubrovnik, just more details concerning the type of immovable property which should not be left under any circumstance to religious orders: field, vineyard, forest, house, building and saltworks.⁶¹² Another difference to the Dubrovnik statutes is that, if by some chance a property is given to such ecclesiastical institution, it has to be sold to a lay person (which was not emphasized in Dubrovnik), and the deadline for this sale is three months (vs two years in Dubrovnik), and, if it is not done within only three months, the property is transferred to the commune of Šibenik.⁶¹³ This short deadline to regulate the ownership in the commune indicates that there were some serious issues with the alienation of property to ecclesiastical institutions. The timing of this decision was of crucial importance; political circumstances dictated this regulation given in 1380. Two years before, Šibenik suffered serious demographic losses. Due to it being loyal to king Louis I, the city engaged in a resistance to Venice, whose fleet, in return, conquered the city and set it on fire.⁶¹⁴ In such circumstances it was not

⁶¹⁰ *De bonnis Communis, et Ecclesiarum non praescribendis. Bona Ecclesiarum, et Communis Sibenici conseruare uolentes duximus. Statuendum, quod nulla temporis prolixitate eorum possessio, vel tenuta praescribantur, vel alicui possessori aliquod ius, praebeat, uel ipsis, seu iuribus eorum praeiudicium inferat vllo modo. Statut grada Šibenika*, Book III, ch. LIII, 39', Croatian translation on p. 110.

⁶¹¹ *...quod omnia bona immobilia Episcopatus ciuitatis Sibenici, seu monasteriorum, vel aliarum ecclesiarum curam animarum, habentium, vel non siue plebium eiusdem districtus, non possint, vel alienari vel in alium quocunque modo transferri... Si autem ipsa bona fuerint monasteriorum Sibenici eiusque districtus transferi in alium non possint, nisi cum auctoritate domini Episcopi Abbatis, vel abbatisse, cum consensus fratrum, vel sororum dicti loci, et dicti Domini Comitis et Curiae qui pro tempore fuerit... Statut grada Šibenika*, Book IV, chapter XL, 50'-51, Croatian translation on p. 131.

⁶¹² *... praesumat, dare, vendere, donare, permutare, nec alienare, nec in testament vltimo, seu codicillo legare alicui praesbitero, nec Monasterio, nec vniuersitati, nec Abbatię positus in Sibenico, vel eius district aliquam rem stabilem cuiuscunque conditionis sit, vtpota agrum, vineam, siluam, domum, muraliam, aut salinas... Liber Reformationum*, cap. IV, 98'-99.

⁶¹³ *Statut grada Šibenika*, Book of Reformation, ch. IV, p. 216.

⁶¹⁴ Josip Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnome srednjem vijeku* [Šibenik in the late Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), p. 42.

surprising that the citizens of Šibenik would be more inclined to think about their mortality and the salvation of their souls and therefore might want to leave their properties to religious orders. In response to this, the lay authorities wanted to preserve as many immovable properties as possible and to repopulate the city with newcomers, of course, under their own terms.

On the other hand, in 1414 in the Book of Reformations, there is a regulation titled *De conseruando bona ecclesiarum*, where it is noted that the procurators of the churches in Šibenik should have a registry with all their possessions listed there, which cannot be sold without the knowledge and permission of the procurator of the said church.⁶¹⁵ Since the term used for possessions was *bona*, it is not certain would this apply for immovable property as well, especially since there is one prohibition from 1380 that shows that maybe there were concerns and attempts for immovable property to remain in hands of lay authorities.

7.1.3. Split and Trogir

In Split, a similar regulation was brought in 1347, confirmed in 1354, where it was forbidden for any citizen to bequeath a property in pious causes. This regulation was brought to ensure that the properties in the commune remained in the hands of the citizens of Split, that is those people who fall under lay jurisdiction, since, as it is written in this regulation, many testators gave more than a third of their immovable goods for pious causes (that is, to the Church) and to those who did not belong under lay jurisdiction. From this point on, the property could not be bequeathed or sold or in any legal action given to the Church, but it should be sold to a lay person and the money from this sale can be given to anyone designated by the testator. If someone acts contrary to this stipulation, it will be considered null. Furthermore, it is forbidden for any notary in the commune to prepare such testament, codicil or document concerning sale, trade or donation, under the fine of hundred pounds and losing of his office. In addition, a person who is not under lay authority cannot even be an executor of a testament where immovable property is in question and if such a person is selected for this duty, this will be also considered null, so the city count, and its court will choose other executors which they deem fit.⁶¹⁶

The case of Trogir and its statute are interesting because the problematics of the immovable ownership and the ecclesiastical institutions in a broader sense are only mentioned in the *Reformations*. There are three stipulations that concern us here. The first was issued by the king of Hungary-Croatia while the two following ones by the Doge of Venice. The first from 1346 rules that no person from the city of Trogir or its district is allowed to bequeath, donate, sell or in any other

⁶¹⁵ *Statut grada Šibenika*, Book of Reformation, ch. CLXXVIII, 136', Croatian translation on the p. 280.

⁶¹⁶ *Statut grada Splita*, pp. 833-837.

way alienate immovable goods to anyone who is not under the jurisdiction of lay authorities, under penalty. However, if someone who is not subjected to this authority or he is a cleric, according to the natural law, should inherit some goods which is otherwise prevented by this reformation; yet let their right be preserved according to the form of the statute (...*Si aliquis non subiectus ipsi dominio vel clericus debet de iure nature ad successionem bonorum aliquorum pervenire, quod ei præiudicetur per hanc reformationem; set sit eis salvum eorum ius secundum formam statuti...*). Furthermore, to paraphrase the reformation, if any action is taken against both the commune and the Church, the property should remain as stipulated in the deeds and legal actions.⁶¹⁷ What is interesting is that if the actions go solely against the Church, the commune and lay authorities are deemed higher and the ones who decide upon these matters.

From the period of Venetian rule over Dalmatian city communes, including Trogir, there are two regulations related to donating or bequeathing immovable property (two subsequent chapters in the *Book of Reformations* in 1450). It is worth underlining that the original statute of Trogir does not reflect on the questions of ecclesiastical ownership. The first chapter stipulates that no one should alienate their lay possessions in testament, sale or in any other way give property to anyone who does not fall under lay authority. The bishop wanted to oppose this regulation, because it is not according to “ecclesiastical liberties”, but it was decided that it should and will remain as it was and as it will be further on.⁶¹⁸ Hence, the subsequent chapter, that is, chapter 60, states that anyone can bequeath something for the salvation of their soul since before that was forbidden to bequeath immovable property, and that was against the glory of God and dignity of the Church, and even the pope himself wrote to them many times pleading to abolish this regulation. Therefore, now the ban is over, and a lay person can in his testament dispose of his property any way he deems fit for the salvation of this soul.⁶¹⁹

As could be seen from the text above, *Reformation* given by King Louis I, and the Doge of Venice are almost identical. Therefore, it is no wonder that chapter 60 wanted to mitigate the situation. At first glance, one would think the situation in the 15th century seemed quite confusing and it is hard to say what was the stance of lay authorities, but clearly from this there are two possible directions in which the conclusions can be derived. One explanation from the *Reformation* of 1346 and the first *Reformation* of 1450 is that the ecclesiastical institutions in general were receiving too much property by bequests and it was damaging for lay authorities of the city. However, the second *Reformation* of 1450 shows that the Church was not looking at it favorably and persuaded the authorities to change it. The latter story happened during the Venetian rule over Dalmatia (starting from 1420), so at least

⁶¹⁷ *Statut grada Trogira*, Reformation, book I, ch. 17, pp. 185-188.

⁶¹⁸ *Statut grada Trogira*, Reformation, book II, ch. 59, pp. 338-339.

⁶¹⁹ *Statut grada Trogira*, Reformation, book II, ch. 60, pp. 339-340.

thirty years have elapsed between the Venetian taking over the city and issuing a *Reformation*. Potentially, this was not a deciding factor. Also, the difference between statutes of Split and Trogir in contrast to those from Zadar and Dubrovnik is that in Split and Trogir, the regulations were brought in the *Book of Reformations*, and not in the main text of the statute, meaning that in the beginning this was not a concerning issue for lay authorities, but grew more problematic in later period.

The following lines will focus on other Dalmatian communes which had Franciscan friaries, and their statutes. The first commune is the one of Skradin, a small community with a relatively short statute. So, it was no wonder that there was no regulation concerning bequests of immovable property, but only more practical and general “worldly” regulations which for them were more important than dealing with potential alienation of property of commune.⁶²⁰ In Rab on the island of Rab there is also a Franciscan friary, and while the commune’s statute is of somewhat bigger volume, there is not much information on the immovable property, only basic information on testaments and testators, for instance, how to compile a testament⁶²¹ or who cannot write one,⁶²² but in one chapter it is written that a man can dispose of his goods any way he pleases and that no relative can dispute this,⁶²³ but, of course, the same cannot be applied to a woman, especially married one who has to manage her dowry.⁶²⁴ However, even no news is a news by itself, meaning that the absence of rules on bequests in testaments means that the commune of Rab had more freedom in this aspect and that citizens probably did not have restrictions as was seen in the case of larger communes.

To summarize and briefly compare the regulations in different communes. The commune with the least favorable or flexible rules on ecclesiastical institutions owning property would be Dubrovnik, especially for the Franciscan order, since its statute was the only one to mention specifically mendicant orders, while others mentioned only ecclesiastical institutions in general, therefore it is a good assumption that mendicant orders were particularly problematic for lay authorities in Dubrovnik. In Šibenik, although the Franciscans are not mentioned specifically, the deadline for selling a property in case someone did designate to give property to Church is much shorter than in Dubrovnik and by a long shot, three months in Šibenik vs two years in Dubrovnik, and moreover, it is emphasized that if it was not done during this period, the property will be passed on to the commune. Detailed rules and such a short deadline show that Šibenik indeed had concerns with the Church owning and alienating the territory of the commune. Although the regulations in Trogir were somewhat confusing since two subsequent chapters have contradictory text, the main point was that the ban on leaving property to the Church was present there the same as it was in Split.

⁶²⁰ For the edition, cf. *Statut grada Skradina. Statuta civitatis Scardonae*, ed. by Ante Birin (Zagreb – Skradin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Skradinu, 2002).

⁶²¹ *Statut rapske komune*, book II, ch. 1, pp. 100-101.

⁶²² *Statut rapske komune*, book II, ch. 2, pp. 100-101.

⁶²³ *Statut rapske komune*, book II, ch. 5, pp. 104-106.

⁶²⁴ *Statut rapske komune*, book II, ch. 8 and 9, pp. 106-108.

On the other hand, even smaller towns like Skradin and Rab either have not dealt with this issue or did not mind communal property being owned by any ecclesiastical institution.

Another question which may arise from this is the years when these regulations were legalized. There are two groups of regulations: those brought in the main text of the statutes, and those added in the books of Reformations. It is probably not a coincidence that larger communes like Zadar and Dubrovnik were those which dealt with ownership of property earlier in their history. Why did these communes think about this even this early on? Surely, Zadar and Dubrovnik were more developed communes with detailed legal systems and in general stronger connection with the mendicant orders. On the other hand, we have other regulations from smaller communes which were written in the reformations of the statutes: Trogir in 1346 and again in 1450, Split in 1354, and finally Šibenik in 1380. For the latter it was established that internal problems influenced the proclamation of the regulation, which shows that the regulation did indeed reflect the socio-political circumstances in the everyday life of the town.

7.2. Property in practice – examples of property in the hands of Franciscans

After listing the regulations concerning bequeathing, donating or selling immovable property, let us see if the letter of law was followed in practice or if there were some loopholes which enabled citizens of Dalmatian communes to leave their property to the Franciscan order. Already in the 13th century, all contracts where the Order would gain a property should have been approved by the General Chapter⁶²⁵ and although by this it seems that it was a common practice, it is debatable whether bequests were included in this stipulation and did the General Chapter indeed know and approve all the property acquired by the Franciscans. Since every type of immovable property was not the same, for the purpose of this research, immovable property was organized into three main categories according to their function: property necessary for the everyday life of the friars; property for their economic gain, and property which served as pious foundations (that is, *ad pias causas*). Property necessary for everyday life would include any property which would only be used for essential use for friars and the community itself, but with no actual economic gain for the friars. These properties were vineyards, houses or lands, but these could quickly change into an economic property depending on their real function. For instance, few vineyards could serve friars' needs for wine for performing the Mass or for their personal usage, but multiple vineyards would certainly mean that the friars were going above their own basic needs and turning a real profit. Then that property turned into an economic property which would provide friars with extra income, and trust fund property meant that a certain person gave money intended for building. However, sometimes the lines between these three

⁶²⁵ Papal bull by Honorius IV of 1285: CD-S II, doc. 79, pp. 143-144.

types of property would not be clear or simple, so it will be necessary to study each commune individually and each example to see how each type of property could be perceived by the friars or the local community. Ultimately, depending on the type of property, were some types of properties considered allowed and not breaking a stipulation of the city statutes, while others would not be acceptable?

When speaking about property and Franciscans, the first thing that comes to mind is their ideal of poverty and how during most of their history the friars tried to find the right balance between poverty and real life. This has proved to be almost impossible, and it can be seen as well in the case of friars in Dalmatia. The legal system also had reservations by allowing Franciscans to own immovable property, but they were most certainly not preoccupied with the Franciscan vow of poverty, but the interest and well-being of their city community. The regulations differed from one commune to another, mainly depending on external sociopolitical circumstances, such was the case in Šibenik where the conflict with Venice dictated their animosity towards Church inheriting property. The general rule was – the smaller the communes, the more freedom for ecclesiastical institutions to gain immovable property. Although these regulations were not brought in vain, it is evident that even laws can sometimes be bent. For larger communes like Dubrovnik and Zadar, property was better kept by lay authorities than in smaller communities. However, not all property was or should be treated the same. The key is in the classification of property according to their use for the friars: whether it was necessary for them or if it brought them extra profit, and therefore examples were analyzed case by case.

7.2.1. Zadar

To examine how these regulations reflected the real situation in the communes of Dalmatia, it was necessary to analyze private legal documents and their content, starting with bigger and better documented communes – Zadar and Dubrovnik. In general, the first immovable property of friars would be their own friaries/houses, for organization of life and activity. The process of obtaining place for the house/friary is not always clear, but for Zadar, as it was mentioned above, we know that it was first placed in the garden of the Benedictine nuns. As was said, and as can be seen from the map regarding spatial distribution, the nuns following the rule of St Benedict soon joined the Franciscan family, becoming thus Poor Clares. This, however, was not only the legend conveyed in the stories of the origins, but there are confirmations from the written sources, too. To repeat again, in 1249 Dabrica, the abbess of the convent of St Nicholas of Zadar, donated the garden to friars with the permission of Archbishop Lawrence of Zadar. However, this was not the only donation which

enabled the friars to build their complex in Zadar, and other inhabitants also donated several smaller houses to friars.⁶²⁶

In Zadar there were several instances of bequeathing immovable property to Franciscans from the end of the 13th century, and since for most of them we cannot trace whether they were fully fulfilled as stated in the testaments, they can at least be considered as realistic attempts. The first group of documents concerns vineyards, which as a type of property would fall under the category of necessary property but let us see if there is a clear line between each category. The first document dates from the year 1288 and it shows a more personal level of preference, since the testators George Glamočanin and his wife Lipa gave to a Friar George, who was their confessor, the south half of their vineyard in the island of Pašman. It seems that Friar George gave the married couple previously some money, most likely to settle some debt, and later he gave this vineyard to a certain woman named Mary,⁶²⁷ but only under the condition that she gives a part of her income to the poor.⁶²⁸ From this testament it is not clear how long did Friar George have a part of the vineyard in his possession or what was the reason for their generosity, however, even with partial information we can conclude that at the end of the 13th century a Franciscan friar from Zadar was in possession of a vineyard for a certain period. However, since it was a part of property personally given to an individual friar, can we say that it was a property necessary for the Franciscan community? Probably not, and therefore each example presented should be examined individually.

Furthermore, this was not the only vineyard in possession of friars in Zadar, but another vineyard is mentioned almost one century later, in 1380, but by chance while describing the borders of another vineyard (*de quirina vinea fratrum minorum monasterii sancti Francisci de Iadra*) situated near Zadar in the quarter of St John in Mocire, which was bought by the shoemaker Nicholas, son of Vučjak, from Vučeta Ivčić from Lika.⁶²⁹ Since this information is just tangentially mentioned, nevertheless, it is still a proof that the Franciscans owned a vineyard near Zadar in the end of the 14th century, even if we do not know much on the circumstances behind it or its future and ownership after this. In addition, we cannot conclude whether the friars made extra profit from this vineyard or was it used only for their personal needs.

Often the course and process of obtaining property was difficult to follow from the sources. Therefore, although it was quite clear that Franciscans owned a property, the course was blurred by the scarce preservation of documents. However, sometimes it was explicitly mentioned in the sources, and for Zadar there was such a case in the second half of the 14th century. In 1370, it was noted that

⁶²⁶ CD S-I, doc. 98, p. 135; Fabijanić, *Convento il piu antico*, p. 20; Velnić, "Samostan Sv. Frane," pp. 35-37.

⁶²⁷ Unfortunately, document is partly damaged, and it is not visible why Friar George gave money to George and Lipa or who this woman Mary was to him.

⁶²⁸ SZB I, doc. 15, pp. 51-52.

⁶²⁹ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 15, fol. 7v.

the friars owned several shops, which were managed in their name by their procurator Francis de Sloradis. The shops were located in Goldsmith's street in Zadar (*ruga aurificum*).⁶³⁰ Several years later, in 1373, the friars, during their chapter, sold the brick house with two shops and a piece of land in the quarter of St Peter the New to Michael the drapier.⁶³¹ Since it was confirmed that Friars owned several shops, it would not be surprising for them to sell them to a lay person, but we cannot for sure know how these shops and the land got into their possession, how long they were owned by them and why did they sell it to Michael in the first place. However, these shops would certainly fall under the category of economic property which would give profit to the friars.

In Zadar there is one famous testament from the end of the 13th century which has been, due to its complexity and abundance, mentioned many times by a plethora of Croatian historians, even if it was for some just sporadically.⁶³² The person in question is Cosa de Saladinis and his testament was written in 1296. The Franciscans were not only included in his generous bequests, but his testament substantially exceeds others in the financial sense, even those in the 14th century. The approach to bequeathing immovable property is a bit different in this instance from other cases, since the testator left a large amount of money for building a new property. In his testament he bequeaths ten thousand pounds, which were to be acquired from a part of his annual income from his properties, and with this money a church with additional facilities should be built. This new facility should be inhabited by eight friars, and the location was within the borders of the vineyard of Cosa, which he bought from Proda Çaçon, and other lands which he had bought and had outside of the city walls. This facility is not the only property that should be built, and there should also be a new house which will serve as a home to twelve sick people, and the friars should govern it. Next to the church and its appertaining facilities there should also be a garden with a surface of 300 *gognais*. Furthermore, these eight friars will get 300 pounds for performing masses for the testator's soul and the soul of his ancestors. In the end, it should also be mentioned that Cosa de Saladinis left hefty bequests with different purposes to the Franciscan community as a whole and to individual friars, not only money for building an immovable property. The friary was given 200 pounds, Friar Marin from Formino 20 shillings of groats, and Friar Zanin from Bologna 5 shillings of groats.⁶³³ This case would certainly fall under the aforementioned category of property founded as pious foundation, and a very big one.

⁶³⁰ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 13, p. 116; Janeković Römer, "Ser Micouillus Petri," pp. 51-52.

⁶³¹ DAZd, ZB, PP. b. II, fasc. 3, fol. 23-24; *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 12, pp. 115-116. From other documents it is visible that the friars did not own the house before 1371. For more details, see: Janeković Römer, "Ser Micouillus Petri," p. 52.

⁶³² Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, Saladini. Hrvatska enciklopedija, available online, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013. – 2024. <<https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/saladini>>. (Accessed: 14.10.2024).

⁶³³ SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90. Cosa de Saladinis also showed his preference to Franciscans by requesting that in the case of the death of two of three executors, the provincial of Dalmatia should (with the advice of other friars in Zadar) replace one of three executors. Furthermore, three friars were witnesses to his testament: Zanin of Bologna, Anastasius of Bologna and Andrew of Dubrovnik.

In most examples which will follow later, there is a very slight chance of being able to trace further what happened to these properties before or after they were given to the Franciscans. On the other side, here we can not only see how the bequests in testaments were handled in the aftermath but also see that regulations were not just a dead letter on a page. Namely, in 1307, Neapoleon, papal legate, decided to allow the bequest (and the enforcement of the testament in general) of Cosa de Saladinis since he left money for building a church and its facilities for eight friars, in spite of the fact that the mendicant orders are not allowed to receive property without the permission of the Holy See.⁶³⁴ After gaining such a permission one could conclude that there is nothing standing in its way of success, but in the end this was never put into action. Next year the conditions of these bequests were changed. For reasons still unknown, and at the request of the friars themselves, the testament was altered and the money intended for building a church, a house, a garden and other facilities was repurposed for maintenance, clothes and food for eight friars from the friary of St Francis in Zadar.⁶³⁵ Sometimes knowing the aftermath does not help answering the questions why – why did the friars request to repurpose the conditions of these bequests? Was it because this would be considered a real friary, and there was no need for extra space for friars? Was it because the lay authorities interfered after the papal approval and, as it was seen in several regulations which will be brought in a later period, found a better solution for preserving lay-owned property and preventing the Church to get possession of it? Since the only document shedding some light on this situation states that the friars themselves wanted to change the purpose of this bequest, I can assume that it was due to their belief that the money can be used in a better manner to help existing friars live a fruitful and peaceful life. After all, how would the bequest for building an immovable property be classified? In its core, it was to be a necessary property for friar's lives and for their charitable activities, but since these particular bequests were changed afterwards, the theory about foundation of building a property in reality, unfortunately, was not necessary to be applied at all anymore.

Another case of property designated to benefit the Franciscan community and therefore falling under the category of necessary property dates from the end of the 13th century, and it is also a case of a pious foundation, that is, leaving a bequest for the purpose of building a certain property. The testator Mauro de Grisogonis in 1295 bequeathed thousands of pounds for the purpose of building a locus for the Franciscans in Zadar, which would most likely signify a residential space along the church and the friary.⁶³⁶ Here there is also a problem of the document being damaged and therefore not being able to help clarify potential information about this *locus*. However, since sometimes no news is good news and there is no further evidence that this bequest was repurposed in the future, this

⁶³⁴ This document was published twice in CD-S II, doc. 248, pp. 340-341 and doc. 260, p. 355.

⁶³⁵ CD-S II, doc. 262-263, pp. 357-360.

⁶³⁶ *Item dimitto libras M ad faciendum locus (!) fratribus Minoribus* (damaged part); SZB II, doc. 19, p. 9.

locus could mean a hospital that was founded near the friary, and which is still in operation to this very day. This hospital is mentioned in the document from 1382 where it is cited as a hospital of the family de Grisogonis in the quarter of St Francis (*hospitalis [illorum de Grixogonis] existentis prope [sanctum Franciscum de Iadra]*).⁶³⁷

The Franciscans of Zadar were not the only members of the mendicant orders which received immovable property from the Zaratín inhabitants. The Dominicans were bequeathed immovable property starting early, from the middle of the 13th century. The first example is from the testament of Strinuša, the wife of Miho Čačić, in 1249, who donated a vineyard. Stana donated a garden in 1256, Mary, the daughter of late Čolle from Trogir a vineyard and a house in 1273, Staša, the wife of Plechie her house, plus money for the Dominican community and individual friars in 1278, and Andrew de Sloradis four *gonai* of land in 1313. Furthermore, Zoran Ladić states that in the period from the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, from all the religious orders present in Zadar, the Dominicans received the largest number of bequests, 124, as opposed to Franciscans with 93, and Poor Clares with 48.⁶³⁸ However, he did not specify what was his criteria, since some bequests are worth much more than others, and making assumptions purely on statistical data is not sufficient here, but it would, nonetheless, indicate that emergence of favoritism of bequeathing to mendicant orders in Zadar in this earlier period until the first decades of the 14th century.

7.2.2. Dubrovnik

Considering the Franciscans in Dubrovnik were initially donated a land at the incentive of the commune and approval of the Pope John XXII in 1318. The land belonged to an inhabitant named Marin of Michael de Sclavio, as well as lands owned by the families de Sörgo and de Mençe.⁶³⁹

For Dubrovnik as the largest city commune in Dalmatia, the assumption would be that there are plenty of examples where friars received an immovable property, especially if we remember that statutory regulation, although noted later, marked mendicant orders in general as “culprits” for alienating properties of commune. However, it was quite the opposite – more sporadically than systematically examples are visible from the sources. However, the subsequent two examples are similar to those in Zadar and fall under the category of necessary property beneficial for the community and serve as a form of a pious foundation in the sense that the property itself was not bequeathed, but the money was given for its establishing and building. In 1346, Stephen de Sörgo

⁶³⁷ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 18, fol. 2-2’.

⁶³⁸ Ladić, “Dominikanci i stanovnici zadarske komune u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku,” pp. 143-144; 148.

⁶³⁹ Pešorda, “Prilog povijesti franjevac,” pp. 33-34; Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana*, p. 63.

made a request in his testament that a house for the sick should be made at the friary for the price of 400 *perpers*, and even gave measures how big the house should be: sixteen palms in height and nine *passi* in length, which would be enough for six rooms and two fireplaces (*camini*).⁶⁴⁰ However, this was not the only time when a testator desired a house for the sick to be made at the friary. In 1357, Dobra de Gambe is making a bequest that the *infirmaria* with a church should be made for friars in Dubrovnik in honor to and with the name of St Benedict as she instructed her executors.⁶⁴¹ The bequest for *infirmaria* made by Dobra was not so precise as the one of Stephen where the size and price was precisely noted, but it is evident that the executors were familiar with the details on this bequest. In the end, these efforts were not wasted in vain or forgotten, since already in 1363 there is a bequest for a bed that should be given to the *infirmaria* for furniture, which shows that the house was indeed built at the friary of St Francis and that it was functional probably from the middle of the 14th century.⁶⁴²

Vineyards were in general a frequent type of immovable property given to friars, and from which they could have income for a long time and use of their fruits but also could use it for their own personal needs, for instance, while they perform the Mass, and this type of property would then be used as a necessary part of their everyday life. In 1348, Aniça, a daughter of late Symon dictus Maxi gave friars the vineyard in Umbla (Rijeka Dubrovačka) with its fruits for her soul and friars had to sing masses in return for receiving this property.⁶⁴³ Sometimes the property was not left to their community but only to an individual friar. Although this indicated a personal connection between the testator and the friar, most of the time that connection is not noted in the testament. In 1348, Tolia, daughter of Mathias de Bola and the wife of Stepe Silvestri gave half of the house to Friar Matt in the territory of St Clare and the other half goes to the convent of St Clare. The friar's half of the house would go to the friary after his death.⁶⁴⁴ Several things are problematic here: first, how was this house to be shared between Friar Matt and convent of St Clare. The half of the house would probably have to be sold to be useful in full by either of the parties, but then why was it necessary to make a remark that the half of the house should be transferred to the friary after Matt's death. Maybe the purpose of this property was more straightforward – Friar Matt, and later friars in Dubrovnik, would use one half of the fruits of the vineyard, and the convent of St Clare the other half. In the end of the 14th century, domina Mara, the wife of ser Demetrius Benessa left a vineyard and lands located in Umbla (Rijeka Dubrovačka) to the friars there. In this instance, we can notice that the alternative to gaining these

⁶⁴⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5/1, fol. 113-113'.

⁶⁴¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 29'-30.

⁶⁴² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 62'-63. Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku – povijesni prikaz života i djelatnosti," pp. 143-144.

⁶⁴³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5/1, fol. 53'-54. Furthermore, they were bequeathed two parts of the vineyard in 1348 and in return they should pray for her and sing masses (DADu, fondus 12, ser. 1, vol. 5/1, fol. 109').

⁶⁴⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 78-78'.

properties would be the sale of said property and using the money from the sale to buy the necessary items for friars. Another vineyard and land, but located in Brennio, which belonged to her father, was left for the need for the *infirmaria* of friars in Dubrovnik.⁶⁴⁵ Each of these properties could have been used for the everyday life of friars and for performing their services, but depending on the size of these properties, friars could have also gained extra profit from sale of its fruits.

There is also one case where it is not certain what was the purpose of the property left to friars in Dubrovnik and therefore its use is not clear. In 1377, George de Vladimiro left a field (*campo*) to the friars in Dubrovnik, but the land was not located in Dubrovnik, but in the island of Mljet.⁶⁴⁶ The land could have been used for many purposes, but since there is no further evidence or information about it, it serves as an example of various types of properties given to the Franciscans, besides vineyards and houses.

7.2.3. Šibenik

It seems that there was a reason why the commune of Šibenik was not favorable on letting the ecclesiastical institutions gain ownership of immovable property. Šibenik is a smaller commune than Zadar or Dubrovnik, and so is the friary there, around four to five friars, which was basically half of the friary in Zadar, which had maximum of twelve friars in the 13th and 14th century.

There were several types of immovable property which were given to the Franciscans in Šibenik during the 14th and early 15th century. Sometimes it is not clear how some properties were used in practice by the friars, but still, we can make at least a fair assumption. The earliest case of leaving property to friars is from 1372, which is almost in the last quarter of the 14th century, but it also seems that the 1370s were an adequate time to give property to ecclesiastical institutions, since a substantial number of them were left to friars from different communes during that decade. The testator in question was ser Cosa, son of Radovan, who bequeathed to eight salterns to be at their disposal and to enjoy them after his death in a manner as it was instructed in his testament.⁶⁴⁷ Ser Cosa was not the only one who gave salterns to friars in Šibenik. Friars received salterns also from Michael, son of late Peter Jurša from Šibenik, which were bequeathed to them later, in 1400. This is written that the friars should enjoy the fruits of the salterns, but without further specifications how many salterns were in question or if they in fact belonged to them, or they were just intended for use of their fruits, although it was written the salterns should not be sold or alienated. However, since later documents on several other occasions, as in cases where the borders of some property were

⁶⁴⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 88-88.

⁶⁴⁶ DADu, fondus 12, ser. 1, vol. 6/2, fol. 132-132'.

⁶⁴⁷ Arhiv samostana Sv. Frane u Šibeniku [Archive of the Friary of St Francis in Šibenik] (further: ASFŠ), Divničev zbornik. Codex Diphniceus (further: Divnić), fol. 103'.

discussed, mention salterns owned by the friars, it can be concluded that at least those eight given to them from Cosa were kept in their possession, which would be economically wise move due to constant revenues of salt.⁶⁴⁸ Since it is a substantial number of salterns, it is without a doubt that these salterns were providing friars with economic profit, since it is hard to believe that they would need more than eight salterns just for the needs of their friary. Salterns were not the only type of property owned by the Franciscans in Šibenik, and although the latter were not as numerous as these at least eight salterns, it is still impressive for a such small Franciscan community. In 1403 ser Dišman bequeathed to them his house with a tavern and three stores, and with a condition that the friars had to serve a Mass for his soul and souls of his parents.⁶⁴⁹ This type of formulation was not seldom seen, and the bequests in general would rest upon a certain “monetary-spiritual exchange” where the friars must perform a certain spiritual act for receiving a bequest from denizens of the communes. Although the size of this house with these three appertaining stores was not specified in detail, it would either way be sufficient to be considered as a substantial donation, one that would bring great profit to friars.

So, as we saw from the previous lines, friars in Šibenik owned a lot of property, and it was mainly used as an extra profit for their own personal benefit. Of course, there were instances where the ownership of the property was presumed by the legal act, which was performed by friars, such as renting their land to others since, naturally, you cannot rent what you do not own in the first place. At their chapter in friary in 1404, it was decided that a certain land belonging to the friary in Šibenik should be rented *in perpetuum* to a certain Vučeta Krašević (or Crašnić). From the description of the borders of this land, it is visible that it was bordered by the salterns owned by friars. For paying the rent, Vučeta was supposed to give the friars half of a star of grain of good quality.⁶⁵⁰ And with this, I argue that in fact this property belonged to the friars and kept in their possession.

In most cases bequests regarding property were given to friars as community, which would make more reason since then it does not depend on habitation and life of a single person in the friary. However, as we have seen also from an example from Dubrovnik, sometimes the bequests in testaments were bound with a particular person. Ser Dišman Dobrinčić from Šibenik is mentioning Friar Ostoja, son of late goldsmith James from Šibenik, to whom he bequeathed his part of olive tree grove on the land which he owned with Francis, son of Dominic, but stipulates one condition. If Friar Ostoja has decided to exit the Order or in the case of his death, the ownership of the land is automatically transferred to the hands of the Franciscan community in Šibenik.⁶⁵¹ It is interesting enough that the bequests on rare occasions mention individual friars, and the fact that he states that Ostoja was the son of a goldsmith might indicate that the testator had a personal tie with the friar,

⁶⁴⁸ ASFŠ, Divnić, fol. 113'-114.

⁶⁴⁹ ASFŠ, Divnić, fol. 114.

⁶⁵⁰ ASFŠ, Divnić, fol. 118-119.

⁶⁵¹ ASFŠ, Divnić, fol. 113'-114.

although it is not clear what kind of a relationship it was or from which family did Friar Ostoja originate, although saying his father was a goldsmith is sufficient enough to gain some prospective. Also, even though the bequest is given to Ostoja, as it was in Dubrovnik with Friar Matt, the final recipient of both properties is the Franciscan community, since it was to be transferred after their deaths.

7.2.4. Trogir and Split

For Trogir, there are no documents relating to Franciscans owning immovable property, besides their friary. The relocation of friars in Trogir was a complicated and long process. As it was mentioned, the friary on their first location was founded from the bequests of Desa of Luke from the kindred Lucić in 1234, with the previous permission of the Bishop Treguan of Trogir to inhabitate the bishopric in 1224. The relocation to a more suited location was done with the help of Bishop Columban who managed the sale of previously inherited estates given to friars by Desa, but due to conflict with the Dominicans, they needed to find a new location. This time, the procurator of the friars, Luke of Matt from the kindred Lucić, handled the sale and bought the garden from the patrons of the church of St George for building their friary, which began in 1271. After the destruction of the friary in 1315, friars found a place inside the city walls, in the Benedictine convent of St John the Baptiste, meaning that the Benedictines had to relocate to another place. However, later friars finally found shelter in the female Benedictine convent of St Peter, at least during the 14th century. Although friars of Trogir had complex circumstances on establishing themselves in one place, there is an indication that their previous immovable properties remained in their possession. This is confirmed in annual reports, which were required by priors and guardians of Trogir to be submitted to the count when Venice held authority over the city after 1420.⁶⁵² However, the debate about the latter statement goes beyond the chronological scopes of this research.

In Split the situation regarding the early periods is not well documented. This is unfortunately true for a somewhat later period as well. There was only one document in 1390, where immovable property was donated to the friars of Split. Brothers Tom and Francis Natalich from Split gave land to the Franciscans in Vela Gomila (*Masseria Magna*) on the island of Brač. The land was partially vineyard and partially not, and the brothers gave it to friars in Split to pay back a debt which they owned to friars, since friars gave them 150 pounds previously.⁶⁵³ The property given to friars by the brothers Natalich could be used for necessary needs of the friars but also can be seen as an economic transaction between said brothers and friars in Split. Since documents from Trogir and Split were not

⁶⁵² Benyovsky-Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, pp. 227-233.

⁶⁵³ CD XVII, doc. 191, pp. 273-274.

well preserved for the researched period as for some other communes, it is hard to conclude whether the citizens followed legal regulations and refused to leave property to ecclesiastical institutions, or there is only lack of evidence supporting this statement.

7.2.5. Senj

On the other hand, it seems that even smaller towns along the Dalmatian coast probably had more flexibility considering legal restrictions or the lay authorities did not bother with a notion of losing immovable property to the Church. Among these towns, Senj has been the most numerous with documents regarding Franciscan property. This process began very early on, around the last quarter of the 13th century. The types of immovable properties given to friars were gardens, houses, vineyards, and land plots. In 1272, James, the son of presbiter Johnny from Senj bequeathed in his last will two gardens to the friars in Senj for his soul and the souls of his ancestors. These two gardens were going to be a great addition for the friars to expand their main area, since they were situated near the church and the garden of the friars themselves.⁶⁵⁴ Another garden was given to friars in 1295, when *comes* Stephen *Ungarus* donated his garden in Senj, which was also close to the Franciscans' friary.⁶⁵⁵ These gardens would probably be a part or adjacent to the friary itself and therefore an integral part of their complex, which would be categorized as necessary property for everyday life of friars.

Furthermore, it was not uncommon to bequeath property to honor parents or ancestors, and one inhabitant did so in 1374. Nicholas, a son of ser James called Zavas de Foroiulii wanted to fulfill the testament of his mother *domina* Mary, a daughter of *vicecomes* David and left a land plot to the Franciscans in Senj.⁶⁵⁶ The donations in immovable properties were not only pouring from the lay citizens, but also from clerics. In 1378, Prothiva, a bishop of Senj, with the approval of the Chapter is donating to the friars from Senj a church of St Nicholas, which is located outside of Senj in the place called in "our Slavic tongue" *Rumenja vrata*, which was actually the gate of St Jerome.⁶⁵⁷

It should be emphasized that in certain instances some properties can be traced further on, meaning we can see how the friars handled their economic activities. In 1292, Michael de Vezanello from Krk gave his house in Senj to the friars of Senj for his soul and the soul of his wife Stassia. Michael can use this house while he is in Senj, but if he leaves Senj or leaves this worldly life, the house is going to the friars.⁶⁵⁸ He was not the only citizen outside Senj to donate to friars a property and a year later, in 1293, Peter de Barthe, a citizen of Zadar, and a former *vicecomes* of Senj, being

⁶⁵⁴ CD V, doc. 70, p. 622.

⁶⁵⁵ CD VII, doc. 192, pp. 212-213.

⁶⁵⁶ CD XV, doc. 43, pp. 60-64.

⁶⁵⁷ CD XV, doc. 270, pp. 365-371.

⁶⁵⁸ CD VII, doc. 68, pp. 80-82.

stricken by illness and seeing the inevitable end is coming near, he donated a house to friars in Senj his home there, when he was a *vicecomes*. Here it also states that Peter would retain the right to use this house during his life, which was similar to the previous case with Michael de Vezanello. Procurator for the friars, Čovello Nosdrogna from Zadar, will receive yearly 40 *solidis (!) denariourm paruorum venetorum* as paycheck, and the rest will be given to friars for robes/tunicas.⁶⁵⁹ However, in 1312, things did change, and friars in Senj gave up the property they received in the previous century, both were aforementioned two houses: one given to them by Michael Vizanella from Krk and one from Peter de Barthe from Zadar.⁶⁶⁰

Property was also given to Franciscans of Senj not only by citizens and inhabitants of Senj, but also by noble and more distinguished members of nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. In this instance we can speak more about the fourth category which has not been brought up yet, that is the patronage of a family towards the Franciscan Order. Countess Elisabeth, a widow of Count Duimus of Krk and Modruš, donated to the friars in Senj in two instances. In 1350, she gave them a house in Senj, which was bequeathed to them previously by her mother Helen, the Banissa of Croatia, in her testament, which was probably not executed until then and she wanted to fulfill her mother's wish.⁶⁶¹ Actually, Elisabeth was the daughter of Ban Mladen II Šubić and her husband Duimus was the son of Count Fredrick of Krk. Their marriage was a part of the final strategy to achieve peace between the two fathers after their conflict over Jablanac, along with an intercession of Venice in 1321.⁶⁶² Furthermore, Elisabeth did not want to only show her preference vicariously through her mother's last will, but also personally, and therefore she herself donated a house and a vineyard to friars in Senj in 1354.⁶⁶³ Elisabeth's preference towards Franciscans is deeply rooted within her family, mother Helena and father Mladen II Šubić.⁶⁶⁴ Elisabeth's mother Helen started the preference and circulation of ownership of property with the friars in Senj, and after the death of Elisabeth, the properties circulated among her nephews, Stephen and John. In 1365, Count Stephen of Krk, Vinodol, Modruš and Gacka, is promising a monthly contribution of 50 *solidos* to buy off half of the land from Franciscans, which were given to them by his father Bartholomew, and which was given to his brother John during the division of property among family members.⁶⁶⁵ Elisabeth was again mentioned more than a decade later, in 1380, in the context when the friars were buying a house from the bequests given to them in her testament, stating that incomes from this house will be used for material support

⁶⁵⁹ CD VII, doc. 137, pp. 157-158.

⁶⁶⁰ CD VIII, doc. 260, pp. 314-315.

⁶⁶¹ CD XI, doc. 444, pp. 584-585.

⁶⁶² Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 82-83.

⁶⁶³ CD XII, doc. 162, pp. 216-218.

⁶⁶⁴ Here it is redundant to get into detail on the family of Šubić from Bribir, since it will be discussed in the chapter on powerful friends and protectors of the Franciscans. Here the focus will only be immovable property they left to the friars by the family.

⁶⁶⁵ CD XIII, doc. 333, pp. 456-457.

of the church of St Francis in Senj. The house was bought by Elisabeth's nephews, vice-counts Stephen and John,⁶⁶⁶ signifying that generational preference and collaboration with Franciscans in Senj began with her parents Mladen and Helen, to daughter Elisabeth and further continued with her nephews. This is not the only connection of the Šubić kindred and counts of Krk towards the Franciscans, but only one small aspect concerning immovable property, and their place of residence and influence originated from Bribir.

Sometimes the ownership of immovable property by friars is not so bluntly and directly noticeable as in presented documents such as testaments and donations but still can be concluded from a certain legal act. This means that we can tell that the friars owned a property by what they do with this property afterwards, mainly by renting it, but we are not sure how they acquired it. However, in these documents the friars have an active role and are not merely receivers of property. Such is the case from 1360, where a judge Benevenuto, as procurator and *economus* of friars in Senj, rented to Daniel de Varicassis from Zadar, inhabitant in Senj, three houses for an annual rent of 20 ducats,⁶⁶⁷ and in 1365, when the friars from Senj rented the half of a certain house to Paul, son of Baldo from Venice, inhabitant of Senj. This previously belonged to his father Baldo, and it was once one with the house of Paul himself.⁶⁶⁸ In 1374, friars rented a mill positioned in the valley of St Cross (*in valle Sante Crucis*) in the district of Senj with annual rent to Miculla of late Stephen de Marcolac, inhabitant in the said valley.⁶⁶⁹ In 1374, friars in Senj gave to the judge Joseph of the late judge Diminus, a citizen of Senj, a demolished house with annual rent.⁶⁷⁰ These examples were pure business transactions among the citizens of towns and friars, and a part of their economic everyday life.

7.2.6. Krk, Skradin and Bribir

The friary in Krk also has several examples of immovable properties donated to them, but not in such a scope as it was in Senj. Their economic activity starts at the end of the 13th century, in 1295, when several bequests were listed in one document, and among them, there were also ones with immovable property. Mary, the daughter of Andrea de Bussa, donated half of her house to the friars via their procurator.⁶⁷¹ For a longer period, there were no bequests in immovable property, and it took half of the century to reiterate this practice. In 1350, Cecilia, an aunt of Count Bartholomew of Krk and Modruš, donated a vineyard to the friars of Krk in the area called Cavo de Valle,⁶⁷² while Agnes,

⁶⁶⁶ CD XVI, doc. 82, pp. 89-91.

⁶⁶⁷ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41.

⁶⁶⁸ CD XIII, doc. 350, pp. 482-484.

⁶⁶⁹ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁷⁰ CD XV, doc. 49, pp. 69-72.

⁶⁷¹ CD VII, doc. 181, pp. 202-203.

⁶⁷² CD XI, doc. 478, pp. 624-626. The judges confirmed this in 1370 (CD XIV, doc. 192, pp. 269-271).

a wife of *vicecomes* Gospodin, in 1364 donated two fields below the church of St Nicholas in Poganka,⁶⁷³ and in 1377 Dominica de Mirchanoga also a vineyard called Gimbrusa.⁶⁷⁴ However, sometimes the ownership did not go so smoothly and there were probably some conflicts or doubts, and there was need to confirm that friars' possession was indeed theirs. In 1377, there was a litigation between the friars of Krk and a judge Škinela concerning a certain field. Count Nicholas of Krk was testifying that this field was given to the friars by his relative *vicecomes* Nicholas.⁶⁷⁵

Other documents originate from the first half of the 15th century and I will name a few just to gain a better understanding of how much they were being donated by the inhabitants, as I will argue that the new century did not bring change in attitude of inhabitants of Krk towards the Franciscans in spite of the fact that Venetian influence grew substantially as did decrease the power of the counts of Krk. Some were in the vicinity of the friary, as was the case when in 1367, Andrinus of late Matthew de Qualisio donated *Gurgum dictum Lizza* as a permanent possession of the friars in Krk, which was located several hundreds of meters from the friary of St Francis in a place called Moncheli Cancali. On the other hand, some possessions obtained by friars were located outside of the neighborhood where friars lived and were scattered in different areas of the island Krk. In 1407, Mary, the widow of late George Cantagnich de Bescha (Baška) donated a vineyard *in contrata Craii*, and in 1416, Dobruša, the widow of Vidin a part of the posjed on the island of Plavnik.⁶⁷⁶

Sometimes these possessions would be used to help friars to finance their everyday and ecclesiastical needs. In 1419, magister Nicholas called Flako, son of late Dominic de Burda donated to Friar Simon of Krk, who was the guardian in Krk, a vineyard in Baška, which was meant to be a source of money for their necessities, clothes and church books. However, in this instance, they needed in return to perform Holy Mass, light candles and pray for the deceased and his family, which was not an uncommon practice. In 1419, Stancije Radilović and Stancije Mirizević, the chancellors and notaries of Baška, donated a vineyard to friars in Krk, which they needed to cultivate and give a part of its income to Stancije Radilović. However, after his death, the ownership is transferred to the hand of the friars, and both donators were being accepted as their spiritual members. Furthermore, friars not only received vineyards, but houses from various testaments, which were then later rented out or sold if they needed the money.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷³ CD XIII, doc. 295, p. 405.

⁶⁷⁴ CD XV, doc. 184, pp. 254-255.

⁶⁷⁵ CD VX, doc. 239, pp. 331-332.

⁶⁷⁶ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku," 27. Documents relating to various types of property given to friars in Krk are kept in the archive of the friary, which were collected into a special unit called *Bartolijev zbornik* (Collectanea Bartoliana) (vols I-II), which contains documents related to the Franciscan friary in Krk from 1284 until the early 17th century.

⁶⁷⁷ Petar Runje, "Prve vijesti o franjevcima u gradu Krku," 28-29.

Skradin had only two instances where the immovable property was discussed, and they were almost one century apart. Family Šubić of Bribir did not start their patronage and building properties for Franciscans with Elisabeth and her parents, but with her grandfather from father's side, Ban Paul I Šubić. In 1299, ban Paul takes up as his patron and a patron of his family St John the Baptist, leading to building a church in his honor near Skradin and giving it to friars there.⁶⁷⁸ A century later, in 1398, viceban Paul, son of Nicholas of Mihalicii de Zence, is confirming to friars in Skradin the properties which were given to them by Ban Paul.⁶⁷⁹

Although Franciscans in Bribir were probably given various bequests by the inhabitants of Bribir and others as well (although there are not many documents preserved until the 15th century), the most impactful were those concerning various types of immovable goods. In the period of the 14th century there were two instances where friary in Bribir was bequeathed property, both in the middle of the said century. During the years 1341 and 1342, the bishop of Krbava, Radoslav of Bribir, resolved the matter of property from the testament of his late brother Gregory from 1326. Namely, Gregory, the son of late Radoslav, the count of Bribir, in his testament instructed to his executors that they should sell his mill, vineyards and lands in Bribir and the money which would be acquired by this sale should be given to friar Radoslav, who is his *frater germanus*. However, if the executors would not be able to sell these possessions, then they will oversee them, but friar Radoslav will be given (certain amount) annually while he is alive. After Radoslav's death, these possessions should be given to friary of St Mary in Bribir for his soul and the souls of his parents. Now in 1341-1342, Friar Radoslav, who is now the bishop in Krbava, what to fulfil the bequests from the testament of his brother during his lifetime and bequeaths these properties to the care of procurators of the friary in Bribir, Francis de Lompre and Peter de Matafaris.⁶⁸⁰ Preference towards Franciscans in Bribir is here twofold – in the bequeathing of immovable property, and in the agency of the member of the family, Radoslav, who belonged to the Franciscan Order and also was the bishop of Krbava.

In another instance, the property given to friars in Bribir was not so substantial as the previous case, but still worth mentioning. In 1353, the executors of the testament of Tomasio of Elias of Bribir are donating certain land to the church and friary in Bribir. The executors themselves were his brother Stephan, friar Radoslav of Split, who was the guardian of the friary in Bribir, and Goyslava, a relative of theirs. Since it was written that Goyslava was their relative, it is not sure does this apply also for friar Radoslav or only for the testator and his brother, but no conclusion on this matter can be done.

⁶⁷⁸ CD VII, doc. 289, pp. 331-336.

⁶⁷⁹ CD XVIII, doc. 278, pp. 398-400.

⁶⁸⁰ CD X, doc. 426, pp. 601-604.

Furthermore, there is a description of this land, which is called Hermanščina, *tam vinearum quam terrarum, nemorum, siluarum, pascuum, arborum, aquarum et omnium que sunt tam super terram predictam, quam sub terra...* This land was given for the absolution of his and his parents' sins.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸¹ CD XII, doc. 114, pp. 157-158.

III RELATIONS AND NETWORKS OF THE FRANCISCANS

8. LIVING OF THE CHARITY OF OTHERS: DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS FOR THE EVERYDAY LIFE AND IN THE SERVICE OF SPIRITUAL ECONOMY

Franciscans had to live from something in practice. The most usual charity method of the inhabitants of Dalmatian cities that can be detected from the sources is from their last wills and testaments. In the following lines, I will present two types of bequests and donations, divided into the categories of everyday items and spiritual bequests. Both of the terms are much wider to encompass the variety of desires to manifest this charity. Everyday items are classified as those which give an insight into the practical side of the lives of the friars, their functioning in the social surroundings of the communes in Dalmatia and their place in the community. This could be any everyday life object which was used by friars, whether it was a clothing item, a fabric, a bed, a book, or some more specific or “unusual” items. Pertaining to everyday items is also money, which was given to friars for mundane purposes, like for work on the church, that is, the bequest *pro opere* and/or *pro laborerio*. The “spiritual bequests” include objects, items and money for any ecclesiastical related action, which would in some cases include the friars’ performing a certain act in exchange for monetary contributions. The items in question could have been icons, Bible, chalices or altars. Also, with bequests where friars were instructed to perform a Mass in honor of the testators and/or their families, there is a certain exchange of goods where friars were technically paid for their “spiritual work”, and this might be classified rather as a “request” than a “bequest”.

The life of the friars in Dalmatia is documented on the basis of notarial documents. For Dubrovnik, this can be also seen in the decisions of the city councils. The bequests, which include everyday items required for the friars to live a normal life, are divided into several categories: food and nourishment, clothes and household items, and money for construction and repairs to the church and friary.

8.1. Food and nourishment

Although Franciscans did, at least to a certain degree, follow the vow of poverty, the fact is that they needed money for their primary needs and “normal” life, just as anybody else living in a town. In chapter four of their Rule, it is stated that they cannot accept money in any form, and that their superiors should provide them with care for the sick and clothing. In chapter five, as wages for their labor they may accept anything necessary for their temporal needs, except money in any form.

However, it is difficult to assume what was included in the category of labor done by friars, was it the singing of masses or any other religious activity? Either way, the fact is that, on the most basic level, friars needed food, clothes and shelter. Food was usually bequeathed to them in the form of lunches, or actual ingredients, such as oil or grain, or even wine. Lunch, that is, *prandium*, sometimes did not include the price for which it would be evaluated, only as such, which means that the executors would know precisely how much it would cost for one lunch, even if it is not known to us now. Such is in 1377 the case from Zadar in the testament of noble woman Jacobina from Zadar, the wife of late sir Miche de Soppe, where it was only noted that one lunch should be given to friars for her soul, without any clarification on its price or value.⁶⁸² Among all city communes in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik has the largest number of notary documents preserved, and it is no wonder that there are many testaments which do not specify the price of a lunch for friars, but it would be far too tiresome and impractical to list them all. However, it is safe to say that it happened during the whole 14th century and that the same principle from the example below applies – the executors knew the price for a single decent lunch that the testators bequeathed. The question which now comes to mind is: how much did one lunch in fact cost? For Zadar the number of documents is not enough to see a certain pattern, in one example the testator John, a merchant from Zadar in 1365 gave 100 pounds for Franciscans and Dominicans to have one good lunch,⁶⁸³ and this seems to be a too large of a sum to be considered as a rule, and not the exception. However, in Dubrovnik, due to the abundance of the sources, it becomes clearer what the standard price was for a lunch for Franciscans. The prices would range from two⁶⁸⁴ or three⁶⁸⁵ perpers to as high as three ducats in the testament of Tikoje Čertešić in 1368,⁶⁸⁶ but the average price which stands out is five perpers.⁶⁸⁷ The occasion or the reason for bequeathing a lunch to friars would be: omitted, as a part of the anniversary celebration for the deceased individuals and

⁶⁸² DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 2, fol. 38'-39'.

⁶⁸³ *Item ex dictis libris C faciant unum bonum prandium secundum consuetudinem universalem et detur fratribus predicatoribus et itamet faciant fratribus Minoribus de Iadra*. SZB IV, doc. 237, pp. 369-373.

⁶⁸⁴ DADu, fond 12, vol 1, vol. 3, fol. 12'-13. To be more precise, it could be said that the lowest price could be 1,5 perpers, since Čora, the wife of George Čreci in 1318 in Dubrovnik bequeathed three perpers for lunch for friars and the poor, so technically if split evenly, the friars would get one and a half perpers. However, since the ratio of distribution is not mentioned, and the fact that they already received five perpers for lunch in this same testament, it is not certain that friars received this sum of one and a half perpers in this instance. DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 84'.

⁶⁸⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 70-70'.

⁶⁸⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 38-38'.

⁶⁸⁷ Just to name a few examples of testators: Mila de Sancto Angelo in 1325 (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12-12'), Milatchus the goldsmith in 1335 (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 49'-50), Dobra, the wife of Gregorii de Serino in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 1-2), Rigussa, the daughter of Matt de Babalio in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 169).

their families,⁶⁸⁸ for their souls and souls of their loved ones,⁶⁸⁹ or even as a transaction, meaning friars would need to perform a Mass for the testator in return.⁶⁹⁰ However, as it is with other aspects, the testators did indeed make an effort to differentiate between the ecclesiastical institutions which they preferred and those which they did not. That is why the bequests for lunch were sometimes given to other ecclesiastical institutions in smaller or larger amounts than those to Franciscans. For instance, Dominicans would receive half of the amount of money intended for lunch,⁶⁹¹ and sometimes the amount would be just a bit smaller, but still enough to send a message, even if it was “just” one perper of difference.⁶⁹² However, sometimes the amount of money would benefit the other ecclesiastical orders, and they would receive more money than the Franciscans,⁶⁹³ but this only shows that the choices made by each testator concerning each and every bequest were by no means random and that they knew how to show their preference towards a certain ecclesiastical institution, even if it was by giving just a little bit more money.

Food was also given in more direct form, that is, actual types of food, such as grain, oil, wine, meat and even fish. Testators would either donate to the friars from their own personal supplies or bequeath them with money for purchasing it. The combinations of food given to friars were varied and I have not seen any pattern or differences between certain city communes or the period when it was instructed. The earliest bequest found was in the last quarter of the 13th century from Dubrovnik, from a well-known family de Mençe.⁶⁹⁴ In 1284, Dimitrius de Mençe bequeathed the money to friars to buy wine and fish. The amount is not substantial, one perper is to be divided equally for both,⁶⁹⁵ but since it was still in the 13th century, there is a possibility that the food was less costly than it was in the 14th century and that this perper would go a longer way in feeding people than it may seem at first. However, sometimes the amount given to friars cannot be counted, since it was distributed to

⁶⁸⁸ Damian of late Simon de Cuntareno in 1394 in Zadar (DAZd, ZB, VDF, b. I, fasc. II/2, fol. 5'-6'), Anna, the daughter of the late Vrsarii de Zulerico and the wife of Dobroslavo de Binzola in 1308 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 37-38), Regina, the daughter of the late Peter de Bergamo in 1308 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 39-40).

⁶⁸⁹ Denssa of Peter de Marcio in 1325 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 11'-12), Desiça, the wife of the late Damian de Volcasso in 1337 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 52'), Bogoie Toscano in 1348 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 118).

⁶⁹⁰ Testator Martolus de Buagnolo in 1353 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 21-21'), Marin of Savino de Bonda in 1352 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 36-37), Nicola Andree de Sorgo in 1363 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 63-65).

⁶⁹¹ Nicholas de Stancho in 1353 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 60-61), Rigussa, the wife of Gregorii de Peça in Dubrovnik in 1368 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 31'-32').

⁶⁹² Dubrovnik: Desiça, wife of late Damian de Volcasso in 1337 bequeathed four perpers to Franciscans for one lunch, and to the Dominicans three perpers (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 52') and the same amount in the testament of Martollus de Todisio in 1342 (DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69-69').

⁶⁹³ John de Çereva in 1362 gave the Dominicans ten perpers, but Franciscans seven (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 50-51), married couple, Ghetaldus de Visti and his wife Magdalena de Balagna in Dubrovnik in 1305 wrote their joint testament and bequeathed eight perpers to Dominicans and four perpers, which is half, to the Franciscans (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 26').

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. pages where the family de Mençe will be and is discussed.

⁶⁹⁵ CD VI, doc. 386, pp. 463-465.

several recipients. In Dubrovnik in 1374, Marin de Bratcho distributed the bequest in bread, wine and meat to the poor, friars and all the monasteries. The friars were not only being supplied with food by the testators, which could usually be a “one-time thing”, but would get donations even during the lifetime of denizens of city communes. In Senj in 1339, Sir Tumpa, son of late Draschi of the kindred Vulcovig de Geccha gave the friars during his life and then after his death annually a certain amount of wine, fruits, oil and meat.⁶⁹⁶ In Krk in 1342, Gano, the son of Bellammame made an obligation to pay to the friar in Krk every year during a certain period half of his supply of olive oil from his olive grove and after four years annually also *modium* of young wine.⁶⁹⁷ This only shows, or even confirms, that friars indeed did not depend only on the bequests to feed themselves, but the charity that they received was even during non-life threatening situations, but as a part of a normal functioning of the city commune.

Friars and wine had a long-lasting relationship in Dubrovnik, and it was a very merry one, at least for a while. Franciscan love for wine was no secret, but the import of wine was strictly regulated in the statutes of Dubrovnik in almost every aspect. It was forbidden to import wine from outside of the city for the purpose of sale, donation or even keeping it at home above the amount that was prescribed by the city count and the commune, and this regulation was even stricter in the middle of the fourteenth century, even by taking land from parts of Ston and Pelješac from where the wine would be imported. Of course, being a member of mendicant orders had its advantages, and Dominicans and Franciscans were exempt from these regulations, and could receive it as alms from anyone who arrived in Dubrovnik. Besides this, they had the right to import wine for their needs from anywhere they wanted. As it always goes with privileges and liberties, it seems that they were abused too much and therefore got revoked in 1358. Of course, there was some dissatisfaction with this decision, and it was concluded in 1361 that they must prove that this wine imported from Ston and Pelješac had to be used only for their personal need, which had to be proved. It seems that friars were not only using it for personal need, but also selling it to others, which was illegal, and penalties were also imposed to prevent this reoccurring offense.⁶⁹⁸ Whether this was all part of the merry image of a Franciscan friar or maybe a sign of the decline in adhering to the vow of poverty, maybe it is best to let the reader to decide. Was the *In vino veritas* becoming less truthful the more wine friars were drinking?

⁶⁹⁶ CD X, doc. 334, pp. 474-476.

⁶⁹⁷ CD XI, doc. 17, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁹⁸ Pešorda Vardić, “Prilog povijesti franjevacu u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku,” 51-52. For other regulations concerning Franciscans in Dubrovnik, see: Ante Marinović, “Dubrovačka legislacija gleda prosjačkih redova,” pp. 37-71.

8.2. Clothing and household

After the friars are fed from numerous donations given to them by the community where they lived, the second essential item for them would be clothes. In chapter two of their Rule, there is a clarification on the clothes that friars should wear. During the novitiate, the ministers should clothe the candidates with the habit of probation, which consists of two tunics without a hood, a cord and trousers, and a cape reaching the cord, unless the ministers decide that something else is more suitable. The friars who have already passed this stage and have vowed obedience may have one tunic with a hood and those who wish may have another without a hood. Those who are forced by necessity may wear shoes. All the friars must wear poor clothes and can use pieces of sackcloth and other material to mend. In the testaments in Dalmatia, clothes would be either bequeathed as a tunica, habit, or robe, or it would be designated that the friars should use money to clothe themselves. The most interesting examples originate from Zadar, from the beginning of the 14th century, and they involve individual friars, which shows a certain preference and familiarity of the testator towards the friar who received the clothes. In 1301, Mary, the widow of Petragna de Pappo left seven pounds to Friar Bonmerkato for a tunic.⁶⁹⁹ However, Friar Bonmerkato probably needed further clothing, and he again received a tunic, this time in 1304 from Lawrence de Civalelis, but on this occasion the value of the tunic was not specified.⁷⁰⁰ For Dubrovnik, sometimes tunics were bequeathed to individual friars,⁷⁰¹ and sometimes it was left for the Franciscan community, where they would probably decide to whom it will belong, that is, for whom it was most needed. Sometimes the amount of money was substantial, and sometimes it was not specified. In 1339, Marin of Symon de Binçola gave to friars Minor *yp. CXXX dando de eis cuilibet earum una tunica de panna*,⁷⁰² but in the testament of Nicholas of Andrea de Sorgo in 1363, besides the initial hundred perpers for tunics for friars, it also stated that from the incomes friars should receive tunics every year, but not stating how much money should be allocated for this.⁷⁰³ In 1358, Domagna de Mençe from Dubrovnik was more specific with his bequest for tunics for friars, stating that friars from Dubrovnik will receive ten perpers for dressing in tunics, but it seems that this money was to be expanded through ten years receiving one perper per year.⁷⁰⁴

Tunics were not the only type of clothes given to friars. In as early as 1304, Pelegrina, the daughter of Lawrence de Civalelis from Zadar, bequeathed to the Friar Elias de Lemesio a robe with

⁶⁹⁹ SZB II, doc. 79, p. 34.

⁷⁰⁰ SZB II, doc. 107, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁰¹ Milius, the son of Radonge/Radovze in 1308 bequeathed five perpers for a tunic to Friar Sabino (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 38'). Laure de Casine/Rasine (?) in 1358, when one tunic is given to Friar Matt (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 37-37'). However, it is not certain if Friar Mathe is a Franciscan or a Dominican, since it was not noted in the document, which was frequent in testament in Dubrovnik. However, Žugaj mentions a certain Mathe, who was the guardian in Dubrovnik in 1376, so maybe that could be the same person (Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 72).

⁷⁰² DADu, fond 12, vol. 1, vol. 3, fol. 62.

⁷⁰³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 63-65.

⁷⁰⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39.

a hood of the value of five groats (eight pounds).⁷⁰⁵ In 1377, Jacobina, the widow of Mike de Soppe from Zadar, gave a grey-colored habit of the value of 15 groats (2 pounds) to Friar Krševan, but under the condition that he receives it after performing the First Mass (*prima missa*).⁷⁰⁶ Sometimes the amount of money bequeathed to a certain friar would certainly stand out. Such was the case in the testament of Mathew of the late Damian de Begna from Zadar in 1385, when he gave even ten ducats (32 pounds) to Friar Benedict for a habit.⁷⁰⁷ Such a large amount of money had to signify a familiarity, friendship and respect between Mathew and Benedict. The care of testators in Zadar for individual friars was not limited only to a certain item which would help them once but extended to a longer period, but in the following examples, the types of clothes were not mentioned, just clothing in general. That is why Jacobina bequeathed to Friar Krševan, besides the habit, a lifetime supply of clothes and footwear, although the value of these items was not written.⁷⁰⁸ Sometimes the clothes were meant for more than one or two friars, and in 1387 in the testament of Magdalena, the widow of Daniel de Varicassis of Zadar, it concerned five of them. She bequeathed that from her goods money should be allocated to dress five friars: Bartholomew of Bosnia, Berengar, Peregrin of Aragonia, Vitus of Zadar and John de Grisogonis from Zadar. The type of clothes in which they should be dressed and the value of the clothes meant for these five friars was not noted, but it must have been substantial.⁷⁰⁹ In Dubrovnik, friars also donated money for clothes, however, usually not frequently to specific individuals, but to the Franciscan community in whole. Domina Anna, wife of late ser James de Mençe in 1394 bequeathed a large sum of money, hundred perpers, for clothes to friars in Dubrovnik,⁷¹⁰ but it was not noted if this money was to be given all at once or in yearly installments, but since it was not written otherwise, the money was probably given in full in one installment.

To conclude briefly on clothes left to friars, the amount of money left for any type of clothes that friars needed varied significantly, and still the pattern is not large enough to make any assumption on the average price of habit, tunic and a priest's robe. This discrepancy between the amount of money could indicate that friars owned several pieces of the same types of clothes, but for different occasions where the more expensive clothes were saved for special and solemn celebrations versus the ones for everyday life. Furthermore, the clothes could have been sorted according to the seasons in the year, meaning that winter clothes were probably more expensive than summer clothes. Speaking about personal preferences, the fact that a person decided to leave a piece of clothing to a certain friar shows

⁷⁰⁵ SZB II, doc. 129, pp. 65-66.

⁷⁰⁶ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 2, fol. 38'-39'.

⁷⁰⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 20-21.

⁷⁰⁸ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 2, fol. 38'-39'.

⁷⁰⁹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁷¹⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 136-136'.

that they had a personal connection with them and that the choice of a person was by no means coincidental.

Besides being dressed in appropriate attire and having a decent supply of food at their disposal, friars needed to have a place to sleep and to perform their mundane activities. The most frequent types of these bequests in testaments were beds, bedlinen and pillows. Sometimes the preference towards a certain order would be seen in the details, for example, giving a more valuable item to your preferred friary or a convent. This was done as early as in 1305, when Dessa de Biriça stated that she had two beds with covers, who which she wanted to give a bed of better quality to friars in Dubrovnik, and the other to friars in Bar, Montenegro (Antibaro). Although both recipients were Franciscans, it is clear who were the preferred ones, or just the closer ones.⁷¹¹ Since friars in Dubrovnik had an infirmary that they were in charge of, and therefore they were also given a bed for the patients who were residing there in two instances, in 1363⁷¹² and 1372.⁷¹³

Friars were sometimes given a set of bedlinens, such as it was in 1352 in Dubrovnik, when they were given two covers, two pillows of a food linen, a sheet and a quilt.⁷¹⁴ Even in these situations testators made sure to give the items from their homes which were in good condition. This is how they were bequeathed a better cover and all the pillows which she had in her household,⁷¹⁵ but in other occasions they were to be sold, which happened in the testament of Perva, the wife of late Vrsi de Sorgo in 1359, and after selling the one of better quality, other two were to be given to friars in Dubrovnik and one to the poor.⁷¹⁶ Usually bedlinen was passed from the testators to the friars, but sometimes the testators would rather leave money, in this example ten perpers for covers/quilts for the friars.⁷¹⁷ However, giving a good pair of bedlinen was not only reserved for the community, but also for individual friars and especially if they were related to the testators. Milsa Feneto, the son of Radonna Fareto in 1348 in Dubrovnik, wanted to prepare his nephew Vlaho for his life in the Franciscan community and wanted to supply him with necessary items and considered that it would make his life much easier if he had a quilt and a cover with himself, although it is not certain how long was his nephew Vlaho in the Order.⁷¹⁸

Household items did not only include items for personal use for individual friars, but also the items used by their community. The existence of these items gives a better understanding of the

⁷¹¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 23'.

⁷¹² Testament of Agha, the wife of late Nicholas de Crosio (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 62'-63).

⁷¹³ Testament of Nicoleta, the wife of Maigi de Trepagna (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 103'-104).

⁷¹⁴ Testament of Andrea of Nicholas de Soneo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 20'-21).

⁷¹⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 7.

⁷¹⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 45-46.

⁷¹⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 71-71'.

⁷¹⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 93-93'.

everyday life of friars in Dalmatia, who were just like any other denizens in the city communes. They needed furniture for eating and equipment for the table, therefore they received a large carpet and a large tablecloth for the dining table.⁷¹⁹ They needed kitchen items, and they were bequeathed in 1372 with various types of dishes for cooking or storing food: three cauldrons for cooking, a larger glass container, glass vessel, and a tripod stand for cooking.⁷²⁰

There was another type of household item used for storage, but the items inside could be mundane, but also liturgical. The item in question is a chest or a suitcase, usually with two keys. The question is, what would these chests contain, what were the items which were held inside one of them? Considering everyday items, the chest that was given to friars in Dubrovnik contained clothes,⁷²¹ while suitcases with liturgical items would contain all that were needed to ornate the altar in the church.⁷²²

However, some everyday items did not make much sense in the hands of the friars, meaning that they could not use them, only to sell them and then use the money from this sale to buy other useful items for their household or service. The items in question are a pair of earrings and they were bequeathed to friars on three occasions in Dubrovnik. In 1302, Rada, the daughter of Dobroquali Cumani, donated a pair of golden earrings which were worth ten perpers,⁷²³ and two other examples show how the earrings actually served their purpose. In both instances the earrings were sold for another, more useful purpose or in exchange for friars to perform a certain service. Margo, the wife of Godoe in 1363 wanted the earrings to be sold and that one person be sent to pilgrimage in Assisi,⁷²⁴ while Milla, the daughter of Cvaneno from Ston in 1348 wanted a bedcover and a pair of earrings *cocti* to be given to friars of St Francis for performing masses.⁷²⁵

On the other hand, three items which stand out as necessary and practical items in the life of friars come from Dubrovnik. The first one was bequeathed in 1361 by Yele, the wife of Give de Sorento. She made a request that a *gosterna* should be made in the value of 250 perpers and given to the friars.⁷²⁶ *Gosterna* is a larger, but not too large vessel, which was used to collect the rain and therefore served a very practical purpose for the everyday life of friars and showed that they were living just like any other denizen in the city commune. The second item is more peculiar than the

⁷¹⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 64'.

⁷²⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 103'-104.

⁷²¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 103'-104.

⁷²² Bogavce de Toloe in 1381 bequeathed the items which were saved from the altar of St Anthony, but also specifies in another bequest that there is one *paramentum* in the said suitcase (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 15-16); Lucha Bogdanich in 1393 bequeathed, among other things, a small chest with items which were preserved for the altar (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 64').

⁷²³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 15'.

⁷²⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 185'.

⁷²⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 125'.

⁷²⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 139-140.

vessel for collecting the rain. Namely, Martinuso de Sörgo in 1391 left his gondola to friars in Dubrovnik with all pertaining to it.⁷²⁷ At first glance, why would friars in Dubrovnik need a gondola for their everyday life? It seems that for both items the reason is the same – water. The need for gondola was to obtain water, which was done in Rijeka Dubrovačka where the denizens would go to get their supplies. These two items are bequests which were “out of the ordinary” objects given to Franciscans; however, they are just further evidence that the friars’ lives were like any other group which inhabited the area of Dalmatia, with daily routines and struggles. And there were also animals that could relieve the burden of everyday struggles for friars in Dalmatia, in Zadar it was the case when noble ser Dobrolus, the son of late Count Nicholas from Bribir bequeathed two horses to friars.⁷²⁸ It is interesting that in the chapter three of the Franciscan Rule, friars are forbidden to ride on horseback, unless it is because of necessity or sickness. Either way, it is very probable that these two horses were not used for riding, but for the transportation of goods or similar purposes, and any everyday activity could be considered as a necessity, so therefore, the use of horses in their lives would be absolutely justified.

8.3. Pro opere and pro laborerio

Probably the most frequent bequest in testaments and the most general one is *pro opere* and *pro laborerio*. Friars, among other ecclesiastical institutions, would allocate large sums of money for this purpose and there must have been some funds where this money was deposited from all these donations and later used when needed for various purposes. Here it will be only shortly discussed only about the testaments where the price was mentioned. The most common purpose noted in the testament from Dubrovnik was for the needs of the church or *pro opere ecclesiae*. The prices intended for this ranged from 10 to 300 perpers.⁷²⁹ Testaments from Zadar, besides the *pro opere et pro laborerio*, used also the phrase *pro reparatione*, which was not the case with bequests in Dubrovnik. did not solely include the church but also other parts of the Franciscan buildings. For instance, domina Magdalena, the widow of late ser Daniel de Varicassis from Zadar, bequeathed in 1388 hundred ducats of gold *pro reparatione domorum monasterii sancti Francisci ordinis fratrum minorum de Iadra*,⁷³⁰ which was a pretty large sum left for the needs of the friary itself, not the church. Ser Nicholas of late

⁷²⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 234-234'.

⁷²⁸ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. VI, fol. 190'-191.

⁷²⁹ 10 perpers in testaments of: Marcus of late Mathie de Mençe in 1325 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12'-13); Drasa, the daughter of late Michael de Gendusso in 1326 (DADu, fond 12, sv. 1, vol. 3, fol. 22); Cillia de Gangullio in 1336 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 51-51') and 300 perpers in the testament of Procullus de Mençe in 1344 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 73).

⁷³⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

James Matafaris bequeathed money in 1391 for more specific parts of the church in Zadar, that is, 25 pounds for the chapel and altar of St John the Baptist which was established in their church.⁷³¹

Whether the bequests *pro opere* and *pro laborerio* included a wider range of activities in the church and friary or they were only for constructional purposes, more information was discovered on the construction processes in Dalmatia. It seems that the process of construction and the problems accompanying it were not much different to what they are today. The testator Goyach, who was the mason, wrote his testament in Dubrovnik in 1383. He had concerns with the construction material, which was stored with the Friars Minor, since he instructed that the two thousand roof tiles and timber/lumber there should be sold,⁷³² meaning that he probably did construction work for the friars at the friary, the church or the surrounding area. Either he had leftover material, or the construction was not done due to his incapacity to finish it, but either way, he did not want to leave it in the possession of friars, and he intended to minimize the potential loss of money.

Another interesting document, besides the list of friars present in the friary in Šibenik, gives an insight into the way how a contract between a builder and the friars was concluded in Dalmatia in the year 1415.⁷³³ The stonemason, magister Peter of late Radmilo from Šibenik, made a contract, an obligation to cover the church of friars in Bribir during the period of two and a half years. The money which Peter would receive was 130 ducats of gold, which were to be given to him in three instalments, and these three phases were explained in detail in the charter. There is also information about possible delays and penalties, but since this is an extraordinary document, it will be presented in detail in the subsequent chapter.

8.4. Spiritual exchange and liturgical items

There was a different type of bequest, the one that included a certain spiritual activity provided by friars in exchange for money. This would include the celebration, or even more precisely, performing a Mass or praying for the salvation of the soul of the testator and their ancestors and the whole family. Bequests for performing the Mass were the most numerous in general, but there is a difference between the bequests from Zadar and those from Dubrovnik so here I will compare them when it is possible. In Zadar individual amounts for performing a Mass go from ten to a hundred pounds. For Dubrovnik it was possible, due to the copious number of documents, to find an average price and the required number of masses which were the most common among denizens of

⁷³¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 20.

⁷³² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 52'-53.

⁷³³ DAZd, SSib, B 3 2 b 75'-76.

Dubrovnik. The usual number of masses was a thousand and the price for them was 42 perpers⁷³⁴ and then if the number of masses was 500, the price would be 21.⁷³⁵ Through this logic, it can be presumed that even when the number of masses was not written, when the price was 42 perpers, it could mean they had to perform thousand masses. However, this does not mean that certain testators in Dubrovnik did not give more or less than this, especially when showing their preference towards any ecclesiastical institution.⁷³⁶ For both friaries, Zadar and Dubrovnik, there were many bequests where either the number of masses or the price of the masses was not mentioned, but again, the executors knew very well how to distribute money for such frequent and standard actions. For some bequests concerning the performance of a Mass there was a time period when the masses should be done. Such was the case in Zadar where Daria, the daughter of late Vitus de Gallelis and the widow of Bartholomew de Grisogonis, gave 50 pounds to pick one of the friars which would perform a Mass each day during the time span of one year.⁷³⁷ Zadar certainly cultivated a more personal approach, since they mentioned even a certain friar who was designated to perform these masses. In 1346, Slava, the widow of John Cuvelić from the island of Ugljan made a request that the Friar Gregory should perform the mass for 20 groats (32 pounds),⁷³⁸ and the same amount of money was also given to the Friar Benedict in 1382 by the testator Francis, the son of Damian de Sloradis.⁷³⁹ Mary, the daughter of late Peter de Pedreto and the widow of John de Nassis from Zadar did not designate a specific friar, but only that they should perform a mass every day for a year, but to do it at the altar of St Anthony.⁷⁴⁰ The impression is that the testators from Zadar were more specific and personally connected to individual friars than those in Dubrovnik, who did not often include such details as a certain friar designated for performing a Mass or a special altar that needed to be used during this action.

Another specific action which was performed in Zadar, but not in Dubrovnik, was reading the psalter, although they were very rare and would be bequeathed exclusively to the community, not individuals. In the testament of Lawrence, the son of late Francis de Vincentia, bequest is made for ten psalters and the Franciscan community is to receive ten pounds for it, which would mean that the

⁷³⁴ 42 perpers for thousand masses: Bene de Gondolla, son of late Marin de Gondolla in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 77-78); Anna, the wife de Jugno de Lucarum in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 64-65); Symas, the son of late Valonde (?) de Vetrano in 1362 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 51'); Nicola of Andrea de Sargo in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 63-65); Nicholleta, the wife of late Pasqua de Bočinolo in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 38'); Pasqua, the son of Andre de Mathio di Chalamota in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 238); Çorçi de Paschua di Çorçi in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 274-274'); Mathe di Resti in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 278-278'); domina Perva, the wife of late ser Nicholas de Sargo in 1400 (?) (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 263'-264).

⁷³⁵ 21 perpers for 500 masses: Stiepe de Silvestro in 1337 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 54'-55'); Drasenus Mironçich (?) merchandore (?) in 1347 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 1).

⁷³⁶ For instance, Mare, the wife of Rusino de Glavat in 1348 bequeathed 2 thousand masses to Franciscans as opposed to thousand to Dominicans (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 28'-29).

⁷³⁷ Testamenti Zara 1, fol. 18'-20'.

⁷³⁸ CD XI, doc. 228, pp. 306-307.

⁷³⁹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f V, fasc. 1, fol. 614-616.

⁷⁴⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25.

reading of one would cost one pound.⁷⁴¹ Simon, son of late Augustin de Bicté bequeathed to the church of St Francis 50 pounds for reading a psalter and for celebrating the Mass, but since he did not specify the number of psalter or masses, the price for each cannot be calculated.⁷⁴² Another characteristic of testators of Zadar is that they would have bequests concerning praying in general, and it usually again included individual friars. The prices for prayers ranged from 10 to 100 pounds. The largest amount for this type of bequest was given to Friar Benedict, that is, 100 pounds, by Damian of late Simon de Cuntareno in 1388,⁷⁴³ and the second largest, 81 pounds, was given to Friar Jerome by Mary, the wife of John de Nassis.⁷⁴⁴

Liturgical items and activities would be placed or performed at the altars and altars were an integral part of the church and many denizens of Dalmatia were financing the building and equipping the altars in the churches of St Francis. Of course, most of these altars or money for altars were from the church of St Francis in Dubrovnik. The altars were sometimes made in honor of a certain saint. Martollus de Todisio in 1342 wanted an altar made in honor of St Anges⁷⁴⁵ and Dea in 1348 in honor of St Anne.⁷⁴⁶ However, one testator from Zadar in 1375 instructed that an altar should be made in honor of St Jerome, and that was ser Paul, the son of Mark de Gilardo.⁷⁴⁷

In the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik there was an interesting silver altarpiece, which was built in the first half of the 14th century by unknown goldsmiths who made 21 saint figures from silver. The work was continued in 1388 by a goldsmith Bartholomew of James della Donna from Venice, who was a permanent resident in Dubrovnik, and who had to add five more characters to the altarpiece, but he died in 1394 and then work was passed on to others – Milčo originating from the city of Ulcinj, Ratko Pribilović and Jakša Ivanović. They made a commitment to the procurator of friars, Andrea de Volce, to finish it for 137 perpers. Although the altarpiece was destroyed during an earthquake in 1667, there is information from the end of the 15th century and according to its description it can be concluded that it was actually finished and skillfully done.⁷⁴⁸

Speaking of the amount of money allocated by testators for building an altar, in certain cases it was not specified,⁷⁴⁹ and in rare bequests the money was also used to buy several similar liturgical

⁷⁴¹ DAZd, ZB, VDF, b. I, fasc. II/2, fol. 7.

⁷⁴² DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. I/1, fol. 16'-17.

⁷⁴³ DAZd, ZB, RM, b I, fasc. III, fol. 21-22.

⁷⁴⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25.

⁷⁴⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69-69'.

⁷⁴⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 100-100'.

⁷⁴⁷ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 1, fol. 18-19.

⁷⁴⁸ Cvito Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari od 13. do 17. stoljeća" [Goldsmiths of Dubrovnik from the 13th to the 17th centuries], in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/1 (1949): 200-201; Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 176-178; Lentić, "Riznica Male braće u Dubrovniku," p. 564; Vinicije B. Lupis, "O srebrnoj pali i srebrnom reljefu sv. Vlaha" [About the Silver Relief of St Blaise and the Silver Altarpiece in the Church of St Blaise], *Peristil* 51 (2008): 124.

⁷⁴⁹ For instance, in testaments of already mentioned Dea (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 100-100') and Lucha Bogdanich in 1393 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 64'), while Franussa, the wife of Jacobi de Sorgo in 1373 (DADu,

items, like chalices, crosses or missals,⁷⁵⁰ although it is not always clear whether the money was for building an altar or for the needs of the existing one. Of course, some of the bequests for altars were destined for singing Masses,⁷⁵¹ which is to be expected, but one example is a bit confusing to understand. In 1363 in Dubrovnik, Nicho de Cherpa requested in his testament that the friars in Dubrovnik should perform a thousand masses, and that the altar should be made for the use of Friar Matt and Marin de Mençe, and that this altar is to be of a value of 150 perpers. Furthermore, in general, the friars will receive money from his incomes for performing one Mass weekly at the altar in perpetuity,⁷⁵² although these two bequests are not necessarily connected to each other. This is the only example where an altar was made for the use of individuals. Friar Matt could be the already mentioned friar from Dubrovnik in the document of Lauro de Casine/Rasine in 1358, when one tunic was bequeathed to him,⁷⁵³ or the guardian of friary in Dubrovnik in 1376,⁷⁵⁴ clearing all doubts on him truly being a Franciscan, which was not evident from previous documents. Furthermore, after the attempt to find out who was this Friar Matt, the other question is who is Marin de Mençe? Without further information and the fact that the Mençe family had numerous branches, it is not certain who was precisely this Marin who lived during this time. There is a possibility, from other Marins during this century, that it could be Marin, who was illegitimate son of Lampredije, born around 1345 and who had a nickname Marmilus and for whom it is not certain whether he had offspring.⁷⁵⁵

Besides spiritual exchange and liturgical objects like altars, friars needed items to perform their duties and services and therefore needed liturgical items, which were especially significant and valuable. There was a difference between clothes and items for everyday use and clothes for ecclesiastical services. Although there were certainly clothes for friars which they wore during service, there are not many examples of it, only a few found in the sources. One undoubtedly liturgical piece of clothing was given to friars in Dubrovnik in 1394, when dominus Pelegrinus de Dulagno bequeathed one priestly robe (*cota*) with one stole (*maurada*).⁷⁵⁶ On the other hand, most liturgical

fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 107') wrote that the money from the rent of her two houses should be split two ways: one for the altar of saint Francis in Dubrovnik, and other for dressing the poor, so it was not certain how much money that would this add up in the end.

⁷⁵⁰ Martollus de Todisio in 1342 bequeathed 70 perpers for one altar, one silver chalice, one missal and a *paramentum* (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69-69') and Fida, the wife of Matt de Benessa in 1348 bequeathed 300 perpers for making an altar and other furniture (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 98'). Furthermore, this was also in the previously mentioned testament of ser Paul, the son of Mark de Giglaro from Zadar, where the altar was to be made at the chapter, furnished with an icon, a linen for a tablecloth for the altar and a chalice in the value of hundred pounds. (DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 1, fol. 18-19).

⁷⁵¹ Testaments of Dea (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 100-100'), Fida, the wife of Matt de Benessa (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 98'), and Lucha Bogdanich, who gave ten perpers annually for singing a mass for his soul and the souls of his deceased (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 64').

⁷⁵² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 291-291'.

⁷⁵³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 37-37'.

⁷⁵⁴ Žugaj, Nomenklator, p. 72.

⁷⁵⁵ Vekarić, *Vlastela*, vol. 3, p. 38.

⁷⁵⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 50'-51'.

vestments given to Franciscans were not so exquisite and specific, but rather more like general pieces of clothes used during liturgical service. Furthermore, sometimes one term was used to signify two different things, and this was proven in the case of *paramentum*. The *paramentum* had an ecclesiastical purpose in both cases, but what it really signified depended on the fact if it was given to the community or to an individual friar. When given to a certain friar, *paramentum* served as a type of robe which the friar would wear on solemn occasions. Such a purpose was mostly found in Zadar in several testaments. Domina Daria, the wife of late Bartholomew of late Mauro de Grisogonis from Zadar in 1370 bequeathed two *paramenta*, in this case, solemn robes, to two different friars. The first robe, worth ten ducats, should be given by her executors to Friar Francis of Split for her and her mother's soul. On the other hand, the second bequest in the testament was more specific. Domina Daria wished that Friar Dominic should also be given a robe in the value of 40 pounds, but under the condition that he must, after his death, leave the robe to the friary in Zadar.⁷⁵⁷ Passing on the robe to other friars after death seems like a logical condition Friar Dominic was not the only that need to pass on his robe after his death, which sounds logical for any order, and especially for a Mendicant Order as Franciscans, which upon entering the Order were giving up their possessions. Another friar was also instructed to pass on his robe after death was Friar Give the son of Marcelo the sword maker, although this time the robe was described as ornated, and he resided in Dubrovnik, and not in Zadar as the previous case.⁷⁵⁸ However, sometimes the bequests had a more sentimental value, implicating a certain personal connection between the testator and the friar himself. In 1377, Friar Peter, the son of Nadreche, was bequeathed a robe from threaded linen from Mara, the wife of the late Peter Pasini from Zadar, which she had in her home. Since this robe belonged to the testator herself, it is no wonder that it was a more elaborated piece of clothing.⁷⁵⁹

On the other hand, when the *paramentum* was given to the Franciscan community in general, it served a different purpose, as an altar cloth. It seems that this was the most frequently given type of liturgical linen for the Franciscans in Dalmatia and mostly given to friars in Dubrovnik. Sometimes the price of this altar cloth was not written, just noted that one should be given or made for friars,⁷⁶⁰ or going more into detail and noting that it was made from pieces of different fabrics, like linen or cotton.⁷⁶¹ Altar cloths were also given by the testators themselves, as was the case with Mary, the

⁷⁵⁷ Testamenti presenti nella cancellaria di conti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 18'-20'.

⁷⁵⁸ In the testament of Domagna de Mençe in 1358 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39).

⁷⁵⁹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 2, fol. 41'.

⁷⁶⁰ In testaments of: Perva, the wife of late Blaxius de Brayga in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 79), Bacerina in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 129) and Bogavce de Toloe in 1381 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 15-16).

⁷⁶¹ Dessa de Biriça in 1305 in Dubrovnik who bequeathed four pieces of linen from which the two should be given to friars for *paramentis* (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 23') and Mila de sancto Angelo in 1325 in Dubrovnik bequeathed three pieces of fabric, from which two should be made into *paramenta*: one given to friars and one to Saint Mary Maior (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12-12').

wife of Vitalis de Petragna in 1342 in Dubrovnik, when she bequeathed to friars one *paramentum* made out of cotton which she previously had in the chapel, and all this was done for the purpose of singing the Mass.⁷⁶² The prices for the altar cloth ranged from 5 to 25 perpers when given individually,⁷⁶³ but it was difficult to calculate the price when it was given together with other object for the altar, such as chalice, icon or misal.⁷⁶⁴

Other liturgical items, besides cloths, which were frequently used at the altars were crosses, chalices and icons. Zadar, of course, had fewer examples of these types of items, but the amount of money designated for its purchase was substantial. Surprisingly, there were very few crosses bequeathed to friars, especially compared with the number of chalices. In Zadar, Nicoleta, the widow of Nicholas de Rastisso left 200 pounds for a purchase of silver cross for the church,⁷⁶⁵ which was only case where the value of the cross was written, while from the examples in Dubrovnik, friars were only given real physical silver crosses, without mentioning their value.⁷⁶⁶

Chalices, on the other hand, were numerous and their prices varied. Such a discrepancy in the numbers of crosses and chalices could be explained that the chalice was needed more for performing liturgical services. The chalices were made from silver, and the price was almost always written, ranging from 15 to 50 perpers and most of them were from testaments from Dubrovnik.⁷⁶⁷ In two testaments we can see the connection between testators in a simple bequest for chalice. Cillia de Gangullio in 1336 bequeathed one chalice of the value of 40 perpers,⁷⁶⁸ which by itself would not be of any significant value, except as a decent value for one chalice. However, four years later, Cillia is

⁷⁶² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 68-68'.

⁷⁶³ 5 perpers were bequeathed by Cillia de Gangullio in 1336 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 51-51'); 6 perpers by Drasa, the wife of late Franoje de Basillio in 1342 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69) and Divssa, the daughter of Debasello de Luca de Bassillio and the wife of Margarito, the son of late Pancracii de Benessa in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 83'-84); 10 perpers by Anna, the wife of Vite de Čena in 1350 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 16) and Agnes, the wife of Peter de Bochnolo in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 57-57'); and 25 perpers by Daxa, the wife of late Angelo de Licića in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 4'-5').

⁷⁶⁴ Martollus de Todisio in 1342 in Dubrovnik requested that an altar should be made and supplied further by one silver chalice, missal and other altar cloths, all for 70 perpers as the executors would deem fit (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69-69'); domina Mara, the wife of ser Dymitri Benessa in 1396 bequeathed 300 perpers for making a chalice, a missal and a *paramentum*, and other things needed for the altar (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 88-88'). However, there is also one example from Zadar in 1375, when ser Paulus, the son of Mark de Giglardo, bequeathed that the altar should be made at the chapter in the honour of saint Jerome, along with an icon, fabric for paramentum and a chalice, all for hundred ducats of gold for the testator's soul (DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 1, fol. 18-19).

⁷⁶⁵ DAZd, ZB, RM, b I, fasc. III, fol. 8'-9.

⁷⁶⁶ Testament of Regina, the daughter of late Peter de Bergamo in 1308 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 39-40), and Denssa of Peter de Marcio in 1325 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 11'-12).

⁷⁶⁷ Just to mention a few examples of prices: Nicholeta, the wife of Marino de Binčola in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 33-33') and Frana, the daughter of Noll de Volča in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 44-44') bequeathed 25 perpers; Francha, the wife of late Nicholas, the son of Trippe de Georgio in 1346 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 76-76'), Valus, the son of John de Goče in 1362 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 56'-57) and Daxa, the wife of the late Angelo de Licića in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 4'-5') bequeathed 30 perpers; Doma, daughter of ser Marin de Golla de Cathar and the wife of ser Pasque of ser Peter de Ragnina in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 308') bequeathed 40 perpers, while Martolus de Buagnolo in 1353 bequeathed 50 perpers (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 21-21').

⁷⁶⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 51-51'.

mentioned again, but in another testament, that of Rathe de Seracha, where he also bequeathed one chalice of the same value of 40 perpers, but for the soul of the mentioned Cillia de Ganullio.⁷⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the connection between Cillia and Rathe, whether it was family or friends, was not clarified from their testaments, but since the bequest of one chalice of the value of 40 perpers was the same in both testaments, it could be possible that somehow the bequest from Cillia's testament was not fulfilled and Rathe wanted to correct this mistake and fulfill this bequest in her honor for the salvation of her soul.⁷⁷⁰ However, again Zadar had an even more personal connection with families and friars, since certain families wanted to be bonded with friars for eternity through liturgical works of art, especially since Nikša, son of late Luke de Buchia from Kotor, bequeathed money for a chalice to be made and decorated with the coat of arms of his family.⁷⁷¹

Icons, mainly used in these cases as supplement items for the altars, were a focal point in churches and drew the attention of believers, holding a place of honor made for everyone to see while attending a Mass or just seeking comfort and solice in the inside of the church. The icons were bequeathed to Franciscans in several instances, and money left for it was not small, although sometimes the money was donated for several items at once, usually items that were to be used for the altar⁷⁷² and rarely the price was not written.⁷⁷³ The largest bequest for an icon was thousand perpers, which was given to friars by Andrea of Nicholas de Soneo in 1352 in Dubrovnik, and the icon was to be made for the large altar for his and his wife's soul, and also he instructed that from this friars should also perform one Mass every day.⁷⁷⁴ Since the money was split for two separate bequests, icon and masses, the value of this icon is not exactly thousand perpers, but either way, even if the bequest was split in half, it was either way going to be a valueble piece of art. Values of other icons given to Franciscans were from 30 to 300 perpers,⁷⁷⁵ in which the price of 300 perpers was given in two instances where they were to be made from silver.⁷⁷⁶

One liturgical item is also worth mentioning here – *duplerium*, which was a type of candle used during service. In Zadar the candles were bequeathed in several testaments, but their purpose was not written. James Čucho, caldararius from Zadar bequeathed to friars in 1298 one candle from

⁷⁶⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 65.

⁷⁷⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 55-55'.

⁷⁷¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 23'-24.

⁷⁷² In the testament of Desiça, filia de Stilo in 1302 in Dubrovnik the money is not given only for the icon, but also for other items: *Item dentur fr. Minoribus de Ragusa yperperos triginta de quibus ipsi fr. Minores teneantur facere fieri unam anconam et fiant? altarius et totum? aliud paramentum pro alterio beate Virginis in ecclesiam sucesorum...* (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 7).

⁷⁷³ Regina, the daughter of the late Peter de Bergamo? in 1308 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 39-40).

⁷⁷⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 20'-21.

⁷⁷⁵ 30 perpers was given by Drascho Benesevich in 1348 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 21'-24) and 100 by Lucas de Ganbe in 1358 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 39'-40) and Čane, the son of Marin de Goče in 1363 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 301).

⁷⁷⁶ In testaments of Jele, the wife of Give de Sorento in 1361 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 139-140) and Nicho de Cherpa in 1363 in Dubrovnik (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 291-291').

wax of the value of 40 solidos,⁷⁷⁷ and domina Margarita, wife of late ser Peter Blondi bequeathed in 1397 one candle worth of three pounds for her soul.⁷⁷⁸ In Dubrovnik, some testaments⁷⁷⁹ give an better insight into how these candles were used in practice. Testator Milachus in 1367 instructed the making of four candles to be given to friars and that they should be used during service when the body of Christ is elevated.⁷⁸⁰ However, that was not the only use for candle, and they were supposed to be brought to a pilgrimage site, here to Assisi (but not only there), first in 1347 of the value of 10 pounds,⁷⁸¹ and in 1371 of the value of 3 ducats.⁷⁸²

When talking about crucial liturgical items needed for friars, it would be odd not to mention liturgical books given to friars in the testaments in Dalmatia. Of course, they were in far lesser numbers than other liturgical items, and except for a couple of missals given together with items for the altar in Dubrovnik,⁷⁸³ and one in Zadar in the testament of Magdalena, the widow of Daniel de Varicassis, who gave 40 ducats (128 pounds) for one missal,⁷⁸⁴ there are not many other liturgical books given to friars. Breviary was bequeathed to in two instances in Dubrovnik: by Savinus de Bonda in 1367, who gave 400 perpers to friars under the condition that they celebrate weekly one conventual mass for his soul and make one breviary,⁷⁸⁵ and by dominus Nicholas Andreich Vechli in 1391, who gave a personal bequest for Friar Andrusco, one breviary for performing a mass, although it was not specified from where should this breviary come from or how much did it cost.⁷⁸⁶ This is not the only personal bequest given in books. In 1303 in Dubrovnik, Anna, the daughter of Stancii Suppi, donated 50 perpers for one Bible to be given to Friar Damian de Binçola, so that it can be of use to him during his life. Of course, as it was seen from other newly acquired personal items given to friars, the Bible will be passed on to the friary in Dubrovnik after the death of Friar Damian.⁷⁸⁷

8.5. Pilgrimages for Salvation of the Soul

One of the most expressive ways of displaying piety was traveling to pilgrimage sites, which were common occurrences in the Middle Ages, and inhabitants of Dalmatia were not strangers to these types of travels as well. Pilgrimage trips were performed for various reasons. There were

⁷⁷⁷ SZB II, doc. 28, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁷⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 27.

⁷⁷⁹ Not all, in one the price is only mentioned – two waxed candles for 30 perpers (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 64').

⁷⁸⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 26'-27.

⁷⁸¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 4-4'.

⁷⁸² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 63.

⁷⁸³ Testament of domina Mara, the wife of ser Dimitri Benessa in 1396 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 88-88') and of Martollus de Todisio in 1342 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 69-69').

⁷⁸⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁷⁸⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 25-25'.

⁷⁸⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 222-222'.

⁷⁸⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11.

pilgrimages which served as a penance for the absolution of sins, as a punishment for minor and severe offenses, those done out of piety and obtaining indulgence and even those which were done out of mere desire to travel. Sometimes these routes were not the safest places, and they presented a good opportunity for those with unnoble intentions to rob the pilgrims. But above all, going to pilgrimage sites was not only a way to heal the human soul in this life, but also to prepare it for life after death. Pilgrim is rightfully a part of the image of the medieval society, as much as is the knight, monk, or impoverished peasant. The pilgrim is a representation of a medieval perception of the world and society, religious mentality, and other socio-economic phenomena of the age.⁷⁸⁸ The sources of which this chapter will be based are testaments. We can differentiate two types of pilgrimage travels – those on which the testators themselves embarked on and those where the testators sent other people to fulfill after their death (substitute pilgrimage). Sometimes, although rarely, going to pilgrimage would be a reason for writing of last will, and this was done because a journey could be exhausting and sometimes perilous, and there was always a certain possibility that a person would not return home alive.⁷⁸⁹ Of course, the topic is rightfully connected with the Franciscans, either as those whose activity in the community encouraged the pilgrims to “Franciscan holy places” or those doing substitute pilgrimage.

The story revolves around questions concerning pilgrimages, first about the pilgrimage trips themselves, such as the frequency of choosing Assisi for pilgrimage and the price which was given for this purpose, especially compared to other pilgrimage sites because this is mentioned the most in our sources. As a pilgrimage site, Assisi, the burial place of St Francis, was not situated on the usual road that pilgrims and travelers would use from north-western Europe to travel to Rome, Via Francigena, but its location was near another important Roman road, the Via Flaminia, from Rome to the Adriatic. For inhabitants of Dalmatia, this route would be in their favor, making the pilgrimage site easier to reach and the whole voyage much more enjoyable. The place where the pilgrims would gravitate was not the tomb of St Francis, since it was less accessible to pilgrims, but the little church of the Porziuncola in the plain below the town, where he died in 1226.⁷⁹⁰ St. Mary of the Porziuncola was the small chapel near Assisi which was used by St. Francis and his earliest followers. The appeal of this chapel was obtaining the indulgence of Porziuncola and by 1295 the number of pilgrims was large enough and the friars serving the chapel could not deal with them. In the early 14th century it

⁷⁸⁸ Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). About pilgrimages in the Middle Ages in general from the perspective of Croatian historiography see: Zoran Ladić, “Some remarks on Medieval Croatian Pilgrimages,” *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 21 (1997) 39: 19-24. The same author also focused on the question of pilgrimages as part of bequests of Dalmatian inhabitants, Ladić, *Last Will: Passport to Heaven*, pp. 322-323; 327-329; 333; 334-335; 338-339.

⁷⁸⁹ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 39-46; generally, on the motives and types of pilgrimages, and concise on the Assisi as a pilgrimage center, see: Diane Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700 – c. 1500* (London – New York: Palgrave, 2002).

⁷⁹⁰ Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 121-122.

was stated that friars were dealing daily with cardinals, archbishops, bishops, kings, dukes, counts, etc., and as Jonathan Sumption notes, *the pilgrimage of the Porziuncola was among the most prosperous in Europe, owing its success entirely to the skillful advertisement of an indulgence*.⁷⁹¹ There is not much evidence that the indulgence, which was to be granted on the 1st of August at the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli was plenary before the 1300, but just enough to attract pilgrims before the end of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹² This appeal towards Assisi will be seen from an example of a woman who decided to go on a pilgrimage there and made her testament just soon enough to arrive in time for the feast of Porziuncola, surely planning to obtain an indulgence while being there.⁷⁹³

As was mentioned previously, Santa Maria deli Angeli contains in the middle the small church Porziuncola, which was the first church of St. Francis, and the place he died, therefore the pilgrims there include both devotion to Francis himself but also virgin Mary. Friars had an important role in spreading the cult of Mary among people of all layers, making her more familiar and accessible to every believer within a town, creating a more intimate relationship. Connection between Mary and the Order deepened after the death of Saint Clare, where her image was associated more to Mary than to her son Christ. It must be taken into consideration that there is also the church of St Clare, and there is a chance that this church was also visited by pilgrims while they were in Assisi. It is worth underlying that the Franciscans were the promoters of the cult of St Mary.⁷⁹⁴ Furthermore, there were plenty of Marian shrines which will attract the inhabitants of Dalmatia; two of the Marian shrines mentioned below concern the legend of the transmission of the *Santa casa* from the Holy Land to several places: first to Trsat in Croatia, and afterwards to Recanati and Loreto in Italy.⁷⁹⁵

The pilgrimage site in Assisi is also a part of the Marian sanctuaries considering its church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In general, Marian sanctuaries became numerous, especially after the thirteenth century with the development of Marian iconography inside churches and the making of a cult of Virgin Mary as a patron.⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, as already mentioned, giving indulgences to those who would visit Marian shrines also contributed to the increasing number of pilgrims going there. In

⁷⁹¹ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), p. 187.

⁷⁹² Diane Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London-New York: I. B. Tauris Publisher, 2001), p. 64.

⁷⁹³ Although in Dalmatia there are not many personal pilgrimage bequests or records on such pilgrimages (as opposed to substitute pilgrimages), there are examples from abroad on women pilgrims travelling to Assisi, mainly for obtaining indulgence, such as Angela de Foligno, a Franciscan tertiary, Birgitta of Sweden (Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 69-70) and Margery Kempe (same, p. 93), showing a trend of female pilgrims.

⁷⁹⁴ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p. 144.

⁷⁹⁵ Zoran Ladić – Ivan Šutić, “Female Pilgrimages as a Testimony of the Improvement of the Social Position of Women in Istrian and Dalmatian Communes in the Medieval and Renaissance Period,” in *Social and Individual Spatial Mobility in Late Medieval and Renaissance Croatia in European Context*, ed. by Sabine Florence Fabijanec – Zrinka Novak – Zoran Ladić (Zagreb: HAZU, 2022), p. 69.

⁷⁹⁶ For further on connection with Virgin Mary and Friars, especially in Italy, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 197-200.

addition, it is believed that in 1221, pope Honorius III approved the request of St Francis and gave indulgence to all those who visit the church in Assisi, and after his death, giving indulgence was fixed on specific dates, 1st and 2nd of August, when the feast was celebrated.⁷⁹⁷

8.5.1. Pilgrimage to Assisi from Zadar

Mary, the wife of John of Nicholas de Nassis from Zadar wrote her testament in the year 1400 before her departure to Assisi (*intendens sancti Francisci de Assisio causa deuotionis ecclesiam uisitare*).⁷⁹⁸ This example is interesting since she intended to go on a pilgrimage herself and did not designate a substitute, and she chose Assisi instead of generally more popular pilgrimage site as Rome (excluding Santiago and Jerusalem due to its distance and potential perils). Furthermore, she wrote her testament in the year 1400, which is a Jubilee year, and even the date is interesting, 10th of July, and it is possible that she was planning to depart soon to arrive just in time for the Porziuncola feast in the beginning of August.⁷⁹⁹ Her connection with the friars can be visible also through the bequests she gave to Franciscans and Poor Clares and that the executor of her will was Friar Jerome of Split, who was the guardian of the friary in Zadar. Mary wrote previously another testament in 1392,⁸⁰⁰ when she composed it due to her fear of plague. In this testament her preference of the Franciscan Order is also evident. The executor of her will was then Friar Nicholas of Split, who was at that time the guardian of the friary of St Francis in Zadar and her personal confessor. Although her bequests are not solely directed towards Franciscans, since she also bequeaths the convent of St Mary and convent of St Nicholas, but the sum of bequests designated to the friary of St Francis in Zadar and personally to Friar Nicholas largely exceeds others. She even choses the friary of St Francis in Zadar as her burial place, which is the highest form of preference one testator can have towards a certain religious order. Mary is one of rare examples of testators going on pilgrimage trips personally and especially going to Assisi (taking in consideration that testators from Zadar would rather depart on pilgrimage to Rome or Santiago de Compostela⁸⁰¹). Perhaps it should also be taken into consideration

⁷⁹⁷ *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010.), p. 30, sub voce: *Assisi*.

⁷⁹⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 34. We also have the name of her father, but not from her first testament, written in 1392: *domina Maria uxor ser Iohannis filii condam ser Nicolai de Nassis et filia condam ser Petri de Pedreto, nobilis ciuis Jadre* (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25).

⁷⁹⁹ Ladić, *Last Will*, p. 96, note 269. For more on Jubilee, see: Ljudevit Anton Maračić, *Jubileji: 1300. – 2000.* [Jubilees: 1300-2000] (Zagreb: Glas koncila, 2000.).

⁸⁰⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 25.

⁸⁰¹ Examples of some of them: Buda, the wife of late Mildrug Musinić from Pag (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 16), Marica, the wife of Krešul Lončić and the daughter of late Ivan Drusinić, (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 33), George of late Vitus de Zadulinis (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 72-73.), John of late German (DAZd, ZB, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 1), Radica, the daughter of late Hlapac from Trogir (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 35), and John Jurmanić (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 38), which would travel to Rome, and chest-maker George of late Ratko (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 85'-86') and shoemaker Emerik of late Sincich de Dubica (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 34), which would travel to Santiago de Compostela.

that Mary was a woman who was quite aware of the perils of a female pilgrim, but she still persisted to depart on this pilgrimage trip in person. Although female pilgrims faced more danger on their voyages and female personal pilgrimages were in general rare occurrence, for some this was not enough to derail them from this quest, even if it meant that they might not return. For Assisi this peril was unlikely, but for other distant places, such as Jerusalem, it was a high possibility.⁸⁰²

Except for personal pilgrimages in Assisi, testators would usually designate another person to perform a substitute pilgrimage instead of them. Usually there are more destinations for these substitute pilgrimages. In one example from Zadar, the testator gave a bequest for multiple pilgrimages, in this case for five different sites. Nadalin of the late Vitus de Zadulinis in his testament determined that five people should go to different pilgrimages places: one in Assisi, one in Jerusalem, one in Santiago de Compostela, one in the Basilica of St Peter in Rome and one in the church of St Nicholas in Bari. For this bequest he bequeathed all together 400 perpers which should be distributed by his executors up to two years after his death, but it did not mean that this sum of money was all for these pilgrimage trips, but from this sum his executors should acquire an adequate monetary compensation for these five trips.⁸⁰³

Although it is rarely noted who will perform substitute pilgrimage, one example connects Franciscans and Assisi from two aspects. Usually in testaments there are a few examples of exactly naming the person who would perform a substitute pilgrimage, with only writing *vnus homo*, or sometimes emphasizing that this person should be of good character. However, in the testament of an inhabitant of Zadar, Buda, a widow of late Mildrug Mužinić from the island of Pag, it is written that Radoslava, the member of the Third Order of Francis, sister of the Dominican Friar Marc, should go to pilgrimage to Assisi. It seems that Radoslava had already intended to travel to Assisi, and Buda additionally helped her out financially. This case confirms that the connection with Assisi was not only through the testators' connection to the Franciscans, but also through the connection to the members of the lay Third Order of Francis.⁸⁰⁴

There are not many examples of pilgrimages from Zadar to Assisi, but these few testaments are a confirmation that Assisi was a route where women would gravitate towards while choosing their destination, especially when wanting to obtain indulgence. Buda's testament was written just in time for the Porziuncola indulgence, showing that the feast was also important to certain inhabitants from Zadar. This connection of women with the Franciscan Order and with the pilgrimage site in Assisi

⁸⁰² For more on female pilgrims, see: Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009). Craig divided types of female pilgrimages into four categories: miraculous, devotional, compulsory and non-corporal.

⁸⁰³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 77'-78'.

⁸⁰⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 16.

will be further discussed in the examples from Dubrovnik, where there are much more of examples involving women than men testators.

8.5.2. Pilgrimage to Assisi from Dubrovnik

The abundance of the notarial documents preserved for the city commune of Dubrovnik enables more detailed insights into the pilgrimage paths from Dubrovnik to Assisi and the testators' personal preferences and spiritual connections with the Franciscan Order. It is possible to answer here some general questions, such as: Did the inhabitants of Dubrovnik go to personal pilgrimage to Assisi or use a system of a substitute pilgrim? What was the price for going to Assisi and how did it relate to the prices given by testators for other sites? Besides these general questions, it is possible to go further into the spiritual life of testators, their preference of friars and their reasons for making such bequests in their testaments. Franciscan influence on the pilgrimage trips to Assisi can be seen by a closer examination of the individual testaments and testators themselves by looking at their other bequests which might show their preference towards the Franciscan Order.

While looking at testaments in Dubrovnik at most basic level, it is visible that there were no personal pilgrimages, only substitute ones, contrary to Zadar, where there is one example of a women writing a testament for that sole purpose. When employing a substitute person, who did the testator designate for this service? As it was usual practice in general, in Dubrovnik the substitute pilgrimage was performed by either a "normal" person or in some cases, a priest. In the case of a lay person, sometimes it was emphasized that this *homo* had to be of good character, that is, a good person,⁸⁰⁵ but this phrase in general is very common in testaments. In certain cases, the emphasis was more on the actual act of going on a pilgrimage trip than who will be performing it, and therefore, the name or even a type of person who would be a substitute pilgrim was not specified in the testament. Testators probably trusted their executors to make such a decision and choose the right person for the pilgrimage and knowing that the testators put their trust in the executors with all their worldly possessions, pilgrimages were just a small part of this, *the path to Heaven*, as Ladić puts it in his monography.

However, they were not the only ones which would be designated to go to Assisi and bequeathed a sum of money for this purpose. In the testament of ser Matthew of Vito de Georgio in 1393, the testator left a bequest of six perpers to a poor pilgrim that would go to Rome and to St

⁸⁰⁵ The phrase *bonus homo* or *bona persona* was used in testaments of: Frana, the daughter of Noll de Volča in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 44-44') and other Frana, the daughter of Bole de Boleo in 1358 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 24'-25).

Francis in Assisi. This is interesting since for other pilgrimage routes, as St Nicholas de Bari and Sancto Angelo de Monte, the person designated to perform the pilgrimage was not a poor man, but a priest. Therefore, it is significant that Matthew wanted a poor person to go to Rome and Assisi.⁸⁰⁶ Maybe he wanted to sponsor pious poor people who otherwise could not afford such a journey for themselves, but it could also be emphasizing further the ideal of the Franciscan Order and this spiritual journey, even if it was also to Rome and not only to Assisi.

It may seem at first glance that some testators preferred either a lay person or an ecclesiastical person for their substitute pilgrimages, but upon further observation, it may not have been so simple. In certain cases, there were two types of people going on a pilgrimage in the same testaments, lay and clergy, the only difference was the place where they were supposed to go. Was there a certain reasoning why a priest would go to a certain pilgrimage site and a lay person to another and which of these two would go to pilgrimage in Assisi. In the testament of Tamara, the wife of Vito de Georgio in 1351, Assisi is the only place where a lay person should go to, all the other pilgrimages were saved for presbyters: the pilgrimage to Sancto Angelo de Monte, St Nicholas in Bari, St Sepulcher, Santiago de Compostela, and St Peter.⁸⁰⁷ In the second testament, that of Marin of Savini de Bonda in 1352, a lay person was again destined to go to Assisi, as it was for Rome, while one priest was to go to Sancto Angelo de Monte and St Nicholas de Bari.⁸⁰⁸ On the contrary, in the testament of Foscassa, the wife of Marino in 1348, one priest was supposed to go on a pilgrimage to Assisi, while one person was to go to Sancto Angelo de Monte and St Nicholas de Bari.⁸⁰⁹ Why did the testators make a distinction between pilgrimage places and how did they decide who will go where, it is difficult to say, it may have been a preference of each testator or their executors. All the testaments from 1348 were written for a specific reason – the fear of Black Death which resulted in a larger number of testaments and furthermore, to more bequests to ecclesiastical institutions in general.⁸¹⁰

Speaking of people going to voyage to a pilgrimage site in Assisi, there were several cases in Dubrovnik where numerous people needed to perform it, not only one person per place. In the testament of Sama, the wife of Nicholas de Lucari in 1348, instructed that two priests should go to Assisi for 30 perpers, along with two to Rome for 50 perpers, and two to Sancto Angelo for 12

⁸⁰⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 185-186'.

⁸⁰⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 19.

⁸⁰⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 36-37.

⁸⁰⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 78.

⁸¹⁰ On Black Death in Dubrovnik see: Gordan Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja: Crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348-1349* [Time of Dying: Black Death in Dubrovnik 1348-1349] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010). However, speaking about bequests, Ravančić concluded that actually the Dominicans were bequeathed more than the Franciscans during the Black Death in 1348-49 in Dubrovnik (Gordan Ravančić, "Crkvene institucije u dubrovačkim oporukama s kraja 13. i prve polovice 14. stoljeća" [Ecclesiastical institutions in the testaments of Dubrovnik from the end of the 13th to the first half of the 14th century], *Croatia Christiana Periodica* 40 (2016) 78: 61-62).

perpers.⁸¹¹ In some cases there was a distinction between some pilgrimage places, meaning some would require one person, while others two. In the testament of Dobra de Retorcha, the daughter of Jame and the wife of Matt, son of Marin de Goni, two pilgrims were supposed to go to Rome, two to Assisi and two to Sancto Angelo de Monte Gargano, while only one pilgrim should go to St Jacob in Galitia, and one priest at St Mary in Ulcinj.⁸¹² Sometimes the pilgrims needed to go on a journey to several places, which was the case in 1363, when two people were instructed to go to Sancto Angelo, St Nicholas in Bari and to Assisi.⁸¹³ The largest number of people who were sent to Assisi were four, in the testament of Frana, the wife of Miche de Bona in 1363. Assisi was not the only pilgrimage site destined for journey and the same bequest was made for Rome, Sancto Angelo de Monte and St Nicholas de Bari.⁸¹⁴

Another issue to discuss further is what was the price of pilgrimage from Dubrovnik to Assisi, and how did it relate to the prices for other pilgrimages sites. Of course, as always, there were some testaments which did not have a price written for the pilgrimage,⁸¹⁵ so the executors would probably decide how much would be appropriate. The prices for the pilgrimage in Assisi ranged from two⁸¹⁶ to thirty perpers,⁸¹⁷ even three ducats of gold.⁸¹⁸ The average prices given to go to Assisi were 15 and 10 perpers per person. However, the sum of money is better observed according to prices for other pilgrimage sites, and not as individual prices. It seems that the pilgrimage from Dubrovnik to Assisi in the 14th century was following the same pattern as it was in previous cases, making it “number two” most expensive pilgrimage site, besides the most distant places as Santiago de Compostela or Jerusalem. The best solution is to compare the price for Assisi with Rome, since they are both in Italy

⁸¹¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 51-51'.

⁸¹² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 62-62'.

⁸¹³ Testament of Bielça, the wife of Angelo di Maxi in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 271).

⁸¹⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 141-141'.

⁸¹⁵ In testaments of Agrappa, the daughter of late Georgio de Catharinis and the wife of late Dobro de Baraba de Antibaro in 1342 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 71-71'); Dobra, the wife of late Hellia the merchant in 1343 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 78-78'); Pascha Marcoli de Sesa in 1360 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 57-57'); Frana, the wife of Micha de Bona in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 141-141'); Gradina, the daughter of Toma Dobracivich de Čuppani in 1360 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 178'); Domana of Peter Istriča in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 236'-237'); Bielçe, the wife of Angelo di Maxi in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 271); Mathe de Resti in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 278-278'); Matheo, the son of ser Nicholiça de Martinus in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 297); Givcho, the son of Nicholas de Saracha (1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 300); Michel de Mlastagna in 1368 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 307'-308); Milachus in 1367 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 26'-27'); Dobra de Retorcha/Retorkvia, the daughter of Jacobus, the wife of Mathe, the son of Marin de Goni in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 62-62'); late Rose, the wife of late ser Francis notary and cancelarius of the commune of Dubrovnik in 1382 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 40-40'); Slava, the wife of late Helio de Binçola in 1386 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 101-102); domnus John Milosevich de Zupana in 1391 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 4'-5'); Dechussa, the wife of late Bencho, the son of Stiepecho de Slischo (1401 DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 280');

⁸¹⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 165.

⁸¹⁷ Testaments of Dobra, the wife of Bochde de Bochdanelo in 1367 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 22-22'); Franussa, the wife of James de Sorgo in 1373 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 107'); Anna, the wife of late Martinussio de Proculo in 1380 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 5'-6).

⁸¹⁸ Radoslava, the wife of Perfchi, the salt miner originating from the island of Korčula in 1368 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 35'-36).

and the distance is similar, while other sites are either too far away or not as famous as these two. When compared to Rome, Assisi is usually less expensive, mostly several perpers apart, but sometimes almost double. For instance, if the price for pilgrimage to Assisi was 12 perpers, the price for pilgrimage to Rome would usually be 20 perpers,⁸¹⁹ but this ratio was not a rule, meaning sometimes the price for pilgrimage to Rome could also be 16 perpers,⁸²⁰ or substantially more, that is, 30 perpers.⁸²¹ Usually other, smaller pilgrimage sites, such as Sancto Angelo de Monte and St Nicholas de Bari, would have smaller price than Assisi, which is not a wonder, since they were not as famous as Assisi or Rome, and for Santiago de Compostela, or Jerusalem, the pilgrims would need a substantial amount of money due to its greater distance.

After looking at the pilgrimage itself as a form of preference towards the Franciscan Order, the focus will now be switched to the testators themselves, who they were and did a bequest for pilgrimage to Assisi have a deeper meaning for them. Considering the gender of the testators, in Dubrovnik, the usual distribution of gender in testaments, at least in the case of pilgrimages to Assisi, does not follow the rule of fifty-fifty, or only slight advantage of female testators. In the matter of pilgrimages to Assisi, female testators from Dubrovnik are in a much bigger advantage, since their testaments are more than double of number of male testators.

For some testators, Assisi was the only place where they intended to send pilgrims. Some of the testators giving bequests only to Assisi belonged to the social strata of Dubrovnik's artisans. Such was Radula, the daughter of Vlachota the shoemaker, who otherwise did not leave much to the Franciscan Order, besides 20 perpers for pilgrimage to Assisi. She bequeathed 5 perpers for masses, but the same was intended for the Dominicans as well, and 3 perpers for St Mary Maior,⁸²² but still, she distributed the money according to her means, and 20 perpers for pilgrimage to Assisi was a decent price in general. Radoslava, the wife of Perfchi, salt miner from Korčula, had a closer relationship with the Franciscan Order than Radula. She was the one who bequeathed three ducats for the pilgrimage to Assisi, but her personal connection was through the Friar Dessa, the bishop of Mrkanj, who was her confessor and who was supposed to decide who should be the person for this journey, and Friar Dessa also received one piece of linen from her.⁸²³ Another women from this social group showed a preference towards Franciscans, and that was Duia, an innkeeper in Dubrovnik. Her

⁸¹⁹ Testaments of Frana, the daughter of Bole de Boleo in 1358 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 24'-25); Frana, the daughter of Noll de Volča in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 44-44'); Doma, the daughter of ser Marin de Golla de Cathar, and the wife of ser Pasque of ser Peter de Ragnina in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 308'), who also made another testament in 1373 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 112'-113).

⁸²⁰ 16 perpers for Rome in the testament of Franica, the wife of Ivce de Caloa in 1348 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 70'-71).

⁸²¹ 30 perpers for Rome in the testament of Thadeus de Thudiso in 1363 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 276'-277).

⁸²² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 177'.

⁸²³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 35'-36.

bequests may not have cost a lot (2 perpers for pilgrimage and singing masses), but the Franciscans were the only religious order which she preferred and deemed fit to leave her possessions, even though she did not possess much.⁸²⁴ Another person who exclusively bequeathed to Franciscans in her testament was Gradina, the daughter of Tom Dobracivich de Župana, who besides a bequest to pilgrimage to Assisi, gave another to friars in Dubrovnik for masses, and items for friars in Ston.⁸²⁵ In these types of testaments where testators had a bequest only for pilgrimage to Assisi, a distribution of gender goes even further in the favor of female testators, meaning, from 13 testators, 10 of them were female, which only strengthens the observation that female testators were more pious in the matters of spiritual devotion towards pilgrim sites.

There is also one example of a woman going on a pilgrimage in person, but it is not to Assisi, but to Holy Land. A woman named Maruša from Dubrovnik went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, unfortunately, died on a ship on her return home. This case is also interesting since she wrote her testament and inventory there and this gives an insight into female pilgrimage trips to the Holy Land and how the actual voyages were conducted, especially in these distant lands.⁸²⁶

The preference for Franciscans in Dubrovnik would sometimes be visible through family connections. There are two testaments from spouses, who wrote their testaments in the same year, 1363, half a year apart. Franussa, the wife of Matheo de Martinusso, bequeathed 15 perpers for the pilgrimage to Assisi, while her husband Matheo, the son of Nicholica, did not write the price for it, only that it should be conducted. Both gave a bequest for masses to Franciscans, while Franussa added money for friars in Ston, 10 perpers for their church. Matheo, on the other hand, decided to spend the same amount of money on something, or someone else, that is, for Friar Andrew Tolan, and showed that beyond a general preference towards Franciscans, he had a personal connection as well.⁸²⁷

Dubrovnik had many more examples of pilgrimages to Assisi and in the testaments the testators made a difference between a cleric, or a lay person used as a substitute pilgrim. The connection between women and Franciscan devotion through pilgrimage trips to Assisi was heartedly visible in Dubrovnik, where women had double of the numbers of pilgrimage bequests than men, and for some of these women Assisi would be the only destination chosen for a pilgrimage trip. Furthermore, Assisi was especially popular among the layer of artisans in Dubrovnik and this connection should be further examined in the future.

⁸²⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 165.

⁸²⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 178'.

⁸²⁶ Nella Lonza, "Ego fui per omnia loca sancta: Maruša of Dubrovnik and Her Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1394," *Dubrovnik annals* 23 (2019): 37-63.

⁸²⁷ Testament of Franussa (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 279'-280); testament of Matheo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 297).

9. FROM THE HIGHEST TO THE LOWEST ECHELON OF THE SOCIETY SUPPORTING THE FRANCISCANS

Although one of the characteristics of the Franciscan Order was that all the layers of society were favorable towards them, from the highest to the lowest, not all layers can be examined with the same certainty, since for people from the lower class there is, unfortunately, not much evidence to prove their preference. Therefore, most of the arguments about the preference given to Franciscan friars in Dalmatia are derived from the examples of the higher social strata. The highest layer that can be discussed is the royal family, especially the Angevins. The Franciscan order in general enjoyed a special devotion from the Angevins, and this preference was visible also in Dalmatia. The place with great significance for Angevins in Dalmatia was Zadar and their support for Franciscans can be seen through the artwork which was preserved in the friary and helped with the spread of the cult of their family saint, Louis of Toulouse. Louis I started this trend, but it was his wife, Elisabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, who commissioned it and even potentially inspired similar artwork within the Franciscan Order. Furthermore, Elisabeth (and Louis I) did not only support Franciscans with artwork, but also through the agency and connections between royal knights and friars from Zadar.

Individuals who performed the services of the procurators were members of the city elite, and in general, I will present their cases to observe what did this service require and in which cases the friars of Dalmatia needed procurators. Furthermore, besides the service itself and occasions for which procurators for friars were required, some individual procurators will be singled out and discussed whether their taking up this service for friars implied a stronger and deeper connection than just “doing their job”. Since most of them belonged to the prominent noble families of Dalmatia, this is more of a statement than a question to be posed.

Franciscans in Dalmatia could not flourish and gain so much influence and embed themselves in almost every aspect of people’s lives in each city commune without noble families and their support. Of course, it was not only the noble families that aided the friars to succeed, but with them it is easier to trace family connections at least to a certain degree. How can it be measured or decided to single out one family above the other and what could be the criteria for this representation of “Franciscans’ biggest fans”? What could make a family a supporter and a friend of friars? Since this will be problematic and certainly to some extent subjective, the best approach was to make a list of “desirable qualities” which families could possess, and the more one family had these “qualities”, the more it could be considered inclined towards friars in Dalmatia. Of course, not every “quality” is equally valued. These “qualities” will be divided into several categories. First, did a certain family have a member of a family who was a Franciscan friar? Secondly, did the family help with the foundation or building of the friary, church or any adjacent building belonging to friars? Third, did

the family give friars excessive amounts of money in whichever purpose was needed at the time? Fourth, and last, at the end of the day, and their life, did the family member choose their resting place with friars. According to these four categories, there will be a selection of certain noble families from Dalmatia which fit most or all of them, and it will be explained why they were considered as supporters and friends of the Franciscan Order. The families presented here will be according to the geographical position, going from the direction of north to south, in this case, first Bribir, then Zadar and the latest Dubrovnik. Although these four families, the Šubići, de Grisogonis, de Mençe and de Sorgo were singled out, it does not mean that other families were not connected with the Franciscan Order, and therefore, there will be one subsection in this chapter where other noble families and their members are noted, alongside with several individuals which originate from the artisan layer of the society.

Although here the discussion is about nobility and their support of friars in Dalmatia, it does not mean that they were the only layer of society which supported the Franciscans. However, when needed, there will be some examples of types or individual inhabitants who did not belong to prominent noble families from Dalmatia, meaning they were from different social layers, but their preferences towards the Franciscans were still noteworthy – the layer of artisans.

9.1. The royal families of Anjou and Kotromanić and their circle in Dalmatia

In the following, the story about Franciscans in Dalmatia is connected with the three royal figures representing two royal houses, covering the vast territory of Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and Bosnia as well. These individuals were Louis I, Elisabeth Kotromanić and Stephen Kotromanić. In general, Louis' devotion towards the Franciscan order was no secret, from establishing friaries to family members belonging to the Franciscan order. This devotion to the Franciscan Order stemmed from the influence of his mother, Elisabeth of Poland, and they both founded numerous convents, first those belonging to the Pauline order, then those to the Franciscan Order, which exerted influence on royal policy. From around 20 Franciscan friaries founded during Louis' reign, half of them were done by Louis and his mother Elisabeth. Furthermore, he employed Franciscan friars for his missions in Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria.⁸²⁸ These individuals were not connected with Dalmatian Franciscans

⁸²⁸ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895 – 1526* (London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 170-171; Enikő Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon II. I. (Nagy) Lajos és Mária uralma (1342–1395)* [The Angevins in Hungary under the reign of Louis I (the Great) and Mary II (1342-1395)], (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont – Történettudományi Intézet, 2019), p. 108. In the book of Enikő Csukovits, there is a section dealing the Louis' relationship and connection with the Dalmatian cities, and the events which marked his agency there (Siege of Zadar, Treaty of Zadar) and his rule afterwards and the impact that his reign had on the territory. In the end of this section, the authors conclude with his relationship and campaigns against Venice (pp. 59-71).

stricto sensu because he chose individuals for these missions who were members of the Hungarian clergy.

Antun Nekić quotes one instance from the text of the *Chronicon Dubnicense* where King Louis, when wounded during the siege of Aversa, talking to Stephen Lackfi he proclaimed that his soul is in the hands of the Franciscan friars, and that if he dies, he wishes to be buried in Esztergom in the Franciscan church of Blessed Virgin, next to the tomb of King Béla.⁸²⁹ Therefore, choosing the sacristy of the friary of St Francis in Zadar as a place for signing the Treaty of Zadar in 1358 was by no means a coincidence or chance. Louis I wanted to choose a place that had a spiritual bond and piety. Marijana Kovačević shed light on his choice and connected it with his father's uncle, St Louis of Toulouse, and the spreading of his cult. It is worth underlying that Louis of Toulouse, a family saint of the Neapolitan Angevins, represented the archaic early medieval sacral ruler type of a saint, who by leaving the worldly goods and royal power behind, in fact, resembled St Francis, at least in the act of renunciation of worldly goods. In general, Louis of Toulouse came into contact with the Spiritual Franciscans during his years of captivity at the court of Alfonso of Aragon, although his parents were significantly influenced by the Franciscan Order as well. After renouncing his claim to the throne in 1296, he was appointed bishop of Toulouse and shortly afterwards, he entered the Franciscan Order, making himself a symbol of religious aspirations of the dynasty Anjou of Naples. After his untimely death at only 23 years old, his canonization process was swiftly processed by the agency of his father Charles II and his brother Robert (the Wise) and proclaimed by Pope John XXII, who knew Louis as the bishop personally. The goal was to establish that Louis descended from saints from both sides of his family – his father is the nephew of St Louis, and his mother comes from the family of Holy Kings of Hungary: St Stephen, St Emeric and St Ladislav. Early 14th century was just the right time to promote the cult of Louis of Toulouse with the flourishing of artistic depictions, which was conducted by the Angevins of Naples as patrons by commissioning works of art by many prominent artists.⁸³⁰

But, to get back to friary of Zadar. In one document from 1384 it was written that the chapter of the friary is also called the chapel of St Louis and that is why Louis chose the friary in Zadar for the signing of the treaty, since it honored his heavenly protector even before the signing. By doing

⁸²⁹ Antun Nekić, “*de adventu maiestatis sue... magnam habent letitiam*: analiza dolazaka anžuvinskih vladara u Slavoniju, Hrvatsku i Dalmaciju” [*de adventu maiestatis sue... magnam habent letitiam*: the arrival of Angevin rulers in Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia], in *Zadarski mir: prekretnica Anžuvinskog doba*, ed. by Mladen Ančić – Antun Nekić (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2022), pp. 206-207.

⁸³⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 304-307. The survival of the cult of St Louis of Toulouse in the 15th century is confirmed by four panel paintings from Northern Hungary, where he is depicted paired with other saints. For more on the subject, see: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “A Foreigner in Hungary: The Cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom,” *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini*, ed. by Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Periccioli Saggese and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2017), pp. 285-295.

this, Louis strengthened the spread of the cult of St Louis of Toulouse among the friars. The presence of St Louis of Toulouse in the friary of Zadar is not only in the name of the chapel, but also physically in material objects. The image of St Louis is carved on one side of the choir seats. These choir seats are considered to be the oldest artistic depiction of St Louis in Croatian lands. The saint is depicted wearing a long miter on his head, the aureola around his head, dressed in the Franciscan habit and with a luxurious bishop's cape ornated with lily flowers.⁸³¹ Speaking about these choir seats, they consisted of total 46 seats in two rows, and are located in front of the main and two side altars.⁸³² It is interesting that besides the material evidence, there is also a written trace of them in two documents. The first document was printed by Donat Fabijanić in his second volume of the *Historia dei frati minori in Dalmazia e Bossina*, but he did not quote from where he extracted this, so it is not clear how he came across this information. However, the original receipt from the master John was from the registry of the notary Vannes of the late Bernard of Firmo.⁸³³

The choir seats themselves were the work of John of James de Borgo San Sepulcro from Venice, they originate from 1394, and were commissioned by Friar Benedict, the guardian of the friary of St Francis in Zadar, who paid 456 ducats for this work. In the second document, George de Matafaris bequeathed 200 ducats for their building, therefore covering at least partial costs. Furthermore, it seems that woodcarver while finishing his work, made additions, such as seats and lecterns, which were not originally negotiated, and this meant that friars had to pay him 55 ducats more. This debt was collected in 1395 by the woodcarver's brother James.⁸³⁴ Besides the depiction of St Louis of Toulouse, on the north side railing is a depiction of St Chrysogonus on a horse, and under his is a depiction of the Friar Benedict, and on the south railing is a depiction of the stigmata of St Francis. It is interesting that in the honor of George de Matafaris, there is a coat of arms of his family, showing that his monetary contribution was very much appreciated, although it was "only" the half of the sum needed for its construction.⁸³⁵

⁸³¹ Marijana Kovačević, "O ikonografiji sv. Ljudevita Tuluškog u umjetnosti anžuvinskog doba u Zadru" [About the iconography of saint Louis of Toulouse in the art of the Angevin period in Zadar], in *Zadarski mir: prekretnica Anžuvinskog doba*, pp. 380-381; Marijana Kovačević, "Ophodni križ – još jedan anžuvinski ex voto u Zadru?" [Processional cross – another Angevin ex voto in Zadar?], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 31/2007: 38.

⁸³² Hilje, *Gotičko slikarstvo*, pp. 15-16; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," pp. 49-50.

⁸³³ Fabijanić, *Storia dei frati minori*, vol. 2, p. 11, 50-51; Ivo Petricioli, "Bilješke uz korska sjedala franjevačke crkve u Zadru," *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti i arheologiju* 2 (1957) 1: 163. Petricioli gave the whole text of the original receipt of master John (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. 13, fol. 200); Ivo Petricioli, "O važnijim umjetninama u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru" [About the Most Important Artwork in the Franciscan friary in Zadar], in: *Samostan sv. Frane u Zadru*, pp. 112-113.

⁸³⁴ Petricioli, "O važnijim umjetninama u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru," p. 113.

⁸³⁵ Petricioli, "Bilješke uz korska sjedala," pp. 161-162; Petricioli, *Zlato i srebro Zadra*, p. 14; Hilje, *Gotičko slikarstvo*, pp. 15-16; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," pp. 49-50; "Inventar pokretnih predmeta i umjetnina sv. Frane u Zadru," p. 157; Petricioli, "O važnijim umjetninama u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru," p. 113.



Depiction of St Louis of Toulouse (left) and Friar Benedict (right) on the choir seats in the church of St Francis in Zadar
(taken from Marijana Kovačević, “Ophodni križ,” p. 38)

There is another object from the friary of St Francis in Zadar that can relate not only to St Louis of Toulouse, but also to King Louis I of Anjou and his wife Elizabeth Kotromanić. This other object with, among others, a depiction of St Louis of Toulouse is a processional silver enameled cross. The cross has a length of 56 and the width of 31 centimeters and has a gothic silhouette, and it rises on a copper mounting sleeve with an accentuated larger apple decorated with concentric rows of geometric ornaments. The story about the cross has a contemporary epilogue; it was stolen from the friary in 1974. The cross was found in the Italian town, La Spezia, and identified by Prof. Donal Cooper, who, on the basis of the extensive research done by late Marijana Kovačević, recognized the cross in the city museum. Furthermore, there were other artworks retrieved and returned alongside with the cross, which were all probably stolen at the same time: two gilded silver chalices from the 13th and 15th century, certain reliquary, the leaves of the incunables, a significant number of cutout initials from the chorales and the painting of St Joseph by unknown Venetian master and after being lost for several decades, it was returned to friary recently, in 2023.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁶ Ana Mišković, “Repatrijacija ili povratak ukradenog križa u domovinu” [The repatriation or the return of the stolen cross to homeland], in *Ars Adriatica* 13 (2023): 385-389.



Obverse side of the processional cross from the monastery of St Francis in Zadar
(taken from Marijana Kovačević, "Ophodni križ," p. 30)

The middle tiles of the cross are enameled compositions of the Crucifixion on obverse and *Imago pietatis* on reverse, while on others there are depictions of individual saints, most of them in full height. The saints are mostly Franciscan, first female saints. In the rectangular tiles on the pillar of the cross there is St Clare above the Crucifixion, and below the Crucifixion, below the tile that is now lost, there is St Elizabeth. In the pentagons, at the ends of the arms of the cross, on the top there is a depiction of St Michael piercing the dragon, on the bottom is St Francis while kneeling, depicted while receiving his stigmata.



Reverse side of the processional cross from the monastery of St Francis in Zadar
(taken from Marijana Kovačević, "Ophodni križ," p. 32)

On the left arm of the obverse of the cross there is a depiction of St Anthony of Padua, and on the right arm there is St Louis of Toulouse. On the tile of St Louis there is a small figure of a female donor kneeling, who has long dress with the long cover for her head or long loose hair with her hand places in a prayer position raised towards the saint. Marijana Kovačević had concluded that this donor is Elisabeth Kotromanić, the wife of King Louis I of Anjou, and the daughter of Ban Stephen of Bosnia, which would not be so surprising, since besides St Michael, at this part of the cross all these saints belong to the Franciscan order and the donor should be a person who is deeply and spiritually involved with the Franciscan order.⁸³⁷ And furthermore, she is paired with St Louis of Toulouse, who was the ancestor of her husband Louis and their Angevin saint protector, and furthermore, nearby is a depiction of St Elisabeth of Hungary, who was among the ancestors of Louis.

⁸³⁷ Petricioli, "O važnijim umjetninama u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru," p. 111; Kovačević, "Ophodni križ – još jedan anžuvinski ex voto u Zadru?," pp. 29-31; Kovačević, "O ikonografiji sv. Ljudevita Tuluškog," pp- 382-383.



St Louis of Toulouse and the female donor, right arm of the obverse of the processional cross from the monastery of St Francis in Zadar

(taken from Marijana Kovačević, “Ophodni križ,” p. 31)

Elisabeth also commissioned the making of the famous Chest of St Simeon,⁸³⁸ and since the chest was done by the master goldsmith Francis of Milano, Kovačević assumed, also according to similarities with his other works, that the same master could have prepared this processional cross, too. Furthermore, both objects show a connection between the Angevin dynasty and the spread of the cult of St Louis of Toulouse in Dalmatia, and these are not the only depictions of the saint on liturgical objects located in the Franciscan friary. Besides these two objects, Louis is also depicted on the polyptych painted in the 15th century by brothers Bartholomeo and Antonio Vivarini, which is located at the main altar of the church of the friary of St Euphemia in Kapor in Rab.⁸³⁹

Elisabeth's devotion to the Franciscans in Dalmatia was not only shown by her promoting an Angevin “family” saint, but she also supported friars from Zadar and nearby territory in a more practical manner and through her supporters and friends from the social layer of the nobility in Zadar. Branka Grbavac connected the foundation and bequeathing the friars of the Bosnian Vicariate with royal knights from the Dalmatian communes, especially people who are in the trusted circle of the Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia. All these connections – King Louis, Queen Elisabeth, and friars – are combined in one person that is the royal knight Francis de Georgiis. As a member of a prominent patrician family from Zadar, he was the supporter of the Angevin rule and was an emissary

⁸³⁸ There were many works written on the chest of St Simeon and for further details on the subjects, see: Ivo Petricioli, *Škrinja Sv. Šimuna u Zadru* [The Chest of Saint Simon in Zadar], (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost i Grafički zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb; Otokar Keršovani, Opatija; Mladost, Zagreb; Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Zagreb; Sveučilišna naklada "Liber", 1983); Emil Hilje, “Prilog o zlataru Francescu iz Milana” [A Contribution about the Goldsmith Francesco from Milano], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 23 (1999): 47-56; Ana Munk, “Kraljica i njezina škrinja. Lik ugarske kraljice Elizabete, rođene Kotromanić (oko 1340.-1387.), u historiografiji i na škrinji svetoga Šimuna u Zadru” [The Queen and her Chest. The image of the Hungarian queen Elisabeth born Kotromanić (around 1340-1387)], in *Žene u Hrvatskoj, ženska i kulturna povijest*, ed. by Andrea Feldman (Zagreb: Institut “Vlado Gotovac” et al., 2004), pp. 77-104.

⁸³⁹ Kovačević, “O ikonografiji sv. Ljudevita Tuluškog,” p. 379.

of the commune of Zadar to King Louis I in 1345 during the rebellion against Venice, and in 1346 he was among Zaratín noblemen who were participating in the solemn reception of King Louis in Zemunik. In 1348, Francis is noted as *miles*, so he was probably knighted in the period from 1346 to 1348. Francis, above many services he performed, was also in charge of escorting Queen Elizabeth to Hungary after her stay in Zadar was abrupted. Furthermore, the queen entrusted him with the making of the Chest of St Simon. In the testament of Francis, the preference for mendicant orders is clear. Besides 60 pounds given to Bosnian friars for clothes, he bequeathed 6 *starii* of oil for the lantern which was to be lit at the altar of St Louis in the next five years. Interestingly, that altar was commissioned by Francis, and the grave of his father was located under it.⁸⁴⁰ This altar in the church of St Francis could be the very reason why the treaty of Zadar was signed there and further evidence of the spread of the cult of St Louis of Toulouse in Dalmatia and the support of Louis I toward the Franciscans in Zadar.

Another royal knight who had a connection with friars in Zadar was Maffeus, son of late John de Matafaris, who was also a great supporter of King Louis and who was the city count of Split in the 1370s. His connection with friars is visible in his testament from 1380, when he chose an interesting group of people as witnesses. The first witness was a prioress of the convent of St Nicholas in Zadar, who belonged to the Poor Clares, then friars Bartholomew from Alverna, vicar of the Bosnian Vicariate and friars Damian and Anthony from the same Order.⁸⁴¹ Bartholomew from Alverna was listed as the vicar of Bosnia in also another occasion besides this one, in the testament of Magdalena, the widow of Daniel de Varicassis, where she bequeathed him clothes.⁸⁴² Although it is not certain Bartholomew could be considered as the friar of Dalmatia, if it is taken into account that friars were relocating frequently and residing within different friaries during their lifetime, one other friar was most certainly residing in the friary of Zadar, and that is Friar Damian of the kindred Tugomirić.⁸⁴³ Friar Damian was not only connected with the Bosnian friars and friars in Zadar, but also with Queen Elisabeth herself, and as being her chaplain, he was giving Queen Elisabeth spiritual guidance and therefore he gained the most prestigious position among other ecclesiastical individuals. In 1383, the queen donated an estate to him in Trnovljane in Lika, and to his nephews she confirmed the estate Malo Koruplje in the district of Novigrad.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴⁰ Grbavac, "Oporučni legati Zadrana i Trogirana bosanskim franjevcima u doba Tvrtka I.," pp. 137-161.

⁸⁴¹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 4, fol. 111'-112'; Grbavac, "Oporučni legati Zadrana i Trogirana bosanskim franjevcima," pp. 137-161.

⁸⁴² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁸⁴³ About the kindred of Damian Tugomirić, cf. Ivan Majnarić, *Srednje i niže plemstvo u širem zadarskom zaleđu od polovice XIV. do polovice XV. stoljeća* [Middle and Lower Nobility in the Broader Hinterland of Zadar from the Mid-Fourteenth to Mid-Fifteenth Centuries] (Zagreb: FFZg, 2011), pp. 114-117.

⁸⁴⁴ Mladen Ančić, "Registar Artikucija iz Rivignana," doc. 2, pp. 84-87.

The family preference of the Franciscan Order was not only in the royal Angevin family, but also from the side of the Kotromanić family that is, besides Queen Elisabeth, her father Stephan II Kotromanić, the ban of Bosnia. His interest was mainly focused on the friars in Bosnia, but it did not mean that the friars from the Provinces of Dalmatia were not involved, since they were among the first ones who were going to Bosnia to perform missionary work there, during the reign of ban Stephen. He also founded the Franciscan church of St Nicholas in Mile in Bosnia around 1340 and he was buried there according to his wishes.⁸⁴⁵

9.2. Two Aristocratic families – the Counts of Bribir (the Šubići) and the Counts of Krk

The family of the Šubići had their origin and stronghold from the second half of the 11th century in the Bribir county, where they held the hereditary *honor* of župan in its center in Bribir. Their power, authority and territory will spread from the 13th century, and the peak of their power will be in the beginning of the 14th century, when they held under their authority most of the former Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Hum and a part of the County of Neretva. Individual members of the kindred are mentioned from the second half of the 11th century as the counts of Bribir and high government officials on the Croatian royal court. The genealogy of the main branch of the family of counts is possible to trace from the mid-12th century, with župan Bogdanac, who is noted in sources in 1164.⁸⁴⁶

A member of the family of Šubići, ban Paul, had founded the Franciscan friary and a church in Bribir,⁸⁴⁷ although it is not mentioned when exactly this was done. It was certainly before 1326, when they were first mentioned in a testament, but since some members of the kindred were buried there earlier (like ban Paul's grave is mentioned in a testament from 1312), probably it was functional much sooner than that year. The church took the name of St Mary as its patron and was the most important burial place for the Šubić kindred during the 14th and 15th centuries. Besides Ban Paul II and his sons, other members of the kindred buried there were: John, son of Stipko in 1348 and John called Besida, son of Gregory Slavogostić in 1370, while some were brought there, like Mladen I who died in Bosnia in 1304 and George II probably in Klis in 1328.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁵ Kovačević, "Ophodni križ," pp. 38-39.

⁸⁴⁶ Bribirski. Hrvatska enciklopedija, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Accessed: 2 February 2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/bribirski>.

⁸⁴⁷ The church of St Mary and Franciscan friary were researched as an architectural and historical artistical unit in the article of Kosjenka Laszlo Klemar, "Srednjovjekovni franjevački samostan i crkva sv. Marije u Bribiru" [Medieval Franciscan friary and the church of Saint Mary in Bribir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 43 (2016): 87-105.

⁸⁴⁸ Others were buried around Dalmatia, depending on where they were located during their time of their death: George I in Nin in 1303, Mladen III in 1348 and his brother Paul III in 1356 in Trogir, Dobrol Nikolić in 1383 in Zadar, and his brother John in Šibenik around 1397. Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 303-306; Damir Karbić, "Common cult and religious elements in the history of the noble kindred. The case study of the

The family and kindred of Šubići left bequests to the Franciscan church of St Mary in Bribir, and it did not matter if they were residing there at that moment or not. The family did not only bequeath the friars in Bribir, but also other Franciscan churches in Dalmatia. People who have left bequests to the church of St Mary were Thomas, son of Elias in 1353, George, son of Stephen in 1384, Paul Nikolić and his sons Monet, Michael and Gregory in 1413, and Susan de Georgiis from Zadar, the widow of John Nikolić, from which the latter has only bequests to the church of St Mary and to the Franciscan church in Šibenik, where her husband was buried. On the other hand, Count Dobrol Nikolić, who lived mainly in Zadar and gained the title of a patrician himself and also married a patrician woman there, left bequests mostly to the church of Virgin Mary in Bribir, the parish church of St John in Bribir, to three village churches, and his only bequest in Zadar was intended for the friary of St Francis where he wanted to be buried.⁸⁴⁹ This shows that connections were not severed by moving from one place to another, and even if an individual moved, his preference towards a religious order still remained, even if it was not the same friary where they were living at the moment or even for a longer period until they died. It can be argued that connections with the friars went beyond the friary (friaries) they founded.

The Šubić family also founded two more Franciscan houses in the vicinity of Bribir: the friary of St John the Baptist in Skradin, founded by Ban Paul in 1299, the convent of Poor Clares of St Elisabeth of Hungary in Skradin, founded by his sister Stanislava in late 1270s, who afterwards entered this convent and became its prioress.⁸⁵⁰ Although both of these foundations did not have such an impact and popularity as the friary of Virgin Mary, but the choice of St Elisabeth of Hungary as a patron saint of the convent of Poor Clares shows a persistent connection between the family Šubić and the Angevin dynasty.

If any member of the Šubić family would enter any religious order, it would be the Franciscan order, no matter if they were male or female. Besides two female members who entered the order of the Poor Clares, there was one male member who entered the Franciscan order. Radoslav, the son of Count Radoslav, was a friar living in a friary of St Francis in Zadar. In 1341-1342, he, as a bishop of Krbava now, is giving to friary of St Mary in Bribir the possessions (a mill, vineyard and land) which he had previously received from his brother Gregory in his testament from 1326. This was probably

Šubići of Bribir,” in *Festschrift for late Laszlo Koszta*, ed. by Zsolt Hunyadi – Tamás Fedeles, University of Debrecen, 2019, pp. 247-250. The influence of family Šubić on friars and their connection is summarized in the article in Croatian of the same author, Damir Karbić, “Utjecaj velikaškog roda Šubića na širenje i razvoj franjevaca u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji s posebnim osvrtom na skradinsko-bribirsko područje” [Influence of the Aristocratic Kindred of the Šubići on the Expansion and Development of the Franciscans in Croatia and Dalmatia with Special Regard to Skradin-Bribir Area], in *Zbornik o Pavlu Posiloviću* (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić Šibenik, 2001), pp. 147-166.

⁸⁴⁹ Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, pp. 308-310; Karbić, “Common cult and religious elements,” pp. 251-263.

⁸⁵⁰ Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, pp. 317-318; Karbić, “Common cult and religious elements,” pp. 258-259.

done due to his appointment as a bishop.⁸⁵¹ Of course, it was not uncommon that bishops or archbishops belonged to the Franciscan order prior to their appointment, but the fact that Radoslav was a Franciscan shows that the family followed a certain trend that was present in the mid-13th century in Dalmatian cities.⁸⁵² Furthermore, after the appointment of Franciscan friars as bishops or archbishops started to be more frequent, the position of the Order improved and any dispute that could occur between anyone against the Franciscans would be much more easily resolved.

The family Šubić also cherished an even more personal relationship with the Franciscan order. Besides choosing burial places at their friaries, giving them bequests and having a friar within their family, they also have connections with certain other individuals within the order. For instance, Friar Sylvester, minister provincial of Dalmatia, was the executor of Helen's will; Friar Radoslav of Split, the guardian of the friary in Bribir, was the executor of the will of Thomas, son of Elias, Friar Michael of Šibenik was the executor of the will of Susan, and Friar Marian from Zadar was the executor of the will of Žuvica. In some cases, the names of the executors were not written, only the offices – the guardian of the friary in Bribir was to be the executor of the will of James, and the minister provincial of the will of Vladislav Stipanić.⁸⁵³

For the Šubić family and the members of their kindred, the Franciscans served as mediators between them and the papal curia, especially when there was a pope who initially belonged to the Franciscan Order himself and who was the minister provincial of Dalmatia in 1274, Pope Nicholas IV. A certain Friar George was used as an envoy to the pope in the names of Ban Paul and his brother George and Mladen, and when the pope sent a papal legate to Croatia, Slavonia and Bosnia in July 1290, he was personally recommended by the pope to Ban Paul, his brothers and other magnates. The fact that the Šubići were strong supporters of the Franciscan order helped them to establish stronger connection with the papal Curia during the pontificate of Pope Nicholas IV, although this was certainly not the only factor that enabled their success in this matter, but it was due to several shared interests which the family and pope supported.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵¹ CD X, doc. 426, pp. 601-604; Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, pp. 308-309; 322-323; Karbić, "Common cult and religious elements," p. 262.

⁸⁵² Just few examples, as was seen in the subchapter about Dalmatian bishops and archbishops. Cf. in the second half of the 13th century: Columban (CD IV, 519, pp. 601-602; CD V, doc. 780, pp. 284-285; CD V, doc. 834, p. 344; CD V, doc. 863, pp. 382-383; CD V, doc. 911, pp. 443-446) and Gregory (CD VI, doc. 347, pp. 408-409) as bishops of Trogir, Aleardus (CD V, doc. 636, p. 127; CD V, doc. 702, pp. 195-196; CD V, doc. 719, pp. 213-214; CD V, doc. 804, pp. 312-315) and Bonaventure from Parma (CD VI, doc. 335, pp. 396-397; CD VI, doc. 395, p. 477; CD VI, doc. 416, pp. 499-500; CD VI, doc. 487, pp. 576-578; CD VI, doc. 576, pp. 682-684; CD VI, doc. 588, pp. 699-700) as archbishops of Dubrovnik, Lawrence (CD V, doc. 726, p. 222), Henry de Tuderto (CD VII, doc. 244, pp. 283-284; CD VII, doc. 248, pp. 288-289) and James (CD VII, doc. 296, pp. 343-344) as archbishops in Zadar, Lambert as the bishop of Krk (CD VI, doc. 583, pp. 691-692); Peter as the archbishop of Split (CD VII, doc. 239, pp. 277-278).

⁸⁵³ Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, pp. 325-326, n. 1133.

⁸⁵⁴ Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, pp. 330-335.

The counts of Krk were later known in various historiographies as the Frankopans, an imaginary name invented in the later period by the humanists. In general, the counts of Krk were one of the kindreds whose family members and activity we can trace from the 12th century onwards. Their main area was in fact the island of Krk, and they are the reason why we have so much information about both friaries in Krk and Senj, too. In the course of the 13th century, they obtained more territories, which included Senj in inland. Later, with the spread of the family, because of the co-existence of various branches, they stretched their influence on adjacent counties, all the way to Lika (Modruš) and Slavonia during the 14th century. They they started as vassals of Venice, to become independent “rulers” in vast territories, just as it happened in the cases of the counts of Bribir, the Šubići or the Nelipići in Croatia. It is worth underlying that they had the right of patronage in the bishoprics of Modruš (and Krbava), Senj and Krk.⁸⁵⁵

The claim that the counts of Krk were the ones who brought Franciscan friars in Senj is based on several pieces of information. After the confirmation that the church existed already in 1272, twenty years later, in 1292, from a document, it can be assumed that the friary was built as well and that their guardian was present performing his duties. The location of the friary and its connection with the counts of Krk are confirmed in one document. In 1295, Count Ugrin, with the consent of the counts of Krk, Leonard and his nephew Bartholomew, donated a garden to friars in the vicinity of the large well and public road. The friary and the church in Senj were located in a suburban territory, where with the house there were gardens for agricultural work, and it seems that the counts of Krk were also living near them.⁸⁵⁶ In 1298 there was a consecration of the Franciscan church, done by Peter, the bishop of Korčula, but it seems that this church was a new one.⁸⁵⁷ This would mean that friars first built an initial, smaller, church for their needs in 1272, and then after finishing the construction of their friary, there was a need for a bigger church, which was consecrated soon after the completion of the building of friary. This friary and the newly built bigger church remained preserved until the 1540s, and the complex that the Frankopani mentioned in the 15th century, was built, gifted and ornated by their ancestors, which were the counts of Krk. Although this is not irrefutable evidence that the counts of Krk were in fact the ones who brought Franciscans to Senj and

⁸⁵⁵ Frankapan. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013. – 2025. Accessed 20.2.2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/frankapan>. Also, cf. Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani* (Zagreb 1901); Ozren Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova – Vinodol, Senj i Krk od početka 14. stoljeća do 1420. godine*, [The estates of the counts of Krk – Vinodol, Senj and Krk from the beginning of the 14th century until 1420], unpublished doctoral thesis (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012). For their later history in Slavonia, cf. Suzana Miljan, *Plemićko društvo Zagrebačke županije za vladavine Žigmunda Luksemburškoga (1387.-1437.)*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2015).

⁸⁵⁶ CD VII, doc. 192, pp. 212-213; Bogović – Frković, “Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici,” 77; 83.

⁸⁵⁷ CD VII, doc. 262, p. 303.

later helped build their facilities and endorsed them financially, it is not such an uncommon occurrence during this period in Dalmatia, meaning that it was their endowment, although this was not explicitly said in older sources, at least until the 15th century. Furthermore, there were tombs of the counts of Krk in the church in Senj, which is always a sign of patronage and close relationship which certain individuals had with the Franciscan order. Before the 15th century, the only known member of the counts of Krk buried there was Count John V, the father of Count Nicholas IV, who was the first one to call himself Frankopan. John died in 1393 in Senj and was buried in the Franciscan church couple of days after his death.⁸⁵⁸ as was reported in famous *Memoriale* of Paul de Paulo, Zaratín nobleman.

There is also a coat of arms of the family Frankopan, which was transferred from the old church of St Francis, which was outside the city walls and presumed to be built by counts of Krk, to the newly built church within the walls in 1558. The plate with the coat of arms was located on the facade of the church on the right to the main entry door. On the coat of arms there is a depiction of the old coat of arms of the counts of Krk, eight-pointed star, and the new coat of arms, two lions which are standing upright and breaking bread. The coat of arms is held on each side by a *genius*, and next to the *genius* on each side there is a monk – presumably one is a Franciscan friar, and the other either a Benedictine or Pauline monk. From this plate, only three fragments are preserved.⁸⁵⁹



The image reflects the condition before its deterioration before demolition
(Taken from: Ljubović, “Inventarizacija i zaštita građe iz razrušene crkve sv. Franje u Senju,” p. 396)

There is, of course, more on the counts of Krk, the Frankopans and their connection to the Franciscan order, but it is mostly from the 15th century onwards, which is beyond the scope of this

⁸⁵⁹ Blaženka Ljubović, “Inventarizacija i zaštita građe iz razrušene crkve sv. Franje u Senju i njezina buduća namjena” [Inventory and Protection of Materials of the Destroyed Church of St Francis in Senj and Its Future Purpose], *Senjski zbornik* 42-43 (2015-2016): 352-353.

thesis. However, the foundations for their preference were set from the very beginning, especially if we agree with the theory that the counts of Krk were the ones who brought the Franciscans to Senj.⁸⁶⁰ In the end, the complex was destroyed around 1540, or even sooner, along with any house or building around the city walls, in order to prevent the Ottomans from using it as a refuge in a potential attack on Senj, which was a common practice during the times of their invasion and a new friary, and a church were built for friars within the city.⁸⁶¹

The connection between the Franciscan Order in Krk and the counts of Krk can be observed best by bequests given to friars by the members of their kindred. There are few documents from the 14th century written by the kindred of the counts of Krk which show their contacts towards the Franciscan order in Krk. The first document originates from 1350, which is the execution of the previously written testament. In the said document, the count of Krk, Bartol VIII, acted as executor of the testament of his relative Cecilia and fulfilled her last wishes. Cecilia bequeathed a vineyard in Cavo de Valle to friars in Krk, with the stipulation that the friars should perform in return a Mass annually for her and her mother Ursa. Furthermore, the procurator for the friars in Krk was, at that time, Nicholas II Škinela, who also belonged to the family of the counts of Krk, which shows that the counts of Krk and their kindred related to the Franciscan order in Krk in several ways.⁸⁶²

However, it seems that the bequests left for Franciscans by Cecilia were not finalized for a couple of decades, which only shows that it is one thing to donate a property to a religious order, but it is quite another thing to come fully and officially into its possession. Although most of the time the outcome of such bequests or donations is not known, sometimes documents shed some light on the longevity of such a process. It was in fact twenty years later, in 1370, that judges appointed by Count Stephan of Krk finally granted the vineyard to friars in Krk, the same vineyard that was previously bequeathed to them by Countess Cecilia of Krk in her previously mentioned testament.⁸⁶³

There are several other pieces of information about the connection between friars and counts of Krk in the 14th century. One testament from the last quarter of the 14th century, in 1377, in which a member of the kindred of the counts of Krk, Count Nicholas II, bequeaths fifteen golden ducats annually *perpetuo* to friars in Krk. The testament had similar condition as in the testament of Cecilia,

⁸⁶⁰ On the connection of Zrinski and Frankopan families see: Daniel Patafta, "Odnosi obitelji Frankopan i Zrinski s franjevcima u hrvatskim zemljama" [The Relations of Nikola Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan with the Franciscans in the Croatian Lands], *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razred za društvene znanosti* 56-57 (2023): 75-99.

⁸⁶¹ Bogović – Frković, "Povijest redovništva u Senju i okolici," p. 86-87; Ljubović, "Inventarizacija i zaštita građe iz razrušene crkve sv. Franje u Senju," pp. 341-442.

⁸⁶² CD XI, doc. 478, pp. 624-626; Milko Brković, "Odnosi između Krčkih knezova Frankapana i franjevac na otoku Krku u 14. i 15. stoljeću" [Relations between the Counts of Krk Frankapan and the Franciscans on the island of Krk in the 14th and 15th centuries], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 6 (1982) 10: 27; Galović, "City and Friary: The City of Krk and Its Franciscan Friary in the Middle Ages," pp. 264-265.

⁸⁶³ CD XIV, doc. 192, pp. 269-271; Galović, "City and Friary: The City of Krk and Its Franciscan Friary in the Middle Ages," p. 265.

which was that friars had to perform a Mass annually for his soul and the souls of his deceased, which was a common practice of spiritual exchange between testators and members of the Franciscan order, or any religious order in general. However, the testator goes into more detail how this annual mass should be performed. He says that the priest who would be there should perform this annual mass, as it is a custom, and to walk around his grave with the tolling of the bells.⁸⁶⁴ Besides showing how annual masses would be performed in honor of the deceased, the information which is more significant here is that count of Krk, Nicholas II, was probably buried within the territory belonging to the friars in Krk, and then it is not surprising that he gave them annually such an enormous amount of money to perform the mass.

Furthermore, money and vineyards were not the only possession given to friars in Krk in the 14th century. In the same year 1377, the count of Krk Nicholas II, was a witness in a lawsuit regarding the ownership of a certain field. The opposing sides were the judge Škinela and the friars in Krk (or more precisely, on their behalf their procurator Domicello de Caristia), and count Nicholas II testified that his cousin, vice count Nicholas, had indeed given this field to friars of Krk before.⁸⁶⁵

9.3. City Patriciate

9.3.1. The Family de Grisogonis of Zadar

The first family from Zadar which will be discussed here is the de Grisogonis family. The name of the family de Grisogonis had derived from the name of the St Chrysogonus, who was also their family saint. St Chrysogonus is an interesting example of a saint. It is worth mentioning that it is assumed that the local Zaratine elite in the period of early middle ages due to lack of local martyrs had chosen very prominent and powerful foreign relics, such is the saint Chrysogonus.⁸⁶⁶ But, to get back on the de Grisogonis family. The first member of their family was noted in written record at the end of the 12th century, making them one of the oldest noble families in Zadar.⁸⁶⁷ The number of testaments belonging to the de Grisogonis family which mention friars was eleven – nine from the male line and two from female, from which the latter was one from the father's side, and one from the husband's side.⁸⁶⁸ Furthermore, one member of the family, Pelegrina, the daughter of Cosa de

⁸⁶⁴ CD XV, doc. 195, pp. 271-272.

⁸⁶⁵ CD XV, doc. 239, pp. 331-332; Galović, "City and Friary: The City of Krk and Its Franciscan Friary," p. 265; Brković, "Odnosi između Krčkih knezova Frankapana i franjevac na otoku Krku," p. 27.

⁸⁶⁶ More about St Chrysogonus, cf. Trpimir Vedriš, *Hagiografija i rani kult sv. Anastazije i sv. Kristogona u Zadru* [Hagiography and the early cult of St Anastasia and St Chrysogonus in Zadar] (Zagreb: Leykam International 2019), pp. 131-167.

⁸⁶⁷ About the family de Grisogonis see: Serdo Dokoza – Tatjana Radauš, *sub voce*: Grisogono, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. V (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2002), pp. 205-210.

⁸⁶⁸ The numerous numbers of testaments from the family Grisogono can be partly explained by looking through the series of sources titled *Testamenti presentati nella cancellaria di conti di Zara*, which contains the transcriptions of

Saladinis and the widow of Francis de Grisogonis, wrote as much as three testaments: first in 1382,⁸⁶⁹ second in 1390,⁸⁷⁰ and the third in 1392.⁸⁷¹

The family de Grisogonis had a special connection with the Franciscans as early as the end of the 13th century. The first member of the family with a substantial money bequeathed to friars was Mauro de Grisogonis, who in his testament from 1295 donated around thousand pounds and instructed that this money should be used for building a *locus*, which probably signified at that time a residential space along the church and the friary.⁸⁷² Unfortunately, the further path of this bequest is not known, but this future *locus* could have been built into the hospital located near the friary. This assumption is based on the document from 1382, where there is information that there was a hospital of the family de Grisogonis near the friary of St Francis in Zadar (*hospitalis [illorum de Grixogonis] existentis prope [sanctum Franciscum de Iadra]*). Besides this lavish bequest which the friars were intended to receive, the testament of Mauro was written by his hand, and was being held at the friary of St Francis, meaning that he trusted them enough to keep it there, although they could have also kept it due to such a generous bequest which was promised to them.⁸⁷³ Furthermore, Mauro de Grisogonis had a connection with the family de Soppe, since his wife Mary was the daughter of Gruba, the widow of Miha of Blaze de Soppe.⁸⁷⁴

Bequeathing property to the friars was sometimes done indirectly, and in this case, by a member of the family de Grisogonis who was not stated as such. Magdalena, the widow of Daniel de Varicassis, bequeathed to the hospital in the vicinity of St Francis, a house with a big furnace, which was located in the neighborhood of St John de Pusterla, in the south part of Zadar. For Magdalena, this hospital was important since it was founded by her ancestors, and for which hospital Mauro de Grisogonis probably left his generous bequest. Magdalena truly did belong to the de Grisogonis family, and her family is written down in her testament: Mauro of late Peter and Anthony of late Bartholomew are her nephews, Žuvica of late Gregory de Zadulinis (probably born de Grisogonis) and Catherine de Grisogonis, a nun from St Mary in Zadar are her nieces. From this we can conclude that she had at least two brothers, Peter and Bartholomew.⁸⁷⁵ Although the bequest was directed primarily at the hospital, it is likely that the friars were those managing its incomes and bequests.

testament of the family de Grisogonis, that is, five testaments were retrieved from this series. However, even without these five testaments, the family the Grisogonis had a significant number of members which showed their preference towards friars in Zadar.

⁸⁶⁹ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. IV, fasc. 17 (4), fol. 12-13.

⁸⁷⁰ CD XVII, doc. 204, pp. 287-291.

⁸⁷¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 97'-99.

⁸⁷² *Item dimitto libras M ad faciendum locus (!) fratribus Minoribus* (damaged); SZB II, doc. 19, p. 9.

⁸⁷³ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 18, fol. 2-2'.

⁸⁷⁴ SZB I, doc. 47, pp. 84-85.

⁸⁷⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

One member of their family belongs to the Franciscan family. The friar's name is John, and he is first mentioned in 1388 in the testament of the aforementioned Magdalena, born de Grisogonis and married de Varicassis, who bequeathed him money for clothes he might need. Friar John is here mentioned with several other friars: Bartolomew, the vicar of Bosnia, Berengarius, Peregrinus de Aragonia and Vitus from Zadar, which could hint on his possible connection with the friars of Bosnia, or maybe just Magdalena's preference towards friars from Bosnia, to which she gave 200 ducats of gold. However, it should be emphasized that Magdalena had enormous wealth at her disposal, and she bequeathed to many ecclesiastical institutions, not only Franciscans.⁸⁷⁶ Although it is proved that Magdalena belonged to the family de Grisogonis, it was also not stated what the family connection between Magdalena and John is. The first assumption would be that he is her nephew, but it is not likely since she had a habit of listing her nephews and nieces by explicitly noting the family connection between them.

The connection between friars from Bosnia and the family de Grisogonis goes much deeper than "just" 200 ducats bequeathed to them, and it is in connection with the foundation of the friary of St Duymus on the island of Pašman, which was a part of the Zaratina district. The foundation is directly connected to the family de Grisogonis, first to Mauro de Grisogonis, then to his mother Pelegrina. In 1370, Mauro of late Francis, bequeathed 200 pounds to build a church in the honor of St Duymus near the salt mines that he owned.⁸⁷⁷ After the death of Mauro, in 1382, his mother Pelegrina, confirmed his bequest in her first testament.⁸⁷⁸ The building of the church started in 1384, and two years later, in 1386, it was confirmed that it was built and paid for. Although the church was not under the authority of any order at first, in 1389, it was decided by Pelegrina to first give the Franciscan friars who were banished from Bosnia her property in Pašman with all that belonged to it, meaning also the church of St Duymus, for them to live there.⁸⁷⁹ In her second testament from 1390, and the third testament from 1392, Pelegrina gave a bequest where it was intended to build a friary around the church of St Duymus in Pašman, giving them also all of her possessions there and cattle.⁸⁸⁰ It is interesting to see the timeline and the circumstances which finally resulted in the foundation of the friary, starting from a bequest of building a church in the testament of Mauro in 1370, to actually building it in 1386, then giving to the Bosnian friars property to live there in 1389, and finally

⁸⁷⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁸⁷⁷ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 9'-13'; Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana na zadarskim otocima," 8.

⁸⁷⁸ The testament of Pelegrina from 1382 is a damaged document and I was not able to gather that information from it (DAZd, SZB, Petrus Perencanus, b. IV, fasc. 17 (4), fol. 12-13), therefore I relied on the information from the research of E. Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 8.

⁸⁷⁹ Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," pp. 8-9.

⁸⁸⁰ Testaments both contain the same information: 1390 (CD XVII, doc. 204, pp. 287-291), and 1392 (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 97'-99); Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 9.

founding the friary belonging to Bosnian friars in 1392.⁸⁸¹ This journey seemed to be long, and it could not be done without the family de Grisogonis, who were also giving bequests to the friary frequently, whether it was clothes, money or artwork which was probably intended for the main altar.⁸⁸²

After detouring with the Bosnian friars and returning to the bequests given to friars in Zadar, family de Grisogonis was also generous, giving either money or objects for various purposes for the friars as a community. Mauro of late Francis bequeathed to the friars in Zadar 200 pounds for the repair of the church,⁸⁸³ Daria of late Bartholomew of late Mauro 10 florens of gold for masses and 50 pounds,⁸⁸⁴ Pelegrina, the widow of Francis one ducat and a half for praying psalter and 100 pounds for general reparations,⁸⁸⁵ and Fredrick of late Cresius 50 pounds for general reparations.⁸⁸⁶

However, the family de Grisogonis gave bequests to individual friars, showing a personal connection as well. For instance, Daria, the widow of Bartholomew of late Mauro, instructed that the robe in the value of 10 ducats (32 pounds) should be made and given to Friar Francis from Split and 40 pounds for the same purpose for Friar Dominic.⁸⁸⁷ Even deeper personal connection which some friars had with the family was to be their spiritual adviser. Bartholomew of late Mauro de Grisogonis in 1361 had two spiritual advisers: one was Friar Peter Gisda from Kotor, to whom he donated 3 ducats, and Friar Emanuel, who was actually a minister provincial of Dalmatia in the period 1358 – 1361, who was also bequeathed 3 ducats from Mauro.⁸⁸⁸ Sometimes a friar performing a certain service was not written, as was the case in the testament of Doimus, the son of late royal knight John, who in 1400 designated that one of his executors should be the current guardian of the friary in Zadar, whoever he may be at the time needed.⁸⁸⁹

Choosing a certain friary or a church as a burial place showed the upmost respect one individual could feel towards a certain order or ecclesiastical institution. For the de Grisogonis family, five members of the family were instructed to be buried at St Francis in Zadar, making them the family from Zadar for whom we have the most records about being buried there. Of course, there is a high possibility that there were more members of the family buried there, but their testaments were not preserved. The first noted member of the family is Philip of late Bartholomew who in 1327

⁸⁸¹ However, it should be noted that the foundation of churches on the territory of Zadar and vicinity was not uncommon for the family de Grisogonis and not only belonging to the Franciscan Order. Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," p. 8.

⁸⁸² Hilje, "Utemeljenje franjevačkih samostana," pp. 8-10.

⁸⁸³ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 9'-13'.

⁸⁸⁴ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 18'-20'.

⁸⁸⁵ CD XVII, doc. 204, pp. 287-291.

⁸⁸⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 99'-100'.

⁸⁸⁷ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 18'-20'.

⁸⁸⁸ Testamenti di Zara 1, fol. 5-9'.

⁸⁸⁹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 121-122'.

bequeathed 50 pounds to friars to be buried “at their place”.⁸⁹⁰ It is interesting that Philip’s father also wrote his testament two years earlier than Philip and he did not choose friars for his burial. As a matter of fact, he did not list any other place for his burial,⁸⁹¹ so it is not certain where he was buried. Maybe it was already decided by his ancestors where the descendants should be buried, like a family tomb, but maybe this would be written in his testament either way, as it was sometimes noted by certain individuals, who would say that they are going to be buried where their family or ancestors lay. The second person seeking a burial at St Francis in Zadar is Bartholomew of late Mauro, who in his testament donated 15 ducats for thousand masses to be celebrated there where he chose to bury his body. Bartholomew’s preference towards the Franciscans is much more visible than with Philip, since he left much larger sums of money to friars and had personal connection with two friars, Marino who is called Cuneis and Emanuel, the minister provincial, who was his spiritual advisor. Bartholomew had a family connection with another testator, Magdalena, the wife of Daniel de Varicassis, who was his aunt.⁸⁹² Actually, Magdalena also chose to be buried at the church of St Francis in Zadar and gave 40 ducats of gold for one missal for her and her husband’s soul.⁸⁹³ Pelegrina, the widow of Francis and daughter of Cosa de Saladinis, who had three testaments written, only in the first one from 1382, which is partly damaged, had a bequest where she stated that she wanted to be buried with Friars Minor in Zadar.⁸⁹⁴ The last member of the family noted to wish to be buried at St Francis was Cresius of late Andrea, who bequeathed 10 pounds for singing masses during his burial.⁸⁹⁵

In the end, although the family de Grisogonis had vast estates and lands, it is noteworthy to mention that they, among other noble families as de Civaellis, de Nassis and de Sope, did not leave a trace in the medieval toponymy, contrary to other patrician families in the area of Zadar.⁸⁹⁶ This fact is even more strange if we take into account that the family de Grisogonis was not unfamiliar with foundation of churches and friaries, no matter which order did it belong to.

9.3.2. Family de Mençe of Dubrovnik

De Mençe family is a part of the circle of the oldest and longest-lasting noble families of Dubrovnik, which reached their peak in the 14th century. The family has been mentioned in written sources since the 13th century, and, although numerous in the beginning, at the end of the 14th century,

⁸⁹⁰ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 17-17'.

⁸⁹¹ Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 14-16'.

⁸⁹² Testamenti di Zara, vol. 1, fol. 5-9'.

⁸⁹³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 51-53.

⁸⁹⁴ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. IV, fasc. 17 (4), fol. 12-13.

⁸⁹⁵ DAZd, ZB, PS, b.I, f. I, fasc. 6, fol. 179'-180.

⁸⁹⁶ Emil Hilje, “Imena zadarskih plemićkih porodica u kasnosrednjovjekovnoj toponimiji zadarskoga kraja” [The Names of the Noble Families of Zadar in the late Medieval toponymy of the Area of Zadar], *Folia Onomastica Croatica* 4 (1995): 74.

due to various plagues, they experienced a significant loss in different branches. Although the number of the members of the family increased again at the beginning of the 15th century, it never returned to this original level and glory.⁸⁹⁷

The first criteria which the family de Mençe fulfilled was that there was a member of the family who belonged to the Franciscan order. As was mentioned before, there is an extraordinary example of Friar Lawrence who wrote his testament upon entering the order. Although it is “common knowledge” that friars had to give up their worldly possessions and embrace the life of poverty if they wanted to enter the order, there are not many such examples for Dalmatian friaries in general, and especially from the last quarter of the 14th century. The family connection of the Franciscan Friar Lawrence, the son of Nicholas, was difficult to trace in the genealogies of the Dubrovnik nobility within the branches of the family de Mençe. However, his fruitful professional career could be reconstructed. As Vekarić assumed, he was born around 1355, which would mean that he joined the Franciscan order when he was about 20 years old, since the testament was written in 1375. He played a significant role not only in his order and his city, but also in the whole kingdom. The first written information on Lawrence, besides his testament, was recorded when he was sent as a *nuncio* to Sigismund of Luxembourg and Ladislas of Naples in 1399. In 1404 he took over the position of guardian in the friary of Dubrovnik. He was the custodian of Dubrovnik in 1413, when antipope John XXIII sent him as his chaplain to Bosnia and Dalmatia in order to win the believers and the clergy to his side. In the same or the following year, the same antipope appointed him Provincial of Dalmatia, thus coming into conflict with the provincial Nicholas of Zadar. This dispute was also brought before the doge of Venice, Tomasso Mocenigo, in 1414, who turned to the General Minister of the order, Antonio Vinitti de Pereto, to resolve the dispute between them. Unfortunately, the dispute did not end favourably for Lawrence, since the doge sided with Nicholas. At the Council of Constance (1415), where the schism in the Franciscan Order was resolved, Lawrence officially lost his position as the Minister Provincial of Dalmatia.⁸⁹⁸ Such a fruitful political career of a friar from the family de Mençe must have reflected the political power of the family as well, at least to a certain degree.

Family de Mençe not only had a friar among them, but also one member of the family was the procurator of the friars in Dubrovnik. The person in question is Nicholas de Mençe, who functioned as the procurator in 1388, alongside Junius de Sorgo and Andrea de Volce, who were representing the friary to make sure that the goldsmith Bartholomew from Venice fulfilled his work on the altarpiece on the main altar for which he was commissioned. The goldsmith died in 1394, and the matter was prolonged further. However, during all this time, Nicholas de Mençe and Andrea de Volce were noted

⁸⁹⁷ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 59.

⁸⁹⁸ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 60; Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 65; *Hrvatski franjevački biografski leksikon*, ed. by Franjo Emanuel Hoško – Pejo Čošković – Vicko Kapitanović (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža [etc.], 2010), p. 342.

as procurators, which means they represented the friars for a longer period, although it is not certain if they were their procurators during all the time or maybe since they were familiar with this situation already in the past.⁸⁹⁹ However, Nicholas de Mençe was not only the procurator of friars in Dubrovnik, but also of friars in Ston, where he was noted in 1390, when he represented friars by receiving 30 perpers from the executors of the will.⁹⁰⁰

Bequests given to friars from the members of the family de Mençe were for various purposes. Mostly it was for masses: 30 perpers from Matthias in 1306,⁹⁰¹ 15 perpers from Marcius of late Mathias in 1325,⁹⁰² 20 perpers from Junius of Mathias in 1330,⁹⁰³ 45 perpers from Pale in 1363,⁹⁰⁴ when the prices were written, and in other cases just stating that a certain number of masses should be held, mostly thousand masses.⁹⁰⁵ In only one instance the number of masses is measured in money, which was in the testament of Mary, the daughter of late Michael, from 1348, where she stated that for thousand masses friars should receive 45 pounds,⁹⁰⁶ which was an average price for thousand masses in general. Second most frequent bequest was for reparations of the church with various prices, from 10,⁹⁰⁷ 20,⁹⁰⁸ 30⁹⁰⁹ and 50,⁹¹⁰ up until 300.⁹¹¹ Furthermore, there were bequests concerning food, like lunch (*prandium*),⁹¹² or money for actual food like wine or fish,⁹¹³ clothes,⁹¹⁴ and chalice.⁹¹⁵

However, the strength of the family and their connection to friars in Dubrovnik lays in their preference and bequeathing individual friars. Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Franciscan and Dominican friars from notarial documents since their order is not specified and they are only referred to as friars (*frater*), there is always a possibility that there were more Franciscans. However, for these friars which follow, the order was specified and their belonging to Franciscans or Friars Minor is confirmed.

⁸⁹⁹ Cvito Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari od 13. do 17. Stoljeća," pp. 200-201; Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 176-178; Lentić, "Riznica Male braće u Dubrovniku," p. 564.

⁹⁰⁰ Liepopili, "Slavensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," p. 58.

⁹⁰¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 27'.

⁹⁰² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12'-13.

⁹⁰³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 39'.

⁹⁰⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 58-59.

⁹⁰⁵ Procullus in 1344 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 73), Martinussio in 1346 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 75'-76), Michsa, the son of Domagna in 1354 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 24), Stephen, the son of Jurius in 1354 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 27-27'), Domagna in 1358 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39), Drasa, the wife of Mathew in 1361 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 49'-50).

⁹⁰⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 79.

⁹⁰⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12'-13.

⁹⁰⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 39'.

⁹⁰⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 27'.

⁹¹⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 79.

⁹¹¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 73.

⁹¹² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 12'-13.

⁹¹³ CD VI, doc. 386, pp. 463-465.

⁹¹⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39.

⁹¹⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 52.

The first friar connected with the family de Mençe is Friar Gualfredo, who was given 3 *perpers* by Mathias in 1306.⁹¹⁶ In the testament of Stephen, the son of Jurius, in 1354, it was instructed that Friar Matthe de Rosso has to give his *pignora* to the friars.⁹¹⁷ Domagna de Mençe had connections with two friars and bequeathed them in his testament in 1358. Friar Dionius was given 3 *perpers*, and Friar Give, the son of Marcelo, the sword maker, was given one good habit and *paramentum*.⁹¹⁸ By giving Give one habit and one *paramentum*, Domagna probably supplied him most of the necessary clothes he might need for everyday use and in solemn occasions.

Speaking about funerals and burials within the premises of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik, the most visible trace of the connection between friars and the family de Mence is “written in stone.” To be more precise, in the friary in Dubrovnik, on the west wall of the sacristy, by the door that leads to the church there is a tomb stone of *Matie et Laurencii filii Marini de Mence*.⁹¹⁹ The brothers were the grandsons of Lawrence, for Mathias there are traces in the sources from around 1240 to around 1306, but for Lawrence there is only information about the year 1235.⁹²⁰

Testaments which contain bequests concerning burials within the confines of St Francis in Dubrovnik originate much later than this tomb stone. The first one is in 1333, in a testament belonging to Andreas, the son of late Nicholas who besides choosing his burial there, bequeathed 30 *perpers* for repairs to the church (as opposed to 10 to the Dominicans) and for singing 500 masses.⁹²¹ Domagna de Mençe in 1358 also chose to be buried at St Francis in Dubrovnik, saying that he wishes that his brothers from the Order of St Francis should carry him to his grave.⁹²² Of course, calling friars his brothers is only an expression of endearment, since it is nowhere to be written that Domagna was ever belonging to the Franciscan order. Quite contrary, Domagna was dealing with important, but mundane activities. In 1329, he was emissary to the Sebian king, and in 1331 a member of the envoy in Trebinj to the future Serbian emperor, Stefan Uroš IV Dušan.⁹²³

It is only natural that multiple members of a certain family choose the burial place at the same church, but sometimes it would extend to other families, not their own. For Martinussio de Mençe it was not the same one as his parents, but it extended to his wife’s side of the family. He wished that his burial and tomb were to be done at the Friars Minor next to the grave of his father-in-law named

⁹¹⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 27’.

⁹¹⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 27-27’.

⁹¹⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39.

⁹¹⁹ Cvito Fisković, “Gotičko-renesansni slog samostana Male braće” [The Gothic-renaissance style of the friary of Friars Minor], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, ed. by Justin Velnić (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost-Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, 1985), p. 451; Sukno, “Epigrafski spomenici franjevačkog samostana u Dubrovniku,” p. 801.

⁹²⁰ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 38.

⁹²¹ DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 50-50’.

⁹²² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 38-39.

⁹²³ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 45.

Tom, but the other part of the bequest was even more specific. Namely, in his testament from 1346, he wanted to be buried in the floor of the altar on which a mass will be performed, and all this will be arranged by Friar James de Glisura, who was probably a friend of the family and who knew all the specifics which were instructed by the testator Martinussio. In this instance, the burial is not with the family de Mençe, but with the family de Thoma.⁹²⁴ In general, Martinussio was one of the five most powerful creditors in Dubrovnik in the 1340s, and after his death, his wife Philippa of Thoma de Thoma successfully took over his business activities. Unfortunately, his branch of the family went extinct in the last quarter of the 14th century.⁹²⁵ The fact that his wife successfully took over his business, paired with his choosing of his burial place with her family, not his, could show that women of noble origins had more influence than it might seem at first glance.

9.3.3. Family de Sorgo of Dubrovnik

For the family de Sorgo (Sorkočević) from Dubrovnik, it is considered that they came from Kotor, originated from Albania or Epirus and some branches of the family had survived up until the 19th or even 20th century. Their arrival is traced by the chroniclers to the year 1272 or 1292, although they are mentioned in sources even sooner than this, in 1253 on the list of members of the Major Council during the signing of alliance between Dubrovnik and the Bulgarian emperor Mihajlo Asen. The origin of their surname Sorgo came from the word sorghum or broomcorn, and it seems that some type of this grass can be grown for human consumption and animal fodder. It is not certain how sorghum was used at that time, but probably for consumption, since they were accepted by the council as a noble family after they were bringing boats filled with millet, oats and other grains during the famine around these two mentioned years, 1272 and 1292, when supposedly the times were rough.⁹²⁶

The connection between friars and the family de Sorgo was also geographically enforced. In a certain contract from 1301, it is stated that a family member named Marin de Sorgo, had a property located in the vicinity of city gates called Pile, and this property probably belonged to the family de Sorgo and was located just next to the friars. It is important to emphasize that the upper garden of the friars formerly actually belonged to the family de Sorgo,⁹²⁷ so a part of their land was probably given to friars at some point or bought for them and they remained neighbors at least at that point in their history.

⁹²⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 75'-76.

⁹²⁵ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 49.

⁹²⁶ Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 3, p. 259; "de Sorgo (Sorkočević)," *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, vol. 10 (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2008), pp. 113-114.

⁹²⁷ Valentina Zovko, "Socijalna topografija Dubrovnika krajem 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća na primjeru obitelji de Sorgo (Sorkočević)" [Social Topography of Dubrovnik at the Example of Family Sorkočević Between the 13th and 14th Century], *Povijesni zbornik* 3 (2009) 4: 28.

Besides giving a part of their property for the friars to use as their upper garden, the family de Sorgo also had a friar among themselves, that is, Friar Andrew of Dubrovnik, who was the recipient of bequests from friends and family. First in 1283, his brother Dobroslav had bequeathed to him 5 perpers,⁹²⁸ and a year later, Matthew de Gleda left him a bequest of 40 perpers to celebrate a thousand masses.⁹²⁹ Matthew's choosing of Friar Andrew to perform masses for his soul indicated that they were either connected by family or friendship bonds (or even both), since Matthew did not need to choose an individual friar to perform this task or he could have chosen someone else. Since it was in the nature of the Franciscan order to relocate from the friary where they originated from, Andrew followed this principle and switched or visited the friary in Zadar. He was present in Zadar in 1296 as a witness while compiling the testament of Cosa de Saladinis.⁹³⁰

Speaking about the fact that some families had members who were friars, and some did not, the question which could come to mind is that this was not anything uncommon or special to be singled out, since it would make sense that certain members of the noble families would follow the example of St Francis. Maybe there were other noble families with members who were friars, but they were not noted in the sources since they no longer would belong to their family, but to the Franciscan order, and they would be noted only by their name and their place of origin. However, if this was to be true, then there would not be any evidence for friars from these families (such as Šubić, Grisogonis, Sorgo, Menče, and even others as Georgiis from Zadar), although two of them are known from their testaments upon entering the order, but not only from this, of course. Therefore, if these were written down as belonging to a certain family, why were there not others noted in the same manner? Either way, it is not possible to speak with certainty about the social layer of friars as the information about them is only partial.

Similar to the family de Menče, family de Sorgo also had one member of family who was the procurator of friars in Dubrovnik. Junius de Sorgo worked together with Nicholas de Menče and Andrea de Volce in 1388 on a fulfilment of the contract of the goldsmith Bartholomew of Venice of the altarpiece on the main altar. As it was said, the work was prolonged due to complications concerning money and the death of the goldsmith Bartholomew and this matter was revisited in 1394 and only finally concluded in 1401. As opposed to Nicholas de Menče and Andrea de Volce, who were noted as procurators multiple times, Junius was only mentioned once, in 1388, but it is not certain whether he stopped being their procurator and when.⁹³¹

Bequests given to friars by the family de Sorgo were various. For general repairs they were given more than the family de Menče, only two members have given money for this purpose. Hundred

⁹²⁸ Dubrovački 2, doc. 1329, pp. 363-365.

⁹²⁹ Dubrovački 2, doc. 845, pp. 192-193.

⁹³⁰ SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90; AFH 20 (1927), p. 228.

⁹³¹ Velnić, "Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku," pp. 176-178.

pounds for repairs to the church were left by Pasqua⁹³² and Mary, daughter of late Peter Prodanello and wife of Marin of late Junius de Sorgo in the same year 1325.⁹³³ Bequests for masses were frequent, sometimes they had a price and number of masses noted,⁹³⁴ sometimes only the number of masses needed to be served,⁹³⁵ and sometimes the money was just given for masses, without further specification.⁹³⁶

While there were other types of bequests given to friars by the family de Sorgo, some were much more significant than others. Junius de Sorgo bequeathed his house to friars in 1339,⁹³⁷ Stephen de Sorgo instructed a construction of a house for the sick worth 400 perpers in 1346,⁹³⁸ Franussa, the wife of James de Sorgo in 1373 bequeathed money from the rent from her small houses for the altar of St Francis in Dubrovnik,⁹³⁹ and in 1391, Martinusso bequeathed his gondola.⁹⁴⁰

Family de Sorgo also nurtured not only relationships with the friars as a community, but also with individual friars, but in contrast to the family de Mençe, their bequests were mainly monetary, and not specific items. Friar Thephilo was given 5 perpers and Friar Gavçe de Magsi was given one perper by Mary, the wife of late Junius de Sorgo in 1325.⁹⁴¹ Friars Matheo Rosso, Friar Andrew of Trogir, and Friar John were bequeathed 5 perpers each by Perva, the wife of late Vrsi de Sorgo in 1359.⁹⁴² Friar Andrew is again mentioned, but this time in the testament of Martin of late Andrea de Sorgo, who bequeathed him with 10 perpers.⁹⁴³ One friar named Deodatus was not the recipient of a bequest given by the member of the family de Sorgo, but served as the witness while ser James de Sorgo was writing his testament in 1387.⁹⁴⁴ There is one instance where it was indicated that an individual friar was more important than the friary itself. For the Friar Thephilo it was stated that the place where he will be located will receive one perpers, and he himself will receive 5 perpers.⁹⁴⁵ The

⁹³² DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 8.

⁹³³ DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 16'.

⁹³⁴ Nicholas of Andrea de Sorgo bequeathed 24 perpers for thousand masses (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 63-65), Perva, the wife of late ser Nicholas de Sorgo 42 masses for thousand masses (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 8, fol. 263'-264), Rada, the wife of late Nicholas de Sorgo 21 perpers for 500 masses (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 171'-172'), and Anne, the wife of Andrea de Sorgo 12 perpers for 300 masses (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 46).

⁹³⁵ Thousand masses in testaments of Mary, the daughter of late Peter de Prodanello and the wife of Marin of late Junius de Sorgo in 1325, given twice to friars in her testament (DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 16'); Junius (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 62'); Perva, the wife of late Ursi de Sorgo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 45-46), Franussa, the wife of James de Sorgo in 1373 (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 107'), Mara, the wife of Martin de Sorgo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 108'); and 500 masses in the testaments of: Vulça, the wife of Pale de Sorgo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 49') and Decussa, the daughter of Marin de Sorgo (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 170').

⁹³⁶ Čaninus, the son of Dobroslav bequeathed 40 perpers for masses (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 12-12') and Čuno 20 perpers (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 36-36').

⁹³⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser 1, vol. 3, fol. 64.

⁹³⁸ The house should have the height of 16 *palmi* and long 9 *passi*, as well as have six rooms and two fireplaces (DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 113-113').

⁹³⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 107'.

⁹⁴⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 234-234'.

⁹⁴¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 16'.

⁹⁴² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 45-46.

⁹⁴³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 89'-90.

⁹⁴⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 114'-116.

⁹⁴⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 16'.

connection between Mary (maiden Prodanello and married Sörgo) and Friar Thephilo is not clear, but his name is not a common one to be used in Dubrovnik, or in Dalmatia in general.

It is interesting to mention that of the 18 members of the family de Sörgo, which bequeathed friars with notable items or money during the 14th century, none of them chose a burial place with the friars in Dubrovnik. However, their place of burial was not written at all in their testaments, so their choices or their lack of choice for their burial places is not understandable.

9.3.4. Other Notable Dalmatian Families

These four families were not the only ones who had friendly or familiar bonds with the Franciscan Order. Some families had members who were friars, some families had given hefty bequests to friars, and some families chose their burial place at Franciscan churches. Some families had all these factors; some had most of them. These families and individuals connected with friars only prove further that Franciscans were embedded in the lives of inhabitants of Dalmatia in almost every aspect of their lives.

Such a family is de Georgiis from Zadar. This noble family was noted in the sources from the 13th century, and its members held positions of rectors and city counts. The family had an extraordinary member of their family, who was a Franciscan friar named Fredrick. His name was Francis at first, which he probably took while entering the order, and later he changed it to Fredrick. His father was George, and he came from a large family with many siblings: three brothers (Philip, Louis and Nicholas) and three sisters (Tomasina, Clare and Catherine).⁹⁴⁶ He was an educated man, who went to university in Bologna in 1376,⁹⁴⁷ but soon, in 1379, he returned to the friary in Zadar.⁹⁴⁸ Although Fredrick was a Franciscan at first, he switched and entered into the Benedictine Order in 1382.⁹⁴⁹ Considering that his family was extremely pro Franciscan, it is actually strange and surprising that Fredrick switched to Benedictine Order, but it was probably more due to him being a wise and educated man who was needed there the most, and his life in the Franciscan order was the stepping stone to a fruitful career. Family de Georgiis had personal connection with an individual friar, Nicholas of Split, who, as the guardian in the friary in Zadar, was the executor of the will of Tomasina, the daughter of late Mathew de Georgiis.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁶ About the family de Georgiis (Jurjević) see: Branka Grbavac, "Jurjević (Đorđić, Gjorgjić, Jurin, Jurjev, Georgii, Georgiis, Georgio, Giorgio, Giorgis, Zorzi)," *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 6 (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005), pp. 634-637.

⁹⁴⁷ AF 11, p. 262.

⁹⁴⁸ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 11, fol. 35-35'.

⁹⁴⁹ Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* [Benedictines in Croatia], vol. 2 (Split: Benediktinski priorat Tkon, 1964), p. 224.

⁹⁵⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 87-87'.

However, there is one lay person from the family de Georgiis who had connection with friars and who was discussed in the first subchapter. The person in question is the royal knight Francis de Georgiis, the supporter of the Angevin rule and subsequently the Franciscan order. In his testament, besides 60 pounds given to Bosnian friars for clothes, he bequeathed 6 *starii* of oil for the lantern which was to be lit at the altar of St Louis in the next five years. Interestingly, that altar was made by Francis, and the grave of his father was located under it.⁹⁵¹

Speaking about distinguished members of families who entered the Franciscan order, there was also another family distinguished by the number of its friar members; however, they were not from Zadar, but from Dubrovnik. The family in question is Binçola, which had not only one, or two, but three friars within their family, and all were in the order around the same time: Damian, Zayslavo and Martin. These three friars were noted together in the testament of Miroslava, the wife of late Michael de Sepana in 1303, where Damian and Zayslavo received 10, and Martin 5 perpers. However, it seems that the most impactful connection for Miroslava was from Friar Damian Binçola, since he received the most bequests in her testament. Above what was listed, he received a further 15 perpers for performing masses and from what is left after everything from her possessions is distributed should be given to him so that he can perform masses at the Franciscan church.⁹⁵² Zayslavo was not mentioned in the source anymore, but Damian and Marin were. In the same year, Damian received 50 perpers for a Bible that was to be left to friars after his death⁹⁵³ and 3 perpers in 1308,⁹⁵⁴ and Martin received 1 perper in 1307.⁹⁵⁵ Since the family Binçola had multiple family members who joined the Franciscan order, as was seen in the previous chapters, it was not surprising that they mainly bequeathed individual friars, since they were probably familiar with other friars located in the friary in Dubrovnik, such as John de Sossio and Gualfredo (besides Damian de Binçola) in the testament of Anna, wife of Dobroslov de Binçola in 1308,⁹⁵⁶ Damian of Split in the testament Nicoleta, the wife of Marin de Binçola in 1348,⁹⁵⁷ Androlo, who was the spiritual advisor to Çive de Binçola in 1372.⁹⁵⁸

Some families and their members were more focused on gifting friars with large monetary bequests in their testaments. One of the largest bequests given by an inhabitant of Dalmatia was instructed in the end of the 13th century in the testament of a nobleman from Zadar, Cosa de Saladinis. Cosa wrote his testament in 1296, and among many bequests, he separated quite a substantial amount

⁹⁵¹ Grbavac, "Oporučni legati Zadrana i Trogirana bosanskim franjevcima," pp. 137-161. Cf. pages about the activities of the royal knight Francis de Georgiis.

⁹⁵² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11'.

⁹⁵³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 11.

⁹⁵⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 37'-38.

⁹⁵⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 34.

⁹⁵⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4/1, fol. 37'-38.

⁹⁵⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 33-33'.

⁹⁵⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 104-104'.

of money for friars in Zadar. He bequeathed 10 thousand pounds to build a church with its additional buildings, which would house eight friars and space for hospital large enough to accommodate twelve sick people. These eight friars would receive 500 pounds annually to perform the masses for the salvation of his and the souls of his ancestors. The said friars would receive from his land 3 *gognai* for the church, buildings and a garden. Furthermore, two friars were bequeathed money, Friar Marin de Formino and Friar Zanino of Bologna.⁹⁵⁹ The total sum of money which friars in Zadar received was around 10 703 pounds, and this amount would go even higher considering that they were supposed to receive annually 500 for the masses. All in all, this was the most that friars have ever been given from any inhabitant in Dalmatia. Unfortunately, as it is occasionally the case in these matters, the church was not built, and Cosa's last will was changed, and the money for building the church, garden and other buildings was repurposed for the maintenance, clothes and food for eight friars from the friary of St Francis.⁹⁶⁰ Although Cosa de Saladinis was a wealthy man, it is without a doubt that he had a soft spot for the Franciscan Order, which seems to have been long before he wrote his testament. Namely, Cosa was the apostolic representative of the friars in the Province of Slavonia/Dalmatia in 1268, when he was appointed by Pope Clement IV, alongside Epon of Acon from Kopar and Tom of Basilio.⁹⁶¹ Cosa was not only the greatest supporter of the Franciscan Order, but he was one of the oldest since their early years in the Province. Any preference that was passed on with other members of the family de Saladinis had its origin in Cosa and his testament, but his testament contained the most significant bequests for friars in Zadar.

Without going into detail on art and architecture of the friaries, since it is beyond my expertise, it is important to emphasize certain significant monuments and objects which were located within certain friaries. One of them was the cloister in the friary of St Francis in Dubrovnik, which was in the first half of the 14th century, on the model of Roman courtyards. The cloister was done by friar Vid of Kotor, a famous builder from the Order, who is also considered to be the one who built several friaries in the Province: this one in Dubrovnik, Zadar, and Pula. However, there is a stone inscription which says that the cloister was built by stonemason Miho of Brajko of Bar. The inscription is from his tomb placed in the same cloister, and although the date of his death is not written, according to other sources, he died around the year 1348. Since the inscription mentions Miho as the one who built, I am more inclined to believe we truly did so, but still, that does not mean that he did not

⁹⁵⁹ SZB I, doc. 48, pp. 85-90.

⁹⁶⁰ CD-S II, doc. 262-263, pp. 357-360.

⁹⁶¹ ASSF, Perg. 39.

cooperate or work in a partnership with friar Vid from Kotor.⁹⁶² Further proof that artisan layer of society had close connections with the Franciscans is another tomb stone inscription next to that of stonemason Miho of Brajko of Kotor. The person in question is master stonemason Radun Bogetić, the son of Bodet. Although this tombstone is dated, and although it is from a later period, in 1428, it is presumed that his father Bodet worked with Miho on building the cloister.⁹⁶³

The cloister of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik was a resting place for many citizens, where tombs were placed all over it, dug in the ground, with their tombstones. Although many prominent families of Dubrovnik had tombstones there, there is one family from the 14th century which was more prominent than others. Family Gučetić had a sarcophagus, which is still completely preserved until present day. It is located on the east side of the cloister on the outer wall of the sacristy. On the front side of the sarcophagus there is depiction of three important religious events – Ascension of Christ, and two events from the life of St Francis: his receiving of the stigmata, and St Francis supporting the church which is collapsing.⁹⁶⁴



Sarcophagus of the family Gučetić from the 14th century
(taken from Stipe Nosić, *Klaustar Male braće*, p. 83)

⁹⁶² Stipe Nosić, *Klaustar Male braće: remek-djelo stvaralaštva* [The Cloister of the Friars Minor: A Masterpiece Creation] (Zadar: Forum, 2021), pp. 15-17.

⁹⁶³ Nosić, *Klaustar Male braće: remek-djelo stvaralaštva*, pp. 42-43.

⁹⁶⁴ Nosić, *Klaustar Male braće: remek-djelo stvaralaštva*, pp. 83-84.

Family Gučetić had eight tombs there, with the first member buried there was Marin Gučetić, the city count of Dubrovnik, who was born around 1320. His father was Clement, originating from Kotor, a merchant and diplomat. Marin married a woman from Kotor called Bjelča de Bucchia. Due to the connections of his father-in-law, Nicholas, to Serbian emperor Dušan, Marin worked in the Serbian court, dealing with finances, only leaving when Nicholas died. Marin was supporter of the Angevin authority in Dalmatia, even before the Treaty of Zadar in 1358, where he came into conflict with some patrician families, so much so that he was imprisoned at some point. However, it is considered that Marin was a negotiator with Louis I and had a significant role in signing The Agreement of Višegrad in 1358, where Dubrovnik was given protection and privileged position among Dalmatian cities which enabled its independent development. Marin was elected as a count in 1359, 1361, 1364, 1366 and 1367.⁹⁶⁵ It is worth underlying that when Marin had problems regarding the negotiation with King Louis I at the expense of the city authorities, the king personally defended Marin. Furthermore, the king claimed that in fact these accusations arose from the slander done by his own confessor John. King defended Marin not only in front of city authorities of Dubrovnik, but also at the Serbian court and with Florentine authorities, as well.⁹⁶⁶

9.4. Services that served the friars – procurators of the Franciscans in Dalmatia

Although the friars were deeply involved in the spiritual life of inhabitants of Dalmatia, they could not steer away from mundane activities, especially legal activities. Friars themselves could not deal with this on their own, they needed an official person to take care of all their legal, and sometimes financial affairs. Here came the procurators. Procurators were, at least in this case, lay people who would represent a certain group or individual in any legal action which could arise during their lifetime. The questions that come to mind are: in what situations did the friars have the need for procurators and who were these procurators? In this section of a chapter, the examples from different towns will be combined to gain a better understanding of this office which was performed for the good of the local community, but the comparative approach will be left behind in this instance, since there is not enough source material to make distinctions between different towns. Here the emphasis will be on the services which were performed by the procurators for the benefit of friars, that is, for what did the friars need them?

⁹⁶⁵ Stipe Nosić, *Klaustar Male braće: remek-djelo stvaralaštva*, pp. 84-85. More on the Višegrad Agreement, see: Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Višegradski ugovor: temelj Dubrovačke Republike* [The Agreement of Višegrad: the foundation of Republic of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003).

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. Valentina Šoštarić, “Dubrovački poklisari – posrednici između lokalne zajednice i anžuvinskog dvora” [Ambassadors of Dubrovnik – mediators between the local community and the Angevin court], *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu* 15 (2022): 178-179, and literature used there for further references.

The role of procurators was not a novelty, it was an office which was known from ancient times, and which was used by various administrative authorities. In the Middle Ages, the role of a procurator was that of the court representative in the proceedings before the ecclesiastical and lay courts. However, in this respect, a procurator was a person who was taking care of the property issues of a certain ecclesiastical institution, church or a charity.⁹⁶⁷ The meaning of a procurator in a private legal sense was as a *procurator omnium bonorum* was the management of property he conducted in all matters for a certain person. An important type of these affairs would include the protection and realization of individual rights before the court, and early on the procedural procurator was established, *procurator ad litem*.⁹⁶⁸ While appointing a procurator, a person was given a special power of attorney to perform certain duties or actions, that is, to appear instead of a concerned party in court in individual cases.⁹⁶⁹ The procurator represented his client in a very literal sense that whatever he did or said while acting on the client's behalf barred the same legal consequences as if the client had said or done it himself. Anyone could appoint a procurator to act on their behalf in civil cases, and people in distinguished positions, such as bishops, who were not supposed to appear in person as litigants, had to act in these matters through procurators.⁹⁷⁰ Brundage discussed the difference between professional and occasional procurators, and with friars it is difficult to say under which category their procurators would fall upon. Occasional procurators were performing their service from time to time, for a friend or family member, and procurators rarely had special legal training and performed their service without compensation but were reimbursed for expenses which could occur. Either way, whether they were professional or occasional, procurators were not so versed in law as advocates, but their service required that familiarity with personnel and procedures which could only be due to them being present in court throughout the years.⁹⁷¹

In general, procurators would represent friars in any legal act which would involve any type of property given to them or any legal act for which friars needed representation, especially since they were not supposed to handle money and property in person. Therefore, it was a bit challenging to categorize the types of documents or better to say, legal actions which would require friars to use the services of a procurator. The first category is any legal act dealing with testaments and their bequests, and the other category is any legal act of sale, donation and rent.

⁹⁶⁷ Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013. – 2024. Accessed 30.12.2024. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/prokurator>.

⁹⁶⁸ Henrik Riko Held, "Procuratores i advocati u zapisima notara Tomazina de Savere (1277-1286)" [Procuratores and Advocati in the documents of the Notary Public Thomasinus de Savere (1277-1286)], *Anali Dubrovnika* 58 (2020): 44-45; James A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 17.

⁹⁶⁹ Held, "Procuratores i advocati," 51.

⁹⁷⁰ Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 207.

⁹⁷¹ Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, pp. 353-356.

9.4.1. Testaments and bequests, donations, rents and sales

There were several occasions, or types of documents which would require the presence of a procurator as a legal representative of friars. As the first and most basic level for friars, the type of document where the procurator was required is when a bequest was being confirmed by the friars themselves or any other fulfillment of a certain testament. This was the case in Zadar in 1370, when the procurator Francis de Sloradis was representing the friars in a document where they gave a statement that they received 50 pounds which were given to them by Joanna of late John from Zadar in her testament, which were intended for the celebration of masses, and this was all done at the chapter of friars in Zadar.⁹⁷² The same procurator had another chance to represent friars in Zadar on the same issue, but from a different testament, the one of Daria, who bequeathed to friars 10 ducats to help them to arrange a dormitory and 50 pounds for repairing the church and the convent.⁹⁷³

However, procurators were not only representing the friars with a mere statement that the bequests were fulfilled but also had to make sure that the money or an item actually did arrive in the hands of friars. It was not uncommon for bequests in testaments to not be fulfilled, and further claims from friars were needed to ensure the receipt of promised bequest. Therefore, litigation was needed and done in 1391 in Zadar, when the procurator Paul de Paulo requested a payment of 6 gold ducats from *ser* Kolan of late Matthew de Begna. The bequest was left to Friar Benedict in the testament of Kolan's father Mathew, who wanted to give Friar Benedict as much money as he would need for sending one good man to pilgrimage to Rome for the salvation of his soul.⁹⁷⁴

Sometimes even further steps were needed, and a real court hearing was held with the intent of fulfilling a certain bequest from a testament. A procurator Paul de Paulo represented the friars in Zadar in a court hearing in front of the judges of Zadar as a plaintiff against the executors of the will of Luke, son of Leo, from Zadar in 1391. The reason for this was that the bequest was not fulfilled by the executors. Namely, in the testament of Luke, the executors were obligated to build a chapel in the honor of St James and St Christopher in the church of St Francis, which would be done in the value of 500 ducats. The court ruled that the executors of the testament of Luke, son of Leo, must build this chapel within one year.⁹⁷⁵ It is not certain if this bequest was then complete according to

⁹⁷² DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 10, fol. 7-7'.

⁹⁷³ DAZd, ZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 14, fol. 34'.

⁹⁷⁴ Tomislav Popić, *Krojenje pravde. Zadarsko sudstvo u srednjem vijeku (1358. – 1458.)* Tailoring the justice. Judiciary system in Zadar in the Middle Ages (Zagreb: Plejada, 2014), doc. 4, pp. 182-183.

⁹⁷⁵ ASSF, Perg. 86.

these guidelines, but since there was no further litigation on this subject, it is very clear that this matter was concluded once and for all.

Other situations which required procurators to function as friars' representatives were concerning the acts of sale, donation, and renting. Most frequently procurators dealt with various donations which were given to friars. In Senj, it was Zovello Nosdrogna from Zadar who handled their business there, and not only on one occasion. First was in 1293, when Peter de Barthe, citizen of Zadar, gave a house to friars in Senj,⁹⁷⁶ and in 1295, it was when Stephen *Ungarus* donated his garden to friars in Senj.⁹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, it is not clear yet how long one procurator served friars, since for Senj there is no record of procurators in the subsequent years, and even much longer afterwards, that is, the next document with procurator of friars in Senj is from 1374. Donations were usually given from inhabitants of various towns to friars, but in some cases, it was the other way around. On that year, the friary in Senj was giving a mill to Mikula of late Stephen de Marcolac, with certain dispensations, of course. The procurator during this legal act was ser Nicolottus Vallaresso of Venice, who was also inhabitant of Senj.⁹⁷⁸ The same was done in the same year with the same procurator, but this time the friars in Senj gave a destroyed house to a judge Joseph of late judge Diminus, with an annual dispensation. However, Nicolottus was not the only procurator in Senj at that time, and he was accompanied by magister Bartholomew, *medicus de Caucas de Mutina*,⁹⁷⁹ but the question which comes to mind is why Bartholomew was not noted in the previous document, even so more considering that they were both written on the same day, 15th of October. Why did one legal act require two procurators and for another one sufficiently, it is not clear. Maybe it was influenced by the actors who were involved in this legal act, those besides the friars' representative.

In Krk, the procurator was also needed while sorting out the donations left to friars there. In 1295, Androsio, who was once a judge, was given half of the house from Mary, the daughter of late Andrea de Bussa and a house by Maurus Arsurae and his wife Benvenuta.⁹⁸⁰ Of course, this did not mean that it was given to Androsio himself, but him as the representative of friars in Krk and a lay person who is not bound by the Vow of Poverty. The house was not the only type of donation for which the procurator's expertise was used. In a much later period, in 1350, the procurator Nicholas

⁹⁷⁶ CD VII, doc. 137, pp. 157-158.

⁹⁷⁷ CD VII, doc. 192, pp. 212-213.

⁹⁷⁸ CD XV, doc. 48, pp. 67-69

⁹⁷⁹ CD XV, doc. 49, pp. 69-72.

⁹⁸⁰ CD VII, doc. 181, pp. 202-203.

of late Count Schinella was managing a donation from domina Cecilia, the aunt of Bartholomew, the Count of Krk and Modruš, who gave a vineyard in Cavo de Valle to friars in Krk.⁹⁸¹

In Zadar in 1341-1342, two procurators were also dealing with donations to friars, but not to those from Zadar, but from Bribir. Radoslav, the bishop of Krbava, gave the estates of his late brother Gergory to the friars in Bribir, and the procurators for friars were noblemen Francis de Lompre and Peter de Matafaris.⁹⁸² In Split in 1390, the procurator of friars there was Francis Bivaldi, and he was also representing friars during the act of donation, but it had a bit of a different context. Brothers Thomas and Francis Natalich gave a land in Vela Gomila in the island Brač to friars in Split, but the land was given in the name of debt of 150 pounds which they owed to friars.⁹⁸³ What could have been the reason of owing money to friars? Although it is not certain, there could have been a bequest which was not paid to friars or maybe friars did some for them and the brothers did not pay to friars. Furthermore, with the issue in general in the Franciscan Order with owning immovable property, it is surprising that friars were given land instead of actual money, although the land could have been subsequently sold and money from that sale given to friars.

Donations were not the only legal action for which friars required representation from a procurator, and sometimes friars were required to establish the rent for certain estates. In 1338, the procurator of friars in Split Jannes Egidii was renting some goods and estate to Duymo Gusolino,⁹⁸⁴ and in 1365, ser Benevenuto and James of late judge Vitus, once judges of Senj, and master Bartholomew of late Thomasio, the chancellor of Mutina, the procurators of friars in Senj were renting a half of a house to Paul, son of Baldo.⁹⁸⁵ The conditions of the rent contract were sometimes generic, and sometimes more specific. In 1360/1372, the already mentioned judge Benvenuto, the procurator and economus of the friars in Senj, was renting to inhabitant Daniel de Varicassis from Zadar, and to his heirs, three houses with an annual rent of 20 ducats. The conditions in this legal act were that Daniel should repair and further maintain the houses, and this rental contract stops only if any or all the houses were to be destroyed by the fire.⁹⁸⁶

In 1371, Philip Barelli gave his pledge on a part of the house to the heir of late Sime Bolica, which was previously conceded to him by the procurators of friars in Kotor, Drago of Mark Dragonis and Give Bucha.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸¹ CD XI, doc. 478, pp. 624-626.

⁹⁸² CD X, doc. 426, pp. 601-604.

⁹⁸³ CD XVII, doc. 191, pp. 273-274.

⁹⁸⁴ CD X, doc. 310, pp. 432-434.

⁹⁸⁵ CD XIII, doc. 350, pp. 482-484.

⁹⁸⁶ CD XIII, doc. 27, pp. 38-41.

⁹⁸⁷ CD XIV, doc. 222, p. 304.

The procurators for friars had to also handle sales, for instance in 1380 in Senj, when the friary of St Francis bought a house from the bequest which was left to them by Countess Elisabeth, the widow of Count Dujam of Krk. The procurator representing the friars was noted by only first name George, and the incomes of this house were intended to serve to maintain the church of St Francis.⁹⁸⁸ The procurators were not only performing their service during these legal situations, but their job continued even afterwards, which was done in Zadar by Francis de Sloradis, for which it was noted that he managed the stores which belonged to friars, meaning that this was an ongoing task he needed to perform.⁹⁸⁹

9.4.2. Two roles in one – extra roles of procurators: *syndicus*, *advocatus*, *iudex*

The role of the procurators was widespread and multifunctional, as it was seen, but could be summarized as their representatives in any legal matter that arose in friars' lives. However, sometimes the role of a procurator was performed in addition to another. The additional roles in question were those of a *syndic* and *economus*. The question which comes to mind is why the lay people had two roles to perform and what did these additional roles imply? When speaking about different roles and offices within certain friaries, Michael Robson lists many possible offices within larger friaries, while he states that in the smaller friaries these duties would be combined and further, that some domestic offices were filled by lay brothers.⁹⁹⁰ With the same logic, maybe smaller friaries would use the services of lay people who were also performing other duties. The first additional office in question is that of a *syndic*, who was a paid state, communal and ecclesiastical official who performed various duties in medieval Dalmatian communes. Some of these duties performed by *syndics* were mostly dealing with the supervision of the city's economy (monetary business of the comes/count and other communal officials, supply of wheat, taxes) and as communal ambassadors they were noted in Zadar, Šibenik and Trogir, while in some communes they had other specific roles. In the Republic of Dubrovnik, *syndics* were performing the duties of ambassadors, they controlled the work of local authorities of the communes under the management of the Republic, they were communal lawyers and guardians of peace in the hall where the Great Council was presiding. However, in Split, *syndics* were also performing the duties of a procurator.⁹⁹¹ The latter had been proved to be true, since that was exactly what happened in Split in 1338. The aforementioned Iannes Egidii, who was the representative of the friars in Split, and titled as *syndic* and procurator, was renting certain goods and

⁹⁸⁸ CD XVI, doc. 82, pp. 89-91.

⁹⁸⁹ *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara*, doc. 13, p. 116.

⁹⁹⁰ Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, pp. 177-178.

⁹⁹¹ *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža*, 2013. – 2024. Accessed 30.12.2024. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/sindik>.

possessions to Duymo Gusolino. The goods in question were houses, land, land with wines, etc. The document is damaged and therefore some parts of it are missing, but the list is quite extensive. Since all this was done with the permission of Friar Levacto de Citanova, the question is how much property the friars had in their possession, especially when they were able to rent it to Duymo for the next ten years and how much money friars will accumulate during this period from the rent.⁹⁹²

Besides the procurators mentioned by name, sometimes there was no lay person performing such a duty for the friars or they were uncertain who would perform it in the future. In 1402, the procurators of the friary in Zadar are only mentioned as such, and not by their names, but it seems that two lay people should have been used for this. The procurators were supposed to confirm in the name of the friary that Guido of late Cressio de Grubogna, who was the executor of the will of Pelegrina Ljubavac, paid out her bequests in the sum of 200 ducats, which were left for building and repairs to friars by her.⁹⁹³ It is not certain whether friars had procurators in their office all the time or one would only be elected in specific circumstances when they needed him for their current affairs. Maybe the names of the procurators would be noted only in cases of more mundane matters, and this was more a standard situation which did not require much involvement of procurators, just a simple confirmation of acceptance.

9.4.3. The political agency of procurators and their connections to friars

To make a thorough biography of most of the procurators who served the friars would be in most cases nearly impossible, since for some individuals there is not much information available from written sources, while for others it would require extensive research which would go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, several examples will be shortly presented to show that the procurators maybe did not serve as mere representatives, but also as potential friends, family or supporters of the Franciscan order. One of such procurators was a notable nobleman from Zadar by the name of Paul de Paulo. Paul was a nobleman, politician and chronicler, born around 1338 and died in 1416. He belonged to one of the oldest families in Zadar and was the son of Marin de Paulo and Magdalena de Qualis. He was active in public services and diplomatic activities, and in the period from 1379 to 1407 he was elected as the city rector of Zadar 24 times.⁹⁹⁴ Other offices which he performed were

⁹⁹² CD X, doc. 310, pp. 432-434; More on family Ljubavac, see: Ljubavac. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, Accessed 16.2.2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/ljubavac>.

⁹⁹³ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 325'.

⁹⁹⁴ City rector is in fact the governor a city commune, elective representative from the members of the patriciate, served for a certain term, and was under the authority of city council. In general, the function was just below one of city count, thus immediate top of pyramid of governing structures in the city commune. Sometimes, in Dalmatian cities, city rector(s) could have been appointed by the authorities, kings or doges of Venice alike. But, in general, more likely he was an elective than an appointed member of the city administration.

the city *comes* of Trogir in 1386, of Šibenik in 1399 and of Pag in 1408. The crown of his work is a chronicle titled *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo, patricii Jadrensis*, where he wrote not only about his own life during the period of 1371 to 1408, but also about significant events in the history of Zadar and Croatian lands.⁹⁹⁵ Paul, besides being a procurator of Franciscan friars in Zadar had a preference towards them which was visible in other ways as well. His connection with the friars can be confirmed from his testament in 1392, that is, from the bequest in which he had given 100 pounds for the reparation of the church and for choosing a place for his burial in the said church.⁹⁹⁶ Paul's choice for the burial in the church of St Francis is not surprising since he probably represented friars for a long time and for them, he must have been their person of confidence. In his diary, *Memoriale*, which is considered as one of the most important sources for this period, he also described the events which involved the friars in Zadar. He himself wrote about one instance of him being their procurator, which happened in February 1390.⁹⁹⁷ Furthermore, for the 29th of November 1394, he wrote that Ban John of Krk died then in Senj and that he will be buried in the Franciscan church.⁹⁹⁸ For this entry, it is evident that Paul was more than adequately informed and interested in information concerning Franciscans and politically relevant people like count of Krk.

Another procurator who had a strong connection with the Franciscan order was Luke, son of Matt from the Lucić kindred from Trogir. He is noted in a sale document from 1266, when he was mentioned as the representative of friars, when they bought a garden from the patrons of the church of St George, which was located next to the church of St George on the coast.⁹⁹⁹ The choice of a procurator may not be done by chance, but with longstanding preference from his predecessors. Namely, the first preserved testament from Trogir was done by Desa of Luke from the Lucić kindred, who gave bequests for friars for the building of the friary of St Mary with all the necessary buildings. Although receiving the bequests of Desa was a complicated process, it does not diminish his support for Franciscans during their very beginnings in Trogir.¹⁰⁰⁰ Either way, Desa and Lucas were deriving from the same kindred, and it is no wonder that Lucas could have been drawn to the Franciscans from an early age.

Some procurators were not only their supporters or friends, but their family. John Tavelić, a procurator of the friars in Šibenik from the very end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, was a relative of Nicholas Tavelić, the first Croatian national saint. Nicholas Tavelić, a nobleman

⁹⁹⁵ Pavao Pavlović. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013. – 2025. Accessed 1.1.2025. <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/pavao-pavlovic>.

⁹⁹⁶ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 13.

⁹⁹⁷ Šišić, "Memoriale Pauli de Paulo," p. 14.

⁹⁹⁸ Šišić, "Memoriale Pauli de Paulo," p. 18.

⁹⁹⁹ Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, p. 230.

¹⁰⁰⁰ CD III, p. 398, Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, p. 228.

from Šibenik, was a member of the Franciscan Order who suffered a martyr death at the hands of Muslims in 1391, while he was on his mission in Jerusalem on the 14th of November 1391.¹⁰⁰¹ The Tavelić family originates from Šibenik, and its first known member is named Bogdan, who lived at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, and he is assumed to be the father of future St Nicholas. The family Tavelić were the supporters of Venice and when it took over Šibenik in 1412, the Bogdan's heirs, grandsons John and Florius with their sons, received an annual income. The grandson of Bogdan, John, became a city count of Hvar in 1420 and was a captain of the district of Šibenik, and Florius was a court procurator.¹⁰⁰² The exact family relation between John and Nicholas is not proved yet, the assumption is they were close relatives, but was John, city count of Šibenik, the same John who was the procurator of the friars? Under the assumption that he was the same John, which would make him either the son or the nephew of St Nicholas Tavelić. From the documents at my disposal and the timeframe of this thesis, the documents concerning John are those where he provided service as a procurator to the friars in Šibenik. John was a procurator in Šibenik in three instances in the span of five years, but could it be that he was their procurator all the time during these five years? In 1400 he was representing the friars with the guardian of Šibenik, Dominic, the son of Mirko, while giving a statement of receiving a list of items which they were given by Michael, the son of Peter Goniribić. These items belonged to a Friar Nicholas of George and for these items they compensate Michael with the promise that they will not make any more claims.¹⁰⁰³ Furthermore, John Tavelić was again a procurator in 1404 when the friars were being distributed various properties from two different testators: four stores, a house and a mill,¹⁰⁰⁴ and in 1405, when these properties given to them were being confirmed.¹⁰⁰⁵ It seems that it took one year for these donations to friars to be confirmed, but this was not uncommon for legal actions to take longer time to be fulfilled.

¹⁰⁰¹ There are several works concerning the St Nicholas Tavelić, starting with a volume published after his canonization titled *Nikola Tavelić, Prvi hrvatski svetac* [Nikola Tavelić, First Croatian Saint], ed. by Gabrijel Hrvatin Jurišić (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1970), which was followed by various articles and a recent volume published in 2019 titled *Sv. Nikola Tavelić mučenik – njegovo vrijeme i trajna poruka. Zbornik radova Četvrtog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa "Franjevački velikani" o sv. Nikoli Taveliću, Šibenik, 20.-21. listopada 2017* [Saint Nicholas Tavelić the martyr – his time and permanent message. The volume of papers of the Fourth International Scholarly Conference "The Franciscan Greatmen" about Nicholas Tavelić, Šibenik 20th-21st of October 2017], ed. by Daniel Patafta – Nedjeljka s. Valerija Kovač (Zagreb, Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Hrvatska franjevačka provincija sv. Ćirila i Metoda – Hrvatska provincija sv. Jeronima franjevaca konventualaca, 2019).

¹⁰⁰² Tavelić, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013. – 2024. Accessed 31.12.2024. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/tavelic>.

¹⁰⁰³ *Zilio pok. Gulielma de Albanis de Regio*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁰⁰⁴ AFSS, Divnić, fol. 120'-121.

¹⁰⁰⁵ AFSS, Divnić, fol. 121'-122.

9.5. Franciscan supporters from the middle and lower milieu

Franciscans were from the very beginning of their existence in Dalmatia an urban phenomenon which was supported by all layers of society. In practice, the high echelon of society left a stronger mark in the sources than those belonging to mid- or low(er) layers. The reason for this is very practical – members of lower echelon did not have enough money or assets to bequeath them, and even little assets they could possess, they would surely bequeath it to their closest family members or friends. Second, composing last wills also cost money, therefore, the problem of this kind of research doubles in this respect. However, the middle class had more social freedom and money to show their preferences towards a certain ecclesiastical institution or an order and therefore, the sources give more information to form certain connections and conclusions about their relationship with the Franciscan order. This is most evident in the social layer of artisans, especially the artisans from Zadar and Dubrovnik will be discussed according to different ways in which they would show their preferences and support to the Franciscans in Dalmatia, whether it was for the whole community in the friary or for individual friars. The same criteria which applied for noble families applies also in this case: the friars belonging to the middle or lower layer of society, bequests given to friars from this layer, personal connections with friars as the executors of their last wills, etc.

9.5.1. Zadar

The connection with the artisan layer of society sometimes came from the friars themselves, meaning that certain friars belonged to this layer of society in Zadar. Although it is not always clear to which social layer friars belonged to, since they are only mentioned by their first name and their place of origin, sometimes there were notes providing more information on their social background. The friars who belonged to noble Dalmatian families were already mentioned, but here the friars in question are those who originated from the artisan layer of society and they were not neglected in their community. Some of them were already mentioned in other chapters, such is the case with Friar Augustine, who was the nephew or the grandson of chest maker George, the son of late Ratko, who in 1385 supported Augustine in his future career, giving him 100 pounds exclusively for the purpose of going to studies and the same amount, 100 pounds, after he perform his Young Mass.¹⁰⁰⁶ The way this bequest was worded meant that education was very important to George and he wanted Augustine to not only enter the Franciscans, but also go further in his education, potentially obtaining a more prominent position in the Order, although in the end there was no information whether Augustine remained in the Order or if he went to studies abroad. However, in the following lines, I will argue

¹⁰⁰⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 85'-86'.

that some friars originated from lower social strata, which I was able to reconstruct on the basis of last wills and testaments of their relatives, because society in Dalmatia usually followed the same patterns in marriage and kin stratography.

It is possible that one friar was actually member of a family coming from the Zaratine district. Friar Gregory, the son of Draša, the widow of Nicholas was bequeathed in 1346 20 solidos of grossi by Slava of late John Cuvelić from the Island Ugljan, who was the cousin of his mother, for the purpose of celebrating masses for her soul.¹⁰⁰⁷ To the layer of commoners from Zadar belonged also Friar Francis, the nephew of Ljuba, the widow of an agricultural worker Dragoslav and the daughter of late Andrew, who in 1386 also gave money for the Young Mass and studies, but 100 solidos. However, she equipped her nephew Francis with items he might need for his life in the friary: one silver chalice, pair of sheets, a cover and a pillow and a cover for the table. However, this was all given, as in previous examples, for him to use for his Mass, meaning if he stays in the order.¹⁰⁰⁸ The last friar for which it is known that he belonged to the same layer of society was Vladislav, the cousin of Rada, who was the wife of the merchant John, the son of the late Dragoja. John in his testament bequeathed a tunic in 1356 for Vladislav, showing both support for the Franciscans order and his wife's family.¹⁰⁰⁹ There were probably more friars which belonged to the middle or lower social layers, but unfortunately, for a significant number of friars, there is no way to know since the only information written is their name and place of origin, and without such testaments where personal relations were written, it is hard to conclude on their social status. Furthermore, it is not clear why for some friars there was further information about their families and for some there was not. Certainly, the nature of the order and the fact that after entering it, friars considered the order as their family. Yet, these lucky mentionings in the sources showed that either way, friars' family and social origins can be followed even if it is not from the highest layers such as nobility or patriciate, but also from middle or lower layer, even if the family origin is not more specified.

Considering the preference of families from the lower layers of society from Zadar in general, and not only by supporting friars who were the members of their families, there is one interesting example where the preference towards them was from multiple aspects. The testament in question is from an agricultural worker John, the son of late Andrew from the island Pašman, who lived in the area called *Almisia*. In 1384, John first installed Friar Nicholas from Trogir, the guardian of friary in Zadar, as one of the executors of his last will, showing that he trusted either their community or Nicholas in particular. The property which was to be bequeathed was divided into three parts: one

¹⁰⁰⁷ CD XI, doc. 228, pp. 306-307.

¹⁰⁰⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol 28-28'.

¹⁰⁰⁹ SZB V, doc. 237, pp. 369-373.

third to his wife if she does not remarry (if she does, she is left with the one quarter instead), one third to friars where he also wanted to be buried, a last third to potential future offsprings, which he did not have yet when he was writing his testament. If in the end he will not have any offspring, the third intended for them would go to the Franciscans, meaning they would then gain two thirds of his earthly goods, even maybe more if his wife remarries. Although he was an agricultural worker and probably did not own much of material possessions, the fact is that he nonetheless wanted to donate most of what he possessed to the Franciscan order in Zadar, which would make it more significant, since, due to lack of funds, he would probably have to choose only one ecclesiastica institution, and it had to be the one he cherished the most. Furthermore, it should also be taken into consideration that his testament was compiled in the very friary of St Francis in Zadar, in the garden in front of the room of the Friar Benedict, who was the lector there at that time. The choice of witnesses is also peculiar: the notary Anthony, son of late Bartholomew de Aduocatis de Bergamo, and the fisherman named Kršul, the son of late Grgurica of Zadar.¹⁰¹⁰ Usually the choice of witnesses could not be correlated with the Franciscans, but since witnesses would usually be people who were present at the place where the testament was written, this meant that Anthony and Kršul were present in the friary at that time. This only confirms that the friary was a place where people from different social strata gathered and where the difference in social reputation, education, origin or wealth did not matter.

On a more personal level, as was seen from the example in testament of agricultural worker John, who chose an executor from the friary in Zadar, there were more friars who obtained the same role for people from the middle and lower layers of society, which showed a more personal connection, since the choice of executor was not a random decision of the testator and it had to be a person which they trusted. That is why Dobrica, the widow of the stonemason James, in 1304 chose Friar Nicholas from Zadar, who was a lector in Zadar at that time, as the executor of her will.¹⁰¹¹ Of course, it would make more sense to choose a friar who was the guardian of St Francis at that time, but since there is not much information during this period, the reason for choosing Friar Nicholas is not clear and personal connection is not evident, but it was always more likely to choose either a friar who had a personal connection with the testator, or a friar who obtained a certain office within the friary, usually that of a guardian, but not exclusively.

A barber called Nikoleta from Zadar in 1401 chose Friar Dominic of Trogir as an executor of his testament, when he received the receipt of payment of the debt of 168 ducats which the testator had towards John of James, the maker of nails.¹⁰¹² Friar Dominic was in general frequently

¹⁰¹⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 14-15.

¹⁰¹¹ SZB II, doc. 138, pp. 71-72; Velnić, "Samostan sv. Frane," p. 74.

¹⁰¹² DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 225.

performing service of the executor, for three different people on several occasions: Mara of late Lovrolo Zoja,¹⁰¹³ barber Nikoleta and Pelegrina Ljubavac¹⁰¹⁴ and he was the guardian of the friary in Zadar in 1402¹⁰¹⁵ and 1403 while he was acting as executor of Pelegrina's testament.¹⁰¹⁶ In the case of barber Nikoleta, it is not said that Friar Dominic was the guardian of the friary in 1401, but since he was noted as such in the subsequent year, it is not surprising that Nikoleta chose him to be the executor of his will and it would still mean that more "prominent" members of the Franciscan community were often chosen to perform this service.

Other members of the artisan layer of society in Zadar were usually bequeathing either money for certain purposes or some items which could be of use for friars. In 1384, chest maker George of late Ratko bequeathed for his soul 100 *solidos* for the decoration of the church and friary. It was not specified what he meant by this decoration, but it was stated that further details would be further discussed with the executors of his last will.¹⁰¹⁷ The amount of money may not be substantial, but it surely helped friars to maintain their buildings and make them a place where everyone felt welcome to reside during their prayers or masses. However, objects were more frequently donated by the artisans of Zadar, and sometimes their value was greater, as was the case of Kolica, the daughter of Gregory and the wife of the fisherman Andrew of late Stanko, who in 1388 bequeathed a silver chalice of the value of 5 ducats.¹⁰¹⁸ This was not a small amount of money, especially for a wife of a fisherman, although the members of the nobility would bequeathed approximately double the value of this amount, they were much more prominent families.¹⁰¹⁹

The choice of burials at St Francis was not exclusive for patriciate families, so it did not mean that other layers of society did not choose to be buried there as well, and here the middle layer of society was more frequently choosing their eternal resting place there. In fact, almost half of the burials at St Francis in Zadar were belonging to burgers of city. They were usually merchants, such as Paulin of late Nicholas de Medio¹⁰²⁰ and Damian of late Martin from the kindred Polečić,¹⁰²¹ and spice merchant Nuncio, the son of late Parino from Florence,¹⁰²² artisans – such as carpenters Vitul,

¹⁰¹³ In 1400 (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 147) and in 1401 (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 156').

¹⁰¹⁴ He was the executor for Pelegrina in 1402 (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 325'; DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 331'); in 1403 (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 351') and in 1406 (DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 353).

¹⁰¹⁵ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 325'.

¹⁰¹⁶ DAZd, ZB, VBF, b. I, fasc. II/1, fol. 351'.

¹⁰¹⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 85'-86'.

¹⁰¹⁸ DAZd, ZB, RM, b. I, fasc. III, fol. 25'.

¹⁰¹⁹ As was the case of Nikša of late Luke de Buchia from 1386, who instructed the making of the silver chalice of the value of 10 ducats with a saucer and the coat of arms of his family (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 23'-24).

¹⁰²⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 18'-19'.

¹⁰²¹ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 62-63.

¹⁰²² DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 109'-110'.

son of late Bonano¹⁰²³ and Andrew of late Dessa,¹⁰²⁴ tanner Luke of late George the tanner,¹⁰²⁵ and agricultural workers, such as mentioned John of late Andrew from Pašman.¹⁰²⁶ Female testators with bequests for burials were usually the wives of fishermen, such as Stana, the widow of late Luke, the fisherman from Zadar,¹⁰²⁷ Draga, the widow of late Gregory the fisherman,¹⁰²⁸ and Kolica, the daughter of late Gregory and the wife of Andrew the fisherman, the son of late Stanko,¹⁰²⁹ Ljuba, the daughter of late Radin, agricultural worker, and the widow of late notary Girardo.¹⁰³⁰ Connected with burial and also a painting in the Franciscan church in Zadar is the testament of the carpenter John called Skanser from 1394. He instructed that in the church of St Francis, above the grave of his wife Palma, a painting should be made, which depicts the Virgin Mary with Christ, portrait of him, John, his wife Palma and the maid, and the image of St Francis who will be presenting them to Christ.¹⁰³¹ It would be safe to assume that John, since he commissioned this type of artwork with personal portraits, was probably also buried at the Franciscan church in Zadar and that he had a deep connection with the Franciscan community and the saint himself.¹⁰³²

For middle and lower layers of society it is much more difficult to follow a family lineage, but nonetheless, it was possible for one family stood out, the family Drusinić. Family Drusinić was a bourgeois family in the period of the 14th century, which later, in the 15th century, entered the circle of the economic-merchant elite. The connection with the Franciscans came from the female lineage, three women who were connected to one person, John Drusinić. The women in question were his daughters Marica, the wife of Krešo Lončić and Mandica, the wife of a merchant John Jurmanić, and his daughter-in-law Franica, the wife of his son Radojko and the daughter of Miroje Franulić of Božava on Dugi Otok, which belonged to the district of Zadar. This meant that the two sisters were connected from their father's side, and the daughter-in-law from her husband's side, since Franica chose her husband Radoje and mother-in-law Radica for the executors of her testament, but also her father Miroje, which meant she did not lose contact with her parents and was not exclusively inclined

¹⁰²³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 37-37'.

¹⁰²⁴ CD XVIII, doc. 352, pp. 505-506.

¹⁰²⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 113-113'.

¹⁰²⁶ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 14-15.

¹⁰²⁷ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 7'.

¹⁰²⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 58'-59.

¹⁰²⁹ DAZd, ZB, RM, b. I, fasc. III, fol. 25'.

¹⁰³⁰ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 93-93'.

¹⁰³¹ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, fasc. 3, fol. 90; Klaić – Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, p. 525.

¹⁰³² Similar connection from the layer of merchants, but more with St Francis than the friary in Zadar was present in the testament of John of the late German, who was a merchant from Zadar. In 1390, he bequeathed that above his grave the figures of Virgin Mary, St John the Baptist, St Jerome and St Francis should be made. Unfortunately, the document is damaged so it is not legible where he wanted to be buried, but there is a very good possibility that it could have been at St Francis', especially since two saints were connected to the Franciscan Order, and by his bequest to pilgrimage to Assisi and to friars in Palestine (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 2, nr. 1).

only to the husband's family. In 1391, Franica bequeathed 10 pounds for the reparation of the friary and church, but her devotion towards the Franciscans is more visible in the bequest where she instructed that one person should go to pilgrimage in Assisi (the type of substitute pilgrimage),¹⁰³³ making her a part of the group of women belonging to the artisan layer who showed their support and preference towards the Franciscan order mainly through pilgrimages to Assisi. Mandica, the daughter of John Drusinić also falls under the category of women which also, in the same year, instructed pilgrimage to Assisi, but the difference is that Assisi was not the only pilgrimage bequest, and she also wanted that another person travels to Rome.¹⁰³⁴ Second daughter Marica did not bequeath the pilgrimage to Assisi, but she wrote the testament due to going to pilgrimage herself to Rome. But her connection to Franciscans was manifested in other manner: besides bequeathing 50 pounds for reparation of the friary, if she did not have any heirs, her whole property is divided into half between the friary of St Francis and the convent of St Catherine in Zadar.¹⁰³⁵

In Zadar, the support of the middle and lower layers of the society towards the Franciscan Order is not as visible as it is with the nobility, but this did not mean that they were not present in the lives of friars in Zadar, which is especially evident in the testament of John, the agricultural worker, where the place and people who were present during the writing of the testament confirms that the friary was indeed a place where people from all the social layers of society gathered and socialized, and since the exact place was the garden in front of the room of a Friar Benedict, who resided in the friary for a long time and who was an important member of the community of Zadar. While individuals from noble families would bequeath the Franciscans with materially substantial bequests, one aspect was open to all – final resting place. The testator from the middle and lower made more than half of bequests for burial within St Francis. Furthermore, it seems that another connection between the artisan layer of the society and Franciscans was manifested mainly by the female members through pilgrimages to Assisi.

9.5.2. Dubrovnik

In Dubrovnik, it proved to be more challenging to make conclusions about the connection of the middle layer, mostly artisans, with the Franciscan Order, especially since some testators seemed to be either split between the Franciscans and Dominicans, or they in fact preferred the Dominican Order more. In contrast to Zadar, where for several friars it was known that they belonged to either the middle or the lower social layer, in Dubrovnik it was not possible to draw such conclusions. Even

¹⁰³³ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 83¹-84.

¹⁰³⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 81.

¹⁰³⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, nr. 33.

personal relationships with individual friars were very scarce. Only one friar belonged to the family of artisans from Dubrovnik, Simon, who was the cousin of Goyach the carpenter. In 1383, Goyach bequeathed him 2 ducats and Simon was a witness while he was writing his testament. There is a high probability that Goyach was commissioned to work at St Francis, since he wanted that two thousand roof tiles and wood that was stored there should be sold.¹⁰³⁶ Considering that one of the most frequent bequests given to friars in Dubrovnik was for repairs to the church and friary, it is not surprising that there were occasional building there and that workers and masters were employed to perform them. Furthermore, either Goyach had leftover material, or the construction was not done due to his incapacity to finish it, but either way, he did not want to leave it in the possession of friars and minimize potential loss of money.

Returning to individual friars, there were only three friars who received the bequests by the members of the artisan layer in Dubrovnik: Duymo, Dessa from Trogir and Simcho. Friar Duymo was the guardian of the friary in Dubrovnik, and in 1348, he received 6 perpers from the master Thomasio, the son of master John Stilo from Salerno.¹⁰³⁷ Friar Dessa from Trogir received one piece of linen fabric from Radoslava, the wife of Perchi, salt miner from Korčula and he was her confessor.¹⁰³⁸ Friar Simcho received in 1390 a more interesting bequest from the goldsmith Dapcho Brathenovich, two golden rings which weighed three ounces.¹⁰³⁹ Since Dapcho was a goldsmith, the type of the object seems logical, it is just that it is not clear for what would Simcho use these rings, unless it was either personal (although that is not stated), or if he was supposed to sell them and use the money for more practical items for everyday use in the friary.

Two types of bequests to Franciscans by artisan layer which were frequent in Dubrovnik, as well as in Zadar, were pilgrimages and burials, but there were some similarities and differences between these two communes. Regarding pilgrimages, which were already discussed, there were similarities with Zadar considering artisan layers and their preference to instruct pilgrimages to Assisi, especially present with female members of the social layer. Since it was already written before, here it will be just summarized, naming several examples. The captain Gallus instructed a pilgrimage to Assisi in 1348 (alongside Rome),¹⁰⁴⁰ while Diena/Duia, the innkeeper,¹⁰⁴¹ and Radula, the daughter of shoemaker Vlachota only chose Assisi as the destination for their pilgrimage bequests.¹⁰⁴² The already mentioned Radoslava, the wife of the salt miner Perfchi from Korčula bequeathed in 1368 a

¹⁰³⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 52'-53.

¹⁰³⁷ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 88'.

¹⁰³⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 35'-36.

¹⁰³⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 185'-186.

¹⁰⁴⁰ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 83-83'.

¹⁰⁴¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 165.

¹⁰⁴² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 177'.

pilgrimage to Assisi according to the instructions of Friar Dessa,¹⁰⁴³ and this was the only testament where the choice on this matter was entrusted to a friar, but it was not surprising, since he was also her confessor. Dobra, the wife of the merchant Hellie in 1343, instructed substitute pilgrimage to Assisi, alongside Rome as well. It is interesting that Dobra was inclined to and fully supported the Dominicans but still chose to bequeath for pilgrimage to Assisi. The reason for her decision could be that she wanted to instruct two pilgrimages in Italy which could be done without much difficulty or detour, or the fact that the Dominicans did not have their pilgrimage site, and it was still better to choose Assisi over others since at least it belongs to the same “Mendicant family.”¹⁰⁴⁴ Although the women from the artisan layer of society in Dubrovnik were similarly showing their piety and devotion through substitute pilgrimages to Assisi, there was one difference from Zadar. Usually, women were wives of various artisans, but in the case of Diena, she was the innkeeper herself.

Considering burials, the artisans in Dubrovnik did not show such preference for burials at St Francis as those in Zadar, not in such numbers and during the period of the 14th century, while I will argue that the subsequent century brought some changes in this respect. From the 15th century onwards, it is much easier to trace the connection between the burial of artisans in the friary of St Francis in Dubrovnik. Examples of members of the artisan layer who wanted to be buried at St Francis: goldsmith Milatchus in 1335¹⁰⁴⁵ and Çocta Stillo from Salerno, the son of the master John Stillo in 1350,¹⁰⁴⁶ Çocta was the brother of the mentioned Thomasio, since they were both the sons of master John Stilo, but only Çocta wanted to be buried at St Francis. However, what was special about artisans in Dubrovnik was that some of them belonged to the confraternity of St Anthony Abbot, the so-called *Antunini*. These group members at that time were in its early stages of shaping a social stratum starting from the second half of the 14th century. Their relevance for the society of Dubrovnik, however, was more connected with the 15th-century agency, so in the following lines it was not fully possible to argue the connection between the confraternity and the Franciscans. So, in the following, I will be presenting only some cases.

The largest number of families which made the *Antunini* were established in Dubrovnik from 1380 to 1450, and most of the surnames descended from the patronyms. The example of this is the family of Nale, which derived its surname from Nale from Cres, who arrived in Dubrovnik in the beginning of the 14th century. According to his reputation, he was a prominent figure, and he married

¹⁰⁴³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 6, fol. 35'-36.

¹⁰⁴⁴ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 78-78'.

¹⁰⁴⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 3, fol. 49'-50.

¹⁰⁴⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 4, fol. 18.

Sergha, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, Angelo de Letitia.¹⁰⁴⁷ Both families Nale and Letitia became members of the confraternity and their connection with the Franciscan Order started with Angelo's family, that is, his wife Dasa. As the members of the confraternity would in general choose the mendicant churches for their burials, and in St Francis in Dubrovnik, sometimes they commissioned tombs with rather monumental architectural appearance with altars and capitals. One of the examples of such elaborate tombs comes from the testatrix Dasa, the wife of wealthy citizen Angelo de Letitia, and her bequests directed towards friars were lavish, including the altar, pilaster, and other objects as chalices and *paramentum* for the altar.¹⁰⁴⁸ However, Dasa was not the only member of the family de Letitia who wrote her testament during the Black Plague in Dubrovnik in 1348. Her daughter Sergha, the wife of Nale de Cherçu, followed her example in the same year. Although Sergha did not have such multiple bequests towards the Franciscan Order, they were not insignificant, such as money for making a large chalice for friars, money for masses in several instances for her soul and the soul of her husband, and her connection with friars was also on the personal level, since Friar Domagna was the executor of her last will, alongside others and Angelo de Maxi, who was the member of the Antunini confraternity.¹⁰⁴⁹

From the family Nale, the connection with *Antunini* confraternity and Franciscans in Dubrovnik continues to the family de Maxi. Family de Maxi arrived in Dubrovnik around 1280 and were one of the oldest and most prominent families of the *Antunini*. They initially belonged to the layer of nobility but lost it due to not respecting health restrictions by dealing with butchering.¹⁰⁵⁰ The connection with the Franciscan Order comes from the female members of the kindred, first revolving around Simon de Maxi, that is, his daughter Anica,¹⁰⁵¹ and his wife Jele,¹⁰⁵² both in 1348. The line continues with female members and in 1363, two women wrote testaments with bequests to Franciscans, Franussa, the daughter of Marin de Maxi,¹⁰⁵³ and Bielča, the wife of Angelo de Maxi. Although the information on Marin was not found at this time, Angelo had a distinguished reputation. Angelo de Maxi was a prominent merchant, who dealt with the procurement of grain and was a creditor and a tutor.¹⁰⁵⁴ However, the connection with the Franciscan order is manifested through his

¹⁰⁴⁷ Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednje vijeku* [In the Vestibule of Authority. The Antunini of Dubrovnik in the late Middle Ages] (Zagreb – Dubrovnik: HAZU – Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012), p. 99.

¹⁰⁴⁸ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 4'-5'; Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, p. 174. Since the testament was written in 1348, during the Black Plague in Dubrovnik, the testament of Drasa was of interest to G. Ravančić, thus he made a full transcription in his book *Vrijeme umiranja. Crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348.-1349.*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁰⁴⁹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 5'-7.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵¹ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 53'-54.

¹⁰⁵² DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 96'-96bis.

¹⁰⁵³ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 264-264'.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, p. 47.

wife Bielca, mainly through pilgrimage to Assisi and masses.¹⁰⁵⁵ It seems that the driving force of piety and Franciscan devotion were indeed women of the commune of Dubrovnik, and in particular, the women of the middle layer of the society, mainly artisans.

However, this did not mean that the men were not involved in the spiritual life of the Franciscan order and that they did not bequeath them for various purposes. Bogavce de Toloe, made his testament in 1381 and his preference for the Franciscan order is more than evident. Besides instructing them to perform masses on the altar of St Anthony, that is every day one mass, and to light the candle every night, he is giving them yearly income from the rent of the house, and a large sum of money (100 pounds) for groceries. Besides all of this, he left them one chest with two keys and objects which could be needed for the altar of St Anthony, as well as *paramentum* alongside this chest. Bogavce did not forget the Franciscans from Bosnia as well, and left them 50 perpers for clothes, and those in Ston 20 perpers.¹⁰⁵⁶ An interesting item which was in Bogavce's possession is aforementioned chest with two keys and with various items within it. As one of the signs of the identity of the confraternity of Antunini was a chest which held accounting books and other valuables, such as crosses and chalices, which were all locked in the chest. Actually, according to the inventory of the items found in the chest, which dates from 1460, and which is kept in the sacristy of St Francis, there was a silver processional, matricula covered in silver, vessels for the Mass, vestments for priests and Mass, and two missals.¹⁰⁵⁷ This does not mean that this chest was the same chest given to friars by Bogavce de Toloe (although it could be), however, it only strengthens the theory that the confraternity of the Antunini supported and preferred the Franciscan Order in Dubrovnik. And as for Bogavce and his last resting place, there is one piece of information which shows his wealth, but not where it was directed. As it was with Dasa, the wife of Angelo de Letitia, who commissioned an architecturally impressive piece of art for the burial place, there is also a contract between Bogavce and stone masons from 1376, meaning that it was before the date of the last will. The contract concerns the building of a tomb stone with capitals and an altar stone.¹⁰⁵⁸ The place where Bogavce wanted to be buried was not written, but according to the number of bequests given to the Franciscans in Dubrovnik it is possible that this tomb stone was meant to be placed in their church.

Artisan layer in Dubrovnik showed some similarities as the one in Zadar, especially considering the female members of the families and their incentive to instruct substitute pilgrimages, only difference being that in the case of Zadar, all women were wives of artisans, while in Dubrovnik there was an example of a women who was an artisan herself. Considering burials, Zaratine

¹⁰⁵⁵ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 5, fol. 271.

¹⁰⁵⁶ DADu, fond 12, ser. 1, vol. 7, fol. 15-16.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, p. 174, n. 1099.

inhabitants which belonged to the middle and lower layers of society were making around half of the burial bequests, while in Dubrovnik the number is much lower than this, so much that it was not necessary to measure it in any percentage. Was the middle layer of society in Dubrovnik just not so inclined to be buried at St Francis and they rather chose the Dominicans or maybe they did not even choose any mendicant orders. Although, this could also just mean that the interest of the middle layer of society in burials at St Francis increased in later periods, from the 15th century onwards. Since during the research period of this thesis the Antunini confraternity was still in its earlier stages of development, these individuals would be considered as the original families which were still not fully established members of the confraternity, but they were prominent members of the commune in Dubrovnik with already established connections with the Franciscan order.

9.5.3. From Šibenik to Bribir

The connection with the Franciscans and the middle layer of society is not only visible in the bequests or objects, but sometimes in everyday activities with more mundane purposes. As it was seen with the builder Goyach, in Dubrovnik in 1383, who had concerns with the construction material which was stored with the Friars Minor, that is, two thousand roof tiles and timber/lumber, the construction for friars at friary, church or the surrounding area was something that probably happened frequently and there were some aftermaths. Considering how the friars and master builders were interacting during construction period can be concluded from one interesting document from Šibenik, that is, a contract between a builder and friars in the year 1415. The stonemason, master Peter of late Radmilo from Šibenik, made a contract with the obligation to cover the church of friars in Bribir during the period of two and a half years. The money which Peter would receive was 130 ducats of gold, which were to be given to him in three instalments, and these three phases were explained in detail in the charter, with information about possible delays and penalties.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁹ Since this charter is an interesting example of the construction contract between a master stonemason and Franciscans in Dalmatia, the full transcription of the charter is following:

Die XXI mensis Aprilis

Coram examinatore, notario et testibus infrascriptis fuit facta convencio inter honestum et religiosum virum dominum fratrem Iohannem Lubich de Sibenico, guardianum loci fratrum minorum de Breberio, de consensu et voluntate reverendi patris domini fratris Christofori, custodis Iadre, fratris Michaelis, vicarii loci de Sibenico et fratris Michaelis de Tragurio, guardiani loci de Scardona, et aliorum fratrum conventualium dicti loci de Sibenico, scilicet fratris Cipriani et fratris Bartolomei de Sibenico, ex una parte, et magistrum Petrum condam Radmili, lapicida de Sibenico, videlicet quod ipse magister Petrus lapicida debeat et se obligavit ecclesiam fratrum minorum loci nominati de Breberio tegere et coperire cum volta ita vulgariter vocata capella maiori et hoc in spacio duorum annorum et mensium sex, preparatum omnibus dictus guardianus vel suos successores ad expensas dicti loci omnibus et singulis neccessariis, scilicet tufo, lapidibus pro pillastris, cemento, circulis pro centanis (?) planchas, tegulas, chatenas, vel trabes medias cum pice oportuno ex manualibus famulis suis suorumque magistrorum discipulorumque ipsorum prefati magistri Petri et aliorum ipsi omnibus dando expensas, victuales ac cameram repausacionis ac prefato magistro Petro lapicida debeat penitus locus nominatus dare omnia requisita prefate ecclesie et super hoc ducatos centum triginta in auro de auro et quod quilibet ducatorum debeat vallere libras quinque monete Venetorum seu Frinagarum sic vulgo vocatorum seu Ungarie,

9.5.4. Trogir

For other friaries and Franciscans in them it was rather difficult to form any sort of systematic presentation of documents where we can determine that the lower and middle echelon of society were inclined towards the Mendicants. Of course, by comparison, it can be argued that the picture in Trogir was analogous to that of Split, or Zadar, or Dubrovnik, however, sources do not often attest such comparisons. Luckily, for Trogir we can present several cases where testators were of artisan layer and were bequeathing to local Franciscan. Since there is not much data, this part can be presented in chronological order but regarding typology as well. In 1370 John, stonemason, bequeathed 20 *solida parvorum* to friars in Trogir.¹⁰⁶⁰ A certain Gianna, wife of Nicholas *sartoris*, bequeathed in 1373 *vnum matractum a lecto*.¹⁰⁶¹ These two testaments offer just a glimpse of the inclination. The following bequests, on the other hand, offer more. In 1370 certain Deša, shoemaker, bequeathed two ducats of gold for the repairs to be done in the chapter of the place of the friars in Trogir. Furthermore, he is bequeathing one ducat of gold to Friar Anthony of Split for serving Mass. And finally, a certain amount of money is to be distributed to friars in Trogir for the repairs of the church where plans to be buried.¹⁰⁶² Something similar can be found in the case of Stančica, the wife of late Mark, son of George. In 1372 she bequeathed to the church of St Francis in Trogir one icon worth 20 pounds. In

que tunc curebunt in tribus terminis, videlicet ante incepcionem prenominati operis debeat habere ducatos viginti et ducatus quilibet valere debet quinque monetas, quos XX ducatos dictus magister Petrus fuit contentus se plenarie habuisse et recepisse, renunciatis non habitum et non receptum. In secunda vice debeat habere ducatos quinquaginta quinque dum medietas ecclesie erit tecta seu coperta cum volta ut dictum est. In tercio termino debeat habere ducatos quinquaginta quinque, ut supra, et hoc in fine sui operis et dictus magister Petrus et alii sui magistri seu discipuli debeant secum tamen portare artem, manum, ingenium et feramenta, et nichil aliud penitus secum portantes et super totum salarium dictus magister Petrus debeat habere duos sacchos frumenti usuales, scilicet quatuor modia pro logio (?) dictorum ducatorum. Qui magister Petrus, si periculum sibi contingeret ante incepcionem dicti operis, quod absit, dictos XX ducatos auri per ipsum habitas, ut supra, promisit et se obligavit dicto loco de Breberio reddi et restituere super se et suis bonis presentibus et futuris, eciam hoc adiecto, uti quod si lapides in dicto loco pro dicto opere deficerentur, ex tunc prefatus magister Petrus personaliter teneatur ire cum suis magistris seu discipulis ad faciendas lapides ad quod deficeret prout supra [in margine: et pro fodratura dictorum lapidum magistri seu discipuli] dictas lapides ad expensas et cum fatiga dicti loci ad dictum locum debeantur portari et conducere, quod opus et edificium ad omnem requisicionem guardiani dicti loci dictus magister Petrus debeat incipere laborare. Item si propter gueras (!) dictum non posset labori, ex tunc prolongetur terminus dictum opus laborandi ad voluntatem predictarum ambarum parcium, promittentes vicisim (!) scilicet una pars alteri et altera alteri suo nomine dictus magister Petrus et dictus dominus frater Iohannes, guardianus dicti monasterii de Breberio vice et nomine dicti monasterii omnia et singula supradicta plene attendere et observare et in nullo contrafacere infrascripta?, pena quarti et refectione omnium dapnorum (!) et expensarum ac interesse litis et extra, qua soluta vel non rato manente contractu. Actum Sibenici in monasterio sancti Francisci, presentibus ser Nicolao Michitich examinatore, magistro Marco ciroyco et ser Andrea Turila, ad premissa habitis et rogatis testibus (DAZd, SSib, B 3 2 b 75'-76).

¹⁰⁶⁰ M. Karbić – Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU," doc. 8, p. 176.

¹⁰⁶¹ M. Karbić – Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU," doc. 86, pp. 227-228. It is worth underlying that she also bequeathed 10 pounds to friars in Bosnia.

¹⁰⁶² M. Karbić – Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU," doc. 33, pp. 191-192.

addition to that, she is also bequeathing to the church of Friars Minor in Split also 20 pounds, for the soul of her deceased ones.¹⁰⁶³

We can assume that from the same lower layers of society belonged also the following woman. There is no indicator of her status, but Boljica, the wife of Lukše Bošković, in her testament from 1371 is predominantly bequeathing earrings, tunics and other household items to members of her family, thus confirming the praxis of these, lower social layers. She mentioned that she desires to be buried in the same church of the Franciscans in Trogir.¹⁰⁶⁴ The same can be assumed in the case of Ilija, son of late Dabiživo, from 1372, who wants to be buried with the Franciscans and bequeathes also 10 pounds to friars in Trogir.¹⁰⁶⁵

In the case of the two inhabitants of Trogir, we also find bequests to the Franciscans. In 1372 Mrdeša Dimčić (*habitor burgi Tragurii*) bequeathed to the church of St Mary of Friars Minor in Trogir where he choose to be buried *mensuram vnam musti*.¹⁰⁶⁶ Peter, son of Vraniša *de Pacho*, *habitor Tragurii* is bequeathing only one pound to the friars in Trogir.¹⁰⁶⁷ For one more inhabitant, Dujmo Cibudinić, it is unclear if he wants to be buried with Franciscans or Dominicans, however, he is certainly choosing as his final resting place a mendicant church in Trogir.¹⁰⁶⁸

9.6. Ceremonies, political activity and mundane and sacral symbolism

Ceremonies regarding the Franciscans go hand in hand with political activity in fact. It is known that in the time of trouble or times of celebrations friaries and churches of the mendicant orders were places of gathering of people of various motives. Sometimes, they were the places of wedding or other international meetings, and sometimes, they would be places that can be perceived as shields during various negotiations between conflictual parties.¹⁰⁶⁹ This is certainly the case, as previous pages have shown, in the case of the choice of friary of St Francis as place where the peace treaty of Zadar was signed. But, before repeating the story about ceremonies in the context of the friary of Zadar, we must go to the city commune of Split and the cases of Franciscans in the writings of the political agency of the Archdeacon Thomas, a contemporary of St Francis himself. A paragraph cited here tells about the political activity of friars in respect of their preaching, a problem which was

¹⁰⁶³ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 66, pp. 217-218. It is worth underlying that she also bequeathed 25 pounds to friars in Bosnia.

¹⁰⁶⁴ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 39, pp. 195-196.

¹⁰⁶⁵ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 59, pp. 213-214.

¹⁰⁶⁶ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 51, p. 209.

¹⁰⁶⁷ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 35, pp. 192-193.

¹⁰⁶⁸ M. Karbić – Ladić, “Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU,” doc. 78, p. 223.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Christina Lutter, “Donators’ Choice? How Benefactors Related to Religious Houses in Medieval Vienna,” in *Entscheiden über Religion: Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Matthias Pohl – Sita Steckel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), pp. 185-216.

not mentioned in other sources that were consulted in this research. Regarding the government of Split in the 13th century, there were various debates about the system of rule, and Thomas the Archdeacon wrote the following: “It was this fear that gave our citizens cause to consider adopting the “Latin government.” Thereupon the Friars Minor began to urge the citizens in their sermons to call in a podestà from the Latin people. Archdeacon Thomas in particular would summon the clergy and repeatedly urge the people, demonstrating with many arguments that the well-being of the city could be restored only by the governance of the Latins. At last, everyone agreed that they should choose a podestà from the Latins. A general council was called, and the question was put: from which city of Italy ought the podestà to be called? And then the will of all settled on this: they should send to the city of Ancona for a podestà. So, then they elected two men who would carry out this mission, namely Archdeacon Thomas and Micha son of Madius. They gave them full authority in a public document to go to Ancona and do what seemed best to them to bring about this outcome and obligated themselves by the bond of an oath...”¹⁰⁷⁰ These lines in fact depict that actually the Franciscans were using their sermons for promotion and propaganda of political activity of the ruling city elite. The rule of the Latin government was implemented, and it brought order in governance of city commune, while applying the principles of the Italian cities already established.¹⁰⁷¹ In fact, Franciscans were mentioned in the first place, well before other clergy members.

Thomas, as was mentioned in the beginning of the text, not only witnessed the preaching of St Francis himself, but was also a witness of some other prominent Franciscans, as well. In the chapter where he describes the problems between the city commune of Split and city commune of Trogir, he is reflecting upon the arrival of Gerard of Modena: “During these days a certain religious from the Friars Minor arrived, called Gerard, a native of Modena. He was very well known and revered because of his great reputation for sanctity, and God was said to have performed many miracles through him. When he realized what cruel hate was driving these two cities, he felt great sorrow. Fearing that with the devil’s instigation this wicked civil war between relatives and neighbors would grow more heated and would lead to bloodshed, he endeavored to placate the two sides with soothing words and to find various ways to bring them to reconciliation. In the end, the two cities were reconciled with ease, thanks to the reverence that all had for such a man. The Tragurins relinquished all the property of the Spalatins that they had seized by right of the privilege, and they in turn received back their captives. // But before all the captives had been released again, the Spalatins began to have second thoughts. Much whispering and muttering arose among them that such an agreement would amount to loss of the city’s honor and rights. Now when Gerard had heard this, he was greatly upset, but he did not

¹⁰⁷⁰ Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, p. 221.

¹⁰⁷¹ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Regimen Latinorum Arhidakona Tome u teoriji i praksi” [Regimen Latinorum of Thomas the Archdeacon in theory and practice], *Historijski zbornik* 52 (1999): 17-32.

cease to plead with them and to urge them to let their souls incline towards love, by saying that the party that broke with the good of this peace would not have the upper hand over the other but be below it. And because in the meantime the peace contract had been confirmed by oath, all the captives were duly released and the tempest of discord subsided for the moment.”¹⁰⁷² It should be underlined that Gerard of Modena was a Franciscan, who, together with Friar Peter and Friar Andrew led a peace movement in Lombardy in 1233 and visited Dalmatia in September 1243 and tried to settle the conflict of Split and Trogir regarding Ostrog, as was testified in the lines above. These friars were not the only ones to come to Dalmatia, because “when King Béla heard of all the misfortune that the queen had caused the Spalatins, he was truly grieved and immediately sent two wise and religious men from the order of the Friars Minor, to calm her rage and recall her quickly to Hungary.”¹⁰⁷³

Regarding ceremonies, we also have an interesting account of procession and Franciscans, but in Zadar. Zaratín nobleman, Paul de Paulo in his famous *Memoriale* also described the procession which took place in the church of St Francis in Zadar on the 22nd of April 1408, when there was a dedication of the painting of Virgin Mary with the image of archangel Gabriel. The image was carried in the church in the solemn procession, where there were many notable people present. However, all types of people were witnessing this joyous occasion: the archbishop, whole clergy, rectors, knights and nobility, citizens, foreigners and gentlemen, married and unmarried women. The procession was accompanied by music and the image was consecrated by the archbishop in the solemn Mass.¹⁰⁷⁴ It is always significant to read such first-hand source material which only reinforces the importance of these religious processions to strengthen the communal spirit. The same friary, as was explained already, served as a place for the signing of the peace treaty of Zadar.

Philip de Diversis is describing several festivities which included mendicant orders in Dubrovnik as well, showing their participation: procession during the feast of St Blaise, procession during the feast of *Corpus Christi* and a funeral, showing that people from different social strata participated in these processions, including mendicant orders. First, there is a procession in a church on the third day of Calendas in February, in honor of St Blaise, the protector of Dubrovnik: “The procession in honor of St Blaise is done in this manner: first ones that are approaching are those who vigilantly protect the city, almost all agricultural workers and sailors from the islands and other villages with crossbows, arches, swords, shields and darts. Under the authority of their commander, they march two by two, and in front of them are village musicians. They are showing their willingness to follow the orders of the city count and councils. Then, all the artisans, no matter which position,

¹⁰⁷² Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, pp. 319-321.

¹⁰⁷³ About the context of events, cf. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, pp. 371-373.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Šišić, “Memoriale Pauli de Paulo,” p. 42.

even the butchers, go in troops by two in one line, while bringing the wax and lit candles in the church of St Mary, where the main feast is celebrated. The city rector and his council are looking at them. // But we are already arriving at the procession which is in the middle of attention. To make the celebration of the feast even more honorable, by the decision of the Small Senate, all the paid experts and prominent newcomers, both merchants and those of other occupations. The city rector is sitting under the arches of the court among physicians, if there is no one of a higher position or dignity. On the sides other foreigners are standing with noblemen from the councils and which are obliged to attend the procession. In the meantime, the friars of the mendicant orders, equipped with many powers of saints, church vestments and other sacred objects, are flowing into the church while singing hymns. Then, they give to the city rector a lit wax candle, painted and more valuable than others. All the councilors of the count's council and paid officials and invited foreigners also receive a lit wax candle but not painted...Then afterwards are descending, one by one, the other priests, abbots, monks and the members of the mendicant orders which are all carrying powers. In honor of the holy powers, in front of each of them there is one nobleman or foreigner with a burning candle."¹⁰⁷⁵

The Feast of *Corpus Christi* is, according to Philip de Diversis, the most exquisite, most pious and loveliest of all, and it starts on the streets, with all the main streets being covered in scented sage. The same people are again participating in the procession, and "when all the friars of the mendicant orders are gathered in the main holy temple, while city troubadours and pipers are playing, and count's young men in front of them are carrying large candles, the city count, invited foreigners and nobleman are moving towards the church two by two."¹⁰⁷⁶

Festive occasions were not the only ones where mendicant orders were participating, there were present in funeral processions. In the case of the death of the king, during the funeral mass, after the speakers' praise and celebrate the life of the deceased ruler, all the mendicant orders and Benedictines arrive and participate with priests in the holy and sacred ceremony and are given lit candles of six ounces. Besides noblemen, rector and members of city councils, almost all people of both genders are present, no matter their age.¹⁰⁷⁷ Mendicant Orders did not only participate in funeral ceremonies of kings, but in regular burials and funerals. There is a description of the funeral of a person from the patriciate social strata. In the beginning, the city count is joined with grieving men, whether they are noblemen, citizens, merchants or artisans. Bishops are joining the crying women and virgins with their hair scattered on their shoulders. The funeral hearse is carried by noblemen,

¹⁰⁷⁵ Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, pp. 110-113.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, pp. 113-115.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Philip de Diversis wrote that he witnessed two such funeral procession in Dubrovnik done in honor of two kings, Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1438 and his son-in-law, Albert, in 1439. Cf. Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, pp. 127-129.

peers of the deceased, not on their shoulders, but by the strength of their hands. After the funeral, the mass is being held in the cathedral church and the spiritual leader of the city, or a friar of the mendicant order preaches and elevates the life of the deceased. After this, all the grieving people are escorted to the house, where they eat together and stay until the third day. The grieving women, are brought by other women in another house, separated from men, where someone from the mendicant orders is praising the deceased in a similar manner, and they stay there for several days together mourning and eating. In the case of a funeral of a commoner, the ceremony is similar, with the difference of not being escorted by the city count (although sometimes some noblemen participate) and not going to the main church.¹⁰⁷⁸

There is one extraordinary and contemporary description of the friary and church of both mendicant Orders in Dubrovnik, St Francis and St Dominic, brought by Philip de Diversis in the first several decades of the 15th century. The writer emphasized that this comparison was brought not to promote one over the other, but to describe the actual state of the matter. “The friary of the Friars Minor has a beautiful and large dormitory and is enriched with a large garden in which there is a cistern and water source, and above the lower part of the cloister the harmonious arches are erected. In the middle of the cloister, where the trees of bay and oranges are, there is a small garden where vegetables are grown. The church has a large sacristy and extraordinarily large altar with *pala* or silver altar painting of significant value. There are several stone stairs leading to the altar. There is the lower and upper choir. Many altars and a lovely belfry with the best bells are decorating this temple. The floor is full of tombs.”¹⁰⁷⁹ As was seen already from the written records, as well. But, without narrative, it is very difficult to imagine the layout indeed.

Diversis went further and described the friary and the church of St Dominic in a different manner: “it did not have a garden and or spacious rooms or arches, nor the same sacristy or choir, or a large altar, although beautiful, or abundance of water. The *pala* and the belfry are not finished as well. The floor of the church is also full of tombs, and the size of the church is equal to that of the Friars Minor by its size and altars. One thing the Dominicans had that the Franciscans did not were the church organs, which have gone silent there. There is also an abundance of beautiful vestments and chalices and every day there is a great multitude of people going there to listen to masses.”¹⁰⁸⁰

Chuches and friaries were also places where groups of individuals would gather. In the area of the Province of Dalmatia, there were various confraternities, which served as religious communities, which besides their spiritual aspect, had an impact on the social life on inhabitants of

¹⁰⁷⁸ Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, p. 74.

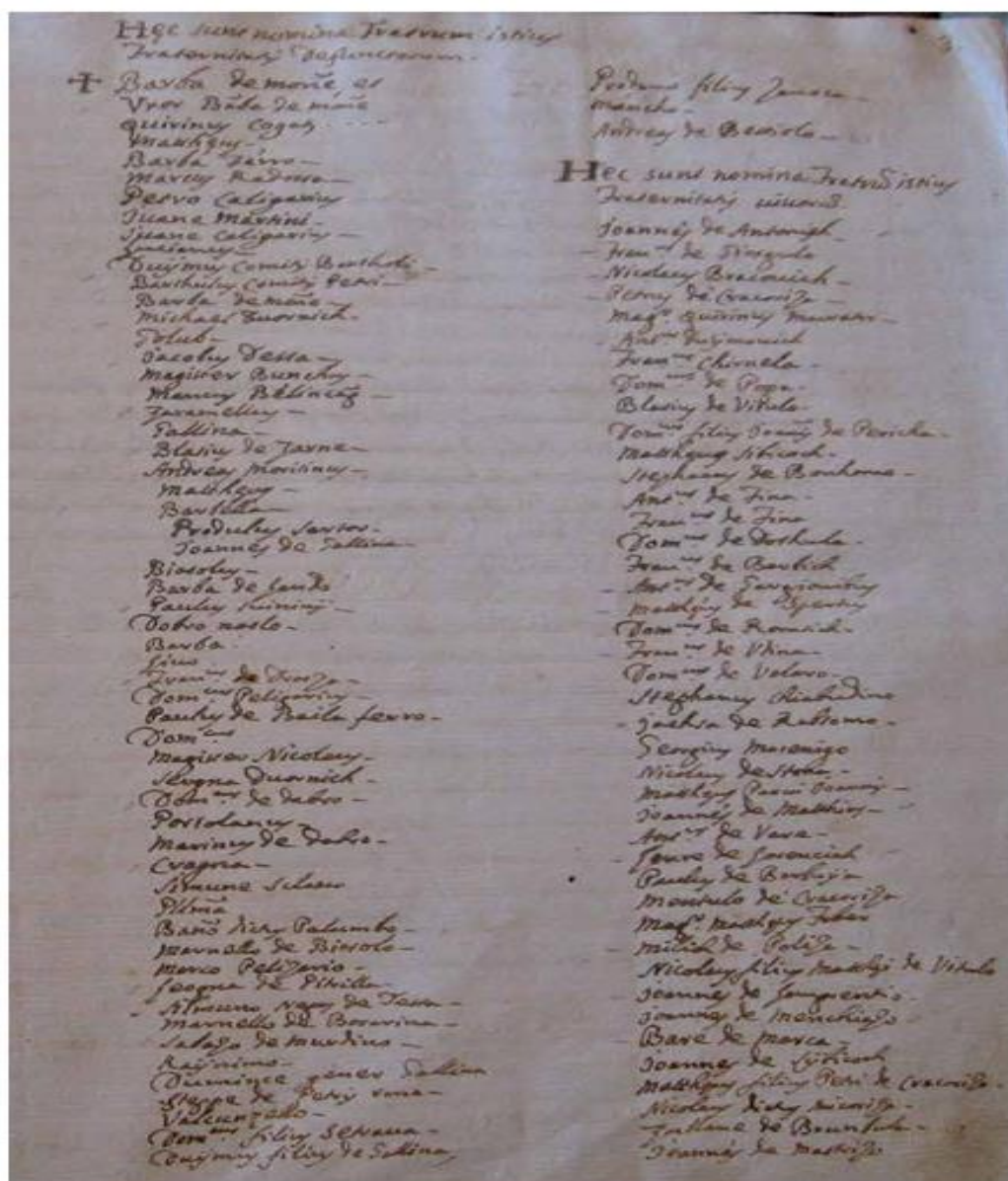
¹⁰⁸⁰ Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika*, p. 75.

the cities. From the 13th century, the mendicant orders had a significant influence on the development of confraternities in general and in Dalmatian cities. These confraternities were formed around their friaries, which also included female members. Some of these confraternities would be directly connected with the rules of the order, eventually becoming a part of them as the institution of the so-called Third Order, a lay part of the mendicant orders. From the end of the 13th century, the confraternities of the Franciscan and Dominican Third (female) Order appeared, as well as confraternities of the Franciscan and Dominican nuns, that is, their Second Orders.¹⁰⁸¹

However, there is very few information preserved of these confraternities directly connected with the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia, especially during the 14th century. Krk is an exception, where the confraternity of St Francis was founded around the second half of the 13th century. Most of the information about this fraternity is based on a document from 1300, where they members are arranging their rules and principles. The rules are in concordance of the lives of the Franciscan brothers, living in the spirit of the Gospel, in celebration of the nature and life of St Francis. Some guidelines are provided in this document. The election of the two members who will govern the confraternity will be done on the New Year's day. Every month there will be a mass intended for the living members of the community, and right afterwards, one or two masses for the deceased brothers. In the case of death of any brother, all the members should arrive at the church with candles and celebrate the mass for the deceased within one month and each of them should pray 25 *Pater noster*. The confraternity of St Francis took care of its members even if they were located outside Krk in certain times. If a certain brother would fall ill while being outside the island, he would be brought back and took care of him is needed, or if he died, his body would be brought to Krk and properly buried. The deceased member would be replaced by the member of their family, if he is of good name and character. The two governors and the guardian of the friary in Krk were acting as mediators if certain disputes occurred between the members, whether it was a verbal disagreement or actual damage claims. Special attention was given to the celebration of the feast of St Francis, where all the brothers would light candles in front of the cross and the image of the blessed Francis for the health of the living and the sins of the deceased members. Furthermore, there is a list of the deceased members, 27 of them, as well as the currently living ones, 75 of them. It is interesting that some of the members were women.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁸¹ This applied especially on the Marian confraternities which were promoted by the Dominicans, such as the ones in Dubrovnik and Zadar, which existed alongside their friaries from the 13th century. Vilma Pezelj, "Žene u bratovštinama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova" [Women in the confraternities of Dalmatian cities in the middle ages], *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu* 47 (2010) 1: 160.

¹⁰⁸² CD VII, doc. 319, pp. 363-367; Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," 39-40.



List of members of confraternity of St Francis

(Taken from Tomislav Galović, "City and Friary: The City of Krk and Its Franciscan Friary," p. 255)

Since the guardian himself served as an unofficial management in the confraternity and most of their activities were at the friary and church in Krk, support for the friary itself was not only spiritual, but also monetary. Further existence of the confraternity of St Francis in Krk is notable according to bequests they were given to it by the inhabitants of the community, and various forms. In 1305, confraternity received half of *bisancium* by Anastasia the widow of Adam Andrešić, while friary of St Francis received money for annual masses for her soul and the souls of her deceased *in*

perpetuum. The inclination towards the Franciscan Order is further strengthen by the fact that her son was a friar himself, most probably residing in the friary of St Francis in Krk.¹⁰⁸³

In one testament from 1348, the confraternity of St Francis is listed among many others. It seems that St Francisc was not the only confraternity which was located in the friary of St Francis in Krk. In 1367, Barizol de Nivello bequeathed a vineyard for the salvation of his and the soul of his wife to the confraternity of Holy Trinity in the friary of St Francis, although not much is known about this confraternity. However, confraternity of St Francis still existed in the 16th century, since it received bequests during this period, for instance in 1513, and in 1548, it had 45 living members and 63 deceased. Confraternity of St Francis also had altars in the church of St Francis, as well as some immovable properties.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸³ Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," 40.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Runje, "Povijest franjevac konventualaca u Krku (I. dio)," 40-41.

10. OUTREACH AND RELATIONS OF FRANCISCANS OUTSIDE OF PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

In contrast to the monastic life of the earlier Orders, the Franciscan Order was based on its constant mobility within and outside friars' original Province, in this case Province of Dalmatia. Franciscans held chapters every three years during summertime, and it is considered that this was when they would switch friaries. To gain a better understanding of the mobility in general, it was necessary to examine both types of mobility separately, going from broader area to smaller, meaning starting first from the outside of the Province to inside the Province of Dalmatia, although there is always some intertwining of these two types of mobility. Friars could have few reasons for leaving their Province, but mainly it came down to two things – their education and their careers, especially since the Province of Dalmatia did not have its own university. The problem with tracing the educational path of certain friars was only natural, since sometimes their degree of education was not noted and could only be implied and sometimes friars would reside in friaries of towns with universities, but not actually attend them, as will be shown later. Education was not the only reason a certain friar would have to leave the Province and usually it was for performing a certain service, which would usually relate to their career path. However, their relocations for the purpose of serving the community, whether it was a service to lay or ecclesiastical institution or individual, did not only occur outside the Province, and a special subchapter will deal with prominent individuals of the order who performed such service, wherever it would lead them. From the outside going within, friaries were the centres of the exchange of friars from different towns of the Province of Dalmatia. However, the friars residing in the friars in Dalmatia were also from other provinces, and it is no surprise that they would be mostly from Italy, considering its vicinity. With the shift of manpower during different periods, two tables of friars in three-year periods will be present for two friaries: Zadar and Dubrovnik. The tables for these friaries were able to be compiled because these friaries were the largest in Dalmatia and they had the most preserved information in general, and especially on these individuals. In the last subchapter, individual careers of notable friars will be reconstructed, with the emphasis on their mobility. Although relocations were frequently done in the order, it does not mean that one friar would switch from one friary to another every three years, and there were always friars which stayed long enough to grow roots, and which would serve the community continuously with respect, trust and love.

When talking about the Franciscan order, even by just visualizing an individual friar, education as their notable characteristic does not come to mind at first, as opposed to the Dominican order. There has always been an assumption that The Franciscan order in its initial idea relied more

on its social and spiritual role, and not on education, which was not the priority of the founder St Francis himself, since his priority was more to lead a simple life in poverty, since he himself was a simple and unintellectual layman, but later on it proved to be necessary to go to the universities to obtain a certain degree of theological education for their members.¹⁰⁸⁵ However, although Francis did not encourage this during his lifetime, it is certain that he would not limit or forbid the friars from pursuing their education, if he had lived to see the expansion and development of the order, and especially favorable reception of the community. The Order soon came to realize the importance of intellectual development and they invested more attention in the education of its members, and Province of Dalmatia was no exception. To understand the educational paths of individual friars, it is necessary to shortly review the educational system of medieval friars. The Franciscan school network was established until the end of the 13th century, and it consisted of several hierarchic levels. First there were “friary schools”, custodial schools, provincial schools (or provincial *studia generalia*), above-provincial schools and university schools which issued diplomas (*studia generalia universitaria*). According to historians who dealt with the education of friars, Bert Roest, William J. Courtney and Celestino Piana, after friars would complete their novitiate, young friars could be chosen to continue their education at one of the custodial schools in their province. These types of schools would not officially lead to a finished degree, but they would strive to prepare talented students for future studies of theology. After the consultation between the lector, guardian and the novice master, the decision was made: some student friars would be sent to obtain a basic degree within the Province which would include grammatic, rhetorics and some logics (similar to the system of *trivium*), and some would be sent to further studies of advance logics and philosophy, as a preparation for the studies of theology and achieving the degree of the lectorate¹⁰⁸⁶ on general studies. After receiving the lectorate degree, most of the friars would return to their native Province and obtain various positions within the provincial educational system, and many of them would become guardians, custodes, etc. However, those among these newly elected lectors, those which showed competence and interest in further educational development, were provided with the opportunity to return to school, naturally, after spending a certain amount of time teaching in their own provinces. Only a small number of friars would continue their studies to achieve a master’s degree of theology.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁵ Rashdall, *The Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, p. 348.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The degree of lectorate implied the right to teach philosophy and theology in friaries and friary schools. To achieve this degree, it was necessary to spend several years in a certain *studium generale* within the Order, after which a person could continue their education further up until obtaining a certain scholarly degree (bachelor’s, master’s or doctor’s degree).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Roest, “The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Tertiaries,” pp. 87-115; Courtney, “Academic Formation and Careers of Mendicant Friars. A Regional Approach,” pp. 199-217.

During the pontificate of pope Benedict XII, his reforms, especially the bull *Redemptor noster* from 1336, divides Franciscan studies into three levels: universities with the theology degrees (Paris, Oxford and Cambridge), general studies of the Order or *studia generalia ordinis* (Bologna, Padova and others) and studies within the provinces.¹⁰⁸⁸ It should be emphasized that almost all the friars who would attend any university outside their native province would be named after the said province, not their place of residence within the province. Therefore, in the case of friars from Dalmatia, with their personal name, the adjective added would be *de Sclavonia*, at least until changing the name of the Province to Dalmatia in the end of the 14th century. Most of these universities had their matriculas and other sources from universities. For the university in Bologna, Celestino Piana published its cartulary in the series *Analecta Franciscana*,¹⁰⁸⁹ and for Padua, two volumes of *Archivio Sartori*, edited by Giovanni Luisetto were consulted.¹⁰⁹⁰ For Cambridge and Oxford, the preserved biographical lexicon done by A. B. Emden did not contain any information on friars belonging to the Province of Dalmatia.¹⁰⁹¹

Not every province had the same timeline of development of their educational system. For the Province of Dalmatia, the first incentive for education of friars was brought by the pope Benedict XII, who wrote in 1339 that the friars of the Hungarian and Slavonian (*de Ungarica et Sclavonica nationibus*) nations should be sent to general studies, since there are friars in the Order who are capable of going to studies, and the whole Order, according to the pope, has neglected theological education until now.¹⁰⁹² Since nothing happens without a reason, and especially when it concerns the pope himself, the assumption is that since the pope is encouraging the friars to leave for studies, there probably was not much interest for education there, and not many friars were going on their studies outside the Province of Dalmatia (formally named *Sclavonia* then). Due to Dalmatia's vicinity to Italy, it is not surprising that friars would obtain their degrees there at their two most famous universities – Bologna and Padua. Friars rarely attended outside these two universities, and there is only one example from Oxford and Cambridge, which will be discussed later.

The discussion on the education of friars in Dalmatia should start at its lowest level, the incentive which was given to certain friars to encourage them to depart for their studies. This was done usually in the bequests of the inhabitants of Dalmatia, mainly in Zadar during the 14th century.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Courtenay, "Academic Formation and Careers of Mendicant Friars," p. 203.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Celestino Piana, *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis S. Francisci (saec. XIII-XVIII)*, *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 11 (Ad Claras Aquas – Florence: ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1970).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Giovanni Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori. Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescana*, vol. I-II/1 (Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana 1983-1986).

¹⁰⁹¹ A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1963); A.B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957-1959).

¹⁰⁹² CD X, doc. 330, pp. 469-470.

These bequests could be considered as a form of stipend, but they were not nearly enough to cover the cost of going to study at any university. There is a logical assumption that the testator giving money for any type of education was personally familiar with the recipient of said bequest. In the end of the 14th century, Jacobina, the widow of Miha de Soppe from Zadar, gave 150 pounds to Friar Grisogono to go to study outside of the Province. The family connection between Jacobina and Grisogono is not noted because his family name is not written, but she was probably someone close to him, since she stated that she was the one to encourage him to enter the Franciscan Order, which he had done, but he has not performed his first mass yet.¹⁰⁹³

Some friars were supported for studies by their families, and it was clearly written in the sources. For Franulo, his grandmother Ljuba, the widow of agricultural worker Dragoslav and the daughter of late Andrew, in 1386 bequeathed 100 solidos as help for going to study, besides various items like chalice, cover and pillow. However, Ljuba conditioned that if Franulo does not go to studies or if he leaves the Order, he will not receive any of this.¹⁰⁹⁴ The same condition was imposed in 1385 to Friar Augustin, whose uncle, chest-maker George of late Ratko gave him 100 pounds to go and study, but only if he persevered in this and remained there.¹⁰⁹⁵ There is one similarity between the two testators above, Ljuba and George, and that is that they did not belong to the high strata of the Zaratini society, which would mean that they were very careful how to spend their money and that they wanted a better future for their family. Although other examples did not have this condition written down, it could be highly likely that the bequest would have to fulfill its purpose to be paid in full and there was no need to emphasize this. The same amount of money, 100 pounds was given to Friar Bartholomew by his uncle, priest Bartholomew, the arch presbyter of Zadar, but this amount was to be distributed to both his nephew and his son Damian for the same purpose of leaving to study.¹⁰⁹⁶

On the other hand, friars in Dubrovnik also had the support of the communal government, which only strengthens the notion that the community was invested in the well-being and education of friars and helped with their studies outside the Province. In 1397, Friar Gregory and Friar Michael from Dubrovnik were given 50 perpers each as a monetary contribution to help them study abroad. For Michael they were giving further aid to finish his master's degree in 1407 in two instalments: first 200 perpers, and then 250 perpers. In 1419, Friar Paul was given 100 perpers to help him finish his studies. There are further examples of giving monetary aid to friars for their studies, but later in

¹⁰⁹³ DAZd, ZB, PS, b. I, f. I, fasc. 2, fol. 38'-39'.

¹⁰⁹⁴ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 28-28'.

¹⁰⁹⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 85'-86'.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Item reliquit nepoti suo fratri Bartolo ordinis fratrum minorum et filio Damiani de insula Raue libras centum parvorum ut cum eis ire teneatur et debeat ad studium pro eius dilectione* (DAZd, ZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, fol. 104'-105').

the 15th century, showing that it became more common practice in Dubrovnik.¹⁰⁹⁷ Friars were not given help only for finishing their studies, both for other practical items, like books. In 1392 John from Padua received 10 perpers for buying a Bible, and he was already titled as the *sacre theologie professor*.¹⁰⁹⁸ This meant that the authorities did not make distinction between friars who belonged to the Province of Dalmatia and those who would reside there, and that they considered John as much as “theirs” as other friars from the Province.

The question remains: what happened to these friars and friars alike? For some the timeline ends, some remained in Order, and only one was found outside the Province potentially attending a university. Friars Augustin and Grisogono were not found in sources anymore and it is questionable if they even remained in the Order, and if they did, they were not noted anywhere during their time. Bartholomew and Franulo remained in the Order for sure. For Bartholomew it is not certain that he went to study at any university since there is no information about him in this aspect, but he was a guardian of the friary of St Francis in 1413,¹⁰⁹⁹ and this position would imply at least some degree of education, even if it was not outside the Province. On the other hand, Franulo was the only friar who was noted outside the Province of Dalmatia, in Bologna, where he probably went for studies in 1389.¹¹⁰⁰ For Dubrovnik, in the case of Friar Gregory there is no further information, but Friar Michael had an interesting educational and career Friar Michael was located in Bologna in 1398 and later on, he was the professor of theology in Dubrovnik in 1410, which means he used this money for that it was intended, but he later entered the Benedictine Order in 1411.¹¹⁰¹ However, although his educational path has led him outside of the Franciscan Order, it is nonetheless interesting to see such examples where the community itself went over and beyond to support friars and their education.

10.1. Studying in Bologna

Considering the nature and motives behind the friars’ need to go to studies outside their Province, they would have gone to study theology. It is interesting that the university of Bologna did not have a faculty of theology until 1360s, and when it was established, it consisted of the *studia* of the mendicant friars, and theology faculty mainly consisted of the masters of the mendicant orders. However, the Franciscan friary in Bologna was chosen even before the faculty was established, which was the case for friar from Germany, and it is not impossible that this was done by other Provinces

¹⁰⁹⁷ Brlek, “Knjižnica Male braće u Dubrovniku,” pp. 592-593.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Friar John from Padua was also given 10 perpers for medication two years prior, in 1390, but in this document, it is written that he is *frater Johannes de Padua ordinis minorum de Bossina*, not titled so he probably obtained his master’s degree between these two documents 1390-1392. Cf. Brlek, “Knjižnica Male braće,” p. 592.

¹⁰⁹⁹ ASSF, Perg. 126; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 170.

¹¹⁰⁰ AF 11, p. 273.

¹¹⁰¹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 75.

as well. The degree status of Bologna was confirmed in 1373 by the general chapter in Toulouse, among others as well.¹¹⁰² The list below shows the names of the friars originating from the Province of Dalmatia and the year when they were present in Bologna. Most of the friars did not have official titles from what is found in available sources, apart from Friar Louis from Dubrovnik, titled the master of the Bible.

List of Dalmatian friars in Bologna

Year	Friars	Status
1356	Benedict of Zadar	
1357	Benedict of Zadar	
1370	Peter of Trogir	
	Nicholas of Dürres	
1373	Nicholas of Dürres	
1375	Peregrin of Sclavonia	
1376	Frederick of Zadar	
	Stitius of Dürres	
1378	Frederick of Zadar	
	Ambrose of Koper	
	Andrew of Dürres	
	Marin of Trieste	
1383	Nicholas of Zadar	
1388	Louis of Dubrovnik	master of the Bible
	Nicholas of Trieste	
1389	Nicholas of Trieste	
	Francis of Zadar	
	Michael of Dürres	
	John of Poreč	

¹¹⁰² It is stated that only 24 of the 447 known Master of Theology between 1364 and 1500 were secular students, while others belonged to the Mendicant Orders. Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (C. 1210-1517)* (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000), p. 36, note 127 and 128; p. 46. From this number, Bologna produced around 115 Franciscan masters between 1364 and 1500 (p. 110). For details on the university of Bologna, see Rashdall, *The Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, chapter IV, pp. 89-232.

1392	John of Poreč	
	Nicholas of Shkodër	
1397	John of Poreč	
	Francis of Trieste	
1398	Michael of Dubrovnik	magister?
1400	Francis of Trieste	
1426	Andrew of Dürres	
1427	Bartholomew of Dürres	

For friars of Dalmatia the first place to go for their studies was Bologna, which was more popular for our friars in the second half of the 14th century up to the beginning of the 15th century. Brothers from all over the Province would reside in Bologna: those from Trieste, Koper, Poreč, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, and Dubrovnik, Shkodër and Dürres. Also, during a certain period there were several brothers from the Province in Bologna convent at the same time, 4 in 1378 (Frederic of Zadar,¹¹⁰³ Ambrosius of Koper,¹¹⁰⁴ Andrew of Dürres¹¹⁰⁵ and Marin of Trieste),¹¹⁰⁶ and 4 in 1389 (Nicholas of Trieste,¹¹⁰⁷ Francis of Zadar, Michael of Dürres, and John of Poreč).¹¹⁰⁸ In the cases of several friars we find records on them in Bologna on several occasions, which shows their continued connection and involvement in everyday life of the convent in Bologna and Italy in general during their education. In most cases the educational status of friars was not specially emphasized, and first titles of friars from the Province of Dalmatia was: Friar Louis of Dubrovnik, who was recorded as *magister Bibliae* in 1388,¹¹⁰⁹ and those noted later than the scope of this research, in the middle of the 15th century, when there were Friar Matthew of Dubrovnik in 1445,¹¹¹⁰ and Friar Jerome of Šibenik in 1449, from which the latter was the procurator and minister provincial of Dalmatia later on, 1455-1456.¹¹¹¹ Since both friars, Matthew and Jerome, were recorded in the sources as doctors, it meant that friars were more inclined to pursue the highest degree of education in the later period, which is to be expected.

¹¹⁰³ AF 11, p. 262.

¹¹⁰⁴ AF 11, p. 203.

¹¹⁰⁵ SART, p. 990, nr. 31.

¹¹⁰⁶ AF 11, p. 266.

¹¹⁰⁷ AF 11, p. 272.

¹¹⁰⁸ AF 11, p. 273.

¹¹⁰⁹ AF 11, p. 47.

¹¹¹⁰ AF 11, p. 397

¹¹¹¹ AF 11, p. 97.

These friars were not just names on the list, and for more context, it is necessary to see who some of these friars were and how did their pursuit for knowledge went. As it was said, in 1339, Pope Benedict XII gave incentive to friars from Dalmatia for studying outside of the Province,¹¹¹² but this was not enough to encourage friars from Dalmatia to attend various European universities, since the first person was noted in 1356 in Bologna. Friar Benedict from Zadar was mentioned in two instances, in both as a witness while compiling some testaments.¹¹¹³ Although the department of theology was founded in 1360, there is a possibility that friars gathered there even before the official founding, which happened in the case of German friars. Although he was only mentioned being in the friary in Bologna and later, he did not have any degree title written with his name, his career path shows that he could have easily been there for his studies as well as living there and helping friars in Bologna. Aforementioned Friar Fredrick de Georgiis was in Bologna in 1376, where he was also noted as being present during the writing of a testament.¹¹¹⁴ For him it is also not certain that he attended university, but his time there was probably a decisive moment where his life took an interesting turn. In 1383, Pope Urban V installed him as the abbot of the convent of St Cosmas and Damian on the Island of Pašman, which meant that he had to leave the Franciscans and enter the Benedictine Order.¹¹¹⁵ Being an abbot there was a significant improvement in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, connected with large incomes and important social reputation, but why was it necessary to bring an outside man for this position, and why not a person who was already in the Benedictine Order. This comes as a bigger surprise since Fredrick's family in general preferred the Franciscan Order.¹¹¹⁶ This strategy from Pope Urban V could be due to some dispute among the Benedictines, where an outside and impartial person would be a better choice for a new abbot. There is always a possibility that Fredrick de Georgiis met someone in Bologna whom he thoroughly impressed and who recommended him for this new position. Furthermore, there are also two friars who were also present in the friary in Bologna during the writing of a testament, but their educational degree or path is not clear: Nicholas of Zadar in 1382,¹¹¹⁷ and Francis of Zadar in 1389.¹¹¹⁸ A similar story of exiting and entering orders comes from Friar Michael of Dubrovnik, who was already mentioned above. After he was given money in 1397, Friar Michael was located in Bologna in 1398, which means he used this money given to him for studies. After receiving further money for his master's degree in 1407, he was a professor of theology in Dubrovnik in 1410 and was recommended for the position of an abbot of the convent of Blessed

¹¹¹² CD X, doc. 330, pp. 469-470.

¹¹¹³ First, he was present in 1356 when Buzius de Bučii de Caxinis wrote his testament (AF 11, p. 244), and subsequent year when ser Lezius of late John of late Melioris de Vernacia had done the same (AF 11, p. 39).

¹¹¹⁴ AF 11, p. 262.

¹¹¹⁵ Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 2, p. 224.

¹¹¹⁶ Grbavac, "Jurjević," pp. 634-637.

¹¹¹⁷ Nicholas was present when Nannes, the son of late Ugepto de la Magla or de Armis compiled his testament (AF 11, p. 267).

¹¹¹⁸ AF 11, p. 273.

Virgin Mary on the island Mljet, and several months later, he was granted the permission to leave the Franciscan Order and enter the Benedictine Order.¹¹¹⁹ It is no wonder that the friar decided to enter Benedictine order, because the emphasis of it was truly and always exclusively on education and knowledge, while other characteristics of the monastic orders were set aside.

10.2. Studying in Padua

The Franciscan friary located in Padua had a school of theology very early, around 1227-1230, and later it received a general status around the middle of the 13th century and finally gained the status of the degree *studium* in 1363 from the Pope Urban V, and then, a decade later, in 1373 the degree status of the Padua *studium* was officially approved by the general chapter of Toulouse.¹¹²⁰ Padua had proved to be a good contender to the university in Bologna, and in the first quarter of the 14th century it surpassed it, gaining a more permanent reputation, eventually obtaining a position of the first University in Italy.¹¹²¹

The following table is done in the same principle as the previous one for Bologna, with the same year, 1427, as the last year observed when a friar was present in Padua. There were plenty more friars after that year, but it would go far beyond the timeline of the research period.

List of Dalmatian friars in Padua from 1376 to 1420s

Years	Friars	Status
1376	Peter of Trogir	
1378	Nicholas of Zadar	
	Simon of Slavonia	
	John of Krk	lower orders
1379	John of Krk	subdeacon
1384	Minor of Dürres	
1391	Andrew of Dürres	
	John of Zadar	Master of Theology

¹¹¹⁹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 75.

¹¹²⁰ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 28, note 100; p. 36.

¹¹²¹ Rashdall, *The Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, pp. 10-21. Venetian government took patronage and encouraged university, and under its care became in the 15th and 16th centuries one of the two or three leading universities in Europe. Actually, Venice supported the university in Padua to the extent that in same point they forbade their inhabitants to attend the university anywhere else but there.

	George of Sclavonia	
	Louis of Dubrovnik	
1400	Nicholas of Shkodër	
1401	John of Trieste	
	Nicholas of Kotor	
1405	Nicholas of Shkodër	doctor sacrae paginae
1406	Michael of Dürres	
1408	Francis of Trieste	
1409	Francis of Trieste	
	Simon of Krk	
1412	John of Šibenik	
1414	Peter Sarda of Piran	
	Nicholas of Dürres	lector of the Bible in <i>Colegium Pratense</i>
1415	Nicholas of Dürres	
1416	Francis of Dubrovnik	novice master
1417	George of Dürres	
1418	Francis of Krk	
	Andrew of Dürres	tonsure and lower orders
1422	Anthony of Poreč	
1424	Anthony of Poreč	
1427	Gregory of Šibenik	

For Padua there is a different situation with friars, and there are more sources on their activity than “just” residing in the friary there. It had an increasing number of student friars in the period when the number of them in Bologna decreased, that is, from the end of the 14th to the first decades of the 15th century. The first friar from the Province mentioned in Padua was Peter of Trogir in 1376.¹¹²² The second friar in Padua, Nicholas of Zadar, was first in Padua, in 1378, and later, in 1382, he went to Bologna. In Padua he was noted as Nicholas *de Schiavonia* on the list of students which were

¹¹²² Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 91.

present when Francesco Turchetto was serving a Mass in the chapel *delle Stimate*.¹¹²³ Minor from Dürres was present in Padua on the general chapter in 1384,¹¹²⁴ but he is noted in Zadar's chapter in July of the same year as the master of theology, so it can be presumed that most probably he acquired this title in Padua, although it is not stated there.¹¹²⁵ Another Dalmatian friar was in Padua at the end of the 14th century, John from Zadar, who also held the title of the master of theology and who lived for some time in the friary of St Anthony. He is mentioned being present at the chapter of the friary in 1391, and due to his title of the master of theology, it can be assumed that he was included in the teaching process in Padua.¹¹²⁶ John of Zadar and Minor of Dürres were ones of the rare cases when the titles are written down, which meant that they already finished their degree, while others could have been still in the process as students. Since the number of friars residing there was higher than in Bologna, they originate from more towns in the Province – Trieste, Piran, Koper, Poreč, Cetina, Krk, Cres, Nin, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Shkodër and Dürres, which can be seen as a consequence of an increasing interest and openness to education not only from bigger convents, but also in the smaller ones. In 1391 there were 4 student friars from the Dalmatian Province in Padua: Andrew of Dürres,¹¹²⁷ John of Zadar,¹¹²⁸ George of Slavonia¹¹²⁹ and Louis of Dubrovnik.¹¹³⁰ The situation with their status of education is quite different from Bologna. In Padua friars are found in various levels of their education, with different degrees. Some are present there receiving their tonsure and being ordained as subdeacons (in the largest number), some as bachelors and others as master of theology, but some even in the process of licentiate and doctorate.

The office which implied frequent relocations, and which was for the purpose of studies was those of a lector as a teacher of theology. However, besides the lectors, there is one office that could imply a certain degree of education of the person who performed it but was not its necessary precondition. The position in question is that of a novice master, which has a more upbringing than educational purpose of an individual friar. Novice master resided in a convent and estimated if friars were adequate for entering the Order, and if so, he would guide and prepare them in the beginning of their career, and if necessary, in further education. This office also implied mobility, mainly outside the province. The first friar who obtained this service was Mark from Krk, who was novice master in Assisi in 1388, who continued to reside there for at least another year.¹¹³¹ He was also the guardian

¹¹²³ Archivio Sartori 1, doc. 27, p. 989.

¹¹²⁴ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 77.

¹¹²⁵ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

¹¹²⁶ SART 1, doc. 31, p. 990.

¹¹²⁷ SART 1, p. 1269, nr. 8.

¹¹²⁸ SART 1, p. 990, nr. 31; p. 1269, nr. 8.

¹¹²⁹ SART 1, p. 1269, nr. 8.

¹¹³⁰ SART 1, p. 990, nr. 31; p. 1269, nr. 8.

¹¹³¹ Žugaj, *Nomenklator*, p. 70.

in Zadar long before that, in 1379,¹¹³² so the office of novice could be considered as a promotion for him. Since Assisi is the capital city of the order, it is not uncommon that friars gravitate towards it, and some of them surely picked it as the place where they enter the order and that is why the service of novice master is needed. The same goes for Padua, and it is no wonder that there were two novice masters from the province of Dalmatia. They were Francis of Dubrovnik, who was mentioned performing his duty in 1416¹¹³³ and Raymond of Albania in 1418.¹¹³⁴ Other Italian convents also employed friars as teachers from the Province of Dalmatia, although this goes beyond the scope of this research. Matthew of Kotor was teaching in the convent of Venice in 1443 as bachelor,¹¹³⁵ and this is only further evidence that Dalmatian friars were maintaining close relations with friars in Italy, especially in the matters of education and studies.

10.3. All the way to England

Although most of the friars were present at one or the most at two, the educational path of one specific friar is confusing and quite extensive. The already mentioned Nicholas of Zadar was first in Padua, where he was listed as a student listening to a mass in 1378,¹¹³⁶ and then in Bologna in 1382, although only as a witness in the friary.¹¹³⁷ There are two more universities in connection to Friar Nicholas: Cambridge and Oxford. To clarify, Nicholas was mentioned as being a bachelor from Cambridge in 1384, while being present at the Chapter of St Francis in Zadar.¹¹³⁸ Since he was in Bologna in 1382, and already back in Zadar with his title in 1384, he must have been very persistent in his career path. After this, things get even more complicated. In 1393, Nicholas acquired another title, the one of a Bachelor of Theology at Oxford. This information comes from the document in which a friar called Peter, who was the bishop of Novara, was naming him the chaplain, which means that he acquired this title before being mentioned in this document from 1393.¹¹³⁹ From what has been known so far about Friar Nicholas, he was listed as a student only in Padua, and yet he held two equivalent titles from two other universities – Cambridge and Oxford. It is possible that he finished the first degree of theology in Cambridge, and the second degree in Oxford. However, since the school system was rather fluid and only a handful of friars obtained higher degrees, Friar Nicholas could have, purely by his own interest, listen multiple times to the lectures of philosophy and theology from different professors. However, there is also a possibility that there was a misunderstanding and that

¹¹³² DAZD, ZB, PP, b. II, fasc. 11, fol. 35-35'.

¹¹³³ SART 3, p. 334 nr. 4.

¹¹³⁴ SART 1, p. 994 nr. 64.

¹¹³⁵ SART 2, p. 1887, nr. 7.

¹¹³⁶ SART 1, doc. 27, p. 989.

¹¹³⁷ AF 11, p. 267.

¹¹³⁸ DAZd, ZB, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, fol. 67-67'; DAZd, ZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, fol. 41'-42.

¹¹³⁹ ASSF, Perg. 82; *Samostan sv. Frane*, p. 74.

the universities in Cambridge and Oxford were mixed up, and instead of writing a Master of Theology from Cambridge, the scribe wrote Oxford, since both were situated in England.

Although the Franciscan order had an international character, friars from the Province of Dalmatia were mainly interested in the universities in Italy, which is not surprising since they were the best fit by its quality and proximity. The interest in the university in Bologna was in the middle of the 14th century, with Friar Benedict being the first from the Province to be there. It is probable that friars, during their studies, were integrated into the community in Bologna, not only in the friary, but in the same way as their lives were being in their native Province. Although university in Bologna and in Padua were both *studium generale* of the order, Bologna enjoyed higher reputation because of its seniority and strength. However, the appeal for Padua was shown by friars from the 1370s, which was at the same time the peak of interest for education in general. Some friars had an extraordinary educational path, as was the case with Friar Nicholas from Zadar, who had connections with four universities. It seems he started from Franciscan studies which were closer to the Province of Dalmatia, from Padua and Bologna, and moved to universities in England, Cambridge and Oxford. Ultimately, the question remains: why were there no friars at the university in Paris, especially if we consider that the Dominican order and other members of the clergy in Croatian lands studied there.¹¹⁴⁰ The examples of lectors not only show that there were more educated friars than they might seem at first glance but also depict the nature of their mobility. Lectors were traveling from one friary to another in the Province, the same way as they would receive lectors from other friaries. For some lectors we know that they achieved significant careers in the order, later becoming bishops, custodes, provincials or guardians, while some were rarely mentioned in sources. This only shows that the order, although initially not putting emphasis on education, had a substantial number of educated friars.

¹¹⁴⁰ Franjo Šanjek, "Pariško sveučilište u XIII. stoljeću" [The university in Paris in the 13th century], *Bogoslovska smotra* 45 (1975) 1: 3-17. There were several Dominican Friars from Dalmatia there, one of them being famous Ivan Stojković from Dubrovnik, who was in Paris 1417-1422. André Tuilier, "Dubrovčanin Ivan Stojković i Pariško sveučilište" [Ivan Stojković from Dubrovnik and the University in Paris], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 8 (1984) 14: 36-43. More on him in the article of André Tuilier, "Jean Stojković de Raguse, lecteur de Saint Jérôme," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 28 (2004) 54: 9-18.

IV CONCLUSIVE PART

11. CONCLUSION

The situation in the area of Dalmatia during the course of middle ages was complex, since it was the intersection of various influences from Hungary proper, Italy and Venice in particular, and in the later period, Bosnia as well, on the local fabric of society. This complexity was also reflected in the organization of the territory of the Province of Sclavonia/Dalmatia and activities of the friars within. The arrival of the mendicant orders, and among them the Franciscans, marked a new era in urban history of Dalmatia. Franciscans, being a global phenomenon, became a crucial part of the community entering all spheres of Dalmatian local life, which was not the case of previous religious orders. Thus, this was just one of the novelties of the 13th century developments in Christian Europe. The unpretentious nature of the Franciscans, their refusal of earthly goods and devotional preaching made them approachable to all layers of society, making them someone they could relate to. They attracted the rich, helped the poor, and provided spiritual guidance to all who sought it. As was seen from the cases of all the friaries of the province of Dalmatia, every and each one of them wanted to be exactly the friary that St Francis visited during his missionary voyages. The story was knitted tightly into the narrative and the fabrics of every friary along the East Adriatic coast. Whatever or not this was the truth is beside the point, because the legend was transmitted all the way to the friary in Zagreb in Slavonia.

Certainly, Franciscans and their friaries were established (being the foundations of friars or endowments of Croatian aristocratic families) in almost each city commune and town of the Adriatic coast and its hinterland. What was shown was that the spatial organization of the mendicant orders in the city communes of Dalmatia (there meaning the Franciscans, Dominicans and Poor Clares) followed a usual pattern in its establishment. In the majority of city communes, Franciscans usually first established themselves just outside the city walls, not inside, but just at the crossroads, at the right place to get in touch with people going into the city and starting to form bonds with people, probably by preaching to them and providing any type of care needed. It is worth underlining that there are no written sources for the period of their activities when located outside the city. Their relocations from outside the city and moving within the city walls would usually occur due to external reasons, meaning the destruction of their house to prevent someone from using it as a fort to conquer the city. This was the case of the Šubići of Bribir, and it is not surprising bearing in mind the power they exercised over both Croatia and Dalmatia. However, after the Franciscans were situated within the city walls, they became a symbol of the saintly protection at the city gates, at least this was stated in the case of Dubrovnik: both towers of St Francis and St Dominic watching over the city.

Franciscans and Poor Clares would be in the vicinity of each other, thus emphasizing their role as protectors of the female members of the Order in their physical presence, and not just on paper. On the other hand, the Franciscans and Dominicans would be alongside the same side of the wall, but facing each other on the opposite side, which may have been a common practice while organizing the layout of the city, but nevertheless made a clear statement that the mendicants are from now on taking over the spiritual wellbeing of the inhabitants of cities in Dalmatia; the Franciscans from one side of the wall, and the Dominicans from the other.

The actual question was how did the Province function in practice? The functioning of the Province of Dalmatia was visible from several points of view. In theory, the Province of Dalmatia was spatially organized as most of the Provinces in the Order, according to custodies and friaries which belonged to each of them. It may seem that this division impacted on the functioning of the Province, but it was only partially true. How we could conclude that custodies did impact the functioning of the Province can be answered while observing the Franciscan community in friaries themselves. This means that, for instance, according to places of origin of certain friars who were residing in Dubrovnik, there is a shift in the second half of the 14th century, where it seems that friars from the custody of Dubrovnik were mainly residing there, while in previous periods there was more diversity in manpower. This diversity was even more visible if we take into consideration that in the friary in Dubrovnik, there were not only friars from different custodies, but also those originating outside of the Province, that is, from Italy, thus marking the international and mobile characteristic of the Franciscan Order. This trend of foreign Italian friars who resided in friaries was during the 13th century in friaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik it is more visible in the case of former than the latter, and from the 14th century, the presence of Italian friars rapidly declined, up to a point that by the end of the century, we cannot find traces of them in Dalmatian sources. Quite interesting observation of manpower of friary in Zadar is that friars from Dubrovnik were almost not present at all, although it would be logical that these two largest friaries would exchange friars at least in some periods. On the other hand, a very doubtful functioning of custody can be concluded from the fact that there were very few friars who obtained the office of a *custos*, and since it was the most important office after the one of a Minister Provincial, this seems quite odd. Other offices followed patterns which could be expected considering their nature. Provincial Ministers were mainly foreign friars, with several exceptions of “local” ones. Guardians would usually either continue the same office in a different friary or more frequently, take upon a position of a bishop somewhere in the Province. However, one office was two-fold, that of a vicar, who was in fact either a deputy to the Minister Provincial or to the guardian of a friary, so its character varied. There is also evidence that being a vicar meant being a deputy in the case of another office, that of a *custos*, since there is one friar noted as such. Maybe

this could be an indication that offices within the Province of Dalmatia were more fluid and flexible than one might expect. The Rule of St Francis instructed that the friars should, before entering the Order, renounce their worldly possessions. In the Province of Dalmatia, we have three examples which show this process of entering the Order, where friars wrote their testaments distributing all their possessions.

Mobility was a Franciscan characteristic that was certainly visible on many scales. Following upon the said concept of the organization of the offices within the Order, Mobility went hand in hand with immobility. In the case of Minister Provincial, we see that individuals holding the office were either originating of Zadar or at some point they were stationed in the friary of St Francis in Zadar. Otherwise, from the second half of the 14th century, we can see that the individuals holding the office were rather prominent; they held different offices and had various political activities for the ruling house of Anjou. This will be more visible when dealing with the political agency of the Angevines, following the same pattern as everywhere else in the Kingdom of Hungary. It should be again underlined that presenting the cases of *custodes* showed that they were noted in the sources only after the Treaty of Zadar. The special character of *custodes* in Dubrovnik is that there is no written evidence of them there. Guardians as individuals who were the head of friaries in Zadar and Dubrovnik showed a certain degree of longevity, meaning they would stay in one friary for a longer period, or their expertise of leading a friary would be utilized for other friaries in the future. Although the Angevine 14th-century in Dalmatia does not testify to the official existence of schools in the Franciscan friaries, the presence of the office of lector indicates otherwise, as was dictated by the principles of the organization of the Order. Another indicator of the studies in the friaries are the books and manuscripts. However, due to various external circumstances, very few examples of manuscripts and books were preserved in the friaries of Dalmatia during the 14th century, but nonetheless, they give a hint that the organization of schools in fact existed, regardless of which capacity. Although preaching was an important aspect of life in the Order, there was no sufficient evidence for the Province of Dalmatia to form conclusions on this matter. One exception is a very early case from the 13th century when we do have testimony that Franciscan preaching was used as a political tool to influence the change of government system in the Dalmatian commune.

The office of inquisitor is connected not only with the Franciscans, but also with the Dominicans in Dalmatia. Their names are attested in the papal bulls and in Dalmatia they are only noted as being present there, without hindering their precise activity. On the other side, when their activity is known, it is in the case of Bosnia, where they were sent to fight against the heretics, although this is also potentially oversimplified conclusion of a complex situation. In the territory of Bosnia, even before becoming a vicariate, the Franciscans came into conflict with the Dominicans

over their inquisitor rights. In general, the Dominicans in fact arrived in Bosnia sooner than the Franciscans. However, it seems that the Dominicans were not well received in Bosnia, especially since they were sent from Hungarian lands, not speaking the language, and the Franciscans from Dalmatia were deemed a better choice to prevent heretical activities in Bosnia. It has to be emphasized that the question of the Vicariate of Bosnia should be addressed in a completely separate study because of the complexity of the political situation of the period, later developments and finally, preserved sources, which almost exclusively offer information of secondary provenience in foreign archives (as are the ones in Dubrovnik and Vatican).

Friars did not only obtain offices inside their order but were also appointed for other ecclesiastical offices. From the middle of the 13th century onwards began a trend of appointing Franciscans as bishops and archbishops in Dalmatia, mostly originating from Italy, but there were also few individuals coming from Hungary and even those who were local in the full sense of the word, meaning they originated from the very city where they were appointed. The initial push of this trend can be traced to higher, in this case, highest instances, the pope himself, especially Pope Nicholas IV, who was a Franciscan himself. Pope Nicholas IV is otherwise interesting because he was the provincial minister of Dalmatia, and the story about his childhood tells that he arrived with his father in Zadar, and in fact entered the Order in the friary of Zadar. It is not certain when this story was embedded into the narrative of the friary, because we see that this is not the only story which was designed to show continuity between the prominent members of the Franciscan Order and friary in Zadar.

Friars did not serve only ecclesiastical authorities and their agency towards the community and the Crown should be especially emphasized. Political activity of friars was used not only by local authorities in the case of Dubrovnik, but also friars were peacemakers, in more than one respect. Especially important is an episode of the Franciscan emissary, Friar Marin, who served as intermediary between Zaratins and King Louis I. Besides being emissaries, they held the positions of *nuntio* or even sometimes, they were confessors of both aristocracy and royalty. Particularly the last function of friars meant that they were not only trusted in the matters of earthly problems but also of salvation of eternal soul. This activity can be further connected with the royal court in Hungary, as it will be seen in the following parts, but also in the following period of turbulence after the death of King Louis I, arrival of Sigismund of Luxembourg and King Claimant Ladislas of Naples. This period altered the political history of the area, which was reflected in, of course, every sphere of life, as well.

Franciscans prided themselves on adhering to the vow of poverty and this was probably the reason why they gained such popularity among people. However, their popularity grew stronger and deeper, which prompted many citizens to give them alms. The question of Franciscan ownership of

immovable property has been an issue long debated from the very beginning of the Order: whether friars could own immovable property (or anything material) and what can be considered truly owning instead of just using? For the Province of Dalmatia, it was shown that, although some communes had statutory regulations which prohibited any form of ownership not just to the Franciscans, but any religious order, the practice has always shown otherwise. On the other hand, regulation in the statute of Dubrovnik specifically singled out the mendicant orders in their prohibition, which was the only such example. From a relatively small number of cases of inhabitants bequeathing property to the Franciscans in Dubrovnik, this prohibition could be proved to be effective. Furthermore, for some donations and bequests it is not clear how this ownership would function in the future, but for some it is quite evident. This has been visible in the cases of friaries in Senj and Krk, where friars were frequently donated various types of immovable property, which they would then rent in the future. The question is: how could they rent a certain immovable property if they did not own it in the first place? The other aspect which needs to be addressed concerning immovable property is the purpose of which it served the friars, meaning whether the possession of such an immovable property would serve their “basic” needs, or would they in fact gain profit from it? On the other hand, even if they did gain extra profit from these immovable properties, who can say for which purpose it was used? Maybe they used it to repair their friaries and churches, maybe they took care of the poor and sick (as could be hinted by the bequest for an *infirmaria* in Dubrovnik). While dealing with such a complex topic, there are always uncertainties, especially during earlier periods in history as is the 14th century. The issue of ownership of immovable property in Dalmatia might not be resolved yet, but it is an important matter to be considered in future research, especially regarding how theoretical implementation happened in practice.

The problematics of bequests to the Franciscans were the easiest question to answer because all the layers of society bequeathed something. Categories that were used for the presentation of this problematic showed that the lower layers left practical bequests, being concerned about everyday activities of friars, in particular, clothes. This can be also connected with the fact that the poor inhabitants had clothes as more precious items to bequeath, as opposed to the higher layer of society which would bequeath money and more luxurious items. Earrings or some other pieces of jewelry were used to help their imminent family members in surviving harsh medieval reality over the century where one had an interlude between war and peace, prosperity and turmoil. Concerning food and nourishments bequeathed to the Franciscans, we can see that it was on the most basic level, since they needed food, clothes and shelter. When bequeathing *prandium*, it is visible that it can also vary from the most basic and simple needs to more lavish consumption. It is interesting to emphasize that in Dubrovnik, the friars had special privileges in importing wine when others were not allowed.

Furthermore, it is also known that they did in fact take advantage of these privileges. Clothes were also a necessity, not only for a habit, but also for their solemn robes as well. Testaments sometimes even “dressed up” individual friars. Bequests where an individual friar was given any part of clothes which would be worn during liturgical activities could indicate that he in fact was ordained as a priest and needed it for performing a Mass. The number of masses designated as bequests certainly meant that friars had to pray a lot, because it was so numerous – up to thousand masses annually for the salvation of a soul. It was clear that it was possible to put a price for the salvation of the soul because for some friaries it was possible to estimate the average cost of a mass. Bequest regarding the repair work, building, expanding or renovation were frequent in the testaments of the inhabitants of Dalmatia and usually hidden under very generic and fluid terminology, for the works, whatever that in fact meant at a certain moment. My impression is that this money was maybe collected and used accordingly when the situation arose. As was seen in the connection of individual families and the Franciscans in Dalmatia, altars, tombstones and cloister complexes needed material and man work. In this respect, the objects that are material and spiritual are certainly liturgical items like chalices, which were often mentioned in the testaments of Dalmatian inhabitants. The most interesting aspect regarding testaments and spirituality is the fact that most bequests regarding pilgrimage for the salvation of the soul came from women, and not just any women, but those belonging to the layer of artisans.

Franciscan agency in Dalmatia was certainly abundantly supported by the Angevin dynasty, if not completely promoted, as in other places of the Kingdom of Hungary on many levels. This process reached its peak with King Louis I, ruler otherwise known for his foundation of friaries and promoting the agency of individual friars in political and diplomatic purposes, also beyond borders of his realm. For Dalmatian Franciscans and King Louis I, the friary in Zadar had multiple purposes. It was a place where the Treaty of Zadar was signed, in sacristy where there was an altar dedicated to a saint of his own family, St Louis of Toulouse. For him, this was political, spiritual and extremely personal. Zadar was not chosen accidentally, and precisely there we can see the majority of the support. This support went further into promotion, that was visible not only through documents but also through visual representations. These representations were not only his prerogative; his wife also took part in it. With her agency, this entered into sphere of the second royal house, that of the Kotromanići of Bosnia. Firm supporters of the royal couple in Dalmatia were not only royal knights in Dalmatia (coming from the ranks of urban society), but also two big aristocratic families, who in their history also had Franciscan friaries as endowments. Again, connected with Angevins were the families belonging to city patriciate, which in many respects imitated the nobility, too. And they were being imitated by the artisan layer within the city. The study showed that all of these layers of society

firmly stood next to the Franciscans. This is also true for the cases of prominent procurators of Franciscans, which were also members of the established families of the city patriciate.

Two Croatian aristocratic families showed similar patterns since the Franciscan churches in the towns under their governance were in fact their endowments. This was not reflected through physical vicinity, ceremonial purposes, burials, but also in reach bequests and personal relationships with individual friars. Potentially it would be too bold to claim, but it seems that they tried to imitate the “usage” of the Franciscans as was done by the ruling house of Anjou. In the case of the Šubići, the promotion went even further because they also had a member of the kindred entered the Franciscan Order. On the other hand, the counts of Krk bequeathed and donated abundantly to the Franciscans that, due to their agency, we have preserved records about otherwise very scarcely recorded region.

The ruling city elites of the city communes, the patriciate, in Dalmatia, indeed offered records of lavish bequests that were mentioned above. In Zadar, family de Grisogonis, which derived its name from the patron saint of the city, supported the agency of the Franciscans in Zadar, in Dalmatia, and in Bosnia, on both female and male sides of the family. They chose to be buried in the family tomb, at least five of them. Similar patterns can be seen from at least several families from Dubrovnik (de Mençe, de Sörgo and Gučetić). For the first two families mentioned in Dubrovnik, there is an indication that they in fact lived in the vicinity of the friars, since their land was purchased for the building of the Franciscan complex within the city. The Gučetić family is nicely represented with the sarcophagus in the friary of Dubrovnik, and the first member of the family there was Marin, son of Clemens, who was a city count and firm supporter of politics of King Louis I, not only within the confines of the city, but also beyond, namely, at the Serbian court. Other Dalmatian notable families had strong ties with the friars, and these ties were based on the following researched criteria: large bequests to friars, choices of burial in the friary, members of the family that entered the Franciscan Order, latter being the case of the families de Georgiis and de Binçola, one from Zadar, and the other from Dubrovnik. Procurator was certainly a service of an individual coming from the city commune and handling friars’ legal activities. Individual examples of these procurators showed that they were not chosen by accident but would usually derive from the families of Franciscan supporters. Two interesting individuals stand out: one is the member of the Tavelić family, and the other famous Paul de Paulo, Zaratine chronicler. Not only famous individuals support the Franciscans, but potentially more interesting were members coming from middle or lower backgrounds, whose support was attested to the sources. Although Dalmatia in general is abundant with written source material, and even lower layer of society understood the importance of a written word, yet, since producing documents cost money, it is no surprise that lower layers of society are less represented in them.

Therefore, it was even more important when it showed that even someone as an agricultural worker had close ties with the Franciscans, thus choosing one of them as an executor of his last will in 14th-century Zadar. These two social strata members were able to be reconstructed with their connections to the Franciscans not only on the examples from Dubrovnik, Zadar, but also in other smaller friaries of Trogir, Split, Krk, Senj, Bribir or Skradin.

The outreach of the Dalmatian Franciscans that was not yet discussed was their time spent in friaries in Bologna and Padua. There the individual friars would go with the curtesy of their relatives or individuals with which they had close ties previously. Around twenty individuals spent their time in Bologna, starting from the period of the mid-14th century. Towards the end of the century, it seems that the friars from the Province of Dalmatia traded Bologna for Padua, and individuals mentioned there had prominent careers within the Order, outside of it, either holding ecclesiastical offices, or being spiritually or politically engaged with the ruling dynasty. Finally, a peculiar case is the one of Friar Nicholas of Zadar, who wandered all the way to England, as is attested by the deeds of the Zaratine notaries.

In the end, what became visible from my research is that there is certainly a reason why either researchers deal extensively with one friary in a longer time span, or they give overviews of certain phenomena usually based on writings of Franciscan historians or they regard Franciscans as one of the religious institutions in the life of a city. Unfortunately, I was unable to answer some questions because source material was too abundant, but at the same time, it offered too little information or vivid life stories. So, one might ask what is the contribution of this research? In addition to pre-existing work, much more needs to be done. What is certain is that the Province of Dalmatia is ideal for systematic and more long-term work on the history of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia.

Disclaimer at the end of this research. From the sources, it is visible that these friaries were the places of very vivid life that was happening within and outside the cloister walls. These were the places of piety, everyday activities, but also places that had political significance. This political significance was not only manifested in the local, but also on a higher level as well. At the same time, what can be especially seen from certain testaments, the Franciscan complexes were places where many individuals originating from various social layers of society were present there at the same time. However, the problem with the sources is that we can see these processes only in fragments. Since we are presented with these fragments, we cannot make conclusions without entering a sphere of imaginary and too many theoretical claims without no collaboration from the sources. A more vivid and potentially conflictual period happened with the 15th century onwards; however, this remains for further research, which will improve the flaws of this text, yet cannot happen without it.

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Zadar

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