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THE WILLS OF THE ZARATIN APOTHECARIES FROM THE 14TH CENTURY

Abstract: The paper analyses the wills of Zaratina apothecaries from the 14th century, kept in the State Archive of Zadar (Zara). From the preserved wills, we can follow the course of testamentary bequests, but at the same time we can also reconstruct images of the apothecaries present in the city of Zadar in the 14th century. In addition to the detection of people engaged in pharmacy activity in Zadar in the 14th century, their social involvement, and the connections they make with the citizens of Zadar are monitored. These relationships were business, friendly, but also in a family sense. Considering the scarce written documentation from that period for the eastern Adriatic coast, this material provided significant insight into the presence and activity of the pharmacy profession and trade and professional communications along the Adriatic coast and its neighbourhood. At the same time, the article tries to reconstruct the products they traded with or which they produced. The role of pharmacists in Dalmatian communes at the time, their social and financial economic milieu, and the placement of pharmacists within these relationships, as well as the status of the pharmacy profession in that early period of its professionalization, where it is still closely linked to other merchants, are also re-examined.

Key words MeSH: wills, history of pharmacy

Non MeSH: Middle Ages, apothecary, Dalmatia, Zadar (Zara), 14th century

Introduction

The development of medieval pharmacy in Europe is related to the appearance of the first monastic communities that kept gardens with medicinal plants within their walls. However, a significant transformation occurred from the late 9th to the early 10th century with the introduction of translations of Arabic manuscripts. This marked the transfer of knowledge from Arabic medicine, a discipline grounded in scientific principles that adhered to the guidelines established by Greek physicians. The approach emphasized the precise utilization of medicinal substances and preparations derived from plants, animals, and minerals, which were categorized based on their cooling, heating, drying, or humidifying effects. Hippocrates, who well-versed in various forms of medicine, laid the foundation, while Galen, acknowledged as the founder of pharmaceutical technology, advocated for the separation of active substances from inert components. Medicines were crafted following *pharmacopoeia* regulations, which outlined official medicines obtained from *materia medica*, a precisely defined set of substances. The science of prescribing and producing medicines originated in ancient Greece, with Galen's standards shaping subsequent *pharmacopoeias*. [1 p512-5]

Arab doctors, such as Avicenna, learned this ancient knowledge, expanding it with their experiences and introducing new substances. [2] The pivotal moment in the history of medicine and pharmacy occurred in 1240, with the issuance of the code of Frederick II, mandating the separation of two disciplines. This decree dictated that medicines must adhere to specific regulations, leading to the issuance of official *pharmacopoeias*, often called *Dispensatorium*, *Antidotarium*, *Ricettario* or *Luminare*. They were written by physicians or apothecaries, and were initially created only for one city or a local area, and only later becoming valid for entire countries. [1 p512-5]

The pharmacies of Dalmatia are among oldest in Europe, and their inception dates back to the 13th century, with the first one established in Trogir in 1271, followed by Dubrovnik and Split in 1282, and Zadar in 1289. The oldest preserved monasterial pharmacy in Croatia, dating from 1317, is located in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. [3,4]

This paper delves into the analysis of archival documents, specifically the wills of Zaratín pharmacists from the 14th century. These wills are kept in the State Archive in Zadar. Special attention will be given to certain contracts involving individuals from the pharmacy circle and specific provisions within communal statutes regulating this domain. The study draws also on previously published research regarding apothecaries in the 14th century in Zadar and Dalmatia. The scope of this work is confined to the 14th century and the city of Zadar, with occasional comparisons made to facilitate better understanding of specific issues, or for comparative analysis with another Dalmatian communes within the same timeframe.

About the pharmacy business in the 14th century

The procurement, preparation, and sale of medicinal substances, medications, and additional commodities like spices, sugar, and wax constituted a lucrative business during the 14th century. This thriving enterprise gained momentum along the Adri-

atic coast due to the proximity of waterways leading to and from the Middle East and connections with continental Europe, thus facilitating the transit of spices and various substances essential for medicine and everyday life, ranging from culinary uses to cosmetics. The expansion of this business was also propelled by restrictions imposed on monks by the church, limiting their involvement in treating the sick and utilizing medicinal plants from monastery gardens and related preparations. [4,5,6]

Mirko Dražen Grmek notes that during this era, local or newly arrived pharmacists did not graduate from specialized pharmaceutical schools. Instead, they acquired their pharmaceutical knowledge through years of apprenticeship with experienced pharmacists. For example, in Zadar in 1381, Mandica sent her son George to study for 10 years under the pharmacist Andrija, son of Martin from Piran. Unfortunately, available archival material does not provide a detailed picture of this service and education, nor deeper insights into the profession of that era, the substances sold, methods of preparation, or the equipment of the shops or workshops. On the other hand, there are much more substantial data from which the material status of the pharmacists themselves can be discerned. On a financial front, pharmacists entered into contracts with individual citizens and financiers, sometimes even investing in specific businesses. In Zadar, a joint business contract in 1372 involved pharmacist Jacobellus and Sir Marin, who provided Jacobellus with 200 ducats in goods with the condition that Jacobellus runs the joint pharmacy for two years. [7] This suggests that pharmacies were profitable, which is evident in notarial records indicating pharmacists' significant financial resources. The communication between the eastern and western coasts of Adriatic played a crucial role in the dissemination of goods, capital, and skilled individuals, including pharmacists from urban and university centres in Italy to the eastern Adriatic cities.

Pharmacists quickly became respected members of society, not only known for their knowledge and collaboration with doctors, but also for accumulating substantial financial resources through commercial acumen. This allowed them to actively participate in the social activities and circulation of capital at the time. Their ability to allocate generous financial resources to monasteries and church orders, particularly through wills and legacies, was highly appreciated.

Grmek describes the items sold in pharmacies and the activities of medieval pharmacists. The main goods were sugar, wax, spices, and dyes, while a primary pharmacist's activity was sugar confection. During this period, sugar was viewed more as a medicine than a food ingredient, serving as the basis for syrups, flavour correction, and drug preservation. The sale of medicines themselves, although primarily handled by doctors, was also conducted in pharmacies. The Dubrovnik statute from 1272 lists goods sold by apothecaries, such as wax, tallow, and saffron.

Contemporary contracts and records provide insights into the inventory of pharmacies. For instance, a contract from 1378 reveals that a pharmacy in Zadar purchased by pharmacist Tomas, son of Johannes Bonomi from Ancona, contained boxes, dishes, and various pharmacy accessories, along with wax, sugar, pepper, syrups, seeds, and other miscellaneous items. This reflects the equipment of pharmacies in the

14th century, which expanded considerably in the subsequent 15th century, with the development of pharmacy and new trade routes. [7]

Regarding the legal aspects related to pharmacists in the 14th century, the basic text of the contemporary communal Statute of Zadar did not contain specific provisions concerning pharmacists. However, subsequent law reform passed in the 15th century included regulations for wax producers, spice merchants, and those involved in pharmacy. These laws specified that individuals engaged in these trades were prohibited from producing wicks or wax sticks unless using purified cotton. Moreover, all candles had to be made from clean, purified, and shiny wax. Violators faced fines amounting to 5 pounds, while confiscated contraband was burned in Zaratín main square. Each manufacturer was also required to place a distinctive mark on their products. Additionally, the regulations addressed spice traders, referred to as grocers. These laws stipulated that all preparations, spices, pepper, and other spice-related items should be made and stored in a clean and uncontaminated manner, free from impurities or other additives. Failure to comply with these provisions resulted in 5 pounds fine for each offender and each offense, with the confiscated items being burned in Zadar's square. The reformation of the Statute of Zadar also outlined measures for the sale of specific goods, stating that spices, cotton, wax, honey, and silk should be sold according to the designated weight and container. [8 p549-51,603]

In contrast, the contemporary Statute of the commune of Split prohibited doctors who were receiving a salary from the commune from entering into partnerships with pharmacists. The fine for such partnerships was 10 pounds, along with additional material and ethical sanctions. Despite this prohibition, pharmacists and doctors often disregarded the provision and engaged in partnerships. For instance, preserved notarial materials for the commune of Split from December 1342 reveal an agreement between physician Jacob and the Spalatin pharmacist Balda, son of the late Francis from Piacenza. In a document written by the notary Johannes, the son of the late Čove from Ancona, Balda acknowledges receiving 60 gold ducats from the communal physician Master Jacob of Padua for trading purposes. [9]

The last wills of the Zaratín pharmacists

During the 14th century, a large number of pharmacists worked in the commune of Zadar. In this period, they were defined in the sources by the terms *apothecarius*, *speciarius* and *aromatarius*. Those whose names are known are: Peter, son of Designa from Ferrara, [10 p39-40] a certain Bonaventura who is mentioned in the investigation that was conducted in 1303 against the Count of Zadar, [7] Francis de Pocus-to, who in 1317 received 300 pounds from Brana, the widow of Stephen de Laba, to do business with her, [10 p104-5] Matheus, the son of Rainaldi from Fermo, who in November 1317 sold his house located in Zaratín quarter of St. Vigil to Radoslav Bratoniša, a resident of Zadar, for the price of 30 and a half pounds. [10 p132] Furthermore, Bonaventura (Ventura), son of the late Ricouiri from Florence and Philip, son of the late Johannes Lupicini from Florence were active since 1340s. Between 1353 and 1355 two local apothecaries are mentioned in sources as *condam*. They were certain Egidius

and certain George. [11] In the document from 1362, the pharmacist Jacob, son of Martin [12 p169] is mentioned as a witness. In the preserved deeds of the Zaratín notary Peter Perençanus, dating from 1370, the local pharmacists Zaninus, son of the late Jacob from Zadar is mentioned. Also, one Italian is mentioned as *speciarius* in the commune of Zadar – it was Jacobellus, son of late master Peter de Amatischis from Rome. [11] In the 1380's there were two domestic pharmacists and two Italians from the city of Ancona. From Zadar were certain Vučina and Colanus, son of the late Guido, while from the city of Ancona were Lipparello, son of the late Mucciarello Toresse and Tomas, son of the late Johannes Bonomi. [7] In the 1380s master Johannes, who was a physician in the commune of Nin, also worked as a Zaratín pharmacist. In 1383 he rented a *statio* from the Zaratín *draperius* Michael, son of the late Peter, which was located under the house where Michael lived, as well as a house for living for a price of 15 ducats per year. [12 p245-6] In the 1390s, the names of the three *speciarii* are known. They were Johannes, son of the late Peter from Florence, [13] Bernard, son of Tauro from Padua [14] and Nucius, son of the Pacini, also from Florence. [15]

As it can be seen from the previous paragraph, numerous apothecaries worked in Zadar, but only five wills from 14th century have been preserved. The first of them was compiled by the Zaratín notary Johannes de Qualis in March 1301, and it is the will of the pharmacist Peter Designa from Ferrara. Since the document is damaged in many parts, its content is quite unclear. It can be seen that Peter owned a *statio* and that he did business together with the Zaratín nobleman Guido de Grubogna and Marcus de Cantono, whom he also appointed as the executors of his will. Peter was quite rich, since he invested a large amount of money – 1535 pounds – to the joint company and business. The will also reveals that he received 100 pounds for his *statio* and for his own benefit from the joint company. In his will he stressed that all debts, documents and loans written in his financial book were true. [10 p39-40] We have no other information about Peter's life and work in the commune of Zadar. However, in the will of Zaratín noblewoman Maria, daughter of the late Stephan de Madio and the wife of a certain Chrysogonus, drawn up in 1292, an interesting bequest is mentioned. Namely, Maria wanted to set aside a certain amount of her dowry for the medicines that were bought from the Zaratín *apothecarius* for her illness. [16 p68] Since Peter is defined in his will by the term *apothecarius*, it is possible that it was precisely him. At that time a certain Orlandino, who was married to Dominicia, daughter of the late Dominico de Abundino, also worked in the commune of Zadar, but in the documents, he is mentioned by the term *spetiarius*. [16 p138]

The next preserved will of a pharmacist who worked in the commune of Zadar is composed in June of 1382. It is the will of the pharmacist Philip, son of the late Johannes Lupicini from Florence. [17] In contrast to the pharmacist Peter, Philip's life and work are documented in contemporary notarial deeds. Philip most likely came to the Zadar commune during the 1340's, because in 1349 he already owned a *statio* in Zadar, as it was stressed in the document from December of that year *Actum Iadre in statione Fillippi condam Iohannis Luppicini de Florentia speciarii*. [18 p41] Philip was a member of the Florentine noble family Lupicini. During his stay in the commune of Zadar he gained quite a reputation and made friendship with many Zaratín noblemen

and citizens. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of them appointed him as a procurator or arbitrator in various disputes. For example, in January 1350, Zaratín citizens Paul Palumbardo and Jadrolus, son of the late Colanus Bono chose him as an arbitrator together with Chrysogonus de Civalellis in a dispute they had. [18 p58-9] In March of the same year, Philip paid 10 ducats to the executors of the will of the late Francis de Lovrechina for the annual rent of the shop in the name of the Florentin citizen Zonus, son of the late Guidotus. [18 p136-7] In 1354, Žuvica, the widow of the late Damian de Rubeis from Zadar, appointed Philip as the executor of the will of her late husband, instead of the Zaratín patrician Nicholas de Zadulinis. [19 p617-9] A year later, a German Henry called Zucharus appointed Philip as his procurator together with Gilbertino de Ciliis from Venice to represent him in all monetary claims from the commune of Zadar. [19 p649-51]

Philip came to the commune of Zadar together with his brother Nicholas, who is mentioned as a *speciarius* in a document from January 1350, but it seems that he was a merchant of general goods, not only of spices, as it can be seen from the later documents. [18 p67] In 1354, Philip bought a house covered with clapboards, with a shop, kitchen, yard, garden and its own water source from Nicholas de Civalellis, Matheus de Botono and Chrysogonus, son of Laurentius de Civalellis, who were executors of the will of the late Francis, son of Bogde de Lovrechina. It is mentioned that stables situated in that garden and yard were built for the horses of the stipendiaries who guarded Zadar. [12 p118] At the beginning of the 1360's, Philip and Nicholas left the commune of Zadar and went to Venice, which is clearly evident from the document dated in March 1366, in which the Zaratín patrician Benolus, son of Nicholas de Galellis, appointed them as his *procuratores*. Namely, the document states that they are now inhabitants of Venice (*nunc habitates Veneciarum*). [20] They lived in the quarter of St. Silvestre in Venice, as can be seen from the document from April 1374, in which Philip appointed his brother Nicholas as his procurator in all his disputes. [12 p153] Only a few days later, Nicholas appointed Angelo, son of the late Johannes from San Geminiano, as his procurator and authorized him to claim all his and brother's goods. [12 p154]

During Philip's absence from Zadar, *protomagister* Andreas, son of Deša, built a wooden house with a shop on the main square for him, for which in May 1371 *draparius* Lucas, son of the late Leo, paid 113 ducats in Philip's name. In the mid-1370's, Philip returned to the commune of Zadar, and in August 1376 he settled the aforementioned debt of 113 ducats with Lucas, and moreover gave him two ducats for the expenses he had. [21] From the document composed in August 1376 it can be seen that he borrowed 410 ducats from the Zaratín *draparius* Michael, son of the late Peter, which he promised to return upon request. [22] It was quite a large amount of money, and the clause stipulating that he could return it whenever Michael asked for, meant that Philip was able to return such a significant sum really quickly. As it is known from the literature, Michael was a very rich and well-known citizen of the commune of Zadar and the inventory of his goods is one of the most luxurious recorded in medieval sources far beyond the Eastern Adriatic coast. Philip had exceptionally friendly relations with Michael, as can be seen from his will, which was composed in June 1382 by the Zaratín notary Johannes Baldinoctis from Casoli. Namely, according to that will, Philip appoint-

ed Michael as the main heir of his property. Philip's capital probably enabled Michael to buy a luxurious house where he spent his last years. Researcher Jakov Stipišić put forward the assumption that Michael inherited his rich library precisely from him, but it is also possible that he bought some of these books together with the house of Lucas, son of Leo, a bookseller. [23]

But let's go back to the will of the pharmacist Philip Lupicini in which he appointed Albert, son of Matheus Compagni from Florence, inhabitant of Zadar, and his servant Krešol, son of the late Lucas from Zadar, as executors of his will. The first testamentary bequest refers to the place of his burial. Namely, he wanted to be buried at the monastery of St. Demetrius, to which he bequeathed 25 pounds. He left 50 pounds to Elena, a prioress of the same monastery, in order to pray for his soul. Philip bequeathed many Zaratian ecclesiastical institutions and persons. Thus, he left 25 pounds to the Zaratian Franciscans to offer Masses for his soul, while he bequeathed 10 pounds to the Dominicans who were also supposed to offer Masses for his soul. He also bequeathed 10 pounds to the churches of St. Mary *Presbiterorum*, St. Nicholas. and St. Peter *de Foro* to offer Masses for his soul. He also bequeathed 10 pounds to his confessor, priest Nicholas from the church of St. Mary *Presbiterorum*. To his servants Krešol, son of the late Lucas, and Živko, son of the late Gregory, he left a monetary bequest of 50 pounds each. He left salary money to his servant Rada, as well as an additional 50 pounds. He bequeathed 10 ducats to his executor Albert, son of Matheus Compagni from Florence. From his will it is evident that he had an illegitimate underage son, Nicholas, whom he demanded to be nursed by Stošija, who was the wet nurse of the daughter of his servant Rada. He bequeathed 50 pounds to each of his nieces, who were the illegitimate daughters of his brother Nicholas: Žuvica, the wife of George called Florentini, and Flora, the wife of Kršul called Nadrečija. He also left 100 gold ducats to his cousin Colanus Lupicini, inhabitant of Manfredonia. All these bequests were to be fulfilled from the goods he owned in Zadar. For all *male ablatis*, he bequeathed 25 pounds for the salvation of his soul. Like many foreigners, he also remembered his place of origin in his will, leaving bequests to Florentine ecclesiastical institutions. He named his nephew Francis, son of the late Nicholas, as the main heir of all his property that he owned in Florence. All his goods that he owned in Zadar he left to his friend *draparius* Michael, son of the late Peter. [24] Although he was not designated as the executor of his will, it is clear from later documents that Michael took care of his property. He took over Philip's financial books and settled accounts with his debtors, and distributed the remainder to those in need. Thus, he paid the salary to Philip's servant Rada, the widow of Dragoš, inhabitant of Zadar, as well as the other legacies. At the same time, according to Philip's wish, *draparius* Michael took care of his illegitimate son. According to Michael's will composed in 1385, it was determined that the boy should be taken care of until he reaches adulthood, when his father's bequest should be given to him. Michael also left a monetary bequest for Masses which should be offered for the salvation of Philip's soul. [25 p524-8]

In the 1390's, three Florentines worked as Zaratian pharmacists, Johannes, son of the late Peter and Nutius, son of the late Pacini, along with Bernard, son of Tauro from Padua. We do not have information about Johannes's life and his residence in Zadar. It

is not known exactly when he moved to Zadar, but he certainly was there in the 1380's, as it is evident from the will of the *draperius* Michael, in which he was mentioned as witness *Iohannes speciarius, habitator dicte civitatis Iadre condam Petri de Florentia*. [25 p528] In May 1392, Johannes composed his will, which was written down by the Zaratín notary Vannes, son of Bernard from Fermo. [13] In it, Johannes was defined as a master (*magister*), and as the reason for composing the document he stressed his illness (*infirmirate grauatus*). As the executors of his will, he appointed the furrier Zenobius, son of the late Francis from Florence, also an inhabitant of Zadar, and his servant Catherine, daughter of the late Cosma called Pedota, to whom he bequeathed his bed and a sum of 100 pounds. He left 150 gold ducats to the heirs of Striban from the commune of Nin, for which he was obliged by some sentence. He bequeathed 25 pounds to his servant Johannes for his work. He left to another of his servants, Nicholas, one ducat for each month of his service. To his confessor, priest Matheus, he also left some sum of the money. As the main heir of his property, he appointed *pauperes Christi*. [13]

Four years later (November 28, 1396), Bernard, son of Tauro from Padua made his will, which was recorded by Zaratín notary Articutius from Rivignano. [14] Like Johannes, Bernard composed his will stressing that he was seriously ill (*infirmirate corporea pergrauatus*). As the executors of the will, he appointed Bishop of Hvar Matheus and two prominent citizens of Zadar, kettle-maker Venturino, son of the late Pacius from Cesena, and barkeep Nigrobon, son of Henry de Peuerino from Padua. The first testamentary bequest is related to the church of St. Saviour where he wanted to be buried, and for the same church he left 27 pounds for the construction of a sacristy. He then bequeathed the Zaratín Chapter, the Franciscans and the Dominicans *pro obsequiis funeralibus*, and left four pounds for the Mass which will be offered on the day of his funeral. He wanted a mitre to be made for the day of his funeral, for which he left 12 *grossos*, while he also left 200 candles for the same occasion. Then he left 25 pounds to Catherine, daughter of master Candido, for her marriage and for salvation of his soul. He left a one piece of cloth 30 *brachiis* long to his servant Jelena. He stressed that Benedict, son of Magiolo de Galellis should give him two ducats, which he left as a deposit, one of which he intended to give to the servant Jelena, and the other to Vlada, the servant of Sir Venturino, his executor. He also bequeathed all the small furniture to his servant Jelena. He left one bed with a headboard, bed linen and pillows to the executor Nigrobon, and above that he also bequeathed two ducats to him. He appointed his father Tauro as the main heir of his property. [14]

On November 16, 1398, the Zaratín *speciarius* Nucius, son of Pacini from Florence was forced by the same physical condition – a serious illness – to compose his will. [15] He appointed the guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Zadar and his servant Radica, the daughter of Diminac Stanavić from island of Ugljan, as the executors of the will. He bequeathed a sum of 20 pounds to the guardian himself, while he left 50 pounds to the Franciscan monastery where he wanted to be buried. He bequeathed 25 pounds to the Dominican monastery of St. Plato. He left the monetary bequest in the same amount to the nuns of the monastery of St. Catherine, as well as the Bosnian Franciscans on the island of Pašman. He left grain to furrier Zanobius, son of

the late Francis from Florence, inhabitant of Zadar, because of some debt he owed him. In his will, he requested that the mass of St. Gregory should be offered for the salvation of his soul. He left all his other property to his servant Radica, whom he named as the main heir of his property. Just one day later, after he made his will, Nucius composed a document in which he admitted that he owed 214 ducats to the tailor Andrija Vidović, a citizen of Zadar, for pepper and salt which he bought. [26] The source does not mention the details of the financial transactions of the *speciarius* and the tailor, but it clearly reveals how they traded with each other. He died soon after, as it is evident from the document drawn up on November 22, in which his executor Rada chooses Zaratin patrician Kolan, son of Benedict de Galellis, as her procurator who was supposed to take care of compiling the inventory of Nutius' goods. [27]

Conclusion

The pharmacists were very present and socially active in Zadar in the 14th century, as evidenced by the names of numerous pharmacist professionals who worked in that city. At that time, pharmacists were closely related to other merchants, moreover, it is difficult to distinguish between these two professions, as confirmed by the research of the authors such as Fabijanec and Grmek. [4,6,7] However, the uniqueness of their craft is highlighted in the greater specificity of the goods they sold, such as sugar, wax and spices, and the skills they had related to the preparation of certain products, such as sugar confections or certain medicines, as evidenced by the previously mentioned will of Maria, daughter of the late Stephan de Madio, compiled in 1292 in Zadar and which mentions the medicines bought from the Zaratin apothecary for her illness. Although we do not have a single piece of information that would give us a closer insight into any method of making medicinal preparations, it is quite certain that Zaratin pharmacists also participated in the manufacture of medicines and not only in the distribution of individual substances. The above can be supported by records in certain documents that list items which can be linked to the preparation of medicines, for example the aforementioned contract of the pharmacist Tomas, son of Johannes Bonomi from Ancona from 1378, according to which it is known that he bought necessary boxes, dishes and other pharmacy accessories, when he purchased a pharmacy in Zadar.

The wills of Zaratin pharmacists composed in the 14th century do not reveal much about their property, but from the other types of documents it is evident that they were wealthy. In their wills they talk about their property in general, without specifying if it was movable or immovable, and which they left to their successors, or to the person that has been chosen as their main heir. Despite the fact that wills do not give insight into the inventory of goods they owned, they give us a clear picture of their presence in the commune of Zadar at the time and the dynamics and quality of their work. Wills are also complemented by other contemporary sources, court files, other contracts, etc., and follow the logical sequence of the pharmacist's life, from active work in the community to the moment when, due to illness or some other reason, they decide to compose their will, proving that they were not willing to die without sharing their property.

It is noted that in the second half of the 14th century there was a greater number of pharmacists who came from Florence, which was connected by the historical and political circumstances that occurred after the Treaty of Zadar in 1358, when Zadar came under the rule of the Hungarian-Croatian King Louis of Anjou. It is evident from the documents that they all made wills because they were seriously ill. It is possible that some of them died from the plague that was raging at that time. When making wills, they followed the established form of testamentary donation. They left part of their property to ecclesiastical institutions and persons for the salvation of their souls, while they left the other part of their property to their family members or friends. It is interesting that a close connection can be observed between pharmacists and servants in the wills, whom they appoint as executors, or, in one case, even as the main heirs of their property.

Although they were foreigners, they fitted into everyday life of the local community and became part of the city's elite. They participated in various financial transactions, ranging from loans to investments, and managed businesses that brought significant profit to them. They owned significant material resources and participated in contracts that used larger sums of money, such as houses, etc. Through business and private connections, they had close relations with the citizens of Zadar. The latter is particularly evident in the example of the pharmacist Philip, son of the late Johannes from Florence, who gained a reputation through his work and residence in the commune of Zadar and made many friends with the Zadar noblemen and citizens. Therefore, it is not surprising that many appointed him as a procurator or arbitrator in various disputes. Likewise, Philip was obviously close friends with the Zaratín wealthy *draperius* Michael, son of the late Peter, since, as mentioned, he bequeathed all his property in Zadar to him.

Despite of the limited content of the wills, they still provide a certain degree of insight into professional and everyday life of Zaratín pharmacists and their representation within the life of the commune. In combination with other sources, such as contracts and lawsuits, as well as provisions of communal statutes, it provides the possibility of setting a slightly more dynamic and layered picture of life in Zadar in the 14th century.

Rezime

U radu se na osnovu arhivske građe raščlanjuju oporuke zadarskih apotekara iz 14. stoljeća pohranjene u Državnom arhivu u Zadru. Iz sačuvanih oporuka možemo pratiti tijek oporučnog darivanja ali ujedno tako i rekonstruirati sliku o prisutnim apotekarima u gradu Zadru u 14. stoljeću. Uz to što su detektirane osobe koje se bave apotekarskom djelatnošću u Zadru u 14. stoljeću prati se njihov društveni angažman te veze koje oni sklapaju sa stanovnicima grada. Te su veze bile poslovne, prijateljske ali i u obiteljskom smislu. S obzirom na oskudnu pisanu dokumentaciju iz tog doba za područja istočne jadranske obale i tamošnjih gradova ova je građa dala značajan uvid u prisutnost i aktivnost ljekarničke struke te trgovačkih i stručnih komunikacija duž jadranske obale i njezinog susjedstva. U radu se ujedno pokušava rekonstruirati koji

su proizvodi sa kojima su trgovali ili koje su proizvodili. Jednako tako se preispituje uloga apotekara u tadašnjim dalmatinskim komunama, njihov socijalni i financijsko ekonomski milje te smještaj ljekarnika unutar tih odnosa, kao i sam status ljekarničke struke u tom ranom periodu njezine profesionalizacije u kojem se još uvijek usko vezuje uz ostale trgovce.

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