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Medieval Concerns for Soul Salvation Testamentary Bequests to the Franciscan Order in Kotor (Cattaro) 1326–1337

Abstract: Analysis of the testamentary bequests that Kotor citizens made to the Franciscans *ad pias causas* between 1326 and 1337 shows that the most common type was that of pecuniary bequests for saying masses *pro remedio animae*. The Franciscan played a prominent role in the shaping of devotional practices of the faithful and acted as their closest helpers through performing commemorative rites for the salvation of the soul after death.

Keywords: wills, Franciscans, Kotor (Cattaro), bequests *ad pias causas*

In the middle ages the last will and testament was a notarial-judicial document stating the testator's last will concerning the disposal of his or her property after death, which included pious and other bequests.¹ The practice of putting wills down in writing and certifying them notarially began to spread with the rise of urban communities and the accompanying development of communal institutions, different types of commerce and business, and the urban way of life at large in the high and late middle ages. In the eastern Adriatic communes, the practice, accepted by persons from all social strata, becomes continually traceable from the second half of the thirteenth

¹ Wills have recently been given a more important place in the study of the past, and researchers increasingly face challenges arising from their systematic analysis and comparison. For a detailed critical overview of the relevant literature, see Z. Ladić, "Oporučni legati pro anima i ad pias causas u europskoj historiografiji. Usporedba s oporukama dalmatinskih komuna", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 17 (2000), 17–29. For wills as a source for a variety of research topics, see an overview by J. Murray, "Kinship and Friendship: The Perception of Family by Clergy and Laity in Late Medieval London", *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 20/3 (Autumn 1988), 369–385. To be set apart is the work of Samuel K. Cohn Jr., which is based on the analysis of wills in medieval Italian cities, esp. his *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800. Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); "Le ultime volontà: famiglia, donne e peste nera nell'Italia centrale", *Studi Storici* 32/4 (Oct.-Dec. 1991), 859–875; and *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death. Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

century, prominently from the first half of the fourteenth.² The practice is also observable in Kotor, a coastal town in the Gulf of Kotor (modern Montenegro), where even the earliest surviving corpus of documents produced by the commune's notaries (1326–37) contains wills.³ The corpus — dating from the period when Kotor formed part of the Serbian realm (1185–1371) ruled by the Nemanjić dynasty — has been published and it includes seventy-four wills (forty by women and thirty-four by men).⁴

The interest in studying the practice of making testamentary bequests to the Franciscans as a separate topic, based on the documentary material created in Kotor between 1326 and 1337, has arisen for two reasons. One is the overall influence of the mendicant orders as a result of the widening inclusion of the laity in various aspects of religious life and, consequently, their influence on the everyday life of the faithful in high and late medieval cities. These general changes in Western Christian beliefs and practices, whose main agents were the mendicant orders, played an important role in introducing the almost mandatory practice of will writing among all social strata. The other is the local situation, i.e. the role of the Franciscan Order

² On the genesis and distinctive features of the wills drawn up in the communes in Dalmatia, see N. Klaić, "Problem najstarije dalmatinske privatne isprave", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 13 (1971), 57–74; Z. Janeković Römer, "Na razmedji ovog i onog svijeta. Prožimanje pojavnog i transcendentnog u dubrovačkim oporukama kasnoga srednjeg vijeka", *Otium* 2 (1994), 3–15; Z. Ladić, "Legati kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporučitelja kao izvor za proučavanje nekih oblika svakodnevnog života i materijalne culture", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 21 (2003), 1–28; M. Karbić & Z. Ladić, "Oporuke stanovnika grada Trogira u arhivu HAZU", *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hazu u Zadru* 43 (2001), 161–254; D. Romano, "I mercanti Ragusei e le crociate del tardo medioevo. Finanziamenti per la guerra e lasciti pro anima: ...ad pasagium turchorum seu saracenorum, et aliud super patarenos Bosnie", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 38/2 (2008), 867–883; G. Ravančić, "Oporuke, oporučitelji i primatelji oporučnih legata u Dubrovniku s kraja trinaestoga i u prvoj polovici četrnaestog stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozi* 40 (2011), 97–120.

³ On the origin and evolution of notary practice in Kotor, see N. Fejić, "Kotorska kancelarija u srednjem veku", *Istorijski časopis* 27 (1980), 5–62; and his "Isprave kotorskih notara iz XV stoljeća", *Miscellanea* 8 (1980), 9–90; N. Bogojević Gluščević, "Forme testamenta u srednjovjekovnom kotorskom pravu", *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Podgorici* 8 (1982), 46–58; M. Antonović, *Grad i župa u Zetskom primorju i severnoj Albaniji u XIV i XV veku* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik & Istorijski institut SANU, 2003); Dj. Bubalo, *Srpski nomici* (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut SANU, 2004), *passim*; N. Bogojević Gluščević, "Porijeklo i ustanovljenje notarske službe u srednjovjekovnim istočnojadranskim gradovima", *Boka* 27 (2007), 7–15.

⁴ *Monumenta Catarensis. Kotorski spomenici. Prva knjiga kotorskih notara od god. 1326–1335* [hereafter MC I], ed. A. Mayer (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1951), 5–11; *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara od god. 1329, 1332–1337* [hereafter MC II], ed. A. Mayer (Zagreb 1981).

in shaping the faith and many other aspects of public and private life in the medieval commune of Kotor.

The analysis of the testamentary bequests to the Franciscan Order made in the 1320s and 1330s provides a singular insight into how widely and in what ways the Franciscans were accepted and involved in the religious life of Kotor. This stems from the very nature of wills as distinctive historical sources. The distinctiveness is reflected in the dual character of the will. Namely, it is a written source communicating a person's private will, but communicating it in the official and public form of a notarized document. Private and public (communal) elements are usually closely intertwined, which causes difficulties in studying the private and public spheres if the two are looked at in isolation from one another. The fact that the spheres elude clear demarcation necessarily directs the methodological approach towards viewing wills as a source for understanding different but interconnected and interdependent structures of society. It therefore seems much more appropriate to look at the wishes of a person as stated in his or her will from the perspective of the prevailing social and especially religious trends in the period under study. This intertwining of private wishes and emotions of persons facing looming death with the requirements placed on them by the Church is particularly observable in the portions of the wills relating to charitable, commemorative, funerary and liturgical bequests or, in other words, all bequests made *ad pias causas*, for the salvation of the testator's soul. On the soul's road to salvation after death,⁵ as it was mapped out by the Church, it was members of the mendicant orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, who offered themselves to the faithful as their closest helpers.

From their founding in the first half of the thirteenth century, the mendicant orders centred their activities on providing spiritual guidance and on instilling piety in the faithful in the cities, which Christian teaching saw as places where people were most easily led into sin. In late medieval cities, the Franciscans and Dominicans assumed the role of spiritual guides and assistants. Fostering a relationship of closeness and friendship with believing families, they were in a position to exert an immediate influence on their everyday life, moral values and devotional practices. Apart from

⁵ J. de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2 (Princeton University Press, 1993), 282, 284, cites four ways in which the souls of the dead may be delivered from the torments of purgatory: through prayers of believers and friends; almsgiving; masses; and fasting. Through offerings and prayers for them, the souls of the dead are provided some comfort and relief in purgatory. The *Legenda aurea* speaks of a connection between the living and the dead and of the hopes the testators place in the power of prayer. This connection grew stronger and was particularly upheld within confraternities and families, while purgatory became an instrument of the Church's power and a source of its income, see, e.g. Janeković Römer, "Na razmedji", 3–15.

preaching, which reached broader publics, the Franciscans and Dominicans also encouraged confession, thereby building a personal and intimate relationship with their clients.⁶

The change in devotional practices, which had been largely brought about by the Franciscans and Dominicans, was reflected in testamentary practices as well. Moreover, the adoption of the concept of purgatory gave rise to essential changes in *post mortem* practices, making bequests *ad pias causas* an obligatory part of a will. The urban way of life, commerce and banking, inevitably entailed a greater involvement of people in the material world, which not infrequently meant circumventing the teachings of the church and departing from the established Christian virtues; hence the popularity of the practice of pecuniary bequests, and religious vows, to ensure absolution and atonement on the Day of Judgment. Known as “legacy hunters” in the late middle ages, the mendicant orders encouraged and spread the belief in purgatory. Their ideal of poverty made them quite agreeable to most inhabitants of medieval cities. The Franciscans acted as their guides in their preparations for a good death, providing comfort and reassurance that their bequest, however small, would help deliver their souls from the torments of purgatory.⁷

From the second half of the thirteenth century, the written will, once a prerogative of the elite, became accepted by all social strata. On the other hand, the very form and contents of the will, as well as the beneficiaries of pious bequests, underwent many changes. The most conspicuous change was the multiplication of bequests *ad pias causas*. Before these changes, and the “democratization” of the practice of will writing, the usual bequest for the salvation of the soul was a substantial gift of money or a piece of immovable property (land and buildings) bequeathed by members of the nobility to the church, Benedictine monasteries or the highest church ranks. The adoption of will writing by all, even the poorest social strata led to a profound change in the number, type and value of bequests *pro remedio animae*. Although the middle and lower classes did not abandon the practice of bequeathing gifts of money, land and buildings for soul salvation, various types of smaller bequests *ad pias causas*, such as clothes, textiles, furniture, jewellery or books, became increasingly frequent. Also, as a result of changes in devotional practices brought about by the activity of the mendicant or-

⁶ On the role of the Franciscan Order in urban environments and its influence on major trends in the devotional practice of the Western Church, see R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 – c. 1515* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷ J. Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), after the Serbian edition: Ž. Le Gof, *Nastanak čistilišta* (Sremski Karlovci & Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1992), 235–236, 299, and *passim*.

ders, the poor, widows and the sick increasingly became beneficiaries of charitable bequests, and so were poor girls, for whom a dowry (or a part of it) was provided. At the same time, testamentary gifts to the Franciscans and Dominicans, as promoters of the new teaching, were also growing in number.⁸

A source for the role of Friars Minor in testamentary practices in the eastern Adriatic communes is the encyclical of Pope Alexander IV addressed in 1256 to the archbishops of Bar, Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar, the bishops of Kotor, Budva, and Scutari, and all other ecclesiastical authorities in Dalmatia and Slavonia, instructing them how to treat the Friars Minor. The Franciscans sent to those parts had reported to the Pope on the increasingly frequent practice of bequeathing goods to the Order, such as liturgical books, vestments and objects, and emphasized that the believers on their deathbed expected that God would reward such acts of charity. The papal intervention was caused by the fact that the ecclesiastical authorities in the listed dioceses were in the habit of taking a half, a third or a fourth of the bequeathed goods as a *portionis canonice*. Describing this habit as utterly inhuman and injurious to the Franciscans, given that they live a life of utmost poverty and depend on charity, the encyclical warns that the faithful intent on bequeathing goods to the Franciscans are greatly upset by this practice, and not only strictly forbids it, but also orders the authorities to set apart a portion of church goods for the Franciscans so as to relieve their life of poverty.⁹ From their arrival in Kotor from Dubrovnik in 1265, the Franciscans relentlessly spread their teaching, eliciting great respect and trust from the faithful. The role that the Order had in Kotor was so significant that a comprehensive insight into it is frequently central to understanding the history of the Bishopric of Kotor and late medieval Kotor society in general.¹⁰ The

⁸ On changes in the form and contents of wills, such as the emergence of new types of bequests *pro anima* and *ad pias causas* as a result of the “democratization” of the practice of will writing and “social Christianity”, based on a detailed analysis of wills from several medieval Dalmatian communes, see Z. Ladić, “O nekim oblicima brige za siromašne i marginalne pojedince i grupe u dalmatinskim komunama u kasnom srednjem vijeku”, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 20 (2002), 1–28, as well as his “Legati”.

⁹ The document, kept at the Vatican Archives, is available in *Arhiepiskopija barska*, vol. IV/1 of *Monumenta Montenegrina*, ed. V. D. Nikčević (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 2001), 373.

¹⁰ Bogdan and Picineg, sons of Dragon de Sclepo, donated to the Friars Minor, who had come to Kotor from Dubrovnik in 1265, a house outside the city walls, cf. I. Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru* (Split 1938), 62. The first Franciscan monastery, with a church dedicated to St Francis, was built in 1288, probably on the same site. Sources refer to Queen Helen of Anjou, wife of King Stefan Uroš I of Serbia, as its founder. The

influence of the Franciscans on testamentary practices between 1326 and 1337 was reflected in the contents of the wills. In keeping with the general trend in testamentary practices, these wills reveal an increasing number of individual bequests. The wills of members of all social strata itemized several smaller bequests. Proportionate to their wealth, the bequests of nobles and well-to-do citizens were usually more numerous and had greater monetary value than those bequeathed by members of the middle and lower classes. By way of illustration, we shall look at the wills of the *Glauacti* (Glavati) brothers, *Nicolaus* (Nikola) and *Johannes* (Jovan), distinguished nobles and businessmen.¹¹ Nikola's will is shorter than his brother's and itemizes some twenty gifts. That of his brother Jovan stands out by the large number of valuable bequests *ad pias causas*. His first bequest to the Franciscans, their monastery and individual friars is followed by more than thirty itemized bequests for the salvation of the soul.

The Glavati brothers' legacy of several *ad pias causas* gifts to the Franciscans of Kotor and Dubrovnik is not much different from most wills drawn up in Kotor between 1326 and 1337. The primacy of the Franciscans as beneficiaries of testamentary bequests in Kotor is statistically verifiable: of a total of seventy-four testators, twenty-five bequeathed gifts to the Franciscans, as opposed to only five testators (two men and three women) leaving legacies to the Dominicans. All of the latter five, however, left legacies to the Franciscans as well. With the exception of *Theodorus Giga*, who bequeathed four dinars to the Dominicans and three to the Franciscans,¹² the other testators bequeathed larger sums to the Franciscans. *Dompce, uxor Mathei Saranni* bequeathed the Franciscans as many as twenty *perpers* for saying masses, as opposed to no more than three to the Dominicans (for the same commemorative purpose, i.e. for saying masses for the salvation of the soul).¹³ Gifts of money were also bequeathed to the Dominicans by *Peruoslaua, uxor Pauli Petri Symonis* (two *perpers* to the friars of St Paul's),¹⁴ by *Johannes Marini Glauacti* (to the Dominicans of Dubrovnik for one thou-

same year, she founded Franciscan monasteries in Bar, Scutari and Ulcinj, which were under the custody of the Franciscans of Dubrovnik. The information on the construction of the Franciscan monastery can be found in D. Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* VI, 440; and VII, 12, 13, 44, 59, 188 and 309. On the role of Helen of Anjou as a founder of churches or monasteries in the coastal region of the Serbian kingdom, see G. Subotić, "Kraljica Jelena Anžujaska – ktitor crkvenih spomenika u Primorju", *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2 (1958), 138–140.

¹¹ MC I, 338 (20/4/1327); MC II, 1042 (15/4/1336).

¹² MC II, 1436 (20/1/1337).

¹³ MC II, 23 (16/6/1332).

¹⁴ MC I, 825 (26/11/1331).

sand masses for the salvation of his soul),¹⁵ and by *Jelena, filia condam ser Medosii* (to the Dominicans of Dubrovnik for *missas VC*).¹⁶ The largest sums bequeathed the Franciscan *ad pias causas* by citizens of Kotor occur in the wills of Basilius Mathei, Johannes Glauacti and Jelena Drago.

Especially significant from the standpoint of Kotor's ecclesiastical history in general and the role of the Franciscan Order in particular is the will of Basilius Mathei, which is explicit about the excommunication of the Kotor clergy and implicit about the interdict that Kotor incurred in 1327.¹⁷ This interdict, unknown to historians until recently,¹⁸ immediately preceded the well-known clash between the commune of Kotor and the pope in 1328 (over the appointment of *Sergius Bolica* as bishop) and the known interdict declared in 1330.¹⁹ On the other hand, Basilius Mathei's will reveals the role played by the Franciscans in ministering the sacraments in the city under interdict and with its clergy excommunicated. The city church was barred from celebrating the liturgy, but also from celebrating masses for the dead. The ban, however, did not apply to the mendicant orders. Thus testators necessarily turned to the Franciscans and Dominicans to make sure that

¹⁵ MC II, 1042 (15/4/1336).

¹⁶ MC I, 1132 (3/4/1333).

¹⁷ MC I, 438 (22/10/1327).

¹⁸ On this penalty of 1327, in the light of the abovementioned will, see V. Živković, "Pretnje kaznom izopštenja u Kotoru (XIV–XVI vek)", *Istorijski časopis* 60 (2011), 123–138.

¹⁹ The citizens of Kotor, in compliance with the provision of the Statue stipulating that no native of Kotor could be appointed bishop in his native town, accepted as their bishop John of Viterbo, appointed by the archbishop of Bari, who acted in accordance with the practice of a bishop being nominated by the canons of the cathedral chapter and the archbishop under whose jurisdiction the nominated bishop was. However, in 1328, pope John XXII, respecting the primacy of the Holy See, nominated and appointed Sergije Bolica, a native of Kotor, as bishop. The citizens of Kotor rose in defence of their city's legal autonomy and, defying the pope's order, forbade Sergije to enter the city. Cf. T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (Zagreb 1911), vol. IX, nos. 344, 360, 361, 362, 423–426, 448, 449 and 455. On the historical circumstances surrounding the clash between Kotor and the pope, and the papal interdict against the city, see S. Čirković in *Istorija Crne Gore* 2/1 (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1970), 92–93; J. J. Martinović, *Crkvene prilike u Kotoru prve polovine XIV vijeka* (Perast 2003); L. Blehova Čelebić, *Hrišćanstvo u Boki 1200–1500* (Podgorica 2006), 47–50, and *passim*; J. J. Martinović, "Papinski interdikt i ekskomunikacija Kotorana u prvoj polovini 14. vijeka", in *Hrvatsko-crnogorski dodiri/crnogorsko-hrvatski dodiri: identitet povijesne i kulturne baštine Crnogorskog primorja*, ed. L. Coralić (Zagreb 2009), 147–155. The trial of Kotor over the disputed statutory provision concerning the origin of the bishop, from which the clash had arisen, was resumed in Dubrovnik in 1337; see Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. X, nos. 330–339.

their burial instructions would be honoured and masses *pro remedio animae* said.²⁰ Basilus drew up his will — *Basilus Mathei infirmus jacens, sanam habens memoriam et loquellam, hoc ultimum testamentum meum de rebus meis dispono* — in accordance with the funeral practices established under the circumstances produced by the interdict. First of all, not wishing his ancestors to rest unremembered — *In primis volo ad hoc, ut mei defuncti non jaceant sine memoria* — he entrusted his children with the task of paying, from the income from the vineyards, for vigils (*vigilias*) to be held by two Franciscans, one on the day of his father's death, the other on the day of his mother's death. Also, from the same income, two Franciscans were to hold vigil on the day of his death and that of his wife. Then, he left the Franciscans forty *perpers* for *aliquod signum in ecclesia* and ten *perpers* for saying masses. Seven *perpers* were to go to the *ecclesie sancte Marie de Gurgite* (named after Gurdić, the submarine spring rising by the city's southern wall), which was under Franciscan custody. Ten *perpers* were left to the Franciscans *de Antibarō* (modern Bar, Montenegro) for saying masses. Basilus Mathei emphasized: *Item volo, quod cuilibet sacerdoti, cui Catere, dentur sex (dentur) pro missis, sed tum quando reconciliati erunt de istis excommunicationibus*. It should be noted that none of the *epitropoi* named by Basilus was a priest, even though it was common practice in Kotor wills. It should probably be seen as yet another expression of Basilus' compliance with the penalty excommunication incurred by the Kotor clergy. After naming the *epitropoi*, Basilus states his last wish for Franciscans to attend him to his grave: *Item volo, quod si deus de hac vita iuxerit animam meam transire, fratres minores corpus meum cum cruce eorum consociant, et ad locum suum ferant, et nullus clericorum huius ciuitatis officium suum super corpus meum faciant*. Such an explicit wish for a funeral to be performed by the Franciscans and for the funeral service not to be held by a city priest, reveals how funerals were performed and masses for the dead said at the time Kotor was under interdict.

Worthy of attention among the other wills making gifts to the Franciscans *ad pias causas* is that of a noblewoman, *Jelena, filia condam ser Medosii de Drago*.²¹ Jelena left her house on St Trophym's Square to her sister to live there until her death, and thereof to the Franciscans of the Kotor monastery. The garden located *super Puteo* (a spring outside the south city wall) was also left *imperpetuo* to the Franciscans *ut illuminent candelam*. The Franciscans

²⁰ On various consequences of interdicts, see Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 296–298. For excommunication and individual examples, see B. A. Pavlac, "Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier", *Church History* 60/1 (March 1991), 20–36; R. H. Helmholz, "Excommunication in Twelfth Century England", *Journal of Law and Religion* 11/1 (1994–95), 235–253.

²¹ MC I, 1132.

were left a bequest for saying one thousand masses for her soul, and each Franciscan of Kotor was bequeathed a tunic. The Franciscans of Dubrovnik were also left a legacy for a thousand masses for her soul. Finally, *fratri Petro de Scutaro* and *fratri Laurentio de Cataro* were to receive a gift of ten *perpers* each.

Johannes Marini Glauacti left most of his bequest for the salvation of the soul to the Franciscans.²² The Franciscan monastery in Kotor was the beneficiary of his major legacy (*In primis volo et praecipio*), one thousand *perpers*, of which three hundred were intended for saying masses in the monastery, one hundred for crafting a chalice, and two hundred for *paramentum unum completum, una planeta dalmatica consueta*. He left a tunic and a pair of shoes to each Franciscan attending his funeral, six *perpers* to a Franciscan, twenty-five *perpers* for a breviary to *fratri Stephano lectori*, and to *fratri Laurentio de Catharo*, twenty *perpers* for a book. For repairs to be done on the Franciscan church he left two hundred *perpers*, while the remaining twenty-five *perpers* were intended for a black liturgical vestment, *planeta nigra in ecclesia fratrum minorum*, for the Franciscan church. He then returned to the Franciscans of Dubrovnik, bequeathing them one hundred *perpers* for repairing the church, and forty *perpers* for saying masses, and he also remembered the *sororibus sancte Clare de sancto Blasio*.

Like Basilius, Johannes Glauacti's wish was to be buried next to his father on the cemetery of the Franciscan monastery by the spring Gurdić outside the city walls.²³ It seems quite likely that Jelena Drago also wanted to be buried there. Namely, giving instructions for the decoration of her burial place, she mentioned the chalice she bequeathed to the Franciscans: *Item ubi iacet dicta Jelena, fiat totum paramentum pro altari completum, scilicet unum de calicibus supradictis, misale et paramentum*. The largest bequests *ad pias causas* made by Basilius Mathei, Johannes Glauacti and Jelena Drago

²² MC II, 1042.

²³ Many citizens of Kotor were buried in the large monastery churchyard. The surviving documents and the gravestones carved with family crests and epitaphs show that many aristocratic families had their tombs in the cemetery. The Franciscan cemetery was also the resting place of tradesmen, whose gravestones display symbols of their trades (such as scissors, hammer, axe, socks, hide scraper etc). Cf. P. Mijović, "O kasnoantičkim i ranosrednjovekovnim grobljima Kotora", *Boka* 15–16 (Herceg Novi 1984), 171. On the architecture of the church, see V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965), 75–78; D. Djurašević Miljić, "Gotika u arhitekturi Kotora", *Istorijski zapisi* LXIV/1–2 (1991), 14–17. The chapel of St Catherine added on the north side of the church of St Francis was for the first time referred to in 1397 as torn down and rebuilt at the expense of a Venetian merchant in Kotor, Marco Nigro, cf. Stjepčević, *Katedrala*, 59 (according to: Historical Archives of Kotor [IAK], Judicial-notarial Documents [SN] II, 400).

were intended for the Franciscans, and thus their wish to be buried in the Franciscan cemetery does not come as a surprise.

Analysis of Kotor citizens' testamentary gifts to the Franciscans suggests two basic conclusions. Firstly, the testators intended most of these gifts for the saying of masses for the salvation of their own souls and the souls of their closest relatives. The frequency of this practice seems to allow us to subsume under the same category the legacies whose purpose was not specified. Two testators (the notary of Kotor, *Marcus clericus, filius condam Petri Viti*, and *Dome, relicta condam Nuce de Gonni*) made pecuniary bequests to the Franciscans to pray for their souls. Only two testators, one male, the other female, intended their bequests to the Franciscans to procure tunics and shoes, and one woman bequeathed linen cloth for friars' habits. One testator (*Johannes Marini Glauacti*) left the money to the Franciscans for liturgical vestments, to two Franciscans for procuring books, and a bequest for repairs (*pro opere*) to the Franciscan monastery.

The other general conclusion pertains to the role the Franciscans played in Kotor and the trust they enjoyed as assistants to people anxious to ensure the salvation of their souls after death. About thirty-three percent of all wills drawn up between 1326 and 1337 contain bequests to the Franciscans, in contrast to only about six percent to the Dominicans. Moreover, the will of Basilius Mathei reveals the continuation of sacramental practices during the period when the Kotor clergy were under the penalty of interdict and excommunication. Under such circumstances, members of the Franciscan Order were the closest assistants to the faithful in arranging proper funerals and in performing a commemorative programme for the salvation of the soul.

Testator	Date	Source	Beneficiary	Bequest	Purpose
<i>Maria Pecleri</i>	10/7/1326	MC I, 13	Franciscans	20 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Pale</i>	12/11/1326	MC I, 190	Franciscans	1 <i>perper</i>	
<i>Scime, filius quondam Sabe</i>	31/12/1326	MC I, 260	Franciscans	30 <i>perpers</i>	<i>pro missis</i>
<i>Nicolaus condam Marini Glauacti</i>	20/4/1327	MC I, 338	Franciscans of Dubrovnik; Franciscans of Kotor		<i>pro centum missis cantandis; pro aliis centum missis</i>
<i>Syrana</i>	23/7/1327	MC I, 365	Fra Luke; Franciscans	4 <i>perpers</i> ; 5 <i>perpers</i> and <i>linteamen</i>	to have a tunic sewn

<i>Basilius Mathei</i>	22/10/1327	MC I, 438	Franciscans of Kotor	from the income from the vineyard; 40 <i>perpers</i> ; 10 <i>perpers</i>	for holding <i>vigilias</i> ; for making <i>aliquod signum in ecclesia</i> ; for saying masses
<i>Marcus clericus, filius condam Petri Viti</i>	30/6/1331	MC I, 680	Franciscans of the Kotor monastery	15 <i>perpers</i>	<i>ut rogentur deum pro me</i>
<i>Francius condam Marcii Basilii</i>	28/9/1331	MC I, 732	his <i>patrino</i> , Francis, lector of the Friars Minor; to each Franciscan	20 <i>perpers</i> ; one <i>perper</i> each	
<i>Peruoslaua, uxor Pauli Petri Symonis</i>	26/11/1331	MC I, 825	to the friars at Suranj	3 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Dompce, uxor Mathei Saranni</i>	16/6/1332	MC II, 23	Franciscans	20 <i>perpers</i>	for saying masses
<i>Dyaconus Grube Abrae, abbas ecc. Sancte Marie de flumine</i>	2/8/1332	MC II, 57	<i>Cuilibet fratri minori, qui inuenietur in conuentu illo tempore; Fra Laure de Stanecna</i>	unus <i>perperus</i> 10 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Mathe Sgalio</i>	11/8/1332	MC II, 65	Church of St Francis	12 dinars	
<i>Mare, uxor condam Marini de Gamba</i>	8/10/1332	MC II, 129	Franciscans	5 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Presbyter Marcus Stanopoli, clericus sancte Marie de Antibaro</i>	9/2/1333	MC II, 279	Franciscans	8 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Jelena, filia condam ser Medosii de Drago</i>	3/4/1333	MC I, 1132	Franciscans; each Kotor Franciscan; Fra Peter de Scutaro, <i>patruo Jelene</i> , Fra Laurentius of Kotor	house on St Trophym's Square and the garden above <i>Puteus</i> ; a tunic each; 10 <i>perpers</i> each	for 1000 masses by the Franciscans of Dubrovnik and 1000 masses by those of Kotor

<i>Nycola, frater condam magistri Thomassi</i>	30/6/1333	MC II, 394	Franciscans	10 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Rade, filia Draschi Çoie</i>	18/11/1333	MC II, 521	Franciscans	half the income from the vineyard from the dowry	for saying masses
<i>Marislaua, uxor condam Nicolai de Crise</i>	20/11/1333	MC II, 523	Fra Gausolo de Maxi	3 <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Dome, uxor Martini de Pañi</i>	11/11/1334	MC II, 646	Franciscans	17 dinars	
<i>Buda, uxor Pasce</i>	11/11/1334	MC II, 647	Franciscans	money from the [sale] of tableware, textiles and furniture	for masses
<i>Dome, relictā condam Nuce de Gonni</i>	24/7/1335	MC II, 1142	Kotor Franciscan monastery		500 masses for her soul
<i>Mice de Bise</i>	29/2/1336	MC II, 1604	Franciscans	ten <i>perpers</i>	
<i>Johannes Marini Glauacti</i>	15/4/1336	MC II, 1042	monastery of Kotor Franciscans; the Franciscans attending the funeral; fra Stephano lectori; fra Laurentio; the Franciscans of Dubrovnik	1000 <i>perpers</i>	for masses; for a chalice; for a vestment; for a tunic and shoes to each; for a breviary; <i>pro libro uno</i> ; for church repairs
<i>Matheus condam Triphonis Iacobi</i>	30/4/1336	MC II, 1726	Kotor Franciscans		1000 masses for the souls of his parents and brother
<i>Theodorus Gige</i>	20/1/1337	MC II, 1436	Franciscans	2 dinars	

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