APOTHECARY ACTIVITY IN DUBROVNIK
DOMINICAN MONASTERY FROM XVIIth TO
THE BEGINNING XIXth CENTURY

LJEKARNIČKA DJELATNOST U DOMINIKANSKOM
SAMOSTANU U DUBROVNIKU OD XVII. DO
POČETKA XIX. STOLJEĆA

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SUMMARY

The origin of the Dominican monastery pharmacy is not clear, but sources suggest that it had operated from the eve of the great earthquake in Dubrovnik in 1667 to the beginning of the 19th century. Its last pharmacist, praised for his competence, passed away in 1803, leaving no one behind. The prior travelled all the way to Naples to find a competent pharmacist in his stead, but never returned. Story has it that on the way back, the abbot and the pharmacist lost their lives in a shipwreck. The French army occupied the town in 1806, and the monastery was turned into a military camp. Following the retreat of the French army in 1814, the monastery was returned to the Dominicans, but the pharmacy was never restored.

Keywords: History of pharmacy, 17th to 19th century, Dominican’s Monastery, Dubrovnik, Croatia

In the historical city of Dubrovnik, rich in monuments of olden times, two monasteries of mendicant orders stand out with their grandeur, beauty, and cultural-historical importance: the Dominican monastery and the Franciscan monastery. Between them, just like between the religious orders they belong to, there are great similarities, not just in the time of their con-

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struction (first half of the 13th century), organisation, reasons for their founding, but also in their destinies. Both orders came to Dubrovnik at the same time. The first to arrive, around 1225, were the Dominicans from Bologna, the cradle of higher education in Europe. At first they lived around St Jacob’s Church in the north-eastern part of the town. The Franciscans came some ten years later from Assisi, the city of art and spirituality and built St Thomas’ monastery in Pile in the north-western part of Dubrovnik.

Although both orders chose Dubrovnik as place of permanent residence, neither of the two monasteries is now in their original places. Looking for more space, the Dominicans were the first to move from the safety of the old town to the eastern area outside the city walls called Ploče late in the 13th century. In the two centuries that followed they built a spacious monastery named after the founder of the order (St Dominic) with a beautiful church and cloister in the Gothic-Renaissance style, while the government of the Dubrovnik Republic took care of monastery’s security. As Constantinople and Bosnia fell in Ottoman hands in 1453 and 1463, respectively, Dubrovnik government decided to build a tall and strong wall to fend the Ottomans off. The Franciscans, moved inside the city walls in the first half of the 14th century, where they built a grand church and a beautiful cloister in the Romanic-Gothic style dedicated to the founder of their order, St Francis. Both monasteries were severely damaged in the great earthquake of 1667 and in the heavy bombardment during Serb and Montenegrin aggression on Croatia in 1991 and both were successfully renovated.

Both monasteries were not only the centres of religious, but also of cultural and scientific life. Their libraries still preserve unique and priceless cultural treasure, whose significance surpasses the national borders of the Republic of Croatia. We know that the construction of the Dominican library took many years (1492 – 1520), and that it was financed by the monastery and by the government of the Dubrovnik Republic. In its decision of 23 April 1501, the council declares that this library will be “the glory of God and an ornament of the monastery and give comfort to all the citizens and all those who visit our city”\(^1\). In other words, it was the

\(^1\) „Prima pars est de convertendo in fabricam librarie conventus Predicatorum ypperperos 300 legati fratris Dominici Michaelis de Restis facti Comuni nostro, qui debent expendi per manus officium creandorum per dominium nostrum secundum supplicationem et petitionem fratrum dicti conventus, qui dicta libraria erit ad honorem Dei et ad decorem dicti conventus et ad consolationem tam omnium civium nostrorum, quam advenarum divertentium ad civitatem nostram. Pro XXX, contra VII” (State Archives in Dubrovnik, Acta Consili Rogatorium vol. 28, f. 274v).
first public library in this area. The library provided learning material for a philosophical-theological college. In 1625, the Dominicans opened a public gymnasium for the city youth, where they nurtured and taught Croatian language and literature. For the needs of his students, a Dominican monk Rajmund Džamanjić composed and published the first Croatian spelling book (Venice, 1639).²

The Dominicans often adapted their work to the needs of the government and the people of the Dubrovnik Republic. They were often sent as ambassadors on delicate missions to the Pope’s court in Rome and to other European capitals, and they hosted foreign diplomats in special monastery quarters. Their care for the people is best seen in how they organised trade and other guilds as the pillars of economic prosperity. Since Dubrovnik was an important market and exporter to almost all Mediterranean countries or to the hinterland, the Dominicans founded or ran many such guilds. Some however were dedicated solely to art. The brotherhood of painters gathered many Dubrovnik masters who painted other churches

² Naук за писати добро латинскиа словина речи уезика словинскога, кога и Дуброванци, и сва Далматиа какко властитим створним уезиком славци, In Venetia, Appresso Marco Ginammi, 1639.
and monasteries. By the 17th century the monastery’s reputation was such that in a letter to the Pope Dubrovnik officials called it “the iris of their right eye”.

**THE DOMINICAN MONASTERY PHARMACY**

The first to write about the monastery pharmacy was the Dominican friar Antonin Zaninović. In his study he included a document dated 2 March 1734 in which Fra Franjo Kusić claims that he founded the pharmacy with the sum of 250 cekins (zecchini or ducats). This claim is in stark contrast with other historical sources. It is not clear what he meant by this, since the pharmacy had already existed. Perhaps he wanted to say

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4 A. Zaninović, *Kratko saopćenje o bivšoj dominikanskoj ljekarni u Dubrovniku s drugim podacima u vezi s medicinom* (Brief report on the former Dominican pharmacy in Dubrovnik with other data related to medicine): „Spomenica 650-godišnjice ljekarne ‘Male Braće’ u Dubrovniku” (650th Anniversary of the Little Brothers’ Pharmacy in Dubrovnik), Zagreb, 1968, pp. 99-100. At the beginning of the 18th century extensive work was done on the monastery roof, which took a great deal of money. In order to help restore the monastery, on 2 March 1734 Fra Franjo Kusić asked the Vicar General of the Dubrovnik congregation for some privileges and said that for the sake of the restoration of the monastery roof he would relinquish the 12 ducats owed to him by the monastery pharmacy, which he claimed he had founded with the sum of 250 cekins (*Liber consiliorum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae 1721 1786*, f. 41).
that it was shut down for a while after the 1667 earthquake? But even that is not true. Whatever the case, A. Zaninović took his claim as evidence that the pharmacy was founded in 1734. 5

A reliable although indirect evidence of the existence of a pharmacy is the presence of a pharmacist in a monastery. Documents speak about his presence from at least the middle of the 17th century. Preserved manuscripts frequently use terms such as “aromataria”, “officina aromataria”, or “officina pharmacopeae”, which clearly suggests that a pharmacy was really there.

The first pharmacist known to us in that monastery was Fra Martin. We know that immediately after the great earthquake of 6 April 1667, he went around the city, which had about 6,000 inhabitants at the time, to help the victims and dispense with free medicines. 6

A decision by the council of the Vicar General of the Dubrovnik Dominican Congregation also testifies to the existence of the pharmacy before the earthquake. It had its seat in the same monastery and gathered under its auspices all the Dominican monasteries in the area of the Dubrovnik Republic. This decision of 15 July 1673 mentions a debt of the monastery pharmacy to amount to 100 ducats. The debt was created by Fra Martin in the name of the monastery and the money had to be returned to the creditors. However, we can only speculate about its beginnings. The only thing that may be said with certainty is that it operated before the great earthquake of 1667.7

A debt this large suggests that the pharmacy (apotheca aromataria) had a substantial turnover that exceeded the needs of the twenty or so monks,

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6 S. Cerva, Monumenta Congregationis, V, p. 33.
7 We are of the opinion that it is not older than the 17th century. If it had existed at the end of the 16th century, it would probably have been mentioned by Serafino Razzi in his Povijesti Dubrovnika (History of Dubrovnik) (Lucca, 1595). In a very detailed account of the Dominican monastery, he describes the hospital wing ?, but makes no reference to a pharmacy. As Razzi is meticulous to the point that he mentions many insignificant things, it may well be assumed that he would have mentioned a pharmacy if one had been there. Even if we did not have this document, it is hard to imagine that the monastery could afford a pharmacy after the earthquake that killed six monks and shattered the church, the roof, and the west part of the library. To repair the damage, the monastery had to sell the church vessels (like chalices, patens, and ciboriums) and everything that was not vital.
and this clearly indicates that it dispensed medicine for the people of the city from the outset. The existence of an official pharmacist (aromatarius) only reinforces this conclusion.8

Books of the monastery administration and the Dubrovnik congregation throw more light on the nature and volume of work in the pharmacy. For instance we learn that Fra Martin did not work alone but had an assistant Fra Marin since 8 May 1687.9 The decision, unfortunately, does not state where Fra Marin took medical and pharmaceutical training, but it may have been from his father Doctor Luka10. This also tells us something about Fra Martin. If his assistant was an educated doctor, then Fra Martin must have had the same degree of expertise, especially in view of the fact that he had worked as a pharmacist for at least 15 years. He is mentioned as the head of the pharmacy in 1683 11 and on April 16, 1690.12

The pharmacy had been so successful that in 1690 it became a joint-stock company (societas) founded by Fra Martin and Doctor Antonio from Florence, with the permission of the supreme council of the Dubrovnik congregation. The council permitted the establishment of the company under the following conditions: a) that its joint cash box would be locked with two different keys so that it could not be opened by one without the other; b) that the cash box should hold a book of income and expenditures; c) that Fra Martin, Dr. Antonio, and the monastery prior had access to all receipts every day in the month; d) that Fra Martin had

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9 „Instituimus in procuratorem eiusmodem conventus fratrem Marinum, quem et confirmamus pro coadiuvatore fratris Martini in officina aromataria, ne obliviscatur illorum quae adhuc didicit, volentes fratrem Marinum semper esse alligatum dictae officinae” (Acta capitulorum Congregationis Ragusinae 1667-1687, p. 30).


12 „Ordinamus quod a Reverendo Patre Priore una cum Patre Fratre Archangelo Caroli rigorose fratric Martino videantur omnia debita et creditus nostrae officinae aromatariae et imposterum quolibet mense diec dixit ad introitum et exitum eiusmod officinae” (op. cit., p. 30).
the right to participate in every job Dr Antonio performs; e) that Fra Martin, Dr. Antonio, or a third party should check the pharmacy stock once a month and report to the monastery administration and the congregation. The pharmacy did so well that it not only paid the monastery 12 ducats a year for clothes, bedding, and other necessities, but it also gave loans to individuals outside the monastery.

There are a few other names to which sources refer to as monastery pharmacists. In 1714, Fra Vitale Mazzari from Venice died, of whom Serfin Crijević says that he was an excellent pharmacist. Only two years, Fra Marin also died at the age of 82.

In the 18th century, the pharmacy was run for a long time by Fra Vitale Lanzi from Pordenone, Italy. We know that he came to Dubrovnik as a young man, entered the Dominican Order in 1724, and remained there until his death in 1763. He too was a skilled pharmacist. He made medicines in Dubrovnik, but he also frequently went to purchase them in

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13 “Die XI Decembris 1675. Congregatum fuit consilium ab admodum R. P. Vicario Generali P. Fr. Vincentio Gasparini coram Patribus a consiliis in quo captum fuit esse expediens societatem fieri inter fratrem Martinum nostrum aromatarium et Antonium Florentinum, observavatis tamen his quae dicta sunt et aliis dicendis, nempe ut fiat capsa pecuniae duabus clavibus diversis occlusa, ita ut unus sine alio nequit eam aperire.

Secundo, fiat liber in quo debeant scribi omnes introitus et exitus, ita ut scripta in libro ... pondere pecuniae existenti in capsa, et contra.


Quarto, ut idem fr. Martinus asistat semper et simul cum Antonio supradicto in omni actione, quae factura et facienda sit in eadem aromataria.

Quinto, ut exterminentur ea quae inveniuntur in aromataria vel per tertiam personam vel per fratrem Martinum et Antonium notificanda ab ipsis Patribus a Consiliis” (ondje, f. 40v).

14 Liber consiliorum Vicarii generalis Congregationis Ragusinae 1721 – 1786, f. 41.

15 „Porro anno MDCCXIv die XXvI Decembris defuncto fratre Vitale Mazzari converso patria Veneto, viro certe religioso ac insigni valetudinario, quippe qui diuturno artis experimento multum hauserat, unde medicinae cognitio potissimum manat” (Monumenta Congregationis S. Dominici de Ragusio, V, pp. 241 – 242; A. Zaninović, op. cit., p. 109).

16 „1716. die XXIV. Octobris obiit fr. Marinus conversus aromatarioru aquitae suae annorum 82” (Liber obitus Fratrum Congregationis Ragusinae 1710 – 1933, f. 1r.


18 Liber Consiliorum Congregationis Ragusinae ab anno 1721 ad annum 1780, ff. 47r, 54v.

19 An official report sent to the high office of the order in Rome, says that he was 61 years old. (Rome, Archivium Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV, liber HHH, f. 223r).
Italy. In 1729, he travelled to Venice on monastery pharmacy business \(^{20}\) with two younger monks to assist him: Fra Joakim, who took his vows in 1733 \(^{21}\), and Fra Marko Radi. \(^{22}\) On 20 July 1734, again they travelled together to Venice to make purchases for the monastery pharmacy. \(^{23}\) In 1739, fra Vitale travelled to Ancona on the same business.\(^ {24}\)

Another document from 1780 mentions pharmacist Fra Lujo\(^ {25}\), but this is all we know. Unlike the others, he could have been a native of Dubrovnik judging by his name which is characteristic for the Dubrovnik area.

The last pharmacist was Fra Vitale De Santis (1736 – 1803) from Ravenna. He started as the monastery pharmacist before 1776.\(^ {26}\) According to a preserved agreement he made with the town physician Dr Gian Battista Lotteri on 1 April 1779, Dr Lotteri was to provide the monastery pharmacy with a large quantity of a wide range of medicines of herbal, animal or mineral origin, extracts obtained from distilled plants, oil, bandages, ointments, and pills worth 87 ducats and 21 grosch. The list was signed by Dr Gian Battista Pagani and Fra Vitale de Santis, and notarized at court by monastery procurators, Franjo Bunić Jeronimov and Orsat Gučetić Vladislavov.\(^ {27}\) The quantity and variety of medicines ordered testify to the turnover in the monastery pharmacy.

\(^ {20}\) “1729, die 8 Augusti expedita fuit fratri Vitali Lanzi converso facultas adeundi Venetias pro necessariis pharmacopoeae conventus procurandis” (Registrum litterarum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae, str. 5).

\(^ {21}\) Joakim Bortalusi was received into the Third Order on 19 March 1732 (see, f. 30v). On 27 March 1733 he took his vows (Registrum litterarum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae, f. 35v).

\(^ {22}\) A report sent to the General Curator of the Order in Rome in 1750 says: “Fra Marco Radi converso di nazione Levantino d’eta ` anni 38, prese l’abito in questo convento di Ragusa d’anni 27. Fece la professione per la Congregazione [di Ragusa]. Fu sempre impiegato nell’uffizio di sottospeciale ed in questo mentre fece ancora quello d’infermiere e di riscuotitore” (Liber obitus fratrum Congregationis Ragusinae 1710 – 1033, f. 4r).

\(^ {23}\) On 20 July 1734, the Vicar General of the Dubrovnik Congregation gave permission for the novices Fra Vitale Lanzi and Fra Joakim to travel to Venice and obtain what was needed for the pharmacy (Registrum litterarum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae, p. 9).

\(^ {24}\) On 7 July 1739, Fra Vitale Agostino Lanzi travelled to Ancona (Registrum litterarum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae, p. 12) 1786, ff. 4r. 7r).

\(^ {25}\) Liber Consiliorum Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Ragusinae 1721 – 1786, f. 158v.


Fra Vitale ran the pharmacy successfully until his death on 14 April 1803 at the age of 67. His handbook on plants dating from 1775, which is kept in the Franciscans' library in Dubrovnik, contains 604 names of plants in Croatian and Italian. It later served as a handbook in the Little Brothers’ pharmacy. B. Šulek used it to write a dictionary of plants. Notes preserved in the monastery library suggest that Fra Vitale not only made medicines but also read a lot about them. His death was a heavy blow to the pharmacy, as no one was there to continue his work. The monastery prior at the time was Ambroz Divizić, who according to A.

The monastery Library

Samostanska knjižnica

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28 “1803. Die XVI Aprilis obiit fr. Vitalis Santi ex Ravenna, aromatarius conversus, hora decima non elapsa, et sequenti die post Vesperas sepultus fuit in sepulchro conversorum, aetatis suae annum 67. Requiescat in pace” (Liber obitus fratrum Congregationis Ragusinae 1710 – 1933, f. 6v). His portrait from 1780 has been preserved in the same monastery.

29 Šulek attributes the authorship of that work to Josip Missiroli, as he was recorded in the previously mentioned manuscript (H. Tartalja, Znameniti dubrovački liječnici : “Spomenica 650-godišnjice ljekarne ‘Male Braće’ u Dubrovniku”, p. 80) (Famous Dubrovnik doctors: 650th Anniversary of the Little Brothers Pharmacy in Dubrovnik).

30 On the inside of the covers of L’arte medico-chirurgica esaminata da suoi principj e liberarata da molti ignanni nel pensare, e da molti pregiudizi nell’operare, secondo i buoni Principj de’ Maestri Antichi, i Discouprimenti de’ Moderni, e le Osservazioni de’ nostri tempi (Venezia, 1721) by Sebastian Melli there is a note in Fra Vitale’s own hand: “Ex Libris F. Vitalis de Santi O.P.”
Fra Vitale de Santis of Ravenna, (1736 – 1803) - the last pharmacist in the Dominican pharmacy in Dubrovnik.

Fra Vitale de Santis iz Ravene, (1736.–1803.) – posljednji ljekarnik u Dominikanskoj ljekarni u Dubrovniku
Giurgevich was very enterprising for the good of the monastery community and who was known as an excellent preacher, one of the best Latin scholars in Dubrovnik, and a passionate musician. After the death of Fra Vitale de Santis, he travelled to Italy to find a capable replacement. He found one in Naples and set off home with him, but they never got there. This not only upset the Dominican monks, but the townspeople as well, who used pharmacy services. Rumours started about their fate. Some said
that Fra Ambroz and his companion pharmacist were attacked and killed by robbers in Apulia. Other believed they perished in a shipwreck. This was in November 1804. Their fate will never be known. 31 Whatever the case, the lengths that Dubrovnik Dominicans were willing to go demonstrates how dear they held the reputation of their pharmacy.

In addition to pharmacists, the pharmacy introduced managerial positions in 1771 (praeses officinae pharmacopoeae). Managers had to be the members of the monastery council and were appointed for three years. The first such manager was Fra Vlaho Morgini who was appointed for the service in 1771.32 Three years later, he was succeeded by Fra Franjo Marković.33 At the end of his term in 1777, two managers were appointed, Fra Augustin Garbi34 and Fra Vlaho Morgini.35 We know nothing about the names of other managers. On 1 June 1775, the pharmacy was appointed its first inspector (inspector pharmacopoeae), lector Eugen Basiljević (Bassegli).36

On 13 January 1782, Vicar General of the Congregation, Vlaho Morgini, on his annual visitation to the Dubrovnik monastery, issued the following order: “First of all we order that the pharmacy shall not issue any medication to a brother without physician’s permission, whether oral or in writing. No brother shall take any medication from any other pharmacy. If

31 A. Giurgevich, Cenni biografico-letterarii dei personaggi più illustri della Congregazione Ragusina di San Domenico dal 1750 in poi, Spalato, 1867, p. 22.
32 “Die 10 maii 1771. Institutus fuit praeses pharmacopoeae officinae in codem consilio P. F. L. Blasius Morgini” (Liber consiliorum conventus Ragusini 1766 - 1842, p. 10.).
33 On 13 August 1774, he was appointed “praefectum officinae pharmacopoeae R.P. Fraciscus Marcovich” (Liber consiliorum conventus Ragusini 1766 - 1842 str. 24). For more see A. Giurgevich, op. cit., p. 23.
34 See A. Giurgevich, op. cit, p. 17.
36 Liber consiliorum conventus Ragusini 1766 – 1842, p. 29; A. Giurgevich, op. cit., p. 18.
anyone does this of their own accord, the purser should compensate for it from the money for that monk’s clothing and inform the abbot of the matter”. On 12 November 1778, an order was issued that each congregation member was to receive an amount of money over the following six years for clothing from the income from the pharmacy. The annual amount was stipulated in the decision of 26 November 1801. Every congregation member was entitled to 30 ducats for clothing each year (pro vestibus), half of which was due on 15 May and half on 15 November. The money was to be obtained from various sources. The pharmacy (pharmacopoea) was to cover one third of the costs. Since the Dubrovnik congregation had about 30 members at that time, it is clear that its income was substantial.

The Dominican monastery pharmacy coincides with the independent Republic of Dubrovnik. The death of Fra Vitale De Santis marked the end of the pharmacy. Not long after that, Napoleon’s army marched into the city, occupied monastery, and turned into a military base. Almost all the fittings of the monastery, books, files, pharmacy equipment, and many other things became the booty of a war that had never been declared. This is why we are forced to look for the tiniest clues left by the former pharmacy and make sense of indirect evidence to at least paint a partial picture of this part of the history of our civilization.

The pharmacy was located on the ground floor of the north-eastern side of the monastery, where Dubrovnik’s first public grammar school was located. It had a door facing a small garden with medicinal herbs and a well on one side, and a door to the street in the suburb of Ploče on the other. Also looking on the street was a window to issue medicines to the public, which was bricked up when the pharmacy was closed down. Below
the pharmacy there was a cellar with equipment and herbs. Today it accommodates the monastery museum.

**AFTERWORD**

Little is known about activities of the St Dominic monastery in Dubrovnik in the area of medicine and pharmacy from the 17th to the early 19th century. This study sheds some light on the monastery environment and the health situation in Dubrovnik, a reputed trading port at the time, which, like other trading ports ran a high risk of contagion. This fear of contagion resulted in the setting up of stations for the decontamination of people and shipments and in the organization of the production of medicines. Judging by the scattered sources left in the Dominican monastery library, its pharmacy must have played a major role in public health care of that time.

**SAŽETAK**


**Ključne riječi:** povijest ljekarništva, XVII.–XIX. stoljeće, Dominikanski samostan, Dubrovnik, Hrvatska

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41 “Between the pharmacy and kapituk (the monastery council hall) there is an arched area leading to the door out onto the public road in the suburb of Ploče. In that area, in the wall of the pharmacy a window is open through which medicines are issued to the people who come to purchase them” (A. Giurgevich, Memorie cronologico-storiche delle chiese e conventi della Ragusina Congregazione di san Domenico dall’anno 1750 in poi, pp. 12 - 13; A. Zaninović, op. cit., p. 101).
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