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***EGO FUI PER OMNIA LOCA SANCTA:*  
MARUŠA OF DUBROVNIK AND HER PILGRIMAGE  
TO THE HOLY LAND IN 1394**

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**ABSTRACT:** Based upon the last will of Maruša of Dubrovnik, drafted while returning from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1394, this article examines her social circle, pilgrimage itinerary, as well as the inventory of her travel items and “holy souvenirs” carried home, in search of the answers to more general issues of medieval pilgrimages and piety.

**Key words:** Dubrovnik, Holy Land, Middle Ages, pilgrimage, female piety, *brandea*

The study of Croatian pilgrimages in the medieval period was based mainly on the wills with relatively abundant, yet substantially monotonous records among the bequests for spiritual salvation, along with a rare source or two of different nature.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Literature on pilgrimages from the towns of the Eastern Adriatic coast has mainly been cited in the notes that follow. Foreign literature on pilgrimages abounds, and a useful bibliographical survey relating to those to the Holy Land has been provided by Pietro Porcasi, »La letteratura di pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Medioevo«, in: *Studi in onore di Guglielmo de' Giovanni-Centelles*, ed. Errico Cuzzo. Salerno: Homo Mediterraneus, 2010: pp. 187-210.

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Thus Tomislav Raukar rightly argues that “...[sources] contain data on the general framework of the pilgrimage practice, notably on the destinations and the degree of their esteem in the Croatian space or on how often they were frequented, yet least of all depict the pilgrims themselves and their spiritual horizon”.<sup>2</sup>

This analysis starts from an unpublished and until now neglected will of a Ragusan woman by the name of Maruša, drafted shortly before her death, on her way back from the overseas pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1394.<sup>3</sup> Behind the testator’s decisions on most pragmatic matters spurred by the final hour, a series of insights into her journey come to light, her social background, female piety and rituals, along with the “souvenirs” typical of the pilgrim practice.

Thanks to the re-established maritime and commercial connections with the Eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the fourteenth century,<sup>4</sup> European pilgrimages to the Holy Land had taken on many elements of “organised tours” with a fixed itinerary and secured logistics. However, a pilgrimage of this kind was neither cheap, nor simple, nor void of danger. According to the detailed accounts of Pietro Casola and Felix Fabri, written one century after Maruša’s journey, the pilgrims experienced a variety of difficulties and perils, from pirate attacks and hostile behaviour of the local administrators,<sup>5</sup> to unbearable heat and sea storms. When Fabri, prior to his departure, made enquiries about the experience of other pilgrims, one of them emphasised that he could give him no counsel, since the decisions on undertaking a journey to the Holy Land—like those on marriage or going off to war—lacked fair judgment of risk.<sup>6</sup> Exhausting and long journey was also known to take its toll on the pilgrims from Dubrovnik, as was the case of the Dominican friar Šimun who passed

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<sup>2</sup> Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga and Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1997: p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, ser. 10.1, vol. 8, f. 58r-59r; see appendix. All archival sources here used are filed at the State Archives in Dubrovnik, and all data are taken from Maruša’s will, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>4</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, »Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel basso medioevo«. *Archivio storico italiano* 143 (1985): p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> A year after Maruša’s pilgrimage, Nikola Tavelić, Franciscan friar and future saint, was murdered in Jerusalem on account of his sermons on the conversion to Christianity. Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV.-XVII. st.: opora – vinorodna – kršćanska*. Split: Književni krug, 2013: p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> According to Stjepan Krasić, »Opis hrvatske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/84. godine«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): p. 156.

away during his pilgrimage in 1453.<sup>7</sup> This explains why some Ragusans, shortly before departure on more distant pilgrimages, had their wills drafted, as did Pribil Radašinović in 1445, tanner Primo in 1450 and Ruža Babalio in 1453 prior to their pilgrimages to Rome.<sup>8</sup>

Though on the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, a most distant and by far the most demanding journey, women were a minority, the mobility of pious women should not be underestimated: their pilgrimages to Jerusalem may be traced since the late antiquity,<sup>9</sup> and as testified by the witnesses, at the sunset of the Middle Ages a large hall had to be used as dormitory to accommodate all the female pilgrims arriving to the city.<sup>10</sup> Although female pilgrims in medieval times were not *rarae aves*,<sup>11</sup> scholarly literature has ignored them until recently, mostly because they themselves rarely conveyed their experiences, which might be accounted for by their illiteracy or the absence of social motivation to write down the travel experience.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Stjepan Kراسić, »Regesti pisama generala dominikanskog reda poslanih u Hrvatsku (1392-1600)«. *Arhivski vjesnik* 17-18 (1975): p. 169, under 81.

<sup>8</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 14, f. 1v; vol. 15, f. 15r; Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta: Prožimanje pojavnog i transcendentnog u dubrovačkim oporukama kasnoga srednjeg vijeka«. *Otium* 2/ 3-4 (1994): p. 3. In 1452 Toma de Cancarella of Rab drafted his will prior to departure to the Holy Land, for he felt daunted by shipwreck (*timens naufragia*). See Zoran Ladić, »Medieval Pilgrims from the Eastern Adriatic Coast to *Terra Sancta* and Jerusalem«, in: *In viaggio verso Gerusalemme: culture, economie e territori*, ed. Anna Trono, Marco Leo Imperiale and Giuseppe Marella. Salerno: Congedo Editore, 2014: p. 106. For other examples from Dalmatia see T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*: pp. 351-352; Danko Zelić, »Nekoliko priloga povijesti umjetnosti 15. stoljeća u Trogiru: Samostan Sv. Križa na Čiovu, zlatar Matej Pomnenić i kapela sv. Jeronima u katedrali sv. Lovre«. *Peristil* 50 (2007): p. 67 (the wills of two couples before their pilgrimage to Rome) and a document on p. 74; Z. Ladić, »Medieval Pilgrims from the Eastern Adriatic Coast to *Terra Sancta* and Jerusalem«: p. 107; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*: p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> For a survey of literature see Taisiya Belyakova, »The role and image of the Holy Land in accounts of medieval female pilgrims«. *Croatia Christiana periodica* 39/75 (2015): pp. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> Leigh Ann Craig, »"Stronger than men and braver than knights": women and the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the later middle ages«. *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> In the latter half of the fourteenth century around one quarter of personal pilgrimages from Zadar were undertaken by women. Zoran Ladić, »Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća«. *Croatia Christiana periodica* 17/32 (1993): p. 24. On "gender democratisation" of the Dalmatian pilgrimages to the Holy Land from the fourteenth century onwards see also Z. Ladić, »Medieval Pilgrims from the Eastern Adriatic Coast to *Terra Sancta* and Jerusalem«: pp. 103-104.

<sup>12</sup> Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäische Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320-1520)*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990: p. 323; L. A. Craig, »"Stronger than men and braver than knights"«: p. 155.

Although their piety and deprivation on the distant journey was in no way dwarfed by their male fellow pilgrims, the attitude towards female pilgrims could not escape controversy and disapproval. A “wandering woman” also appears as a motif of misogynist tropes, satires and explicit condemnation, for the female pilgrim tended to cross the spatial boundaries of her sex and to tread beyond her usual social role.<sup>13</sup> The case of Maruša may be added to the biographies of the women of medieval Dubrovnik whose paths did not follow a stereotype—either by reason of defiance against state authorities (Nikoleta Sorgo), marriage arrangement upon her own free will (Maruša Bratosaljić) or establishment of her own business empire (Filipa Mençe). Maruša, too, decided to step out of the secluded family life and the comfort offered by her neighbourhood and home city, and embarked on a pilgrim ship, travelled across the Holy Land, purchased goods for retail purposes, bought “holy souvenirs”, and finally, at her death hour, disposed of her property in a most composed manner. Her will abounds in information that allows a deeper insight into the identities and actions of the pilgrims from Croatian parts, particularly those who did not fit into the “typical” profile.

### *Maruša's identity and family*

Apparently, Maruša was not married, since she has not been identified as someone's wife or widow, but by her mother Jakuša, wife of Priboj Mazarak (*Marussa filia Jacusse, uxoris Priboy Massarach*). The name formula provides ground for a conclusion that Priboj was not her father but stepfather.<sup>14</sup> Located in the vicinity of Shkodër is Mazarak village,<sup>15</sup> while the surname Mazarak (Mazarek, Mazreku) may be found on the territory of north Albania, Montenegro and Greece (Epirus).<sup>16</sup>

Her stepfather, Priboj, probably had a daughter Petruša from his first marriage, to whom Maruša left a bequest in her will (*Petrussa Priboi*). Maruša also

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<sup>13</sup> L. A. Craig, »“Stronger than men and braver than knights”«: p. 154; Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009: pp. 21-78 (with a series of concrete examples).

<sup>14</sup> By 1382 Jakuša was already married to him. *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine (13-18. st.)*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Danko Zelić [Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. 7/1]. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2007: p. 144.

<sup>15</sup> Božidar Vukčević, »Izvodi iz deftera za Skadarski sandžak iz 1485. i 1497. godine«, <http://www.montenet.org/2001/defteri.html> (accessed on 26 October 2016).

<sup>16</sup> In the mid-eighteen century a family by the same name moved to Dubrovnik from Shkodër (for this information I am indebted to Nenad Vekarić).

bequeathed her aunt Ljubna (*amita mea Lubna*), with residence “in Gruž”; this could be recluse Ljubna, who lived by the small church of St Michael at Lapad, mentioned also in the will of Jakuša, Maruša’s mother.<sup>17</sup>

Mother Jakuša (*Iacussa de Priboe Maçarach*) outlived Maruša and died in 1409. Mentioned in her will are numerous textile items (kerchiefs, bedcovers, bedsheets, napkins), but also a bale of cloth twenty ells long (some 10 metres) as well as plain and silk thread,<sup>18</sup> which indicates that she was engaged in some sort of home textile manufacture or processing (spinning, weaving, sowing, embroidery etc.). In her will, Maruša herself mentions cloth procured from her by the Gradojević, and she demanded that the servant who was to bring her things to Dubrovnik be given five ells of cloth, which means that she, too, may have been engaged in the same activity, like many Ragusan women of her day.<sup>19</sup>

In her will, Maruša’s mother mentions her house on communal land (*la casa mia sovra el teren del comun*),<sup>20</sup> which stood in the Fifth Street (*ruga quinta*) at Prijeko, that is, in the upper part of today’s Dropčeva Street. There she must have lived 27 years at least, from 1382 until her death in 1409.<sup>21</sup> Considering that she outlived all the members of her family, she designated friar Pavao Cvjetkov as usufructuary of her house, and upon his death the Dominicans, on condition that the rent be used for bursary (*in adiutorio se alguno volesse andar a studio*).<sup>22</sup> The house in Dropčeva was probably Maruša’s home, too, from where she set off to the Holy Land.

### *Maruša’s social circle*

Maruša decided to go on pilgrimage upon the prompting of Ruža Kotrulj, her mother Tomuša<sup>23</sup> and Radica Bućin, with whom she was closely connected.

<sup>17</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>18</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>19</sup> Joško Belamarić, *Studije iz starije umjetnosti na Jadranu*, vol. II. Split: Književni krug, 2012: pp. 69, 80, 100; Paola Pinelli, *Tra argento grano e panni: Piero Pantella, un operatore italiano nella Ragusa del primo Quattrocento*. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2013: p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>21</sup> *Knjige nekretnina dubrovačke općine*, vol. I: p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>23</sup> The name of Ruža’s mother is not mentioned here, yet it features in the will of her husband and Ruža’s father, Radin Ostojić (Hvalenović) the goldsmith. *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 5, f. 218v-219r.

In other words, she did not undertake the journey to the Holy Land only to satisfy her own spiritual needs, but she also did it on their behalf, hence combining the elements of a personal and substitute pilgrimage.

The contract on substitute pilgrimage was known to be made in written form, particularly if commissioned by the testamentary executors, who were keen on having a transparent breakdown of the costs. For example, in the early spring of 1349, at the Dubrovnik chancery four priests pledged to the executors of the late Frane the goldsmith and Bratoje to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James of Compostela, Rome, St Michael at Monte Sant'Angelo in Apulia and St Nicholas in Bari.<sup>24</sup>

Yet, when the substitute pilgrimage was commissioned in person, notably among friends—as was the case with Maruša—a written contract was not drafted, since an informal oral agreement was considered sufficient. This at the same time reveals a “weak spot” of the attempts to fully understand the pilgrimage phenomenon: many of these journeys remained unrecorded by the wills and the notary documents. Had it not been for Maruša’s serious illness on the ship and the fact that she drafted a will, we would never have learnt of her journey to the Holy Land.

Ruža Kotrulj was the daughter of goldsmith Radin Ostojić, wife of Rusko Kotrulj, and the grandmother of the famous inventor of the double entry book-keeping Benedikt.<sup>25</sup> The Kotrulj family settled in Dubrovnik in the mid-fourteenth century, and quickly climbed up the social ladder, so that Ruža’s husband, second-generation immigrant, already enjoyed the membership of the distinguished St Anthony Confraternity.<sup>26</sup> At the time of Maruša’s pilgrimage, Ruža was a fairly young woman, most likely in her late twenties, yet already a mother of several children.<sup>27</sup> The fact that no notary or any other document was made concerning a rather considerable loan of one ducat that Maruša received from Ruža is an eloquent testimony of the mutual trust. Maruša’s intimacy with Ruža becomes apparent throughout the will, most of all in the fact that she appointed

<sup>24</sup> *Diversa cancellariae*, ser. 25, vol. 16, f. 52r-52v, 53v.

<sup>25</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 5, f. 218v-219; Nenad Vekarić, »Dubrovački rod Kotrulj«, in: *Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević, hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist XV. stoljeća*, ed. Vladimir Stipetić. Zagreb: HAZU and Hrvatski računovođa, 1996: p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> N. Vekarić, »Dubrovački rod Kotrulj«: p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> She married around 1380. She gave birth to twelve children, the last being born around 1411. N. Vekarić, »Dubrovački rod Kotrulj«: pp. 38-39, 48.

Ruža as executor of the will. Also, Maruša bequeathed Ruža's daughters, Margarita and Nikoleta, with chests containing holy relics. After Maruša's death, her mother Jakuša continued to maintain good relations with Ruža, as evidenced by the bequests to her and her daughter Maruša, a Dominican nun at the Convent of St Mary of Angel.<sup>28</sup>

As the second executor Maruša appointed Radica, wife of Nikola Bućin (known also as Bučić according to one source), to whom she left a rather considerable bequest of one ducat. In 1409 Jakuša, Maruša's mother, also left a bequest of 5 perpers to Radica, which clearly speaks of the lasting family connection.<sup>29</sup> Little is known about Radica, apart from the fact that she died as widow in 1412. One of the executors of her will was Jakov, son of Ruža Kotrulj.<sup>30</sup>

Some of her "holy souvenirs" Maruša bequeathed to the women neighbours Cvita and Ratka, but also to a certain Gojna, as well as to other persons whose identity could not have been established, while the rest of the souvenirs, along with her "old belongings" she left to the earlier mentioned aunt Ljubna. In her will, Maruša asked for a favour from Antun the tanner, who might have been a friend of the family, since her mother Jakuša appointed him as executor, and also left a bequest to his wife Ljubica.<sup>31</sup>

Although frequent switches from direct to indirect speech largely obscure the text of the will at times, an old argument between Maruša and Miladna Gradojević comes to light. On the deathbed, Maruša regrets her harsh words putting the blame on malicious people for prying into their lives. As token of her memory, she left a reliquary to Miladna, though "not a pretty one". She swears by God for not having sold her kerchief for more than 15 grossi, and she counterbalances the debt with it, also mentioning that the Gradojević obtained some linen from her.

In a manner unknown to us, Maruša was somehow connected with the noble wife of Vole de Volço, Slava, as the latter bequeathed 15 perpers to her.<sup>32</sup> She, at the same time, is the only woman from the noble circle that the documents link with Maruša.

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<sup>28</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v. However, according to the investigations of Nenad Vekarić, Margarita (Maruša), daughter of Rusko and Ruža, was married, while daughter Jeljena was a Dominican; when Jakuša's will was drafted, Jeljena was a small child, and therefore the contradiction cannot be interpreted by the name error. Cf. N. Vekarić, »Dubrovački rod Kotrulj«: pp. 41-42.

<sup>29</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>30</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 185r-185v.

<sup>31</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>32</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 44r.

*The 1394 pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Maruša's travelling companions at sea*

The arrival of the pilgrim boat in Dubrovnik and the departure of Ragusians to the Holy Land was not an everyday sight, and as such was known to find its place in the council minutes. Thus by the end of April 1345, the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided to bestow every fellow citizen setting for the Holy Land with the alms of 18 grossi (*de donando et faciendo elemosinam hominibus de Ragusio qui presentialiter vadunt ad passagium*).<sup>33</sup> Regrettably, these records are rarely ample or explicit: for example, on 22 May 1390 the *Consilium Rogatorum* decided not to send an armed boat to Venice to fetch the gift for the Bosnian king as yet, but to wait for the passage of the pilgrims (*de expectando passagium*).<sup>34</sup> Or, further, in the spring of 1392 the banished Nikoleta Sorgo was to sail through the waters of her home city aboard a pilgrim ship, which was permitted to her on condition that she did not set foot on land (*pro viagio quod facere intendit ad Sacrum Sepulcrum possit ire et redire per aquas nostras non descendendo in terram*).<sup>35</sup> Sadly, for the year 1394 no official data have been traced, as the council minutes dating from this year have not been preserved.

In Venice, the most distinguished and the wealthiest pilgrims either chartered separate galleys or used them free of charge.<sup>36</sup> Among the first, for instance, was Pavao Horvat, bishop of Zagreb<sup>37</sup> while the rich Croatian nobleman Nikola Frankapan with his entourage chartered a Venetian boat in 1411.<sup>38</sup> Yet, the majority of pilgrims to the Holy Land sailed aboard special pilgrim ships, which

<sup>33</sup> *Libri reformationum*, vol. I, ed. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, vol. X]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1879: p. 174.

<sup>34</sup> *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392*, ed. Nella Lonza and Zdravko Šundrica. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2005: p. 94.

<sup>35</sup> *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392*: pp. 198, 361.

<sup>36</sup> Margaret Newett, »Introduction«, in: *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907: pp. 31-36. Some of these eminent passengers, who with their entourage took a separate boat, landed in Dubrovnik. On their visits to the city see Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku*. Dubrovnik: Turistički savez u Dubrovniku, 1939: pp. 161-162; Mladen Ibler, »Putovanje skandinavskog kralja Erika VII Pomeranskog kroz Hrvatsku 1424.-1425«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): pp. 127, 129.

<sup>37</sup> M. Newett, »Introduction«: p. 32; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*: pp. 167-168.

<sup>38</sup> Zoran Ladić, »Hodočašća kao izraz pobožnosti stanovnika kasnosrednjovjekovne porečke komune«. *Histria* 5 (2015): p. 17.

by the end of the fourteenth century usually carried between 50 and 100 passengers, or even 160 at times. The pilgrims' pressure on the Venetian port was such that they were also taken aboard ships sailing in commercial convoys to the Eastern Mediterranean and which, for this specific reason, anchored in Jaffa.<sup>39</sup>

As these ships landed in Dubrovnik en route to the Eastern Mediterranean,<sup>40</sup> the local pilgrims had a perfect opportunity to embark upon the desired destination. Maruša must have boarded a "genuine" pilgrim ship, since commercial convoys did not sail during summer.<sup>41</sup> From Dubrovnik there were always a couple of pilgrims who would set out on the long journey. For example, by the end of the fifteenth century, two Ragusans travelled in the company of the Swiss Dominican Fabri and Casola, a Milanese canon.<sup>42</sup>

Sailing on the same boat with Maruša in 1394 were the priests Nikola and Andrija,<sup>43</sup> both from the Diocese of Pult (*de Polato*) in Western Albania. Dubrovnik of the day was swarming with priests from the Albanian parts who had fled before Ottoman attacks, while in 1386 there were at least five from the Diocese of Pult.<sup>44</sup> Nikola and Andrija were the witnesses of Maruša's testament, and testified to her last will at court.

<sup>39</sup> E. Ashtor, »Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta«: pp. 202, 205, 213. For data on the number of passengers per voyage and their total number, see M. Newett, »Introduction«: pp. 36-39.

<sup>40</sup> A number of examples from the Middle Ages has been submitted by J. Tadić, *Promet putnika*: pp. 179-200. We know of one case only from 1377, when a Ragusan ship carried the pilgrims to Jaffa, but it seems that they boarded it in Valona. Constantin Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1899: pp. 85-86; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*, p. 179.

<sup>41</sup> E. Ashtor, »Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta«: p. 213.

<sup>42</sup> S. Kراسić, »Opis hrvatske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija«: p. 162; Pietro Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907: p. 257; see also Z. Ladić, »Hodočašća kao izraz pobožnosti«: p. 20 and the here cited literature. There is reason to believe that Ragusans could occasionally be found among the oarsmen of the pilgrim galleys, as evidenced in 1414, five being from Dubrovnik and another five from Ston; yet these were mainly Ragusan emigrants who settled in Venice. Neven Budak, »Putovanje Ivana VIII. Paleologa i patrijarha Josipa II. duž istočne jadranske obale«, in: *Spalatumque dedit ortum. Zbornik povodom desete godišnjice Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu*, ed. Ivan Basić and Marko Rimac. Split: Filozofski fakultet u Splitu - Odsjek za povijest, 2014: pp. 279-280.

<sup>43</sup> In the will Nikola is designated merely as priest from Lastovo, but from the contract on the service in the church of St John the Baptist which was being built on Lastovo, dated 5 March of the same year, it is quite clear that the person in question was Nikola Ianiče de Polato. *Diversa notariae*, ser. 26, vol. 10, f. 102v-103r.

<sup>44</sup> *Distributiones testamentorum*, ser. 10.2, vol. 5, f. 8r.

Taking part in the same pilgrimage was Božić, former servant to Marin Klementov Goçe known as Goçcho (*Bosichus qui fuit puer de ser Goççicho*).<sup>45</sup> Maruša entrusted him with her belongings which he was to deliver to her mother Jakuša. She instructed the executors to provide Božić with a shirt, pair of trousers and a kerchief (*una camisia, unus par braciis et unum sudarium*) from her property, as a token of her gratitude for taking “brotherly” care of her during her illness (*quia fuit mihi sicut frater in infirmitate mea*).

Given that Maruša died after 19 August on the ship returning from the Holy Land, and that the voyage usually lasted for months,<sup>46</sup> it is likely that the ship sailed out of the Venice home port sometime in June. Considering that Maruša’s last will was probated and entered into the official register of testaments on 3 November 1394, as governed by the regulation that an oral testament made outside Dubrovnik had to be registered within one month of the witnesses’ return,<sup>47</sup> the pilgrim ship most likely arrived in Dubrovnik at some point in October. The witnesses of the will did not mention Maruša’s exact date of death or the whereabouts of her remains, of which the judge made no enquiry since these details were irrelevant for the probate. Maruša probably died during voyage, and following the customary ritual, her body must have been committed to the sea.<sup>48</sup>

### *Maruša’s last will and the inventory of her personal belongings*

As she neared her death, on 19 August 1394, in a state of advanced illness (*multum infirma corpore*), Maruša expressed her last will before the witnesses in oral form. In addition to the will, two separate notes were probated: a receipt certifying to the debt of one ducat to Ruža Kotrulj, and the inventory of Maruša’s

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<sup>45</sup> Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, vol. I. Beograd: SANU, 1960: p. 244; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. VII - *Genealogije (A-L)*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2016: p. 512.

<sup>46</sup> The journey was known to last for months, including a couple of weeks in the Holy Land itself (MeMO project, Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims, <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/pilgrimage.html>, accessed on 26 October 2016). For instance, in 1507 the pilgrim ship sailed fifty days from Venice to Jaffa. Reinhold Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*. Innsbruck: Wagner’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1900: p. 204.

<sup>47</sup> *The Statute of Dubrovnik of 1272*, ed. Nella Lonza. Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2012: L. III, c. 42.

<sup>48</sup> On late-fifteenth-century practice of the burial at sea of the pilgrims who died during voyage see P. Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*: p. 303; Krešimir Kužić, »Nordijski hodočasnici u hrvatskim primorskim krajevima«. *Povijesni prilozi* 49 (2015): p. 136.

personal belongings on the ship, drawn shortly before her death. Partial use of direct speech and certain expressions mentioned in these *cedule* suggest that Maruša penned them herself (*ego Marussa... sicut scribo*), which for a person of her sex and social background was not very common.<sup>49</sup>

Maruša's testamentary dispositions start with the usual petty bequests to the cathedral and the church of St Blaise for the firstfruits and tithes. She left a small amount in devotion to St Leonard, a tiny church located on the way from Boninovo to Lapad, next to which a reclusory was recorded as early as 1279.<sup>50</sup> It appears that the devotion to St Leonard had some family background, knowing that Maruša's mother Jakuša had also bequeathed the recluse Radoslava who lived there.<sup>51</sup> In her will, Maruša also mentioned the Dominicans, to whom she left a bequest for the mass service (*missa conventualis*) and meal (*prandium*).<sup>52</sup> With a considerable bequest of one ducat she remembered her confessor, friar Jakov from Šibenik.<sup>53</sup> She also wished that Gregorian masses be held for her soul, possibly in one day.

The bulk of her personal belongings Maruša left to her mother Jakuša: belt (*cingulum*), earrings (*obodcii*)<sup>54</sup> and new bed covers (*copertoria*). Should Jakuša not outlive her, Maruša wished that the mentioned belongings be distributed to Ruža, wife of Rusko Kotrulj. Apparently, Ruža was her close friend, and she

<sup>49</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer holds that in the second half of the fifteenth century "many women... were literate and numerate", having acquired certain knowledge in their parents' home or after marriage. Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Maruša ili suđenje ljubavi: Bračno-ljubavna priča iz srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: Algoritam, 2007: pp. 45-46.

<sup>50</sup> *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. I, ed. Gregor Čremošnik. Zagreb: JAZU, 1951: p. 30, no. 114; p. 121, no. 422. On Ragusan reclusories see Nella Lonza, »The houses of recluse (*reclusoria*) in the urban and suburban setting of medieval Dubrovnik«, in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković. Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana*, ed. Miljenko Jurković and Predrag Marković. Zagreb-Motovun: Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek, 2016: pp. 301-307.

<sup>51</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 9, f. 134v.

<sup>52</sup> On the widespread custom of pious bequest for meal, with Dubrovnik examples, see Zoran 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): p. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Jakov was a Dominican, as evidenced by *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 115v.

<sup>54</sup> According to Diversi, these earrings (*cercelli, obozi*) were not worn pierced through the ear, but were pinned to the veil by means of a small chain and were a sign of married status. Filip de Diversi, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: pp. 92, 175. It appears far more likely that Diversi misread it as a sign of marital status (cf. note by Z. Janeković Römer: p. 92, note 111), as also testified by Maruša's example, since nothing suggests that she ever married. On ear decorations and female headdress see also Žarko Muljačić, »Iz dubrovačkog leksika«. *Linguistica* 12/1 (1972): pp. 130-134.

also bequeathed her with a cross-shaped pendant to wear as a token of her memory and remembrance of her soul (*crocem pro amore quod portet et quod habeat animam meam in mente*).

Should the mother outlive her, once all the bequests were made, the remainder was to be distributed to Jakuša, with which she could dispose freely. This wish was formulated as *vivat sicut mater et domina mea*, which in this case may be interpreted as a designation of successor.<sup>55</sup>

The fact that an inventory of her belongings was made on the ship enables us to establish Maruša's acquisitions in the Holy Land and the things that she carried with her on the journey (*res... quas habuit secum in galea*). The items enlisted cannot always be defined with precision, considering that even specialised dictionaries fail to provide an adequate solution for some of the everyday objects. The additional drawback to this source is the fact that it was copied from a note, so that errors had already been entered by the copyist.<sup>56</sup>

The contents of her luggage included four chemises (*camisie*),<sup>57</sup> a woollen cloth dress (*carpeta*), a tunic known as *codmaniča* (*tunica que dicitur codmaniča*),<sup>58</sup> two waistcoats (*duo coretta*), a cloak (*capa*), belt with a money purse, knife and silver cross (*cingulum cum bursa et cultello et cruce argentea*)—items that could come handy on the journey—and a pair of shoes (*sutelarii*). She also had a head cover (*copertura capitalis*), though it is not quite clear whether it was a cap or a head kerchief, in which she carried flour. Other objects for personal use included the mentioned pillow (*capitale*),<sup>59</sup> pillow case (*cusini*), towels (*tobalee*),<sup>60</sup> blanket (*lodix*), spurs (*par bisanciarum*), a copper (*schiphum de cupro*) and a glass cup

<sup>55</sup> For different meaning of the similar formula in a testament in favour of the wife (*domina et patrona*) see Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i Grad: Dubrovačka obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1994: p. 133.

<sup>56</sup> For example, he first wrote "*scutellas quinque de capro*", and then corrected it into "*de cipro*", whereas the original probably read "*de cupro*"; he copied "*storfil*" first, and then altered it into "*forfice*"; he entered "*clu*", a word without meaning (not even as a number), which in the original might have stood as "*cinguli*" with a mark for abbreviation above.

<sup>57</sup> Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*. Beograd, 1974: p. 174.

<sup>58</sup> *Codmaniča*, a piece of women's garment, also mentioned in *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 31v.

<sup>59</sup> *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae*, vol. I, ed. Marko Kostrenčić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1969: p. 171; *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije*, vol. II, ed. Josip Lučić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1984: p. 360, no. 1325; identification of this object is somewhat clouded by the addition "*cum dimidio*".

<sup>60</sup> Mentioned elsewhere is a towel two ells long (*tobalea de duabus brachiis*), which could have been used for a different purpose. It is also likely that some of these towels were actually *brandea* (see below).

(*sciphum vitreum*), five dishes (*scutelle quinque*), a barrel (*barile*),<sup>61</sup> a mug (*urceum*), scissors (*forfice*). Her travel provisions included a sack of bread (*saccus I cum pane*) and the already mentioned flour, perhaps for the preparation of porridge.<sup>62</sup>

Pilgrimage was also an occasion to do some useful shopping, which Maruša made the most of, like many pilgrims before her.<sup>63</sup> In one chest she carried three pounds (c. 1 kg) of cotton, probably intended for her own manufacture or retail. At the time, cotton was mainly imported to Dubrovnik from Apulia,<sup>64</sup> although the Ragusans also traded in the Levantine cotton of higher quality.<sup>65</sup> Maruša also acquired pepper, an expensive spice that sold well at the Dubrovnik market.<sup>66</sup>

### *Major, minor and local pilgrimages in Maruša's will and the Ragusan medieval practice*

Distinguished as major pilgrimages (*peregrinatines maiores*) in the medieval period were those undertaken to the Holy Land, Rome and St James of Compostela. Neither the wills nor the contracts on substitute pilgrimage are able to offer a realistic picture of their actual frequency, because simpler and cheaper pilgrimages to the regional and local shrines left less evidence in the written sources.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Barrels of water and wine were part of the standard pilgrim equipment. M. Newett, »Introduction«: pp. 11, 25; H. F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1954: p. 53.

<sup>62</sup> Meals were served on the ship and were included in the passage fare, yet the pilgrims were recommended to take with them some flour, fire wood (!), bread, hardtack and, if one's means allowed, more luxury food items. H. F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: pp. 53-54.

<sup>63</sup> For as early as the twelfth century we know that some pilgrims sold their personal travel items in order to secure the means for further journey. David Jacoby, »The Economic Impact of Christian Pilgrimage on the Holy Land, Eighth-Sixteenth Century – A Long-Term Overview«, in: *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea, 1000-1800*, ed. Francesco Ammannati. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2012: p. 703.

<sup>64</sup> Josip Lučić, »Gospodarsko-društveni odnosi u Dubrovniku u Stojkovićevo vrijeme«. *Historijski zbornik* 38 (1985): p. 102.

<sup>65</sup> On the medieval market, the price of West-European cotton from Apulia, Calabria and Sicily was far lesser than that of the Levantine cotton, which was exported via the "pilgrim" port in Jaffa. See Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, *The Italian cotton industry in the later Middle Ages 1100-1600*. Cambridge (etc.): Cambridge University Press, 198: pp. 28-55, notably pp. 37, 43.

<sup>66</sup> As a luxury item, pepper was given as a gift on official occasions. For instance, in 1438 Ragusan authorities presented the envoys of Duke Ragoslav Pavlović with pepper to the value of 10 perpers. Mihailo J. Dinić, *Iz dubrovačkog arhiva*, vol. III. Beograd: Naučno delo, 1967: pp. 226-227.

<sup>67</sup> According to the wills from Zadar of the second half of the fourteenth century, it appears that some three quarters of all pilgrimages were made to Rome, Jerusalem and St James of Compostela. Z. Ladić, »Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra«: p. 24.

In the years surrounding Maruša's journey other cases of bequests for the pilgrimages to the Holy Land have been traced. For instance, Ivan, chaplain of St Michael of Pakljena on the island of Šipan, in 1391 left a bequest of 45 ducats for that purpose, wishing that the pilgrimage be undertaken by brother Đuro from the Mljet monastery,<sup>68</sup> to whom the executors distributed 42 ducats in 1392.<sup>69</sup> In the last decade of the fifteenth century, pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre have been mentioned in eight wills.<sup>70</sup>

Maruša also bequeathed one ducat for the pilgrimage to the shrine of St James of Compostela and to Rome, which was to be undertaken by friar Benedikt, on condition that the bequest be paid out upon his return.

In the cities of the Eastern Adriatic, Dubrovnik included, "minor pilgrimages" (*peregrinationes minores*) were just as popular, like those to Assisi, Bari and Monte Sant'Angelo on Gargano.<sup>71</sup> Closer pilgrimage sites, such as St Mary of Ratac, Benedictine Abbey near Bar, were equally venerated by the Ragusan devotees.<sup>72</sup>

Most pilgrimages tended to follow the mentioned patterns, and only rarely did a pilgrim depart from the established itineraries. For example, in 1380 Ivan Ogrea made bequests for the pilgrimages to St James of Compostela, St Nicholas in Bari, Monte Sant'Angelo on Gargano, but also for the visit to the shrine Montevergine near Naples.<sup>73</sup> Merchant Maroje Sisa in 1363 made a bequest for the pilgrimage to the most common sites, but also to St Venera (Petka) in Veliko Tarnovo (Bulgaria).<sup>74</sup> An even more curious was the choice of Klement Marinov Gozze, who in 1394 left 40 ducats for the pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas Becket in the Canterbury cathedral, on account of the vow he took for the salvation of his brother Lujo.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 8r.

<sup>69</sup> *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 104r.

<sup>70</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 8r, 44r, 46r, 47v, 52r, 74v, 100v, 125r-125v.

<sup>71</sup> T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*: p. 353; for Zadar in the latter half of the fourteenth century see Z. Ladić, »Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra«: p. 24.

<sup>72</sup> For instance, in the 1395 will of Prva, widow of Junije Bona (*Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 61v). For other examples of Ragusan pilgrimages to that abbey see Savo Marković, *Studia Antibarensia*. Perast: Gospa od Škrpjela, 2006: pp. 171-172, which provides a detailed historical overview of the shrines, accompanied by a survey of older literature (pp. 119-179). See also: Katarina Mitrović, *Benediktinci na području Barske nadbiskupije i Kotorske biskupije (9. stoljeće - 1571)*. Kotor: Ministarstvo kulture Crne Gore, Kulturni centar "Nikola Đurković" and Gradska biblioteka i čitaonica Kotor, 2015: pp. 85-86.

<sup>73</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 7, f. 1r.

<sup>74</sup> C. Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters*: p. 80.

<sup>75</sup> *Item lasso che se debia trovar I persona et darli ducati XL d'oro e che vada a visitar el corpo de Sancto Thomaso de Conturbino, et questo perche feci voto quando Aluyse era preson de misier Tristano et che s'el dito sera afrancha, che visiti o faça visitar il deto sancto corpo*. *Testamenta notariae*,

The general motive for pilgrimage was the piety for one's own soul and the souls of the dear ones (*pro anima, per anima deli mei morti e mia*).<sup>76</sup> A number of pilgrimages developed around the indulgences granted on certain feasts or in a jubilee year (*perdon, perdonanča, perdonanča grande*),<sup>77</sup> while in some cases pilgrimages had a votive background.<sup>78</sup> Those who were unable to go on pilgrimage or did not wish to go alone sent substitutes, usually diocesan priests, as well as the Dominican or Franciscan friars.<sup>79</sup> A person appointed as substitute was sometimes explicitly instructed to follow the usual itinerary at the sacred locations (*le cerche che se fa a luoghi sancti*), to say prayers (*pregar Dio per anima mia*), and if the substitute was a priest, he was to hold holy masses for the testator's soul (*dir messe per anima mia*).<sup>80</sup>

The testator bequeathed the entire sum necessary to cover the pilgrimage costs,<sup>81</sup> or only a part of it, so that smaller amounts were added up;<sup>82</sup> sometimes it was upon the executors to decide on the sum appropriate for the purpose, or rather, on the amount they negotiated with the substitute pilgrim.<sup>83</sup> It often happened that the itineraries of the pilgrimage to St Nicholas in Bari and the nearby shrine of Monte Sant'Angelo, or even to Assisi, overlapped.<sup>84</sup> The pilgrimage expenditure was proportional to the distance covered, and according

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vol. 8, f. 93v. As grasped from a marginal note, the legacy remained undisposed until 1630, when the archbishop of Dubrovnik reassigned it for the construction of the Dominican monastery in Župa.

<sup>76</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 44r, 47v, 109v.

<sup>77</sup> Pertaining to the jubilee of 1350: Gordana Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja: Crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348.-1349.* Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010: pp. 165-169, 171-172, 174, 180 and further. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Ragusans also venerated St Mary of the Angel (Portiuncula) near Assisi, a church especially famous for pardons. *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 44r (*al perdon de Asiso... che vien del mexe d'agosto*), 125r-125v; on pilgrimages to this shrine see Jonathan Sumpton, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975: pp. 142-143.

<sup>78</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 87r-87v; vol. 15, f. 81v. In 1390 Gojan Bolojević left 100 perpers for the pilgrimage to St James of Compostela for the recuperation of his uncle Ostoja (*per cura de Hostoia... mio barba; Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 63r-63v). On votive pilgrimages see J. Sumpton, *Pilgrimage*: pp. 138-140.

<sup>79</sup> For example, *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 5r, 44r, 47v, 52r, 136r-136v, 150r, 184r; vol. 16, f. 96r; *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 28, f. 166r.

<sup>80</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, sv. 8, f. 44r.

<sup>81</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 153r, 184r; vol. 15, f. 81v; *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 104r. Katarina, widow of Martin Dobrićević, left in 1456 a bequest of 100 ducats to brother Andrija from Ston for the costs of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the surplus, if any, he was allowed to spend on books and other commodities (*Testamenta notariae*, vol. 16, f. 96r).

<sup>82</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 74v, 100v (*in aido dela spexa*); *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 52r; vol. 28, f. 166r.

<sup>83</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 44r, 52r, 150r.

<sup>84</sup> *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 13r, 33v.

to the Ragusan sources from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century it ranged between 4.5 to 6 ducats for the pilgrimages to Bari and Monte Sant'Angelo, from 7 to 12 ducats for the journey to Rome, and from 30 to 35 ducats for the pilgrimage to St James of Compostela.<sup>85</sup> For the pilgrimage to the Holy Land a substitute pilgrim received between 30 and 50 ducats,<sup>86</sup> which was a sizable amount: at approximately the same time, a house on an elite Placa location was estimated at 480 perpers (144 ducats), while chancellor Andrija from Bergamo was offered an annual salary of 100 ducats plus the lodging costs.<sup>87</sup> The records provided by testamentary executors and a contract on substitute pilgrimage from 1447 show that a pilgrim was often paid in instalments, the final instalment being disbursed upon his return.<sup>88</sup>

Based on the data available, the women of medieval Dubrovnik quite rarely went on pilgrimage to foreign parts, while substitute female pilgrims made these journeys solely for the souls of other women: Kate, wife of Nikola Dersa, made a bequest in 1348 for the pilgrimage of two women to Monte Sant'Angelo and to St Nicholas in Bari,<sup>89</sup> while in 1416, Radica, widow of Bogavac Milatović, received a sum from the legacy of Pribislava, widow of Nikša Pribojević, for a pilgrimage to the same places.<sup>90</sup> The pilgrimages of Nikoleta Sorgo and Maruša to the Holy Land were thus exceptional in this respect, too.

Besides these “major” and “minor” pilgrimages—of which those less remote, Italian, still required substantial effort and finances—there were also local shrines, where the devotees sought penance, personally or through a substitute. For instance, in 1348 Draže, wife of Rusko Sorento, left a perper for a woman

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<sup>85</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 125r-125v; *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 10r, 51r-51v, 71v, 153r, 158r, 162a-v, 165v, 175v, 189v, 193v, 195v; vol. 6, 37r. For data from the sources of other Dalmatian cities see Josip Kolanović, »Prilog povijesti šibenskih hodočašća u kasnom srednjem vijeku«. *Croatica Christiana periodica* 6/9 (1982): p. 34; Z. Ladić, »Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra«: pp. 25-26; T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*: p. 354.

<sup>86</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 46r; *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 189v; vol. 6, f. 37r. By the mid-fifteenth century the sums increased to as many as 100 ducats (*Testamenta notariae*, vol. 15, f. 81v; vol. 16, f. 96r).

<sup>87</sup> *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392*: pp. 79-80, 88.

<sup>88</sup> *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 51r-51v, 158r. Jakov Matov from Ston pledged in 1447 to the executors of Miho the tanner to go on a ten-ducats pilgrimage to Rome; he was to receive one half of the amount in advance, and the other half upon his return, once he submitted all the receipts (*Diversa notariae*, vol. 30, f. 158r). For Šibenik in the fifteenth century cf. J. Kolanović, »Prilog povijesti šibenskih hodočašća«: 34, for Hvar Z. Ladić, »Hodočašća kao izraz pobožnost«: p. 21.

<sup>89</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 5, f. 26v; G. Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*: p. 180 (with a wrongly transcribed name of the female testator and wrong title).

<sup>90</sup> *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 7, f. 200r.

to climb barefoot to the small church on top of Mount Srđ, to St Mary Magdalena in Župa, and to the church of St Blaise on Gorica.<sup>91</sup> In 1431 Ciprijan Lucari made a bequest for a man to go in a chemise barefoot (*uno homo scalzo in camesa*) to St Mary at Nuncijata and to St James of Višnjica, while in 1446, Tamara, widow of Ivan Goče, commissioned a priest to go to SS Cosmas and Damian near Trsteno.<sup>92</sup> As early as 1484 priest Toma Radanov Strujić mentioned in his testament his intention to go barefoot to St James of Višnjica (*debo andare San Giacomo alle Ploze descalso*), designating a certain person to do it instead of him.<sup>93</sup>

Devotional pilgrimages to local churches in quest for penance and indulgence appear to have been far more common than the wills or other archival sources actually reveal. This practice had also caught the eye of Filippo Diversi, who in his *Description of Dubrovnik* sketched it as typically female. He was impressed by the effort these women made across the rocky and hilly routes,<sup>94</sup> and there is no doubt that a visit to some of these churches—particularly that on Mount Srđ—proved a demanding task.

Maruša, too, as an act of her own penance (*penitencia*) planned to pay a silent visit to St James of Višnjica, but as this small pilgrimage never came to realisation, she designated Radoslava, wife of Obrad Arsuk, to make this pilgrimage instead, leaving a bequest of two perpers to her. As an act of charity, Radoslava was also to feed a poor soul from the same amount.

### *Maruša's Holy Land itinerary*

Maruša boasted in her will of having visited “all the sacred sites” (*ego fui per omnia loca sancta*), which means that she followed a well-trodden route, as confirmed by the reliquaries relating to the Holy Sepulchre and Jordan River that she carried home. Given that by the late fourteenth century the itinerary was highly standardised, the stages of her journey can be reconstructed with fairly great precision.

<sup>91</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 5, f. 59r; *Opera pia*, vol. 3, f. 362v, SAD.

<sup>92</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 13, f. 113.

<sup>93</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 25, 39v-40r.

<sup>94</sup> F. de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*: pp. 92, 175.

At the time, Venetian venturers, in logistic collaboration with the Franciscan monastery on Mount Sion as protector of all Catholics in the Holy Land,<sup>95</sup> and under the vigilant eye of the Islamic authorities, developed a procedure which provided the pilgrims with passage, meals on board, accommodation, transport across the Holy Land and other services. This “package”, coordinated on the spot by the captains of the Venetian ships, could not protect the pilgrims from various perils and risks along the way, but certainly contributed to a cheaper and better organised journey, now made accessible also to the pilgrims of lesser means. This resulted in a pilgrimage boom, the route was standardised, travel guides were written and plans of the ports and sites worthy of visit were drawn, evoking biblical episodes connected to them.<sup>96</sup>

In the 1380s from Venice to the Holy Land between 300 and 600 people travelled every year.<sup>97</sup> The passage itself with meals on board, transport and taxes on land amounted to 25-60 ducats per person, depending on the current prices and the selected “accommodation category”.<sup>98</sup> In 1480 Knight Santo Brasca advised all those visiting the Holy Land to take two bags: one filled with patience and the other with 150-200 ducats, as he esteemed would suffice for an enjoyable journey of a person of his standing.<sup>99</sup> However, Maruša’s travel means were far more modest, yet she could have hardly completed the whole pilgrimage with less than 50 ducats. For a person of her rank it was an immense amount of money, which she herself could not have produced. From her will we learn that her pilgrimage was financed by several women: probably the eldest among them was Tomuša, goldsmith’s wife and mother of Ruža Kotrulj;

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<sup>95</sup> Dino Milinović, »’To neizrecivo mjesto u kojemu je tri dana počivao Sin Čovječji’: Bonifacije Dubrovčanin i obnova Svetog Groba«, in: *Umjetnost i naručitelji. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa Dani Cvita Fiskovića održanog 2008. godine*, ed. Jasenka Gudelj, Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2010: p. 74.

<sup>96</sup> M. Newett, »Introduction«: pp. 6-7; Arieh Grabois, »Les pèlerins occidentaux en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge«. *Studi medievali*, ser. III, 30/1 (1989): pp. 41-47; U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*: pp. 96, 103-106; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West From the Beginning to 1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005: pp. 311-313; George Shuffelton, »Introduction«, in: *The Stations of Jerusalem*, Item 34, <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/shuffelton-codex-ashmole-61-stations-of-jerusalem-introduction>, accessed on 26 October 2016.

<sup>97</sup> D. Jacoby, »The economic impact«: p. 710.

<sup>98</sup> D. Jacoby, »The economic impact«: pp. 710-711. Discordant data, and much lower sums that Ladić brings for Zadar in the second half of the fourteenth century may be interpreted by the fact that not every bequest was expected to cover the entire costs per pilgrim, considering that bequests were often added together. Cf. Z. Ladić, »Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra«: p. 26.

<sup>99</sup> M. Newett, »Introduction«: pp. 9-10.

then Ruža Kotrulj herself, married at the time and mother of several children; and finally, Radica Bućin, friend of Maruša's family.

The maritime route from Venice to the Holy Land led through the Adriatic and Eastern Mediterranean, with stopovers in certain ports,<sup>100</sup> where—as in Maruša's case—new passengers could board the ship. Upon arrival in Jaffa,<sup>101</sup> the pilgrims were supplied with documents required for their land journey.<sup>102</sup> Across the Holy Land the pilgrims mainly travelled on donkeys.<sup>103</sup> The itinerary would start with the highlights: visit to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, major shrine after which the whole pilgrimage was often named (*ad Sanctum sepulcrum, ad sepulcrum Christi, al Sancto Sepulcro* etc.).<sup>104</sup> Visits to other sites in Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity followed (Temple Mount, Mount of Olives, Mount Sion). The second part of the pilgrimage included more remote biblical locations: Betlehem, Dead Sea, Jericho, Jordan River (place of Christ's baptism) and others.<sup>105</sup> As a rule, on their way back the pilgrims would again visit the church of the Holy

<sup>100</sup> The journey started in Venice, continued along the East Adriatic route, touched upon Venetian strongholds on Corfu, Zante, Modona, Crete, and then via Rhodes and Cyprus headed for Jaffa. R. Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*: p. 16. A survey of excerpts from the accounts of foreign pilgrims recounting the Adriatic coast and its cities has been provided by Jean Richard, »Križari i putnici u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji«. *Croatica Christiana periodica* 10/18 (1986): pp. 27-39 and K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*.

<sup>101</sup> Jaffa became the main pilgrim port after the sack of Acre in 1291. D. Jacoby, »The economic impact«: p. 710.

<sup>102</sup> Perfect organisation of the procedure in the first half of the fifteenth century has been detailed by H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: pp. 101-102.

<sup>103</sup> H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: pp. 108-110; U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*: p. 96.

<sup>104</sup> For example, *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 44r, 47v; *Distributiones testamentorum*, vol. 5, f. 52r, 104r; vol. 6, f. 33r. It is noteworthy that the Ragusan merchant and cloth trader Andrija Volčo (c. 1355.-c. 1429), who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land twice, in the gardens of his summer villa built a "replica" of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. F. de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*: pp. 105, 183; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*: p. 168. Chapels of this kind were popular in fifteenth-century Europe, e.g. one was built by pilgrim William Wey in Edington monastery, while another still stands by the house of the Adornes family in Brugge. C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*: pp. 319-320; Pnina Arad, »Pilgrimage, cartography, and devotion: William Wey's map of the Holy Land«. *Viator* 43/1 (2012): pp. 301-302. As testified by the Dominican Razzi in the sixteenth century, on the islet of Daksa there also stood a chapel modelled in the same style, surrounded by the buildings representing the sacred sites of Jerusalem. Serafino Razzi, *La Storia di Ragusa*, ed. Giuseppe Gelcich. Dubrovnik: Tipografia Serbo-Ragusea A. Pasarić, 1903: p. 238; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*: p. 68.

<sup>105</sup> J. Shuffelton, »Introduction«; for fifteenth century compare H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: pp. 115-170.

Sepulchre as the most important shrine and the “navel of the world”;<sup>106</sup> in addition, a visit to the places inside the church and in its vicinity would bring at least nine complete pardons, which exceeded by double all other locations in the Holy Land together.<sup>107</sup>

“*Holy souvenirs*”: *secondary relics from Maruša’s chest*

Maruša carried numerous “holy souvenirs” from the Holy Land.<sup>108</sup> Considering that the inventory listed her personal belongings, but also how they ought to be disposed, the text is actually a hybrid of an inventory and testament, hence making it difficult to determine the exact number of particular items. What can be established with certainty, however, is that she carried at least 7 small boxes (*scatula*), 5 roses of Jericho, 3 or 4 ribbons and 7 belts, 8 small bottles along with two containers of water from the Jordan, which—in sum—makes quite a collection.<sup>109</sup>

These items may be classified as secondary relics (*brandea*) or “blessings” (*eulogiae, benedictiones*), that is, objects which by having come into contact with the sacred had themselves acquired the significance of a reliquary. The variety was impressive, from those that contained dust, earth, oil or water from a shrine to the personal items graced by having touched some of the *loca sacra*. Unlike

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<sup>106</sup> On belief of the Holy Sepulchre as the “navel of the world” see U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*: pp. 9-10.

<sup>107</sup> Kathryn M. Rudy, »A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal Ms. 212«. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63/4 (2000): p. 495.

<sup>108</sup> The term “holy souvenirs” is common in literature, although the meaning of these pilgrim objects is not to remind of a pleasant journey, but to preserve and transmit spiritual power. On this point see J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*: pp. 24-25; Gary Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*. Dumbarton Oaks: Harvard University, 1982: p. 13; Georgia Frank, »*Loca sancta* souvenirs and the art of memory«, in: *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l’Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, ed. B. Caseau, Jean-Claude Cheynet and V. Réroche. Paris: Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2006: p. 199.

<sup>109</sup> A witty remark made by G. Frank may also be applied to Maruša’s collection: “ancient Christian pilgrims rarely traveled light” (G. Frank, »*Loca sancta* souvenirs«: p. 193). For comparison, Nompard de Caumont, who visited the Holy Land in 1418, purchased several silk fabrics, four ribbons to the size of the Holy Sepulchre, three silk bags plus an embroidered one, 33 silver rings and 12 silver crosses which had touched the Holy Sepulchre, a bag filled with Jerusalem earth, 2 pairs of gold spurs, 4 roses of Jericho and a small bottle of water from the Jordan. J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*: pp. 259-260.

“primary” relics, they could be replicated and reinvented indefinitely, and were thus made accessible to ordinary people, too.<sup>110</sup>

From the will we learn that Maruša carried home several small boxes (*scatule magne, parve*). She mentions the contents of one box (six belts and four roses of Jericho), and on the basis of the comparative examples from literature we know that the small boxes of the kind usually contained little stones picked up at various shrines, such as the Holy Sepulchre, Betlehem Cave, Mount of Olives and Calvary, and were commonly purchased as a set.<sup>111</sup> If this assumption is true, Maruša’s small reliquaries intended for private devotion add to the Ragusan tradition of public worship of some of these stone reliquaries: according to the oldest inventory of 1335, the treasury of the Dubrovnik cathedral kept a small stone fragment of the Holy Sepulchre, while a stone fragment of the Column of Flagellation was kept in the reliquary of the convent of St Clare; in the mid sixteenth century, during his office in Jerusalem Bonifacije Stjepović Drkolica acquired two new reliquaries containing these stone fragments which he bestowed to the cathedral treasury.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*: pp. 10-12; Cynthia Hahn, »Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim’s Experience«, in: *The blessings of pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout. Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990: p. 85; Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700- c. 1500*. Hounmills-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002: p. 164; Gale R. Owen-Crocker, »Brandeau«, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles*, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emdt\\_SIM\\_000743](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emdt_SIM_000743) (accessed on 26 October 2016); Margaret Goehring, »Textile Contact Relics«, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emp\\_SIM\\_000231](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_000231) (accessed on 26 October 2016); Cynthia Hahn, *Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012: p. 8. On medieval belief that the holiness of persons, objects and places can be transmitted through contact see especially G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*: p. 4.

<sup>111</sup> A reliquary brought home by William Wey contained small stone fragments from the Holy Sepulchre, Column of Flagellation, from the Calvary, Mount Tabor, from the site where the cross of Jesus was allegedly found, and from the Betlehem cave. Preserved intact is a small box from the sixth century kept at the Vatican Museums, and an undated box, probably from the seventeenth century, at the National Museum of Denmark (Nationalmuseet). Anne Marie Flindt, »‘Holy’ Souvenirs«. *Folk* 21-22 (1979-1980): pp. 199-200; G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*: pp. 18-19; C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*: p. 319; P Arad, »Pilgrimage, cartography, and devotion«: pp. 308-309.

<sup>112</sup> Seraphinus Maria Cerva, *Prolegomena in Sacram metropolim Ragusinam: Editio princeps*, ed. Relja Seferović. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 2008: pp. 445-446, 452, 462, 466-467, 495. On the activity of Bonifacije in the Holy Land see K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*: p. 185; on the same point, and notably on the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre see D. Milinović, »‘To neizrecivo mjesto’«: pp. 73-80. On ceremonial use of these reliquaries in Dubrovnik see Nella Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti: Ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke Republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2009: pp. 301, 353-354, 409, 422-423.

Maruša also carried a couple of roses of Jericho (*rosa, rosa de Sancta Maria*). This annual plant of the genus *Anastatica hierochuntica* is well adapted to desert conditions, and once the seed is ripe, the plant curls its branches into a dry ball, waiting for the right moisture conditions to open and drop the seed. Thanks to the unique quality “to spring back to life” from a withered state, it has become a symbol of the resurrection of Christ. On the other hand, its “miraculous” opening was associated with birth, and was used as an amulet to help the parturients ease the delivery pain and protect them and the newborn from death. Hence the name “rose of Virgin Mary”, as cited in one place in Maruša’s inventory. Due to the healing functions at birth, the roses of Jericho were highly valued and much sought-after, so that many pilgrims tried to obtain them from the Bedouins.<sup>113</sup>

Water from the Jordan was believed to protect from the evil eye and conflict, and the pilgrims either drank it, washed hands and feet in it, or even bathed, in a symbolic act of rebaptism.<sup>114</sup> The pilgrims also filled various containers with this water to carry it with them,<sup>115</sup> as mentioned in Maruša’s inventory (*trigestare... cum aqua Iordanis, fialae cum aqua Iordanis*). Pieces of cloth were usually soaked in the waters of Jordan, by which they earned a “reliquary” status.<sup>116</sup> Although we cannot say it with certainty nor discard it, this might be true of Maruša’s napkin mentioned together with the small bottle (*parva trigestara cum una tobalea*), and possibly of other napkins, too.

A part of the “holy souvenirs” which Maruša took with her from the Holy Land might be referred to as “do-it-yourself relics”. Clerics and laymen alike were keen on bringing home souvenirs by which the holy sites were measured, e.g. strings of silver and gold thread that corresponded with the measures of the Holy Sepulchre. A poorer pilgrim could make them himself, as Maruša did

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<sup>113</sup> H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: p. 214; Suzy Knight, »Devotion, popular belief and sympathetic magic among renaissance Italian women: the Rose of Jericho as birthing aid«, in: *God’s Bounty?: The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon. Woodbridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 2010: pp. 134-143.

<sup>114</sup> According to the account of the Milanese canon Casola from the end of the fifteenth century. P. Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*: p. 268; Pietro Porcasi, »Introduzione«, in: William Wey, *Itinerarium peregrinationis (1458)*, ed. Pietro Porcasi. CISVA, 2010: p. XXII ([https://www.academia.edu/1395361/William\\_Wey\\_Itinerarium\\_peregrinationis\\_1458\\_](https://www.academia.edu/1395361/William_Wey_Itinerarium_peregrinationis_1458_), accessed on 30 October 2016).

<sup>115</sup> H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: p. 158.

<sup>116</sup> On this practice see H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: p. 158.

(*cordella, craniça seu cordella cum qua mensuravi sepulcrum Christi*).<sup>117</sup> In fact, “pious measurement” was a constituent part of the ritual carried out on the sacred sites visited by the pilgrims. Measuring was performed with one’s own body (by pressing down the whole body, hands, fingers, foot) or with a string, which through its material shape preserved and transmitted the sanctity of the very location. These strings would later be worn around the neck, like an amulet.<sup>118</sup>

Further, other objects were also known to be laid (e.g. rings, rosary, pilgrim badge), so that they too would infuse some of the holiness.<sup>119</sup> The mention of belts (*cinguli de filis, cinguli de panno*, probably also *ura sive cimossis de scarleto que tetigit omnia loca Terre Sancte*) in Maruša’s inventory may be linked to this practice. For comparison, to his friend Spiridon, prior of Studenica, Sava Nemanjić sent a small belt which he had laid on the Holy Sepulchre, to wear at all times.<sup>120</sup>

The function of these holy souvenirs from the Holy Land was manifold: they were associated with personal piety, they were a memento of the physical and spiritual journey, prophylactic and medicinal qualities were attributed to them, they carried social prestige and were a welcome gift. By carrying the “blessed objects” to Dubrovnik, Maruša was fulfilling her debt towards the persons on whose behalf she went on pilgrimage and with whom she was intimate.

“Holy souvenirs” which from Maruša’s legacy had arrived in Dubrovnik also shed a ray of light on personal piety and the reliquaries in private hands, of which we know very little: for example, in 1363 Matej Nikolin Martinussio bequeathed a reliquary of his to the Abbey of St Mary of Ratac,<sup>121</sup> while Marin Petrov Bocignolo in 1394 described in his will the relic of the tooth of St Stephen,

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<sup>117</sup> Jacopo of Verona described in 1335 how difficult it was for him to chip off a fragment from the Holy Sepulchre: *et ego vidi, tetigi et de lapide cum difficultate accepi, quod durus lapis est* (U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*: p. 116). For more on this practice since the eleventh century see D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*: p. 164.

<sup>118</sup> H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: p. 213; Zur Shalev, »Christian pilgrimage and ritual measurement in Jerusalem«. *Micrologus* 19 (2011): pp. 134-150.

<sup>119</sup> P. Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*: p. 261; H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*: p. 212; D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*: pp. 165-166.

<sup>120</sup> Danica Popović, »*Eulogiae Terrae Sanctae* of St Sava of Serbia«. *Balkanica* 56 (2014): p. 55.

<sup>121</sup> *Opera pia*, ser. 92, vol. 16, f. 17r.

left money for the commission of the reliquary, leaving directions by which it was to be bestowed to the Reliquary of the Church of St Stephen.<sup>122</sup>

Indeed, Maruša's notes and testament fail to provide details from the pilgrimage we might like to know, yet still offer a host of useful information from which a much-desired insight into the personal experience of a specific pilgrim could be obtained—into his motives, practical trials, piety. If pilgrimage is “an exercise in worldly life, a vivid reminder of the man's final goal towards which he is heading”,<sup>123</sup> then Maruša of Dubrovnik, with her journey to the Holy Land— though she could not have known it—also made the preparations for her approaching transmission from this world to the eternity beyond, leaving to us, on her deathbed, a unique source on female pilgrimage from the late fourteenth century.

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<sup>122</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 55v.

<sup>123</sup> Franjo Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata*, vol. I. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988: p. 355.

Appendix. Will of Maruša, daughter of Jakuša, wife of Priboj Mazarak.

Testamentum Marusse filie Jacusse, uxoris Priboj Massarach

MCCCLXXXVIII, indictione secunda, die tercio novembris. Ragusio. Coram nobili et sapienti domino Michaele de Babalio et iuratis iudicibus ser Andrea de Sargo et ser Volço de Babalio. Nos presbiter Andreas de Lagusta et presbiter Nicola de Polato, testes iurati, unus in manibus alterius modo sacramentario testificamur quod infrascripta Marussa fecit in nostra presentia suum ultimum testamentum sic dicens. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Ego Marussa filia Jacusse facio meum testamentum cum sana mente et cum bona memoria existens set multum infirma corpore. In primis dimitto ecclesie Sancte Marie pro primitiis et decimis grossos VI. Et Sancto Blasio grossos III. Et si mater mea est viva quod res que sunt mee sint sue sicut est cingulum et obodcii et copertoria nova et qui (!) est parvior (!) inter omnes (!) volo quod detur fratri Paulo. Dimitto Radoslave uxori Obradi Arsuch si est viva perperos II. Et rogo dictam Radoslavam quod fatiat penitenciam pro me quam ego non complevi, quod vadat ad Sanctum Jacobum una die et quod non loquatur cum aliqua persona et quod det unum prandium uni pauperi. Et si mater mea est mortua comitto omnia mea Ruse uxori Ruschi de Cotrullo. Et dimitto dicte Ruse crocem pro amore quod portet et quod habeat animam meam in mente. Et dimitto Radiche Buchini unum ducatum. Et amite mee Lubne que stat in Gravossa dimitto unum yperperum. Et si quid est de rebus meis antiquis datur ei. Et Petrusse Priboi dimitto unam scatulam et unam rosam de Sancta Maria et unam cordellam. Dimitto in Sancto Leonardo yperperum unum. Et dimitto (!) fratri Jacobo de Sibenicho patri meo spirituali unum ducatum. Audivi quod frater Benedictus vult ire ad Sanctum Jacobum et Romam, datur ei unum ducatum quando erit in recessu. Rogo vos Ruse et Radi, si mater mea est mortua, non dico ei set vobis dico quod faciatis dicere missas Sancti Gregorii pro anima mea, et si poteritis facere dicere in una die, faciatis. Et dimitto predicatoribus yperperum unum pro missa conventuali et unum prandium. Et si mater mea est mortua, quicquid fecit in suo testamento confirmo omnia. Et super hoc fatio meos pitropos Ruse uxorem Ruschi de Cotrulli et Radicam uxorem Buchini. Et hoc est die XIX augusti sub anno Domini MIII<sup>c</sup>LXLIII (!). Si est mater mea viva, quicquid est dans ista pro anima mea que sunt scripta, de residuo vivat sicut mater et domina mea.

In dicto testamento erant due cedule introcluse autenticate cum predicto testamento per dominum rectorem et iudices supradictos, quarum una est huius

tenoris: Ego Marussa teneor dare Ruse uxori Ruschi Cotrulevich unum ducatum, volo quod habeat.

Altera enim est sequentis tenoris: In nomine Domini, amen. Iste sunt res Marusse dicte filie Jacusse quas habuit secum in galea. Primo unam capsam, in qua capsula erunt libre III gotoni (!). Item camisie III<sup>or</sup>. Item de pipere modicum in una tobalea. Item unum capitale cum dimidio. Unum par sutelarium. Item I cingulum de scurlato et multe pecie de cusinis. Item scatule III<sup>or</sup> magne et due parve et una tobalea. Item in una pera parva de filis III clu (?). Item in una scatula parva cinguli III de filis et duo de panno et III rose. Item unam lodicem et unam carpetam. Item unam capam. Item I par bisanciarum. Item duo pinuladi et duo coretta. Item una copertura capitalis in qua est farina. Item saccus I cum pane. Item due trigestare apud Bosicum cum aqua Iordanis et una parva cum una tobalea. Item una tobalea de duabus brachiis. Item unum sciphum de cupro. Item unum cingulum cum bursa et cultello et cruce argentea. Item sciphum I vitreum. Fialas VIII cum aqua Iordanis. Item unum urceum cum simça. Item I barile. Item pilercum I et una (storfil *cancell.*) forfice. Item scutellas quinque de (capro *cancell.*) cipro (!). Item tunica que dicitur codmaniça. Item crinales (?). Et istas res superscriptas dimito in manibus Bosichi qui fuit puer de ser Goççicho, qui det ipsas matri mee et ipsa recipiat. Et si mater mea esset mortua, quod dicte res dentur Ruse Cotrulevich et Radice Buchini quod ipse faciant pro anima mea. Volo quod dabitur dicto Bosich unam camisiam et unum par braxis et unum sudarium de meis quia fuit mihi sicut frater in infirmitate mea. Volo quod detur una scatula Margarite filie Ruse et una alia Nicolete sorori sue scatula parva. Et Ruse detis unam craniçam seu cordellam cum qua mensuravi sepulcrum Christi et unam rusam et unam scatulam date Cuite vicini mee que stat ad parietem domus mee et unam craniçam et fili quibus consultur quia eius sunt. Et detis unam scatolam Lubne quam vos vultis et craniçam unam et unam rosam, et unam scatulam Miladne Gradoevich que non est pulchra. Et sciat Miladna quod non vendidi tobaleam nisi grossorum XV, Deus scit, tu tamen scis quod teneris mihi dare grossos septem cum dimidio, et alios VII cum dimidio petas a matre mea, si est viva, quod det sibi aut pecuniam aut terminum. Et si mater mea est mortua, vadat Radiça Buchini ad Antonium pelliçarium quod ipse recipiant (!) istas res. Et si debent quid dare mihi Gradoeivi (!) pro tela quam receperunt a me, si non dederint, petat Ruse Cotrulli et Radiça supradicta. Et date Iursicho de Ruse istum garbis. Et date scatulam unam Goyne Velegni (?) miscitari (?). Et Rathe vicine mee dare unam uram (?) sive cimossem de scarleto que tetigit omnia loca Terre Sancte et unam rosam que est minor.

Et de aliis rebus que remanent dari dite sicut placet vobis. Peto a Miladna quod parcat mihi si aliquid dixi sibi malum, quod mali homines posuerunt inter nos. Et si sana fuisset ravisemus melius quam aliquando. Set propter amorem dono vobis istam scatulam quod recordemini de me. Ego rogavi Deum pro vobis, rogate vos pro me. Rogo Ruse Cotrulli quod fatiat pro anima mea quantum potest quia ego fui per omnia loca sacra pro te et pro matre tua, similiter pro Radiča. Rogo vos date isti famulo sicut scribo, quod habeat sicut veniet cum istis rebus quinque brachia cum dimidio de tela. Hoc autem testamentum etc.

*In margine:* Extractum et datum.

State Archives in Dubrovnik, *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 8, f. 58r-59r.