

A Pharmacy of Tuscan Newcomers in Šibenik: The 1449 Partnership*

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Abstract

This article examines the partnership contract concluded on 4 February 1449, between two Tuscan newcomers in Šibenik, Francis Aldobrandi from Florence and Leonard, son of Victor, from Siena, for the purpose of running a pharmacy. In addition to the contract itself, as well as the agreement on its termination and execution – which can serve as an example for how pharmacies were founded and managed in late medieval communes in the Eastern Adriatic – the paper also offers brief biographies of the two Tuscans who made Šibenik their new home.

Keywords: pharmacy, Francis Aldobrandi from Florence, Leonard, son of Victor, from Siena, Šibenik, Dalmatia, late Middle Ages

The millennia-old art of preparing remedies was for centuries closely intertwined with medicine, but in medieval Europe, apothecary practice began to develop as an independent activity. In the thirteenth century, under the influence of the School of Salerno, it separated from medicine and embarked on an autonomous path of development, sanctioned by the 1240 ordinance of Emperor Frederick II.¹ Yet neither medieval apothecaries nor their shops, which began to appear in towns and cities, resembled those of today. As the Italian historian Ivana Ait has shown in detail, apothecaries were simultaneously artisans and merchants, and their profession merged science and trade. On the one hand, the medieval apothecary was a “concoctor of medicines, equipped with technical expertise and learning”; on the other, he “sold goods he produced and traded in those he purchased from others.”²

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- 1 Edward Kremers, George Urdang, *History of Pharmacy: A Guide and a Survey*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA and London: J.B. Lippincot, 1951), 49; Bob Zebroski, *A Brief History of Pharmacy: Humanity's Search for Wellness* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 71, 160.
- 2 Ivana Ait, *Tra scienza e mercato: gli speziali a Roma nel tardo Medioevo* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1996), 81.

Due to the specific nature of their profession - which was “only one aspect of the apothecary’s many occupations, though certainly among the most important,”³ - apothecaries enjoyed a special prestige compared to other artisans, creating greater opportunities for their social advancement. Because of the nature of their work, they were particularly active in the city’s economic life and thus appear very frequently in notarial records, as we shall also see in the case of two Tuscan immigrants in Šibenik to whom, along with their pharmacy, this study is dedicated.

Since apothecaries were both artisans and merchants, the range of goods sold in their shops was ample and doubtlessly tailored to the local market needs. Thus, as Roman examples show, in addition to spices, medicines, and medical preparations, one could also find other products “such as soap, rope, wax, rag paper and writing paper, candles, dyes, and sweets,” and even various kinds of metals.⁴

The oldest pharmacies in Croatia, which developed in step with the European trends, are attested from the second half of the thirteenth century. The earliest known reference comes from Trogir, where in 1271 the pharmacy of magister Muccius, the son of Leonard de Malamaucus of Venice (*Muccius specialis, filius condam Leonardi de Malamauca de Veneciis*), is mentioned.⁵ Slightly younger is Croatia’s most famous pharmacy, which has operated continuously since 1317 in the Franciscan friary in Dubrovnik,⁶ while from the mid-14th century, specifically 1355, come the first references to apothecary practice in Zagreb.⁷

3 Ibidem.

4 Ait, *Tra scienza e mercato*, 40.

5 Cf. Hrvoje Tartalja, “Naša najstarija ljekarna” [Our oldest pharmacy], in *Radovi međunarodnog simpozija održanog prigodom proslave 700. obljetnice spomena ljekarne u Trogiru*, ed. Hrvoje Tartalja (Zagreb, 1973), 11-29; Fani Cega, “Istraživanje arhivske građe u muzejskim i privatnim zbirkama” [Archival sources in museums and private collections], *Informatica Museologica* 29/3-4 (1998), 45.

6 Cf. Hrvoje Tartalja, ed., *Spomenica 650-godišnjice ljekarne “Male braće” u Dubrovniku* [650th anniversary of the “Friars Minor” pharmacy in Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Institut za povijest prirodnih, matematičkih i medicinskih nauka JAZU – Pliva, 1968); Justin Vinko Velnić, “Ljekarna Male braće” [Pharmacy of the Friars Minor], in *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost – Dubrovnik: Samostan Male braće, 1985), 775-793; Andrija Nikić, “O ljekarni Male braće u Dubrovniku kao doprinosu Franjevaca u povijesti ljekarništva” [Pharmacy of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik as the Franciscans’ contribution to the history of pharmacy], *Acta medico-historica Adriatica* 4/1 (2006), 153-162; Stipe Nosić, *Ljekarna Male braće: 700 godina zdravlja Dubrovčana* [Pharmacy of the Friars Minor: 700 years of healthcare in Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Franjevački samostan Male braće, 2017).

7 Hrvoje Tartalja, “Datum osnivanja kaptolske ljekarne” [Foundation date of Kaptol’s pharmacy], *Farmaceutski glasnik* 11 (1955), 397-400; *600 godina zagrebačkog ljekarništva* [600 years of pharmacy in Zagreb], ed. Hrvoje Tartalja (Zagreb: Farmaceutsko društvo Hrvatske – Institut za povijest farmacije, 1955); Biserka Belicza, “Zdravstvene prilike i zdravstvena zaštita u Gradecu do 16. stoljeća” [Hygiene and healthcare in Gradec up to the 16th century], in *Zagrebački Gradec: 1242.-1850.*, ed. Ivan Kampuš (Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1994), 143-148; Stella Fatović-Ferenčić,

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also yield mentions of numerous apothecaries whose activity, given the survival of sources, is primarily tied to the Eastern Adriatic cities and towns. In published archival material, one finds, besides the Trogir apothecary Muccius mentioned above, references to Dubrovnik apothecaries Basil, son of master Petrača of Bari (*Basilius specialis filius magistri Petrache de Baro*) (1281-1282), master Rollandin Zapponus of Venice (*magister Rollandinus Zapponus specialis de Veneciis*) (1282-1284), and Gerard of Piacenza (*Ghirardus de Placentia specialis/speciarus*) (1295-1296);⁸ Split apothecaries Musiact Mini (*Musiactus Mini speciarius*) (1342-1344),⁹ Baldus, son of the late Francischin of Piacenza (*Baldus filius condam Francischini de Placentia speciarius*) (1342-1343),¹⁰ Giovannucci of Fermo (*Iohannutius... de Firmo olim apothecarius communis Spaleti*) (1368),¹¹ and Nicholas of Ancona (*Nicolaus de Ancona apothecarius Spaleti*) (1369),¹² Zadar's apothecaries Bonaventura, son of the late Recover of Florence (*Ser (Bona) Ventura condam Recoveri speciarius de Florentia*) (1344-1346), and Phillip, son of the late John de Lupizinis of Florence (*Ser Filipus condam ser Iohannis de Lupizinis de Florentia spiciarius / aromatorius / speciarius / apotecarius*) (1354-1356);¹³ as well as the Šibenik apothecary Cola (*Cole apotecharij*) (1386).¹⁴

Jasenska Ferber-Bogdan, "Srednjovjekovni korijeni i kontinuitet u vremenu: u povodu 650. obljetnice zagrebačke gornjogradske ljekarne" [Medieval roots and continuity: On the 650th anniversary of the pharmacy in Zagreb's Upper Town], *Medicus* 13/2 (2004), 139-149.

- 8 Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Mirodijari i veletrgovci začinima. Korištenje i promet začina na hrvatskoj jadranskoj obali u srednjem vijeku i početkom modernoga doba" [*Speciarii* and wholesale traders in spices: The use and traffic of spices along the Croatian Adriatic coast in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period], in *Artisani et mercatores...: o obrtnicima i trgovcima na jadranskom prostoru, 8. istarski povijesni biennale*, ed. Marija Mogorović Crljenko, Elena Uljančić (Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Državni Arhiv u Pazinu, 2019), 152, n. 34, 37, 39.
- 9 Jakov Stipišić, Ante Nazor, *Spisi splitskog bilježnika Ivana pok. Čove iz Ankone od 1341.-1344. Splitski spomenici. Dio prvi: Splitski bilježnički spisi sv. 1* [Notarial records of John, son of the late Čova, from Ancona (1341-1344). Split's monuments, Part I: Split's notarial records, vol. 1], *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 53 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2002), 159-160, doc. 278, 263-264, doc. 440; 270, doc. 451; 309, doc. 515; 319-320, doc. 531.
- 10 Ibid., 203, dos. 340; 241-242, doc. 402; 294-295, doc. 491; 342, doc. 568.
- 11 Branka Grbac, Damir Karbić, Arijana Kolak Bošnjak, *Spisi splitskog bilježnika Albertola Bassanega od 1368. do 1369. godine. Acta notarii Spalatensis Albertoli Bassanega ab anno 1368 usque ad annum 1369. Splitski spomenici. Dio prvi: Splitski bilježnički spisi sv. 2* [Records of Split's notary Albertolo Bassanega (1368-1369), Split's monuments, Part I: Split's notarial records, vol. 2], *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 59 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2020), 269-270, doc. 410.
- 12 Ibid., 77-78, doc. 114.
- 13 Fabijanec, "Mirodijari i veletrgovci začinima," 152, n. 35.
- 14 Mirko Zjačić, "Spisi šibenskog notara Slavogosta" [Records of Šibenik's notary Slavogost], *Starine* 44 (1952), 246, doc. 67.

Most of these references come from notarial records, whose rich archival holdings preserving the names of a wide array of medieval apothecaries still await scholarly attention. For example, in the fifteenth century, Šibenik's notarial books mention at least thirteen apothecaries: magister Peter from Apulia (*magister Petrus aromatarius de Apulea*) (1446),¹⁵ Nani de Caclonis from Venice (*ser Nani de Caclonis de Venetiis speciario*) (1438),¹⁶ Leonard, son of Victor, from Siena (*Leonardus condam Victorii Andree de Senis aromatarius*) (1446),¹⁷ magister Mark, son of Paulus Collonich (*magister Marcus speciarius con dam Pauli Collonich habitator Sibenici*) (1446),¹⁸ Gregory Iurievich of Šibenik (*condam Gregorius Iurievich speciarius de Sibenico*) (1446),¹⁹ Jacob Nicolinić (*ser Iacobus Nicolini predictus speciarius salariatus comunis Sibenici*) (1446),²⁰ John Centono from Trogir (*Iohannes Centono aromatarius de Tragurio*) (1447-1449),²¹ magister Anthony from Cremona (*magister Antonius aromatarius de Cremona habitator Sibenici*) (1451-1456),²² Anthony from Rome (*Antonius de Roma aromatarius*) (1462),²³ Silvester, son of John, from Venice (*egregius ser Silvester Ioannis de Venetiis ad presens habitator Sibenici et aromatarius salariatus comunis Sibenici*) (1477-1479),²⁴ magister Anthony de Ariete (*magister Antonius de Ariete aromatarius salariatus comunis Sibenici*) (1479),²⁵ John, son of Jacob de Maletis, from Pavia (*ser Ioannes Iacobo de Maletis de Pavia aromatarius salariatus comunis Sibenici*) (1482),²⁶ and Philipp, son of the late Anthony from Rome (*Filippus condam ser Antonii de Roma olim aromatarius et habitator Sibenici*) (1482).²⁷

Despite this wealth of preserved material – which, as the Šibenik case demonstrates, provides abundant sources for studying medieval pharmacy and its practitioners – the topic has only partially been addressed in Croatian medieval studies, with most attention devoted to the best-known pharmacies mentioned above. An exception is Mirko Dražen Grmek's pioneering study "Pharmacy in Medieval Dal-

15 Diocesan Archive in Šibenik (Croatia). HR-BAŠ-18/1 (hereafter: HR-BAŠ-18/1), Episcopal Curia (1402-2003) (hereafter: BK), Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 167v-168r (box 2).

16 State Archive in Šibenik (Croatia). HR-DAŠI-263. Šibenik's Notaries (1414-1797) (hereafter: HR-DAŠI-263), Baptist de Ponte (1438), fol. 61v (box 3b).

17 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 167v (box 2).

18 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 1, 48v; vol. F 2, fol. 75v (box 2).

19 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 119r (box 2); HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. d, fol. 68v (box 11/I).

20 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 167v (box 2).

21 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 2, fol. 75r (box 11/V); vol. 6, fol. 32r (box 11/VI).

22 Ante Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Bonmatej iz Verone (1449.-1451.) = Notai di Sebeinco – Bonmatteo da Verona (1449-1451)* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016), 339, doc. 203; 16.

23 HR-DAŠI-263/ Ilija Banjvarić (1457-1467), vol. b, fol. 39v (box 17).

24 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. F 10 V a, fol. 33r; vol. F 10 V b, fol. 87r (box 11/VII).

25 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. F 10 V b, fol. 83v, 87r (box 11/VII).

26 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. F 10 V d, fol. 33v (box 11/VII).

27 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. F 10 V d, fol. 40v (box 11/VII).

matian Cities and Towns,”²⁸ the first comprehensive treatment of the subject. In addition to references to the earliest known Dalmatian pharmacies and apothecaries, the author also discusses how pharmacies were established, the range and provenance of goods they sold, and the broader question of “what, in fact, medieval apothecaries did.”²⁹

Without undertaking a detailed survey of local research on the history of medieval apothecary practice in Croatia, I will mention only a few more recent contributions. Meri Kunčić has analysed the presence of crafts, artisan trades, and healthcare professions within the overall population structure of Rab (ca. 1450-1500),³⁰ as well as the relations between different strata of Rab’s craftsmen and their clients.³¹ In her study of the *aromatarii* and wholesale spice merchants, Sabine Florence Fabijanec offers an overview of the development of apothecary practice from the moment when “secular *speciari*, *spicers*, *aromatarii*, and others began to settle in towns,” outlining the artisanal and theoretical frameworks of the trade and the presence of apothecaries, spice vendors, and merchants dealing in miscellaneous goods for everyday needs in the coastal communes.³² Also relevant is the article by Branka Grbavac and Željko Dugac, which analyses the last wills of fourteenth-century Zadar apothecaries in order to reconstruct not only their practices but also their personal and business ties with the townspeople.³³ Finally, to mark the 60th anniversary of the public institution Ljekarna Šibenik (Šibenik Pharmacy), the Šibenik City Museum organized an exhibition in May 2024 on apothecary practice in the Šibenik area; its catalogue represents the first overview of the history of Šibenik’s pharmacy.³⁴

28 Mirko Dražen Grmek, “Ljekarništvo u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima” [Pharmacy in medieval Dalmatian cities and towns], offprint from *Acta pharmaceutica jugoslavica* 4 (1954), 1-19.

29 Ibid., 6.

30 Meri Kunčić “Obrtnici, umjetnici i zdravstveni djelatnici u kasnosrednjovjekovnoj rapskoj komuni” [Artisans, artists, and healthcare workers in the late medieval commune of Rab], in *Rapski zbornik* II, ed. Josip Andrić, Robert Lončarić (Rab: Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 2012), 94-116.

31 Meri Kunčić, “Rapski obrtnici, umjetnici i medicinski djelatnici te njihovi klijenti na Rabu u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća” [Rab’s artisans, artists, healthcare workers, and their clients in the second half of the 15th century], *Zbornik Odsjeka povijesnih znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 31 (2013), 77-126.

32 Fabijanec, “Mirodijari i veletrgovci začinama,” 152, n. 34.

33 Branka Grbavac, Željko Dugac, “The Wills of the Zaratín Apothecaries from the 14th Century,” *Acta historiae medicinae, stomatologiae, pharmaciae, medicinae veterinariae* 42/2 (2023), 7-18.

34 Toni Brajković, Bruno Brakus, Marija Krnčević Rak, Marija Mikelin, Kate Šikić Čubrić, *Apothecarius, Aromatarius, Speciarius, Ljekarnik: Ljekarništvo na šibenskom području = Apothecarius, Aromatarius, Speciarius, Pharmacist: Pharmacy in the Šibenik area* (Šibenik: Zdravstvena ustanova Ljekarna Šibenik; Muzej grada Šibenika, 2024).

This study, based on data from late-medieval Šibenik notarial records, aims to contribute to a better understanding of apothecary practice in Dalmatia in general and in Šibenik in particular. It demonstrates how pharmacies were founded at the time and according to which business model, based on a contract dated 4 February 1449, concluded between two Tuscan newcomers in Šibenik: Francis Aldobrandi from Florence and Leonard, son of Victor, from Siena. Numerous details have been preserved about their professional and private lives, of which only a portion can be presented here.

Ser Franciscus Aldobrandi de Florentia et ...

Of the two Tuscans mentioned, the first to arrive in Šibenik was Ser Francis Aldobrandi de Figneldis from Florence (*Franciscus de Florentia condam Aldobrandi de Figneldis, Franciscus Aldobrandi de Figneldis de Florentia, Franciscus de Aldobrandi Florentinus*). His first mention dates to 1437, when he is recorded as one of the partners in the lease of the impost on the municipal mills on the River Krka (*conductio datii molendinorum comunis positorum in flumine Chercha*). The principal lessee of that impost was the Šibenik citizen Ser Lawrence, son of the late Michael Goniribić, called Kodinjola (*de Codignola*), who – pursuant to the statutory procedure for granting dues and revenues in lease, and as the highest bidder at public auction – was awarded the lease. Besides Francis, he also brought in Michael Semjunić and Jacob Nikolinić, with whom he concluded a partnership (*societas*) on 26 July of that year.³⁵

Over the next decade, Francis's ties with the Goniribić family, which belonged to the town's wealthier citizenry, grew ever closer in business and increasingly intimate on a personal level, ultimately culminating in marriage. At the very end of 1447, Francis decided to marry Cvita, daughter of the stonemason Disin Goniribić, brother of the aforementioned Ser Lawrence, and on 29 December a marriage contract was concluded between the parties, stipulating that the wedding was to be celebrated within two weeks. As his daughter's dowry, Disin promised five hundred *libre* in goods, movable property, and cash, as well as a vineyard of about three *gonjaj* (2542.5–2553.75 m²) at a place called Kameno Gumno in Donje Polje, and a garden located outside Šibenik.³⁶

35 This information appears in the document dated 30 December 1440, which records the settling of accounts between the said partners for the previous two years, i.e., 1439 and 1440. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. b, fol. 1v-2r (box 11/I).

36 On the same occasion, the deadlines for paying the dowry were fixed: the sum of three hundred *libre*, together with the said vineyard and garden, was to be delivered at the time of the wedding,

At the time of the wedding, Francis lived in a rented house in the very centre of the town, owned by the late Ser Nicholas Bono from Venice, a citizen and resident of Šibenik. It was a house with a warehouse next to the Count's Palace (*positam Sibenici penes palatium comitatis Sibenici*), which Francis had leased on 1 April 1444 from Ser Simon Ljubić, lessee of the real-estate revenues of the children and heirs of the said Nicholas Bono, at four ducats per year for the house and sixteen *libre* for the warehouse.³⁷ Since the lease was to last as long as Simon's (*pro toto tempore sue conducte*), and as that lease was renewed to the same lessee, a new five-year lease between the parties was concluded on 30 April 1449, to begin on 24 August of the same year.³⁸ In addition to the house itself – now specified as being located in the area of the Butchers' Gate, opposite the Count's Palace (*in contrata porte becharie ex opposito palatii comitati Sibenici*) – and the warehouse, this time Francis also rented a shop on the ground floor of the house, as well as two small houses with a shop, one situated behind the said house and the other inhabited by “a poor widow named Ostoja” (*quedam paupercula vidua vocata Ostoya*). Accordingly, the annual rent was higher than before, amounting to sixty-seven *libre* in Venetian denars.³⁹ Only a few months later, on 7 November, Francis purchased from Anthony Poljišić of Šibenik a shop with a portico (*vnam stationem siue apothecam <muratam in volto>*) in the area of the Great Land Gate, above which was the dwelling of Stana Rakovčeva.⁴⁰

while the remaining two hundred *libre* were to be paid within two years, in instalments of one hundred *libre* each. The penalty for breach was set at one hundred ducats – practically identical to the agreed dowry. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 1, fol. 3v-4r (box 11/VI,); Tonija Andrić, Ante Birin, “The Middle-Class Entrepreneurial Elite in Šibenik and Split (15th Century),” *Povijesni prilozi* 56 (2019), 114; Ante Birin, “Poduzetnička elita srednjovjekovnoga Šibenika” [The entrepreneurial elite of medieval Šibenik], *Juraj* 11 (2022), 24. The said dowry was paid to Francis only on 14 July 1449, when, instead of the promised three hundred, he received two hundred and eighty *libre*. On the same day, Master Disin also promised to pay Francis one hundred and seventy-eight *libre* and two soldi in settlement of a certain debt and for balancing mutual accounts; this latter debt did not include the outstanding dowry balance of two hundred and twenty *libre*. Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Bonmatej iz Verone*, 236-239, doc. 132 and 133.

37 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. II, fol. 99v-100r (box 11/IV); Birin, “Poduzetnička elita,” 24.

38 After the expiry of the first five-year lease, Simon Ljubić, as the best bidder, was again allocated the said lease of revenues from the properties of the late Nicholas Bono and his wife Veronica; this is recorded in a document drawn up by the municipal chancellor Ser Anthony Campolongo on 5 January 1449. Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Bonmatej iz Verone*, 76-77, doc. 22.

39 Ibidem.

40 As stated in the sales contract, Anthony Poljišić purchased this shop on 21 June 1433 at an auction of the estate of the late smith Martin of Šibenik; the document was drawn up by the then Šibenik chancellor, Ser Indricus de Indrico. HR-DAŠI-263/ Rafael Ferro (1448-1454), vol. c, fol. 173r-173v (box 13). Among the thirty-eight preserved documents that make up the modest corpus of this chancellor and notary, the auction deed of 1433 has also survived by chance; it reveals that the smith Martin was in fact Martin Stančić and that he lived in the apartment

This shop is also mentioned in a contract three years later, dated 27 January 1452, in which, when describing the boundaries of two shops belonging to Ser Thomas Mišić, it is stated that they are located at Punta in the area of the Great Gate, bounded on two sides by public streets and by the hereditary court (courtyard) of the late Gregory Gracia and the shop of Ser Francis the Florentine.⁴¹

The said Ser Thomas Mišić, together with Ambrose Mihetić, was a guardian of Michael, son of the late John Tišković, whose property included a warehouse that Francis at some point leased from Michael's late grandfather Stephen for five years. On 24 May 1451, he paid the guardian fourteen libre and thirteen soldi in full settlement of the rent.⁴²

The business circle of this Tuscan financier – who in the records is sometimes simply called Francis the Florentine (*ser Franciscus Florentinus*)⁴³ – was quite broad and, as we shall see, included not only his Goniribić in-laws but also members of the most prominent patrician families such as the Šižgorić, the Vrančić, and the Jurić, as well as other notable newcomers like Ser Indricus de Indrico from Venice and Ser Leonard, son of Victor, from Siena, who, like him, found a new home in Šibenik. As for his business activities, the surviving documents show that Francis had little interest in investing in landed property and agricultural production; instead, he placed his capital in leasing profitable municipal and ecclesiastical imposts and revenues.

Thus, in the 1440s Francis participated in several leases, sometimes as the principal lessee and sometimes as a partner. Besides the aforementioned lease of the impost on the municipal mills, he also took part in the lease of the municipal dues of the island of Murter and in that of the revenues of the Abbey of St Nicholas. After the beginning of 1442, when the municipal dues of the island of Murter (*datio comunis insule Mortarii*) were granted on a five-year lease to the aforementioned Ser Indricus, he took Francis Aldobrandi as his partner and, on 7/8 May, transferred to him half of his rights in that lease.⁴⁴ He did the same several months later when he obtained on a six-year lease the revenues of the Abbey of St Nicholas

later occupied by the aforementioned Stana Rakovčeva. Also noteworthy are the names of the owners of adjacent properties, which show how their ownership changed over time. Ante Birin, "Šibenski bilježnici – Indricus de Indricis (1431.-1434.)" [Šibenik's notaries: Indricus de Indricis (1431-1434)], *Povijesni prilozi* 44 (2013), 119-120, doc. 16.

41 HR-DAŠI-263/ Rafael Ferro, vol. e, fol. 114r (box 13).

42 With the guardians' consent, the said amount was paid to Michael's stepfather, Ser Bartholomew Šporčić, to cover his maintenance. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale (1451-1470), vol. a, fol. 46v-47r (box 16/I).

43 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. a, fol. 20r (box 16/I).

44 This lease, as noted in the document itself, was entered in the municipal cadastre on 15 February, on p. 37, and the annual rent for the impost amounted to 213 ducats. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. c, fol. 96r-96v (box 11/I).

in the port of Šibenik (*introituum abbatae sancti Nicolai de portu Sibenici*). On 4 August, he again transferred half his rights to Francis and, on the same occasion, ceded to him half of his ship and shipping gear, which he had just purchased for twenty-two ducats.⁴⁵

Why Indricus – formerly Šibenik’s chancellor and notary – suddenly decided at the end of that year to leave the town where he had founded a family (and to which he would eventually return) cannot be determined on the basis of extant evidence.⁴⁶ It is known, however, that in preparation for his departure, he transferred to his partner Francis, on 8 December, all his rights in the said leases.⁴⁷ Since participation by several persons in leases was a common practice to reduce investment costs and risks, Francis in turn took as his partner his close friend Lawrence Goniribić, to whom he transferred half of his rights by oral agreement, which was later formally confirmed by a notarial document on June 18, 1443.⁴⁸

As lessees of the produce and revenues of the Abbey of St Nicholas, the two partners are also recorded at the end of that year and in middle of the following one: on 29 November 1443, and on 13 May 1444, when they paid a portion of the lease to Abbot Jacob Mihetić.⁴⁹ Acting as lessees to whom the municipal dues of the island of Murter had been transferred (*tanquam conductores cessionarii*

45 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. d, fol. 115r-115v (box 11/I); Birin, “Poduzetnička elita,” 24. Although this contract did not state the annual amount, other instruments show it was 118 ducats. See, for example: HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. i, fol. 269v-270r (box 11/I).

46 Throughout 1442, Indricus is regularly described in the notarial records as a resident of the city, and nothing in his activities suggested he planned to leave – especially since on 1 October, his father-in-law, Ser Stephen Tišković, granted him the use of a house he owned in the area of St Gregory for seven years. While at the very beginning of the following year he is still referred to as a resident, by spring he is mentioned only as currently residing in the city (*ad presens habitator Sibenici, ad presens existens Sibenici*), and in the second half of the year he is routinely called “formerly a resident of Šibenik” (*olim habitator Sibenici*). Indeed, a document of 26 May 1443, explicitly states that it was issued after permission had been obtained from the bishop “because of the feast and because of the departure of the below-named Ser Indricus, who on that day was to leave Šibenik for good” (*propter diem festum et propter recessum ser Indrici infrascripti qui eo die recessurus erat omnino de Sibenico*). Without analysing the possible reasons for this step, it should be noted that by early 1446 at the latest, Indricus had returned to Šibenik. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. d, fol. 141r, 142r-142v; vol. f, fol. 116v-117r, 132v (box 11/I); Fran and Peter Serenis (1441-1443), fol. 159r (box 12); HR-BAS-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. fol. 59-59*, 67-67*, 107r-107v (box 2). More on Ser Indricus in: Birin, “Šibenski bilježnici – Indricus de Indricis (1431.-1434.),” 91-94; Andrić, Birin, “The Middle-Class Entrepreneurial Elite,” 110-113; Birin, “Poduzetnička elita,” 23-24.

47 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. f, fol. 138v-139v (box 11/I).

48 Ibidem.

49 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. i, fol. 269v-270r (box 11/I); vol. 3, fol. 123v (box 11/IV).

dati comunis insule Mortarii), on 27 April 1446, with the rector's permission, they subleased to Matthew, son of Michael Kučilić, and to George Zukorović – both from Murter – two vineyards in the Murter area: Matthew's, three *gonjaj* in size (2542.5-2553.75 m²), was located on the outcrop of the islet of Vinik (*positam in scopulo dicte insule Vinnich*), while George's, half that size, was situated on the island itself, in Opatovo Polje (*positam in dicta insula in campo abbatis*).⁵⁰

Besides the municipal impost on the mills and the dues of Murter, Francis also held during the 1440s the lease of the municipal impost on the butchery and the fish market (*datii comunis becarie et piscarie Sibenici*), since on 15 July 1448 he bought from Ser Dionisius Giustiniani from Venice, a citizen of Šibenik, all his rights and shares in the one-year lease of that impost, which Dionisius had acquired at public auction two days earlier.⁵¹ For his partner in this lucrative lease, whose annual rent amounted to 645 ducats, Francis then, on 24 July, took Ser Anthony, son of the late George Šižgorić, a member of one of Šibenik's most eminent patrician families, to which the then bishop George (1436-1453) also belonged.⁵²

Given that fact, it seems no mere coincidence that two months later, on 21 September, Francis was granted a five-year lease of all the yields and revenues of the Šibenik diocese – that is, the yields and revenues of wine, grain, olives, the tithe, and salt pans (*de vini, biauue, oliue, decime e saline*) – at a price of 300 ducats as annual rent. His surety was none other than Ser Anthony Šižgorić,⁵³ whom he then took as a partner, transferring to him half of his rights. When Anthony soon died unexpectedly, without having made a will, his half for the remaining three years of the lease was sold at public auction on 28 May 1451, to Ser Jacob Jurić for 150 ducats, i.e., half the annual rent.⁵⁴

The only two mentions of vineyards belonging to him indicate that Francis was not at all inclined to purchase farmland or invest in agricultural production. One of these vineyards lay in the Vodice area (*in contracta Vodiciarum*),⁵⁵ and the other on the island of Murter, at a place called Paprana (*in insula predicta in loco*

50 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 93v-94r (box 2).

51 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 3, fol. 132v (box 11/VI); Birin, "Poduzetnička elita," 24.

52 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 3, fol. 135r-135v (box 11/VI); Birin, "Poduzetnička elita," 25. A third partner in this lease was Ser Luke, son of Ser John Vrančić, who is mentioned in that capacity less than a year later, on May 14, 1449. Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Bonmatej iz Verone*, 93-94, doc. 33.

53 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 4, fol. 168v-170r (box 11/VI).

54 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. a, fol. 48r-48v (box 16/I).

55 This vineyard is mentioned in 1451 in the description of the boundaries of a vineyard that Šibenik's notary Christopher, son of the late Andrew of Venice, bought from the Šibenik resident George Vukasović. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. a, fol. 20r (box 16/I).

vocato Paprana).⁵⁶ The latter, which Francis bought on 12 September 1446, from John Štrkljić of Murter for fifty-one libre of denars, he had no intention of keeping. Everything suggests a fictitious sale in which the vineyard served only as security for some claim unknown to us. Accordingly, on the same day Francis granted the vineyard back to its former owner for his use, with an option to repurchase – which the latter did on 25 October 1447.⁵⁷

Other surviving notices of Francis the Florentine's business activity concern chiefly wholesale trade, and it is clear that the goods he dealt in came from his share of the leases he held. Thus, on 31 March 1446, the apothecary Mark, son of the late Paul Kolunić, a resident of Šibenik, bought from Francis sixty *stari* of wheat (1041.48-1249.8 litres) and forty *stari* of barley (694.32-833.2 litres), promising to pay him, by the end of September, 222 libre in Venetian denars.⁵⁸

One of the products he traded was hides, as shown by a promissory note of 16 March, 1448, in which two partners – Ser Saracen, son of Nicholas, and Ser John, son of the late Ser Cvitko Tavelić – undertook to pay Francis 285 ducats, two libre, and six soldi for goods received, namely 1,817 sheep hides (*montoninarum*) and 5,911 libre of tallow (*sepi*).⁵⁹

At the same time, together with Anthony Šižgorić and Lucas Vrančić as partners, he also dealt in wholesale cheese. From them, on 3 September 1448, Radivoj Milgostić of Šibenik purchased the considerable quantity of ten *miljar* (476 kg) of cheese at ten ducats per *miljar*, undertaking to pay Francis and his partners forty ducats by Shrovetide (*carnis priuium*) of the following year in full settlement for the cheese, which he had received from Francis himself.⁶⁰

Naturally, Francis's range also included wine, Šibenik's most important export commodity. To carry one consignment of his wine to Venice and sell it there, he, together with Ser Jacob Jurić, concluded on 18 August 1452, a contract with Veselko Božičev (Natalis) of Šibenik, captain and co-owner of a *barcusium*, who promised that, upon returning from a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loreto (*de uiaatico sancte*

56 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 172v (box 2).

57 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 173r-173v (box 2).

58 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 75v-76r (box 2). Calculations of the amount of grain were done based on the size of the Šibenik *star*, which equalled 17,358 litres (struck) or 20,83 litres (heaped). Josip Kolanović, "Šibenski metrološki sustav u XV. stoljeću" [Šibenik's meteorological system in the 15th century], *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994), 200.

59 The debtors undertook to pay half of the said amount by 8 May and the other half by the end of June. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 1, fol. 48r-48v (box 11/VI); Birin, "Poduzetnička elita," 25.

60 Radivoj did in fact pay this amount, but with a slight delay, on May 14 of the following year, as a marginal note on the promissory document shows. HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun Campolongo, vol. 4, fol. 159v-160r, box 11/VI. As a unit of weight, a *miljar* equalled one thousand libre. Kolanović, "Šibenski metrološki sustav," 196.

Marie de Loreto), he would place himself at their disposal, load his vessel with their wine, take it to Venice, and remain there until it was sold, for which he was to receive freight of ten libre and five soldi per amphora of wine. A month later, however, on 20 September, the contract was rescinded (*retractantes de comunis concordio suprascriptum nabullatum*).⁶¹

It is also of interest to note the names of some of Francis's employees. One was his brother-in-law Gregory, evidently still a minor in the late 1440s, since the contract of 14 May 1449 – by which Francis promised to pay him everything due for the time spent in his service and by which Gregory pledged to serve him until the end of October 1452 – was signed on his behalf by his father, Master Disin.⁶² From the same year date contracts with two other employees. In the first case, it was with Michael, son of the late Mark of Šibenik, whom Francis hired on March 13 to manage his affairs, both in town and outside it (*facere et exercere omnia facta et negotia dicti ser Francisci tamen in civitate quam extra civitatem*), for a three-year wage of seventy-five libre in total.⁶³ Only a month later, Francis empowered Michael to act for him in collecting all debts owed by any of his debtors.⁶⁴ In the second case, it was a youth of lawful age (*iuuenis legitime etatis*), Veselko, son of the late George Slinarić, with whom Francis concluded a contract on 21 July. Although his exact duties are not specified, the agreed three-year wage of twenty ducats shows he was no mere domestic servant.⁶⁵

Noting that the Šibenik notarial records contain many further references to Francis Aldobrandi – who frequently appears as a witness to various legal acts – we should say a few words about his family. At the beginning of 1448, he married Cvita, daughter of the stonemason Disin Goniribić. As appears from his will made four years later, on 24 April 1452, he had two daughters with her, Margaret and Polyxena. Weakened by illness (*corpore impotens*) and fearing death, Francis left numerous legations to the town's principal churches for the salvation of his soul;⁶⁶ to his wife Cvita he left 200 libre to dispose of freely; and to his

61 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 3, fol. 106v-107r (box 16/I); Birin, "Poduzetnička elita," 25.

62 A marginal note to this contract records that it was annulled on April 8, 1451 – before the end of the agreed term of service – possibly at the initiative of the young Gregory, who declared he had been fully satisfied as to the wages due to him. The fact that he personally rescinded the contract previously concluded on his behalf by his father indirectly shows that in the meantime he had evidently reached majority and legal capacity. Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Bonmatej iz Verone*, 91-93, doc. 32.

63 HR-DAŠI-263/ Rafael Ferro, vol. e, fol. 118v (box 13).

64 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 2, fol. 66r-66v (box 16/I).

65 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 2, fol. 97v (box 16/I).

66 Francis's most generous legations, of fifty libre each, were left to the cathedral church of St James and to the *fabbrica* of the church of St Francis; he left twenty-five libre each to the church of St

daughters Margareth and Polyxena he left all his movable and immovable goods, stipulating how these were to be divided on the death of one or both daughters. He appointed as executors of his will Jacob Jurić and Lucas Vrančić, his close friends and business partners, and named his wife Cvita as guardian of the children. Recovering soon afterwards, however, Francis annulled this will at the end of October of the same year.⁶⁷

Francis the Florentine died nearly twenty years after his arrival in Šibenik, and all his property was inherited by Cvita, who on 15 January 1457, acknowledged having received all the furnishings and real estate listed in the inventory of her late husband's goods; her relatives Anthony and Gregory Goniribić were appointed guardians of their children.⁶⁸

... et ser *Leonardus de Senis*

One of Francis's business partners was his fellow Tuscan, the aforementioned apothecary Leonard, son of the late Victor, son of Andrew, from Siena (*Leonardus condam Victorii Andree de Senis aromatarius, Leonardus condam Victoris de Siena Tuscie aromatarius Sibenici, Leonardus de Senis speciarius salariatus comunis Sibenici*). He arrived in Šibenik at least ten years after Francis, since his first known mention dates from 1446. It was likely that very year that Leonard came to Šibenik, where on 2 September he concluded a contract with the municipal apothecary Ser Jacob Nikolinić, who took him on as manager and assistant in his pharmacy (*pro suo factore speciario et seruitiale acceptanti in statione sue speciarie*). In fact, Leonard had already been working in that pharmacy for a few months – apparently since 26 July, from which date the three-year term of his service was to run under the contract. Leonard undertook to serve in Jacob's shop as a good and competent apothecary (*bonum et sufficientem aromatarium pro statione dicti ser Iacobi*) and if he failed to do so, Jacob had the right to dismiss him and hire another apothecary. Jacob likewise reserved that right in the event that magister Peter from Apulia (*magister Petrus aromatarius de Apulea*), an apothecary who had previously worked for him and whose departure had forced him to seek a replacement, returned to Šibenik and

Dominic and to the *fabricae* of the church of the Holy Cross on Krapanj and St Lazarus outside Šibenik. He also directed the executors of his last will to choose as many as six persons who, for the salvation of his soul, would go on pilgrimage to the shrines he named. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. a, fol. 18v-19r (box 16/II).

67 The content of the note annulling the will, entered at the foot of the page of the notarial book of *imbreviature*, beneath the will, is largely illegible due to damage caused by moisture. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. a, fol. 18v-19r (box 16/I).

68 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. d, fol. 4r-4v (box 16/IV).

chose to resume work in his shop. During the agreed three-year term, Leonard was obliged to serve both in the pharmacy and outside it, for which he was to receive sixteen ducats as annual wages. If at any time during that term he fell ill and could not work, the time spent on sick leave was to be made up once he recovered.⁶⁹

Less than two years later, on 22 June 1448, this contract was annulled by mutual consent.⁷⁰ The precise circumstances are unclear, but it may be inferred that Leonard sought to command better pay for his knowledge and skill. It is in this light that one might view the partnership contract he concluded with Francis Aldobrandi early in the following year, on 4 February, which will be discussed in detail below.

During the period of the company, Leonard, like Francis, married a local woman – Lucia, daughter of Jurko Tvrtković from Šibenik. Under the marriage contract of 9 November 1451, the wedding was to take place within three months, i.e., by Shrovetide of the following year, on which occasion Jurko was to pay a dowry of four hundred libre to Leonard. The contract also established a joint household (*societas mansionis*): the couple pledged to come and live in Jurko's house. Any property acquired in common was to be divided so that one third would belong to Jurko and his heirs, and two thirds to Leonard and his heirs.⁷¹

If that joint household ever came into being, it was short-lived. On 7 September 1452, Leonard took on a ten-year lease from Ser Cyprian, son of Ser Nicholas Divnić and his procurator, of a house belonging to Nicholas; its exact location is not given, but a later document suggests it stood in the area of St Chrysogonus.⁷² Besides the house itself, Leonard leased a large shop on its ground floor; there was also a smaller shop and an oil mill there, which were not included in this lease. The annual rent, to begin on 1 July 1453, was eighty-five libre.⁷³ Just a few months before the planned move into the leased house, on 19 March, Leonard engaged as

69 HR-BAŠ-18/1, BK, Antun Campolongo, vol. F 2, fol. 167v-168r (box 2).

70 Ibidem.

71 HR-DAŠI-263/ Rafael Ferro, vol. e, fol. 97v-98r (box 13).

72 In the lease contract itself, the area in which the house stood is not named, only its boundaries are described, namely that it was bounded by the houses of Ser Raphael Dragojević, Ser Nicholas Draganic, and Disman Slavogostić, and by a public and a side street (*apud domum ser Raphaelis Dragoeuich, iuxta domum ser Nicolai Draganich, penes domum ser Dismani Slauogostich, iuxta uiam publicam et secus uiam uicinalem*). HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 3, fol. 134v (box 16/1). However, from a sale contract a few years later, dated 4 July 1457, in which Leonard's house is cited as a boundary marker, it is clear that it was located in the area of St Chrysogonus (*in vna domo posita Sibenici in contrata sancti Grisogoni iuxta uiam publicam a duabus partibus, iuxta domum ser Leonardii de Senis aromatarii Sibenici et iuxta furnum ser Nicolai Draganich et iuxta alios suso confines*). HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije (1457-1484), vol. a, fol. 36r-37r (box 18/I).

73 It is worth noting that the lease contained a clause providing for the immediate termination of the tenancy in the event of Leonard's death. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 3, fol. 134v (box 16/I).

a maid Cvita, a ten-year-old daughter of Rose, widow of the late Gregory from Bosnia – her service, not coincidentally, was also contracted for ten years.⁷⁴

Comparing the business activities of Francis the Florentine and Leonard of Siena, it becomes obvious that the latter took far fewer leases of revenues and imposts, and those he was involved in were by value incomparably smaller than his Florentine compatriot's. Leonard appears as lessee in only three cases known so far. The first concerned a five-year lease, taken on 28 June 1452, of the goods of the nun Radica, daughter of Peter Tolimerić living in the convent of St Catherine, at an annual rent of thirty-five libre.⁷⁵ The only municipal impost in which Leonard was involved as lessee was the dye-house impost (*datio tinctorie*), which, as shown by a document of 11 August 1457, he leased together with his partners Ser Paul Radeljić (Radelić) and John, son of Simon, from Šibenik.⁷⁶ In the third instance, Leonard appears as lessee of the revenues of the monastery of the Holy Saviour; in that capacity, on 16 February 1464, he paid Master Martin Radigostić, protomaster of the caulkers, twenty libre as part of the full sum of sixty-one libre and four small soldi owed as compensation for an infringement of property rights concerning a wall located between the protomaster's house and that of the nuns.⁷⁷

In line with his means, Leonard, unlike Francis, invested more in agricultural production, chiefly viticulture, as several preserved documents show. In two cases he bought existing vineyards: one, purchased on 18 January 1454, from Mark Ripa of Šibenik for twenty-five libre, lay on the island of Zlarin;⁷⁸ the other, bought on 25 February 1459 from Ser Lawrence Mišić and Master George Kopešić, a caulker, judges of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Šibenik, for forty libre of small

74 At the conclusion of the contract, Leonard paid Cvita's brother John, with the permission of their mother and Cvita's other brother George, the sum of three libre; upon expiry of the agreed period of service, Cvita herself was to receive forty-seven libre as wages and a list of specified garments. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. c 1, fol. 35r (box 16/I). On the wages of underage maidservants in late medieval Šibenik, see: Ante Birin, "I servi nella Sebenico medievale: persone, relazioni, migrazioni," in *Uomini e donne dello Stato da mar e altri contributi. Atti dell'11° convegno internazionale Venezia e il suo Stato da mar, Venezia, 23-25 febbraio 2023*, ed. Bruno Crevato-Selvaggi (Rome: Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, 2024), 411-414.

75 Before taking vows, Radica donated all her movable and immovable goods to her kinswoman (*sui germani*) Margareth, wife of Radoslav Šoštranić (!) of Šibenik; after taking vows, Margareth returned the same goods to her while retaining the right to sell their revenues until Radica's convent dowry had been paid in full. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b 2, fol. 92v (box 16/I).

76 On that occasion, the said trio concluded a contract with Master Jacob, son of the late Stojan, a dyer, whom they hired for five years to work in the said dye-house at an annual wage of one hundred and sixty libre, the employers being obliged to provide all necessities for the operation of the dye-house. HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije, vol. a, fol. 42r-42v (box 18/I).

77 HR-DAŠI-263/ Ilija Banjvarić, vol. e, fol. 34r-34v (box 17/I).

78 Besides the grapevines, this sale also included a house located within the same vineyard. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. d, fol. 8r (box 16/1).

denars, was located in Čelopek.⁷⁹ In addition to these vineyards, Leonard owned at least two more – one in Vodice and another in nearby Sovlje – mentioned in boundary descriptions in other sale deeds from 1457 and 1470, respectively.⁸⁰

When it comes to other real estate, it is also known that Leonard owned a garden located above the road leading toward Crnica, above the place called Luka (*vnum ortum positum super uia qua iturad Cermnizam supra locum uocatum Lucha*), which he bought on 5 March 1456 from Lucas Matijašević, a butcher from the Šibenik suburb, for thirty-six libre.⁸¹

A whole series of notarial files attest to the lively business activity of the newcomer from Siena; only a few examples will be mentioned here. Some cases concern retail sales from his shop, as shown by mentions of Jacob Bolješić, a resident of Šibenik, who on 23 January 1454 promised to pay Leonard sixteen libre for certain goods he had purchased from him,⁸² and Marica, widow of the late Disman Hrepić, who on 11 October 1457, for the same reason, promised to settle her debt of eleven ducats within a year.⁸³

Other cases concern wholesale transactions, whether of goods Leonard purchased or sold. Thus, for example, on 28 February of the same year, Ser Michael Lavčić bought from Leonard 1,600 sheep hides (*pellibus montoninis*) at a price of forty-two libre per *centenarium*, i.e., for a total of six hundred and seventy-two libre of denars, payable by the end of October.⁸⁴ Conversely, on 20 February 1470, Leonard bought from Ser Simon Divnić one hundred *modii* of wine (4,292–5,365 litres) for a total of two hundred libre,⁸⁵ while four months later, on 24 June, he bought from Ser George and Ciprian Dobrojević a larger quantity of wheat, for which

79 Unlike the previous vineyard, whose size is not stated in the deed, this vineyard – laid out on communal land – measured about two *gonjaj* (1,695–1,702.5 m²), and the sale also encompassed the adjoining cove. HR-DAŠI-263/ Ilija Banjvarić (1457–1467), vol. a, fol. 200v–201r (box 17/I).

80 HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije, vol. a, fol. 54v (box 18/I); Ante Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Juraj de Dominicis (1469.–1470.) = Notai di Sebenico – Giorgio de Dominicis (1469–1470)* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018), 313–314, doc. 217.

81 With Luke's consent, Leonard was to pay the said amount to Master Nicholas Dragišić, a caulker of Šibenik, to whom Luke evidently owed a sum. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. c, fol. 53r (box 16/IV).

82 As security for the payment, Jacob pledged a garden of his, containing twenty olive trees, situated above Vrulje (*vnum suum ortum positum super Vrulis*); if the debt was not settled within the agreed deadline of one month, Leonard was entitled to put it up for auction immediately. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. d, fol. 13r (box 16/I).

83 HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije, vol. a, fol. 50r (box 18/1).

84 A marginal note to this contract records that the debt was settled on 26 November. HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. d, fol. 22v (box 16/IV). As a unit of weight, one *centenarium* equalled one hundred libre. Kolanović, "Šibenski metrološki sustav," 196.

85 Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Juraj de Dominicis*, 164, doc. 94.

he owed one hundred and seventy libre.⁸⁶ At the end of October that same year, magister Mark of Split, the municipal surgeon, bought from Leonard sixty-three *modii* of wine (2,704–3,380 litres) for one hundred and twenty-six libre – identical, for comparison, to the price (two libre per *modium*) at which Leonard had earlier purchased wine from Divnić.⁸⁷

In the meantime, during the 1450s, Leonard, together with Master Lucian, a barber-surgeon, and Master George Petrović, a tailor, ran a lime kiln, as evidenced by a deed of 13 August 1457.⁸⁸ On that day, George Petrović transferred his share in that lime kiln, located on the island of Žirje (*vnam calcariam ad insula Zuri*), to Leonard, who in return undertook, at his own expense, to deliver to Ser Simon Tavelić 250 *modii* of unmixed lime (*non impastate*).⁸⁹

When Leonard died is unknown; his last appearances in the sources are in 1470, when on 15 December he is found as a witness in a procuration,⁹⁰ and at the beginning of 1471, when on 22 February, in his pharmacy (*Actum Sibenici in apoteca Leonardi Victoris*), the tailor Cvitan Budačević, a resident of Šibenik, declared himself a debtor of George Radoslavčić, parish priest in the village of Grebaštica.⁹¹

Sotietas ser Francisci de Florentia cum Leonardo de Senis aromatario

At the beginning of 1449, on 4 February, the two Tuscan newcomers – Francis of Florence and Leonard of Siena – concluded a partnership for running a pharmacy and a shop (*per far vna botega de speciaria e trafficho de compagna*) in Šibenik, or in another location at Francis's will and decision. The contract was to take effect that very day and last three years, with a clause allowing unilateral extension for a further two years should Francis so wish, in which case Leonard was obliged to continue working (Art. 1).

Francis's principal role in the company stemmed from the fact that the parties did not contribute equal capital. Francis invested two hundred and fifty ducats, while Leonard contributed only fifty, of which he paid twenty immediately and was to pay the remainder at his partner's request. Only upon full payment was Francis to enter Leonard as a creditor in the accountancy book (*libro della cassa*) (Art. 2).

86 Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Juraj de Dominicis*, 276–277, doc. 186.

87 Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Juraj de Dominicis*, 342–343, doc. 242.

88 HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije, vol. a, fol. 43r (box 18/I).

89 HR-DAŠI-263/ Kristofor pok. Andrije, vol. a, fol. 43v (box 18/I).

90 Birin, *Šibenski bilježnici – Juraj de Dominicis*, 367–368, doc. 264.

91 HR-DAŠI-263/ Antun de Martinis (1461–1488), vol. b 2, fol. 2v (box 19).

Since partners with a smaller capital share contributed their labour to the company, Leonard was bound to work exclusively in the said pharmacy and shop in Šibenik (or wherever Francis decided), and in no other, whether for himself or for anyone else. He undertook to perform his work well and diligently, without fraud, duly keeping all the records and books of the pharmacy, both in times of plague and otherwise. Francis, for his part, was responsible for maintaining the accounting records (*quaderno della cassa*), in which all receipts from sales were to be entered (Art. 3).

As an assistant in the pharmacy, Francis designated his brother-in-law Gregory, who was to carry out whatever the partners ordered “for the need and benefit of the said pharmacy and company.” Should Gregory refuse, Leonard was obliged to find a new assistant, comparable to Gregory, whose selection had to meet with Francis’s approval; Francis undertook that the entire wage cost of the assistant would be paid from his personal funds, not from the company’s assets (Art. 4).

The partners further agreed to keep a chest with two keys in the pharmacy, one held by Francis and the other by Leonard. The day’s takings of the pharmacy and shop were to be placed in this chest and counted every fifteen days – more or less, at the partners’ discretion – and handed to Francis with a receipt. He was to enter the amount in the book of accounts, which was to be kept in the same chest as the takings. The book could be removed only when the takings were counted and entered, when Francis needed to make a payment related to the business, or when the partners wished to review their accounts (Art. 5).

Apart from keeping the accounting records, Francis was not obliged to attend to any other matters concerning the operation of the pharmacy and shop (Art. 6).

Anything Francis might do outside the company – whether for himself or for others, using his own or others’ money and goods – belonged solely to him, provided it did not involve the pharmacy’s or shop’s money or goods (Art. 7).

All profit, as well as any loss arising from the operation of the pharmacy and shop, was to be divided so that one third of the total belonged exclusively to Francis; of the remaining two thirds, Francis was to receive two fifths and Leonard three fifths (Art. 8).

For anything they took from the company, the partners had to enter their names as debtors in the book of accounts in their own hand (Art. 9).

If either partner advanced additional money for the needs of the pharmacy or shop beyond the initial capital, the terms of the partnership applied for as long as that money remained within the company (Art. 10).

If Francis made such an advance, Leonard had to enter him, in his own hand, as a creditor in the book of accounts, and vice versa if Leonard advanced funds (Art. 11).

If, during the term of the partnership, Francis decided to move the business of the pharmacy and shop from Šibenik to another location, Leonard was bound to follow wherever Francis wished, taking with him all the goods, spices, furnishings, and other items belonging to the pharmacy and shop, under the same terms and conditions described above (Art. 12).

The transport costs incurred in moving the pharmacy from Šibenik to the place designated by Francis were to be paid from company funds (Art. 13).

All liabilities incurred on behalf of the pharmacy and shop, in Šibenik or elsewhere, were to be settled on time from company funds; likewise, the partners undertook to collect debts from their debtors promptly (Art. 14).

Finally, the last clause regulated the division of furnishings and goods (*massari-tia e robbe*) remaining at the end of the partnership term. If Francis did not wish to take his share of these items, Leonard was to do so and pay Francis their value in cash. The amount was to be determined by two appraisers, one appointed by Francis and the other by Leonard; if they could not agree, a third person appointed by the Count of Šibenik would be added, and the joint verdict (or that of the two appraisers) would be final and binding (Art. 15).

Although no records have yet been found concerning the operation of this pharmacy, two documents attest to the conclusion of its business. A few days before the agreed term expired, on 31 January 1452, the partners met in Francis Aldobrandi's house; he decided not to extend their three-year partnership, which ended on 3 February, and to take his share of the pharmacy's furnishings and goods, releasing Leonard from the obligations he had in that regard.

Some days later, on 7 February, Francis and Leonard met again at the same location, this time to settle the division of profits and their respective shares. After deducting everything Francis had already received and excluding the pharmacy's debtors - half of whose debts, totalling 625 libre and thirteen soldi, were to belong to Francis - it was determined that goods worth 1,280 libre remained in Leonard's hands from the property subject to division and due to Francis for his outstanding share. Leonard promised to pay Francis or his heirs this sum in three instalments of 426 libre, thirteen soldi, and four *paruuli*, the first within five months from that day. The remaining two instalments were to be paid in the same manner, so that the total debt would be settled within eighteen months. By the following day Leonard was also to provide two suitable guarantors to secure payment. Should he fail to pay the first instalment on time, Francis could demand immediate payment of the entire balance; the same applied in the event of delay of the second or third instalment.

In addition to providing guarantors, on that same day (8 February) Leonard was to draw up two lists of debtors, whose debts - totalling 1,251 libre and six soldi, and recorded in the company's Green Book (*libro viridis*) - were to be divided equally

between him and Francis, and which list each would take was to be decided by casting lots.

The partners further agreed that the voucher due to their pharmacy from the municipal treasury for the previous three months – 2 November 1451 to 1 February 1452 – should go to Francis, while the voucher for the following three months – from 1 February to 1 May 1452 – should go to Leonard.

Although their partnership had ended and Francis had been paid in full, Leonard undertook to keep the pharmacy running for two more years. Francis transferred to Leonard all his rights in the lease of the pharmacy's premises, as of 12 March; Leonard, for his part, was to pay the agreed rent during that time.

On the same occasion, at the request of his son-in-law Leonard, Jurko Tvrtković – who was present at the meeting – was appointed surety for the greater part of Leonard's debt, namely eight hundred libre.⁹²

As agreed, on 8 February, Leonard named a second surety, the municipal physician magister Andrew Iusto (*egregius artium et medicine doctor dominus magister Andreas Iusto physicus salariatus comunis Sibenici*), who undertook to guarantee the remaining 480 libre. In accordance with the agreement, Leonard also drew up two nominal lists of debtors with equal totals; after casting lots, the list assigned to Francis, together with the names of the debtors and the amounts owed, was entered into the deed of execution the agreement (see Appendix 3).

Marginal notes appended to the contract of 7 February indicate that Leonard, in accordance with the agreed deadlines, paid his former partner the entire debt in instalments on 26 July 1452, 5 February 1453, and 11 September 1453.⁹³

Conclusion

The partnership contract concluded on 4 February 1449, in Šibenik between Francis Aldobrandi from Florence and Leonard, son of the late Victor, from Siena is an exceptionally valuable historical document that offers a rare insight into the business models and operation of pharmacies in late medieval Eastern Adriatic communes. Taken together with the instruments terminating and executing the partnership, it provides a model example of how pharmacies were founded, run, and dissolved in that period. The contractual provisions define in minute detail the partners' obligations and rights, as well as the distribution of profits in accordance with the capital invested. Since Francis Aldobrandi contributed five times as much as Leonard to the

92 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b, fol. 22v-23v (box 16/I).

93 HR-DAŠI-263/ Karotus Vitale, vol. b, fol. 23v-25r (box 16/I).

newly founded commercial company (*societas*), it is understandable that he was entitled to a larger share of the profits (60%) and to significantly greater rights, including the option of unilaterally extending the contract and of changing the pharmacy's place of business. Leonard, for his part, as the junior partner and a pharmacist by profession, was responsible for the pharmacy's day-to-day management and routine operations, while Francis was responsible solely for keeping the accounting records. This division of labour – in which one partner supplied capital and the other contributed labour and expertise – was typical of late medieval partnership contracts and allowed for the optimal use of financial and human resources. The clause permitting a possible relocation of the pharmacy from Šibenik to another place at Francis's discretion is particularly interesting, as it attests not only to the mobility of medieval merchants and entrepreneurs but also to their flexibility in adapting to market circumstances. Equally noteworthy is the detail concerning the maintenance of the books of accounts and the storage of daily takings in a chest with two keys, one held by each partner, which ensured transparency and financial control. The deed terminating the partnership and the deed of execution, for their part, offer a unique view of the process of concluding the company's affairs. In sum, the data supplied by these documents provide a detailed picture of how late medieval pharmacies operated and thus contribute to a better understanding of the history of pharmacy in Dalmatia. This study of the Šibenik pharmacy run by Tuscan newcomers is intended as taking a small step in that direction.

Translated by Marina Schumann

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

4 February 1449, Šibenik. Partnership agreement between Ser Francis of Florence and the pharmacist Leonard of Siena. HR-DAŠI-263 / Antun Campolongo, vol. 6, fols. 29r-30v (box 11/VI).

[*Societas ser Francisci de Florentia cum Leonardo de Senis aromatario.*]
 [*Publicatum pro ser Francisco introscripto.*]

Die quarto mensis Februarii 1449, indictione XII^a

Actum Sibenici in cancellaria comunis coram ser Iohanne Tobolouich nobile ciue Sibenici examinatore comunis, presentibus ser Marco Iohannis et ser Iohanne condam Georgii Camenarich nobilibus ciuibus Sibenici testibus.

Ibique io Francesco de Aldobrando de Figneldi de Fiorenza habitadore e cittadino de Šibenico da vna parte et io Leonardo de Victorio da Siena spciale habitadore de Šibenico da laltra parte in nome del Spirito santo facemo compagnia insieme per far vna botega de speciaria e trafficho de compagnia in Šibenico o altroue doue piaxera al dicto Francesco secondo sera notato qui dissoto per anni tre proximi che vignerano che incominzano in questo zorno et subsequenter finira.

E finiti idicti tre anni sel dicto Francesco vora e piacera a lui che la compagnia predicta seguiti per dui altri anni sia tenuto el dicto Leonardo star in la dicta compagnia i dicti dui anni subsequente i predicti anni tre.

<2> Cum questo che mi Francesco si debbo metter in la dicta compagnia per far la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia ducati dusento e cinquanta doro li qual ho messo in la dicta compagnia. El dicto Leonardo die metter in la dicta compagnia per far la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia ducati cinquanta doro di quali lui ha messo in la dicta compagnia ducati vinti doro e lo resto per fina a ducati cinquanta che sum ducati trenta doro die meter ad ogni volunta e piaser del dicto Francesco. E quando el dicto Leonardo metera li dicti ducati trenta doro el dicto Francesco lo fara creditore in libro de la cassa.

<3> E chel dicto Leonardo sia tenuto attendere ala dicta butega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia e non ad altro per se ne per altri in Šibenico odoue piacera al dicto Francesco bene et diligentemente senza fraude. E tenere in ordine scripture e quaderni de la dicta botiga de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita chussi per tempo di peste chome per ogni altro tempo. Saluo chel dicto Leonardo non sia tenuto a tenere el quaderno de la cassa doue si buterano i denari si chauerano de le robe se venderano de la dicta botega di spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita. Loqual quaderno de cassa debo tener mi Francesco soprascritto cum pacti e modi i qual serano qui dessoto notadi.

<4> E mi Francesco prometto meter ala dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita Gregorio mio chugnado per garzone loqual deba attendere ala dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita e far tuto quello li sera comandato da li dicti Francesco e Leonardo soprascritti per bisogno e vtile de la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita. Et se per caxo el dicto Grigorio mio chugnato non volesse attendere ala dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita chel dicto Leonardo sia tenuto atrouare vn garzone simele al dicto Gregorio mio chugnato che piaci a me Francesco soprascritto loqual debba attendere in luoco del dicto Grigorio mio chugnato ala sopradicta botega de⁹⁴ speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita. E tuto quello hara el dicto garzone di salario e tute altre spexe del dicto Gregorio ouer garzone mi Francesco

94 de] cancell. compag[nia].

proprio lo debo pagare del mio e non la compagnia soprascrita.

<5> Et in dicta botega de spiciaria si dobbiamo tenere vna cassa che habi due chiaue. Luna debi tenere mi Francesco e l'altra Leonardo. E tutui i denari se chauerano ala zornata dele robe de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita tuti si debano butare in la dicta cassa. Et in capo de ogni quindexe di o piu o mancho secondo parera al dicto Francesco e al dicto Leonardo soprascritti se debiano chauare i denari de la dicta cassa e contrali e darli per conto al dicto Francesco. El dicto Francesco sia tenuto de assignare dessi denari ala sopradicta compagnia bon conto per vigore de vn quaderno lo qual terrano in la predicta cassa doue buterano li denari farano ale zornate de le robe de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita. Elqual quaderno non si chauera de la dicta cassa se non quando si vora scriuere li denari se darano per conte al dicto Francesco o quando el dicto Francesco hauera a pagare ad alcuno alcuna quantita de denari per bisogno de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita o quando vorano vedere iloro conti.

<6> E chel dicto Francesco non sia tenuto attendere ad altro ala dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita piu che la piazza se non de tenere el quaderno de la cassa de la predicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita.

<7> E tuto quello chel dicto Francesco facesse de fuora via o per se o per altri o de suoi denari od altri o de sua roba od altri non essendo di denari o roba de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita libaramene sia del dicto Francesco proprio.

<8> E di tuto guadagno o predicta che occorrera de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita debia hauere li denari la terza parte. E de lo resto die hauere Francesco i do quinti e Leonardo i tre quinti.

<9> E quello che chauera de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia el dicto Francesco ouer el dicto Leonardo, ognuno di loro si debia far debitore de sua mano in quaderno de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia.

<10> E sel dicto Francesco ouer el dicto Leonardo metesse alguna quantita de denari per bisogno de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita oltra quelli sono messi per el dicto Francesco e quelli che a messo el dicto Leonardo e ha obligato a metter cioe ducati trenta doro si chome di sopra /si contiene/ siano ala conditione di denari dela compagnia soprascrita per quel tempo starano in la dicta compagnia per bisogno de la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita.

<11> E se per caxo metesse el dicto Francesco alguna quantita de danari in la dicta botega de spiciaria e traffico de compagnia el dicto Leonardo lo faci creditore de sua mano in quaderno de la cassa loqual de tenere lo sopradicto Francesco. E sel

dicto Leonardo metesse alguna quantita de danari oltra quello ha messo e che die meter in compagnia chel dicto Francesco lo debi far creditore in dicto quaderno de la cassa de sua mano. Intendendosi i dicti denari siano ala conditione di denari soprascritti per quel tempo starano in la dicta compagnia.

<12> E se fra i dicti anni de sopra che die durare la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia volesse Francesco sopradicto che cum la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia sandasse a far e star in altra terra o luogo che Sibenico che tute le mercadantie e speciaria e robbe e massaritie et ogni altra cossa che apartegnisse ala dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia soprascrita chel dicto Leonardo sia tenuto di andare cum le soprascrite cosse a ogni voluntade e piaxere del dicto Francesco la doue esse vorra a far la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia cum pacti, modi et conditione soprascrite.

<13> E tuto quello si spendera per far condure tute le cosse soprascrite e spexe se farano in quella fiata de la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia da Sibenico al luogo che vora el dicto Francesco si vada a far la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia se debino pagare di denari de la dicta compagnia.

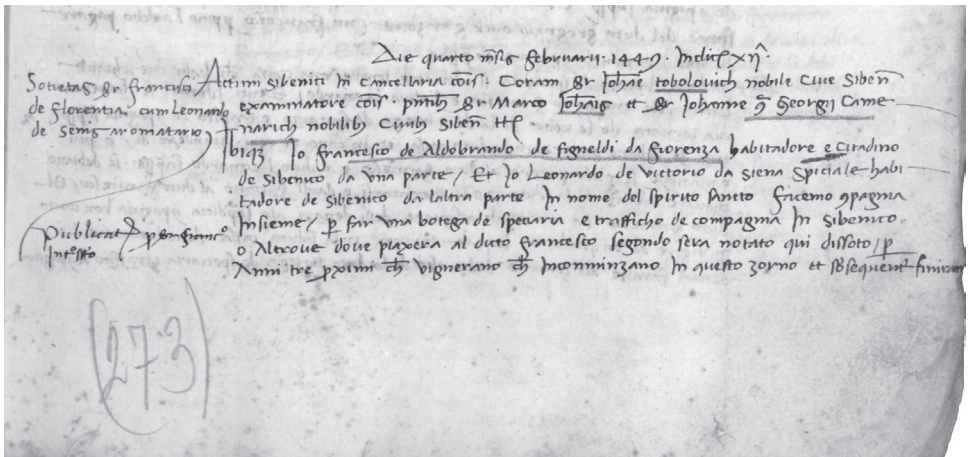
<14> E tuto quello che noi fossemo obligati a Sibenico o in altro luogo per la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia tuto si debi pagare de la dicta compagnia a quel tempo li doueremo dare. Et simele se douesemo hauere da alguna persona.

<15> E al complimeneto de la sopradicta compagnia che sel dicto Francesco non volesse tuore la sua parte de la massaritia e robbe li toharebbe de la dicta botega de speciaria e traffico de compagnia sopradicta chel dicto Leonardo sia tenuto a tuore la parte del dicto Francesco per stima cioe chiamando el dicto Francesco vna persona el dicto Leonardo vn altra. E non si possendo achordare che missier lo conte li debi dar el terzo. E quello che sera stimato per tuti tre ouer per dui dacordo sia fermo e rato. Intendendo massaritie e tute altre robbe pertinente ala botega di speciaria et traffico di compagnia soprascrita. E quello sara stimato el dicto Leonardo debi dare al dicto Francesco in denari contati chome sera stimato.

Quam quidem societatem contractam ut supra et omnia et singula suprascripta inuicem promissa et obligata ut supra predicti ser Franciscus Aldobrandi ex vna parte et Leonardus Victorii ex alia parte sibi ad inuicem solemniter promiserunt se firma et rata habere et tenere, attendere et obseruare et attendi et obseruari facere et non contradicere, non contrafacere uel venire per se uel alios aliqua ratione uel causa de iure uel de facto sub pena quarti pluris omnium peccuniarum supra nominatarum auferenda a parte contrafaciente et obseruare nolente et applicanda ac soluenda parti obseruanti et obseruare volenti totiens quotiens contrafactum fuerit uel ventum in predictis et quolibet predictorum. Et sub obligatione omnium suo-

rum bonorum presentium et futurorum et refectione omnium damnorum, expensarum et interesse litis et extra. Et pena soluta uel non, tamen rata maneant omnia et singula suprascripta. *Ego Iohannes Tobolouich examinatore subscripsy.*

LM^o CCCCLII^o, indictione XV^a, die ultimo Ianuarii. Actum in domo habitationis infra-scripti ser Francisci Aldobrandi, coram ser Dauuid Doymi examinatore comunis, presenti-bus Luciano Andree barbitonsore et Iurgiza Verticeuich caballario comunis habitatoribus Sibenici testibus rogatis. Cum finitis tribus annis societatis contracte inter ser Franciscum Aldobrandi de Figneldis de Florentia et ciuem Sibenici ac inter Leonardum Victorii de Senis habitatorem Sibenici notate in proximo superiori contractu esse in libertate dicti ser Francisci confirmare ad huc ipsam societatem suprascriptam per duos alios annos proxime sequentes predictos annos 3 uti apparet in primo capitulo superioris contractus. Et finita dicta societate se ipse ser Franciscus nolle accipere <partem suam> suppellectilium et rerum apothecae et trafici obligatus esse dictus Leonardus accipere ipsam partem per extimationem uti notatum est in superiori ultimo capitulo contractus dicte societatis. Cumque anni 3 dicte societatis finituri sint die 3 Ianuarii (!) proxime futuris dictus ser Franciscus Aldobrandi dixit ac declarauit quod intendit ipsam societatem finituram esse die 3 Februarii suprascripti et quod non intendit ipsam societatem conseruare ductus (!). Insuper declarauit se uelle accipere et apud se habere partem suam supellectilium et rerum sibi contingentium dicte apothecae speciarie et traffici. Liberans per se suosque heredes suprascriptum Leonardum a duabus suprascriptis obligationibus. Promittensque talem liberationem et absolutionem firmam et ratam habere sub pena quarti pluris eius in quo fuerit contrafactum.]



Et finiti dicti tre anni del dicto Francesco vora e piacere a Lui et la compagnia
 predicta seguiri p' doi altri anni sia tenuto el dicto Leonardo far in la dicta g'pagnia
 idem doi anni subsequente i predicti anni tre
 2. **C**um questo et mi Francesco si debbo meter in la dicta g'pagnia p' far la dicta botega
 de speciarria e traffico de compagna / ducenti ducato e Cinquanta doro Liguat
 ho messo in la dicta g'pagnia / Et dicto Leonardo die meter in la dicta compagna
 p' far la dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia ducenti Cinquanta doro /
 diquali lui ho messo in la dicta g'pagnia ducenti vinti doro / Et lo resto p' fina aducati
 cinquanta et som ducenti trenta doro die meter ad ogni volunta e piafer del
 dicto Francesco / E quando el dicto Leonardo metera la dicta ducenti trenta doro
 el dicto Francesco lo fara Credutoce in libro de la cassa
 3. **E**st el dicto Leonardo sia tenuto attendere ala dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de
 g'pagnia end' ad altro p' se ne p' altri in sibenico odoue piacerea al dicto Francesco
 bone et diligentemente senza fraude / Et tenere in ordine scripturae e qualerun
 de la dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'isti et unti p' tempo di peste
 thome p' ogni altro tempo / Saluo est el dicto Leonardo non sia tenuto a tenere
 el qualeruno de la cassa doue si buerano idenari si chauerano de le robe se
 venderano de la dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'isti / Loqual
 quaderno de cassa debbo tener mi Francesco sop'isto cu' parti e modi iql serano
 qui desotto notati
 4. **E**mi Francesco pmetto meter ala dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de compagna
 sop'ista Gregorio mio chugnato p' garzone / Loqual debba attendere ala dicta
 botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'ista e far tuto quello li sera comandato
 da li dicti Francesco e Leonardo sop'isti p' bisogno e vale de la dicta botega de
 speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'ista / Et se p' caso el dicto Gregorio mio chugnato
 non volesse attendere ala dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'ista / del
 dicto Leonardo sia tenuto accouare un garzone simile al dicto Gregorio mio
 chugnato che p'aci ame Francesco sop'isto / Loqual debba attendere in luoco
 del dicto Gregorio mio chugnato ala sop'ista botega de g'pagnia speciarria e traffico
 de g'pagnia sop'ista / Et tuto quello hara el dicto garzone di salario e tunc altre
 spese del dicto Gregorio ouer garzone / mi Francesco p'prio Lo debbo pagare
 del mio / e non la g'pagnia sop'ista
 5. **E** in dicta / botega de speciarria si dobramo tenere vna cassa et habi due chiuue
 L'una debbi tenere mi Francesco e l'altra Leonardo / Et tuti idenari se chauerano
 ala giornata de le robe de la dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia sop'ista
 tuti se debbano butare in la dicta cassa / et in capo de ogni quindex di / o piu
 o mancho secondo parere al dicto Francesco e al dicto Leonardo sop'isti se debbano
 chauerare idenari de la dicta cassa e contarli e darli p' como al dicto Francesco / Et
 dicto Francesco sia tenuto de assignare dessi denari ala sop'ista g'pagnia bon conto
 p' vigore de vna quaderno loqual termino in la dicta cassa doue buerano Li
 denari farano ale giornate de le robe de la dicta botega de speciarria e traffico de g'pagnia

30

Et qual quadero non si chauerà de la dicta cassa se no quando
 li vorrà fermare li denari se danno p como al dicto francesco o quando
 el dicto francesco huera a pigiare ad alcune alcuna quantà de denari
 p bisogno de la dicta botega de specaria e traffico de gpagna sopra
 o quando vorano vedere loro conti

6. Et hel dicto francesco non sia tenuto attendere ad altro ala dicta
 botega de specaria e traffico de compagnia sopra p in ch la piazza
 se non de tenere el quadero de la cassa de la p ditta botega de specaria
 e traffico de gpagna sopra

7. Et uno quello ch el dicto francesco fuosse de suora via op se op altri
 o de suoi denari od altri / o de sua roba od altri / Non essendo di denari
 o roba / de la dicta botega de specaria e traffico de compagnia sopra
 liberamente sin del dicto francesco p prio

8. Et de uno qualugno o p ditta ch occorrerà de la dicta botega de specaria
 e traffico de compagnia sopra / debia huere li denari La terza parte
 E de lo resto die huere francesco / do quinti E Leonardo / tre
 quinti

9. Et quello ch chauerà de la dicta botega de specaria e traffico de gpagna /
 el dicto francesco ouer el dicto Leonardo / ogugno di loro si debia
 far debitoro de sua mano / In quadero de la dicta botega de specaria
 e traffico de compagnia

10. Et hel dicto francesco ouer el dicto Leonardo / metesse alguna quantita de
 denari p bisogno de la dicta botega de specaria e traffico de gpagna
 sopra / Oua quelli sono messi p el dicto francesco / e quelli ch in messo
 el dicto Leonardo et ha obligato a meter aoe ducati trenta loro si
 chome di sopra / si contiene / Siano ala conditione di denari dela
 compagnia sopra p quel tempo stiano in la dicta gpagna p bisogno
 de la dicta botega de specaria e traffico de compagnia sopra /

Et se p caxo metesse el dicto francesco alguna quantita de denari in la dicta
 botega de specaria e traffico de gpagna / el dicto Leonardo lo faci credutore
 de sua mano in quadero de la cassa lo qual de tenere lo sopradetto
 francesco / Et hel dicto Leonardo metesse alguna quantita de denari / Oua
 quello ha messo e ch die meter in gpagna / el dicto francesco lo debi
 far credutore in dicto quadero de la cassa de sua mano / intendendosi
 i dicti denari siano ala conclusion de denari sopra p quel tempo
 stiano in la dicta gpagna

Et se fra dicti anni de sopra ch die durare la dicta botega de specaria e
 traffico de gpagna / odesse francesco sopradetto ch in la dicta botega
 de specaria e traffico de compagnia simulasse a far e far in altra
 terra o luogo ch Sibenio / ch tute le mercanturie e specaria e
 robbe e massime et ogni altra cosa ch appartenesse ala dicta botega

Appendix 2

7 February 1452, Šibenik. Dissolution of the partnership agreement between Ser Francis Aldobrandi and the pharmacist Leonard of Siena. HR-DAŠI-263 / Karotus Vitale, vol. b, fols. 22v-23v (box 16/I).

[*Conuentio ser Francisci Aldobrandi cum Leonardo de Senis speciario.*]⁹⁵
[*Publicatum.*]

Die 7^o Februarii 1452^o, indictione 15^a

Actum Sibenici in domo habitationis infrascripti ser Francisci Aldobrandi, coram ser Marco condam Iohannis examinatore comunis, presentibus ser Saraceno condam Nicolai ciue Sibenici et magistro Iacobo Dumancussouich barbitonsore de Sibenico testibus rogatis. Cum ser Franciscus Aldobrandi de Figneldis de Florentia ciuis Sibenici ex una parte et Leonardus Victorii de Senis speciarius habitator Sibenici ex altera alias contraxissent inuicem quamdam societatem faciendi unam apothecam speciarie et trafici uti constat instrumento dicte societatis scripto manu ser Antonii Campolongo tunc cancellarii comunis Sibenici in 1449, indictione 12^a, die quarto mensis Februarii et postea finissent ac compleuissent ipsam societatem speciarie et trafici uti constat instrumento scripto manu mei Karoti Vitalis notarii et cancellarii comunis Sibenici in margine sub suprascripto instrumento societatis in presenti millesimo et indictione die ultimo mensis Ianuarii. Inde predictae partes uti ipse retulerunt diuisissent inter se omnes et singulas res pertinentes dicte societati suprascripti ser Franciscus et ser Leonardus ad talem compositionem et conuentionem peruenerunt, videlicet quod calculatis omnibus et singulis rationibus quas dicte partes inuicem habuissent occasione dicte societatis diffalcando totum illud quod dictus ser Franciscus habuisse usque hodiernum de ratione dicte societatis et non computando in dicto calculo debitores dicte apothece et societatis quorum medietatem habere debet dictus ser Franciscus in parte sua qua medietas ascendit ad libras sexcentas vigintiquinque et soldos tresdecim quantum de rebus quae in dicta diuisione contigerunt ipsi ser Francisco pro resto dicte sue partis, remansit tantum in manibus ipsius Leonardi quantum ascendit ad ualorem librarum mille ducentarum octuaginta. Dictus Leonardus promisit per se suosque heredes dare et soluere dicto ser Francisco uel suis heredibus dictas libras mille ducentas octuaginta in tribus pagis siue terminis infrascriptis, videlicet terciam partem dicte quantitatis que est libre quadringente vigintisex soldi tresdecim paruuli quatuor soluere promisit hinc ad menses sex proxime futuros et incepturos presenti die,

95 *Carta cancellata.*

aliam terciam partem ad alios sex menses inde proxime futuros et reliquam terciam partem inde ad alios sex menses ita quod tres suprascripte page modo supradicto fiant spacio mensium decemocto. Cum tamen aductis conditionibus, videlicet quod teneatur dictus Leonardus dare dicto ser Francisco per totum diem crastinum duos sufficientes fideiussores pro tota suprascripta quantitate librarum mille ducentarum octuaginta et sit in libertate ipsius ser Francisci petere et exigere posse totam dictam summam in toto uel in parte a dicto Leonardo seu a dictis duobus fideiussoribus dandis per ipsum Leonardum, videlicet a quolibet ipsorum tantam partem dicte summe denariorum pro quanta ipsi fideiusserint. Item si dictus Leonardus non soluerit dictam tertiam partem dicte summe in primo suprascripto termino dicto ser Francisco quod possit ipse ser Franciscus subito elapso dicto primo termino petere integraliter et exigere a dicto Leonardo <uel a fideiussoribus eius> totam suprascriptam summam. Similiter si non soluerit ipse Leonardus secundam pagam in secundo termino subito ipso elapso possit ipse ser Franciscus petere et exigere ab ipso Leonardo uel a fideiussoribus eius dictas secundam et tertiam pagam. Insuper debeat et teneatur dictus Leonardus facere duas equales partes totius summe debitorum dicte societatis que summa ascendit ad libras mille ducentas quinquaginta unam soldos sex paruorum uti constat in libro viridi dicte societatis et hoc facere debeat per totum diem crastinum inde proiici debeant sortes inter eos, quarum vna sors, videlicet medietas summe dictorum debitorum esse debeat dicti ser Francisci et alia esse debeat suprascripti Leonardi. Declarantes quod bulletum salarii quod dicta societas pro apotheca speciarie habere debet a camera comunis pro mensibus tribus inceptis die secundo Nouembris de 1451^o et finitis die primo Februarii instantis esse debeat suprascripti ser Francisci. Reliquum uero bulletum quod fiat occasione dicte speciarie pro aliis tribus mensibus inceptis die secundo Februarii instantis et finituris die primo Maii proxime futuri esse debeat prenominati Leonardi. Cum hoc tamen quod penitus absoluto dicto ser Francisco teneatur ipse Leonardus et obligatus sit tenere in ordine dictam speciarium et ipsi attendere prout ipsi ambo, videlicet ser Franciscus et Leonardus pro dicto salario facere tenebantur. Et suprascriptus ser Franciscus dedit et cessit ipsi Leonardo omnia iura sua que habebat in conductione dicte apothece, videlicet a die 12 Martii proxime sequentis citra usque ad annos duos inde proxime futuros cum hoc tamen quod dictus Leonardus teneatur pro illiis duobus annis soluere afflictum dicte apothece speciarie. Et Iurchus Fterthouich de Sibenico socer dicti Leonardi ibidem presens precibus et ad instantiam ipsius Leonardi pro ipso constituit se fideiussorem dicto ser Francisco pro parte suprascripte quantitatis pecunie, videlicet pro libris octingentis paruorum cui ser Francisco presenti et stipulanti occasione dicte fideiussionis obligauit omnia bona sua presentia et futura. Quam conuentionem, cessionem, promissiones fideiussionem et omnia alia ac singula suprascripta pro-

misserunt suprascripti inuicem sollemniter firma et rata habere, tenere, attendere et obseruare nec contrauenire per se uel alios aliqua ratione uel causa de iure uel de facto sub pena quarti pluris dicte summe denariorum quamdem dictus Leonardus suprascripto ser Francisco et refectione damnorum omnium expensarum et interesse litis et extra. Qua pena soluta uel non, firma tamen maneant omnia et singula suprascripta sub obligatione suorum omnium bonorum presentium ac futurorum. *Ego Marcus condam Iohannis subscripsy.*

¶ *M^oCCCCLII^o, indictione 15^a, die 26 mensis Iulii. Actum Sibenici in domo habitacionis Iurchonis Fterthouich, coram ser Georgio Theodosseuich examinatore, presentibus magistro Matheo Dabisiulich marangono et Blasio Tichoradouich de Sibenico testibus. Ibiq̄ue ser Franciscus Aldobrandi de Figneldis de Florentia et ciuis Sibenici contentus fuit et confessus se habuisse a Leonardo Victorii de Senis speciarario et habitatore Sibenici presenti et stipulanti libras quadringentas uigintisex soldos tresdecim et paruulos quatuor pro prima paga sui ultrascripti debiti iuxta continentiam ultrascripti instrumenti, renuncians exceptioni non dati et non soluti sibi dicti peccunii et omni alii legum et iuris auxilio, quia per se suosque heredes fecit dicto Leonardo presenti et pro se suisque heredibus stipulanti finem, quietationem et pactum de ulterius non petendo dictas libras 426, soldos 13, paruulos 4 pro dicta prima. Et ad instantiam magistri Andree Iusto physici qui se constituit fideiussorem pro dicto Leonardo pro parte ultrascripti debiti, uidelicet pro libris 480 utique in proximo sequenti instrumento ipsam conuentionem scripto manu mei notarii in presenti millesimo et indictione, die 8 mensis Februarii de consensu suprascripti Iurchi Fterthouich alterius fideiussoris dicti Leonardi fuit contentus quod suprascriptas libras 426, soldos 13, paruulos 4 ponerent ad computum suprascripte fideiussionis facte per dictum magistrum Andream. Et quod dictus magister Andreas tunc sibi minus remaneret obligatus uirtute dicte fideiussionis quantum capiunt dicte libras 426, soldos 13, paruulos. Quam confessionem, promissionem et omnia ac singula suprascripta promisit firma et rata habere sub pena quarti pluris dicte quantitatis solute suprascriptis tamen firmis manentibus.¶*

¶ *M^oCCCCLIII^o, indictione prima, die 5^o mensis Februarii. Actum in cancellaria comunis Sibenici, coram ser Michaele condam Ciuitani examinatore, presentibus ser Cipriano ser Nicolai Diuiniich et Elia Banguarich de Sibenico testibus. Ibiq̄ue ser Franciscus Aldobrandi suprascriptus contentus fuit et confessus se habuisse et recepisse a suprascripto Leonardo de Senis presenti et stipulanti pro secunda paga ultrascripti instrumenti libras quadringentas uigintisex soldis tresdecim et paruulos quatuor, quia renuncians omni exceptioni facere sibi finem et cetera. [Promittens] et cetera. Sub pena quarti pluris. Ego Michael condam Ciuitani examinatore comunis me subscripsy.¶*

¶ *M^oCCCCLIII^o, indictione prima, die XI^o mensis Septembris. Actum in cancellaria comunis Sibenici, coram ser Dauid Doymi examinatore, presentibus ser Damiano Tobo-*

louich et ser Cipriano ser Nicolai Diuinich ciuibus Sibenici testibus. Ibiq̄ue ser Franciscus Aldobrandi suprascriptus contentus fuit et confessus se habuisse et recepisse a suprascripto Leonardo de Senis [libras quadringentas uigintisex soldis tresdecim et paruulos] quatuor et hoc pro tercia et ultima paga [et completa solutione suprascripti instrumenti] quia renuncians exceptioni non habite peccunie [heredibus stipulanti finem, quietationem et]..... [rogans me Karotum notarium] [omnia et singula suprascripta firma et rata habere, tenere et obseruare sub pena quarti pluris]..... [refectione damnorum et cetera]]

Appendix 3

8 February 1452, Šibenik. Execution of the agreement concluded between Leonard of Siena and Ser Francis Aldobrandi. HR-DAŠI-263 / Karotus Vitale, vol. b, fols. 23v-25r (box 16/I).

[*Executio conuentionis facta per Leonardum de Senis ser Francisco Aldobrandi*]
[*Publicatum*]

Die 8 mensis Februarii 1452, indictione 15^a

Actum Sibenici in domo habitationis infrascripti ser Francisci Aldobrandi coram ser Dauid Doymi examinatore comunis, presentibus ser Iacobo Iurich ciue Sibenici et Iohanne Marcich precone comunis testibus rogatis. Cum uirtute proximi superioris instrumenti scripti per me Karotum Vitalem cancellarium comunis Sibenici hesterna die obligatus esset Leonardus Victorii de Senis specarius et habitator Sibenici dare per totum diem hodiernum ser Francisco Aldobrandi de Figneldis de Florentia cui Sibenici duos sufficientes fideiussores de libris mille ducentis octuaginta paruorum, quas dictus Leonardus dare obligatus est dicto ser Francisco occasione et modis notatis in dicto superiori instrumento. Et pro parte dicte summe, uidelicet pro libris octingentis paruorum precibus ipsius Leonardi Iurchus Ftertouch socer ipsius Leonardi se constituisse fideiussorem eidem ser Francisco uti notatum est in instrumento superius allegato egregius artium et medicine doctor dominus magister Andreas Iusto physicus salariatus comunis Sibenici rogatus a suprascripto Leonardo pro ipso Leonardo se constituit fideiussorem dicto ser Francisco pro reliqua parte, uidelicet pro residuo dicte sume, quod residuum est libbre quadringente octuaginta obligans omnia bona sua dicto ser Francisco pro dictis libris quadringentis octuaginta pro quibus ut dictum est constituit se fideiussorem hoc tamen pacto, quod prima paga qua faciet seu facere obligatus est dictus Leo-

nardus suprascripto ser Francisco hinc ad menses sex proxime futuros poni debeat in parte solutionis dictarum librarum quadringentarum octuginta pro quibus se fideiussorem constituit dictus magister Andreas. Insuper dictus Leonardus uirtute obligationis qua obligatus erat in dicto instrumento preallegato fecit duas equales partes omnium pecuniarum, quas ipsi ser Franciscus et Leonardus consocii exigere debebant a quibuscumque debitoribus dicte sue societatis usque in presentem diem. Qui debitores notati apparebant in libro viridi predictae societatis de quibus duabus equalibus partibus proiecerunt inter se sortes et in parte qua sorte contigit predicto ser Francisco Aldobrandi notati erant infrascripti debitores cum suis infrascriptis debitis distincte notatis hoc modo, videlicet:

5	ser Nicolao Missich	—	—	—	£	2	s	9
13	ser Antonio Pollissich	—	—	—	£	26	s	2
16	don Zuani Crancich	—	—	—	£	1	s	10
16	ser Raphaello Dragoieuch a carta 47	—	—	—	£	101	s	7
21	Dragina caligar	—	—	—	£	0	s	3
22	Radoe marangon	—	—	—	£	0	s	10
22	Faganello	—	—	—	£	1	s	7
25	ser Nicolo Zentilicich	—	—	—	£	9	s	15
33	ser Lorenzo Goneribich	—	—	—	£	17	s	10
42	Lorenzo Cochorlich	—	—	—	£	3	s	8
44	ser Piero Modropetich	—	—	—	£	0	s	4
48	Gregor Sgobiza	—	—	—	£	0	s	8
54	Piero Pantaleo	—	—	—	£	0	s	10
55	Michiel Zelischouich zerole	—	—	—	£	3	s	10
57	frati de Crapano	—	—	—	£	1	s	4
59	ser Michiel Lafcich	—	—	—	£	9	s	7
59	ser Zorzi de le tentorie	—	—	—	£	1	s	7
60	mastro Mathio Bogafcich	—	—	—	£	1	s	16
60	Michiel Crapotich	—	—	—	£	0	s	6
60	Stana mare de Margarita	—	—	—	£	2	s	16
63	don Barthole Balauaieuch	—	—	—	£	0	s	12
65	mastro Piero barbier	—	—	—	£	3	s	11
65	mastro Mathio balistier	—	—	—	£	1	s	8
66	mastro Nicolo de Lanzilago depentor	—	—	—	£	6	s	3
66	Zouanin peschador	—	—	—	£	1	s	8
67	el lector de san Francisco	—	—	—	£	1	s	6
63	Lorenzo Pinzin	—	—	—	£	5	s	10
72	fra Zorzi Droponich	—	—	—	£	1	s	5
73	Zuanni de sancta Maura	—	—	—	£	2	s	7

81	don Zorzi Tiboglia	_	_	_	£	1	s	0
84	Mathio Racich de Slarin	_	_	_	£	1	s	0
87	ser Michiel Zeliscouich	_	_	_	£	2	s	5
91	fra Stefan de san Domenego	_	_	_	£	3	s	3
92	Aliuyi sartor	_	_	_	£	0	s	10
93	Zuani da Scutari	_	_	_	£	1	s	0
99	mastro Zorzi Copessich	_	_	_	£	0	s	7
102	Piero Pircha	_	_	_	£	1	s	0
somma		£	219	s				14
105	ser Sarasin de Nicolo	_	_	_	£	35	s	15
109	Radoe Didouich	_	_	_	£	–	s	10
111	missier lo abba	_	_	_	£	11	s	5
116	Lorenzo Chuchotich	_	_	_	£	1	s	–
219	pro dopiero	_	_	_	£	2	s	3
119	ser Fiorio Zauorouich	_	_	_	£	13	s	9
127	comessaria de ser Zorzi Camenarich	_	_	_	£	67	s	12
129	Radoslaua Nossa	_	_	_	£	7	s	6
129	Piero da Fermo	_	_	_	£	–	s	2
130	Radoslaua Cudeglia	_	_	_	£	1	s	16
132	Iacomo Dumancussouich	_	_	_	£	–	s	2
281	dicto	_	_	_	£	16	s	1
238	ser Simon Iubich	_	_	_	£	39	s	0
133	cancelier del conte	_	_	_	£	6	s	19
137	fra Martin Sisgorich	_	_	_	£	–	s	5
277	dicto	_	_	_	£	1	s	–
140	ser Zorzi Iuetich	_	_	_	£	1	s	12
141	pre Michiel Ostricich	_	_	_	£	8	s	18
142	pre Zuan Lipinich	_	_	_	£	2	s	1
143	fra Antonio de san Doma	_	_	_	£	–	s	4
144	Radiuaç bechar	_	_	_	£	0	s	5
150	don Zorzi Pedchouich	_	_	_	£	1	s	5
150	ser Zuan Camenarich	_	_	_	£	2	s	9
152	la mare de pre Antonio Chussal	_	_	_	£	–	s	2
154	don Zorzi Ferro	_	_	_	£	3	s	13
163	dicto	_	_	_	£	–	s	15
157	Frataglia del san Zoane	_	_	_	£	45	s	3
158	mastro Zuane Bachian	_	_	_	£	–	s	9
159	ser Lorenzo de ser Thomaxio	_	_	_	£	4	s	17
159	ser Thomaso Mirsich	_	_	_	£	3	s	–

160	ser Zorzi Radigostich	_	_	_	£	–	s	6
163	Zorzi Sfetigna	_	_	_	£	3	s	13
164	ser Polo Buntich	_	_	_	£	1	s	–
164	pre Elia de sancta Trinita	_	_	_	£	1	s	4
263	ser Iacomo Iurich	_	_	_	£	5	s	17
171	Alegreto Brezeuaç	_	_	_	£	1	s	3
172	mastro Martin protho	_	_	_	£	–	s	13
somma		£	293	s	–			
172	mastro Mathio Tizilago	_	_	_	£		s	4
173	ser Nicolo de Fiorio Tauilich	_	_	_	£	103	s	15
175	Agustin da Monza	_	_	_	£	–	s	5
176	dona Ciolina Giach	_	_	_	£	1	s	10
182	ser Ciprian de ser Zorzi	_	_	_	£	6	s	15
270	ser Lorenzo de Domenego	_	_	_	£	–	s	10
£		112	s	19				
£		219	s	14				
£		293	s	0				
somma in tuto		£	625	s	13			

Questa e la parte che tocha a Francescho.

Et hanc suprascriptam partem debitorum que pro sua medietate contigit fore ipsi ser Francisco dictus ser Franciscus acceptauit cum reseruatione quod si aliqui ditorum debitorum probarent se soluisse debitum suum in toto uel in parte ipsi Leonardo teneatur ipse Leonardus satisfacere eidem ser Francisco totam illam quantitatem denariorum quam dicti debitores probarent se soluisse predicto Leonardo in computo suprascripti debiti. Que omnia et singula suprascripta promisserunt suprascripti inuicem sollemniter se firma et rata habere, tenere, attendere et obseruare sub pena quarti plus eius in quo fuerit contrafactum et refectione damnorum omnium expensarum et interesse litis et extra. Qua pena soluta uel non, firma tamen maneant omnia suprascripta sub obligatione suorum omnium bonorum presentium ac futurorum. *Ego Dauid Doymi examinador me subscripsy.*

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Šibenska ljekarna toskanskih pridošlica: društvo za vođenje ljekarne iz 1449. godine

Sažetak

Ortački ugovor od 4. veljače 1449. godine zaključen između dvojice toskanskih pridošlica u Šibeniku, Franje Aldobrandova iz Firence i Leonarda Viktorova iz Siene, kojim su osnovali društvo za vođenje ljekarne predstavlja dragocjen dokument koji nam otkriva kako su i prema kojemu modelu funkcionirale srednjovjekovne ljekarne. Osnivane na određeno razdoblje s jasno propisanim obvezama i pravima ortaka te raspodjelom dobiti ljekarne su nastajale i nestajale ovisno o interesu, volji i koristi svojih osnivača. Osim toga, kako to pokazuju rezultati historiografskih istraživanja, onodobne ljekarne nisu bile mjesta na kojima su isključivo prodavali začini, lijekovi i medicinski pripravci, već je asortiman robe koja se u njima prodavala bio daleko širi, odgovarajući po svojoj ponudi trgovini mješovite robe. Dodatnu zanimljivost ovom poslovnom pothvatu dvojice šibenskih Toskanaca predstavlja pritom i činjenica da su uz ugovor o osnivanju ljekarne sačuvana i dva dokumenta koja svjedoče o zaključenju njezina rada iz kojih možemo vidjeti ne samo na koji su način ortaci među sobom podijelili preostalu robu i dobit ljekarne već i popis dijela njihovih kupaca, čije su dugove također međusobno podijelili. Na temelju podataka prikupljenih iz uglavnom neobjavljenih bilježničkih spisa autor je u članku također donio i kratke životopise Franje Aldobrandova, firentinskog novčara i veletrgovca, i Leonarda Viktorova iz Siene, ljekarnika i malog poduzetnika, u kojima je iznesen tek dio vijesti koje svjedoče o njihovoj poslovnoj djelatnosti, ali i o detaljima iz njihova privatnog života.

Ključne riječi: ljekarništvo, Franjo Aldobrandov iz Firence, Leonardo Viktorov iz Siene, Šibenik, Dalmacija, kasni srednji vijek