**Note on the dissertation**: My dissertation looks at charitable practices within the cross-cultural context of a Croatian town, Zadar, whose population was under colonial occupation from the eleventh to the eighteen-century by Venice, the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia, and various Croatian magnates. The local population was by no means a passive spectator. Zaratins rebelled against their foreign colonizers several times between 1300 and 1409. Male members of the most prestigious households of Zadar were continuously exiled from the city and their inherited wealth was confiscated. Noblewomen who remained in the city represented their exiled relatives and families, in part by using their local relations with monasteries to strengthen their political positions. This was effective because monasteries were a constitutive part of Zaratin civic consciousness. Investigating fourteenth-century Zadar highlights the mutual interaction between gender, familial strategies, religion, charity, and cross-cultural politics in the Mediterranean basin.

**Women’s Donations of Textiles: A shared Body of Memory**

In 1305, the noblewomen Slava de Mogoro wrote her testament since she recently became a widow. She left a complete set of apparel with a dalmatic and a white stole for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon of the Dominican monastery of St. Dominic of Zadar. The apparel had to be made with red velvet embroidered with gold lining and had to be use to celebrate masses for Slava’s and her beloved ones’ souls.[[1]](#footnote-1) In specifying that one of her garments was to be refashioned into priestly vestments to be worn by the Dominican friars during the mass, Slava was making an important statement. She proclaimed both her gender and spiritual intentions. This was not unusual in testators’, and especially testatrixes’, choices: it represented the desire to assure that the gift met the needs of the recipient in the way that the donor wanted to define that need. Moreover, testamentary choices – especially those involving movables – were one of the few opportunities for medieval women to act on the own without their husband or other male relatives interfering with their choices.

This chapter investigates the construction of religious patronage and political affiliation through the donation of textiles. Drawing inspiration from studies in art history,[[2]](#footnote-2) in this chapter I inquire into the significance of charitable donations of garments and their ability to shape subjects both physically and socially, and to constitute subjects through their power as material memories. This was especially true for women since the church’s reforms of the eleventh century prohibited them from gaining access to the sacred space of the altar.[[3]](#footnote-3) Testamentary records from fourteenth-century Zadar which indicate that women granted textile gifts to the church with the precise intentions that they would be shown on the altars and worn as precious tunics by the priests during the mass. Members of the male Catholic hierarchy - preachers, theologians, and canonists - proposed a model of woman as modest, loving, caring, and submissive with little or no space in civic society.[[4]](#footnote-4) Additionally, legal norms placed limits on women’s ability to freely manage their assets leaving them extremely dependent on their relatives.[[5]](#footnote-5) Despite these limitations, women, I propose, found creative ways to express their religious, social, and political engagement before their communities. One of the ways was through the donations of precious textiles to religious foundations, an act that had twofold meaning. First, textiles for the church would not be consumed and worn out as they were worn by the clergy just during the mass providing a long-lasting visible reminder of the generosity of the donor.  Such gifts are evidence of very pragmatic thinking on the part of the donors, a desire to assure that the gift actually meets the needs of the recipient in the way that the donor wants to define that need. Second, this gift proclaimed the political and religious affiliation of the donor in a context in which religious foundations took an ostensibly political stance. By publicly exhibiting textile gifts, both women and church leaders proclaimed their intertwined social identity.

**Creation of emotional and spiritual connections through textiles**

Women and men granted splendid gifts to the church – and women were especially inclined to give luxurious textiles. Women’s gifts to ecclesiastical institutions and clergy assumed also women’s involvement in the actual celebration of the mass. As Fiona Griffith has recognized referring to material bequests made by queens in the high Middle Ages, gifts of rich liturgical textiles were a way for women to be present at the altar and at the liturgical space of the church. These gifts functioned as proxies, enabling women’s physical presence at the altar, despite the disqualification of their sex and the impossibility of their ordination. [[6]](#footnote-6) The donation of liturgical textiles created a strong dialectical relationship between clergy and women besides traditional associations of female virtue with needlework and women’s control of textile workshops.[[7]](#footnote-7) In a letter to Queen Matilda of Scotland, late eleventh-century bishop Ivo of Chartres begged the queen to send him “[…] a chasuble or some other priestly garment to my smallness which is fitting for a queen to give and a bishop to wear in celebration of the divine sacraments.”[[8]](#footnote-8) In another letter send to again Queen Matilda, Hildebert, bishop of Lavardin thanks the queen elaborately for the gift of a gold candelabra, by which she participates in the celebration of the mass: “you are also present when Christ is sacrificed, when he is buried; neither is celebrated without your service, since you prepared the lamps there where we believe in our hearts and confess with our mouths that the author of light is present.”[[9]](#footnote-9) Sometimes, bishops would be in need of new clothes and garments, and they would not be ashamed of asking to their generous female benefactors for them, as bishop Hildebert asked to Adela of England “I need a chasuble. You promised it to me.”[[10]](#footnote-10) By creating, shaping, donating, and receiving objects within the vast repertoire of medieval material culture, medieval queens reinforced and strengthen their own positions. They could use gift and gift-giving as an expression of both piety and power as these gifts re-affirmed their own status, but also benefitted the recipient having thus a certain degree of social reciprocity. Eleventh- and twelfth-century western European women were crucial in creating and assuring the longevity of a religious institution.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Certainly, this model had dramatic impact on elite, middle and lower-class women in the following centuries. Records from late medieval English parishes indicate the importance of textile bequests for women from both rural and urban parishes as through these gifts to the clergy, they would intentionally circumvent some of the constraints that laid upon their access to the Eucharist.[[12]](#footnote-12) Katherine French shows that medieval English women through the gift of a gown, beads, or cloth to an altar or image actively participated in their parish church, and promoted their own interests and responsibilities giving them social and religious significance. The giving of their household goods and their instructions in how the parish should adapt their bequests to meet their goals, reveal a great deal of creativity and easy familiarity with the church and its needs. Women did more than simply dress the saints with their bequests, they also turned their clothing into vestments of liturgical significance, suggesting they wanted and valued involvement in the liturgy. Women were inventive when it came to adapting everyday items for the mass. Most commonly they turned table cloths or sheets into altar coverings, suggesting their desire to see their own possessions next to the host – bond of familiarity between house and church. Through such rituals as supplying funeral candles, bells, wedding rings, and tapestries for the churching ceremony, laywomen expressed social and economic concerns and contributed to the rites marking the key events of life and death, despite the submissive position church liturgies assigned them.[[13]](#footnote-13)

The flourishing of lay devotions and the vibrancy of the late medieval parish religion provide the ideological framework in which scholars have understood the practice of gift-giving to the church. Motivations behind textile bequests can be interpreted as “a gesture clearly designed to bring their domestic intimacies into direct contact with the Host.”[[14]](#footnote-14) That particular moment in the liturgy marks a clear connection between the utmost moment of the mass and its performativity with textiles. Early-modern English churches displayed an elaborated clothed system that threw the Host into starker prominence by putting a plain dark curtain around the altar. Pious citizens were the providers of textiles and candles, necessary for lighting up the chancel to make the Host more visible, were conceived as a sort of proxy for the adoring presence of the donor close by the sacrament at the moment of elevation.[[15]](#footnote-15) Indeed, an expressive language lies in granting making, and wearing clothes as Maureen Miller has pointed out. Miller’s examination of surviving garments demonstrates how women’s work with textiles afforded them the opportunity to handle and reset garments and created an intimacy between these women and the priests for whom these garments were retrofitted.[[16]](#footnote-16)

The analysis of the charitable gifts preserved in the testamentary dispositions of fourteenth-century Zaratin women confirms that same pattern studied for their western European counterparts.

Women from a broad range of social classes demonstrated their support to local ecclesiastical institutions, from the wealthiest elites, medium and small landholders, to modest artisan, fisherman, and sailor families. The most precious and richest endowments came from women donors drawn from the city’s elite group of professional and propertied families. However, women from the artisanal class significantly contributed in leaving bequests mirroring their wealthiest counterparts.[[17]](#footnote-17) In her testament drawn up in 1361, Bratessa, widow of Radoslavo, left 5 small liras for a chalice and a handkerchief (*fazolus*) to be displayed on one of the altars of St. Michael church.[[18]](#footnote-18) In 1381, Beliza, unmarried daughter of Uolchi, left seventeen simple woolen fabrics (*panni de lana*) for the salvation of her soul.[[19]](#footnote-19) Despite their small means, both of them felt the wanted to leave a tangible item of their presence in the parish.

The analysis of testamentary practices of Zaratin citizens reveals that gifts to ecclesiastical institutions were subject to gendered diversification. Men were less apt to give specific textiles to the church, while women left detailed lists of their belongings to be given to religious institutions. Men most commonly gave vestments, or money to buy vestments, whereas women gave their own clothing such as dresses and household linens like sheets, tablecloths, and pillows – items which held personal meaning but which were also part of their public identity as virtuous women. Archival evidence indicates that pious *pro anima* gifts were understood at that time as reciprocal and dynamic exchanges, whereby the donor reaped the valuable and calculable assets in the form of not only spiritual benefits, but also of constructed public image.

The marital status of women donors is also important in determining women’s abilities in disposing and passing on their own properties. Married women in Zadar had less freedom in controlling their goods since their husband had rights over their dowries. However, this control did not apply to testaments in which they could dispose of all their personal properties – including their dowries. Women had also control over their paraphernalia goods, that is goods given to them by parents, husbands, or relatives through testamentary bequests or on the occasion of marriage.[[20]](#footnote-20) Unmarried women had the least economic freedom and capability, as they were under the tutelage of their fathers or male kin until marriage. While married and unmarried women faced legal restrictions, widow donors channeled significant resources to Zaratin religious institutions as they wield power over considerable fortunes, exercising their economic independence within their family context. Evidence collected to date indicate that despite their marital status and when in charge of disposing of their goods, Zaratin women selected and specified their beneficiaries in an effort to fix a personal value to their bequests. Their efforts in specifying shapes, colors, materials, and the occasion in which that particular good had been inherited or acquired indeed reveal that Zaratin women made use of all the possibilities that the legal system offered them and found socially and religious accepted spaces in which to act.

Zaratin women had choices when it came to choose ecclesiastical foundations to support since Zadar was an important ecclesiastical center in the eastern Adriatic Sea. Its importance was reflected in the construction of numerous churches and monasteries within the city walls as well as in the district. Within the city walls seven monasteries, nunneries, and convents, and more than thirty churches operated in the second half of the fourteenth century. The oldest monastery of the city, founded in the early tenth century, was the Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus. Besides this monastery, three female Benedictine convents were founded during the Middle Ages: St. Mary, St. Demetrious, and St. Catherine. Mendicants entered the city in the first half of the thirteenth century and settled in the convents of St. Francis (the Franciscans) and St. Plato or St. Dominic (the Dominicans). The Poor Clares settled in the thirteenth-century convent of St. Nicholas. Besides monasteries, churches too were numerous in the city, as attested in the testaments of Zaratins. The major institutions recorded were the cathedral church of St. Anastasia, St. Mary the Greater, St. Simon the Just, St. Peter the Old and the New.[[21]](#footnote-21)

The testament of the widowed noblewoman Slava de Mogoro, written in 1303, well illustrate the desire of self-definition through her gits. She left chasubles, long-sleeved tunics, and other liturgical garments to the Mendicant orders of Zadar.[[22]](#footnote-22) Additionally, she bequeathed a complete set of apparel made of a dalmatic chasuble with a tight white stole to the priest, deacon and sub deacon and she explicitly wished that the appointed clergy should wear the chasuble while saying the mass and while offering prayers to her beloved ones. This type of vestment was worn by priests to say mass. She also left a carpet which was to be placed in front of the altar.[[23]](#footnote-23) These kinds of gifts clearly reveal Slava’s intentions behind her gifts: show her generosity, assert her social status in front of her community’s audience, and connect with the altar. Textiles in this sense functioned as a proxy for women who became closer with the deity, the power of the priesthood, and the departed.

Women’s devotional interests become clearer when we examine what they gave and their specifications concerning how their gifts were to be employed by the parish, monastery, or single priest. Cloths, linens, beddings, tunics are among the items that women donated the most. Women were less likely to leave decision making to their kinship and clergy. They left explicit instructions to the religious foundations for how they should use and display the fabrics and objects. The noblewoman Braniza de Slorado, daughter of the late Vito, offers us an insight of which items would have been typical for fourteenth-century high-status women. Precious textiles such as velvets, silks of different colors, scapulars and earrings made of pearls and stones, fur coats and vestments, and silver objects were given both to the clergy and to family and relatives. In her testament composed in 1348, she arranged to give gifts to six monasteries – five placed within the walls of Zadar and one situated outside in the village of Kopriva. One of the most precious and valuable gifts is a full garment made of red silk and enriched with pearls for a value of 200 small liras that she granted to the Franciscan monastery of St. Francis. Braniza gave to the monastery of St. Mary an apparel made of light samite with pearls. She also left to the Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus a garment out of velvet supplemented with small stones from her scapular. Lastly, she left three silver chalices of similar weight to the monasteries of Sts Francis, Nicholas, and George in Kopriva, and cushions and pillows of different sizes to Sts Francis and Mary.[[24]](#footnote-24)

A particular interesting aspect emerges from the reading of Braniza’s last will. She combined some of her clothing, jewels, and objects together for giving both to nuns and friars, and to friends and relatives. The combination of textiles and pearls reveals her choice to grant a bigger and more valuable gift to the friars. This is evidence of a very pragmatic thinking on her part: she desired to assured that her gift met the needs of the recipient in the way that she wanted to define that need. This evidence first indicates that Braniza participated in the making a particular ornate style that the Zaratin community would have recognized as hers. Her act demonstrated what Maureen Miller has suggested for the earlier period of the mid-ninth century when pious elite women were the creators of the new ornate style of liturgical attire.[[25]](#footnote-25) Braniza makes important decisions on how the priestly clothes should be designed. Secondly, this evidence also confirms what Martha Howell has suggested regarding women’s wills in medieval Douai. According to her, “women tended to treat property less as economic capital than as cultural and social capital.”[[26]](#footnote-26) In making modifications and adaptations of their goods, women show a high degree of administrative agency that first demonstrates that they were probably used to adapting things, and secondly that they wanted their kin and priests to address their emotional and spiritual concerns.

The testament of Elena, wife of the late Jacopo de Biçine, is another example that contains precise instructions to her executors and clergy for how to combine her gifts. She appointed her friend Jellenta, wife of Gregorio de Saladinis, as testamentary executor and left to Jellenta all of her movable and immovable goods (*bona mobilia et stabilia*). Furthermore, Elena arranges the sum of 100 small liras for her burial and with the residual of this sum she wants Jellenta to make one garment “with which the church in which she will be buried should celebrate the divine office in perpetuity” (*cum quo debeat im perpetuum celabrari divina officia in ecclesia ubi ero sepulta*).[[27]](#footnote-27) Elena is making a strong statement: she wants the clergy to wear what she bought for them so her community – both religious and secular – should ostensibly remember her. Remembering and being remembered was not only a symbolic gesture related to the eschatological sphere, but also a tool for developing and sustaining ties between lay people and ecclesiastical foundations.

The wills of Zaratin testators reveal the value of bequeathed garments and textiles that mostly depended on the social position of the testator. Patrician testators were more likely to gift precious textiles to churches and monasteries. Among many others, two testaments dating the second half of the fourteenth century and drawn up by two important patrons of Zadar are revealing of the multifaceted meanings of women’s bequests of textiles. Their gifts show how elite people of Zadar distributed their alms by giving two different sets of gifts: luxurious fabrics and very humble ones. This differentiation is evidence of the various degrees of intimacy that late medieval women conceived in their gifts.

Magdalena, wife of the late nobleman Daniele de Varicassis, was indeed a powerful and wealthy member of the Zaratin society. She and her husband had extensive landed estates in the city and in the district of Zadar. When Magdalena decided to write her testament in 1388, she was already a widow and without any children. She bequeathed the greater part of her movable goods to various churches in the city and district. She first lists the most valuable gifts she could leave. Among numerous bequests for renovating the most important monasteries of Zadar and for building votive chapels in her name, she bequeathed sixteen golden florins for making ornaments to the reliquaries of the city. Then, a complete set of garments made of the lightest silk for the priest of St. George worth 100 golden ducats along with one icon and one tabernacle to be placed on the altar of the church. She also commissioned a pictorial cycle with the stories of the St. George the martyr.[[28]](#footnote-28) To Gregorio, her confessor and presbyter at St. Anastasia, the main cathedral of the city, she left a precious missal worth 30 golden ducats, one chalice worth 15 golden ducats, 3 paraments for the main altar of the cathedral. Her instructions for these gifts are very precise: her confessor should keep these gifts until his death, after which they should be kept in a reliquary and be publicly displayed during the most solemn liturgical holidays of the year.[[29]](#footnote-29) As parish worship was collective and social, these gifts would have been recognized as Magdalena’s when used, displayed, and worn by the priests.

As a good Christian inspired by the example set by the saints who were highly revered at the time, such as St Martin of Tours, St Francis of Assisi and St Catherine of Siena, Magdalena publicly manifested her *caritas*, the greatest Christian virtue, in founding community institutions for the care of the poor and in clothing the poor of Christ and other marginal groups. In her testament, she left to the city hospital of St. Martin, managed by the Benedictine friars of St. Chrysogonus, one of her houses situated in the city quarter of St. John *de Pusterla* with the intention that poor people could live in it. She also listed less valuable garments and textiles. Usually, they were directed toward the everyday use of a wide range of recipients, the poor, the lepers, prisoners, and unmarried poor girls. She left a legacy worth 50 golden florins so that her testamentary executors could buy humble fabrics for making clothes, sheets, and drapes for the lepers of Zadar.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Magdalena’s last will contains a last legacy which reveals a more intimate connection. She wants her executors to transform the silk that she has at her niece’s house into a liturgical garment for the priest for saying mass. Magdalena also leaves instructions about the embroidery she wants on the garment: an embroidered cross worth 20 golden florins.[[31]](#footnote-31) Since textiles were usually part of a woman’s dowry or her personal belongings, they have an affective and emotional component that creates a connection between the donor and the recipient.

The testament of the noblewoman Pelegrina de Saladinis is also rich in textiles. Pelegrina left a very generous bequest to the Dominican church of St. Plato, including one complete set of apparel made of finest lined and enriched with ornaments (*unum paramentorum de sindonum fulcitorum cum prolis et aliis ornamentis*) valued at 50 golden ducats. [[32]](#footnote-32) She also bequeathed to the Dominican friars in the city *rassiam suam pro sacchis faciendis*, that is, textiles for making the sacks used for storing personal belongings.[[33]](#footnote-33) She also left to Bosnian Franciscans *pro eorum vestibus brachia centum pani grisei*, a hundred “brachia” of not particularly fine textiles for making the friars’ tunics.[[34]](#footnote-34) These three gifts are very different in their nature: the first gift indicates that Pelegrina is stressing first her devotion to the Dominicans by giving clothes for ceremonial purposes. Secondly, she is claiming a space within the sacred space of the altar since the apparel were supposed to be worn while celebrating masses. And thirdly, she is also assessing her social position before her community as recognizable benefactrices. On the contrary, the other two gifts appear to be for a personal and everyday use of the friars that were not supposed to wear rich garments in the daily life. In this case, evidence seem to suggest that Pelegrina claimed to be recognized also in a more personal space than the public and sacred one. Even though she is not the creator of the tunic, Pelegrina probably aimed to access to a more intimate aspect of the friars’ lives through their clothing.

Indeed, Magdalena’s and Pelegrina’s gifts are expression of their devotion, piety, and generosity. But they are revealing of their desire to be involved in the liturgical life of their city, and to create an emotional connection with the local clergy through fabrics and clothes that they wore or bought for them. Both women could use their network with the local clergy to expressed what they thought the parish needed and determine how their own property could be placed closer to God.

**Textiles as expression of gendered and social recognition**

As Simone Rauch has pointed out in his study on the Venetian guilds of silk, silk and precious fabrics were considered as a sign of vanity and social hierarchy: silk was frequently requested by groups that were anxious to legitimate themselves on the social ladder, so they either wore silk garments or had silk fabrics in their homes as a visible expression of their social status. This display of silk indicated the acquisition of a new social position for these groups who were obtaining more power through trade and business.[[35]](#footnote-35) If we consider the fact that women mostly dressed the clergy, we can infer that the equivalence silk, display, and social recognition must have played a significant role in their charitable choices. This silent presence was translated into a visual one since the clergy was wearing the rich gifts granted by their generous donors. Therefore, women acquired a public image as pious benefactors before their communities, and they also displayed their social status by combining precious fabrics and jewelry as gifts for the members of the clergy. The examples of Braniza de Slorado, Magdalena de Varicassis, and Pelegrina de Saladinis clearly reveal their desire of being recognized through their objects and fabrics.

Indeed, the granting of luxurious textiles must be understood in terms of social recognition. Silk played a role as a ‘sign of social success’. Ever since they first appeared in the western world, silk fabrics have been associated with the idea of preciousness, wealth, and elegance. In Rome, silk was immediately identified as a social status symbol. But granting these kinds of precious fabrics to ecclesiastical institutions was problematic. Since the time of Christian moralists, believers were invited to follow a simple life, taking distances from luxurious items. Rhetoric about Christian attire emphasized difference. The fathers of the church condemned the wearing of silk, gold, and purple by Christians in an attempt of reproving vainglory and luxury. For instance, the Latin poet Prudentius in 410 A.D., writing about moral leprosy, said: “Here is one who takes pride in his silk, puffed up as he goes about in his chariot, while inside a watery dropsy bloats him with its invisible poison.”[[36]](#footnote-36) The visual representation of a sinful man is described through the textiles he was wearing: silk. Still, this tissue was one that the nobility usually gave to churches, monasteries, and clergy when administrating masses.

Prudentius’ attitude became outdated in the ninth century, at least with regard to clerical dress when medieval clergy developed a language of clothing claiming holiness and power. As Miller has argued, there was a major change in Christian attitudes towards sumptuous clerical dress that took place with the Carolingians in the ninth century, which would help to explain why none of the Zaratin testators seem to be heeding early church’s teachings about the sinfulness of dressing in silk and sumptuous clothing.[[37]](#footnote-37) As Miller has pointed out, a new ornate style of liturgical attire was fueled by two particular developments that explain what made this evolution possible. Ninth-century liturgists created a connection between contemporary clerical vestments to those of the prophet Aaron which were made “gold and violet and purple and scarlet twice dyed, and fine twisted linen, embroidered with diverse colors,” spreading the idea that the virtue of Christian clerics was displayed through colorful and ornate garments.[[38]](#footnote-38) Additionally, bishops became kings’ collaborators in caring for the salvation of people. This new involvement of bishops in royal governance as an aspect of their pastoral care corresponded to the association of elite status and political authority with precious attire, and the desire the make the clergy virtuous in order to channel god’s grace.[[39]](#footnote-39)

Many centuries later, the later Middle Ages developed a bivalent attitude toward silk and precious fabrics where on the one hand the state and church tried to cope with the issue of rich garments, whereas on the other hand people clearly desired to buy and wear rich textiles as sign of social recognition. Countless preachers who would criticize the diffusion of silk garments. Among these stood St Bernardino with his passionate sermons in 1427 in the Piazza of Siena in which he condemned the city inhabitants’ custom to wear lavish silk garments, claiming it was not only a sin of vanity, but a source of serious harm to the city economy.[[40]](#footnote-40) Later, in Florence under the Savonarola, countless silk garments were burnt together with other objects that symbolized the sins of Florentine vanity in the ‘Bonfires of Vanity’ in the Piazza della Signoria.[[41]](#footnote-41)

Sumptuary legislation too sought to control display and consumption of luxuries especially in the display of dress. According to Martha Howell, from a medieval legal perspective, the obsession with dress was not just because it represented a threat to social order and morals, but because late medieval commerce amplified the possibility for urban societies to shaped new ways for expressing identity. Especially women became target of Italian legislation as their served as the mark of this new disorder connected to commerce and availability of goods.[[42]](#footnote-42) Susan Mosher Stuard too has pointed out that fourteenth-century Italian society saw an increase in the demand for consumption of luxury goods – such as cloth of gold, heavy silver belts, buckles, borders, brooches, and decorated vessels – for fashion became a way for shaping a new social identity. Especially women took advantage of the new items that the market was making available. But Italian towns were deeply conflicted about the female taste for luxury. But despite legal restrictions, women acted with outraged agency when it came to their clothes: they wanted to display themselves prettily, and they were prone to pay fines for wearing restricted emblems and devices on clothes. She argues that women could choose their public presentation with some freedom and that even a working-class woman with the right outfit could reinvent herself.[[43]](#footnote-43)

Women in fourteenth-century Zadar had access to a great variety of goods and fabrics for Zadar was one of the most important economic centers of the eastern basin of the Adriatic Sea. The fourteenth-century Statutes of the city witnesses the existence of economic relations with northern Africa. For instance, an order testifies to the importance of wool from Tunisia and other 'barbarian' lands (Berberian), as well as the importance of cotton from Romania (Greece). This information, together with the detailed regulations on shipbuilding and life on board, proves that the city has carried out a very important part of its economic life on the foreign maritime trade.[[44]](#footnote-44) Therefore, given the vivid and florid commerce of fabrics, women in Zadar had the possibility of having precious clothes coming from other Mediterranean countries in order first to construct a personal image of themselves through the display of rich dresses, and secondly to build a public image through the charitable giving of fabrics to the ecclesiastical institutions of their city.

One of the most striking aspects of Zaratin women’s gifts is that the recipients belong to the Mendicant orders, both Franciscans and Dominicans. Originally, these orders were supposed to wear simple tunics as an expression of their evangelical poverty. An episode of Francis’ of Assisi’s life around 1220, narrated in the second version of the biography written by Thomas of Celano around 1246, is a good synthesis of the struggle between poverty and accumulated wealth. The Saint’s vicar, Friar Peter Cattani, had observed that a large number of foreign friars arrived in Saint Mary of the Portiuncula and that there were not enough alms for their needs. He went to Francis and asked him if the monks could accept some of the gifts brought by the friars in order to sustain the whole community. Francis in turn responded: “Strip the virgin’s altar and take its adornments when you can’t care for the needy in any other way. Believe me, she would be happier to have her altar stripped and the Gospel of her Son kept than have her altar decorated and her Son despised.”[[45]](#footnote-45) So, when and why did they start wearing silk liturgical garments? Is it possible to argue that this transition may have been due to the pressure of lay donors, especially women?

When it came to clothing and its significance, late medieval women had the powerful example of Mary to refer to. Mary was a model of devotion for men and women in the late medieval period, it was the imitation of Mary rather than Christ that was most promoted in devotional literature written by men for women, particularly within the Franciscan order.[[46]](#footnote-46) Mary’s provision of Christ’s clothing was seen as an act of charity, and thus becomes a key motif for connecting Mary to Christ and his poverty. Early Christian writers used the metaphor of cloth-making to describe how Mary interweave the body of Christ together in her womb. Christ’s flesh itself was thus equated with his clothing, a connection that was especially meaningful to the Franciscans.[[47]](#footnote-47) Mary was also credited with covering Christ’s flesh with her own clothing or garments she made. Apocryphal accounts further asserted that Mary was the creator of Christ’s tunic mentioned in the gospel according to John (19:23). Such legends gained popularity in the later Middle Ages after the rediscovery of the relic of this tunic at Argenteuil, France. The connection between Christ’s nudity and his poverty thus finds a meaningful counterpoint in Mary’s clothing of him. Mary’s clothing of Christ, whether in swaddling him as an infant, crafting the seamless garment or using her own veil to cover him as he ascends the cross, is an obvious act of Christian mercy. By clothing the poor Christ, Mary quite literally embodies one of the Seven Acts of Mercy.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Granting clothing for late medieval women in Zadar was indeed a matter of social recognition and promotion.[[49]](#footnote-49) Through active participation in their parish church, women promoted their own interests and responsibilities giving them social and religious significance. While they acted on their own interests as women, they also acted on their interests as wives, daughters, and mothers, seeking to promote their families’ communal and spiritual well-being. It was also though a way for asserting their gendered presence and intentions in the sacred space of the church. Lastly, pious women had the powerful example of Mary and her acts of charity to aspire to.

**Textiles as expression of political affiliation**

As previously pointed out, material gifts gave women, and men, the opportunity of creating meaningful, visible, and long-lasting relationships with their social and religious networks. I argue, though, that these gifts provided women with yet another means of exhibiting something extremely relevant in the contested political context of fourteenth-century Zadar: their political affiliations.

The political situation of the city was extremely tense. Jurisdiction over it was highly disputed. The main contenders for its control were the Venetians and Hungarians. The citizens themselves preferred to be ruled by the distant Hungarian kings rather than the Venetians who were closer and had an impressive fleet. But it was often the latter that had the upper hand and over the centuries the Venetians time and again reconquered the rebellious city. Rarely did the Hungarians come to the city's aid. One occasion on which they did was a year after the rebellion of 1345, when king Louis came to help the city. However, the siege ended with the Hungarian and Bosnian troops pulling out and the signing of an eight-year treaty that assured that Zadar remained in Venetian hands. Control of Zadar finally was wrenched from the Venetians in 1358 after they were defeated by the Hungarian king in Italy. The Treaty of Zadar (February 18,1358) was the outcome of this victory by which most of the Venice's Dalmatian towns including Zadar went to Hungary. Zadar, thus, was the place where this important treaty was signed and as such became a symbol of Louis's defeat of the Venetians.

Noble families in Zadar intertwined more favorable relationships with the Croatian magnates of the hinterland and with the Angevins of Hungary and Croatia. In these relations, crucial factors were the interests of Zaratin families. By supporting these parties, Zaratin noble families received titles and estates prospering economically and politically.[[50]](#footnote-50) According to Zrinka Nikolić, most of the most prosperous noble families of the second part of the fourteenth century came from the circle of this clientage.[[51]](#footnote-51) Conversely, the influence of Venice and its repressive politics could have been harmful for the political influence of the anti-Venetian families.

Some of the testaments drawn up by the wealthiest women in the Zaratin community offer an opportunity as well to make hypotheses on the creation of political affiliations through visible material gifts. In her testament dating 1348, Braniza left a complete garment set made of light samite enriched with precious pearls to the female Benedictine monastery of St. Mary. As she specifies in her last will, the gift – which had to be realized from her wedding garment – needed to be displayed by the priests while saying the mass. She also offered a garment made of red velvet embroidered with stones and her golden belt to the male Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus.[[52]](#footnote-52) Some important factors need to be analyzed here. Braniza’s donations of textiles to two of the most politicized monastic institutions of Zadar, the monasteries of Sts Mary and Chrysogonus, cannot be a simple coincidence since these two foundations were actively involved in anti-Venetian manifestations since at least the previous century. For instance, in 1224 the male monastery of St. Chrysogonus denied the Venetian duke Marin Dandolo the honor of being welcomed at the entrance to the monastery with holy water, incense, and the cross. A similar symbolic demonstration of resistance took place in the summer of 1308, when the Venetian legate Cardinal Gentili came to Zadar. The cardinal excommunicated some of the monks of St. Chrysogonus as they did not want to follow his orders. And during the mid-fourteenth century both St. Mary and St. Chrysogonus were the recipients of donations of lands and of privileges from the Kingdom of Hungary.[[53]](#footnote-53) Further, when Braniza was drawing up her testament in 1348, just two years had passed since the dramatic Venetian siege that left Zadar plundered and ransacked. In that occasion, Venice managed to capture 12 Zaratin noblemen from the most distinguished families and held them in harsh conditions in Venice. The psychological wounds caused by the brutal defeat were still open in the hearts of the citizens of Zadar. Most importantly, when Braniza was arranging her dispositions, two male members of her family, Madio and Bartolomeo, had been taken hostages and deported to Venice.[[54]](#footnote-54) The fact that Braniza, left behind in Zadar as she did not follow the men in their exile, made such rich and splendid gifts to the two most politically charged monasteries in the city suggests that she was publicly endorsing these institutions on her behalf and on that of her family. It also indicates that despite Venetian efforts to destroy those social bonds that families in Zadar created within their own communities, women, such as Braniza, used charitable giving as an expression of resistance to the colonial domination of an outside political entity.

The story of Pelegrina de Saladinis also sheds a light on the complex entanglements between religious patronage and politics. Pelegrina was born sometimes in the first half of the fourteenth century. She belonged to one of the most prestigious and wealthiest household of Zadar, the de Saladinis, and was married to the nobleman Francesco de Grisogono. Evidence indicates that she became a widow pretty early, maybe in the early 1350s as she is called *uxor quondam* Francesco.[[55]](#footnote-55) Pelegrina was a recognized public figure. She served as testamentary executor for important members of the Zaratin community such as abbesses and patrician women, and was active in renting and selling her properties.[[56]](#footnote-56) She was highly involved in the patronage of the town as her great-grandfather was.[[57]](#footnote-57) In her testament, Pelegrina established the foundation of the monastery of St. Doimus for the Franciscans from Bosnia on the island of Pasmano (Pašman).[[58]](#footnote-58) She left dispositions for the renovation of the church and convent of St. Catherine for lower-class girls, endowing the monastery with vegetable gardens, olive trees, landed estates, and cattle.[[59]](#footnote-59) And lastly, a document dating 1382 indicates that she probably founded a hospital for the poor of Zadar.[[60]](#footnote-60) Evidence also indicates that the religious foundations she established received the support of other noblewomen of Zadar.[[61]](#footnote-61) This suggests that Pelegrina may have been active in promoting her foundations as trustworthy of their pious support; and, more importantly, that women identified with and shared Pelegrina’s image.

As for Braniza’s case, Pelegrina’s family as well was highly involved in the politics of Zadar. One of her brothers, Saladino, was exiled when Zadar was under the Venetian government.[[62]](#footnote-62) During the Venetian siege of Zadar (1345-46), Saladino was captured and detained in Venice. He afterwards appears as one of the fifty noble Zaratins forced to live as a hostage in Venice.[[63]](#footnote-63) He was able to escape from prison with a help of a woman and a common man from the Dalmatian island of Rab, but was captured in 1345.[[64]](#footnote-64) Despite this episode, his exile was not extremely harsh - he was able to avoid being imprisoned and instead to go to Crete where his uncle was the local archbishop. Nonetheless, his exile had dramatic economic consequences. In 1349, few months after the beginning of his exile, he submitted a petition to the Venetian Senate lamenting the poor condition in which he and his family were living, and mentioning the old age of his father and his impossibility to take care of the family. The Venetian Senate allowed him to occupy a post in the Italian cavalry in Treviso and Lombardia.[[65]](#footnote-65) Almost 30 years later, in 1380s, evidence attest that Saladino became one of the rectors of Zadar under the Angevins from the Kingdom of Hungary, therefore twisting his political career under the new rulers.

Most of Pelegrina’s donations of textiles went to the Mendicant orders, both to the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Even though the histories of these two orders are not extremely politicized as in the case of the Benedictines, we can still read her legacies in political terms.

Moreover, women in late medieval Zadar fostered strong connections with Elizabeth Kotromanic (ca. 1340-87), daughter the Bosnian ban Stephen Kotromanic and second wife of King Louis of Hungary (r. 1342-8), and powerful patron of arts. As Zadar was an important center for relics, she came multiple times to endow the city with relics, reliquaries, and artistic works. In a document dating September 16th 1371, Elizabeth handed over some landed estates situated in the village of Blato to the Franciscan convent of St. Nicholas – formerly belonging to the Benedictine order[[66]](#footnote-66) – receiving the approval of the city council.[[67]](#footnote-67) The same monastery received, probably from the same queen, the relic of a cradle with the baby Christ who endowed St. Simeon with relics and textiles.[[68]](#footnote-68) Elizabeth also left important material gifts to the church of St. Simeon of Zadar which preserved an important relic of the saint. She bequeathed a veil embroidered with silver and gold thread featuring Gothic themes. This was a veil that the queen would have been worn with its edges loosely hanging over the ears.[[69]](#footnote-69) The piece of clothing offered as a gesture of thanks to St. Simeon, even though it would not be seen by the eyes of contemporary viewers, it would had been seen by those praying for the soul of the deceased and acting as intermediary between the queen and St. Simeon. This type of gift giving demonstrated the donor's piety and humility but it could also have political significance. Elizabeth aimed at creating a tie between her, patron and Hungarian, and the saint.

Additionally, she commissioned the silver reliquary sarcophagus and the visual program for the Tomb-Shrine of St. Simeon. The majestic reliquary was located (and still is) behind the major altar of the church. The scenes and motives depicted on the sarcophagus for the saint’s body replicates indicate her interest in political affairs and her wish to communicate certain views as visual messages. The exterior of the front panel shows the citizens of Zadar welcome Louis, kin fog Hungary; the other short side depicts the king’s solemn entrance into the city. By visually representing the Hungarian king entering the city, Elizabeth aimed at creating a bond between saint and patron that had not existed earlier.[[70]](#footnote-70) But why did she choose Zadar as the city to patronize? One reason relies to the importance of the city, important and strategic town on the Dalmatian coast. On a more personal note, Elizabeth might have wanted to lessen the burden of the consequences of the actions of her father who was suspected of collaborating with the Venetians against the interests of Zadar.[[71]](#footnote-71) According to a contemporary chronicler who wrote about the siege of the city, Stephen Kotromanic was responsible for the continuation of Venetian rule. He was characterized as a heretic and traitor who loved Venetian money more than battle.

It is also possible that renewed tensions between the Venetians and the Hungarians in the 1370s, which led to another war in 1378, might also have played a role in the decision to bequeath her pieces of clothing, to commission the shrine as well as the choice of subjects of the panels. In 1372, Louis had sent troops to help the lord of Padua, Francesco da Carrara, who was engaged in a conflict with the Venetians. Francesco had been one of the king's allies in the successful war against Venice almost twenty years before and had signed the Treaty of Zadar. The defeat of the Hungarian-Paduan forces may have seemed threatening, especially to the king's Dalmatian subjects who feared a return to Venetian rule. A year before Elizabeth's commission, Louis officially renewed his alliance with Padua and five months before the drawing up of the contract for the shrine the king signed a treaty with Genoa, another enemy of the Venetian republic.[[72]](#footnote-72) In 1378 war broke out between Venice and Genoa. Although Louis had hoped that he and his allies would be able to destroy Venice, this was not accomplished. However, Venice’s ambitions were kept in check by the Treaty of Torino of 1381. Perhaps it was in the context of the threat of a new war between Hungary and Venice that the queen wished to commission images that asserted Hungarian control of Zadar. The important event of Louis arriving in Zadar after his defeat of the Venetians in 1358 is depicted on the frontal of the tomb-reliquary. Furthermore, the scene shows Zadar religious and civic authorities welcoming the king and submitting to the king, a reminiscence of the feudal homage.

The historical and political events that linked Zadar to the kingdom of Hungary and Croatia must have had repercussion on women, their civic activities, and their charitable behaviors. Women were not passive spectators of their tumultuous events that characterized the long fourteenth century. On the contrary, they found legally accepted spaces in which to act. Religious affiliations through patronage and through donations of textiles and clothing were yet another means available to them to express their own civic engagement.

1. “[…] In primis volo et ordino quod detur in convent fraturm Predicatorum de Iadra paramentum completum, cum uno calice, quod asscendat ad ducentas libras quod paramentum volo quod fiat pro sacerdote, diacono et subdiacono, cum casula dalmatica et stricta albis stolis […] humeralibus […] volo quod fiant de nobili examito rubeo vel rosacea cum intercisis […] de auro, et in hoc obligo fratres ut celebrent missas et faciant oraciones pro anima mea mortuorumque meorum.” Mirko, Zjačić and Jakov, Stipišić, *Spisi Zadarskih Bilježnika [The Deeds of Zaratin Notaries]*, Vol. II (Zadar: DAZd, 1969), doc. 140, 72-74. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1987). Ann Rosalind Jones, Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Recent scholarship in cognitive sciences has proposed a new theoretical approach to inquire into the relationships between people and things called Material Engagement Theory (MET). This approach looks at networks of engagement (sensual, affective, and spiritual as well as cognitive) between people and objects. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Fiona Griffith, “‘Like the Sisters of Aaron’: Medieval Religious Women and Liturgical Textiles,” in *Female Vita Religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages*, Gert Melville and Anne Müller eds., 343-374 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). Maureen Miller, *Clothing the Clergy. Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014). Miller in a recent article explores the relationships between episcopal advocates of Church’s reforms and women. Maureen Miller, “Women Donors and Ecclesiastical Reform: Evidence from Camaldoli and Vallombrosa, c. 1000-1150,” in *Women Intellectuals and Leaders in the Middle Ages*, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, John Van Engen eds., 343-357 (Boydell & Brewer, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Carla Casagrande, “The Protected Woman,” in *A History of Women: Silences of the Middle Ages*, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber ed., 70-104 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992). Tabitha Kenlon. *Conduct Books and the History of the Ideal Woman* (New York: Anthem Press, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Ladić, *Last Wills,* 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Griffiths, “’Like the Sisters of Aaron’,” 1-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. The making of garments was associated with women, both religious and lay, who followed Mary’s traditional example as seamstress and spinner. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. “[…] poderem, vel aliquam aliam vestem sacerdotalem parvitati meae transmittas qualem deceat et reginam dare, et episcopum in celebratione divinorum sacramentorum induere.” “A Letter from Ivo, Bishop of Chartres (1100s),” in *Epistolae: Medieval Women’s Latin Letters,* ed. and trans. Joan Ferrante, <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu>. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. “[…] Tu quoque praesens es cum Christus immolatur, cum traditur sepulturae, neutrumque sine tuo celebratur obsequio, cum ibi luminaria praeparas, luminis ubi adesse auctorem et corde credimus et ore confitemur.” In “A letter from Hildebert, bishop of Lavardin (c. 1100-18),” in *Epistolae,* <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu>. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. “Planeta indigeo. Eam mihi promisisti.” “A Letter from Hildert of Lavardin (1101?)”, in *Epistolae*, <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu>. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See also Maureen Miller, “Women Donors and Ecclesiastical Reform: Evidence from Camaldoli and Vallombrosa c. 1000-1150,” in *Women Intellectuals and Leaders in the Middle Ages*, Kathryn Kelby-Fulton, Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, John Van Engen eds. (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), pp. 343-357 for some examples from Italy. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Nicola Lowe, “Women’s Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, *c.* 1350-1550,” *Gender & History* 22:2 (2010): 407-429. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Katherine French, *The Good Women of the Parish. Gender and Religion After the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400 – 1580* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 95-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Maureen Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. The archival research is still a work in progress. I just came back from a trip to the archives and found more material that should be added to this chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. DAZd, SZB, Petrus de Sercana [hereafter PS], b. 1, fasc. 1/6, fols. 195-195'. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. DAZd, SZB, PS, b. 1, fasc. 1/6 fol. 166'-167. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Grvabak, “Testamentary Bequests,” 69; Guzzetti, “Women’s Inheritance,” 88-90. For similar legal solutions over paraphernalia goods see Stanley Chojnacki, “Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 189-193. On the importance of the dowry and on the ability for women to dispose of their properties see Stanley Chojnacki, “Dowries and Kinsmen,” 571-600; Susan Mosher Stuard, *A State of Deference. Dubrovnik in Medieval Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 69-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ladić, *Last Will,* 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *Casula, alba, humeralis*. SZB 2: 140, 72-74; Tadjia Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (henceforth: CD), vol. 11, doc. 353, 464-468. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. SZB 2, doc. 140, 72-74. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. “[…] unum paramentum completum de veludo rubeo valoris decentorum parvorum et mones perles meas, quas habeo super barnac meum scarlati, quod ponatur super dictum paramentum et quod denture cingulum meum argentum cum dicto paramento in ecclesia sancti Francisci de Iadra. Item volo, quod argentorio meo fiant tres calices similis ponderis et quod ipsos dantur in tribus ecclesiis, scilicet ecclesie sancti Francissi, ecclesie santi Nicolari de Iara, et ecclesie sancti Georgii de Copriva […]. Item volo, quod faciant unum paramentum de asamito lene et quod duper ipsum ponantur scropule mee de perlis et quod ipsum datur ecclesie sante Marie de monachis, quod volo, quod ipsum extrahatur de corna mea in casada. Item volo, quod faciunt paramentum unum de velesso et quod super ipsum ponantur scropule mee et dircirium meu mauri […] et quod ipsum detur ecclesie sancti Grisogoni de Iadra […] Item dimitto monasterio sancti Francissi et sancta Marie de monachis omnes et singulos rovaliones meos et omens cusinellos parvos meos pro anima mea.” CD vol. 11, doc. 353, 464-468. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy,* 144-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300-1550* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 153. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. CD vol. 13, doc. 122, 178-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 51r-53r. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. “Item voluit and ordinavit quod per suos commissarios ematur unum missale valoris ducatorum triginta auri et unum calix valoris ducatorum quindecim auri, et tres tevalee pro altare quas omnes res supradictas dari voluit et reliquit presbitero Gregorio Semori, ecclesia Sancte Anastasie de Iadra confessor suo, conservandas per eum in vita et usque ad eius mortem. Et post mortem dicti presbiteri Gregori, ipsas omnes res dari et devenire voluit ad manos procuratorem Iadre conservandas in reliquario ecclesie Sancte Anastasie. In quibus rebus et cum quibus rebus in solemnitatibus ac festivitatibus voluit celebrari.” DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fol. 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 51r-53r. Grbavac, “Testamentary Bequests,” 79 note 38. The neighborhood of *Pusterla* was inhabited mostly by the urban poor. Her legacy is extremely significant as she donated one of her houses, therefore part of her patrimony, instead of leaving an acquired house (treated as simple property). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. “Item voluit et ordinavit dicta testatricis quod de suo cendato quo est apud sorerem Caterinam, filiam quondam ser Petri de Grisogonis neptem suam, fiat una casula et alira pertinetia pro paramento sacerdotali et quod fiat una crux supra dicta casula valoris viginti florenorum auri.” DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 51r-53r. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. The ‘paramentum’ was a liturgical garment, and since she was a wealthy patrician, the garment was made of fine linen ‘de sindonum fulcitorum’. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 97’-99. See also Ladić, *Last Wills,* 280-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 97’-99. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. CD vol. 17, doc. 204, 287-291. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Simone Rauch, *Le Mariegole delle Arti dei Tessitori di Seta: I Veluderi (1347-1474) e I Samitari (1370-1475)* (Venice: Il Comitato Editore, 2009), X-XI. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Wolf, *Poverty of Riches,* 10-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy,* 1-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy,* 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche Volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed. Carlo Delcorno, vol. II (Milano: Rusconoi, 1989), 1088. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Rauch, *Le Mariegole,* X. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Martha Howell, *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 208, 236-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 98-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Sabine Florence Fabijanec, *Les Developpement Commercial de Split et Zadar aux XIe-XVIe siècles. Un commerce transitaire entre l”Europe Centrale et la Méditerranée*, vol. I (Saarbrücken: Editions Universitaries Européennes, 2011), 4, 112. When Venice sized Zadar in 1409, its economic politics changed dramatically. In 1423, Venice forbade the transport of goods from Senj and Rijeka to the Marches, Abruzzo and Puglia. At the same time, the Zaratins were prohibited from importing goods from Senj and Rijeka to Zadar and subsequently re-exporting them to other countries. In order to protect its fabric production, the Venetian Republic prohibited throughout its territory the wearing of woolen clothing purchased in Ferrara, Padova, Treviso and other cities of the Terra Ferma, the Venetian mainland, in 1423 and 1436. Then in 1435, the Republic decreed that all foodstuffs such as oil, cheese and others, arriving from the Promontory to the north, must be taken to Venice and nowhere else. In 1430-1433, it prohibits the import of textile in Dalmatia if it does not come from the Republic, unless it pays 10% customs duty. As late as 1457, the export of raw silk from the mainland was prohibited unless it had previously been brought and taxed in Venice. The latter ensures its own silk production. Trade in iron and ferrous products is also prohibited. Dalmatians cannot import or export hides. In 1440: prohibition to export tar from Dalmatia, except to the Republic. Fabijanec, *Les Developpement,* 89-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth. From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society*, transl. by Donatella Melucci, ed. by Michael F. Cusato, Jean François Godet, and Daria Mitchell (Saint Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 2009), 78-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Holly Flora, “Fashioning the Passion: The Poor Clares and the Clothing of Christ,” (2016): 470-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ibid., 470. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Ibid., 471. The seven works of mercy encouraged Christians to meet the physical needs - feeding the hungry, visiting the imprisoned, burying the dead, clothing the naked, caring for the sick, giving shelter to travelers, and offering drink to the thirsty. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. See also Antonio Zaldivar’s study on the Dominican order in thirteenth-century Barcelona. He has pointed out that patricians utilized their pious contributions and gifts to the mendicant friars to bolster their social prestige and legitimize their profits. Antonio Zaldivar, “Patricians’ Embrace of the Dominican Convent of St. Catherine in Thirteenth-Century Barcelona,” *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 174-206. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. The Angevin government in Dalmatia set up a system of collection of taxes collected by the *Camera regalis salis et tricesime* of each municipality. These Communal Chambers recovered one-thirtieth of the value of any transaction, bought and collected salt and resold it to retailers or exported it to the hinterland. The income from all these levies went to each municipality, which alone was responsible for the salt trade, and a part was paid to the royal treasury. Fabijanec, *Le Developpement*, 94-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Nikolić, *The Formation*, 236-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. “Item volo quod faciant unum paramentum de asamito lene et quod super ipsum ponantur scropule mee de perlis et quod ipsum datur ecclesie Sancte Marie de monachis, quod volo quod ipsum extrahatur de corona mea in casada. Item volo quod faciant parament unum de velesso et quod super ipsum ponantur scropule mee et dircirium meum auri et quod ipsum detur ecclesie sancti Grisogoni de Iadra.” CD*,* vol. 11, doc. 353, 464-468. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. In 1224, the abbot of St. Chrysogonus denied the Venetian duke Marin Dandolo the honor of being welcomed at the entrance to the monastery with holy water, incense, and the cross. The monastery was brought to order by the intervention of the archbishop who “closed” the monastery, forbade burials and attendance at mass by the citizens of Zadar, even forbidding a procession on the feast day of St. Chrysogonus. Soon, a number of citizens were involved in the scandal, since they tried to bury their dead in the monastery. This case is interesting not only for the opposition the monastery showed to the bishop and the duke, but also because of its outcome. In the end the citizens managed to force the archbishop to withdraw his order. As for the 1308 incident, the peak of the manifestation of independence took place on the 3rd of October 1308, when a funerary rite was led by the abbots of the three local Benedictine monasteries: “dressed in solemn clothes, with miters and holding bishops’ staffs, the abbots, led by the abbot of St. Chrysogonus and followed by the mass of citizens opposed the legate.” On the symbolic level it is highly significant how the abbots, having the right to wear the miter and carry the bishop’s staff, gave the impression that there was more than one bishop in the city. Vedris, “Communities in conflict,” 43-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. *Obsidio Jadrensis* in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricorum, Dalmaticorum, Croaticorum et Sclavonicarum, veteres ac genuine*, vol. 3, ed. Johann Georg Schwandtner (Vienna: I.P. Kraus, 1748), 670. Nikolić, *The Formation,* 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. For instance, DAZd, SZB, Franciscus de Piacentia [henceforth: AP], b. unica, fasc. II, fol. 4’ [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. In 1349, Fumia, abbesses of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary, chose Pelegrina as her executor. DAZd, SZB, AP, b. unica, fasc. II, fol. 4’. Palmicia the Matafarri chose her and Caterina, the new abbess of St. Mary, as her executors. DAZd, SZB, Articutius de Rivignano [henceforth: AR], b. II, fasc. IV, fol. 14. Pelegrina owned many properties within Zadar and its districts as contracts of selling and renting attest. Cfr. DAZd, SZB, FP, b. unica, fasc. 2, fols. 25’; 29; 32’; 36’-37; 44; 44’. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. The importance of this family in the administration of welfare in Zadar began at the end of the thirteenth century when Pelegrina’s great-grandfather, Cosa de Saladinis, left dispositions for the construction of a church and a friary for Franciscan friars outside the town’s walls, as well as a hospital for twelve poor sick men. Cosa’s testament is published in Zjačić,SZB,1, doc. 48, 85-90. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 97’- 99; CD 17: 204, 287-91. As a result of the great fourteenth-century famine and of the first raids of the Ottoman empire, Dalmatia became the region where immigrants from Bosnia settled. This migratory movement started in the fourteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth century. Fabijanec, *Le Developpement*, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. The female convent and cloister of St. Catherine were founded sometimes around the beginning of the twelfth century. According to the nineteenth-century historian Federico Bianchi, the nobleman Simone de Begna reported that both structures were burned in a fire in 1110. The church and convent were restored several times by the noblewomen of the city, such as Caterina de Butovano who left in her will of 1214 all her possessions located in Bibigne with the obligation to erect an altar in honor of St. Benedict, demonstrating a particular attachment to the foundation. Pelegrina ordered the renovation of St. Catherine in 1382. Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana*, vol. I (Zadar: Tipografia Woditzka, 1887), 442-43. Pelegrina richly endowed the monastery. She left conspicuous sums of money to her former domestic servants to buy some landed estates under the obligation that they would give them to St. Catherine once dead. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 5, fasc. 3, fols. 97’- 99; CD 17: 204, 287-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. CD vol. 16, doc. 227, pp. 274-276. Francesco *quondam Giovanni* de Zadulinis testifies that he had received from Pelegrina 670 golden ducats for some lands where Pelegrina founded her hospital for the poor. Pelegrina is the legal representative of the hospital. Unfortunately, there are no further evidence of Pelegrina’s hospital in the documentation preserved at the state Archives of Zadar. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. For example, Anna, wife of Giorgio de Matafaris, bequeathed twenty ducats to the convent of St. Doimus in her testament. DAZd, SZB, Iohannes de Canturio, b. 1, fasc. 3/1, pp. 73-74. In 1393, Draga de Granbocianne sold to Pelegrina a land for the monastery of St. Catherine. CD vol. 17, doc. 317, 431-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. In 1349, Saladino de Saladinis was exiled “qui est unus ex L confinatis hic, possit ire ad partes Romania ibi ad contivia, stando a Chorono supra et servando illa confinia et illum modum in presentando se, quando et sicut et quibus sibi imponetur per dominium, cum de ho instantissime nos rogavit dominus archiepiscopus Cretensis avunculus eius, et fuit capta per VI consiiarios, III capita de XL et tres partes consilii rogatorum, congregates LXXXX. (Cfr. Ljubic, Listine III, doc. 138, p. 91). [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Nikolić, *The formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, p. 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Ljubić, *Monumenta*, 2, doc. 465, p. 280 “[…] Saladini de Saladino qui fugit de carceribus nostris: […] collegium quod habeat libertatem per maiorem partem examinando et tormentandi illas feminas et custodies qui et que detinetur pro dicto facto”; doc. 468 “[…] Saladinus de Saladinis de Jadra reducatur in carcere”, p. 280 [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. On the 6th of Aprile 1349, the Venetian Senate granted him to occupy a post in the cavalry: “quod Saladinus de Saladino de Jadra, qui hec manet in confinibus ad nostra mandata, et propter desolationem agendorum suorum ipse non habet unde vivere et subvenire patri suo seni et impotenti, habet debeat de gratia speciali intuyto pietatis, et quia videtur dispositud ad fidelitatem et bonum, duas postas equestres in Tarvisio in bandiera Italicorum, non augendo numerum soldatorum de inde, et ex nunc pro forniendo ipsas portas possit ire Tarvisium.” Ljubic, Listine, III, doc. 185, p. 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. The convent gradually shifted from the Benedictine rule to the Franciscan one in the 1260s when pope Innocent IV placed the convent under the spiritual guidance of the Minor friars. Brunelli, *Storia*, 388. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Tadija, Smičiklas ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavonie*, vol. 14, doc. 275, 366-67; doc. 281, 376-78 (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1913). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. The nuns in St. Nicholas used to lend the relic to families with a sick person because it was believed that the relic would restore the health of the sick. Brunelli, *Storia,* 392-93; Jadranka Neralić, “Late Medieval Hospitals in Dalmatia,” Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 115, Issue 1-4 (2007), 280. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Christopher Mielke, *Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary (1000-1395*)*,* PhD Dissertation, Central European University Budapest, 2017, 118-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Marina Vidas, "Elisabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary, and the Tomb-Shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar: Power and Relics in Fourteenth-Century Dalmatia" *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 136-75.  [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Brunelli, Storia, ;Vidas, "Elisabeth of Bosnia,” 157-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Vidas, "Elisabeth of Bosnia,” 159. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)