

HRVATSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI
CROATIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL SPATIAL MOBILITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CROATIA IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Edited by
Sabine Florence Fabijanec, Zrinka Novak and Zoran Ladić



Zagreb, 2022.

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Publisher

Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti / Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
10000 Zagreb, Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 11, Croatia
<https://www.info.hazu.hr>

For the Publisher

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Printed by

Stega tisak d.o.o.

Print run

300 copies

A CIP code for this book number 001150426 is available from the National and University Library in Zagreb

ISBN 978-953-347-451-9

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Illustration on the front page:

Portolan Chart of the Mediterranean Sea by Lopo Homem from Atlas Miller (1519)

Completed at the Department of Historical Sciences of the Institute for Historical and Social Sciences of CASA in Zagreb within the scope of the research program *Croatian History Sources, Studies and Manuals*

Publication supported by the Croatian Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia

October 2022

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PREFACE

The phenomenon of spatial mobility of groups and individuals in the territory of what is today Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance period is still not sufficiently examined. Yet, the existence of numerous contemporary written, archeological, and visual sources enable the examination of various types of journeys of groups and individual travellers from various points of view.

Among the written sources related to the examination of spatial mobility in Croatia the most valuable are pilgrim travelogues and diaries as the most popular literary genre of narratives among West and Central European writers and readership. Especially popular were pilgrim travelogues and diaries describing Croatian regions of Istria and Dalmatia starting from Venice as the main port. In the case of contemporary Croatia, they give the latest, although often vague, information related to the East Adriatic regions. Due to their main goal – pilgrimages in the Holy Land and other saintly shrines – some of these narratives described wide-open expanses of Palestine, the Black Sea, Arabia, Egypt, and even India. Yet, these travelogues and diaries were written by persons from West European countries and they give in the first place the information on experiences of foreigners in their encounters with different aspects of daily life in contemporary Croatia. Thus, they are particularly valuable in the examination of naval and land routes which existed in that time in Croatia, but also of political circumstances, urban life, urban and rural social structures, ecclesiastical life, material culture, regional local habits, languages, and so on. They are very useful sources in the research of various aspects of group travels, like e.g. of social stratification, origin or profession of passengers on Venetian galleys, the ethnic background of the members of galley crew, their knowledge of languages, and so on. Occasionally, these narratives also reflected writers' attitudes towards the

other individual pilgrims or groups of pilgrims. Sometimes they expressed their intimate thoughts and feelings regarding the social and religious habits of individuals and groups from different European regions as well as the relations between pilgrims with their ethnic origin or social status. Important sources for the study of spatial mobility are sources related to individual travels, such as the journeys of foreign or Croatian scholars, artists and students, which can be reconstructed by combining different types of sources – diplomatic charters, university matriculae and private documents written by public notaries. The matriculae of all universities contained the lists of students and (primarily those of the late mediaeval and early modern universities) various information about all students and professors. Thus, students and professors of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance can be identified by their ethnicity or region of origin (in our case, for example, Croatus/Croata, Istriacus, Dalmaticus, Bosniacus). Some aspects of their intellectual interests can be reconstructed from data relating to the central subject of their studies or, in the case of professors, from the subjects they taught at the universities (e.g. canon law, Roman law, *artes liberales*, medicine). Further data on professors can be found in the documents on the administrative life of the universities. It is well known that Croatian students in the observed period studied at various European universities. Yet, the researches point on three main directions in choosing places of studying among young Croatian intellectuals – most of East Adriatic students preferred Italy with universities in Rome, Bologna, Padua, Siena, and Ferrara; students from late medieval and Renaissance regions of Croatia and Slavonia and, to a certain extent, Istria especially appreciated universities in Central Europe such as Vienna, Graz, Prague, Krakow, and Pécs. There was also a smaller group of students and later professors or scholars studying and graduating from the universities in Sorbonne or Montpellier and cathedral schools in Chartres and Paris. Diplomatic sources of ecclesiastical origin and correspondence between the Papal Curia and its legates are useful in the research of travels of papal legates and their companies having important tasks in some of the Croatian ecclesiastical centers such as the reform of regional and local Churches or visiting royal courts to propagate the papal crusade idea. As it is known, diplomatic sources from the Vatican Apostolic Archive give the insight into the office of diocesan clerics and regulars with legal, in the first place related to Canon law, and humanistic training whose services as collectors in late medieval Dalmatia is strongly connected to relatively short travels within certain dioceses. Unfortunately for the researcher of medieval and Renaissance spatial mobility, the Church visitations as one of the most valuable sources in the

analysis of spatial mobility on the level of dioceses or provinces appeared only after the end of the Council in Trent in 1563. Political and diplomatic journeys conducted by the members of civic ruling classes or their trustful envoys (*ambassatores*, *nuntii*, dragomans as official diplomatic interpreters) were also a type of individual journeys and may also be reconstructed based on diplomatic sources such as recorded charters, correspondences, instructions, and treaties written by all sides involved but also based on the examination of local sources such as notary records. In the analysis of urban and communal spatial mobility of groups of great value are documents issued by central and local governments, especially in certain critical political and war circumstances.

Very valuable data regarding individual and group spatial mobility provide notary records and they are particularly important in the research of short distance spatial mobility during the epidemics of plague and other diseases. The content of different types of notary records enables the reconstructions of spatial mobility of urban denizens from all classes of society thus enabling the insight into spatial mobility of intellectuals, artists, medical workers, citizens, inhabitants, and newcomers. These documents are especially beneficial in the analysis of individual and family spatial mobility, caused in the first place by economic, professional, intellectual, and artistic reasons, from Croatian urban settlements to other European regions, cities, and communes, particularly in Italy, Hungary, and some other neighboring countries. The examination of spatial mobility based on notary records is also applicable in researching individual and family spatial mobility from the other European regions (in the first place from Italy and Hungary, but also Germany, France, Greece, and so on) to Croatian urban settlements.

On the other hand, central and local governments issued documents related to diplomacy, war, and migrations which were all in connection to spatial mobility either of groups or individuals. As testified in written sources, late medieval and early modern migrations and relocations of populations in Dalmatian hinterland and Slavonia were the consequence of frequent Ottoman raids in the second half of the fifteenth and during the entire sixteenth century. Although there are documented individual or family migrations caused by that factor, migrations of the local population were most often systematically organized relocations of the population from Slavonia to Hungary and Austria or from Dalmatia to Istria and some regions on the Apennines. Same in Slavonia as in Dalmatian hinterland, migrations and relocations as a form of group spatial mobility were designed as long distance and one way journeys. In Slavonia, these relocations were organized by magnate families supported

by kings while in Dalmatia the holder of these actions was the central Venetian government in cooperation with local communal authorities. For Slavonia and East Adriatic coast, some of these migrations and relocations may be well traced and reconstructed. The significant difference between all previously mentioned forms of spatial mobility in comparison to migrations and relocations of the population was in the fact that migrations and relocations of hundreds or thousands of persons were forcefully implemented by higher authorities belonging to contemporary authorities and enforceable without consent of the anonymous and subordinated population.

When researching medieval and Renaissance spatial mobility in Croatia, one should take into consideration its favorable geostrategic and important traffic position, particularly regarding its highly valued position in the European land and naval routes network. As confirmed in hundreds and hundreds of travelogues, diaries, diplomatic charters, notary records, and other types of written sources, in the late medieval and Renaissance period Croatian East Adriatic naval routes belonged to dominant European economic, cultural, and religious routes connecting Europe with the Holy Land and from there (with stops in Palestinian ports of Jaffa, Acre/*Accon*, and some other) by land routes with Arabia, Egypt, the Black sea regions dominated by Venice and Genoa, even with exotic oriental lands such as Persia and India. East Adriatic naval routes reached the peak of their importance in naval mobility towards eastern shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea regions during the period examined in this book. Of course, these were not unilateral naval routes. Namely, relatively weakly populated East Adriatic communes, cities, and ports (most of them counted between 2000 and 5000 inhabitants plus the peasants in communal districts) in Dalmatia and Istria in the late medieval and Renaissance period, particularly in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, became the places of intensive economic and civilizational – cultural, artistic, intellectual as well as scientific and scholarly – contacts between the Occident and the Orient. Such historical circumstances in the fifteenth century resulted in the flourishing of local economies of the East Adriatic urban settlements, in improving the level of material culture, of educational system and literacy, and so on. But, the most important consequence of these circumstances was the appearance of very learned individuals and groups of intellectuals which established highly valued intellectual circles of Humanists in almost all communes and cities. These persons – laics and clerics of various professions united around Humanist ideas will create the general path of the civilizational development of East Adriatic cities in the time of Humanism and Renaissance.

During the period studied in this book, one of the most important land routes in mediaeval and late mediaeval sources, called *via exercitualis* or *via exercitus*, led from the northern areas of Central Europe to Visegrád, Buda and Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia) in Hungary and south along Lake Balaton, first to Zagreb and from there to the fortresses of Bihać and Knin, ending in Split as an important eastern Adriatic trading and military port. Written sources also tell us that during the reign of King Louis I of Anjou (1342-1382), another land road axis gained importance, starting from various urban settlements in Poland, joining in Krakow and leading to Alba Regia. From Alba Regia, this land route continued south to Zagreb. From Zagreb it followed ancient Roman roads and continued towards the five Eastern Adriatic ports of Senj, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor to strengthen maritime connections with ports on the Apennine Peninsula such as Ancona, Bari and Manfredonia. The existence of this axis or land routes from Poland to the Adriatic was of great military interest to the royal, magnate and other ruling classes in Central Europe. At the same time, these land routes served a commercial purpose: they enabled the exchange of goods between Central Europe and the Mediterranean, with the ports of the eastern Adriatic playing an important role.

Towards the end of the period under study, the road network became more complex, especially as new land routes were built between Buda and other urban settlements in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia (e.g. Belgrade or *Singidunum* and Vrhbosna – present-day Sarajevo). The aim was to secure traffic between the Central European urban centres (especially Buda) and the ports in Senj, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik. These land routes were usually based on inland waterways (rivers) and remains of ancient Roman land routes. Equally important was the so-called *via regis* or *via magna* (leading from Senj via Vratnik to Brinje, Modruš and Dubovac to Zagreb), which was already built in Roman times and played a significant role in the economic, military, but also cultural connections between the most important municipalities on the Eastern Adriatic coast with Zagreb, Buda, Prague, Krakow and other Central European political, economic and university centres. The Modruš fortress with its suburb played an important role in connecting Zagreb with the ports of Senj, Zadar and Split. Finally, the reconstructed old Roman road *via Egnatia* had an equally important role in traffic, economy and everyday life in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, especially during the unrest and maritime conflicts and in times of war between the Ottoman Empire and Venice, which ran from southeast to northwest from the Albanian towns and ports of Vlora (Vlorë) and Durrës along the eastern Adriatic coast, with intermediate stops in Dubrovnik, Split, Zadar and Senj as the main Croatian ports.

Today some Croatian researchers (in the first place archaeologists, geographers, and historians) examine the constructions of micro or local land roads networks, especially the land road networks within certain communal spaces. Because of the long tradition of constructing land roads on the level of urban settlements, communal and provincial territories, which started in the antique period, Croatian archaeologists and medievalists in their scholarly work pay significant attention to the examination of short distanced spatial mobility within the cities, districts, and provincial territories (*via publica*, *via communis*, *via pecuaria*, *via (con)vicinalis*, *via per nives*, and so on). In this analysis particular importance has archaeological excavations on many sites related to Roman and medieval land routes as historical testimonies of the long tradition of social and individual mobility in Croatia. Important sources in researching the naval spatial mobility in Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance period are visual sources, in the first place maps, portolans, and visual presentations of contemporary urban settlements. Portolans as cartographic scathes contained basic information about represented ports and coasts as well as detailed data concerning the medieval and early modern shipping routes on the Mediterranean. They also contained numerous drawn wind roses as very important naval information. In the vicinity of Croatia two most important centers of maritime cartography were Venice and Genoa and therefore it is no wonder that the East Adriatic coast was punctually represented on most contemporary portolans starting from the oldest known portolan of Mediterranean from the fourteenth century, drawn by an anonymous author and representing maritime and naval data related to the Adriatic Sea and its coast as well. For example, on that oldest portolan, which gives a quite punctual presentation of Adriatic Sea region, are mentioned several urban settlements. Even more, important ports are represented in red and less significant in black color. Thus, Rijeka (*Fiume*) or Biograd (*Ziarea uecia*) were written in black and Poreč (*Perenzo*), Senj (*Segna*), Zadar (*Ziarea*), and Šibenik (*Sebenico*) in red colour. On the same portolan are presented more than fifty coastal and insular places in Istria, Croatian littoral, and Dalmatia thus providing various important data to the ship captains and navigators as the most responsible persons for the safety of travellers. Starting from the period of the thirteenth century Croatia was almost regularly represented on portolans made by different authors until the end of here examined period. Thus, one of the most beautiful portolan charts belonging to the genre of *mapa mundi* on which the entire territory of Croatia is also presented dated to 1519 and it was created by the Portuguese cartographer and cosmographer Lopo Homem. Yet, although that portolan or

mapa mundi is very accurate as far as the Mediterranean, Europe, Near East, and North Africa is concerned, it is inaccurate in the presentation of imagined enormous southern land-mass of the world. The presentations of the territory of Croatia on maps started after a scholarly meeting of Islamic and Christian scholars and acceptance of more developed Arabic cartographic knowledge on some of the European courts, in the first place on the court of King Roger II of Sicily. It was with Roger as patron that al-Idrīsī started work, together with a team of collaborators, on the definitive world map of the age. To ensure its accuracy, 15 years were spent examining existing maps and interviewing travellers, and al-Idrīsī drew on three centuries of Islamic mapmaking knowledge unknown to western cartographers. According to the information of Abduraham Zeki, in 1153 al-Idrīsī himself visited and studied the East Adriatic coast spending some time in Senj, Knin, Biograd, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Ston, and Dubrovnik. Al-Idrīsī's finished the map entitled *Tabula Rogeriana* in 1154. He inverts conventional ordering of North and South, placing South at the top of the image, and following the tenth century geographer Ibn Ḥawqal Al-Idrīsī located Mecca at the center of the world. *Tabula Rogeriana* was the first known map to mention Croatia by name. Idrisi wrote a commentary to the map, known as *Geography* or *Kitab al Rudjar*. On that map, the names of Croatia and above mentioned cities were mentioned. During the late medieval and Renaissance period maps and portolans representing Croatian territory, in particular cities, communes, and isles on the Adriatic Sea coast became rather frequently presented and are certainly one of the most important sources in research of spatial mobility in Croatia.

Very important visual sources for the study of spatial mobility are images of the towns and cities on the East Adriatic coast as a specific illustrative genre firmly linked to the narrative genre of pilgrimage diaries and travelogues. The main reason for the relatively frequent depiction of Istrian, Croatian, and Dalmatian coastal towns and cities in the pilgrim travelogues and diaries was the fact that the safest sea route from Venice to the Holy Land as *area sacra* and Jerusalem as *locus sanctissimus* was the journey on galleys close to the Eastern Adriatic coast with many stops in local ports. Unlike earlier periods when images never appeared in this type of narrative, at least not in the case of Croatia, they were introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century and became popular in the following centuries. These images were done either by pilgrim writers themselves or by accompanied illustrators such as Bernhard von Breydenbach and his illustrator Erhard Reuwich (they travelled to *Terra sancta* and back to Europe in 1483-1484) or Konrad von Grünenberg/Grünenberg. Beautiful images of East Adriatic cities are

presented in the pilgrim diary of Italian canon Pietro Casola who travelled to the Holy Land (he pilgrimaged from May until the end of October of 1494). Interestingly, the illustrators never presented wider territories which surrounded the ports, although from the sixteenth century onwards they often presented urban settlements together with their districts either on land or on the sea. One of the most famous pilgrim diaries in which the images of Istrian and Dalmatian cities are rather superficially depicted with a little bit more precise pictorial emphasis on ports, urban fortresses, ecclesiastical and civic administrative buildings is that written by Konrad von Grünemberg (his voyage to Jerusalem and back to Europe lasted from April to early December 1486). Generally, from the sixteenth century pilgrim illustrators paid much more attention to the urban details depicting monasteries, cathedral churches, communal palaces, and even to the presentation of the position of district's villages. One of the reasons for the more punctual presentation of the urban areas as well as the toponyms in the communal districts (names of villages, lakes, rivers, islands, surrounding mountains, or small forts) in the sixteenth century was in the omnipresent danger from possible Ottoman military raids. Namely, these images and, still not too precise, small maps were included in some of the travelogues or diaries to inform the central government in Venice about the political and military circumstances in Dalmatia. The oldest known map made for that purpose was recently found in the State Archive in Venice. Dated between 1505 and 1510 the map contains the presentations of the parts of medieval Croatia and Bosnia, Dalmatinska Zagora, central and northern Dalmatia with a detailed presentation of the Eastern Adriatic shore from Vodice to Omiš. One of the most beautiful maps for that purpose, engraved and etched with hand coloring, was probably done by Martin Rota Kolunić in 1571 and entitled "*Zarra et Contado Citta principale della Dalmatia posta sul mare Adriatico locho delli Illustrissimo Serenissimo Venetiani al presente molestata da Turchi*". Martin Rota Kolunić was the author of the image of Šibenik in the same 1571 which is one of the most accurate representations of one Croatian town created in the Renaissance period. Kolunić's image was done for the famous *isolario* by Francesco Camocio published in 1571 and it was also published in the first edition of "*Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli. Per Mare, e per Terra, & insieme quello di Terra Santa*" written by Giuseppe Rosaccio and published in 1598.

All of the above mentioned sources represent valuable late medieval and Renaissance historical heritage either published or kept in Croatian or foreign archives, museums, and other institutions. Consequently, the richness of sources enables a more punctual examination of late medieval and early

modern social and individual mobility by applying new historical and archaeological methodologies (e. g. interdisciplinary approaches to some problems by applying the historical-archaeological methodology, new methods of historical demography, Central Place Theory, quantitative analysis of serial sources) and by researching some new topics related to individual and group mobility in Croatia in this book observed period. One of the main tasks of this book is to present, by leaning on and following to a certain degree the twentieth century results of Croatian historiography, the research related to some poorly or even completely unexplored topics connected to the field of human spatial mobility in the late medieval and Renaissance period. Let us mention here some of the topics analyzed in this book which, to the high extent, fill the gaps in our knowledge of late medieval and Renaissance spatial mobility in Croatia: the question of military protection of more important land roads and magnates' role in everyday functioning of land roads, the problem of differences in quality of spatial mobility between the members of social elite or individuals and the members of impoverished population, the development of literary theories related to the genre of travelogues, the religious genre of epic as a source in the research of some aspects of spatial mobility, the new reconstructions of old East Adriatic naval routes based on the late medieval and Renaissance pilgrim itineraries, the research of human emotions in relations to the atmosphere on the ships, the wetter conditions and other daily circumstances at the Adriatic sea, the examination of the topic related to vessels as a spatially limited place of multicultural coexistence of people from different social and ethnic origin, and the problem of spatial mobility motivation among the late medieval and Renaissance Croatian intellectuals. Of course, this book is in the first place an attempt to present some of the topics which occupy the attention of contemporary international and Croatian historians in their research and analysis of all above mentioned – written, visual, and archaeological sources. Still, no doubt here published articles present original scholarly progress in the research of relatively newly established historical branch.

Last but not least, the editors of this book are deeply grateful to peer reviewers of this book – Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Professor at the CNRS in Aix-en-Provence in France and Professor Lovorka Čoralić from the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb. Their knowledgeable and diligent scholarly peer reviews with many expert propositions and competent advice significantly helped in improving the quality of all published articles in this book. We are equally grateful to all of the twelve scholars for submitting their original and valuable papers for this book as well as for their long-term patience

while expecting the publication of this book. Finally, we hope that this book will give a positive impetus to other historians in researching various new topics and improve our knowledge about already examined problems of late medieval and Renaissance social and individual spatial mobility in Croatia.

Zagreb, 13th of August 2021

Zoran Ladić
Sabine Florence Fabijanec
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I.

**THE POLITICAL SIDE
OF SPATIAL MOBILITY**

Gordan Ravančić

CONTROL OF ROADS AS A FEUDAL MANOR CREATION STRATEGY: THE EXAMPLE OF THE COUNTS OF KRK^{*}

Abstract: Medieval noble kin of Counts of Krk before the 1300 managed to control an impressive feudal manor that included several historical counties and territories (*terra*). Author of the article examines motives and principles of the Counts' of Krk in the period of the rise of their political power. Regarding their territorial dispersal, author implements the Central Places Theory as a methodological tool in the reconstruction of their motives.

Key words: Counts of Krk, roads, communication, island of Krk, Modruš, Vinodol, Gacka, Central Places Theory

The Counts of Krk, known as the Frankapani or Frankopani from the fifteenth century onwards, were one of a number of Croatian noble families (kin) that left a significant mark on the political, economic, and cultural history of Croatia in the medieval period. Their importance has been well recognized within historiography. However, although there are many studies examining various aspects of the history of the Counts of Krk, few historians

* This work has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project "Topography of power: Eastern Adriatic cities in medieval spheres of power", no. IP-2019-04-2055.

have dealt with the earliest history of the family.¹ Such a state of affairs is probably the result of the relative scarcity of surviving documents containing information about the family's beginnings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, many of these "early" documents and charters are, in fact, formal forgeries, composed in the late thirteenth century or even later.² Still, the information preserved in these documents allows historians to roughly reconstruct the territorial spread of the Krčki's power, as well as the formation of their feudal possessions. However, the reasons behind this process and the exact motives of the dispersal of their power in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia remain quite unclear if judged solely by the information preserved in extant documents. Thus, in this study I will try to examine whether the implementation of the methodological approach proposed by Walter Christaller (Central Place Theory),³ which has already been employed in historiography,⁴ can help us determine the motives for and mechanisms of the expansion of the Counts' of Krk rule in the territories across their paternal properties on the island of Krk.

Therefore, in this article I will try to follow chronology of territorial expansion of the Counts of Krk and spatial distribution of the (urban) central places of their manor. Moreover, this attempt aims to determine whether this spatial distribution depended on the communication relations between these central places, i.e. (urban) settlements from which the counts of Krk

¹ The most comprehensive study remains Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, [Counts of Frankapan] (hereafter *Knezovi Frankapani*), Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 1901. One should also consult: Nada Klaić, "Knezovi Frankapani kao krčka vlastela" [Counts of Frankapan as Nobility of Krk], *Krčki zbornik* 1/1970, pp. 125-180.

² Cf. Nada Klaić, *Vinodol od antičkih vremena do knezova Krčkih i Vinodolskog zakona* [Vinodol from the Ancient Times up to the Counts of Krk and the Code of Vinodol], (Pazin-Rijeka: Historijski arhiv Pazin – Historijski arhiv Rijeka 1988, pp. 75-95; Lujko Marčetić, "Noviji pogledi na stariju povijest Vinodola, Krka i Senja" [New Interpretations of Ancient History of Vinodol, Krk, and Senj], *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Rijeci* 9/1988, pp. 1-19.

³ See: Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, Jena: Fischer 1933. There is also English translation: Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, trans. Carlisle W. Baskin-Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall 1966. A good overview of Walter Christaller's central place theory can be found in: Milan Vresk, *Grad i urbanizacija* [The City and Urbanization], Zagreb: Školska knjiga 2002, pp. 213-224. For a more detailed and accessible explanation of the theory, cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Central Place Theory" <https://www.britannica.com/topic/central-place-theory> (accessed 3 April 2018); or: "Central Place Theory by Walter Christaller (1933)" <https://planningtank.com/settlement-geography/central-place-theory-walter-christaller> (accessed 21 November 2016).

⁴ See, e.g.: Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku (urbanizacija Varaždinske županije do kraja 16. stoljeća* [Towns of the Varaždin County in the Middle Ages (Urbanization of the Varaždin County until the End of the 16th Century)], Zagreb-Koprivnica: Nakladna kuća Dr. Feletar 1994.

controlled their vast territorial property. Furthermore, I will try to speculate whether counts of Krk have planned (and perhaps built) this communication network within their territory or they simply relied on the road (communication and trading) network that existed there before.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the early medieval Croatian Kingdom underwent a significant dynastic change, which was soon followed by many territorial and organizational transformations. The kings hailing from the new Hungarian dynasty of Árpád tried to maintain the territorial and structural integrity of the Croatian component within the newly formed Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. However, the royal armies were unable to intervene and prevent external threats. By the end of the twelfth century, many borderline parts of the former Croatian Kingdom had succumbed to neighboring political entities such as Venice and the Byzantine Empire.

It was exactly in this period of political instability that the rise of the Counts of Krk came about. Not only did their power begin to grow on the island of Krk (starting in 1118), at that time under Venetian sovereignty, but it soon spread onto the neighboring mainland, which was controlled by the kings of Hungary-Croatia. Their first mainland acquisition was Modruš, but extant documents do not reveal whether Bartholomew II obtained this territory (*terra*) as a land-possession or as a royal county (*comitatus*). The surviving charter, dated to 1193, is clearly a (formal) forgery, but a later ratification of this possession (1209) as the inheritance of Vitus II bears witness to the fact that the Counts of Krk had already begun to govern this territory by the end of the twelfth century.⁵

Their next mainland asset was the territory of Vinodol. The circumstances under which the Counts of Krk gained this acquisition remain unclear, too. As in the case of Modruš, it is not apparent from extant documents when and how Vinodol came under the rule of the Krčki family. The original donation charter has not been preserved and the charter of King Andrew II, by which he donated *tottam terram ... scilicet Wynadol et Modros* to Vitus, Count of Krk, in 1223 was probably drawn up in the fourteenth century, even though the confirmations of this charter from the 1240s are authentic. On top of that, certain ordinances from the Vinodol Law Code (1288) have raised additional questions about the nature of the social and hierarchical organization of the

⁵ Cf. Lajos Thallóczy-Samu Barabás (eds.), *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus* [hereafter CDF], *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Diplomataria* vol. XXXV, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences 1910, pp. 3-5; Tadija Smičiklas (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [hereafter CD], vol. 2, ed. Tadija Smičiklas, Zagreb: JAZU 1904, pp. 262-263; Tadija Smičiklas (ed.), *CD*, vol. 3, Zagreb: JAZU, 1905, pp. 95-96.

medieval towns (*oppida*) of Vinodol, especially regarding the apparent organizational alterations that occurred following the change of the governing power in Vinodol. Croatian historiography has therefore been unable to trace the roots of the social and political organization of medieval Vinodol with any degree of certainty.⁶

During the consolidation of their rule in Vinodol, the Counts of Krk managed to obtain control of the important harbor and town of Senj (*Senia*). After the Templar dominion of Senj ended in 1269, the Counts of Krk probably engaged in intense diplomatic activity in order to gain the trust of the denizens of Senj, and soon – in 1271 – Vitus IV of Krk was elected *potestas* of Senj with hereditary rights.⁷ With this acquisition the Counts of Krk managed to gain control over the town which was the starting (or ending) point of one of the most important roads that connected the Adriatic with its hinterland, and, as would be revealed in later centuries, it was just the beginning of the Counts' of Krk successful incorporation into continental trade.

⁶ Since a list of all the contributions dealing with the origins of Vinodol society in the Middle Ages would be too long for the purposes of this article, consult the references found in: Maurizio Levak, "Podrijetlo i uloga kmeta u vinodolskom društvu XIII. stoljeća" [The Origin and Role of the Serf in the 13th-century Society of Vinodol], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU u Zagrebu* 19/2001, pp. 35-81; Marko Kostrenčić, "Vinodolski zakon" [The Vinodol Law Code], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 227/1923, pp. 110-230; Marko Kostrenčić, "Vinodolski zakon" [The Vinodol Law Code], *Historijski zbornik* 2/1949, pp. 131-152; Miho Barada, "Hrvatski vlasteoski feudalizam" [Croatian Aristocratic Feudalism], *Djela Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 44, Zagreb: JAZU 1952; Lujo Margetić, *Iz vinodolske prošlosti. Pravni izvori i rasprave* [From Vinodol Past: Legal Sources and Studies], Rijeka and Zagreb: Liburnija-Školska knjiga 1980; Nada Klaić, *Vinodol: od antičkih vremena do Knežova Krčkih i Vinodolskog zakona* [Vinodol: From Ancient Times to the Counts of Krk and the Vinodol Law Code], Pazin-Rijeka: Historijski arhiv u Pazinu 1988; Mile Bogović, "Crkva u Vinodolskom zakonu iz 1288. godine" [The Church in the Vinodol Law Code of 1288], *Riječki teološki časopis* 2/1994, pp. 63-77; Radoslav Katičić, "Praslavenski pravni termini i formule u Vinodolskom zakonu" [Old Slavonic Legal Terms and Formulas in the Vinodol Law Code], *Slovo: Časopis Staroslavenskog instituta u Zagrebu* 39-40/1989/90, pp. 73-85; Tomislav Raukar, "Vinodolski zakon i hrvatsko srednjovjekovno društvo" [The Vinodol Law Code and the Medieval Croatian Society], *Historijski zbornik* 45/1992, pp. 155-168; Svetislav Polovina, "Gospodarski i društveni aspekti Vinodolskog zakona" [Economic and Social Aspects of the Vinodol Law Code], *Ekonomika misao i praksa: Časopis Sveučilišta u Dubrovniku* 1/1992, pp. 157-160; Vinko Tadejević, "Poljoprivredno čitanje Vinodolskog zakona" [An Agricultural Reading of the Vinodol Law Code], *Vinodolski zbornik: godišnjak za gospodarstvo-turizam, povijesnu i kulturnu baštinu, ekologiju i promicanje ljudskog stvaralaštva* 9/2004, pp. 245-249.

⁷ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knežovi Frankopani. Knjiga prva: Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka (od god. 1118. do god. 1480.)* [The Frankopan Counts of Krk. Book one: From the earliest Times to the Loss of the Island of Krk (from 1118 to 1480)] (hereafter *Krčki knežovi*), Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 1901, pp. 71 and 110; Franjo Smiljanić, *Studije o srednjovjekovnim slavenskim i hrvatskim institucijama* [Studies on Medieval Slavic/Croatian Institutions], Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru 2010, pp. 57. Even though Smiljanić erroneously dates this election to 1291, he has rightly concluded that the Counts of Krk could not have acquired that title without the support of the local nobility and institutions. For the year of election of Vitus IV, cf. CD, vol. 5, pp. 597-598.

Consequently, by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Counts of Krk had managed to create a spacious feudal manor and in 1302 Count Dominus II proudly proclaimed himself *comes Vegle, Modruxe, Vinodoli atque Senie*. Moreover, one must also bear in mind that in a charter issued in Senj as early as 1257 one of the members of the Krčki family, who managed to secure the position of *potestas* in Senj, called himself *dominus Federicus Veglensis, Modrusiensis et Vinodolensis comes et potestas Seniensis*.⁸ The difference between these two titles is evident, but it can be assumed that by the middle of the thirteenth century the Counts of Krk already had a clear idea of expanding their rule on the mainland, with the intent of incorporating those possessions into their patrimony. Thus, at that time the Counts of Krk controlled Modruš and Senj, two important (trading and communication) centers on the route that connected northern parts of medieval Croatian lands with the Adriatic Sea. Moreover, it seems that they were quite aware of the importance of these possessions, since they incorporated them into their “official” title.

However, this did not mark the end of their expansion on the mainland. It would seem that even before 1302 the Counts of Krk had managed to obtain another landed property. The last, but not least, was Gacka. The way in which the Counts of Krk came into possession of the Gacka territory (or Gacka County) remains a matter of discussion in historiography. The royal confirmation charter issued to the Counts of Krk in 1300 testifies to the fact that they had already controlled this territory by that time,⁹ yet it remains unclear when and under what circumstances their rule over this territory first began.¹⁰ It is possible that the acquisition of Gacka was somehow related to their takeover of Senj, since the territory had previously been controlled by the Knights Templar: both were seized in 1269.

⁸ CD, vol. 5, p. 66.

⁹ CD, vol. 7, pp. 386-387.

¹⁰ Vjekoslav Klaić was the first to plausibly reconstruct these events (V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi*, pp. 71-72), arguing that the Counts of Krk took advantage of weak royal power during the decades of struggle between the House of Árpád and the Neapolitan branch of the House of Anjou, and expanded their dominion towards the northeast. Moreover, other surviving charters from the 1290s suggest that the Counts of Krk had by that time gained control over territory of Gacka. Cf. CD, vol. 7, p. 1 (1290); pp. 80-82 (1292); pp. 157-158 (1293); pp. 212-213 (1295).



MAP LEGEND:

Istra – Istria
 Kranjska – Carniola
 Slavonija – Slavonia
 Hrvatska – Croatia
 Jadransko more – Adriatic Sea

Figure 1: Feudal manor of the Counts of Krk around 1300;

Source: <http://www.vrilo-mudrosti.hr/vremeplov.htm> (accessed 28 September 2020)
 published December 2009

Looking at the map, it becomes salient that the Counts of Krk gradually extended their control over the mainland just opposite their island of origin. Still, as has been stated at the beginning of this article, it is not clear what the Counts' motives were and whether there had been any plans for the expansion of their feudal manor. I will try to propose a plausible answer to this question, but before I do that, I would like to offer an overview of the major settlements within the above-mentioned territorial acquisitions.

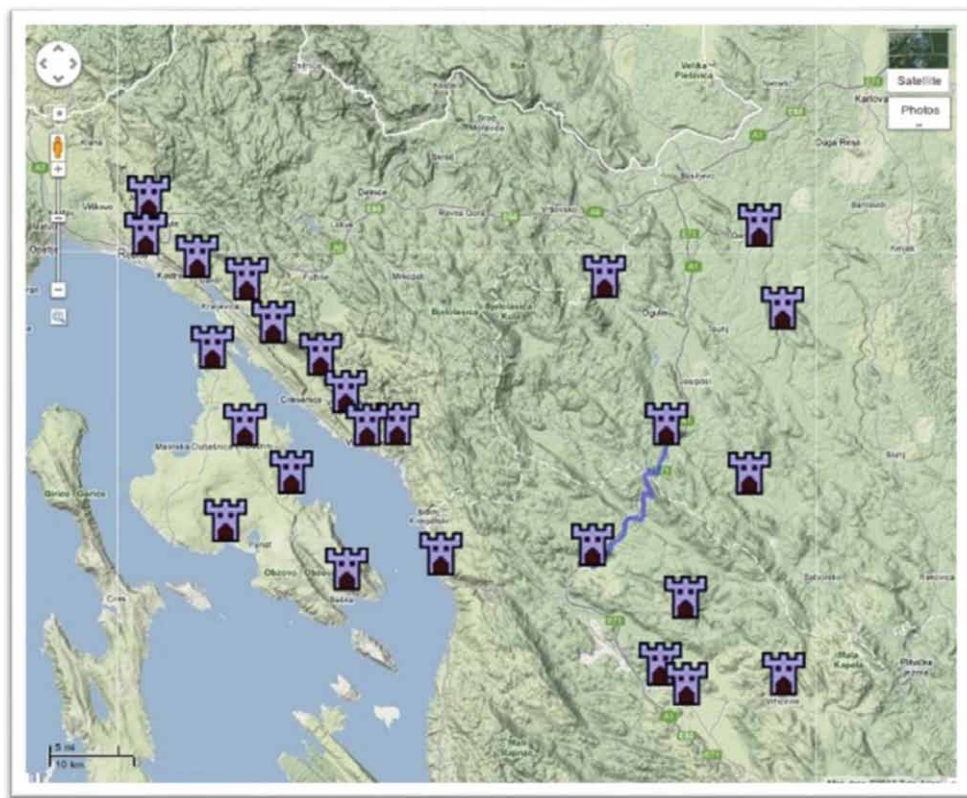


Figure 2: Location of administrative centers (forts) of the Counts of Krk; Google Maps, <https://tinyurl.com/yy586rw9> (accessed 28 September 2020)

In the territory of Modruš, the Counts of Krk developed the following administrative centres (towns/fortifications): Modruš, Plaški (Plasa), Vitunj, Ključ, and Janjča.¹¹ On the other hand, there were nine administrative centers in Vinodol: Trsat, Grobnik, Hreljin, Bakar, Drivenik, Grižane (Belgrad), Bribir, Ledenice, and Novi (Vinodolski), while another five were to be found in Gacka: Brinje, Dabar, Otočac, Prozor, and Vrhovine. If we take a closer look at the territorial distribution of these settlements, it becomes clear that they were strategically distributed so as to protect medieval traffic routes, and the

¹¹ V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi*, pp. 48-49. Here I must emphasize that the exact location of the Janjča fortress remains unknown. Finding it has been a priority for the municipality of Generalški Stol ever since 2007. Cf. *Prostorni plan uređenja općine Generalški Stol sa smanjenim sadržajem* [Master Plan for the Municipality of Generalški Stol, reduced version], Zagreb: Urbanistički institut Hrvatske September 2007, 47 (http://www.generalski-stol.hr/prostorni_plan_opcine_general-ski_stol.pdf).

distance between each neighboring center uncovers the Krčki's intention of controlling the entire feudal manor, since the walking distance between individual settlements never exceeded seven hours.¹² To what extent this communication network relied on pre-medieval road/route system is still to be investigated, and confirmed by archeological excavations.

Still, the spatial distribution of these settlements (centers) reveals another interesting feature regarding the nature of their functions. It is apparent that the spatial distribution and the number of settlements within Modruš and Gacka share some similarities,¹³ while the number of centers in Vinodol is almost twice that of the two abovementioned territories (counties). Such diversity, I believe, points to the different organizational and social circumstances within these territories prior to their acquisition by the Counts of Krk. This assumption may be explained and validated by implementing the "Central Places Theory" developed by Walter Christaller.¹⁴

According to Christaller's theory, the spatial distribution of individual settlements is determined not only by geography, but also by the settlements' position in the hierarchy of places. The main factor in defining the hierarchy is functionality in terms of supply (trade), transportation (traffic), and administrative organization. Christaller assigns a so-called hierarchical index to each of these domains. The index of the hierarchical-spatial distribution of settlements according to the principle of trade (supply) would thus be $k=3$, which means that each local supply center evolves under the influence of three surrounding regional supply centres. According to the principle of

¹² The distances between individual administrative fortresses in the Modruš part of the dominion of the Counts of Krk were as follows: Modruš – Plaški: ca. 18.2 km (3h 50min), Modruš – Ključ: ca. 29 km (5h 50min), Modruš – Vitunj: ca. 27.5 km (5h 40min), Vitunj – Ključ: ca. 34.2 km (7h), Vitunj – Janjač: ca. 29.5 km (6h), Ključ – Janjač: ca. 28.5 km (6h).

Distances between individual fortresses in Gacka were as follows: Brinje – Otočac: ca. 26.5km (5h 30min); Otočac – Dabar: ca. 17km (3h 45min); Otočac – Prozor: ca. 5km (1h); Prozor – Dabar: ca. 17.5 km (4h); Prozor – Vrhovine: ca. 13 km (3h); Vrhovine – Otočac: ca. 17 km (3h 30min); Vrhovine – Dabar: ca. 25.5 km (5h 30min).

Distances between Senj and other nearby centres of the Counts of Krk are as follows: Senj – Brinje: ca. 32 km (6h 50min), Senj – Novi: ca. 22.5 km (4h 45min) or ca. 29 km (6h) along the coast.

¹³ Taking a closer look at the spatial distribution of urban settlements on the island of Krk, one can easily conclude that the settlements were similar in number and allocation to those in Modruš and Gacka. For more information, cf. Gordan Ravančić, "Urban Settlements (*oppida*) of Vinodol under the Rule of the Counts of Krk: Topographical Situation and Local Organization within the Feudal Manor", Irena Benyovsky Latin-Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (eds.), *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest 2014, pp. 197-198.

¹⁴ I discuss this issue in the above-mentioned article about the spatial distribution of settlements in medieval Vinodol. Cf. n. 13.

traffic (transportation), the hierarchical-distributional index is $k=4$, which means that each local traffic center is surrounded by four other such centers, i.e. that the impact of the regional center is four times greater than that of the local ones. Finally, the administrative principle is given the index of $k=7$, which means that each regional center administratively influences six surrounding local centers.

Thus, while in the regions of Modruš and Gacka (as well on the island of Krk) one can easily apply Christaller's $k=4$ principle of traffic (transportation), in Vinodol one should use Christaller's administrative principle ($k=7$), bearing in mind that the historical development of Vinodol differs from that of "Vinodol Proper", which encompassed the valley stretching from Križišće towards the south-east, and the administrative unit of "Extended Vinodol", which comprised (from an unknown point in time) Grobnik, Trsat, and Bakar.¹⁵ At the same time and on a larger scale, in the case of these three territories (four, including the island of Krk) one could assume that the feudal manor of the Counts of Krk corresponded to Christaller's $k=3$ principle of trade (supply). Of course, in order to confirm the latter assumption, one should investigate in detail the administrative functions of all the settlements within these three (or four) territories that comprised the feudal manor of the Krčki family around the year 1300. Such spatial distribution implies that all these settlements were connected by some road/route network that enabled the Counts of Krk to control such rather vast and mountainous territory.

This strongly suggests that throughout the territorial expansion of their dominion the Counts of Krk were guided by the idea of controlling all major transportation routes connecting their island with the hinterland in the north, but also in the east. This statement can be backed by several facts. Firstly, their later spatial expansion to the north of Modruš clearly reflects their intention to control all the major trading routes in this region. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Modruš had already become the centre of the mainland dominion of the Counts of Krk, and this was to remain so for times to come. The logic behind the evolution of feudal fortified settlements in this area during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – in

¹⁵ Lujo Margetić, *Vinodolski zakon: The Vinodol Law*, Rijeka: Skupština općine Rijeka 1989, 73ff. The geographic inconsistency of the area called Vinodol was first observed by Vjekoslav Klaić, although he did not formulate his findings as explicitly as Margetić. Cf. V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi*, p. 51. The vagueness of the term "Vinodol" has also been emphasized by Vladimir Koščak, "Položaj Vinodola u hrvatskoj feudalnoj državi" [The Position of Vinodol in the Croatian Feudal State], *Historijski zbornik* 16/1963, p. 131.

Drežnik and Tržac on the Korana river, in Cetin and Slunj, Zvečaj, Bosiljevo, Blagaj, and Skrad on the Korana river, and even more northwards, in Bosiljevo and Novigrad on the Dobra river, up to Brod on the Kupa river – clearly illustrates their intention of controlling the entire area by securing all important north-south traffic routes.¹⁶



Figure 3: Roman roads system in the regions of Vinodol and Lika;
Digital atlas of the Roman Empire. <https://dh.gu.se/dare/>
 (accessed 28 September 2020)

¹⁶ Milan Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš: Grad knezova Krčkih-Frankopana i biskupa Krkavsko-modruške biskupije* [Medieval Modruš: The City of the Counts of Krk-Frankopan and the Bishops of the Krbava-Modruš Diocese], Ogulin: Matica hrvatska 2008, pp. 19-20. Historical sources attest to the existence of traffic routes in this area (and not just to the main route passing through Modruš). For the reconstruction of medieval roads in this area, cf. Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja/ Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* [Road, Travellers, Travellings] (hereafter *Put, putnici, putovanja*), Zagreb: AGM 1997, p. 207.

Secondly, the fact that the Krčki took up residence in Novi (Vinodolski), exactly at a position which ensured swift and uninterrupted communication with their island of origin, during their assumption of power in Vinodol,¹⁷ clearly indicates their intention to connect Krk with the major trading route that started in Senj. At the same time, this new settlement was in the vicinity of Bribir, the former early medieval center of "Vinodol Proper". The new residence of the Counts could hence easily take over the function of the center of the entire valley.¹⁸ Moreover, one should not forget that the nine urban settlements (*oppida*) in Vinodol were placed in such a way as to control the ancient road that had connected the ancient Roman towns of Trsat (*Tarsatica*) and Senj (*Senia*).

Thirdly, and similarly to the case of Novi (Vinodolski), the development of medieval Brinje (on the site of the Roman settlement *Monetium*)¹⁹ suggests that the Counts of Krk formed their feudal manor on the mainland with the intention of controlling the Roman road system which had survived throughout early medieval times. Still, if we wish to be exact, extant historiographical research does not elucidate whether Brinje belonged to Gacka County or whether the Counts of Krk ruled over it independently. Archaeological and cartographical investigations suggest that the medieval settlement of Brinje/Sokolac first came into being exactly during the period when the Gacka territory was under the rule of the Counts of Krk. The first mention of Brinje in medieval documents dates to 1343, when Bartholomew VIII of the Krčki family issued two charters there,²⁰ revealing that part of the family resided

¹⁷ Novi (Vinodolski) is first mentioned in surviving medieval documents in 1288 (in the Vinodol Law Code). However, from the present-day state of research it is not clear whether it was the Counts of Krk who founded this settlement or whether they just made it their administrative center in Vinodol. Archeological evidence confirms that the area, i.e. fort Lopar near Novi Vinodolski, had been settled in Roman times and remained so throughout the early medieval period leading up to the tenth century.

¹⁸ Archeological investigations revealed that in Roman times the center of Vinodol was *statio Ad turres* located in present-day Crikvenica. See: Radmila Matejčić, "Pregled kulturno-povijesnih spomenika Vinodola" [Overview of Historical and Cultural Monuments from Vinodol], *Vinodolski zbornik* 2/1981, p. 314. The earliest history of Novi Vinodolski is still a matter of debate within historiography and archeology. For the latest overview of this issue, cf.: Andrej Janeš, "Nove spoznaje o utvrđi Lopar u Novom Vinodolskom. Preliminarni rezultati arheoloških istraživanja 2011.-2013." [New Information about Fort Lopar in Novi Vinodolski. Preliminary Results of Archeological Excavations 2011-2013], *Vinodolski zbornik* 15/2014, pp. 7-30.

¹⁹ For the Roman settlement of *Monetium*, cf.: Miroslav Glavičić and Nenad Cambi, "Glava Augusta iz Brinja u svom historijskom i arheološkom kontekstu" [Head of Augustus from Brinje and its Historical and Archeological Context], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 59/2017, pp. 1-19.

²⁰ Cf. Šime Ljubić (ed.), *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents and Charters about Relations between South Slavs and Venice], vol. 2, Zagreb: JAZU 1870, pp. 167-168 and pp. 177-178. Noted also in: CDF, p. 66.

in Brinje at the time. If Brinje was deemed sufficiently important to become the residence of an influential noble family, then it is quite possible that some kind of urban settlement had already existed there prior to the fourteenth century.²¹ Another issue is the question of Brinje's antiquity, as the settlement appears in written sources only from the mid-fourteenth century, even though the possibility that it was older cannot be ruled out. However, debate on this topic must be preceded by thorough archaeological research in the area, as evident from Miletić's study on Brinje. Be that as it may, one can easily deduce that the most important factor in the medieval development of Brinje were the Counts of Krk; their reasons for investing in Brinje were tightly connected with their policy of territorial expansion, which was in turn tied to the control of major roads at the mainland opposite their home island.

Due to its geo(topo)graphical position, Brinje certainly played a particularly important role in this road system since it was an inevitable stop and control point on the road leading from Modruš to Senj. At the same time, Brinje may have been a stop where the road forked in two directions – one towards Senj, and another through the Gacka valley towards Drniš and the Adriatic.²² This function surely reinforced the importance of Brinje within the feudal manor of the Krčki family.

Unfortunately, the present state of research does not permit us to say anything more about trade or the military or administrative functions of these central places within the feudal manor of the Counts of Krk during the period before the beginning of the fourteenth century. The only thing beyond doubt is that in the period leading up to the fourteenth century the Counts of Krk resided in Modruš, Novi (Vinodolski), Senj, and probably in Brinje, and that these towns/forts were the administrative centers of their mainland feudal manor. However, further investigation has yet to corroborate or dismiss the above-mentioned assumptions: firstly, that the Counts of Krk expanded their territorial dominion in accordance with their desire to control the major roads that connected the north and south of medieval Slavonia and Croatia; and secondly, that the implementation of Christaller's "Central Place Theory" can help in the historical research of the urban settlements' spatial distribution within the realm of medieval Croatia.

²¹ Drago Miletić, "Rasprava o strukturi i funkcijama dvorske kapele Sv. Trojstva u Brinju" [Discussion on the Structure and Functions of Chapel of Holy Trinity in Brinje], *Portal* 4/2013, pp. 14-15; Drago Miletić – Marija Valjato Fabris, *Sokolac – frankopanski plemićki grad u Brinju* [Sokolac: A Noble Town of the Frankopan Family in Brinje], Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture RH 2003, pp. 7-9.

²² L. Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja*, pp. 26, 34, 35, 39, and the map on p. 213; V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi*, p. 70.

Consequently, if the future archaeological excavations corroborate assumptions that medieval Brinje (i.e. Sokolac as the residence of the Counts of Krk) has developed on the site which was continuously inhabited from the Roman times, this would be a significant support to the both suppositions. On the other hand, if the future research reveal that Brinje was newly developed settlement in the medieval period, i.e. built by the Counts of Krk without any knowledge about pre-medieval settlement, this would be even more reliable proof that development of communication network and control of the roads was at least one of the expansion strategies in the growth of the feudal manor of the Counts of Krk before year 1300.

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Gordan Ravančić

Kontrola putova kao okosnica stvaranja feudalnog posjeda Krčkih knezova na kopnu u 13. stoljeću

Sažetak

Vlasteoski posjed knezova Krčkih do 1300. godine obuhvaćao je značajan broj gradova i zemljišnih posjeda koji su uključivali čak cijele pojedine županije. U postojećoj literaturi o Krčkim knezovima i obitelji Frankapana na žalost izostaju studije koje propituju strategije i motive na koji se je način posjed Krčkih knezova širio u razdoblju prije 14. stoljeća. Razlog tomu je i činjenica da sačuvana građa ne pruža previše informacija o tome. Stoga, autor, uz pomoć načela sadržanih u teoriji središnjih mjesta njemačkog geografa W. Christallera, analizira prostorne odnose između pojedinih upravnih središta posjeda Krčkih knezova prije 1300. godine. Na temelju specijalne distribucije naselja i geografskih datosti autor sugerira da je osnovni motiv i strategija širenja velikaškog posjeda Krčkih knezova bila kontrola putova i trgovačkih pravaca, čime su istovremeno ostvarivali i političku moć kako na lokalnoj razini, tako i unutar cjelokupnog Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva.

Ključne riječi: Krčki knezovi, ceste, komunikacija, Krk, Vinodol, Modruš, Gacka, Teorija središnjih mjesta

Krešimir Regan

FROM KOZOGRAD TO ROME — THE VOYAGES OF QUEEN CATHERINE OF BOSNIA

Abstract: In the period between the partial fall of Bosnia under Ottoman rule in the summer of 1463 and the beginning of her permanent residence in Rome in the fall of 1467, the Bosnian Queen Catherine travelled almost continuously. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the land and sea routes she took during that period, their duration, the means of transportation, and the social status of her escorts during those journeys.

Keywords: Queen Catherine Kosača-Kotromanić, Bosnia, Ottomans, voyages, Late Middle Ages

INTRODUCTION

Queen Catherine is, without a doubt, one of several personages whose actions left an indelible mark on the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her life, full of royal dignity on the one hand, but also of eternal suffering caused by the loss of her children and lifelong exile on the other, became the universal symbol of motherly love and suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As such, Queen Catherine has always invited the interest of researchers, as numerous books and articles testify.¹ Although biographers have been trying to reconstruct the course of her life since the nineteenth century, this

¹ Esad Kurtović, "Prilog bibliografiji radova o bosanskoj kraljici Katarini Kotromanić (1425-1478)/(U povodu 580. obljetnice rođenja i 525. obljetnice smrti)" [Contribution to the Bibliography of Bosnian Queen Catherine Kosača-Kotromanić (On the Occasion of 580 Years of Birth and 525 Years of Death)], *Bosna franciscana* 13, vol. 22/2005, pp. 201-211.

interesting topic remains only partially and at times inaccurately explained. The turbulent period of her life between the Ottoman invasion led by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in the summer of 1463 and her arrival in Rome in the late 1460s still remains insufficiently clarified. The overview of her life during this period is reduced to the compiling of factual data, mostly retrieved from the study of Ragusan and Vatican archival holdings.

Despite the fact that not even this contribution will provide definitive answers to all the questions concerning her life, our intention is to try to present a more rounded image of her life in the period between the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia in the summer of 1463 and her arrival in Rome in 1467, with an emphasis on her places of residence, the land and sea routes she could have taken, the duration of each voyage and, finally, the size and social status of the entourage that accompanied her on those voyages.

CHILDHOOD AND LIFE AT THE ROYAL COURT

Catherine was born in the late summer of 1425 as the first child of Stephen Vukčić Kosača and Helen Balšić.² Although there are no sources clearly testifying to the place of her birth, it is presumed that she was born in Sokol, the old headquarters of the Kosača family, or in Blagaj on the river Buna, the capital of Hum and the favorite residence of Herzog Stephen.

Little is known about Catherine's life before her marriage to Stephen Tomaš, the King of Bosnia. She is first mentioned in written sources on 25 November 1442 in the last will of her great-grandmother Helen Lazarević. Catherine emerged on the historical scene between 19 and 22 May 1446, when she married the Bosnian king at the royal residence in Milodraž.³ On 19 May 1446, Catherine arrived at the wedding ceremony accompanied by her father and followed by numerous Bosnian magnates and royal retinue

² Ilarion Ruvarac, „Dvije bosanske kraljice. Pretposljednja bosanska kraljica Katarina“ [Two Bosnian Queens. Penultimate Bosnian Queen Catherine] (hereafter *Dvije bosanske*), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1893, no. 5, p. 468; Bazilije Pandžić, „Katarina Vukčić Kosača (1424-1478)“ [Catherine Vukčić Kosača (1424-1478)] (hereafter *Katarina Vukčić Kosača*), Josip Turčinović (ed.), *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti bosanske kraljice Katarine održan 24. i 25. listopada 1978. u Sarajevu* [Historical and Theological Symposium on the Occasion of 500 Years of Death of Bosnian Queen Catherine], Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija-Kršćanska sadašnjost 1979, p. 15.

³ In his research on Catherine, Krunoslav Draganović mistakenly claims that Catherine's and Tomaš's wedding ceremony took place in Mile. Krunoslav Draganović, *Katarina Kosača bosanska kraljica/prigodom 500. godišnjice njezine smrti (25. X. 1478)* [Catherine Kosača Bosnian Queen / On the Occasion of 500 Years of her Death], Sarajevo: Misijska centrala 1978, p. 21; B. Pandžić, *Katarina Vukčić Kosača*, p. 16; Pejo Čošković, *Bosanska kraljevina u prijelomnim godinama 1443-1446* [The Kingdom of Bosnia during Pivotal Years] (hereafter *Bosanska kraljevina*), Banjaluka: Studije i monografije 3, Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci 1988, pp. 103-110.

and representatives of the Republic of Ragusa.⁴ Although Stephen Tomaš initially planned to travel to the coronation in Mile, in the vicinity of present-day Visoko, it seems that he dismissed the idea, given that the royal couple are mentioned as staying at the royal court in Kraljeva Sutjeska on 25 May.⁵ Catherine and Stephen had two children: Sigismund, born in 1449, and Catherine, born in 1453.⁶ Considering that Stephen Tomaš often travelled during his reign, there is no doubt that Queen Catherine accompanied her husband on those journeys and ruled by his side.⁷ During those voyages, two Franciscan friars were mentioned among the members of Catherine's royal entourage. She had chosen them as her chaplains under the official authorization of Pope Eugene IV, which was granted on 18 June 1447.⁸

What do sources reveal about the final years of Queen Catherine's life in Bosnia? Following Stephen Tomaš's death in 1461, the Bosnian crown was inherited by Stephen Tomašević, his son from a previous marriage, who acknowledged Catherine as the Queen Mother, granting her permission to stay at the royal court in Jajce.⁹ However, one wonders at her not falling into Ottoman captivity along with her children and other members of the royal family, including the King himself, during the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia in the summer of 1463.

It is very likely that, during the Ottoman advance on Bosnia, Catherine was visiting her family in Hum, while her children remained in Jajce in order to avoid the strenuous journey.¹⁰ Having received news of the Ottoman at-

⁴ P. Čošković, *Bosanska kraljevina*, p. 295.

⁵ Đuro Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*. Acta croatica, vol. 1 (1100. – 1499.), *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 6/1, 1898, pp. 165-167; Pavo Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću* [Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska – Seats of Bosnian Rulers in the 14th and 15th Centuries] (hereafter *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska*), Sarajevo: Oslobođenje 1973, p. 205; P. Čošković, *Bosanska kraljevina*, p. 107.

⁶ I. Ruvarac, *Dvije bosanske*, p. 475; Marko Perojević, "Stjepan Tomaš Ostojić" (hereafter *Stjepan Tomaš*), Krunoslav Draganović et al., *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463*. [History of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Oldest Times until the Year 1463], vol. I, Sarajevo: HKD Napredak 1991, p. 555.

⁷ Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* [Herceg Stephen Vukčić Kosača and His Time] (hereafter *Herceg Stefan*), Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, posebna izdanja, knj. 376, Odelenje društvenih nauka, knj. 48/1964, pp. 78-79; P. Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska*, pp. 236-237.

⁸ Pejo Čošković, "Kotromanići" [Kotromanić Family] (hereafter *Kotromanići*), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 7, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 2009. <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=249> (accessed on 5 January 2022).

⁹ M. Perojević, *Stjepan Tomaš*, p. 557; B. Pandžić, *Katarina Vukčić Kosača*, p. 17.

¹⁰ Ćiro Truhelka, "Dubrovačke vijesti o godini 1463" [Reports from Dubrovnik regarding the Year 1463] (hereafter *Dubrovačke vijesti*), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 22/1910, p. 4; M. Perojević, *Stjepan Tomaš*, p. 570; B. Pandžić, *Katarina Vukčić Kosača*, p. 18.

tack, Catherine hastened back home to save her children. On her way back to Jajce, she managed to get to the Kozograd fortress near Fojnica, where she learned that Jajce had fallen and that the King and her children had been taken prisoners. Moreover, she was taken prisoner herself by the Ottoman troops that besieged her in Kozograd.

Although there are no documents which could unambiguously support this claim, several findings speak in its favor. This primarily refers to the brief description of Catherine's escape from the Ottomans, presented by the Ragusan historian Jacob Lukarević (1551-1615).¹¹ According to him, Catherine made her way from Kozograd via Konjic and Naronia to Ston, from where she travelled to Ragusa by ship. The accuracy of this particular piece of information can be questioned, since Lukarević wrote his work almost 142 years after the fall of Bosnia. However, it is important to mention that the author based it on the data from Ragusan archives. Given that Ragusans were quite interested in the events that were taking place in their hinterland, it is very likely that Lukarević found the information about Catherine's escape in the communal archives and that it was, in fact, correct.

Lukarević's description of Catherine's escape is accompanied by the Fojnica folk tale about the clever escape of Queen Catherine from the Ottomans who besieged Kozograd, due to which she managed to escape the fate of her children and her stepson. Although this is not the only version of the tale of Queen Catherine's escape from Bosnia, it is the most popular one. The fact that in the oral tradition Catherine is mentioned in other forts does not in any way disclaim the theory that she stayed in Kozograd. Moreover, it confirms her presence in the area between Kozograd and Herzegovina.¹² In fact, the various interpretations of Queen Catherine's escape from the besieged fortress originate in the area where she might have stayed on her way from Hum to the endangered Jajce or on her way from the endangered Kozograd to Konjic and further towards the mouth of the river Neretva.¹³

The theory of Catherine's stay in Kozograd is supported by archaeological research.¹⁴ Remains of fractured human bones and weapons (arrowheads)

¹¹ Vlatko Palavestra, *Historijska usmena predanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Studija, Zbornik i komentari* [Historical Oral Traditions from Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo: Most Art-Zemun 2004, pp. 290-291, note b.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³ Vlatko Palavestra, "Narodna predanja o bježanju kraljice Katarine iz Bosne" [Popular Tradition on the Escape of the Queen Catherine from Bosnia], *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti kraljice Katarine*, pp. 87-90.

¹⁴ Enver Imamović, "Kozograd kod Fojnice", *Arheološki pregled*, 24/1985, pp. 150-151; Enver Imamović, "Nove spoznaje o kraljevskom gradu Kozogradu iznad Fojnice" [New Discoveries on

were discovered during the exploration of Kozograd. Furthermore, evidence confirming that the fortress had been burned down was found across the entire area. Therefore, there is no doubt that the fortress had been besieged, taken, burned to the ground, and eventually abandoned. What remains unknown is when exactly the siege took place. The fortress was occupied in August 1444,¹⁵ and no conflicts had taken place in its vicinity since the rule of Stephen Tomaš and his son Stephen Tomašević. Moreover, since there is no mention of the fortress in Ottoman sources from the second half of the fifteenth century, it can be concluded that the fortress was destroyed during the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia in 1463. The event presumably took place in May 1463. According to the Count of Trogir's report to the Venetian Doge on 3 June 1463, the people burned down and abandoned the market town Kozao (*oppidum Cosal*) before the arrival of the Ottomans.¹⁶ Although that information does not refer to the eponymous fortress located in the immediate vicinity of the abovementioned market town, it definitely confirms that Ottoman troops were headed towards Kozograd.

Even though the fall of Kozograd in May 1463 cannot serve as conclusive proof that Catherine was present in the fortress during this event or shortly before it, several facts support this theory. Mahmud Pasha captured Stephen Tomašević in Ključ and handed him over as a prisoner to Mehmed II in Jajce. Hoping his life would be spared, Stephen accepted Mehmed's peace offer and ordered his castellans to surrender his fortresses to the Ottomans without resistance.¹⁷ However, the question arises as to why the garrison of Kozograd failed to execute the King's order, as archaeological finds strongly confirm, especially since it is known that such disobedience would be harshly punished? The answer is clear. Only a person equal to the King could revoke the surrender, and at that time only Queen Catherine and Queen Mary had the authority to do it. Since it is known that Mary was captured by the Croatian governor Paul Špirančić during her attempted escape from Jajce in June 1463, it is safe to assume that Lukarević's claim that Queen Catherine resided in Kozograd at that time was correct.

the Kings Town of Kozograd near Fojnica] (hereafter *Nove spoznaje*), *Napredak-hrvatski narodni kalendar za prijestupnu* 1992, 40/1991, p. 308.

¹⁵ P. Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska*, p. 237; E. Imamović, *Nove spoznaje*, p. 305.

¹⁶ Marko Šunjić, "Trogirski izvještaji o turskom osvojenju Bosne (1463)" [Trogir Reports on the Turkish Conquest of Bosnia (1463)] (hereafter *Trogirski izvještaji*), *Glasnik arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, 29/1989, pp. 142, 147-148.

¹⁷ M. Perojević, *Stjepan Tomaš*, p. 572; Mladen Ančić, *Na rubu zapada/tri stoljeća srednjovjekovne Bosne* [On the Edge of the West/Three Centuries of Medieval Bosnia] (hereafter *Na rubu zapada*), Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest 2001, p. 130.

If, based on the abovementioned discussion, Catherine's stay in Kozograd during the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia is accepted as the most likely theory, the next question which arises is one of Catherine's departure from the fortress. Lukarević only mentions Kozograd as the starting point of Catherine's escape, but the folk tales clearly suggest that Catherine was under Ottoman siege in that fortress and avoided the fate of her children and stepson only due to her cunningness. Archaeological finds point to the fact that the folk tale about the fall of the fortress under Ottoman rule is based on an actual historical event which had taken place before 3 June 1463, when the Duke of Trogir sent his report to the Doge. Therefore, all this begs the question of whether the oral tradition is accurate in its entirety.¹⁸

It may seem like a nonsensical question; however, it makes sense because of the defensive and strategic properties of Kozograd. It was a strong, but small and, strategically speaking, completely irrelevant fortress, since it was two hours away from the nearest important communication site.¹⁹ Considering the fact that there was no military reason that would justify an Ottoman attack, it is presumed that the Ottomans indeed believed Catherine to be in Kozograd, and that they attacked the fortress with the intention of capturing her. Although the Ottoman pursuit of Catherine might seem pointless from today's perspective, we must not forget that, after the King and his children were captured, alongside Maria, Catherine was the only legitimate representative of the Kingdom of Bosnia. Therefore, Mehmed II had to capture and execute her in order to be able to formally claim the entire kingdom.

However, why would Catherine offer the Ottomans such heroic, but futile resistance from Kozograd if everything had already been lost? It is hard to believe that a queen would opt so decisively for a heroic defense which, considering Ottoman military supremacy, could have been considered a suicide mission. It is therefore believed that she left Kozograd just before the attack and headed towards the river Neretva. This begs a new question: why would the Kozograd garrison offer resistance if the person they were to defend had already left the fortress? A second oral tradition about the fall of Kozograd, documented and published in 1943 by Father Leonardo Čuturić, provides an excellent answer.²⁰ According to that story, the defenders led by Casimir Brbonjić and Ljudevit Tomašević, the King's relative, offered the Ot-

¹⁸ M. Šunjić, *Trogirski izvještaji*, pp. 147-148.

¹⁹ Mihovil Mandić, *Sredovječne starine u fojničkom kotaru* [Medieval Antiquities in the County of Fojnica], *Napredak-hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu godinu 1928*, 17/1927, pp. 90-91.

²⁰ Leonardo Čuturić, "Zadnji dani Kozograda (Po narodnoj predaji)" [The Last Days of Kozograd (According to Popular Tradition)], *Napredak-hrvatski narodni kalendar 1944*, 34/1943, pp. 226-227.

tomans strong resistance wanting to keep them under the walls of Kozograd for as long as possible in order to provide Catherine with enough time to flee and save herself. She was to reach the safety of Dubrovnik's walls and seek international support in starting a war of liberation.

A letter sent on 23 May 1463 from the Republic of Ragusa to Catherine's brother Ladislav confirms this theory. In it, the Republic promises to send fast vessels for Catherine if she manages to reach the sea.²¹ Several facts can be drawn from that letter. First, it clearly confirms that Catherine and Ladislav had probably agreed on the location where Ragusan vessels were to collect her should the Kingdom fall into Ottoman hands. If such an agreement did exist, it could only mean that by that time the Ottomans had entered Bosnia and that Catherine did, in fact, reside in Hum, from where she tried to rescue her children from the endangered Jajce. Moreover, this supposition is given added weight by the fact that the Neretva delta and the nearby Ston were the locations of extraction, as clearly stated by Lukarević. In fact, at that time, Bosnia had limited sea access: in Boka Kotorska in the east of the country and in the Neretva delta in the west. The fact that in 1463 the Ottomans first invaded Hum and then Bosnia suggests that, before Catherine headed for Jajce, she and Ladislav had known that the only possible route from inland Bosnia towards the sea was the right bank of the river Neretva, towards its delta.

A piece of information from the report of the Count of Trogir about the arrival of the Bosnian Queen in Vrlika between 19 and 26 May, escorted by Nicholas Testa, should also not be ignored.²² Moreover, at the beginning of June 1463 it was recorded that the Bosnian Queen was there held captive by governor Paul Špirančić and that the Ottomans had occupied Bobovac.²³ Although news of the Bosnian Queen's stay in Vrlika is interesting, it would be wrong to associate this Bosnian Queen with Queen Catherine, since it would be contrary to all previously analysed sources about her escape from Bosnia, and contradictory to the information about the escape of the other

²¹ Franjo Rački, "Dubrovački spomenici o odnošaju dubrovačke obćine naprama Bosni i Turškoj godine razspa bosanske kraljevine" [Dobrovnik Documents on the Relation between Dubrovnik, Bosnia, and the Turkish Empire in the Year of Fall of Bosnian Kingdom] (hereafter *Dubrovački spomenici*), *Starine JAZU* 6/1874, p. 5; M. Perojević, *Stjepan Tomaš*, p. 575; Desanka Kovačević, "Pad bosanske države prema dubrovačkim izvorima" [The Fall of Bosnian State according to the Dubrovnik's Sources] (hereafter *Pad bosanske države*), *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, 14/1963, p. 214.

²² M. Šunjić, *Trogirski izvještaji*, pp. 147-148. For information on the Bosnian diplomat Nicholas Testa, cf. Anto Babić, *Iz istorije srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the History of Medieval Bosnia], Sarajevo: Svjetlost 1972, pp. 141-147.

²³ M. Šunjić, *Trogirski izvještaji*, pp. 141-142, 146-149.

Bosnian Queen, Mary, from Bosnia.²⁴ If we assume that Queen Mary fled the Ottomans from Jajce towards Dalmatia; that the shortest route towards the sea led across the Field of Glamoč and along the edge of the Field of Livno and Cetinska Krajina; that during her attempted escape she was imprisoned by ban Paul Špirančić and that Mary, after Špirančić eventually released her, stayed in Split before moving on to Ragusa, it is then safe to assume that the news of the Queen's arrival and stay in Vrlika on 29 May 1463 in fact pertains to Mary, and that later interpreters of the Count's report, for some unknown reason, mistook the two Bosnian queens.²⁵ This theory seems even more plausible if we consider the fact that Ragusans expected Catherine's arrival in the Neretva area after 23 May 1463. However, we should not *a priori* dismiss the possibility that the researchers who dealt with the syntagm "Bosnian queen" from the Count of Trogir's report on Catherine based their research on some other works, sources, or oral traditions, and that the news of Catherine's stay in Vrlika was true, but incorrectly dated to 1463.²⁶

From what has been stated, it can be concluded that Catherine stayed in Kozograd at least during the Ottoman siege and the fall of Kozograd, and that there was a pre-arranged plan that enabled her to make her way through the war-torn territory to Ston in the Republic of Ragusa, where vessels awaited and transported her deeper into Ragusan territory. Therefore, the oral tradition and Lukarević's description of Queen Catherine's escape are in principle correct. If Lukarević's description of Queen Catherine's escape matches its initial (Kozograd) and final stage (Ston), there is no reason to doubt any other information he presented; that is, that Catherine reached Ston via Konjic and Naron. Or is there?

At the time of Queen Catherine's escape from Bosnia, the Roman town of Naron had been abandoned for a long time. This means that Lukarević mistook Naron for Gabela, an important port on the river Neretva situated in the vicinity of Naron. Therefore, the question arises whether Lukarević made a similar mistake with Konjic as well. Although a definitive answer to these questions cannot be derived from existing sources, it seems that Lukarević's description of Catherine's voyage from Kozograd to Ston should not be taken literally, but merely as a confirmation of the fact that the voyage did occur.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 140, n. 6; P. Čošković, *Kotromanići*.

²⁵ M. Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, pp. 127-128.

²⁶ Krešimir Regan, *Bosanska kraljica Katarina* [Bosnian Queen Catherine], Zagreb: Naklada Breza 2010, pp. 60-63.

The Ottomans invaded present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina from two directions. The road to Bosnia led via Skopje, Kosovo, and Sjenica towards the river Drina, from where the Ottomans invaded the territory of the families Pavlović and Kovačević in early May 1463, making their way across Vrhbosna to Travnik and Jajce.²⁷ Herzegovina was invaded by crossing the river Breznica, where the Ottomans defeated Herzog Stephen Vukčić Kosača's army and then conquered his territory all the way to the river Neretva.²⁸ Considering that Konjic is located south-east of Kozograd, in the area believed to have been invaded much sooner than Kozograd, it is more likely that Catherine would try to retreat towards Ston along the right, safer bank of the Neretva. Moreover, the road to Neretva from Kozograd led across Prozor, where a well-fortified royal residence was located. The legend of Queen Catherine's stay in Prozor in 1463 can therefore be said to be historically grounded.²⁹

The fall of Bosnia under Ottoman rule marked the end of one era in Catherine's life and the beginning of another. As previously mentioned, after she left Bosnia, the vessels of the Republic of Ragusa transported her along the river Neretva to Ston and from there to the island of Lopud. Despite the fact that the exact date of her arrival in the territory of the Republic of Ragusa is not recorded in the documents, there is no doubt that she arrived sometime between 14 June, when the Senate discussed the preparations for the arrival of the Bosnian King and Queen, and 4 July 1463, when the Republic appointed the patricians Michael Restić and Marin Gundulić as delegates who were to visit Catherine on Lopud, where the Republic hid her from the Ottomans.³⁰ Although the documents do not record why the Republic sent its delegation to Catherine, it is likely that they negotiated the terms of her visit to Dubrovnik which the Senate did not agree on until 23 July.³¹ Although we cannot be certain of the Republic's reasons for keeping Catherine on Lopud for at least a month, far from the safety of the fortified town, it is very likely that she was hiding from the Ottomans on the island because the

²⁷ Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk-postanak i upravna podjela* [Bosnian Pashalik – Origin and Administrative Division], *Djela. Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, knj. 14, Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, Ođjelenje istorisko-filoloških nauka*, knj. 10, Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1959, p. 38.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Krešimir Regan, "Plemićki grad Prozor u Rami" [Noble City of Prozor in Rama], Tomislav Brković (ed.), *Bosanski ban Tvrtko »pod Prozorom u Rami«*, Prozor-Sarajevo-Zagreb: Synopsis d.o.o. 2016, pp. 265-309, 265-309.

³⁰ D. Kovačević, *Pad bosanske države*, p. 214.

³¹ Ibid., p. 215.

Senate feared that her stay in the city could be used as an excuse to attack Dubrovnik. She was allowed to enter the city only after her brothers and father had repelled the Ottoman army from the borders of the Republic of Ragusa in a fierce counter-attack in July 1463, and eliminated the possibility of an Ottoman invasion of the city.³²

Upon her arrival, Catherine began settling the relations between the Republic of Ragusa and the Kingdom of Bosnia, claiming the annual tribute of 500 perpers which the Republic paid the King of Bosnia in exchange for Ston.³³ Although Catherine, being a Bosnian queen, was entitled to that money, the Senate met on 20 August and refused to fulfil the obligation.³⁴

Catherine stayed in Dubrovnik until the end of October or early November 1463. On leaving the city, Catherine was given 30 perpers and, at the Senate's meeting on 23 October, assigned an escort of four Ragusan patricians who were to accompany her to Slano.³⁵ In Ragusan documents Catherine is mentioned for the last time on 26 October, when she stored her husband's silver sword for her son in case he escaped the Ottomans. Catherine made her way from Slano along the Neretva valley towards her father's and brothers' estates.

When the Ottomans once again attacked the Kosača family in 1465, the command issued by the Senate to Ragusan officials in Pelješac on 13 July 1465 reveals that Catherine and her brother Ladislav Hercegović had retreated towards Pelješac. The Ottomans could have interpreted the Queen's retreat to Dubrovnik as an act of defiance on the part of the Republic, and used it as an excuse to attack the city like they had two years earlier. The Senate therefore ordered its officials not to allow them to enter Ston, but to transport them to the islands immediately. The route from the inland towards the sea which Catherine and Ladislav took cannot be determined based on this particular bit of news. However, since their arrival in the Republic of Ragusa was expected somewhere in the territory of Pelješac, near Ston, it is likely that during her next flight from the Ottomans she took the old route along the river Neretva, the same one she had taken two years earlier. That would mean she had to reach one of the fortresses owned by the Kosača family. Although there were several such fortifications along the river Neretva, it is possible that Blagaj was the starting point of Catherine and Ladislav's exile.³⁶

³² Ć. Truhelka, *Dubrovačke vijesti*, p. 4.

³³ D. Kovačević, *Pad bosanske države*, p. 216.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

³⁶ Mavro Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slavena* [Kingdom of Slavs], Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga 1968., p. 181; Sima Ćirković, "Komentari i izvori Mavra Orbina" [Comments and Sources], Mavro Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slavena* (Kingdom of Slavs), Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga 1968., p. 357.

By entering the territory of the Republic of Ragusa, Queen Catherine went into exile for a second time.

Although Ragusan sources do not shed light on Catherine's movement in the territory of the Republic of Ragusa following her arrival at Pelješac, it can be assumed that Ragusan officials first transported her and her brother to Mljet, and later to another of her father's towns. She is last mentioned in the territory of Ragusa (or in its vicinity) on 12 September 1465, when Ragusan authorities ordered their merchants to be "at her disposal".³⁷ Another problem therefore emerges in the reconstruction of Catherine's life after 1465, and historians are yet to determine where she resided before heading for Rome, and when exactly the journey to the Eternal City took place. According to Palavestra, she left the Republic of Ragusa sometime between July and October 1465 and until her arrival in Rome she lived in the territory of western Hercegovina, Šibenik, or Donji Krajevi.³⁸

Although there are no sources that would disprove the theory claiming that until her arrival in Rome Catherine resided in the territory of Donji Krajevi, the turbulent events in that area justifiably bring this theory into question. Donji Krajevi, along with Usora and Soli, had been an area of fierce confrontations between Corvinus' and Mehmed's armies since 1464. It is hard to believe that during those years Catherine would have chosen a war-affected area as her place of residence, since it changed rulers depending on sheer luck. In addition, one should keep in mind the fact that, after conquering Donji Krajevi in November and December 1463 and later Usora and Soli during 1464, Matthias Corvinus did not restore Bosnia as an independent kingdom, nor did he return it to its legitimate owners, Catherine and Mary Kotromanić, but annexed it to his kingdom and appointed Emeric Zápolya as the governor of the newly acquired territory. Considering that Corvinus ignored the Kotromanić's right to the Bosnian throne, it is hard to believe he would allow his rival Catherine to travel across this area, or that he would endanger the political agenda which he advanced over the entire course of his reign – the expansion of his empire.

Accordingly, there is nothing left to do but to conclude that during the second half of 1465 and 1466 researchers should look for Catherine in the territory of present-day western Hercegovina, and later in the territory of Šibenik. Although there is no evidence to support this theory, it is believed

³⁷ P. Čošković, *Kotromanići*, pp. 723-740.

³⁸ Vlatko Palavestra, "Diskusija 24. listopada 1978. (prijevodne)" [Discussion on 24th of October 1978 (Morning session)], *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti bosanske kraljice Katarine*, pp. 41-42.

that political, territorial, and proprietary circumstances in the abovementioned area as well as Catherine's relationship with her father Stephen and brothers Ladislav and Vlatko Hercegović, provide the answer to the question of her whereabouts prior to her heading for Rome. Since 1463, a part of western Herzegovina had been in possession of her brother Ladislav, along with some other estates in eastern Herzegovina which his father Herzog Stephen Vukčić Kosača had left him in the summer of 1463, before the advance on the Ottoman Empire.³⁹ During the Ottoman invasion of the Kingdom of Bosnia in the spring of 1463, Ladislav lost some of those estates. However, in a strong counter-attack which he launched against the Ottomans with his father Stephen and brother Vlatko before 18 July 1463, Ladislav occupied the former county of Veljaci in Hum and the town of Ljubuški with the help of the noble family of Vlatković.⁴⁰ By December of the same year, he had occupied the Bosnian counties of Uskoplje, Rama, and Livno. The acquisition was officially confirmed in December 1463 in a special charter issued in Jajce by the King of Hungary-Croatia Matthias Corvinus.⁴¹ Ladislav lost all his estates in the territory of present-day eastern Herzegovina during a counter-attack against the Ottomans in the summer of 1465. In mid-1466, he transferred Livno to his vassals, the Vlatković family. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that he was still the owner of the large counties of Veljaci, Rama, and Uskoplje, which were well secured by numerous fortresses. They were also a part of the strong defence system against the Ottomans established by King Matthias Corvinus at the southern and eastern borders of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Existing research shows that Catherine and her brother Ladislav were particularly close, and since her departure from Dubrovnik in late 1463 or early 1464 until the fall of the central and southern parts of Hum under Ottoman rule in the summer of 1465, she lived on his estate. Therefore, it is very likely that after her second sojourn in the territory of the Republic of Ragusa, she once again stayed with her brother.

³⁹ According to S. Ćirković, until the Ottoman invasion in 1465, Trebinje, Ljubomir, Rudine, Bileća, Cernica, Kamenno Brdo, Fatnica, Bioče, Grepci, Torič, Mičevac, Slavogostići, Ledenice, Kotezi, and the counties of Rama, Uskoplje, and Livno, with the fortresses Prozor and Vesela Straža, were under Ladislav's rule. S. Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan*, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁰ From the report sent to Dubrovnik it is known that Ladislav had occupied Ljubuški before 18 July 1463. F. Rački, *Dubrovački spomenici*; p. 9; Ć. Truhelka, *Dubrovačke vijesti*, p. 4; Marko Vego, "Ljubuški. Srednjovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici Bosne i Hercegovine" [Ljubuški. Medieval Gravestones in Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Izdanje Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu*, vol. 5, Sarajevo: Zemaljski Muzej u Sarajevu 1954, p. 6.

⁴¹ Euzebij Fermeđžin, "Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752", *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 23, Zagrabiae: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium 1892, pp. 257-258.

An additional, but not final confirmation of the theory that during those years Catherine might have lived with her brother on his estates in western Herzegovina or, more likely, in southern Bosnia, is found in her last will, in which she mentions the members of the royal court in Rome, most of whom were probably members of her escort on leaving Bosnia, as well. Among them, interesting personages include Radič Klešić, the warden of her court, George Čubranić and Abraham Radić, a member of the court, and ladies-in-waiting Helen Semković and Mary Mišljenović. Before the fall of southern Bosnia under Ottoman rule, Glamoč, Duvno, and large estates in the territory of those former counties were governed by the Klešić family.⁴² The Semković family also owned a large estate in the territory of the former County of Duvno, the center of which was the feudal town of Rog, located south-west of Duvno.⁴³ Furthermore, members of the several branches of the noble family of Čubranić owned numerous estates in the County of Livno and in the district of Vrhrika in the Cetina County (present-day area of Vrlika).⁴⁴ The Mišljenović family owned estates in the district of Vrhrika, as well.⁴⁵ From 1463, the estates of the Klešić and Semković families bordered on Ladislav's estates in the south-west and north-east (the counties of Livno, Rama, and Uskoplje). In the east they bordered on the estates of Catherine's father Stephen and, from 1466, the estates of her brother Vlatko Hercegović (a part of the Cetina County and the counties of Imotski and Večerić). It is also known that Ladislav's estates in the County of Livno shared the border with the estates of both the Čubranić and the Mišljenović family in the neighbouring County of Cetina, where Ladislav owned two fortifications, which he be-

⁴² Pejo Ćosković, "Klešić" [Klešić Family], *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian Biographic Lexicon], vol. 7, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 2009, pp 376-378.

⁴³ Ivo Bagarić, "Duvno. Povijest župa duvanjskog samostana" [Duvno. History of Parishes of the Monastery in Duvno], Duvno: Knjižnica "Sveta baština" 1989, pp. 66-67; Robert Jolić, *Duvno kroz stoljeća* [Duvno through Centuries], Knjižnica "Naših ognjišta", knj. 142, Tomislavgrad-Zagreb: "Naša ognjišta" 2002, pp. 138-145.

⁴⁴ Vjekoslav Klaić, "Građa za topografiju i historiju Hlivanjske županije i grada Hlivna" [Sources for Topography and History of the County of Hlivno and the City of Hlivno], *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, n. s., god. 15/1, 1928, pp. 13-24; Tatjana Radauš, "Čubranići" [Čubranić Family], *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian Biographic Lexicon], vol. 3, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 1993, p. 112; Ivan Jurković, "Vrhrički i hlivanjski plemeniti rod Čubranića do sredine 15. stoljeća. Njihov društveni položaj, prostorni smještaj, posjedi i gospodarska moć" [The Noble Čubranić Kindred of Vrhrika and Hlivno until the Middle of the Fifteenth Century. Their Social Position, Geographical Placement, Estates and Economic Ability] (hereafter *Vrhrički i hlivanjski*), *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 24/2006, pp. 25-69.

⁴⁵ I. Jurković, *Vrhrički i hlivanjski*, pp. 47-49.

stowed on the representatives of King Ferdinand II of Naples.⁴⁶ Although the document does not specify which two towns Ladislav gave up, likely candidates include Čačvina, Nutjak, or Radobolja, which were occupied by Stephen Vukčić Kosača in 1457.⁴⁷ After conquering the eastern and central parts of Hum in 1466, the Ottomans advanced towards the estates of those families. Some of the members of Catherine's court who escorted her on her departure from Bosnia were representatives of the peers and Croatian noble families in the southern parts of Bosnia. Therefore, it is safe to assume that during the preparations for the defense of his land against the expected Ottoman attack, Ladislav and the Klešić, Semković, Mišljenović, and Čubranić families organised an escape from that area under Queen Catherine's leadership, which means that during 1465 and 1466 Catherine stayed in the area.

Based on existing materials it is impossible to arrive at a definitive conclusion about Catherine's whereabouts from her departure from the Republic of Ragusa in 1465 until her arrival in Rome. Furthermore, it is unknown whether the starting point of her journey was Šibenik or Dubrovnik. On the other hand, it is certain that she arrived in Rome before 29 October 1467 and landed in Ancona. She sailed by her own ship and, after its return, the ship was anchored near the monastery of St. Cross on the island of Krapanj in the Šibenik Archipelago until 12 January 1469.⁴⁸ It is also interesting that the Italian humanist Leonardo Montagna, who dedicated two songs to Catherine, was the person who convinced her to go to Rome.⁴⁹ The Šibenik theory is also confirmed by the fact that Catherine disembarked in Ancona, a town located almost directly across Šibenik, as well as by the news that after the journey she left her ship near a monastery in the Šibenik area. Consequently, the theory about Catherine's stay in the territory of southern Bosnia before her arrival in Rome is even more plausible, especially since southern Bosnia is almost twice as close to Šibenik as it is to Dubrovnik. Considering that this territory was far from the Ottoman border and outside the area occupied by the Akinji, this route was much safer and less time-consuming.

Finally, the above-mentioned news of her arrival in Vrlika in the company of Nicholas Testa on 29 May 1463 speaks in favor of this theory. Al-

⁴⁶ Mihailo Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem vijeku. Istorijsko-geografske studije* [Serb Lands in the Middle Ages. Historical and Geographic Studies], Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga 1978, p. 268.

⁴⁷ At that time, other towns in the territory of the Cetina County were owned by governor Paul Špirančić (Sinj, Travnik, Prozor) and Ladislav's brother Vlatko Hercegović (Radobolje and Visuć).

⁴⁸ M. Perojević, *Stjepan Tomaš*, p. 588.

⁴⁹ Petar Runje, "Tri hrvatske plemkinje franjevske trećoretkinje" [Three Croatian Noble Franciscan Female Tertiaries], *Kačić* 29/1997, pp. 69-70, 80-81.

though it was previously mentioned that only Queen Mary could have travelled to Vrlika in 1463 because Catherine was, at that time, close to the border of Ragusa near the river Neretva, it is possible that the news about Catherine's stay in Vrlika was true, but that the date was incorrectly set for some unknown reason. In the late medieval period, Vrlika was an important road hub at which the route from southern Bosnia forked in two directions. The eastern route led via present-day Vrlika and Sinj towards Klis, Split, and Trogir, while the western one led towards Knin and from there, along the bed of the river Krka, via Skradin towards Šibenik. It is important to emphasise once again that at the time Vrlika was one of the important centres of both the Čubranić and the Mišljenović families, whose members escorted Catherine on her journey to Rome and during her stay there. Therefore, Vrlika was a safe haven and retreat for the refugees after the crossing of the Dinara. The shortest route from southern Bosnia towards the sea was via Cetinska Krajina. However, it was occupied by the King of Hungary-Croatia Matthias Corvinus, the claimant of the Bosnian throne and an opponent of the Kotromanić dynasty, so Catherine could not use it. The route towards Dubrovnik was also dangerous. Therefore, the only remaining option was the route which led from the Field of Livno across the Dinara to Vrlika and from there down the river Krka towards Šibenik. After considering all these facts, as well as the abovementioned theories, we can conclude that it is very likely that Catherine and the members of her entourage started their journey in Livno, reached Vrlika, and from there continued towards Knin and Skradin. Eventually, they arrived in Šibenik, where they set sail for Ancona and Rome.

Despite the fact that no complete sources pertaining to the details of Catherine's departure for Rome survive, it is possible to determine the approximate duration of Catherine's voyage to Rome based on notes about medieval journeys. Until the emergence of modern transport and roads in the nineteenth century, people travelled across Europe only on foot or on horseback. The majority of medieval roads were laid on older Roman roads, which deviate but slightly from present-day roads. The average speed of 6 km/h on horseback is the same as it was 500 years ago. Therefore, all journeys verified by various documents from the centuries before the emergence of modern transportation remain equally relevant for the calculation of the duration of the journey. Two documents about medieval travel can be of assistance in calculating the duration of Catherine's journey. In 1397, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary-Croatia Sigismund of Luxembourg covered the distance of 90 km on horseback from Split to Knin in one day. He

travelled from Topusko to Križevci for two days, covering 130 km.⁵⁰ Moreover, it took two days for Ragusan couriers to cover approximately 150 km when travelling from Dubrovnik to Blagaj.⁵¹ Considering that the shortest and oldest route from Ancona to Rome via Foligno and Spoleto covered the distance of approximately 300 km, it can be assumed that Catherine's journey through central Italy lasted four or five days at most, provided that she travelled all the time, except at night.

Calculating the duration of her sea voyage is more complicated, since sailing often depended on the type of vessel, the weather conditions, and the navigation route. In other words, open-sea navigation was not limited by the exchange of day and night, unlike eastern Adriatic coastal navigation, which had to be stopped during the night due to the possibility of hitting smaller islands or underwater rocks. Late medieval vessels such as caravels, carracks, square-rigged "navas", or cogs sailed at an average speed of 2.5 knots or miles per hour, which is approximately 4.5 km/h.⁵² This shows that, in theory, Catherine's vessel sailing on the open sea from Šibenik could have reached Ancona (200 km) in less than two days, i.e. in 44 hours. This theory is supported by the fact that the canon Pietro Casola from Milan, who sailed from Venice to Zadar, stopping once in Poreč, covered the distance of approximately 300 km in less than four days (from 5 to 8 June 1494).⁵³ Based on what has been said, Catherine's journey to Rome by sea and by land could have lasted seven or eight days, assuming she did not linger in any of the places she was passing through.

Finally, one question still remains: when did she arrive in Rome? It was already pointed out that she was first mentioned in the Eternal City on 29 October 1467, when she began receiving monetary contribution from the Pope.⁵⁴ Given that this information was the first documented fact about Catherine's life after she left Dubrovnik in 1465, based on this source and the records of

⁵⁰ Milan Kruhek, "Povijesni put kralja Sigismunda od Nikopolja do Križevaca" [Historical journey from Nicopolis to Križevci], *Kaj* 30/1997, pp. 2, 31, 34.

⁵¹ Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja/Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* [Road, Travellers, Travellings], Zagreb: AGM 1997, pp. 122-123.

⁵² The average speed of medieval vessels (caravels and carracks) was calculated based on the duration (from 6 September to 12 October 1492, or 37 days) and the mileage (approximately 3995 miles) covered by Christopher Columbus' on his journey from the Canary Islands to San Salvador.

⁵³ Zoran Ladić, "Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća" [Contribution to the Research of Pilgrimages from Zadar in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 17/1993, 32, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁴ Catherine was paid the monetary compensation from the sum which Paul's predecessor Pius II (who was pope from 1458 to 1464) collected for the Crusade against the Ottomans in Bosnia.

James Lukarević and Mavro Orbini, all previous biographers agreed that she started her journey to Rome in late 1466 or early 1467. However, if that were the case, why would she wait until the end of October 1467 to ask for the Pope's help? Presuming that her journey to Rome lasted a little over a week and that she started receiving monetary contributions from Pope Paul II on 29 October 1467, it is more likely that she asked for the Pope's help immediately upon her arrival in Rome. Considering her social status, she would not have waited long for an audience with the Pope, who could have granted her request quickly. Therefore, it is more likely that Catherine's journey to Rome took place in the second half of 1467, more specifically sometime in September or October of the same year.

CONCLUSION

The Bosnian Queen Catherine Kosača Kotromanić was born in 1425 and she married the Bosnian King Stephen Tomaš in 1446. After Stephen's death in 1461, the new Bosnian King Stephen Tomašević acknowledged his stepmother Catherine as the Queen Mother. During the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia in the summer of 1463, Catherine stayed at the fortification Kozograd, from where she retreated to Gabela via Prozor, where Ragusan vessels waited to transport her to the Ragusan inland. After she reached Gabela, the Ragusan vessels transported her to Ston via Neretva, and from there to the island of Lopud, sometime between 14 June and 4 July. However, Catherine did not receive permission to enter Dubrovnik until 23 July. She stayed in Dubrovnik until late October or early November 1463, and until 1465 she stayed on the family estates in Herzegovina.

After the Ottomans once again attacked the Kosačas in 1465, Catherine and her brother Ladislav once more retreated to Ragusan territory which they had left during the second half of 1465 and 1466. Afterwards she stayed in the territory of present-day western Herzegovina or southern Bosnia, where the estates of her brother Ladislav Hercegović were located. It seems that somewhere in that area Catherine established her court whose members were local nobles. The most interesting personages among them were the warden of her court, Radič Klešić, the court George Čubranić and Abraham Radić as well as the ladies-in-waiting: Paula Mirković, Mary Mišljenović, Praxina, Anne, Margaret of Bosnia and Abraham Radić's daughters Mary, Margaret and Anne. In anticipation of the Ottoman invasion of Ladislav's estates, it is very likely that Catherine and the members of her court retreated to Šibenik via Vrlika, from where she set sail for Ancona and Rome. She reached Rome in September or October 1467 and stayed there until her death in 1478.

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Krešimir Regan

**Od Kozograda do Rima – putovanja bosanske kraljice
Katarine Bosanska**

Sažetak

Kraljica Katarina Kosača Kotromanić rođena je 1425., a za bosanskog kralja Stjepana Tomaša udala se 1446. Poslije Stjepanove smrti 1461. novi bosanski kralj Stjepan Tomašević priznao je svoju pomajku Katarinu za kraljicu majku. U vrijeme osmanske navale na Bosnu u ljetu 1463. Katarina se nalazila u utvrdi Kozograd, iz kojeg se preko Prozora povukla do Gabele, gdje su je čekale dubrovačke brzoplovke da je prebace u unutrašnjost dubrovačkog teritorija. Od Gabele dubrovačke su je lađe prebacile rijekom Neretvom do Stona, a odatle na Lopud između 14. lipnja i 4. srpnja. Dozvolu za dolazak u Dubrovnik Katarina je dobila tek 23. srpnja. U Dubrovniku se zadržala do kraja listopada ili početka studenog 1463., a potom je do 1465. boravila na obiteljskim posjedima u Hercegovini. Nakon što su Osmanlije ponovno 1465. napale Kosače, Katarina se s bratom Vladislavom ponovno povukla na dubrovački teritorij, koji je napustila tijekom druge polovice 1465. i 1466. te potom boravila na području današnje zapadne Hercegovine ili južne Bosne, gdje su se nalazili posjedi njezinog brata Vladislava Hercegovića. Čini se da je negdje u tom području Katarina uspostavila svoj dvor, kojeg su činili pripadnici plemstva s tog područja. Među njima posebno su zanimljivi upravitelj njezina dvora Radič Klešić, dvorjanik Juraj Čubranić i Abraham Radić te dvorske dame Paula Mirković, Mara Mišljenović, Praxina, Ana, Margareta od Bosne te Mara, Margareta i Ana, kćeri Abrahama Radića. U očekivanju osmanske navale na Vladislavove posjede, vrlo je izgledno da se Katarina sa svojim dvorom povukla preko Vrlike do Šibenika, iz kojega se svojom lađom otisnula prema Anconi i Rimu u koji je stigla u rujnu ili listopadu 1467. U Rimu je boravila do svoje smrti 1478.

Ključne riječi: Kraljica Katarina, Bosna, Osmanlije, putovanja, srednji vijek

II.

THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF SPATIAL MOBILITY

Zoran Ladić, Ivan Šutić

FEMALE PILGRIMAGES AS A TESTIMONY OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISTRIAN AND DALMATIAN COMMUNES IN THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE PERIOD

Abstract: Based on the examination of last wills, statute laws, narrative sources, papal bulls, and decrees of Church councils from the period between the second half of the thirteenth and end of the fifteenth century, the authors discuss the problem of female pilgrimages as the consequence of the improvement of the social, legal, and economic position of women in the East Adriatic communes in that period. In the early medieval period, the practice of pilgrimaging was a privilege confined exclusively to women from the most elite social layers of Croatian society. The first significant change happened in the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries when the offices of public notaries were introduced in the East Adriatic communes. That caused the increase in recording last wills in which most testators mentioned either personal or substitutionary pilgrimages. During the fourteenth century, the male pilgrims in all communes significantly prevailed over females. But in the fifteenth century, the religious spatial mobility of women reached its medieval peak. An almost equal number of male and female pilgrims to *loca sacra* in that century was the consequence of various changes in social, legal, economic, and ecclesiastical life in East Adriatic communes enabling greater spatial mobility of women. The process of “democratization” of various aspects of daily life in communal societies such as the increase in literacy among women, positive changes in the attitude of ecclesiastical

authorities towards women, their growing participation in the economy as well as the increasing share of statutory decrees related to women's legal role in communal life significantly reflected on the improvement of the position of late medieval women in East Adriatic communes and the increase in their spatial mobility during the examined three centuries. The enhancement of the social status of women in East Adriatic communes in that period was also the consequence of positive ecclesiastical and theological approaches towards females and their morality. Of great importance was the theological reaffirmation of the Virgin Mary and Eve in the late scholastic and softer attitude of local and universal ecclesiastical authorities towards female spatial mobility, particularly pilgrimages starting from the thirteenth century.

Key words: East Adriatic communes, democratization in communal societies, spatial mobility, women, pilgrimages, the Late Middle Ages

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this paper is to examine the increase in female religious spatial mobility as mirrored in the last wills, with particular attention to the phenomenon of pilgrimaging. For this purpose, we have examined a number of late medieval last wills from several Dalmatian communes. The main reason for using last wills as the primary source in researching this topic lies in the fact that in the period from the second half of the thirteenth until the end of the fifteenth century last wills provide most information regarding pilgrimaging. It was for this reason that the drawing up of these types of private legal documents became habitually accepted by members of all social strata, both male and female, eastern Adriatic communes. They were composed equally for men and women settled within city walls and for those living in the villages in the communal countryside (*villici* or *villani* settled in *districtus*). The manner in which last wills were to be drawn up was laid out in the statutes of Istrian and Dalmatian communes. According to these statutory decrees, both male and female communal denizens were allowed to have this type of document drawn up. These and other reasons examined in this article caused the democratization in the recording of last wills in late medieval eastern Adriatic communes, thus allowing for extensive research into female religious spatial mobility in late medieval Istria and Dalmatia.

1. THE PRECONDITIONS FOR THE DEMOCRATIZATION IN SPATIAL MOBILITY OF WOMEN IN ISTRIAN AND DALMATIAN COMMUNES IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

In the early medieval period, the pilgrimages from Croatian territory to *loca sacra* were performed by the members of the elite social strata of medieval Croatian society (rulers, their wives, children, and other members of their nuclear families, magnates, and some members of the clergy). They pilgrimaged to Cividale on the Apennine Peninsula in the ninth and the tenth centuries, and personally signed their names in the *Evangeliarium* from Cividale.¹ These pilgrimages performed by the rulers, members of their families, and their courtiers can be considered as the additional and planned confirmation that their states were parts of the *universitas Christianorum* of medieval Europe. The earliest Dalmatian data pertaining to the pilgrimage to the first of the three West European *peregrinationes maiores* – Jerusalem – dates back to 843 and was recorded by the Ragusan chronicler Junius Restić.² Then, a certain priest called John (*nominato Giovanni*) Arbanese (i.e. Albanian) returned from a pilgrimage in Jerusalem and Egypt on *una galera Veneziana, tornando d' Egitto*.³ Some data regarding pilgrimage in the early medieval period in Croatia can be found in contemporary wills, which were almost exclusively dictated by male testators belonging to the social elite.⁴ In the period until the last few decades of the thirteenth century, sources are silent concerning the religious spatial mobility of East Adriatic women.

Around the year 1300, the number of male and female pilgrims to various saintly shrines started to grow. There are several important factors which influenced the process of the democratization of pilgrimaging in Istria and Dalmatia, starting from the middle of thirteenth until the end of the fifteenth

¹ Their signatures were noted down in the well-known *Codex Aquileiensis*. The signature of the Croatian duke *Tripimiro* can be found on f. 5v of the *Evangeliarium* from Cividale. The signatures of his son Peter and Presila, probably a member of Trpimir's entourage (*†Presila. Petrus, filius domno Tripemero*) are located on f. 23r, while f. 102v contains the signatures of Duke Branimir and his wife Maruša (*† Brannimero comiti. Mariosa cometissa*). Naturally, Cividale (*Aquileia*) should be observed as one of the centers from which Christianity spread among Croats. For this period, there is still no extant data regarding the pilgrims from the lower strata of Croatian society.

² "Chroniche di Ragusa. Opera di Giugno Resti", ed. by Speratus Nodilo, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, 25, *Scriptores*, vol. II (1893), p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ See: Ivo Milić, "Oko postanka oporuke" [Regarding the Origin of Last Wills], *Rad JAZU* 283 (1951), pp. 5-49; Marijan Horvat, "Oporuka splitskog priora Petra" [The Will of Prior Peter of Split], *Rad JAZU* 283 (1951), pp. 119-178; Jakov Stipišić, "Oporuka priora Petra" [The Will of Prior Peter], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JA* 2 (1959), pp. 173-182.

century. The phenomenon of Christian pilgrimaging was strongly connected with the cult of saints from the very beginning. Although popular in earlier times as well, *loca sancta* became extremely popular from the middle of the thirteenth century. According to contemporary belief, invisible supernatural powers which circulated around saintly shrines, or their relics connected these earthly *aree sacre* to celestial space with an intensity much stronger than in other, ordinary places. Shrines were therefore considered beneficial for the mental and physical recovery or even the salvation of the souls of believers. These *loca sancta* or shrines attracted pilgrims in search for physical or mental health or the eternal salvation of the soul.

The popularity of saintly shrines among believers originating from all social strata of the high and late medieval society was additionally upheld by the continual growth in the popularity of hagiographic narratives called *Vitae* and *Legende*, likely read within the circles of the literate and educated inhabitants of eastern Adriatic communes as well. On the one hand, the hagiographic genre led to a rise in the popularity of some old and well-known shrines but were also responsible for the popularization in the worship of emergent cults of saints. Thus, new forms of piety in the central and late medieval urban settlements were influenced by the rise in literacy of the lay urban population, which enabled the reading of hagiographic literature. In that same period hagiography as a literary genre reached its peak, caused by the appearance of the most popular hagiographic collection known as the *Legenda aurea* or *Legende sanctorum*, written around 1260 by the James de Voragine, Bishop of Genoa.⁵ As contemporary sources reveal, the *Golden Legend* was popular among the literate eastern Adriatic communal believers as well.⁶

For believers from the lower strata of Istrian and Dalmatian communal societies, the frequent visual representations of various episodes from the lives

⁵ See: <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/goldenlegend/GL-vol5-francis.asp> (accessed 16 February 2018).

⁶ For instance, one late medieval manuscript of the *Legenda aurea* is kept in the convent of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik. Stjepan Krasić, *Samostan Sv. Dominika u Dubrovniku. Povijesno-unjetnički prikaz*, [Convent of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik. Historical and Artistic Overview], Dubrovnik-Zagreb: Dominikanski samostan sv. Dominika-Denona 2010, p. 84. In the middle of the fifteenth century, James Žiljavić, a priest from Šibenik, owned a book entitled *Quadragesima Voraginis*, a collection of Lent sermons and the book *Legende sanctorum*, i.e. *Legenda aurea*. HR Državni arhiv u Zadru (hereafter DAZd), Spisi Šibenskih bilježnika [hereafter SŠB], Karatus Vitale [hereafter KV], Kut.16, sv. II/vol. 15.IV. b3, f. 176. Peter, son of John, another Šibenik priest, also owned a manuscript example of *Legenda aurea*, but in his inventory the book was listed as *Libellus de Voraginis*. HR DAZd, SŠB, KV, Kut.16, sv. II/vol. 15.IV. b7, f. 302.

of popular saints were equally important.⁷ The iconographic programs were featured in sacral paintings, reliefs, and sculptures in churches, chapels, and altars. All these factors influenced the foundation and frequent visitations of shrines of saints popular in the Central and Late Middle Ages. The popularity of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Catherine and St. Bernardino of Siena, St. Rochus, SS. Cosmas and Damianus, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Michael the Archangel, and especially continued popularity of the Virgin Mary in the late Scholastic period, was influenced by contemporary social changes, changes in piety, new theological reflections, and the emergence of new religious movements, both within the institutional bounds of the Church and outside of them.

Some other historical circumstances played an equally significant role in the increase of pilgrimage. One such phenomenon were the plague epidemics which recurred throughout the Late Middle Ages as well as the military and territorial advance of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and the Balkans from the second half of the fourteenth century.

Another important factor which caused the appearance of new saintly shrines all over Europe was the revival in the economic, social, and ecclesiastical importance of ancient urban centers, as well as the foundation of numerous new urban settlements in continental Europe, and especially in the Northern Mediterranean. As is well known, European international, regional, and local urban centers were integrated into a developed travel

⁷ A beautiful description of the iconographic program of altar paintings is recorded in the last will of the patrician George, son of Radić Šižgorić, written down by the Šibenik notary Caratus Vitale, and dated 1 October 1464. In his will, George explained why he chose to dictate it: "...considerando el periculo per andar al viazo da Leuante per fato dela expeditione de la sancta cruciata...". HR DAZd, SŠB, KV, Kut.16, sv. II/vol. 15.IV. b7, f. 286v. Among many other pious legacies, he bequeathed "pro anima mia a Dio e a sancta Cruxe e a sancto Francisco de Capan ducati duxento al altare grande vna palla de ducati cinquaginta cum misterio de passione di Christo et anche el misterio chome san Francisco pinxi le stigmati nel monte de la Verni." Ibid, f. 287r. The sacral painting placed on the altar certainly influenced the religious imagination of all believers, but it must have exerted a particular influence on the illiterate peasants from Krapanj. Of course, in all Istrian and Dalmatian communes one can find similar pictorial examples.

In 1213, Count Orlando Catani of Chiusi gave Francis a mountainous piece of land called La Verna to use as a place of retreat. Tucked into the wilderness east of Florence, La Verna features a solitary peak, known as Monte Penna, and is covered in beech and fir trees. The friar withdrew to this mountain with his companion Brother Leo in September 1224 for a 40-day fast and contemplation of Christ's Passion, during which he prayed fervently to share in Christ's suffering. According to early accounts, the answer to his prayer came in the vision of a fiery six-winged angel (or seraph) bearing the image of a crucified Christ. As the seraph departed, the wounds of Christ's crucifixion, called the *stigmata* (nail marks through the hands and feet, a piercing of the torso), appeared on Francis's own body. He bore those wounds for the remaining two years of his life. Today the Sanctuary of La Verna remains an active monastery and, after Assisi, is the second-holiest Franciscan site.

network. In that respect, Istrian and Dalmatian urban centers and ports lay along very important strategic naval and land routes. This led to frequent layovers of pilgrims from all regions of Europe in Istria and Dalmatia. Some land roads, such as the *via exercitualis* and *via regia*, led from Central European urban centers (Krakow, Prague, Buda) to the ports and cities of Senj, Zadar, and Split on the eastern Adriatic coast. These in turn were connected with Ancona and Bari, the main Apennine port on the Adriatic. There were also other naval roads leading to Brindisi, Manfredonia, Fano, Pesaro, and Rimini. Another road of great importance for pilgrims and other travellers was the old Roman land road starting in Senj with stops in the hinterland of Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor in Dalmatia and ending in Vlorë (*Valona*), Durrës (*Duracchium*) and *Apollonia*, the main Albanian ports.⁸ There, that road connected to a very important Roman road called the *Via Egnatia*, which lead to Constantinople and which was an extension of the *via Appia* connecting Rome and Brindisi. Even more important for European and eastern Adriatic pilgrims in the period after 1300 was the city of Venice as the central port on the Adriatic for European pilgrims travelling to the *Terra Sancta* or to the shrine of St. Caherine on Mount Sinai. As for Rome, late medieval *romei* usually travelled the *via Francigena* (a western land road starting in Canterbury) or by *via Allemagna* (an eastern road leading to the Apennine Peninsula). These two roads joined near Venice, where the *via Apia* began, leading *ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli* in Rome and even further to Brindisi. However, many of these pilgrims went to Venice and there boarded Venetian pilgrim galleys to reach the Christian shrines in the Holly Land. Due to the indented eastern Adriatic coastline, as well the existence of numerous well-organized ports, the possibility for maneuvering, and the safety of navigation, the eastern Adriatic became one of the most secure stretches of the naval route from Venice to Jaffa and other ports in Palestine. In this way the denizens of eastern Adriatic coastal communes frequently encountered European lay pilgrims who used to spend the night in communal hospitals, patrician palaces, or even chip taverns, and with friars in convents or monasteries. A great number of eastern Adriatic men served on Venetian galleys as crew members, oarsmen, and ship pilots: most of them spoke Croatian, *Veneto*, and sometimes other languages such as Greek or Turkish. The above-

⁸ Matthew Larnach, *All Roads lead to Constantinople: Exploring the Via Militaris in the Medieval Balkans, 600-1204*, A thesis submitted to The Medieval and Early Modern Centre in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Sydney, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The Medieval and Early Modern Centre, The University of Sydney 2016, p. 130.

mentioned factors influenced the emergence of a new pilgrim spirit and the flourishing of male and female pilgrim practices among the denizens of eastern Adriatic communes during the Central and Late Middle Ages.⁹

It was in this period that the administrative and legal organization of all types of East Adriatic urban settlements (cities, towns, and communes) began. Urban societies organized their juridical system, mainly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by accepting the newly written statute laws or rulers' privileges instead of (or, to a certain extent based on) older customary law. In the eastern Adriatic communes, statute laws regulated various aspects of social, economic, and even ecclesiastical life by combining and applying elements of older customary law, Roman civil law, and some decrees of Canon law. These juridical regulations were the precondition for the establishment of communal political, administrative, and legal institutions, as well as for the regulation of daily life of denizens of cities, but also of peasants in the surrounding districts, because the statute laws were enacted both in cities and in villages. Although the decrees of statute laws point to the predominant role of male inhabitants in communal daily life, female denizens were also in many ways legally protected and allowed to execute their hereditary rights, for instance by participating in private legal acts and in economic life, in performing specific expressions of religiosity and so on. Thus, firm juridical, political, and administrative organization of communes were the main precondition for the flourishing of contemporary urban settlements. These factors also helped improve the position of women in urban social and family life.

The revitalization of European contemporary urban settlements and eastern Adriatic communes was also caused by their growing importance in the economic life of Europe in that period. The continued development of local, regional, and international trade and commerce, of communal craftsmanship and intellectual and artistic professions improved the standard of living in communes, influencing the emergence of a new layer of rich citizens or inhabitants (*cives, habitatores*) as representatives of a new elite group which did not belong to the traditional patrician elite. By the middle of the fourteenth century the eastern Adriatic communal population grew in number. The growth was caused not only by the natural growth of the domestic urban population, but also the result of continual migrations, mainly from neighboring regions (Slovenia, the Istrian and Dalmatian hinterland, the Apennine Peninsula, Bosnia).

⁹ The examined factors are explained in detail in: Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV. do XVII. st. – opora, vinorodna, kršćanska* [The Croatian Coast in the Travellogues of German Pilgrims from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries – Bitter, Winegrowing, Christian], Književni krug, Split 2013.

Even in the fifteenth century the growth in Istrian and Dalmatian communes remained steady, mainly because of numerous migrations of refugees from Bosnia and Croatia caused by the Ottoman military pressure. Fortified Dalmatian cities, both coastal and those located on islands (e.g., Rab and Hvar), were considered the most secure places to begin a new life.

Other factors also strongly influenced the growing importance of eastern Adriatic communes. According to data from pilgrim diaries and travelogues, female pilgrims rarely traveled to the Holy Land and to St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. However, there were some exceptions. For instance, the fifteenth century English pilgrim Margery Kempe¹⁰ or Countess Dorothea, wife of the Croatian magnate Nicholas Frankapan,¹¹ certainly inspired the religious spatial mobility of eastern Adriatic women, encouraging them to pilgrimage to the *Terra Sancta*.¹²

¹⁰ In this paper we use the following edition: *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Lynn Staley (ed. and trans.), Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, Michigan 1996. Margery's diary was written down a few years prior to her death (between 1431 and 1436) by two English notaries. Her pilgrimage to the *Terra Sancta* was described in the chapters 26 to 45. Her pilgrimage lasted from 1413 to 1415. According to the information from her diary, she traveled by *via Francigena* which led from Canterbury to Rome. However, near Venice Margery traveled by another land road leading to the port of Venice, where she boarded a Venetian galley and continued her pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

¹¹ In 1411, the Croatian Count Nicholas Frankapan pilgrimaged with his wife Dorothea of Gorjan to the Holy Land, as was mentioned in the book of hours redacted by the Franciscan friar and parish priest Nicholas Brozić from Omišalj, on the island of Krk. For the digitalized edition, see: *Brivjeći hirovacki*, Va Bnech' / Venetiis, Po sinih' Zani Franciska Torizani / Apud filios Gio. Francisci Turresani, miseca marča č-f-m-a / mense Martio MDLXI [1561], <https://glagoljica.hr/?knjige=iiif.v.a&id=15472&tify={%22panX%22:0.549,%22panY%22:0.504,%22view%22:%22info%22,%22zoom%22:0.787}> (accessed 15 December 2021). For the transliteration into vernacular Croatian, see: "No nekoliko godina poslije bijahu kneza Nikolu zaokupile pobožne misli, ter je pošao u svetu zemlju i u sam Jeruzolim. 1411 miseca aprila ide knez Mikula naš gospodin plemeniti v Jerusolim k božemu grobu i pride domov ijulija obhodiv dobro i častno". Đuro Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici, sveska I. (od godine 1100-1499)*, in: *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. VI, Zagreb 1898., p. 110. The *peregrinatio in Terra Sancta* performed by Nicholas and Dorothea is confirmed in some Venetian sources as well. In March 1410, Nicholas requested from the Venetian government, "ut dignemur sibi concedere et complacere de una galea, ut possit illam armari facere et ire ad visitationem sepulcri domini, quo vult ire ex voto et devotione sua". The Venetian government, having in mind "complacere ipsi domino, qui est nobilis civis noster", concluded on 27 March 1410 "quod in complacentiam ipsius domini concedatur et deputetur sibi galea, que fuit Barbadica, que fuit in Trapesunda cum suis coredis et fulcimentis ac armis pro hominibus de remo, quam ipse dominus possit armari facere hic Venetiis suis expensis, et cum illa ire ad suum beneplacitum ad visitandum sepulcrum Dominicum". Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike: Od godine 1409 do 1412*, Knj. VI, [Documents on Relationships between South Slavs and Venice, Book VI] *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, Zagreb: JAZU 1878, p. 69.

¹² Another narrative source, the itinerary of the German Franciscan *palmarius* Paul Walter Guglingen, written in 1482, features an anecdote related to a Croatian pilgrim married couple. He recorded that during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem he spent some time in the company of a

Other historical changes also influenced the rise in the number of pilgrimages made by eastern Adriatic women. The inventory of goods and last wills of the eastern Adriatic urban denizens also contains data pertaining to the culture of reading. Members of the city's clergy or educated laypeople owned personal libraries (*bibliotheca seu librerie*) containing not only theological or philosophical works but also popular chronicles, travelogues, historical, hagiographic, and literary works. The most pertinent for the study of pilgrimage were the hagiographic works. The appearance of hagiographic works on newly-canonized saints, the rise in literacy in urban centers, the representations of newly-canonized saints in sacral paintings (which appealed to illiterate believers), and significant changes in the daily life in urban and surrounding rural settlements were factors which, from the thirteenth century onwards, led to the foundation of new shrines dedicated to saints such as St. Frances of Assisi, St. Clare and St. Bernardino of Siena, St. Rochus, St. Anthony of Padua, and the Virgin Mary. Namely, following the late scholastic theological re-evaluation of the Virgin Mary, her popularity among believers increased, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Mary became the leading saintly figure and the most popular heavenly protector of Christians: she was considered the most powerful intercessor and mediator for believers. Among Marian shrines of the period, the most popular were those connected to the legend of the transmission of the *Santa casa* from the Holy Land first to Trsat what is today Rijeka (Croatia), and soon after to Recanati and Loreto in Italy. But there were hundreds of other Marian shrines in western and central Europe: international (e.g. shrine of the Virgin Mary in Aachen, Germany), regional (e.g. Mariazell in Styria, Austria), and local (e.g. shrines of Virgin Mary in Zajično in the hinterland of Šibenik and in Drid near Trogir, Dalmatia). These were founded around various relics pertaining to Mary's life or miraculous Marian sacral paintings and sculptures.

Croatian married couple. Unfortunately, as written by Guglingen, somewhere between Ramala and Jerusalem, the husband died and was immediately buried in the desert in a Muslim graveyard. No doubt, to die on pilgrimage and especially in the Holy Land was, from a religious point of view, considered as something very beneficial for the soul of the deceased, since they were buried in the *area sacra*, in the holiest of Christian lands. The fact that the graveyard where the Croatian man was buried was Muslim was of no theological importance, since the *Terra Sancta* was the most saintly of Christian lands: "Demum asinavimus per terram planam et campestem, fertilem, non petrosam versus Iherusalem, et distat a Rama 30 miliaria. Et venimus sero usque ad ascensum montium et ibi stetimus per noctem in campis. Et quidam peregrinus de partibus Slavonie in nocte illa mortuus est presente sua uxore, que multum anxiata est et cum dolore maximo reliquit virum, quem multum amabat, inter gentiles sepelire in campis." M. Sollweck, *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, Tübingen 1892, pp. 108-109.

As has been presented, various factors contributed to the continual rise in the religious spatial mobility of women in the late medieval period. Among them, the most significant were the improved position of women in Dalmatian communes (following the introduction of written statutes and decrees between the thirteenth and fifteenth century), general economic growth and, consequently, the appearance of a new class of wealthy citizens, mainly merchants and artisans, who had the financial means to support such mobility. The growth in popularity of pilgrimaging among women was also the consequence of the popularization of cults of saints, the significant influence of Jubilees among the entire Dalmatian population, followed by the attractiveness of indulgences granted after visiting *limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, but also indulgences granted after visiting other less important and/or closer *loca sacra*. Istrian and Dalmatian female wills testify that the mention of pilgrimages in these private documents greatly increased after the proclamation of the first Jubilee year by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300.¹³ As a consequence, at a later date, many local shrines received papal permission to issue indulgences during a certain period of the liturgical year, for example during the feasts of some of the local saints.

At the same time, a social democratization was taking place, as well. Social democratization transpired in the drawing up of private-legal documents. From the end of the thirteenth until the end of the fifteenth century, the decrees and novels to communal statutes regulated the right of composing last wills. According to these testamentary decrees, members of all social strata – patricians, citizens, villagers from the district, newcomers, migrants, and foreigners – were granted the right to dictate their last wills. Moreover, statutes empowered female testators from all social strata to dictate their wills and distribute their immovables and movables according to their own free will. Since the cults of saints and pilgrimage shrines reached their peak popularity during the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, many of them composed their wills before embarking on pilgrimage. An even greater number of testators left legacies for substitutionary pilgrimages. While at the end of the thirteenth and the very beginning of the fourteenth century religious spatial mobility was still characteristic of male pilgrims, the data from late medieval Dalmatian last wills point to the growing number of women pilgrims. As will be shown in the analysis of last wills, in the fourteenth and fif-

¹³ This allows for a quantitative analysis of the gender and social position of the pilgrims, their destinations, and so on. See: Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Regelmässigkeit mittelalterlicher Wallfahrt", in: *Wallfahrt und Alltag im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und frühen Neuzeit*, 14, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1992, pp. 81-94.

teenth centuries, women pilgrims from urban and rural spaces occasionally outnumbered their male counterparts. Sources corroborate this trend: the number of pilgrimages made by women continued to rise, while donations bequeathed by female testators outnumbered such legacies donated by their male contemporaries.

2. THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EASTERN ADRIATIC RELIGIOUS SPATIAL MOBILITY OF WOMEN TOWARDS THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES AS REFLECTED IN LAST WILLS

As mentioned above, in the eastern Adriatic, as in other European regions, the first pilgrimages made in the early medieval period were the privilege of believers belonging to the elite social lay and ecclesiastical classes. Therefore, it is no wonder that "courtly" pilgrimages, made by rulers and their suites, also included women. As for the Central Middle Ages, the data regarding Istria and Dalmatia is rather fragmentary since few wills contain data on pilgrimages. However, in the period starting from the end of the thirteenth until the end of the fifteenth century the process of the democratization of female pilgrim spatial mobility is particularly visible. Pilgrimages are mentioned in wills in two ways: a) personal pilgrimages b) substitutionary pilgrimages. As this paper will show, in late medieval wills substitutionary pilgrimages prevailed significantly over personal ones. Nevertheless, the number of personal pilgrimages of men and women visibly increased towards the end of the Middle Ages.

What were the reasons? According to canon and communal statutory laws, the main precondition for embarking on pilgrimage was the physical and corporal health of future pilgrims, expressed by the following formulas: *sanus/sana corpore, mente et intellectu, corpore sanus, intendens peregrinari, corpore sanus prefecturus uisitatum, corpore sana intendens nauigare et uisitare, corpore sana nauigatura Asisium*.¹⁴ However, as corroborated by high and late medieval last wills, a large share of female testators were unable to personally perform the pilgrimages for the simple fact that most women's last wills

¹⁴ The statutory decrees of eastern Adriatic communes underlined mature age (*aetas legitima*) and physical healthiness as the most important precondition for embarking on personal pilgrimage. The physically ill (*mentecapti*) were banned from recording their last wills and consequently of going on pilgrimage. Thus, one decree from the Statute of Rab stated: *Ordinamus quoque et statuimus, quod aliquis mentecaptus et aliquis qui non sit perfectae aetatis, videlicet masculus habens aetatem a quatuordecim annis infra, non possit facere testamentum aut ordinamentum aliquod; quod si facerent, nihil teneant; et similiter praedicti non possint facere aliquam obligationem vel alienationem, et si eam facerent, nihil teneat*. Lujó Margetić-Petar Strčić, *Statut rapske komune iz 14. stoljeća. Statutum communis Arbae* [The Statute Law of the Commune of Rab], Rab-Rijeka 2004, pp. 100-101.

were recorded when the testators were seriously ill or, in fewer cases, elderly (*corpore languens, corpore infirma, corpore infirmitate uehementer grauata, corpore decrepita, iacens in lecto, iacens in lecto pestifero morbo infecta, senectute grauata* or *senectute oppressa*) and therefore physically unable to go on personal pilgrimage.¹⁵ The testators' fear of travel also came into play, as did family circumstances (e.g. sick members of nuclear families, parents). Therefore, in all late medieval eastern Adriatic communes, female testators often bequeathed certain types of legacies (monetary, land estates, livestock, and so on) to young, healthy, and persons willing to go on pilgrimage in their stead, either *peregrinationes maiores* or *peregrinationes minores*.¹⁶ As will be shown, some of the wealthier female testators donated significant monetary legacies, insisting that a family member of their choice go on pilgrimage (e.g. brother, daughter, cousin, priest). The data from the extant notarial records confirms that such pilgrimages were considered binding and, in most cases, performed.¹⁷

However, towards the end of the Middle Ages the share of personal pilgrimages increased throughout Europe. There were thousands of local, regional, and international pilgrim shrines persons in good health visited. Of course, the so-called *peregrinationes maiores*, especially to Rome and St. James in Compostela, were still the most popular pilgrim shrines visited each year by thousands of *romei* or *pellegrini*. The number of *palmieri* from the eastern Adriatic in the *Terra Sancta* and Jerusalem during the fifteenth

¹⁵ Some wills also indicated the mental condition of female testators. An early example can be found in the will of Stana, wife of Donatus Salladini, a Trogir patrician who dictated her will at the end of the thirteenth century. Stana was *infirmitate nimia pregrauata et doloribus plurimis diuersi modo oppressa*. "Trogirski spomenici. Dio I.: Zapisci pisarne općine Trogirske" [Records of Trogir. Part 1: Registers of the Chancellery of the Commune of Trogir] 1/2, MSHSM 45. Zagreb: JAZU, 1950 (hereafter MT I/2), doc. 3, p. 251.

¹⁶ Recent historiography classifies pilgrimages as international, regional, or local. However, the above-mentioned classification of *peregrinationes* into *maiores* and *minores* sprang from medieval theological and religious considerations, which were based on the theological evaluations and pious importance of saintly shrines, as well as on the medieval sacral hierarchy of pilgrim centers. Hence, the main criterion for the classification of these types of pilgrimages was not geographical distance, but theological, liturgical, and hagiographical importance.

¹⁷ The involved parties took *ex voto* pilgrimages very seriously. According to data from Dalmatian last wills, the beneficiaries usually held their word. For instance, a document recorded in the city of Hvar in 1430 mentions a certain Dobroslav *Cethcutouich*, who went on pilgrimage *ad limina sanctorum apostolorum* in Rome for the soul of his wife Jera, in accordance with one of her testamentary legacies. In the same document, two witnesses – Mikšin Utišinović and Mladin Utišinović – confirmed that Dobroslav went on pilgrimage. Additionally, both witnesses said that they saw him as a pilgrim in Rome "with their own eyes". M. Zjačić, "Regeste pergamena XV vijeka Kaptolskog arhiva u Hvaru" [Registers of Parchments from the Fifteenth Century Kept in the Chapter Archive of Hvar], *Bilten historijskog arhiva komune hvarske*, god. VI-VII, br. 7-8/1965, p. 14.

century generally decreased among both male and female believers because of the complex political and military situation in the Middle East. The latter was the result of the successful Ottoman invasion first on Byzantium, and soon after on the region of the Balkan Christian states. Therefore, the data on pilgrimages from eastern Adriatic communes in the fifteenth century reveals a significant decrease in the number of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while personal pilgrimages to other international, regional, and local pilgrim shrines became more popular. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as hundreds of diaries and travelogues testify, remained the privilege of pilgrims from the highest strata of medieval society, since they were able to organize and finance such pilgrimages after renting a galley (or multiple ones), usually in Venice, with a large and experienced crew. They also needed a personal or mercenary military escort and diplomatic assistance provided by Venetian diplomatic missions, as well as the general assistance of Franciscans after mooring in the port of Jaffa.¹⁸

¹⁸ An illustrative example is the above-mentioned *peregrinatio* performed by Count Nicholas Frankapan. See footnote 11. See also: N. Maslač, "Hrvatski knezovi Frankopani prema kat. Crkvi" [Croatian Counts Frankopani and the Catholic Church], *Život*, XI, 1930, p. 179. To make this pilgrimage, Nicholas hired a Venetian galley, including the crew which consisted of the members of his court, knights, soldiers, cooks, a personal scribe, and other servants. Lujo Margetić, "Počeci prošteništa i franjevačkog samostana na Trsatu" [The Beginnings of the Pilgrim Shrine and Franciscan Convent in Trsat], *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. XIV, no. 25, 1990, p. 68. In 1430, Nicholas Frankapan went on pilgrimage to Rome on an Anconitan galley, crossing the Adriatic. The pilgrimage to Rome also entailed a diplomatic meeting between Nicholas and Pope Martin V. Ibid.

3. THE RISE IN THE RELIGIOUS SPATIAL MOBILITY OF EASTERN ADRIATIC WOMEN DURING THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

In this chapter we will present the rise in the spatial mobility of women in late medieval Istrian and Dalmatian communes to various pilgrim shrines in the Christian oecumena. The findings are primarily based on the analysis of data from last wills. The examined last wills from the commune of Zadar date from the end of the thirteenth until the beginning of the fifteenth century. From the end of the thirteenth century, only two last wills drawn up in Zadar mention pilgrimages, both recorded for women. The first recorded data on Zadar pilgrims dates to 1291 and can be found in the will of Mary, wife of the late John and mother of the late Nicholas, a priest in the cathedral church of St. Anastasia.¹⁹ Mary dictated her will with the intention to personally *uisitare limina beatorum apostolorum Petri, Pauli et Iacobi de Galicia*.²⁰ This means Mary decided to embark on a rather lengthy journey to Rome and to St. James in Compostela in Spain, in order to visit two very popular high and late medieval Christian shrines. Mary's last will bears witness to the beginning of female spatial mobility from eastern Adriatic communes and to new legal provisions (based on communal statutory law and Canon law). The second will from that period also testifies to the custom of going on pilgrimage to hierarchically less important pilgrim centers (the so-called *peregrinatio minor*). However, in contrast to the first recorded personal pilgrimage, this one was not made by the testator. In her will from 1292, the patrician Dominica, daughter of the late Simon de Mauro, bequeathed money to a person willing to go on pilgrimage *ad sanctam Mariam de Angelis* in Assisi, Italy, for the salvation of her soul.²¹ This is the first recorded mention of a pilgrimage to Assisi in Zadar sources, testifying to the growing popularity of St. Francis among eastern Adriatic believers only a couple of decades following his canonization. For this analysis it is important that both testators were women and that both belonged to the patriciate. This likely means that patrician women helped democratize pilgrimaging, probably because they were able to financially support this type of religious spatial mobility. These two examples also give us an insight into the main pilgrimage directions of Zadarin testators at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth cen-

¹⁹ Mirko Zjačić, "Spisi zadarskih bilježnika Henrika i Creste Tarallo 1279-1308". [Registers of Henry and Creste de Tarallo, Notaries of Zadar, 1279-1308], *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* 1 (hereafter SZB1), Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru 1959, doc. 33, pp. 66-67.

²⁰ "Maria Iadratina, uxor condam Iohannis ... in(ten)dens (uisi)tare limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Iacobi de Galicia ...". Ibid., doc. 33, p. 66.

²¹ Ibid., doc. 36, 69-70.

turies. The data from Dubrovnik wills from the same period indicates that pilgrimaging was more firmly rooted among denizens of Dubrovnik than those of Zadar. At the turn of the fourteenth century, there were 19 bequests related to substitutionary pilgrimages, ten of them made by female testators.

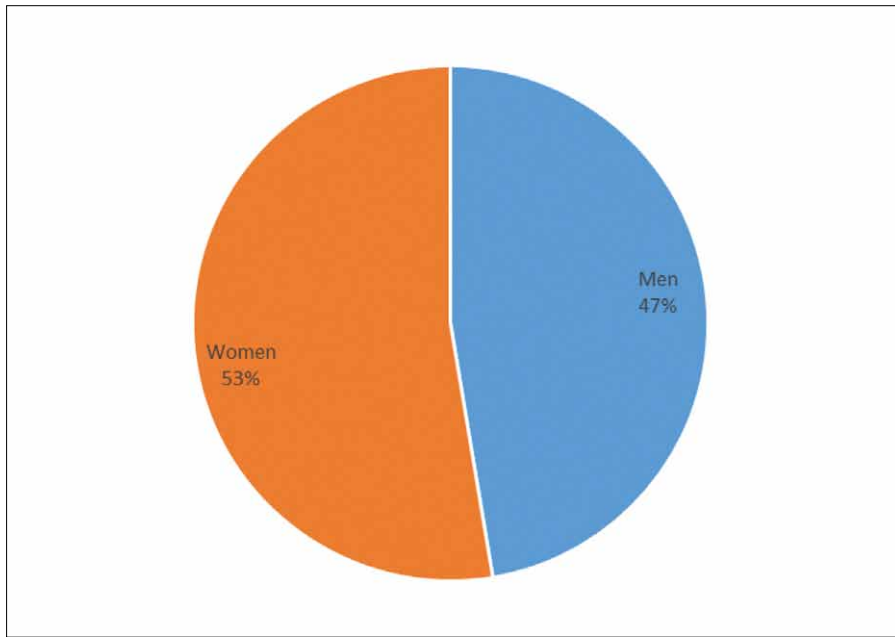


Figure 1: Testamentary bequests for pilgrimages in Dubrovnik in the last decades of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century by gender

In all cases, a certain amount of money was bequeathed to persons willing to go on pilgrimage instead of the testator.²² The names of pilgrim shrines were recorded in only two wills. For us, the case of Gajslava, wife of the late Peter, son of Bogdan, is particularly interesting. Gajslava freed her female slave Deva under one condition – that *ipsa vadat pro anima mea Asisium*.²³ The greater number of pilgrimages from Dubrovnik, especially women's substitutionary pilgrimages, seems to be the expression of a more developed

²² The reason for this lies in the fact that most of the testators bequeathing legacies for pilgrimages were *infirmirate corporis* or *decrepitate etatis*, i.e. old or ill.

²³ Josip Lučić, "Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Zapisi notara Andrija Beneše 1295-1301, Praecepta rectoris II (1299-1301). Testamenta II (1295-1301)" [The Acts of the Chancellery of Dubrovnik. The Deeds of the Notary Andreas de Benessa 1295-1301. Praecepta rectoris II (1299-1301). Testamenta II (1295-1301)], *Monumenta historica Ragusina* 4 (hereafter MR 4), Zagreb: JAZU, 1993, doc. 1420, p. 345.

economic, urban, social, religious, and administrative life of the commune of Dubrovnik than in other eastern Adriatic communes of the period. As in Zadar, Assisi was mentioned as a popular pilgrim shrine, which again confirms the well-known fact that St. Francis was one of the most popular high and late medieval saints, particularly because of the rising popularity of a new form of piety – that of social and civic Christianity. Apart from Zaratina and Ragusan documents, wills survive for another Dalmatian commune – Kotor. As in Zadar, the Kotor sample of wills features only two male bequests for pilgrimages.²⁴ Women's legacies for that purpose were not mentioned. This leads us to the conclusion that, except in Dubrovnik, pilgrimages were not yet popular among female testators in eastern Adriatic communes. However, in contrast to the early medieval period, the tendency of the democratization is obvious, particularly in the case of the most developed commune of Dubrovnik. Of course, one should always bear in mind the fact that a great number of wills have not survived. Thus, while Dante Alighieri in his *Divine Comedy* mentioned eastern Adriatic Croatian pilgrims as a significant group of pilgrims in Rome during the Jubilee in 1300, eastern Adriatic communal wills give a different picture. In my opinion, Dante's remark on the numerous Croatian pilgrims *ad limina apostolorum* in Rome, together with other historical evidence (e.g. the rising numbers of pilgrims from Dubrovnik), should be considered as the likely scenario. Therefore, it may be concluded that the year 1300 represented the beginning of a significant rise in pilgrim practices as performed by female pilgrims from eastern Adriatic communes.

Starting from the 1320s, the number of extant wills and, hence, the number of recorded pilgrimages in eastern Adriatic communes continued to rise. This period represents a turning point in the democratization of pilgrimaging not only with respect to the social statute of pilgrims, but also their gender. According to the data from notarial records, the share of Zaratina female pilgrims became almost equal to the share of their male contemporaries. Wills and other legal and narrative sources suggest that the process of democratization can be traced in all eastern Adriatic communes. As in other communes, such as Senj and Split, the number of late medieval pil-

²⁴ Basil, son of Matthew, bequeathed a generous legacy worth 50 ducats *ut detis alicui bono homini, qui ire voluerit ad passagium*, but unfortunately, he did not specify the name of the place where this person should go on pilgrimage. Antun Mayer, "Kotorski spomenici. Prva knjiga kotorskih notara od god. 1326-1335" [Monuments of Kotor. The First Book of the Catin Notaries 1326-1335], *Monumenta Catarsia* 1. Zagreb: JAZU 1951 (hereafter: MC 1), doc. 438, pp. 156-157. Francis, son of Mark Basili, bequeathed ten ducats to be given *uni homini, qui vadat Romam*. MC *Ibid.*, doc. 732, pp. 257-258.

grims from urban-rural settlements on the eastern Adriatic coast, from the hinterland of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary, and from other Central European regions significantly grew because of the reconstruction and regular maintenance of old Roman roads, which had been constructed in the Roman provinces of *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, and *Dalmatia*.²⁵ No doubt, these land roads were used in equal measure by both male and female pilgrims from all of the abovementioned regions. The three main pilgrim land roads towards the Apennine Peninsula led to ports in the city of Senj, Zadar, and Split and from there across the Adriatic towards western Adriatic ports such as Brindisi, Bari, Manfredonia, Fano, Ancona, Pesaro, and Rimini, depending on the destination. The significant increase in the number of pilgrims from the above-mentioned regions forced the communal governments and administrations of Zadar, Senj, and Split to address various problems related to the presence of numerous foreign pilgrims in the above-mentioned cities. Again, this became especially urgent after the proclamation of the Jubilee by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300.²⁶ After the papal proclamation of a Jubilee, pilgrims from Central European regions were attracted to visit Rome and *limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli*. Concerning Zadar, it is worth mentioning that there are no extant last wills recorded for the purpose of pilgrimaging to Rome for the Jubilee in 1300, regardless of the generous papal promise of “remissions of temporal punishment for past sins” to all *romei*.²⁷ Still, in most European urban societies there was a great increase in the number of wills in 1300. It has been proposed that the reason for this increase can be attributed to the fact that 1300 was proclaimed a Jubilee year. Therefore, it can be presumed that the same happened in Zadar and that at least some of the 29 Zadar testators drew up their wills in that year after deciding to go on pilgrimage. It is likely that many of these wills were recorded between April and September, when the conditions for crossing the Adriatic were most favourable. Moreover, it is highly probable that many testators travelled in groups on the same ships,

²⁵ On the formation of the Roman province of *Illyricum*, see: Slobodan Čače, Feđa Milivojević, “Roman Illyricum in the First Century BC: A Few Remarks”, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, vol. 110, No. 2, 2017, pp. 425-450.

²⁶ According to quantitative estimations, in 1300 more than ten thousand pilgrims journeyed to Rome from the southern German provinces. See: Ludwig Schmugge, “Deutsche Pilger in Italien”, in: Siegfried de Rachewiltz – Josef Riedmann (eds.), *Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter. Begegnungen zwischen dem Süden und der Mitte Europas (11.-14. Jahrhundert)*, Sigmaringen 1995, pp. 104-109; Ludwig Schmugge, “Kollektive und individuelle Motivstrukturen im mittelalterlichen Pilgerwesen”, in: Gerhard Jaritz and Albert Müller (eds.), *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft*, Frankfurt-New York 1988, pp. 266-267, 272-273, 275-276.

²⁷ Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1995, p. 44.

a generally accepted practice among European, as well as eastern Adriatic pilgrims from the lower communal classes. However, pilgrimage was never explicitly mentioned as the reason for composing a particular will in 1300.

As mentioned above, the growing number of pilgrims from eastern Adriatic communes was also reflected in some of the late medieval communal statutes. A decree from the Statute law of Zadar from 1305, dealing with pilgrims boarding ships in the port of Zadar, stated: *Quod peregrini non teneantur ad restaurationem damni supervenientis in arbore, antenna, velo, timonibus aut ancoris sed pro eis patronus navis partem eis contingentem solvere teneatur*.²⁸ In the later period, the count of Zadar issued a novel by which the number of pilgrims on each ship was strictly limited because of possible overload of ships and danger for ships' balance and stability. The control over that issue was given to the Venetian admiral and the fines were imposed for all captains or patrons of ships which did not abide the law. One novel recorded later, in 1448 in the Statute Law of Zadar, deals with transportation of pilgrims from Zadar's port to Rome: "... causa devotionis Romanae urbis soleant certo tempore anni ex ultramontanis locis in hanc urbem descendere gratia transitus multi peregrini".²⁹

Zaratin wills testify to the growing popularity of travelling for pilgrim purposes as a type of religious spatial mobility in the period between the 1320s and 1404. There were altogether 103 mentions of pilgrimage in 80 Zaratin wills. As expected, the number of personal pilgrimages was much smaller compared to substitutionary pilgrimages.³⁰ Thus, the testators personally pilgrimaged in only 20 cases (19.4%), composing their wills for this reason, while in 83 cases (80.6%) they bequeathed certain legacies to be given to persons going on pilgrimage instead of the testator and for the sake of his

²⁸ Josip Kolanović - Mate Križman (eds.), *Zadarski statut sa svim reformacijama odnosno novim uredbama donesenima do godine 1563*. [Statute Law of Zadar with Reforms and Regulations Adopted by 1563], Zadar 1997, Liber tertius, Capitulum XXXI., pp. 420-421.

²⁹ Ibid., Reformationes 134., pp. 620-621. The Statute law of the city of Split from 1312 also mentions pilgrims in a decree entitled "De festiuitatibus celebrandis": "*Item questiones etiam pauperum et miserabilium personarum ac peregrinorum seu quorumlibet uiatorum, maxime de uictualibus et de aliis, que ad uiatores pertinent uel etiam peregrinos ob Dei reuerentiam et ut Deus manuteneat ciuitatem Spalati in bono et pacifico statu, uolumus et mandamus, quod omni tempore feriato et non feriato possint et debeant diffiniri*". Antun Cvitanić (ed.), *Statut grada Splita 1312. godine. Statuta ciuitatis Spalati. Splitsko srednjovjekovno pravo. Ius Spalatense mediū aevi*, Književni krug, Split 1998, Lib. I, Capitulum V, p. 351. Pilgrims are briefly mentioned in a decree of the Statute law of Senj from 1388, in connection with the social status of pilgrims and their transportation to Rome by ships from the port of Senj: "*Item quando romipete (the Croatian vernacular term for pilgrims heading to Rome) Romam per ciuitatem Segnie, primo debent honerari nauigia nobelium, secundo ciuium, terco forensium: uidelicet Anchonitani primo*". Lujo Margetić - Petar Strčić, "Senjski statut iz 1388" [The Statute Law of Senj from 1388], in: *Senjski zbornik*, XII, Senj 1985-1987, Capitulum 130, p. 63.

³⁰ The reasons for that being the physical illness of testators and their fear of travel.

or her soul, or the souls of their family members. However, in the examined period there were 22 personal pilgrimages. Regarding the gender of Zaratina testators who went on pilgrimage personally in the period from the 1320s until 1404, male pilgrims prevailed over female pilgrims (15 men as opposed to seven women, i.e. 68% and 32% respectively). This can be ascribed to the perils and exhaustion linked with travelling. Furthermore, in comparison with men, during the studied period women were still considered socially inferior and were bound to their households and families. These factors resulted in lower mobility rates for women.

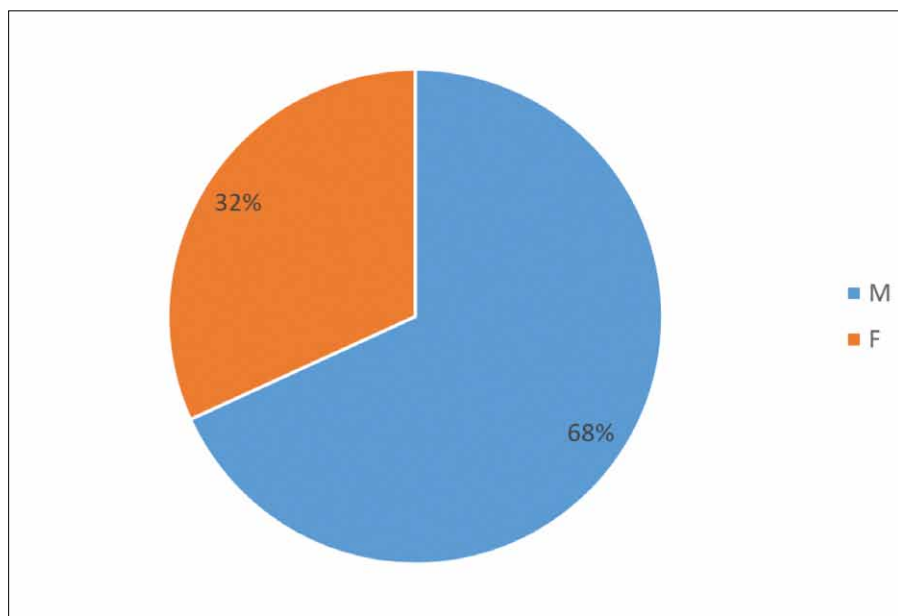


Figure 2: Personal pilgrimages from Zadar between 1320s and 1404 according to the gender of the testators

It is important to underline that in the examined period Zaratina female testators more often pilgrimaged to closer pilgrim centers (e. g. Rome and regional pilgrim sanctuaries). Thus, during the Jubilee in 1400, ten women and only three men left on a pilgrimage *ad limina beatorum apostolorum Petri and Pauli*.³¹ In contrast, when it came to distant pilgrimage centers (such as St.

³¹ The Jubilee of 1400 was, as previous Jubilees, attractive to pilgrims from all over Europe since pilgrimaging to Rome in that year offered the opportunity to receive the remission of all earthly sins.

James in Compostela and Jerusalem), the pilgrims were exclusively men.³² All travels, whether to distant or close pilgrim shrines, was still considered dangerous and leaving the security of the communal area represented the first step into the unknown for men and women alike. Generally, it can be stated that the data regarding various aspects of female pilgrim travel in the high and late medieval period is still relatively scarce since few last wills survive from the period. Equally, eastern Adriatic communal wills from the studied period indicate that male pilgrims outnumbered female ones, regardless of destination. However, the continued development of urban-rural societies on the eastern Adriatic at turn of the fourteenth century points to changes in the social as well as the gender distribution of pilgrims.

Towards the end of the medieval period, the number of extant last wills in eastern Adriatic communes significantly increased: for most communes, hundreds of wills from the fifteenth century are extant. Therefore, in this subchapter we will present data on the spatial religious mobility of women for three other communes on the eastern Adriatic - Rab and Šibenik in Dalmatia and Poreč in Istria.

In 61 last wills drawn up for the denizens of the commune of Poreč by the public notary Anthony de Teodoris in the period between 1464 and 1487, pilgrimages are mentioned in 29 of them.³³ Even the simple correlation between the number of wills and the number of pilgrimages shows that in the fifteenth century the phenomenon of pilgrimaging became widespread among the eastern Adriatic testators. Although the sample from Poreč contains 29 legacies related exclusively to the so-called *ex voto* pilgrimages for the salvation of the souls of testators, in other eastern Adriatic communes the number of personal pilgrimages outnumbered substitutionary pilgrimages. As for pilgrimages from Poreč, in some cases they were ordered for the souls of the testators' close relatives. As far as the gender of the testators bequeathing the legacies for substitutionary pilgrimages is concerned, men still outnumber women, but not by such a wide margin as in Zadar in the fourteenth century. Pilgrimages are mentioned in 17 last wills dictated by men, as opposed to 12 drawn up for women.

³² Thus, for example, Emeric from Dubica, "habitor ladre", went on a pilgrimage to St. James in Compostela. HRDAZd, SZB, Vannes Bernardi de Firmo (hereafter: VBF), b. 2, fasc. 2, nr. 34. The priest Iohn Kokolić, "officians in ecclesia sancti Stephani de Iadra", went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. HRDAZd, SZB, VBF, b. 2, fasc. 2, nr. 55.

³³ State Archive in Pazin (hereafter: HR DAPa), Istrian notaries (hereafter IB), Antonius de Teodoris (hereafter AT), sign. HRDAPa-8, ff. 151r- 181v.

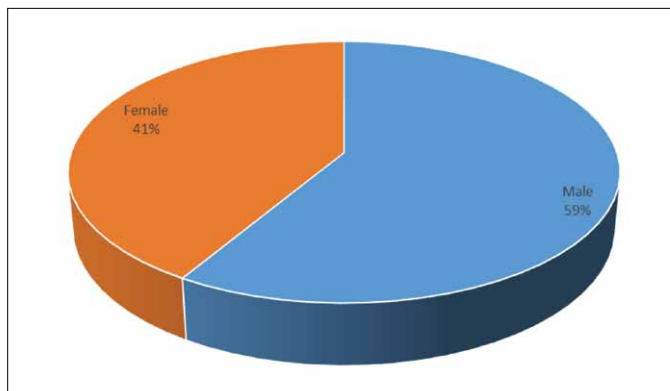


Figure 3: The proportion of male and female pilgrimages mentioned in the wills of Poreč in the period between 1464 and 1487

The presented distribution of legacies bequeathed for pilgrimages in Poreč indicates a democratizing trend in the gender distribution. As presented in the chart 3, in contrast to the Early and High Middle Ages, the late medieval period is characterized by a significant rise in female spatial mobility and the levelling of gender differences in this respect.

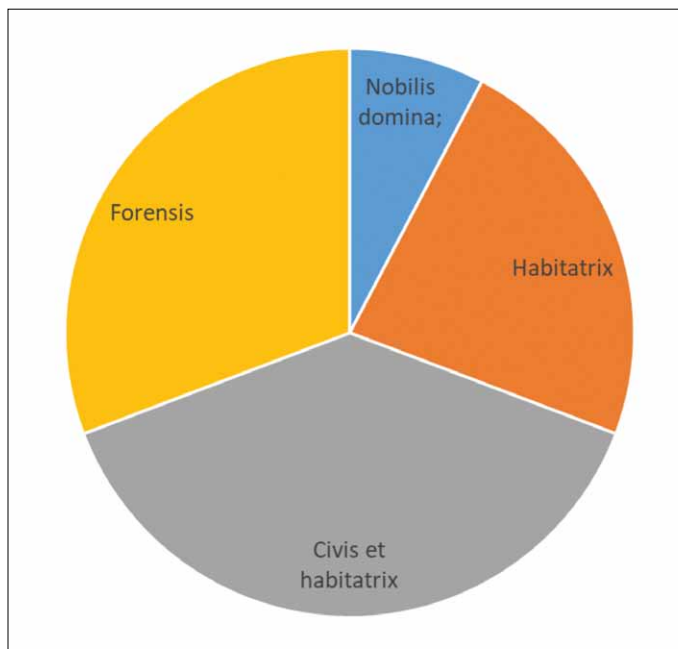


Figure 4: The social status of Poreč women testators bequeathing legacies for pilgrimages in the second half of the fifteenth century

The Poreč sample also points to a rise in the social democratization. Regarding the social status of the Poreč testators, women from all social strata left bequests for substitutionary pilgrimages. As can be seen from the graph, in contrast with the early medieval period, when only women from highest social classes travelled to pilgrim shrines, the presented data points to the fact that in late medieval Poreč women from all communal social classes (both urban and rural) went on pilgrimage to distant, regional, and local pilgrim shrines. This fact confirms that the described democratization was a consequence of the social, ecclesiastical, legal, financial, and administrative improvement of the position of women in eastern Adriatic communal societies, as reflected in secular (statutory law) and ecclesiastical law (Canon law).

Finally, when it comes to gender, the democratization of pilgrimages reached its peak in the second half of the fifteenth century. This can also be observed in wills from the communes of Šibenik and Rab, dating to the fifteenth century.

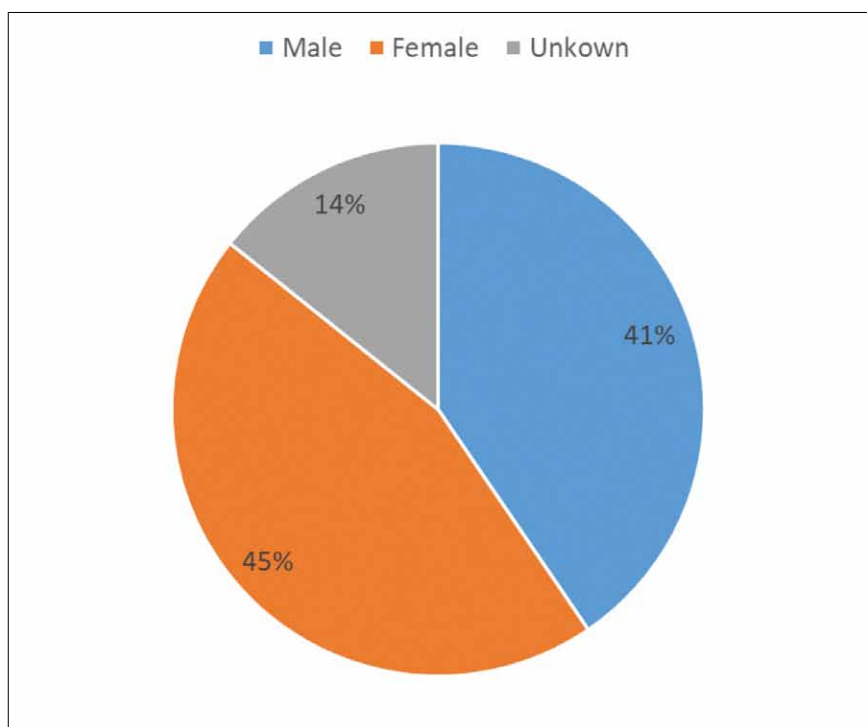


Figure 5: Pilgrimages from the commune of Šibenik in the fifteenth century according to the gender of testators

The Šibenik sample from the fifteenth century comprises 38 last wills dictated by women and 34 by men. The testators either bequeathed legacies for pilgrimages or embarked on pilgrimage themselves. There are also 12 void wills which do not specify the gender and name of the testator. The number of 84 mentions of pilgrimages in the Šibenik sample from the fifteenth century shows that the share of women testators bequeathing legacies or embarking on pilgrimage slightly outnumbered that of their male contemporaries (45.2% and 40.47% respectively).

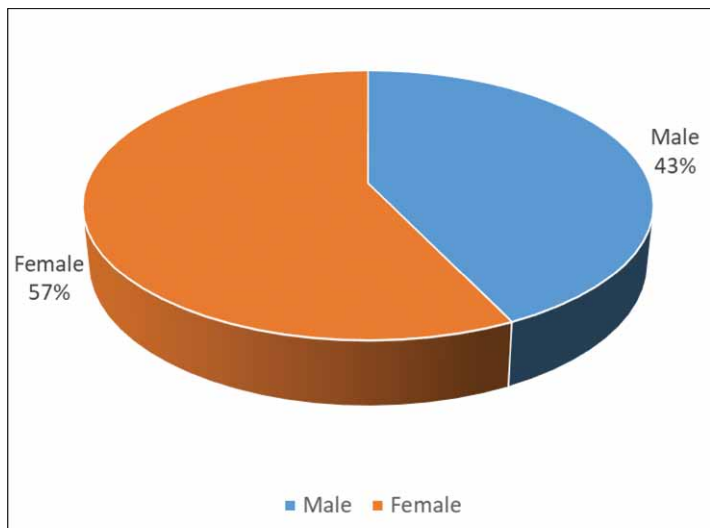


Figure 6: Pilgrimages from the commune of Rab in the second half of the fifteenth century according to the gender of testators

In the Rab sample of wills, recorded by four public communal notaries from 1450 to 1490, the total number of mentioned pilgrimages was 80 (37 or 46.2% mentions in male and 43 or 53.8% in female last wills). However, the data on personal pilgrimages and substitutionary pilgrimages appear in 42 wills (24 or 57.1% female and 18 or 42.9% male last wills), which shows that pilgrimaging was even more popular among women than among the men. As in some of the previous cases, the difference between the number of pilgrim bequests and the number of testators arises from the fact that in several wills one testator left donations for more than one pilgrimage. What is important is the fact that for the first time the share of female testators became dominant in comparison with male testators.

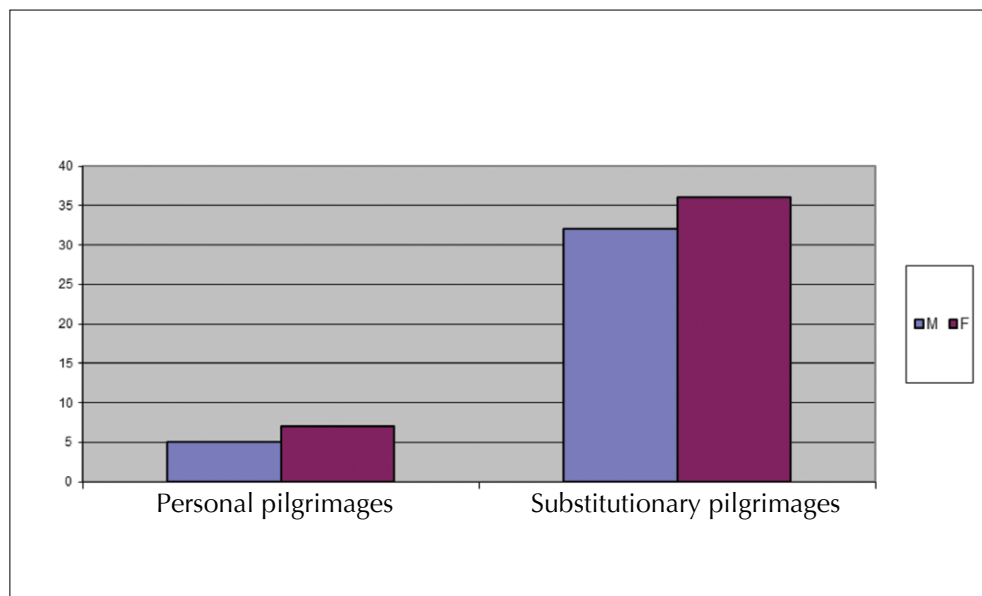


Figure 7: Personal and substitutionary pilgrimages from Rab between 1450 and 1490 according to the gender of testators

Women testators usually opted for substitutionary pilgrimages because of illness or old age. According to testamentary data, physically ill or elderly female testators were unable to go on personal pilgrimage. Their physical state was usually described by the words: *corpore languens*, *infirmia corpore*, *corpore sana sed decrepita etatis*, *corpore decrepita*, *senectute etatis*, *corpore maxime grauata*, *corpore infirmitate uehementer grauata*, *corpore cupiens prouidere subito morti*, and so on. For example, in September 1467 the Poreč's notary Anthony de Teodoris recorded the will of *dona Oliua, filia condam ser Marci Longo, vxor uero ser Petri de Andronicis, sedens super lecto diuino iuditio sana quidem mentis et intellectu gratia Iesu Christi licet aliquialiter infirmitatis grauata*.³⁴ In the same way, *dona Sanctutia, filia ser Alegreti Pedote et vxor Dominici de Perasto* dictated her last will in August 1474, *sedens in ponticu domus diuino iuditio sana quidem mentis et intellectu gratiam Ihesu Christi <liet> licet aliquialiter infirmitatis grauata*.³⁵ Of course, sickly testators were not capable to go on pilgrimage, espe-

³⁴ HR DAPa, IB, AT, f. 151r.

³⁵ HR DAPa, IB, AT, f. 152r.

cially to distant shrines. This was not only the case with the so-called *peregrinationes maiores* to Rome, St. James in Compostela, or the *Terra Sancta*, which were the most important Christian pilgrim shrines, but also with other, regional shrines in the Apennine Peninsula (Assisi, Padua, Loreto, Recanati, Bari, etc.). Even local Marian pilgrim centres such as Trsat, Drid or Zažično were hardly within reach for ill pilgrims. Physical health was also the main reason why out of a total of 103 pilgrims mentioned in Zaratín last wills in the fourteenth century only 20 of them (19.4%) went on pilgrimage. In the studied period, voyages of any kind were still dangerous in comparison to travels in the fifteenth century, when roads were (partly) renovated and safer to travel. However, physical illness was still main reason why female testators did not go on pilgrimage. Sometimes the testator could not go on pilgrimage because of old age. For example, Punča, wife of the late Georg Bandačić, *de villa Mocro* in the district of the commune of Šibenik, dictated her *breviarium testamenti* in 1455 *corpore sana* but *etate decrepita* and therefore she ordered *quod de suis bonis mittatur una persona Romam uisitatum limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli pro anima sua*.³⁶ However, some women decided to go on pilgrimage despite their ill health. In August 1455, a certain Kate, wife of Bogdan Tičić, composed her will already *corpore languens*, but still intent on pilgrimaging to Assisi.³⁷ However, the effort proved to be too much, and she *defuncta est in peregrinatione quam fecerat ad Asisium*.³⁸ As her companions later witnessed, Kate died *in ciuitate sancti Seuerini* on the way to Assisi. However, she managed to dictate her last will on 27 July 1455 in the city of San Severino. Following the statutory decree of the commune of Šibenik, Kate dictated her will in the presence of male and female witnesses. The will was later transcribed by the notary Karatus Vitale and presented to the count of Šibenik.³⁹ Kate's will is also interesting as it testifies to the fact that eastern Adriatic women pilgrims travelled together with women and men from different social strata in a single pilgrim group. It can be presumed that female pilgrims travelled together not only for safety reasons, but also because of their common origin and friendship.⁴⁰

³⁶ HR DAZd, SŠB, KV, kut. 16/II, sv. 15.Iva, f. 83v.

³⁷ HR DAZd, SŠB, KV, kut. 16/II, sv.15.Iva, ff. 79a-80.

³⁸ Ibid., f. 80.

³⁹ According to her wish, Kate was buried in Šibenik. Ibid.

⁴⁰ Kate's pilgrim companions are mentioned as: "Cuitan socio dicte testatricis, ser Zorzi Bogdanich de Berzeuo et Ambroxio Mithitich e molte altre done da Sibenico zoie domina Caterina, moier de ser Zorzi de Thodos e domina Caterina, moier de ser Stephano Taulicich e molte altre done". Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Several factors influenced the rise in female religious spatial mobility from eastern Adriatic communes from the second half of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century. As mentioned above, some historical circumstances reinforced this trend. From the thirteenth and especially fourteenth century, Istrian and Dalmatian communes, influenced by the new legal organization of urban settlements in the Apennine Peninsula, introduced the regulation of all aspects of daily life in accordance with written statutory laws based on Roman law and traditional law and, to a lesser extent, Canon law. By the end of the fourteenth century, almost all eastern Adriatic communes had regulated their legal and juridical life. Many statutory decrees and novels pertained to women. Statutory laws regulated different aspects of the legal position of women in the urban or rural parts of the communes. The improved legal position of women allowed them to take a more active role in the communal economic, religious, civic, family, and daily life. For example, in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the number of literate women active in business grew continually. These women belonged not only to the patrician class, but also to the wealthy citizenry. The position of women in the examined period was not only the consequence of the legal improvement of their position. An aspect which strongly influenced the spatial mobility of women in the studied period pertained to piety, especially to the increasingly popular cults of saints and *loca sancta*. The universal and local ecclesiastical hierarchy also played an important role in democratizing the spatial mobility of women by legally supporting their pilgrimage to international, regional, and local pilgrim shrines all over Europe, the Middle East, and Egypt. The number of women pilgrims rose after women from all social strata attained rights, following a written permission from the local ecclesiastical authorities, to participate in all types of *peregrinationes maiores* and *peregrinationes minores*. It was a smart and calculated move, beneficial both for the Church and for eastern Adriatic women. On the one hand, female pilgrims from all social strata were at liberty to travel to distant pilgrim centres and to become better acquainted with people, cultures, habits, and languages which differ significantly from those in the Adriatic, thus widening their horizons. On the other hand, the Church, particularly in the decades after the proclamation of the first Jubilee in 1300, received a significant financial injection from an ever-increasing number of female believers. Another reason springing out of Christian morality helped improve the religious spatial mobility of women. While High Scholasticism was characterized by the rationalistic evaluation of the person of the Virgin Mary, Late Scholasticism brought an affirmation

of Marian cult, bringing about a rise in the popularity of panegyric lauds devoted to the Mother of God. One of the most contentious theological questions during the twelfth century, which caused many disagreements among Western theologians, was the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. At the heart of this doctrine lay the idea that only Mary was free from original sin. Regardless of theological disputes, nothing could have stopped the flourishing of Marian piety among the European population of the late medieval period, particularly because of the widespread belief in her supernatural *anti-pestes* and *anti-infideles* powers. The fourteenth century saw the emergence of the Marian cult and shrines throughout the Apennine Peninsula (e.g. Loreto and Recanati) and in other regions of Central Europe (e.g. Mariazzell). New Marian pilgrim shrines appeared in Dalmatia (Drid, Zazično) in the fifteenth century, while another, older *locus sanctus* in Trsat near Rijeka gained in popularity. The affirmation of Marian piety helped improve the position and the moral and ethical standing of women in general, as well as increase women's participation in religious spatial mobility. Other historical circumstances also influenced the popularity of religious spatial mobility and the practice of pilgrimaging among eastern Adriatic women in the late medieval period. The growing literacy among women was of particular importance, as it allowed them to read various liturgical, hagiographic, and theological works (e.g. recluses in Dalmatia). Since most women remained illiterate, the stories from hagiographic collections such as the *Legenda aurea* by James de Voragine were recounted orally by the literate, thus motivating women to set out on pilgrimage to various centres, such as the saintly shrines in the *Terra Sancta*, St. Anthony in Vienne in France, St. Catherine on the Mount Sinai, St. Francis in Assisi, St. Catherine and St. Bernardin in Siena, and St. Nicholas in Bari. We can conclude that one of the most important consequences of the abovementioned historical, legal, ecclesiastical, and moral changes was the improvement of the legal and moral standing of women, as reflected in the rise in spatial religious mobility of high and late medieval east Adriatic women. The result of the historical processes examined above was the balancing out of the number of male and female pilgrims towards the end of the Middle Ages.

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Zoran Ladić, Ivan Šutić

Ženska hodočašća kao svjedočanstvo poboljšanja društvenog položaja žena u istarskim i dalmatinskim komunama u srednjem vijeku i renesansi

Sažetak

Na temelju analize raznih vrsta vrela (oporuke, statuti komuna, narativna vrela, koncilske i papinske odredbe) autori razmatraju problematiku sve intenzivnije ženske prostorne pokretljivosti u razdoblju od sredine 13. do kraja 15. stoljeća na primjeru prakticiranja hodočašćenja te nastoje ukazati na utjecaj fenomena religiozne pokretljivosti na poboljšanje društvenog položaja žena u istočnojadranskim komunama srednjeg i ranog novog vijeka. Poznato je da je u ranom srednjem vijeku hodočašće bila privilegija pripadnika elitnih društvenih slojeva (pripadnika visoko pozicioniranog klera i članova vladarskih obitelji te njihovih dvorjanika, najčešće u pratnji ženskih članova vladarskih obitelji), ne samo na prostoru Hrvatske već i cijele Europe. Uzroci tome bili su razni, ali u prvom redu radilo se o potencijalnim opasnostima na putu, bilo da se išlo pomorskim ili kopnenim rutama, ali i o vrlo visokim troškovima koje je takva religiozna pokretljivost podrazumijevala. Istovremeno su takva vladarska hodočašća vršena u cilju dodatne potvrde pripadnosti neke države konceptima *universitas Christianorum* i *cultura religionis Christianae* na prostoru zapadnog kršćanstva. Obzirom na religioznu prostornu mobilnost podrazumijeva se da su u takvim hodočašćima sudjelovale žene iz isključivo najelitnijeg društvenog staleža. Važne promjene vezane uz žensku religioznu prostornu pokretljivost u istočnojadranskim komunama mogu se zamijetiti negdje od sredine 13. stoljeća. Te su promjene bile izazvane pojavom nekih važnih svjetovnih institucija, prije svega komunalne bilježničke prakse od sredine 13. stoljeća, te jačanjem srednjovjekovnog statutarog prava proizašlog iz rimskog, tradicionalnog i djelomično kanonskog prava, a koje je postalo najvažniji dio pravnog tkiva komuna uglavnom tijekom 14. stoljeća. Nimalu ulogu odigrala je i Crkva jer su tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća vođene važne teološke rasprave vezane uz reafirmaciju lika Djevice Marije (i Eve kao arhetipa žene) među tadašnjim autoritetima Crkve i na crkvenim koncilima. To je rezultiralo procvatom marijanske pobožnosti, vrlo razvidnom u našim komunama tog doba, a time i pravednijeg moralnog i etičkog pogleda na žene. Teorija je pretočena u praksu, u svakodnevni život u kojem dolazi do bitnog poboljšanja položaja žene. Pojava notarijata u našim komunama utjecala je na demokratizaciju u pisanju privatno-pravnih isprava i to od strane pripadnika svih komunalnih društvenih staleža oba spola – od seljaka preko građana do patricija. Upravo ova činjenica omogućuje historiografsko istraživanje raznih aspekata srednjovjekovne komunalne povijesti, pa tako i prostorne mobilnosti žena s posebnim obzirom na hodočašća. U

tom su smislu najvažnije privatno-pravne isprave bile oporuke, kodicili i brevijari oporuka sastavljeni za pripadnike oba spola i za osobe iz svih komunalnih staleža. Obzirom na religioznu prostornu mobilnost, tijekom druge polovine 13. i u 14. stoljeću razvidna je dominacija broja muškaraca u odnosu na žene koji su odlazili u hodočašće u razne europske, maloazijske i egipatske hodočasničke centre ili su darivali novac za zamjenska ili *ex voto* hodočašća, ali opet muškarcima. No, u 15. stoljeću, povezano uz spomenuti proces poboljšanja položaja žena u komunalnim društvima s pravnog, gospodarskog, teološkog, crkvenog i moralnog aspekta, dolazi do značajnog povećanja religiozne prostorne mobilnosti žena u našim komunalnim društvima kao posljedice dugotrajnog procesa pozitivne reafirmacije položaja žena u našim komunalnim društvima. To je rezultiralo činjenicom da je na samom kraju srednjeg vijeka broj muškaraca i žena koji su osobno hodočastili u *loca sancta* diljem kršćanskog svijeta bio uravnotežen te je broj ženskih i muških hodočasnika u svim našim komunama bio podjednak, a negdje su žene kao hodočasnice brojčano čak i dominirale nad muškarcima. Religioznoj pokretljivosti žena u tom su razdoblju doprinijeli i neki, manje vidljivi, čimbenici, prije svega snažnije opismenjavanje žena koje su pripadale patricijatu, bogatom građanstvu i crkvenim redovima. Osobito je važno spomenuti ovo posljednje jer se u vrelima povremeno nailazi na pismene žene, primjerice rekluze, koje su bile podrijetlom i iz nižih društvenih staleža, ali su čitale brevijare i druge liturgijske knjige. Obzirom na religioznu prostornu mobilnost žena tog vremena treba istaknuti i važnost hagiografskog žanra, koji je u vrelima potvrđen kao vrlo popularna literatura koju su rado čitali i muškarci i žene. Nema sumnje da su upućenost u *vitae* i *legendae* svetaca, predstavljene u djelima kakvo je *Legenda aurea* Jakova de Voragine, putem oralne kulture prenošene u ženskim krugovima od pismenih na nepismene žene, primjerice prilikom bratovštinskih druženja, te time dodatno doprinosile popularizaciji hodočašća kao religiozne prostorne mobilnosti žena u kasnosrednjovjekovnim komunalnim društvima Istočnog Jadrana.

Ključne riječi: Istočnojadranske komune, demokratizacija komunalnih društava, prostorna mobilnost, žene, hodočašća, kasni srednji vijek

Zrinka Novak

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF SPATIAL
MOBILITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF DALMATIAN
COMMUNES IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD.
THE EXAMPLE OF RAB IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Abstract: In this article the author examines spatial mobility in the commune of Rab in the early modern period. The analysis is based on the research of the notarial records of the commune of Rab, primarily last wills, recorded by four local notaries (*Franciscus Fabbiano*, *Christophorus Fabbiano*, *Franciscus Iacina*, and *Mattheus Zicco*) between 1534 and 1554. By analysing data collected from the last wills, the author focuses on those testators who were, for various reasons, spatially mobile in the analyzed period. In the first part of the article the social status, gender, origin, profession and family status of the testators are examined. Firstly, the research is focused on what prompted the spatial mobility, as well as the travellers' destinations. Secondly, the factors which prompted immigration are being considered. Finally, the author examines the impact of spatial mobility on various aspects of communal daily life.

Key words: mobility, migrations, Rab, travellers, travel motives, early modern period, sixteenth century

INTRODUCTION - SPATIAL MOBILITY IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Even today we often encounter prejudices upheld by "laymen" and those insufficiently acquainted with historical processes, that medieval and

Renaissance people were spatially mobile only within their own local frameworks. For them, the Middle Ages were generally a quite “static” period. But in the last two decades, these prejudices were broken down in European historiography by a number of historians who have conducted research into processes of mobility and travel in the Middle Ages and the early modern period based on archival material and literary sources. These historians have proved the very opposite: medieval and early modern populations were highly mobile not only within local limits, but also in the wider area of the European continent and also further into the Middle and Far East. Since the end of the fifteenth century, overseas travel, which led to discoveries about previously unknown civilizations and their cultures, has connected European civilization to the rest of the world. Sources and relevant literature reveal that during medieval times people made individual and even collective journeys, mainly for religious (pilgrimages), military (crusades, war conflicts), professional, diplomatic, educational, and other purposes. The practice received an even greater impetus in the following period: travel was prompted by new philosophical and scientific ideas based on astronomical calculations and research, which also led to the establishment of the Copernican heliocentric system.

Furthermore, due to the Ottoman factor in the east (which brought the spice trade to a halt), the sailing routes were changing, and mariners turned to the west. With the shift of the main waterways to the American continents and India, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic Sea began to decline in importance.

When comparing the mobility of early modern society in relation to its medieval predecessor, available sources and literature reveal that the two differed significantly. The changes transpired most saliently in destination, purpose of travel (people no longer travelled just out of necessity, but also out of curiosity) and social status of travellers (members from all social strata, both men and women). Land routes and travel safety improved considerably. It is common knowledge that since antiquity and throughout the early Middle Ages, elite groups (a sovereign and his entourage, magnates, patricians, Church dignitaries), members of the military and foreigners travelled extensively. But, since the late Middle Ages and even more so at the beginning of the early modern age, an increasing number of citizens and even members of the peasant population began to embark on travels. To this should be added those from the margins of society (vagrants, Jews, Gypsies, convicts, slaves) who had been a highly mobile group since the Middle Ages. Also, in the late Middle Ages, women became increasingly mobile and no longer closely tied to their home environment. They left their communi-

ties in search of work or an existence or for religious reasons (going on pilgrimages). However, in both medieval and early modern times, regardless of the improved travel conditions that favored greater mobility, going on a trip always brought with it a number of dangers, risks, and insecurities for travellers (storms, epidemics on board, pirate attacks, robberies, and so on) which instilled fear in those who travelled. Therefore, it is not surprising that a significant portion of last wills (corroborated by this research into the commune of Rab) were drawn up just before the trip, for fear that the testator would not return from the journey.

I. SOURCES AND LITERATURE

The topic of mobility, migration, and travel as a key element in connecting, but also separating various civilizations and cultural and religious communities in medieval and early modern times have preoccupied European historians in the last twenty years. Many scholars have written number of monographs and papers on the subject.¹ Unfortunately, the abovementioned topics have not been researched in detail in Croatian historiography, including medieval historiography, although individual research has been conducted.²

¹ From the large number of historiographical titles pertaining to the topic of spatial mobility in medieval and early modern times, we will single out just a few: James B. Collins, "Geographic and Social Mobility in Early-Modern France", *Journal of Social History*, vol. 24, no. 3/1991, pp. 563-577; David Postles, "Migration and Mobility in a Less Mature Economy: English Internal Migration, c. 1200-1350", *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 3/2000, pp. 285-299; Svetlana I. Luchitskaya – Gerhard Jaritz (eds.), "Medieval Travel in Russian Research", *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, sonderband XXVII/2011; Martin B. Shichtman – Laurie A. Finke – Kathleen Coyne Kelly, "'The world is my home when I'm mobile': Medieval Mobilities", *Postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies*, vol. 4, no. 26/2013, pp. 125-135; Michael E. Smith, "Peasant mobility, local migration and premodern urbanization", *World Archeology* 46/2014, pp. 516-533; Marianne O'Doherty - Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages. From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015; Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, vol. 22, Berlin: de Gruyter 2018; Rosa Salzberg, "Mobility, cohabitation and cultural exchange in the lodging houses of early modern Venice", *Urban History*, vol. 46, no. 3/2019, pp. 398-418; Florian Riedler – Stefan Rohdewald, "Migration and mobility in a Transottoman context", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, vol. 51, no. 1/2019, pp. 201-219.

² In Croatian historiography there are several published studies on mobility in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Cf. Petar Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku srednjega vieka" [Travels in the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages], *Rad JAZU* 42/1878, pp. 56-184; Petar Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI. vieka" [Travels in the Balkan Peninsula in the 16th century], *Rad JAZU* 56/1881, pp. 141-232; Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku* [Passenger Traffic in Old Dubrovnik], Dubrovnik: Turistički savez u Dubrovniku 1939; Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja. Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* [Road, Travellers, Travellings. Roads in medieval Croatian lands], Zagreb: AGM 1997; Hrvoje Petrić, "Prilog poznavanju mobilnosti stanovništva Koprivnice do početka 17.

Therefore, this contribution to the study of the spatial mobility of the population of the Dalmatian communes, on the example of the Rab commune in the mid-sixteenth century, will be an attempt to shed light on this issue. I hope that it will be a further incentive for other researchers to conduct similar research for other east Adriatic communes or cities, villages, and micro-regions of continental Croatia in the medieval and early modern period.

It is common knowledge that late medieval and early modern last wills are an invaluable source of data for research into social and religious life, material culture as well as everyday life of the inhabitants of medieval and early modern Dalmatian communes. As a serial type of source, last wills are valuable for anyone studying the history of trade and crafts, as well as pilgrimages and travels and various forms of mobility in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

The main reason for choosing last wills as a primary source for researching some aspects of daily life in the early modern commune of Rab, with an emphasis on mobility and those partaking in it, their gender, social and professional status, origin, as well as their travel destinations and motivation, is the great number of well-preserved notarial acts composed in the Rab commune during the late medieval and early modern period, which are kept in the State Archives in Zadar.³ The analysis is based on 212 last wills and 19 codicils, which were drawn up for the inhabitants of Rab during the period from 1534 until 1554. These documents were recorded by Francis Fabijanić /*Franciscus Fabianich* or *Fabbiano*/ (1520–1558), prebend and notary of Rab,⁴ then Christopher Fabijanić /*Christophorus Fabianich* or *Fabbiano*/ (1545–1593),

stoljeća" [A Contribution to Better Understanding of Population Mobility in Early 17th Century Koprivnica], *Podravina – časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja*, vol. 2, no. 3/2003, pp. 142–172; Tomislav Matić, "Mobilnost graditelja u kasnom srednjem vijeku na prostoru sjeverozapadne Hrvatske" [The Mobility of Builders in the Late Middle Ages in Northwest Croatia], Dino Milinović – Ana Marinković – Ana Munk (eds.) *Majstorske radionice u umjetničkoj baštini Hrvatske: zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa "Dani Cvita Fiskovića" održanog 2012. godine*, Zagreb: FF-press 2014, pp. 113–121; Zoran Ladić, "Srednjovjekovna 'inicijativa dvaju mora' u svjetlu hodočasničkih putovanja kroz Hrvatsku i Bugarsku" [The Medieval "Initiative of Two Seas" in the Light of Medieval Pilgrim Voyages through Croatia and Bulgaria], Светлозар Елдъров – Антоанета Балчева – Ирина Огнянова – Людмила Миндова (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Scientific БЪЛГАРО-ХЪРВАТСКИ НАУЧНИ, КУЛТУРНИ И ДУХОВНИ ВРЪЗКИ / BULGARIAN-CROATIAN SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL RELATIONS*. Conference, dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the founding of BAS, Sofia, June 17–18, 2019, Sofia: БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ - ИНСТИТУТ ЗА БАЛКАНИСТИКА С ЦЕНТЪР ПО ТРАКОЛОГИЯ 2021, pp. 41–80.

³ Državni arhiv u Zadru [The State Archives in Zadar] (hereafter HR-DAZd), Fond: 28, Rapski bilježnici [Rab notaries] (hereafter RB).

⁴ Frane Fabijanić (1520–1558) (hereafter FF), kut. 10, vol. II, IV, V.

brother of Francis,⁵ and by two other notaries, Francis Jačina /*Franciscus Iacina*/ (1534–1554)⁶ and Matthew Ziko /*Mattheus Zicius or Zicco*/ (1538–1570).⁷ Most wills were written in medieval Latin, but some of them in medieval Italian (*Veneto*). As a serial type of source, last wills allow us to examine the background of travellers and those who were mobile, such as their place of origin, professions, their economic, legal, and social position in Rab society and, finally, their travel destinations and motivation.

The narrative source used in the research is the Great Kapor Chronicle written by Fr. Odoriko Badurina, which is kept in manuscript form in the monastery of St. Euphemia on Rab.⁸ Of particular importance for the research are those records which Fr. Badurina transcribed from documents lost to us (notarial acts).

Based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of data from the Rab notarial acts and records from the Kapor Chronicle, in this article the author will analyze above-mentioned issues and the impact of mobility on various aspects of everyday life in Rab at the beginning of the early modern period (i. e. late Renaissance).

II. THE COMMUNE OF RAB IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The commune of Rab (*Communitas Arbensis*) was territorially the smallest of all eastern Adriatic communes. Ever since 1289, following the annexation of some possessions on the island of Pag, the district (*districtus*) of Rab comprised 93 km² of land. The communal district was composed of the island of Rab, Novalja and Lun on the island of Pag,⁹ the islands of Grgur and Goli in

⁵ Kristofor (Krst) Fabijanić (1545–1593) (hereafter KF), kut. 13, vol. I–III.

⁶ Frane Jačina (1534–1554) (hereafter FJ), kut. 12, vol. VI.

⁷ Mate Ziko (1538–1570) (hereafter MZ), kut. 11, vol. XXII–XXIV.

⁸ Odoriko Badurina, *Velika kaporaska kronika* [The Great Kapor Chronicle] (hereafter VKK), Liber II. The Chronicle consists of seven manuscripts along with three books of the Index and is kept in the archives of the Franciscan monastery of St. Euphemia on the island of Rab (hereafter AFSE) in the legacy of Fr. Odoriko Badurina. The greater part of “Chronicle” was written in the first half of the twentieth century: as the author himself states he began writing it in 1941, having spent 20 years collecting and analyzing archival material from the Rab archives. He processed some 30 000 documents.

⁹ The parishes of Lun and Novalja have been part of the Rab commune since the Middle Ages, although they were located on the island of Pag. King Sigismund confirmed the right of the Rab commune to Lun and Novalja with a privilege from 1399. For Lun, Novalja and other communal estates on Pag belonging to Rab, cf. Aleksij Škunca, “Rapski posjedi na Pagu do 1409. godine” [Rab Estates on Pag until 1409], Andre Mohorovičić (ed.), *Rapski zbornik – Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o otoku Rabu održanog od 25. do 27. listopada 1984. godine* (hereafter *Rapski zbornik I*), Zagreb: JAZU 1987, pp. 213–217.

the Velebit Channel, the island of Dolin on the other side of the Barbat Channel, the islands of Veli and Mali Laganj, Dolfin and Trstenik between Rab and Cres, the islands of Maman, Srednjak and Šailovac opposite Cape Gonar, and the small island Mišnjak to the south of the main island.¹⁰ The administrative, social, ecclesiastical, and cultural center of the commune was the town of Rab (*civitas Arbensis*), its civilizational roots hailing back to classical antiquity, more precisely to the first century BC.¹¹ Private-legal documents from the medieval and early modern period, as well as the relevant literature dealing with the history of Rab, mention the following settlements (villages) on the main island: Supetarska Draga (*vallis Sancti Petri, ualle de San Piero*), Lopar (*villa Lopari, di Neparo*), Mundanije (*vallis Sancti Mathei, Mondaneo*), Barbat (*Pasturan, Barbado*), Banjol (*Bagnolo*), Kampo (*Campora, ualle de Campora*) and Palit (*Paludo*). The local church and cemetery were at the center of these settlements, and the local population primarily engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry.¹²

At the beginning of the early modern era, the historical circumstances of Rab were like those of the neighboring communes on the eastern Adriatic. The relevant literature points to the fact that the first half of the sixteenth century was a period of severe economic, material, demographic and spiritual crisis for the Rab commune and its communal district.¹³ Namely, in 1420, most Dalmatian communes and settlements along the eastern Adriatic coast, excepting Dubrovnik, the commune of Krk,¹⁴ the town of Senj and some oth-

¹⁰ Dušan Mlacović, *Građani plemići. Pad i uspon rapskoga plemstva* [Citizens Nobles. The Fall and Rise of the Rab Nobility] (hereafter *Građani plemići*), Zagreb: Leykam international 2008, p. 148.

¹¹ Ancient Rab (Arba) was not established as a Roman colony as was the case, for example, with Zadar: the pre-existing Liburnian community in the area was recognized as a Roman city (*municipium*) and exercised self-government, but citizens did not have Roman citizenship. They were only subject to the so-called Latin law (*ius Latii*). This meant that the citizens of the municipalities had the duties of Roman citizens (the payment of taxes and military service), but they could not participate in public political life. Miljenko Domijan, *Rab - grad umjetnosti* [Rab - a city of Art], Zagreb: Barbat 2001, p. 21.

¹² Tea Mayhew, "Rapska komuna u vizitaciji Agostina Valiera 1579. godine" [The Commune of Rab in the Visitation of Agostino Valier in 1579], Josip Andrić-Robert Lončarić (eds.), *Rapski zbornik II*, Rab: Matica hrvatska ogranak u Rabu 2012, p. 120.

¹³ See: Vladislav Brusić, *Otok Rab. Geografski, historijski i umjetnički pregled sa ilustracijama i geografskom kartom Kvarnera i Gornjeg primorja* [The Island of Rab. Geographical, Historical and Artistic Overview with Illustrations and a Geographical Map of Kvarner and the Upper Littoral] (hereafter *Otok Rab*), Rab: Franjevački samostan sv. Eufemije 1926, pp. 97-132; D. Mlacović, *Građani plemići*, pp. 44-63; Ivan Pederin, "Uprava, crkva, politika i kultura na Rabu u XVI. stoljeću" [Administration, Church, Politics and Culture on Rab in the 16th Century] (hereafter *Uprava, crkva, politika*), *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 36/1994, pp. 125-168.

¹⁴ The commune of Krk was integrated into the dominion of Venice in 1480. Petar Strčić, "Prilog za sintezu povijesti o. Krka (s izborom literature)" [A Contribution for the Synthesis of the History of the Island of Krk (With a Selection of Literature)], *Arhivski vjesnik*, vol. 32, no. 1/1988, p. 37.

er possessions in Dalmatia (Omiš, Poljica), were integrated into the Venetian *Stato da mar*.¹⁵ From 1409, Rab voluntarily accepted Venetian supremacy.¹⁶ In the commune of Rab the Venetian system of government was established and the count and captain (*conte e capitano*), who was usually a Venetian, exercised administrative, judicial, and military power.¹⁷ The executive power of the count of Rab was not unlimited, because at the time of the establishment of the Venetian government, he became an employee in the service of the Republic and held office for two years. Also, in military terms, he was subordinate to the general *provveditore* for Dalmatia and Albania, whose headquarters was in Zadar. Venice allowed a certain degree of autonomy to the Dalmatian communes, including the Rab commune. However, all decisions on major internal issues (both military and economic) were made by the central government bodies in Venice.¹⁸ Since the fourteenth century, the political, economic, legal, religious, family, and everyday forms of communal life had been defined by the communal statute.¹⁹ Apart from the count, the local government consisted of the Great and Small Councils. From the end of the fifteenth century, commoners were represented by the *syndici*, while their political organization was called *universitas populi*. Such an organization also existed in Novalja on the island of Pag, but it was subject to the jurisdiction of Rab.²⁰

¹⁵ Borislav Grgin, "Pregled političkih zbivanja" [Review of Political Events], Zoran Ladić (ed.), *Povijest Hrvata*, Maja Karbić (ed.), *Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja. Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, vol. III, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 2019, p. 34.

¹⁶ The inhabitants of Rab had voluntarily accepted Venetian rule because they wanted to preserve their possessions on the island of Pag: recognizing Venetian rule, they thought that the Venetians would confirm their old privileges relating to the above-mentioned properties. V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 97.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁸ Lovorka Čoralić, "U okrilju Privrede – Mletačka Republika i hrvatski Jadran" [In the Fold of Serenissima: Venice and the Croatian Adriatic] (hereafter *U okrilju Privrede*), *Povijesni prilozi*, vol. 28, no. 37/2009, p. 18. On the Venetian organization of government and the meaning of Venetian administration for the eastern Adriatic coast, as well as on significant events during Venetian rule, see: L. Čoralić, *U okrilju Privrede*, pp. 11-41.

¹⁹ The Rab communal statute from the fourteenth century was first published at the beginning of the 20th century. Ugo Inchiostrì – Gian Antonio Galzigna, "Gli statuti di Arbe con prefazione e appendice di documenti inediti o dispersi", *Archeografo Triestino*, XXIII/1899-1900, pp. 59-100; XXIV/1902, pp. 355-417. Lujo Margetić and Petar Strčić published the latest edition of the statute of the commune of Rab dating back from 1326, i. e. its redaction from 1598. The authors gave a detailed critical and historical-legal analysis of decrees and customary law of the medieval Rab commune. Lujo Margetić-Petar Strčić, *Statut rapske komune iz 14. stoljeća* [The Statute of Rab' Community from the 14th century] (hereafter *Statut rapske komune*), Rijeka: Grad Rab; Adamić 2004. M. Domijan, *Rab – grad umjetnosti*, p. 27.

²⁰ I. Pederin, *Uprava, crkva, politika*, p. 134; D. Mlacović, *Gradani plemići*, p. 107.

Since the end of the fifteenth century, the poor material, economic, and demographic conditions in the commune of Rab were a reflection of external political circumstances, and this primarily refers to the wars that the Venetian Republic waged during the sixteenth century, first against the League of Cambrai (1508-1516),²¹ then with the Ottomans (1499-1503; 1537-1540; 1570-1573), and finally with the Uskoks.²² The Rab commune shared the fate of Venice and other Venetian estates in Istria and Dalmatia, because all cities and communes in these regions suffered economic stagnation and decline, depopulation and other negative phenomena as a direct result of war.

In such wartime circumstances, the commune of Rab took on the obligation to maintain one war galley, and many people from Rab were recruited into the Venetian military detachments. Some patricians from Rab were commanders of the island's military units. Due to the increased Ottoman and Uskok danger at sea, especially after the 1530s, Venice established special guards (*guardie straordinarie*) on its islands, including Rab (1555). Both patricians and commoners had the obligation of keeping guard, but in unequal proportion: commoners stood guard for two thirds of the time, while patricians covered the remaining third.²³ The reason for this probably lay in the fact that patricians accounted for a smaller proportion of the population of Rab than the commoners did. According to Venetian regulations, the commune of Rab had to participate with one armed galley at the ready. The crew, which consisted mainly of commoners and was headed by a captain of patrician origin (*sopracomitto*), had to be ready for military action at all times.²⁴ In the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, large-scale recruitment,²⁵ compul-

²¹ More specifically on the Cambrai War, see: Federico Seneca, *Venezia e il papa Giulio II*, Padua: Liviana editrice 1962, pp. 91-122; Innocenzo Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato veneziano*, Naples: Guida 1974, pp. 149-163; Kriystina Stermole, "Politics, Monuments, and Venice's Reclamation of Padua during the Cambrai War", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. XLV, no. 2/2014, pp. 355-361.

²² Catherine Wendy Bracewall, *Senjski uskoci: piratstvo, razbojništvo i sveti rat na Jadranu u šesnaestom stoljeću* [The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth Century Adriatic] (hereafter *Senjski uskoci*), Zagreb: Barbat 1997, pp. 199-200.

²³ V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 113.

²⁴ Ibid.; Ivan Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu od mistike do renesanse i baroka* [Everyday Life in Rab from Mysticism to the Renaissance and Baroque] (hereafter *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*), Rab: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu 2011, p. 136; For example, in 1538 the commander of the Rab galley was "spectabilis misser Christophorus de Dominis sopracomituss galiae." AFSE, O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 137, 30 October 1538.

²⁵ For example, the notarial acts of the notary Francis Fabijanić contain four wills from June 1537, which testify to the fact that the testators composed their last wills *intendens ire in trireme cum magnifico domino Zacharia Mauroceno ad servitium illustrissimi duce domini ut asseruit et timens pericula maris* (...). HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, ff. 20v-22v.

sory labor service, and monetary payments at the expense of the commoners led to protests. The commoners sent delegates to Venice (*Mattheus de Marinellis, Christophorus Pincin and Zorzi Segotta*) with the goal of obtaining relief from levies and military duties, or at least convincing Venetian authorities that patricians be taxed as well. Their request, however, was not accepted. As their troubles grew, the commoners rose in rebellion against the Venetian government in 1539, to which Venice responded with drastic measures: the *Serenissima* had its "disobedient" citizens hanged and confiscated their property.²⁶ On that occasion, some of the rebels fled to the neighboring town of Senj, where they joined the Uskoks, Venetian enemies.²⁷

In order to wage the wars, Venice drew on its material and human resources on the eastern Adriatic coast, the commune of Rab included. The Venetian-Ottoman wars and the plundering of the Rab fleet by the Uskoks and pirates led to the stagnation of the commune's transit trade, which further weakened of the island's economy. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the island of Rab was visited by the Venetian syndic for Dalmatia and Albania, Giovanni Battista Giustiniani, who stated in his travelogue from 1553 that only 3,500 people lived in the town and that there were only 300 households on the island at that time.²⁸ In this work, Giustiniani briefly described the characteristics of the Rab communal government, giving a brief historical overview of the commune's voluntary involvement in the Venetian political system.²⁹

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries brought about a change in the political, social, and economic circumstances in late medieval Croatia, which was also reflected in the territory near Rab. The disintegration of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom in 1526 was followed by the struggle for the Crown of St. Stephen, in which Croatian nobles from the coastal regions and the Dalmatian hinterland also got involved. The lack of royal protection and the dynastic struggle spurred the Ottoman expansion. The Croatian Littoral and the Croatian hinterland became a war zone and an area of plundering campaigns of Ottoman troops on their way to the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Gorizia, Istria, and Friuli. The Ottoman army destroyed Karlobag, a significant harbour

²⁶ AFSE, O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 138; V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 109.

²⁷ M. Domijan, *Rab – grad umjetnosti*, p. 29.

²⁸ Šime Ljubić (ed.), *Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniani*, "Commissiones et relationes Venetae, vol. II, (1525–1553)", *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* (hereafter MSHSM), vol. 8, Zagreb: JAZU 1877, p. 257.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256–258.

across the island of Rab, which the islanders made use of when transporting their merchandise across Velebit towards the interior. From 1537, the strategically important harbor of Senj became the center of the Uskoks, i. e. refugees from the Ottoman territory,³⁰ who, together with the *martolosi*³¹ from Obrovac, became a constant threat to the islanders, as well as their ships. With the emergence of frequent Uskok attacks on their ships and the plundering performed by the *martolosi*, especially in the communal district, the export of goods (wine, oil, and salt) from Rab to the mainland and to the western Adriatic coast, to Marche, collapsed. Traffic in the port of Rab dwindled, and the district of Rab was devastated. Vineyards, olive groves, and orchards on the island decayed, while salt works, which were owned by the communal elite and the cathedral church of St. Mary, gradually fell out of use.³² At the end of the fifteenth century, two Benedictine abbeys on the island, the Abbey of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga and St. Stephen in Barbat lost their economic importance. Thus, the last trace of intensive island agrarian activity disappeared.³³

In the second half of the fifteenth century the Rab commune was affected by several plague epidemics (1449, 1456-57, 1458, 1460, 1465, 1480, 1494), which led to a significant depopulation of the island.³⁴ However, this trend was reversed with the arrival of new immigrants from the mainland. Namely,

³⁰ About the Uskoks see: Bare Poparić, *Povijest senjskih uskoka* [A History of Senj Uskoks], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 1936.

³¹ The “*martolosi*” were Ottoman auxiliary military detachments. In the sources they are recorded from the fifteenth century onwards. At first, they were recruited among the local Christian population, afterwards they mostly comprised Muslims. In the army they served as infantry, cavalry, and garrison in the forts. They enjoyed considerable privileges and wider internal self-government. See on <https://proleksis.lzmkut.hr/1123/>, (accessed 27 October 2020). See more: Andrej Čebotarev, “*Martolosi kao trgovci robljem od 15. do 18. stoljeća*” [Martolosi as Slave Traders from the 15th to the 18th Century], Alexander Buczynski – Stjepan Matković (eds.), *Hereditas rerum Croaticarum ad honorem Mirko Valentić*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest 2003, pp. 75-84.

³² Mlacović, *Gradani plemići*, pp. 55-56, 166-167.

³³ Namely, the Abbey of St. Peter in the village of Supetarska Draga and the Abbey of St. Stephen in the village of Barbat were burdened with large taxes intended for the income of the Cathedral of St. Mary and the Chapter of Rab. Therefore, both abbeys collapsed soon after the last taxation in 1472 as a consequence of the dire economic situation on the island. After the monks left the monasteries, they were handed over to the secretary of Pope Leo X, Peter Bembo, and then in 1518, to the Venetian church of St. Mark. They abbeys were managed by their commissioners. Pederin, *Uprava, crkva, politika*, p. 143; Lovorka Čoralić, “*Iz crkvene prošlosti otoka Raba – Tragom inventara crkve sv. Petra u Supetarskoj Drazu*” [From the Ecclesiastical History of the Isle of Rab – Following the Traces of the Inventory of the St. Peter’s Church in Supetarska Draga], Ivan Čizmić (ed.), *Pro historia croatica 1: Zbornik uz 70. obljetnicu života Dragutina Pavličevića*, Zagreb: Institut društvenih istraživanja “Ivo Pilar” 2002, p. 128.

³⁴ Meri Kunčić, *Život i djelatnost obrtnika i umjetnika u rapskoj komuni u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća* [The Life and Work of Craftsmen and Artists in the Rab Commune in the Second Half of the 15th Century], Doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet 2011, p. 95; D. Mlacović, *Gradani plemići*, pp. 74-79.

at the turn of the sixteenth centuries, the island of Rab received a significant influx of population from the Croatian and Dalmatian hinterland, mostly from the area of Lika, Luka, Krbava, and other Croatian counties. These migrations were prompted by the circumstances of the war, i.e. the Ottoman incursions into Croatian territory, which caused existential and economic insecurity for the local population.³⁵ According to the Relation (report) of Antonio Diedo, the Venetian syndic for Dalmatia and Albania, in 1553 the commune of Rab was impoverished and sparsely populated due to Ottoman incursions on the Croatian mainland.³⁶

The decreasing of the population in the Rab commune and district was caused by the above-mentioned decline in economic activity, especially in trade, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It resulted in the decline of the export of goods from Rab to the Croatian mainland and Italy, but also the import of grain from Apulia. The population became increasingly impoverished, which encouraged the inhabitants of Rab, with the permission of Venice, to establish a communal *fonticum* (granary)³⁷ in 1509. The *fonticum* was supposed to regulate the supply of grain and encourage the population to take up agriculture.³⁸ However, the supplies were limited and could not feed the entire population of the commune. Such unfavorable circumstances triggered a wave of emigration of the residents of Rab to the other side of the Adriatic coast, with the province of Marche and Venice figuring as the most common and appropriate destinations for Croatian emigrants.³⁹

³⁵ According to Borislav Grgin, these migrations were not only and exclusively the flight of the population from the Ottomans but were rather a result of economic circumstances: many sought work on the island of Rab with the view of ensuring a peaceful existence in mind. Borislav Grgin, "Doseljenici iz Hrvatske na Rabu krajem 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća" [Immigrants from Croatia on Rab at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century] (hereafter *Doseljenici iz Hrvatske*), Neven Budak (ed.), *Raukarov zbornik. Zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara* (hereafter *Raukarov zbornik*), Zagreb: FF Press 2005, p. 539.

³⁶ Šime Ljubić (ed.), *Relatione del sindacato di Dalmatia et Albania nell'eccellentissimo senato per il magnifico misser Antonio Diedo*, "Commissiones et relationes Venetae (1553–1571)", vol. III, MSHSM, vol. 11/1880, p. 2.

³⁷ "Fonticum" is a public, communally supported institution (warehouse) for storing and distributing grain. V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 124. On the development of the Rab fontic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cf. I. Pederin, "Rapske šume, fontik, universitas i banke s osvrtom na odgovarajuće ustanove u Zadru" [Rab Forests, Fontic, Universitas and Banks with Reference to Appropriate Institutions in Zadar], *Rapski zbornik I*, pp. 131–134.

³⁸ D. Mlacović, *Građani plemići*, p. 58.

³⁹ Cf. Lovorka Čoralčić, "Pažani i Rabljani u Mlecima od 14. do 18. stoljeća" [People from Islands of Pag and Arb in Venice from the 14th to the 18th Centuries], (hereafter *Pažani i Rabljani u Mlecima*), *Vjesnik Državnog arhiva u Rijeci* 40/1998, pp. 3–52; Lovorka Čoralčić, "Rabljani u Mlecima (od srednjega vijeka do kraja 18. stoljeća)" [The Denizens of Rab in Venice (From the Middle Ages to the End of the Eighteenth Century)] (hereafter *Rabljani u Mlecima*), *Rapski zbornik II*, pp. 43–55.

III. REASONS FOR RECORDING THE LAST WILLS

Ever since the late Middle Ages, the Dalmatian notarial acts record a trend of noting down the reasons for composing the wills.⁴⁰ Unlike the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when notaries only briefly recorded the status of the male and female testators (*sanus / sana corpore* or *corpore infirmitatis grauatus / grauata, corpore languens*) without providing the reasons which prompted them to compose their last wills,⁴¹ in the period from the fifteenth century⁴² a trend of noting down the testators' motivation for recording wills transpires in all eastern Adriatic communes (e.g. in Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Poreč, etc.). Thus, the Rab notarial acts from the sixteenth century reveal that it was important for notaries to record the reasons for composing the wills, probably because they considered that this information emphasizes the current life situation in which the individual testator found himself (illness, old age, old age and illness, pregnancy, going to war, going on a trip, pilgrimage, etc.). Quantitative analysis showed that notaries from Rab regularly stated the reasons for drawing up the last wills. From the 231 last wills (last wills and codicils) recorded by four Rab notaries, the reasons for composing the wills are clearly stated in 211 wills (91.34% of all last wills). In 19 codicils and one last will, the reasons are not stated (8.65% of all last wills). The reason was recorded at the beginning of the will, immediately after the name, social position or background, and profession of the testator.

⁴⁰ Zoran Ladić researched this aspect for the communes of Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik, and Kotor. Cf. Zoran Ladić, "O razlozima sastavljanja kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporuka" [On the Reasons for Composing Late Medieval Dalmatian Wills], *Raukarov zbornik*, pp. 607-623; Zoran Ladić, *Last will: Passport to Heaven. Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with Special Attention to the Legacies pro remedio animae and ad pias causas* (hereafter *Last will*), Zagreb: Srednja Europa 2012, pp. 165-167; Zoran Ladić, "Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča u zrcalu oporuka i kodicila" [Some Aspects of the Social and Religious History in Late Medieval Poreč through the Last Wills and Codicils] (hereafter *Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča*), Lovorka Čoralić – Slavko Slišković (eds.), *Humanitas et litterae: ad honorem Franjo Šanjek. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*, Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina – Kršćanska sadašnjost 2009, pp. 357-359.

⁴¹ Cf. Z. Ladić, *Last will*, pp. 166-167.

⁴² Cf. Z. Ladić, *Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča*, pp. 357-359; Z. Ladić, *Last will*, pp. 166-167.

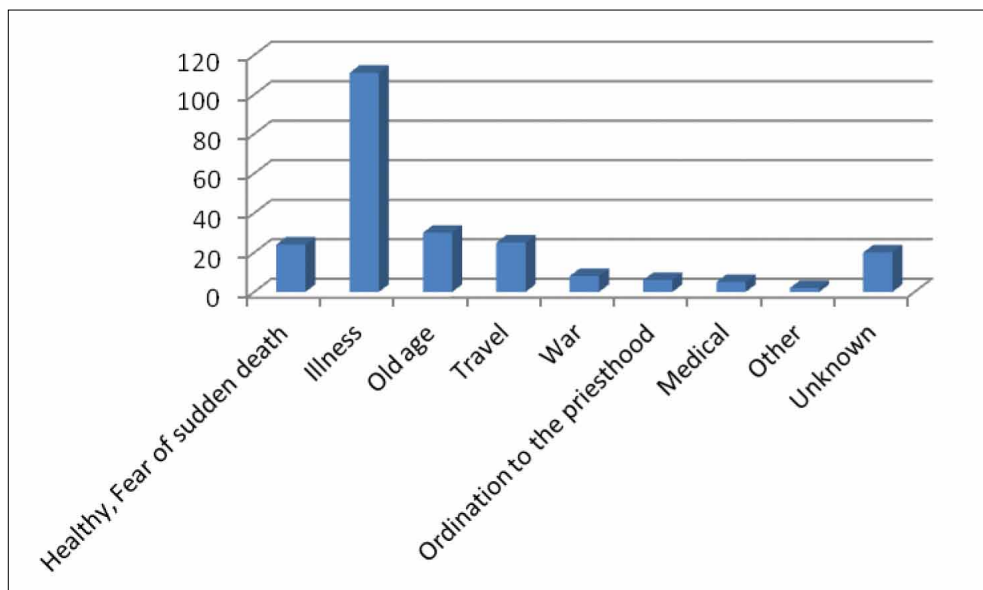


Figure 1: Reasons for recording last wills in the mid-sixteenth century

The denizens of the commune of Rab composed their last wills for various reasons (see: Fig. 1). The main reason given by the testators in their wills was the fear of sudden death.⁴³ All other reasons derive from this fundamental one. Most testators recorded their wills when they were ill or on their deathbeds and therefore the most frequent reason for composing the wills was the testator's illness.⁴⁴ From the total number of last wills for which we know the reasons for composition (211), by far the greatest proportion are related to illness (111 cases or 52.60%). Thus, the findings are in line with

⁴³ From the relevant literature on medieval and early modern piety (especially that which examines man's attitudes towards death), as well as from the insight into last will records, it can be concluded that most late medieval and early modern last wills, including those from Rab, were written in fear of sudden death. From this fact arise all the reasons that led the inhabitants of Dalmatian and Mediterranean communes (as well as other urban and rural medieval and early modern areas), including the people from Rab, to record their last will. The fear of sudden death was one of the central motives of late medieval and early modern piety in western Christianity, which was most often expressed in wills with the following formula: "nichil est certius morte et nichil incertius hora mortis", i.e. that nothing is more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than the hour of death. Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje – prostor, ljudi, ideje* [Croatian Middle Ages – Space, People, Ideas], Zagreb: Školska knjiga – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu 1997, p. 337. For example, the last will of a Rab priest *misser pre Colane Trisal mansionario* explicitly states that *concio sia cosa che à tutti conuieni morire, nisuna cosa è piu certa della morte, et incerta del ponto è huora della morte*. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, f. 21v, 21 April 1552.

⁴⁴ Z. Ladić, *Last will*, pp. 163-164.

those of the other eastern Adriatic communes for which similar research has been conducted.⁴⁵ Illness emerges as the dominant factor in drafting wills. For example, Fumula, daughter of the late John Priurić, composed her last will *infirmirate continui fluxus opressa*.⁴⁶ Martin Svečić, a priest from Rab, had his last will written down *infirmus corpore*.⁴⁷

Furthermore, it is a natural process that in old age people are more susceptible to various diseases associated with loss of physical strength and immunity. Therefore, oldness and illness are the next reasons for composing last wills. Those aspects are recorded in 30 wills (14.21%). Thus, the priest *il venerabel sacerdote misser pre Antonio Braylo ouer Saycho* in his will emphasized that he was *amalato grauamente di mal di ponta per esser gia uechio et di graue malathia et mal uexato*, therefore, he was old and had a serious disease – pleurisy.⁴⁸

Some testators, who were physically and mentally healthy, also had their wills composed, encouraged by an awareness of the transience and fragility of life and the possibility of the sudden arrival of the hour of death. Based on quantitative analysis, 24 such cases were found, in fact 11.37% of the total number of wills from which the reason for composition is evident. In the will of Catherine, the widow of Nicholas Vidaković from Karlobag, who was *habitatrix Arbi*, it was emphasized that she was compiling the will *sana per Christi gratiam mente et intellectu, ac nulla corporis infirmitate uexata, nisi senectute oppressa et uolens ut asseruit preparata stare iuxta Euangelii dictum, dicent 'Estote parati quia nescitis diem neque horam'*.⁴⁹ Obviously, she was healthy and young, but she wanted to be ready for death, because according to the Gospel, the day or hour of sudden death or leaving this world is not known.

Physical health was also a precondition for embarking on a trip. So, among other reasons stated in the last wills, those motivated by the departure of individuals (whether for religious, business, family, or existential reasons) should certainly be emphasized. In 25 cases (11.84%), the reason for recording the will was travel. More details about those testators who traveled from the commune of Rab will be set out later.

⁴⁵ In the late medieval period, 367 out of a total of 436 Zaratín testators cited illness as a reason for composing their last will. In Trogir, 113 out of 115 testators composed their wills while ill. In Dubrovnik, all 104 testators had their wills recorded while *infirmus / infirma corpore*. Z. Ladić, *Last will*, p. 165; 171, 173.

⁴⁶ HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 2r, 31 May 1534.

⁴⁷ HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 8r, 9 August 1535.

⁴⁸ HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 32rv, 14 January 1550. It should be noted that in the period between 1548 and 1550, a disease, cited in the sources as *mal di ponta* (pleurisy), is mentioned in several last wills.

⁴⁹ HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 35rv, 15 May 1550.

The circumstances of war indirectly affected the commune of Rab, especially in the period from 1537 until 1540.⁵⁰ Therefore, going to war or entering military service were also among the reasons which compelled some individuals to compose their wills. Namely, some testators (8 cases out of 211 wills or 3.79%), who went to military service on the Rab galley (*trireme*) or to war against the Ottomans as conscripts of Venice, decided to compose their wills just before boarding the galley.

Six male testators from Rab (2.84% out of all wills from which the reason is evident) had their wills drawn up because of their ordination. Ordination was a solemn act in which lay people formally leave their secular life and become priests (clerics). Thus, *frater Paulus nominatus in seculo Antonius Trisal filius condam Francisci* drew up his will *intendens in festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli proximo futuro ad laudem omnipotentis Dei et seruitium seraphici beati patris Francisci facere professionem suam*.⁵¹

In some cases, there were reasons that may be treated as medical. Five testators (2.38%) drew up wills for medical reasons. Thus, *venerabilis dominus presbiter Ioannes de Nimira canonicus et vicarius Arbensis benemeritus* stated in his will that he is *sanus per Christi gratiam mente et intellectu ac bone memoriae existens, licet quadam infirmitate corporis grauatus* and therefore decided to travel to Venice in search of healing (*iter suum Venetiam uersus pro sanitate recuperanda arripere*).⁵²

⁵⁰ The third Venetian-Ottoman war (1537–1540) was fought not only in the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, but also in the Dalmatian hinterland. For more information about this war, see: Thanos Kondylis, *Suleiman the Magnificent and the third Venetian-Turkish war*, Createspace Independent Publishing Platform 2013. On the impact of the Venetian-Ottoman wars on the eastern Adriatic area of the Dalmatian hinterland, cf. Bogumil Hrabak, "Turske provale i osvajanja na području današnje sjeverne Dalmacije do sredine XVI. stoljeća" [Turkish Invasions and Conquests in the Area of Today's Northern Dalmatia until the Middle of the 16th Century] (hereafter *Turske provale*), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, vol. 19, no. 1/1986, pp. 69-100; Tomislav Raukar, "Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV i XVI stoljeću" [Venice and Economic Development of Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th Centuries], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, vol. 10, no. 1/1977, pp. 218-223; Josip Vrandečić, "Borba za Jadran u ranom novom vijeku: mletačko-osmanski ratovi u venecijanskoj nuncijaturi" [Fighting for the Adriatic in the Early Modern Period: Venetian-Ottoman Wars in Venetian Nunciature], Split: Filozofski fakultet u Splitu 2013; Tomislav Farkaš, "Oružani sukob Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva kroz 16. i 17. stoljeće" [Armed Conflict between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire through the 16th and 17th Centuries], *Essehist: časopis studenata povijesti i drugih društveno-humanističkih znanosti*, vol. 7, no 7/2015, pp. 61-67.

⁵¹ HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 4r-5r, 22 June 1538. The Feast of St. Peter and Paul is June 29. Thus, the testator, *fra Paulus* drew up his will a few days before the ordination.

⁵² HR-DAZd, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 11r, 10 March 1536.

For women who lived in the early modern age, the period of pregnancy that ended in childbirth was filled not only with happy moments, but also fraught with insecurity, risk, and fear of death, due to hygienic conditions, as well as the still very poor development of medicine. A relatively high percentage of cases did not have a happy outcome, either for the mother or for the newborn.⁵³ During the observed period, three female testators from Rab (1.42% of all wills in which the reason is stated) compiled their wills, emphasizing the fear of death in childbed, which prompted them to compose their last wills. Thus, the patrician Orsolina, the widow of Damian Spalatin, pointed out in her will that she is *uicina al parto et temendo incorer nel pericolo della morte*, and therefore expressed a desire to draw up a will. She also emphasized the wish that the executors of her will should sell one dark purple velvet and send one person on pilgrimage to Rome and to St. Francis in Assisi for the benefit of her soul, as she is currently unable to go to these *loca sacra* in person.⁵⁴

Other reasons for composing the wills are listed in two cases (0.94% of all wills in which the reasons were stated). These include those testators who were affected by some sudden accident that prompted them to compose a will. For example, *magister Marcus Scorobogath pyliparius* from Rab had his will composed, in the night of 30 August 1540, *agressus a quodam repentino et subitanto accidente siue parasismo*.⁵⁵

1. MOTIVATIONS FOR TRAVELLING

As has been pointed out, in the period from 1534 to 1554, travel was the reason behind the composition of 33 last wills. However, to this should be added those testators who do not mention their trip directly (26 cases), but whose travels can be confirmed by immediate data. Most often they pursued commercial activities outside the commune; went on pilgrimage, or even left Rab to study at one of the Italian universities. Some people have traveled on several occasions in their lives, mostly for business, existential, religious, or military reasons. Based on a quantitative analysis of the last wills, several basic reasons for travelling transpire religious (pilgrimage, mission, votive journey) (23 cases), business (14), military (10), personal (6), existential (3), and others (3) (See: Fig. 2.).

⁵³ Namely, the very high mortality of women during childbirth continued into the sixteenth century, and high mortality of children (40-50% of the total number of live births) up to the age of ten could be expected. Alison Rowlands, "The Conditions of Life for the Masses", Euan Cameron (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001, p. 40.

⁵⁴ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, f. 33r-34r, 3 October 1554.

⁵⁵ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 21r, 30/31 August 1540.

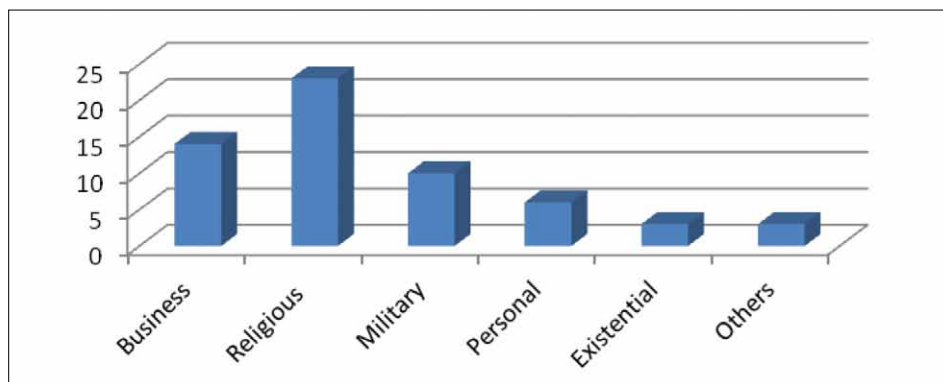


Figure 2: Motivation for travelling in the period from 1534 to 1554

a) *Religious motivations*

a1) *Pilgrimage – A religious journey for the salvation of the soul*

Since there were certain dangers on pilgrimage, both on sea and land routes, of which the testators were aware, they decided to record a will in Rab before going on the trip in case they should not return.

Based on the analysis of last wills in the period from 1534 to 1554, some form of pilgrimage (personal or substitutionary pilgrimage) to a particular pilgrimage centre on the Apennine Peninsula is mentioned in only 20 cases (out of 231 wills or 8.65% of all last wills). Quantitative analysis indicates that 20 people out of a total of 194 from the sample of last wills (10.30% of all testators from Rab) determined in their wills that the pilgrimage *pro anima sua et in remissione suorum peccatorum* should be realized in some way. Those who ordered to the heirs to find a suitable person to make the pilgrimage for the testator's soul, also specified the number of individuals who had to make the pilgrimage instead of the testator. Thus, 13 testators determined that 19 people should be found to go on pilgrimage instead of them. Thus, a total of 26 people from Rab (13.40 % of all testators) made a pilgrimage in the middle of the sixteenth century.

However, this is a relatively small number of pilgrimages compared to the previous period (the second half of the fifteenth century), when pilgrims from the commune of Rab frequently went on pilgrimage to shrines throughout Europe (Rome, Assisi, Recanati, Loreto, Santiago de Compostela, etc.) and in the Middle East (Jerusalem).⁵⁶ The reason for such a small number of

⁵⁶ Namely, in the period from 1450 to 1514, in a hundred Rab notarial documents relating to wills, codicils, and breviaries, pilgrimages are mentioned in 42 wills, which is a significantly higher number compared to the middle of the sixteenth century. See: Zoran Ladić, "O kasnosredn-

pilgrimages from Rab can be found in wartime circumstances and primarily in occasional pirate and Uskok attacks on Venetian ships, as well as on ships from Rab, since the commune of Rab was under the rule of the *Serenissima*. Setting sail was therefore precarious and dangerous. In addition, the reduction in the frequency of pilgrimages from Rab was certainly influenced by external political and religious factors: in the first place, the circumstances of the war (the third Ottoman-Venetian War, 1537–1540, with its negative consequences for the Dalmatian population), but also the emergence of Protestantism with a complete rejection of the idea of the cult of saints. It should also be noted that the Council of Trent (1545–1563) was held in the middle of the sixteenth century, at which the idea of the cult of saints, and thus of pilgrimage, was critically reaffirmed.⁵⁷ Admittedly, these external influences do not transpire in the formulaic content of last wills drafted on the island of Rab, but the above-mentioned factors undoubtedly brought about a drop in pilgrimages from Rab in the observed period.

It should be emphasized that at the beginning of the early modern period, the pilgrimage still had a strictly spiritual meaning for the inhabitants of Rab commune, as can be seen from the documents studied. Namely, a pilgrim had to go on a dangerous journey to gain spiritual salvation. The testators pointed out that by this act they wanted to obtain forgiveness of sins and achieve the salvation of their soul or the souls of the deceased members of their families.

The analysis of the pilgrimage of the inhabitants of Rab indicates that the observed notarial acts must necessarily be considered according to two basic aspects. The first aspect refers to individuals who composed their last wills before going on a personal pilgrimage. These individuals were healthy, as good health was the basic precondition for travel. They wished to travel, most often by sea and land, to destinations where the relics of the saints, with whom the pilgrims were bound through intimate piety, were kept.

The second aspect includes those testators who were prevented from going on pilgrimage themselves due to illness, old age, pregnancy, work, or

jovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima *ad sanctos*" [On the Late Medieval Pilgrimages from Rab *ad sanctos*] (hereafter *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*), *Rapski zbornik II*, p. 143.

⁵⁷ At the Council of Trent (1545–1563), a decree on the veneration of saints, the veneration of relics and the proper use of images was passed. Regarding the cult of saints, the Decree starts from the fact that saints reign with Christ, so it is good to turn to them for intercession and help to obtain grace from God through Christ, who is the only Redeemer and Savior. The reformers' claim that idolatry would be contrary to the worship of Christ, the only mediator, to seek the intercession of a saint for an individual was also rejected. Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Temeljni oblici štovanja svetaca kroz povijest Crkve" [Fundamental Forms of Veneration of Saints throughout the History of the Church], *Bogoslovska smotra*, vol. 40, no. 1/1974, pp. 33–34.

some other circumstances, but who left donations in money, and often in real estates and movables, to persons going on pilgrimage instead of the testator. This type of pilgrimage is called legatory.⁵⁸ Some of the testators simply charged their heirs with finding a person to make the pilgrimage instead of them to "save the testator's soul" or the souls of deceased family members. Testators also left certain legacies (money, real estate, movables) for the pilgrimage to be realized.

During the observed period, seven testators out of 194 (only 3.60% of the total number of testators) stated that they would go on pilgrimage in their last wills, primarily to Rome (4), then Assisi (2), and Loreto (1) with the clear goal of *pro anima sua et in remissione suorum peccatorum*. However, 13 testators out of 194 (6.70% of all testators) indicated in their wills that, in return for the bequeathed legacy, one person or more should be sent on pilgrimage for the testator's soul. The testators who were prevented from going on pilgrimage mainly due to illness determined that their heirs or the executors of their will must take care that the pilgrimage be realized in return for their legacies: the heirs either had to go on pilgrimage personally or find another person to make a pilgrimage *pro anima testatoris*. According to gender, fifteen women and five men expressed the desire that the pilgrimage be made. The number of female testators who wished to go on pilgrimage in the observed period is substantially higher in comparison with male testators.⁵⁹ Based on a quantitative analysis of last wills drawn up in Rab, it is obvious that seven Rab testators (two men and five women) composed their last wills with the purpose for going on a personal pilgrimage to Rome (4), Assisi (2) and Loreto (1), while 13 testators (ten women and three men) demanded that their heirs find one person or more to make a pilgrimage to Rome instead of them (*ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli*; 2), Assisi (St. Francis; 10), Loreto (St. Mary; 2), Recanati (St. Mary; 1), Venice (St. Rocco; 1) and Padua (St. Anthony; 1) and St. Mary in Novalja on the island Pag (1).

Sometimes testators left a certain amount of money or a property, animal, or some object to be sold to cover the travel expenses. However, most testators requested that the heirs or executors of their wills find a suitable person to make the pilgrimage for the testator, as well as cover the travel costs.

Although the safety of pilgrimage routes was at a fairly high level in comparison with the early Middle Ages, the war conditions of the late 1530s had a significant impact on the maritime area around the island of Rab in the mid-

⁵⁸ Zoran Ladić, "Some Remarks on Medieval Croatian Pilgrimages", *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. 21, no. 39/1997, p. 21.

⁵⁹ In the late medieval period, a greater number of women (24) set out on pilgrimage when compared to male testators (18). Z. Ladić, *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*, p. 143.

sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Pilgrims setting out from the commune of Rab traveled by land and sea. Namely, from Rab they first had to get to Senj and there board one of the ships carrying pilgrims to the ports on the Apennine Peninsula. From there they journeyed to Rome, Assisi, Padua, Loreto, and other Italian pilgrimage centers.⁶¹

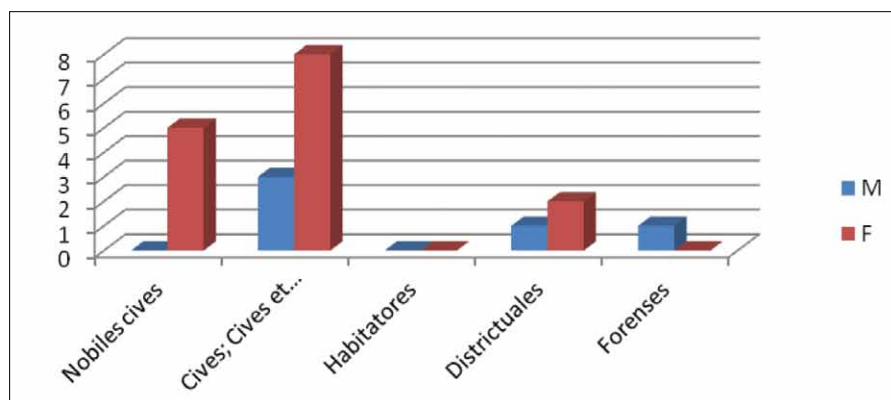


Figure 3: Pilgrims from the Rab commune according to gender and social status in the mid-sixteenth century

As seen from Fig. 3, the greatest share of pilgrims belonged to the group of citizens (*cives* / *cives et habitatores*): 11 testators (eight women and three men), that is 55% of pilgrims. Also, pilgrimage is mentioned in the wills of five patrician women (25% of pilgrims). Among the inhabitants of the communal district (*districtuales*) there were only three pilgrims, two men and a woman (15% from all pilgrims) and, finally, of the foreigners (*forenses*) present in the commune of Rab only one man expressed a desire to go on pilgrimage in his last will (5% of pilgrims). The small share of foreign pilgrims in the Rab sample of last wills may be a consequence of the temporary nature of their presence in the commune. The last wills of the *habitatores Arbi* record no pilgrims.

⁶⁰ In the second half of the fifteenth century the situation was considerably different, namely of the 42 testators, only 12 of them recorded their wills because they went personally “ad peregrinationem religiosam”, while the remaining 30 left 68 legacies intended for legatory pilgrimages. See: Z. Ladić, *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*, pp. 143-144.

⁶¹ Based on a decree from the Statute of Senj, it can be concluded that the port of Senj was a pilgrimage port on the pilgrimage route to Rome, Assisi, Loreto, Padua, and other pilgrimage centers in Italy, quoted: *Item, quando romipete uadunt Romam per ciuitatem Segnie, primo debent honerari nauigia nobilium; secundo ciuium; tercio forensium; uidelicet anchonitani primo.* Lujko Margetić – Petar Strčić, “Senjski statut iz 1388.” [The Statute of Senj from 1388], *Senjski zbornik* XII/1985–1987, Capitulum 130, p. 63.

From what has been said above, it can be concluded that in the middle of the sixteenth century the last wills drawn up in Rab featured slightly more substitutionary pilgrimages than personal ones. The reason for this lies in the fact that the first precondition for going on pilgrimage was health and based on the analysis of the documents it is evident that a fairly large proportion of sick testators made their will at the time of their physical illness or old age: they could not go on a pilgrimage in person, but they tasked their heirs or executors of their wills with finding another person who would go on pilgrimage instead. Likewise, the proportion of women pilgrims is higher than that of men, and this indicates that at the beginning of the early modern period women moved more freely than had been the case in earlier periods.

The analysis also indicates that the desire to go on pilgrimage was expressed by testators from all social strata, except for denizens (*habitatores Arbi*).⁶² The greatest number of pilgrims came from the ranks of patricians and citizens (who made up the political and economic elites of the commune). Coupled with the fact that pilgrimage was not cheap, the data points to the impoverishment of the other two classes – residents and the rural population in the district. Going on pilgrimage had by then become too expensive for them.

a1.1) Personal pilgrimages to Rome on the occasion of the Jubilee year 1550

When Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) declared the year 1300 a Jubilee year,⁶³ Rome became the most important pilgrimage center in Europe, espe-

⁶² In the second half of the 15th century members of all social groups set out on a pilgrimage from Rab: mostly patricians (39% of the total number of pilgrims), followed by citizens (23% of the total number), then residents of Rab (10%), peasants in the district (8%), priests (3%) and testators of unknown status (13%). Cf. Z. Ladić, *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*, p. 146.

⁶³ The Jubilee (holy or golden) year in Catholicism is marked as a year in which universal pardon could be obtained. It was originally intended that the holy year be held in the Roman Church every hundred years, but Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) decreed that it should be celebrated once every fifty years, Urban VI (1389) reduced the gap to every 33 years in memory of the years of Christ, and eventually Pope Paul II (1464-1471) concluded that every twenty-fifth year be a Jubilee. On special occasions the pope may declare an extraordinary holy year, as Pius XI did in 1933, on the occasion of the 1900th anniversary of Christ's death. The last time the holy year was celebrated in 2000. The pope opened it before Christmas Eve with a blow of the hammer on the walled "golden door" (*porta aurea*), one of the front doors in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome, which was then opened and, after a year, rebuilt. The papal legates simultaneously opened and close the corresponding doors in the three other large basilicas in Rome (the Archbasilica of Saint John Lateran, the Basilica of Saint Mary Major, and the Papal Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls). Milovan Tatarin-Mijo Korade, "Sveta godina (Jubilarna ili zlatna godina)" [Holy Year (Jubilee or Golden Year)], on <http://leksikon.muzej-marindrzic.eu/sveta-godina-jubilarna-ili-zlatna-godina/>, (accessed 27 October 2020); Relja Seferović, "Sveta godina 1550. u Dubrovniku: svetkovine, prijeponi, pojedinci" [Holy Year 1550 in Dubrovnik: Festivities, Disputes, Individuals], *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku*, vol. 52, no. 1/2014, pp. 51-52.

cially during the Jubilee – holy years. In the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, groups of pilgrims traveled to Rome to obtain Jubilee forgiveness (i.e. universal pardon). Numerous pilgrims composed their last wills during the holy year before going on a pilgrimage, fearing that due to the many dangers that awaited them on route, or even illness, they might not return to their homeland from their journey.⁶⁴

In the Jubilee year of 1550, three female citizens (*cives*) and a resident of the Rab district (*districtualis*) intended to go on pilgrimage to Rome. Thus, Catherine Zugliça de Arbe compiled her last will “with the desire to go to obtain universal absolution of her sins during the present Roman Jubilee.”⁶⁵ Citizen Mathia Zanetcha did the same, emphasizing that *uollendo andar a Roma nel presente jubilleo corente per remission dalli pecadi sui et dubitando di molti pericoli qual nel ditto uiago si per terra come per mar occorer et intrauenir li potesino per esser tutti mortali*.⁶⁶ An almost identical provision can be found in the last will of the citizen Magdalene, widow of master Gregory Pukorić from Zadar and daughter of the late Nicholas Stančić.⁶⁷ A resident of the village of Kampor, Franica, widow of Antonio Jugović, composed her last will “with the intention of crossing the sea and travelling to Rome for the Jubilee”.⁶⁸ It is possible that these four women embarked on pilgrimage together, as did pilgrims from other urban and rural micro-environments.⁶⁹ Prior to each organized pilgrimage, special liturgical celebrations were held, and the bells in church towers rang. Pilgrims were escorted to nearby pilgrim ports, and the faithful prayed for their happy journey and return. The priest blessed the pilgrims on departure.⁷⁰ The examples given above show that all testators mentioned in the context of the Jubilee aimed to make a pilgrimage to Rome to obtain universal absolution. For fear of various dangers that awaited them on the pilgrimage, and for fear that they may not return alive, they decided to compose their last wills.

⁶⁴ Petar Runje, “O oporukama Marka Marulića i njegovu posjetu Rimu 1500” [On the Wills of Marko Marulić and his Visit to Rome in 1500] (hereafter *O oporukama Marka Marulića*), *Colloquia Maruliana* VI/1997, p. 127.

⁶⁵ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 36r, 16 June 1550.

⁶⁶ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 1v, 27 August 1550.

⁶⁷ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 32v, 27 August 1550.

⁶⁸ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, MZ, kut. 11, vol. XXII, f. 161v, 25 September 1550.

⁶⁹ The organized pilgrimage to Rome from the Zadar commune in 1440 was described by Zoran Ladić, “Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća” [A Contribution to the Study of Pilgrimages from Zadar in the Second Half of the 14th Century] (hereafter *Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra*), *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. 17, no. 32/1993, p. 28.

⁷⁰ P. Runje, *O oporukama Marka Marulića*, p. 127.

a1.2) Personal pilgrimages to other Italian shrines

Another Italian shrine which the inhabitants of the commune of Rab wanted to visit during their lifetimes was the one in Assisi (St. Francis of Assisi). Following the spread of the Franciscan order and the devotion based on the cult of St. Francis, Assisi became a very popular pilgrimage destination. As is recorded in sources and literature, from the second half of the fifteenth century the denizens of Rab regularly went on pilgrimage to Assisi, and this was certainly encouraged by the Franciscans of Rab, who lived in three monasteries in the commune and district.⁷¹ Thus, the Franciscan promotion of humility, poverty, and obedience (in the form of the so-called social Christianity) and of compassion for those in need resulted in the religious urge to go to the tomb of the founder of this order, who remained a very popular saint in the mid-sixteenth century.

In the Rab sample of last wills there are two pilgrims who wanted to go on personal pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Francis in Assisi. The first was a citizen of Rab, the master tanner *magister Franciscus Abobus cognominatus Zunicich*. He was unmarried but had an illegitimate son, Marin, with a woman called Margarita, nicknamed *Maliça*, and to him Francis bequeathed his workshop and shop in the town *amore Dei et pro anima sua*.⁷² The second is Catherine, widow of master Paulica, the tanner, who composed her last will *intendens cum Dei adiutorio ire ad uisitandum limina sancti Francisci de Asissio*. She had a daughter, Magdalene, to whom she left a house *in contrata sancti Christophori*.⁷³ Only one personal pilgrimage to Loreto is recorded in the sample of last wills, that of Matthew *Lombarda*, a resident of the village of Supetarska Draga in the district of Rab, who was a military conscript on the galleys. In his last will he emphasized that *uolendose partir di questa terra come disse et andar adimpir uno suo uotto a Sancta Maria de Loretho et li servir aut star uno anno et forsi piu*.⁷⁴ Matthew's pilgrimage to Loreto was no ordinary pilgrimage and can be viewed in a broader context. Namely, Matthew wanted to go in Loreto and stay there for at least a year or longer and even serve other pilgrims in the sanctuary. Matthew's motivation for the votive journey can be found in the fact that during his life he prayed to the Virgin Mary and made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Our Lady's Shrine in Loreto, should she preserve him during his service on the Rab galley. Following his safe return, he wanted to go to his heavenly patroness and fulfill his vow as a token of gratitude. It

⁷¹ Z. Ladić, *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*, pp. 148, 151.

⁷² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 7r, 9 June 1535.

⁷³ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 7rv, 8 July 1538.

⁷⁴ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 31r, 16 April 1543.

should also be noted that Matthew was married to *Luchina*, but had no children, so he was ready to leave his wife on Rab for a time to make a kind of sacrifice in gratitude to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

a1.3) *Substitutionary pilgrimages*

In their last wills, nine female testators and four male testators ordered their heirs or the executors of their wills to go on pilgrimage on their behalf or to find another person who would do so. In the studied sample of last wills, out of a total of 19 testators, thirteen demanded that their heirs go on pilgrimage *pro anima testatoris* to one of the Italian pilgrimage destinations: Assisi (10), Rome (3), Loreto (2), Recanati (1), Venice (1), Padua (1), and St. Mary in Novalja (Pag; 1).

The reasons for the slightly higher number of substitutionary pilgrimages compared to personal ones recorded in Rab wills and codicils lie in the fact that most testators were physically ill or disabled due to various circumstances (e.g. pregnancy, old age) and could not embark on an arduous journey to distant pilgrimage destinations. Another equally important reason was the fact that going on pilgrimage was still a dangerous venture in the early modern period, even though travel had become safer since the High Middle Ages. The most common dangers encountered by Croatian pilgrims were shipwrecks, Ottoman, Uskok, or pirate raids and attacks, as well as diseases resulting from unfavorable sanitary conditions.⁷⁵ It should also be noted that substitutionary pilgrimages were mostly of a votive character. The Rab sample testifies to this fact. Namely, *domina Francischina filia condam domini Ioannis Ćudenico et vxor domini Grisogoni de Dominis*, a female patrician from Rab, drawn up her last will in physical illness and tasked her husband *Grisogonus* with sending three people to Assisi to St. Francis as soon as possible. One was to embark on pilgrimage *pro anima ipsius testatricis*, another for the soul of her late mother, and a third for the soul of her late sister Jeronima.⁷⁶ It should be noted that *Francischina* herself traveled during her lifetime: she recorded her last will to the Venetian notary George Dracon, on 17 January 1545 in Venice.⁷⁷

Helen Milošić, citizen of Rab, drawn up her last will *iacendo in letto amalata* and demanded "that for the soul of her late brother Francis, a priest should be sent to St. Francis of Assisi, should he want to go". To cover the travel expenses, Helen prepared money in the amount of 12 pounds (about

⁷⁵ Z. Ladić, *O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima*, p. 143.

⁷⁶ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 46rv, 30 September 1546.

⁷⁷ Ibid., f. 46v.

two ducats), emphasizing that the money is in the chest".⁷⁸ Helen had likely made a vow to go on pilgrimage to Assisi to pray for the forgiveness of the sins of her late brother Francis, whose patron saint was St. Francis, but she did not manage to fulfill the vow because she was prevented by illness. With the stated last willary provision of sending a priest to Assisi, she wanted to make up for failing to fulfil her promise. From this example it transpires that the cost of travel to Assisi was about two ducats, which was a very modest amount compared to the cost of travel recorded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁹ It can therefore be assumed that a person going on votive pilgrimage had to collect money from several people to secure sufficient funds to make the trip. Therefore, a young and healthy person was able to (and, in fact, was forced to) go on pilgrimage on behalf of several people to be able to cover the travel expenses. In her last will composed due to physical illness and weakness, the patrician Antonia, wife of the late Bernardino *di Zaro* bequeathed four ducats to the Franciscans of St. Euphemia, who were obliged to find two people to go on pilgrimage to Assisi "for the souls and the sins of her late brothers Matthias and Dominic".⁸⁰

Citizen Catherine, widow of John *de Tolle*, composed her last will *corpore inferma* and emphasized that a Friar Minor should be sent to Saint Francis in Assisi for her soul and for the absolution of her sins.⁸¹ Catherine, daughter of the late John Marinić *Terce*, a resident of the village of Supetarska Draga, obliged her sister to go personally or send another person to the shrine of St. Maria *de Loreto*, for the soul of the testator.⁸² *Dona Franica relicta condam Simonis Braianich*, a citizen of Rab, had her will drafted while she was ill. She pointed out that during her life she had made a vow to go to St. Mary in Recanati and to St. Mary in Novalja (on the island of Pag), and as she had not gone, she left a part of her goods to her friend *Antonina Scaraffon*, asking her to fulfill the vow instead of her.

From the examples given above it clearly transpires that testators from Rab, in most cases women, preferred to go on pilgrimage to Rome, especially

⁷⁸ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, f. 31r, 27 February 1554.

⁷⁹ During the Late Middle Ages, the price of travel to pilgrimage destinations in Italy from communes in the eastern Adriatic (Zadar, Šibenik, Kotor, Dubrovnik, Poreč, etc.) was significantly higher and cost between 4-5 ducats (Assisi) and 5-30 ducats (Rome) etc. Z. Ladić, *Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra*, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁰ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, MZ, kut. 11, vol. XXIII, f. 184v, 26 October 1551.

⁸¹ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 3rv, 26 November 1541.

⁸² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 3r, 20 February 1538.

on the occasion of the year of the Jubilee (1550) in order to obtain universal (Jubilee) absolution of sins. It is also evident that a slightly larger number of testators obliged their heirs or the executors of their wills to send a suitable person, such as a priest, on a (votive) substitutionary pilgrimage to one of the Italian pilgrim destinations, primarily Assisi, followed by Rome, Loreto, and Recanati, with the aim of obtaining forgiveness for the testator's sins. In order to cover the travel expenses, the testators bequeathed money or part of their movable property. As can be seen from the sources, the price of pilgrimage to destinations in Italy (Assisi) amounted to around two ducats. Of course, this is a fairly small amount of money compared to the amounts that people had received for pilgrimages during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This indirectly indicates the general impoverishment of the Rab commune in the mid-sixteenth century, especially in relation to the golden age of the fifteenth century.

Furthermore, compared to the previous period, at the beginning of the early modern century the inhabitants of Rab made pilgrimages primarily to Italian pilgrimage destinations, while the sources mention no pilgrimages to distant destinations such as Jerusalem or St. James *de Compostela*. The reasons can be traced to the fact that pilgrimages to these centers were considerably more expensive. Since the impoverishment of the communal middle class of Rab, whose members had previously been most active when it came to pilgrimage and travel in general, the possibility of travelling to distant pilgrimage centers was obviously reduced for economic reasons. It should also be taken into account that due to military circumstances (the Ottoman threat) and the frequent pirate and Uskok attacks on ships, the denizens of Rab chose to travel to nearby pilgrimage destinations on the Apennine Peninsula.

Unlike in Western Europe, the Renaissance brought no change to the religious mentality of the Rab pilgrims. The pilgrims' primary motivation was still piety and the desire to obtain absolution of sins.

a2) *Franciscan missionary work*

In the sample of last wills there are six testators (from Ugljan, Krk, Kopar, Hvar, Omiš, and Rab) who distributed their material goods and composed their last wills prior to their ordination to become priests. It was a kind of "dying" for this world, i.e. saying farewell to life in a secular environment and turning to the spiritual profession. It also meant going to places outside their homeland to spread the Gospel. The private-legal documents drafted in Rab also mention monks who arrived from other communes in order to perform religious service there, such as the *venerabilis frater Paulus Paulachouich condam Thomasii ordinis fratrum sancti Francisci de obseruantia et*

in regula nominatur frater Angelus. His origin from the source cannot be precisely determined, however it is known that during the year of his probation (1527), he was on the island of Ugljan (near Zadar), in the local monastery of St. Jerome, where he had his last will composed (April 25th, 1527), before his ordination. Ten years later, in 1537, this monk recorded his will on Rab and confirmed the one from 1527, emphasizing that he had spent his entire religious life in Jerusalem (*exponens post proffessionem suam toto tempore fuisse in Terra sancta Hierusalem et extra hanc ciuitatem*).⁸³ Furthermore, in his will *frater Laurentius filius condam ser Georgii Ceuolla marinarii de Iustinopolli* points out that *intendens hodie ad laudem omnipotentis Dei et seruitium seraphici beati patris Francisci facere professionem suam*. It is obvious that Lawrence came to Rab from Istrian Koper to be ordained and to become a Franciscan friar.⁸⁴ Dujam, son of the late Peter Kovačić from Omiš near Split (*Frater Doymus ordinis sancti Francisci fratrum minorum de obseruantia de Castro uocato Olmis districtus spalatensis*), who wanted to become a Friar Observant by vocation, drawn up his will in Rab two days before his ordination (*pro ut ipse asseruit uolens deuenire perindie ad professionem religionis*).⁸⁵

From the above it is clear that young men from various eastern Adriatic areas came to the commune of Rab to be ordained there and to become members of the Franciscan order or another clerical community.

b) *The war and its consequences*

One of the defining traits of the studied period were certainly the military circumstances the eastern Adriatic area found itself in. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries Venice waged wars with the Ottoman Empire (1463-1479; 1499-1503; 1537-1540; 1570-1573; 1645-1669; 1684-1699) to preserve its naval dominance in the Mediterranean. These wars were fought in the Aegean, Ionian, and Adriatic Seas and in the Dalmatian hinterland. The Venetian-Ottoman confrontations were the result of Ottoman expansionist plans on the one hand, and of Venice's desire to control the sea routes on the other.⁸⁶

It is important to emphasize the impact of the Second (1499-1501) and the Third Venetian-Ottoman War (1537-1540) on the eastern Adriatic in the studied period. During the period from 1499 until 1540, the Ottoman Empire managed to seize a significant part of the Dalmatian hinterland. The Otto-

⁸³ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 18rv, 28 January 1537.

⁸⁴ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 10r, 14 April 1539.

⁸⁵ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 22v-23r, 22 July 1537.

⁸⁶ On the Venetian-Ottoman wars see n. 50.

man forces did not even try to capture Venetian cities along the eastern Adriatic coast but instead focused on the continental hinterland between Skradin and Karin, thus terminating the Croatian-Hungarian personal union as a buffer zone between Ottoman and Venetian territory.⁸⁷ The war also affected the small commune of Rab and its population. Like other Venetian estates on the eastern Adriatic coast, during the sixteenth century the commune of Rab was also obliged to take part in all military actions launched by the Venetians, mostly against the Ottomans (*contra Turchos et infedele*) and against the Uskoks.⁸⁸ To get as many militarily capable people as possible, the Venetians were forced to introduce general conscription on all their estates, which only patrician sons could avoid.⁸⁹ New orders on general conscription and galley armament (*circa trireme armandas*) were also proclaimed on Rab and caused immense dissatisfaction among the citizens and the commoners in general.⁹⁰

The war significantly shaped the everyday lives of the inhabitants of the commune of Rab. This is also reflected in private-legal documents, especially in last wills and contracts.⁹¹ So, among the reasons for composing wills are those related to war and they can only be found in the wills of male testators. Thus, in the period from 1534 to 1554 seven male testators specified entering military service on a galley (*uolens ire in trireme*) as the reason for composing their wills. In June 1537 no fewer than four men composed their last wills prior to entering military service, i.e. to boarding the Rab galley which the

⁸⁷ B. Hrabak, *Turske provale*, p. 69.

⁸⁸ V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 109; I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 134.

⁸⁹ The patricians served on galleys as officers or commanders of ships. Ibid.

⁹⁰ V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 109.

⁹¹ Wanting to avoid boarding the galley, many men from Rab looked for a replacement and signed contracts, in front of the notary, with those who would perform this obligation for them. The replacement cost between 120 and 150 pounds. The arrival of men from the Croatian hinterland and also from the territory of Bosnia to Rab in order to accept the job of rowing on a galley instead of individuals from Rab transpires in the sources. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 134-135. For example, John "fiastro di Cusegl di Neparo" promised Anthony Guščić "dela Valle di San Pietro" that he would go rowing on the galley instead. O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 137, 25. II. 1538.; Marin Chonopac della Valle voluntarily went "in galia arbesana et in quella seruir et non falir fino il suo disarmar" instead of George Radić. Radić was obliged to pay him 120 pounds. O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 137, 8. III. 1538; "Baresso Choglianich de loco Suthossan" (Sukošan, south of Zadar), signed a contract with Matthew Borčić from Rab, promising to board the galley instead. O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 137, 24. III. 1538.

A document on the release of ten Rab galliots (Thomas Billacich, Thomas Cholicich, Petar Sparicich, Toma Cruscouich da Scrisia, Michael Smoglicich, Gregor Francich, John Busiich, Christopher Vincolicich, Toya da Neparo and Francis Plaurancich) from military service was found in notarial records in 1542. It was signed by the galley patron Hieronimus de Zaro condan Nicolai. However, they were obliged to find replacements and pay 50 pounds each for those who would row on the galley instead. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 149, 28 September 1543.

people of Rab were obliged to maintain, man, and send to the war as part of the Venetian fleet. There were two foreigners, one from continental Croatia, and another from Ston in South Dalmatia, and two local men from the communal district. Thus, *Laurentius Iadrouich condam Petri de Chrouatia* states in his will that *uolens ire in trireme cum magnifico domino Zacharia Mauroceno ad seruicium illustrissimi domini dominii ut asseruit et timens pericula maris*.⁹² Matthew *de Stona*, son of the late Matthew, who was *ciuis et habitator Veglae*, composed his will *intendens ire in trireme ad seruitium illustrissimi dominii Venetum, timens pericula maris et alia quod sibi facillime euenire possent*.⁹³ There were two other local male testators who also recorded their wills in June 1537 for the same reason: Matthew Negulić, son of the late Anthony, who *intendens ire cum trireme magnifici domini Zachariae Mauroceno, ad seruitium illustrissimi dominii et considerans ac timens pericula maris et alia quod sibi euenire poterint*,⁹⁴ and Christopher *Bufce cognominatus Angelinus*, who also expressed the intention to board the galley (*uolens ire in trireme ad seruitium illustrissimi dominii, et considerans ac timens pericula maris*).⁹⁵ Based on the sources, it can be concluded that what was at hand was organized recruitment of people from all territories under Venetian rule, including Rab, for service on Venetian galleys (actually on the Rab galley commanded by Zechariah Mauroceno).

From the end of the fifteenth century, Ottomans occupied vast swaths of Croatian territory and the Dalmatian hinterland. To counteract this, Venice soon began launching attacks in an attempt to recover the occupied territory. This is evident in the sources as well. A patrician from Rab, Michael Spalatin, decided to go to war for the liberation of Obrovac⁹⁶ (*inendens ire ad expugnationem Obrouacii*) and for this reason drawn up his last will on the third of October 1537, on the eve of his departure.⁹⁷

Wartime conditions often had serious consequences for individuals who were wounded or killed in action. This is also evident from the will of *ser* Anthony Kikulović from Šibenik, who was defined as *habitante in Fiume* (Rijeka). He was in military service on the Šibenik galley and in one of Venetian military actions, he was seriously wounded by a shot to the head. In

⁹² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 20v, 7 June 1537.

⁹³ Ibid., f. 21r, 7 June 1537.

⁹⁴ Ibid., f. 21v, 11 June 1537.

⁹⁵ Ibid., f. 22rv, 11 June 1537.

⁹⁶ The Ottomans conquered Obrovac in 1527. The Ottomans expelled the Croatian population from Obrovac. They were accompanied by the Orthodox Christians serving as their auxiliary army. I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 134.

⁹⁷ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 24r, 3 October 1537.

such difficult circumstances, in October 1542 he composed his last will in Rab. He was treated in Rab by the communal surgeon George Maroman.⁹⁸ From his last will it is obvious that he was married to Claire and had a son, Anthony. Also, he had great confidence in his brother *Radichio*, whom he obliged to go on a personal pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loreto instead of him. Anthony made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to St. Anthony in Padua and St. Roco in Venice. However, he did not achieve this goal during his lifetime and begged his brother to fulfill the vow. This testator's legacies are also of interest. Anthony bequeathed to the church of Saint Mary in Novalja his red shield and one of his two swords. He left his brother Radić his dagger, and to his wife all his weapons. She was also obliged to take care that the Mass of St. Gregory be said for the testator's soul. Furthermore, he ordered that his wife and son have a silver wreath weighing an ounce and a bust of wax made and that those be donated to the church of the Blessed Mary in Novalja in fulfilment of the vow he had made when wounded.⁹⁹ Lawrence, son of the late Peter Jaković from Rab, composed his will on 4 August 1537 on the galley, seriously ill and firmly convinced of the approaching hour of his death. Lawrence recorded his will to Francisco *de Lazaro*, chaplain of the ship of commander *misser Zacharia Morezini* in the presence of the following witnesses: *Zorzi de Arbe condam Ambrosi Radouich*, *Matheo condam Antonio Negulich*, and *Zaneto de Lendenara balestrier*. His will was opened in Rab following his death, *in plathea communis Arbi*, on 8 October 1537 in the presence of the notary (*Franciscus Fabianich*), witnesses (*Hieronymus Mircouich mansionarius ecclesie cathedralis Arbensis et Nicolaus Conciza nobilis arbensis*), and benefactors (*reuerendus dominus Ioannes de Nimira canonicus et vicarius Arbensis nec non rector capelle sancti Cosme et Damiani* and *dona Catherina Cheruata*).¹⁰⁰

The recruitment of the denizens of the commune of Rab (especially those from the communal district) into the Venetian navy was also recorded in sources in 1538. The Rab notarial acts contain the last will of Jurica, son of Stephen Vertičević, who served on the galley. He drawn up his last will in the town church of St. Christopher "our protector" prior to entering military service.¹⁰¹ It is necessary to point out the significance of the place where this private-legal document was compiled, namely the church of St. Christopher, which is located in Gornja ulica (Upper Street) at the town entrance (today a lapidary), where the largest and most important eponymous city frater-

⁹⁸ Ibid., vol. III, ff. 29r-30r, 20 October 1542.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., vol. II, f. 26r, 8 October 1537.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., vol. III, ff. 3v-4r, 17 May 1538.

nity was headquartered.¹⁰² It should also be noted that St. Christopher, along with the Blessed Virgin Mary, had been the patron saint of the commune of Rab since the early Middle Ages.¹⁰³ In addition to being a protector against sudden peril and death, St. Christopher was also invoked as the protector of travellers.¹⁰⁴

c) Travelling for business purposes

Based on the sources, it can be stated a number of individuals left the commune for business reasons and traveled to other areas. Since the commune of Rab depended on the sea for subsistence, part of the population engaged in maritime professions (sailors, naval captains, fishermen, etc.). In the observed sample of last wills, two sailors who were constantly at sea and exposed to maritime dangers stand out. They therefore decided to record their last wills in Rab. The first one was *Francisco Rippa, cittadin et habitador di Arbe*, who drawn up his last will in January 1545, i.e. in the winter period when the danger of storms at sea was great, because he was “day and night at sea” (*in ogni giorno et nocte son in mar*). He emphasized that he composed a will because he did not want anyone to seize his property. He declared that his wife Elizabeth should made mistress of all his goods should she outlive him. Elizabeth and Francis had a son, Nicholas, whom Francis proclaimed as universal heir.¹⁰⁵ Seven years later, Francis had another last will drafted, due to illness, and left his son Nicholas’s illegitimate daughter *Franica* 100 pounds to increase her dowry.¹⁰⁶ His fellow citizen *ser Zanetto Pastrouich cittadin et habitador d’Arbe marinaro* was also constantly at sea and *considerando molti uarii et diuersi pericoli qual li potesseno nela sua nauigata intrauenire non solum ogni giorno ma ogni hora et ponte* he decided to compose a will in November 1545, in the late autumn period when the weather conditions at sea

¹⁰² The Fraternity of St. Christopher, the communal patron saint, was among the most popular and richest city fraternities in the late Middle Ages. Members of all social strata could enter its ranks. For the history of the Fraternity of St. Christopher, as well as its exceptional importance for Rab society in the late Middle Ages, cf. Zoran Ladić-Zrinka Novak, “Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora u Rabu. Diplomatička i povijesna analiza s kritičkim prijepisom matrikule” [The Statute of the flagellant confraternity of St. Christophor in Rab. Diplomatic and historical analysis with critical transcription of the statute], *Starine HAZU* 64/2012, pp. 61-89.

¹⁰³ V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, pp. 73-75.

¹⁰⁴ According to legend, every believer who looks at the figure of St. Christopher will not die that day. See more: Michael Schneider, “Die Christophorus-Legende in Ost und West – ein Leitbild christlicher Spiritualität”, p. 3. on https://patristischeszentrum.de/radio/radio_2008/radio_2008_07_24.pdf, (accessed 7 October 2020).

¹⁰⁵ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 34rv, 17 January 1545.

¹⁰⁶ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, MZ, kut. 11, vol. XXIV, f. 191r, 7 April 1552.

were unfavorable due to strong winds and frequent storms. Therefore, his fear of death at sea was even greater. He was married to Madeleine and had seven children, and at the time of drafting the will, his wife was pregnant.¹⁰⁷

Analyzed sources also indicate the mobility of other members of the communal society, most often merchants and craftsmen, who left the commune due to various business obligations. Private records reveal that the most intensive business ties were those with Italy, primarily with Venice as the state center, and other Italian cities, such as Padua. Businessmen also maintained ties along the eastern Adriatic coast, specifically with Dubrovnik. For example, master furrier Nicholas Radošić, a citizen of Rab, wanted to go to Italy on business and hoped to return soon. Fearing the dangers he might encounter en route, and due to his age (he was not young), he had his will composed.¹⁰⁸ Nicholas probably went to Italy to procure fur or other materials and tools, but this is not stated in his will. His son John was a priest, and in 1541 his superiors sent him to Venice for his merits.¹⁰⁹

The wills sometimes indirectly reveal the occupations of the inhabitants of Rab who, due to their profession, were more mobile than other members of society. Many patricians and wealthier citizens were merchants and engaged in the trade of various types of goods. Thus, for example, *nobilis Arbensis dominus Franciscus de Dominis cognominatus Gliutiza* was a cloth merchant, as can be seen from his last will. He composed his will on his sickbed, but emphasized that he had once been to Venice, where he bought a cloth in the fabric shop of a merchant, whose name and surname he could not remember. He owed that merchant seven or eight ducats. Therefore, he ordered his son *Dionysius* to repay the debt. Francis was married and had four children. He left his illegitimate daughter Madeleine 20 ducats at the rate of 6 pounds and 4 solids.¹¹⁰

Members of the Rab clergy also traveled outside the commune frequently for various reasons, most often to take over the ministry in other dioceses or to collect tithes from their estates. Some of the clerics were educated at Italian universities, where they acquired the highest titles. Some of them went to Rome on diplomatic mission. Furthermore, litigation was often conducted in Rome and Venice due to canonical malversations in the handling of money collected from the church tithe. The Chapter of Rab often avoided paying church tithes to the Apostolic Chamber. The canons competed in obtaining

¹⁰⁷ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, ff. 40v-41r, 4 November 1545.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. II, f. 17r, 17 July 1536.

¹⁰⁹ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 99.

¹¹⁰ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, ff. 8v-9v, 10 April 1539.

the function of collectors or sub-collectors of the Rab tithes or tithes in Istria and other areas along the Adriatic coast. Thus, the canon John *de Dominis* was exempt from some taxes due to his merits as the sub-collector of tithes in Istria. This service was lucrative and gave many canons the opportunity to make acquaintances with eminent personalities from Rome or Venice.¹¹¹ Several examples of the mobility of the Rab clergy stand out in the wills. In July 1544, on the eve of his official voyage by boat to Dubrovnik, the canon of Rab, Christopher *de Tolle*, had his will drawn up. Among other things, he demanded that two individuals be found who would make the pilgrimage to Rome and Assisi, one for the soul of the testator and another for the soul of his late brother Dominic.¹¹² He returned from Dubrovnik to Rab, which is evidenced by his next will from May 1545. In that will, he pointed out that he was going on voyage to Krk (a neighboring commune), where was to take over the service of vicar of the Bishop of Krk. Here he repeated the request to his heirs to send two people to Rome *ad uisitandum limina sanctorum Petri et Pauli* and to St. Francis of Assisi.¹¹³ He also returned from Krk alive and well, because in the November of the same year, he compiled a codicil in which he refuted the will drafted in May.¹¹⁴ We find him once again in the documents, more precisely in 1548, when he composed a will and a codicil in Rab while physically ill. It should be pointed out that he once again begged the heirs of his estates to send two people during the Jubilee to Rome and to Assisi, one person to make a pilgrimage for the soul of the testator and another for the soul of his late brother Dominic.¹¹⁵ It therefore follows that the clergyman *de Tolle* traveled several times in his lifetime but could not personally make a pilgrimage to Rome and Assisi due to business and other obligations. Since going on pilgrimage was his greatest wish, in his last wills he repeatedly demanded that his heirs fulfil the task in his stead. Of course, this testator did not forget his late brother Dominic, to whom he himself may have promised to make a pilgrimage *ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli* and *ad sanctum Franciscum in Assisio* but failed to do so for objective reasons. He therefore appealed to his heirs to fulfill the vow instead.

Nicholas Kolić, the Canon of the Chapter of Rab, composed his will for fear of the dangers which might befall him on his journey to the island of Vis, where he went on business entrusted to him by the Bishop of Rab, Vincent

¹¹¹ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 108.

¹¹² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, ff. 6r-7r, 21 July 1544.

¹¹³ Ibid., vol. III, ff. 35v-36r, 5 May 1545.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., f. 36r, 6 November 1545.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., vol. IV, f. 7rv, 5 (7) November 1548.

Negusanti (1514-1567).¹¹⁶ The document is interesting because in addition to the will, it also lists the food that canon Kolić carried with him. Nicholas pointed out that he was to receive a certain amount of money from the Bishop in order to purchase barrels (30 pounds and 19 solids); for a trip to Vis 17 pounds, for flour and vegetables which he carried to Vis (17 pounds and 2 solids), for cheese and meat (16 pounds and 2 solids), for barrel hoops (7 pounds) and for oil (3 pounds and 4 solids). He also carried with him 15 gold scudas entrusted to him by the Bishop for the costs of the service on the island of Vis, which he was to be given by Matthew Lukanić, the manager on the island of Vis. Kolić pointed out that he was to receive the remaining amount as salary (38 ducats) from the Bishop of Rab, his patron, and that he had already been given four ducats by the priest James Karatelić.¹¹⁷ From another private-legal document drafted in 1549 we learn that Canon Kolić chose a procurator to run his affairs because he *intendens iter suum Venetiam verrsus arripere*.¹¹⁸ It is known that Canon Kolić returned from Venice and Vis alive and well because he compiled a new will in Rab in January 1554, refuting the previous will.¹¹⁹

Jerome Mirković, Canon and the Bishop's vicar who studied at the Faculty of Law in Padua, where he obtained a doctorate both in canon and civil law, wrote in his will that he had borrowed some goods from Veronica from Padua, which confirms that he resided in Padua for some time.¹²⁰ Mirković also traveled to Rome on business in 1549.¹²¹ The Franciscan Michael Lisičić decided to go to the Italian city of Treviso *causa studiandi*, and appointed a procurator of his estates in Rab, namely Matthew Barčić.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Vincentius Negusantius was born in 1487 in the Italian commune of Fano. He was ordained Bishop of Rab in 1515, he first came there in 1517. He participated in the Lateran Council and the Council of Trent as the dean of the bishops. For the greater part he did not reside in his diocese. He renounced the episcopal service in 1569 and died in 1573 in Fano, where he was buried. Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, Tomus quintus, Ecclesia Jadertina cum suffraganis et ecclesia zagradiensis, Venetiis 1775, pp. 264-270. More about the life and work of Bishop Negusanti see: Zrinka Novak, "Iz rapske crkvene prošlosti. Prilog životopisu rapskoga biskupa Vincenta Negusantija (1514.-1567.)." [From the Ecclesiastical History of the Commune of Rab. A Contribution to the Biography of Rab's Bishop Vincenzo Negusanti (1514-1567)], *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. XLIV, no. 86/2020, pp. 59-86.

¹¹⁷ *Il venerabil misser pre Nicolo Cholich canonico sopranumerario dela chiesa cathedrale*. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 22rv, 1 August 1547.

¹¹⁸ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 114.

¹¹⁹ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, f. 25rv, 6 January 1554.

¹²⁰ *Reuerendus dominus Hieronymus Mirchouich canonicus et vicarius Arbensis benemeritus ac utriusque iuris doctor*. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 42v, 22 October 1552.

¹²¹ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 114.

¹²² AFSE, O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 157, 10 October 1548.

These examples show that, in the observed period, priests left the commune of Rab for ecclesiastical and business reasons (to collect income from their properties, to take over the priestly ministry in another area in accordance to the orders of their superiors), or with the aim of studying at Italian universities. Their destinations were cities and communes on the eastern Adriatic coast and on the Apennine Peninsula (Rome, Venice, Padua).

d) *Curiosity as motivation for travelling*

The last wills occasionally also provide examples of mobility caused by the curiosity of individuals. An example of one such adventurous journey stands out in the observed sources. In his will, John Radoević, son of Nicholas, a citizen of the Rab commune, pointed out that *uolendo hozi come disse andar ala uolta de Venetia et forse in altri lontani paesi secondo che in fantasia li uenira et dubitando de molti et uarii pericoli qual intrauenir gli potrino*.¹²³ Based on the distribution of legacies, it can be concluded that Radoević was quite wealthy. He donated numerous monetary legacies to various people in Rab, including his sister Urša *habita in Istria*. Likewise, we know that he was unmarried and had no family. He could therefore set out on such a journey on a whim. His financial status is evidenced by the fact that he bequeathed 50 *mocenigs* (about 50 ducats) to the priests of the Church of Rab to say Masses for the soul of his late mother.¹²⁴ The patrician Francis *de Nimira* decided to leave Rab in 1546 and chose a mandatory (*procurator*) to manage his estates since he *intendere ab hac civitate discedere et ad diversa mundi partes, prout asseruit, se transferre*.¹²⁵

e) *Existential motivations for travelling*

The wartime conditions influenced the economic crisis that gripped the commune of Rab at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The communal population lived in adverse circumstances and was plagued general due to Uskok incursions into communal territory. Due to the Ottoman threat, refugees chose to flee the continental interior (hinterland) of Croatia and Dalmatia and settle on islands, both in Croatian Littoral and Dalmatia. These developments brought about the impoverishment of a number of eastern Adriatic communes.¹²⁶ Poverty directly affected many families on the island, and some individuals were forced to emigrate from the commune of Rab due to difficult circumstances. This is evident from the last will of Dominica, daughter of the late George, who emphasized that she moved to Marche

¹²³ HR-DAZd, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 24v, 13 June 1541.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 114.

¹²⁶ C. W. Bracewall, *Senjski uskoci*, p. 75.

with her daughter Margarita in search of better opportunities.¹²⁷ Dominica was probably raising her child on her own, without male help, and poverty and want forced her to seek a better life on the Apennine Peninsula. Due to the difficult circumstances in which he lived, Luka Cvitković from the village of Lopar decided to sell everything he had to Martin Svečić from Rab and *di ditto luoco andar in altro paese*.¹²⁸ Several examples of emigration from Rab to the western Adriatic coast can be found in the relevant literature. Benko Radulić, a tanner, moved to Poreč in Istria in 1542. Francis Badoer Žujić settled in Ancona in 1549. In 1554, the patrician Magdalena Zaro moved to Ancona where she married Francis Vitroli from Ravenna, who was a *habitor Anchonae*. Dominica Biria moved to Fano in 1549. George Sučić, a blacksmith, settled in Venice, and bequeathed 200 ducats to his relatives in Rab in 1549, so it is evident that he lived there in prosperity.¹²⁹

What clearly transpires is that wartime conditions and the economic crisis were the cause of individual migrations from the commune of Rab, mainly to Italy (Venice,¹³⁰ Marche, Apulia).¹³¹

f) *Exile from the commune of Rab*

There is one example of exile from the commune of Rab recorded in the analyzed sources. In 1545, the contemporary Count of Rab, John Francis Balbi, excommunicated *Matthia Zanetcha* from the commune for a period of five years, for a misdemeanor or a more serious crime still. However, the source does not state the exact reason. *Matthia* drawn up a will before leaving Rab. She chose to go into exile to avoid being sent to prison. The document reveals that she was a maidservant in the household of the patrician Jerome *de Hermolais*, son of the late Augustin. *Matthia* wanted him to take care of the funeral expenses if she happened to die outside Rab. She also wanted her

¹²⁷ "Domenega figliola del condan Zorzi pescador volendo hozi come disse stante penuriosi et calamitesi tempi del uiuer qual al presente coreno cum la sua figliola nominata Margarita partirse e andar ala uolta dela Marcha per trouar il loro uiuer." HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 42r, 2 March 1546.

¹²⁸ AFSE, O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 142, 14 April 1540.

¹²⁹ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 99.

¹³⁰ Beginning with the sixteenth century, a considerable number of people emigrated from Rab to Venice. There they continued their business, while some even started families. Some of them maintained ties with their homeland, which is evident from the last will legacies *pro anima sua* which they chose to bequeath to individuals and institutions (the Church, fraternities, hospitals, etc.) in Rab. Lovorka Čoralić wrote about the individual emigration from Rab to Venice, describing the everyday lives of those who found a home there. See: L. Čoralić, *Pažani i Rabljani u Mlecima*, pp. 3-52; L. Čoralić, *Rabljani u Mlecima*, pp. 43-55.

¹³¹ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, pp. 98-99.

body to be buried in Rab, in the Benedictine church of St. Andrew.¹³² In the records of the notary Francis Fabijanić, another will of hers was found. She composed it in 1550, for the purpose of going on a pilgrimage to Rome on the occasion of the Jubilee.¹³³ This means that she returned to the commune of Rab once she had served her sentence and there prepared for the pilgrimage. She may have chosen to embark on pilgrimage as an act of spiritual repentance for having committed sins in the past.

g) *Personal motivation for travelling*

The considered sources demonstrate that some people from Rab traveled for personal reasons. In their last wills, six denizens of the Rab commune expressed a desire to travel, mainly to the Apennine Peninsula for personal reasons. *Dona Iacobina filia condam ser Georgii Marçaç ciuis Arbi*, who was healthy and unmarried, decided to go to Venice in February 1538, but did not state the exact reason for the trip.¹³⁴ It can be assumed that this trip was of a personal nature. It is known that she returned from the voyage because she composed a codicil in Rab in August 1545, in which she pointed out that she was *corpore inferma*.¹³⁵ Citizen Helen, daughter of the late Simon Sajnić, wanted to travel to Venice in May 1536, and had her will recorded *timens pericula quam sibi tam in mari quam in terra eueniri poterint*. However, she did not explicitly state why she wanted to leave the commune of Rab, although it may have been for personal reasons.¹³⁶ Fumia, widow of Christopher Belić, a resident of the village of Kampo, composed her last will *intendendo di passar lo mare fino al Friule*,¹³⁷ but the exact reasons for her departure cannot be gleaned from the document. She only demanded that the will be declared void should she return from the journey.¹³⁸ Claire, widow of Matthew Saladin, decided to go to Apulia to visit her sons and elected a procurator who would run her affairs during her absence.¹³⁹

In the sources we find another example of travel for personal, but unfathomable motives. In her will, Margarita, widow of Jeronimo *de Zaro*, a patrician from Rab, announced her secret journey and emphasized that she would be going on a trip. However, she did not wish to disclose her motives

¹³² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 34v-35r, 27 March 1545.

¹³³ Ibid., vol. II, ff. 31v-32v, 27 August 1550.

¹³⁴ Ibid., vol. III, f. 2v, 19 February 1538.

¹³⁵ Ibid., fol. 2v (on the margins), 28 August 1545.

¹³⁶ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 14r, 9 May 1536.

¹³⁷ The Italian province of Friuli (Friule Venezia Giulia) is located in northeastern Italy.

¹³⁸ ASFE, O. Badurina, VKK, Liber II, p. 151, 19 August 1544.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 163, 26 April 1552.

to anyone but the notary. She had a daughter, Margarita, whom she proclaimed her universal heiress.¹⁴⁰ We can only speculate about the real reason for her departure. Maybe she had committed a crime and wanted to avoid punishment or was simply motivated to leave the commune for business or family reasons which had to remain hidden from the public eye. In any case, Margarita's journey can be characterized as mysterious.

Finally, we can conclude that in the middle of the sixteenth century individuals chose to leave the Rab commune for various reasons. A part of the communal population was extremely mobile, mostly for business and religious reasons (pilgrimages), but also due to military service on the galleys. Personal motives were also present, and in some cases, albeit rarely, mobility was motivated by adventurism and curiosity.

Furthermore, individual migrations from the Rab commune to the western Adriatic coast and the interior of the Apennine Peninsula (Venice, Marche, Apulia) were triggered by the economic crisis, as well as the Ottoman threat, which led to the notable impoverishment of the communal population. Individuals therefore decided to look for better living conditions across the Adriatic.

IV. DESTINATIONS OF TRAVELLERS FROM THE COMMUNE OF RAB

By analyzing the last wills composed by inhabitants of Rab, it is possible to classify their destinations.

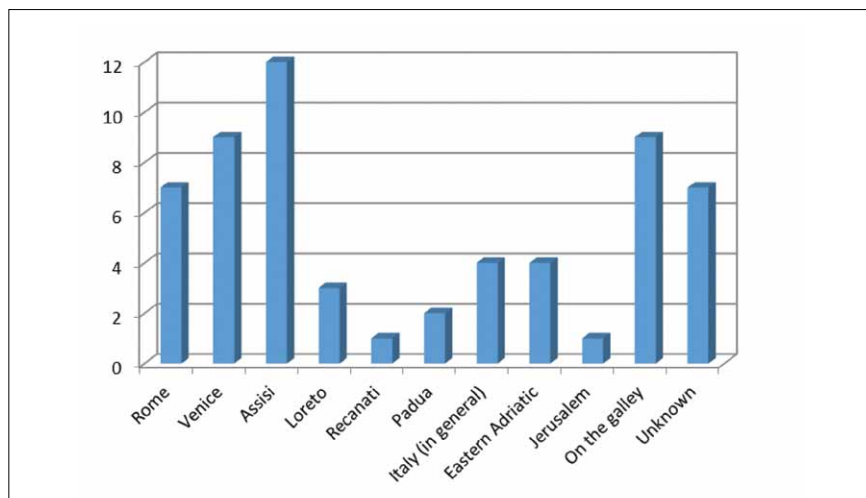
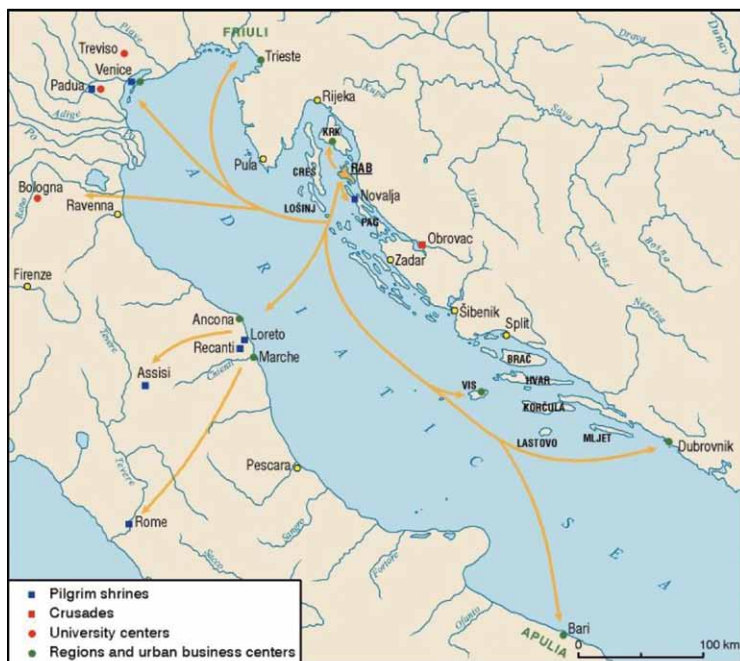


Figure 4: Destinations of travellers from the commune of Rab in the mid-sixteenth century according to last wills

¹⁴⁰ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 42r, 13 September 1552.

The quantitative analysis of last wills points to three main outbound routes (see: Fig. 4). The first was towards Italy, in particular the Italian provinces (Veneto, Apulia, Marche) and those communes with which the inhabitants of Rab maintained ties. This primarily refers to Venice (mentioned nine times in the last wills) as the administrative and business center of the state. However, other Italian cities also make an appearance, primarily pilgrimage centers (Rome (7), Assisi (12), Loreto (3), Recanati (1), Padua (2)). Another destination was the eastern Adriatic coast. The documents mention voyages to Krk, Dubrovnik, Vis and Obrovac. Most testators embarking on a journey to the above-mentioned eastern Adriatic centers did so to conduct business. The only exception is Obrovac, where the testator in question traveled to seek “liberation from the Ottomans”. The third direction (Fig. 4) is marked with the term “on the galley”. This category comprises nine individuals who left the commune for military reasons, either to serve on the Rab galley or to partake in attacks that Venice launched on the Ottomans in the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea, specifically in the Dalmatian hinterland, such as the attempt to liberate Obrovac in October 1537.¹⁴¹



Map 1: Destinations of travellers from Rab in the sixteenth century

¹⁴¹ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 24r, 3 October 1537.

The studied wills rarely mention voyages to more distant destinations: Jerusalem is mentioned only once. An additional explanation is needed for the “unknown” category, which predominantly comprises sailors (4). However, the last wills do not give information concerning naval directions they were sailing to. In their wills, they only point out that they wish to go sailing (*nauigare*), as in the example of John Prasić, a sailor who drafted a will *intendens ab hac ciuitate pro nauigando discedere et timens pericula maris*.¹⁴² A similar case is that of *ser Zanetto Pastrouich cittadin et habitador d’Arbe marinaro*, who emphasized that *considerando molti uarii et diuersi pericoli qual li potesseno nela sua nauigata intrauenire non solum ogni giorno ma ogni hora et ponte* he decided to compose his will.¹⁴³ This category also includes those who did not state where they were going, but only indicated that they would travel from Rab. There are two such cases.

It can briefly be concluded that the inhabitants of Rab, or those who temporarily found themselves on the island of Rab, traveled to various centers (mainly on the Apennine Peninsula) and to communes with which the island maintained economic and political ties, such as Venice or Italian regions, Marche or Apulia. For example, horses were exported from Rab to Apulia, while oil and grain were imported from Apulia to the commune of Rab.¹⁴⁴ The trade relations between Rab and Apulia are evident from the will of a patrician from the commune of Krk (Baška), Sigismund Thomas Frola, who stayed on the island for business reasons. While there he contracted a sudden and severe illness, and therefore instructed the executor of his will to meet a merchant ship from Apulia full of his merchandise instead of him.¹⁴⁵

V. SOCIAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND FAMILY POSITION OF RAB TRAVELLERS IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY, ACCORDING TO LAST WILLS

1. Travellers in Rab, according to gender and social position

Based on the quantitative analysis of testators according to social status and gender, it can be seen that members of all social strata, both men and women, participated in various forms of spatial mobility. According to the examined sample of last wills, a total of 59 people participated in the above-mentioned processes. There were 33 individuals who composed last wills prior to embarking on the journey, while mobility was determined for 26 more.

¹⁴² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 13r, 5 August 1545.

¹⁴³ Ibid., vol. III, f. 40v, 4 November 1545.

¹⁴⁴ I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 170.

¹⁴⁵ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, ff. 20v-21r, 29 November 1551.

The latter mention their travels in retrospect, while recording their wills. This category also includes those who went on a substitutionary pilgrimage for one or more testators, who were unable to perform the task (due to old age, pregnancy, etc.). There was a total of 19 such pilgrims. Thus, 59 people (or 30.41% of the total number of testators) were absent from the commune of Rab for a period of time in the middle of the sixteenth century (1534–1554).

Looking at gender, out of a total of 59 testators there were 14 women and 35 men. The gender of ten individuals cannot be determined since the sources mention them as *persone* who had to make a pilgrimage instead of the testator. Therefore, in most cases we do not know whether men or women went on substitutionary pilgrimages.

A quantitative analysis of the wills indicates that men were twice as mobile as women. According to sources, male mobility was motivated by business and military reasons, while women traveled mostly for religious or personal reasons (family visits), existential reasons (leaving the commune in search of a better life) or religious motives (pilgrimages). This indicates that women did travel in the studied period, not unlike in medieval times,¹⁴⁶ albeit considerably less so than men. However, at the beginning of the early modern period, the mobility of women was even more pronounced, and they were no longer tied to the household and the communal space as in the previous period.

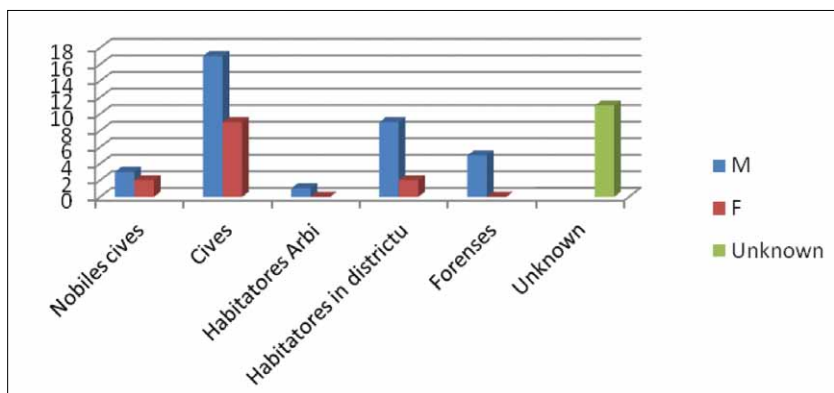


Figure 5: Travellers from Rab according to social status and gender in the mid-sixteenth century

¹⁴⁶ On female mobility in the Middle Ages, see: David Herlihy, "Three patterns of Social Mobility in Medieval History", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 3, no. 4/1973, pp. 623-647. On female mobility on the eastern Adriatic coast in the medieval period and Renaissance see the paper written by Zoran Ladić and Ivan Šutić in this volume, pp. 61-92.

Regarding the social position and gender of mobile testators (see: Fig. 5), it transpires that most of them come from the group of citizens. Thus, 17 males and nine female citizens (*cives, cives et habitatores*) traveled mainly for business, personal, or religious reasons. Quite a large social group, whose members appear as mobile, were the residents of the communal district (*habitant in districtu*) (nine men and two women). The men were mostly military conscripts, serving at the Rab galley, while women were pilgrims. A total of five patricians (*nobiles cives*) (three men and two women) can be marked as "travellers". They traveled mostly for business reasons. Finally, five men of foreign origin had their wills composed in Rab before leaving due to military service or business. Figure 5 shows an increase in citizens' mobility, regardless of gender, although female citizens were half as represented as men. This was a direct consequence of lifestyle differences: women were still more attached to the household and family and therefore remained in the commune, while men left the commune more often for business or military reasons. When women did leave the area, they mainly went on pilgrimage, visited family members, or left Rab permanently for existential reasons.

Regarding the mobility of the population in the district, their departure from the commune is connected, almost exclusively (with the exception in two cases), with military service on the Rab *trireme* (galley), where they served as rowers. Exceptionally, Marin Gerudulić, a shepherd, went to Venice during his life, for unknown reasons. In his last will he pointed out that he remained indebted to his granddaughter Maria for 44 small pounds that she had lent him when he came from Venice for him to repay his debts.¹⁴⁷ Matthew Lombarda from the village of Supetarska Draga, was also a military conscript on the galley, but he returned from the galley, and in 1543 composed his will. He emphasized that he wanted to go to Loreto to fulfil his vow. It can therefore be assumed that Matthew wanted to go to the sanctuary of Loreto to fulfil the vow he had made to the Virgin Mary, who kept him safe during his military service on the galley.¹⁴⁸

2. The profession of travellers from Rab

Based on the quantitative analysis of the last wills from the period 1534–1554, one can observe the occupations of the inhabitants of Rab who were mobile during their lives. Firstly, the occupation of 26 testators cannot be determined (out of 59 testators, which is 44.06% of all mobile testators; 15 men and 11 women). The notary simply did not state this data in the documents.

¹⁴⁷ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 28rv, 26 August 1542.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 31r, 16 April 1543.

This refers especially to women. Furthermore, the analysis shows that most testators belonged to the military profession (10 men or 16.94% of the total number of testators considered). It should be noted that conscripts who went to serve on the galley were mostly residents of the communal district. Those in higher positions, captains (*sopracomitto*) or deputy commanders of the Rab galley, were members of the Rab patriciate.¹⁴⁹ According to professional status, consecrated persons (eight men and one woman, priests, friars, members of the third order) were a highly mobile group during their lifetime and make up 15.25% of all testators who traveled. The sailors also belonged to quite a mobile group, so there were six men engaged in maritime activity (10.16%). In the sample of last wills there were three craftsmen and two merchants (8.47%) who traveled outside the commune at some point in their life. Only two individuals from the communal district (a man and a woman, i.e. 3.38%) stand out from the sample of last wills and it is obvious that they were peasants (*villici*, *villani*). Finally, only one person, a woman, was a member of domestic servants as a separate social group (1.69%). For the latter groups it can be pointed out that once they arrived in the commune from the Croatian and Dalmatian hinterland for existential reasons, or from other east Adriatic or Italian communes in search of work, they traveled at the local level, within the area of the commune and the communal district. Domestic servants were mobile within town: they often changed patrons, working in several patrician households at a time. Peasants from the district came to the city for daily work, delivering their goods to the city market, concluding legal transactions, or participating in various social and religious events (church holidays, fraternal processions, funerals and so on.)

The mobility outside the commune of each individual from the above-mentioned groups was related to his personal and business interests. Thus, the members of the clergy, sailors, merchants, and craftsmen left the commune mainly for business reasons, rowers went to the Rab galley for military reasons, while peasants from the communal district or domestic servants left the commune of Rab primarily for religious reasons (pilgrimages).

3. Family status of travellers

Based on a quantitative analysis of wills, it is possible to determine the family status of testators who participated in mobility. Research has shown that most of those who traveled outside the commune were single. These were unmarried people (ten people, six men and four women), celibate individuals (nine testators, eight men and one woman), and finally widows

¹⁴⁹ V. Brusić, *Otok Rab*, p. 113.

or widowers (eight testators, two men and six women). A total of 14 people were both married and mobile, 13 men and one woman. Along with a spouse, they often had children. Thus, 16 out of 32 people who were mobile also had children (50%). This group consisted mainly of sailors, merchants, and craftsmen who traveled for business reasons. They left their homes and families for periods of time due to their profession. In this way, they wanted to ensure a better and more comfortable life for their families. This group of people also included peasants from the district. To this communal group should be added the residents of the district (peasants) who served on galleys. They were forced to move, and for this reason, they left their families on the island of Rab. Because of the precarious nature of military life, they often recorded wills before leaving. Based on a quantitative analysis of the last wills, it was not possible to determine the family status of 18 people.

From the above, it transpires that the most mobile individuals were those who were not bound by familial or marital obligations (priests, unmarried persons, widows, and widowers) and traveled for business, for religious reasons, or out of curiosity, while married individuals were mobile mostly for business or military reasons, i.e. to provide for their families.

VI. FOREIGNERS IN THE RAB COMMUNE IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Based on the study of private legal documents, it can be confirmed that spatial mobility in early modern Rab was a two-way process. As a certain number of denizens of the commune of Rab immigrated from the city and its district for various reasons, there were persons of foreign origin who settled in the commune, mainly for existential, business, or military reasons.¹⁵⁰ In the middle of the sixteenth century, foreigners stayed in Rab for both longer and shorter periods of time (ranging from several months to several years). There

¹⁵⁰ On foreigners in eastern Adriatic communes, see: Tomislav Raukar, "*Cives, habitatores, forenses* u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima" [*Cives, habitatores, forenses* in Medieval Dalmatian Cities] (hereafter *Cives, habitatores, forenses*), *Historijski zbornik*, 29-30/1976-1977, pp. 143-144, 148; Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: između prihvaćenosti i odbačenosti" [A Stranger in Medieval Dubrovnik: between Acceptance and Rejection], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 26/1993, pp. 27-38; Zdravka Jelaska, "Ustrojstvo društva u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru" [The Structure of Society in Medieval Trogir] (hereafter *Ustrojstvo društva*), *Povijesni prilozi*, vol. 20, no. 20/2001, pp. 28-32; Zoran Ladić, "Labinsko društvo u ranom novom vijeku u zrcalu bilježničkih dokumenata Bartolomeja Gervazija" [Early Modern Labin Society in the Mirror of Notary Book by Bartholomew Gervasius], *Historijski zbornik*, vol. LXI, no. 1/2009, pp. 62-65; Zoran Ladić-Goran Budeč, "Stranci u Kotoru u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća" [Foreigners in Kotor in the First Half of the 14th Century], Lovorka Čoralić (ed.), *Hrvatsko-crnogorski dodiri / Crnogorsko-hrvatski dodiri: Identitet povijesne i kulturne baštine crnogorskog primorja*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Matica hrvatska 2009, pp. 157-184.

they performed their service (administrative, civil, or military) or engaged in crafts, arts, or medicine. Once their contracts expired, they left the commune and moved on to another commune or returned home. However, some of those foreigners chose to stay on the island of Rab for life, getting married and starting a family. Socially and legally, they acquired the status of residents of the district (*habitanti in contrata...habitatores in districtu*) or status of the inhabitants of the city of Rab (*habitatores Arbi, habitanti in Arbe*).¹⁵¹ If they bought or acquired real estate on Rab, they could even be granted the status of citizens of Rab (*cives Arbae, cittadini d'Arbe*) in the full sense of the word.¹⁵²

The sources reveal that in the period from 1534 to 1554 a group of foreign testators (*forenses; forestieri*) who came into the commune of Rab to perform a service or serve in the military also had their last wills drawn up there.

Quantitative analysis showed that there were 17 testators of foreign origin (15 men and two women), which is 8.76% out of the total number of Rab testators (194). Some members of society, who were of foreign origin, married on the island of Rab, started a family, and settled there, acquiring the status of the inhabitants of a commune or town. If they acquired real estate and a reputation through a certain respectable profession, they could even become citizens of Rab. The analyzed sample of last wills features eight such cases. For example, the sailor and merchant¹⁵³ John Vulaević lived in Rab, although he originally hailed from Šibenik. Along with his name, the notary wrote down his status – *habitor Arbi*, a resident of Rab. He was married to Rose, probably a local woman, and had no children. Due to his profession, he was “day and night” at sea. He obviously considered the commune of Rab as his second home, which is proved by his legates: he left a ducat to the cathedral church,

¹⁵¹ The status of the inhabitants of the city (*habitatores, habitanti in Arbe*) was a kind of transitional status between the status of newcomers and citizens with full rights. The inhabitants of a commune had general rights but not civil rights, so their property and personal obligations to the commune were not as pronounced, and they differed depending on wartime circumstances. For more information on the legal position of the group of *habitatores* in Dalmatian communal societies in Croatian historiography, see: T. Raukar, *Cives, habitatores, forenses*, pp. 139-149; Sabine Florence Fabijanec, “Društvena i kulturna uloga zadarskog trgovca u 14. i 15. stoljeću” [Social and Cultural Role of Zaratín Merchant in the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti HAZU* 22/2004, pp. 60-61; Z. Jelaska, *Ustrojstvo društva*, p. 33; Tonija Andrić, “Socijalna osjetljivost obrtničkog sloja u Splitu sredinom 15. stoljeća” [Social Sensivity of Craftsmen in Split during the Mid-15th Century], *Historijski zbornik*, vol. LXVI, no. 1/2013, p. 9.

¹⁵² The status of the citizens of a commune, including the commune of Rab, brought individuals full civil rights but also obligations towards the commune, they were legally protected and occupied a high position in society. These civil rights concerned freedom of action and the acquisition of property, as well as exemption from certain fees, mainly commercial. Possession of real estate was a basic precondition for acquiring citizenship. For more information, see: Z. Jelaska, *Ustrojstvo društva*, p. 33.

¹⁵³ He was a merchant and bought a house in Rab, in 1544. I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, p. 98.

half a ducat to the Franciscan churches of St. John and St. Francis, and half a ducat to the fraternity of St. Anthony, of whom he was a member.¹⁵⁴ In his codicil, he determined that his wife Rose had died before him.¹⁵⁵

There were also those men and women from Rab who married individuals who came to Rab from other areas, motivated by work and existence. Thus, the sources mention a certain *dona* Catherine, the wife of Stephen Arbanas,¹⁵⁶ then *dona Fumia relitta condam Iacomo de Scrisia*,¹⁵⁷ and *dona Lucieta filia condam domini Marci dela Vidoua ciuis Veneti*, the wife of *spectabili domini Marci Antonii Buratto*.¹⁵⁸ In the sources we also find *dona Mandalena relitta condam magistro Gregor Puchorich tagiapierra de Zara et figliola del condam ser Nicolo Stancich*. She was a local woman, a citizen of Rab, daughter of the late Nicholas Stančić, who was a citizen of Rab, and she was married to George Pukorić, a sculptor from Zadar. At the time when she composed her will, she was a widow.¹⁵⁹ All the above-mentioned people of foreign origin can be counted among those who immigrated to the communal space, settled there permanently, and integrated into the communal society, starting families, working, and living in the commune.

The analysis reveals that 27 testators were of foreign origin. Eighteen testators had the status of foreigners (*forenses*) (16 men and two women), while nine people settled permanently in Rab and acquired a certain social and legal status in the communal society. According to gender, out of the total number of foreign testators, 24 were men and three were women. The proportion of testators of foreign origin (regardless of their social status in the commune) is 13.91%, out of the total number of Rab testators (194). Compared to the second half of the fifteenth century, this is a significantly lower share of foreigners in Rab. This speaks in favor of the fact that the economic crisis and the wartime circumstances brought about the decline in the communal population and affected the attractiveness of the Rab commune: compared with the previous period, the commune was no longer as appealing to foreigners (fewer jobs were on offer due to the economic impoverishment of the communal elite and citizens).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 21rv, 6 January 1541.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., f. 21v, 3 January 1544.

¹⁵⁶ "Dona Catherina moglier de Stephano Arbanas". Ibid., f. 31v, 18 April 1543. Stephen came from Arbanasi in the Zadar hinterland.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., f. 46v, 7 November 1546. "Scrisia" is the old name for Karlobag, a mainland port in the Croatian Littoral Gulf a little south of Rab, which was destroyed by Ottoman troops.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. II, f. 31r, 13 November 1539.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., f. 32v, 27 August 1550.

¹⁶⁰ Compared to research already conducted for the municipality of Rab for the period of the second half of the 15th century, which showed that in the latter period out of a total of 328 persons

Regarding foreigners, there were two different groups. One group of foreigners consists of those persons setting in Rab for a shorter period, while the other group of foreigners permanently settled either within the city walls or in the villages in the district.¹⁶¹ In contrast to the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, when most Dalmatian communal notaries only occasionally mentioned the places of origin of foreigners, the sixteenth century communal notaries of Rab almost regularly recorded the places of origin of all testators and foreigners as well.

1. The origin of foreigners in Rab in the middle of the sixteenth century

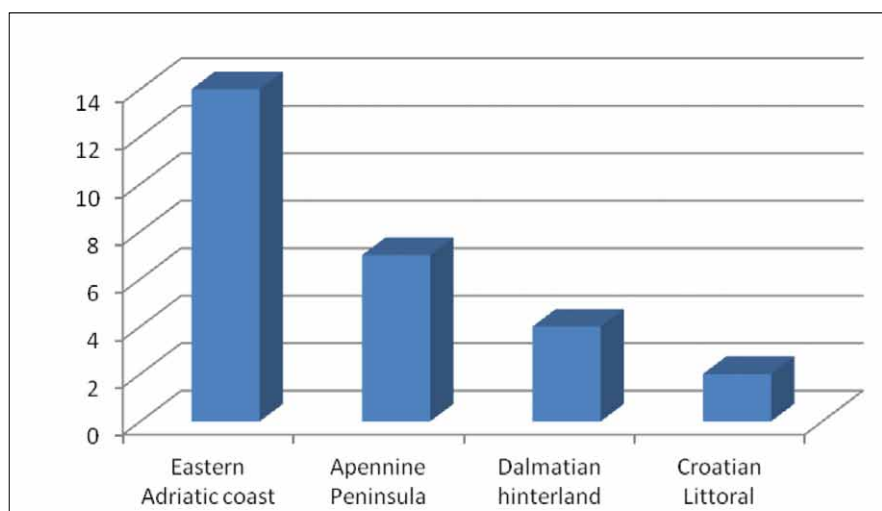


Figure 6: The Origin of foreigners in Rab according to last wills

(craftsmen, artists, and medical workers), 106 of them were of foreign origin (32.31%), which is significantly higher compared to the period considered here. Meri Kunčić, *Život i djelatnost obrtnika i umjetnika u rapskoj komuni u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća*, p. 115. It should also be noted that in the second half of the fifteenth century the Rab commune had about 7000 inhabitants (T. Raukar, "Rab sredinom 15. stoljeća" [Rab in the Middle of the 15th Century], *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. 22, no. 42/1998, p. 28), while in the middle of the 16th century this number plummeted to half as much: according to Giustiniani, Rab had 3500 inhabitants. Šime Ljubić (ed.), "Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniani", *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, vol. II, (1525–1553), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, Zagreb: JAZU 1877, p. 257.

¹⁶¹ Mostly stonemasons, sculptors, painters, doctors, surgeons, notaries, i.e. individuals who took up occupations that required personal talent, but also a certain degree of education. Of course, research has shown that since the fifteenth century an increasing share of local people entered these elite occupations because of ties with the Apennine Peninsula, especially the universities of Bologna and Padua. Meri Kunčić, "Obrtnici, umjetnici i zdravstveni djelatnici u kasnosrednjovjekovnoj rapskoj komuni" [Artisans, Artists, and Medical Workers in the Late Medieval Commune of Rab], *Rapski zbornik II*, p. 67.

From the quantitative analysis of last wills, it is possible to find out where the testators of foreign origin came from, regardless of their social and legal status in the Rab commune (*forenses, cives, habitatores, villici (villani) in districtu*). In the middle of the sixteenth century the greater part of foreigners came from the four main regional areas (see: Fig. 6): the area of the eastern Adriatic coast, that is communes, towns, and villages along the coast (14), (Kopar,¹⁶² Baška,¹⁶³ Lošinj /3/,¹⁶⁴ Pag,¹⁶⁵ Zadar,¹⁶⁶ Ugljan,¹⁶⁷ Šibenik /2/,¹⁶⁸ Omiš,¹⁶⁹ Šolta,¹⁷⁰ Hvar,¹⁷¹ Ston),¹⁷² then from the Apennine Peninsula (Italian regions, communes, and cities) (7) (Villano,¹⁷³ Venice,¹⁷⁴ Udine,¹⁷⁵ Bergamo¹⁷⁶ /2/, Ascoli,¹⁷⁷ Abba),¹⁷⁸ followed by the area in the continental hinterland of Croatia and Dalmatia (4) (the counties of Lika, Luka, Krbava, Modruš, and Senj)¹⁷⁹ and finally from Croatian Littoral (2) (Karlobag).¹⁸⁰

Since a limited group of sources is considered in the analysis (last wills), based on other private legal documents and relevant literature we

¹⁶² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 10r, 14 April 1539.

¹⁶³ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, ff. 20v-21r, 29 November 1551.

¹⁶⁴ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 31v, 26 August 1550.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., ff. 18v-20v, 27 March 1537.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., f. 32v, 27 August 1550.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., f. 18rv, 28 January 1537.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. III, f. 21rv, 6 January 1541.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. II, ff. 22v-23r, 22 July 1537.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. III, f. 22r, 8 January 1541.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., f. 40r, 8 November 1545.

¹⁷² Ibid., vol. II, f. 21r, 7 June 1537.

¹⁷³ Ibid., vol. IV, f. 10r, 22 March 1545.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. II, f. 31r, 13 November 1539.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. III, f. 6rv, 8 July 1538.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., FJ, kut. 12, vol. 6, f. 13v, 30 September 1549.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., f. 10rv, 28 February 1548.

¹⁷⁸ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 41r, 5 December 1545.

¹⁷⁹ In the sources the immigrants from this area are generally called *morlacho* or *morlacha*. For example, *Luchaç Aliuerouich morlacho*, HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. III, f. 45rv, 7 October 1546; *Lucia Morlaccha*, HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, ff. 14v-15r, 9 March 1550. On Morlachs in historiography, see: Zef Mirdita, *Vlasi u historiografiji* [Vlachs in Historiography], Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest 2004; Kristijan Juran, "Morlaci u Šibeniku između Ciparskoga i Kandijskog rata (1570.-1645.)" [Morlacs in Šibenik between the War of Cyprus and the Candian War (1570-1645)], *Povijesni prilozi*, vol. 34, no. 49/2015, pp. 163-210.

¹⁸⁰ HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 35rv, 15 May 1550.

can conclude that the area from which immigrants arrived in Rab in this period is even wider, but mainly covers the four main directions mentioned above.¹⁸¹

2. The profession of foreigners in Rab, according to last wills

The analysis of last wills reveals what occupations foreigners took up in the commune of Rab: we know the occupation of nineteen testators (18 men and one woman). It is not possible to determine the profession of the eight testators: neither did the notary explicitly state these individuals' occupations, nor can they be gleaned from the broader context of the document.

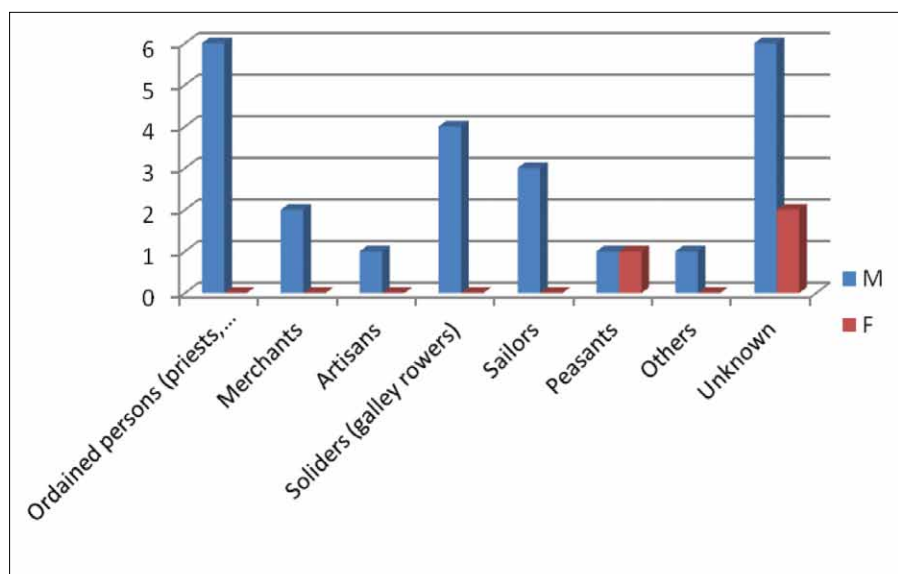


Figure 7: The Professions of foreigners in Rab according to last wills

According to the analysis of the newcomers' occupation (see: Fig. 7), the sample of last wills demonstrates that the greater part of foreigners in Rab

¹⁸¹ In the literature and other sources, other places from which immigrants arrived in the commune of Rab are mentioned. On the Apennine Peninsula: Asta, Lombardy, Castronovo, Brescia, Bergamo, Esta, Venice, Verona, Treviso, Fano, Pesaro, Luca, then from the eastern Adriatic communes and microregions: Istria, Rijeka, Lošinj, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Trogir, Privlaka near Zadar, Nadin, Nin, Novigrad, Hvar, Komiza; from the Croatian and Dalmatian hinterland: Podgorje, Petrinja, Lika, Karlovac, Bužane. The Greek islands of Crete and Rhodes are also mentioned. It is known that *aromatarius Gasparo Inglese* and a man called *Baldo Britannicus*, as well as Chancellor *Jacobus de Colonia* (Cologne) also worked in Rab in the first half of the sixteenth century. For more information, see: I. Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, pp. 97-98.

were priests (6), predominantly members of the Franciscan order, who came from Koper, Hvar, Split, Omiš, and the islands of Ugljan to the monastery of the Franciscans *de Obsevantia* of St. Euphemia in Kampor on the island of Rab. Some performed clerical service in the city, for example, the canon Peter Kašić, originally from Pag.¹⁸² Furthermore, foreign soldiers were also present in the commune. They were supposed to board the Rab galley as paid rowers. Those who were wounded in the war arrived in the commune to receive medical treatment. One of them was *ser Antonio Cichulouich de Sybenicho ma habitante come disse a Fiume*. Since he was wounded, he was treated by the surgeon Maroman.¹⁸³ Three foreigners were sailors,¹⁸⁴ another two were merchants,¹⁸⁵ and one was a craftsman.¹⁸⁶ The sources also mention the Morlachs who fled the Ottomans and settled on the island of Rab in the communal district, engaging in agriculture and animal husbandry.¹⁸⁷

One should keep in mind that this analysis only addresses last wills: a quick glance at other types of sources shows that the number of foreigners who took up different professions in the commune of Rab (medical workers, notaries, craftsmen, artists, etc.) was certainly higher. However, this is a separate topic to be addressed by other researchers of Rab's history.

From the above we can conclude that the commune of Rab received foreigners who arrived for business and military reasons from three main areas: from the Apennine Peninsula, other communes and micro-regions of the eastern Adriatic, and from the Croatian and Dalmatian hinterland. Some

¹⁸² HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, ff. 18v-20v, 27 March 1537.

¹⁸³ Ibid., vol. III, ff. 29r-30r, 20 October 1542.

¹⁸⁴ For example, *Zorzi de Lassin cognominato Zorane marinar*. He hailed from Lošinj (the Osor commune), but settled in Rab, got married, and had two children. Ibid., vol. IV, ff. 29r-30r, 22 December 1548. One of his descendants (who was also a namesake) *ser Zorzi Zorane cittadino d'Arbe* later acquired citizenship (*civis Arbi*). HR-DAZd, 28, RB, Gabriel Zaro (hereafter GZ), kut. 18, vol. VI, ff. 10r-11r, 2 September 1591.

¹⁸⁵ One of them was *el spetabil misser Sigismondo Thomma Frola nobil da Besce*, who was a merchant from Krk (Baška). He was waiting for his ship from Apulia, full of merchandise, but in the meantime fell ill. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, ff. 20v-21r, 29 November 1551.

¹⁸⁶ The sources mention Magdalena, daughter of the late Nicholas Stančić, who married Gregory Pukorić, a sculptor from Zadar, who had already died by the time she composed her will. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. II, f. 32v, 27 August 1550.

¹⁸⁷ *Lucia Morlaccha*. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FJ, kut. 12, vol. VI, f. 14v, 9. III. 1550; *Luchaç Aliuerouich morlacho habitante in Pasturano*. HR-DAZd, 28, RB, FF, kut. 10, vol. IV, f. 41r, 26. VI. 1552. The founding of settlements by the continental population from the area of Lika and Krbava, who fled the Ottomans and inhabited the Croatian islands (Rab among them), was recorded in sources at the end of the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth century. For more information, see: B. Grgin, *Doseljenici iz Hrvatske*, pp. 539-540.

foreigners successfully integrated into the community. They acquired real estate on the island and started families. Thanks to their economic activity, some became prominent members of local society (medical workers, notaries, artists, etc.)

However, in late Renaissance, at the beginning of the early modern era, it is evident that the presence of foreigners in the commune is significantly lower compared to the previous period, which shows that Rab was no longer as attractive a destination for foreigners, due to wartime circumstances, the economic crisis, and the consequent deterioration of the labor market.

CONCLUSION

Based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of primary sources (mostly last wills), as well as insight into other types of sources and literature, certain conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the mobility of individuals from certain strata of Rab society should certainly be emphasized. This primarily refers to citizens, patricians, and foreigners who traveled outside the commune of Rab. Inhabitants of the city and the communal district were significantly less involved in travel outside the commune: they were more mobile locally, within the commune. Peasants from the district came from the village to the city to sell their products, and together with the inhabitants of Rab visited the city to make certain deals or participate in religious events (Sundays and holidays, fraternal meetings and processions, funeral customs, etc.). The analysis also reveals that those members of society who traveled on business also partook in spatial mobility (sailors, merchants, craftsmen, priests, and soldiers, but also representatives of the administrative government / a count who hailed from Venice / or captains of the galleys, or those who were engaged in ecclesiastical or secular diplomacy).

The gender analysis of travellers from Rab indicated that men were significantly more mobile than women. Men left the commune primarily for business or military reasons, while women left Rab for religious (pilgrimage) or existential reasons (exile from the commune, search for work (maids, servants) or a better life).

The analysis has shown that, according to family status, those who were single traveled the most, whether unmarried, widowed, or celibate (members of the clergy). They traveled for business, military, religious, and personal reasons. The mobility of those who were married and had families is related exclusively to their business activity or military service: they traveled to provide for their families (sailors, merchants, and artisans). A group of military conscripts was forced into mobility (serving on galleys). These were

exclusively men, mostly residents of the city or the communal district, or foreigners. Some of them were unmarried and left their parents on the island of Rab, while others had families of their own, which they had to leave for a time: they decided to record their last wills for fear that they would not return from the galley. There is also a strong intimate religious element in their last wills, and it pertains to vows. They point out that, should they return alive and well from the galley, they would make a personal pilgrimage to a particular pilgrimage site, most often in Italy, or order someone to do it instead, for the salvation of the testator's soul (*pro anima testatoris*). The reasons and motives that encouraged the inhabitants of the commune of Rab to travel outside the communal space were mostly professional, military, religious, and existential, and were not related to family or personal motives. During their lives, the testators from Rab mainly visited destinations closer to Rab, primarily in the Apennine Peninsula (Italian regions, towns, and communes), or along the eastern Adriatic coast. Mobility is a reversible process that includes both departure and arrival, emigration, and immigration. Based on a quantitative analysis of last wills, a significantly lower proportion of foreigners is noticeable in Rab in the inspected twenty-year period (1534–1554) when compared to the second half of the fifteenth century. Firstly, this corroborates the fact that the economic crisis caused by wartime circumstances, among other things, brought about the depopulation of the commune. Furthermore, owing to these economic and demographic circumstances, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Rab was no longer seen as attractive commune by foreigners looking for business opportunities. However, although to a lesser extent than in the previous period, foreigners arrived in Rab for military, business, or existential reasons. Foreigners can be traced back to three main areas: the Apennine Peninsula, the eastern Adriatic coast, and the Croatian and Dalmatian hinterland.

Finally, the analysis of the last wills in the twenty-year period in the mid-sixteenth century has pointed out the reasons that either encouraged actors to leave the commune or come to the island. Historiography would greatly benefit from similar studies of other eastern Adriatic communes, as this would allow for a comparative analysis of the processes laid out in this article.

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Zrinka Novak

**Prilog proučavanju prostorne pokretljivosti stanovnika
dalmatinskih komuna u ranonovovjekovnom razdoblju.
Primjer Raba sredinom 16. stoljeća**

Sažetak

Na temelju proučavanja objavljenih i neobjavljenih vrela, u prvome redu rapskih notarskih spisa pohranjenih u Državnom arhivu u Zadru, pravnih i narativnih vrela rapske provenijencije te relevantne literature, u prilogu se razmatra proces mobilnosti stanovništva iz rapske komune u različita talijanska središta (Venecija, Rim, Assisi, Padova) i pokrajine (Marche, Apulija, Furlanija) ili pak duž istočno-jadranske obale (Krk, Obrovac, Vis, Dubrovnik) kao i obrnuti proces dolaska stranaca u rapsku komunu zbog poslovnih, vojnih egzistencijalnih i drugih razloga, i to iz četiri glavna pravca: sa područja istočne jadranske obale (komuna, gradova i mikroregija), iz kontinentalnog hrvatskog i dalmatinskoga zaleđa, iz Kvarnera i s Apeninskoga poluotoka. U radu je izvršena kvantitativna i kvalitativna analiza dvjestotinjak privatno pravnih dokumenata (testamenata) stanovnika rapske komune sredinom XVI. stoljeća (u razdoblju 1534.-1554.) Rapski oporučitelji, koji su iz različitih motiva odlazili na kraće ili duže putovanje izvan komune, ili su pak dolazili u rapsku komunu iz različitih razloga, raščlanjeni su prema društvenome statusu, spolu, zanimanju i obiteljskome statusu. Ujedno su analizirani različiti razlozi za odlazak na putovanje rapskih putnika: religiozni, poslovni, osobni, avanturistički, egzistencijalni, vojni itd. Na kraju se donosi zaključak o mobilnosti stanovnika jedne male otočke komune kakva je bila rapska te o značenju putovanja i migracija za stanovništvo rapske komune početkom ranoga novoga vijeka u okviru onovremenih okolnosti (rat, gospodarska kriza) koje su utjecale na odluku o odlasku iz komune, dolasku na Rab ili pak ostanku u komuni.

Ključne riječi: mobilnost, migracije, rapska komuna, putnici, razlozi prostorne mobilnosti, rano moderno doba

III.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TRAVELOGUES: GENRES, THEORY, SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Irena Radej Miličić

RENAISSANCE *ARS APODEMICA* — THE FIRST THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR WRITING TRAVELOGUES

Abstract: The paper examines whether there is a connection in content or in form between European apodemical 16th-century texts and some travelogue texts of Croatian authors from the same period. Two of them are taken into account, one of them very popular and the other one completely unknown in its times: “*Libellus de itineribus in Turciam*” by Feliks Petančić and “*Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Husztii*”, a travelogue by a Turkish captive Juraj Hus. While in the earlier, medieval period there was much similarities and content/form congruence between pilgrim travelogues, in the latter phase, the apodemical subgenre shows less traces of influence on Croatian authors.

Key words: travelogue, hodoeporic, apodemics, Renaissance, pilgrimages, theory of travel

When discussing travelogue beyond its literary status, researchers usually agree how valuable it is as historiographic source and emphasize its three main phases. It emerges as a separate genre in antiquity being present as a part of, or as a whole text both in fictitious and factual forms.¹ It transits into its medieval phase which consists mainly (but not exclusively) of

¹ Darko Novaković (trans. and ed.), “Ksenofont Efeški, Efeške Priče. Nepoznat autor, pripovijest o Apoloniju, kralju tirskome” [Xenophon of Ephesus, Ephesian Tales. Unknown Author, Tale of Apollonius, the King of Tyre], *Biblioteka Latina et Graeca*, knj. 2, Zagreb: VPA – Vjesnikova press agencija 1980, pp. 21-25.

describing pilgrimages, i. e. the itineraries, obligations and listings of tools and accessories of pilgrims on various types of their religious journeys. It is a vast body of texts spanning for many centuries, with quite fixed set of generic rules – descriptions of holy sites, instructions for usual or mandatory rites and prayers and listings for all the necessary equipment and money.² It could even contain a small dictionary of useful words and phrases.³ A pilgrim travelogue was sometimes also viewed as a highly revered certificate of perfected religious journey (containing one or many *salvus conductus*, permissions to pass through a certain terrain under responsibility of a local church or monastery) and was regarded as a very desirable step to obtaining a social promotion. And last but not at all least – a pilgrim, *peregrinus*, could also be a soldier, *miles*,⁴ accompanying, or not, his knight in a crusade⁵ (which, as in example of Zadar, did not necessarily fight against non-Christian infidels, but for the interest of church).⁶ A persistence of the term *peregrinatio* throughout Renaissance as a *terminus technicus* meaning *travel*, *journey* is probably best explained as an example of lexicological routine, or heavy-footedness. There are well fitting examples of a pilgrim travelogues by Croatian 16th century authors; Bartol Đurđević and Bonifatius Drakolica being the most notable of them.⁷

Finally, at the beginning of the 16th century, the mindset for a travelogue as we today know it started to form. The aim of this paper is to define and describe some prominent milestones in formation of the most significant travelogue forms in Renaissance and to establish whether there are common traits between Croatian travelogue texts and European travelogue practice of that time.

Pilgrimage reports and travelogues, the most common form of travel writing in the Middle Ages, directly connect medieval period with the times in which new geographic, scientific and political challenges commenced to emerge.

² Paul Riant, *Expéditions Et Pèlerinages Des Scandinaves En Terre Sainte Au Temps Des Croisades*, Paris 1865, p. 444-445.

³ Irena Miličić, "Teoretičari, hodočasnici, činovnici: tri vrste renesansnih putopisnih tekstova" [Theoreticians, Pilgrims, Officials: Three Types of Renaissance Travelogue Texts] (hereafter *Teoretičari, hodočasnici*), *Povijesni prilozi* 38/2010, p. 47.

⁴ Zoran Ladić, *Odjek pada tvrđave Accon 1291. u Hrvatskoj. O križarskoj vojni kao vidu hodočašća* [The Echo of the Fall of the Fort of Acre 1291 in Croatia. On Crusades as a Form of Pilgrimage] (hereafter *Odjek pada tvrđave Accon*), *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, vol. 16/1998, pp. 44-46.

⁵ Lelja Dobronić, *Viteški redovi. Templari i Ivanovci u Hrvatskoj* [Knights Order. Templars and Hospitaller Knights], Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost 1984.

⁶ Z. Ladić, *Odjek pada tvrđave Accon*, p. 46.

⁷ I. Miličić, *Teoretičari, hodočasnici*, pp. 45-53.

Although it proved itself as quite a persistent travelogue subgenre, there were many reasons why pilgrimage itself was fading as an exclusive reason for partaking in a journey, and why slowly but surely new forms of travelling and travel writing were forming already during 14th and especially 15th century. Main reasons for that were advances in naval engineering and geography that led to bold new geographical and scientific discoveries, (e.g. in fine mechanics and watchmaking, which later, in 1730, finally resulted in discovery of longitude by John Harrison). Also, there was a growing awareness of irreverence and bigotry of the clergy, and the ever louder voices from the protestants warned that organization of pilgrimages was more and more plainly commercial and hypocritical. That was the main reason why the phenomenon of pilgrim travel began to grow more and more spiritually empty and religiously unconvincing, and the texts less and less authentic and motivated. A new self awareness was starting to form following the discoveries and conquests of new parts of the world, the argumentation for missions in new lands, plans and reports European kings and bishops made of their journeys with neatly described political goals and financial expenses – and it made the somewhat simple-minded medieval curiosity⁸ more creative and more prone to critical understanding. Also, the relatively simple medieval *regimina*, set of rules for pilgrim's journey were less and less sufficient to the Renaissance traveller. All of this was setting the path to a different set of reader's priorities and expectations: the readers expected better descriptions of roads, distances and destinations, of travel means and vehicles; more than simple rules and prescripts, they were expected to flatly believe, they began to value results of observation and exploration – and that was when a travelogue of modern times started to be formed.

We can point to specific years, namely 1502 and 1869, as marking the beginning and ending of a specific subgenre of the Renaissance travelogue, with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries representing the zenith of its production. The name of the genre is *ars apodemica*, i.e. "the art of travelling", a grand and respectable theoretical system upheld by an entire generation of the European intellectual elite. It was in 1502 when Conrad Celtis, a German "Erzhumanist", published a work called *Hodoeporica*.⁹ The verb ἀποδημέω means "to go on a trip or journey" and it often collocated or was used synonymously with the term *hodoeporica*, or *hodoeporicon liber* from ὁδοιπορεύω.

⁸ On the term (and the types) of curiosity in travel much has been said, but here two of the most important titles should be mentioned: Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: Boydell 1989; Justin Stagl, "A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800", *Studies in Anthropology and History* (hereafter *A History of Curiosity*), Vol. 13, Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers – Psychology Press 1995.

⁹ Hermann Wiegand, "Hodoeporica. Studien zur neulateinischer Reisedichtung des Deutschen Kulturraums im 16. Jahrhundert", *Saecula Spiritualia*, Band 12/1984.

Hodoeporica was the name of the versified collection of classical travel texts compiled by Conrad Celtis, an esteemed and versatile humanist of that time, usually referred to as the discoverer of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. He is also known for writing Latin poetry and for publishing a text about the town of Nuremberg, *De origine, situ, moribus et institutis Norimbergae libellus*, as well as an illustrated edition of Tacitus' *Germania*. His work can be considered as a sort of forerunner to the three hundred works by the most renowned scholars of that time, who published all kinds of theoretical works on the topic of travel.

Generally, what transpires from the intellectual ethos of that time is that it was primarily concerned with organising the growing amount of knowledge, and especially with underlining the importance of "methodisation". This seems to be the most relevant cause for the almost obsessive representing and sorting conducted in academic circles of that time. The extent of that phenomenon might best be illustrated by looking at the outlines of the enormous work *Theatrum vitae humanae*,¹⁰ written by the Swiss physician Theodor Zwinger from Basel. In writing his book, Zwinger built on and perfected the concept developed by his stepfather Conrad Lycosthene, also a famed humanist and polymath. The work was first published in 1565. It is no easy task describing this *magnum opus* succinctly, but it might be said that Justin Stagl,¹¹ one of the most thorough researchers of this subgenre, came closest in stating that *Theatrum vitae humanae* is "the biggest encyclopaedia of common topics in the Renaissance." There is no doubt that this book did nothing to mask its pretensions to being the most comprehensive work of that kind in every sense of the word, as Stagl describes it. In the first edition, Zwinger presents what he calls educational travels from antiquity and gives suggestions for further reading: Homer, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, St. Jerome. His second work was entitled *Methodus apodemica in eorum gratiam qui cum fructu in quocumque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt ... cum aliis, tum quattuor praesertim Athenarum vivis exemplis illustrata*, published in Basel in 1577. The concept of this work is one of the best examples of the "zeitgeist": it comprises definitions of various types of travel and all kinds of terms pertaining to travel. Each term offers a deductive analysis of the concept behind it. The travels are classified according to their aim, means, forms, and subject

¹⁰ The full title speaks for itself: *Theatrum vitae humanae. Omnium fere eorum, quae in hominum cadere possunt, Bonorum atque Malorum EXEMPLA historica, Ethicae philosophiae praeceptis accommodata, et in libros XIX digesta. A Conrado Lycosthene iam pridem inchoatum: nunc vero Theodori Zwingeri studio et labore eo usque deductum, ut omnium ordinum hominibus ad vitam praeclare instituendam, maiorem in modum utile et iucundum.*

¹¹ Justin Stagl – Claus Orda – Chistel Kämpfer (eds.), *Apodämiken. Eine Räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18 Jahrhunderts* (hereafter *Apodämiken*). Paderborn-München: Schöningh 1983, p. 106.

matter, or, as the author states, according to the Aristotelian philosophy of scientific taxonomy.

It is important to state that until the eighteenth century Zwinger had undeservingly been considered as the founder of the scientific methodology of travel, although the person actually meriting the title was Petrus Ramus, or Pierre de la Ramée. Ramus was Zwinger's professor, a philosopher at the Sorbonne, whose innate sense for *ordo rerum* gave all his readers, travellers-researchers, and their readership a sense that the systematic observations made during the course of their travels, as well as their evaluation of compiled knowledge, would be methodically and systematically presented following the same rational principles.¹² He was a logician and mathematician, set on improving Aristotle's philosophy of science, and the person most to be credited with laying the foundations upon which the humanist apademic idea rested. Ramus' most important works are the influential *Institutiones dialecticae* (*Aristotelis animadversiones*), published in 1543, *Dialectique* from 1555, and *Basilea ad senatum populumque Basiliensem* from 1569. Ramus had to leave Paris due to the civil war and his intolerant opponents. He lived in Basel, another intellectual capital of the time, and promoted his version of advanced Aristotelian logic, considering it practical and universally applicable. Ramus toured German university cities, and it was probably for this reason that he was popular among the intellectual and academic elites of that time, exerting great influence on his contemporaries. His story is a sad one – he was killed in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre on his return to Paris in 1572. Ramism nonetheless became the generally accepted method: Aristotelian logic was reshaped, allowing for the acquisition and systematic ordering of useful knowledge.

Zwinger and Ramus should undoubtedly be counted among the key contemporary authors in the discipline. However, apademic literature gave rise to more than forty titles in the sixteenth century alone, and by 1869, the year commonly taken as the one in which the last apademic text appeared, to 291 texts in total.¹³

Among those is a title that influenced the Renaissance theory of the travelogue to such an extent that researchers tend to take the year of its pub-

¹² It is important to stress this once again: methodization, *μέθοδος*, by Ramus', Zwinger's and other apademic writers thinking of that time, enables two important functional travelling "platforms": first, a thoroughly planned individual, privately created travel for private, enlightening purpose. Second, a travel created to serve an administrative purpose; therefore, it had to be systematically presented and rationally explained. Here we can see how far the thinking of the time has moved on since medieval pattern of travel writings.

¹³ Justin Stagl – Claus Orda – Chistel Kämpfer (eds.), *Apodämiken*, p. 119.

lication as a *terminus a quo* for dating scientific apodemical texts. This work should therefore be pointed out before listing other authors in chronological order. Hieronymus Turler, a jurist from Saxony, managed to publish his work in 1574, following a two-year search for a publisher.¹⁴ *De peregrinatione et agro Neapolitano libri II. Omnibus peregrinantibus utiles ac necessarii: ac in eorum gratiam nunc primum editi* proved to be immensely influential and was translated into English the following year (*The Traveiler*, 1575). The book was listed in an anonymous anthology of the most prominent contemporary theoreticians of travelogues, named simply *De arte peregrinandi libri II* and published in Nürnberg. Clearly relying on Quintilianus in its division of content, the book offered the following order in the description of unknown lands: *nomen, figura, capacitas, iurisdictio, situs*, and featured a description of the Neapolitan kingdom as an example. The term *ars apodemica* was at the time not yet in use, as it was coined by Hilarius Pyrckmair in *Peregrinatio nihil aliud sit, quam labor invisendi et perlustrandi alienas terras, non a quibusvis, nec temere, sed ab idoneis suscipiendus, ut vel artem, quam addiscere vel exercere cupiunt, probe tandem calleant, vel ea, quorum usus aliquis in communi vita est, apud exteros videant, discant, et diligenter observent, iisque sibi, suis, et patriae si opus sit, prodesse possint*. The work's greatest contribution was a definition that many theoreticians later repeated and varied. Turler is known as the author of a university judicial textbook on the *Codex Iustinianus*,¹⁵ and as the translator of contemporary best-sellers, such as Machiavelli and Castiglione.

Hilarius Pyrckmair whom we have just mentioned as the creator of the term *ars apodemica*, published *Comentariolus de arte apodemica, seu Vera Peregrinandi ratione*, or, as he called it, "his little work", in 1577, in Ingolstadt, in the period between his two journeys through Italy. He was a physician and a Catholic, something that undoubtedly set him apart from the majority of apodemical authors, who at this early stage were oftentimes Protestant. This is probably the very reason why he thought that the educational journey and pilgrimage were akin: every pilgrimage undertaken with the right intention is undertaken either for educational or religious purposes (*Omnis peregrinatio quae recta ratione suscipitur, aut Religionis aut studiorum causa instituitur*). On page 8 we find a precise instruction on what kind of person should be called a pilgrim (meaning a traveller): the person who travels through foreign lands and observes diligently all that needs to be known, and who un-

¹⁴ A fact he states in a letter to his friend G. Bersmann, dating from 1572, *Nova literaria Germaniae Anni 1703*.

¹⁵ *Oikonomia Institutionum Iustiniani Imperatoris. Totius Iuris Civilis Epitomen continens. Scripta in Gratiam Studiosorum*, published in Wittenberg 1569.

dertakes his journey not unadvisedly, but wisely, motivated by the common good, honour, and glory, who lets not a frivolous cause detain him from his purpose, but attends diligently to the causes of his travel.¹⁶

Zwinger, whose work (*Methodus apodemica*) was published in the same year, quotes Pyrckmair, stating that it was from him that he took the term *apodemicus*.

Pyrckmair's *Comentariolus* was also published in a Nürnberg anthology, entitled *De arte peregrinandi libri II*. A later anonymous writer summarised Pyrckmair's concept of describing towns, lands, and peoples in a lucid and transparent synopsis published in *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae* by Nathan Chytraeus in 1594. The synopsis continued to emerge in various works until the seventeenth century.

Nathan Chytraeus was a professor of Latin in Rostock and an esteemed neo-Latin poet. In 1568, he published a book of versified travelogues in hexameters, describing journeys to Paris, England, Venice, Rome, Naples and other places (*Hodoeporicon, continens itinera Parisiense Anglicum Venetum Romanum Neapolitanum etc. Recitatum Rostochii...1568.*), which also contained a didactic poem, entitled *Υπομνήματα ὁδοιπορικά*, i.e. Travel Memories. In 1575, he published the first of his two anthologies, *Hodoeporica, sive itineraria a diversis clarissimis doctissimisque viris tum veteribus, tum recentioribus (quorum Catalogum indicat pagina) carmine conscripta*: Travelogues or Descriptions of Journeys of Various Glorious and Learned Men, both Older and Recent Ones, Collected in a Poem. Apart from his own verses, Chytraeus also collected Ausonius' and Scaliger's descriptions of towns. In 1594, he published the above-mentioned anthology *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae*, parts of which brought him immense popularity and were widely quoted over the next two hundred years. The anthology is interesting not only because it contains Chytraeus' own works, but also because it features various descriptions of journeys and roads, different epigrams the author had collected and copied, epigrams about journeys, and – completely in tune with Ramist practice – synoptic tables which highlight what travellers should turn their attention to during travel: *In itineribus observandorum Σύνοψις*.

When discussing anthologies, one cannot forgo mentioning Nicolaus Reusner's *Hodoeporicum sive itinerarium totius fere orbis libri VII. Opus Historicum, Ethicum, Physicum, Geographicum*, or Seven Books of Travelogues of Almost

¹⁶ "Vocamus eum aliarum terrarum idoneum perlustratorem et diligentem earum rerum observatorem, quae scitu sunt et necessariae et utiles, quique suam peregrinationem non temeritate quadam, sed utilitate publica, honestate et gloria motus prudenter instituat, neque levi causa se a proposito suo distrahi aut impediri patiatur sed iis rebus quarum gratia peregrinatur subinde sedulo invigilet."

the Entire World. A Historical, Ethical, Physical and Geographical Opus; a work at least as popular as those by Chytraeus, but much more significant in the eyes of Croatian authors. It was first published in 1580 in Basel by Reusner's brother Jeremias. The book was reprinted in 1592, and it is interesting for several reasons. The synoptic tables enclosed in the addendum *Orbis terrarum divisio* do not, in this case, merely describe the geography, like some sort of verbal atlas, but also analyse the reasons for embarking on a journey.



Figure 1: *Orbis Terrarum divisio* from Reusner's *Hodoeporicum sive itinerarium totius fere orbis libri VII*

As an apodemic and a traveller in the narrow sense of the word, Reusner also proved himself in other works, for instance in works on Germany and Italy, *De Italia libri II quorum primus regionum, alter urbium Italiae descriptiones continet ...item elogia in urbes Italiae poetica et oratoria* from 1585 and *Germania*

sive Maiestas, gloria et potentia from 1605.¹⁷ He conceived this anthology in a very ambitious manner. Following the collector's impulse, he listed *excerpta* from the travels of classical travellers – Ovid, Ceres, Proserpine, Orpheus, Claudius Numatianus, adding didactic examples from prominent theoreticians like Zwinger, the Chytraeus brothers, and Fabricius' *Memorabilia*. His work also includes the notable Croatian Latinists Janus Pannonius and his *Carmen de itineribus C. Iacobi Veneti*¹⁸ and Felix Petančić's "Booklet on Roads to Turkey", *Libellus de itineribus in Turciam*.¹⁹ One cannot but comment on how interesting the concept of this collection is: it regards the travelogue genre as a whole, disregarding its non-/fictiveness: it never clearly states if the traveller/storyteller is a real or imaginary person, whether the journey really happened or whether it was just imagined and told by the poet.²⁰

There have been objections from researchers on such methodological sloppiness (e. g. Killy, Brenner).²¹ It is noteworthy that Croatian authors are placed at the very end of the book, and, hence, at the very end of readers' attention and interest. This decision can probably be ascribed to the fact that Croatian humanist authors rarely maintained contact or collaborated with their European colleagues. Janus Pannonius comes to mind, as does Anthony Vrančić. There is something almost emotional in this functional apademic meeting of Croatian and European humanism.²² Not only do Croatian humanists mostly appear in the role of, as Marianna Birnbaum calls them, "the tragic twins of Castiglione's *Cortigiano*", but are shattered territorially and often existentially. They are placed at the very end of European humanistic anthologies, and their entire production is dubbed off-centre or derivative.²³

¹⁷ Ovidii Nasonis Cereris pervagatio totius orbis terarum seu Proserpinae raptus folio, Orphei Thracis Argonautica folio, Rutilii Claudii Numatiani iter Pisanum/Romanum etc.

¹⁸ Iani Pannonii Quinqueecclesiensis episcopi, carmen de itineribus, C. Iacobi Antonii Marcelli Veneti, Basel 1580, pp. 643-655.

¹⁹ Basel 1580, p. 659.

²⁰ In J. Stagl's otherwise well-conceived and useful bibliography, Reusner is, for some reason, insufficiently covered: some of his works are omitted (*Italia...* and *Germania...*) although they are perfectly accessible in several big libraries, and the second edition of the *Hodoeporicum sive...* is not mentioned at all.

²¹ Peter J. Brenner, *Der Reiseberich in der Deutschen Literatur: ein Forschungsüberblick als Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte*, Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur, 2. Sonderheft, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1990.; Walther Killy (ed.) *Literaturlexikon. Begriffe, Realien, Methoden*, Vol. 14. München: Bertelsmann-Lexikon-Verlag 1993.

²² Marianna Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century*. (hereafter *Humanists in a Shattered World*), Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers Inc., 1986, p. 48.

²³ Ibid.

The latter must be understood in the context of comparison with European humanists like Thomas More or Erasmus. Nevertheless, Croatian figures of strong expression and influence like Janus Pannonius in the fifteenth and Anthony Vrančić in the sixteenth century can be seen rather as exceptions than as the rule.

Another twenty authors need to be mentioned in order to provide the full picture of the Renaissance theory of travel and travelogue. One might even call this intellectual society a network, looking at how closely-knit it sometimes appeared. Many of them knew each other, assembled in *sodalitates* (the *Hungariana* and *Danubiana* were formed by Celtis), worked together in *res publicae litterariae*, wrote to each other, or published works together in anthologies and collections on travelogue theory.

One of them is Helius Eobanus Hessus, who published his description of a journey to Erasmus, *A profectione ad Desiderium Erasmum hodoeporicon* in Erfurt in 1518. Hessus described his encounter with Erasmus and added poetical descriptions of towns, like that of Nürnberg, *urbs Norimberga illustrata*.

In 1538, Erasmus' student and friend Sterck van Ringhelberg (Joachim Fortius Ringelbergius) published an ambitious plan to reform studies according to humanistic principles, *Lucubrationes, vel potius absolutissima kyklopaideia nempè liber de ratione studii utriusque linguae Grammaticae. Dialecticae, Rhetoricae, Mathematicae & sublimioris Philosophiae multa. Quorum elegchos subsequenti pagina enumeratur. Atque haec omnia eo iudicio & ordine sunt tradita, ut vel sola cuique meliorum litterarum studioso satis ad summum ingenii cultum esse possint*.²⁴ There is an extremely charming chapter on *peregrinatio academica*, academical travelling, entitled *Mutandum esse subinde locum*, in which he advises the reader to change places as often as possible, *ad captandas maiorum rerum occasiones*, quoting didactic examples from Caesar or Alexander the Great. The argument in favour of professional travel goes as follows: after you have tired your listeners with continuous lecturing in one town, you will have to transit to another, where you will gather new ones (*Postquam enim in una urbe continua lectione eos qui te audiunt, fatigaveris, transire licebit in aliam, ubi rursus novos habiturus sis*).²⁵

Erasmus himself commented on the art of travelling in two of his letters: the epilogue (*Epistola ad lectorem*) of his *Colloquia familiaria* from 1526, and in his treatise *De ratione studii*. The latter is worth quoting in full:

In colloquio de visendo loca sacra, cohibetur superstitiosus & immodicus quorundam affectus, qui summa pietate esse ducit vidisse Hierosolymam & huc per

²⁴ Basileae: apud Barptolomaeum Westhemerum 1538.

²⁵ M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World*, p. 119.

tanta terrarum marisque spacia currunt senes episcopi, relicto grege, qui curandus erat: huc viri principes relicta familia ac ditione: huc mariti relictis domi liberis et uxore, quorum moribus et ac pudicitiae necessarius erat custos: huc adolescentes ac fœminae, non sine gravi discrimine morum et integritatis. Quidam etiam iterum atque iterum recurrunt, nec aliud faciunt per omnem vitam & interim superstitioni, inconstantiae, stultitiae, temeritati praetexitur religionis titulus ac desertor suorum contra doctrinam Pauli, sanctimoniae laudem aufert, ac sibi quoque pietatis omnes numeros explesse videtur. (...) Vir quidam praepotens decreverat ante mortem in-visere Hierosolymam, pio quidem animo, sed parum felici consilio. Rebus igitur ordinatis, facultatum omnium, uxoris quam grauidam reliquit, oppidorum & arcium curam tutelamque, commisit Archiepiscopo ceu parenti. Ubi rumor allatus est, hominem in ea peregrinatione perisse, Archiepiscopus pro parente gessit praedonem, occupavit possessiones omnes defuncti: denique & arcem munitiorem in quam grauida confugerat, ui expugnauit: & ne superesset ultor atrocissimi facti, grauida comfossa simul cum foetu periit. Nonne pium erat, tali uiro dissuadere periculosam & non necessariam projectionem? (...) Clamat sanctus Hieronymus, Non magnum est Hierosolymis fuisse, sed bene vixisse magnum est.²⁶

“When talking about sacred places which should be seen, we find superstitions and different immodest feelings – that is why old bishops traverse such vast swathes of sea and land to see Jerusalem and leave the flock they should guard. For this reason, prominent men, too, leave their families and property, husbands leave their wives and children whose habits and decency are in need of a guardian, the young and the women who do not discern proper shame and integrity. They all go and travel all the time and do nothing else and show superstition and senselessness; they thoughtlessly and under the pretence of religious causes do the opposite of the doctrine of St. Paul, leaving what is theirs and praising sanctimony. One arrogant man, determined to see Jerusalem before his death, religious but lacking common sense, prepared and organized everything, gave authority, leaving his pregnant wife and all his household to the archbishop as guardian. After rumour spread that he had perished in journey, the archbishop turned into a plunderer; took hold of all his possessions, and forcibly chased the pregnant wife out of the fortified tower where she had fled to. She did not survive the most atrocious deed and died together with her child. Would it not have been pious to dissuade such a man from an unnecessary and dangerous journey? St. Jerome exclaims – it is not a big thing to see Jerusalem, but to live properly is.”

²⁶ The pagination of the 1543 Basel edition of the *Colloquia* ends with the *Epicureus* and leaves the *Ad lectorem* unpaginated, as does the Wittemberg edition from 1599. *Epistola* is on pp. 707-727.

Apart from his above-mentioned *Memorabilia*, Georg Fabricius also published the *Itinerum liber* in Basel in 1544. The Italian physician Guilhelmo Gratarolo, too, published his work in Basel, but in 1561. His treatise on diet and hygiene, and on the rules which should be obeyed when travelling on foot, horseback, by carriage, boat, or on sleds, *De regimine iter agentium, vel equitum vel peditum, vel navi, vel curru seu rheda. Viatoribus & peregrinatoribus quibusque utilissimi libri duo, nunc primum editi*, is enriched with moralistic advice. It is reasonable to treat such texts as a sort of a sequel to medieval *Regimina* (which often accompanied pilgrimage travelogues), bearing in mind that those were quite unsystematic and composed randomly.

As we can see, apodemical literature was not published exclusively in the form of books, monographs, or collections. The favoured way of discussing and distributing ideas in the Renaissance was letter-writing, and everyone who had a reputation to keep composed letters on the topic of travelling. Joest Lips, or Iustus Lipsius, was one such name, and in his vast correspondence he addresses the art of travel in many letters. The following three are most noteworthy: to his friend Heinrich Rantzau, Henricus Ranzovius, to Hugo de Bloote (Hugo Plotius), and, finally, to his friend Philippe Lanoy, to whom he directed his famous formulation on how satisfying travelling was (*quid peregrinatione istac quaeras, duo, nisi fallor, utilitatem et voluptatem*).²⁷ The latter is from a letter on how to travel fruitfully: *De ratione cum fructu peregrinandi & praesertim in Italia* from 1578.

We see that some of his addressees were also involved in noteworthy apodemical discussions: in the early seventeenth century, count Rantzau was thought to be the author of some later editions of Meier's *Methodus apodemica, seu peregrinandi perlustrandique urbes et regiones ratio, cum Loysii pervigilium Mercurii*, and de Bloote is cited as the author of *Tabula peregrinationis continens capita politica* from 1629.

If we attempt to draw up a selection of authoritative works on the subject, it is impossible to omit Justin Stagl whose general insight, scope, and bibliographies with few oversights have indebted everyone searching for facts and figures on the Renaissance travelogue.²⁸ Hermann Wiegand's work un-

²⁷ Epist. 1,22, from the 3rd of April 1578.

²⁸ Justin Stagl, "Die Apodemik oder "Reisekunst" als Methodik der Spezialforschung Humanismus bis zur Aufklaerung", Klaus Orda-Christel Kaempfer (eds.), *Apodämiken. Eine Raesonierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, München: Paderborn 1983; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*.

fortunately remains limited to the German cultural context, and the excellent works of Mirco Mitrovich explore only the seventeenth century.

From a big mass of works which shed light on specific phenomena related to travel and travelogues, the ones that discuss it from the standpoint of cultural history have proven to be of much use. One of them is *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, edited by Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubies.²⁹

Another valuable work was penned by Margaret Hodgen, who approaches the early modern obsession with collecting and categorizing from the standpoint of historical anthropology.³⁰

Another useful study is that by Stocking, on the history of anthropology.³¹ Stephen M. Stigler wrote a thought-provoking book on applied mathematics, "The History of Statistics. The Measurement of Uncertainty before 1900".³²

There are two more research fields, or, rather, interdisciplinary subfields, so to speak, which proved to be of immense use when discussing the history of travel: cultural geography and imagology. Both historians and literary theorists can draw inspiration from the works by David Atkinson,³³ Hugo Dyserinck, Joep Leersen, Jean-Marc Moura, and Davor Dukić.

Before we move on to the next chapter, the basic conceptual framework of the Renaissance apodemical methodology of travel should be examined.

A reasonable working hypothesis is that, in spite of the scientific methodology it employed, apodemical writing is not a science (*scientia*), but a skill, or an art (*ars*, *τέχνη*, *prudentia*). The key concepts in its early phase were, notoriously for the time, empiricism, rationalism, and humanism. As time went by, there was a growing insistence on methodisation. The majority of works on this topic stress the importance of humanistic empiricism in understanding not only the Renaissance and its mindset, but especially the worldview of the founding fathers of methodology of travelling and those who followed in their footsteps.³⁴ Their guiding principle was the idea of enhancing and organising knowledge in a taxonomically sound manner for the greater good

²⁹ London: Reaktion Books 1999.

³⁰ Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1964, pp. 115-130.

³¹ George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), "Observers observed. Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork", *History of Anthropology*, vol. 1/1983.

³² Cambridge, Mass., & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University 1986, XVI.

³³ E. g. David Sibley – Peter Jackson – David Atkinson – Neil Washbourne (eds.), *Cultural Geography. A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, London-New York: I.B. Tauris 2007.

³⁴ Justin Stagl, Peter J. Brenner, Magali Sperling Beck, Hermann Wiegand, and Margaret T. Hodgen.

of the public (meaning not the general public, but the *res publica litteraria*) and for the sake of virtue and wisdom, as required by the *studia humanitatis*. The members of the *res publica litteraria* were expected to acquire and cultivate their knowledge by observing, and not by transmission of faith or rumours.³⁵ Disseminating acquired knowledge was equally important: by travel reports, travelogues, and acquired artefacts. In its most developed phase, the apodemics applied methodisation to such an extent that they not only prescribed how to keep one's good health when travelling, what to read, and what company to keep – all of it according to the means of travel, of course. They also introduced distinctions for various professions. *Oratio de peregrinatione studii medicinalis ergo suscepta, deque summa utilitate eius medicinae partis, quae medicamentorum simplicium facultates explicat* was published in Prague in 1566 by Laurentius Gryllo. One of the most influential works of that time was written by Thomas Bartolino and published in 1674 in Copenhagen. *De peregrinatione medica ad Oligerum Jacobem nepotem suum et filios Casparum Bartholinum et Christophorum Bartholinum*. Another such work, entitled *Oratio Academica de Medicis peregrinationibus quam die 15. Junii 1792 publico recitavit J. P. Frank*, was published in the eighteenth century.³⁶

Rules applied to behaviour upon return, too: hubris, inventing, and lying were as good as forbidden, and considered to be a sign of bad taste.³⁷ Georg Paul Hönn wrote a jurist's companion, *Iter iuridicum, Quod iurium cultor per Belgium, Angliam, Galliam et Italiam jucunda cum utilitate instituere potest*, published in Wittemberg in 1688. Aside from such professional stratifications, there were also social ones, but in a later phase, when Latin began to fall out of use. There were regulations prescribing what fine young gentlemen should and should not do: British authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were especially thorough (Howard James: *The english Monsieur*, Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son*, Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman. Fashioning him absolute, in the most necessarie and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie, that may be required in a noble gentleman Whereunto is annexed a description of the order of a Maine Bataille or Pitched Field, eight severall wayes: also certaine necessarie instructions concerning the Art of Fishing with other Additions*.)

A good deal of this paper could be subsumed under the title used by some of the most important researchers in their works; "Studioli in viaggio"

³⁵ J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, p. 65.

³⁶ In: *Delectus opusculorum medicorum. Libri XII, Paduae 1785-1792*.

³⁷ Percy Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, Berkley: University of California 1962; New York: Reprint Dover Publications 1980.

(Maćzak),³⁸ “Die Gelehrte Reisende” (Bausinger)³⁹ or Ohler.⁴⁰ It was in the sixteenth century that two important social traits which shaped the idea of travel as an intellectual task (or challenge) took form:

1) The intellectual flair of the genre is stressed, which was a result of the intellectuals’ conscious and intentional separation from the rest of society.⁴¹

2) The writers’ pronounce material uncertainty and dependence on their patrons, as suggested by the following passage from “Viaggi e viaggiatori nell’ Europa moderna”:

“Anzitutto, essi rappresentano un gruppo di persone molto mobili, in secondo luogo già *ex definitione* sono inclini a scrivere, infine nel mondo della scienza e nella vita degli scienziati i viaggi svolgevano un ruolo diverso agli inizi e verso la fine del periodo trattato. (...) Tra gli studiosi del XVI secolo, che si sono distinti nella storia dei viaggi e del turismo, prevalgono i filologi, i giuristi, i filosofi e i collezionisti di curiosità e di rarità. (...) La situazione economica degli studiosi – complicata e sovente incerta – la loro dipendenza dal mecenatismo, dalle donazioni e dagli onorari d’autore, creavano in loro un interesse indispensabile per le questioni di ordine materiale. ...”⁴² (“First and foremost, they are a group of people who are extremely mobile, and except that, they are by definition prone to writing. Finally, in the world of science and in the lives of the scientists travelling has developed a different role from the one it had in the beginning of the period. (...) Among the scientists of the 16th century in the history of travel and tourism there were prominent philologists, lawyers, philosophers and collectors of rare and curious artefacts. (...) Economic situation for the scientist was often complicated and uncertain and dependant of the benefactors, donations and fees made their interest for the material things unavoidable.”

With this in mind, it seems appropriate to introduce more examples from Croatian authors, apart from the ones that have already been briefly mentioned (Felix Petančić, Anthony Vrančić, Janus Pannonius) and to try to examine whether some contiguous traits can be established or not – and why.

³⁸ Antoni Maćzak, *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell’Europa moderna*, Roma: Laterza 1992.

³⁹ Hermann Bausinger – Klaus Beyrer – Gottfried Korff (eds.) *Reisekultur. Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*. München: C. H. Beck 1999.

⁴⁰ Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveler*.

⁴¹ W. Siebers calls the same phenomenon “Ungleiche Lehrfahrten – Kavaliers und Gelehrte”, Winfried Siebers, “Ungleiche Lehrfahrten – Kavaliers und Gelehrte”, in: H. Bausinger – K. Beyrer – G. Korff (eds.) *Reisekultur*, p. 47.

⁴² A. Maćzak, *Viaggi e viaggiatori*, pp. 280-281.

Felix Petančić, with his *Libellus*,⁴³ was undoubtedly a successful literary contributor to the common cause, namely fighting the Ottoman Empire. He did so by offering maps depicting the routes and roads which could be used to attack, or rather fight back, the Ottomans. He is also one of the best-studied Croatian Latinists and has been the subject of numerous biographical, bibliographical, and analytical works.⁴⁴ In order not to repeat all the findings, let us just state that, according to established facts about his life, there was little time, or rather none at all, when Petančić could have engaged in research into geostrategic matters in person.⁴⁵ So, he was either able to personally explore and “check” the eight roads he describes in fewer than ten *folii* (which also contain a description of Romania and an exhortatory epilogue),⁴⁶ or he used existing literature to present himself as knowledgeable.

⁴³ *De itineribus in Turciam libellus. Felice Petantio cancellario Segniae autore. Vindobonae 1522.*

⁴⁴ Apart from Dragutin Kniewald's *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela* [Felix Petančić and his Works] (Beograd: Naučno delo 1961), and Agostino Pertusi's *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo Vescovo di Dulcigno* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 1980) which discusses possible connections (or even plagiarism) between Petančić and Segono, a more recent work is: Irena Miličić, “Književnost ili povijest? Knjižica o opisu putova u Tursku: Feliks Petančić i njegov renesansni bestseller” [Literature or history? The *itineribus in Turciam libellus*: Feliks Petančić and his Renaissance Bestseller] (hereafter *Književnost ili povijest?*, *Povijesni prilozi* 44/2013, pp. 155-168.

⁴⁵ I. Miličić, *Književnost ili povijest?*, p. 158.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

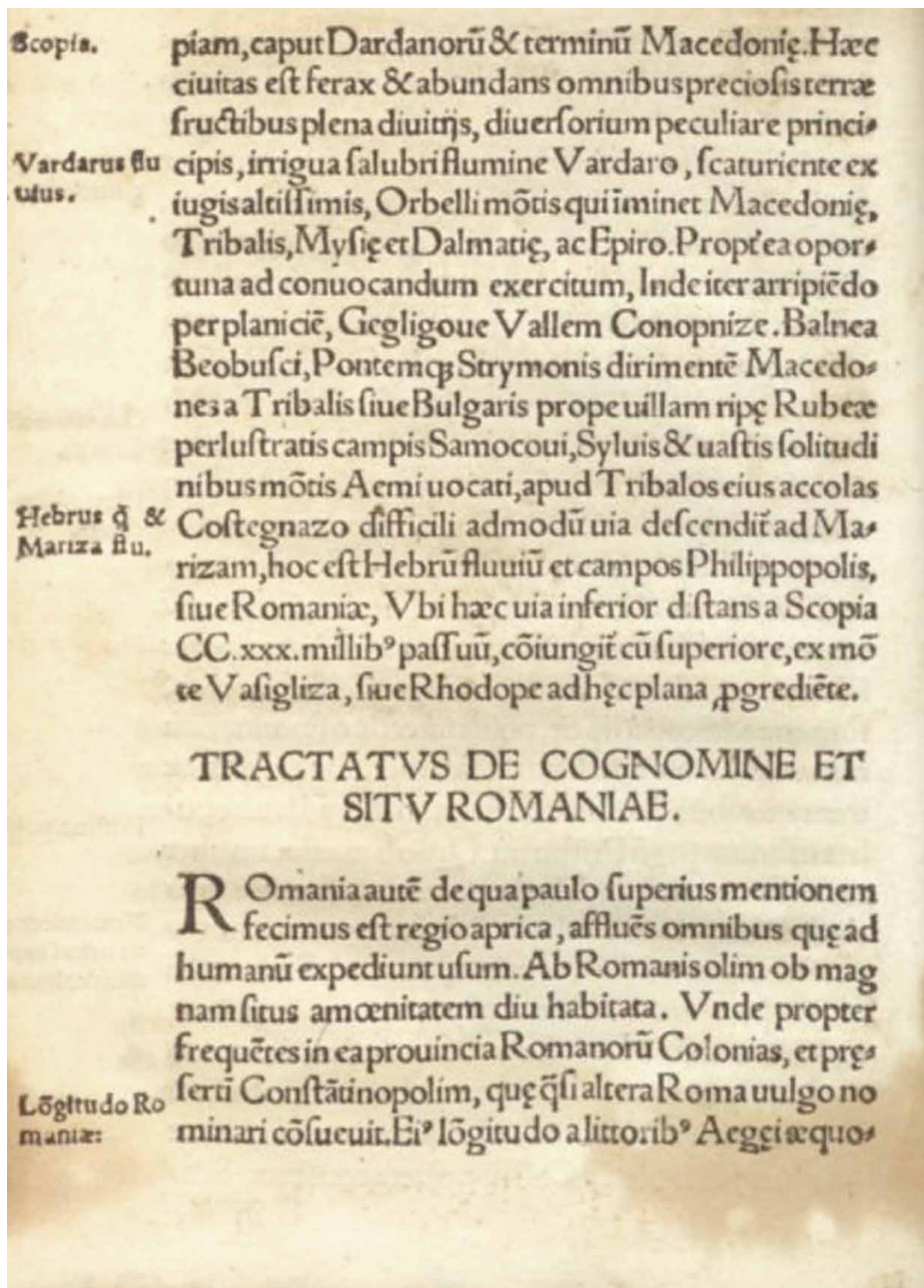


Figure 2: Folio 5v of the first edition of Petančić's *De itineribus in Turciam libellus* (1522), featuring a description of the road leading from Belgrade over Dardanian territory (*Altera via inferior ex Belgrado per Dardanos*) and the beginning of a description of Romania.

In his well-conceived text, Petančić clearly wishes to engage the reader and to promote the worthy cause of fighting the enemy off the limits of Christendom. Owing to its objectivity, its evidence-based narrative, and virtually no personal focalization, the *Libellus* meets the apodemical set of requirements. It is probably for this reason that the work remained in print for more than 270 years after the author's death, going through more than twenty-two editions.

A very different destiny awaited the author who made the longest journey of all Croatian Renaissance travelogue writers, and yet failed to publish his travelogue during his lifetime. This author had certainly not planned on any of the adventures that befell him on his journeys, but nevertheless managed to compose a travelogue so vivid and full of interesting details that it is a real joy for all researchers. His name was George Hus, or Georgius Husztius, from the village of Rasinja near the town of Varaždin, who was taken into Turkish captivity after Suleyman's siege of Kőszeg in 1532.

In the past twenty years, several researchers have explored Hus's remarkable story.⁴⁷ It was first brought to light in 1881 by the geographer Petar Matković (secretary of what was at the time the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts).⁴⁸ Two editions survive: the Viennese Edition, Cod. Vindobonensis 9528 from 1548, and the Vatican Edition, Reg. Lat 931, which is of a later date and almost quintuple in size. The text deserves greater recognition by the academic community, both international and interdisciplinary, because of its philological and historiographical worth and vividness.

After having been abducted by Ottoman troops, Hus was brought as a slave to a high court official (*defterdar*) in Istanbul. He escaped slavery after a year but was soon re-captured in Smederevo and enslaved for another three years. After he earned his freedom and the right to a salary, he joined the army hoping to somehow get back home, but was instead enlisted as a trumpeter in Suleyman's raids, first on Egypt, where he spent two years, then to the Portuguese colony of Diu (today Goa). He describes the Red Sea, a journey to the port of Aden, and a further trip to India, the unsuccessful siege of

⁴⁷ Recent ones include: Karmen Bašić, *Putnici u Indiju iz naših krajeva* [Travellers to India from our Region], Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet 1999, pp. 113-127; Neven Jovanović, "Antitursica iterata – ponovni pogled na hrvatsku renesansnu protutursku književnost" [Antitursica iterata – a re-look at Croatian Renaissance anti-Turkish literature] *Colloquia Maruliana*, Vol. 25, No. 25, 2016, pp. 101-146; Gorana Stepanić, "Creating a Value Added Text; *Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii*", *Systasis*. Е-списание на Здружението на класични филолози "Антика" Vol. 18/2011.

⁴⁸ Petar Matković (ed.) "*Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii*", *Starine JAZU*, Vol. 13/1881, p. 1-38.

Diu, and the return to Aden. After that, he returned to Egypt, left the army, and decided to visit the nearby holy places. The first part of his travelogue is lively and full of facts about the people he met and their habits, rites and customs, about animals, plants, and the little trips he made to noteworthy places. One of the most charming details, among many others, is a vivid description of how he climbed the pyramid and played the trumpet at its top. He also made a sketch of it.

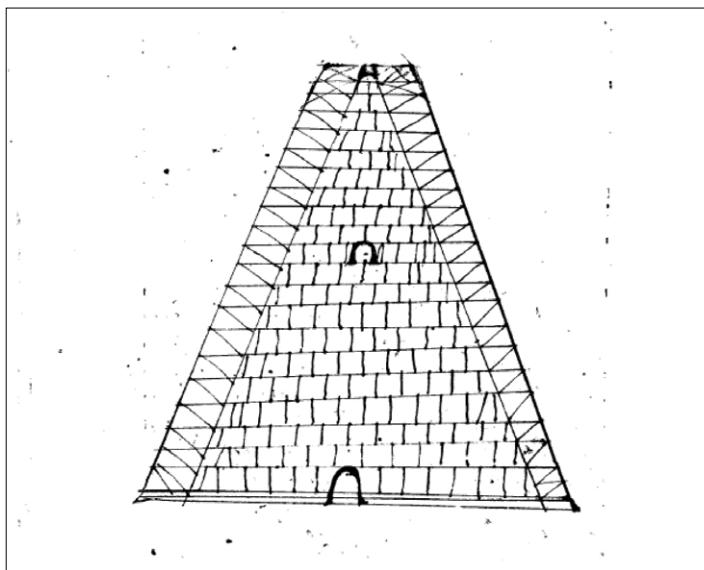


Figure 3: Sketch of a pyramid from the Vatican manuscript, fol. 11v; Reg. Lat. 931
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Hus voices his opinions on everything he hears, sees, eats, or drinks, not omitting anything he thinks might be valuable to his reader, whom he obviously imagines to be as curious as he was – thus proving to be a true Renaissance traveller. He is a trustworthy and lively eyewitness, his sense of space is sound,⁴⁹ his topographical, geographical, and natural-historical observa-

⁴⁹ His work, however, features chronological incongruences, probably due to the fact that he either did not keep a proper diary, or that he lost it before writing (or dictating) the manuscript. For instance, Hus states that his journey from Suez to Aden lasted from June until October, which is too long for sailing or rowing vessels of that period. Cf. Petar Matković, "Gjuro Hus, Hrvat iz Rasinje, glasoviti putnik XVI. vieka" [George Hus, Croat from Rasinja, a Famous Traveller of the 16th Century], *Rad JAZU*, vol. 55/1881, p. 146.

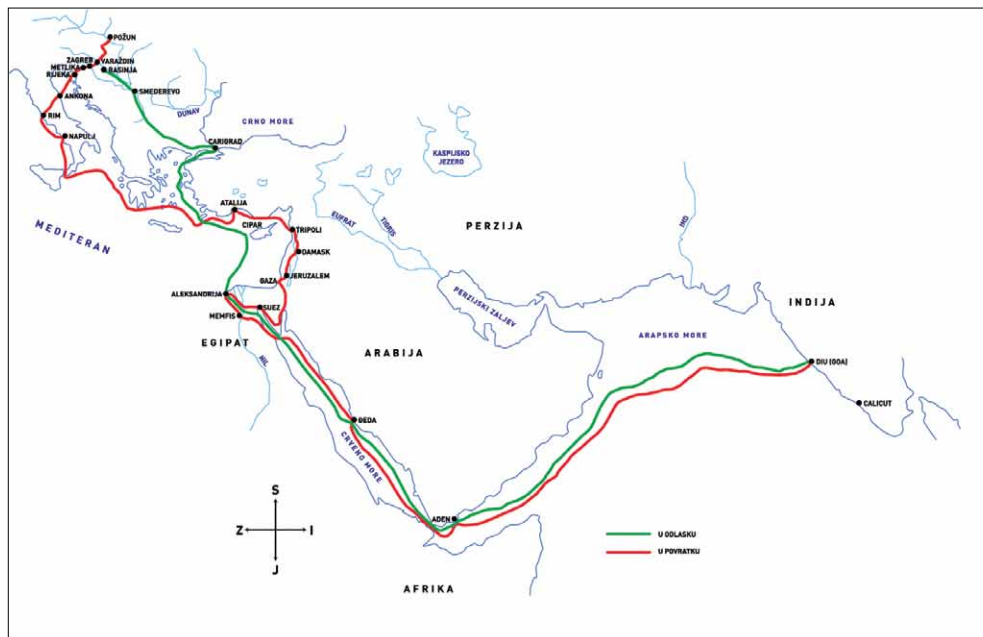
tions reveal his natural curiosity and profound understanding. Everything matters: who can enter which church and why, what Egyptian dances are like and why he thinks they ruin human souls, the various kinds of turnips and flowers, the pattern of the giraffe's fur, the size of whales, the architecture of pyramids and of Muslim places of worship – to mention but a few details.

Researchers have found that Hus was very keen to display his knowledge of classical texts. He quotes many authors (even Erasmus, who to Hus would have been quite a recent author), plays with intertextuality,⁵⁰ and makes for a great read, even for wider, non-scholarly audiences.

The second part of Hus' text, comprising the last two chapters, is starkly different from the first one, which is organised into a neat chronological and narrative sequence. Hus lists holy places dutifully, but without much emotional or intellectual involvement, and at this point the text starts to resemble the vast majority of works of this kind. The last ten pages (fol. 25r – 29v) are systematically partitioned into ten subchapters, and even the *loca praecipua* are thoroughly described, the location of Christ's sepulchre even in sequences.

He first visits Mount Sinai, then Jerusalem and Bethlehem, describing the holy sites (Christ's burial site, Solomon's Temple, the Mount of Olives, the Valley of Shiloh and Hebron). He then travels through northern Syria, visits Lebanon, describes the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River (he compares it to the Hungarian Vaga), Damascus, and, after visiting Tripoli, he returns to his homeland, *in patriam Sclavoniam*. The final section of his travels goes across Anatolia, the islands of Chios and Sicily, then to Rome, Ancona, Rijeka (*ad Fiumem, Dalmatae Raekam illam vocant*), Metlika and, finally, to Zagreb (*Zagrabiam*). He recounts that he had also been to Varaždin *in Stiria* and Bratislava (Posonium) *in Hungariam*, where he says he spent his miserable old age.

⁵⁰ G. Stepanić, *Creating a Value Added Text*, p. 6-9.



Map 1: Map depicting the itinerary of George Hus, 1532 – 1540. The green line depicts the outbound, and the red line the return journey; Courtesy Dragutin Feletar⁵¹

Hus concludes the description of his journey with a quotation from Ovid's verses (which he falsely attributes to Juvenal)⁵². Apart from several false attributions like this one, a thorough researcher can also find inconsistencies and vague details about the journey itself. We can reasonably assume that some of them were made by Hus himself – for instance, the duration of his journey, which he states lasted ten years, although it was, in fact, eight (1532-1540).⁵³ Another instance is his mentioning a map of Palestine, which is not found in either of the two manuscripts.⁵⁴ Some mistakes were made by researchers. A very interesting one was made by the above-mentioned Petar Matković. In his transcription of *Vat*, Matković completely omits an interesting episode in St. Peter's Basilica on Hus' return journey. In this vignette,

⁵¹ Mario Kolar (ed.) – Zrinka Blažević (trans.) – Irena Radej Miličić (foreword), *Opis putovanja Jurja Husa, Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii*, Koprivnica: Društvo hrvatskih književnika Podravsko-prigorski ogranak 2017. Map created by Dragutin Feletar, computer processing by Alan Čaplar.

⁵² Ibid., p. 160.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 160.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

Hus describes a poor pilgrim trying to reach a Franciscan confessor, only to get turned down because he could not afford to pay for the confessor's services. This passage in fol. 19v of Reg. Lat. 931, following Hus' words that he cannot be silent about one thing (*Duntaxat hoc unum silere nequeo*), is crossed out. The passage runs until the end of the page and finishes with a quotation from Erasmus, *Is vere demum sapit qui mundo desipit*. It can be seen in fig. 5, with the second part of the sentence continuing on the next page, fol. 20.

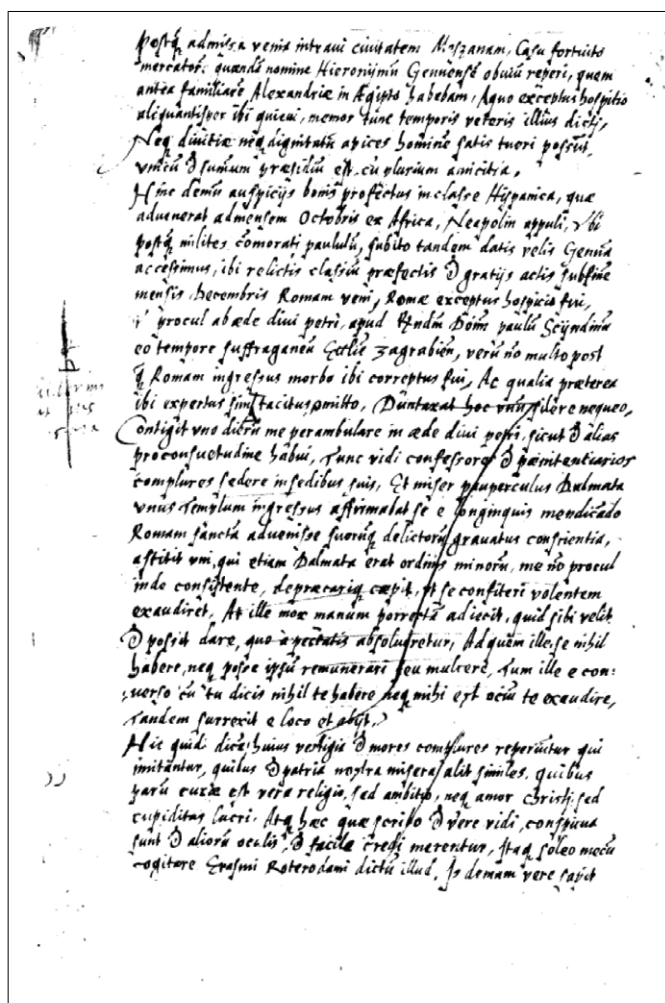


Figure 4: The omitted passage on fol. 19v from Reg. Lat. 931 (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), ending in *Itaque soleo mecum cogitare Erasmi Roterodami dictum illud, Is demum vere sapit...* (qui mundo desipit) on the next page.

It is not clear why Matković left the passage out, whether he himself overlooked it or whether his transcriber assumed that it should not be taken into account, since it was crossed out. Matković mentions that two pages were glued together, but in doing so he is referring to fol. 21, not fol. 19.

We can conclude that both George Hus and Felix Petančić demonstrate important features of the apodemical state of mind. They were both Renaissance thinkers, observers, and travellers, and they both clearly made good use of their education and position.

Petančić was a diplomat and artist. He was sent on many missions by King Vladislaus, obviously a man of the world. Early on, in 1522, before apodemical thinking had entered the mainstream, he composed his exhortative text on a pressing contemporary issue, namely the Ottoman threat, either compiling it from something he had read, or composing it from his own ideas, travels, and explorations.

Hus, as much as humbly he named his text in the prologue (he calls it *opusculum*, a small work) proved to have a very good understanding of his surroundings, even in the most extreme of circumstances. He had obviously spent sufficient time in Pecs, in *Quinqueecclesiis*, since he proved to be a keen and active observer and quite a capable writer.

Their works were differently received due to differences in their respective social capital. Nevertheless, the two writers shared the social and cultural background of Ottoman invasions which first motivated and then shaped their travels. It is for this reason that they could provide us with two extraordinary examples of Renaissance thinking in action.

All of this allows us to conclude that there are, indeed, fewer similarities and traces of influence in the apodemical subgenre of the travelogue than there are in the pilgrim one. However, the two represented texts comply with the pragmatism and the open mindset that gave rise to the apodemical system.

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Irena Radej Miličić

Renesansna Ars apodemica – prvi putopisni teorijski sustav

Sažetak

Rad istražuje postoje li sadržajne i formalne veze između europskih apodemičkih tekstova 16. stoljeća i hrvatskih latinističkih putopisnih tekstova iz tog razdoblja. Kao primjeri odabrana su dva teksta, jedan vrlo poznat, *Libellus de itineribus in Turciam* Feliksa Petančića i *Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Husztii*, putopis turskog zarobljenika Jurja Husa. Zaključak je da apodemička teorija nije utjecala na opisane putopise, i da se, nakon srednjovjekovnog razdoblja u kojem su hodočasnički tekstovi iz različitih krajeva europskog prostora pokazivali mnogo formalnih i sadržajnih sličnosti, hrvatski latinistički tekstovi ne odmiču od protuturske tematike.

Ključne riječi: putopis, apodemici, renesansa, hodočašća, teorija putovanja

Maja Matasović

IN SEARCH OF A TRAVEL: READING THE EPIC
DE VITA ET GESTIS CHRISTI
BY JACOB BUNIĆ AS A TRAVEL JOURNAL

Abstract: This paper looks at passages about Egypt and Israel in the humanistic epic poem *De vita et gestis Christi* by Jacob Bunić. A contemporary poem confirms that Bunić, a merchant from Dubrovnik, had visited Egypt, and as the sixteenth century witnessed a surge in travel writing, the analysis focuses on finding details of personal experience in Bunić's epic, considering at the same time his ancient role models and sources of information.

Key words: Jacob Bunić, *De vita et gestis Christi*, humanistic epic, travelogues, sixteenth century literature, ancient Greek and Latin geography

INTRODUCTION

De vita et gestis Christi, the epic poem that is the subject of this paper, is a product of the Renaissance, not only chronologically, but also ideologically. Renaissance authors were preoccupied with discovering the world around them, both as it had been in the past (as seen in the rediscovery of ancient literature and monuments, in attempts to trace one's lineage to classical times, etc.) and as it was in their own time. One of the literary consequences of this contemporary interest in the wide world is the production of cartographic works¹ and travelogues. Travelogues also reflect the Renaissance passion for

¹ These do not include maps only: cf. the short epic poem "Descriptio sinus et urbis Ascrivien-sis" by the Croatian Latinist, Ivan Bona Bolica (c. 1520-1572), which describes both the history

knowledge: for acquiring it on voyages and passing it on by writing travel journals. The turn of the sixteenth century was a period which saw a surge in travel writing.² Since the biography of Jacob Bunić, the author of *De vita et gestis Christi*,³ reveals that he was a tradesman who travelled the world in the above-mentioned period, it is interesting to inspect his life's work for details on personal travel.



Figure 1: The “Gotha panel”, depicting a view of the Holy Land⁴

and the topography of the poet's native city of Kotor. Text available on *CroAla*; <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.232>, accessed 8 May 2020.

² Bart Holterman, *Pilgrimages in Images: Early Sixteenth-Century Views of the Holy Land with Pilgrims' Portraits as Part of the Commemoration of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in Germany* (hereafter *Pilgrimages in Images*), Master's Thesis in Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, Utrecht University 2013, p. 30.

³ Hereafter *DVGXr*. All quotations will be taken from the text available on *CroAla*; <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.183>, accessed 8 May 2020.

⁴ The picture includes a portrait of duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, himself a pilgrim in 1493, Gotha, Schlossmuseum Friedenstein, inv. no. SG77; Cf. B. Holterman, *Pilgrimages in Images*, p. 7.

1 - JACOB BUNIĆ – NOBLE, TRADESMAN, POET

Jacob Bunić was born in Dubrovnik in 1469 into the noble family of *Bona*, or *Bonus* in Latin.⁵ Like many of his contemporaries and fellow citizens, he was first educated in Dubrovnik, and then in Italy, in Florence, Padua, and Bologna. He worked as a tradesman specialising in textiles, carpets, and precious gems, in partnership with Jacob Crijević until 1503, and individually afterwards. He is best known as the author of two epic poems written in Latin: *De raptu Cerberi* (1500), the first Croatian *epyllion*, which he published during his studies at Bologna; and *De vita et gestis Christi* (Rome, 1526), one of the first Renaissance Christological epics. He died at home in Dubrovnik in 1534, having served his country as Rector of the Republic five times (between 1521-1532), as a diplomat on foreign missions (to European courts, e.g. in Naples, and to the popes), as a property attorney, as the Count of Ston and Šipan, and twice as member of the Minor Council (an executive body in the Republic of Dubrovnik / Ragusa, consisting of the Rector and 11 nobles).⁶ He visited Rome a couple of times: probably as a pilgrim in the Year of Jubilee (1500), and on an embassy from the Republic of Dubrovnik to pope Leo X in 1513.⁷ The best evidence for his travels comes from his contemporary Damian Beneša (or Benešić, *Benessa*, 1477-1539), who was himself a poet and the guardian of Bunić's children, in a poem entitled *Epicedion in morte Iacobi Boni*.⁸ The following map (Figure 2) is an illustration of the lands that Bunić is purported to have visited. According to verses 152-199 of the *Epicedion*, these include all Western European countries, as well as the Balearic Islands and Egypt (the principal source for Bunić's resale goods).

⁵ For details about his family, cf. Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika, svezak 2, Vlasteoski rodovi (A-L)* [Patricians of the City of Dubrovnik, vol. 2, Patrician Kindreds (A-L)] (hereafter *Vlastela 2*), Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku 2012, pp. 91-132.

⁶ For biographical details, cf. Đuro Körbler: "Jakov Bunić Dubrovčanin, latinski pjesnik (1469–1534)" [Jacob Bunić from Dubrovnik, Latin Poet] (hereafter *Jakov Bunić*), *Rad JAZU*, vol. 180/1910, pp. 58-134; Vladimir Vratović, "Bunić, Jakov" [Bunić, Jacob], *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb 1989, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=3167>, accessed 8 May 2020; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika, svezak 4, Odabrane biografije (A-D)* [Patricians of the City of Dubrovnik, vol. 4, Selected Biographies (A-D)] (hereafter *Vlastela 4*), Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku 2013, pp. 131-134.

⁷ Đ. Körbler, *Jakov Bunić*, pp. 67-69, 71-72, 136, 142-143.

⁸ The text was published in: Đ. Körbler, *Jakov Bunić*, pp. 134-140. It is also available on *CroALa*: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.223>, accessed 8 May 2020.

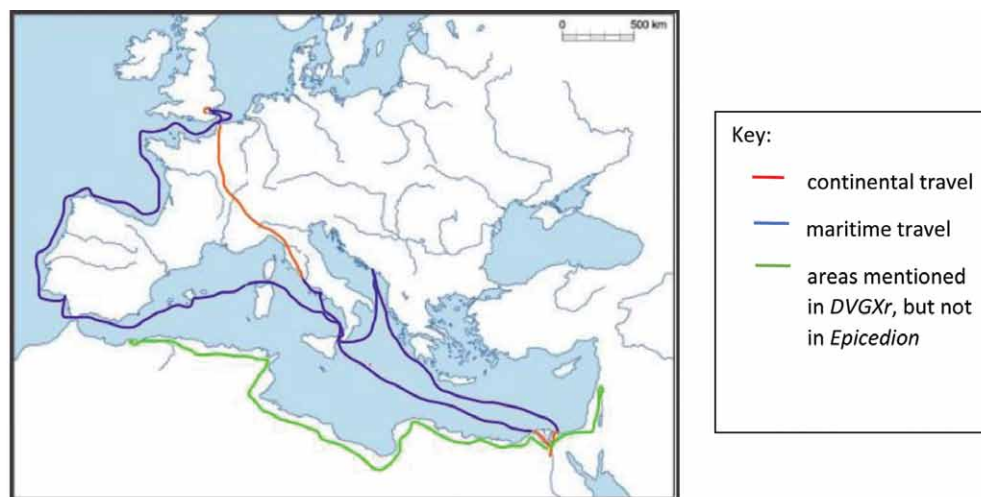


Figure 2: Reconstruction of Bunić's travels

The enumeration of the places that Bunić is supposed to have visited starts with Egypt (Memphis and the “seven-channelled Nile”), where he bought various textiles, carpets, and precious gems.⁹ He then left for Europe with the intention of selling these goods. First, he came to Naples (*Parthenope*) and Rome. By crossing the Alps, he then went to France and to far-away Britain, where he sold all his Eastern Mediterranean merchandise. Thence he sailed the sea hugging the coasts of Germany, France, and Spain until he reached Portugal (the bay of Tartessos). Passing through Gibraltar (*Calpe*), he saw Libya from afar, then the Balears, Corsica (*Cyrnos*), and Sardinia, and finally turned south along the Italian coast. Carried by favourable winds, he got through the Strait of Messina (*Pelorum*) and arrived at Lokrum, an island in front of Dubrovnik.

1. 1. *De vita et gestis Christi*

DVGXr comprises more than 10,000 hexameters in 16 books. Nine books are named after the orders of angels and another seven after the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The work is interspersed with lyric poems in honour of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary. The epic tells the story of the life and deeds of Christ. The story combines all four Gospels, as well as some scenes and texts from the Old Testament. It begins with God's decision to send the Saviour to the world – a scene that is composed similarly to the councils of gods in ancient

⁹ It is not exactly clear what Beneša means by Egypt (see Chapter 5 below).

epics, with Clemency and Justice assuming the role of God's daughters, voicing their opinions. The epic ends with the report of the Ascension of Christ. The poem is indicative of anti-Reformation sentiments and its composition, as well as its content, testifies to a decent knowledge of Catholic theology.¹⁰

As can be expected, most of the action takes place in the Holy Land, the homeland of Jesus Christ, but Egypt (as the destination of Christ's childhood exile) also plays a prominent role. Because Beneša testifies that Bunić had personally visited Egypt, this is where we shall turn most of our attention to in looking for traces of personal experience. Thematically, *DVGXr* is predominantly situated in the Holy Land, the place where Jesus Christ lived and taught. Since Bunić, who, judging by the personal remarks in the epic, seemed to be a devout Christian, came very near the Holy Land during his visit to Egypt, it would be interesting to try to find evidence of his actual visit to the land where his hero and God had walked the Earth.



Figure 3: The World of Jacob Bunić¹¹

¹⁰ The points of contention between Protestants and Catholics are emphatically dealt with in certain passages of the epic (praise for the Virgin Mary, true Eucharistic body of Christ, etc.). For more details, cf. Maja Matasović, "Counter-Reformation before its time: Polemical Theology in Jakov Bunić' epic 'De vita et gestis Christi'", Svorad Zavarský-Lucy R. Nicholas-Andrea Riedl (eds.), *Themes of Polemical Theology in Early Modern Literary Genres*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2016, pp. 99-116.

¹¹ The map can be viewed on Zeemaps, "Bunic (W)Holy Land", <https://www.zeemaps.com/map?group=1993258>, accessed 11 May 2020. The online map features detailed descriptions, as well as the zoom in/zoom out option.

2 - BUNIC'S TRAVELS?

Figure 3 shows a map (created by the author of this paper) listing over 170 toponyms and ethnonyms mentioned in *DVGXr*. In this paper we shall focus on several episodes which describe certain areas of Egypt and the Holy Land in greater detail, because they can be analysed more substantially. These episodes mostly pertain to places usually visited on pilgrimage, and sometimes they actually describe a pilgrimage in itself, e.g. the gathering of nations in Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost (XVI, 557-571).¹²

2. 1. Bethlehem

The first episode we shall look at is the arrival of a pregnant Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem (*DVGXr*, II, 428-436):

*Et senior grauida cum coniuge uenit Ioseph,
Ad patria antiquae cerealis moenia Baethlem. ...
Campus in urbe fuit media, quo tensa solebant
Desuper aestiuo praetendi carbasa Coelo.
Mercibus hic populus uendundis saepe coibat,
Mercandisque leues ad opaci tegminis umbras.*

Bethlehem can here be imagined as a walled city with a market at the centre, where merchants have stretched numerous canvases to protect themselves and their goods from the summer sun. As we can see from Figure 4, Bethlehem really was surrounded by at least the remains of the walls (it was a large village in the sixteenth century),¹³ and its main square (Manger Square near the Church of the Nativity) served as a market until the early twentieth century. Moreover, Felix Faber, a pilgrim from the 1480s, testifies to having seen the ruins of the walls of the city of David and he also mentions the merchants, and the fertile land around Bethlehem (cf. Bunic's *cerealis* "full of wheat", the attribute translating the Hebrew name of Bet Lehem, "the house of bread").¹⁴ The canopies over the merchants' counters must

¹² This is another sign of the epic's anti-Reformation character, since Protestants in general disapprove of pilgrimages. Cf. e.g., Carlos M. N. Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2016, p. 226; B. Holterman, *Pilgrimages in Images*, pp. 21-24.

¹³ Cf. Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 80-82, https://books.google.hr/books?id=mrsAw_mk1d0C&pg=PA80&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Bayt%20lahm&f=false, accessed 15 June 2020.

¹⁴ *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem I*, Stuttgart, 1843, https://books.google.hr/books?id=ztUWAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s. There is a

have been a familiar sight in north Africa and the Near East for centuries, and this passage rings true of Bunić's personal experience (he would have seen the canopies while procuring his merchandise), especially since Bethlehem did not figure in classical texts that Bunić usually used as reference. Of course, the possibility remains that he had read Faber's (or someone else's) description of Bethlehem and incorporated this information and Faber's impressions into his own description, or that he ascribed to Bethlehem a scene he had seen in Egypt.



Figure 4: View of Bethlehem by Cornelius de Bruijn from 1698¹⁵

description of Bethlehem on p. 464, also mentioning the ruined walls, populous city surrounded by land fertile in grain, wine and oil, and the market with movable sheds: "... recurvatur contra occidentem versus Jerusalem et ab eadem parte habuit **fossata, muros et turres, sicut hodie etiam patet. Hodie** vero villa est **satis populosa**, et nec de muris, nec de fossatis curant... Nam **fertilissima** est gleba per circuitum, **frumento**, vino et oleo abundans et pascuis." On p. 466 he describes Bethlehem in the days of Jesus' birth: "Facta autem ista translatione domus David minor erat respectu ad domum in Bethlehem, unde valvis et portis destructis et ruptis antiquitate, facta fuit **domus communis mercatorum**, in qua vendebantur panes et panni et fructus, et ante domum erat **platea**, ad quam de civitate confluebant homines ... et ita multis annis stetit haec domus quasi publica **patega** vel locus pategarum, quae stabant sub **testudinibus**, et fuit diversorium, hospitium nocturnum alienorum... Quia pro conservatione loci ... nulla erat cura, tandem et ipsae testudines ruptae ceciderunt, et muri desolati corruerunt, et nec pategae aluerant, nec mercimonia; remanserunt tamen ibi **ruinosi muri**, super quos vile et defectuosum aedificium erat, et **tugurium**, et specus antedictus..."

¹⁵ The picture is available in the public domain at *Wikipedia*, courtesy of *Geographicus Rare Antique Maps*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bethlehem#/media/File:1698_de_Bruijn_View_of_Bethlehem,_Palestine_\(Holy_Land\)_-_Geographicus_-_Bethlehem-bruijn-1698.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bethlehem#/media/File:1698_de_Bruijn_View_of_Bethlehem,_Palestine_(Holy_Land)_-_Geographicus_-_Bethlehem-bruijn-1698.jpg), accessed 15 June 2020.

2. 2. *Memphis*

Next, we follow the flight of Mary, Joseph, and baby Jesus to Egypt (DVGXr, IV, 138-143). The following verses describe the moment when the Holy Family arrived in Memphis, a site of many palaces and sacred places in the vicinity of the pyramids, where the land is rich in balsam:

*Quum prope **Pyramidum** productam ad sydera molem
Consedere solo, prope multa palatia, multa
Delubra, hic ingens consurgit ad aethera **Memphis**.
Hic quoque terra nouis arridet uitibus, illae
Pro Baccho guttas, preciosaque **balsama** sudant,
Praebet aquam uiuam, Diuinos spirat odores, ...*

This excerpt is reminiscent of several passages in the *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder (who will figure more prominently as a source in the rest of this paper),¹⁶ which deal with Egypt and balsam. *Multa delubra* could be interpreted as deriving from NH, V, xi, 60-61 (see below). A list of cities in Egypt, most of which are dedicated to specific gods, and Memphis, as well as the pyramids, are explicitly mentioned there. Balsam is also brought into connection with Egypt in Pliny's NH a couple of times: in XII, liv, 111-112: *Sed omnibus odoribus praefertur balsamum... quippe viti similior est quam myrto..., vincta ut vitis, et inplet colles vinearum modo*, where it is compared to vines, as in Bunić's verses above (*pro Baccho*); in XII, liv, 116: *sucus e plaga manat quem opobalsamum vocant, suauitatis eximiae*, where the sweetness of its odour is praised (cf. *diuinos odores* in Bunić's above). The production of balsam and unguents in Egypt is also mentioned in NH, XIII, ii, 8 and XV, vii, 30.

2. 3. *Parts of Israel*

The next episode is worth quoting and analysing in greater detail. Jesus is now twelve years old, and all of Israel is gathering in Jerusalem: they are headed towards the Temple for the Feast of Passover (DVGXr, IV, 285-294):

*Interea templi sacratas itur ad arces,
quas omnis Iudaea petit, quos misit Ioppe,
Quos Hiericontea Chariotide consita tellus,
Quos lauit Sirbone lacus, quos Lydda creauit,*

¹⁶ J. Bunić often drew on Pliny's NH, as can be seen from his other epic, *De raptu Cerberi*. Cf. Darko Novaković, "Bunićeva 'Otmica Kerbera' – podrijetlo priče, podrijetlo alegorije", *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta* 17/1991, pp. 85-88, 93. All quotations of Pliny's work, abbreviated as NH, will be taken from the text available at *Lacus Curtius*, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/pliny_the_elder/home.html (accessed 22 June 2020) and numbered accordingly.

*Quosque lacu Genesara suo, quos celsa Norine,
Quos Bethole, et Tephene, et Acrabataena, fluensque
Fontibus Emaus, Zophaniticusque, et amoenus
Poenaeas, uincla Andromadae, uulgataque Ceto.
Omnis ab Azoto, et Thamiticus incola uenit,
Rite litant Domino, et sistunt caput omne uirile.*

These verses are usually cited as proof that Bunić had first-hand experience of the Holy Land,¹⁷ but deciphering the places mentioned has not been an easy task. The list begins rather obviously: *Ioppe* is Jaffa, *Hiericontea* refers to Jericho, *lacus Sirbone* is the so-called Serbonian Bog (today Lake Bardawil, actually a shallow lagoon), situated between Israel and Egypt; *Lydda* is the city of Lod, near today's Tel Aviv, and *Genesara* with *lacu suo* refers to the Lake of Gennesaret (the Sea of Galilee and its coastal city of Kinneret), often mentioned in the New Testament. However, *celsa Norine* poses a problem because it does not clearly point to any of the known toponyms in Judaea or its vicinity. The attribute *celsa* seems to indicate some kind of elevation. However, there are no known hills or mountains matching the name which Bunić mentions. It is only when we turn to Bunić's usual topographical guide, Pliny's *NH*, that we discover what he meant, and what mistakes he made while copying his role model. The text in Pliny runs as follows:

Reliqua Iudaea dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicemus ordine: Hiericuntem palmetis consitam, fontibus riguam, Emmaum, Lyddam, Iopicam, Acrabatenam, Gophaniticam, Thamniticam, Betholeptephenen, Orinen, in qua fuere Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, ... (NH, V, xv, 70).

It is clear that Bunić is trying to list the ten toparchies of Judaea according to Pliny, but differs from him on some points. *Norine* is actually *Orine*, "the hill country" (ἡ ὄρεινὴ χώρα in Greek) around Jerusalem where Mary goes to help Elizabeth in Luke 1: 39; the initial *N-* probably belongs to the previous word – *Betholeptephenen*. *Betholeptephenon* (or *Bethletepha*, *Betholetephene*) is a toparchy usually connected to the place Beyt Nattif,¹⁸ while Bunić divided it into two provinces. Both mistakes mentioned – *Norine* and the division

¹⁷ According to Đ. Körbler, *Jakov Bunić*, p. 117, see also chapter 3 below.

¹⁸ Cf. Matthew J. Suriano, "A Place in the Dust: Text, Topography and a Toponymic Note on Micah 1:10-12a", *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 60, Fasc. 3, Leiden: Brill 2010, p. 439. It is mentioned also as *Bethleptephenon* in Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, IV, 8, 1, and the city of Beth-Lebaoth was also considered as a possible candidate for the capital of this toparchy. As far as *Orine* is concerned, Flavius Josephus substitutes *Engaddi* (the area around Ein Gedi, a city renowned for its balsam, on the coast of the Dead Sea, east of Hebron) for it in III, 3, 5.

into *Bethole* and *Tephene* – can be found in some editions of Pliny in the sixteenth century (probably stemming from the fifteenth-century editions),¹⁹ so it is reasonable to suppose that Bunić followed an erroneous edition. To continue, *Fluensque fontibus Emmaus* (“Emmaus flowing in springs”) paraphrases Pliny’s *aquam riguum Emmaum* (although the attribute could, syntactically, be ascribed to *Hiericuntem* as well). The toparchy of Gophne (*Gophanitica*) was renamed into *Zophaniticus* by Bunić, the change maybe reflecting the pronunciation of the initial J- in the modern name for *Gophnah*: *Jifna* (leading us to the conclusion that he may have heard the name in person). It might also have been an error in transcription.²⁰

Amoenus Poenaeas and the rest of the verses 291-292 take us to another paragraph by Pliny, NH, V, xiv, 69: *Iope Phoenicum ... insidet collem, praeiacente saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromedae vestigia ostendit. colitur illic fabulosa Ceto*. ... 71: *Iordanes amnis oritur e fonte Paneade, ... Amnis amoenus et, quatenus locorum situs patitur, ambitiosus...* The echoes are hard to miss: skipping *Iope*, already mentioned above, both texts mention Andromeda being chained (*vincula*) to a rock, waiting for a sea monster to devour her (not knowing that Perseus is coming to her rescue). The famous (*fabulosa* / *vulgata*) *Ceto* can refer to the sea monster (usually *cetus* in Latin), or to the Nereid who is the mother of many monsters, or to the popular Syrian goddess *Derketo* (cf. *Derceto* in NH, V, xix, 81). If correct reading is either *cetus* or *Derceto*, the mistake is Pliny’s, not Bunić’s. The attribute “charming” (*amoenus*) appears in both texts when they mention Pannias, today’s Banias, a tributary of the River Jordan, pointing inevitably to Pliny’s influence (although in Pliny the attribute specifies *Iordanes*). The list in Bunić continues with *Azotus*, today’s city of Ashdod on Israel’s coast between Ashkelon and Yavne (cf. NH, V, xiv, 68: *regio per oram Samaria; oppidum Ascalo liberum, Azotos, Iamneae duae...*). *Thamiticus* refers to another toparchy, Thamne (*Thamnitica* in NH, V, xv, 70 above, Timnath-serah near Ariel). To conclude this episode, we can add that Pliny also mentions Lake Serbonis on the border of Egypt and the Roman province of Judaea (Idumea and Palestine – NH V, xiv, 68: *mox Idumaea incipit*

¹⁹ For the *codex Snakeburgianus* (annotated 1525 Frobenius edition from Basel), where these mistakes are confirmed, cf. e.g. the edition *Caii Plinii Secundi Historiae naturalis libri XXXVII: Recognovit et varietatem lectionis adiecit Julius Sillig*, I, Leipzig 1831, pp. XIV, 339, https://books.google.hr/book?id=k1FHAAAAYAAJ&dq=Bethole+tephene&hl=hr&source=gbs_navlinks_s, accessed 18 June 2020. For the popularity of the work and the number of editions before 1526 (year of publication of DVGXr), cf. Eugene W. Gudger, “Pliny’s *Historia naturalis*. The Most Popular Natural History Ever Published”, *Isis*, vol. 6, no. 3/1924, pp. 273-275.

²⁰ This mistake is not found in the critical apparatus of the above-mentioned edition by Julius Sillig.

et Palaestina ab emersu Sirbonis lacus...), and that “the land covered with dates of Jericho” (*Hiericontea cariotide consita tellus* – v. 287) reflects “Jericho covered in palm-groves” (*Hiericuntem palmetis consitam*) of NH (V, xv, 70). These verses penned by Bunić could not have been less personal.

2. 4. Egypt

The image of Satan tempting Jesus in the desert by showing him the realms of the world (DVGXr V, 86-165) provides ample opportunity for finding descriptions. Interestingly, Egypt figures most prominently (141-162):

*Illic Marmaridum tellus Mareotica priscoe
Relligionis honos, et diuitis Apidis arae.
Has inter terras Aegypto gloria prima est,
Vbere seu limi semper crescentis ab amne
Deuxo in Zephiros, semperque uirentis abunde,
Seu populis late tam multa per oppida fusis,
Quos rigat excrescens stagnanti gurgite Nilus,
Aruaque mellifluus saturat, foecundat, inundat,
Vnde suis opulenta bonis elata superbis,
Sublimique altis se uertice montibus aequat
Pyramidum, uastam producit ad aethera molem
Ogdoi monimenta, lacus quid Myridis illa
Quae labyrinthos inuoluit machina flexus.
Hic Thebe Phoebo centum patet incluta portis,
Vrbs sacra, quaeque suum templo ueneratur Osyrim,
Nobilis et Nigri stat regia Memnonis ingens.
Adde Deos reges, urbes terrasque Deorum,
Quos uagus Ambrosio circumfluit aequore Nilus.
Nec louis urbs magni Meroe, quae prima metallis
Prodiga fert hebenum, nec templa Bubastide lucis
Consita te lateant, aut urbs uulcania Memphis,
Diues odoriferis cui militat India syluis.*

Since we know that Bunić visited Egypt, this excerpt is a good place to look for personal information.²¹ On the other hand, experience has already taught us that Bunić likes to draw on ancient authorities, and we will begin by

²¹ In the verses preceding these, the rest of the world is presented through various cities, rivers and nations; the endpoints being the Ryphaean mountains in the north, Taprobane in the east, Ethiopians in the south and the gardens of the Hesperides in the west (all based on Pliny's NH), with north Africa described in most detail, second only to Egypt.

trying to identify them. Unlike previous examples, these are not as straightforward. Starting with Pliny, the *NH* provides some of the place names and phrases that describe them alluded to above. The first to be mentioned are the Marmarides, people who live in the region around lake Mareotis (today's Marout) and observe the ancient religion (*priscae religionis honos* – v. 141-142), and the rich city of Apis, named after the famous Egyptian god. This corresponds to V, vi, 39: *Quae sequitur regio Mareotis Libya appellatur, Aegypto contermina. tenent Marmarides... in eo tractu intus Apis interest, nobilis religione Aegypti locus.* The passages in Pliny referring to the towns of Apollo, Leucothea, Jupiter, and Venus in V, xi, 60 (*celebrantur tamen Apollinis, mox Leucotheae, Diospolis Magna, eadem Thebe portarum centum nobilis fama, Coptos, Indicarum Arabicarumque mercium Nilo proximum emporium, mox Veneris oppidum et iterum Iovis ac Tentyris, infra quod Abydus, Memnonis regia et Osiris templo inclutum*) seem to be the source for the “many towns”, “cities and lands of gods” (*populis per multa oppida fuis* – v. 146,²² *urbes terrasque deorum* – v. 157).²³ “Thebes famous for its hundred gates” (*eadem Thebe portarum centum nobilis fama* in Pliny echoes the words of *DVGXr*, 154: *Thebe Phoebus centum patet incluta portis*, where Phoebus refers to the already mentioned Apollo). Verses 155-156 refer to Pliny's Abydus, with its palace of Memnon, the hero of the Trojan war (“black” as in e.g. Verg. *Aen.* I, 489) and the temple of a well-known Egyptian god, Osiris.

Another set of “cities of the gods” is provided in the next chapter of *NH*, V, xi, 61: *dein Ptolemais et Panopolis ac Veneris iterum et in Libyco Lycon, ubi montes finiunt Thebaidem. ab iis oppida Mercuri, Alabastron, Canum et supra dictum Herculis. deinde Arsinoes ac iam dicta Memphis, inter quam et Arsinoiten nomon in Libyco turres quae pyramides vocantur, et labyrinthus, in Moeridis lacu nullo addito ligno exaedificatus, et oppidum Crialon. unum praeterea intus et Arabiae conterminum claritatis magnae, Solis oppidum.* The towns belong to the following gods: Pan, Venus, Mercury, the hero-made-god Hercules and the Sun (*Helios*). This passage also links Memphis (v. 161-2 in *DVGXr*), the pyramids (v. 151), and the labyrinth on lake Moeris (v. 152-153).

Lake Meroe, an island and city on the Nile in the south of Egypt is presented (v. 159-160) as Jupiter's city, rich (*prima, prodiga*) in metals and ebony. This recalls Herodotus' description (II, 29) of Meroe as a principal city with

²² Cf. also *NH*, V, xi, 64: *sunt in honore et intra decursus Nili multa oppida...*

²³ Since Bunić does not mention them explicitly, we do not give their exact positions here, but their modern equivalents can be found in the commentary to Pliny's work on the *Perseus* site on <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.02.0138>, accessed 19 June 2020.

an oracle of Jupiter (the only god they worshiped alongside Bacchus): *oppidum magnum nomine meroem, quae fertur aliarum urbium esse metropolis. Cuius incolae solos deorum colunt Iouem et Liberum, eosque magnopere uenerantur. Ioui etiam constituerunt oraculum...*²⁴ The abundance of metals and ebony is mentioned in Strabo's *Geography* (XVII, ii, 2): *Regni caput est meroe... Sunt in ea aerariae, ferrariae et aurariae et preciosorum lapidum genera... Abundant arboribus palma, persico, ebeno et siliquastro*,²⁵ in Diodorus Siculus (I, i, 33): *Effodiuntur in ea aurum, argentum et ferrum, hebenum insuper fert lapidumque multiplex genus*,²⁶ and even in Lucan's epic *De bello civili* (X, 303-304: *nigris Meroe fecunda colonis, / laeta comis hebeni...*).²⁷

Among the cities of Egypt, Bubastis, the sacred city of the goddess Bast, near today's Zagaziq in the Nile Delta, is singled out in this quote by Bunić as famous for its temples and groves (*templa Bubastide lucis consita*; v. 160-161). This is exactly what we find in Herodotus (II, 138): *In qua urbe templum est Bubastis, quae nostra lingua dicitur Diana, omnium maxime memorabile... Hinc atque illinc praeterfluentia centenum utrunque pedum latitudinis arboribus inumbrata*.²⁸ For Memphis, the residence of Egyptian kings, Bunić combines notable traits from Herodotus (II, e.g. 99, 112, 153, 176), where the temple of Hephaestus is often mentioned (*urbs Vulcania*; v. 161), and Pliny (see also above, chapter 2.2.), who in *NH*, XIII, xix, 65 comments on the abundant woods (*silvestris fuit et circa Memphin regio tam vastis arboribus ...*, cf. *dives ...*

²⁴ The first Latin translation of Herodotus is the one by Lorenzo Valla, *Historiae* published in Venice in 1474. Assuming that it is possible that Bunić knew of this edition, we use it for reference; cf. p. 36b. The text is available at *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Das Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum (BSB, MDZ)*, on http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00054011/image_76, accessed 19 June 2020.

It is possible that Bunić knew Greek (Beneša certainly did), but we shall focus on the Latin texts because the textual parallels can be established more clearly, if they exist. Also, the confusion with the name Ogdous in Diodorus Siculus (see below) might point to a Latin source.

²⁵ As with Herodotus, we are using a Latin translation Bunić might have been familiar with: Strabo, *Geographica* (transl. Guarinus Veronensis), Venice, 1472, cf. p. 212a, *BSB, MDZ*, on http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00060563/image_425, accessed 19 June 2020. The text is the same as in the 1494 Venice edition: Strabo, *De Situ Orbis* (transl. Antonio Mancinelli), p. 147b; *BSB, MDZ*, on http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00060631/image_330, accessed 19 June 2020.

In *NH*, XII, viii, 17 Pliny claims that ebony is rare in Meroe, and cites Virgil (*Geo.* II, 116-117) saying that it can only be found in India.

²⁶ Diodorus' *Bibliotheca I-V* was translated by Poggio Bracciolini and published in Venice in 1476; cf. p. 12b, *BSB, MDZ*, on http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00052255/image_32, accessed 20 June 2020.

²⁷ All examples from Lucan are taken from the text available at *The Latin library*, on <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/lucan.html>, accessed 22 June 2020.

²⁸ P. 55b, *BSB, MDZ*, on http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00054011/image_116, accessed 22 June 2020.

sylvis in *DVGXr*, 162), containing trees unguents are made from, comparable to those in India (*NH*, XII, lix, 129): *malobathrum ... arborem, ... ex quo premitur oleum ad unguenta, fertilior e eiusdem Aegypto. laudatius tamen ex India venit* (cf. *odoriferis cui militat India sylvis* in *DVGXr*, 162).

One more reference that merits commenting upon separately is *Ogdoi monimenta* (v. 152). Ogdous is our most conclusive proof that Bunić had read Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus is the only author who mentions Ogdous as the king of Egypt who founded Memphis. It is very likely that this name is a misinterpretation of the Greek ὀγδοος “the eighth” (as in “the eighth king”), since Diodorus himself says that Ogdous was called Uchoreus (this pharaoh’s name is also found in Herodotus and other authors). Cf. *Bibliotheca* I, ii, 50: *Ab huius regis progenie profecus postea. Ogdous: qui uchoreus cognominatus est. Memphim condidit...*²⁹



Figure 5: Map of Egypt with details from *DVGXr*, V, 141-162³⁰

²⁹ P. 18b, *BSB*, *MDZ*, on http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00052255/image_44, accessed 20 June 2020.

It has to be mentioned that in Bunić’s time this type of information (such as can be found in Herodotus, Diodorus, etc.) was collected in various handbooks and compilations (and therefore not necessarily read in the original works). Cf. e.g. Baptista Mantuanus, *Primus [secundus, tertius] operum B. Mantuani tomus in quo sunt commentariis Murrhonis, Brantii et Ascensii haec illustrata ...*, 1513; l. II, fol. L b, on https://books.google.hr/books?id=l3lFAAAAcAAJ&dq=ogdou,+memphis&source=gbs_navlinks_s, accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁰ Part of the *Zeemaps* “Bunic (W)Holy Land” magnified, cf. Figure 3 above.

The most prominent feature of Egypt in this passage, and the most frequently described one throughout the epic, is the river Nile, especially its flooding. Quite a few descriptions of this spectacular occasion have survived from antiquity, but it is not possible to pinpoint one exact description as Bunić's source: he combines the elements of many. We shall try to indicate the most probable ones, and we therefore also consider another two episodes concerning the Nile, analysing them all together. The other two examples from Bunić feature comparisons: from Book X, when Jesus' speech flows upon the people (cf. John 7: 14), as the Nile upon the fields, and from the last book, when a resurrected Jesus joins the disciples on their way to Emmaus (cf. Luke 24: 15). This episode is likened to swans flying over the flooding Nile.

*Nilus ut occultis ueniens a fontibus amnis
Arua per Aegypti quum proruit aggere rupto,
Nam Zephiri aduersis illum dum flatibus arctant,
Et coelo immensum fuis uenit imbribus agmen,
Quum leo feruescit, ui magna effunditur aluo
Irriguus, pingui et campos oblimat arena,
Delta et rura natant, et plenae lumine fossae. (DVGXr, X, 715-721)
Quales pellei Nilo exundante canopi
Quum duo candentes stagnantia flumina Cygni
Linquunt, aurataeque petunt nemora alta Gesirae... (DVGXr, XVI, 172-174)*

In these examples we can single out a couple of motifs. One regularly found in discussions of the Nile is the question of its springs, almost unanimously declared to be unknown or hidden. Taught by his usual sources (cf. e.g. NH, V, x, 51: *Nilus incertis ortus fontibus*, Herodotus, II, 28: *Nili tamen fontes nemo neque aegyptiorum, neque graecorum, neque aphrorum, cum quibus in colloquium ueni se nosse professus est...*³¹), Bunić did not fail to mention this fact (X, 715: *occultis ueniens a fontibus*),

The most prominent motif in all ancient literary appearances of the river Nile is its flooding, whereby it spread mud or sand (*ubere limi* – DVGXr, V, 144; *pingui oblimat arena* – X, 720) on the lands of Egypt, irrigating (*irriguus* – X, 720, *rigat* – V, 147) them by its stagnant pool (*stagnantia gurgite* – V, 147; *stagnantia flumina* – XVI, 173) overflowing (*crescentis, excrescens, inundat* – V, 144, 147, 148; *proruit, effunditur* – X, 716, 719; *exundante* – XVI, 172) from its belly (*aluo* – X, 719). This makes the fields (*arua* – V, 148; X, 716) fertile (*saturat, foecundat* – V, 148) and the lands rich (*opulenta bonis superbis* – V, 149). Pos-

³¹ P. 36, BSB, MDZ http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00054011/image_75, accessed 22 June 2020.

sible influences are virtually countless. We therefore start with the ones we previously established Bunić had used (important words will be highlighted). Following the passage on the origin of the Nile, Pliny mentions a stagnant lake called Nilides (NH, V, x, 51: *originem ... habet lacu protinus **stagnante**, quem vocant Nilidem*). Writing at roughly the same time as Pliny, Seneca Minor discusses all the popular questions concerning the Nile in his *Naturales Quaestiones*,³² and a few passages from Seneca's Book IV can be quoted more extensively, because they seem to follow the line of Bunić's narration in Book V.

[2,8] /Nilus/ Initio diducitur, deinde ... **stagnat**: cursum illi uolentiamque eripit latitudo regionum in quas extenditur dextra laeuaque totam **amplexus**³³ Aegyptum. [2,9] Quantum creuit Nilus, tantum spei in annum est; nec computatio fallit agricolam, adeo ad mensuram fluminis terra respondet, quam **fertilem facit** Nilus. Is **harenoso** ac sitienti **solo et aquam inducit et terram**: nam cum turbulentus fluat, omnem in siccis atque hiantibus locis **faecem** relinquit et, quicquid **pingue** secum tulit, arentibus locis allinit iuuatque **agros** duabus ex causis, et quod **inundat** et quod **oblimat**... [2,10] ... illato enim **limo harenas saturat** ac iungit, debetque illi Aegyptus non tantum **fertilitatem** terrarum, sed ipsas.

We also find similarities with the poetic works of authors Bunić imitated and drew from, e.g. Horace (certainly read and imitated by Bunić in the lyric parts of DVGXr) in his *Carmina* III, 3, 48 (*Qua tumidus **rigat** arua Nilus...*) or Ovid in *Metamorphoses*³⁴ (I, 422-426):

*sic ubi deseruit madidos septemfluus **agros**
Nilus et antiquo sua **flumina** reddidit **alveo**
aetherioque recens exarsit sidere **limus** ...*

Lucan, whom we have already mentioned when speaking of ebony in Meroe and who was a nephew of Seneca and therefore certainly acquainted with his work, paints the same motif of Egypt blessed by the Nile's stream as Bunić does in V, 143-149. Lucan uses similar expressions in *De bello civili*, VIII, 444-447:

³² Hereafter NQ; all examples are taken from the text available at *The Latin library*, on <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sen/sen.qn4.shtml>, accessed 22 June 2020, and numbered accordingly. Both Roman writers drew on the works and information provided by their Greek predecessors, among which the aforementioned Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

³³ Cf. *uagus ambrosio circumfluit aequore Nilus* (DVGXr V, 158), which also reflects *circumdata flumine* in Diodorus I, i, 34 (see below).

³⁴ Text available at *The Latin library*, on <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ovid/ovid.met1.shtml>, accessed 22 June 2020.

*Syrtribus hinc Libycis **tuta est Aegyptos**, at inde
gurgite septeno rapidus mare summouet **amnis**.
terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis
aut Iouis: in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.*

Both Seneca and Lucan must have been familiar with Diodorus, whose lengthy narrative on the Nile (I, i, 30-41) they both follow in their works. We find more similarities between Diodorus and Bunić in the Latin translation of Diodorus (I, i, 34): */Delta/ circumdata enim flumine atque **irrigua**, tum fluuii incremento **magnam uim limi effundentis**...* (cf. DVGXr, X, 719-720: *ui magna effunditur aluo / Irriguus...*).³⁵ The entire passage of Diodorus (along with I, i, 36) also includes the enumeration of the various yields Egypt receives by the grace of the Nile (cf. DVGXr v. 149 speaking of rich goods).

During its flooding, the Nile can rise to the pyramids (*Sublimique altis se uertice montibus aequat Pyramidum* – DVGXr, V, 150-151) and everything around them, i.e. the delta and the villages, is submerged (*delta et rura natant et ... fossae* – X, 721). In Seneca, NQ IV, 2, 11 everything is mentioned as covered by the Nile, although the wording is somewhat different. However, *fossae* (canals for irrigation and diversion of river water) are mentioned in the passage from Diodorus already referred to above (I, i, 34).³⁶ In reading this verse by Bunić, one cannot help but recall one of the most celebrated verses of all time: *Exegi monumentum ... regaliq[ue] situ pyramidum / altius* (Horace, *Carm.* III, 30, 1-2).

Another topic that vexed the ancients was the cause of the inundation of the Nile. Bunić seems familiar with most popular theories, expounded in Herodotus (II, 19-27), in even more detail in Diodorus (I, i, 30-41), and followed by Pliny (NH, V, x, 55-56), Seneca (NQ, IV, 2, 17-30) and Lucan (X, 219-267), when he mentions the adverse west (etesian) winds as those which turn the river backwards (*amne deuexo in Zephiros* – DVGXr V, 144-145; *Zephiri aduersis illum dum flatibus arctant* – X, 717), the rise of the constellation Leo as the time when the Nile rises (*Quum leo feruescit* – X, 719), and the rains, often cited as the most probable cause (*Et coelo immensum fuis uenit imbris agmen* – X, 718). Works by the above-mentioned ancient authors all contain similar passages,³⁷ but Lucan is the one who used the zephyrs instead of the etesian

³⁵ P. 12b; BSB, MDZ, on http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00052255/image_32, accessed 20 June 2020.

³⁶ Cf. e.g. *ipsa insula /sc. delta/ pluribus fossis manufactis diuisa*, p. 12b; BSB, MDZ, on http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00052255/image_32, accessed 20 June 2020.

³⁷ Cf. for the adverse winds Herodotus, II, 20: “*Earum /opinionum/ una ait uentos etesias esse in causa, ut nilus infletur prohibentes eum effluere in mare...*” (p. 35, available at BSB, MDZ, on https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00054011/image_73, accessed 22 June 2020); Seneca, NQ, IV, 2, 22: “*...etesiae descendenti Nilo resistunt et cursum eius acto contra ostia mari*

winds that appear everywhere else, so we consider him to be the primary source for this reference (X, 232-234, 239-246, 253-256):³⁸

... neu terras dissipet ignis
 Nilus adest mundo **contraque incensa Leonis**
ora tumet ...
 ... **Zephyros** quoque uana uetustas
 his ascripsit aquis, quorum stata tempora **flatus**
 continuique dies et in aera longa potestas,
 uel quod ab occiduo depellunt nubila caelo
 trans Noton et fluuio cogunt incumbere nimbos,
 uel quod aquas totiens **rumpentis** litora Nili
 adsiduo feriunt coguntque resistere fluctu:
 ille mora cursus **aduersique** obice ponti
 aestuat in campos. ...
 ... tunc omnia flumina Nilus
 uno **fonte** uomens non uno **gurgite** perfert.
 rumor ab Oceano, qui terras alligat omnes,
exundante procul uiolentum **erumpere** Nilum...

At the end of the analysis of the Nile references, we shall discuss two notable attributes. The first is *mellifluus*, "flowing with honey", a rare adjective that Bunić ascribes to the Nile (V, 148). This can refer to its colour and the slowness of its flow, or to the abundance it brings to the surrounding lands (both often alluded to in classical sources, cf. e.g. NH, V, x, 54: *postea lenis et confractis aquis domitaque violentia, aliquid et spatio fessus, multis quamvis faucibus in Aegyptium mare se evomat, certis tamen diebus auctu magno per totam spatiatum Aegyptum fecundus innatat terrae*). On the other hand, it is possible that Bunić is playing with words, using the ancient name of the Nile, Melas or Melo (as confirmed by Servius *ad Verg. Geo. IV*, 291). The second attribute to discuss is *Pellaeus*, referring to the city of *Canopus*. This is related to Ver-

sustinent: ita reuerberatus in se recurrit nec crescit, sed exitu prohibitus resistit et quacumque mox potuit ui congestus erumpit. ... inde Nilus fluit, maior, quamdiu etesiae tempus obseruant; tunc enim eicitur mare **instantibus uentis**..."; Pliny, NH, V, x, 55 (also mentioning the rains and the Leo): "sed maxime probabiles **etesiaron** eo tempore **ex aduerso flantium** repercussum, ultra in ora acto mari, **aut imbres Aethiopiae aestivos**, isdem etesiis nubila illo ferentibus e reliquo orbe... 56 id evenire a canis ortu **per introitum solis in leonem**, ... plerisque e diverso opinatis largiorem fluere ad septentriones sole discedente, quod in cancro **et leone** evenit, ideoque tunc minus siccari...".

³⁸ On the other hand, the Egyptian priest in Lucan does not believe in either the winds or the rains as the cause of the Nile's flooding (or any other cause suggested by ancient writers), but says that the river is as old as the Earth itself and answers to the same laws and the same deity (X, 262-267).

gil's *Georgics*, IV, 287, where the same adjective is used in reference to the nearby Alexandria, because its founder, Alexander the Great, was born in Pella. This passage of *Georgics* (287-292) also has some of the relevant words mentioned in previous motives:

*Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,
quaque pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget,
[et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena,
et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora...*

The single most important word in Bunić's three descriptions of the Nile is *Gesirae* (DVGXr, XVI, 174), denoting the place swans fly to during the flood.³⁹ Gezira is an island on the Nile, in the territory of today's Cairo (also known as Zamalek). It had not been an important place prior to the nineteenth century, when it was turned into a large public garden and a sporting club. It was often flooded, covered in exotic plants (cf. *nemora alta*, v. 174), and teeming with birds and other animals.⁴⁰ Because of its insignificance, it does not appear to have an ancient name. The fact that Bunić mentions it using its Arabic name, which translates to "island", indicates that this piece of information stemmed from his own time, and very likely from his personal experience.

2. 5. The Jerusalem Temple

Here we shall briefly look at the episode preceding the betrothal of Joseph and Mary, when Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem is mentioned (DVGXr, II, 18-21):

*Hic Salomon struxit non ennarabile Templum,
Mundi instar triplicis, cedri, argenti, aeris, et auri,*

³⁹ The Roman epic poet linking the swans to the Nile is Statius in his *Thebais*, III, 524-528:

*... clara regione profundi
aetheros innumeri statuerunt agmina cycni.
siue hos Strymonia Boreas eiecit ab Arcto,
seu fecunda refert placidi clementia Nilii.
fixerunt cursus:*

Bunić's language in the rest of this image vaguely reflects Statius' (e.g. their flight through the aether is quiet), so Statius' influence cannot be overlooked here.

On the other hand, swans are regularly linked with water in Greek and Roman poetry. Cf. Sophia Papaioannou, "'Ut non [forma] cygnorum, sic albis proxima cygnis": Poetology, Epic Definition, and Swan Imagery in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'", *Phoenix*, vol. 58, no. 1-2/2004, p. 55, n. 20.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ashley Jackson, *Buildings of Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 105-113.

*Regifico luxu, credas non arte fabrili
Stare opus, at uiuis spirantia signa metallis.*

It is described as indescribable, regally and luxuriously decorated in cedar-wood, silver, bronze, and gold, in three parts, as if it had been built by an art higher than that of carpenters and smiths. The statues are described as so vividly sculpted that one would have thought them breathing. This description is reminiscent of Virgil's *Georgics*, III, 34: *stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa*), while the regal luxury is literally taken from the *Aeneid* (VI, 605 – *regifico luxu*). But all these motives, although phrased differently, can be found in another source often cited by Bunić, namely the Bible, i.e. the Vulgate version of the 1 Kings 7: 1-12.⁴¹ Laying aside the fact that the Temple in the times of Jesus was the Second one (Solomon's having been destroyed by the Babylonians in sixth century BCE), it is worth remembering that in transposing the story of Jesus into verse Bunić used the classical poetic templates and the content of the New Testament, but also managed to add elements of classical (scientific) prose to increase his credibility. He also employed relevant passages from the Old Testament to add to the theological coherence of his work.

3 - GEOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

The mistakes that Bunić made while enumerating the toparchies of Judaea can be seen above, in 2.3. Here we shall examine two other errors, because those verses are usually cited⁴² as proof that Bunić was an eyewitness of the Holy Land, especially its northern parts.

The first episode we shall turn our attention to is to be found in Book XI of DVGXr (517-519): *Christus ... Ad uada uertit iter, Gerasanaque littora contra / Transuolat ad Magedon remis currente phasello*. This is an event described at the end of Matthew 15, when Jesus takes a light boat across the lake after feeding the multitude. The line 15: 39 of the Vulgate text reads: *Et, dimissa turba, ascendit in naviculam: et venit in fines Magedan*. This is the same moment as in Mark 7: 31: *Et iterum exiens de finibus Tyri, venit per Sidonem ad mare Galilaeae inter medios fines Decapoleos*. The main problem is that no place called Gerasa is to be found on the coast of the Sea of Galilee.⁴³ The Gospels do not mention it, either. So, how did Bunić come to combine these places?

⁴¹ Bible Gateway, on <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Biblia-Sacra-Vulgata-VULGATE/>, accessed 24 June 2020.

⁴² Cf. Đ. Körbler, *Jakov Bunić*, pp. 116-117.

⁴³ Bunić places it on an unidentified coast also in VII, 307; and near the lake, close to Capernaum, in VII, 362-363.

Gerasa, today's Jerash, was a famous town in Gilead (cf. *DVGXr*, VII, 307-308), belonging to Decapolis in Syria. It can be found in Pliny's *NH*, V, xvi, 74 as Galasa or Garasa, when he speaks of Syrian Decapolis: *Iungitur et latere Syriae Decapolitana regio, a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eadem observant, primum tamen Damascum...*, et iam dictum Hippon, Dion, Pellam aquis divitem, **Garasam**, Canatham. But Pliny does not mention Magedon/Magedan. It is St. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, who identifies Magedan with Magdala and locates it in the vicinity of Gerasa.⁴⁴ It is Jerome's mistake that Bunić probably follows, because Gerasa is not on the coast of the Galilean Lake, but further inland to the south-east. There is a town called Gergesa on the east coast of the lake, and this is probably what was meant, but the reputation of Gerasa from Pliny prevailed. It is hard to believe that Bunić would have made this mistake had he actually seen these places in person, although the place names were probably already different in his time.

The other episode is Bunić's presumed familiarity with the geography of northern Israel, Syria and Lebanon in *DVGXr*, XI, 575-578:

*Caesareae porro uenit super arua Philippi,
Mons super ingenti qua Libanus imminet umbra
Syluifer, undisonum qui longe eructat Orontem,
Panaeam gemino Iordanisque alluit ortu.*

This passage follows the preceding paragraph analysed here: after speaking with the pharisees and disciples, Jesus leaves for Caesarea Philippi (cf. Mark 16: 13: *Venit autem Jesus in partes Caesareae Philippi*). Bunić says that it is a city under the shadow of woody Mount Libanus, where the river Orontes is born, as well as Panias, a tributary of the River Jordan (see above, 2.3; *NH*, V, xv, 71: ***Iordanes amnis oritur e fonte Paneade, qui cognomen dedit Caesareae, de qua dicemus***). Caesarea Philippi, actually situated at the base of Mount Hermon (Anti-Libanus) and also known as Paneas (today Banias), is mentioned once more in Pliny (*NH*, V, xvi, 74): *...intercursant cinguntque has urbes tetrarchiae ... Trachonitis, Paneas, in qua Caesarea cum supra dicto fonte, Abila, Arca, Ampeloessa, Gabe*. As far as Orontes is concerned, Pliny is quite clear (*NH*, V, xviii, 80): *at in ora amnis Orontes, natus inter Libanum et Antilibanum iuxta Heliopolim*. Orontes does originate from Mount Libanus, near Heliopolis (today's Baalbek), but Bunić mixed up Libanus with Anti-Libanus as the location for Caesarea Philippi and the source of the river Panias.

⁴⁴ James Hastings (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels: Volume I, Part One*, Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific 1906 (reprinted 2004), p. 406, v. Dalmanutha; C. Umhau Wolf, *The Onomasticon of Eusebius Pamphili, compared with the version of Jerome and annotated*, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press 1971 (digitalised 2006 and available at <http://www.prenicea.net/doc4/40206-en-01.pdf>, accessed 23 June 2020, p. 76.

These two episodes cannot prove that Bunić had been to the Holy Land, because they, too, rely on literary sources, but neither can they disprove that he may have visited the southern parts of Judaea.

4 - EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

In previous chapters we have examined a couple of episodes which allow for the assumption that Bunić had seen Egypt and the Holy Land in person. However, as demonstrated, none of them can be regarded as conclusive proof. The next step is to look at other travel accounts to inspect how they were written. As has been mentioned, the sixteenth century witnessed a surge in travel writing, an age when the so-called *ars apodemica* (travel-writing based on personal experience, but also on classical works) was invented.⁴⁵ An exemplary author is Bartol Đurđević (c. 1506-1566), a Croatian writer who was taken to Turkey as prisoner of war, where he spent a number of years and, escaping slavery on the third attempt, ended up in Jerusalem in 1535. He wrote a description of the Holy Land in Italian: *Specchio della peregrinatione delli più notabili luoghi della Terra santa di Promessione, Et delle processioni, et cerimonie, che nella città di Hierusalem si sogliono celebrare*.⁴⁶ Since he wrote about the same places at roughly the same time as Bunić did, we will juxtapose the two texts and inspect how they compare to the original Text, namely the Bible, which served as model for both. As far as comparison goes, great use can be made of the description of the Palm Sunday procession, which was described in both Renaissance texts and based on an event mentioned in all four Gospels, the last entry of Jesus into Jerusalem before his passion (Mark 11: 7-11; Matthew 21: 7-10; Luke 19: 35-40; John 12: 13-16).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For more information about the authors, the principles and style of this literary genre cf. Irena Miličić, "Teoretičari, hodočasnici, činovnici: tri vrste renesansnih putopisnih tekstova" [Theoreticians, Pilgrims, Officials: Three Types of Renaissance Travelogue Texts] (hereafter *Teoretičari, hodočasnici*), *Povijesni prilozi* 38/2010, pp. 43-69.

⁴⁶ I. Miličević, *Teoretičari, hodočasnici*, p. 45.

⁴⁷ The Gospels are almost unanimous in describing this, cf. Matthew: "Et adduxerunt asinam et **pullum** et **inposuerunt super eis vestimenta sua** et eum desuper sedere fecerunt. Plurima autem turba **straverunt vestimenta sua in via** alii autem caedebant **ramos de arboribus** et sternebant in via. Turbae autem quae praecedebant et quae sequebantur clamabant dicentes **osanna Filio David benedictus qui venturus est in nomine Domini osanna in altissimis**. Et cum intrasset Hierosolimam commota est universa civitas dicens quis est hic?" Luke adds that the praises took place on the descent from the Mount of Olives (*ad descensum montis Oliveti*), and inserts an episode with the Pharisees who try to silence the people, with Jesus answering that the stones shall shout if the people are hushed: "Et quidam pharisaeorum de turbis dixerunt ad illum: Magister, increpa discipulos tuos. / Quibus ipse ait: Dico vobis, **quia si hi tacuerint, lapides clamabunt**". John reminds his readers of the Scripture of the Old Testament now being fulfilled.

The vocabulary of both texts, the epic one that tries to describe a historical event in lofty language, and the personal travelogue which is meant to be of practical use for readers and future travellers, echoes the words of the Gospels. They mention the ass, the vestments spread on the road before the Lord, the branches used to strew the road and to wave, the praise of Hosanna... The details not to be found in the Gospels are olive branches or flowers (olives: *Palladiae comas baccae* – v. 94, *rami d’Olivo*; flowers: *fiori*; on the other hand, John 12: 13 mentions *ramos palmarum* “palm branches”: *palmiferas cattervas* – v. 100) and their freshness, greenness (*ramos virentes* – v. 94; *fiorenti rami*).

J. Bunić,
 DVGXr, XIII,
 88-101; 135-7; 144-6

*Iussa uiri adducunt pecuaria, desuper ipsa
 Pro phaleris ornant insigni processit Iesus.
 Per decliue iugi postquam latus exit amoeni,
 Turba pedes subter Christo gratatur eunti,
 Certatimque rudes obiter sternebat amictus.
 Tum frondes alii passim iactare recenteis,
 Palladiaeque comas baccae, ramosque uirentes,
 Ridet iter, lateque uiam decus implet honestum.
 At laudes uoce electum canit agmen ouanti,
 Consonat omne solum, circum et nemus omne resultat,
 Carmina cum duplices Christo cecinere phalanges.
 Ni gens illa canat, lapides et marmora clament.
 Obuia palmiferas agit urbs undante cateruas
 Agmine, mox reboat sic laudibus arduus aether. ...
 Carmine diuinas laudes Osanna canamus,
 Nomine nam graditur patrio, et bene prosperat ortu.
 Huc ades o, benedicte, uenis qui nomine sancto...
 Dicite nunc domino, quoniam laus ipsa decora est...
 Haec alterna chori qui tum secus ora praeibant,
 Quique sequebantur cecinerunt carmina Christo.*

**B. Đurđević, *Specchio della peregrinatione*,
II, 1. Processione del domenica delle palme,
pp. 55-561⁴⁸**

... Hauendo il Guardiano dette queste parole,
subito dui frati della sua compagnia si
mettono à caminare verso il luogo, doue
lassaron **l'asino**, ilquale menato, ui metton
sopra un mantello, et poi caualcatoui il
Guardiano si mettono in processione **à dui**,
à dui, et se ne uanno innanzi cantando
l'Himno: Gloria **laus** et honor tibi sit Rex
Christe Redemptor etc. et la moltitudine
dell'altre nationi, et religioni di Christiani chi
ua innanci, et chi dietro al detto Guardiano
ciascuno nel suo linguaggio, et secondo
l'usanza sua cantando, et laudando Iddio;
altri **si spogliano i lor mantelli et mettonli**
sulla uia, per la qual deue passare il
Guardiano; alcuni pigliano **rami d'Oliuo**:
alcuni d'altra forte di **fiorenti rami**: altri
fiori: e chi una cosa, chi l'altra porta per
metterla sotto al detto animale, et cosi uanno
per monte Oliueto con tant'allegrezza
cantando, che è impossibile esprimerlo: per
ueder laqual festa et solennità tutti gli
habitatori di Hierusalem escon fuora...

⁴⁸ The 1554 edition printed in Rome by Valerio Dorico on <https://books.google.hr/books?id=dfw7AAAAcAAJ>, 24 June 2020.

The Gospels also do not mention the double lines of the procession (*duplices phalanges, alterna chori ora* – v. 98, 145; *à dui, à dui*). These details, though rather trivial, point to someone's personal experience of this procession (as can be seen in Catholic countries to this day), since they are the result of Church tradition, not parts of the original description. One can point to the fact that the account penned by Đurđević is more emotional, more expressive in terms of joyous atmosphere (e.g. *con tant'allegrezza cantando, che è impossibile esprimerlo*), but the hilarity also transpires in Bunić's verses (e.g. *ridet iter*). Of course, it is also possible that both authors imitated an unidentified, earlier travelogue.⁴⁹ Although this example cannot prove personal experience, in comparison it can be shown just how much personal travelogues relied on rather general information and the Biblical tradition.

CONCLUSION

In the end, what can we conclude about reading an early Renaissance epic poem as a travelogue, or at least as a source of information on its author's personal impressions? Can we claim with certainty that Bunić had been to the Holy Land? Unfortunately, no. Some of the details analysed above (in the descriptions of Bethlehem and Palm Sunday) seem to point to personal experience, but these details are not exclusive to Bethlehem or Jerusalem, and they could also have been seen (or read) somewhere else. Although it may be hard to believe that a person as religious as Bunić (who is very personal in his addresses to God throughout the epic) could have got as far as Egypt and not visited the places where Jesus had lived, it is also hard to believe that Beneša would fail to mention such a visit when recounting Bunić's journeys. There is a chance that Beneša took Egypt to mean the Mamluk Sultanate, which included Israel, Lebanon, and Syria until the war with the Ottomans (1516-1517). In that case, Bunić's presumed visit to Jerusalem and its sur-

⁴⁹ The description of the Palm-Sunday procession by the above-mentioned Faber, dating to the end of the fifteenth century, can be found on pp. 368-370 of his travelogue; here are the most similar extracts: "Ad hanc portam fuit Dominus deductus honorifice a monte in templum **cum palmis et ramis virentibus**... dum Christiani Jerusalem habebant,... in Bethphage... aliquem de magnis episcopis **posuerunt super asinum**, inductum sacerdotalibus vestibus, et contra civitatem sanctam processerunt. Eis autem **descendentibus de monte Oliveti** reliqui clerici et religiosi cum universa plebe de civitate eis **obviam cum ramis palmarum processerunt**, et modo evangelico **de olivis ramos caedebant et projiciebant in viam, et vestimenta sua in via prosternebant clamantes: Osanna etc.**... cantantes: **Gloria, Laus et caetera**. Et finite hymno deducebant episcopum **cum magno jubilo** in templum. Post perditionem vero civitatis sanctae... fratres... cum processione et cantu ascendunt in Bethphage, ibique aliquem fratrem sacris indutum **ponunt super asinum, et cum laudibus ipsum comitantur contra civitatem. In descensu autem montis Oliveti accurrunt eis caeteri Christiani orientales cum ramis palmarum et olivarum et cum prosternatione vestimentorum...**".

roundings would have been encompassed by the term “Egypt”. However, we must acknowledge the fact that we have no conclusive evidence, just conjectures based on small details lost in a sea of classical quotations.

The main problem is that Bunić followed contemporary conventions, observing the rules of the genre. In such works credibility was not achieved by drawing on personal and contemporary experience, but by strict reliance on ancient and Biblical templates, and by using the language and style (especially the metaphors, the best places to look for a traveller’s experience) of the classics. The existence of a certain place in the works of classical authors rooted it firmly in time and space and verified it as real in the eyes of the audience. As was mentioned at the beginning, the Renaissance was a time of discovering far-away places and tracing one’s roots back to previous periods, and Bunić had the additional task of proving Christ’s historicity by grounding him in places described by unquestionable authorities, the classical authors. He did so by using not only numerous Roman poets, as shown in previous chapters, but also, sometimes even unexpectedly, ancient Greek and Roman prose writers. As pointed out by Irena Miličić,⁵⁰ towards the end of the sixteenth century personal information became an essential part of the travelogue genre, but ancient authorities remained important. It was also the obligation of travellers to share the knowledge they had acquired through observation and so to satisfy the curiosity of the age. According to criteria of subjectivity, Bunić’s epic cannot be viewed as a travel journal, especially when we consider that even for Egypt, a land we can be fairly confident Bunić had really visited, only one detail (the Arabic name of Gesira) points to contemporary experience.⁵¹ On the other hand, his epic poem can be viewed as a real testimony to the spirit of his age. The turn of the century presents a peak in travel writing and people reading Bunić would have delighted in imagining for themselves the places he describes. Another mark of his time is the fact that he combines the Christian theme in Latin verse (an epic written in the language of the Catholic Church, in the style of ancient pagans, on the eve of the Reformation) with scientific, historiographical, and geographical literature which served to corroborate his very spiritual theme. His apparent lack of personality testifies to his determination to be true to the style that glorified his sublime subject, and to prove the genuineness of the events he narrates by as much knowledge of the role models who were most valued in the taste of his public as possible.

⁵⁰ I. Miličić, *Teoretičari, hodočasnici* pp. 51, 54, 60-61; Irena Miličić, “Književnost ili povijest? Knjižica o opisu putova u Tursku: Feliks Petančić i njegov renesansni bestseller”, *Povijesni prilozi*, vol. 32, no. 44/2013, pp. 158-159.

⁵¹ However, some later travelogues lack in subjectivity, too; cf. Bonifacije Drakolice, *De perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae*, Venice 1573. Cf. I. Miličić, *Teoretičari, hodočasnici*, pp. 50-53.

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Maja Matasović

U potrazi za putovanjem: čitanje epa *De vita et gestis Christi* Jakova Bunića kao putopisa

Sažetak

Dubrovčanin Jakov Bunić (1469-1534) velik je dio života proveo putujući kao trgovac po Sredozemlju pa je tako završio i u Egiptu i u drugim zemljama svijeta. Njegov latinski ep u 16 pjevanja o Kristovu životu i djelovanju, *De vita et gestis Christi*, na nekoliko mjesta donosi opise tih, hodočasnicima zanimljivih krajeva. Budući da Bunić piše u doba kada se intenzivno pišu putopisi, i kada se na sve strane prenose razna saznanja, po mogućnosti utemeljena na antičkim tekstovima, o povijesti, zemljopisu i običajima različitih krajeva, u ovom se radu istražuje koliko nam opisi i poredbe u Bunićevom epu pružaju saznanja o itineraru njegovih vlastitih putovanja: možemo li utvrditi koja je mjesta posjetio ili njegove osobne dojmove. Također se pokušava ustanoviti je li on išao i u Svetu Zemlju, ili samo poslovno u Egipat, budući da su to mjesta u kojima je Isus, junak njegova epa pisanoga prema Evanđeljima, živio i djelovao. Informacije se sakupljaju iščitavanjem epa, ali i drugih izvora o Bunićevu životu, konkretno jedne pjesme njegova sugrađanina Damjana Beneše. Uspoređuju se i obilježja renesansnih putopisa popularnih upravo u 16. stoljeću, primjerice onoga Bartola Đurđevića. Ujedno se traže i izvori informacija o dalekim zemljama u djelima klasičnih autora (npr. Ovidija, Vergilija i Lukana), koje Bunić temeljito koristi za obogaćivanje svoga epa, ali i za stjecanje vjerodostojnosti za događaje koji se u njemu opisuju. Pokazuje se u kolikoj se mjeri i u kojim se književnim sredstvima Bunić u svojoj uzvišenoj epskoj pjesničkoj formi koristi čak i antičkim povjesničarima (prvenstveno Plinijem Starijim, ali i Herodotom, Diodorom Sikulskim itd.).

Ključne riječi: Jakov Bunić, *De vita et gestis Christi*, humanistički ep, putopis, literature šesnaestog stoljeća, stara grčka i latinska geografija

IV.

THE ALMIGHTY SEA: SAFETY, COHABITATION AND EMOTIONS ON BOARD

Krešimir Kužić

SAFE BAYS AND ANCHORAGES ON THE CROATIAN COAST OF THE ADRIATIC SEA ACCORDING TO PILGRIM ITINERARIES FROM THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Abstract: Based on travelogues of European pilgrims, which were written in the period from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, the author made a list of usual anchorages – rest-places and shelters of Venetian and the other ships during sailing along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In addition, information on the volume of shipping and the security status of the Adriatic in the observed period were supplemented.

Key words: Adriatic Sea, pilgrimages, sailing, bays, harbours

INTRODUCTION

In the period from the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, with the peak in 1450-1500, thousands of pilgrims from Central and Western Europe traveled along the eastern, Croatian coast of the Adriatic. For a long time the unavoidable port of departure was Venice,¹ according to one

¹ "... qu'il aille à Venise pour s'embarquer: parce, que c'est le plus commode passage qu'en ville du monde, ...". See: Antoine Regnault, *Discours du voyage d'outre mer au Saint Sepulcre de Ierusalem, et autres lieux de la terre Sainte*, Lyon 1573, p. 2.

Frenchman "... the most excellent, noble, great and beautiful city ..." ² Virtually all passengers shared his enthusiasm. Their ships were headed for Jaffa, the main port (which was, in fact, an anchorage) for visitors of the Holy Land and the sacred places found there, especially those in Jerusalem. Although the main interest of the Republic of Venice lay in maintaining trade links and directions, at an early stage the State still legally regulated passenger transport. Several patrician families made their fortunes by intensive transporting pilgrims from Venice to the Holy Land, among them a branch of Contarini, who was known as "Contarini of Jaffa" (*Contarini dal Zaffo*). Most pilgrims were Germans. They came from all parts of the Empire: from Danzig to Bern, and from Flanders to Styria. ³ As for residents of other countries, Venetians, the French and the English predominated. With regard to the pilgrims' social class, all social strata were represented. ⁴ The inclination to write a travelogue was noticeable both in churchmen and the aristocracy. City-dwellers did not lag behind, either. Indeed, pilgrims-patricians / burghers have prevailed as authors of popular reports, and the reason for this trend can be found in the existence of a number of rich cities with a relatively large reading public whose members looked for interesting topics, but also wished to prove their faith and success. ⁵ In general, we find a wealth of information about Croatian regions in travel books, including descriptions of towns, and villages, representative religious buildings, and fortresses. Travelogues also reveal that some authors were perceptive observers of economic activity, but also of ethnographic details, from language to costumes and customs. With regard to marine themes, Germans proved to be proverbially pedantic. Their detailed reports describe seafarers and ships of all profiles, allowing us to reconstruct some of the vessels. Pilgrims also noted the basic navigational features of the eastern Adriatic coast, and highlighted numerous reefs and ridges as negative features. As regards positive features, writers highlighted

² "... tresexcellante, noble, grande et belle cité ...". François Bonnardot-Auguste Longnon, *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem du seigneur d'Anglure*, Paris 1878, pp. 1, 3.

³ Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV. do XVII. st. – opora, vinorodna, kršćanska* [Croatian Shore in the Travelogues of German Pilgrims from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries – Bitter, Wine-rich, Christian] (hereafter *Hrvatska obala*), Split: Književni krug 2013, pp. 9, 194-197.

⁴ For Englishmen, see: Mithad Kozličić, "Plovidba Jadranom 14.-16. stoljeća u putničkim izvješćima" [Navigation on the Adriatic Sea from 14th to 16th Centuries according to the Traveling Accounts], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, Razdio povijesnih znanosti, 35/1997, 22, pp. 260-270 (pp. 257-279).

⁵ Werner Palavicini, "Von der Heidenfahrt zur Kavalierstour – Über Motive und Formen adligen Reisens im späten Mittelalter", in: Horst Brunner (ed.), *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert 1993, pp. 91-92, 99-102, 104.

bays and numerous smaller or larger coves, such as suitable shelters and anchorages which ships could turn to in case of inclement weather. All this was emphasized by portolan writers, too.⁶ In the event of stronger storms, vessels sailing along the opposite, western Adriatic coast were almost inevitably threatened by shipwrecks (see: Map 1). Seafarers were aware that the: ... *beaches of Puglia and Abruzzo are bad in summer (...) not to mention in winter ...* Trouble was caused by the tempestuous bura (bora) – ... *a terrible storm from northeastern direction ...*⁷. However, the bura (bora) was equally horrid for unsheltered ships on both sides of the sea.⁸

THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE BAYS

A permanent and vital task of the entire state apparatus and the political, administrative, and military officials of the Republic of Venice was to ensure the freedom of navigation of metropolitan ships along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. At the same time, it was necessary to prevent, or at least control the movement and anchoring of enemy ships in the aquatorium. However, as the city ports were few and at times hostile, all ships made use of the numerous bays ranging from the Istrian peninsula (in the north-west) to the city of Ulcinj (in the south-east) during military operations. Among a number of naval conflicts from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, it is enough to examine the remarkable details of the war between Venice and Genoa (the latter was in alliance with the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom)

⁶ Benedikt Kotruljević, *De navigatione - O plovidbi* (hereafter *De navigatione*), Zagreb: Ex libris 2005, pp. 87, 232. – "... Dalla banda de tramontana sonno illirici sini et porti nobilissimi ...".

⁷ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXXIII*, Venezia 1892, pp. 353-354. – "... perché queste spiagge di Puia et Abruzzo sono cative di estate (...) nonché d'inverno (...) crudelisima fortuna da griego-levante ..."

⁸ On the storm that in 1443 caused the destruction of four galleys near the city of Peschici, see: Emilio Aleo, *Edizione commentata della Cronaca di Venezia di Giovanni Tiepolo (XVI-XVII sec.)*, Dottorato di ricerca in Bisanzio ed Eurasia. Secc. V-XVI, Bologna 2012, p. 527.

About the gusts of the bura and overturned ships near Pula, Boka and Zadar, see: Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XIV*, Venezia 1886, pp. 486-487.; Jan Somer, *See- und Land-Reise von Mittelburg in Seeland nach der Levante*, Frankfurt/Main: Johann Frantz for Wilhelm Serlin 1665, pp. 15-17.; Ferdo Šišić, "Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga" [The Diary of Zadar Patrician Paul de Paulo], *Vjestnik Kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 6/1904, p. 40.

Generally, about the bura wind: "Bura is a dry, cold and gusty north-east wind (NNE-ENE directions). During bura, there is an increased perception of coldness. (...) Bura is often preceded by a cold north (N) wind known as tramontane". Višnja Vučetić-Alica Bajić, "Vjetar / Wind", in: K. Zaninović (ed.), *Klimatski atlas Hrvatske [Climate atlas of Croatia 1961-1990, 1970-2000]*, Zagreb: Državni hidrometeorološki zavod 2008, pp. 112-113.

in 1378-1381,⁹ as well the long-standing conflicts of the Republic with the Uskoks¹⁰ from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. After the Lion of St. Mark defeated all rivals at the beginning of the fifteenth century, a period of prosperity lasting fifty years ensued. Peace was maintained by ... *the vigilance of your galleys ...*, as Kotruljević writes with good reason to the Venetian Senate.¹¹ New troubles for seafarers arose at the end of the fifteenth century with the raids and havocs of various Muslim corsairs and pirates, and, ultimately, the naval forces of the Ottoman Empire. We will skip these incidents and pay more attention to the news about the Uskoks brought by the German pilgrims Rauwolf and Stammer. As Dr. Rauwolf wrote ... *often the ships in the coves are not safe from Uskoks or sea robbers ...*,¹² and this statement is confirmed by the reports of experienced Venetian commanders and city governors. It was therefore suggested that the galleys should be deployed to the most convenient bays, but the Government desisted from doing so due to excessive costs. For this reason, controls were carried out only occasionally, as confirmed by this learned burgher of Augsburg. The Republic of Venice controlled the movement of foreign warships in the Adriatic Sea to the end, not wanting to lose its right of sovereignty.¹³

Based on their extensive experience, the Venetian patrician maritime trade circles concluded that the safest way to send the merchant galleys to

⁹ The Venetian fleet was deployed in the coves near the city of Trogir, and after the appearance of the Genoese fleet it withdrew into the bays of Čikat (*Cigala*) and Sv. Petar. See: Natko Nodilo, "Annali di Ragusa del magnifico ms. Nicolò di Ragnina" (hereafter *Annali di Ragusa*), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 14/1883, pp. 42-43; Ivan Lučić, *Povijesna svojedočanstva o Trogiru I*, Split: Čakavski sabor 1979, pp. 676, 683, 685-686, 693.

¹⁰ The term Uskok denotes a person who "... fled to escape Ottoman rule to avoid the payment of tribute, religious oppression, slavery or annihilation. ...". They were engaged and protected (in some measure) by the Habsburgs, and occasionally supported by the Popes. In fact, their mortal enemies were Ottomans, but, in the course of time, the same feature was deserved by Venice and Dubrovnik because they were trade partners of Ottomans. Therefore, Uskoks attacked and destroyed ships of these two Republics, although both of them were Christians. Last but not least: Uskoks were not numerous, but numerous bandits were hiding and acting under their name. Philip Longworth, "The Senj Uskoks Reconsidered", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 57/3, 1979, pp. 349-352; Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *Senjski uskoci: piratstvo, razbojništvo i sveti rat na Jadranu u šesnaestom stoljeću* [The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth Century Adriatic], Zagreb: Barbat 1997, pp. 4-14, 21.

¹¹ B. Kotruljević, *De navigatione*, p. 71. – "... vigilante custodia de vostre galee ...".

¹² K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 513/CD enclosed, p. 270 – "... ja es seindt wol vor solchen Scacki oder Meerräuber, oft die Schiff in den Porten nicht sicher, ...".

¹³ Vikentij V. Makušev-Milan Šufflay, "Isprave za odnošaj Dubrovnika prema Veneciji" [Charters on Relations between Dubrovnik and Venice] (hereafter *Isprave za odnošaj*), *Starine JAZU* 31/1905, p. 191.

their respective destinations was in organized convoys – *mude*.¹⁴ This turned out to be expedient, so corsairs and pirates were discouraged from attacking mutual defending ships, as they would otherwise have done to an alone merchantman. In addition, in case of inclement weather it was possible for vessels to come to each other's aid on the spot. These squadrons maintained the lines to the Levant (Alexandria, Beirut, etc.), Constantinople, the Black Sea, Berberia, France, England, as well as to the Flemish ports, and our pilgrims were aware of that. Year after year all kinds of merchandise and, ultimately, gains flowed into the City on the Lagoons. At this point we will not enter into summarized surveys of the volume of maritime traffic. However, from works on this subject it is evident that the figures varied mostly as a result of economic trends and political relations.¹⁵ It is enough to look at records and pilgrimage notes in order to understand that not a single day during the observed period went by without some ship being at anchor in one of the eastern Adriatic bays.¹⁶ Passenger transport was initially an incidental and unimportant way to make money, but at the beginning of the fifteenth century it developed into a separately regulated activity. One of the peculiarities of pilgrim journeys was the division of annual departures into the Easter (April to June) and the August (from July to October) cycles: sailing was avoided in the meteorologically most unfavorable months.¹⁷ Regarding large investments (not only in ships but also in cargo) in the first place and having passenger safety in mind, too, it is clear why the Republic of Venice took systematic steps to facilitate navigation, as well as increase ship safety. One of the most important interventions was the visible marking of naturally protected bays, as observed and recorded by pilgrims from 1483 and 1495.

¹⁴ Claire Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner – Économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XV^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Leiden – Boston: Brill 2008, pp. 15, 21, 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, 69-72, 95.

¹⁶ On merchant galleys, see: Domenico Malipiero, "Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del senatore Domenico Malipiero" (hereafter *Annali veneti*), *Archivio storico italiano* VII/2, 1844, p. 615 – "... quattro grosse da Barutho, de tre d' Alessandria ..." (in 1464), p. 622 – "... quatro galie per Fiandra, (...) quatro per Alessandria (...), tre per Barutho ..." (1486), p. 623 – "... tre galie da Barutho ..." (1488), p. 626 – "... do galie de Barbaria ... 4 galie da Barutho ..." (1493); Ludwig Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften des XIV. XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (hereafter *Vier rheinische*), Wiesbaden: Feller und Gecks 1882, pp. 194-195.

¹⁷ Crossing the Alps was no less important, as the range presented the greatest continental obstacle for German, Scandinavian and many of the English, Dutch and French pilgrims. On usual travel directions, see: Henry Simonsfeld, *Der fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen* II, Stuttgart: Cotta 1887, pp. 91-94, 97-100, 198-201; Margaret M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (hereafter *Canon Pietro Casola's*), Manchester: Manchester University Press 1907, p. 71; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 14; Krešimir Kužić, "Nordijski hodočasnici u hrvatskim primorskim krajevima (14.-17. stoljeće)" [Nordic Pilgrims in Croatian Littoral Regions], *Povijesni prilozi* 49/2015, p. 131.

However, long ago galley commanders used maps for orientation, and this is evidenced by Grünemberg, who said that a steersman ... *has a map of parchment. The whole sea is drawn there and all the numbers of miles from one port to the other. ...*¹⁸ Nautical charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the turning point in the development of cartography.¹⁹ Ancient patterns were rejected and, in place of them, it was applied the first-hand experience based on the long-standing circumnavigation of their own and other coasts. Although schematic on the first impression, late-medieval portolan charts are, perhaps surprisingly, quite proportional to the real distances. Together with the compass, they were used to precisely determine the direction of navigation, along with data on wind, distances, and toponyms. Above all, every sailor knew that the influence of sea currents had to be taken into account.

Therefore, the claim that ... *conducting the galley is a great skill ...*, is no exaggeration, because two types of drives had to be matched. The galleys had sails, but they were generally not used on entering or leaving port, and were virtually useless during periods of calm. On these occasions, galleys were propelled by oars, and according to their size, they had to be manned by a large crew – between 150 and 200 rowing men.²⁰ When the same or greater number of passengers is added to this number, it becomes clear why a galley had to stop at short intervals to restock on water and food supplies. Daily cruising stages rarely exceeded 50 miles, even in ideal weather conditions, so the testimonies left behind by our pilgrims attest to frequent stops in harbors (see: Map 2).²¹

¹⁸ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 363 / CD enclosed, p. 111. – “... hat och neben im ligen ain karten von permet, da stat, das gantz mer inn gemalt und aler mil zal, alweg von ain port an das ander ...”.

¹⁹ The earliest preserved portolan maps can be dated to the end of the thirteenth century, and those depicting the Adriatic coast to the beginning of the fourteenth century. See: Mithad Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici hrvatskoga Jadrana – Izbor karata, planova i veduta do kraja 17. stoljeća* [Cartographic Monuments from Croatian Adriatic – Selection of Maps, Plans, and Sights until the End of the 17th Century] (hereafter *Kartografski spomenici*), Zagreb: AGM 1995, pp. 26-36; Krešimir Kužić, “Otok Jabuka u bilješkama putnika na Jadranu od 14. do 17. stoljeća - ime i izgled” [Jabuka Island in the Notes of Adriatic Sea Travellers from 14th to 17th Century - Name and Shape] (hereafter *Otok Jabuka*), *Geoadria* 20/2, 2015, pp. 153-156.

²⁰ Several travellers gave very detailed descriptions of galleys, but Kotruljević's description from 1464 is considered as a competent. See: B. Kotruljević, *De navigatione*, pp. 103-107, 110-111. – “... Condurre la galea è grande magisterio...”; Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (hereafter *Venetian Ships*), Baltimore – London: JHU Press 1992, pp. 23-25. Design characteristics of galley did not allow exposure to larger waves, because it did not have high sides. Therefore, in order to avoid the perils of weather malice, the commanders had to know the nearest anchorages and shelter with their protection features. It should distinguish the gusts of the wind from the strikes of the waves. See the case near Ston from 1480 in: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 337.

²¹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 269.

However, from the end of the fifteenth century, pilgrims began more and more to prefer the pure sailing ships, so they prevailed soon.²² A turning moment in pilgrimage traffic was recorded by Sanudo.²³ From 1519, the State sponsored organization of passenger galley to Jaffa was abandoned – oar vessels arranged by State were definitely overwhelmed by independent merchantmen. Their main feature was the ability to sail greater stretches of voyage. Owing to their structural properties, they had a larger cargo area and could therefore store larger quantities of water and foodstuffs. It should also be mentioned that a negative feature was their larger draught, due to which they could not enter shallow ports and anchorages. Another disadvantage lay in the exclusive use of sails, so that such ships were condemned to floating in periods of calms. For this reason, they were frequently drifted back miles to the north-west by the constant south-east Adriatic stream on their outbound journey. However, with favorable winds sailing ships could cross the Adriatic with no more than two or three anchorings, and they did so almost exclusively at the outer islands. Important landmarks for terrestrial navigation were the islands Jabuka, Sv. Andrija,²⁴ Biševo, Vis, and Palagruža, as well as Sušac and Lastovo (see: Map 2). In the context of maneuvering limitations, the seafarers' opinion that an ideal anchorage has two entrances is understandable (see: Fig. 1). The best (proved) portolans described the layout of bays in detail and featured wind roses,²⁵ which also proved to be very useful, since they depicted the azimuth angles of all major winds. Kotruljević mentions the following eight names: *tramontana* / *tramuntana* (0°), *bora* / *bura* (45°), *levante* / *levanat* (90°), *sirocco* / *jugo* (135°), *ostro* / *oštro* (180°), *libeccio* / *garbin* (225°), *ponente* / *pulenat* (270°) and *maestro* / *maestral* (315°).²⁶

²² Passengers also described the sailing ships, but in this case, too, it is better to use Kotruljević. See: B. Kotruljević, *De navigatione*, pp. 125-135; F. C. Lane, *Venetian Ships*, pp. 41, 45, 51-53.

²³ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVII*, Venezia 1890, p. 232. – "... È da saper, non va più galie al viazo del Zaffo, come era solito andar, ma nave; sichè do nave a messo bancho al dito viazo del Zaffo per levar pelegriini..."

²⁴ Mithad Kozličić – Josip Faričić, "The Significance of Sv. Andrija Island (Svetac) on a Sailing Route Across the Adriatic Presented on Old Geographical Maps", *Geoadria* 9/1, 2004, pp. 35-36, 38-41; Kužić, *Otok Jabuka*, pp. 152, 155, 169.

²⁵ Ernesto Spadolini, "Il portolano di Grazioso Benincasa" (hereafter *Il portolano di Grazioso*), *La bibliofilia* 9/1-2, 1908, p. 104. – "... I quali porti e senbianze di terre non sono tratte niuna della charta, ma sonno tochte chon mano, et vegiute cholli occhi. ...".

²⁶ B. Kotruljević, *De navigatione*, pp. 151-155. – "... tramontana, greco, levante, scilocho, ostro, libeci, ponente i maistro ...".

Many pilgrims drew suchlike roses into their manuscripts. In 1519, Swiss pilgrim Stockar noted the names in this corrupted way: "Lofand, Sirock, Garbin, Porent, und Miaster, Drantz-Munt, Thama, Grigo-Mortana, Gros-Muttana, Underram". See: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 435.

Generally, about the jugo wind: "... jugo is a moist, warm and uniform south-east wind (ESE-SSE directions). Strong jugo creates high waves". V. Vučetić – A. Bajić, *Vjetar / Wind*, pp. 113-114.

Accordingly, portolans provided information on the bays and the key winds, and on this basis even inexperienced commander knew what awaited him on entering and staying in each of them. However, these information are of general nature, and compared to portolans, pilgrimage reports are more detailed and lifelike. We should not be surprised that pilgrims recorded such details as the directions of approach, the angles of wave strokes and wind blowing, and especially the positions of reefs. They perceived these phenomena as strange, dangerous and unusual, as opposed to seafarers, who spent many years of their lives on galleys, galleons, and other ships. In his younger days, Johann Flachsbander / a.k.a. Jan Dantyszek / *Dantiscus* traveled across much of Europe and in the Middle East participating in several wars. He even saw *Magnus Oceanus* (Atlantic Ocean), but admitted that ... *I shudder recalling to mind ...* the storms and tempests on the Adriatic Sea during his pilgrimage in 1505.²⁷ Everything points to the fact that, neither this testimony, nor many others, sublimed into prose or poetry, were the product of subjectivity and day-dreamed hyperbola. Just contrarily, each of them was in the memory engraved real experience that had affected many ships and passengers on board.

In the coves pilgrims rested from the strains of travel, but also expressed gratitude to God for keeping them safe from storms. Sometimes the nearest shore in a cove served as the last resting place for some of the deceased pilgrimage fellow-travellers or crew members. Any kind of firm ground in the cove was considered a better solution than casting body sewn into sailcloth into the deep sea. For instance, a traveller who died of plague was buried in a cove on the eastern coast of Istria; in the second case, the defuncted Dane was inhumed in ground of the island sheltering the bay of Stari Trogir, and in the third example, a pilgrim from France was laid to rest while the galley was anchored in the Bay of Morinje (see: Map 1).²⁸

BAYS AND SAILING DIRECTIONS

We have mentioned that names (toponyms) were the third type of data that a portolan chart contained. Their density and the connection with the

²⁷ Johann Gottlob Boehme, *Ioannis de Curiis Dantisci episc. olim Varmiensi Poemata et Hymni*, Breslau 1764, pp. 85, 91-96. – "... horresco memorans ...".

Johann Flachsbander (1485-1548) was a German-Polish humanist, poet, diplomat and Bishop of Ermland/Warmia. Nickname Dantiscus comes from his native city of Danzig. See: Inge Brigitte Müller-Blessing, "Johannes Dantiscus von Höfen – Ein Diplomat und Bischof zwischen Humanismus und Reformation", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 31-32/92-93, 1968, pp. 63, 76, 225; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 216.

²⁸ It was on October 18, 1496. See: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 132, 406. The French died on 23 October, 1494. See: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 393.

objects they labeled highly contributed to the quality of a map. In addition, precise writing prevented wrong positioning and determining the direction of navigation. Finally, by analysing toponyms, we can date the chart and deduce its place of designing (origination).²⁹ There were also several cases in which pilgrims did not name the bay, but we managed to identify it by calculating the distance between destinations, or even by looking for characteristic details in the description of the surroundings, if such details were to be found (e.g. churches or other edifices). The toponyms featured in the list below are noted in today's form, with the pilgrims' transcriptions in brackets where the place names were misspelled. Since the middle of the fifteenth century, the first stage of sailing from Venice in the direction of the east Adriatic coast included stopping in the cities of Rovinj or Poreč. Sanudo comments: ... *From here innumerable galleys and sailing-ships depart, because it is a good harbor ...*³⁰ However, for the purposes of this paper we will consider as a starting point a cove and point which keep memories of one of the greatest naval battles of the Middle Ages on the Adriatic. The cove is now shared by Croatia and Slovenia, and the cape is the first on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic from the north-west – Cape of Savudrija (see: Map 1).

1) SAVUDRIJSKA (45° 30' N/φ; 13° 30' E/λ)

- 1483 (*Ponta di Salbua*) – galley – sailed into during a stormy adverse jugo (sirocco) and stayed overnight. Sanudo points out this bay as an anchorage for galleys and other ships.³¹

It provides good shelter from all winds except the westerlies and north-westerlies.³² However, the earliest works of cartographers paid greater at-

²⁹ Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500", J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography 1 - Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, Chicago: Chicago University Press 1987, pp. 382, 389, 415-428.

³⁰ Marino Sanudo, *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana nell' anno MCCCCLXXXIII*, Padova 1847, p. 152. – "... De qui si parte infinite galie et nave, per esser bono porto ...". See: Milorad Pavić, "Plovidbena ruta sjevernim Jadranom u izolaru Giuseppea Rosaccija" [Naval Route in the Isolar by Giuseppe Rosacci] (hereafter *Plovidbena ruta*), *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 42/2000, pp. 176, 179.

³¹ The galley was commanded by Piero Lando, but his pilgrims did not name a cove. This was done by M. Sanudo, who accidentally found himself on a trip to Istria. A crucial battle occurred in 1177 between Venetian fleet and armada of Emperor Friedrich I Barbarossa. This battle was happily reported by all Venetian officials. See: M. Sanudo, *Itinerario per la terraferma*, p. 150; Šime Ljubić, "Commissiones et relationes Venetae", II (hereafter *Commissiones et relationes Venetae II*), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 8/1877, p. 192; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 351. See: Milorad Pavić, *Plovidbena ruta*, pp. 176, 179.

³² *Peljar* (hereafter *Peljar*), Split: Hidrografski institut Jugoslavenske Ratne Mornarice 1964, pp. 18f-20; Anton Simović (ed.), *Navigational Guide to the Adriatic – Croatian Coast* (hereafter *Navigational*

tention to the cape of the same name, while the name of the Dragonja River appeared as a landmark only in the sixteenth century.³³

2) MIRNA (45° 19' N; 13° 34' E)³⁴

- 1590 (*port de Quieto / port de repos*) – nave – cast anchor for the boarding of a pilot.³⁵

This name is found in a series of cartographic works dating from 1426 to 1606, and it usually referred to the river.³⁶ The bay is an extended mouth (estuary) of the river Mirna and it provides shelter from all winds except from the western wind.³⁷ Its spaciousness is emphasized by Mosto, too.³⁸ Sanudo recounts the legend according to which the ancient Argonauts sailed to this bay.³⁹

One of the three Venetian galleys from the convoy (*muda*) to Berbaria sailed into the bay on its return in 1522.⁴⁰

3) VERIGE (Veli Brijun – 44° 54' N; 13° 46' E)

- 1497 (*Brionia*) – sailing-ship? – waited eight days for another ship and a favorable wind.⁴¹

The cove on the eastern coast of the island is sheltered from all the winds except the easterlies.⁴²

Guide), Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 1993, p. 29; Alvise da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare di Alvise da Mosto nobile Veneto* (hereafter *Il portolano del mare*), Venezia 1806, p. 34. Alvise da Mosto, *Portolano per i naviganti* (hereafter *Portolano per*), Venezia 1490, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb37283287h>, accessed 20 February 2017.

³³ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28-29, 68, 70, 246.

³⁴ This paper uses topographic maps of the second edition (from 1968-1980 / 1984) published by Military Geographic Institute in Belgrade. See: Branko Puceković, "Ispitivanje točnosti Topografske karte u mjerilu 1:25 000 u izdanju Vojnogeografskog instituta u Beogradu" [Research of Accuracy of Topographic Map published by Military Geographic Institute in Belgrade], *Geodetski list*, 68/91-1, 2014, pp. 33-35. Topographical maps are given priority over nautical ones as they usually feature a more extensive list of land-oriented toponyms. The ratio 1: 25,000 means that 4 units of measurement on the map (i.e. 4 mm) represent 100 m on the ground. Standard labels are used, in this case: TK 1:25000, 366-1-1.

³⁵ Jacques de Villamont, *Les voyages du sr. De Villamont* (hereafter *Les voyages*), Arras 1606, p. 548.

³⁶ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 39, 42, 68, 70, 137, 173, 201.

³⁷ *Peljar*, p. 25; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 31.

³⁸ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 33; A. da Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination.

³⁹ M. Sanudo, *Itinerario per la terraferma*, p. 151; See: M. Pavić, *Plovidbena ruta*, pp. 176, 179.

⁴⁰ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXXIII*, pp. 265-266.

⁴¹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 408.

⁴² *Peljar*, p. 32; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 37-38.

4) FAŽANA (44° 55' N; 13° 48' E)⁴³

- 1434 (*golffo de pola*) – galley – supervision of the crew.⁴⁴
- 1486 – galley – arrived during the jugo (sirocco), and stayed overnight.⁴⁵
- 1494 (*Campo di Pulach*) – galley – arrived during the jugo (sirocco), and stayed for three days.⁴⁶
- 1523 – nave – arrived with the jugo (sirocco), and stayed for two days.⁴⁷
- 1569 – nave – stopped for dinner.⁴⁸

The anchorage facing to the village is protected from the north-eastern and south-eastern winds.⁴⁹

A portolan from 1490 points out that Fažana is a safe anchorage and forming an aquatorium with the port of Pula and the Brijuni Islands.⁵⁰

In 1588 the galley of Captain of the Guard against the Uskoks stayed there at anchor.⁵¹

5) VERUDA (44° 50' N; 13° 50' E)⁵²

- 1675 – galley – sailed into the cove with the jugo (sirocco) and waited for a day.⁵³

The cove is protected from all winds.⁵⁴ Portolans from 1477 and 1490 explicitly emphasize a feature that the cove is sheltered from the jugo (sirocco).⁵⁵

⁴³ TK 1:25000, 416-2-1.

⁴⁴ Ernst Henrici, "Beschreibung einer Seereise von Venedig nach Beirut im Jahre 1434", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Althertum und deutsche Literatur* 25 / n. F. 13, 1881, p. 66.

⁴⁵ Edo Pivčević, "Jedno svjedočanstvo o hrvatskim gradovima iz godine 1486.", *Rad JAZU* 429, 1988, p. 190.

⁴⁶ Gerhard Fouquet, *Die Reise eines niederadeligen Anonymus ins Heilige Land im Jahre 1494* (hereafter *Die Reise*) Frankfurt a/M – Bern: Peter Lang 2007, p. 248; Margaret M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 333. Casola explicitly names the settlement as *La Fasana*.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Escher-Heinrich Hirzel, "Warhafte reiß gen Venedig und Jerusalem, beschen durch Petter Füßly und Heinrich Ziegler. Anno 1523.", *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1884, neue Folge*, 7, 1884, p. 154.

⁴⁸ Šime Jurić, "Putovanje jednog Nijemca duž dalmatinske obale 1569. godine" [Traveling of one German across Dalmatian Coast] (hereafter *Putovanje jednog*), *Zadarska revija* XXVII/2-3, 1978, p. 283.

⁴⁹ *Peljar*, p. 31; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 3; Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination.

⁵¹ The captain's letter states the following: "... Di galea alli campi di Pola li 24 marzo 1588 ...". See: Grga Novak, "Mletačka uputstva i izvještaji", VI (hereafter *Mletačka uputstva*), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 49/1970, p. 25.

⁵² TK 1:25000, 416-2-3.

⁵³ Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant I.*, Lyon 1678, p. 83.

⁵⁴ *Peljar*, p. 36; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 39.

⁵⁵ A. de Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 3, 32; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 106. Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination.

In 1531, a Venetian Commander of the Fustas stopped briefly in the cove following a storm.⁵⁶

6) DUGA (44° 55' N; 14° 02' E)⁵⁷

- 1464 (*portus Longus*) – sailing-ship? – put in with the bura (bora), buried a passenger dead of plague.⁵⁸

The cove is somewhat protected from the bura (bora), but it is exposed to the south-eastern wind.⁵⁹ Although relatively small, it gained place on the maps due to its importance.⁶⁰

7) LUKA MALI LOŠINJ (Lošinj – 44° 32' N; 14° 28' E)⁶¹

- 1589 (*Val da gosta*) – nave – ?⁶²
- 1609 (*Valdogosto*) – *carmoesalo*⁶³ – sailed into the bay due to a contrary wind and waited for eight days.⁶⁴

The bay is protected from all winds, except, partly, from the northwesterlies, and is counted among the best anchorages in the northern Adriatic.⁶⁵ Mosto lists all of these features, too.⁶⁶ It can be found on an anonymous map from 1375 and Vesconte's map from 1512. Having been founded in this bay, the small town of Mali Lošinj gave it current name.⁶⁷

8) ČIKAT (Lošinj – 44° 31' N; 14° 27' E)⁶⁸

- 1472 ? – galley – sailed into the cove during the jugo (sirocco), and stayed for four days.⁶⁹

⁵⁶ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LV*, Venezia 1900, p. 206.

⁵⁷ TK 1:25000, 416-2-2.

⁵⁸ Leonard Lemmens, *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*, Roma: Typis Sallustianis, 1902, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁹ Peljar, p. 42; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 41.

⁶⁰ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 69, 121, 178.

⁶¹ TK 1:25000, 417-4-1/2.

⁶² J. de Villamont, *Les voyages*, p. 207.

⁶³ A type of Ottoman sailing-ship.

⁶⁴ William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Glasgow: Printed at the University Press by Robert Maclehose & company ltd. For James Maclehose and sons, publishers to the University of Glasgow 1906, p. 43.

⁶⁵ Peljar, pp. 53-54; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 4, 22; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 106.

⁶⁷ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 35, 60, 241, 256.

⁶⁸ TK 1:25000, 417-4-4.

⁶⁹ L. Conrady, *Vier rheinische*, p. 178.

- 1483 ? – galley – stayed for three days.⁷⁰
- 1493 – galley – sailed into the cove during the bura (bora), and stayed overnight.⁷¹
- 1512 – *bastarda* galley⁷² – stayed overnight.⁷³

The anchorage is protected from all winds except the westerlies.⁷⁴ Benincasa and Mosto, as well as Millo, highlight these features in their works. All other cartographic monuments, theirs included, mention this cove under the name of *Cigala*.⁷⁵ Venetian patricians also record it under that name in their diary records.

Thanks to their reports, we know that two galleys from a trade convoy coming from the Levant were stranded there by gusts of the stormy south-eastern wind on 27 November 1497.⁷⁶ Two years later, a Venetian wine-laden nave was wrecked in Čikat.⁷⁷ In 1511, a Venetian *bastarda* galley on her way to Alexandria stayed in the cove overnight.⁷⁸ One *arsil* escaped to the bay before a great storm in 1522, but continued on its way without waiting on calm.⁷⁹

9) SV. PETAR (Ilovik – 44° 28' N; 14° 33' E)⁸⁰

- 1435 – galley – stayed overnight? (see: Map 3)
- 1453 ? – galley – put in during bura (bora) and stayed for two days.⁸¹

⁷⁰ Konrad D. Hassler, "Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium I", *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* 2/1843, pp. 156-157.

⁷¹ Reinhold Röhrich, "Die Jerusalemfahrt des Heinrich von Zedlitz (1493)", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 17/1894, p. 294.

⁷² A type of galley.

⁷³ Zaccaria Pagani, "Voyage du magnifique et tres illustre chevalier et procureur de Saint-Marc Domenico Trevisan", *Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu'à la fin XVI siècle* 5, Paris 1884, p. 225.

⁷⁴ Peljar, p. 54; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 57-58.

⁷⁵ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 4, 22.; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 106.; Antonio Millo, *Tuto Quelo Richiede Alarte Da Navicar ... Isulario De Antonio ... Ano Domino: MDLXXXX*. (hereafter *Tuto Quelo*), Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, Ms P 17, 55r, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 15 May 2018.

⁷⁶ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto I*, Venezia 1879, p. 828; D. Malipiero, *Annali veneti*, p. 643.

⁷⁷ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto II*, Venezia 1879, p. 225.

⁷⁸ Francesco Grassetto da Lonigo, *Viaggio di Francesco Grassetto da Lonigo lungo le coste dalmate greco-venete ed italiane nell'anno MDXI e seguenti* (hereafter *Viaggio di Francesco*), Venezia 1886, p. 10.

⁷⁹ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXXIII*, p. 373.

⁸⁰ TK 1:25000, 468-1-1.

⁸¹ August Bernoulli, "Hans und Peter Rot's Pilgerreisen 1440. und 1453", *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte n. F.* 1/11, 1882, pp. 400-401.

- 1461 – galley – sailed into the cove and stayed overnight.⁸²
- 1495 – galley – put in during jugo (sirocco) and stayed overnight.⁸³
- 1568 – galley – put in during jugo (sirocco), and happened to find 11 other galleys there.⁸⁴
- 1573 ? – nave – sailed into the cove during the bura (bora) and stayed over a short period of time; found another galley there.⁸⁵
- 1623 – grippo⁸⁶ – sailed into the cove during the tramontana and stayed overnight.⁸⁷
- 1636 – tartane⁸⁸ – put in during the burin (the night breeze) and stayed for a shorter time.⁸⁹

Anchorage in the channel between the larger Ilovik Island and smaller Sv. Petar Island is sheltered from all winds: only very strong jugo (sirocco) causes unpleasant surging.⁹⁰ This is confirmed by Mosto and Millo,⁹¹ and G. B. Giustinian also acknowledges that the anchorage was not entirely safe.⁹² The channel between these two islands was the standard anchorage for ships sailing on the route from Venice to Dalmatia, the Levant, as well as to other destinations, and vice versa (see: Fig. 1).⁹³

⁸² Camille Couderc, "Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart évêque de Saintes (1461)", *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1, 1893, p. 228.

⁸³ Sigmund Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch des heyligen Lands* (hereafter *Reyssbuch*), Frankfurt/Main 1584, p. 35v.

⁸⁴ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 498.

⁸⁵ S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, p. 349r.

⁸⁶ Mithad Kozličić, *Hrvatsko brodovlje / Croatian shipping / Le navi Croate* (hereafter *Hrvatsko brodovlje*), Split – Zagreb: Književni krug 1993, pp. 98-102.

⁸⁷ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 548.

⁸⁸ M. Kozličić, *Hrvatsko brodovlje*, pp. 177-182.

⁸⁹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 553.

⁹⁰ Peljar, p. 82; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 60.

⁹¹ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 5, 23; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 107; A. Millo, *Tuto Quello*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

⁹² Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 193. See the opposite view: Augustin Theiner-Franjo Rački (eds.), *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium historiam illustrantia, historiam illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta*, 2 (hereafter *Vetera monumenta*), Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum Meridionalium 1875, p. 51. (before 1570).

⁹³ Zrinka Serventi, "Važnost otoka Ilovika i Sv. Petra za plovdbenu rutu duž istočne obale Jadrana u svjetlu novijih istraživanja", *Histria antiqua* 21/2012, pp. 405-407.

One of the galleys from the convoy to Aigues-Mortes⁹⁴ was stranded at the entrance to the anchorage in 1427.⁹⁵ In spite of the storm, the abovementioned *arsil* managed to sail into the channel in 1522.⁹⁶

In 1542, two Uskok boats attacked a sailing-ship while she was at anchor in the channel.⁹⁷

10) KRIJAL (Premuda – 44° 20' N; 14° 36' E)⁹⁸

- 1636 – (*Parmuida*) – tartane – put in during the burin (the night breeze), and stayed overnight.⁹⁹

The anchorage is sheltered only from the south-western and north-eastern winds – the garbin and bura (bora).¹⁰⁰ Mosto highlights low islets serving as breakwater and a two-way approach.¹⁰¹

In 1542, the Uskoks robbed a frigate which probably took shelter there from the bura (bora).¹⁰²

Fr. Francis Kotoranin, a custodian of the Holy Land, was buried on Premuda Island in 1635 after dying on a ship sailing to Palestine, somewhere between Istria and Premuda.¹⁰³

11) GRIPARICA (Škarda – 44° 16,6' N; 14° 43,4' E)¹⁰⁴

The cove is open to gusts of the south-eastern winds.¹⁰⁵ The island is mentioned by Mosto, but it was first recorded much earlier by Venetian and Catalan cartographers of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁴ Aigues-Mortes is medieval port near Marseilles.

⁹⁵ Antonio Morosini, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini – extraits relatifs a l'histoire de France 2*, Paris 1899, p. 324.

⁹⁶ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXXIII*, p. 373.

⁹⁷ Gligor Stanojević, "Jedan dokumenat o senjskim uskocima" [One Document on the Uskoks of Senj], (hereafter *Jedan dokumenat*), *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja JNA* 6-7, 1962, p. 100.

⁹⁸ TK 1:25000, 468-1-3.

⁹⁹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 553; Georg Christoph von Neitzschitz, *Des weilant Hoch-Edelgebornen, Gestrengen, und Vesten Herrn George Christoff von Neitzschitz, uff Stöckelberg, Wöhltz und Zörbitz, Sieben-Jährige und Gefährliche Welt Beschauung Durch die vornehmsten Drey Theil der Welt Europa, Asia und Africa* (hereafter *Des weilant*), Bautzen 1666, pp. 109-110.

¹⁰⁰ *Peljar*, p. 121; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 23.

¹⁰² G. Stanojević, *Jedan dokumenat*, p. 100.

¹⁰³ His body was later transferred to Kotor. See: Antun Šimčik, *Hrvat obnovitelj Božjega groba* [A Croat. The Restorer of God's Grave], Zagreb: Odbor za Svetu Zemlju 1936, p. 7.

¹⁰⁴ TK 1:25000, 468-1-4.

¹⁰⁵ *Peljar*, p. 123; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 23; M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 31, 34-35, 37, 194, 211, 226.

Alvise Foscari sailed into the cove in 1676 with his galleys and stayed for three days due to the bura (bora).¹⁰⁷

12) ŽALIC ? (Silba – 44° 22,4' N; 14° 41,8' E)¹⁰⁸

- 1512 (*porto Selba*) – *bastarda* galley – stayed overnight.¹⁰⁹

The anchorage is well protected from the bura (bora), but open to the westerlies and south-westerlies.¹¹⁰ Mosto confirms this particular bit of information, too.¹¹¹

G. B. Giustinian sailed into the cove on a galley in 1553 and stayed overnight.¹¹² In 1576, the Uskoks attacked and robbed a galleon from Dubrovnik anchored in the cove.¹¹³

13) LUČINA (Molat – 44° 12' N; 14° 52' E)¹¹⁴

- 1556 (*S. Maria de Malada*) – galley? – sailed into the cove during the stormy jugo (sirocco) and stayed for five days due to contrary winds.¹¹⁵
- 1636 – tartane – sailed into the cove due to the stormy southern wind and stayed for two days.¹¹⁶

The cove is part of the larger Bay of Brgulje and is located on its north-eastern coast. The abovementioned bay is the best shelter for vessels in this part of the Adriatic Sea (see: Map 4).¹¹⁷ Mosto lists in his work good features of Lučina.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁷ Fausto Sartori (ed.), *Alvise Foscari - Capitano in Golfo 1676-1678 - Capitano straordinario delle galie 1690-1692 - Dispacchi* (hereafter *Alvise Foscari*), Venezia: La Malcontenta 2009, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁸ TK 1:25000, 468-1-4.

¹⁰⁹ Z. Pagani, *Voyage du magnifique*, pp. 147-226.

¹¹⁰ *Peljar*, pp. 119-120; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 81.

¹¹¹ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 5. Anchoring closer to the cove Pocukmarak was also a possibility. Cf. Mate Parica, "Kasnoantičko pristanište u uvali Pocukmarak na otoku Silbi", *Archaeologia Adriatica* 9/2015, pp. 307-308.

¹¹² Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 193. For an alternative view, consult: A. Theiner-F. Rački, *Vetera monumenta* 2, p. 51. (before 1570).

¹¹³ Karlo Horvat, "Monumenta historiam uscocchorum illustrantia" I (hereafter *Monumenta historiam uscocchorum*), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 32/1910, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ TK 1:25000, 468-4-1/2.

¹¹⁵ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 477.

¹¹⁶ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 554.

¹¹⁷ *Peljar*, p. 124.; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 82. For more information, consult: Damir Magaš, "Molat. Prilog geografskim istraživanjima u zadarskoj regiji", *Radovi Zavoda JAZU u Zadru* 27-28/1981, pp. 355-357, 373-375, 387.

¹¹⁸ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 23; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 109.

In 1552, the Uskoks entered the cove and found a grippo at anchor and seized her cargo.¹¹⁹

14) TORETA / Kravljacića / VRULJE (Kornat – 43° 48' N; 15° 18' E / – 43° 49' N; 15° 17' E)¹²⁰

- 1583 – galleon – sailed into the cove because of the adverse jugo (sirocco) and stayed there for three days.¹²¹

The cove is protected from all the winds except the south-easterlies.¹²² Cartographers mention it relatively late,¹²³ but seafarers knew of it, as confirmed by Benincasa. He provides an extraordinarily accurate description of the approach, i.e. the features of the north-western (18 m) and south-eastern cape (89 m in height).¹²⁴

15) PIŠKERA 43° 45' N; 15° 52,5' E)¹²⁵

The anchorage is protected from the south-western wind by the islet of Panitula Vela, but is exposed to the jugo (sirocco).¹²⁶ This cove has regularly appeared on maps since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²⁷

In 1575, the Uskoks seized and robbed a galleon from Ancona which took shelter from inclement weather.¹²⁸

In 1677, a galley under the command of Marc' Antonio Diedo tasked with patrolling the sea area around the Kornati Islands sailed into the Piškera anchorage.¹²⁹

¹¹⁹ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 161.

¹²⁰ TK 1:25000, 519-2-3.

¹²¹ Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, *Hierosolymitana peregrinatio Illustrissimi Domini Nicolai Christophori Radziwili*, Brunsberg 1601, pp. 16-18; Krešimir Kužić, "Hodočasnici palmieri iz Poljske i Litve u hrvatskim primorskim krajevima (1400.-1600.), uz osvrt na Latvijce i Estonce", *Povijesni prilozi* 54, 2018, pp. 120-121.

¹²² Peljar, p. 132; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 102.

¹²³ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 94, 116, 255.

¹²⁴ The name *Anchoronata*, used by Benincasa, could in many varieties indicate he had this bay in mind. Cf. E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 207. – "... La sua punta da maestro e bassa, e la punta da schirocho e grossa ...".

¹²⁵ TK 1:25000, 519-2-3.

¹²⁶ Peljar, p. 131; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 103.

¹²⁷ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 94, 203, 243.

¹²⁸ K. Horvat, *Monumenta historiam uscocchorum* I., p. 9.

¹²⁹ F. Sartori, *Alvise Foscari*, p. 43.

16) BOŠANA (Biograd – 43° 56' N; 15° 26,7' E)¹³⁰

- 1461 – galley – stayed overnight.¹³¹
- 1485 – galley – stayed overnight.¹³²
- 1493 – galley – stayed overnight.¹³³
- 1494 – galley – sailed into the cove due to a tempest and stayed for two days.¹³⁴
- 1495 – galley – sailed into the cove due to the adverse south-eastern wind and stayed for two days.¹³⁵

The anchorage is exposed to the north-western and northern winds, although to a lesser extent.¹³⁶

Although travelogues mention the name of the neighboring ruined town of *Alt Zara*, or *Saraveck* (i.e. Biograd), it is beyond doubt that the cove in which the abovementioned ships cast anchor is the Bošana cove. Cartographers have recorded it (under the name of town) from the earliest times, which speaks of its importance in times of coastal navigation (see: Map 3).¹³⁷ A portolan of 1477 also mentions only the mainland, i.e. the town.¹³⁸

During the Ottoman siege of Biograd in 1646 Venetian galleys supporting the defenses could not take shelter from the stormy jugo in the cove because of the enemy's artillery. Instead of it, they sailed into the leeward of a nearby island, which was too far to give a fire support.¹³⁹

17) SV. ANDRIJA ? (Vrgada – 43° 51' N; 15° 30' E)¹⁴⁰

- 1573 – nave – arrived with a south-eastern wind and almost ran aground in attempting to sail into the cove.¹⁴¹

The anchorage facing to the village is exposed only to the north-western wind, but in most places the cove is no deeper than two meters.¹⁴²

¹³⁰ TK 1:25000, 519-2-2.

¹³¹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 298.

¹³² Godefroy Méniglaise, *Voyage de Georges Lengherand, mayeur de Mons en Haynaut, a Venise, Rome, Jérusalem, Mont Sinai & Le Kayre – 1485-1486*, Mons 1859, p. 89.

¹³³ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 376.

¹³⁴ G. Fouquet, *Die Reise*, pp. 150-151.

¹³⁵ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 397.

¹³⁶ Peljar, p. 161; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 79.

¹³⁷ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 31, 34-35, 37, 241, 255.

¹³⁸ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 5.

¹³⁹ Franjo Difnik, *Povijest Kandijaskog rata u Dalmaciji*, Split: Književni krug 1986, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴⁰ TK 1:25000, 520-1-3.

¹⁴¹ S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, pp. 348v, 349r.

¹⁴² Peljar, pp. 163; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 97.

Although the island was recorded in maps relatively late, the portolan of Mosto, from 1477, brings a good description of the cove, which points to its importance.¹⁴³ This is also confirmed by the record of the pilgrim L. Raewolf, who states that galleys very frequently anchored there during coastal navigation.¹⁴⁴

18) ARTIN KANAL (Arta Vela – 43° 52' N; 15° 33' E)¹⁴⁵

- 1502 – grippo – sailed into the bay, and waited for three days due to the stormy jugo (sirocco).¹⁴⁶

The anchorage is enclosed by the islets of Arta Vela and Arta Mala in the south and by the mainland coast at the Drage settlement on the eastern and northern sides.¹⁴⁷ Its description can be recognized in Mosto's portolan.¹⁴⁸

19) KOSIRINA (Murter – 43° 47' N; 15° 36' E)¹⁴⁹

- 1434 (*Demorther*) – galley – stayed overnight.¹⁵⁰
- 1480? – galley – sailed into the cove due to the north-eastern and eastern winds and waited three days long for the wind blowing from the north-west direction.¹⁵¹
- 1484 (*Larino, Lorcho*) – galley – sailed into the cove with the bura (bora) and waited all day for the wind blowing from the south-east.¹⁵²
- 1502 (*Mortara*) – grippo – stayed overnight.¹⁵³

In the portolan from 1477 we only find the name ... *Morter* ..., but according to the description of the approach "from garbin", it is clear that this is the aforementioned cove. In addition, the depth of 12 to 15 *passi* (21-26 m) is specified,¹⁵⁴ corresponding to the depths in the cove's outer part. Early por-

¹⁴³ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 243, 255; A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 5.

¹⁴⁴ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 514.

¹⁴⁵ TK 1:25000, 520-1-1/3.

¹⁴⁶ Domenico Maria Pellegrini, "Relazione inedita di D. Giovanni Danese di un viaggio al Cairo" (hereafter *Relazione inedita*), *Giornale dell'italiana letteratura* 9/1805, p. 107.

¹⁴⁷ *Peljar*, pp. 163, 165-166; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁸ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ TK 1:25000, 520-1-3.

¹⁵⁰ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 266.

¹⁵¹ Charles Schefer, *Le voyage de la Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem*, Paris 1882, pp. 33-34.

¹⁵² K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 348, 356.

¹⁵³ D. M. Pellegrini, *Relazione inedita*, p. 107.

¹⁵⁴ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 5; Zlatko Herkov, "Prinosi za upoznavanje naših starih mjera za dužinu i površinu" (hereafter *Prinosi za upoznavanje*), *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda JAZU* 8/1977, pp. 147, 169.

tolan charts reveal that this cove was a well-known shelter and anchorage.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, Paladio Fusco does not fail to mention its significance in his book "Description of the Illyrian Coast" / "Opis obale Ilirika".¹⁵⁶

20) TRSTEVIKA? (Prvić – 43° 43' N; 15° 47' E)¹⁵⁷

- 1483 (*Brusset Sigwis*) – galley – arrived sailing with the jugo (sirocco) and stayed for five days.¹⁵⁸

The anchorage facing to the village is protected from the north-eastern, eastern, and south-eastern winds.¹⁵⁹ According to a portolan from 1477, its depth was 8 to 10 *passi* (14 - 17.5 m),¹⁶⁰ which matches the depths in the outer part of the cove. The name of the island is found in several maps whose authors mostly used patterns of engravers Martin Kolunić Rota and Natal Bonifačić. In the same way, other toponyms from the Šibenik aquatorium gained place in foreign cartographic works.¹⁶¹

21) MORINJE (43° 40' N; 15° 56' E)¹⁶²

- 1494 (*Moreya*) – galley – sailing with the tramontana or bura (bora) arrived in the cove and stayed for two days.¹⁶³

It was the Ribnik spring that made a great comparative advantage over other bays. The galleys could replenish their potable water supplies during the course of their stay there.¹⁶⁴ This is probably the main reason why the anchorage is clearly marked on the charts.¹⁶⁵ It was also described by Mosto.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28-29, 60, 224.

¹⁵⁶ Paladije Fusco, *Opis obale Ilirika* (hereafter *Opis obale*), Zagreb: Latina et Graeca 1990, pp. 110-111.

¹⁵⁷ TK 1:25000, 520-4-1.

¹⁵⁸ Konrad D. Hassler, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium III, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* 4, 1849, p. 365.

¹⁵⁹ *Peljar*, p. 173; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 99.

¹⁶⁰ A. da Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination; Z. Herkov, *Prinosi za upoznavanje*, pp. 147, 169.

¹⁶¹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 122, 139, 180, 259.

¹⁶² TK 1:25000, 520-4-2.

¹⁶³ Theodor Schön, "Eine Pilgerfahrt in das Heilige Land im Jahre 1494.", *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* 13/1892, p. 467; Margaret M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 331-332.

¹⁶⁴ Franjo Fritz-Ante Renić-Ante Pavičić, "Hydrogeology of the Hinterland of Šibenik and Trogir, Croatia", *Geologia Croatica* 46/2, 1993, pp. 292, 294, 301.

¹⁶⁵ See: M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 39, 60, 70, 123, 127; A. Theiner-F. Rački, *Vetera monumenta* 2, p. 51 (before 1570).

¹⁶⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 6.

22) PRIMOŠTEN (43° 35' N; 15° 55' E)¹⁶⁷

- 1484 – galley – sailed into the cove for the purpose of conducting a trial.¹⁶⁸
- 1494 (*Ganntzestor*) – galley – sailed into the cove using oars due to calm and stayed overnight.¹⁶⁹
- 1495 – galley – sailed into the cove using oars due to calm and stayed for two days.¹⁷⁰
- 1512 (*cap Cesto*) – *bastarda* galley – stayed overnight.¹⁷¹
- 1568 – galley – put in during a stormy jugo (*sirocco*) and remained for a period of three days.¹⁷²

The anchorage facing to the village is protected from the north-eastern, northern and north-western winds, and less so from the south-eastern wind.¹⁷³

The Venetian name found in old portolans and maps is likely a translation of the name of a small islet that enclosed the bay from the west, which points to fact that it had been a well-known anchorage even before the refugees escaping the Ottomans settled there in the fifteenth century. Pilgrims recorded its name in various corrupted forms (*Caleisco*, *Cauozesta*, *Capo Cestio*, etc.). Mosto claims that the bay is good for travelling both west and east.¹⁷⁴ Its good features enabled Venetian captains to stay there for longer periods of time, allowing them to put crew members on trial for minor offenses when need arose.

In June 1513, the galley *Capella* stopped in the Bay of Primošten, carrying a Venetian ambassador on his way to Constantinople.¹⁷⁵ The galley *Bemba*, carrying another envoy, stopped in the same place in April 1519 because of a contrary wind.¹⁷⁶ It should be noted that Muslim pirates also visited the cove, for instance in 1523. Their raids were conducted in the area from the village Tribunj to the islands of Kornati and Žirje.¹⁷⁷ In 1591, the Uskoks rowed into

¹⁶⁷ TK 1:25000, 520-4-4.

¹⁶⁸ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 347.

¹⁶⁹ G. Fouquet, *Die Reise*, p. 246; Margaret M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 331.

¹⁷⁰ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 400.

¹⁷¹ Z. Pagani, *Voyage du magnifique*, p. 225.

¹⁷² K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 497.

¹⁷³ *Peljar*, pp. 163, 186; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁴ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 6; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 214.; See also: A. Theiner-F. Rački, *Vetera monumenta* 2, p. 51 (before 1570).

¹⁷⁵ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XVI*, Venezia 1886, p. 434.

¹⁷⁶ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVII*, pp. 259-260. The Venetian galleys received formal names by their commanders or by the cities where they were filled with the crew.

¹⁷⁷ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXXIV*, Venezia 1892, p. 99; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LVI*, Venezia 1901, pp. 164, 185-188, 209, 233-234. (in 1532)

the cove with 15 *ormanica* (which were usually not rigged longboats)¹⁷⁸ and carried out a raid into the territory of Zagora.¹⁷⁹

23) ROGOZNICA (43° 31' N; 15° 58' E)¹⁸⁰

- 1527 – nave – sailed into the cove due to contrary winds and waited for three days.¹⁸¹

The anchorage in front of what is today the center of Rogoznica on the former island is protected from all winds, but the anchorage south of the ex-island is exposed to the western wind.¹⁸² The great Bay of Rogoznica is not found in pilgrimage journals under its present name, and as regards cartographic works, we only find it in later authors. The Bay was named *p(ortho) cauallier* and *c(auo) figo* by Mosto and Benincasa,¹⁸³ appearing in sources as *Rogoznica* only after 1546.¹⁸⁴

In 1598, the Venetians blocked a large number of Uskoks' boats in the bay, but due to a stormy southern wind that followed, the galleys had to withdraw, and the Uskoks took the opportunity to retreat towards Senj.¹⁸⁵ A small galleon from Dubrovnik sailed into the bay due to a strong jugo (sirocco) in 1677.¹⁸⁶

24) STARI TROGIR (Arkandel – 43° 28' N; 16° 01' E)¹⁸⁷

- 1450 (*sint Angelen*) – nave – stayed overnight?¹⁸⁸
- 1452 – galley – put in and stayed overnight. The most important passenger was Eleanor of Portugal, Empress of the Holy Roman Empire (see: Map 6 and Fig. 2).¹⁸⁹
- 1496 – galley – sailed into the cove for the burial of a deceased pilgrim from Denmark (see: Map 1).¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁸ M. Kozličić, *Hrvatsko brodogradništvo*, pp. 92-95.

¹⁷⁹ K. Horvat, *Monumenta historiam uscocchorum* I., p. 63.

¹⁸⁰ TK 1:25000, 520-4-4.

¹⁸¹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 458.

¹⁸² Peljar, p. 186; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 96.

¹⁸³ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 6; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 109, 214.

¹⁸⁴ See: M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 29, 37, 43, 70, 94, 70, 115-116, 123, 127.

¹⁸⁵ Franjo Rački, "Prilog za poviest hrvatskih uskoka", *Starine JAZU* 9/1877, pp. 203-204.

¹⁸⁶ F. Sartori, *Alvise Foscari*, p. 49.

¹⁸⁷ TK 1:25000, 571-1-1.

¹⁸⁸ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 285.

¹⁸⁹ Krešimir Kužić, "Carica Svetog Rimskog Carstva, Leonor Portugalska, u svetištu Sv. Šimuna Bogoprimca u Zadru", *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti u Zadru* 56/2014, pp. 74-75, 85, 87.

¹⁹⁰ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 406; Kužić, *Nordijski hodočasnici*, pp. 135-136.

- 1513 – galley – put in due to a contrary eastern wind, and stayed overnight.¹⁹¹
- 1623 – sailing-ship? – stayed overnight.¹⁹²

The anchorage is protected from the western, eastern and south-eastern winds, less so from the waves generated by the south-western wind (garbin).¹⁹³

The cove, which is protected from the south side by the island of Arkandel and the islet of Merara, by the mainland in the north, and by the peninsulas of Oštrica and Ramašćica from the west and east, has been recognized by the seafarers as a safe shelter from ancient times.¹⁹⁴ Apart from maps¹⁹⁵ and portolans, it is also featured in Fusco's work, as well as in Giustinian's.

The Trogir historian P. Andreis noted that Greek ships saluted with gunshots when passing by the Church of St. Michael Archangel, for which the island was named.¹⁹⁶ The helpful Sanudo mentions the case of a smuggler from Kotor who was captured while sheltering in the cove (in 1499), as well as the temporary stoppage of a galley transporting the Venetian envoy (in 1513).¹⁹⁷ In 1596, a convoy with military assistance to the besieged fortress Klis, headed by General Juraj Lenković, also stopped in this cove shortly.¹⁹⁸

25) ŠEŠULA (Šolta – 43° 23' N; 16° 13' E)¹⁹⁹

- 1462 – galley – stayed overnight.²⁰⁰
- 1472 (*tessua*) – galley – sailed into the cove during the levanter or jugo (sirocco); the ship was almost stranded because of changes in the wind garbin (libeccio); stayed overnight.²⁰¹
- 1512 – *bastarda* galley – sailed into the cove due to contrary jugo (sirocco) and stayed for two days.²⁰²

¹⁹¹ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XVI*, Venezia 1886, p. 435.

¹⁹² K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 548.

¹⁹³ Peljar, p. 196; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 105.

¹⁹⁴ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 6; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 109, 214.

¹⁹⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 37, 96, 116, 225.

¹⁹⁶ P. Fusco, *Opis obale*, pp. 110-111; Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae II*, p. 207; Pavao Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira I*, Split: Čakavski sabor 1977, p. 355.

¹⁹⁷ This happened on 5 August, 1499, and on 14 June 1513. See: M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto II*, pp. 1110-1111; M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XVI*, p. 434.

¹⁹⁸ That was 25 May. See: G. Novak, *Mletačka uputstva VI*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁹ TK 1:25000, 571-1-2.

²⁰⁰ William Wey, *Itineraries of William Wey fellow of Eton College to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456.*, London 1857, p. 93.

²⁰¹ L. Conrady, *Vier rheinische*, p. 177.

²⁰² Z. Pagani, *Voyage du magnifique*, p. 151.

The anchorage provides excellent protection from the north-eastern and south-eastern winds, as Millo noted in 1590.²⁰³ This cove is located in the far-western part of the island of Šolta, near to the main navigational routes (see: Map 1 and 2). It is therefore clear that the anchorage belonged to a group of known anchorages, even though this is not confirmed by cartographers.²⁰⁴ Mosto devoted a few lines to the description of Šešula and its surroundings.²⁰⁵ It is, however, in detail depicted in Millo's *isolario*.²⁰⁶

26) PELEGRINSKA / VELA GARŠKA (Hvar – 43° 11' N; 16° 22' E / 43° 11' N; 16° 24' E)²⁰⁷

- 1480 – galley – put in during the tramontana or bura (bora).²⁰⁸

The Vela Garška cove offers excellent protection from the north-eastern and south-eastern winds.²⁰⁹ Millo highlights the importance of this cove in his highly schematic depiction of the island of Hvar (see: Fig. 3).²¹⁰ Speaking of his native island, the learned dominican Vinko Pribojević underlined ... *the calm coves, where no winds or waves rage* ...²¹¹

Due to these favorable features and the island's position in the Adriatic, the Venetian Squadron of the Gulf was stationed in the port of Hvar.²¹² The Ottoman pirate Kara Hoca anchored his ships in this cove during the attack and pillage of the city and the island of Hvar in 1571.²¹³

²⁰³ Peljar, p. 212; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 115; A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

²⁰⁴ The cove may be hiding under the name of the island as a whole. See: M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 31, 37, 39, 45. As regards its name, see: Marina Marasović-Alujević-Katarina Lozić Knezović, "The Coastal Toponyms of the Island of Šolta / Obalni toponimi otoka Šolte", *Croatian Studies Review / Časopis za hrvatske studije* 7, 2011, pp. 393, 398, 404, 416, 424.

²⁰⁵ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 6, 7.

²⁰⁶ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects.

²⁰⁷ TK 1:25000, 571-4-2.

²⁰⁸ S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, p. 372v.

²⁰⁹ Peljar, pp. 229-230; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 123.

²¹⁰ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

²¹¹ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 219; Vinko Pribojević, *De origine successibusque Slavorum / O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena*, Zagreb: JAZU 1951, pp. 202-203, 205.

²¹² Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 222.

²¹³ Šime Ljubić, "Commissiones et relationes Venetae", III, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 11/1880, p. 274.

27) LUKA (Vis – 43° 04' N; 16° 12' E)²¹⁴

- 1556 (*Lissa*) – galleon – briefly sailed into the cove for the purpose of loading salted sardines.²¹⁵

The harbor and anchorage in this bay are protected from all winds except from the north-eastern one and, to a lesser extent the north-western wind.²¹⁶ Millo emphasizes its shape in the description of the island of Vis,²¹⁷ and other experts point out its suitability and relations with other islands.²¹⁸ Owing to these features, the bay has been recorded by cartographers since the very beginning.²¹⁹

However, ships sailed into the harbor of Vis not only to load salted sardines.²²⁰ In 1566 the Ottoman fleet of ... *one hundred and more sails* ... arrived at the bay entrance and stayed overnight.²²¹ Peter Villinger, a Swiss priest captured a year earlier on pilgrimage in the Levant, participated in this demonstrative naval action as a slave chained to the oar.²²²

28) KOMIŽA (Vis – 43° 03' N; 16° 05' E)²²³

- 1550 (*Liszna*) – merchantman? – stayed overnight?²²⁴
- 1563 (*Villa di San Nicolò*) – nave – stopped for the night.²²⁵

The bay is exposed to the westerlies and south-west winds, but it is well protected from the bura (bora) and the jugo.²²⁶ Writing about the island of Vis, Mosto and Benincasa take no notice of this bay, probably due to their

²¹⁴ TK 1:25000, 571-3-4.

²¹⁵ Villinger quotes an exact number of 113 galleys, and Piale-pasha as commander. See: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 477.

²¹⁶ Peljar, p. 190; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 124.

²¹⁷ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

²¹⁸ See e.g.: A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 23, 36; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 212; A. Theiner-F. Rački, *Vetera monumenta* 2, p. 51. (before 1570.)

²¹⁹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28-29, 31, 37, 39, 45, 94.

²²⁰ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 220.

²²¹ Grga Novak, "Aleksandar Gazzari (Gazarović), povijesni događaji Hvara složeni u tri knjige", *Starine JAZU* 57/1978, pp. 70-71. – " ... di cento e più vele ...".

²²² K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 497.

²²³ TK 1:25000, 571-3-3.

²²⁴ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 460.

²²⁵ Luigi Vulcano dalla Padula, *Iesus – Vera et nuova descrizione di tutta Terra Santa, et peregrinaggio del sacro monte Sinai*, *Compilata da verissimi autori*, Napoli 1563, p. 204v.

²²⁶ Peljar, p. 191; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 125.

preference for internal waterways.²²⁷ Cartographers, too, began paying attention to the bay relatively late.²²⁸

In 1511, on its route to Alexandria, a Venetian *bastarda* galley put in the Bay of Komiža and stayed overnight. At the same time an Ottoman merchant grippo spent the night in the bay.²²⁹

In 1532, Berber fustas landed near Komiža. The corsairs pillaged the village, and killed several people.²³⁰ After departing from the Bay of Vis, the aforementioned Ottoman fleet arrived in this bay where it stayed for a day and night in 1566.²³¹

29) LOVIŠĆE ? / MOSTIR ? (Šćedro – 43° 05' N; 16° 42' E)²³²

- 1483 (*Tortula*) – galley – sailed into the cove during the jugo (sirocco) and stayed overnight; found two galleys at anchor.²³³
- 1502 – grippo – put in and stayed for two days.²³⁴
- 1512 (*Torcola*) – *bastarda* galley – stayed overnight.²³⁵

The anchorage is sheltered from all winds except the northerlies. The neighboring eastern cove of Mostir provides equal protection.²³⁶ For the Island of Šćedro, Mosto explicitly states that it has ... *two ports for the galleys* ...,²³⁷ and Millo only gives the name of the island, without the names of two drawn bays (see: Fig. 3).²³⁸ Due to these features, the coves were always marked on charts.²³⁹

Sicilian pirates robbed merchant boats from Dubrovnik while they were at anchor there in 1436.²⁴⁰ A Venetian *bastarda* galley stayed overnight in the bay in 1511.²⁴¹

²²⁷ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 23, 36; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 212.

²²⁸ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 233, 267.

²²⁹ F. Grassetto da Lonigo, *Viaggio di Francesco*, p. 10.

²³⁰ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LVI*, Venezia 1901, pp. 185-187.

²³¹ Novak, Aleksandar Gazzari, p. 71.

²³² TK 1:25000, 572-3-4.

²³³ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 347.

²³⁴ D. M. Pellegrini, *Relazione inedita*, p. 108.

²³⁵ Z. Pagani, *Voyage du magnifique*, p. 152.

²³⁶ Peljar, p. 234; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 124.

²³⁷ A. da Mosto, *Portolano per*, 1490, no pagination; A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 7. – "... do porti per galie ...".

²³⁸ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

²³⁹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 31, 34-35, 45, 245.

²⁴⁰ Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, Zagreb: Dom i svijet 2004, pp. 105, 183.

²⁴¹ F. Grassetto da Lonigo, *Viaggio di Francesco*, p. 10.

30) MEĐEDINA / SV. MIHOVIL (Sušac – 42° 45' 26" N; 16° 30' 01" E / 42° 45' 29" N; 16° 30' 09" E)²⁴²

- 1565 (*Cuza*) – nave – arrived with the maestral, and stayed two hours to fell and take firewood (see: Map 5).²⁴³

It is probably one of the two adjacent small coves on the south coast of the island. Both provide protection from the bura (bora) and the north-western wind.²⁴⁴

The island has been recorded in cartographic sources since ancient times,²⁴⁵ and it is also found in portolans.²⁴⁶

In 1464 a Venetian ship was stranded on the Island of Sušac.²⁴⁷

31) KARBUNI (Korčula – 42° 55' N; 16° 44' E)²⁴⁸

- 1458 – galley – tried to find shelter from a contrary eastern wind and storm.²⁴⁹

The anchorage is protected from all winds and waves.²⁵⁰ The cove was mentioned in later charts. G. B. Giustinian described it as a good port in 1553.²⁵¹

32) ŽRNOVSKA BANJA (Korčula – 42° 57' N; 17° 07' E)²⁵²

- 1636 – tartane – arrived with the north-western wind and stayed overnight (see: Map 4).²⁵³

The cove is divided into two parts: the western part is influenced by the bura (bora) wind, while eastern shore offers well protection from all winds.²⁵⁴

²⁴² TK 1:25000, 622-1-4.

²⁴³ S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, p. 375v.

²⁴⁴ *Peljar*, pp. 258-259.

²⁴⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 31, 34-35, 72, 245.

²⁴⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 23, 30; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 206, 212-213.

²⁴⁷ V. V. Makušev–M. Šufflay, *Isprave za odnošaj*, p. 44.

²⁴⁸ TK 1:25000, 622-1-2.

²⁴⁹ Gioacchino Maruffi, *Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto per Roberto da Sanseverino*, Bologna 1888, pp. 29-30.

²⁵⁰ *Peljar*, pp. 256-257; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 142.

²⁵¹ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 252.

²⁵² TK 1:25000, 623-1-1.

²⁵³ C. von Neitzschitz, *Des weilant*, p. 112.

²⁵⁴ Giacomo Marieni, *Portolano Del Mare Adriatico Compilato Sotto La Direzione Dell'Istituto Geografico Militare Dell' I. R. Stato Maggiore Generale* (hereafter *Portolano Del Mare Adriatico*), Milano 1830, pp. 391-392.

Irrespective of its real extensions, Millo highlights the cove as an important haven for ships entering or leaving the Korčula Channel,²⁵⁵ so it is depicted in the same way by cartographers.²⁵⁶ The Venetian *sindachi* also point out ... *harbours and spaciousness are from one and from the other part (of channel) ...*, and this words refer to this cove, too.²⁵⁷

33) BADIJA – JEŽEVICA (Badija – 43° 56' N; 17° 09' E)²⁵⁸

- 1502 (*Sancta Maria de Curzola*) – grippo – put in and stayed for two days.²⁵⁹

The anchorage is exposed to the blowing of the bura (bora) and jugo (si-rocco), but not to waves.²⁶⁰ The cove is primarily of local importance, and it was interesting to travellers because of the neighboring Franciscan monastery of St. Mary.²⁶¹

In 1511, a *bastarda* galley was anchored next to the island and stayed overnight.²⁶² G. B. Gustinian's squadron of four galleys anchored and spent the night in the cove in 1553.²⁶³

34) POLAČE / POMENA (Mljet – 42° 47' N; 17° 23' E / 42° 47' N; 14° 20' E)²⁶⁴

- 1493 – galley – sailed into the cove and rested briefly.²⁶⁵
- 1575 – nave – sailed into the cove due to bad weather and stayed overnight.²⁶⁶

The anchorage is protected from all winds.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, cartographers did not acknowledge the importance of these bays by noting down their names, but by symbolically oversizing on the map.²⁶⁸ These two coves are highlighted in a drawing from 1590. The name of Polače is noted down,

²⁵⁵ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

²⁵⁶ Camocio calls this and the neighboring coves as: *Valle de maestro*. See: M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 129, 270, 280.

²⁵⁷ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* III, p. 121. – "... da una et l'altra parte del quale sono porti et comodità ...". See also: A. Theiner-F. Rački, *Vetera monumenta* 2, p. 51 (before 1570).

²⁵⁸ TK 1:25000, 572-3-4.

²⁵⁹ D. M. Pellegrini, *Relazione inedita*, p. 108.

²⁶⁰ *Peljar*, pp. 242-243; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 141.

²⁶¹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, p. 267.

²⁶² F. Grassetto da Lonigo, *Viaggio di Francesco*, pp. 10-11.

²⁶³ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 223.

²⁶⁴ TK 1:25000, 623-2-4.

²⁶⁵ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 382-383.

²⁶⁶ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 512-513.

²⁶⁷ *S Peljar*, p. 266; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 144-145.

²⁶⁸ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 30, 44, 96, 270, 280.

with Millo emphasizing that it was ... *the best harbor roomily for every vessel ...*²⁶⁹ Razzi also points out that it is large enough to receive every fleet, regardless of its size. (see: Map 1; Fig. 4).²⁷⁰

At the beginning of Lastovo Rebellion in 1602 five Venetian galleys were staying in the cove.²⁷¹

35) STON (42° 49,5' N; 17° 42' E)²⁷²

- 1418 (*Sangen*) – galley – stayed overnight.²⁷³
- 1483 – galley – stayed overnight.²⁷⁴

The harbor and anchorage are sheltered from waves, but not from gusts of the bura (bora) nor from squalls of the jugo (sirocco). In addition, tidal oscillations cause strong currents.²⁷⁵ The bay was recorded on earliest charts,²⁷⁶ but Mosto and Benincasa did not mention it.

In 1553 G. B. Giustinian sailed into the bay during a calm (i.e. using oars) and stayed overnight.²⁷⁷

36) VELIKI VRATNIK (42° 45' N; 17° 47' E)²⁷⁸

- 1569 (*Bocco di Stang*) – merchantman? – cast anchor and had their dinner.²⁷⁹

The Veliki Vratnik is in fact a strait between the islets of Olipa and Jakljan leading either to Ston (hence the upper Italian name – translated: “Gate of Ston”), or to the Koločep Channel. Ships usually anchored slightly to the east in a position that provided good protection from the southern and south-western winds.²⁸⁰ Because of the importance, this microtoponym was recorded in early maps.²⁸¹ Mosto mentions it contextually: ... *Sailing through the said strait ...*²⁸²

²⁶⁹ A. Millo, *Tuto Quello*, in: www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018. “... bonissimo porto et grande per ogni vasalo ...”.

²⁷⁰ Serafino Razzi, *La storia di Raugia* (hereafter *La storia*), Lucca 1595, p. 161.

²⁷¹ N. Nodilo, *Annali di Ragusa*, p. 139.

²⁷² TK 1:25000, 624-1-4.

²⁷³ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 262.

²⁷⁴ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 354.

²⁷⁵ Peljar, p. 274; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 131-132.

²⁷⁶ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 37, 39, 44, 60, 194.

²⁷⁷ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 250.

²⁷⁸ TK 1:25000, 624-2-3.

²⁷⁹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 507.

²⁸⁰ Peljar, pp. 269-270; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 146-147.

²⁸¹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 69, 268.

²⁸² A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 7. – “... Andando per la ditta bocca ...”.

37) LUKA (Šipan – 42° 44' N; 17° 51' E)²⁸³

- 1493 – galley – sailed into the cove during the jugo (sirocco) and stayed overnight.²⁸⁴

The harbor and anchorage facing to the village are protected from all winds,²⁸⁵ and can therefore be found on most older maps as a haven.²⁸⁶ Their importance was emphasized in portolans.²⁸⁷ Millo points out that ... *10 to 12 large ships can be accommodated in the cove ...*²⁸⁸ Razzi says that in the Croatian language the anchorage is called “*Luuca*” (i.e. Harbour).²⁸⁹

The Venetian envoy who briefly stayed there in June 1513 noted that it was surrounded by islets like a theater.²⁹⁰ A. Foscari sailed into this bay on a galley in 1677, and waited ... *many days* ... for the storm to cease and for the weather to improve.²⁹¹

38) SLANO (42° 47' N; 17° 52' E)²⁹²

- 1434 – galley – stayed overnight.²⁹³

The harbor and anchorage are completely protected from the jugo (sirocco) and the levanter, and to a lesser extent from the south-western wind. The bura (bora) usually blows in strong gusts.²⁹⁴ Cartographic works record the bay relatively late,²⁹⁵ while portolan writers do not mention it at all.

The bay was used several times by the Uskoks (1586, 1593, 1597, 1605) as their gathering anchorage during attacks on Ottoman infrastructure in Herzegovina.²⁹⁶

²⁸³ TK 1:25000, 624-4-1.

²⁸⁴ Christian G. Neudecker-Ludwig Preller, *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe I.*, Jena 1851, p. 79.

²⁸⁵ Peljar, p. 272; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, pp. 146-147.

²⁸⁶ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 29, 37, 39, 45, 70.

²⁸⁷ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 7; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 209-210, 212.

²⁸⁸ A. Millo, *Tuto Quello*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018. “... pol star 10 in 12 nave grosse ...”.

²⁸⁹ S. Razzi, *La storia*, p. 162.

²⁹⁰ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XVI*, p. 435.

²⁹¹ F. Sartori, *Alvise Foscari*, p. 73. – “... molti giorni ...”.

²⁹² TK 1:25000, 624-2-3/4.

²⁹³ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 264.

²⁹⁴ Peljar, p. 274b; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 134.

²⁹⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 94, 270, 280.

²⁹⁶ Bogumil Hrabak, *Napadi senjskih uskoka na Zazablje, Popovo i Trebinje (1535-1617)*, *Tribunia* 7, 1983, pp. 108, 111-112, 117.

39) LUKA (Lopud – 42° 41' N; 17° 56' E)²⁹⁷

- 1493 – galley – sailing close to the wind put in during the jugo (sirocco) and stayed for four days. It also sailed into this cove on its return and spent the night.²⁹⁸
- 1495 (*Insula de Mezo*) – galley – sailed into the cove during a stormy jugo (sirocco) and stayed for three days.²⁹⁹
- 1579 – merchantman? – a Venetian ship was anchored in the cove for a day on her return from England.³⁰⁰

The harbour and anchorage facing to the village are protected from all winds except the north-westerlies.³⁰¹

Millo confirms that the cove was exposed to the tramontana,³⁰² and Razzi states that the bay resembles to crescent.³⁰³ It was recorded by cartographers as a reliable shelter,³⁰⁴ and Mosto and Benincasa set links to other points (objects) on the sea.³⁰⁵

In 1486, a Venetian galley caught a ship from Dubrovnik at anchor and seized her.³⁰⁶ The squadron under command of the Ottoman pirate Turgut rested in the bay before attacking the Apulian town of Vieste in 1554.³⁰⁷

40) ŠUNJ (Lopud – 42° 41' N; 17° 57' E)³⁰⁸

- 1396 (*de la Monte*) – nave – sailed into the cove due to an adverse north-western wind.³⁰⁹
- 1489 – galley – put in during the bura (bora) and stayed for four days waiting for permitting wind and weather.³¹⁰

²⁹⁷ TK 1:25000, 624-4-2.

²⁹⁸ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 383.

²⁹⁹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 400.

³⁰⁰ The pilgrims from Germany changed ship, boarding this one in the abovementioned bay. See: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 520.

³⁰¹ Peljar, p. 272; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 147.

³⁰² A. Millo, *Tuto Quello*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

³⁰³ S. Razzi, *La storia*, p. 164.

³⁰⁴ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 45, 70, 94, 194.

³⁰⁵ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 7; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 206, 214.

³⁰⁶ V. V. Makušev - M. Šufflay, *Isprave za odnošaj*, p. 52.

³⁰⁷ N. Nodilo, *Annali di Ragusa*, p. 139.

³⁰⁸ TK 1:25000, 625-3-1.

³⁰⁹ François Bonnardot, Auguste Longnon, *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem du seigneur d'Anglure*, Paris 1878, pp. 96-98.

³¹⁰ Giovanni Mariti, *Illustrazioni in un anonimo viaggiatore del secolo XV.*, Livorno 1785, p. 66.

The cove offers shelter from the western and north-eastern winds, but is exposed to winds from the south-east.³¹¹

41) DONJE ČELO (Koločep – 42° 41' N; 18° 00' E)³¹²

- 1493 – galley – put in during jugo (sirocco) and stayed overnight.³¹³

The anchorage provides protection from the eastern and south-eastern winds, and from the north-eastern ones along the north coast.³¹⁴ It was recorded quite early by cartographers,³¹⁵ and also by portolan writers.³¹⁶ Millo gives an overview of the cove, and warns of the reef in the Strait of Koločep.³¹⁷

After the defeat at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, the galley carrying King Sigismund casted anchor in this cove on his way back in the city of Split – probably due to the jugo (sirocco).³¹⁸ Bartol Kašić³¹⁹ boarded the ship in the same cove in 1613 with the intention of sailing to Ancona.³²⁰

42) TIHA (Cavtat – 42° 35' N; 18° 13' E)³²¹

- 1493 – galley – stayed overnight.³²²
- 1502 – grippo – put in and stayed for four days.³²³

The bay offers good protection from the eastern and south-eastern winds.³²⁴ As an important navigational point, it has been highlighted on maps since earliest days,³²⁵ with Mosto and Benincasa doing the same in their works.³²⁶ Its spaciousness was emphasized in the portolan from 1490,³²⁷

³¹¹ Peljar, p. 269; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 147.

³¹² TK 1:25000, 625-3-1.

³¹³ Neudecker, Preller, *Georg Spalatin's*, p. 79.

³¹⁴ Peljar, p. 273; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 148.

³¹⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 29, 70.

³¹⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 7; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 206.

³¹⁷ A. Millo, *Tuto Quelo*, www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects, accessed 18 May 2018.

³¹⁸ Junije Resti, "Croniche di Ragusa", *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 25/1893, p. 182.

³¹⁹ Bartol Kašić (1575-1650) was a Croatian jesuit, missionary and philologist.

³²⁰ The work was written in Latin. See: Miroslav Vanino, "Autobiografija Bartola Kašića", *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* 15/1940, p. 57.

³²¹ TK 1:25000, 625-3-4.

³²² Neudecker, Preller, *Georg Spalatin's*, p. 79.

³²³ D. M. Pellegrini, *Relazione inedita*, pp. 108-109.

³²⁴ Peljar, p. 281; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 138.

³²⁵ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 31, 34, 60.

³²⁶ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 8; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 206.

³²⁷ A. da Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination.

and it was for this reason that Venetian galleys, as well as other ships, usually cast anchor there when in transit.³²⁸

The writer Nalješković mentions these galleys when describing his possessions in the introduction to his most famous literary work.³²⁹

43) DONJI MOLUNAT (42° 27' N; 18° 25' E)³³⁰

- 1579 – nave – stayed overnight.³³¹

The anchorage is protected from all winds except the north-western ones.³³² The importance of the cove is confirmed by earliest charts.³³³ A portolan from 1490 mentions that this cove is open to the west, and that its depth reaches up to 20 *passi* (about 35 m) at the entrance.³³⁴ In the inner part of the cove depths range from 15 to 23 m. Other portolans also describe well the features of the bay (see: Map 1).³³⁵

Ottoman pirate boats lurked on the merchant ships in transit from this cove, and then reported the ships' arrival to their commanders in Herceg Novi.³³⁶ In addition, a Berber fuste set off on a series of raids on the Central Adriatic from this cove in 1531.³³⁷

44) ŽANJICA (Boka Kotorska – 42° 24' N; 18° 34' E)³³⁸

- 1630 – nave – sailed into the cove during the tramontana and stayed there for a short period of time.³³⁹

The cove is exposed to the southern and south-western winds (garbin), but provide protection from the bura (bora) and the jugo.³⁴⁰ Cartographers mention it early on, but it became a regular feature on maps only at a later

³²⁸ S. Razzi, *La storia*, p. 149.

³²⁹ Nikola Nalješković (ca. 1510-1587), scientist and poet from Dubrovnik, sailed the Adriatic and the Mediterranean Sea for a number of years as merchant. See: Rafo Bogišić, "Nikola Nalješković", *Rad JAZU* 357/1971, pp. 32-33, 41.

³³⁰ TK 1:25000, 675-2-2.

³³¹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 519.

³³² *Peljar*, p. 280; A. Simović, *Navigational Guide*, p. 138.

³³³ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28-29, 31, 34-35.

³³⁴ A. da Mosto lists the neighboring cove of Gornji Molunat as *Malonto pizolo*. See: Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination; Z. Herkov, *Prinosi za upoznavanje*, pp. 147, 169.

³³⁵ A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 8; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 211.

³³⁶ Grga Novak, "Mletačka uputstva i izvještaji", V, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 48/1966, p. 101.

³³⁷ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* LIV, Venezia 1899, p. 444.

³³⁸ TK 1:25000, 676-1-1.

³³⁹ C. von Neitzschitz, *Des weilant*, p. 27.

³⁴⁰ *Peljar*, p. 294; G. Marieni, *Portolano Del Mare Adriatico*, p. 437.

date.³⁴¹ Older portolans generally describe the entire marine area as *Cattaro* or *Cataro*, but give an overview of the bay's features along with those of the islet of Mamula.³⁴²

The commander of the Venetian fleet in the Battle of Lepanto, Sebastian Venier, stayed in Žanjica in 1572 during a failed attempt at the liberation of Herceg Novi.³⁴³ On the other hand, local pirates used to wait for merchantmen in transit in this cove.³⁴⁴

45) BUDVA (42° 17' N; 18° 50' E)³⁴⁵

- 1491 – galley – cast anchor and stayed overnight.³⁴⁶
- 1495 – galley – cast anchor and stayed overnight.³⁴⁷
- 1502 – grippo – sailed into the cove and stayed for seven hours.³⁴⁸
- 1532 – nave – sailed into the cove after her bowsprit had been broken in a storm.³⁴⁹
- 1569 – nave – cast anchor, and stayed overnight.³⁵⁰
- 1636 ? – tartane – cast anchor due to a calm, and stayed for a day.³⁵¹

The anchorage is protected from the western wind, but is exposed to the jugo (sirocco).³⁵² It is depicted on earliest maps.³⁵³ Mosto also states that the anchorage at Budva was sheltered from the western and north-western winds,³⁵⁴ but that it was also known as a relatively unsafe harbour.³⁵⁵

³⁴¹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 130, 145.

³⁴² A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 8; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 209-211.

³⁴³ Grga Novak, "Mletačka uputstva i izvještaji", IV, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 47, 1964, p. 84.

³⁴⁴ G. Novak, *Mletačka uputstva* V, p. 101.

³⁴⁵ TK 1:25000, 676-2-3.

³⁴⁶ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 372.

³⁴⁷ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 400.

³⁴⁸ D. M. Pellegrini, *Relazione inedita*, p. 109.

³⁴⁹ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LVII*, Venezia 1902, p. 473.

³⁵⁰ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 507.

³⁵¹ C. von Neitzschitz, *Des weilant*, p. 118.

³⁵² *Peljar*, p. 294.

³⁵³ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 30, 34, 38.

³⁵⁴ A. da Mosto, *Portolano per*, no pagination; A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, pp. 8, 30; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, pp. 209-214.

³⁵⁵ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* III, p. 119. – (1559) "... Ha porto grande, ma non in tutto sicuro ...".

A squadron of merchant galleys from Beirut sailed into the bay in 1532.³⁵⁶ On his return from a supervision in 1553, G. B. Giustinian boarded a galley which he continued his voyage on.³⁵⁷

46) LUKA (Bar – 42° 05' N; 19° 05' E)³⁵⁸

- 1569 – nave - sailed leeward into the bay and stayed briefly.³⁵⁹

The anchorage nearby the city of Bar (Old Bar!) is exposed to the westerlies and south-western winds, and it offers shelter from the jugo (sirocco).³⁶⁰ The bay has appeared in cartographic works since earliest times.³⁶¹ A portolan from 1490 states that it has the bottom that holds it well.³⁶²

Berber pirates from Djerba Island (Tunisia) robbed a *marciliana* there in 1532, capturing passengers.³⁶³ During his superintendence of coastal towns G. B. Giustinian was anchored in the bay in 1553. He emphasized that the bay was not sheltered from waves caused by the aforementioned winds, and instead just called it "the coast".³⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

When we mark these bays and coves on the map as geographic points and connect successively them along the length of the Adriatic, three navigational routes become apparent (see: Map 2). Having been united between Venice and Rovinj, these three directions forked off near Fažana, but only two of them joined again at Dubrovnik or Budva. From there, they usually continued for the Island of Corfu. The third, high sea route lead directly to the Ionian island of Zakynthos (Zante) as the next port. These routes became established over the centuries, while deviations sometimes occurred due to unpredictable circumstances (e. g. Ottoman conquest of the cities of Bar and Ulcinj in 1571).

As one can see, the coastal route followed the east Adriatic coast, diverging inevitably in the Kvarner, and Central Dalmatian area from Cape Ploče to the Island of Hvar (see: Maps 2 and 3). Despite the fact that the marked

³⁵⁶ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LVII*, p. 472.

³⁵⁷ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, p. 237.

³⁵⁸ TK 1:25000, 676-3-3.

³⁵⁹ Š. Jurić, *Putovanje jednog*, p. 277.

³⁶⁰ Peljar, p. 296.

³⁶¹ M. Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici*, pp. 28, 30, 42, 150.

³⁶² A. da Mosto, *Il portolano del mare*, p. 8; E. Spadolini, *Il portolano di Grazioso*, p. 209.

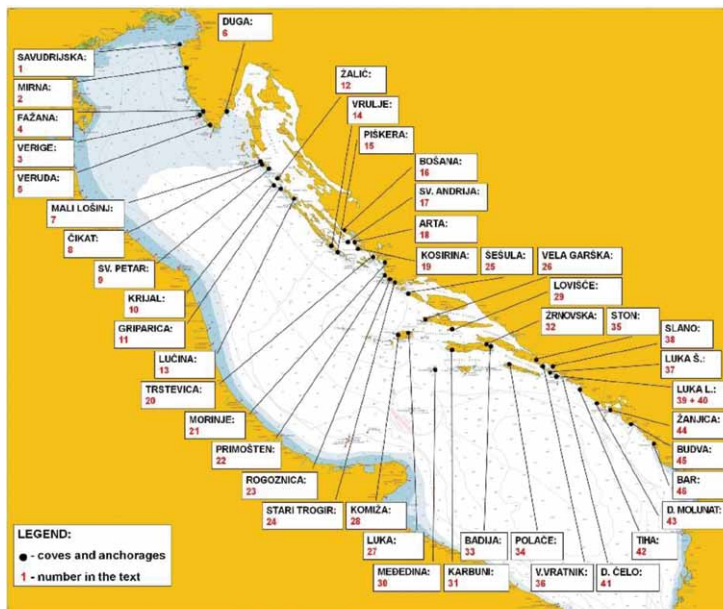
³⁶³ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto LVI*, p. 292.

³⁶⁴ Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* II, pp. 231-232.

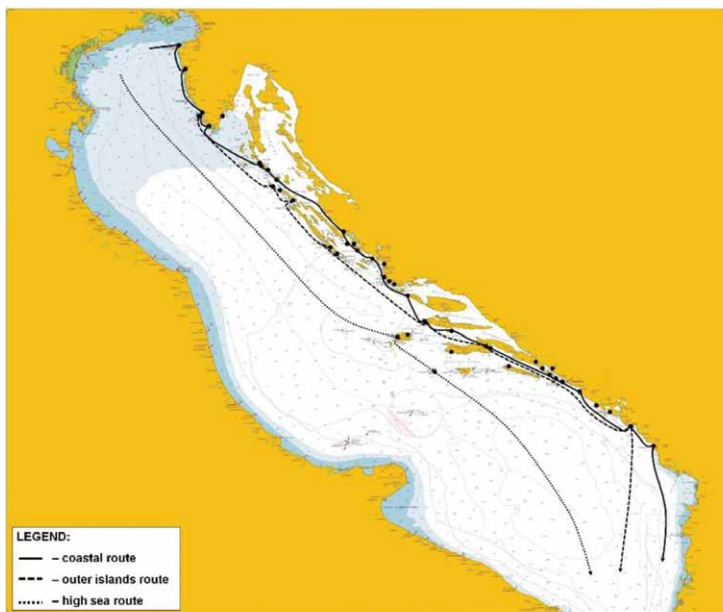
bays had a spacing approximately equal to the galley's sailing time, maritime everyday experiences suggests that seafarers did not pick out sheltered anchorage sites in moments of distress. Once the era of pilgrimage to the Levant had drawn to a close, this area was dominated by coastal shipping. The second route was based on the coves of the outer islands, passing inevitably through the Korčula Channel (see: Maps 2 and 4). The third course, rarely used during the epoch of galleys, later become the exclusive route for sailing ships with Venice (Malamocco) as a destination or point of departure. For ships which sailed on the open Adriatic, anchoring in coves came to be considered only as the last resort in stormy weather (see: Maps 2 and 5). There was also a fourth – transverse route. Considering the total number of pilgrims, this route was of minor significance, because only very prominent persons used it, and only in local traffic. However, no matter how short the journey was, shelters were used (see: Maps 2 and 6).

The names of the coves and anchorages can be found sporadically in notes on breakdowns or reports on armed clashes with pirates and their attacks on ships (from the Venetian point of view Uskoks belonged in this group of maritime offenders, except in short periods of the interested alliance). This, however, does not offer the full picture of the usual routes used by trade and passenger ships. It is characteristic that warships, as persecutors, do not look to shorten their route, but to persistently cross-search the entire area, because, as stated by Sanudo, ... *the sea is a forest*³⁶⁵ As adversaries in this stratagem, pirates attempted to strike suddenly at points along the navigation routes, so notes on their movement, in most cases, depended on the alertness of authorities or were recorded by sheer coincidence. Therefore, they remain fragmentary. For this reason, it is no surprise that pilgrims' travelogues represent an indispensable and precious source of information on the subject of bays as anchorages on the Croatian Adriatic coast.

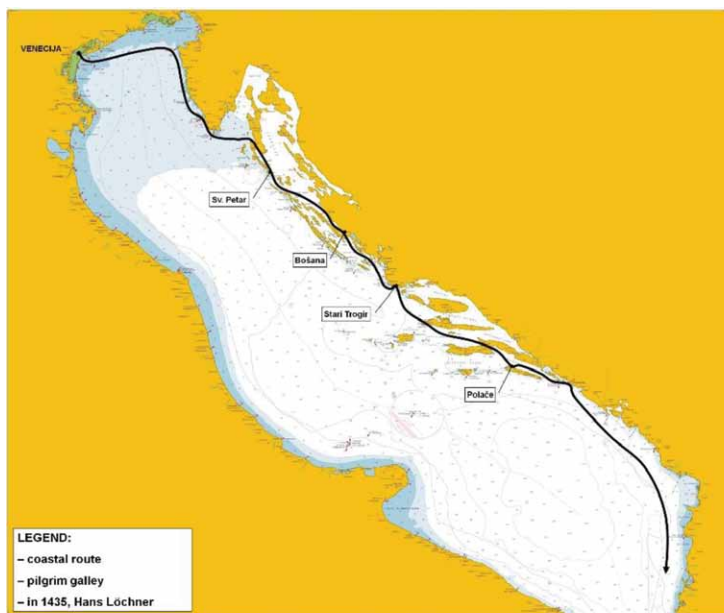
³⁶⁵ M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVII*, p. 262. – "... il mare è uno bosco ...".



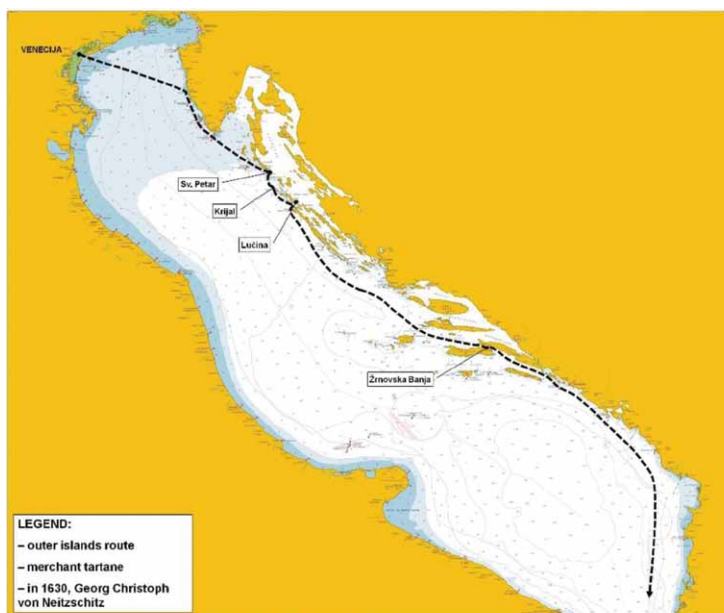
Map 1: The bay and anchorage locations on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea mentioned in the text. With regard to the protection of navigation, there is a distinctive difference in comparison with the coast of the Apennine Peninsula.



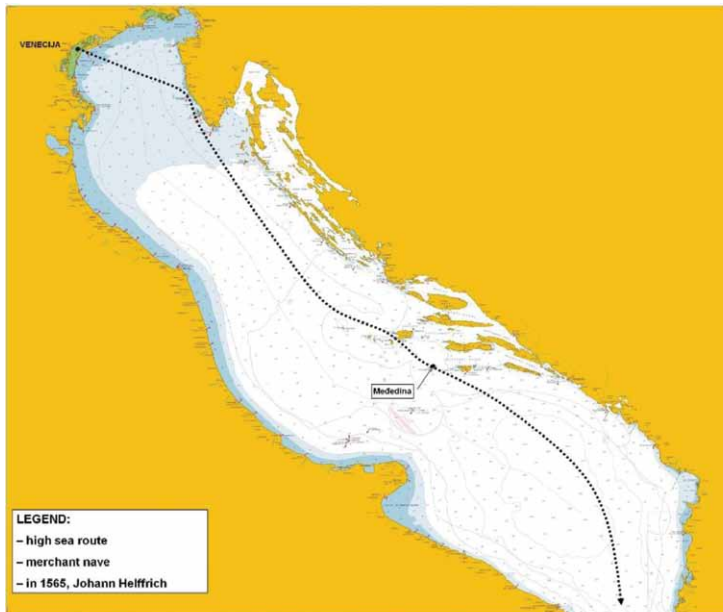
Map 2: Three kinds of the sailing routes: coastal, outer islands, and high sea route.



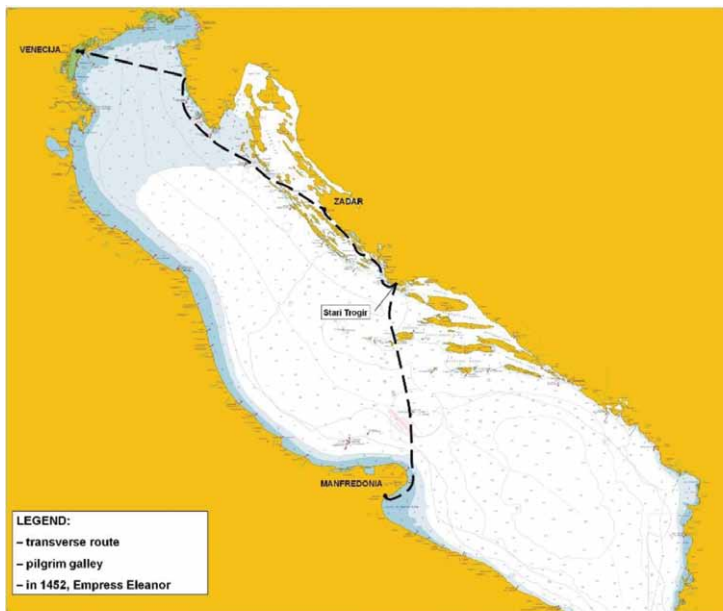
Map 3: Coastal route in the travelogue of Hans Löchner from 1435.



Map 4: Outer islands route in the travelogue of Georg Christoph von Neitzschitz from 1630.



Map 5: High sea route in the travelogue of Johann Helffrich from 1565.



Map 6: Transverse route from 1452.

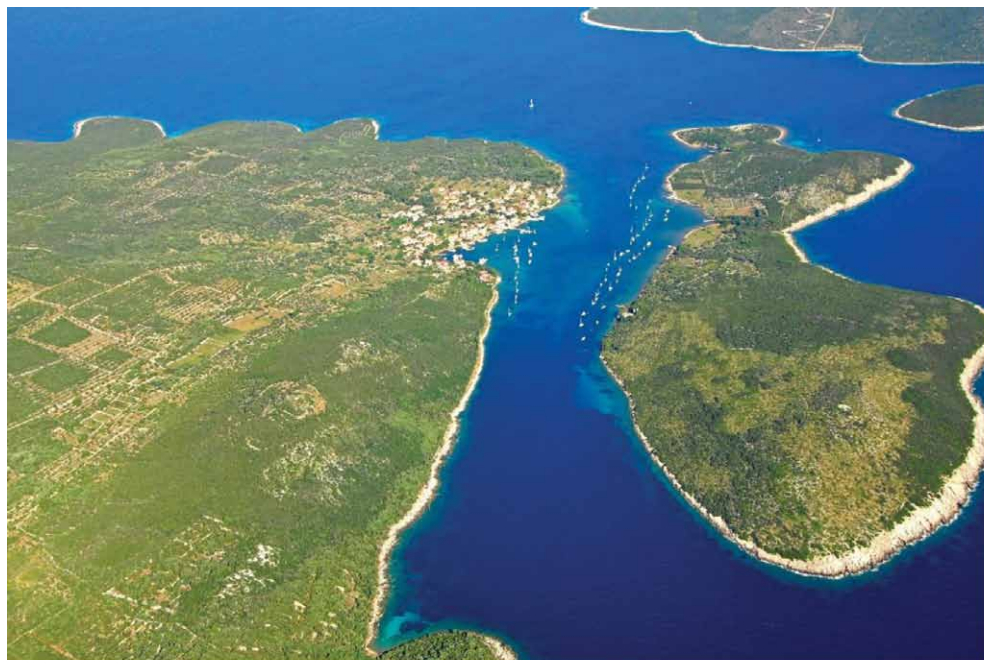


Figure 1: Channel of Sv. Petar – an example of an anchorage with two entrances



Figure 2: Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, Eleanor of Portugal (1434-1467), spouse of Friedrich III. (by a follower of Hans Burgkmair the Elder). Her galley spent the night in Stari Trogir cove.



Figure 3: The western part of the island of Hvar and the island of Šćedro with the coves in Millo's portolan from 1590; Millo, *Tuto Quello*, p. 58r, in: www.collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections.objects.

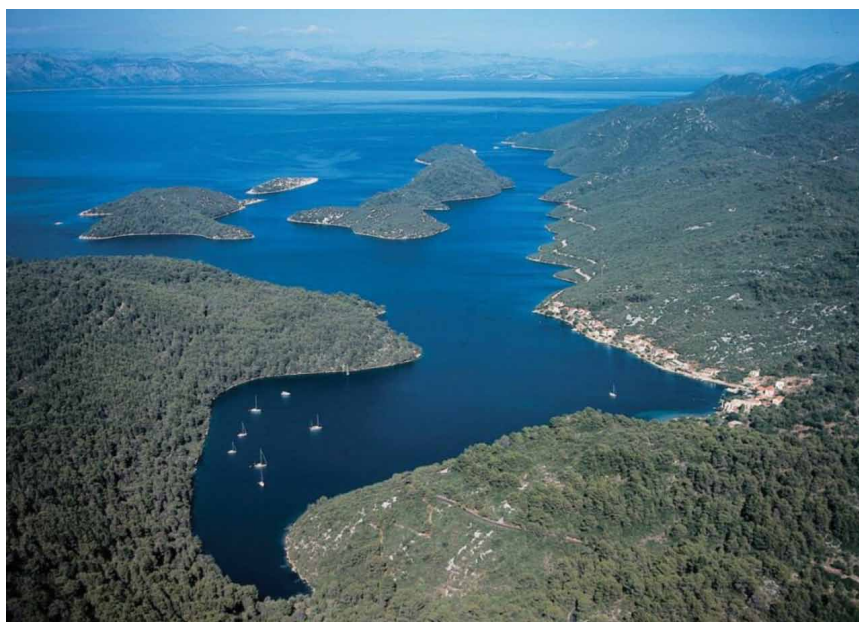


Figure 4: Bay of Polače – an example of an anchorage protected from all winds.

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Krešimir Kužić

Sigurne uvale i sidrišta na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana prema hodočasničkim putopisima od kraja 14. do sredine 17. stoljeća

Sažetak

U razdoblju od 14. do sredine 17. stoljeća tisuće hodočasnika iz srednje i zapadne Europe isplovilo je iz Venecije u smjeru Palestine. Mnogi od njih ostavili su putopisne bilješke u kojima nalazimo dragocjene opise događanja tijekom plovidbe, od čega pozornost privlače spomeni uvala, zaljeva, rtova i grebena na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Mletačka Republika poduzela je niz koraka radi povećanja sigurnosti prometa svojih ratnih, trgovačkih i putničkih brodova. Osim izrade karata i portolana, neke su uvale (npr. Kosirina na Murteru) bile vidljivo označene kao sigurna zakloništa, a za trgovačke konvoje (*mude*) bila su propisana mjesta pristajanja i sidrenja. Općenito gledano, svi državni službenici Republike skrbili su se oko sigurnosti plovidbe i sprječavanju boravka stranih ratnih brodova u zaljevima Jadrana. Iznimnu važnost uvala potvrđuju i stradavanja i havarije brodova uslijed vremenskih nepogoda - naročito bure i juga. U početku su hodočasnici plovili gotovo isključivo na galijama. One su se kretale pomoću vjetrova i galijota, a upravo zahvaljujući veslima imale su veće manevarske sposobnosti od običnih jedrenjaka. Razlozi uplovljavanja u uvale, osim nepogoda, bili su i odmor (osobito noćni), pogreb umrlih putnika, uzimanje hrane, vode i drva, te sklanjanje od gusara. Analizirani su podatci za sljedeće uvale i sidrišta (od SZ do JI): Savudrijska, Mirna, Verige, Fažana, Veruda, Duga, luka Mali Lošinj, Čikat, Sv. Petar, Krijal, Griparica, Žalić, Lučina, Vrulje, Piškera, Bošana, Sv. Andrija (vrgadski), uvala kod Arte Vele, Kosirina, Trstevica, Morinje, Primošten, Rogoznica, Stari Trogir, Šešula, Vela Garška, luka Vis, Komiža, Lovište (šćedransko), Međedina, Karbuni, Žrnovska b., Ježevica, Polače, Ston, Veliki Vratnik, luka Šipan, Slano, luka Lopud, Šunj, Donje Čelo, Tiha, Donji Molunat, Žanjica, Budva, luka Bar. Kad povežemo ovih 46 hidrografskih objekata dobijemo tri glavna longitudinalna plovidbena jadranska smjera. Prvi je dužobalni s neizbježnim udaljavanjima od kopna na dionicama od Pule do Zadra, te od rta Ploča do Pelješca. Raster korištenih uvala, ali i gradskih luka, bio je približan tempu plovidbe galija. Drugi smjer se od Pule i sidrišta Sv. Petra držao vanjskih otoka, ali je ipak prolazio Korčulanskim kanalom prema Dubrovniku i Baru. Treći je smjer od početka išao pučinom Jadrana i gotovo isključivo su ga rabili pravi jedrenjaci, stoga je i njihovo ulaženje u uvale bilo prouzrokovano jedino nepovoljnim vjetrovima i olujama. Sveukupno gledano, putnički zapisi o sidrištima na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana daleko su potpuniji i informativniji od ratnih izvješća i vijesti o brodolomima.

Ključne riječi: Jadransko more, hodočašće, plovidba, uvale, luke

Sabine Florence Fabijanec

MULTICULTURALISM ON THE ADRIATIC. TRANSPORTER AND TRADE TRAVELLERS IN THE ADRIATIC (FIFTEENTH-SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)

Abstract: The paper proposes to describe the context in which merchants and passengers of various citizenships and nationalities gathered on board during their voyages on the Adriatic Sea. The article relies primarily on statistical sources. However, drawing on narrative sources it is possible to note some particularities. The article focuses on travellers of Levantine origin: Greeks, Jews, Turks, and Armenians, who became increasingly present in the Adriatic trade network from the middle of the sixteenth century.

Keywords: melting-pot, Adriatic, Dalmatia, Italy, customs declarations, life on board, maritime trade, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Armenians, fifteenth century, sixteenth century.

When examining medieval customs declarations from Ancona and Dalmatian cities, the historian cannot help but notice one thing: the ships in Adriatic waters transported merchants of various origins. What is meant by “origins” is the fact that from the medieval point of view each commune had its own citizenship and that nationals from other communes were perceived as foreigners. Whether they came from neighboring Dalmatian communes or from further away, from Greek or Italian ports, all passengers had a distinct cultural and social background, belonged to a *natio*, a *genus* using its specific *lingua*.¹ Since the term “multiculturalism” is here used to denote the

¹ For a short and clear overview of the terminology, the complexity of multicultural relationships in the Middle Ages, and the way in which the medieval man perceived the “others”, see:

cultural diversity present within a given society, it seems justified to study some facets of these temporary gatherings of people of different origins. Apart from the crew, which in itself represented a melting pot of sailors from the Venetian “Stato da Mar” or the Anconitan fleet, travellers also hailed from the vicinity (i.e. from nearby cities), from neighboring territories, and even from more distant regions. Apart from the Christian majority, toward the second half of the sixteenth century among travellers we increasingly notice the presence of followers of other religions of the Βίβλος, reflecting geopolitical shifts. The aim of this paper is to show what it was like for travellers of different origins to come together for a short period of time while travelling on a multicultural vessel.

A SHORT OVERVIEW OF MULTICULTURALISM ON LAND

In order to better understand the impact of multicultural vessels crossing the seas, a brief overview of the position of foreigners on land, inside communes and territories, is necessary as a means of comparison. On land, foreigners were all called *forensis*, meaning “one who is outside”, or *extraneus*, used in reference to someone who is “outside” and even a bit “strange”. They primarily came from outside the territorial and political boundaries of a given area. They came from a place or community different from the one that they entered into contact with, whether occasionally or for long periods of time.² On board, all travellers inevitably came from the “outside” and lived “inside” the same ship, although cultural, religious, and differences in motivation remained. We will examine the position of foreigners in several Adriatic communes in order to see just how familiar given populations were with outsiders.

Generally, the easiest way to integrate into a society as a foreigner was to partake in local trade. Thus, since the eleventh century Dalmatian cities and Italian communes had already concluded several trade contracts to reduce the taxation of goods and increase the trade flow.³ In Italian communes

Jaroslav Svátek, “Les catégories des « nations, langues et créances » chez les voyageurs des XIV^e et XV^e siècles”, *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge, Actes du XLIV^e Congrès de la SHMESP*, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne 2014, pp. 123-135.

² Enrica Guerra, “Being foreigner in the Late Middle Ages”, Alessia Bianco (ed.), *Otherness / Alterità*, Rome: ARACNE editrice S.r.l 2012, pp. 41-47. For examples of their un/successful integration into Dalmatian communes, cf. Sabine Florence Fabijanec, “Jesu li stranci marginalci? Razmatranje položaja stranaca u srednjovjekovnom društvu” [Are The Foreigners Marginalci? Consideration on the Position of Foreigners in Medieval Society], Tomislav Popić (ed.), *Gradske marginalne skupine u Hrvatskoj kroz srednji vijek i rano moderno doba*, Zagreb: Biblioteka Dies Historiae 2004, pp. 107-127.

³ Sabine Florence Fabijanec, “Gli scambi economici sulla costa adriatica orientale nei XV-XVI secoli”, Neven Budak (ed.), *Raukarov Zbornik. Zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, Zagreb: FFpress 2005, pp. 671-690.

foreigners who wanted to qualify for citizenship had to be resident in the commune for a prescribed period of time, while in Dalmatian communes the statute law did not define the necessary length of residence.⁴ Dubrovnik laid down criteria for newcomers, including cultural and religious affiliation, ethnicity, professional abilities, and social status.⁵ In order to better organize a common defense, the city promoted close relations with others Dalmatian communes and collaborated with them, and so other Dalmatian traders and sailors frequently did business with Ragusans. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, apart from Dalmatians and Italians, Dubrovnik welcomed Hungarian, Croatian, Catalan, Spanish, Jewish, Sicilian, as well as Ottoman and even French and English traders. These relations were strengthened through the opening of consular services in the Mediterranean. However, with the decline in the slave trade, the presence of Catalan and Sicilian merchants dropped, while the presence of Germans was linked to canvas manufacture, and the presence of Croats with military ventures.⁶ In Šibenik, the list of military mercenaries and their payments in the surrounding military bases for the years 1441-1443 reveals the presence of a few Germans (from Bremen, Cologne, and Munich) and Spaniards, and a great number of Greeks (from Arta, Candia [nowadays Crete and Heraklion City], Chalcis, Corfu, Cyprus, Ioannina, Livadeia, and Patras).⁷ However, their presence was the result of Venetian policy rather than attractions of Šibenik itself, and they were subject to the martial law of the camps in predefined places, where movement was restricted.⁸

⁴ For a comparison of different Dalmatian Statutes regulating the rights of foreigners from a theoretical point of view, cf.: Željko Radić-Ivica Ratković, "Položaj stranaca u splitskom statutaru" [Position of Foreigners according to the Split Statutory Law], *Adrias* 12/2005, pp. 193-230 (especially pp. 198-199).

⁵ The city of Dubrovnik is not covered by this statistical analysis, but since it is the most studied medieval Dalmatian commune, it represents the most complete case study for this area.

⁶ According to the *Pacta matrimonialia* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 45% of foreigners marrying local Ragusan women were Italians, 28% were Dalmatians, 8% came from the hinterland, and more than 5% hailed from Greece. Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: između prihvaćenosti i odbačenosti" [Ein Fremder im mittelalterlichen Dubrovnik. Zwischen Aufnahme und Abweisung] (hereafter *Stranac u srednjovjekovnom*), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26/1993, pp. 27-38.

⁷ "Popis vojnih plaćenika" [List of Mercenaries] and "Potvrde o isplatama" [Confirmations of Payments], Josip Kolanović (ed.), *Instrumenta cancellariae Fantini de Cha de Pesauro comitis Sibenici 1441-1443* (hereafter *Instrumenta cancellariae*), *Monumenta historiam Sibenici et eius districtus illustrantia*, T. III, Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika 1989, pp. 48-60, 107-151.

⁸ Since Greeks traditionally belonged to the Orthodox Church, in the three communes hosting colonies of stratiotes they were assigned churches to worship in: St. Elijah in Zadar, St. Veneranda in Hvar, and St. Julian in Šibenik. In case they married Catholic women, they were assimilated and usually converted to Catholicism, so in 1625, only ten of the sixty Greek families in Šibenik remained Orthodox; Mile Bogović, "Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji

In fact, space also played an important role in the distribution of foreigners within urban settlements. In Dubrovnik, only Turks never settled in the city, but were provided with separate lodgings during they stay, at Tabor Ploče, outside the city walls. As for Jews, they first came during the fourteenth century and a new wave of immigration was registered beginning with the 1530s. They were allocated lodgings at Ploče, the so-called Giudecca, where from 1546 they organized their own administration and services.⁹ In Venice foreigners were accorded a place of residence depending on their place of origin and social status. Dalmatians were predominantly sailors, Albanians were known as wool workers, Lombards and Tuscans were more involved in textile manufacture, as were Germans. Some communities were early comers, for instance Dalmatians and Albanians. Some arrived at a later date, like the Greeks, who were fully integrated into the Venetian urban landscape in 1514, when Pope Leo X exempted the Greek community in Venice from the legal jurisdiction of the Venetian religious' authorities and subjected them directly to papal jurisdiction, considering them Greek Catholic. Later in 1557, the Greek bishop of Zakynthos was granted permission to settle in Venice in order to take over the administration of the Greek community of believers.¹⁰ During the fourteenth century, the Florentines, the Milanese, and other non-Venetian Italians were granted representative status (*sindacus*), while the Albanians (1442), Dalmatians (1451), and Greeks (1498) could regroup within their respective *Scuolas*.¹¹ As for the Marches, during the first half of the fifteenth century a growing number of Albanians migrated to the cities of Recanati and Ancona. They were for the most part Catholics and originated from Shkodër and Durrës. They usually worked as farmers and craftsmen (shoemakers, furriers, carpenters, or sailors), and were scattered throughout various parishes.¹² Croats, mostly from Zadar, Zagreb, Modruš,

za vrijeme mletačke vladavine" [Catholic Church and Orthodoxy in Dalmatia during the Venetian Dominion] (hereafter *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje*), *Analecta Croatica christiana*, vol. XIV, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost-Školska knjiga 1993, p. 22.

⁹ Z. Janeković Römer, *Stranac u srednjovekovnom*, pp. 27-38.

¹⁰ Mile Bogović, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje*, p. 23.

¹¹ Philippe Braunstein, "Canneregio zone de transit?", Jacques Bottin-Donatella Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville: Minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme 1999 (hereafter *Les étrangers dans la ville*), p. 162; Heleni Porfyriou "La présence grecque en Italie entre XVI^e et XVII^e siècle: Rome et Venise", J. Bottin-D. Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville. Minorités*, pp. 131-133, Silvia Moretti, "Une communauté étrangère dans la Venise des XV^e et XVI^e siècles: le cas des Albanais", J. Bottin-D. Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville*, pp. 183-193, Reinhold C. Mueller, "Veneti facti privilegio: les étrangers naturalisés à Venise entre XIV^e et XVI^e siècle", J. Bottin-D. Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville* p. 178.

¹² For more information, consult: Alain Ducellier, "Etablissement des Albanais à Ancône" (hereafter *Etablissement des Albanais*), Werther Angelini-Giulio Battelli-Pio Cartechini-& C^{ie}, (eds.),

and Dubrovnik, had already settled in the city as merchants half a century earlier, and when they gathered in sufficient number, they grouped together into the *Universitas Slavorum* in Ancona. As for Greeks, their community in Ancona began to grow in 1514, when the commune of Saint Ciriaco granted privileges to Ottoman merchants, and consequently to Greeks. The most enterprising merchants came from Arta, Janina, and Avlon on Euboea, and they were organized in a *fondaco*, supplying the city with grains. By the middle of the sixteenth century as many as two hundred Greek trading houses had been established in the commune.¹³ As for Jews, their economic activity in Venice consisted mainly in moneylending. In 1509, the “Serenissima” integrated them to an even greater extent by granting them privileges in order to improve the trading liquidity, which suffered a blow following the defeat at Agnadello in May 1509. It was in the sixteenth century that the Sephardic diaspora spread through European economic centers and quickly assumed an important role in long-distance trade. Those among them who were integrated into the Ottoman Empire were called “Levantine Jews”.¹⁴ In Ancona, the first wave of Portuguese Jewish groups arrived sometime during the 1530s, and a decade later, the pragmatic Pope Paul III welcomed the Marrano-Portuguese merchants expelled from Naples in 1541, granting them commercial privileges, including protection from the Inquisition, in order to stimulate the economic growth of the city. In 1552 the *Universitas Hebraeorum Portugallensium in civitate Anconitana commorantes* was founded, and it numbered around 2700 persons.¹⁵

In the politico-economical field, the mid-sixteenth century represents a turning point for the Italian and Dalmatian markets. On the one hand, during the sixteenth century a common economic system of Italian states began to emerge more clearly, while the presence of foreigners became increasingly important and constant. These non-natives regularly sought to

Mercati, Mercanti, denaro nelle Marche (secoli XIV-XIX). Atti del convegno, Ancona, 28-30 maggio 1982 (hereafter Mercati, Mercanti), Ancona: Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche 1989, pp. 74-114.

¹³ Trajan Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant”, *The Journal of Economic History* 20/2, 1960, pp. 234-313 (especially 237).

¹⁴ Sources feature several terms, according to their origins and location, such as ‘Levantini’, ‘Ponentinini’, ‘Portuguese’, ‘marrani’, ‘new Christians’; Maria Fusaro, “Gli uomini d'affari stranieri in Italia” (hereafter *Gli uomini*), Franco Franceschi-Richard A. Goldthwaite-Reinhold C. Mueller (eds.), *Il rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa, vol. IV, Commercio e cultura mercantile*, Treviso-Costabissara (Vicenza): Fondazione Casamarca-Angelo Colla Editore 2007, pp. 369-395 (381).

¹⁵ Ariel Toaff, “L’“Universitas Hebraeorum portugallensium” di Ancona nel cinquecento: Interessi economici e ambiguità religiosa”, W. Angelini-G. Battelli-P. Cartechini-& C^{ie}, (eds.), *Mercati, Mercanti*, pp. 115-145 (especially 116-117, 127-128).

acquire citizenship privileges and the right to partake in economic activities. The granting of both was facilitated in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, confronted with the growing complexity of trade transactions and the burgeoning economic activity of both foreign and local entrepreneurs, the city's legislation could hardly follow new developments, and thus foreigners were allowed to enter communal business.¹⁶ On another hand, following with the Ottoman conquest and the Ottoman-Venetian War in 1540, the land districts of the Dalmatian coast were lost, separating maritime societies from their hinterland. In order to ensure peaceful co-existence, utilitarian trade was set up, which meant that the market of Dalmatian communes was open to Ottoman merchants,¹⁷ as a sad love story which happened in Split in 1574 also testifies.¹⁸ The following question remains: were these changes taking place on land also reflected on sea, and to what extent?

THE ON BOARD MELTING-POT IN THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

Seafarers crossing the Adriatic had various roles. Concerning the crews, the Venetian ones in particular, the sailors' origins were multifarious. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Venetian galleys already counted some 180 people on board, among them at least 166 rowers. Crew members were recruited from all over the "Stato da Mar", in Istria, Dalmatia, and further.¹⁹ Greeks occupied commanding positions which did not require noble status. From the fourteenth century, there was a growing number of Greeks, Albanians, and Dalmatians among rowers,²⁰ whose coexistence was defined by religious tolerance.²¹

¹⁶ M. Fusaro, *Gli uomini*, pp. 372-373, 377.

¹⁷ Mithad Kozličić-Dubravka Mlinarić-Marta Andrić, "Zadarski akvatorij u Piri Reisovoj Knjizi pomorstva iz 1526. godine: Pomorsko-geografske slike dijela hrvatskoga Jadrana" (hereafter *Zadarski akvatorij*) [The Equatorium of Zadar in Piri Reis' Book of Navigation of 1526: Maritime and Geographical Images of Part of the Croatian Adria], *Geoadria* 20-2/2015, pp. 119-147 (especially 123).

¹⁸ According to a 1547 account of a Venetian rector from Split, a young eighteen-year old Turk named Adel from the Spalatin hinterland came to the Split bazaar once a week to sell wax, distilled aromatic water, and horses. His presence was recorded because he fell in love with a local Christian woman. The relationship was doomed to fail as the two lovers were of different religious background; Vicko Solitro, *Povijesni dokumenti o Istri i Dalmaciji* [Historical Documents on Istria and Dalmatia], Split: Književni krug 1989, pp. 206-208. In 1932, the Spalatin Josip Hatze composed the opera *Adel i Mara* based on the story.

¹⁹ For Dalmatian sailors in Venice, see: Lovorka Čoralić, "Hrvatski mornari u Mlecima (XV.-XVIII. st.)" [Croatian Sailors in Venice (15th-18th Centuries)], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti u Zadru* 43/2001, pp. 275-310.

²⁰ Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise, fin XIII^e-milieu XV^e siècle*, Leiden-New York-Cologne: E. J. Brill 1995, pp. 60, 278, 291, 318.

²¹ Venetian territory extended over the Adriatic, Aegean, and Mediterranean Seas. It included Romanic, Greek, and Slavic populations of different political, cultural, and religious back-

As for travellers, there were several kinds, and they sailed for various purposes. The pilgrims' motivation was piety, and they left behind many travel stories which bore witness to their expeditions, and which were meant to help future pilgrims.²² Apart from medieval humanists and cartographers of the Adriatic, such as Pietro Vesconte, Angelino Dulcert or Wilhem Pleydenwurff,²³ the sixteenth century was characterized by the return of Muslim traveller-cartographers, especially as embodied in the person of the former corsair and cartographer of the Ottoman navy, Pîrî Reis, who drew two world maps, such as the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, which served the trading and military needs of the flourishing Empire. His *Book of Navigation* (1526) depicts the Zaratian maritime zone with the help of a map and a text featuring important details for mariners.²⁴ With the advent of the Renaissance, the prototype of the wealthy and curious tourist emerged, such as Pero Tafur from Spain, who describes the places he visited in his *Travels and Adventures* (1435-1439).²⁵ Finally, entrepreneurs travelled by sailing ships as this was the cheapest and most convenient way to transport large cargo. They consulted portolans and *Pratiche della mercatura*, concluding insurance contracts to insure merchandise.

While the testimonies of pilgrims regarding the events and travelling situations abound,²⁶ we seldom find data on other kinds of travellers. For this

ground. In order to ensure harmony between these heterogeneous groups, the Venetian Republic tried to limit external influence, including that of the Vatican. In the case of Orthodox, Protestant, and Jewish communities, Venetian authorities adopted a pragmatic outlook, taking into account their political and economic contribution. In this sense, Venetian religious policy was shaped by diplomatic considerations. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje*, pp. 146-147.

²² See for example: Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Les modèles de voyageurs à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Apprendre, produire, se conduire: le modèle au Moyen Âge. XLVe Congrès de la SHMESP* (Nancy-Metz, 22 mai-25 mai 2014), Nancy-Metz: Publications de la Sorbonne. Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 139/2014, pp. 299-308.

²³ For the historical maps concerning the Eastern Adriatic, see: Mithad Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici hrvatskog Jadrana. Monumenta cartographica maris Adriatici croatici. Izbor karata, planova i veduta do kraja 17. stoljeća*, Zagreb: AGM 1995.

²⁴ M. Kozličić-D. Mlinarić-M. Andrić, *Zadarski akvatorij*, pp. 126-127.

²⁵ Although on pilgrimage, Pero Tafur was more interested in exploring the places he visited as an adventurer. He combined pilgrimage with professional curiosity; for Tafur's description of the Eastern Adriatic, see: Zoran Ladić, "Komune i stanovnici Istre i Dalmacije u očima stranih hodočasnika u kasnom srednjem vijeku s posebnim obzirom na moguće predrasude i nerazumijevanja" (hereafter *Komune i stanovnici*) [The Communes and the Inhabitants of Istria and Dalmatia through the Eyes of Foreign Pilgrims in the Late Middle Ages with Special Attention to the certain Cultural Prejudices and Missunderstandings], Zrinko Novosel (ed.), *Zbornik radova: Prilozi iz hrvatske historiografije, Biblioteka Dies Historiae*, knj. 5, Zagreb: Hrvatski sudiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 2012, pp. 45-69 (especially 56-63).

²⁶ A rich collection of pilgrims' travel accounts of their journey to the Holy Land survives. For descriptions of the Croatian Adriatic coast, cf. Krešimir Kužić, "Nordijski hodočasnici u hrvatskim primorskim krajevima (14. – 17. stoljeće)" [Nordic Pilgrims in Croatian Coastal Regions] (here-

reason, we can combine the statistical approach with other, more narrative official sources.

Thanks to the communal *contralitterae* and *bulette*, i.e. customs declarations from various Adriatic harbors, we discover the full range of citizenships which sailed together for commercial purposes (Fig. 1). “Cities” refers to the place where the trader supposedly originated from (proper name + *de* + toponym), while “nationalities” refers to the wider area the trader came from (*de Dalmatia, Theutonicus*).^{27 28 29 30}

Šibenik ²⁷	Korčula ²⁸	Trogir ²⁹	Ancona ³⁰
September 1441 – September 1442	April 1475 – April 1478	April 1575 – June 1577	May 1551 – August 1551
353 declarations	122 declarations	215 declarations	320 declarations
28 cities or nationalities	29 cities or nationalities + servants	32 cities or nationalities	44 cities or nationalities

Figure 1: Statistical distribution of nationalities according to customs declarations

At first glance, the city with the greatest economic activity was Ancona, but it is also necessary to stress that in comparison with Šibenik and Korčula, the analysed data pertains to the sixteenth century, by which time nationals of the Ottoman Empire had already entered the Adriatic maritime space.

In the case of Trogir, hinterland traffic increased at a greater rate than the maritime one in the same period. So, concerning Trogir, during the years 1575-1577, all travellers and passengers belonged to the Venetian Stato da Mar, including eighteen Greeks, some of which originated from Candia (2),

after: *Nordijski hodočasnici*, *Povijesni prilozi* 49/2015, pp. 127-161; Ibid., “Židovski hodočasnici na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana (15.-16. st.)” [Jewish Pilgrims on Croatian Adriatic Coast] (hereafter: *Židovski hodočasnici*), *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 61/2019, pp. 225-257; Ibid., *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika (XIV. – XVII. st.)* [Croatian coast in the travelogues of German pilgrims] (hereafter *Hrvatska obala*), Split: Književni krug 2013.

²⁷ J. Kolanović, *Instrumenta cancellariae*.

²⁸ Državni arhiv u Zadru [State Archive in Zadar] (hereafter HR-DAZd), *Korčulanski knezovi* [Counts of Korčula] (hereafter KK), Pietro Nani, *Contralitere Liber primus et liber secundus*, kut. 25, B. 48 F. XIV.

²⁹ HR-DAZd-18, *Građanski spisi trogirskih knezova (1570-1797)* [Civil records of the counts of Trogir], *Bulletarum primus*, B. VIII, F. 3.

³⁰ ASAN, ACAN n. 126, *Cartolario de doana tenuto per Iulio Lioni della essi finito antimo adosto. Da di 21 Maggio 1551 sino à ultimo Agosto*.

Cephalonia (1), Chio (1), Corfu (4), Milo (2), and Zante (2). Among them, Iseppo the Greek was captain of a ship headed for *logi et stati alieni* in August 1575, meaning outside Venetian area, transporting goods for Dalmatians, Italians, and Greeks such as Michiel Menotti, Cola Vavallo, Antonio Cavo-grosso, and Demetri Capandriti. The same was done by Zuan Grego, who in August transported goods for Jeronimo Molenari, Pietro Catenneno, Juan Paulo Vattelano, also abroad.³¹ Šibenik notes significant activity among local transporters, i.e. Italian and Dalmatian traders. The only non-local merchants listed are the Albanian merchant Vielmus *de Pagna* who lived in Shkodër and imported grain from the Bojana estuary to Venice, then Georgius Christophori, a Cypriot who was actually an inhabitant of Venice and who exported cheese, and finally the Greek Xenus Psfara, who was captain of a fusta which imported lime to Venice.³²

The island of Korčula had a particular role as an intermediary port in the transit of people mentioned as *masculinos*, *feminas*, or *famula/os*, which may be interpreted as slaves or at the very least as servants. During the fourteenth century, Sicilians, Catalans, and Venetians came to this emporium to acquire slaves, and even more so in Dubrovnik,³³ where slaves had been brought in from eastern regions.³⁴ At the end of the fifteenth century, Italian and Catalan merchants were replaced by entrepreneurs from Venetian Albania (Budva, Ulcinj, Bar, or Shkodër) who transported men, and more often women and children, originating from Lezhë, Shkodër, or the Bojana estuary.³⁵ These people boarded the ships in Kotor, Budva, Ulcinj, Bar, and Drivast and were declared at Korčula as being shipped to Venice. Thus, from 1469 to 1478, in less than ten years, at least 557 persons described as *famulas*, *puer*, *personas*, *femina*, *masculinos* sailed with their traffickers.³⁶ However, unlike the fifteenth

³¹ HR-DAZd-18, *Spisi trogirskih knezova* [Registers of the Counts of Trogir] (1570-1797) *Bulletarum primus*, B. VIII, F. 3, ff. 1194', 1195'.

³² J. Kolanović, *Instrumenta cancellariae*, pp. 101, 155, 165.

³³ About the slave trade in Dubrovnik, see: Neven Budak, "Trgovina radnom snagom na istočnom Jadranu – razvoj i značaj" [Labor Trade in the Eastern Adriatic – Development and Importance], *Historijski zbornik* 37, 1/1984, pp. 129-132.

³⁴ Vinko Foretić, *Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku do g. 1420*. [The Island of Korčula in the Middle Ages until the Year 1420], Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1940, pp. 284, 289, 298-301.

³⁵ The Korčulan emigration traffic was quite similar to the Ragusan one. Places correspond in part to those noted in the Anconitan notarial records, which state that most Albanians came from Shkodër, followed by Vau Dejës, Bojana, Barbalushi Drisht, Durrës, Lezhë and Guribardhe; A. Ducellier, *Etablissement des Albanais*, pp. 81-82.

³⁶ Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Le rôle économique des îles croates médiévales", Jordi Ibarz Gelabert-Enric García Domingo-Inma Gonzáles Sánchez-Olga López Miguel (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th Mediterranean Maritime History network conference 7,8,9 May 2014*, Barcelona: Museu Ma-

century, when anonymous people transported to Italy could easily be assimilated into the servile population, the men, women, and children transported during the second half of the sixteenth century were representative of the fate of emigrants fleeing the Ottoman territorial conquest of Albania. In fact, the first wave of mass arrivals of Albanians in the Anconitan Marches began in the years 1425-1430. They boarded Ragusan ships, appearing in sources only under the anonymous epithet of *hominibus de Albania*. These candidates for emigration, who were not slaves, still embarked on a journey resembling that of the slave trade, run by businessmen who took advantage of this increased influx in order to raise the prices of transport.³⁷ In this context, the opportunistic profiteers were traders from the western part of Venetian Albania, from ports which are today located in Montenegro.

Among other travellers, an important number came from what is today Greece, from cities such as Corfu, Cephalonia, Modon, Coron, Neapoli, Lefkada, and Rhodes. Sometimes they travelled together, sharing a ship. Thus in the 1500s, the ship of Petro Zuane from Modon, who exported sheepskins, transported the sheets of Giome Salamon from Corfu to Lezhë and Venice, the wax of Cerno Vlassi, the sheepskins of Nicolo de Ludinum, son of the late Stephano, and leather of Mathio Recopulos from Corfu. The sailing boat of Georg de Zorzi from Corfu transported the camlet (*zambelotti*) and leather of the Venetian ser Zorzi Andrei, the copper of the Anconitan merchant Bareo Melice del Marco, the camlet of ser Dimitri Spandoli from Venice, the sheepskin of Conduis, son of the late Farlinia from Corfu, the wax of ser Daniel de Munda from Milan, but actually living in Venice, the lead of ser Juliano de Gressisso from Milan, also living in Venice, and livestock products of Sandro del Mathio from the Venetian Albanian city of Bar. The Corfiot transporter Joannis Mirisioti had four persons on board sailing to Venice, such as the Venetian ser Giacomo Laurenti with camlet and cordovan, Francesco from Treviso with wax and camlet, the Venetian Dominico Radi with lead and copper, and Johanni Massarachi with cordovan and sheepskins. In the same

ritim de Barcelona 2017, pp. 857-876. For instance, on his boat sailing to Venice, Georgio Bratiza from Ulcinj transported two girls and a boy from Bojana, as well as seven children for Laurano from Shkodër, and sixteen women for Johannus from Shkodër; HR-DAZd-11, kut. 21, B. 37, F. II, KK Andrea Cornerio, *Contralittere secundus*, f. 3'. In April 1477, ser Marsillio Chatanio went to Puglia with a girl taken in Korčula, while several merchants from Budva exported adults and children to Venice in May; Ibid., kut. 25, B. 48, F. X, KK Pietro Nani, ff. 1, 2'.

³⁷ Once they landed in Ancona, Recanati, Sirolo or elsewhere, they met various destinies: some were enslaved by privateers, others were imprisoned before their fate could be clarified, but more often than not they managed to establish themselves modestly as farmers. Women often managed to marry Albanian nationals already settled there; A. Ducellier, *Etablissement des Albanais*, pp. 76-78, 83.

manner, the transporter Antoni from Lefkada hosted six merchants with various goods, such as Corfiots with skins, lead, wax, as well a person from Bar and another from Kotor. The sailing boat *saëtia* of ser Nicolo Michaelis from Trani, sailing to Venice, transported wax for Georgio and for Rado from Bar, Nicholo from Kotor, and Dimitri Mazarali from Corfu, then cordovan for Georgio from Bar, and stopped in Dalmatia for Gasparo from Bergamo to board. According to his own account, he transported lead, skins, leather, wax, and cheese.³⁸ A German entrepreneur also changed ships in Korčula. Ser Ambrosio "Theotonicus", or *de Allemanie merzarius*, made twice the trip from Korčula to the Croatian coast (Senj, Vrsar, and Bakarac). In 1469 he transported lambskins, cheese, and awnings on board of *Jucte* from Kotor. In 1509, he imported chests with goods originating from "Turchia", such as almonds, leather, and silk on the boat of Srećko from Kotor.³⁹ It is interesting to note that unlike Italian or Greek merchants this entrepreneur, who was obviously not a subject of the Venetian Republic, did not go to Venice or even to another Italian commune, but to the Croatian harbours under the rule of the Crown of Saint Stephen, which were the access point to the mainland markets of the Hungarian kingdom. Compared to Greeks, Albanian traders appear even more sporadically, like the Albanian Zuan Daliegro, who in 1477 transported to Venice the goods (textile and wax) of Radivoj Jurgiević settled in Krajina,⁴⁰ the borderland between Croatia and the Ottoman Empire in the Dalmatian hinterland. Thirty years later, ser Francisco Vercović from Korčula transported salt for Stepko Ogoblava, also from Krajina.⁴¹ In the same period a Sicilian, ser Alberto de Alfonso from Taormine, sailed on the galleon owned by ser Cholle Satriano de Lappari, used for exporting sugar and veils to Venice, while a Catalan merchant was recorded in sources by chance only. In 1478, ser Jocacini Monera, living in Palermo survived a shipwreck in Korčulan waters when sailing on the ship of ser Marini de Briano. He retrieved the lost sugar and intended to go through with his trip to Venice.⁴²

As has already been noted concerning Ancona, the city's customs office welcomed the highest percentage of different nationalities. Furthermore, Anconitan sources provide us with the best evidence of ships boarding traders

³⁸ HR-DAZd-11, kut. 37, B. 69 F. III, KK Alvisse Balbi & Bernardo Contarini, ff. 54'-55', 62, 66'-67.

³⁹ Ibid., kut. 21, B. 37, F. II, KK, Andreao Cornerio, *Contralittere secundus*, f. 8; kut. 37 B. 69 F. III, KK, Alvisse Balbi & Bernardo Contarini, f. 69'.

⁴⁰ Ibid., kut. 25, B. 48, F. X, KK Pietro Nani, *Registrarum litterarum*, f. 1'.

⁴¹ Ibid., kut. 37, B. 69, F. III, KK Alvisse Balbi & Bernardo Contarini, f. 63'.

⁴² Ibid., kut. 25, B. 48, F. XIV, *Contralittere liber primus*, f. 11'.

of various origins. The biggest wave of East Mediterranean merchants came from vessels commanded by captains from the western part of Venetian Albania, from what is today the Montenegrin coast. Thus in August 1551, the schirazzo of Marin de Baculis from Kotor boarded in Herceg Novi the goods of Jews (Samuel Bonsignor, Aron de Bottone, David Carouon, Moises Cabibi, Isaac Arobai, Salomon Sadia, Abraham Papo, Josef Namias, Isaac Galego, Mair Coen, Josef Abudent, Abraham Nahun, Caïm Lubel, and Abraham Salom), of Turkish entrepreneurs (Mehmed Celebi, Aga Coli, and Sefer Hasan), of Nicolo Paulino from Kotor, a Venetian subject, and of the Ragusan Giovanni de Antonio, in total fourteen Jews, three Muslims and two Christians.⁴³ The greatest variety was observed in the schirazzo commanded by Stefan of Tonco from Perast in July of the same year, which boarded Jews (the above-mentioned Aron de Bottone and Samuel Bonsignor, Moises Alfanderi, Juda Sasso, Simeon Abenmenachem, Moises Cabib, Abraham Samus, Isaac Capaluo, Moises Matalon, and the doctors Borboso and David Carauon, mentioned above), Turks (Cogia Basiarat, Cogia Meumet, Sia Aruch, Mahmut Turco, and Josuf Turco), Armenians (Casan Armenio, Casel Ermenio, Moratto Armenio), Greeks (Vincenzo Barla from Sio and Dimo Greco, while a certain Stefano transported tar in the name of Vicento Barla from Sio), and several Christians (Jaco Cauliero, Nicolao Barberino, Giovanni Gicardi, Amerigo Antonori, Bartolamio Buontalenti, Giovanni Marco Parasio, and Jacomo Gualterucci).⁴⁴ This mixed group reflected what the Venetian ambassadors in Ancona had been noting, i.e. that the city was “full of merchants from all nations, mostly Greeks and Turks”,⁴⁵ and their success lay in their skills: Armenians were connoisseurs of oriental languages, Italians experts in banking systems, and Jews and Greeks enterprising merchants.⁴⁶

As a consequence of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, direct economic links between the East and the West were broken. Therefore, European merchants sought the assistance of Asian middlemen. Some of them were Arme-

⁴³ ASAN, ACAN n. 126, *Cartolario de doana* 1551, ff. 88'-90'.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 35'-39.

⁴⁵ Ugo Tucci, “Venezia, Ancona e il problem della navigazione adriatica nel cinquecento”, Werther Angelini-Giulio Battelli-Pio Cartechini- & C^{ie}, (eds.), *Mercati, Mercanti*, pp. 147-170 (especially 154).

⁴⁶ The Armenian merchants, whether they hailed from Lvov, Tabriz, or Julfa, spoke more than five languages, among which Kipchak, the language of trade of the Golden Horde; Eleonora Nadel-Golobič, “Armenians and Jews in medieval Lvov: Their role in oriental trade, 1400-1600”, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 20/3-4, 1979, pp. 345-388 (especially 345-346). Sebouh David Aslanian, “The Julfan Trade Network II. The Mediterranean, Northwestern European, and Russian Networks”, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. The Global Trade Networks of Armenian merchants from New Julfa*, Los Angeles: University of California Press 2011, p. 66.

nians, whose importance as mediators grew in the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The Julfan Armenians were particularly active in transporting Persian raw silk to Europe. They gathered merchandise in Tabriz, then took the trade routes which led to Aleppo and the markets of the Ottoman Empire, among them Istanbul and Izmir, and from there reached the Adriatic via sea.⁴⁸ A few cases were noted down in the Anconitan customs declarations. For instance, in July 1551 a certain Morat Ermenio exported four small bales of silk weighing 680 pounds at the value of a ducat per bale.⁴⁹ In July 1562, Stauali Armenio also transported six bales of silk to Ancona.⁵⁰ Other Armenians present on the ships sailing to Ancona in the years 1551, 1562, and 1563 exported camlets (*zambelotti*) and mohair fabrics (*moccairia*).⁵¹

As for Jewish and Muslim travellers, let us highlight some particularities. If we refer to the edict of Pope Martin V of March 1429 prohibiting Christian ship-owners from transporting Jews to Palestine and to the Sultan's countries,⁵² we deduce that until then Jewish travellers frequently boarded ships belonging to Christians.⁵³ Actually, it seems that from the twelfth century onward Muslim and Jewish merchants preferred to board Christians ships (Genovese naves and Venetian *muda*) when travelling the Mediterranean, even to reach Muslim harbours, because Christian vessels were considered faster and safer regarding the dangers posed by pirates. For instance, when advising those who wanted to sail to the Holy Land in 1521, Rabin

⁴⁷ Artsvi Bakhchinyan, "The Activity of Armenian Merchants in International Trade", So Yamane-Norihiro Naganawa (eds.), *Regional Routes, Regional Roots? Cross-Border. Patterns of Human Mobility in Eurasia* (hereafter *Regional Routes*), Hokkaido: Hokkaido Slavic-Eurasian Research Center 2017, pp. 23-29.

⁴⁸ Tamara Ganjalyan, "Armenian trade networks", So Yamane-Norihiro Naganawa (eds.) *European History Online* (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2019-03-12. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ganjalyant-2016-en>, URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2019031107, (accessed 5 January 2020); Anna Ballian, Armenians in Tabriz, Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Armenia: Art, Religion, and Trade in the Middle Ages*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2019, pp. 260-261.

⁴⁹ ASAN, ACAN n. 126, *Cartolario de doana*, f. 67'.

⁵⁰ ASAN, ACAN n. 1573, *Il Quarto* 1562 Da primo marzo 1562 sino a ultimo Agosto, f. 106.

⁵¹ ASAN, ACAN n. 126; ACAN n. 1573; ACAN n. 1574, "Il Quarto da primo marzo 1563 anno a ultimo Agosto".

⁵² Shlomo Simonsohn, "Divieto di trasportare ebrei in Palestina", *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei in Italia tra Rinascimento ed Età barocca. Atti del II Convegno internazionale. Genova 10-15 giugno 1984*, Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici 1986, pp. 39-53.

⁵³ In reality, notwithstanding the laws which prohibited trade with the Levant to non-Italians, mixed commercial companies were regularly formed without difficulty; M. Fusaro, *Gli uomini*, pp. 369-395.

Moses ben Mordeca Basola stated that he “should board only Venetian galleys because they are safe from pirates and storms at sea”.⁵⁴ However, Jews were made to signal their religious affiliation by distinctive markings. Indeed, in May 1496 the Senate of Venice proclaimed that the Jews present in Christian lands must wear a yellow headgear. However, the enactment of this decision was not always effective and some thirty years later travellers were still unaware of it. In June 1536, three Jews were interrogated by the rector of the island of Hvar, because they had not worn the appropriate beret. Angelo, Romano, and Raphael were three Jews from Thessaloniki who sailed from Vlorë to Ancona.⁵⁵ However, they were denounced and arrested by the count of Hvar because they had worn blue and black berets instead of the yellow one prescribed by the authorities. Interrogated by the rector as to why they did not have the distinctive signs, they answered they had never been to Christian territories and that they were unaware of this custom. In the end, the rector had mercy on them.⁵⁶ The rector’s benevolent attitude is in line with the abovementioned Venetian religious policy of tolerance, which was abandoned for short intervals during the Venetian-Ottoman wars only.⁵⁷

On the other hand, certain non-Christians had special requests when travelling: they wished to have a separate fitted place inside the ship in order to be able to follow their customs of three days off.⁵⁸ Thus, a case was brought before the Venetian Senate by the ship-owner Nicolò Vidali in 1587 that some Ottoman merchants did not want to sail on a *galea bastarda* if they had not previously been assured that they would have, under the stern and on it, a special place

⁵⁴ In the case of departure from Venice, travellers could rest assured that the ships had undergone rigorous state supervision, and that the transportation prices were affordable; K. Kužić, *Židovski hodočasnici*, pp. 230, 238.

⁵⁵ These three Jews were probably members of the very active Jewish Ashkenazi and Sephardic community of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula (Catalan, Castilian, Aragon, and Portugal) and southern Italy (Calabria, Sicily, and Puglia). By that time the community had grown in size, with Jews accounting for more than half of the city’s population; Maurice Aymard, “Salonica’s Jews in the Mediterranean: Two Historiographical Perspectives (1945–2010)”, *Jewish History* 18, *Special issue on Salonica’s Jews*, n. 3/4, 2014, pp. 411–429.

⁵⁶ Archivio Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), *Lettere di rettori e di altre cariche. Liesina 1498–1792*, Busta n. 2789, *Liesina* 5.X.1498–21.III.1598, f° 93–94.

⁵⁷ Jews were particularly important for the Serenissima’s economy in the early modern period. See: Hiromi Saito, “Religious policy in early modern Venice”, Katsumi Fukasawa, Benjamin J. Kaplan, Pierre Yves Beaurepaire (eds.), *Religious Interactions in Europe and the Mediterranean World: Coexistence and Dialogue from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, London New-York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group 2017, pp. 231–243.

⁵⁸ Youssef Ragheb, “Les marchands itinérants du monde musulman”, *Voyages et voyageurs au Moyen Age. XXVI^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Limoges-Aubazine, mai 1995*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 1996, pp. 177–215 (especially 182–183).

of their own, separate from Christians, intended for ablutions several times a day, as well as for their food, their sleeping, and the households items of their staff.⁵⁹ However, this particular case is not necessarily representative of the habits of all passengers, as testified by the Jewish pilgrim and gem-merchant Rabin Meshullam ben Menahem from Volterre about his journey in October 1481. When the mizzen⁶⁰ capsized in a storm, he declared that “all of us together, the sailors and all the pilgrims, remained in the lee, but we could not restrain it, and found ourselves in great danger”.⁶¹ The threat of the roaring storm certainly united all the travellers on board. The criteria for the selection of appropriate cabins were also many and varied. In 1521, Rabin Moses ben Mordecai Basola testified: “I saw with my own eyes most of the goods loaded on it because my ship’s berth was accommodated in the steerage”. This pilgrim was installed in a covered space under the rudder and, according to pilgrimage travel stories, this meant that he belonged to the wealthiest class of travellers, to those who could avoid sleeping under the open sky on the deck. He even lists the prices: “An individual or a couple should take a small cabin; there are many of these for approximately four to five ducats. The scribe’s cabin is also suitable for those with small families, and it is cheap – its price is five ducats. ... But there is no better place on the galley than the deck officer’s cabin. ... The price for its rent is at least fifteen ducats”.⁶² According to this text, the criteria were the same for Jews and Christians, i.e. for anyone who could afford it.

Regarding language, Dalmatian communes were multilingual communities. The population spoke Latin and the Romance-Dalmatian language in order to signal social status and prestige. Foreign craftsmen hired local apprentices and artisans, and in this way potential linguistic barriers were gradually overcome. Furthermore, the knowledge of Italian was necessary in medieval trade and the craft business. For instance, in the case of Zadar merchants and craftsmen were educated in Italian and/or came from bilingual family. As time went by, the latter became increasingly common, and bilingualism was the rule rather than the exception in all social strata.⁶³ But in the case of Ancona, the situation was slightly different. Thanks to some

⁵⁹ Mauro Bondioli-Mariangela Nicolardi-Irena Radić Rossi, “Alvise Papali «conduttore» della galea da mercanzia per la scala di Spalato (1592-1596)”, Nenad Cambi – Arsen Duplančić (eds.), *Pomorski Split do početka XX stoljeća* [Maritime Split until the Beginning of the 20th Century], Split: Književni krug 2019, pp. 193-212 (especially 197).

⁶⁰ A fore-and-aft sail set on the mizzenmast.

⁶¹ K. Kužić, *Židovski hodočasnici*, pp. 234, 237.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

⁶³ Anita Bartulović, “Integracija došljaka s apeninskog poluotoka u zadarskoj komuni (1365.-1374.)” [Integration of Newcomers from the Apennine Peninsula in the Commune of Zadar (1365.-1374.)], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 61/2019, pp. 135-177.

notary records, we see that in some cases the Anconitan masters who hired young Croat apprentices had to sign the contract in the presence of someone who spoke both languages.⁶⁴ Felix Faber, a German pilgrim from Ulm, noticed in 1483 that the crew members of the galley could speak at least three languages: Slavic, Greek, and Italian, while a great number also spoke Turkish.⁶⁵ Some researchers even reflected on the possible existence of a *lingua franca* used in the maritime Mediterranean world, comprising the basic maritime vocabulary relating to commands, ship parts, and navigation.⁶⁶ As for Eastern Mediterranean passengers, the Jewish ones demonstrated they were multilingual on several occasions. The abovementioned Rabin Meshulam ben Menahem testified "I swear I heard from the sailor's mouth about this day, during the time of all voyages by sea, we have never seen a weather like this",⁶⁷ and we can clearly remark he understood the language which the crew spoke. In the same manner, at the interrogation where the three Jews were present, the questions and answers were put and given in the Venetian language, even though Romano, Angelo, and Raphael came from Thessaloniki. Still, we should not generalize. Thus, during another lawsuit that the Venetian rector in Hvar had to solve, the interrogated Greek witness did not speak Italian, only Greek, so a court messenger had to act as interpreter.⁶⁸ Finally as regards communication with Turkish travellers, we can only make informed guesses. On the one hand, in documents the term "Turk" mainly refers to a Muslim person rather than to any subject of the Sublime Porte.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ In February 1450, Pietro Jacobi de Auximo from Ancona hired Petar Stefanni from Split as a servant. Matthew from Split was asked to act as translator for both parties (*ad interpretatione*). In May 1452, and under similar circumstances, the Ragusan Srećko Mikaelov, who was living in Ancona, was hired as worker in the wool craft by Philip ser John from Recanati with the help of the Croat Michael Thomas, who had the "scientis bene loque latine et lirice" (has the knowledge of the Latin and Croatin languages). Two months later, Srećko Jurjev from Šibenik was apprenticed as a blacksmith to master Antonio Dominici with the help of Nikola Primi from Dubrovnik, who also had "scientia bene loqui latine et Lirico", ASAN, "Antonius Johannis magister Jacobus de Ancona imperiali auctoritate notarius", N° 72 dell' Archivio, B. I (1444-1450), F. I (VIII-XII.1444), ff. 29, 221', 299'-300.

⁶⁵ Z. Ladić, *Komune i stanovnici*, pp. 45-69.

⁶⁶ For arguments advancing the *lingua franca* theory, cf.: Joško Božanić, "Iskustvo univerzalnosti kulture mora u hrvatskom maritimnom leksik", [The Experience of Universality of the Culture of Sea in Croatian Maritime Lexic], *Govor* XX/1-2, 2003, 1-2, pp. 39-46. For a challenge to the *lingua franca* theory, cf.: Željko Stepanić, "Postoji li dalmatinska *lingua franca*? Is There a Dalmatian *lingua franca*?", *Naše more* 58/3-4, 2011, pp. 162-171.

⁶⁷ K. Kužić, *Židovski hodočasnici*, p. 234.

⁶⁸ "testimonio (...) non sapendo parlar in italian, se non in greco, interpretando Zorze Crimidi piazzaro"; ASV, *Lettere di rettori*, 29 October 1569, f. 278.

⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis of the position of "Turks" and their cohabitation with Christians in Venice, cf. Mickaël Bouvarel, *Cohabitation entre peuples ennemis 1571-1621. Venise, les Vénitiens et les «Turcs» musulmans*, Université de Bourgogne: UFR Sciences Humaines 2015.

This means that the term could refer to inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterland able to speak a Slavic language, given that they were usually converts – as was the case with the abovementioned Adel.⁷⁰ On the other hand, since the middle of the sixteenth century some attempted to learn the Turkish language with the aim forming a dragoman caste able to translate official documents. For instance, Venice inaugurated a school of Turkish in its consulate in Istanbul in 1551, while the Ragusan youth was impatient to welcome a teacher from Sofia in 1566. Furthermore, in 1558 the Ragusan Senate sent a young fellow, the son of a former dragoman, to Istanbul to study Ottoman-Turkish language for three years.⁷¹ It is very likely that the captains hired dragomans on board, or at least crewmembers who spoke some Turkish.

The resurgence of merchants of Jewish and Muslim origins coincided with the geopolitical changes that occurred at the end of the fifteenth century. The Jewish community which was expelled from the Iberian Peninsula found refuge in certain territorial entities in Central and Northern Italy (with the Medici and in Venice) and especially in the Ottoman Empire, where Jewish merchants obtained Ottoman passports. As guests of these Italian entities, they gave impetus to the declining international trade.⁷² In the case of Ancona, in 1532 Cardinal Accolti gave safe conduct to Levantines, Turks, Greeks, and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, inviting them to come to Ancona. They stayed in the Doric city even after the dispersion of the Marrani in 1556 (since the rulers of Ancona intended to compensate for the loss of traffic previously generated by the Portuguese community by strengthening relations with the Levant). Thus we discern that Levantines were welcomed with the aim of strengthening the trade relations with the Ottoman Empire, which were first established in 1514, when Ancona was given leave to trade with the Sublime Porte and to appoint a consul in Istanbul. In return, the Senate of Ancona extended the same privileges which had previously been granted to Greeks to all merchants who were subjects of the Sultan.⁷³

⁷⁰ For a brief study of the Islamization of the Dalmatian hinterland, cf. Josip Vrandečić, "Islam in Dalmatia", *Historični seminar* 4/2001-2003, pp. 73-80.

⁷¹ Vesna Miović, "Dubrovački mladići jezika: studenti osmansko-turskog u vrijeme Dubrovačke Republike" [Ragusan Young Men of Language: Students of Ottoman-Turkish in the Time of Republic of Dubrovnik], *Književna smotra* XLVI/173 (3), 2014, pp. 137-146.

⁷² Shlomo Simonsohn, "International trade and Italian Jews at the turn of the Middle Ages", *The Italia Judaica Jubilee Conference, Marca/Marche Rivista di storia regionale* 3/2014, pp. 51-68.

⁷³ Luca Andreoni, "Privilegi mercantili e minoranze ebraiche: levantini ad Ancona nel XVI secolo", Luca Andreoni-Marco Moroni (eds.), *Gli ebrei e le Marche. Ricerche, prospettive, didattica, Marca/Marche: Rivista di storia regionale* 3/2014, pp. 51-68 (especially 53).

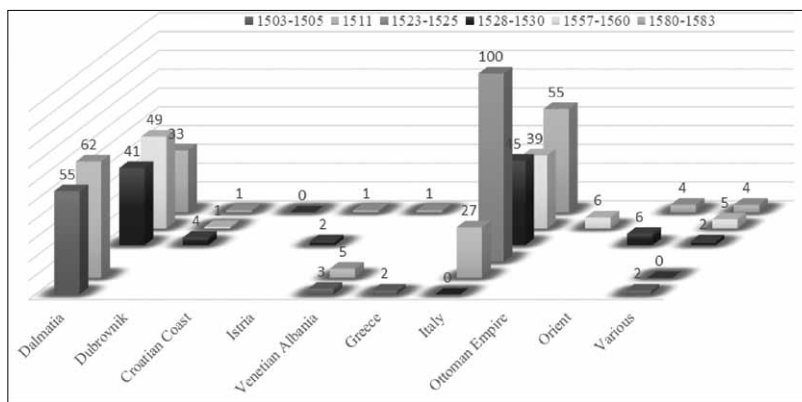


Figure 2: Origins of travellers according to the Spalatin customs declarations in the sixteenth century (given in percentages)

Finally, in the case of Split, we can adopt a chronological approach in investigating the ethnic make-up of merchants, as data is available for the greater part of the sixteenth century (Fig. 2). Apart from the usual Italian, Istrian, Croatian, Dalmatian, and Albanian entrepreneurs, during the period between 1528 and 1530 there were 14 passengers of other nationalities. Three came from Crete, four from Cyprus, four were registered as Greeks (from Rhodes and Naupactus), and two were Catalans (indicated as “various” in the table), one of whom was an inhabitant of Barletta. In the years 1557-1560, there were eight Greeks (including two from Rhodes, one from Cyprus, one from Candia), one Catalan, two Turks, two Bulgarians, and one German. During this period, Greek captains were very active, trading in their own goods and transporting others’. Thus, ser Christopher Masarachi sailed to the south of Italy (Puglia and *sottovento*) transporting horses for Piero Mola, magister Piero Jakovlić called Tartogia, Francesco Tentor, Vincenzo from Bari, Marco from Candia, and ser Paulo de Zuane from Barletta.⁷⁴ The Greek Giacomo travelled several times to Venice on behalf of Hannibal and Piero di Nadali, Michiel de Uljanovich from Modena, Vincenzo Augubio, and magister Lunardo the German. He also employed a clergyman, monsignor Elletto, and tasked him with exporting wine to Venice.⁷⁵ In the years 1580-1583, there were ten Greeks (among them five from Rhodes, one from Chios, Cyprus, and Candia), two Jews, including Daniel Rodriga, the founder of the Spalatin

⁷⁴ HR-DAZd-16, kut. 96, B. 103 F.17, ff. 893-894, 901, 903'-904.

⁷⁵ Ibid., ff. 898-898', 900, 902, 904', 905'.

scale, and one French merchant (just registered as *Francese*), who transported rice to the Neretva for magister Giovanni the Sicilian. A note specifies that it was *per transito di questa scala*.⁷⁶ The Jew Moise Melanuz also used the transit scale in Split, exporting wax from Turkey to Venice on the ship of Vincent Domianović in July of 1582.⁷⁷ In the period from 1594 to 1597, in a population of 336 entrepreneurs, Dalmatians made up 42%, Italians 42%, and entrepreneurs from the Croatian Littoral 7%. During this period, the subjects of the Ottoman Empire figured more prominently than had previously been the case, representing 8% of the passengers. This number includes eight merchants from Greece, the majority of whom came from Rhodes. There was one Armenian⁷⁸ and one Jew. Others came from the Balkan hinterland (people from Cetina and Banja Luka, where Ali Ibraim⁷⁹ came from, with a cargo of cow skin and wax shipped to Venice – the only Muslim merchant recorded in three years). There were also two Western merchants, the French Claude de Dieu from Marseille, who transported tree horses to *sottovento* in October 1595, and the German Mathias *Tedescus* who exported leather for a small harbour.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

During the studied time period covering two centuries some developments transpire. On the one hand, smaller Dalmatian communes like Šibenik and Trogir were mostly animated by local captains and traders from the vast Venetian Stato da Mar, including some active Greek transporters. Their traffic reflects the geopolitical configuration of the fifteenth century, which in turn reflects the continuity of medieval trade, mostly concentrated on providing the demanding Venetian market with goods. Apart from its vicinity to Dubrovnik, a former centre for slave trade, and its participation in the Dalmatian trade network, the island of Korčula represented a station on the route to Italy undertaken by great numbers of Christian Albanians fleeing the Ottoman invasion. The transporters predominantly originated from the western part of Venetian Albania, comprising the harbours which are today part of Montenegro, while the fleeing population came from the south-eastern part of this territory. In the customs office, the ship captains declared

⁷⁶ HR-DAZd-16, *Contralittere* kut. 116, B. 122, F. 6, f. 443'.

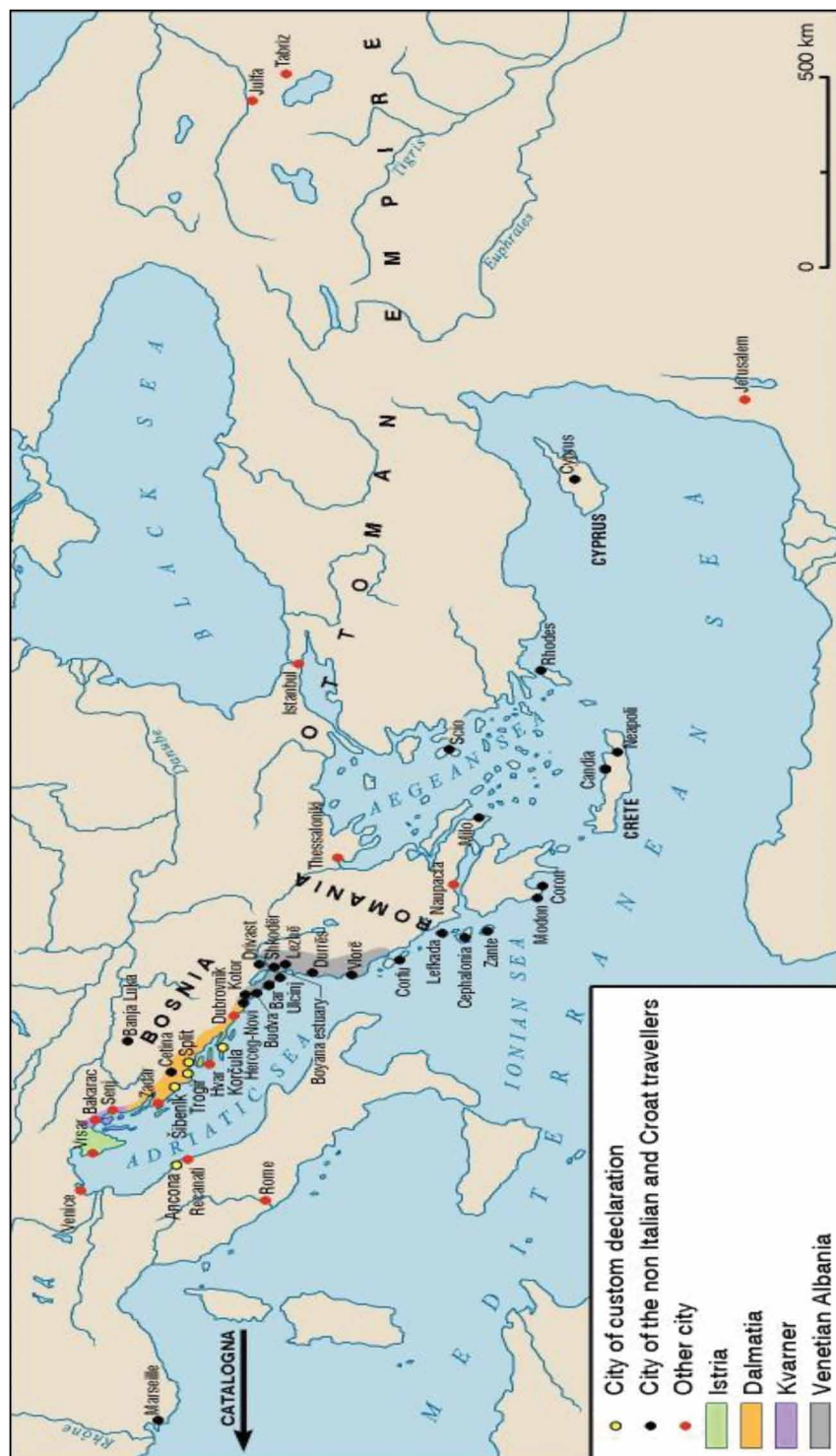
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 470'.

⁷⁸ In October 1595, Francesco Armeno exported four horses on a ship owned by William Salenci, HR-DAZd-16, kut. 141, B. 137, F. 23, f. 958'.

⁷⁹ HR-DAZd-16, kut. 141, B. 137, F. 23, f. 997'.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 983.

these men, women, and children along with the market products, reducing them to passive objects in comparison with crew members, entrepreneurs, and pilgrims. On the other hand, whether in the case of a middle-sized commune such as Split or the international Italian city of Ancona, during the sixteenth we clearly see the intrusion of outsiders, i.e. of the people hailing from the Venetian *Stato da Mar*. These samples of customs declarations indirectly show how much the geopolitical chessboard was shaken by the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula (who found refuge partly in Italy and even more so in the Ottoman Empire) and by the perennial invasion of Eastern European lands by the Ottoman armed forces. In the sixteenth century on boarding a sailboat one could meet Latins, Slavs, Greeks, Jews, and Turks, Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Jews, and Muslims, whose main goal was to profit by supplying both spheres of geopolitical influence (Christian Europe and Ottoman part of Asia) with their local products. A constant in this multicultural network was the very active role of Greek transporters who mediated between these two worlds. More generally, the captains most active in welcoming travellers of various origins (including Armenians) came from the interface zone between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Both the Venetian Republic and the Sublime Porte needed these middlemen to keep the volume of trade at an acceptable level and to avoid a complete economic crisis which loomed following the shifts in international maritime trade routes. Judging by the currently available data, we can conclude that Western passengers traded in the Adriatic only sporadically, unless we turn our attention to later periods, when the Adriatic became even more multicultural.



Map of the Origins of the Travellers

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Sabine Florence Fabijanec

**Multikulturalizam na Jadranu.
Prijevoznici i trgovački putnici na Jadranu XV.-XVI. stoljeća
na temelju carinskih prijava**

Sažetak

Jadranske luke gotovo su svakodnevno ugošćivale jedrenjake iz različitih krajeva Mediterana. Krajem srednjega vijeka i u ranom novom vijeku čak se može uočiti pojačani priljev multikulturnih utjecaja na Jadranu. Najprije se ukratko opisuje položaj stranaca na kopnu, kako bi se mogao usporediti sa situacijom na otvorenom moru. Obavijesti o prisutnosti i suodnosu među putnicima prikupljene su kroz carinske prijave robe u komunalnim lučkim službama (iz Ancone, Korčule, Splita, Šibenika i Trogira) i preko svjedočanstava hodočasnika iz njihovih zapisa. U carinskim prijavama navedeni su prijevoznici i naručitelji poslovnog (uvozno-izvoznog) putovanja s njihovim podrijetlom, što omogućava statističku obradu prisutnosti stranaca. Uočava se da se u istom brodu vozi vrlo šaroliko društvo, pripadnici različitih staleža, kultura i vjera (uz Dalmatince i Talijane, tu su još Grci, Katalonci, Židovi, Muslimani i Armenci). Što je više vrijeme izmicalo prema kraju XVI. stoljeća, omjeri pojedinih "nacija" se pojačavaju, a pojavu pojedinih poduzetnika izvan jadranskih okvira podržava i političko-gospodarski kontekst. U hodu se razmatraju pojedina ponašanja i moguće jezične komunikacije zahvaljujući zapisima pojedinih hodočasnika koji putuju zajedno s trgovačkim putnicima.

Ključne riječi: multikulturalizam, Jadran, Dalmacija, Italija, carinske prijave, život na brodu, pomorska trgovina, Grci, Židovi, Turci, Armenci, XV. i XVI. stoljeće.

Mirko Sardelić

LATE-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PILGRIM
TRAVELOGUES AS SOURCES FOR RECONSTRUCTING
THE EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPES ABOARD SHIPS
FROM VENICE TO THE HOLY LAND*

Abstract: Late medieval and Early modern ships can be compared with tiny cities – for they share all characteristics: the walls, ordnance, population, private and public spaces, officials and the hierarchy, and so many others. While the ship is a confined, almost compressed, physical and social space, people and goods move through it continuously in order to produce a peculiar dynamic of confinement and heterogeneity, even cosmopolitanism. Due to a very confined space aboard ships, all these cultural and emotional exchanges between passengers become intensified. Fears of pirates or storms amplify, but also prayers and hopes of deliverance multiply. Passengers get surprised by the features of the landscape or people in the countries they travel through, their preconceptions compete with the images they see for themselves. This paper reads a selection of travelogues (mostly focusing on Felix Fabri and Pietro Casola) through the aspect of the history and sociology of emotions, as well as from the imagological perspective. Also, some present-day seafaring stressors (physical, psychosocial, and social) and traumatic experiences are compared to those on board a Renaissance pilgrim ship.

Key words: pilgrims, Holy Land, Venice, ships, Adriatic, Felix Fabri, Pietro Casola, imagology, confined spaces, seafaring stressors, traumatic experiences

* This article is based upon work from COST Action CA18140, supported by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology). www.cost.eu

Those who are at sea cannot be counted among either the living or the dead. Moreover, they are only removed from death by the space of four fingers, four fingers being the thickness of the sides of a ship.

Anacharsis, Scythian philosopher (6C. BCE)¹

Teicht do Róim:
mór saído, becc torbai!
in rí chon-daigi hi foss,
mani-m-bera latt, ní-fogbai.

Travelling to Rome:
So much trouble, yet no gain!
The King you are seeking there
If you don't have Him with you, you don't find
Him

Medieval Irish Pilgrim Song²

INTRODUCTION

The literature on late medieval and early modern pilgrimage to the Holy Land is substantial and ever-increasing. I have decided to tackle a rather elusive yet essential aspect of these travels: the psychological element, i.e., the emotional landscape aboard ships that carried pilgrims from one Mediterranean shore to another. Since I could not find any studies that deal with most stressful situations experienced by sea-travellers five hundred years ago, I assumed some modern-day studies on maritime psychology could be used just as indirect reference points.

The present-day idea of travelling, unless business related, mostly brings into mind vacations, new experiences, joy of life... For that reason, the cruiser tours, which might be somewhat related to our topic as they move around in the same medium, focus mostly on four distinctive elements: education, entertainment, aesthetics, and escapism.³ Nonetheless, five centuries ago it was much more about stress than anything else, except of course for the central and sublime idea of the pilgrimage itself.

There is a decent library of late medieval and early modern travelogues from Venice to the Holy Land, but the focus of this paper is on just the two

¹ This is the author's paraphrase of Anacharsis's idea, based upon Diogen Laertius (*Lives of eminent philosophers* I,8), but even more on Felix Fabri's reflections (F. Fabri, *The Book*, 1, p. 39).

² Translated into English by the author, who owes gratitude to Professor Ranko Matasović for all his wonderful classes of Old Irish and general linguistics. The text from: Rudolf Thurneysen, *Old Irish reader: with a supplement to A grammar of Old Irish*, D. A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin (tr.), Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin 1981, p. 41.

³ Sameer Hosany – Mark Witham, "Dimensions of Cruisers' Experiences, Satisfaction and Intention to Recommend", *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 49, 3/2009, pp. 351-364.

most representative ones written within ten years of each other at the end of the fifteenth century. The first is a very studious work by Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri (Felix Schmidt, 1437-1502) who made his pilgrimage from Ulm twice, first in 1480 and then again in 1483/84.⁴ Having completed both journeys Fabri wrote *Evagatorium* (*Wanderings*),⁵ then in 1492 he wrote another book, in vernacular German, called *Die Sionpilger*, intended as a virtual pilgrimage for those who, for one reason or another, were unable to undertake the real pilgrimage on their own.⁶ This would be in accord with an argument proposed by St. Jerome that it is better to read about the Holy Land than to take risks actually going there.⁷ The second author is Italian Pietro Casola (1427-1507), a canon from Milan, who was 67 when he embarked on quite an exhausting journey.

Indeed, five centuries ago the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a risky enterprise and was counted towards the most important events in a life of a believer. One should not seek advice on three important things: whether one should marry, go to war, or to make a pilgrimage – that needs to be exclusively a decision of one's own, as a medieval saying has it.⁸

Pilgrimage is a form of travel with the stated intention of appreciating, experiencing, and conveying sacred space.⁹ Milanese statesman Santo Brasca, who happened to be on the same voyage with Felix Fabri in 1480, explained its spiritual nature well: "In the first place, a man should undertake this voyage solely with the intention of visiting, contemplating and adoring the most Holy Mysteries, with great effusion of tears, in order that Jesus may graciously pardon his sins; and not with the intention of seeing the world, or

⁴ F. Fabri was very disappointed with his first journey in which he spent only nine days in the Holy Land – frustratingly too short a period to see and experience everything he had planned. See: Stjepan Krasić, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/84. godine" [Description of Croatian Adriatic Coast in the travelogues of the Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri (Schmidt) from 1480 and 1483/84] (hereafter *Opis hrvatske*), *Anali Povijesnog instituta Hrvatske akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 39/2001, p. 169.

⁵ Some reflections on Fabri's doubts on how to entitle his work since his topics were beyond traditional concepts of *peregrinatio*, and they indeed encapsulate the wanderings of his body and his soul. See: Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (hereafter *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*), Donald W. Wilson (tr.), New York: Columbia University Press 2005, pp. 8-10.

⁶ Kathryn Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ F. Fabri (*The Book*, vol. 1, p. 3-4) asked the advice from Prince Count Eberhard the elder, of Württemberg, who undertook the pilgrimage, and quotes him as the author, but it is safe to assume that this "practical wisdom" was transferred over generations.

⁹ Palmira Brummet (ed.), *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, Brill: Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 2009, p. 2.

from ambition, or to be able to boast 'I have been there' or 'I have seen that', in order to be exalted by his fellow-men, as perhaps some do (...)"¹⁰

Nonetheless, for many it was not exclusively a religious experience. "Pilgrims sometimes enhanced their mundane status through having made the journey"¹¹ There was an example from the very same year of 1480, when Fabri travelled: on that occasion six sons from various branches of the Eyb family made a pilgrimage – that was remembered and cherished for more than a hundred years.¹² The critique for this kind of 'distortion' of the otherwise pure idea was summed up by Abbot Daniel (Daniil) of Kiev, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1106/07: "Many virtuous people, by practicing good works and charity to the poor, reach the holy places without leaving their homes... Others, of whom I am the chief, after having visited the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy places, pride themselves as if they had done something meritorious, and thus lose the fruit of their labor."¹³

Some extraordinary works were written by pilgrims who were all peers and travelled within the last two decades of the fifteenth century; it is worth mentioning at least two. Bernhard of Breidenbach (alternatively spelled Breydenbach) travelled from Mainz to the Holy Land in April 1483 and travelled back from Alexandria to Venice at the same time as Felix Fabri, but on a different galley. In the age of incunabula, Breidenbach's travelogue was fascinatingly successful: between 1486 and 1522 no less than twelve editions were published, in various languages.¹⁴ It must have owed a part of its popularity to the fact that it was the first pictorial travelogue. The other is Arnold von Harff (1471-1505), a young nobleman from Cologne who made quite an impressive pilgrim tour in 1496-1499. His travelogue is interesting not least because it included lists of approximately fifty everyday words in several languages that Harff had heard on his jour-

¹⁰ Margaret M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (hereafter *Canon Pietro Casola's*), Manchester: University Press 1907, p. 10; N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, p. 11. Santo Brasca (1447-1522) was on the same voyage with Felix Fabri in 1480. It is interesting that three (out of 90) pilgrims published their accounts of the same pilgrimage. *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458*. Ed. with introd. by Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy. Milan: Longanesi 1966.

¹¹ Victor Turner – Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978, p. 9.

¹² Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV.-XVII. st.* [Croatian Coast in Travelogues of German Pilgrims 14th-17th Centuries] (hereafter *Hrvatska obala*), Split: Književni krug 2013, p. 29.

¹³ Quoted also in: David Blanks, "The Sense of Distance and the Perception of the Other", *Journal of Medieval Worlds*, vol. 1, n. 3/2019, p. 40.

¹⁴ N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, p. 10.

ney. Among these languages is Croatian, which promotes the German as the author of the first Croatian dictionary.¹⁵

However, in an attempt to detect which parts of accounts would be the most informative for this type of reconstruction, my decision fell on two travelogues: those written by Ulm-based Swiss Dominican theologian Felix Fabri and by Pietro Casola, cleric from Milan. Fortunately, those are well known pieces of travel writing that have received scholarly attention, including from Croatian scholars.¹⁶

METHODOLOGY: THE SHIP AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

First of all, the vessel that carried the passengers needs to be considered. As Casola described, there were more than 300 people on the ship that measured 50 by 13 metres, situated on multiple decks like a several-storey building.

I wrote elsewhere on the Renaissance ship as a (cross-)cultural system where I juxtaposed the ship and the city, arguing that these big ships were merely floating cities with their own administrative, social, economic, and military functions.¹⁷ Indeed, this ship was in many aspects an amazing system full of dichotomies à la Mircea Eliade: it was incredibly mobile but often needed to stop; its passengers were neither alive nor dead (as suggested by Anachrosis in the quotation earlier); the spaces onboard were both sacred and profane; the fear of storms, shallows, and pirates is countered with hopes and prayers.

Some pilgrims occasionally boarded in Ancona, Naples, and other ports, but it was Venice that had a sort of monopoly on the transport of pilgrims to the Holy Land from the late 13th century onward. This was due to two reasons: the size and importance of its fleet, and the guarantees for a safe journey that Venice could provide to travellers, thanks to the chain of port cities on the coast and on the islands all the way to the destination.¹⁸

¹⁵ Josip Vončina, "Harffovo svjedočanstvo o hrvatskom jeziku", *Jezik: časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, vol. 39, no. 2/1991, pp. 48-51.

¹⁶ Unlike some others, Casola's work was forgotten and did not circulate. M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 21; Stj. Krasić, *Opis hrvatske*, pp. 133-216; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*; Ladić, Zoran, "Medieval Pilgrims from the Eastern Adriatic Coast to Terra Sancta and Jerusalem", Anna Trono – Marco Imperiale – Giuseppe Marella (eds.), *Viaggio verso Gerusalemme: culture, economie e territori* [Walking towards Jerusalem: Cultures, Economies and Territories], Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore 2014, 95-111. For a good case study on a late medieval female pilgrim from Dubrovnik (Ragusa) see: Lonza Nella, "Ego fui per omnia loca sancta: Maruša of Dubrovnik and Her Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1394", *Dubrovnik Annals* 23/2019, pp. 37-63.

¹⁷ Mirko Sardelić, "The Late Sixteenth-Century Ship in the Adriatic as a Cultural System", Alina Payne (ed.), *The Land between Two Seas: Art on the Move in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea 1300-1700*, Boston – Leiden: Brill 2022, pp. 26-39.

¹⁸ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 5.

Hans Stockar of Schaffhausen, the pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in 1519 wrote about live animals aboard his ship. They had a hundred sheep, oxen, cows and calves, pigs and goats, hens and roosters, geese, ducks and pigeons, birds and deer, ... mice, rats, cats and dogs; falcons and sparrow-hawks, sparrows and rare birds, head louse and lice; crab louse and lice and other similar vermin; alongside bed bugs that were plentiful on board.¹⁹

All aspects of the journey were strictly regulated by the quite sophisticated maritime laws of the Venetian Republic.²⁰ There were prescriptions on how much a ship should be filled with cargo; how many crew to be aboard depending on the tonnage; and how the ships were to defend themselves.²¹ Apart from that, all passengers had a contract with the captain who had to provide meals, take care of the safety of passengers, pay fees in the Holy Land, etc. Fabri listed all twenty articles of his contract, covering all aspects of the journey.²²

It was obligatory that at least one galley a year departed for the Holy Land from Venice, but regularly there were at least two. One of the most common dates to depart from Venice was on or around the Ascension Day, celebrated forty days after Easter, i.e., usually the end of May or early June. Maritime statutes defined the return date from Syria: the "Easter voyage" was to sail home by 8 May, while "the winter voyage" was to leave the Holy Land by 8 October.²³ The price of the return journey from Venice to the Holy Land was usually between 50 and 60 ducats. However, those belonging to mendicant orders could travel for half of the price, sometimes even for free. Sante Brasco suggests that there were captains who would settle for 30-32 ducats for those who were poor.²⁴

Future pilgrims always sought advice from those who had already been on this pilgrimage, on the issues like what to wear, where to keep the money, what kind of victuals would be the most resistant to humid conditions on the sea, how to behave among the Moors etc. There were even written

¹⁹ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 430-436. F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 128-129: "beneath the kitchen is the cellar, and beside the kitchen is the stable for animals for slaughter, wherein sheep, goats, calves, oxen, cows and pigs stand all together". On these unwanted creatures (such as lice and rats) see the German pilgrim song, A. Birlinger, *Bruder Felix Fabers Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein*, München 1864, pp. 28-29.)

²⁰ For a fine and elaborated study on those see: Renard Gluzman, *Venetian Shipping from the Days of Glory to Decline, 1453-1571*, Boston: Brill, 2021.

²¹ For the weaponry onboard see: K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 206-209. On the bans to sail out due to lack of crew see: M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 81. On the food and the conditions onboard see: M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 24, 91.

²² F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 86-90.

²³ More on these aspects of the travel: M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 24-25, 106; K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 521.

²⁴ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 11-12.

recommendations in circulation. Santo Brasca in his 'manual' for pilgrims suggested that everyone on the journey to the Holy Land should have two bags: one filled with patience, and another with money (fresh from the Venetian mint). Casola, being a good cleric, added a third essential bag: a bag of faith.²⁵ All scholars agree that there is a certain degree of similarity between the late medieval accounts of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which led some to believe that there was a 'prototype guide'.²⁶

In their study from 2009, Oldenburg, Jensen, Latza, and Baue identified and analysed the seafaring stressors aboard merchant and passenger ships.²⁷ From five categories of stressors, we can exclude the last two, i.e., high work demand, and high management tasks, since those are work-related elements, while the pilgrims were just passengers. However, the three other groups can be compared. Physical stressors: heat in workplaces (17.9%), noise (11.2%), ship movement, sea sickness (9.0%), hard physical work (8.2%), lack of exercise (6.7%), climatic changes during the voyage (4.5%). Psychosocial stressors: long working times per day (20.9%), irregular working times (13.4%), lack of sleep (9.0%). Social problems due to migration: separation from the family (35.8%), long stay on board (14.2%), conflicts between crew members (6.0%), isolation (5.2%), insufficient separation between workplace and leisure area (2.2%).

Another study, by Jensen and Oldenburg, investigated potentially traumatic experiences of seafarers.²⁸ Those included shipwrecks, severe accidents, and piracy. After-effects of these events were that the majority of affected seafarers (83.6%) unintentionally repeatedly thought about them, were reminded by sounds and smells, and often dreamt about them. A serious injury or even the death of a member is considered a serious psychological stress experience for the other crew members in the closed social system on board.

The mentioned stressors and traumatic experiences shall be now compared with similar experiences from five hundred years ago, as read from the two very detailed late medieval travelogues.

²⁵ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, pp. 31, 436 (Stockar); M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 10, 13, 230, 337.

²⁶ Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: a case for computer-aided textual criticism*, Hilversum: Verloren 1994, p. 13.

²⁷ Marcus Oldenburg – Hans-Joachim Jensen – Ute Latza – Xaver Baur, "Seafaring stressors aboard merchant and passenger ships", *International Journal of Public Health* 54/2009, pp. 96-105.

²⁸ Marcus Oldenburg – Hans-Joachim Jensen, "Stress and strain among merchant seafarers differs across the three voyage episodes of port stay, river passage and sea passage", *PLoS ONE* 14(6): e0217904. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0217904> (2019).

STORMS AND CALMS, FEARS AND HOPES

"Those who travel by sea have a lot of terrifying stories to tell, given of course that they survived them".²⁹ Being rolled on high waves, completely helpless, shaken by thunder, and with water pouring into the vessels from all sides, it must have been horrifying to be caught in a tempest somewhere in the Adriatic or the Aegean. It is therefore no wonder that the descriptions of storms are both so frequent and emotionally charged.³⁰

Casola's journey at sea lasted for fourteen weeks (4 June to 17 July and 26 August to 30 October 1494). Within that period, he vividly recorded five major storms. First, on 18 June there was a huge storm somewhere between Ragusa and Apulia. Casola, being inexperienced, thought he "had finished his voyage". Great cries were heard "from men and women" as they "cried for mercy". The sounds of the cracking of the galley were horrifying, and the water was coming in. The terror of those who had never experienced a storm at sea was "beyond description". The captain shared with Casola that in his 42-year career he had not experienced such a storm in that season.³¹ The second was on 28 June just off Corone, and although it seemed they would "inevitably all go down to the bottom", as the great amount of water dashed over the galley, there were no elaborate descriptions.³² The galley experienced the remaining three storms on its way back.³³ On 16 September a storm so violent caught them that they thought "the galley would split open and break up". On 13 October such a huge storm developed just off Zante that the hope of life was abandoned by all; Casola, in desperation, repeated dramatically: "by all". The last storm just before returning to Venice caught his ship in Quarnero in late October, with bora and rain.

Fabri's journey at sea lasted for 16 weeks (1 June to 2 July 1483 and from 31 October to 7 January 1484) and he also records five storms. He experienced violent winds before they even set sails, while the ship was anchored just off the city of Venice, waiting for the captain to get onboard.³⁴ Then they

²⁹ "Demnach fuhren wir jetzt fürsich den rechten Weg / jetzt hindersich / durch stercke der Winde getrieben / erführen damit / daß der Spruch deß Weisen war ist / als er spricht: Welche auff dem Meer fahren / haben wol von sörglichen Sachen zu sagen / ob sie gleich entrinnen". K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 345.

³⁰ As simply formulated by S. Graciotti (p. 19): "Comunque le tempeste fanno la parte del leone in questa presenza letteraria del mare." Sante Graciotti, *La Dalmazia e l'Adriatico dei Pellegrini "veneziani" in Terrasanta* hereafter *La Dalmazia*), Roma: La Musa Talia Editrice 2014.

³¹ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 182-183.

³² *Ibid.*, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 196.

³³ *Ibid.*, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 302, 323-325, and 333 respectively.

³⁴ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 165-166.

experienced two huge storms even before travelling halfway through the Adriatic. First, a terrible storm on 6 June that provoked so much fear, it was a wonder that any wood could endure such blows; second at Oneum (Omiš) – they passed a night full of desperation and terror because of the tempest, lightning and thunder whereof the air was full.³⁵ The remaining two caught them on their way home, both in the Aegean Sea, on 19 November (*saevissima tempestas*) and 29 November (*ingentem tempestatem habuimus*).³⁶

The skill of the experienced officers and the crew surely helped ships to not be wrecked in the shallows, and boosted some hope during storms, but during severe weather the passengers mostly countered their fears of the elements with collective prayers. It was for a reason that Kryštof Harant noted: *Qui vol imparar a orare, vadi per mare*.³⁷ In case of particularly strong and dangerous storms, the pilgrims, apart from saying all sorts of prayers, made vows, publicly and secretly, often including future pilgrimages as vows. Casola mentioned those in two out of these five storms he recorded, the most elaborate being the latter: “As that terrible tempest continued, on Tuesday, the 14th of October, by order of the captain and also of Don Lorenzo Venier, three pilgrimages were arranged – one to Our Lady of Loreto, another to Saint Anthony of Padua, and the third to Venice. Much money was collected for the purpose, and many pilgrims volunteered to undertake these pilgrimages.”³⁸

Felix Fabri pointed exactly to the audio effects that amplified fears and named future pilgrimages: “Nothing ever frightened me in storms so much as the loud groans of the ship, which are so intense that one thinks that the ship must be broken somewhere. Nor can a man refrain from crying out, because of the sudden and dreadful noise of these groans. (...) Some (pilgrims) made their confessions as though already at the very point of death; some made great vows that they would travel from hence to Rome, to St. James (at Compostella), or to the house of the Blessed Virgin (at Loreto), if only they might escape from this death.”³⁹

The vows were made also in the occasion when Casola’s group became lost at sea: they did not know their exact location at high seas for more than four days (12-15 September). The captain had one idea about their position,

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 176 and 179.

³⁶ Konrad Dieterich Hassler (ed.), *Fratri Felicis Fabri evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem* (hereafter: *Fratri Felicis Fabri evagatorium*), vol. 3, Stuttgartiae: Societas Litteraria Stuttgardiensis 1849, pp. 119 and 129 respectively.

³⁷ S. Graciotti, *La Dalmazia*, p. 19.

³⁸ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola’s*, p. 324. In one of the storms even sailors made vows (p. 182).

³⁹ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 39.

comito and *parono* another, the pilot the third. The whole confusion made the pilgrims “very depressed”, the captain “lost courage”, while Casola himself “never thought to see land again after so many days without seeing any”. The desperate situation resulted in vows being made “by every man”.⁴⁰

Casola reflects on the general impression of helplessness in a storm, relying mostly on visual descriptions: “I stood to contemplate the fury of the sea, which was greater than I can describe to anyone who has not seen it. When it was angry, those mountains, as they seem of water, appeared as if they would engulf the galley. I reflected that these were among the things I had not believed when I heard about them.”⁴¹ Casola also occasionally found the way to express the idea that what happened in those storms was a punishment for the behaviour they could have avoided. For example, the last storm before Venice happened because they had indulged a noble woman when they should not have: “(...) as at the pleasure of a woman we had entered port, so, in the judgment of God, we ought to have remained on land long enough to hear Mass on Sunday.”⁴²

It is not only the storms and foul winds that were dangerous, unpleasant, and delayed the journey. There was another common phenomenon of which Felix Fabri speaks so eloquently that is worth quoting here as not everyone would imagine this being a major issue. “Calms are more distressing to travellers by sea. For when no winds blow, and the sea is without motion, and the ship stays fixed in its place, then everything that is on board becomes putrid, and foul, and mouldy; the water begins to stink, the wine becomes undrinkable, meat, even when dried and smoked, becomes full of maggots, and all of a sudden there spring into life innumerable flies, gnats, fleas, lice, worms, mice and rats. Moreover, all men on board become lazy, sleepy, and untidy from the heat, fretful from the evil passions of melancholy, anger, and envy, and troubled with other like distempers. I have seen few men die on board ship during storms, but many I have seen sicken and die during these calms aforesaid.”⁴³

Fabri established the general fatigue related to storms, and also commented on the stench that was such a nuisance. “Healthy men become weak during a storm, and sick men grow weaker still, while the continual pumping out of the bilge water is a nuisance to pilgrims, both because of the stench arising from it, and because they are forbidden either to go on deck, or to

⁴⁰ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 302-303.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁴² M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola*, p. 333.

⁴³ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 124.

come below from the deck while pumping is going on."⁴⁴ He could not but reflect to himself of the ancient philosopher: "I thought of the aphorisms of Anacharsis the philosopher, who said that those who are at sea cannot be counted among either the living or the dead. Moreover, he said that they were only removed from death by the space of four fingers, four fingers being the thickness of the sides of a ship."⁴⁵

We have therefore seen that in every storm the pilgrims were just inches away from death, as in that tangible comparison of Anacharsis. Something therefore should be said about the health-related issues on board, and about dying onboard.

LIFE AND DEATH, HEALTH AND DISEASE

"For officers and sailors, the continuous washing and fumigating of the decks may have been a ritual of order and discipline, but for the surgeons serving with them, it was upheld as a life-saving exigency".⁴⁶ How dreadful can infectious diseases be once aboard ships was devastatingly experienced by the Holy League fleet that set sail to fight the Ottomans in Cyprus War operations. By early October it lost over 20,000 rowers and soldiers (in the Venetian ranks alone, as reported by their commander, Girolamo Zane) to dysentery.

The captain and the pilgrims regularly took all the precaution needed to stay away from the ports that had any news or rumours of the plague outbreak. Our protagonists did not have plague aboard their ships, as they successfully avoided contact with infected towns and regions.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, there were other physical and psychological perils at sea that Fabri elegantly summed up in a short paragraph: "A journey by sea is subject to many hardships. The sea itself is very injurious to those who are unaccustomed to it, and very dangerous on many accounts; for it strikes terror into the soul; it causes headache, it provokes vomiting and nausea; it destroys appetite for food and drink; it acts as an alterative on the human body; it excites the passions and produces many strange vices; it causes extreme and deadly perils, and often brings men to a most cruel death. And the most terrible danger is that it is the wise who are most afraid of it, while fools hold it cheap."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

⁴⁶ Elise Juzda Smith, "'Cleanse or Die': British Naval Hygiene in the Age of Steam, 1840-1900", *Medical History*, vol. 62, issue 2/2018, pp. 177-198 (especially 177).

⁴⁷ P. Casola's party managed to avoid the plague in Nicosia (p. 293) and Limassol (p. 305).

⁴⁸ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 121.

First, regarding sea sickness, both Casola and Fabri mention numerous occasions when many passengers and crew members not only felt upset by the sea, but it was “pitiful to see them”. Casola immediately felt upset by the sea, especially because it was his first time on the ship, and made account of many occasions when he himself or the majority of people onboard experienced “tribulations” or “suffered greatly from the sea”.⁴⁹ Fabri, who experienced horrible weather in the first two weeks of his journey, made many very similar accounts.⁵⁰

It was for a reason that there were three articles (13-15) of the journey contract that dealt with cases if a pilgrim dies on the voyage. The captain was kind enough to elaborate on the article 15, and Fabri included that remark: “With regard to the fifteenth article, he said that he was willing to suffer a dead man to remain on board the galley, but he declared that the sea would not allow it, and that it would hinder our voyage.”⁵¹

Pietro Casola set sails on a five-month journey (21 weeks) with 170 co-passengers (up to maximum 400 in total at some point)⁵² on board. From the present-day perspective, it is highly improbable that any of the passengers would die on such a journey, but Casola is surrounded with death every other week, witnessing eleven deaths. The list of those who died on the voyage starts with priest Giovanni, “a young Datian” (i.e., a pilgrim from Denmark), then “a pilgrim”, followed by Cipriano, a certain Frenchman, Albrecht, Andrea Alemanno, don Francesco, a man from Zara, fra Trivulzio, and a French pilgrim.⁵³ Casola mentioned a half of the deceased by nationality and the other half by name as he got to know them on board.

Felix Fabri spent a little over seven months on his journey and was a witness to several deaths of fellow passengers. Only one died on their 30-day journey eastward: a noble knight from Holland who was then buried “in the

⁴⁹ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 161-162 (first time at sea; tribulation), p. 165 (disagreeable), p. 182 (pitiful to see; nor stomach nor head for eating), p. 196 (great perturbation), p. 203 (many pilgrims seasick), p. 315 (suffered greatly from the sea), p. 325 (many others upset stomach). For some recent scholarship on motion sickness see: Zhang Li-Li – Wang Jun-Quin – Qi Rui-Rui – Pan Lei-Lei – Li Min – Ling Yi, “Motion Sickness: Current Knowledge and Recent Advance”, *CNS Neuroscience & Therapeutics* 2016 Jan; 22(1): pp. 15-24.

⁵⁰ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 165 (wind made them sick), p. 169 (winds tossed us and made us very seasick), pp. 170-172 (miserable nights on board; tossing on the waves; most pilgrims very ill; violent and grievous vomiting).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

⁵² M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 300.

⁵³ In order of appearance, *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 223, 234, 241, 287, 290, 298, 300, 303, 305, 332.

deep sea".⁵⁴ However, on their return trip there were more cases;⁵⁵ it is highly probable that the Swiss in his travelogue did not record all deaths, what can be implied from his following report. Fabri was particularly asking for caution on one aspect of the visit to the Holy Land: "I never should advise any pilgrim, whose life hath any value in his own eyes, to visit the Jordan, no matter how strong he may be, because in both my pilgrimages I have seen many nobles and strong men fall sick and perish." He corroborated his opinion with the experience from his first pilgrimage: "Nevertheless, by the protection of God, we returner to Jerusalem (from the Jordan) without losing any of our number; albeit many were rendered sickly, the greater number of whom died at sea."⁵⁶

Fabri had quite tangible descriptions of all sorts of physiological and psychological issues that pilgrims needed to cope with. There was a huge dichotomy between a sunny deck and cabin darkness, mixed with tainted air. During sailing, passengers needed to go to other side of the sail because the ship would lean on one side. Then there were all sorts of insects that were bothering people: lice, gnats, flees, but Fabri complains even more about the "misery from perspiration, which troubles a man more than living vermin". Unfortunately, it was not just the insects, but also that mice and rats "gnaw their way into them (passengers' larders) and befoul the food, spoil pillows and shoes, and fall on men's faces while they sleep". The heat, perspiration, vomiting, stench, foul air, vermin – all these disgusted passengers on a daily basis, undoubtedly contributing to the nerve-wracking expectation of reaching the destination.⁵⁷

There was more to disgust (and shame), as painfully described by Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil, a late 16th-century pilgrim. All passengers quickly realized to their dismay that it was practically impossible to go to the toilet without being seen by someone. That usually made people hold back their needs for days, which was not just unpleasant, but also a dangerous practice. On the other hand, if not too ashamed, a traveller could ask a physician (and at least two were always on board) for something against constipation, or excessive purging. Even though he saw the people who did

⁵⁴ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 181. Maybe it would have been more had not those several knights who were "too ill to continue the journey" disembarked in Rhodes.

⁵⁵ *Fratri Felicis Fabri evagatorium*, p. 84: Count of Solms died; p. 121 a consul died; p. 122: "Dicunt enim cum peregrino mortuo non posse esse fortunatam navigationem"; four passengers died, three on the other and a consul on their ship.

⁵⁶ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 2, p. 5.

⁵⁷ It is worth reading Fabri's assessment of all these inconveniences onboard in a very realistic several-page account. F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 156-158.

exactly what physicians told them and died anyway, while others who did not take care of themselves survived, Fabri trusted physicians, concluding: "Let a pilgrim first commit himself to the care of God, and next to that of physicians in a moderate degree."⁵⁸

From the second half of the fifteenth century there was an increasing activity of Ottoman corsairs in all seas on the route from Venice to the Holy Land. Particularly dangerous were the entrance into the Aegean and the entrance into Adriatic, off the shores of Albania. And it was not just the seas that were dangerous, as testified by Fabri: "When in ports let the pilgrim beware of leaving his galley and straying hither and thither, especially to lonely places by the sea-shore, lest he be suddenly seized by pirates, and made a most miserable slave for all his days, a thing which often befalls man."⁵⁹ In a much more favourable scenario, one could just lose one's money and valuables to local thugs.

Fabri described a night in which a nobleman started screaming in a bad dream, awakening almost everyone on board. It was not just an annoyance, for these several seconds, before his cabinmates calmed the situation, there was a strong outburst of panic, and the passengers went for their swords as they thought bandits had attacked the ship.⁶⁰ On another occasion he reported about a general awful experience of everyone onboard who were for some time listening to agonizing sounds of a rower who "cried, sung, and sighed".⁶¹

It is also worth mentioning something that today we take for granted: good-quality food and especially supplies of fresh water. Fabri depicted the state the of 'fresh' animal meat on his galley: "The meat provided by the captain is particularly disgusting, because they slaughter those animals which they see cannot live any longer, and diseased sheep. They slaughter any animal which they see is sick and will soon die of itself."⁶² Casola's ship stopped at Corfu on 21 June to resupply water, but just two days later both passengers and crew expressed their concern as the barrels of fresh water started

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 138: "There are also on board of it at least two barbers, who also are physicians and surgeons"; p. 158: "physicians advise pilgrims to beware of fruit, of drinking water, of sea air, and of fish; they give this advice against heat, (...) against cold; while for thirst and constipation, and excessive purging, they advise many different remedies, as also for dizziness, and to encourage appetite, and to counteract poison; and many more remedies and much more advice they give to those who are going to sea, which things certainly are wholesome and good, and in which matters it is but reasonable to follow the directions of physicians".

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 163.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 166.

⁶¹ *Fratris Felicis Fabri evagatorium*, p. 123: "inquietati omnes fuimus per quendam infirmum galeotam agonizantem, qui in extremis laborans clamabat, cantabat, gemebat et continue loquebatur, cui socii sui cum candelis assistebant expectantes ejus exitum".

⁶² F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 154.

to run short. Luckily, they were in Modon on 25 June.⁶³ A Franciscan named Rattenberg reported an event from 1527. His ship stopped in a remote bay in Rhodes to get some fresh water. A decade earlier it would have been just an ordinary stop, but from late 1522 Rhodes was in Ottoman hands, so the pilgrims were risking being taken captive.⁶⁴ A travel writer from the group of pilgrims accompanying the Duke of Saxony from 1461 stressed how a journey on a galley is much more comfortable than on other, larger types of vessels (such as *nava* or *cocca*), naming the main reason: it is much easier to get fresh water and food.⁶⁵

Fabri also reported a ('placebo') spiritual story of the water blessed and touched by the relics of the martyr on his feast day (29 June): "Wherefore in most parts of the world the faithful take this water of St. Peter, and give it to women in their time of peril to drink, and they are saved from their peril. It is likewise given to those sick of a fever, that they may be made whole. Mariners also carry it to their ships and pour a little of it into the vessels wherein water is kept, and by its virtue the other water is preserved from becoming foul, and however old the water may be, it does not stink or become corrupt if some of this be poured upon it. This mariners learn by daily experience to be true."⁶⁶

HUGE SEA, TINY VESSEL: LONG VOYAGES AND CONFINED SPACES

The journey from Venice to Jaffa, with regular calls at several ports in the Adriatic and Aegean is (ideally) approximately 1,500 nautical miles (2,800 km) long. The renaissance ships were quite swift – Fabri was under the impression that, with a favourable wind, they could cover the distance from Cologne to Venice (ca 540 nm or 1000 km) during a single full day and night of sailing.⁶⁷ The problem was that there were many other factors, most importantly the weather and the human ones, that extended the journey to some five weeks in the outgoing and close to seven weeks in the return. Flexibility and variation from the initial sailing plan represent one of the most striking aspects of diaries and travelogues. In fact, they are a crucial and an integral component of every voyage, especially if it is considered that the effective sailing time was limited to only somewhere between 31-39% of the journey.⁶⁸

⁶³ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 184-191.

⁶⁴ K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 181.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191; Croatian translation of the account: p. 296.

⁶⁶ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 85.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181. (As a Swiss, Fabri uses a land distance comparison.) In reality, contemporary ships could have covered approximately a half of that distance within continuous 24-hour sailing, at ca 12 nm/hour.

⁶⁸ R. Gluzman, "Between Venice and The Levant: Re-Evaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century", *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 96, no. 3/2010, p. 268.

On three occasions Casola provides first-hand evidence of how quite a long voyage can be even longer and more exhausting. Upon departing from Ragusa (Dubrovnik), the galley ran into a quite unpleasant *scirocco* (blowing from SE, exactly in the direction from Corfu, their next planned stop) and a storm that developed out of it completely changed the trajectory of the galley. "When we reached Corfu the officers of the galley and the captain calculated that after leaving Ragusa we had made over seven hundred miles; they said it was three hundred miles from Ragusa to Corfu".⁶⁹ A few weeks later it took them "eight days to go the two hundred and sixty miles from Jaffa to Cyprus. It is true, as the sailors said, that we really made more than eight hundred miles, because the course followed was in the shape of a great curve which carried us far into the high sea."⁷⁰

The fact that both the distance and the speed were significantly dependent on winds is summarised by this experience by Fabri: "For at sea one could only be sure of the mileage if the winds were always of the same strength: with one wind a ship could reach a place in three days, but with a different one I could only get there in three weeks".⁷¹

The Venetian maritime empire, *Stato da mar* as it was called, was merely a chain of ports stretching along the coasts of the Adriatic, Aegean, and the Black Sea. That said, it is extremely difficult to overestimate the importance of ships that functioned as media for transfers of people, ideas, technologies, goods, and information. They were architectural masterpieces that were diligently manned with experienced personnel and where every anchor, rope, cannon, crossbow, passenger berth, and ton of cargo were positioned both in balance with the needs and sophisticated maritime laws that one expected from the Queen of the Seas. How completely packed with goods the galley was, can be read from Casola: "There were more than three thousand pieces of cloth alone on board, and so much other merchandise besides, that, unless he saw it, no man could believe that the galley was capable of carrying so much cargo in addition to the passengers and crew."

For this reason, it was crucial that the passengers roll and pack their beds, sheets, pillows, and blankets and hang them on a nail, so that there is a passage to move around the ship. Even without this, the spaces and corridors were quite narrow: Fabri reported that he "himself had two falls down these same steps, and it is a wonder that I was not dashed to pieces".⁷² A Dalma-

⁶⁹ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 183.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁷¹ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 8. Also quoted and elaborated by N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, p. 21.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159; a Dalmatian priest, p. 35.

tian priest, under the influence of good Cretan wine, missed a step one night and fell, producing such a terrifying sound that Fabri burst into a hysteric laughter of relief upon hearing he was unharmed. It was not just the steps, tools, and beams that could hurt: there were ropes everywhere that could sweep someone on the floor, or even cut off fingers.⁷³ Many commented on the number of ropes, including Casola whose estimate was as follows: "I doubt whether two Milanese waggons with two pair of oxen to each waggon could have carried all the ropes there were on the said galley."⁷⁴

After storms, shallows, and pirates, probably the next worst fear was that of getting into and out of the small boat that took the passengers ashore from the anchored ship. When it was windy, if one did not take a timely step (or a leap), one ended up drowned. Fabri mentioned it twice as "the greatest and commonest dangers to which pilgrims are subject" until they get used to it.⁷⁵ He must have seen so many terrified passengers (and he particularly mentioned women) in such situations that he felt it was necessary to include this into his account.

There were at least two ways of losing personal items, such as rosaries, books, and hats aboard ships. First, they were regularly falling overboard if left untied due to swift changes of direction or movement of ropes and sails.⁷⁶ Second, it was quite common to lose something in a theft, even though people mostly got to know each other and were close together. Fabri explained this in the following way: "Now, however, when the law is perfected, thieves are put to death in ordinary human society (sic!). But on shipboard it seems to be different, because a passion for theft, especially for petty theft, grows up among men on a voyage."⁷⁷

Sleep disruptions aboard ships happened for several reasons: lack of space, heat in cabins, foul air, vermin: "A pilgrim can hardly move without touching his neighbour; moreover, the place is enclosed and exceeding hot, and full of various foul vapours. Wherefore one must needs sweat all night, which greatly mars one's rest. Fleas and lice swarm there at that time in countless numbers, also mice and rats." The sources of the sounds that disturbed sleep were also numerous: "Rest, too, is hindered by men who are restless while sleeping, and snore and talk in their sleep, and by the moans of the sick, their coughings and cursings. I was once for some time on board a galley where

⁷³ Ibid., p. 160.

⁷⁴ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 159.

⁷⁵ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 123, 176.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 161.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 163.

horses and mules stood on the deck above us, and kept up a continual noise with their feet upon the planks all night and all day. Besides this, the running about of the sailors overhead, and the noise of the sea, and many other things, take away a pilgrim's rest."⁷⁸

It was regulated how much personal space one pilgrim should have on board, and that berth was minimalistic by all standards. There were frequent quarrels between the pilgrims who shared the same sleeping space: "During these quarrels I have seen pilgrims fall upon one another with naked swords and daggers, and shout, making a horrible riot. During such a quarrel as this, if the clerk of the galley, whose business it is to divide the berths equally, should have interfered, he would have been torn to pieces by the pilgrims." There were always a lot of disorder and disputes about personal space, especially in the beginning of the voyage.

Fabri was well-placed to compare the atmosphere on different galleys as he experienced two long voyages. He acknowledged how important it was: "It was a blessing beyond compare on board of that galley, that there was peace and concord, friendship and unity among all the pilgrims. The contrary was the case on the galley of my first pilgrimage, whereon was anger, quarrelling, disputing, and much cursing (...)"⁷⁹ He was also surprised to see that some young knights and noblemen were prepared to jeopardize their (supposedly very sacred) trip to Jerusalem by losing their money by onboard gambling. They engaged in all sorts of card games and dice, sometimes losing all their money. Occasionally there were a hundred, even two hundred ducats on the table in a single hand, and some passengers lost everything. Without their friends on board, they would not have been able to go anywhere.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, there were moments which Fabri enjoyed very much, such as the feast of St. John aboard his ship: "Nor could I have believed that the general clapping of many men's hands at the same time, when done out of gladness, would have such great power to move the human mind to joy."⁸¹

A recent study by Carotenuto and associates showed that there are three main sources of psychological stress in seafarers: isolation/separation from family, sleep disturbances, and fatigue due to long journeys. Sleep disturbances were present in more than half of crews: mostly those with call-on duties. As the occasional lack of sleep results in being tired and irritable, while several sleepless nights may fog one's brain, it is no wonder that quar-

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 155-156.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 176-177.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 191.

rels, even physical assaults, happened regularly. The study also argues that multinationality and speaking of different languages on board contributes to stress.⁸² Present-day Croatian mariners report interpersonal relationships onboard (12,8%) as one of the problems of working on a ship, with a quite picturesque quote: "Relationships that are sometimes negative and from which there is no escape".⁸³

The issues related to different nationalities were omnipresent, both on board and especially upon arrival to the Holy Land. As will be mentioned shortly, the tensions could be felt before the departure even began, in German inns in Venice. Fabri did not forget to mention that it was the "drunken Flemings" who usually started quarrels at the time when passengers wanted to sleep. Also, on the other hand, both of our protagonists felt more confident if in their company was someone either from their nation or from their order. Therefore, something should be said about perception of Others, friendships, and some other social elements of the journey.

NATIONS, FRIENDS, THE ANNOYING, AND THE "MOORISH DOGS"

The previous passages addressed mostly the issues related to human physiology, natural fears of dangerous situations, and psychology of confined spaces. This final passage will analyse some more complex emotional and cultural phenomena, mostly related to social psychology, sociology of emotions, and imagology, i.e., perception of the Other.

There was a dog at the inn in Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the German quarter in Venice, who was allegedly barking and biting only the Italians, never the Germans. "The Germans say that this dog is a proof that as he is the implacable foe of the Italians, so German men can never agree with Italians from the bottom of their hearts, nor Italians with us, because each nation has hatred of the other rooted in its very nature. The animal being irrational, and governed only by its passions, quarrels with the Italians because its nature bids it do so; but human beings restrain their feelings by the aid of reason, and keep down the feeling of hatred which is engrained in their nature."⁸⁴ Fabri, a (Swiss) German who reported (among so many others) on these cold rela-

⁸² Anna Carotenuto – Ivana Molino – Angiola Maria Fasanaro – Francesco Amenta, "Psychological Stress in Seafarers: A Review", *International Maritime Health* 63, 4/2012, pp. 188-194. On multiculturalism in the Adriatic see the paper written by Florence Sabine Fabijanec in this volume.

⁸³ Ana Slišković, "Occupational Stress in Seafaring", Malcolm MacLachlan (ed.), *Maritime Psychology. Research in Organizational & Health Behavior at Sea*, Springer 2017, p. 101.

⁸⁴ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, pp. 80-81. K. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, p. 66. Commented by Albert Clas-sen (ed.), *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter 2013, pp. 99-100.

tions between different ethnic groups was well-aware that it was specifically German travellers who have quite negative reputation: "And no one receives German pilgrims into his house save the keepers of houses of ill-fame, who for the most part are Germans, who dwell there with courtezans."⁸⁵

It was probably due the same reason, i.e., that the sea and the ship amplify the intensity of emotional responses, that made Fabri qualify a woman as being hated excessively. On the second voyage of the Swiss among the passengers there was a Flemish nobleman whose wife, an elderly woman, was very unpopular among everyone on board, as she was "restless and inquisitive", making much noise. There was no one on the galley "who was not displeased", and Fabri went as far as concluding quite harshly: "This woman was a thorn in the eyes of us all", and "she made herself hated exceedingly".⁸⁶ This choice of words is quite intense for a Dominican, relating to a fellow pilgrim. It seems that was exactly the same woman (not mentioned by name, but recognizable) who was left behind in Rhodes. She visited a church out of town, unaware that the captain had decided to sail on that day. Fabri was again quite cold in assessing the situation: "Except her husband, no one was sorry at the absence of this woman, because she had rendered herself odious beyond measure by her silly talk and her inquisitive prying into unprofitable matters."⁸⁷

However, on the very same day, 22 June 1483, several other passengers were left behind in Rhodes. These, on the other hand, remained because they became too ill to proceed with the pilgrimage, and among them were "the Lord Jerotheus von Ratzenhusen, and some knights of St. John, who had come from Venice with us, and had been merry and loyal comrades to us, at whose loss we were all grieved". Being quite sad about the loss, Fabri concludes: "For on board ship exceeding pleasant and social friendships are made, just as in places of study and watering-places, and the separation which follows is grievous."⁸⁸

Therefore, on the other hand, it seems that social bonds, especially friendships, were so precious. Fabri summed up that essential social concept as follows: "Presently the prior of the convent came, bringing two of the brethren with him, named Brother Francis de Catoro, and Brother Dominic, whom he entrusted to my charge, and gave them to me to be my comrades on my journey, for they also desired to go to Jerusalem in our company. At this I

⁸⁵ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 163.

⁸⁶ On the Flemish woman see: *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

was particularly pleased, because hitherto I had been without a brother of my own order, and their company was more desired by me than fine gold".⁸⁹

Pietro Casola was also very eager to find a companion for the journey. The whole city knew he was about to leave, and everyone shook his hand. Finally, just prior to leaving Italian shores he met don Francesco Trivulzio whom he befriended immediately.⁹⁰ Trivulzio was not just a good friend, but also someone whose sermons often lifted spirits of fellow pilgrims on-board.⁹¹ Unfortunately, on the way back to Venice Trivulzio got sick and died. Casola stayed with him in his last moments and reported how he was loved and revered by all.⁹² Another friend mentioned by Casola was fra Antonio Regna from Milan. He was quite thankful to fra Antonio for giving him some carpets and pillows, but the most important testimony of his character was when he compared him to Judas Maccabeus both in words and deeds.⁹³ This was so important when they were on hostile ground in the Holy Land when fra Antonio urged so many times to improve the status of the pilgrims.

At moments the group dynamics on board was quite intense to start with, but it was only when they anchored in Jaffa when the real psychosocial thriller started. Although these episodes are not strictly speaking related to the sea voyage, I believe it is important to present them as they happened between two long episodes at sea and also affected the psychological state of passengers significantly.

There were many accounts of psychological and physical maltreatment of pilgrims by the local Moors. They all expected gifts, but also used all sorts of extortions, even serious blackmails.⁹⁴ Casola's party experienced those in a much bitter way than Fabri's, and it started on the very first day they disembarked. The Moors had ten people in chains and "the Governor of Gaza said to the captain and also to the Prior of Mount Sion, that the Pilgrims must redeem the prisoners, or that he would flay them alive before their eyes. (...) Seeing that the ground was soft, and that the Christians were compassionate, those dogs brought in a Jew and a Frenchman, and the Governor of Gaza

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹⁰ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 115-118 (leaving his city), pp. 132-133 (meeting don Trivulzio).

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 297, 299. A beautiful sermon that "greatly pleased the company".

⁹² Ibid., pp. 304-305.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 244, 274.

⁹⁴ "By Means of Secret Help and Gifts': Venetians, Mamluks, and Pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century", *Viator* (Brepols), vol. 49, iss. 3/2018, pp. 277-296.

threatened to flay them if we did not ransom them.”⁹⁵ Many pilgrims fell ill on account of the great privations of every kind they had to endure from “the hands of those Moorish dogs who were never tired of tormenting the Christians, now about one thing, now about another.”⁹⁶

After this first traumatic experience, for which they paid in Venetian ducats, but even more in nerve-wrecking exhaustion, Casola recorded several other extortions, robberies, and “bewildering frauds” from the Moors.⁹⁷ Some of his fellow pilgrims were even chained due to an accusation by a Jew that some of them had come to spy.⁹⁸ Even on more ‘innocent-looking’ days, there were rumours that bandits would come and rob them all. While the pilgrims “were weary, afflicted and sick” and “thought they would never escape”, the Moors, as pilgrims saw it, “wanted to gnaw the bones”.⁹⁹ And there was no way out because Casola assessed that “it is great madness to talk to them about our faith, because they have no rational sentiment in them. They are very impetuous and easily excited to anger, and they have no gracious or courteous impulses or actions. And I declare that they may be as great and as learned as you like, but in their ways they are like dogs.”¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, Fabri acknowledged that although other pilgrims had bad experiences upon landing, he himself was lucky enough to avoid the maltreatment. “Indeed, during both my pilgrimages I was so fortunate as never to be ill-treated in any way by any Saracen, Arab, Midianite or Mameluke with whom I had to do, nor can I tell you of any blows or insults which I received, albeit I often saw the other pilgrims insulted and beaten.”¹⁰¹ He also appealed that the utmost non-resistant policy should be taken: “Those young Saracens devise a thousand means whereby they may subtly provoke the pilgrims to anger, in order that if they forget themselves and strike a blow, they may be mulcted of a moneyfine. Here applies that verse in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew: ‘I say unto you that ye resist not evil.’ Whoso is unable to follow this counsel, he cannot pass through the Holy Land in peace”.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, p. 233. “The Moorish dogs” is a regular epithet for the Saracens in Casola travelogue. He used it on more than a dozen occasions (pp. 225, 229, 234, 242, 247, 265, 267, 270, 276, 281).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 270, 274, 282.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-290.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 257.

¹⁰¹ F. Fabri, *The Book*, vol. 1, p. 243.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 230. This is in line with the fourth article of the rules on how to move around the Holy Land, quoted *in extenso* by Fabri himself (*Ibid.*, p. 249). He was also aware that there were hos-

Not only had he been spared of maltreatment, but Fabri was also well taken care of by a guide who escorted him three years earlier. "As soon as he saw me he recognised me, and I him, and he ran to kiss me after the fashion of the Saracens, and greeted me with a most joyous countenance, rejoicing and marvelling much at my return".¹⁰³ It seems that article 17 of the internal Rulebook, soaked in denigration of the Other (i.e., "Should any pilgrim form a friendship with any Saracen, he must beware of trusting him too far, for they are treacherous") did not take effect on his case.¹⁰⁴

Article 20 of the Rulebook that Fabri quoted suggested that the Saracens "strive to cheat us (the Christians), and believe that they are serving God by deceiving and cheating us. And, above all, let the pilgrim beware of German Jews, and be on his guard against them, for their whole object in life is to cheat us and rob us of our money". These were serious ethnocharacterological denigrations, in comparison to which Fabri's assessment that "all Saracens are exceedingly jealous" sounds quite benign.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The voyage to the Holy Land was a very special spiritual event, although quite dangerous and exhausting. There were many external (such as weather, pirates, epidemics) and internal factors (errors of the crew, lack of water, sleep deprivation) that made the journey difficult. The fact that the vessel that carried the pilgrims over the sea was packed with people, animals, and objects, and that it was a vulnerable confined space contributed to the amplification of intensity of many physical and psychosocial stressors. An aspect of that was captured by one of the protagonists, Felix Fabri: "I have marked it for a fact that the movement of all human passions is more violent on the water than elsewhere".¹⁰⁶

If one compares the three categories of maritime travel stressors (page 5 of this paper) proposed by present-day scholars with the ones faced by late medieval pilgrims, the following assessments can be proposed. As for physical stressors, there were numerous accounts of seasickness by both Casola and Fabri that ranged from "disagreeable sea" to "suffered greatly from the

tile Moors around them who certainly "had we not travelled with so great a force, they would have fallen upon us and beaten us with stones, sticks, and staves, as often befalls pilgrims between Joppa and Rama". *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250 (on jealousy); p. 253 (on German Jews).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

sea" or "violent and grievous vomiting". Some mariners today complain about the noise of the machines onboard, while the noises that upset pilgrims were cracking of the wood during storms and sounds produced by quarrelling humans or restless animals. These same humans and animals deeply influenced other people's sleeping patterns, and that takes us to this important psychosocial stressor that severely affected the pilgrims. This was especially true for monks who otherwise slept alone in their cells. In short, anyone interested in this issue should read Fabri's section titled "How unquiet the sleep of pilgrims is on board ship".¹⁰⁷ Social stressors were not much different in any aspect: isolation, long stay on board, and quarrels between passengers.

Late medieval travellers had several other stressors that were, due to improvements in technology and accessibility of commodities, forgotten in modern time. Casola mentioned excessive heat on several occasions, including the "greatest heat ever experienced".¹⁰⁸ Also, other potentially very dangerous issues were food shortages, and especially lack of potable water.¹⁰⁹

Regarding traumatic experiences, all three most important ones were present in late medieval times; even more, their frequency and intensity was much higher. Those were the traumas of imminent shipwrecks, deaths and severe injuries on board, and pirate attacks. Both pilgrims were witnesses to several deaths of their fellow passengers. Even more, Casola's party needed to cope with the trauma to possibly be responsible for the killings that the Moors threatened to commit if the passengers refused to pay. Casola's account does not mention just real threats and fears of pirates, but also a possible invention to extort some extra money from the pilgrims.¹¹⁰

The return journey was even more exhausting, after the fatigue, traumas, heat, bad water, and other issues had taken toll on the physical and psychological health of the pilgrims. As Casola himself reported: "We were weary, afflicted, and a great many of us were sick".¹¹¹ Nonetheless, they made it through all the perils and came back home, committing themselves primarily to the care of God, somewhat even to the care of the ship's physician. It was crucial therefore for them to have at hand those three prover-

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 154-158.

¹⁰⁸ M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's*, pp. 188, 191, 213, and 220 (the greatest on the 16th of July).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 169 (food shortage), pp. 189, 302 (reserves of water depleted); p. 293 ("the drinking water was so bad that it upset my stomach")

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 204, 213, 217; 218 (an invention).

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 290.

bial bags: of faith, of money, and of patience. In addition, preferably, an old friend who would cover the gambling debts accumulated on board, or a newly acquired one who would boost moral with touching sermons.

* I owe thanks to my dear colleagues, Florence Sabine Fabijanec, Zrinka Novak, and Zoran Ladić for inviting me to contribute to this volume. I also thank Raymond Geuss and Krešimir Kužić for clarifying and translating some passages from German for me, Ana Slišković for her expertise in maritime psychology, and Katrina Tap and Bob Bucat for their kind help, as ever.

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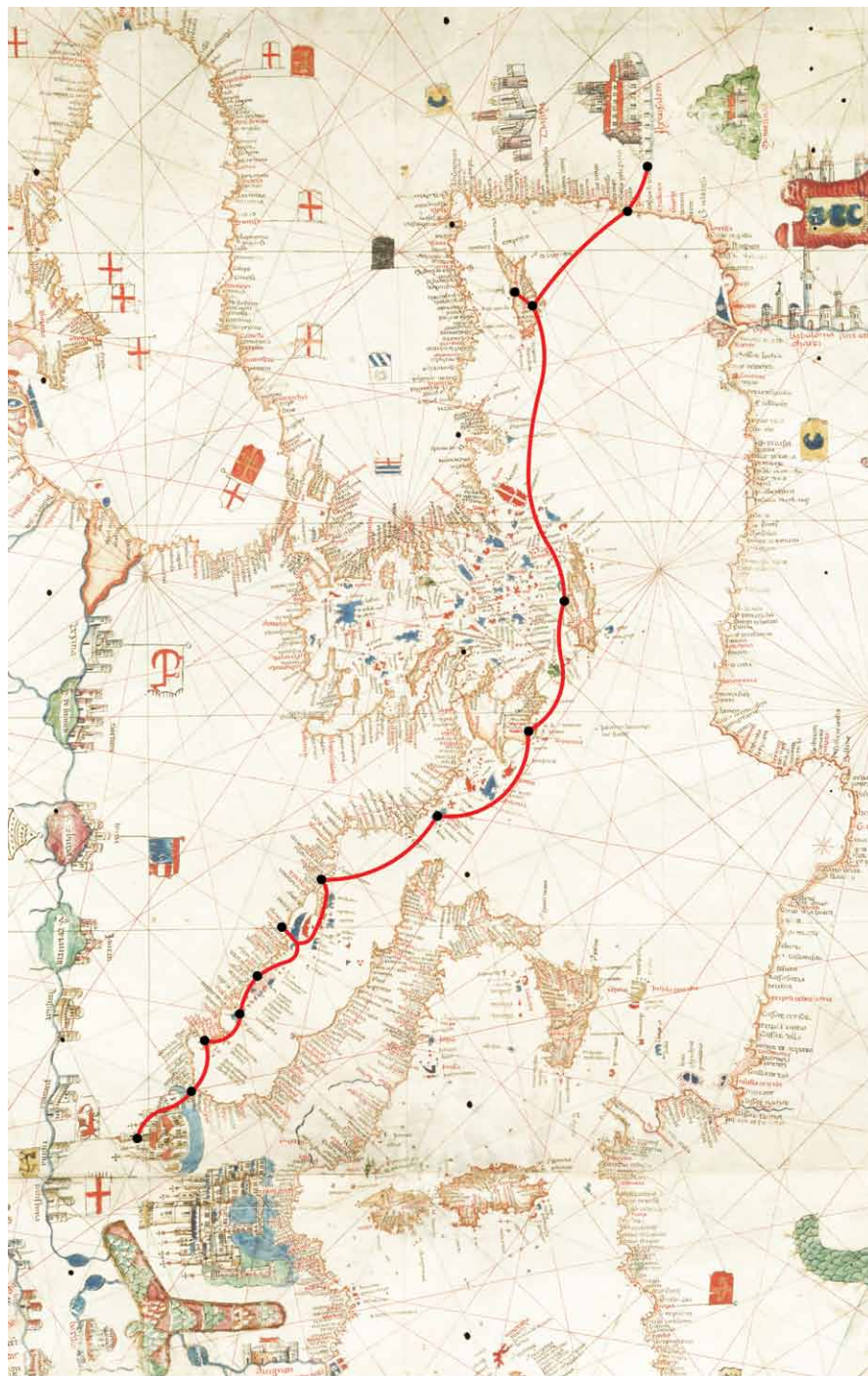
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Appendix 1: Map of the pilgrimage of Felix Fabri on the portolano designed by Genoese cartographer Albino de Canepa (1489). The route from Venice to Jaffa drawn by Gordana Rovčanin Premović.

Appendix 2: Itineraries of the sea voyages of Felix Fabri (1483-84) and Pietro Casola (1494)

Felix Fabri's second voyage: Venice – Jaffa 1 June – 2 July 1483; Alexandria (Egypt) – Venice 5 November 1483 – 8 January 1484

Venice (1 June) – **Rovigno** (3 June, extra days due to unfavourable winds) ✓ – **Ossero** (6 June) ✓✓✓ – **Zara** (9 June; water stop) ● – **Oneum** (9 June) ✓ – **Ragusa** (11 June) – **Corfu** (June 13; passing by due to plague) – **Modone** (15 June) ✓ – **Crete** (18 June) ✓✓ – **Rhodes** (21 June) ✓ – **Paphos** (25 June) – **Saline** (26 June) ✓✓✓ – **Limassol** (29 June) ● – **Jaffa** (2 July)

Alexandria, Egypt (5 November) – **Paphos** (8 November) ✓ – **Rhodes** (15 November) – **Crete** (18 November) – **Lesbos** (20 November) – **Milos** (30 November) – **Modone** (9 December) ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓ – **Corfu** (20 December) ✓✓✓ – **Scodra** (24 December) – **Curzola** (26 December) ● – **Ragusa** (26 December) – **Lesina** (28 December) – **Sibenicum** (31 December) – **Zara** (4 January) ✓ – **Pola** (6 January) – **Parenzo** (7 January) – **Venice** (8 January)

Storms: 31 May (Venice); 6 June (in Quarnero); 9 June (near Oneum); 19 November (Aegean Sea); 29 November (Aegean Sea)

Pietro Casola's voyage: Venice – Jaffa 4 June – 17 July 1494; Jaffa – Venice 26 August – 31 October 1494

Venice (4 June) – **Parenzo** (6 June) ● – **Zara** (8 June) ✓ – **Sebenico, Traù, Spalato** (12 June) – **Lissa** (12 June) ✓ – **Curzola** (13 June) – **Ragusa** (14 June) ✓✓✓ – **Corfu** (21 June) ✓ – **Zante** (24 June) – **Modone** (25 June) ✓✓ – **Paros** (28 June) – **Candia** (1 July) ✓✓✓ – **Rhodes** (5 July) ✓✓✓ – **Paphos** (10 July) – **Limassol** (12 July) ✓✓ – **Jaffa** (17 July)

Jaffa (26 August) – **Salines of Cyprus** (31 August; plague in Nicosia) ✓ – **Limassol** (2 September) ● – **Rhodes** (19 September) ✓✓✓ – **Cos (Longo)** (23 September) – **Santurin** (27 September) – **Nio (Ios)** (28 September) ✓✓ – **Candia** (2 October) ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓ – **Modone** (11 October) ✓✓ – **Zante** (13 October) – **El Sasino** (15 October) – **Curzola** (17 October) ✓ – **Lesina** (18 October) ✓✓✓ – **Sebenico** (22 October) – **Zara** (25 October) ✓ – **Parenzo** (29 October) – **Venice** (31 October)

Storms: 18 June (between Ragusa and Apulia); 28 June (off Corone); 16 September; 13 October (off Zante); 26 October (in Quarnero)

Legend: ✓ a full day / night anchored in the port

● a short stop (supplies/passengers)

These two itineraries (with a few differences in details), alongside more than twenty others, can also be found in B. Arbel, "Daily Life on Board Venetian Ships", p. 215-219.

Mirko Sardelić

**Hodočasnički putopisi kasnog 15. stoljeća kao izvori za
rekonstrukciju emotivnih krajobraza na brodovlju iz Venecije
u Svetu Zemlju**

Sažetak

Kasnosrednjovjekovni i renesansni brodovi mogu se usporediti s malim gradovima jer, naime, dijele sve osnovne osobine: imaju zaštitnu oplatu (zidove), artiljeriju, stanovnike, privatne i javne prostore, službenike i hijerarhiju, te razne druge.

Ključna je razlika ta što je brod mobilan. On je isto tako i vrlo limitiran, gotovo komprimiran, fizički i društveni prostor, a opet se ljudi i predmeti stalno kreću kroza nj tvoreći vrlo posebnu dinamiku privremene izoliranosti, ali i heterogenosti, čak i kozmopolitizma – s obzirom na sastav njegovih stanovnika. Ti putnici se ukrcavaju i iskrcavaju u raznim lukama, pa se sastav stanovništva mijenja na tjednoj ili čak na dnevnoj osnovi, a naposljetku se svi vrate kućama obogaćeni zaista raznovrsnim iskustvima.

S obzirom na tu limitiranost i specifičnost brodskega prostora, sve kulturne i emocionalne razmjene među putnicima imaju pojačan intenzitet. Strahovi od oluja i gusara se umnožavaju, ali se intenziviraju i procesi njihova kanaliziranja i ublažavanja, kroz molitve i nade u izbavljenje. Putnike iznenađuju novi pejzaži i ljudi u zemljama kroz koje putuju, a njihova se preduvjerena nadmeću sa slikama koje sami doživljavaju. Interpretacija atmosfere na renesansnim hodočasničkim lađama načinjena je ponajprije iz opipljivih opisa što su ih koncem 15. stoljeća načinili Švicarac Felix Fabri i Talijan Pietro Casola. Prizma kroz koju se interpretira bazirana je na metodologiji sociologije i povijesti emocija te na imagološkim perspektivama. Također, ne toliko za neku idealnu usporedbu koliko za stjecanje uvida u promjenu putovanja morem u posljednjih pola tisućljeća, iz suvremene su literature navedeni današnji stresori (fizički, psihosocijalni i društveni) i traumatična iskustva mornara na dugim plovidbama. Iako je u prvom slučaju riječ o hodočasnicima od kojih mnogi nikad nisu bili na moru, a u drugom o profesionalnim mornarima, vjerujem da je korisno za promišljanje o temi, jer idealnog komparativnog materijala nema.

Ključne riječi: hodočasnici, Sveta zemlja, Venecija, brodovi, Jadran, Felix Fabri, Pietro Casola, imagologija, skućeni prostori, stresori pri pomorskim putovanjima, traumatična iskustva

V.

**HOW MEDIEVAL CROATIAN SCHOLARS
DISCOVERED THE WORLD**

Franjo Šanjek, Branka Grbavac

CROATS IN SEARCH OF KNOWLEDGE: THE SCHOLARLY VOYAGES OF HERMANN OF DALMATIA (C. 1105/1110 — AFTER 1154)

Abstract: Western European pilgrims who travelled through medieval Croatia left interesting and vivid descriptions of rich cities and ports (Poreč, Pula, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor), their agricultural development, alimentary resources, daily life, and mode of dress, as well as antique monuments in the land of the Croats. Western writers paid particular attention to the interest of Croats in education and intellectual life. A forerunner in the scholarly and scientific exchanges between Croatia and Western Europe, as well Middle Eastern cultures, was Hermann of Dalmatia. This article deals with his scholarly voyages from Paris to the Middle East with his friend, the Englishman Robert of Ketton. They travelled to Baghdad, where they learned Arabic. This, in turn, allowed them to translate classics and Arabic works into Latin.

Key words: scholarly travelling, the Middle Ages, Hermann of Dalmatia, Robert of Ketton, Arabic culture, the Middle East, Spain

INTRODUCTION

Due to its economic, cultural, and civilizational significance, travelling was a very important aspect of everyday life in Croatian medieval society. The first written testimonies about Croatian travellers and travelling date back to the early Middle Ages. In the margins of the Gospel of Cividale (*Codex Aquileiensis*), which contains about 1500 Slavic and German names of pilgrims to the

monastery of San Giovanni di Duino (Štivan, today part of the Duino Aurisina municipality), written down in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the tenth century, we also find the names of Croatian rulers: Duke Trpimir (c. 845–864) and his son Peter, Duke Branimir (879–892) and his wife Maruša, and Braslav (c. 880–897), the last Duke of the Croatian Duchy of Lower Pannonia (*Pannonia inferior*) and his wife Ventescela.¹ Important information on the votive pilgrimage of the priest John from Dubrovnik to Jerusalem in 843 is recorded in the Dubrovnik chronicle *Annali di Ragusa*, written by Nikša Ranjina. The data suggests that the first voyages were limited to travellers belonging to the highest secular and ecclesiastical strata, because they were wealthy enough to organize the entourage needed to protect them from the many dangers that awaited along the way. By the end of the eleventh century, a new type of travelling appeared in Europe – organized crusades for the liberation of the Holy Land, in which many secular and spiritual dignitaries took part, often recording not only data on military activities, but also information on places and the people they met. In addition to crusaders, pilgrims also often embarked on long journeys, leaving written testimonies of travels to pilgrimage destinations throughout Europe, as well as to the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Important medieval voyages which were not religiously motivated were undertaken by merchants who, due to the nature of their work, visited large urban centres, leaving behind valuable testimonies of their activities. The latter also often contained information about various aspects of travelling – the costs, lodgings, food, customs duties on goods, etc.²

However, in this article we would like to draw attention to a completely different type of travel – that for scientific and intellectual purposes related to the development of higher education in Europe, the so-called cathedral schools, which were soon followed by the first university centres. The need for intellectual education encouraged many Croats to travel to distant university centres. Thus, in the Middle Ages students from Dalmatian communes, mostly from patrician or wealthy families, were sent to study law in Bologna or Padua, while those from the continental regions went to Western European university centres in Western Europe in pursuit of knowledge.³ Unlike testi-

¹ For more information, cf. Josip Bratulić and Stjepan Damjanović, *Hrvatska pisana kultura* [Croatian Written Culture] 1, Križevci: Veda 2005, p. 48; Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, "Latin inscriptions", Ivan Supićić (ed.), *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages. A cultural survey 1*, London–Zagreb: Philip Wilson Publishers – AMG 1999, pp. 239–256.

² Meri Kunčić-Zoran Ladić, "Putovanja" [Voyages], Slobodan Prosperov Novak-Milovan Tatarin-Mirjana Mataija-Leo Rafolt (eds.), *Leksikon Marina Držića* [The Lexicon of Marin Držić], Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 2009, pp. 643–646.

³ For more information, cf. Franjo Šanjek, "Hrvati i sveučilišna Europa (13.–15. st.)" [Croats and the Academic Europe (13th–15th Century)], Neven Budak (ed.), *Raukarov zbornik: zbornik u čast*

monies describing pilgrimages and voyages made for political or economic purposes, depictions of scholarly voyages remain rare. However, an exception is the case of the Croatian scholar Hermann of Dalmatia, who, due to his personal intellectual curiosity, but also talent, travelled throughout Europe and Middle East in a search for new cultural and scientific ideas and their exchange. In this way Hermann established a bridge between the Arabian and Byzantine intellectuals of the East and Christian scholars from the European West. Bearing in mind the fact that biographical data on this scholar is readily available, in this paper we want to focus on his scientific journey.

Scholarly interest in the life and work of Hermann of Dalmatia dates back to the nineteenth century, when Amable Jurdain and his son Charles published their works, in which they mention this scholar. A more serious impulse to the study of his work was provided by Jules Alexandre Clerval in the late nineteenth century. During subsequent decades, the study of Hermann's work became more extensive: among major twentieth century works those of Charles Homer Haskins, Richard Lemay, Charles S. F. Burnett and Sheila M. Low-Beer merit mentioning. Since Šime Ljubić was the first historian to refer to Hermann of Dalmatia in Croatian historiography, a serious study on Hermann's life and work only began in the last two decades of the twentieth century. In 1979, Franjo Šanjek wrote a comprehensive study of Hermann's work and has since remained devoted to researching and promoting this famous scholar. Except Šanjek, Franjo Zenko, Stipe Kutleša, Alojz Ćubelić, and Antun Slavko Kalenić made valuable contributions to the study of Hermann's philosophical views and the translation of his work, while Žarko Dadić and Snježana Paušek Baždar contributed to the venture by presenting Hermann's work in terms of natural science and natural philosophy.⁴

HERMANN OF DALMATIA (c. 1105/1110 – AFTER 1154)

There are few scholars and men of learning of the Croatian medieval period who gained recognition as Hermann of Dalmatia, a pioneer of European and Croatian science. Hermann lived in the twelfth century, the

Tomislava Raukara, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za povijest 2005, pp. 209-223; Stanko Andrić, "Studenti iz slavonsko-srijemskog međuriječja na zapadnim sveučilištima u srednjem vijeku" [Students from Slavonia and Srijem at Medieval Universities], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 20/37, 1996, pp. 117-152.

⁴ A comprehensive bibliography on Hermann's life and work is listed in: Franjo Šanjek, "Herman Dalmatin (oko 1110 – posl. 26. II. 1154). Bio-bibliografski prilozi" [Hermann of Dalmatia (c. 1110 – after February 26, 1154), Bio-Bibliographical Contributions], Antun Slavko Kalenić (ed.), *Herman Dalmatin, Rasprava o bitima* [Hermann of Dalmatia, Treatise on the Essences] (hereafter *Herman Dalmatin*) vol. 1, Pula: Čakavski sabor, 1990, pp. 81-100.

period which represented a turning point in the development of science and philosophy. In the seventh, and especially in the eighth century, when Arabs conquered North Africa, Southern Italy, and Spain, certain political and cultural ties between Europe and the Islamic world were established, which proved to be significant for the further development of philosophy and science in medieval Europe. These ties, which were strengthened in the eleventh, and especially in the first half of the twelfth century, became the foundation for a new science, that is, for the synthesis of Western European and Arabic sciences. This period of history demonstrates how the learned people of the Latin-Christian West, who were looking for answers to questions which could not be found in ancient philosophy, reached for other cultures and civilizations. Islamic and Arabic philosophy and science became the focus of their interest.⁵ It was for this reason that Hermann of Dalmatia left his native Istria in the 1130s: he wished to become better acquainted with the countries, cultures, and customs of the Eurasian people, as evidenced by his scholarly voyages from the Adriatic to the English Channel, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates and Tigris, an exciting return from the Middle East along the northern Mediterranean to the Spanish coast, a productive writing stint on the Iberian Peninsula and in southern France.

Many documents and testimonies about Hermann's scholarly work and translation into Latin have been preserved because contemporaries and scholars of the later period used his works and translations extensively. However, not much is known about his life.⁶

The exact date of Hermann's birth is not known, but according to the comparative chronological elements related to his sojourn in Chartres and Paris, his scholarly travels, his dated translations and scholarly works, it can be assumed that he was born around 1105/1110 in central Istria. In Hermann's Latin translation of Abu Ma'shar's *Introductorium maius in astronomiam*, in which the prominent Arabian cosmographer describes Europe, it seems that Hermann took the liberty of adding or changing certain sentences or passages, as he did in some other translations, stating that it consisted of ten regions: *Scythia maior*, *Germania cum Misia*, *Tracia*, *Graecia*, *Pannonia*, *Histria*, *Italia*, *Gallia* and *Hispania*. Hermann declares that his homeland is Istria, which he places between Pannonia and Italy, emphasizing that it consists of three parts: the coastal part (*pars maritima*) which can be identified with the feud of the patriarch of Aquileia,

⁵ Stipe Kutleša, "Croatian Philosophers I: Hermann of Dalmatia (1110–1154)", *Prolegomena: Journal of Philosophy* 3/1, 2004, pp. 58–59.

⁶ This paper is based mainly on research conducted by Franjo Šanjek, especially the data published in the abovementioned book, *Herman Dalmatin, Rasprava o bitima [Hermann of Dalmatia, Treatise on the Essences]*.

covering the area of southern and western Istria from Plomin to Pićan, Buzet and the Karst Plateau; the mountainous part (*pars montana*), which refers to Ćićarija, i.e. to the Istrian parts bordering on what is today Slovenia (medieval Istria stretched all the way to Postojna and the River Vipava); and the middle part (*pars media*), in which Hermann states that he was born, which includes the central or low-lying part of the Istrian Peninsula, the area situated in the west of the former Diocese of Pićan. Since the beginning of the eleventh century, Istria had been a margraviate within the Duchy of Carinthia of the Holy Roman Empire. When Emperor Henry II appointed Adalbert Eppenstein as Duke of Carinthia in 1012, the territory stretching from the Bavarian border through the marches of Verona and Friuli to the Istrian Peninsula came under his rule. In this context, Hermann's homeland, i.e. central Istria, is taken as part of his wider homeland of Carinthia. Hermann's birthplace cannot be precisely determined, but it is most likely to be sought in the area bordered by Buzet, Roč, Lupoglav, Boljun, Kozljak, Čepić, Pićan, Gračišće, Pazin, Beram, and Motovun.

His contemporaries called him *Hermanus Dalmata* (Peter the Venerable, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Cluny), suggesting Hermann's Dalmatian origin in terms of the territory of Roman province of Dalmatia, *Slavus* (in the manuscript *Doctrina Machumet*), *Secundus* (as opposed to the eponymous writer from the eleventh century, called *Contractus*), *de Carinthia* (according to the note in work *De usu astrolabii: Hermanus iste astrologus fuit natus de Carinthia, non Contractus de Sueuia et transtulit Almagestum*).⁷

Hermann received elementary education in his homeland, most probably in a monastic school in central Istria. At that time, several Benedictine monasteries were active in the Istrian Peninsula: Saint Cassian in Poreč, Saint Michael in Limska Draga, Saint Mary in Pula, Saint John in Medulin, and Saint Peter in the Woods (Sveti Petar u Šumi). It is possible that he received his primary education in the monastic school of St. Peter in the Woods or St. John in Medulin. At that time, students were taught Latin grammar, classical literature and patristic texts, logic, rhetoric, poetry, music, and astrology/astronomy. Around 1130, Hermann left his native Istria and began his scholarly voyages. It is interesting to point out that he did not go to neighbouring Italy to study in Bologna or Padua, as was the custom due to the proximity of the two Adriatic coasts, but went to study in the West, first to the prestigious cathedral school in Chartres, where he met the Englishman Robert of Ketton with whom he attended lectures of the eminent Professor Thierry of Chartres, who was a polymath and a Platonist.⁸ Thierry of Chartres was the

⁷ F. Šanjek, *Herman Dalmatin*, pp. 9-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

author of *Heptateuchon*, a large and ambitious collection of texts for the teaching of liberal arts, which testifies to the range of his interests, from grammar, logic, and rhetoric to mathematics, astronomy, and theology.⁹

Young Hermann was amazed by the wisdom of his teacher, so it is not surprising that in 1134, when Thierry was appointed chancellor of the cathedral school in Paris, he and his colleague and friend Robert of Ketton decided to follow their teacher and attend his lectures there. From his teacher Hermann acquired the knowledge of philosophy, natural science, and astronomy. Therefore, in his scientific work Hermann remained true to Platonic thought, which he later gave an Aristotelian twist, incorporating the two teachings into a theistic view of the world, which he most clearly expressed in his major work *De essentiis* (On the Essences).¹⁰

After graduating in liberal arts (*artes liberales*) in Paris under the supervision of Thierry of Chartres, most probably in the summer of 1135, Herman and Robert of Ketton embarked on a long and exciting journey through the countries of the northern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Written testimony about their voyages was left by an anonymous English chronicler from the time of the Second Crusade, who recorded: *Robertus Ketenensis natione et cognomine Anglus, degustatis primum per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum atrium elementis literariis, ultramarinas statim visitare provincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergo Galliis, Italia, Dalmatia et Graecia, tum demum pervenit in Asiam, ubi non parvo labore, ac vitae suae periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea navigio traductus, circa fluvium Hiberum Astrologicae artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit.* The same in English: "This Robert Ketenensis, was called an Englishman by birth: who after sometime spent in the foundation of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Universities of England, determined to travaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwards he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the river Iberus, gaue him self wholly to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage".¹¹

⁹ For more information on the *Heptateuchon*, cf. Rita Copeland-Ineke Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012.

¹⁰ F. Šanjek, *Herman Dalmatin*, pp. 16–17.

¹¹ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voiajes, and discoveries of the English nations: made by sea or over land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 years : divided into three several parts according to the positions of the regions*

From the data above we can try to reconstruct the itinerary of their scholarly voyages, which was probably aimed at reaching Baghdad, located along the Tigris, near the ruins of the Akkadian city of Babylon. By that time Baghdad had evolved into a significant cultural, commercial, and intellectual centre of the Muslim world. Therefore, Herman and Robert went from Paris to Istria and sailed along the eastern Adriatic coast and arrived in Dyrrachium (now Durrës). From there they probably travelled by the road which had been constructed by the Romans in the second century BC, the so-called *Via Egnatia*. That road followed a demanding route along the river Genusus (Shkumbin), over the Candaviae (Jablanica) mountains and thence to the highlands around Lake Ohrid. It then turned south, following several mountain passes to reach the northern coastline of the Aegean Sea at Thessaloniki. From there it ran through Thrace to the city of Constantinople.¹² Crossing into Anatolia, it is likely that Hermann and Robert their journey from Constantinople towards Nicaea. They followed the roads which were largely inherited from the Roman period.

First of all, most roads followed natural routes such as valleys or gorges, and necessarily passed certain points like river crossings. Courses were therefore largely immune to change, but the traffic and the overall importance of each road differed. The major Anatolian routes ran in a northwest to southeast direction, though there were smaller routes running in a north and south direction. The northwest-southeast routes generally ascended from the coastal region of northwest Anatolia at some point along the Sangarius, cut through the mountains separating the coastal region from the central plateau, and then traversed the plateau itself. One route skirted the northern rim of the plateau going through Amaseia and Coloneia, another route cut through the central plateau region via Saniana and Sebasteia, and a third skirted the southernmost reaches of the plateau going through Iconium to the Taurus. The most important of these was the great military highway used by emperors when marching out to meet the Arabs on the eastern borders. It led from Nicaea via Pithecas, Leucae, and Malagina to Dorylaeum, where

whereunto they were directed; the first containing the personall travels of the English unto Indæa, Syria, Arabia ... the second, comprehending the worthy discoveries of the English towards the north and northeast by sea, as of Lapland ... the third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America ... whereunto is added the last most renowned English navigation round about the whole globe of the earth, London: Imprinted at London by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie 1589, p. 6; F. Šanjek, *Herman Dalmatin*, pp. 17-18.

¹² For more information on *Via Egnatia* cf. Yannis Lolos, "Via Egnatia after Egnatius: Imperial Policy and Inter-regional Contacts", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22/2, 2007, pp. 273-293.

the road climbed through the mountains onto the plateau. Then it proceeded through Trocnada and Pessinus, across the Sangarius River over the Zompus Bridge, through the town of Gorbæus to the south of Anhra, across the Halys River to the town of Saniana. Here the road forked, the branch leading to the southeast going through Mocissus and then branching again, the two branches going to the great Cappadocian centre of Caesareia, and to Tyana and Tarsus respectively. The other road leading from Saniana went almost directly east to the city of Sebasteia. Once more the highway branched off into three routes: the northernmost leading to Nicopolis and Coloneia; the central branch going to Tephrike and Theodosiopolis; the southeast artery pushing to Melitene, where it joined the road from Caesareia. A critical juncture of this highway was Saniana, for it was from this town that the three main branches went to the regions of the Taurus, Cappadocia, Melitene, Sebasteia, and Coloneia. A second trans-Anatolian highway skirted the southern confines of the Anatolian plateau, a route often referred to as the pilgrim's route, though it was also an important military and commercial artery. It too commenced at Malagina and progressed through Dorylaeum, Polybotus, Philomelium, and Iconium to the Cilician Gates. There were at least two variations of this route to Iconium: one that went via Malagina-Cotyaeum-Acroenus-Polybotus-Philomelium-Iconium and the other that traversed Malagina-Dorylaeum-Amorium-Laodiceia-Iconium. There was a third road that avoided Iconium altogether by going from Dorylaeum-Pessinus to Archelais and then south through Tyana to the Taurus. Another highway left from Nicomedia and went through Ancyra, south to Archelais, Tyana, and the Taurus. Nicomedia and Ancyra both served as important points of departure for the roads going across the northern regions of the Anatolian plateau. One route led from Nicomedia through Gangra (or an alternate route slightly to the north of Gangra), Euchaita (on the more southerly route), Amaseia, Neocaesareia, Coloneia, and Satala. Another road ran from Ancyra to Gangra, Amaseia, and so on. There were also some important roads running north and south, perhaps the most prominent being the route from the coastal city of Amisus to Amaseia and down to Caesareia. Undoubtedly, there were similar roads leading inland from such Black Sea ports as Heracleia, Amastris, Sinope, and Trebizond. In the east, the road from Sebasteia went through Tephrike and Theodosiopolis to Manzikert, while Arabissus was similarly joined to Melitene in the east and to Germaniceia in the south via the passes of the Anti-Taurus, while Germaniceia was in turn connected with Samosata. Anatolia was effectively served by this system of major roads, which generally went in a west to east or west to southeast direction. This network intersected with numerous smaller roads, entering from the coastal areas of the northwest

and west, and also by a smaller number of north-south routes cutting over the plateau. That the armies frequently used these roads goes without saying. Merchants, including Jews and Arabs, seem to have followed the great networks for commercial reasons with the result that knowledge of all the major land routes appears in the texts of the Arab geographers. The roads were extensively travelled by pilgrims who visited not only the Holy Land, but also the numerous shrines of the greater and lesser Anatolian saints.¹³

It is important to mention that the period of the twelfth century when Hermann and Robert travelled to Anatolia was the time of Seljuk and Muslim expansion at the expense of the Byzantine Empire's eastern territories, in spite of the fact that the Komnenian emperors Alexios, John, and Manuel campaigned extensively to strengthen the Byzantine presence in Asia Minor.¹⁴

At the time when Hermann and his friend Robert were passing the city of Nicaea, it was under the rule of the Byzantine Empire. It is possible that two friends continued their journey along the road which passes through the city of Ancyra (Ankara). From there, it is likely that they followed the road which passes through cities of Anatolia, such as Caesarea (Kayseri) and Melitene (Malatya), which were at the time of their journey under the rule of Danishmend dynasty, a Turkmen dynasty which ruled in the Sivas-Kayseri-Malatya-Kastamonu region of central and northeastern Anatolia from about 1071 to 1178. Under Danishmend and Seljuk rule, the city of Melitene became a centre of knowledge, as many Persian and Arabic scholars took residence in the city, so it might be a place of intellectual interest to Hermann and Robert. They probably continued their journey along the road which leads to the cities of Samosata (Samsat) and Edessa, which were at the time in the hands of the Crusaders, who established the County of Edessa after the First Crusade, keeping it until 1144. Samosata, situated on the upper Euphrates River, was a fortified city guarding an important crossing on the east-west trade route, the same as Edessa, which was located at the crossroads of the east-west highway from Zeugma on the Euphrates to the Tigris, and the north-south route from Samosata to the Euphrates via Carrhae (Harran).¹⁵

¹³ Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (hereafter *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*), Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press 1971, pp. 30-33.

¹⁴ For more information about the history of Anatolia and Asia Minor in the medieval period, cf. S. Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, "Twelfth Century Byzantine and Turkish States", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16/1990, pp. 35-51; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994; Charles M. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43/1989, pp. 1-25.

¹⁵ Samuel Lieu, "Edessa", Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VIII, New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press 1998, pp. 174-175.

It is likely that from Edessa they came by the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris to Baghdad. Although not specified, we can assume that the term Asia mentioned by the anonymous chronicler from the time of the Second Crusade refers to a wider stretch of territory, including the Arabian Peninsula and most countries of the Middle East. If Hermann and Robert wanted to learn Arabic, explore manuscripts on various scientific topics or get acquainted with ancient Greek and Roman texts, where could they go but to Baghdad and Syria, to cities such as Damascus and Aleppo?¹⁶ We assume that they first went to Baghdad, a city which had been the most significant cultural centre of Arab and Islamic civilization, with its exceptional libraries, especially the House of Wisdom (the Grand Library of Baghdad), founded by the Abbasid dynasty.¹⁷

There have been different opinions on the identity of the founder of the Abbasid House of Wisdom. Some records maintain that the founder was al-Mansur (754–775), the first caliph who encouraged Muslims to study science, advising them to translate books from Persian, Greek, and Indian. Scholars of a second opinion claimed that the House of Wisdom was founded in the time of Harun al-Rashid (766–809), as a result of the civilizational and intellectual progress that characterized his caliphate, especially during the era of the translation movement, the aim of which was to enrich Muslim thought, led by a number of Arab, Persian, and Syrian scholars and scientists. The third opinion argues that the Abbasids' House of Wisdom was founded in the time of al-Ma'mun (813–833). It is possible to say that the House of Wisdom existed long before al-Ma'mun, but that it reached its peak during his reign. He made a special effort to recruit famous scholars to come to the House of Wisdom. Muslims, Christians, and Jews all collaborated and worked peacefully there. He directly encouraged a translation movement, a formal translation of scholarly works from Greek into Arabic.¹⁸

Therefore, after mastering Arabic and getting acquainted with works from various sciences (astronomy/astrology, medicine, etc.) in Baghdad, the

¹⁶ Authors have recently expressed their doubts about the journey to the Middle East, i.e. to Baghdad and Damascus. Cf. Tatjana Paić-Vukić, "The Biography of Hermann the Dalmatian: Separating Conjectures from Verifiable Claims", Prof. Dr. Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev (ed.), *Exploring the Commonalities of the Mediterranean Region: Proceedings of the TUBA-EMAN Symposium (6-7th November 2017)*, Ankara: Tek Ses Ofset 2019, pp. 85-97.

¹⁷ For more information about libraries of medieval Baghdad, cf. Ruth Stellhorn Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdad", *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 2/3, 1932, pp. 279-299.

¹⁸ For more information on the House of Wisdom, see: Adel Abdul-Aziz Algeriani-Mawloud Mohadi, "The House of Wisdom (Bayt al-Hikmah) and Its Civilizational Impact on Islamic Libraries: A Historical Perspective", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 8/5, 2017, pp. 179-187.

two friends decided to return to the West. It is very likely that on their way back they went to Damascus, another important intellectual centre, then probably to Aleppo.¹⁹ We assume that from there they continued their journey by following the road which led to Antioch, where they boarded a boat to Cyprus and returned by sea to the West. On their way back, they most probably passed through Rhodes, then Crete, and from there arrived in Sicily. In 1138, they reached the Iberian Peninsula after having travelled Italy and Southern France. Their voyage lasted three to four years and was very important for Hermann's later work because he acquired new knowledge by reading many well-known Arabic works on the subject of science and natural philosophy, as well as works of ancient Greek scholars which had already been translated into Arabic.

It is important to mention that Hermann and Robert's joint research can be traced back to the beginning of 1143. Namely, after 1138 the two friends worked in Spain, studying astrology/astronomy based on Arabic texts, an ideal synthesis that combines the results of Greek wisdom, the scientific observations of Indians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and the experiences of ancient Eastern civilizations. The centre of their scientific interest was located along the river Ebro, where they met the aforementioned Peter the Venerable (Petrus Venerabilis), the ninth abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Cluny in southern France. This transpires from a letter which Peter the Venerable sent to his friend Bernard of Clairvaux, informing him that he had found Hermann and Robert *in Hispania circa Hiberum (Ebro!) astrologicae arti studentes*. It is thought that the centre was Rioja, near the famed Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria de Nájera.²⁰ Hermann also maintained contact with the Toledo translation school founded by Archbishop Raymond of Toledo in the twelfth century. He started his first translation efforts at the library of the Cathedral of Toledo, where he led a team of translators, which included Mozarabic Toledans, Jewish scholars, Madrasah teachers, and monks from the Order of Cluny. They translated many works, usually from Arabic, Jewish and Greek into Latin. Thanks to this systematic effort, Arabic science, along with its rootedness in late-ancient and ancient Greek science, flooded into Europe. In Toledo, Hermann may have acquired additional knowledge working with numerous scholars and scientists present there. We know that the Toledo scholars were familiar with Her-

¹⁹ For medieval Damascus and Aleppo, cf.: R. Stephen Humphreys, *Towards a history of Aleppo and Damascus in the early Middle Ages, 635-1260 C. E.*, Tokyo: Islamic Area Studies Project 1998; Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture: The Library of Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2020.

²⁰ F. Šanjek, *Herman Dalmatin*, p. 18.

mann's work because the so-called Toledo Collection included some of his treatises on Islam, written just before he left Spain.

Hermann remained by the Ebro until the spring of 1142, when the above-mentioned Peter the Venerable, who considered Hermann a subtle and capable scholar (*scholasticus subtilis et ingeniosus*), hired him and Robert to translate the Qur'an into Latin and write texts on Islam. Peter did so by securing an appropriate monetary reward, as he stressed in a letter sent to his friend Bernard of Clairvaux (*faciendo multo precio*). Peter the Venerable also stated that Hermann was an admirable connoisseur of Latin and Arabic: one who, together with his friend Robert of Ketton, thoroughly explored libraries in the Iberian Peninsula, and who wrote two manuscripts on the life of the Prophet Mohammad and his philosophical and religious system (1142). Peter found these very important, "since Christians had only superficial understandings of Islam, considering these eager monotheists to be pagans".²¹

Hermann most likely accompanied Peter the Venerable on his voyage through Spain, first to Salamanca, where Peter met with King Alfonso VII, called the Emperor, and then to León. While in León in 1142, Hermann wrote two shorter treatises on Islam, *De generatione Mahumet* and the *Doctrina Mahumet*. Hermann also seems to have run a school at León, alongside helping Robert translate the Qur'an into Latin. The translation was completed by Robert in 1143. When Robert of Ketton was elected archdeacon of the cathedral church in Pamplona in early 1143, the long cooperation of the two scholars was broken off.²² As can be seen from his major work *De essentiis* (On the Essences), Hermann reminds Robert of long sleepless nights they had spent together working and the arduous study that had opened up the most hidden treasures of Arab knowledge.²³ After that, Hermann of Dalmatia moved to the other side of the Pyrenees, the French side, more precisely to Toulouse, where he translated the first Latin version of Ptolemy's Planisphere. From Toulouse he moved again, probably to take up a new appointment in Béziers, where he completed his major original work, *De essentiis*, in 1143. This work is of exceptional significance: in *De essentiis*, Hermann

²¹ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

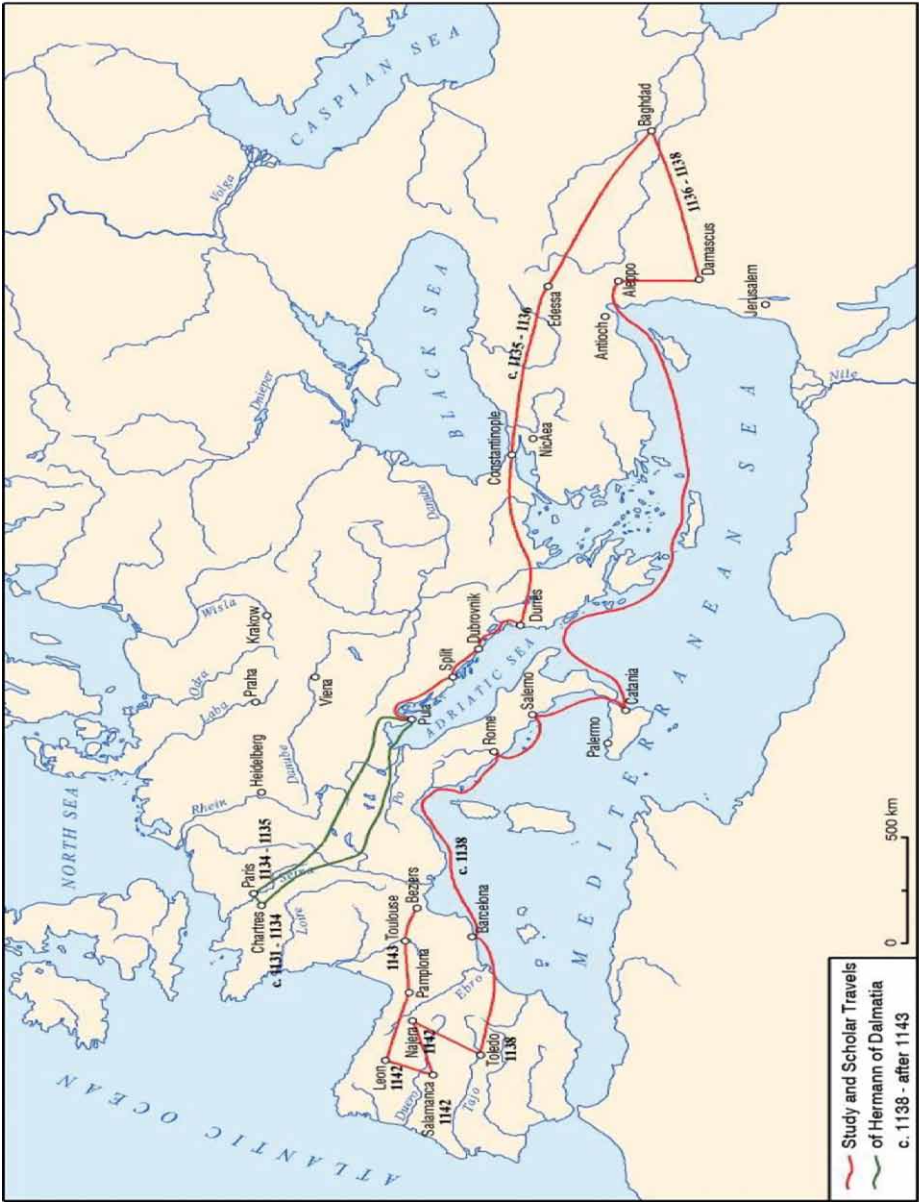
²² Ibid., p. 19.

²³ "Meministi, opinor, dum nos ex aditis nostris in publicam Minervae pompam prodeuntes circumflua multitudo inhianter miraretur non tanti personas pensans quantum cultus et ornatus spectans, quos ex intimis Arabum thesauris diutinae nobis vigiliae laborque gravissimus acquisierat, subiit me gravis admodum pietas super his, qui haec forinseca tanti habebant quanti pensarent, si interulas ipsas contueri liceret": Antun Slavko Kalenić, "Hermann's second De essentiis", Antun Slavko Kalenić (ed.), *Herman Dalmatin, Rasprava o bitima [Hermann of Dalmatia, Treatise on the Essences]* vol. 1, Pula: Čakavski sabor 1990, p. 202.

offered an original synthesis of Arabic Aristotelianism and Platonism of the Chartres school. Hermann's further work and the course of his travels cannot be reconstructed unless we consider Manuel Alonso's interpretation of the Latin version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which some researchers (notably Theodore Silverstein) have disputed. Based on the note of an anonymous author from the thirteenth century, Alonso tried to prove that a certain Hermann translated Ptolemy's work from Greek into Latin during the reign of king Roger II of Sicily (1130-1154) in Palermo. That would mean that Hermann travelled from Southern France via Rome and Salerno to Palermo. However, there is no evidence to support the claim that it was Hermann of Dalmatia, as Alonso assumes. Furthermore, the opinion of Silverstein, who maintains that Hermann needed a good knowledge of astronomy and Greek for such an endeavour, does not seem convincing, either.²⁴ We must take into account that Hermann went to Spain with his friend Robert to study astronomy, as well as the fact that Byzantine culture and the Greek language were not entirely foreign to his homeland of Istria. And with this, we bring conclude our analysis.

In this short contribution about the scholar Hermann of Dalmatia, we wanted to draw attention to the importance of medieval intellectual journeys for the exchange of cultural and scientific ideas between the East and the West, where Christians in Europe gained much more thanks to Arab thinkers and scientists themselves. The great Muslim philosophers such as Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126–1198), al-Farabi (Alpharabius, c. 872–950/951) and al-Ghazali (Algazelus, c. 1058–1111) translated the works of earlier Greek philosophers and added their own contributions. These great philosophers produced a wealth of new ideas that enriched civilization, particularly Western civilization, which depended on their works. Therefore, the influence of Islam ultimately made possible the European Renaissance, which built on the ideas of the Greeks, as filtered through Muslim philosophers.

²⁴ F. Šanjek, *Herman Dalmatin*, pp. 19-20.



Map of Study and Scholar Travels of Hermann of Dalmatia

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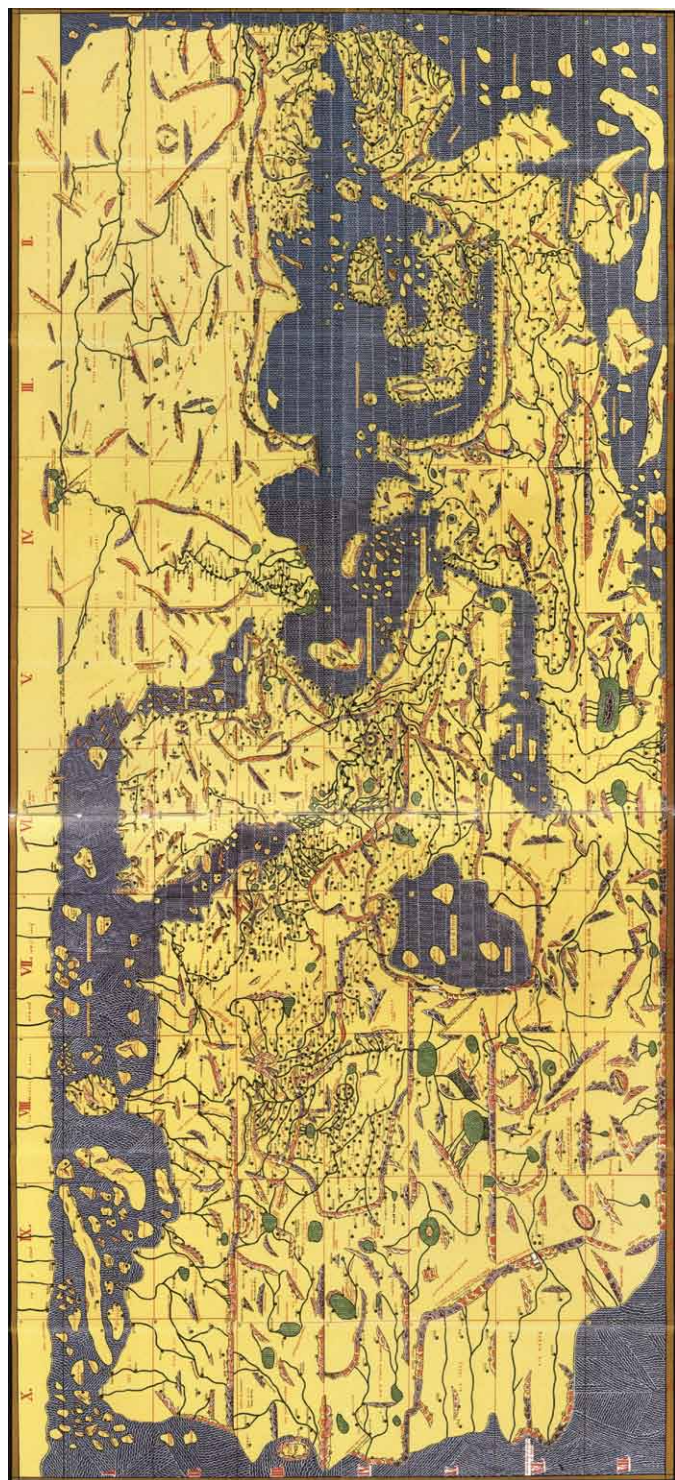
**Hrvati u potrazi za znanjem: Znanstvena putovanja
Hermana Dalmatina (oko 1105/10. – posl. 1154.)**

Sažetak

Zapadnoeuropski hodočasnici, koji su u srednjem vijeku prolazili Hrvatskom, ostavili su nam zanimljive opise živopisnih i bogatih gradova i luka (Poreč, Pula, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik i Kotor), poljoprivrednih kultura, prehrambenih resursa, načina življenja, odijevanja žena i spomenika antičke kulture u zemlji Hrvata. Zapadni putopisci posebnu pažnju posvećuju orijentiranosti Hrvata na školovanje i intelektualni život. Jedan od preteča u znanstvenim razmjenama sa Zapadom i istočnom kulturom bio je Istranin Herman Dalmatin koji pod vodstvom učenog Thierryja iz Chartresa proučava "slobodna umijeća" u pariškoj katedralnoj školi. Odatle 1135. sa školskim kolegom i prijateljem, Englezom Robertom iz Kettona, napušta obale Seine i odlazi na dugo i opasno putovanje do Bagdada gdje će se osposobiti u arapskom jeziku i time u prevođenju antičke i arapske znanstvene literature na latinski jezik. Po povratku dva su prijatelja nastavila studij astrologije/astronomije u Leónu i Toledu. Herman će 1143. u Béziersu u južnoj Francuskoj napisati raspravu "O bitima" (*De essentiis*), prevesti Ptolemejevu Planisferu, koju posvećuje Thierryju iz Chartresa "jedinom učitelju latinskih studija u kojem živi Platonova duša kao da je sišla s neba za dobro cijeloga čovječanstva". Prijevodom Abu Ma'sharovog "Općeg uvoda u astronomiju" Herman ima odlučan utjecaj na filozofska i znanstvena stajališta svojih prijatelja Bernarda Silvestris, Rikarda iz Fournivala, svog učenika Rudolfa iz Brugesu i drugih. Petar Časni (Petrus Venerabilis), deveti opat reformirane opatije Cluny u Francuskoj u Hermanu Dalmatinu otkriva suptilnog i sposobnog školnika (*scholasticus subtilis et ingeniosus*), izvrsnog poznavatelja latinskog i arapskog jezika koji je s prijateljem Robertom iz Kettona temeljito pregledao knjižnice na Iberskom poluotoku na temelju kojih je napisao dva spisa o životu proroka Muhameda I njegovom filozofsko-religijskom sustavu (1142.), jer da su kršćani imali tek površne spoznaje o Islamu smatrajući ove gorljive monoteiste poganima.

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Al-Idrisi Mediterranean Map

Arab geographer al-Idrisi oversaw the creation of more than 70 maps. This al-Idrisi map contains the Mediterranean Sea, northern Africa, Europe, and parts of Asia. It is oriented with the south toward the top. It also shows the Adriatic Sea in the lower right corner, along with its main ports and cities.

In 1145 C.E., al-Idrisi became an advisor to King Roger II of Sicily. Roger II hired al-Idrisi to create an updated world map. Al-Idrisi sent travellers and geographers around the world to gather knowledge for this updated map and others. The fruit of these efforts, *The Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World*, was completed in 1154 C.E. (<https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/al-idrisi>, accessed on 10th of October 2022)

ISBN 978-953-347-451-9



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135,62 kn / 18 €