Development of Ragusan Diplomatic Service in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century

Father and Son at the Court of Duke Sandalj Hranić

Valentina Zovko

One of the significant characteristics of the Ragusan foreign affairs during the medieval period was avoiding armed conflicts. When the authorities did not manage to implement this endeavour, diplomacy played an important role in attempts to end them and insure damage reparations. In the first half of the fifteenth century the city of Dubrovnik was involved in Ragusan-Bosnian war (1403-1404) and the War of Konavle (1430-1433). During both conflicts the government turned for help to Duke Sandalj Hranić of Bosnia. During the first war, duke was in the process of rising to his fame, and the ending of this particular war, that brought Ostoja’s dethronisation and the fall of the Sanković family, marked Hranić’s rise to power. During the second war he was the key partner in Dubrovnik’s plan of destroying the hostile family Pavlović of Bosnia.

The importance of Duke Sandalj for the outcome of these conflicts sets the assumption that the government carefully took into account to select the most skilled noble for a holder of the mission. Marin, son of Nifiko de Gondula (around 1355-1405) and his son Benedict (around 1390-1446) received this confidence. It is interesting to notice that almost none of them had had an earlier experience in the service. On the other hand, they took advantage of the ‘symbolic capital’ of their predecessors that enjoyed high political and social reputations in fulfilling diplomatic missions. Marin’s father, Nifiko de Gondula (around 1315-1355), was Ragusan ambassador to the Emperor Stephen Uroš IV Dušan of Serbia in 1346, and two years

1 National archive in Dubrovnik (henceforth: DADu), Testamenta Notariae (henceforth: Test Not.), ser. 10, vol. IX, ff. 72v-73v (12 January 1405).
later, he was engaged as an ambassador in Venice.\(^5\) His brother Nicholas (around 1345–around 1411)\(^6\) was the rector of Dubrovnik more than ten times and a holder of diplomatic missions to the king of Hungary-Croatia, ban of Dalmatia and dukes of Serbia.\(^7\)

From the nominee's perspective, it was harder to find a candidate willing to apply for the tasks that were very hard to achieve. Although the election of Marin de Gondula went smoothly,\(^8\) the ambassador to Sandalj's court in April 1430 was elected after the fourth attempt. Đorđe de Goçe, Theodor de Prodanello and Clement de Resti declined the proposal,\(^9\) which was, in the end, accepted by Marin's son Benedict.\(^10\) Even though he was not the government's first choice, they were probably counting on Duke Sandalj remembering his father's mission a little more than two decades earlier. Besides that, many years of experience as Dubrovnik's consul and judge in Srebrenica gave him a lot of knowledge and connections in Bosnia, which could also benefit his election.\(^11\) After his return home we can follow his

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\(^8\) Marin de Gondula won 29 votes and 31 members were present in the Senate. DADu, Reformaciones (henceforth: Ref.), ser. 2, vol. XXXII, f. 152v (23 June 1403).


\(^10\) He achieved result of seventeen ‘for’ and seven votes ‘against’ (DADu, Cons. Cons. Rog., vol. IV, f. 151v; 27 April 1430).

career as a customs officer in 1428, and salt mines supervisor in 1429. The fact that Benedict was elected shortly after he was nominated as a holder of a mission to Duke Gregory Nikolić shows that authorities had no idea who should represent their interests in front of Sandalj. Actually, Duke Gregory was Sandalj’s vassal, thus that embassy was less important than the one sent to his senior. In the end, the number of votes that Benedict won was less than sixteen, which meant that he was automatically out of the elections and available for other functions. With this in mind it might seem that the members of the Senate did not think that he was a suitable candidate for the challenging tasks at Sandalj’s court, but in the end, it proved wrong.

The duration of the embassy – the goals of the ambassador

One of the most important duties for both ambassadors was to persuade Duke Sandalj to act according to Dubrovnik’s interests. The duration of their services had a large effect on the number and the type of the tasks entrusted to them, as on the freedom they enjoyed in achieving their goals. Marin’s mission had a noticeable ad hoc character. His primary duty was to carry out the message from the government contained in the text of instruction. After that his mandate ended regardless of the final outcome of a mission. Because of the limited scope of the tasks entrusted to him and his inability to step out and speak on his own, he stayed on a mission for only nine days. On the other hand, the duration of Benedict’s mission could not be foreseen, because it depended on the wider context in which the negotiations took place. He remained in the service for more than a year. Although he stayed in the embassy much longer, he did not have much more freedom in acting than his father. His powers were restricted to the sphere of oratory skills while the main terms of the negotiation were dictated by the Senate. For some important questions, the city fathers even

14 That was also confirmed at the level of a poorer salary of the elected ambassador and his retinue. In other words, the ceremonial significance of that mission was less important. DADu, Cons. Rog., vol. IV, f. 151v (27 April 1430).
16 He was elected on 23 June 1403 (DADu, Ref., vol. XXXII, f. 152v) and recalled on 2 July 1403 (DADu, Ref., vol. XXXII, f. 155v).
17 He was elected on 27 April 1430 (DADu, Cons. Rog., vol. IV, f. 151v) and recalled at the beginning of April 1431 (DADu, Cons. Rog., vol. IV, f. 283).
ordered him *dobiare dire*,¹⁸ which indicated that he should literally quote their attitude towards the matter. His personal interventions peaked during oral persuasion when he was given the right to use the arguments, which he found to be most suitable in the particular context.²⁰

One of the differences between the embassies of the father and the son was in the type and the range of the entrusted tasks. While Marin first and foremost tried to gain dukes’ support in Dubrovnik’s conflict with King Stjepan Ostoja of Bosnia at the beginning of the fifteenth century,²¹ Benedict performed different type of duties which were not all so closely connected with his main goal (which was to ensure Sandalj’s participation in the military alliance against Duke Radoslav). According to need, he intervened for Dubrovnik’s traders that were on their way to Apulia,²² he mediated in the removal of complaints from the customs officers,²³ he asked for the duke’s advice and company of his man for ambassadors who were sent to the Sublime Porte,²⁴ he complained about the city’s material and human losses on the field of Trebinje,²⁵ and he did not neglect to ask for the return of the goods and the equipment.²⁶

As a matter of fact, it is interesting that he did not just intervene for the interest of the community he was representing, but also on behalf of his host. The Senate was willing to fulfil different demands from Sandalj to gain his support and Benedict mediated in those cases. On some occasions, he was openly engaged in favour of Duke Sandalj, which made an impression that he was in his service. For instance, he delivered to the government the list of symptoms and pains that bothered him, and the city fathers tried to help him with advice and medication.²⁶ That kind of service led to forming a stronger and even intimate relationship, which could only contribute to the positive outcome of the efforts he invested. Whether Benedict was

awarded for his services remains unknown. The truth is that the Senate was very anxious about their ambassadors receiving gifts, because they saw it as a threat to their loyalty, especially if they were not very motivated for the service from the very beginning. Because of that, the government issued a short decree in 1439, and then a strict regulation in 1467, which forbade ambassadors from keeping all gifts, except for food and supplies.27

The close relationship between Sandalj and Benedict was confirmed in the sources; the end of his service did not mean the break of their connections. In April 1431 the duke ordered, through his ‘old acquaintance’, a silver pitcher from the goldsmith Živko Gojković for which Benedict paid twelve libras of fine silver.28 Their former relationship, and benefits that could be gained from it, was enough for the government to entrust Benedict another embassy to Duke Sandalj at the end of 1432.29 Moreover, he remained connected with the Kosača family even after duke’s death in 1435. He was once more holder of an embassy to his nephew Stephen Vukčić in 1438, which, in a way, confirms his specialization for diplomatic relations with this family.30 Benedict’s longer stay in a service, more freedom in performing duties and the increase in the range of tasks, compared with those that were given to his father, are the result of social and political changes that required the modifications in diplomatic practices. All those factors carried their part in the further development and professionalisation of the service.

The costs of the embassy

Another noticeable difference between the embassies of the son and the father can be tracked through the aspect of costs. Marin was paid fifteen perpers for his service, which is the sum that corresponds to the value of a present he brought for his host. On the other hand, Benedict received weight four times larger than his father (60 perpers) and gave a present to Sandalj to the value of 40 perpers. The total costs of his mission were enlarged by

his retinue (six horses and four servants),\textsuperscript{31} while his father did not have one. The servants were paid four perpers per month and the total costs of the mission were restricted to four and a half perpers per day.\textsuperscript{32} Also the fine that ambassadors had to pay if they left the threshold of a city door before the set deadline without a valid reason, differed significantly. Thus, Marin was obliged to pay 50\textsuperscript{33} and Benedict 120 perpers.\textsuperscript{34}

Besides the aforementioned expenses, the costs rose each and every day of the mission. For that reason, Benedict wrote to the government to send him additional funds. On one occasion the authorities sent him 100 perpers,\textsuperscript{35} while on the other they told him to take a loan from Duke Sandalj, because they did not find a secure way to transfer the money, due to war circumstances.\textsuperscript{36} Benedict did what he was told, which can be proven by the instruction sent to him. The city fathers pointed out that they did not see the possibility of returning 200 perpers to the duke because of the unsecure routes.\textsuperscript{37}

Some other reasons for sending money from Dubrovnik are also noted. They were often involved with the purchase of new horses for the ambassador and his retinue. In one particular case Benedict complained that he did not receive the money for their purchase or rent.\textsuperscript{38} The government was aware of that, because they wrote to him in September that he could buy or rent a new horse, because the one he currently had was ill.\textsuperscript{39} Finally, that problem was solved when the ambassador rented two horses, and the government was obliged to pay the cost.\textsuperscript{40} The impressive mobility of the ambassador, who was accompanying Duke Sandalj on his travels, probably influenced the animal’s overall medical condition.

His itinerary can be reconstructed out of the instructions which the government used to confirm the receipt of his letters, although not systematically. Their analysis shows that he reported from eight different locations and changed his place of residence thirteen times. However, it


\textsuperscript{32} The financial construction was done according to a mission to the king of Bosnia, which was approved the same day. That indicates the importance of Duke Sandalj for Dubrovnik’s foreign affairs (DADu, Cons. Rog., vol. IV, ff. 149v-150r; 27 April 1430).

\textsuperscript{33} DADu, Ref., vol. XXXII, f. 153r (24 June 1403).

\textsuperscript{34} DADu, Cons. Rog., vol. IV, f. 159v (27 April 1430).

\textsuperscript{35} DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. XI, f. 43r (28 February 1433).


\textsuperscript{37} DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 95v (16 August 1439).


\textsuperscript{40} DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 141v (27 May 1430).
does not seem impossible to assume that actual number was even higher. To illustrate, from 15 September 1430 when he was in Nevesinje until 1 January 1431 when he wrote from Ključ, we cannot follow his motions. For this reason, it is possible to assume that in a period of 109 days he changed his residence at least once or even more. In fact, there is also a possibility that not all of his letters have been registered because they never arrived at their destination. On the contrary, his father went from Dubrovnik to Sutorina, and from there returned home. Consequently we can stress the increased mobility of the ambassadors as one more noticeable difference between their services. Moreover, Benedict was obliged to follow his host. One of the motives for that could be connected with the necessity to be at ‘the source of information’ the whole time. He was reporting news consciously, so the government had to provide him funds for writing on multiple occasions, which also influenced on total expenses of the mission.

In the end, it should be emphasized that the rise of costs of the embassies over time also increased because their persuasion methods changed. While Marin relied mostly on tradition, charters and old customs, Benedict supported his demands with money and other forms of material awards, which became much more convincing in the time he belonged.

**Reporting**

Changes that affected Dubrovnik’s diplomatic services at the beginning of the fifteenth century were clearly confirmed by the fast-growing correspondence between the ambassadors and the city government. For instance, Marin had received only one instruction, and that is where all the
correspondence ended. On the other hand, during Benedict’s embassy the Senate confirmed reception of his 49 reports and sent him 42 instructions. This imbalance can be somewhat explained with the changes in recognition of the importance of recent information. Although the government gave Marin orders to ‘seek for advice and gather useful information’ from Sandalj, during the embassy of his son fresh news had a central role. For sure the importance of adequate reaction to the dynamic needs of everyday life was recognised. Thus, it is not surprising that the government often requested from Benedict new reports about his findings. The city fathers were generally satisfied with his involvement in that specific task, but in some cases, they did show their dissatisfaction. The Senate complained that he did not respond to two of their letters from 20 and 23 June, which put them in the uncomfortable position towards Duke Sandalj. The problems in the communication could have been affected by different circumstances caused by war and uncertainties that were common for medieval travels. The most dangerous thing for ‘information leakage’ was the violent seizure of the information during its travel to the recipient. Because of that, Dubrovnik’s government notifies their ambassador to use a ‘safe way and a trusted messenger’ to send his report. Their fear was confirmed by Benedict who expressed doubt that one of his letters did not arrive to Dubrovnik, but the government removed that suspicion.

46 DADu, Ref., vol. XXXII, f. 154v (29 June 1403).
50 For an example, see: Kurtović, Veliki vojvoda, p. 119, note 1470.
53 DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 187v: Et per lo dubio pia voiuoda per la informacion a luy data, che una lettera nostra sia inuolata, ad uno nostro corier, a venuta alle man de Radossau, et per esso mandata allo imperador Turcho, dite a voiuoda sia de bon animo e di ciò non pia dubio algun.
Problems in corresponding were also noted in the other direction. Despite the efforts put into sending information for action to the ambassador on time, the process of sending messages from Dubrovnik had its troubles too. That is why the government expressed concerns that their letter from 1 July was not received by Benedict. Benedict also complained that new instructions were late, which made his job much harder. The city fathers justified their late delivery with the complex procedure of making the new one, which cannot be done in such a short time. In the end the factors that influenced the instruction production in combination with speed in which the events occurred, sometimes resulted in the fact that the instruction was already outdated by the time it got to the ambassador.

Besides the obvious differences in the extent of the reports that were sent by father and son to Dubrovnik, they are also visible in the matters of informing the host. For instance, Marin conveyed some news about the town events to Sandalj, but Benedict did that much more often. Because of its geographical position Dubrovnik was the important crossroads of information exchange between East and West. By conveying information to duke, Benedict created the environment that could help him in achieving his goals. He reported to Sandalj about the conflict between Venice and Milan, but also about the situation in other Italian towns, such as Lucca, Pisa, Genoa and Naples. Thanks to the ambassador from Dubrovnik the duke had knowledge of the events in Austria, Germany and Czech lands. He knew about the conflict between Aragon and Castile, and he heard about Barcelona and Valencia in that same context. He also

che per Dio gratia fin ino nessuna lettera nostra non e perduta ne mal captata (1 August 1430). Cf. Kurtović, Veliki vojvoda, pp. 301-302.

56 DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 146v: Li marauigliate del tardare che voi direte faciamo a dare risposta alle vostre la qual molto bramate de auer con presteza. A questo vi dicemo che noi di qua molto siamo soliciiti a risponderi sempre al bisogno, et non ne retardiamo... come voi ben sapete non si puo far con manco che non si vada alli nostri consigli per consigliar sopra çio, e di puo bisogna fare le officiali a formare la risposta (7 June 1430).
58 For example, he informed Sandalj about the visit of ambassadors of the king of Bosnia to Dubrovnik on 15 May 1430 (DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. IV, f. 28v).
had information about the work of the ambassadors of Dubrovnik at the Sublime Porte.63 He heard about the death of the lord of Ilok.64 He knew that Isa-bey went to Senta with the despot’s son and that they attacked the territories of Venice all the way to Shkodër.65 Benedict regularly informed him about the events in his closer surroundings, for instance about the plague in Kotor66 and Dubrovnik.67 In that way, the ambassador was his ‘window to the world’. In return, Benedict used his extensive knowledge through seeking of advices.68

We can conclude that Benedict wrote to the government not just about the progress of Dubrovnik’s plans concerning the conflict,69 but on many other events in Bosnia.70 He gained new information thanks to Duke Sandalj, but also to his men,71 and other persons that were at the court at the same time.72 The government expected him to obtain information about the events in which he participated, but also about those that he did not.73 He was able to do that thanks to his network of associates, which was based on mutual trust.

Certain information could be easily manipulated to feed the enemy misinformation. Due to that, Benedict had to be careful in the evaluation of their truthfulness. The government warned him on this matter when writing about the visit of the Armenian bishop who was on his way to Rome.74 They underlined that the news of Venetian-Ottoman peace treaty was correct, because he was ‘the man that can be trusted’.75 Difference in the interpretation of the value of the new information, and use of the new means and methods to obtain it, announced the appearance and future development of the secret diplomacy.

74 DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. XI, f. 2v (18 September 1430).
Secret diplomacy

Even though there were signs of secret diplomacy in the earlier history of Dubrovnik, during the War of Konavle it became a structural part of the diplomatic practice. In a way, that can be explained by the necessity of hiding the methods of gathering information. On the whole, it is noticeable that these actions were used much more in that particular conflict compared to the city’s war with Ostoja at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Obviously, the change of perception of the protagonists of the main world events contributed to the development of that practice. Above all, they were interested in their personal gain, which was built upon the current state of power, and not so much on the traditional foundations of the medieval world. ‘New values’, perhaps, are best confirmed by the action of Duke Sandalj who was willing to form a military alliance with Dubrovnik in order to destroy Duke Radoslav without the participation of the king of Bosnia.76

Benedict did very well in the aforementioned boundaries of the ‘mental landscape’ of the world he was part of. He gathered information through spying and eavesdropping on the conversation that Sandalj had with important persons on his court.77 He was even not afraid to destroy the material evidence that proved the conditions of forming the league against the Pavlović family, so it would not lead to possible protests and potentially unpleasant situations that could occur.78 Hiding information concerning the compromises made for the Duke Sandalj became his ‘business routine’.79 Occasional problems arose, because the government did not share all their information with Sandalj through their ambassador. Thus, his complaints about the inconsistency of the actions from Dubrovnik are not surprising, just like his accusations that they were hiding something from him.80 The leaders of the city justified their actions by claiming that they did not receive

76 DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 139r (27 May 1430). Even more unusual situation occurred when rumours of a possible coalition between Sandalj, Radoslav Pavlović and some other magnates of Bosnia directed against King Tvrtko II of Bosnia became visible. Lett. di Lev., vol. XI, f. 21r (10 March 1431).
79 Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 135r: vi prega che de li ducati mille di quali vi honera la mia signoria, e della prouision ouer denari... et delle VI"yperper... de quali che in comun... non si debia far motto ne mencion alguna allo re ne anche ad altri, ma rimaxa sec... (13 May 1430). Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 192r: per che noi siamo vostra credenza et bon stara secreto quello aueti scritto (12 August 1439).
any news from their ambassador on the court of the king of Bosnia, which made it hard for them to come up with new conclusions. Nevertheless, Dubrovnik also kept secrets in front of Tvrtko II, because on one occasion they decided to send someone to Duke Radoslav senza dare a sapere e fare notizia alla corona di Bosna. An impression is formed that the relationship, into which they put a lot of effort, was standing on thin ice. In the background of the process stood personal interest, which was behind all actions.

Skills

As time passed by, the necessary skills which could be appointed to the phrase an ‘ideal ambassador’ changed. The list of desirable competences became much longer. Hence the government encouraged Benedict to be hard-working, wise, prepared and eager in his convincing. Special attention was given to the ambassador’s oratory skills. As a matter of fact Marin and Benedict devoted much attention to the selection of words that were supposed to help in creating the proper atmosphere. This can be best observed during their opening speech to the duke. Benedict addressed him con singularissima carita, amicicia et devotione. He flattered him with expressions like principale e honoreuolo consiliero, cordialissimo amico e benefactore. His adulation was not reserved just for the host, but also for the other influential individuals that were present at the court. Words became the ‘universal tool’ that could help ambassadors to achieve their mission goals. However, the analyses of the verbal performance of Marin and Benedict show significant differences.

To be more convincing, both of them relied on different rhetorical figures to support their arguments. In addressing Sandalj they did not perceive the house he owned in Dubrovnik just as real-estate, but they gave a much broader meaning to it. He was obliged to defend Dubrovnik as

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81 They suspected that the courier died on his way or maybe someone seized a letter from him. DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. XI, f. 5v (30 September 1430); Kurtović, Veliki vojvoda, p. 333, note 1118.
his home land. 90 All in all, Benedict used stylistic figures much more often than his father. That way he showed the required cultural knowledge and understanding of the changes that were happening in the world he lives in, which in the end left their mark on a linguistic level. His favourite rhetoric figure was metaphor. According to H. White, it reflects real life and marks the first degree of the consciousness of the society. 91 This practice can be confirmed by the example when he showed the role of Duke Sandalj by using the image that the course and outcome of the conflict lay in his ‘hands and head’. 92 He especially loved to use metaphors out of the animal world. In that sense, he compared Duke Radoslav with pessimo serpente, whose poison, even though it is not always visible, is a constant threat. He also gladly used other rhetorical figures, like pars pro toto, 93 and the Slavic antithesis. 94 Both had a clear purpose: to provoke an emotional reaction of the audience. Furthermore, Benedict did actualize ‘topos’ which was in constant use from the beginning of the fourteenth century. 95 He moved the conflict with Duke Radoslav from the political to religious arena when he said that ‘catholic religion had no greater enemy than patharen Radoslav, who is more and more corrupted in his acts as his reign continues’. 96 It is interesting that Sandalj respected the place and the role of the Bosnian church in public life. As a matter of fact, he was tolerant towards it, so it is doubtful how much impact those words left on him. 97

To acquire the duke’s attention towards the interest of Dubrovnik Marin and Benedict used to evoke the ‘committing role of history’. Benedict

93 This practice can be confirmed by the example when Benedict presented Duke Radoslav not just as an enemy of the city but also of the kingdom of Bosnia (DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 114r; 30 April 1430).
94 This practice can be confirmed by the example when Benedict pointed out that Radoslav does not have even one friend and moreover he is not a friend to himself (DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 114r; 30 April 1430).
reminded Sandalj about the promise he gave to their ambassador Nicholas de Goçe more than twenty years ago that he would defend the city and take care of his progress.\textsuperscript{98} Just like his father he did not pass the opportunity to mention the good relations between Dubrovnik and Sandalj’s predecessors.\textsuperscript{99} In that way, city plans for the future relied on the past patterns, which were fragile in the present moment. In the end, those callings remained on the level of ‘past relics’ and did not have any significant effect.

**Conclusion**

Dubrovnik’s authorities put great hope in the work of their ambassadors Marin and his son Benedict de Gondula, who were sent on negotiations to Duke Sandalj during the two conflicts that city was involved in in the first half of the fifteenth century. The changes that affected the world they worked in during the twenty-six year period had a great impact on the diplomatic service. While Marin fits in the medieval frame with his methods and working techniques, his son Benedict can be considered as a predictor of the early modern age of diplomacy. As a result, he stayed on a mission much longer than his father, had wider freedom in his acts, he did a wide range of tasks which concerns much more than just the primary goals of the mission, he collected information for the government in Dubrovnik, but he also passed them to his host, for which he did various private services, and he used fine rhetoric which rested upon education and knowledge of the affairs of the outside world. In conclusion, the final result of the transformation meant implementation of the new methods and techniques, and required new skills and knowledge from the ambassador. In other words, he became specialized for a certain individual and his family. Accordingly, he created and nourished personal relationships with them, based upon mutual trust which contributed to the fulfilling of his mission goals.

\textsuperscript{98} DADu, Lett. di Lev., vol. X, f. 139v (27 May 1430).

### Appendix

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<td>2.7.1403.</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Ref. vol. XXXII, f.152v, (23.6.1403); Ibid, f.153r, (24.6.); Ibid, f. 155v, (2.7.)</td>
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<td>6.4.1431.</td>
<td>345</td>
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<td>120</td>
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<td>Cons. Rog., vol. IV, ff. 149v-150r, (27.4.1430.); Ibid, f. 283r, (6.4.1431.)</td>
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Table 2  Letters to Benedict de Gondula and his answers

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<tr>
<th>Place from which the ambassador writes</th>
<th>Date of sending</th>
<th>Received in Dubrovnik</th>
<th>Days the letter was on the way</th>
<th>Instructions and replies from Dubrovnik</th>
<th>Days spent waiting for reply</th>
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<td>9. 5.</td>
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<td>8. 5.</td>
<td>11. 5.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>24. 5.</td>
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<td>28. 5.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3. 6.</td>
<td>6</td>
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