

Croatian Regions, Cities-Communes, and Their Population in the Eastern Adriatic in the Travelogues of Medieval European Pilgrims

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In this article, based on the information gathered from a dozen medieval pilgrim travelogues and itineraries,¹ my aim has been to indicate the attitudes, impressions, and experiences noted down by sometimes barely educated and at other times very erudite clerical and lay pilgrims, who travelled to the Holy Land and Jerusalem as *palmieri* or *palmarii*² *ultra mare* and wrote about the geographical features of the Eastern Adriatic coast, its ancient and medieval monuments, urban structures, visits to Istrian and Dalmatian communes, contacts with the local population, encounters with the secular and spiritual customs and the language, the everyday behaviour of the locals, and so on. Such information is contained, to a greater or lesser extent, in their travelogues and journals.³ To be sure, this type of sources, especially when written by people who were prone to analyse the differences between civilizations and cultural features, are filled with their subjective opinions: fascination with the landscapes and cities, sacral and secular buildings, kindness of the local population, ancient monuments in urban centres, the abundance of relics, and the quality of

¹ According to the research results of French historian Aryeh Graboïs, there are 135 preserved pilgrim journals of Western European provenance dating from the period between 1327 and 1498. Cf. Aryeh Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris and Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998), 212-214. However, their number seems to be much larger: some have been published after Graboïs's list, some have been left out, and many others are preserved at various European archives and libraries. Thus, it may not be exaggerated to claim that a corpus of several hundred pilgrim diaries and travelogues has been preserved from the medieval period. Today, the analysis of this type of narrative sources has reached its pinnacle, at least in Croatia, and besides the excellent book by Krešimir Kužić on German pilgrims, which I will come back to later on, a number of studies has been published on the topic, also for the 16th century. See, for example: Milorad Pavić, "Prilog poznavanju hodočasničkih putovanja od Venecije do Svete Zemlje u XVI. stoljeću" [A contribution to the research on pilgrim travels from Venice to the Holy Land in the 16th century], *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 59 (2007): 33-47.

² More on the terms used for medieval pilgrims in: Zoran Ladić, "Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća" [A contribution to the research on pilgrimages from Zadar in the second half of the 14th century] *Croatica Christiana periodica* 33 (1993): 18-19.

³ The travelogue written in 334-335, after the anonymous pilgrim returned to Bordeaux, includes very interesting information related to the duration of the journey and the place names, as well as hospitia and inns (which he calls *mansio*) that he used on his way by land across Western and Central Europe and the Balkans. Cf. <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord01Bordeaux.html>, *sub voce* "The Anonimous Pilgrim from Bordeaux" (last accessed on March 19, 2015).

wine, fish, and other foods, but also amazement, prejudices, misunderstandings, and rejection concerning the society, people, and customs in this region.

First of all, one must say that the descriptions of the Eastern Adriatic coast primarily depended on the intellectual mindset and erudition of their authors. Thus, one may generally say that those pilgrims who had started on a journey to the Holy Land exclusively for religious reasons, especially clerics, were less into descriptions and barely prone to subjective assessments of the cultural and intellectual aspects of the Eastern Adriatic societies. And vice versa, secular noblemen and magnates, rich patricians from the Italian Peninsula and other members of secular social elites, for whom pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a sort of adventure, especially in the period of humanism, their desire to see new regions often seems more important than the pilgrimage itself, and their *peregrinatio* could also be related to business interests. Intensely coloured by a secularly oriented, Renaissance-humanist worldview, in which travel was considered as a chance for learning and broadening one's horizons, or even as a holiday, such pilgrims were far more likely to express very subjective opinions without much reserve, and their diaries and travelogues are full of generalized and subjective descriptions of the customs, languages, and people, as well as rather superficial descriptions of the cities they visited on their way, including those on the Eastern Adriatic coast.

Unlike the travelogues and diaries written by male pilgrims, there are very few pilgrim accounts written by women in the High and Late Middle Ages. Among those few, an especially interesting one was written by Englishwoman Margery Kempe, born in a wealthy commoner family in Norfolk in 1373, who started her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1413 and returned to England in 1415.⁴ However, it must be said that her travelogue is specific for its religious intimacy and is, in fact, a description of a personal mystical journey, which sets it apart from the rest of the genre. Owing to the lack of women's travelogues (there are several more from the late medieval period, e.g. by Isolde Parewastell from Somerset, written in 1365,⁵ and by Marguerite de Lusignan, sister of the Armenian king and wife of the Morean despot, written in 1372⁶), it is difficult to address the question to what extent the author's gender influenced the content and whether there were any differences between men and women in their approach to travelogue writing or to foreign peoples, customs, and

⁴ I have used the following edition: *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. and trans. Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996). Interestingly, Margery's diary was written down only two years before her death, by two different notaries, in the period between 1431 and 1436. Margery travelled by the land route, the so-called *via Francigena*, which ran from Canterbury to Rome, but with a side route to Venice, where Margery embarked on a ship.

⁵ <http://www.umilta.net/equal4.html>, *sub voce*: "Isolda Parewastell" (last accessed on May 13, 2015).

⁶ <http://www.umilta.net/equal4.html>, *sub voce*: "Marguerite de Lusignan" (last accessed on May 13, 2015).

cultural settings. The weak presence of women, especially educated ones from the middle classes, is also attested by the travelogue of Mariano *di Nanni* from Siena, canon at the Siena cathedral,⁷ who observed that the galley on which his departure started from Venice to the Holy Land in 1431, there were 135 pilgrims, among them an Albanian bishop, seven knights, and many friars.⁸ Together with the crew, there were 300 persons on board, but not a single woman.⁹

Since several hundred travelogues, diaries, and itineraries of Western European pilgrims travelling to Palestine have been preserved from the medieval period, including the Late Middle Ages, which occasionally contain descriptions of the societies and people in the Eastern Adriatic, I will have to limit my focus to some of them in this study.¹⁰ One should say that late medieval accounts differed significantly from the early medieval ones, particularly in the detail and accuracy of description and in knowledge of geography, which is a result of the evolution of this discipline in the late Middle Ages.¹¹ Thus, William of Tours, who described the Crusade of Count Raymund of Toulouse in the 11th century, still considered only four cities in Dalmatia worth mentioning, which he also described as the capitals of the province¹²: *Zara*, *Salona*, *Spaletum* (Split), *Antibarum* (Bar), and *Ragusa* (Dubrovnik),¹³ noting that their population spoke Latin, but that Slavic was spoken in the hinterland, where

⁷ Mariano was also the rector of St Peter's church and chaplain at the chapel of the Holy Cross at the Siena cathedral. Cf. *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV.* (Florence, 1822), 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7. Even Theresa of Avila (1515-1582), a saint and doctor of the Church, who undertook extensive travels to found monasteries and solve church controversies, was labelled a "restless and vagabond woman," which clearly shows the general attitude of the patriarchal world towards women "in movement". Cf. *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Gendler (Renaissance Society of America, 1999), vol. 1, 165.

¹⁰ Concerning the fact that Krešimir Kužić has analysed the travelogues and diaries of German pilgrims in great detail, they will be mentioned here only in passing. Cf. Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV.-XVII. stoljeća* [The Croatian coast in the travelogues of German pilgrims (14th-17th c.)] (Književni krug: Split, 2013).

¹¹ Early medieval pilgrims often still struggled with the geography of countries situated in Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, a pilgrim travelling in the mid-11th century along the well-known and much-travelled Balkan route (*via Egnatia*), which ran through Belgrade towards Niš, Skopje, and further to Thessaloniki, confused this city with Salona, writing that they had come to that city in Dalmatia where they visited the shrine of St Demetrius. Of course, it was in fact in Korinth and Thessalonici. Cf. Petar Matković, *Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega veka* [Travels in the Balkans during the Middle Ages], Rad JAZU 42 (1878): 71.

¹² William described Dalmatia as a spatious region between Hungary and the Adriatic Sea. Cf. Petar Matković, *Putovanja*, 91. This shows that he may have known some classical authors, as the Roman province of Dalmatia indeed covered this area.

¹³ Petar Matković, *Putovanja*, 92. It is interesting that William still paid attention to Salona and Split alike, which may mean that Salona still had certain significance in the 11th century, although Split was developing into an important urban centre.

people dressed “like savages”,¹⁴ which indicated a continuity in the contradictory experience of the coast and the Croatian hinterland well into the 13th century. Somewhat later, narrative sources contain expressions of admiration for strong fortifications, numerous sacral buildings, or the size of the city. Thus, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, who wrote in the 13th century and participated in the Fourth Crusade, in which he eye-witnessed the siege of Zadar in 1202, described the city as follows: “On the Eve of St. Martin, they came before Zara in Sclavonia, and beheld the city enclosed by high walls and high towers; and vainly would you have sought for a fairer city, or one of greater strength, or richer. And when the pilgrims saw it, they marveled greatly, and said one to another: ‘How could such a city be taken by force, save by the help of God himself?’”¹⁵

One of the earliest medieval pilgrim diaries and itineraries is the one written by Rabi or Torah teacher Benjamin from Tudela in Navarra,¹⁶ whose journey started ca. 1165-1173 and lasted for several years. His pilgrimage was combined with visits to almost all lands of Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor, most probably because he also travelled for business reasons and wanted to make contacts in various countries.¹⁷ Even though he was not a Christian pilgrim, his travelogue is important for many European countries, to some extent including Croatia.¹⁸ He mentions Croatia and Slavonia, but only Dubrovnik among the cities.¹⁹

One of the significant and famous late medieval pilgrim accounts that describe the Eastern Adriatic is the one by Symon FitzSimmons *de Simonis*, a learned Irish

¹⁴ Petar Matković, *Putovanja*, 92.

¹⁵ Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *Memoirs or Chronicle of The Fourth Crusade and The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Frank T. Marzials (London: J.M. Dent, 1908), 19. It is interesting to note that there are also Arabic descriptions of the Adriatic from the same period, some of which describe Zadar as a “rival” to Venice, which would fit the words of Geoffroy de Villehardouin.

¹⁶ In the beginning of his travelogue, Rabi Benjamin describes himself as a “wise and understanding man, learned in the Law and the Halakha, and wherever we have tested his statements we have found them accurate, true to fact and consistent; for he is a trustworthy man.” *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/tudela.html#itinerary_1, 1.

¹⁷ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*. http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/tudela.html#itinerary_1.

¹⁸ He mentions the following places that he visited: “Alexandria is a commercial market for all nations. Merchants come thither from all the Christian kingdoms: on the one side from | the land of Venetia and Lombardy, Tuscany, Apulia, Amalfi, Sicilia, Calabria, Romagna, Khazaria, Patzinakia, Hungaria, Bulgaria, Rakuvia (Ragusa?), Croatia, Slavonia, Russia, Alamannia (Germany), Saxony, Danemark, Kurland? Ireland? Norway (Norge?), Frisia, Scotia, Angleterre, Wales, Flanders, Hainault? Normandy, France, Poitiers, Anjou, Burgundy, Maurienne, Provence, Genoa, Pisa, Gascony, Aragon, and Navarra.” It is indeed an impressive list of countries and cities, among which some Croatian regions and cities can be recognized. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, 106.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

Franciscan, and his friend Hugo known as the *Illuminator* from 1322/23.²⁰ His cultural horizon was defined by his personal mobility. Namely, despite the fact that he belonged to the relatively high ranks of the Irish Church, before his departure for the Holy Land his geographical and cultural knowledge of the world had probably been limited to travels around Ireland and perhaps the British Isles. The very fact that he travelled to the continent must have caused a sort of cultural shock. As he travelled along the famous *via Francigena*, his travelogue becomes interesting for our purpose after his departure from Venice to the Holy Land on August 19, 1323.²¹ This naval route traditionally ran along the Eastern Adriatic coast rather than the Italian peninsula, since it was more indented and thus safer.²² Symon described various ports and cities in detail, mentioning the distances between them, and stayed in some of them for a shorter or longer period of time. However, unlike some later authors of pilgrim literature, such as the first account written by a Croat, Bartol Đurđević from Dubrovnik in the mid-16th century,²³ Symon was aware of the fact that his itinerary, written in Latin, would be accessible to readership all over Western Europe, including those in Ireland and England, and therefore commented on all aspects of life, both spiritual and secular. His personal intellectual interests made him explore the foundations of political relations in the regions he travelled through, including Istria and Dalmatia, where he made some general observations. For example, he mentioned that Pula was ruled by Venice, and he was especially amazed by Zadar, which was at that time a large city with some 10000 inhabitants, and which he described as “a very wealthy and well fortified city (...) situated in the province of Dalmatia, likewise ruled by Venice.” This means that 120 years after the Crusaders’ siege and devastation, Zadar managed to rise again and become, according to Symon, one of the most beautiful and safest cities and communes that he visited during his travels. Thus, the traditional geostrategic, political, and ecclesiastical significance of Zadar was such that the city was renovated and restored, and achieved a more prominent position and more glamour than it had before the tragic episode during the “unjust war.”²⁴ Symon also included some

²⁰ On Symon, see: http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Symon%20Simeonis&item_id=3095040, *sub voce*: “Symon Simeonis” (last accessed on May 13, 2015). I have also used here the edition of the itinerary published by Matković, *Putovanja*, 56-184.

²¹ Zoran Ladić, “Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovici XIV. stoljeća” [A contribution to the research on pilgrimages from Zadar in the second half of the 14th century], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 32/17 (1993): 20.

²² The Western Adriatic coast was, however, more attractive for those pilgrims who used the *via Francigena* or *via Allemagna* to reach Rome and then proceeded on the *via Apia* to the far south of Italy, where they embarked on Venetian galleys for the Holy Land. Cf. Luigi Oliva, “The Apian via,” in *The Way to Jerusalem*, ed. Anna Trono (Lecce: Department of Cultural Heritage, University of Salento – Lecce, 2013), 33-38.

²³ Bartol Đurđević published a description of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in Italian, titled *Specchio della peregrination* (Rome, 1554). Cf. *Leksikon Marina Držića*, *sub voce*: “Hodočašće”, <http://leksikon.muzej-marindrzic.eu/hodocasce/> (last accessed on May 13, 2015).

²⁴ The fate of Zadar as a Christian city and the role of the Crusaders in its conquest is a manifest

ethnological and folklore information, mentioning that “in Zadar women adorn themselves nicely, including some sort of horn-like headgear, elongated or square, and some wear huge round hats to protect themselves from sun and storms.” As for Dubrovnik, he wrote that it was “a very wealthy city, fortified with high towers, and also ruled by the Venetians.” As a learned man and member of high ecclesiastical hierarchy, Symon soon noticed certain unusual things related to the Church dogmas and canon law. He also observed that there were many Slavic barbarians living in the city, referring to the Orthodox who had largely come from Rascia, as well as “Patarens” or Bosnian *krstjani*, whom he called schismatic merchants and heretics, observing that they differed from the local Latin Catholics both in their clothing and in their language. It is interesting that the learned Symon knew that various Slavic peoples had accepted the rite of the schismatic Greeks, whereas others, living more to the West,²⁵ observed the Latin liturgy and acknowledged the primacy of the papal curia. These examples clearly show Symon’s sharp observation and ambiguous attitude towards the cities and populations that he visited, and that his comments were also informed by his conversations with the local clergy, especially those referring to the devotional customs of the population in the cities, communes, and their surroundings. Namely, even though he generally positively assessed people whom he met in the Eastern Adriatic, and greatly admired the architectural achievements in the construction of sacral and secular buildings, fortifications, and other sites in the cities, at the moment he touched upon ecclesiastical, canonical, and theological questions, which were his primary interest, he sharply expressed his notion of “proper religiosity” as defined by canon law and the papal curia. Even though he was an educated person, he was prone to generalize things when he wrote on ecclesiastical matters, since he was not sufficiently acquainted with the regional and local situation. Thus, he lost his sense of objectivity whenever he was faced with “suspicious” Christian groups in the cities he was visiting, tending to extend his dislike to the entire population. One may say that the presence of these “suspicious religious elements” prevented him from noticing the strongest integrative aspect in all cities in the Eastern Adriatic, which was their loyalty to the Roman Church and the Pope as the highest authority. Generally speaking, when it comes to the heretics as those who strayed away from the Western Church, or schismatics as those who belonged to a different Christian denomination, Symon did

example of abandoning the theory of the “just war” *contra infideles* as the fundamental Crusading principle. Cf. Raymond H. Schmandt, “The Fourth Crusade and the Just-War Theory,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 61 (April, 1975), 191-221; John R. E. Bliese, “The Just War as Concept and Motive in the Central Middle Ages,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* N.S. 17 (1991): 1-26; Charles M. Brand, “The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* N.S. 12 (1984): 33-46; James Ross Sweeney, “Hungary in the Crusades 1169-1218,” *International History review* 3 (1981): 467-481. This abandoning of the idea of the “just war” and rejection of the ideals characteristic for the *miles Christi* have also been discussed by Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*. [Zadar in the Middle Ages before 1409] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 175.

²⁵ Thereby he knew exactly which Slavic groups these were: the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Croats.

not show any understanding and advocated – as a typical Franciscan of the time – if not their eradication, then at least their conversion to Roman Catholicism by means of Inquisition methods.

Some pilgrims, although writing about their travels, paid exceptionally little attention to the Eastern Adriatic coast. Perhaps it was because they only lived for the day they would reach the Holy Land. Namely, the moment they arrived, they wrote in great detail about the pilgrim destinations, sanctuaries, relics, the political situation, and the relations with the Muslims and with other Christian confessions, which they showed little understanding for in catechetical terms. One of such travelogues was written by Niccolo Frescobaldi, a wealthy patrician and merchant from Florence, who was a *palmier* in 1384 and started on his journey from Venice.²⁶ As he reports in the beginning, he travelled on a newly built ship of the *cocca* type and the transfer to the Holy Land cost him 17 ducats. While still in Venice, he observed that his ship carried, besides the crew, merchants, pilgrims, and soldiers. The paucity of information on the Eastern Adriatic in his account is evident from the fact that he merely mentioned having left Venice on September 4 and soon arriving to Pula.²⁷ In his entire account he never once again mentioned, let alone described, any city, person, or custom that he saw in the Eastern Adriatic.

Equally meagre are the data on this region brought by the distinguished pilgrim Bertrandon de la Broquiere from Burgundy, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1432/33 *ex voto*, i.e. to fulfil a vow.²⁸ However, he stated the basic non-spiritual reasons for noting down his experiences in a pilgrim diary. Namely, at the very beginning on his account, he writes that the reason was “in order that if any king, or Christian prince, should wish to make the conquest of Jerusalem, and lead thither an army overland, or if any gentleman should be desirous of travelling thither, each of them may be made acquainted with all the towns, cities, regions, countries, rivers, mountains and passes in the districts, as well as the lords to whom they belong, from the duchy of Burgundy to Jerusalem.”²⁹ In terms of data that could be useful for our purpose, Bertrandon de la Broquiere was exceptionally silent. He only mentioned that they sailed from Venice on a galley towards *Sclavonia* and successfully landed in

²⁶ *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolo' Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa* (Parma: Pietro Fiacadori, 1845).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-53.

²⁸ “I embarked to accomplish my vow”. *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière to Palestine and his Return from Jerusalem overland to France. During the years 1432-1433*, trans. Thomas Johnes (At the Hafod Press, by James Henderson, 1807), 90.

²⁹ *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Broquiere*, 84-85. It is especially interesting that he mentioned the Crusades, which were an everpresent idea in Western Christianity, especially from the late 13th century onwards, despite the fact that the reconquest of Jerusalem and the Holy Lands was not an option and even beyond the interests of Western Christian states.

Pula, Zadar, Šibenik, and Corfu.³⁰ Unlike some Italian, humanistically inspired and educated pilgrims, who described Pula as a beautiful city with ancient monuments, Bertrand did not show much interest in the city, laconically observing that “Pola seemed to me to have been formerly a handsome and strong town, with an excellent harbour,”³¹ which indicates that it was a city of minor importance at the time and in a rather poor condition, with the exception of the harbour. As for Zadar, he only repeated the usual things, such as the importance of visiting the relics of St Simeon the God-receiver, and that “the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea, and its fine port is enclosed by an iron chain.”³² Undoubtedly, the iron chain, frequently mentioned in this genre, was rather unusual, at least in the Eastern Adriatic, which is why many pilgrims, including Bertrand, found it interesting to mention.

Equally indifferent concerning the coastal regions and cities were the German *palmieri* Hans Lochner and Jürg Pfinzing, who travelled to Palestine in 1436.³³ It can be inferred from their journals that they belonged to the commoner estate of Nuremberg. Here we shall briefly refer to the pilgrim diary of Jürg Pfinzing, where he introduced himself as son of captain Sebald from Nuremberg, official of Emperor Sigismund in 1431.³⁴ The first stop on his journey from Venice to Palestine was, somewhat unusually, Piran (*stat Pyron in Histrion*), where Pfinzing, like a number of other late medieval pilgrims, praised the quality of local wine, called Reinfal (*raynval*).³⁵ Thence they proceeded to Umag (*Pumagium*) and further to Poreč (*die stat Parenciam*), which they left on the same day to arrive in Pula.³⁶ Unlike humanistically educated pilgrims, who were amazed by its ancient monuments, Pfinzing described only a single building *in die stat Polen*, when he mentioned that they stayed *czwen gancz tag, und do sahen wir den palast Rolandi*.³⁷ It is interesting to read that they travelled directly from Pula to Hvar, without a stop, as the weather was favourable. Concerning Hvar, Pfinzing mentioned the Dominican monastery (*closter prediger ordens*), which is probably where the pilgrims were accommodated.³⁸ After three days in Hvar, which is also not often mentioned as a pilgrim stop, they soon arrived in

³⁰ Šibenik is rarely mentioned as a stop on the way to the Holy Land. Bertrand only observed that Šibenik was under the Venetian rule. *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Broquiere*, 91.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ Johann Kamann, “Die Pilgerfahrten Nürnberger Bürger nach Jerusalem im 15. Jahrhundert, namentlich die Reiseberichte des Dr. Hans Lochner und des Jürg Pfinzing,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 2 (1880): 78-127.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ Probably a legend linked to the early medieval Carolingian army commander Roland, probably transmitted by the humanists.

³⁸ Johann Kamann, “Die Pilgerfahrten,” 125.

Dubrovnik (*in der stat Ragusium*),³⁹ which Pfinzing merely remarked was “ein gute und hubsche stat und gehört and das künekreich gen Ungarn.”⁴⁰ Four days later, they left the city for Corfu.

Somewhat richer are the descriptions of the Italian pilgrim Mariano from Siena, who started his journey to the Holy Land on April 9, 1431 and reached Venice on April 17.⁴¹ Mariano *di Nanni da Siena* was a member of higher ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is evident from the fact that he was the rector of St Peter's church and the chaplain of the Holy Cross chapel at the Siena cathedral.⁴² Fifty years after the Italian Niccolo Frescobaldi travelled to Palestine, the transfer prices were much higher and Mariano mentions that the journey to the Holy Land was 30 golden ducats per person, the possible reason being that he embarked on a magnificent new galley in Venice.⁴³ Having visited the most important relics of the saints, as was the custom of most pilgrims who started their sea voyage in Venice, and praising the “Venetian malvasia wine,” Mariano embarked on the ship with “135 pilgrims in total, among them an Albanian bishop, seven knights, and the rest were friars.”⁴⁴ There were 300 men on the galley, the crew included, who came from all parts of Europe (Italians, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, Frenchmen) and, as has been mentioned before, not a single woman.⁴⁵ The first stop was Pula, which Mariano as a humanist liked a lot, as a city “nella quale trovammo uno edifizio quasi simile al Coliseo di Roma, e molti altri nobili edifizii.”⁴⁶ Two days later, they reached the waters of *Ischiavonia Giara* (Zadar), which he described as “una bella città, e grande, et è de' Veneziani.”⁴⁷ This means that even after a prolonged Venetian rule, Zadar was still a respectable city, just like it had been at its pinnacle under the Anjou dynasty. Mariano includes interesting information on the reception of pilgrims in Zadar, since there were not too many inns and taverns there, so pilgrims had to be accommodated in monasteries and patrician palaces. Regarding his social status, it is no wonder that Mariano found lodging in a patrician palace.⁴⁸ While in Zadar, pilgrims had time to visit the churches that kept “belli Reliquiari, fra quali fu el corpo di Santo Simeone Iusto”⁴⁹; e vedemo el

³⁹ Ibid., 126.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV* (Florence, 1822).

⁴² Ibid., 1.

⁴³ Ibid., 5. One should also take into account the continuous devaluation of Venetian golden ducats throughout the Middle Ages.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ Ibidem. One should keep in mind that Mariano came from a large city, Siena, and thus his words on Zadar may be considered objective.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ On the cult of St Simeon in Zadar, see e.g. Marijana Kovačević, “O prvoj monografskoj obradi škrinje

corpo di Santo Grisogono,⁵⁰ e di Santa Anastasia,⁵¹ et altri santi corpi.”⁵² Of course, Zadar was one of the most important cities at the medieval Croatian coast and it greatly enhanced its esteem in the sense of Augustine’s *civitas sacra*. The relics of Saint Simon the God-receiver seem to have caused the greatest excitement among foreign pilgrims.⁵³

The next stop was Korčula, which was not a common stop on the way to Palestine. Regarding this fact, it is only logical that Mariano mentioned that they “spent only three hours in the city and could not find any refreshment, not even fish.”⁵⁴ As most educated authors of diaries or travelogues, Mariano often included data on the political allegiance of regions or cities, and thus he said about Korčula that it was “under the Venetian rule, but situated in Slavonia (*Schiavonia*).⁵⁵ Concerning the city of Dubrovnik, admired by most pilgrims, he only wrote that it was “una bella, e ricca città.” The reason for such reserved account was that the pilgrims could not enter the city, as it was in the midst of plague or some other epidemic (“per la grande morìa”) and thus the pilgrims left the harbour after only an hour.⁵⁶ Apparently, the epidemic had swept over a broader area of south-eastern Mediterranean, since Mariano mentions later on that it was also raging on Corfu and in Methoni (Modon).⁵⁷ This is where his description of the Eastern Adriatic ends, and on his way back he did not spend a word on it.

One of the less known, yet particularly interesting secular pilgrims who travelled to Palestine along the Eastern Adriatic coast was Pedro (Pero) Tafur. The Spanish *hidalgo* Pero Tafur (ca. 1410 – ca. 1484.), probably from Cordoba, was a typical

svetog Šimuna u Zadru” [The first monograph on St Simeon’s shrine in Zadar], *Ars adriatica* 1 (2011), 187-204.

⁵⁰ On the cult of St Chrysogonus, see *Zbornik 1000 godina samostana sv. Krševana u Zadru* [The 1000th anniversary of St Chrysogonus’ monastery in Zadar] (Zadar, 1990), 35-58.

⁵¹ On the cult of St Anastasia in Zadar, see: Trpimir Vedriš, “Nastanak kulta sv. Anastazije i njegov odraz u Zadru (9.-14.st.)” [Emergence of the cult of St Anastasia and its impact on Zadar (9th-14th c.)], *Historijski zbornik* 55 (2002): 1-30.

⁵² *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena*, 7.

⁵³ The relics of St Simeon were transferred to Zadar in 1213 or 1273. His body was first laid in a stone casket in the church of St Mary Major. His relics were more popular than those of any other saint on the Croatian coast, since he was directly linked to the Holy Land, which was the final goal of all pilgrims. Cf. Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika*, 87. At the time when Mariano visited Zadar, it already possessed the precious gilded shrine of St Simeon, work of goldsmith Francesco da Milano at the commission of Queen Elizabeth, wife of the Hungarian-Croatian king Louis of Anjou. Cf. Nikola Jakšić and Radoslav Tomić, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije: Zlatarstvo* [Artistic heritage of the Zadar diocese: Goldsmithry], ed. Nikola Jakšić (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2004).

⁵⁴ *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena*, 8.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

example of Spanish knighthood: he had fought the Maurs and travelled to all known lands of Europe,⁵⁸ North Africa, and Asia Minor.⁵⁹ He decided to go on pilgrimage partly inspired by the typical Renaissance spirit and ideas, but also had business reasons to visit Egypt, the Holy Land, Constantinople, and even the Black Sea region. On the other hand, Tafur was certainly not the type of person who would be inspired by the idea of “travel as redemption,” popular in the Renaissance, as the word *travel* also denoted hard physical labour. For him, travel would have been an occasion to explore and to conquer, a manly sort of activity. In his engagement with the Renaissance spirit, he was completely opposite to Felix Fabri, for example, or to some other clerical pilgrims, not to mention Margery Kempe. As evident from his itinerary, he completely neglected the spiritual aspect of pilgrimage and was interested in bare facts, of course within the scope of Renaissance ideals. Since he started on his pilgrimage from Spain, late in 1435, he reached Genoa in December and on May 17, 1436 embarked in Venice for the Holy Land. In his account, he tells how they headed for Slavonia (*Esclavonia*), where he observed numerous safe harbours, islands, and ports, which was important because of the continuous need of fresh food and drink.⁶⁰ The first stop on the way was Poreč, definitely the most frequented harbour for travellers along the Eastern Adriatic coast.⁶¹ Not spending a single word on Poreč, he continued to Zadar (*Zara*), “a city under the Venetians,” and then Dubrovnik (*Ragusa*), which he said was “under the rule of the Emperor”, i.e. the Holy Roman Emperor.⁶² During the entire journey, they passed by inhabited and uninhabited Slavonian i. e. East Adriatic islands.⁶³ But although so dry and taciturn about the cities, Tafur was enthusiastic about other things. Thus, he wrote that “the entire country is mountainous and bare, and its inhabitants are the tallest people I have ever seen.”⁶⁴ He also added some negative criticism, exclaiming: “but, what barbaric people they are!”⁶⁵ To be sure, Pero Tafur came from a distinguished knightly or noble family, which claimed – in the Renaissance spirit – to originate from Constantinople (just like some Croatian noble families, such as the Frankapan,

⁵⁸ In Europe, he travelled to northern Italy, Germany, Denmark, Austria, and Hungary.

⁵⁹ *The Travels of Pero Tafur (1435-1439). Introduction*, digitized from The Broadway Travellers series, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926), <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/tafur.html>; *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures (1435-1439)*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Malcolm Letts (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1926), <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/tafur.html>.

⁶⁰ *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, eds., E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926., Chapter V. <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/tafur.html#ch5>.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

claimed to originate from Roman patrician family). However, with his words he showed clear contempt for these “barbarians”, not only the poor and the lower social classes, but also for the patriciate in communes and the numerous noblemen who had been exiled as a result of Ottoman excursions and actually belonged to the same class as Pero himself. There is also a brief, but interesting piece of information on the animal world: this region has “the best falcons in the world, except for the Norwegian ones.”⁶⁶ He was obviously also interested in the fact that the region was rich in silver, whereby he must have meant Bosnia, and that it could be found in many places.⁶⁷ This clearly shows that it was trade and profit rather than piety that had induced him to undertake his *peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*. In chapters 13-29, Tafur discussed various historical, hagiographic, and political issues, showing good knowledge of the political situation in Asia Minor. He wrote on the “Ottoman Caliphate” and Constantinople, discussed the relations between the Genoans and the Venetians in Byzantium, the Fourth Crusade, and some other historical-political questions, without adding any information on Croatian regions and cities.⁶⁸

All this shows that Pero was rather disinterested in communal urban societies, even those of Zadar and Dubrovnik, which were certainly not less developed than other communes of the Mediterranean, including the Spanish ones. Religious or ecclesiastical issues, normally a point of interest for any pilgrim on his way to the Holy Land, do not seem to have interested him at all. He never described churches, relics, or liturgical customs. His Spanish noble upbringing, full of prejudice, only induced him to express resentment and superior subjectivity towards people whose secular social system he ignored, although in the country he was visiting there was also nobility, which actually have been even superior to himself in their political power and wealth, as well as their cultural tastes and artistic patronage.

Following Tafur’s long descriptions of his travels to Constantinople, the Holy Land, and further, to the Tatars and the Turkic peoples, which sometimes remind of Umberto Eco’s *Baudolino*, he returned to Europe and *Esclavonia*. As for Dubrovnik, he again remarked that the province was under the rule of the German emperor and that it was fortified by exceptionally strong walls, and he also confirmed the well-known fact that the city engaged in extensive trade with entire Europe. He also erroneously indicated that the city was located opposite to the Italian Ancona.⁶⁹ He noted that the locals referred to *Esclavonia* as “Dalmatia”. Obviously because of the courtly ambience in which he had been brought up, Pero was very prone to mentioning the falcons of *Esclavonia*, which he repeatedly praised as very fine examples. He also repeated that people living there were very tall, especially those from the surrounding

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ In fact, Bari is located opposite to Dubrovnik, another important city for the export and import of goods from all towns and cities of Dalmatia.

mountains, taller than any he had ever seen. Eventually, he added some personal impressions, but none linked to piety, despite the initial emphasis on him being a *palmarius*, but rather to economy. Thus, he extolled seafaring as an important branch of economy and indicated that the reason for that was in exceptionally good natural conditions, such as gulfs and natural harbours, which he observed as being completely opposite to the Apenine side of the Adriatic. He was amazed by the variety of the coast and the number of both inhabited and uninhabited islands. On his way back, Tafur also visited Split, where he stayed for a few days. Having fulfilled his primary goal, which was linked to his trading interests in the Levant, Pero could finally relax and pay attention to some of the religious aspects of Dalmatian life. As he heard from the local humanists, both clerics and secular persons, who were at that time already strongly promoting the cult of Saint Jerome as a symbol of unity of the Dalmatian province and Saint Christopher (the patron saint of Rab), they informed him that both saints were born in Split. Apparently, some learned men also told him a nice legend on Saint Christopher, namely that he once transferred some poor men, who could not pay the fare, over a sea canyon. Even though Pero Tafur wanted to present himself as a Renaissance man, his travelogue reveals the remnants of a medieval believer, who liked to listen to and to believe in pious legends, especially those related to the miracles performed by the saints. So the erudite Spalatans went on telling him legends on the saints of Split: women used to wash laundry in a certain bay and occasionally they would disappear for no apparent reason. One day, when the women were occupied with the laundry as usual, a monster appeared, half fish and half man, with wings like those of a bat, caught a woman and dragged her into the depths of the sea. Some men and women, having heard the woman scream, hurried to her aid and attacked the monster, but it did not want to let go of the woman. However, they managed to wound it and drag it to the shore, where it died three hours later. They did not have any doubts that it was this monster who had abducted the woman. They slit it open, salted it, and sent it to the authorities in Venice, whence it was supposed to be forwarded to Pope Eugene IV. Even an image was made of the monster and distributed all around the world, as far as the Castile. Indeed, this story was again told in the best Baudolino manner, although it is possible that there was some truth in it and that a beast was caught on the shore of Split that was rarely seen in this part of the Mediterranean. Pero certainly believed the story, even though he had not seen the monster with his own eyes: in other words, he did not take the haughty position of a *homo universalis*, but was genuinely moved by the event. Thus, even though he occasionally displayed prejudice and was even inclined to offend the local population, here he did not attempt to rise above them, considering that something like that could have happened anywhere in the Mediterranean. Mostly reserved in his descriptions and generally hostile to this “barbaric” region, he seems to have liked Split for some reason and stayed there unusually long. It may have been because,

as he stated himself, a Frenchman was the archbishop there at the time, although actually originating from Padua: Bartolomeo Zabarella (1428-1439). Pero must have kept company with the archbishop as a man from a country that he considered closer than the Croatian lands in terms of culture and language.

A diary that stands out with its extensive observations on the Croatian regions, islands, and cities, as well as its author's interest in everything that was unknown or unusual, comes from the French pilgrim Louis de Rochechouart, who departed for Palestine in 1461.⁷⁰ Louis was a bishop, member of the French nobility, and the lord of Montemare and Vivonne near Potiers.⁷¹ His journey from Venice to Jaffa as the main harbour for receiving pilgrims in Palestine, which was under the Ottoman rule and pilgrims could only be received by the local Franciscans, the only religious order allowed to operate and help the pilgrims, lasted only for a month, probably because he travelled in a season that was very favourable for navigation – from May, 25 until June, 25, 1461.⁷² Rochechouart's important feature was that he had a good knowledge – for the time period in consideration – of the political and geographical characteristics of the regions he travelled through, including the Eastern Adriatic coast. His accuracy in place names is evident from the very beginning, where he writes that from Venice the pilgrims first reached *Histria provincia* with Poreč (*ad portum Parencie*) as a regular pilgrim post on the way to Palestine, where they took provisions in fresh water and fish (*piscis recentibus*).⁷³ Since Rochechouart came from a highly urbanized France and was still under the impression of Venice, he understandably considered Poreč as a *villa* rather than a *civitas*, in which he even diminished its position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as it was a seat of the bishop at the time.⁷⁴ Related to Poreč, he mentioned that there was a Benedictine monastery of Saint Nicholas or Andrew on a nearby island, a fact mentioned by other pilgrims as well.⁷⁵ However, when he saw the monuments of Poreč, especially the Euphrasian basilica,⁷⁶ he was inclined to show a

⁷⁰ This travelogue has been published under the title "Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart évêque de saintes (1461)," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1893). It should be added that some parts of it have been used and analysed by Nikola Jakšić in his article "Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska *arca d'oro*" [From a hagiographical pattern to a political programme: The shrine of Saint Simeon, Zadar's *arca d'oro*], *Ars Adriatica* 4 (2014): 95-124.

⁷¹ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 228.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 226.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ (...) *monasterium sancti Nicholai constructum vel sancti Andree. Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 227. Greek monks had been living on the island since the early Middle Ages and in 1114, Bartoldo, Bishop of Poreč, gave this monastery to the Benedictines from the Venetian monastery of St Nicholas of Lido. The monastery probably changed its titular saint to Saint Nicholas in 1481. The island itself is now called Saint Nicholas and belongs to the Tremiti archipelagos.

⁷⁶ The Euphrasian basilica and Poreč appear in a 14th-century legend saying that when the Genoans

more favourable attitude and allow it among the urban centres of Europe. He once called it a *civitas Histrie* under the Venetian rule,⁷⁷ but eventually remained with his initial standpoint, that it was a *parva villa* with “numerous fishermen who catered for our needs and sold us a huge amount of fish.”⁷⁸ The galley left Poreč in the middle of the night, “with good weather and wind.”⁷⁹ Well acquainted with the political situation of Istrian cities, Louis noted that they passed by Rovinj (*Roven*) “in Istria, under the Venetian rule.” As most of the other pilgrims at the time, he indicated that the “body of the virgin Saint Euphemia” was located there.⁸⁰ That Istria and Quarnero were densely populated may be inferred from his observation that while they navigated “that fine day” on calm sea, to the left they saw *plurima oppida, villas, turres*, for which he likewise noted that they belonged to the Venetians.⁸¹ Since he also described Pula as a *pulcherrima villa*, it may be presumed that he used the term for a city, influenced by the Old French term.⁸² Similar to other pilgrim authors mentioned here, he made note of the legend on Roland’s stay in Pula. Without revealing his source of information, he stated that he saw “the tallest towers, which date from the time of our Roland and were built at the time when Charlemagne was travelling to Greece”, adding that they were probably “built by the Italians, who live on forever in us through Roland’s construction.”⁸³ It is impossible to say who created this legend and how, but as it is mentioned in several pilgrim diaries and travelogues, starting from the period of humanism and the Renaissance and limited to it, it must have emerged in the fifteenth century. De Rochechouart continued his unusually detailed

conquered and pillaged the city in 1354, they took most of the relics from the basilica, as was the custom in medieval warfare, as well as the bodies of Saint Maurus and Saint Eleuterius. Even though the Genoans also intended to take other saintly relics (St Demetrius, St Julian, St Betta, and St Acolita), according to the legends transmitted by Bianchi, the holy bodies started to bleed, which terrified the robbers so much that they gave up. Cf. Milorad Pavić, *Prilog poznavanju hodočasničkih putovanja*, 36, n. 12.

⁷⁷ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 227.

⁷⁸ The urban character of France and Italy obviously influenced the “disparagement” of Poreč, since it was the seat of a bishopric, with antique monuments and a population of about 3000, a city with its own statute, developed communal services, and notarial offices, as well as a powerful communal elite and advanced trade and agriculture. Cf. Zoran Ladić, “Društvo i gospodarstvo Poreča u kasnom srednjem vijeku na temelju analize bilježničke knjige Antuna de Teodoris” [The society and economy of Poreč in the late Middle Ages, based on an analysis of the notarial book of Antun de Teodoris], in: *Zbornik radova Međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa Istarsko gospodarstvo jučer i sutra* (Pazin: Državni arhiv u Pazinu, 2015), 213-229.

⁷⁹ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 227.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*. The martyr’s sarcophagus is located in the church of the same name, also called St Fuma. The *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie* says that “low tide brought onto the shore a sarcophagus with the body of the said saint and martyr, which had been thrown into the sea during the iconoclastic movement of the seventh century.” Cf. Milorad Pavić, *Prilog poznavanju hodočasničkih putovanja*, 36, n. 12.

⁸¹ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 228.

⁸² *Ibidem*.

⁸³ *Ibidem*.

account of the regions, cities, and people in the Eastern Adriatic with a description *Esclavonie sive Dalmacie*, which shows that he made no difference between these two geographical and political terms, as he did not mention that Slavonia was part of the Kingdom of Hungary - Croatia and he used the connector *sive*.⁸⁴ His galley came to these parts “on the Sunday of the Holy Trinity,”⁸⁵ i.e. the first Sunday after the Pentecost, which in 1461 was May 17.⁸⁶ Since he knew the geography of Istria so well and even knew that with entering the *golphum Cornarium* they arrived in Dalmatia,⁸⁷ we may consider Louis quite a good geographer. Some earlier pilgrims understood the name Quarnero as coming from *Cuore (Core) nero*, associating it with the frequently bad weather and fierce storms in this part of the Adriatic. Louis’ galley, however, enjoyed calm sea “even though this gulf is the most dangerous of all.”⁸⁸ Then they saw *plures insulas Dalmacie* to the left: the first was called Nya (Unije), *altera in vulgari italico Xansego* (Sansego, Susak), *altera Sanctus Petrus in Hyeme* (St Peter’s island near Ilovik).⁸⁹ His good knowledge of such minute geographic details is quite amazing and it may be presumed that he collected them from the Croatian members of the crew, since many spoke fluently Italian. Describing the journey southwards in detail, he wrote that *altissimos montes Dalmacie continue vidimus*, and that the sea was full of islands (Kornati), only one of them inhabited (Silba, here called *Celva*), with many sheep grazing.⁹⁰ De Rochechouart also described Zadar and its surrounding. They arrived in Zadar (*Jadra*) at dusk and saw “a fort of St Michael (*castrum Sancti Michaelis*) at the entrance to the right, which protects Zadar from the pirates.”⁹¹ On the same side, there was the town of Nin (*Nona*). De Rochechouart’s galley docked in Zadar’s harbour and the pilgrims took the opportunity to visit its famous relics.⁹² Of course, the most important ones were the relics of St Simeon *ad ecclesiam sancti Symeonis*, where they also saw “the body of that celebrated prophet,

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ Imre Szentpétery, *Oklevéltani naptár. Brinckmeier, Grotefend és Knauz művének felhasználásával* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1912), 86.

⁸⁷ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 228.

⁸⁸ Ibidem.

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 229.

⁹¹ Ibidem. The fort of St Michael played a crucial role in Zadar’s history, especially during the Venetian siege in 1345/46, and de Rochechouart stated that it also had an important defence role in the mid-15th century. There is a famous description of the anonymous author of the *Obsidio Iadrensis*, who described fierce battles between the Zaratines and the Venetians over this fort in the chapter “Quomodo Iadertini inimicorum duas combusserunt machinas et qualiter Veneti ceperunt castrum S. Michaelis.” Cf. Branimir Glavičić, Vladimir Vratović, Miroslav Kurelac, Damir Karbić, and Zoran Ladić, *Opsada Zadra. Obsidio Iadrensis*, in: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 54/6 (Zagreb: HAZU, 2007), 259-264.

⁹² *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 229.

who received Christ in the Temple.”⁹³ Louis observed that Simeon’s body was very well preserved and whole, “except for the right thumb, which was torn off by some Hungarian queen” (*excepto pollice dextrum, que regina quedam Ungarie abstraxit*).⁹⁴ Of course, the pilgrims also visited the other main site, the cathedral of St Anastasia, *cujus corpus ibi est*.⁹⁵ It is notable that he used the term *villa* for Zadar as well, even though it had a population of some 10000, which confirms our presumption that he used this Old French word for cities. Calling Zadar *civitas Hiadrensis parva villa*, he also mentioned that the city was surrounded by stone walls (*muris circumsepta lapiedis*) and rich in grains, wine, and oil.⁹⁶ De Rochechouart could not resist expressing a medical opinion as well, which is only partly correct: they saw something terrible, namely “numerous lepers keeping company with healthy men” (*infinitos leprosos qui conversantur inter homines sanos*).⁹⁷ If this is true, it was probably an exception, since the sanitary conditions and healthcare in Zadar had already known the basics of fighting leprosy for some two centuries, which is confirmed by the existence of leper houses.⁹⁸ Another remark, which is far from credible medicine, but perhaps interesting for the history of wine production and medical thought, is that he believed “that this disease is so widespread here because of the wines, which are far too strong.”⁹⁹ Since the exclusion of lepers from medieval urban societies had been in practice for several centuries at the time (in 1179, it was decreed by the Third Lateran Council), it is understandable that de Rochechouart was shocked at witnessing such

⁹³ Ibidem. As observed by Nikola Jakšić, “an autopsy has shown that the arc of Zadar contains a well-preserved body.” Cf. Nikola Jakšić, “Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata,” 121.

⁹⁴ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 229.

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

⁹⁶ Ibidem.

⁹⁷ Ibidem.

⁹⁸ Namely, the first known medieval hospital in Dalmatia is mentioned in a document recorded by Zadar’s notary Prodan and copied by another notary of Zadar, Jerome Ravagnin. It was the hospital of St Martin, established outside of the city walls in 1254 by Nicholas Semitecolo, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St Chrysogonus with his brethren. It was to offer shelter to the communal paupers and probably also to the sick. At that time, Nikola presented *ecclesiam sancti Martini extra muros ciuitatis cum omnibus edificiiis(!) adiacentiis pertinentiis et octo ibidem positis ad nostrum monasterium pertinentibus ... comuni Jadre in perpetuam elemosinam pro hospitalitate*. The document was written at the church of St Stephen, in the presence of Laurence, the archbishop of Zadar, and Count Giovanni de Canala. Cf. Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (hereafter: CD), vol. 4 (Zagreb, 1906), doc. 486, pp. 556-558. Of course, the number of leper houses in the Croatian lands was far smaller than in many other European regions. The negative image of the lepers was partly due to the fact that leprosy was considered as punishment for the sins, especially for stigmatized sexual behaviours such as homosexuality as an *abominandum crimen*. Cf. Bariša Krekić, “Abominandum crimen: Punishment of Homosexuals in Renaissance Dubrovnik,” *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1987): 337.

⁹⁹ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 229. It was only one among the many hypotheses in which medieval *medici* and *psihici*, as well as theologians, sought to explain the causes of leprosy. Cf. Richard Palmer, “The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” *Studies in Church History* 19 (1982): 79-99.

behaviour in healthy individuals.¹⁰⁰ Apparently, at the time when his galley docked, the entire district of Zadar was full of lepers, which is indicated by his remark that, when leaving Zadar, they had to navigate carefully “between Zadar’s islands *que leprose vocantur*.”¹⁰¹ Despite the previously mentioned quick journey to Palestine and back to Venice, de Rochechouart’s galley visited several other Croatian ports, which were sometimes not even too close to the naval route to Jerusalem. Owing to that, we are informed on some rare facts about the islands of Hvar (*civitas Lesna* under the Venetian rule) and Korčula (*Corsula*) with the city of the same name. Thus, in Hvar he especially praised wine (contrary to that of Zadar). When the galley reached Dubrovnik on June 6, Louis could not hide his amazement and described it as a “Dalmatian metropolis, a small but fine city, rich in gold, silver, copper, and tin (*Ragusium metropolis Dalmacie, civitas parva sed pulcherrima, sed ditissima auro, argento, plumbo, stagno*),¹⁰² noble and other metals imported from the Balkan hinterland. In the humanist style, but without the corresponding education, de Rochechouart stated that Dubrovnik “was called Epidaurus in the past, the city where Aesculapius, praised by Galen himself, was born.”¹⁰³ Interestingly, Louis wrote that with all the relics in Dubrovnik they visited only Aesculapius’ grave and his epitaph. Apparently, his final sentences on the Eastern Adriatic coast, in which he wrote a lot about medicine, were motivated by the fact that many crew members and passengers have fallen ill, “so I’ve engaged in some writing.”¹⁰⁴ It is hard to say whether it was plague, but he mentions a plague epidemic at the time in Albania and on Corfu.¹⁰⁵ And that is how Louis de Rochechouart’s description of the Croatian coast ends, because on his way back he did not include a single sentence on these regions, cities, or people, probably because he could not wait to disembark in Venice.

A pilgrim that should by no means be bypassed, not only for his elegant style, but also for his interest in describing the Eastern Adriatic, is the German Dominican Felix Fabri (Schmidt).¹⁰⁶ Even though a German *palmerius* born in the free imperial

¹⁰⁰ In 1179, the Third Lateran Council issued a decree on the exclusion of lepers from the society, including separate churches and graveyards. Richard Palmer, “The Church, Leprosy and Plague,” 81-83.

¹⁰¹ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 230.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*. Aesculapius was a son of god Apollo, mentioned in various passions from the early and high Middle Ages (8th-15th centuries), and also linked to Emperor Diocletian. He was usually depicted with a snake and a staff, and is associated with healing. Aesculapius or Asclepius was especially venerated in the northern Adriatic through the patriarchate of Aquileia, and he is also mentioned in Ljubljana together with his daughter Hygia.

¹⁰⁴ *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 230.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹⁰⁶ In this paper, I have used the following edition: *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims’*, 7-8 and 44; *Fratri Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terræ sanctæ: Arabiæ et Egypti*

city of Ulm, and thus treated in detail in the book by Krešimir Kužić as well as by various other Croatian and foreign scholars,¹⁰⁷ this work would not be complete without writing something on his travel impressions, including the description of our region in 1480 and 1483, the years in which he undertook his pilgrimages to Palestine. On his first pilgrimage in 1480, Felix was accompanied by four German secular dignitaries, as well as several servants and priests.¹⁰⁸ Upon returning safely to Ulm, he undertook another pilgrimage to the Holy Land a few years later, now more experienced, and wrote another travelogue, which will also be considered in this paper.¹⁰⁹ His first pilgrimage started in Venice, on a ship owned by the Venetian patrician Agostino Contarini, with whom an extensive contract was signed with the captain on accommodation and transfer fees.¹¹⁰ I will here refer to both of his accounts where they referred to places and people in the Eastern Adriatic. At the very beginning of his first travelogue, Felix included some information on Croats, namely those who were members of the ship crew. There were 330 persons on board, 110 of them pilgrims.¹¹¹ It is particularly interesting to read of the galley rowers, whom he always refers to as slaves. Thus, in one place he writes that those were the people at the lowest level of the galley/s microcosmos. Usually they were tall and strong men, mostly slaves of the captain, people from the lower social strata, prisoners, or exiles. If necessary, they were chained to the galley benches with heavy chains. In Felix's words, they were mostly Macedonians, Albanians, Achaeans, Illyrians, and Slavs, probably heretics or schismatics, but also Turks and Saracens. Even though there is no mention of that, it is possible that some were also Croatian rebels against the Venetian authorities, outlaws, and poor young Croats. Eventually, Felix commented: "I have never seen a German galley rower, since no German could survive this miserable and heavy toil."¹¹² However, he also mentions that some servants on the galley were Croats and that some spoke at least three languages: Slavic, Greek, and Italian, and most of

peregrinationem (hereafter: *Fratris Felicis Fabri*), ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1843).

¹⁰⁷ Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočašnika*, esp. 77-79, 103-106, and 210-212; cf. Zoran Ladić, "Prilog proučavanju hodočaščenja iz Zadra," 17-31. The original is in Latin.

¹⁰⁸ *Fratris Felicis Fabri*, 26-27. Felix returned to Ulm from his first pilgrimage in 1482 and immediately started preparing for the next one in 1483.

¹⁰⁹ Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896.), 26-80.

¹¹⁰ It is important to note that the pilgrimage was almost postponed because of the incursions of the Ottoman army under Mehmed II the Conqueror on Rhodos. Felix also mentioned that French pilgrims travelled together with the German ones, but noted that the two groups kept apart from each other. In 1483, he travelled on the ship owned by the same Venetian patrician, because he considered him a trustworthy and responsible person who adhered to the travel agreements. *Fratris Felicis Fabri*, 32.

¹¹¹ *Fratris Felicis Fabri*, 7-8.

¹¹² *Fratris Felicis Fabri*, 31.

them also Turkish.¹¹³ This information is really important, since it shows how well the Croats were integrated in the Venetian society and how much effort they invested in at least some basic autodidactic training to obtain the difficult, but well paid jobs on pilgrim ships.¹¹⁴ This clearly shows that, despite the possible prejudice against a foreign crew consisting of newcomers and refugees from the Croatian lands, even high Venetian officials and foreign dignitaries did not really see them in negative light, since they were well aware that Istrians and Dalmatians as crew members made their travel *ad sanctum sepulchrum* in Palestine far easier. This is why foreign pilgrims were not inclined to show and resentment towards the low-positioned crew members. Nevertheless, although Felix respects them for speaking several languages and being excellent sailors, he is prone to accuse them of having committed minor thefts on board. In the spirit of the 15th century, when *universitas Christianorum* from the 11th-13th centuries was a long-abandoned idea, it is rather understandable that a religiously defined Dominican who was at the same time an intellectual and a humanist¹¹⁵ showed some animosity towards pilgrims who belonged to a different ethnicity, or maybe even the same, but from a different province. When describing the evenings and nights spent on board during the second pilgrimage to the Holy Land, this man, used to have a peaceful night in his monastic cell, particularly complained of the Flemish and the Saxons, who mostly drank themselves through the night and then cursed, snored, and sweated.¹¹⁶ This, of course, was meant to warn the future pilgrims to take good care with who they travel and especially avoid the coarse Flemish. As for most of the pilgrims who started from Venice, having arrived in the city by the *via Francigena* (which continued to Rome and then to Apulia) or *via Alemagna*,¹¹⁷ Felix's first stop on the Adriatic shore was Poreč. He says it is

¹¹³ During his second pilgrimage, Fabri described the linguistic skills of the sailors in the following way: "Moreover, they generally spoke at least three languages: Croatian, Greek, and Italian, and many among them also spoke Turkish." *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, str. 57.

¹¹⁴ A detailed analysis of the integration of Croats, especially those from the communes, cities, and towns in the Eastern Adriatic, is found in several books and a number of articles by Lovorka Čoralić. See, for example: Lovorka Čoralić, *U gradu svetoga Marka. Povijest hrvatske zajednice u Mlecima* [In the city of Saint Mark: History of the Croatian community in Venice] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001). One should recall that "from the 15th century, there are great Croatian artists living and working in Venice, including Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac, Andrija Meldola, Juraj Julije Klovića, as well as scientists such as Nikola Nalješković, Ignjat Đurđević, Ivan Lučić-Lucius, Ivan Tanzlinger Zanotti, or Julije Bajamonti"; and there were certainly many other, less famous artisans and artists. *Ibid.*, 304-345. A somewhat shorter, but nevertheless exhaustive account is to be found in eadem, *Venecija. Kraljica mora s lagunarnih sprudova. Povijest Mletačke Republike* [Venice, queen of the seas from the lagoon shores: A history of the Venetian Republic], (Samobor: Meridijani, 2004).

¹¹⁵ Felix's humanist education is also evident from the fact that his description of the Flemish and the Saxons was complemented with two anecdotes that he had read in Homer and Saint Jerome. *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, 38.

¹¹⁶ Interestingly enough, Felix called the pilgrims of these two nations "persons of a lower class." *Ibid.*, 38.

¹¹⁷ A number of studies have been written on medieval pilgrim routes, both on mainland and on

located in the duchy of Istria, which belongs to the Kingdom of Dalmatia.¹¹⁸ What made him define the relationship between Istria and Dalmatia in such terms? One should indicate here, as a digression, the unknown facts, uncertainty, confusion, and dilemmas concerning the geographic location, sovereign powers, and division of Croatian and other regions in south-eastern Europe or the Eastern Adriatic coast, which are found in practically all pilgrim accounts. Geographic uncertainty or ignorance was not a result of subjective prejudice of individual pilgrims, but simply a matter of their faulty knowledge of geography. Almost all Western European travelogue writers, both clerics and laymen, tried hard to understand who ruled over the *provincia* or *regnum Sclavonie*, *regnum Croatie*, *provincia Sclavonie sive Dalmacie*, *regnum Hungarie*, *provincia Istria*, or *regnum* i.e. *provincia Dalmatia*, or to whom they belonged. What were the historical, geographical, and political links between them, and what was the nature of dominance of one political entity over another? Nevertheless, most fifteenth-century authors considered in this paper agreed on one thing: that *provincia Istria* and *provincia Dalmatia*, with the exception of Dubrovnik, were subjected to the central authorities in Venice and belonged to the Venetian Republic. Of course, travelogue writers from the Anjou period, especially the reign of King Louis I., were far more cautious and saw at least the *regnum Dalmatie* as part of the Kingdom of Hungary - Croatia.¹¹⁹

But let us go back to Fabri's travelogue. As mentioned earlier on, in his first account from 1480, he stated that on the third day after they embarked in Venice, they reached the usual first stop on the maritime route to the Holy Land: Poreč, which, as mentioned before, he considered as belonging to the duchy of Istria, part of the Dalmatian Kingdom.¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that the travellers received precious information from the local population regarding the Ottoman ships scattered all over the Adriatic, for which reasons they had to stay in the city for a few days.¹²¹ Despite the risk, the galley reached Zadar, "a city in Dalmatia," within a few days.¹²² However,

sea, and various lay associations explore the *via Francigena* as the backbone of Europe, running from England to Rome and further. Cf. L. Bruschi, "La Via Francigena e gli Itinerari Culturali del Consiglio d'Europa nelle politiche europee del turismo," in: *Via Francigena. Cammini di Fede e Turismo Culturale*, ed. A. Trono (Galatina: Congedo Ed., 2012), 25-30.

¹¹⁸ *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, 7.

¹¹⁹ It should be noted that medieval geography before the 15th century was based on the Ptolomean system, which means that it was still limited to the ancient view of the Earth and the universe. Humanism accepted the Galileian geography, based on the research of old Arabic, Greek, and Byzantine writings, which were now translated especially in Italy, France, and Germany. This naturally meant that the geographic knowledge of learned pilgrims was also more accurate than that of their predecessors from the earlier centuries.

¹²⁰ *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, 7.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 8. It should be noted that all cities and communes in the Eastern Adriatic used the experienced Venetian seafarers to collect information on the current political and military events, which was of utmost importance. One finds similar examples in the travelogues and journals of other European pilgrims.

¹²² *Ibidem.*

the city was struck by a plague epidemic and they could not dock in the harbour.¹²³ Even though Zadar was one of the largest coastal cities with many precious relics, and a harbour city where the *palmieri* could have rested and get food provisions as well as fresh water,¹²⁴ the epidemic forced them to proceed to the island of Hvar, where they decided to continue to Dubrovnik in order to use the favourable wind.¹²⁵ Before reaching Dubrovnik, they docked in another port, rather rarely used by the pilgrims: Korčula, which Felix defined as situated *in Illyria*.¹²⁶ It is evident that the geographic understanding of south-eastern Europe was rather vague, not only with Felix Fabri, but with all pilgrims who wrote their travelogues and journals before the end of the 15th century. Felix included some interesting, though brief information on the city of Korčula. For example, he wrote that “when they entered the port of Korčula early in the morning, they heard that the Mass was celebrated in the city.”¹²⁷ He noted that Korčula was also called *Prepo in alto*, since it was situated “on top of a high mountain” and made some other observations: the city was “small, but densely inhabited, and under the Venetian rule; it was well fortified, with bulwarks and towers, and the seat of a bishop.”¹²⁸ The population lived in great fear of the Ottomans, who were everywhere, and the pilgrims were even advised to return to Venice.¹²⁹

European historians have researched the positive impact that a continuous influx of pilgrims, even of smaller groups, had on the local economy of cities. Since all Croatian communes and cities were located along one of the most frequented naval routes to the Holy Land, their population could undoubtedly profit from that fact.¹³⁰ This is evident in case of Korčula: Felix wrote that the pilgrims bought there “wine, bread, and other provisions.”¹³¹ Even though the city was not regularly visited by

¹²³ This shows how important narrative sources are for understanding the rhythm of life in coastal cities and communes in the Eastern Adriatic. This one, namely, tells of a plague epidemic in the commune of Zadar in 1481, of which very little is known from other sources. They only tell us that the Bosnian sanjak-bey attacked the region of Zadar and Vrana that year, so it is not impossible that the epidemic came with his army. Cf. Amos Rube Filipi, “Biogradsko-vransko primorje u doba mletačko-turskih ratova s osvrtom na povijest naseljenja” [The Biograd-Vrana litoral during the Venetian-Turkish wars, with some remarks on the history of colonization], *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 19 (1972): 405-498.

¹²⁴ That the food quality in some other cities was not the best can be gathered from the journal of Pietro Casola. Telling how most pilgrims who were returning from the Holy Land to Venice came on land in Korčula to find provisions, he observed that “there was neither fish nor eggs or cheese there. The only thing we could obtain was tasty bread and wine, and some dry figs.” *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 327-328.

¹²⁵ However, they had to dock in some bay because the Ottomans started on a naval campaign to Apulia. *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, 9.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁰ Cf. Esther Cohen, “Roads and Pilgrimage: A Study in Economic Interaction,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 21/1 (1980): 321-341.

¹³¹ *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims'*, 9.

Venetian pilgrim galleys, it could still profit from selling the local produce, since some ships carried more than a hundred pilgrims. As mentioned before, the pilgrim travelogues and diaries from the fifteenth century, as well as some of the earlier ones, contain element of the new intellectual current, humanism, which also comes forth in the travelogue of Felix Fabri. He showed some humanist training by distinguishing between *Epidaurus* and *Ragusa*, saying that, having left Korčula, they came that very evening to *Epidaurus*, a city whose “modern” name was *Ragusa*.¹³² The first night in Dubrovnik they stayed on board and on the next day they explored the city, where they were surprised not to find a single inn.¹³³ This remark is indeed strange, since scholarly analyses of the situation in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries have shown that there were at least 132 owners of taverns (*taberne*) and inns within the city walls.¹³⁴ They were mostly located on main city squares, often next to monasteries and churches. Taverns usually offered wine, some also food and lodging.¹³⁵ Besides, there were special institutions where foreign diplomats, merchants, travellers, and pilgrims could find accommodation.¹³⁶ Eventually, same as in other European cities, there were hospitals in Dubrovnik, which offered lodging to poor pilgrims, as well as patrician palaces for the wealthy, such as Felix’s lord Georg von Stein, or monasteries that accommodated foreign friars as Felix himself. The two of them found lodging, albeit charged, with the Dominicans of Dubrovnik, who showed great hospitality and offered them top-quality “Slavic” wine and other victuals.¹³⁷ In a true Dominican manner, Felix sharply criticized the women of Dubrovnik, saying that they wore “too many ornaments”, which is small wonder given the fact that somewhat earlier he remarked that the merchants of Dubrovnik were “extremely wealthy, and as a galley rower said, there is no wealthier commune in the world than Dubrovnik.”¹³⁸ He also commented on the slave trade in Dubrovnik: *omni septimana est forum magnum, in quo venduntur homines*.¹³⁹ This happened despite the fact that the Major Council of Dubrovnik had strictly forbidden human trade on January 27, 1417 and, when that did not help, enhanced the prohibition on April 28, 1466 threatening with very severe punishments.¹⁴⁰ Felix also wrote a few sentences on architecture, saying that “the city is exceptionally well fortified by means of towers and very deep moats”; and when he asked a local Dominican why they had built such strong fortifications, he was informed

¹³² Ibid., 10.

¹³³ Ibidem.

¹³⁴ Gordan Ravančić, *Život u krčmama srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika* [Life in the taverns of medieval Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Hrvatski instutu za povijest, 2001), 75-78.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 81-82.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 83.

¹³⁷ It is interesting to note that two Dominicans from Dubrovnik joined the pilgrimage there – Francis of Kotor and Dominic. *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims’*, 10.

¹³⁸ Matković, *Putovanja*, 123.

¹³⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem.

that they were afraid of the “Turks, regardless of paying them tribute.”¹⁴¹ Even though everyone they met advised them to stay in the city until the acute Ottoman threat was over, Felix’s galley left Dubrovnik for the Greek coast, which also ends Fabri’s first description of the Eastern Adriatic and its cities and communes in 1480. As mentioned before, few pilgrims described their return journey in detail. On their way back, Felix’s galley made a stop in Dubrovnik and soon left, “leaving Dubrovnik to the right and Korčula to the left.”¹⁴² Their destination was Hvar (*Lesina*), which they all reached seasick and therefore stayed for three days in the city. But they also stayed for another reason: “a pregnant woman had to recuperate her strength, which she had lost during the strenuous passage.”¹⁴³ Felix remarked that it was “a wonder that both the woman and her unborn child did not die during this terrible weather.”¹⁴⁴ This is a special case, since women are rarely mentioned on pilgrim galleys, even though it is known that women from all social layers did undertake pilgrimages to Jerusalem as well as other destinations during the late medieval period.¹⁴⁵ During the whole journey from Dubrovnik to Zadar, the galley was caught in a huge storm and the pilgrims were praying for the protection and intercession of saints. They stayed for three days in Hvar in order to rest and recover from seasickness.¹⁴⁶ The storm did not subside and thus they only passed by “the Dalmatian city” of Zadar, and they felt as if they were going through *Scylla et Charybdis*, since they were now “in Quarnero, the most perilous gulf in this sea.”¹⁴⁷ The situation was so risky that the captain himself vowed that as soon as they reached Poreč, they would immediately visit the island of St Nicholas, patron saint of the seafarers, to offer thanks for his protection during this great danger. Indeed, upon arriving in Poreč, the whole crew and all the pilgrims visited collectively St Nicholas’ sanctuary on the island of the same name.¹⁴⁸ The galley stayed in Poreč for as many as five days, which shows the fierceness of the storm that had struck the northern Adriatic, which must have benefited the city’s economy, but also put the patience of the pilgrims to the test, since they only wanted to reach Venice safely and as soon as possible.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims’*, 10.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁴³ This is one of the rare mentions of women on pilgrimage. *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Zoran Ladić, “O kasnosrednjovjekovnim rapskim hodočašćima *ad sanctos*” [On late medieval pilgrimages from Rab *ad sanctos*], in: *Rapski zbornik*, vol. 2 (Rab, 2013), 143; *idem*, “Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra,” 24. Considerably more women are mentioned in the fifteenth century than in the thirteenth or fourteenth, which mirrors the increased mobility of women at greater distances towards the end of the Middle Ages, a result of the improved material and financial status of the commoner estate, as well as the Church regulations that allowed women to embark on pilgrimages with the permission of the local bishop and after a confession.

¹⁴⁶ *Felix Fabri (circa 1480-1483 A.D.) Based on the Palestine Pilgrims’*, 22.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

Soon after his return, Felix Fabri, one of the rare pilgrims who left more than one written pilgrim diary behind, went again *ad peregrinationem in Terra Sancta*. It was in 1483 and according to his words, he embarked on this journey, which would last for seven months, until January 8, 1484, only after the pleas of many persons from the ranks of high German nobility.¹⁵⁰ This time they could not dock in Poreč because of the stormy weather and thus made a stop in Rovinj (Rovigno).¹⁵¹ According to Fabri, it was not a usual pilgrim port, even though a relatively wealthy and safe commune. The pilgrims recovered their strength there and purchased food and drink for the voyage.¹⁵² Of course, being a priest, Felix dedicated much of his description to the liturgy and particularly extolled the relics, especially the body of Saint Euphemia in the cathedral church.¹⁵³ As most clerical travelogue authors, and unlike the secular lords, Felix did not complain over food and also here said that “they dined well.”¹⁵⁴ Because of the rough sea, all pilgrims had to be accommodated at modest taverns in the city, but Felix did not complain, especially because he got an excellent meal prepared by the personal cook of one of the noblemen. He nevertheless observed, same as earlier about Dubrovnik, that there were very few inns in Rovinj, especially fine ones that could accommodate lords from the Empire.¹⁵⁵ With equal benevolence he wrote of a visit to the Franciscans on the islet of St Francis, who received and entertained them very nicely, and he described the islet as fertile, with good soil.¹⁵⁶ By that time, the Ottomans had entered deep into Croatia, Bosnia had long been conquered, and numerous refugees had settled in Istria. Thus, Felix also mentioned that the citizens of Rovinj had scared them with terrible stories on Ottomans raging on land and sea throughout Dalmatia.¹⁵⁷ On the following day, after being stuck in Rovinj for five days, the pilgrims reached Quarnero (*Cornerus*), a dangerous spot where they saw “how the land of the Dalmatians and Croats was separated by high mountains from the land of the Hungarians,” which is a very accurate general

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 28. Felix had difficulties in obtaining the permission for this pilgrimage from the prior of his monastery in Ulm. The prior objected to the idea and said that Felix could go only if he obtained a written permit by the pope, at that time Sixtus IV, as well as the general of the Dominican order, Petar Leonardi *de Mansuetis de Perusio. Fratris Felicis Fabri*, ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler, 27.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 169.

¹⁵² Ibidem.

¹⁵³ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 169-170.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 170.

¹⁵⁷ More on this subject in: Ivan Jurković, *The Fate of the Croatian Noble Families in the face of Ottoman Advance*, PhD diss. Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 2004.; cf. Zoran Ladić, “Doseljenici i stranci iz Hrvatske, Slavonije i istočnojadranskih komuna u kasnosrednjovjekovnom Poreču” [Newcomers and foreigners from Croatia, Slavonia, and the Eastern Adriatic communes in late medieval Poreč], in: *Ascendere historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, ed. Marija Karbić, Hrvoje Kekez, Ana Novak, and Zorislav Horvat (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 95-112.

description of the geopolitical division of the Croatian lands in the Middle Ages noted down by a pilgrim.¹⁵⁸ This remark, in fact, shows Felix as the geographically most knowledgeable author among those treated in this paper. Moreover, he was also one of the most benevolent foreign pilgrims, since he even indirectly praised the local population for having set up various signposts for foreign ships so that they may find safe harbours and bays where they could dock.¹⁵⁹ This continuous emphasis and insistence on the practical skills and organization of the Eastern Adriatic locals show that Felix was a true *palmarius* – a priest motivated by a single goal alone, to see the Holy Sepulchre. After a few days and nights in fierce storm, Felix's ship finally found a safe haven in Osor (*Assaro*).¹⁶⁰

There is another honest and touching description by the pilgrim from the rich German city of Ulm. Not wishing to stay on board the whole day, Felix and many other pilgrims decided to visit the island's interior. But even where most pilgrims, especially those prone to Renaissance adventurism, or used to comfort fitting to their social status, would complain about the conditions, Felix always tried to stay positive and maintain a rational approach to the people and the society in the Eastern Adriatic, as shown in the given example, based on his efforts to collect as much information as possible to present an objective picture. This once again proves his ability to understand the historical circumstances in the region he was visiting. Thus, he wrote that, having walked for quite a while, they arrived in the island's interior and found huts inhabited by very poor "Slavs", who had nothing at home apart from some roots, which they dried in the sun and turned into flour in order to bake bread. However, as poor and modest as they were, they gave some of that tasteless and very black and hard bread to the pilgrims.¹⁶¹

And before they returned to the galley, Felix saw a Dominican running towards them in order to, as Felix understood, beg for some bread. However, that Dominican, although member of the most learned medieval order, spoke no Latin, Italian, or German, "since he was a genuine Dalmatian or Slav."¹⁶² It certainly seems rather strange at the time when most Dominicans knew at least Latin as the *lingua communis Europae* and Latin was also the language used by the notaries and canons in both urban and rural chapters all over Quarnero. However, what Felix did not know is that here, unlike Dalmatia, most people were Croats and largely used the Glagolitic script in their writing and liturgy, and therefore the said Dominican, who was most certainly a Croat, may not have known Latin.

Finally, after two more days spent on the island because of the storm, on the third day the pilgrims started for Zadar and arrived there on the same day. Since there was

¹⁵⁸ *Fratris Felicis Fabri*, ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler, 171.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 174.

a shortage of fresh water on the galley after it was last obtained in Rovinj, the captain ordered that several sailors should take a boat to the city and get fresh water.¹⁶³ They did not stay in Zadar, since the city was struck by plague again, but only took fresh water and observed the ancient monuments of Zadar from afar, which Felix admired very much, especially those in *Alt Zara* or present-day Biograd, which made him recall the ancient Roman Empire.¹⁶⁴ Since the weather conditions were favourable except for a storm that caught them at Nin (*Oneum in Crawacia*),¹⁶⁵ they just passed by the islands of Brač and Hvar. Felix's galley again stopped in Korčula, where the pilgrims again heard of the atrocities performed by the Ottoman pirates in this part of the Adriatic. Nevertheless, Felix again described the city as well fortified and a *civitas* with a bishop's seat.¹⁶⁶ After this stop, the galley finally caught a good wind and continued to the Holy Land without even stopping in Dubrovnik – “the capital city of all Dalmatia and Slavonia.”¹⁶⁷

All this shows that Felix, besides being learned, was also an important member of the pilgrim group, primarily because he was a Dominican friar, so he could always find food and lodging in the tight Dominican network of Istria and Dalmatia. As in the other pilgrim diaries written by clerics, Felix's travelogue shows once again that the Church was an element of integration in all Europe, and Felix knew how to use that. This integrative dimension and the fact that there was a firm and unified network of ecclesiastical institutions wherever he went made Felix more flexible and inclined towards the Western Christian populations that he had not previously known. For him, the unity was primarily expressed in the Catholic hierarchy, the common Roman liturgy, and similarities in expressing devotion – and all that he could find in the Istrian and Dalmatian cities and towns. Of course, until he found out about the heretics and schismatics from Bosnia and Rascia, especially those whom he saw in Dubrovnik.

Undoubtedly, the subjective descriptions of the lands that the pilgrims passed through, and the local population, was full of prejudice, especially when written by wealthy secular travellers, which was partly due to the hardships of the journey, bad and insufficient food, miserable lodging, the lack of hygiene with bugs and rats, cold, seasickness, plague and other diseases, which in some authors caused resentment and

¹⁶³ Ibid., 178.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 178. *Alt Zara* was the usual name of medieval German pilgrims for Biograd, and some of them who were skilled in writing or painting also made very fine presentations of Biograd as well as many other towns where they stopped on their way to the Holy Land. Besides Konrad von Grünemberg, there were other authors of such depictions, and especially fine ones (147 for the entire pilgrimage to Jerusalem) were made by Gabjel Muffel from Nuremberg.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 179.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 181. Despite his excellent division between Slavonia and Dalmatia, Felix now fell in geopolitical confusion and attached far more importance to Dubrovnik than it actually had, at least politically.

depression, resulting in negative accounts of specific places or people. A rare exception was Santo Brasca, a learned man from Milan, statesman in service of the Sforza family, who truly enjoyed his pilgrimage in 1480 starting from Venice.¹⁶⁸ Most probably, his joy and the corresponding benevolent description of the Eastern Adriatic were partly due to the fact that he was deeply religious, which he emphasized at various points in his travelogue *Viaggio in Terrasanta*, also known as *Viaggio al Santo Sepuchro*. Thus, he described Zadar as a beautiful city protected by strong fortifications, mentioned its precious relics (the shrine of Saint Simeon and others), and also remarked on the plague raging in the commune at the time. However, Brasca was disappointed with the appearance of Split, although generally writing in a positive spirit and always finding beauty in various things: thus, he noticed pretty dolphins around Split, which pilgrims generally experienced as a *signo de futura fortuna*. Besides Zadar, he was very impressed by Dubrovnik as a rich city with many relics, powerful walls, and well-organized waterworks. Returning from the Holy Land, Santo Brasca expressed his enthusiasm over Hvar and especially the island's Franciscans, who received them with so much love that he could not find the right words to describe it. He was especially touched by the fact that Hvar's Franciscans, although very poor, practically hungered in order to offer food to their pilgrim guests.

The extent to which the impression of cities, societies, and people living there could depend on personal intellectual capacities, as well as moral and religious attitudes, is best seen in the descriptions of another pilgrim: Pietro Casola, a canon from Milan, who undertook his pilgrimage in 1494.¹⁶⁹ Most of the crew on the galley of the Venetian patrician Agostino Contarini, which departed from Venice, consisted as usual of "experienced seafarers": Slavs and Albanians.¹⁷⁰ The galley first stopped at "the ancient city of Poreč, located in Istria."¹⁷¹ Similarly to other pilgrims who had arrived in this city, Casola was fascinated by the cathedral with its beautiful frescoes. However, he was the only one to remark that both the building and the frescoes were not taken care of, and that everything was in decay.¹⁷² Briefly describing the convent of St Francis, he wrote that a local Franciscan told him "it may as well not be there,"¹⁷³ referring to the building's miserable condition. Similar to several other pilgrims, Casola praised the "red wine, good in taste and fine in appearance."¹⁷⁴ Having left

¹⁶⁸ His pilgrim diary has been analysed in detail by Slobodan P. Novak, "Hodočasnik Santo Brasca u Hvaru 1480. godine" [Pilgrim Santo Brasca in Hvar (1480)], *Hvarski zbornik* 6 (1978): 45-54.

¹⁶⁹ I have here used the edition of M. Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907).

¹⁷⁰ *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 161.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

Poreč, the galley proceeded to Quarnero, where he accurately informed the readers that “in the ancient times, it was inhabited by a people called Liburni,¹⁷⁵ which along with his other remarks indicated that he had solid humanist training and that he had read ancient books or new historical texts on the Roman Empire. Having left the Quarnero Gulf, which caused them considerable trouble even though it was early June, the pilgrims reached safely Zadar, “which is actually called Iadra.”¹⁷⁶ Same as the other pilgrim authors, Casola brings some new data on the city, commenting that “it is not large, but very light and clean, with many fine buildings and surrounded by well kept and high walls.”¹⁷⁷ Since he came from Milan, it is understandable that in Zadar he “saw only modest houses and not a single palace.”¹⁷⁸ However, he was impressed by the beauty of St Anastasia’s cathedral and he especially noticed “a long and curving wall made of wood, with scenes from the Old Testament painted by very skilful masters.”¹⁷⁹ Interestingly, he mentioned the architectural beauty of the Franciscan Observant monastery in the city and of its church.¹⁸⁰ Keeping in mind that “social Christianity” was the most widespread type of piety in the late Middle Ages, whereby the Franciscans were especially popular because of their welfare activities among the common people and the flourishing of St Francis’ cult in Assisi, which developed into another *peregrinatio maior* between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and was very popular among the commoners and the patricians alike, it should not surprise us that Casola was amazed by the beauty of the Franciscan monastery, which was receiving numerous testamentary legacies in money and goods. Casola also visited the most famous relic of Zadar, St Simeon’s shrine in the church of the same name, and he was stunned by the state of preservation of the saint’s body, same as Mariano from Siena, Felix Fabri, and other *palmieri*: he emphasized that the body was so complete that not a single body part was missing, “not in his legs and not in his arms.”¹⁸¹ This information, however, does not correspond to what we know from the French pilgrim Louis de Rochechouart and his pilgrimage description from 1461, since he wrote that a Hungarian queen tore off the saint’s right thumb.¹⁸² Since Casola did not notice that the right thumb was missing, one may presume that it was replaced by another. But Casola also noticed something else: that “the saint’s mouth was open and that all teeth were missing from his upper jaw.”¹⁸³ It

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 165.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem. His descriptions of the cathedral, its statues, altars, choir, and carvings may be of particular interest to art historians.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 166.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem.

¹⁸² *Journal de voyage a Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, 229.

¹⁸³ *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage*, 166.

may be presumed that some distinguished pilgrims – kings, dukes, counts, and magnates, as particularly honoured guests, may have been presented with a tooth of Saint Simeon the Righteous.¹⁸⁴ He also briefly described the Benedictine monastery of St Chrysogonus the Martyr.¹⁸⁵ Linked to the pilgrims' return to the galley, Casola mentioned that they were summoned by a loud trumpet sound, which the captain ordered as there was a favourable wind called *scirocco*: a warm wind from south or southeast, good for seafaring.¹⁸⁶ Same as the other pilgrims, Casola was fascinated by the region he called *Sclavonia*, characterised by tall and almost entirely rocky mountains. Owing to the weak south-western wind called *garbino*, the pilgrims had an opportunity to take a good look at the mountain chain stretching some “70 miles” towards the south.¹⁸⁷ However, when a sudden storm broke out, the captain was in a dilemma whether he should bring the ship back to the port of Zadar or proceed to the nearby Šibenik (*Sebenico*), the problem being that the latter did not have the suitable port for receiving such large ships.¹⁸⁸ Casola was impressed by the corporal strength of the galley rowers, who had to toil beyond human capacity in such harsh conditions. He also wrote on the function of the navigator or skipper, emphasizing that one was in charge of the section from Venice to Poreč, since he knew well that part of the sea,

¹⁸⁴ Casola then described the church of St Simeon in detail, which is of great importance for the research on Zadar's sacral architecture and art. *Ibid.*, 166-167.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*. During the return voyage, the galley also had problems with docking in Zadar, and the captain was reluctant to do so because of the delay. However, the wife of Venetian Lorenzo Venier had some relatives in Zadar and wanted to visit them, so the galley made a stop there, although only until the following day at noon. The journey from Zadar to Quarnero was very short due to the favourable wind. However, Quarnero was full of dangers as usual, especially since it was now late Autumn (October 24) and the ship ended up in a fierce storm caused by the *bora* wind. They somehow managed to dock at the cliff of St Jerome and save the galley. Far away one could see the Brijuni (*Briona*) archipelagos, for which Casola, prone to ethymological interpretations, concluded that it should be pronounced “Priona” because it consisted of stony mountains and very beautiful cliffs of different provenance. Casola was fascinated by these rocks and added that large quantities of it were exported to Venice. He also observed that land was mostly cultivated by women, since men were fully occupied with working at the quarries. Even their beautiful houses were built without mortar or cement, only with well carved and skilfully set stones. He mentioned a beautiful church dedicated to St Germain the Martyr, who was born and died in the vicinity of Pula, and to the Four Holy Crowned Heads, likewise late antique martyrs. There was also an altar built with a donation of 300 golden ducats, with five large statues carved by some great master. Casola remarked that they seemed so alive that they could almost speak, and humbly added that he had “never seen such a beautiful altar in Milan.” The last stop in the Eastern Adriatic was Poreč, after which the galley arrived in Venice on October 29/30, 1491. *Ibid.*, 332-335.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 169. Returning from the Holy Land, Casola's galley docked at an islet called *La Murata*, in the vicinity of Šibenik. It was a completely barren stony islet, where Casola could not find a single plant to eat, but since it was near Šibenik, the fishermen brought them “large quantities of good and cheap fish.” How strenuous these journeys to the Holy Land were is evident from the fact that a French pilgrim died and was buried on *La Murata*. *Ibid.*, 332-333.

and another from Poreč to Methoni in Greece.¹⁸⁹ After Šibenik, they passed by Trogir (*Trau*) and Split, which he was told to be “a city in bloom” in terms of economy.¹⁹⁰ As for the island of Vis (*Lissa*), Casola wrote that “it is very fertile, with copious supplies of wine and fruit, receiving significant income from sardine trade.”¹⁹¹ They only passed by Hvar (*Lesina*) and Korčula (*Curzola*),¹⁹² except that the galley rowers brought some fresh water. It should be mentioned that Casola explicitly stated that all the cities and islands he mentioned belonged to the Venetians. However, when they reached the island of Mljet (*Melita*) on the other day, he wrote that “this island belonged to Dubrovnik.”¹⁹³ Then they reached Ston (*Stagno*), “a town that also belonged to Dubrovnik,” and the captain himself told him that “the town was as large as Dubrovnik, but not so populated.”¹⁹⁴ Every year, the captain continued, large quantities of high-quality salt were produced there, which brought huge income to Dubrovnik, as much as 40000 ducats per year.¹⁹⁵ They entered the port very cautiously, with constant pounding and trumpeting as signalization. When everyone disembarked, Casola noticed that many crew members and even galley rowers went to the harbour to trade with the local population. He wrote that the city was situated in “Slavonia or Dalmatia” and he was fascinated by its beauty, which largely consisted in its proportions and its strong walls, around 24 Milanese feet thick (ca. 10.5 meters).¹⁹⁶ He described the city in detail, mentioning a large number of craft shops and stores on Stradun. The city had so many beautiful houses and palaces that almost nothing more could fit.¹⁹⁷ Casola was somewhat surprised by the modesty of the cathedral dedicated to Our Lady and found it far more interesting to write about the patron saint of the city, Saint Blaise, who was very popular among the citizens of Dubrovnik, so that many of them and even many Slavs living outside of the city were

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem. Describing the return voyage, Casola mentioned that a new skipper came to the galley in Modon, the one to navigate all the way to Poreč. Ibid., 321.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 171.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 171.

¹⁹² However, he did write more on Korčula on his way back from the Holy Land, namely that it was a citadel in Dalmatia, clean and light like “a precious gem.” It was surrounded by strong walls, which will become even stronger when they are completed towards the sea. The city itself was built on a rock and its streets were narrow and dark. There were several palaces in the city, so modern that they would be fitting for any large city. He was also fascinated by the cathedral church. Ibid., 327. His galley also docked in the port of Hvar, where he remarked that “everyone was amazed how Hvar (*Lesina*) could be considered a city when it could not offer lodging to a single person.” They were surprised to hear that it was the seat of a bishopric, and Casola amused himself with the etymology of names *Lesina* and *Fara*. However, he was not as critical as his co-travellers and said that it was “a strong city.” The only building that the pilgrims admired was the city hall; all other houses were quite modest. Ibid., 329.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 171.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 172.

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 173.

named “Vlaho”,¹⁹⁸ a remark with which he showed not only his interest in onomastics, but also an outspokenly rational trait in his observations. He also paid much attention to the convent of St Francis, which he considered the most beautiful one that he had seen on that journey, except for the one in Venice. He described the Franciscan church in detail, especially its majestic altar.¹⁹⁹ His detailed description of the church with its choir, sacristy, and especially the altar is of great value for art historians. For researchers of medieval liturgical and lay books, it is important that Casola observed that the Franciscan church “possesses five volumes of books with the Psalter”, exceptionally beautifully wrought.²⁰⁰ Describing the Franciscan convent in detail, he wrote that a friar told him the monastery was particularly in charge of “hospitality and accommodation of people, especially foreigners and Italians.”²⁰¹ Then he proceeded to describe various secular, civil, and administrative buildings, whereby he singled out the one in which the Major Council of Dubrovnik met. It included an armoury with coats-of-arms of various rulers, among others the duke of Milan.²⁰² Interestingly, Casola’s general opinion on the religiosity of the citizens of Dubrovnik and the population of the surrounding villages was very positive: judging from the state of their sacral buildings, they were very devout Catholics who liked their local clergy and especially their Franciscans, whom they presented with valuable pious bequests.²⁰³

Casola continued by describing public structures, such as aqueducts or fountains where the locals got their water, as well as cisterns for the collection of rainwater. He also noticed patrician summerhouses outside the city and their vineyards yielding good wines, especially malvasia and red wines.²⁰⁴ Since the soil was not suitable for growing wheat, the city lacked grain and “imported it from Apulia.”²⁰⁵ Whenever a pilgrim ship arrived in the harbour, peasants came to the city in order to sell food (except for bread, which is of low quality), wine, wax, and other things.²⁰⁶ Casola mentioned some interesting customs that he observed in Dubrovnik: the women “looked strange to him, since they wore very weird garments, but rather decent,” with a very peculiar headgear.²⁰⁷ He also remarked that he had seen very beautiful women,

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 175.

²⁰² *Ibidem*.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 176. On his way back, Casola also had words of praise for Korčulan wine, which was plentiful and of good quality. Otherwise he saw a reason for the miserable state of Korčula in the fact that most men served on the Venetian galleys. *Ibid.*, 327.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 176. He also wrote that the inhabitants of Hvar live off buying Apulian grain. *Ibid.*, 330.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

although not many, with pretty ornaments made of gold and silver on their clothes and with pearl jewellery.²⁰⁸ A custom that he found very weird and did not approve of was that the citizens were not allowed to keep wine at home, even if it was their own product. If they wanted to drink wine, they had to go to taverns. But even though he could not understand the possible reasons for this rule, he commented that it would not hurt to introduce it in Milan, since then there would be less people suffering from rheum, both men and women.²⁰⁹ He also made interesting observations on the language spoken in Dubrovnik. On a Sunday, he attended the Mass at the cathedral, celebrated by his Dubrovnik friend, the Franciscan Francis, whom Casola considered a very learned man. The believers were very satisfied with the Mass and brought him many presents afterwards.²¹⁰ But then Casola wrote that “Francesco’s sermon was very pleasing to those who understood it, for after all they were Slavs and I believe not everyone understands the language” (Latin).²¹¹ Especially the women seemed not to have understood the liturgy.²¹² Casola was very glad that Francis often referred to pilgrimages, especially mentioning the pilgrims from his galley.²¹³ Same as some earlier pilgrim authors, Casola was inclined to note some anthropological features of the Dalmatian locals and, just like Pero Tafur, remarked that “people from Dubrovnik are generally beautiful and seem tall.”²¹⁴ As for the culture of people from Dubrovnik and the surrounding region, he stated that everyone was “very polite and nice, at least to foreigners,”²¹⁵ apparently doubting a little the sincerity of such emotions and perhaps suspecting that they exhibited such fine traits only if they had some use of it.

The political observations of Pietro Casola are very brief, but relatively accurate. Thus, he observed that Dubrovnik was a free city that paid a tribute of some 20000-25000 ducats to the Ottomans, and the government also sent a modest sum of 500 ducats as a “gift” to the Hungarian king “for his protection.”²¹⁶ In one place, however, he included a considerably more extensive description of the political regime in the Republic of Dubrovnik.²¹⁷ This is where his description of the Eastern Adriatic ends. One should say that during his return voyage he noted down far less information on the Eastern Adriatic, probably tired of writing and travelling, but when he did, it

²⁰⁸ Ibidem.

²⁰⁹ Ibidem.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 179.

²¹¹ Ibidem.

²¹² On his way back from Jerusalem, he also made an observation on the linguist competencies of the Korčulans: they dressed like the Venetians and almost everyone spoke Italian.

²¹³ He also attended the Mass in Hvar on his way back from Palestine. Contrary to mentioned one, however, it was an exceptionally uninspired and boring Mass, for which reason a part of the congregation chatted or even slept. Ibid., 330-331.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 177.

²¹⁵ Ibidem.

²¹⁶ Ibidem. Felix Fabri also mentioned the tribute, but without the exact sum.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 178-179.

mostly concerned those cities which he had not mentioned when travelling towards the Holy Land.²¹⁸

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to sum up the results: the information gathered from the diaries and travelogues of medieval European pilgrims to the Holy Land, which refers to the regions, people, and communes of the Eastern Adriatic and their customs, language, and piety, largely depended on the true motives behind the pilgrimage, the social status of the pilgrim, and even the sex of the authors. Considering the dozen works analyzed in this paper, it can be concluded that those pilgrims who were motivated by genuine piety were less interested in describing the cities, region, people, and communities they encountered on their way, whereas those whose pilgrimage was primarily an adventure or an occasion for making business contacts presented rather interesting data regarding various aspects of daily life of inhabitants of East Adriatic communes. The religiously inspired pilgrims saw their journey as a true *peregrinatio ad Dominum*, and some of the diaries even give an impression of resignation with the world and a longing to reach the Holy Land as a sort of final deed in their earthly life. Regarding their social status and education, the learned pilgrims from higher social strata, whether secular or clerical, were more inclined to express prejudice and complain about the quality of food and lodging, contrary to those with lower social standing or the Mendicants, especially Franciscans, who showed far more understanding for cultural, ethnic, linguistic, or even ecclesiastical differences. Eventually, unique cases such as Margery Kempe, whose motives were deeply religious and even mystic, barely mentioned or were interested in these differences, at least in the spiritual atmosphere in which they experienced their journey *ad sanctum sepulchrum Domini*. Nevertheless, all the analyzed travelogues, with the exception of Margery Kempe, clearly show to a greater or lesser extent that the era of striving towards the *pax Christiana* and a unique *cultura religionis Christiane*, which was an ideal of Western Christianity from the mid-eleventh until the late thirteenth century, was gone forever, and that the late Middle Ages was a period of ethnic kingdoms, states, and other territorial entities.²¹⁹ In such circumstances, the late medieval and early Renaissance period abandoned the ideal of Christian universalism in favour of ethnic sensibilities. For this reason, the experience of otherness in pilgrim diaries was no longer limited to the infidels – Saracens, Turks, or Mongols in Palestine and Asia Minor – and not even to the Christians who belonged to the *Slavia Orthodoxa* or

²¹⁸ Ibid., 327-335.

²¹⁹ On the issue of *pax Christiana* and *cultura religionis Christiane*, see Tomaž Mastnak, *Križarski mir. Kršćanstvo, muslimanski svijet i zapadni politički poredak* [The Crusade Peace: Christianity, the Muslim world, and the Western political order] (Zagreb: Prometej, 2005), esp. 104-124.

Byzantium, but extended to the social communities and individuals who belonged to Western Christianity, yet differed in some respects (language, tradition, habits, anthropological features, and so on) from people in their own lands. Eventually, one should say that in the fifteenth century, and especially its latter half, Western European pilgrim diaries increasingly reveal the influence of humanism, expressed, for example, in various attempts to use ancient etymological explanations for the origin of people, place names, legends and myths, or gentile and ethnic groups. The deeper one goes into the era of humanism and Renaissance, diaries and travelogues tend to abandon the old Ptolomean geography of the world, which implied Jerusalem as the “centre of the world” and begin to exhibit traits of the new, Galileian interpretation of geography, where the Earth was no longer the centre of the universe, which also had an impact on the religious dimension and significance of the Holy Land.