Building of organs in the Croatian lands, and thus the art of organ-playing, began in the second half of the 14th century, when foreign organ builders built the first instruments there. In northern Croatia these were organ builders from the area of present-day Slovenia, Hungary, Austria, and the Czech Republic. In the area of coastal Croatia, organs were mostly built by organ builders from Italy, with an emphasis on Venice. At those times, organs were generally acquired for cathedrals (Zagreb, Rab, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Dubrovnik), and less frequently for parish churches (St Mark’s in Zagreb and St Nicholas’s in Varaždin). In certain Dalmatian towns organs were represented in several churches: in the Cathedral, the Franciscan church, the Dominican church and the Dominican nuns’ church in Zadar, and in Šibenik and Hvar in the Cathedral and the Franciscan church. Finally, in Dubrovnik, organs existed in the Cathedral, the Church of St Blaise, the convent of the Poor Clares, the Dominican church and the Franciscan church, and were owned by the canons. Although these instruments are no longer in existence, archival data about them has been preserved.

**Keywords:** organs, organ builders, Croatian lands, 14th century, 15th century, 16th century, Zagreb, Varaždin, Krk, Rab, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Dubrovnik, cathedral, church, monastery, archival data

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1 This article is an expanded version of the paper presented at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference held in Birmingham from July 3 — 6, 2014.
Introduction

Building of organs in the Croatian lands, and thus the art of organ-playing, was marked in the past by regional, cultural and political influences of neighbouring areas. Until the late 19th century, the crucial influence on the eastern Adriatic coast was from Italy, especially Venice which, up to its collapse in 1797, ruled most of the mentioned territories. Continental Croatia was exposed to constant warfare with the Turks who, after winning the Battle of Mohács in 1526, occupied two-thirds of Croatian territory and ruled it for over the next 150 years. Under those difficult economic circumstances, no conditions existed for the formation of local organ-building workshops. That was the reason for which the organs in this area appeared in small numbers and only in several of the free cities such as Zagreb and Varazdin. They were built by organ-builders from the area of present-day Slovenia, Hungary, Austria, and the Czech Republic. At the same time, cities on the eastern Adriatic coast, like Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, and Dubrovnik, were going through happier times in their cultural development. During the 15th and 16th century, Italian organ builders constructed a significant number of organs there, which were often richly ornamented.

We should keep in mind that, from the 14th century, almost all of the great churches in the West had organs. In some churches in the Croatian lands this happened in the second half of the 14th century. Due to a less favourable economic situation in some of them, that did not happen until the 15th century. Organ building in the area of the Croatian lands began in the second half of the 14th century, when foreign organ-builders constructed the first instruments. Although these instruments are no longer in existence, archival data about them has been preserved. This paper will present the most prominent among them.

Zagreb

The Parish Church of St Mark

In the parish Church of St Mark in Zagreb, which was built in the mid-13th century, we can find the first information about musicians as early as in the second half of the 14th century. In fact, it was from this church in the civil part of the town called Gradec that the oldest written mention of organs and organists in Croatia originated. Thanks to Court documents from 1359 we learn about Nikola, the parish church organist who, along with his wife, lived close to St Mark’s Square. The oldest accounts that mention organs date from 1362. This should be linked with

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1 Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN — Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIC: Pregled povijesti starijih orgulja zagrebačke katedrale [History of Zagreb Cathedral Early Organs], Arti musices, 22 (1991) 1, 6.
the appearance of the Anjou dynasty in Croatia, building their royal palace in Gradec (1333), and the new ceremonies that they conducted. The appearance of His Majesty the King in the church was undoubtedly conducted solemnly, with organ accompaniment, as was already the custom at the French court. That is why the organ in the church of St Mark may have been a gift from the king himself.\(^3\)

It cannot be established who the heir of the organist Nikola was. It was only in 1443 that another organist was mentioned, Matija Judas, while the organist Stjepan Bertun was sentenced to death by hanging in 1472 for stealing organ pipes.\(^4\)

The Cathedral

Zagreb Cathedral in the Church’s part of the town called Kaptol (the Chapter), the most important religious monument of northern Croatia, obtained its first organ around 1420 during the time of Bishop Eberhard (second episcopate, 1410-1419) or the Bishop Ivan (1421-1433).\(^5\) It was probably a small instrument by an unknown organ-builder, set on the stone of the presbiterium.\(^6\) It was in use until 1505, had been repaired in 1493 and 1501 and may have been seriously damaged in a strong earthquake that struck Zagreb on 25\(^{th}\) March 1505. That was the reason why the canons decided to look for an organ builder and install a new one. It was commissioned by Bishop Luka (1500-1510), with the money that was left by Bishop Osvald (1466-1499).\(^7\) Among other expenditures, it was stated that on 1\(^{st}\) May 1505 an amount of 85 florints was paid for the acquisition of three centers of tin and 16 libra of gold for the organ to be built by Master Marko. The manner in which Master Marko built the organ for Zagreb Cathedral suggests that he was an Italian organ builder. That organ consisted only of principal stops and one stop in the pedal. In 1518 an organist — Joannes Steck from Pécs, Hungary — came to Zagreb to repair and expand the organ. Thanks to his enrichment with new organ stops, Zagreb Cathedral received a new Renaissance instrument.\(^8\) It had a range from F\(^1\) to about c\(^3\). In those days such organs were considered to be great cathedral organs. During the 16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) century it was renovated and enlarged several times. It was destroyed in a fire in 1645 and when a part of the cathedral ceiling collapsed in 1646.

\(^3\) Cf. ibid.
\(^5\) Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN — Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ: Pregled povijesti starijih orgulja zagrebačke katedrale, 4-6.
\(^6\) In church architecture, the elevated area near the main altar and behind it; usually ends with an apse, and the space is divided by a partition for worshippers.
\(^7\) Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN — Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ: Pregled povijesti starijih orgulja zagrebačke katedrale, 8.
\(^8\) Cf. ibid., 8-12.
Varaždin

The oldest known fact about organs in Varaždin, the town in north western Croatia, can be found in court records. It was at some fair that a wife of an organ master (Orgelmaistrin) got into a wrangle with a belt-maker and her husband, while buying belts and leather. If it had not been for that altercation, which ended up in court, we would not learn about the organ that existed in Varaždin in 1459. In addition to information about court offences and punishment that followed, there is an interesting fact in this anecdote about the organ master who lived in Varaždin, which is very valuable information in the absence of other sources for the history of organ building in northern Croatia. Since there was an organist’s wife in Varaždin, it seems that the organist was employed there for a longer period. This leads to the assumption that the organ was built for the parish Church of St Nicholas. Historical sources indicate that comprehensive repairs were being made on the Romanesque parish church between 1452 and 1454. It is understandable that after the completion of the church and setting up of the altar they were going to be obtaining an organ.

Krk

The diocesan archives in Krk hold a brief record of the visitation of the Zadar Archbishop Ivan Robobello in 1500, which contains valuable information about organs. Describing the things that were in the presbiterium, he states the following: “Then, in the midst of the church [there was] a mediocre organ, weathered, with four organ stops and an antique manual.” According to these data, we can conclude that this organ was already very old in 1500 and, in accordance with earlier tradition, placed in the middle of the church. It was probably built in the early to mid-15th century and had four organ stops. Other archival data reveals that it was in such a state that it could no longer be repaired, so there was a need for a new instrument. This organ was still in use at least until 1530, because the church had a paid organist, and a new organ had not been procured. The first information on the purchase of a new organ dates from 1533, when the clergymen and representatives of the Fraternity of St Mary and St John agreed that these fraternities would supply money over the next four years to a fund for the purchase of a new organ. It is likely that the new organ was built between 1540 and 1542.
when an organist is mentioned again. With repeated repairs, the organ lasted until 1815 when the organ built by Gaetano Callido was installed.

**Rab**

There is not a lot of information about the old organ of Rab Cathedral, but it can be presumed that the instrument had existed in the 15th century, since it was mentioned in 1523 as being very friable. On 19th February 1523 the city headman, diocesan vicar and the church elders signed a contract with Vicenzo (Vicko) da Casal san Vasa da Monfera, the organ builder from Montferrat. A size of ten feet was agreed, with seven organ stops. They asked the master to build it similarly to the instrument in the Venetian Church of the Madonna dell’Orto and for the front tin pipes be larger than those in the Venetian Church of San Lorenzo. The organ builder promised to transport the instrument to Rab and set it on a simple housing in Rab Cathedral by Easter 1524. Before that, it had to be tested in Venice in a way that it be assembled and that its excellence be tested alongside the organ in the Church of the Madonna dell’Orto. They agreed on a price of 110 gold ducats and the method of payment through a prominent Venetian printer, Bernardino Stagnini, who was also from Montferrat.

**Zadar**

The first information about organs in Zadar originates from 1392, when the priest Juraj was mentioned as an organist at the Cathedral of St Anastasia. The Franciscan church built a new organ in 1443. We learn this from the agreement concluded on 9th September 1443 with the Venetian master, Marco «degli Organi». The agreement emphasizes that the new organ would be five feet wide and would resemble the portative organ at the Cathedral of St Anastasia, but must be distinguished from another small portative organ — referred to in the contract as «organetto parvo» — standing in the middle of the same church. It was probably a larger type of small organ that had been set in one place — a positive (»organum positivum«). Master Marco had to finish the whole job in seven months, and then

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12 Cf. ibid., 96-97.
14 Montferrat (in Italian: Monferrato) is part of the region of Piedmont in northern Italy.
come to Zadar with his assistant and install the organ. He received 40 ducats and the old organ pipes for his work. 18 The Dominican church in Zadar received its organ in the early 16th century, thanks to the private inheritance of Jakov Melajević from Split. Documents mention the doors, on which a painter of the Titian school created scenes of the Annunciation and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as well as two little angels with instruments. 19 In the Dominican nuns’ Church of St Demetrius, the organ was restored in 1587.

Šibenik

The first news about the construction of the organ in the Cathedral of St James in Šibenik originated from 22nd October 1540. Then, the Venetian priest Ioannes Petris promised to build a new organ modelled on the one in the Church of St Anastasia in Zadar. It can be assumed that they were speaking about a small organ — a positive. 20 However, on 18th January 1542, both sides abandoned the deal. In 1556, elders of the Šibenik Cathedral concluded a contract with the Venetian master, Andrea Vicentini (Andreas Vicentinus). 21 For the sum of 450 ducats, he undertook to build an organ with nine organ stops »in unisono« with pipes of lead and tin and to transport it from Venice to Šibenik. This was a somewhat larger organ but it was not delivered to Šibenik until 1562.

The church elders apparently were not satisfied with the organ and already on 2nd November 1563 a new contract was concluded with a French organ builder. He remained recorded as Master Martin Datis Piccardus »civitas Suecionensis«. 22 He promised that he would make nine new organ stops for 100 ducats. These were probably real organ stops, unlike the previous »in unisono« ones. 23 Martin also improved the organ of the Šibenik Cathedral in 1575. The organ-builder Simon (Šimun) Lupino from Zadar undertook on 23rd June 1600 to build a new organ for the Franciscan monastery in Šibenik and he delivered it a year later. 24 The first organ was installed there even earlier than in the Cathedral — around 1439.

19 Cf. Antonin ZANINOVIĆ: Starije vijesti o orguljima u nekim dalmatinski crkvama, 142.
20 Cf. Ante MATIJEVIĆ: Neriješeni problemi orgulja u šibenskoj katedrali od njena početka do danas, 471.
22 He was probably from the vicinity of the town of Soissons in northern France. Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN: Martin Datis Piccardus »civitas Suecionensis«, http://dizbi.hazu.hr/?vdoc=1579&page=49 (access 8th April 2015).
Split

The oldest contract known to date for building organ for the Cathedral of St Domnius in Split was concluded on 31st December 1412 between the Split Archdiocese and Fra Ventura of Fermo. He promised to make an organ that it would be a joy to play; it would be seven feet long, would have a beautiful and ornamented cabinet and would have all the necessary equipment. He has also undertaken to teach the clerics the art of organ playing. However, by the end of the 15th century, the organ by Brother Ventura was no longer appropriate and the canons requested a new organ from the city headman in 1497. Since the request was accepted, the new organ was built around 1500. Nevertheless, it seems that they used the old organ until the second half of the 16th century, when the French organ builder Martin Datis carried out thorough repair of the instrument. He was the same organ builder who was previously mentioned in Šibenik. The symbol of Venetian rule was placed above the organ — a gilded wooden lion of St Mark, as was popular on other organs in Dalmatia. That organ lasted until 1603 when it was replaced by a new one by Archbishop Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624) due to friability.

Trogir

The Cathedral of St Lawrence in Trogir procured new organs twice during the 15th century. The first was installed in 1453. It was bought by the church custodian Kristofor (Krsto) Andreis for a price of 390 Venetian liras. That organ was obviously not long-lasting because a contract for a new organ was concluded already in 1484. It was built by Fra Urbano for the price of 80 gold Venetian ducats. Fra Urbano was the most famous Venetian organ builder at the time who had built the organ in the Church of St Mark in Venice in 1489. The organ built by Fra Urbano was placed on the right side of the great altar in the Trogir Cathedral. It was luxuriantly decorated. The doors were painted in 1489 by the Italian painter Gentile Bellini (1429-1507), who created depictions of St Jerome and St John the Baptist. A gilded wooden lion of St Mark, the symbol of Venetian rule, was placed above the instrument. This organ lasted until 1767 when the organ by Gaetano Callido was installed.

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25 Fermo is a town and commune of the Marche, Italy, in the Province of Fermo.
26 Cf. Cvito FISKOVIĆ: Iz glazbene prošlosti Dalmacije, 713.
27 Cf. ibid., 713-714.
28 Cf. ibid., 715.
During the attacks on Hvar in 1571, the Ottoman Turks took the pipes of the organ from the Cathedral of St Stephen. We learn this from the report of the Verona Bishop, Agostino Valier. He visited Hvar in 1579 as an envoy of Pope Gregory XIII and issued an order on repair of the organ. An organ in this church was first mentioned between 1532 and 1537, that is, in the first half of the 16th century, but it may have originated in the 15th century. It was also noted that it was old and replaced by a new one in 1545, built by Marco Tinto, a Venetian organist, and probably also an organ builder. In 1548, the organ builder Vidal repaired the organ and gilded the housing, painted it and coated it with lacquer. Until the repairs were done, it was played by the organist, Marko. In 1557, the organ was repaired and tuned by Master Toma, a watchmaker from Korčula, while the organist in 1558 was Markantun. A 1581 request by the Cathedral organist, Giovanni Battista Meneghitti (originally from Verona), is very interesting and serves as an illustration of the position and social role of musicians in those times. Meneghitti asked the Great Council of Hvar to grant him another salary alongside his chaplain’s salary, while he agreed to play in the city headman’s palace during the carnival, since the community had already taken another musician for that occasion. This information shows that the organist, according to the practice of those times, also played other instruments. The organ obviously existed before 1599 in the Franciscan church in Hvar, because a place for the organ was prepared that year. A painting of the Virgin, Child and angels with instruments (a lute and two shawms), created in 1583 by Francesco da Santa Croce (1516-1584), was placed in that church in front of the organ.

Korčula

The elders of the Cathedral of St Mark in Korčula concluded a contract on 19th October 1556 with the Italian organ builder Vincenzo Colombo from Montferrat. He promised to build a suitable organ for the local Cathedral, specifying its size, main pipes, steps, disposition, and other parts that he would make perfectly and at his own expense. He did not promise to build the housing because there were many carpenters in Korčula, employed at the then-famous

\[\text{Hvar}\]

\[\text{Korčula}\]
shipyard, who were more than qualified to do so. Colombo also did not undertake to ship the instrument from Venice to Korčula, but he guaranteed sending an expert to assemble the organ and place it in the appropriate position.\textsuperscript{34}

Thanks to favourable economic conditions, the citizens of Korčula allowed themselves one more expenditure, commissioning art from the workshop of the famous Venetian painter Tintoretto. They ordered the doors be decorated with pictures of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was noted that the organist Giovanni Battista Meneghetti played that organ in 1574 and during the next several years. However, it seems that he conducted himself in an inappropriate way in that small-town environment. That is why the Verona Bishop Agostino Valier, while visiting Korčula in 1579, prescribed the manner of selection and payment of organists. He pointed out that this service could not be performed by those who were known for adultery. Perhaps that is why Meneghetti migrated to the neighbouring island of Hvar, where he became the organist of the local Cathedral.\textsuperscript{35}

\textbf{Dubrovnik}

The first news about organs in Dubrovnik dates from 1384. That year, the Small Council of the Republic of Dubrovnik enabled the superiors of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary to procure an organ for the amount that they considered appropriate. In May of the next year the organ was finished and the Senate paid 100 ducats for it, while the Small Council contributed 50 ducats.\textsuperscript{36} According to the amount spent, it is assumed that this was a larger organ. The Spanish organ builder Johannes Spalensis de Sibilia, who is also mentioned as Magister Johannes Andalus de Sibilia (Sibiliis),\textsuperscript{37} worked in the Dubrovnik Republic from 1388 to 1410. He built a positive organ for the canon-deacon Vlaho Bobaljević in 1388, and an organ for the canon, Frederik Gučetić. Ten years later (in 1398), de Sibilia signed a contract to build an organ for the Church of St Blaise, he being the patron saint of the city.\textsuperscript{38} In addition, before 1398, an organ had already existed in the convent of the Poor Clares in Dubrovnik, and in the first half of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century organs were recorded in the Dominican and Franciscan churches.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. Cvito FISKOVIĆ: Iz glazbene prošlosti Dalmacije, 724-725.
\textsuperscript{35} Cf. \textit{ibid.}, 725.
\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Miho DEMOVIĆ: Orgulje u katedrali kroz vjekove (Organs in the Cathedral through the Ages), in: Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ (ed.): \textit{Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku} [The Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in Dubrovnik], Gradska župa Gospe Velike — Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Dubrovnik — Zagreb 2014, 361.
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN: Magister Johannes Andalus de Sibiliis, \url{http://dizbi.hazu.hr/?vdoc=1576&page=44} (access 8\textsuperscript{th} April 2015).
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. Miho DEMOVIĆ: Orgulje u katedrali kroz vjekove, 361.
\textsuperscript{39} Cf. \textit{ibid.}, 361.
In the mid-16th century, the Dubrovnik Senate decided to acquire a new organ that arrived in Dubrovnik in 1543. It was a large organ for which the sum of 1400 ducats was paid.\textsuperscript{40} The Church of St Blaise also acquired a new organ during that period. It was built by the organ builder Vincenzo Colombo, as we learn from the contract signed on 13th October 1556. Six days later Colombo accepted to do the same job in the Cathedral on the island of Korčula. The Dubrovnik contract, as well as the one for Korčula, specifies the size of the organ, six organ stops, dispositions (\textit{tenors, octaves, quinte decime, vigesime seconde, vigesme sexte, luto e piffaro}) and other necessary parts that had to be built by the Easter of 1558. The price for his work was 185 scudo.\textsuperscript{41} The citizens of Dubrovnik, who possessed a notable number of sailing ships, agreed to transport the organs themselves from Venice to Dubrovnik.

\textit{Conclusion}

According to various archival data and preserved contracts for building of organs, it can be concluded that there existed two types of these instruments in the Croatian lands during the 15th and 16th century: small or portable organs (portative), and those that were installed in one place (positive). In general, it can be said that the prevailing organs were of smaller dimensions. Usually no specially designated area was built for them. Large organs, by the standards of those times, graced the Zagreb, Krk, Rab, and Dubrovnik Cathedrals from the first half of the 16th century.

Organs were usually built and repaired by organ builders from abroad. In northern Croatia these were organ builders from the area of present-day Slovenia, Hungary, Austria, and the Czech Republic. In the area of coastal Croatia, organs were mostly built by organ builders from Italy, with an emphasis on Venice: Marco \textit{»degli Organi«} (Zadar), Ioannes Petris and Andrea Vicentini (Šibenik), Fra Urbano (Trogir), and Marco Tinto (Hvar). Vincenzo da Casal from Montferrat built organs on the island of Rab, and it is assumed that while in Venice he had built organs for Korčula and Dubrovnik, under the name of Vincenzo Colombo. The French organ builder Martin Datis Piccardus built the organs in Šibenik and Split.

In those times, organs were generally acquired for cathedrals (Zagreb, Rab, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Dubrovnik), and less frequently for the parish churches (St Mark’s in Zagreb and St Nicholas’s in Varaždin). In certain Dalmatian towns organs were represented in several churches: in the Cathedral,
the Franciscan church, the Dominican church and the Dominican nuns’ church in Zadar, and in Šibenik and Hvar in the Cathedral and the Franciscan church. Finally, in Dubrovnik, which during the 15th and 16th century experienced its golden age and achieved the greatest cultural and artistic range of all the Croatian cities, organs existed in the Cathedral, the Church of St Blaise, the convent of the Poor Clares, the Dominican church and the Franciscan church, and they were owned by the canons.

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Sažetak

ORGULJE I ORGULJARSTVO U HRVATSKIM ZEMLJAMA OD 14. DO 16. STOLJEĆA

hrvatskih gradova, orgulje su postojale u katedrali, crkvi sv. Vlaha, samostanu klarisa, dominikanskoj crkvi, franjevačkoj crkvi te u vlasništvu kanonikâ. Prema do sada poznatim arhivskim podacima i ugovorima o gradnji, može se zaključiti da su bila prisutna dva tipa instrumenta: portativ (male prijenosne orgulje) i pozitiv (orgulje koje su postavljane na jedno mjesto). Općenito se može reći da su orgulje bile manjih dimenzija, te se za njih najčešće nije gradio ili uređivao poseban prostor. Od prve polovine 16. stoljeća velike orgulje, za tadašnje pojmove, krasile su zagrebačku, rabsku i dubrovačku katedralu.