

SUKOB, SUŽIVOT I  
SURADNJA U MLETAČKOM  
ZADRU (16. STOLJEĆE)

CONFLICT, COEXISTENCE,  
AND COOPERATION IN  
VENETIAN ZADAR  
(16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)

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ABSTRACT

Rad istražuje sukobe na Jadranu u ranome novom vijeku, s osobitim obzirom na mletačke posjede. Dominantno katolički dalmatinski gradovi ušli su u sastav mletačkoga pomorskog posjeda otprilike na prijelazu u 15. stoljeće i bili su dom malih, ali prosperitetnih zajednica trgovaca, pomorskih udruženja i vojnika. Tijekom 16. stoljeća Dalmacija je bila kako prva crta obrane katoličanstva tako i vrijedno čvorište dobara, ideja i ljudi. Kako su Turci napredovali, život unutar prenapučenih zidina, uz opasnost od razbojnika, bolesti i pirata, povremeno je slabio. Unatoč tim okolnostima, suradnja – preko mnogih granica koje su dijelile Europu u ranome novom vijeku – nikad nije prestala. Studija se koristi mikrohistorijskim pristupom izvornoj građi iz bogatoga Državnog arhiva u Zadru i prikazuje odabrane primjere suradnje, prilagođavanja pravila i svakodnevnog života.

**Ključne riječi:** sukob; suradnja; suživot; Jadran; Republika Venecija; Dalmacija; Zadar; 16. stoljeće

ABSTRACT

This study investigates encounters in the early modern Adriatic, in particular focusing on the Venetian possessions. The predominantly Catholic Dalmatian cities were incorporated into the Venetian maritime state around the turn of the fifteenth century and were home to small but bustling communities of merchants, companies of sailors, and soldiers. During the sixteenth century, Dalmatia was both the frontline of Catholicism and a valuable turnover hub for goods, ideas, and people. As the Ottomans continued their advance, life within the cramped fortifications, threatened by bandits, disease, and pirates was tenuous at times. Despite these conditions, cooperation across the many fault lines dividing early modern Europe never ceased. The study uses a microhistorical approach to source material from the rich Croatian State Archive in Zadar and presents selected examples of cooperation, the bending of norms, and everyday life.

**Key words:** Conflict; Cooperation; Coexistence; Adriatic; Republic of Venice; Dalmatia; Zadar; Sixteenth Century

I.  
UVOD

“Ne može se živjeti uz Turke, a da im se ne postane neprijateljem”,<sup>1</sup> napisao je u 17. stoljeću mletački državnik i povjesničar Battista Nani. Prije i poslije njega raznovrsne veze između kršćanske Europe i Osmanskog Carstva obrađene su u mnogim publikacijama. Najčešće je težište na diplomatskim događanjima, vojnoj povijesti i politici sila, prečesto popraćeno različitim referencama na tematsku dihotomiju križa i (protiv) polumjeseca, što se ovdje odlučno odbacuje. Umjesto toga i u skladu sa suvremenijim pristupima Erica Durstelera i Nathalie Rothman, između ostalih, ovdje se radije iskazuje zanimanje za područja “između” rata i mira.<sup>2</sup>

U zadnje vrijeme sve je više studija posvećenih detaljima iz svakodnevnog života, procesima kulturnih razmjena i višestrukim transkulturnim kontaktima uzduž i preko linija religijskih razgraničenja kasnosrednjovjekovnog i ranomodernog Mediterana.<sup>3</sup> U mletačkom kontekstu se obrađuje širok raspon tema<sup>4</sup> koje variraju od zastupljenosti religijskih manjina do skupina “stranih” trgovaca i tkalaca svile iz Luce.<sup>5</sup> Većina ovih publikacija usredotočena je na samu Veneciju, ali postoji i druga grana istraživanja koja se fokusira na život u *Terrafemi*, teritorijima koje su Mlečani osvojili u prvoj polovini nemirnoga petnaestog stoljeća.<sup>6</sup> Obično se malo pažnje posvećuje drugoj polovici Mletačke Republike, takozvanoj *Stato da Mar* ili pomorskoj državi koja je obuhvaćala sve posjede jugoistočno od Istre, uključujući dijelove Dalmacije i Albanije, mnoge otočice u Jonskom i Egejskom moru i dva velika otoka – Kretu i Cipar.

I.  
INTRODUCTION

“One cannot live next to the Turks,” seventeenth-century Venetian statesman and historian Battista Nani wrote, “without becoming an enemy of them.”<sup>1</sup> Before and after him a multitude of publications details the diverse links between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Most often, however, the primary focus rests on diplomatic affairs, military history, and power politics, too often accompanied by various references to the topical dichotomy of the Cross and—versus—the Crescent, a notion firmly rejected here. Instead and in line with the more recent approaches by, among others, Eric Dursteler and Nathalie Rothman, I am more interested in those areas ‘between’ war and peace.<sup>2</sup>

There is now a growing body of studies investigating the intricacies of everyday life, processes of cultural exchange, and the manifold transcultural contacts along and across the religious fault lines of the late medieval and early modern eastern Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> A wide variety of issues is discussed within the Venetian context:<sup>4</sup> They range from the presence of religious minorities to groups of ‘foreign’ merchants to the silk weavers from Lucca.<sup>5</sup> While the overwhelming number of these publications focuses on the city of Venice, a second branch of research details life on the *Terraferma*, those territories the Venetians conquered during the first half of the tumultuous fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Usually there is little recourse to that other half of the Venetian Republic, the so-called *Stato da mar* or maritime state that comprised all possessions southeast of Istria, including parts of Dalmatia and Albania, many islets in the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and the two large islands of Crete and Cyprus. To-

1 B. NANI 1686: 24; ovaj i svi ostali prijevodi (na engleski jezik; nap. prevoditelja na hrvatski jezik) su djelo autora.

2 Npr. K. MATSCHKE 2004; za recentniji komentar v. G. CALAFAT 2012; v. osobito N. ROTHMAN 2012; E. DURSTELER 2006.

3 Dobra polazišta uključuju npr. N. ROTHMAN 2012; J. FINE 2006; v. bilješke 5, 68 i 72.

4 O Veneciji G. COZZI 1986-1992; E. CROUZET-PAVAN 2002; B. DOUMERC 2012; J.-C. HOCQUET 2006; F. LANE 1973; S. FRANCHINI – G. ORTALLI – G. TOSCANO 2011; G. BENZONI – G. ZORDAN 2002; i 12-vol. *Storia di Venezia*.

5 Za početak pregledno u B. RAVID 2013; za detaljne studije, npr. B. IMHAUS 1997; L. MOLÀ 1994; M. VAN GELDER 2009.

6 M. KNAPTON 2013; E. DEMO 2013; G. DEL TORRE – A. VIGGIANO 2013.

1 B. NANI 1686: 24; this and all other translations are by the author.

2 E.g., K. MATSCHKE 2004; for a recent commentary see G. CALAFAT 2012; see, esp., N. ROTHMAN 2012; E. DURSTELER 2006.

3 Good recent starting points include, e.g., N. ROTHMAN 2012; J. FINE 2006; see notes 5, 68, and 72.

4 On Venice G. COZZI 1986-1992; E. CROUZET-PAVAN 2002; B. DOUMERC 2012; J.-C. HOCQUET 2006; F. LANE 1973; S. FRANCHINI – G. ORTALLI – G. TOSCANO 2011; G. BENZONI – G. ZORDAN 2002; and the 12-vol. *Storia di Venezia*.

5 Start with the overview by B. RAVID 2013; for detailed studies, e.g., B. IMHAUS 1997; L. MOLÀ 1994; M. VAN GELDER 2009.

6 M. KNAPTON 2013; E. DEMO 2013; G. DEL TORRE – A. VIGGIANO 2013.

Cjelina ovih posjeda bila je od velike koristi tijekom vrhunca mletačke ekonomske dominacije na istočnom Mediteranu. U početku su gradovi i otoci pružali sigurne luke mletačkoj trgovačkoj i vojnoj mornarici, a s vremenom su počeli služiti kao utvrđena barijera protiv osmanlijskih napredovanja.<sup>7</sup> Rad se bavi mletačkim Jadranom sredinom 16. stoljeća, s posebnim naglaskom na Zadar kao regionalno središte, glavni grad mletačkog posjeda Dalmacije i Albanije i dom značajnom broju obrtnika, trgovaca i vojnika odasvud s Jadrana te razmatra različite vrste interakcije između lokalnih i “stranih” stanovnika. Sve to, kao i bogat, ali premalo iskorišten arhivski fondus čine Zadar osobito prikladnim za jedno takvo istraživanje.<sup>8</sup> Uglavnom se temelji na notarskim rukopisima koji su vrsta izvora koja omogućuje povjesničaru rekonstrukciju određenih aspekata svakodnevnog života na “živahniji” način, negoli da se oslanja samo na “službene i pravne izvore” koji “pružaju pokretnu sliku”, dok “notarski zapisi osiguravaju zvučnu pozadinu gradske vreve približavajući na taj način perspektivu životu više nego ijedan skup izvora zasebno”.<sup>9</sup> Zadarske notarske izvore treba smjestiti u širi kontekst sfere katoličko-talijanske ekonomske, pravne, političke i društvene difuzije jer su u tom svjetlu individualni postupci, iako vrlo različiti u vezi s pravnim kontekstom i individualnim sadržajem, vrlo korisni u rekonstrukciji detalja kasnosrednjovjekovnog i ranomodernog života na svakodnevnoj razini.<sup>10</sup> U vezi s korištenim izvorima potrebno je spomenuti dva rata između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva iz sredine 16. stoljeća (od 1537. do 1540., i Ciparski rat od 1570. do 1573). Kako bi sveli na najmanju moguću mjeru utjecaj ovih dvaju važnih događaja na analizirane izvore, uzorak je ograničen na notarske akte koji nisu u vezi s prijenosom vlasništva nad nekretninama ili koji se bave imenovanjem zastupnika. Ovo ograničenje

gether these possessions were instrumental during the heyday of Venice’s economic dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. At first, the cities and islands provided a number of secure ports for the Republic’s merchant and military navies; as time went on, they also served as a fortified barrier against Ottoman advances.<sup>7</sup>

This study focuses on the Venetian Adriatic around the mid-sixteenth century, in particular focusing on the regional turnover hub of Zadar, the capital of the Republic’s Dalmatian and Albanian possessions and home to a considerable number of artisans, merchants, and soldiers from all over the Adriatic basin, and discusses the various interactions between its local and ‘foreign’ inhabitants. This and the rich but underused archival holdings render Zadar eminently suitable for such an undertaking.<sup>8</sup> It is based mainly on notarial manuscripts, a type of source that enables the historian to reconstruct certain aspects of everyday life in a “more lively” manner than relying “on governmental and legal sources” alone. The latter “provide a moving image” while “notarial records furnish the soundtrack of the city’s bustle, thus bringing the scene closer to life than either set of sources would do on their own.”<sup>9</sup> Zadar’s notarial sources are to be placed within the wider context of the sphere of Catholic-Italianate economic, legal, political, and social diffusion and as such the individual deeds, though differing relatively considerable in their specific legal context and their individual contents, are very useful to reconstruct the intricacies of late medieval and early modern life on the street level.<sup>10</sup> As regards the sources used here it is necessary to point to the two wars the Venetian Republic and the neighbouring Ottoman Empire fought around the mid-sixteenth century (1537 to 1540, and the Cyprus War from 1570 to 1573). In order to minimize the impact of these two significant events on the source base, the present survey’s sample has been restricted to those notarial deeds that are not related to the transfer of real estate property or deal with the appointment of representa-

7 B. ARBEL 2013; B. ARBEL 1996; G. COZZI 1992; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 17-38.

8 O važnosti arhivskog fundusa v. O. SCHMITT 2011a; v. također i bilješku 12. *Nota bene*: Grad koji je predmet našeg interesa naziva se Zadar na hrvatskom, Zara na talijanskom i Iader(a) na latinskom jeziku. U ovom članku koriste se sadašnji toponimi.

9 S. MCKEE 1998: 35.

10 Općenito M. PEDANI FABRIS 1996: 1-19; v. također vrijedne radove u J. SPERLING – S. WRAY 2010; o Jadranu, s mnogim referencama, v. poglavlja autora B. GRBAVAC 2011: 50-65, i V. TURK-PRESEČKI 2011: 115-136.

7 B. ARBEL 2013; B. ARBEL 1996; G. COZZI 1992; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 17-38.

8 On the importance of the archival holdings, see O. SCHMITT 2011a; see also note 12. *Nota bene*: The city under survey is called Zadar in Croatian, Zara in Italian and Venetian, and Iader(a) in Latin. This article uses present-day place names.

9 S. MCKEE 1998: 35.

10 In general M. PEDANI FABRIS 1996: 1-19; see also the valuable contributions in J. SPERLING – S. WRAY 2010; on the Adriatic, including many references, see the chapters by B. GRBAVAC 2011: 50-65, and V. TURK-PRESEČKI 2011: 115-36.

primijenjeno je da bi se smanjio utjecaj ovih sukoba na svakodnevni život u Zadru. Tablica 1, dolje, prikazuje detalje uzorka.

tives. This restriction has been chosen to reduce the potentially distorting impact of these conflicts on everyday life in Zadar. Table 1, below, shows the details of the sample.

TABLICA 1. Pregled uzorka (svi notarski akti, 1540. – 1569.)<sup>11</sup>

	Ukupan br./akti	Imovinske transakcije*	Punomoć	Ostalo**
1540-e	1.686	585	225	876
1550-e	2.225	673	330	1.222
1560-e	2.511	768	375	1.368
Ukupno	6.422	2.026	930	3.466

TABLE 1. Overview of the sample (all notarized deeds, 1540-69)<sup>11</sup>

	Total no./acts	Property transactions*	Property	'Other' focus**
1540s	1,686	585	225	876
1550s	2,225	673	330	1,222
1560s	2,511	768	375	1,368
Total	6,422	2,026	930	3,466

Kao što se vidi iz porijekla notarskih izvora, tematski fokus je na gradskoj populaciji i proučavanju aspekata svakodnevnog života koji se mogu iščitati iz protokolarnih knjiga.<sup>12</sup> U historiografiji je utvrđeno da nije postojala “samo” jedna Dalmacija – druge su uključivale tursko zaleđe i pogranična područja. Ovaj rad koncentrira se na Zadar

As the origin of the notarial source material makes clear, the thematic focus rests on the city's population and aims to study those aspects of everyday life that were written down in the protocol books.<sup>12</sup> While historiography established the existence of more than ‘just’ one Dalmatia—the other(s) being the Ottoman hinterlands as well as the frontier areas

11 Izvori: Državni arhiv u Zadru (nadalje DAZD) 31, Bilježnici Zadra (nadalje BZ), notari Augustinus Martius (1540. – 1551.), Cornelius Constantius (1567. – 1569.), Daniel Cavalca (1551. – 1566.), Franciscus Thomaseus (1548. – 1561.), Gabriel Cernotta (1562. – 1564.), Horatius de Marchettis (1567. – 1569.), Johannes a Morea (1545. – 1569.), Johannes Mazzarellus (1540. – 1554.), Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius (1544. – 1548.), Nicolaus Canalis (1558. – 1567.), Nicolaus Drasmileus (1540. – 1566.), Paulus de Sanctis (1545. – 1551.), Petrus de Bassano (1540. – 1569.), Simon Budineus (1556. – 1565.), Simon Mazzarellus (1555. – 1567.); \* ukupno 1.067 prodaje imovine, 226 ugovora o najmu i 478 ugovora o zakupu pod jurisdikcijom Zadra, kao i 255 kupoprodajnih ugovora u samom Zadru; \*\* uključujući razne izvore od pravnih akata do ugovora u vezi s brakom i mirazom, itd. Svi ovi brojevi odnose se na pojedinačne notarske akte; imovinske transakcije i punomoći nisu uključene u analizirani uzorak. Želio bih zahvaliti Državnom arhivu u Zadru na njihovoj pomoći i dopuštenju za korištenje tih izvora.

12 O korištenim izvorima J. KOLANOVIĆ 2006: 881-884; o građi u Državnom arhivu u Zadru J. KOLANOVIĆ 2014; o široj važnosti Arhiva usp. O. SCHMITT 2011a: 47-49.

11 Sources: Državni arhiv u Zadru (State Archives in Zadar, henceforth DAZD) 31, Bilježnici Zadra (Manuscripts of Zadar's Notaries, henceforth BZ), notaries Augustinus Martius (1540–51); Cornelius Constantius (1567–69); Daniel Cavalca (1551–66); Franciscus Thomaseus (1548–61); Gabriel Cernotta (1562–64); Horatius de Marchettis (1567–69); Johannes a Morea (1545–69); Johannes Mazzarellus (1540–54); Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius (1544–48); Nicolaus Canalis (1558–67); Nicolaus Drasmileus (1540–66); Paulus de Sanctis (1545–51); Petrus de Bassano (1540–69); Simon Budineus (1556–65); Simon Mazzarellus (1555–67); \* the total incl. 1,067 property sales, 226 rental and 478 leasehold contracts in Zadar's jurisdiction as well as 255 sales contracts in Zadar; \*\* incl. a wide variety of sources ranging from legal proceedings to marriage/dowry-related contracts, etc. All numbers above refer to individual notarial acts; both property transactions and *procura* contracts are excluded from the present sample. I wish to thank the State Archives in Zadar for their assistance and permission to use these sources.

12 On the sources used here J. KOLANOVIĆ 2006: 881-4; on the holdings of the State Archives in Zadar J. KOLANOVIĆ 2014; on its wider importance cf. O. SCHMITT 2011a: 47-9.

i zadarsku jurisdikciju<sup>13</sup> i počinje pregledom mnogih lica mletačke vladavine u mletačkim pomorskim posjedima, posebno na Jadranu u 16. stoljeću. Zatim se raspravlja o sukobima, suživotu i suradnji i primjerima njihovih manifestacija u notarskim zapisima (što također znači da se moraju priznati određena ograničenja – ali budući da uzorak uključuje *sve* sačuvane notarske akte, moguće su i uopćenije izjave).<sup>14</sup> Ovu specifičnu terminologiju trebalo bi prvenstveno shvatiti u *doslovnom* smislu: tako “sukob” označava “sučeljavanje ili razliku među suprotstavljenim načelima, izjavama, argumentima”, slično tome “suradnja” znači “zajednički rad s istim ciljem”, a “suživot” stoji za “postojanje zajedno ili u vezi”.<sup>15</sup>

Na osnovi zapisa gradskih notara odabrani primjeri detaljno se analiziraju sa ciljem ilustracije dinamike svakodnevnog života u srednjoj Dalmaciji sredinom 16. stoljeća. Na taj način ovim se radom nastoji doprinijeti istraživanju jadranskog dijela mletačke *Stato de Mar* koje se intenziviralo u posljednje vrijeme. Transkulturalne teme kao nadnominacijska suradnja i svakodnevne navade u višekonfesionalnom i multikulturalnom trgovinskom središtu koje služi kao tranzitno skladište (*entrepôt*) rjeđe se obrađuju, osobito desetljeća između otprilike 1530. i kraja 16. stoljeća.<sup>16</sup> U ovom radu obrađuje se razdoblje između 1540. i kraja 1560-ih; dodatne informacije o ove tri teme, kao i daljnja terminološka objašnjenja mogu se naći u odgovarajućim dijelovima teksta.

in between—this essay focuses on the Zadar and its jurisdiction.<sup>13</sup> This essay begins with an introductory overview of the many faces of Venetian rule in the sixteenth-century *Stato da mar* and the sixteenth-century Adriatic in particular. It is followed by a discussion of conflict, conflict, coexistence, and cooperation and their exemplary manifestations in the notarial records (which, in turn, also means that certain limitations must be acknowledged—yet as the sample includes *all* surviving notarized deeds, more generalizing statements are possible).<sup>14</sup> This particular terminology should first and foremost be understood in its *literal* sense(s): Thus ‘conflict’ refers to “the clashing or variance of opposed principles, statements, arguments;” similarly, ‘cooperation’ means “working together towards the same end” while ‘coexistence’ signifies an “existence together or in conjunction.”<sup>15</sup>

Based on the records of the city’s notaries, selected examples are discussed in detail to illustrate the dynamics of everyday life in central Dalmatian around the mid-sixteenth century. In doing so this essay aims to contribute to the recent increase in studies on the Adriatic parts of Venice’s *Stato da mar*, however, transcultural issues such as supra-denominational cooperation and the practices of everyday life within its poly-confessional and multi-cultural *entrepôts*, especially with reference to the decades between around 1530 and the end of the sixteenth century, are more rarely addressed.<sup>16</sup> The time period covered here comprises the period between 1540 and the end of the 1560s; additional information to these three topics as well as further terminological clarification is provided in the respective segments.

13 O osmanlijskoj Dalmaciji, iako to nije tema ovog rada, v. V. KUSIN 2007; G. STANOJEVIĆ 1970; S. TRALJIĆ 1973; J. VRANDEČIĆ 1995; ili K. JURIN STARČEVIĆ 2004; za širi kontekst osmanlijske Bosne npr., M. KOLLER – K. KARPAT 2004; o pograničnim područjima v. izdanja u vezi s projektom “Triplex Confinium” na njihovoj *web* stranici; o zadarskom zaleđu T. MAYHEW 2008.

14 Detaljnije S. SANDER[-FAES] 2011: 34-40, i skupovi podataka 269-293.

15 Svi citati su iz *Oxford English Dictionary*; v., po redu navođenja, “conflict, n.,” 1.c; “co-operation, n.,” 1.; i “coexistence, n.”

16 Iznimke, iako s naglaskom na srednji vijek su npr. I. BENYOVSKY LATIN 2009; S. DOKOZA 2009; D. MLACOVIĆ 2008; O. SCHMITT 2011b; najnovija studija o 17. i 18. stoljeću je T. MAYHEW 2008; v. također eseje u U. ISRAEL – O. SCHMITT 2013.

13 On Ottoman Dalmatia, though not the topic here, see V. KUSIN 2007; G. STANOJEVIĆ 1970; S. TRALJIĆ 1973; J. VRANDEČIĆ 1995; or K. JURIN STARČEVIĆ 2004; for the wider context of Ottoman Bosnia, e.g., M. KOLLER – K. KARPAT 2004; on the frontier areas see the publications associated with the “Triplex Confinium” project on its website; on the hinterlands of Zadar T. MAYHEW 2008.

14 In detail S. SANDER[-FAES] 2011: 34-40, and the data sets on 269-93.

15 All quotes are from the *Oxford English Dictionary*; see, in order of their listing, “conflict, n.,” 1.c; “co-operation, n.,” 1.; and “coexistence, n.”

16 Exceptions, though focusing on the Middle Ages, are, e.g., I. BENYOVSKY LATIN 2009; S. DOKOZA 2009; D. MLACOVIĆ 2008; O. SCHMITT 2011b; the most recent study on the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries is T. MAYHEW 2008; see also the essays in U. ISRAEL – O. SCHMITT 2013.

## 2.

## VENECIJA I JADRAN

U ovom radu razmatra se Dalmaciju u 16. stoljeću te međusobne odnose njezinih stanovnika i njihove veze sa susjednim područjima. Zadar, tada znan kao Zara, dalmatinska “metropola i ključ[ni grad]”<sup>17</sup> u centru je našeg interesa. Mlečani su uspjeli ponovno osvojiti većinu Dalmacije (osim Dubrovnika<sup>18</sup>) u ranom 15. stoljeću i u narednim desetljećima reorganizirali su svoje nove posjede u skladu sa svojim ekonomskim, crkvenim, pravnim i političkim interesima. Iako se prednosti ne mogu poreći, ove promjene znatno su utjecale na običaje, norme i navike dalmatinskih gradova i njihovih stanovnika.<sup>19</sup> Pretenzije Venecije na *ius stapile* i pokušaj monopolizacije unosne trgovine solju koja je bila ekonomska osnova mnogih obalnih gradova u prethodnom anžuvinskom periodu (1358. – 1409./20.) te smanjeni pristup ugarsko-hrvatskom zaleđu imali su osobito teške posljedice.<sup>20</sup> U političkom smislu lokalno plemstvo izgubilo je većinu privilegija na račun nekolicine mletačkih patricija i pučana koje je Senat izabrao da upravljaju sa *Stato da Mar*, iako su lokalni plemići mogli obavljati određene manje važne funkcije u svjetovnoj i crkvenoj vlasti.<sup>21</sup> U samoj Veneciji osnivaju se novi administrativni uredi, a stari se proširuju, što je pogodovalo mletačkim patricijima s manje sreće jer su se otvarale mogućnosti zapošljavanja.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.

## VENICE AND THE ADRIATIC

This study looks at Dalmatia in the sixteenth century and the interactions between its inhabitants and their ties to other neighbouring areas. The main focus rests on Zadar, then known as Zara, and Dalmatia’s “metropolis and key [city].”<sup>17</sup> The Venetians were able to regain most of Dalmatia (except for Dubrovnik<sup>18</sup>) in the early fifteenth century and during the ensuing decades reorganized their new possessions according to their own economic, ecclesiastical, legal, and political interests. While not without advantages, these changes considerably influenced the customs, norms, and practices of the Dalmatian cities and their inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> Venice’s claims to staple rights and the attempted monopolization of the lucrative salt trade, the economic backbone of many coastal cities during the preceding Angevin period (1358 to 1409/20), and the diminished recourse to the Hungarian-Croatian hinterlands had particularly severe consequences.<sup>20</sup> Politically, the local nobilities lost most of their prerogatives to a handful of Venetian patricians and commoners who the Senate elected to govern the *Stato da mar*, even though the former were offered certain non-essential participatory functions that extended over both the temporal and ecclesiastical spheres.<sup>21</sup> In the city of Venice, new administrative offices were established and old ones expanded—which had the added benefit of creating new employment opportunities for the *Serenissima*’s less fortunate patricians.<sup>22</sup>

17 Kao što je napisao mletački sindik Antonio Diedo u svom izvješću Senatu iz 1553.; S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 17; o Zadru D. FORETIĆ 1976-1987; T. RAUKAR 1977; T. RAUKAR 2006; najnovije T. MAYHEW 2008; S. SANDER-FAES 2013.

18 Početi s N. BUDAK 1997; a za iscrpan prikaz konzultirati V. FORETIĆ 1980; novije, npr. S. ČOSIĆ – N. VEKARIĆ 2005; R. HARRIS 2003; Z. JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER 2008; Z. JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER 1994; B. KREKIĆ 2007; B. KREKIĆ 1997a; V. MIOVIĆ 2005; V. MIOVIĆ 2003; S. MOSHER STUARD 1992; I. VOJE 2003.

19 B. ARBEL 1996b: 974-976; B. ARBEL 2013: 144-164, 182-193; G. COZZI 1997: 302; R. MUELLER 1996; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 27-33; O. SCHMITT 2009: 90-100; o inkorporaciji u Mletačkoj Republici G. ORTALLI 2002: 52-54; za opsežno dokumentiran primjer E. ORLANDO 2002: 52-74.

20 A. MALZ 2006: 107-11; T. RAUKAR 1980-1981; o Zadru T. RAUKAR 1977: 75-88; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 75-93; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 143-163.

21 B. ARBEL 1996b: 948-949; B. KREKIĆ 1996: 73-82; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 39-56, 75-96; I. PEDERIN 1987: 143.

22 S. CHOJNACKI 2000: 268-269; G. COZZI 1973: 325-327; B. DOUMERC 1996: 164-178; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 57-74.

17 As wrote Venetian syndic Antonio Diedo in his report to the Senate in 1553; S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 17; on Zadar D. FORETIĆ 1976-1987; T. RAUKAR 1977; T. RAUKAR 2006; most recently T. MAYHEW 2008; S. SANDER-FAES 2013.

18 Start with N. BUDAK 1997; and the exhausting treatment by V. FORETIĆ 1980; more recently, e.g., S. ČOSIĆ – N. VEKARIĆ 2005; R. HARRIS 2003; Z. JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER 2008; Z. JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER 1994; B. KREKIĆ 2007; B. KREKIĆ 1997a; V. MIOVIĆ 2005; V. MIOVIĆ 2003; S. MOSHER STUARD 1992; I. VOJE 2003.

19 B. ARBEL 1996b: 974-6; B. ARBEL 2013: 144-64, 182-93; G. COZZI 1997: 302; R. MUELLER 1996; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 27-33; O. SCHMITT 2009: 90-100; on incorporation in the Venetian Republic G. ORTALLI 2002: 52-4; for an extensively documented example E. ORLANDO 2002: 52-74.

20 A. MALZ 2006: 107-11; T. RAUKAR 1980-1981; on Zadar T. RAUKAR 1977: 75-88; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 75-93; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 143-63.

21 B. ARBEL 1996b: 948-9; B. KREKIĆ 1996: 73-82; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 39-56, 75-96; I. PEDERIN 1987: 143.

22 S. CHOJNACKI 2000: 268-9; G. COZZI 1973: 325-7; B. DOUMERC 1996: 164-78; M. O’CONNELL 2009: 57-74.

Ubrzo nakon što se Venecija ponovo proširila na istočni Mediteran, susrela se s novim protivnikom – Osmanskim Carstvom. Obje sile bile su zainteresirane za manje, slabije entitete u regiji i kada su ih osvojile, oružani sukobi između Serenissime i Visoke Porte događali su se otprilike jednom u generaciji.<sup>23</sup> Razdoblje oko godine 1500. od presudne je važnosti u povijesti Mediterana na više načina: prvo je Venecija izgubila pomorsku bitku protiv novoo-snovane osmanlijske flote (1499.); zatim je koalicija svih najmoćnijih kršćanskih sila gotovo dokrajčila Veneciju neposredno prije bitke kod Agnadella (1509.); a kad su u Rialto stigle vijesti da su pomorci u službi iberijskog kralja prešli Atlantik i ušli u Indijski ocean, preskačući na taj način Veneciju i njezine muslimanske trgovinske partnere na istoku, Mlečani su postali svjesni novih geopolitičkih okolnosti.<sup>24</sup> Ni uspjeh ujedinjene kršćanske flote nad Osmanlijama kod Lepanta (1571.) nije mogao spriječiti osmanlijsko preuzimanje velikog otoka Cipra. “Imperijalno doba” Venecije je završilo.<sup>25</sup>

Ovakav razvoj događanja ostavio je značajne posljedice na svakodnevni život u Dalmaciji: od treće četvrtine 15. stoljeća sve nestabilnija sigurnosna situacija nalagala je adaptaciju, modernizaciju i izgradnju novih fortifikacija.<sup>26</sup> Dva velika rata između Venecije i Osmanlija u 16. stoljeću (1537. – 1540.; 1570. – 1573.) završila su teritorijalnim gubitcima zaleđa mnogih gradova i preinakama granica. Tako je u Zadru venecijanski dužnosnik Andrea Giustiniano opisao posljedice tog sukoba i primijetio da su “granice... [samo] tri milje od grada” i da su naoružani stražari morali nadzirati poljoprivredne aktivnosti zbog uništenja “svih okolnih nastambi”.<sup>27</sup> Ipak, ova teška situacija nije označila kraj kontakata ili suradnje u pograničnim područjima između ljudi koji su živjeli na različitim stranama granice.<sup>28</sup>

Soon after Venice renewed its expansion throughout the eastern Mediterranean, it faced a new opponent: the Ottoman Empire. Both had their eyes on the smaller, weaker polities of the region and once these were conquered, armed conflict between the Most Serene Republic and the Sublime Porte occurred roughly once every generation.<sup>23</sup> In many ways the decades around 1500 were of crucial importance to the history of the Mediterranean: First Venice lost a naval battle against the newly established Ottoman fleet (1499); then a coalition of all major Christian powers almost marked the end of the Republic in the wake of the battle of Agnadello (1509); and when news reached the Rialto that sailors in the service of the Iberian kings had crossed the Atlantic and entered the Indian Ocean thus starting to eventually bypass Venice and its Muslim trading partners in the Levant, new realities of geopolitical importance began to slowly take hold of the *Signoria*.<sup>24</sup> Not even the success of Christendom’s united fleets over the Ottomans off Lepanto (1571) could prevent the loss of the large island of Cyprus to the Sultan. Venice’s ‘imperial age’ had come to a close.<sup>25</sup>

These developments had significant consequences for Dalmatians’ everyday life: From the third quarter of the fifteenth century onwards, the increasingly precarious security situation necessitated the adaptation, modernization, and construction of new fortifications.<sup>26</sup> The two major wars between Venice and the Ottomans in the sixteenth century (1537 to 1540; 1570 to 1573) resulted in territorial losses in many of the cities’ hinterlands and the redrawing of the borders. With reference to Zadar, a report by Venetian official Andrea Giustiniano described the consequences of that conflict and noted that “the borders... are [only] three miles away from the city” and that the destruction of “all surrounding dwellings” necessitated the presence of armed guards for agricultural activities.<sup>27</sup> Yet this difficult situation did not mark the end of neither contact nor cooperation across the

23 Općenito D. GOFFMAN 2009; C. FINKEL 2005: 3-151; C. IMBER 2002: 25-53; N. VATIN 2001; vrlo detaljno K. SETTON 1978: 138-270; posebno o jugoistočnoj Europi J. FINE 1987: 499-611; za bibliografsko vođenje K. KREISER 2008: 161-214.

24 A. TENENTI 1973: 24-29; U. TUCCI 1973.

25 E.g., D. CHAMBERS 1970; v. bilješke 7, 19.

26 Općenito A. ŽMEGAČ 2009: 29-71, o Zadru 189-190; starije, ali vrlo detaljno M. MOCELLIN 1992.

27 Citirano prema G. NOVAK 1964: 76; usp. također u nekim aspektima zapanjujuće sličan prikaz hodočašća iz Praga u Jeruzalem (1546., obj. 1563.) češkog hodočasnika Oldřicha Prefáta z Vlkanova i prateći komentar. L. LISY-WAGNER 2013: 39-44.

28 T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 277-301; G. NOVAK 2001: 129-131, 137-144.

23 In general D. GOFFMAN 2009; C. FINKEL 2005: 3-151; C. IMBER 2002: 25-53; N. VATIN 2001; in much detail K. SETTON 1978: 138-270; on South-eastern Europe in particular J. FINE 1987: 499-611; for bibliographic guidance K. KREISER 2008: 161-214.

24 A. TENENTI 1973: 24-29; U. TUCCI 1973.

25 E.g., D. CHAMBERS 1970; see notes 7, 19.

26 In general A. ŽMEGAČ 2009: 29-71, on Zadar 189-90; older but very detailed M. MOCELLIN 1992.

27 Quoted after G. NOVAK 1964: 76; cf. also the eerily comparable account of the pilgrimage from Prague to Jerusalem (1546, pub. 1563) by the Bohemian pilgrim Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova and the commentary thereto in L. LISY-WAGNER 2013: 39-44.

Unutar gradskih zidina postojale su dugotrajne napetosti između gradskog plemstva i ostataka populacije koja je bila isključena iz političkog života, čak i prije nego što je Zadar postao dio mletačkoga pomorskog posjeda 1409.<sup>29</sup> Mletački dužnosnici smatrali su barem društveno privilegiranu klasu “kvazitalijanskom”, ali većina gradske populacije (uključujući glavninu plemstva) bila je prilično siromašna, ali vjerna Veneciji, djelomično zbog rastućega osmanlijskog pritiska nešto dalje od granice.<sup>30</sup> Gradsko stanovništvo bilo je dominantno katoličke vjeroispovijesti, Zadar je bio središte nadbiskupije, a sredinom 16. stoljeća također je bio centar biskupije obližnjeg Nina, osam konvenata i 20-ak župa – ulice i trgovi odzvanjali su venecijanskim (koji je bio administrativni, trgovački i vojni zajednički jezik – *lingua franca*), ali i slavenskim;<sup>31</sup> gradska uprava, notari i svećenstvo obavljali su službu uglavnom na latinskom;<sup>32</sup> vojne i trgovačke zajednice sastojale su se od ljudi s Apeninskog poluotoka, ali bilo je i područja gdje se govorio grčki jezik. Raznovrsnosti gradske populacije od oko 6000 stanovnika sredinom 16. stoljeća doprinosio je i mali broj Turaka i Židova.<sup>33</sup> Prema nekatoličkom stanovništvu Venecija je provodila politiku relativne religijske slobode koja je dijelom bila posljedica nužnosti, na primjer na Kreti (prije Kandijskog rata, 1645. – 1669. i od 1489. do osmanlijskog osvajanja 1570. do 1573.) gdje su pravoslavni kršćani bili većina – ali još uvijek unutar rimsko-katoličke hijerarhije. Mletačka pomorska država bila je jedino područje jedinstva istočnog i zapadnog kršćanstva što je bilo utvrđeno na koncilu u Firenci (1439).<sup>34</sup>

border areas between the people living on both sides the frontiers.<sup>28</sup>

Within the city walls there were long-lasting tensions between the urban nobility and the rest of the population that had been excluded from political participation even before Zadar was incorporated into the Venetian *Stato da mar* in 1409.<sup>29</sup> While Venice’s officials considered at least the socially privileged class as “quasi-Italian,” the majority of the urban population (including most of the nobility) was rather poor but true to Venice, in part because of the increasing Ottoman pressure from the far side of border.<sup>30</sup> The city’s inhabitants overwhelmingly adhered to Catholicism—Zadar was home to an archbishopric and by the mid-sixteenth century also home to the bishop of neighbouring Nin, eight convents, and about 20 parishes—the streets and *piazze* resounded with Venetian (as administrative, commercial, and military *lingua franca*) and Slavic;<sup>31</sup> the communal administration, the notaries and the clergy conducted their activities mainly in Latin;<sup>32</sup> and the military and commercial communities consisted of people from the Apennine peninsula and from Greek-speaking areas as well as (very) small groups of Ottoman subjects and Hebrews complemented the composition of the city’s population of about 6.000 inhabitants around the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Vis-à-vis its non-Catholic subjects the Venetian Republic conducted a policy of relative freedom of worship that, although partially borne out of necessity—e.g., in Crete (until the Candian War, 1645 to 1669) and Cyprus (from 1489 to the Ottoman conquest in 1570 to 1573) Orthodox Christians were the majority—but still subject to the Roman-Catholic hierarchy. Venice’s maritime state was the only area in which the unification of Eastern and Western Christianity took place as promulgated by the Council of Florence (1439).<sup>34</sup>

29 Ako nije specificirano drukčije, podatci o samom Zadru su iz S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 42-47, 111-116.

30 Citirano u S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 193-199, citat na str. 197.

31 T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 27-62 i korisna karta na str. 135; o jezičnoj situaciji npr. M. METZELTIN 2009; L. ŠIMUNKOVIĆ 2001; usp. još i B. KREKIĆ 1997b.

32 Npr. otprilike 95% svih notarskih dokumenata između 1540. i 1569. su na latinskom (6.108 od ukupno 6.436 pojedinačnih djela); S. SANDER[-FAES] 2011: 34-35; o Crkvi v. bilješke 34 i 87.

33 T. RAUKAR 1977: 23; za populacijske table M. MOCELLIN 1992: 43-44, 60-61; usp. temeljno izvješće mletačkoga kapetana Zaccarije Vallaressa, predano Senatu 1527., u S. LJUBIĆ 1876: 194-223, posebno 203-223.

34 Općenito B. ARBEL 1996b: 974-976; P. PRODI 1973: 422-423; F. THIRIET 1959: 287-291, 403-410, 429-435; o Dalmaciji F. ŠANJEK 2008: 26-30; v. bilješke 32 i 87.

28 T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 277-301; G. NOVAK 2001: 129-31, 137-44.

29 If not referred to otherwise, the information on Zadar is from S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 42-7, 111-6.

30 Quoted in S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 193-9, quote on 197.

31 T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 27-62, and the useful map on 135; on the language situation, e.g., M. METZELTIN 2009; L. ŠIMUNKOVIĆ 2001; cf. further B. KREKIĆ 1997b.

32 E.g., roughly 95% of all notarized documents written between 1540 and 1569 are in Latin (6,108 of a total of 6,436 individual deeds); S. SANDER[-FAES] 2011: 34-5; on the Church see notes 34 and 87.

33 T. RAUKAR 1977: 23; for population tables M. MOCELLIN 1992: 43-4, 60-1; cf. the foundational report by Venetian captain Zaccaria Vallaresso, submitted to the Senate in 1527, in S. LJUBIĆ 1876: 194-223, esp. 203-23.

34 In general B. ARBEL 1996B: 974-6; P. PRODI 1973: 422-3; F. THIRIET 1959: 287-91, 403-10, 429-35; on Dalmatia F. ŠANJEK 2008: 26-30; see notes 32 and 87.



3.  
SUKOB

Kroz srednji vijek i rani novi vijek sukobi na Jadranu odvijali su se na tri razine: na međunarodnoj razini vodili su se mnogobrojni ratovi, prvo između Bizanta i Franačkog Carstva, a nakon prijelaza tisućljeća, ratovali su, između ostalih, Normani, Venecija, srednjovjekovna hrvatska država i Mađarska. Od početka 15. stoljeća dalmatinski gradovi, osim Dubrovnika, bili su dio mletačkih pomorskih posjeda do kraja Mletačke Republike krajem 18. stoljeća. Dok je Venecija vodila niz ratova s Osmanlijama, kontrola nad Dalmacijom i Jadranom koja je postupno slabila mogla se nanovo učvrstiti.<sup>35</sup> Ali kako su osmanlijska osvajanja primicala granice carstva sve bliže obalnim područjima u 15. i 16. stoljeću, stavovi su se značajno mijenjali: od prve pojave pljačkaških skupina u okolici Zadra od 1430-ih do 1500. Osmanlije nisu bili tako izravna prijetnja kao što će to postati u prvim desetljećima 16. stoljeća.<sup>36</sup> Generalno se ova promjena stava najbolje vidi u posljedicama koje je imala osmanlijska pobjeda nad mletačkom flotom kod Zonchija (1499.) dovodeći konačno do venecijanskog “bijega s mora”.<sup>37</sup> Na regionalnom, jadranskom nivou ova se promjena najjasnije vidi ako usporedimo izvješća mletačkih upravitelja iz 15. i 16. stoljeća. Dok u 15. stoljeću nailazimo na podatke u vezi s osmanlijskom prijetnjom i naporima koje je mletačka vlada poduzimala kako bi ih suzbila, u 16. stoljeću glavna tema su vojna i sigurnosna pitanja.<sup>38</sup>

Na lokalnom nivou dalmatinske komune okoristile su se slabošću imperijalne vladavine na rubovima carstva što je rezultiralo relativno izraženom lokalnom autonomijom. Iako su se veći gradovi kao Dubrovnik, Split i Zadar okoristili ovakvim razvojem događanja, odnosi među

3.  
CONFLICT

Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period conflict in the Adriatic occurred on three discernible levels: On the international level there were numerous wars, first between the Byzantine and Frankish empires and after the turn of the millennium between, among others, the Normans, Venice, the medieval Croatian realm, and Hungary. From the early fifteenth century onwards Dalmatia's cities—with the exception of the Republic of Dubrovnik—were part of the Venetian *Stato da mar* and remained so until the demise of the Republic at the end of the eighteenth century. And while Venice fought a number of wars against the Ottomans, control over Dalmatia and the Adriatic, while becoming increasingly tenuous over time, could be retained.<sup>35</sup> Yet as the Ottoman expansion moved the borders closer and closer to the coastal areas over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, attitudes shifted markedly: From the first appearance of marauding bands in Zadar's vicinity in the 1430s to around 1500, the Ottomans were not as immediate a concern as they would become in and after the first decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup> On a general level this change in attitudes is best illustrated by the shockwaves the Ottoman naval victory over the Republic's fleet off Zonchio (1499) sent through the Venetian body politic that eventually resulted in the Republic's “flight from the sea.”<sup>37</sup> On a regional, Adriatic level this shift is probably best illustrated by juxtaposing the reports written by Venice's governors from the fifteenth with those from the sixteenth century: While there is information related to the Ottoman threat and the efforts undertaken by the Venetian governors to counter it in the former, the latter are overwhelmingly concerning with military and security matters.<sup>38</sup>

35 B. DOUMERC 2001.

36 T. MAYHEW 2008: 24; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 66-72; S. TRALJIĆ 1965: 203-204.

37 G. GULLINO 1996: 90-95; v. bilješku 24; citat je iz dnevnika Girolama Priulija prema B. DOUMERC 1996: 172.

38 V. npr. izvješće Antonija Vinciguerra, upravitelja Krka (1480. – 1481.), u S. LJUBIĆ 1876, vol. 1: 29-101, posebno 32-96 (*nota bene*: “Turci” se pojavljuju samo na str. 47, 54, 68, 73, 76, 78, 88); usp. ova izvješća s gotovo svim izvješćima iz 16. stoljeća u kojima se osmanlijska prijetnja može smatrati glavnom temom; S. LJUBIĆ 1877; S. LJUBIĆ 1880; kao i G. NOVAK 1964; G. NOVAK 1966.

35 B. DOUMERC 2001.

36 T. MAYHEW 2008: 24; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 66-72; S. TRALJIĆ 1965: 203-4.

37 G. GULLINO 1996: 90-5; see note 24; the quote is from Girolamo Priuli's diary as quoted by B. DOUMERC 1996: 172.

38 See, e.g., the report by Antonio Vinciguerra, governor of Krk (1480–81), in S. LJUBIĆ 1876, vol. 1: 29-101, esp. 32-96 (*nota bene*: the “Turcs” appear ‘only’ on 47, 54, 68, 73, 76, 78, 88); cf. these with virtually all report from the 16<sup>th</sup> century in which the Ottoman threat may be considered the main theme; S. LJUBIĆ 1877; S. LJUBIĆ 1880; as well as G. NOVAK 1964; G. NOVAK 1966, respectively.

susjednim zajednicama često su bili konfliktni.<sup>39</sup> Volatilitnost regije očitovale se i u opetovanim pobunama protiv mletačke vlasti u srednjem vijeku.<sup>40</sup> Prije početka 15. stoljeća u Zadru je bilo sedam pobuna, od kojih je vjerojatno najpoznatija ona iz 13. stoljeća u sklopu Četvrtoga križarskog rata.<sup>41</sup> Iako se veza s razvojem događanja nakon početka druge mletačke vladavine 1409. ne mora činiti jasnom na prvi pogled, posljedice ovih sedam pobuna još su se uvijek osjećale sredinom 16. stoljeća. Kad je mletački sindik Giovanni Battista Giustiniano pisao o mletačkoj provinciji Dalmaciji i Albaniji 1553., počinje opis Zadra tvrđnjom da je grad “uništen sedam puta u ratno doba, što se još osjeća, jer su se stanovnici Zadra pobunili sedam puta protiv Republike”.<sup>42</sup> (Zanimljivo je da kronološki i geografski bliži Hvarski ustanak koji je trajao od 1510. do 1514. nije zabilježen ni u Giustinianovu opisu puta ni u izvješću njegova kolege sindika Antonija Dieda).<sup>43</sup>

Konačno, na lokalnoj razini sukobi su često bili osobno obojeni: imitirajući društvo metropole s laguna, zajednice Dalmacije bile su jednako podijeljene društvenim barijerama. Postupno je plemstvo istisnulo pučane iz političke vlasti što je dovelo do pojačanih tenzija, a što su opet Mlečani znali iskoristiti prikazujući se kao “poštenu posrednici” koji nude “zaštitu” od stranih prijatelja.<sup>44</sup> Sukobi su bili česti među pojedincima, za što je ilustrativna svađa između dviju plemićkih obitelji: sredinom 16. stoljeća mletački službenici u Zadru zabilježili su da je “među [plemenitaškim obiteljima] Tetrici i Civallelli (...) nedavno sluga Francesca Civallellija smrtno ranio jednog sina *meser* Battista Tetricija; Civallellija je naknadno ubio sluga Nicola Tetricija”.<sup>45</sup> Osim ovih primje-

On the regional level, Dalmatia’s communes benefited from the weakness of imperial rule at its peripheries. This resulted in relatively strong positions of local autonomy. And while these developments benefited the larger cities, most notably Dubrovnik, Split, and Zadar, it also meant that relations between neighbouring communes were oftentimes quarrelsome.<sup>39</sup> The volatility of the region was enhanced by the recurring rebellions against Venetian rule in the Middle Ages.<sup>40</sup> Before the early fifteenth century, for example, Zadar’s population rebelled seven times, perhaps the most well-known revolt being the one in the early thirteenth century within the context of the Fourth Crusade.<sup>41</sup> And while the connection to events and developments after the advent of the second Venetian dominion in 1409 may not appear immediately apparent, these seven rebellions were still present in the mid-sixteenth century. As the Senate’s syndic Giovanni Battista Giustiniano inspected the Venetian province of Dalmatia and Albania in 1553, he opened the description of Zadar stating that the city “was destroyed seven times in times of war, in a manner that can still be seen in the present, because the inhabitants of Zadar rebelled seven times against the Republic.”<sup>42</sup> (Curiously enough, though, the more recent and geographically closer Hvar Rebellion that lasted from 1510 to 1514 is notably absent from both Giustiniano’s itinerary and the report filed by his co-syndic Antonio Diedo.<sup>43</sup>)

Lastly, on the local level conflict often carried a very personal note: Mirroring the society of the lagoon metropolis, the urban communities of Dalmatia were equally divided among social fault lines. Gradually the nobilities pushed aside the commoners from the exercise of political power, leading to increased friction, which, in turn, the Venetians ex-

39 Ovo je očito iz reference o diplomatske misijama u susjedne gradove, uključujući plaće službenika (ovisno o udaljenosti do Zadra). J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 104-112.

40 L. STEINDORFF 1984; za ugarski period P. ENGEL 2001: 157-229; o komunalnom uređenju pod Anžuvincima najrelevantnije T. RAUKAR 1980-1981; najnoviji pregled T. RAUKAR 2008.

41 Najnovije G. ORTALLI – G. RAVEGNANI – P. SCHREINER 2006.

42 Prema S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 194.

43 Za Giustinianov opis puta usp. S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 219-223; za Diedovo izvješće usp. S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 11-12 za Hvar i 17-20 za Zadar (spominjanje sedam pobuna na 17); o Hvarskom ustanku koji je vodio Matia Iuanich (Matija Ivanić), s daljnjim referencama, T. RAUKAR 2015.

44 B. ARBEL 2013: 156-164; o mletačkom utjecaju na društveni razvoj u dalmatinskim urbanim društvima T. RAUKAR 2008: 19-26.

45 Prema S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 197 (moj naglasak).

39 Exemplified by references to diplomatic missions to neighbouring cities, including the officials’ salaries (contingent on the distance to Zadar). J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 104-12.

40 L. STEINDORFF 1984; for the Hungarian period P. ENGEL 2001: 157-229; on communal development under Angevin rule most importantly T. RAUKAR 1980-1981; the most recent overview is T. RAUKAR 2008.

41 Most recently G. ORTALLI – G. RAVEGNANI – P. SCHREINER 2006.

42 Quoted after S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 194.

43 For Giustiniano’s itinerary cf. S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 219-23; for Diedo’s report cf. S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 11-2, on Hvar and 17-20 on Zadar (the reference to the seven rebellions on 17); on the Hvar Rebellion, led by Matia Iuanich (Matija Ivanić), including further references, T. RAUKAR 2015.

ra iz viših društvenih slojeva, notarski zapisi nude obilje materijala o životima i patnjama nižih klasa koje sada postaju tema istraživanja.<sup>46</sup>

Život u ranom novom vijeku obilovao je mogućnostima sukoba, od obiteljskih razmirica zbog nasljedstva do nasilnih zločina i svađa u susjedstvu.<sup>47</sup> U ovom radu koristit ćemo antropološke pristupe uvažavajući teoretska razmatranja. "Sukob" se javlja, među ostalim, kao inherentno socijalni, ali također vrlo "normalizirani" fenomen.<sup>48</sup> Tako se sukob može analizirati kao "ukorijenjena društvena aktivnost", definirana kao "skup moralnih vrijednosti, normi ispravnosti i institucionalnih uređenja," s karakterističnim visokim stupnjem institucionalizacije (npr. sudovi, odvjetnici ili vanraspravne odluke) i prihvaćanja društvenih normi određenih gradskim statutima.<sup>49</sup> Ovo također znači da je svaka rekonstrukcija prošlih događaja više ili manje ograničena prirodom dostupnih izvora. U kontekstu ovog rada, možemo definirati ono što slijedi kao manifestaciju "normativnog" sukoba koji stoga podrazumijeva razmatranje (barem) dva aspekta, povredu norme i posljedično sankcioniranje (i odgovarajuće učinke na socijalni status, osobno bogatstvo i dr. osobe/osoba u pitanju).<sup>50</sup> U vezi s tim potrebno je još jedno, konačno pojašnjenje. Budući da su pojedinci koji su se obratili zadarskim notarima da bi riješili svoje sukobe poštovali gradske propise, niz razlika kao što su vjerska pripadnost, geografsko i socijalno porijeklo bio je uređen statutima. Ovo je očito u odgovoru Senata posvađanim plemićima i građanima Hvara sredinom 15. stoljeća što ukazuje na pravni uvjet *sine qua non* da "su svi jednaki pred Zakonom".<sup>51</sup>

exploited by presenting themselves as 'honest brokers' and offering 'protection' from foreign threats.<sup>44</sup> Yet confrontations often occurred between individuals as the bitter struggle between two noble families illustrates: In the mid-sixteenth century Venice's officials reported from Zadar that "between the Tetrici and Civallelli [noble families]...recently one of *meser* Battista Tetrici's sons was mortally wounded by a servant of Francesco Civallelli; the latter was subsequently killed by a servant of Nicolò Tetrici."<sup>45</sup> Besides these high-profile instances, the notarial records offer plenty of material of the lives and travails of the lower classes, too, which now enter the focus.<sup>46</sup>

Early modern life offered a continuous stream of possibilities for conflict, ranging from disputed inheritances between next-of-kin to violent crimes to neighbourhood quarrels.<sup>47</sup> With respect to theoretical considerations, the present contribution employs anthropological approaches. As such, 'conflict' appears, among other aspects, as an inherently *social* but also highly "normalized" phenomenon:<sup>48</sup> Conflict can thus be analysed as an "embedded social action," defined as an "ensemble of moral values, proper norms, and institutional arrangements," which is characterized by its relatively high degree of institutionalization (e.g., courts, lawyers, or extrajudicial resolutions) and adherence to the societal norms as defined by the city's statutes.<sup>49</sup> This, however, also signifies that any reconstruction of past events is also limited to varying degrees by the very nature of the sources available. In the context of the present essay, it is thus possible to define what follows as manifestations of 'normative' conflict and as such as disposing of (at least) two aspects, normative transgression and the ensuing sanctioning (and the corresponding impacts on the concerned person's or persons' social status, personal wealth, etc.).<sup>50</sup> One final clarification there-to is still to be made, however: As those individuals who approached one of Zadar's notaries to resolve their quarrels were subject to city's normative order, a

46 Usp. ograničenja koja je istaknuo S. MCKEE 1998: 35-36.

47 V. klasičnu studiju E. MUIR 1993, posebno "Uvod" za terminološka razmatranja, za noviju raspravu usp. K. PUST 2012, posebno točke 2-3.

48 C. CROUCH 2001: 2556-2558, citat na 2557.

49 O "ukorjenjivanju" G. ELWERT 1991; za antropološka razmatranja i definicije G. ELWERT 2001: 2543-2545, citati na 2543; pravna osnova za Zadar J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997.

50 Usp. G. ELWERT 2001: 2545.

51 Prema S. LJUBIĆ 1890: 247; usp. O. SCHMITT 2009: 99-100.

44 B. ARBEL 2013: 156-64; on Venetian influence on the social development of Dalmatia's urban societies T. RAUKAR 2008: 19-26.

45 Quoted after S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 197 (my emphasis).

46 Cf. the restrictions pointed out by S. MCKEE 1998: 35-6.

47 See the classic study by E. MUIR 1993, esp. the 'Introduction' for terminological considerations; for a recent discussion cf. K. PUST 2012, esp. points 2-3.

48 C. CROUCH 2001: 2556-8, quote on 2557.

49 On "embedding" G. ELWERT 1991; for anthropological considerations and definitions G. ELWERT 2001: 2543-5, quotes on 2543; the legal basis for Zadar is J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997.

50 Cf. G. ELWERT 2001: 2545.

Uzmimo kao prvi primjer razvučeni spor između plemićkih obitelji Grisogono i Tetrico: između proljeća i jeseni 1561. oporuka pokojnog “*meser* Piera Detrica” prilično je preokupirala dvije suprotstavljene strane. U svibnju iste godine “izvršitelji pokojnog Aloysija Tetricija ... kapetan Niccolo Detrico i njegova sestra gospođa Cornelia,” ovlastili su svog odvjetnika da ispita legalnost zahtjeva njihovih protivnika. Razlog zavade bio je komad zemlje na jednom od otočića zadarskog arhipelaga na koji su obje strane polagale pravo osporavajući vjerodostojnost kupoprodajnog ugovora s početka 1520-ih zbog čega su odvjetnici obaju strana ispitivali svjedoke, a nastala je i pozamašna dokumentacija od raznih oporuka i kodicila, notarskih akata i relevantnih dijelova zadarskih komunalnih statuta, koji potječu čak iz 1480-ih. Nakon mjeseci skupog parničenja suprotstavljene strane su, s ciljem izbjegavanja daljnjih troškova, zajednički odredile sudca koji je riješio zavadu krajem listopada 1561., odbacujući zahtjeve Niccola i Cornelije.<sup>52</sup>

Drugi primjer je parnica između “nasljednika nedavno preminulog Simona de Meldule” i Georgija Lacue (*Georgius a Lacu*) u vezi s pravima na uživanje vinograda van Zadra i kuće u gradskoj župi sv. Marcele. I ovaj slučaj imao je desetogodišnju povijest: Simon i njegova sestra “Magdalena” – Georgijeva majka – naslijedili su očevu imovinu u jednakim omjerima. Dodatni uvjet u vezi s nasljedstvom bio je da će Magdalena i njezini nasljednici dobiti cijelo očinsko nasljeđe nakon bratove smrti. Već u 1520-im ovo su osporili Simonovi nasljednici, ali 17. veljače 1526. zadarski kapetan “Zaccaria Vallaresso” potvrdio je oporuku njihova oca. Ipak, usprkos utemeljenosti Georgijevih zahtjeva na cjelokupno nasljedstvo, suprotstavljene su se strane od rujna do sredine prosinca 1560. dogovarale da bi konačno postigle sljedeći dogovor: u ime Simonovih nasljednika i u skladu s dogovorom postignutim 26. rujna 1560. “majstor slikar Marcus Antonius” prenio je cijelo Magdalenino zakonito nasljeđe na svog rođaka Georgija.<sup>53</sup>

number of differences such as confessional affiliation, geographical provenance, or social descent are mediated by the Statutes. This is evident in a reply to the quarrelling nobles and citizens of Hvar by the Senate in the mid-fifteenth century, which pointed to the legal *sine qua non* that “all are equal before the Law.”<sup>51</sup>

Take, as a first example, the drawn-out litigation between the noble families of the Grisogoni and the Tetrici: Between spring and autumn 1561 the testament of the late “*meser* Piero Detrico” occupied the two opposing parties considerably. In May of the same year the “executors of the late Aloysij Tetrici... the captain Niccolo Detrico and his sister madam Cornelia,” tasked their lawyer to investigate the legality of their opponents’ claims. At the root of the feud was a patch of land located on one of the islets off Zadar’s coast, which both sides claimed challenging a sales contract from the early 1520s. This resulted in their respective lawyers’ interrogation of witnesses and the compilation of an impressive array of documentation, including various testaments and codicils, notarial acts, and the relevant sections of Zadar’s communal statutes, dating back as far as the late 1480s. After months of cost-intensive litigation, the two opposing parties, to avoid further financial losses, jointly appointed an arbitration judge who settled the feud in late October 1561, repudiating the claims by Niccolo and Cornelia.<sup>52</sup>

A second example is the suit between “the heirs of the recently deceased Simon de Meldula” and “Georgius a Lacu” over usufruct rights to a vineyard outside Zadar and a house in the city’s parish of St Marcella. This too had a decade-long history: Simon and his sister “Magdalena”—George’s mother—inherited their father’s possessions in equal shares. This bequests came with the additional provision that after her brother’s death Magdalena and her heirs should end up with the entire paternal legacy. As early as the mid-1520s this was contested by Simon’s offspring but on 17 February 1526 Zadar’s captain “Zaccaria Vallaresso” validated the testament of their father. Yet despite the legality of George’s claims to the entire inheritance, it took from September to mid-

52 DAZD 31 nadalje BZ, notar Simon Mazzarellus, kut. I, fasc. 1, knj. 3 i 4; redom pojavljivanja citati su iz knj. 3, c.6r, 9. srpnja 1561. i c.16r, 21. kolovoza 1561. (moj naglasak). *Nota bene*: nadalje notar, kutija, fascikla i knjige se izostavljaju; c. (*carta*) označava originalnu paginaciju, f. (*folio*) označava paginaciju koju je koristio arhivist.

53 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 5, c.267r-c.267v, 26. rujna 1560.; Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 2C, c.37v-c.38r, 14. prosinca 1560.

51 Quoted after S. LJUBIĆ 1890: 247; cf. O. SCHMITT 2009: 99-100.

52 DAZD 31 BZ, notary Simon Mazzarellus, box I, fascicle 1, books 3 and 4; in order of their appearance above the quotes are from book 3, c.6r, 9 July 1561 and c.16r, 21 August 1561 (my emphasis). *Nota bene*: Henceforth notary, box, fascicle, book(s) are omitted; c. (*carta*) signifies the original pagination, f. (*folio*) signifies pagination applied by an archivist.

Ipak, sukobi su se češće događali u obliku svakodnevnog nasilja, na primjer van gradskih zidina mnoga su sela napuštena i ljudi koji su radili u poljima bili su mete redovitih prepada s osmanlijske strane granice ili lutajućih bandita.<sup>54</sup> Dok se ove situacije gotovo isključivo javljaju u službenim izvorima, slika se mijenja unutar zadarskih gradskih zidina, za što nalazimo također i obilnu notarsku dokumentaciju. Ljeti 1561., na primjer, “*ser Joanne[s] quondam Simonis Chichia,*” plaćenik u službi u gradskoj utvrdi, i “*Joanne[s] Stipacinouich,*” jedan od gradskih ribara, sukobili su se doslovno glavom u glavu: potonji je “nanio teške i po život opasne rane” vojniku, tako da su službenici komunalnog odjela za zločine istražili incident i osudili počinitelja da “plati svu njegovu, lijekove i sve druge troškove” za oporavak ozlijeđenog Joannesa.<sup>55</sup>

Nisu svi sukobi završavali miroljubivo kao ova tuča koja je rezultirala ozljedom glave nakon čega je uslijedio period oporavka i konačno razrješenje sukoba bez daljnjeg nasilja. Sredinom 1540-ih Mihovil sin, viteza Georgija Renessija ubio je Petr[us]a Luchissu kojeg je nadživio brat Andreas. Prizivajući božansku milost i raspetog Krista, Andreas je pokazao milost i uspio se dogovoriti s ubojičinim ocem, obećavajući da će obustaviti sve civilne i kriminalne progone u zamjenu za počiniteljevo doživotno izgnanstvo iz susjedne šibenske jurisdikcije. George je ponizno prihvatio njegove uvjete, obećao da će ih uvijek podržavati i “založio svu svoju sadašnju i buduću imovinu” kao garanciju.<sup>56</sup>

Konačno, razmirice su se pojavljivale u najobičnijim okolnostima u susjedstvima ili župama. “[S]er Michael...od Korona, vojnik u zadarskoj utvrdi” proširio je zid svoje kuće u gradskoj župi sv. Katarine za šest i pol stopa.<sup>57</sup> Spor je izbio između Michaela i njegove susjede, “Catherine, žene pokojnog Simona Sestichiouicha,” s kojom je dijelio ovaj zid; da bi se riješio ovaj sukob, obje strane su se složile da će podijeliti troškove grad-

December 1560 for the opposing parties to come to the following agreement: On behalf of Simon’s heirs and in accordance with the settlement reached on 26 September 1560, “master-painter Marcus Antonius” transferred all of Magdalena’s rightful inheritance to his cousin, George.<sup>53</sup>

More often, though, conflict occurred in the form of everyday violence, for instance outside the city walls, many of the villages were deserted and those working in the fields were prone to regular raids from either the Ottoman side of the borders or bands of roaming bandits.<sup>54</sup> Whereas these situations appear almost exclusively in official sources, the picture changes within the city walls of Zadar where ample notarial documentation is also available. In summer 1561, for instance, “*ser Joanne[s] quondam Simonis Chichia,*” a mercenary serving in the city’s castle, and “*Joanne[s] Stipacinouich,*” one of the city’s fishermen, literally went head to head: The latter had “gravely and life-threateningly wounded” the soldier so that the officials in the communal criminal chamber investigated the incident and sentenced the offender to “pay for all care, medication, and all other expenses” for the injured John’s recovery.<sup>55</sup>

Not all conflict, however, ended this peacefully as this brawl accompanied by a head injury followed by a period of convalescence and the eventual resolution of the conflict without further violence. In the mid-1540s, “Micha[e]l son of...the knight Georg[e] Renessi” had murdered “Petr[us] Luchissa” who was survived by his brother “Andreas.” Invoking the Holy Grace and the Christ Crucified, Andreas showed mercy and came to an agreement with the murderer’s father, promising to cease all civil and criminal proceedings in exchange for the perpetrator’s lifelong banishment to the neighbouring jurisdiction of Šibenik. Humbly George accepted the terms, promised to uphold them in perpetuity, and “mortgaged all of his present and future movable and immovable property” as guaranty.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, disputes also originated within the most common set of circumstances within people’s neigh-

54 Usp. T. MAYHEW 2008: 13-14; za suvremeni opis npr. S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 165-166.

55 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 6, c.16r-c.16v, 9. srpnja 1561. (moj naglasak).

56 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 1, f.12v, 15. kolovoza 1545.

57 1 stopa = c. 0,34 m; 6,5 stopa = c. 2,145 m. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

53 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 5, c.267r-c.267v, 26 September 1560; Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 2C, c.37v-c.38r, 14 December 1560.

54 Cf. T. MAYHEW 2008: 13-4; for a contemporary description, e.g., S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 165-6.

55 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 6, c.16r-c.16v, 9 July 1561 (my emphasis).

56 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 1, f.12v, 15 August 1545.

nje od 10 lira<sup>58</sup> po stopi. U konačnici je Catherine platila 32 lire i 10 soldi svom susjedu koji je platio izgradnju zida. U zamjenu za financijsku nagodbu, Michael se složio da će buduće izmjene zajedničkih dijelova njihovih posjeda raspraviti sa susjedom.<sup>59</sup>

Zadnji primjer koji ćemo iznijeti je dosta osjetljiv spor u susjedstvu između “Franciscusa Tubicina iz Zadra i franjevaca trećoredaca”. Sporili su se zbog sjeverozapadnog i jugozapadnog zida koji su dijelili samostan i Franciscusova kuća – jer su trećoredci planirali izgraditi novu latrinu (*necessarium*) baš uz ovaj zid. Franciscus je “ustvrdio da bi upravo ovaj nužnik ošteti [njegovu] kuću”. U početku je zadarski knez “Andreas Bondumerio” dopustio trećoredcima da nastave s izgradnjom “prije (...) nego se Franciscus požalio”. Mjeseci ma je trajao sukob po ljetnoj žezi dok se suprotstavljene strane konačno nisu usuglasile i postigle mirno rješenje 29. srpnja 1564.: trećoredcima je, između ostalog, dopušteno da koriste samo dio zajedničkog zida, ali su morali osigurati da odvod vodi do ulice (gdje će, ironično, fekalije biti ispuštene ispred zadarske katedrale sv. Anastazije).<sup>60</sup>

#### 4. SUŽIVOT

Život uz ili preko često osporavane i slabo poštovane granice između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva često je bio ugrožavan, osobito u ratno doba. Izvješća mletačkih upravitelja i vojnih časnika uglavnom su usmjerena na aspekte oružanih sukoba, logistiku i obranu granica.<sup>61</sup> Na primjer, zadarski guverner Marc’Antonio da Mula pisao je o pustošenju zadarskog područja na kopnu opisujući ga kao “lijepo i bogato, ali ogra-

bourhood or parish. “[S]er Michael...of Koroni, a soldier in Zadar’s castle,” had constructed a six-and-a-half feet<sup>57</sup> increase of his house’s wall located in the city’s St Catherine parish. The quarrel arose because Michael and his neighbour, “Catherina, wife of the late Simon Sestichiuch,” *shared* this wall; to resolve this particular conflict, the two sides agreed to equally share the construction costs of 10 lire<sup>58</sup> per foot. This resulted in the payment by Catherine of 32 lire and 10 soldi to her neighbour who had paid for the wall in the first place. In exchange for the financial settlement Michael agreed to discuss future changes to the shared parts of their properties.<sup>59</sup>

The final example discussed here is the rather delicate neighbourhood dispute between “Franciscus Tubicina of Zadar and the Third Order Regulars of St Francis.” At the root were the northwest and southwest walls shared by the convent and the house of Franciscus—because the lay brothers intended to construct a new latrine (*necessarium*) along this particular wall. Franciscus subsequently “asserted that this particular toilet would damage [his] house.” Initially Zadar’s count “Andreas Bondumerio” had allowed the Third Order Regulars to continue with the construction even “before...Franciscus’ appeal had been heard.” For months the conflict continued in the simmering summer heat before the two opposing sides agreed on a peaceful solution on 29 July 1564: The lay brothers, among other things, were allowed to use only a part of the shared wall but had to ensure that the drain led to the street (where, ironically, it would discharge the excrements onto the street in front of Zadar’s cathedral of St Anastasia).<sup>60</sup>

#### 4. COEXISTENCE

Existence along—across—the often disputed and usually ill-respected borders between Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire was often tenuous, especially so in wartime. The reports by the *Sere-*

58 Vrijednost novčanih jedinica na Jadranu u 16. stoljeću: 1 mletački dukat = 6 lira i 4 solda; 1 lira = 20 soldi = 240 denarii. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759. Nadalje je pridjev mletački izostavljen.

59 DAZD 31 BZ, Augustinus Martius, I, 1, 3, s.p. 26. listopada 1548.

60 DAZD 31 BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 2, f.42v-f.43r, 29. srpnja 1564; detaljnije S. SANDER-FAES 2014.

61 O Zadru u 16. stoljeću usp. S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 41-46, 113-31, 136-144, 146-148, 170-175, 182-186, 189-199; S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 1-41, 48-55, 55-57, 78-88, 99-104, 148-156, 158-160, 164-167, 249-267; G. NOVAK 1964: 153-156, 221-226, 251-259, 289-313, 363-378, 407-412, 423-425, 434-447; G. NOVAK 1966: 67-79, 103-113, 153-159, 169-173, 231-235, 303-306.

57 1 foot = c. 0.34 m; 6.5 feet = c. 2.145 m. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

58 Conversion of monetary units in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Adriatic: 1 Venetian ducat = 6 lire and 4 soldi; 1 lira = 20 soldi = 240 denarii. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759. Hence the adjective ‘Venetian’ is omitted.

59 DAZD 31 BZ, Augustinus Martius, I, 1, 3, s.p. 26 October 1548.

60 DAZD 31 BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 2, f.42v-f.43r, 29 July 1564; in more detail S. SANDER-FAES 2014.

ničeno teritorijalnim gubicima” u ranim 1540-ima.<sup>62</sup> Nakon nešto više od desetljeća ovo je skoro doslovno ponovio mletački sindik Giovanni Battista Giustiniano koji je još pojačao dojam dodajući pritužbe o nepravilnom skladištenju municije i zalihama.<sup>63</sup> Ovi problemi dodatno su se pogoršali zbog skupih pregovora s osmanlijskim predstavnicima preko granice, koji su najčešće bili neuspješni, i činjenice da je većina muškaraca u naponu snage van gradskih zidina cijelo vrijeme nosila oružje – “ali većina njih su banditi”, napisao je Giacomo Pisano, zadarski grof od 1563. do 1566., nakon što se vratio u Veneciju.<sup>64</sup> Kao da situacija već nije bila dovoljno loša, Ciparski rat (1570. – 1573.) i njegove posljedice samo su pogoršali prilike u Dalmaciji. Gubitak velikoga mediteranskog otoka bio je popraćen s dva kruga određivanja granica (1574., 1576.) što je rezultiralo daljnjim teritorijalnim gubicima<sup>65</sup> koji su na određenim mjestima sveli zadarsko područje tek na najbliže gradsko okruženje.<sup>66</sup> Čak je izgubljena i utvrđena predstraža u Zemunik, gdje je danas smještena zadarska međunarodna zračna luka, samo desetak kilometara od gradskog centra.<sup>67</sup>

Od srednjeg vijeka obalni pojas Dalmacije predstavljao je prometno čvorište (iako je pojava Osmanlija od 1430-ih nadalje definitivno ubrzala ove procese).<sup>68</sup> Ljudi iz cijele jugoistočne Europe prolazili su kroz gradove istočnog Jadrana; jedan dio ih je nastavljao put prema mletačkoj laguni i zamišljenoj sigurnosti Apeninskog poluotoka, ali znatan broj ih je ostajao u obalnim područjima.<sup>69</sup> Mletačka vojna prisutnost na kopnu i moru osiguravala je obilje prilika za pojedince iz svih dijelova *Stato de Mar*, uključujući (sitničave) trgovačke aktivnosti.<sup>70</sup> Uloga Venecije, “mjesta tranzicije” i “relativnog sklada” u kojem su uživali njezini sta-

*nissima's* governors and military officials typically focus on aspects of armed conflict, logistics, and border defence.<sup>61</sup> For instance, Zadar's governor Marc'Antonio da Mula wrote about the desolation of Zadar's jurisdiction on the mainland describing it as “beautiful and rich but constrained by [territorial] losses” in the early 1540s.<sup>62</sup> A little over a decade later this was repeated almost verbatim by Venetian syndic Giovanni Battista Giustiniano who upped the ante by adding complaints about the improper storage of munitions and provisions.<sup>63</sup> These problems were further compounded by expensive negotiations with Ottoman officials from beyond the borders that more often than not yielded no tangible benefits and the fact that most able-bodied men outside the city walls carried weapons all the time—“but the majority of them are bandits,” Giacomo Pisano, count of Zadar 1563 to 1566, wrote upon his return to Venice.<sup>64</sup> As if the situation had not been bad enough already, the Cyprus War (1570 to 1573) and its aftermath made matters even worse in Dalmatia: The loss of the large island in the eastern Mediterranean was accompanied by two rounds of border demarcations (1574, 1576) that resulted in further territorial losses,<sup>65</sup> which in some places reduced Zadar's jurisdiction to the immediate surroundings of the city.<sup>66</sup> Even the fortified outpost at Zemunik, today home to the Zadar's international airport and only some ten kilometres away from the city centre, was lost.<sup>67</sup>

Since the Middle Ages the coastal areas of Dalmatia constituted a migratory crossroads (though the appearance of the Ottomans from the 1430s onwards certainly sped up these processes).<sup>68</sup> People from all over South-eastern Europe passed through the cities of the eastern Adriatic; while many continued their journey towards the Venetian lagoon and the perceived safety of the Apennine peninsula,

62 S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 172.

63 S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 195.

64 S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 165-166.

65 W. PANCIERA 2006; W. PANCIERA 2011.

66 Za suvremeni dojam usp. “Izvjješće iz Dalmacije i s Levanta” Andreje Giustiniana u G. NOVAK 1964: 161-185, za Zadar 176.

67 Ne treba propustiti izvješće Zuannea da Lezza iz veljače 1571. u S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 249-267, posebno 255.

68 Osim bilježaka 5 i 19 v. M. BALARD 2002 i A. DUCELLIER 1992; novije, npr., L. ČORALIĆ 2001; L. ČORALIĆ 2006.

69 O npr. Albancima u renesansnoj Italiji P. PETTA 2000; o njihovom utjecaju na jadranske gradove npr. S. BERTOŠA 2003; o Zadru u 16. stoljeću posebno R. JELIĆ 1959; vidjeti također bilješke 68 i 81.

70 Usp. uključujući daljnje reference O. SCHMITT 2009: 90-93.

61 On 16<sup>th</sup>-century Zadar cf. S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 41-6, 113-31, 136-44, 146-8, 170-5, 182-6, 189-99; S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 1-41, 48-55, 55-7, 78-88, 99-104, 148-56, 158-60, 164-7, 249-67; G. NOVAK 1964: 153-6, 221-6, 251-9, 289-313, 363-78, 407-12, 423-5, 434-47; G. NOVAK 1966: 67-79, 103-13, 153-59, 169-73, 231-5, 303-06.

62 S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 172.

63 S. LJUBIĆ 1877: 195.

64 S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 165-6.

65 W. PANCIERA 2006; W. PANCIERA 2011.

66 For a contemporary impression cf. the “Report from Dalmatia and the Levant” by Andrea Giustiniano in G. NOVAK 1964: 161-85, for Zadar 176.

67 Do not miss Zuanne da Lezza's report from February 1571 in S. LJUBIĆ 1880: 249-67, esp. 255.

68 Other than notes 5 and 19 see M. BALARD 2002 and A. DUCELLIER 1992; more recently, e.g., L. ČORALIĆ 2001; L. ČORALIĆ 2006.

novnici, potvrđena je sve većim brojem studija.<sup>71</sup> U zadnje vrijeme zakomplicirala se nekoć jednostavna slika opreke između navodno čvrstog “bedema kršćanstva” i Osmanlija kao njezina “hereditarnog neprijatelja”. Većim dijelom prošlih 20 ili 30 godina ovi pojmovi zamjenjuju se inkluzivnijim pojmovnim okvirima koji naglašavaju složenost transkulturnih susreta, hibridnost ovih višeznačnih preplitanja islama i kršćanstva i okreću se u smjeru “transimperijalnog” djelovanja.<sup>72</sup> Tako se u iduća dva dijela o suradnji i suživotu nastoji pridonijeti aktualnim debatama o u osnovi “fluidnoj i funkcionalnoj naravi identiteta populacija u ranom novom vijeku” koje su tvorile “latentnu stvarnost (...) mletačkog društva”.<sup>73</sup>

Vrijeme iskušenja u prostoru granica između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva nije za posljedicu imalo prekid kulturnih kontakata između urbane katoličke većine na obalnoj strani graničnog područja i raznih doseljenika iz Dalmacije i dalmatinskog zaleđa na zapadnom Balkanu.<sup>74</sup> Ljeti 1564., na primjer, “Bernardus Michaglieuich iz Hrvatske” otišao je u Zadar; ponio je “*procura*”<sup>75</sup> ugovor ovjeren u Zagrebu na dan sv. Bartolomeja (24. kolovoza). Putovao je u Dalmaciju u ime “Helene, kćeri pokojnog Jure iz Plavna,” da bi ishodio izvanrednu najamninu od Helenina poslovnog partnera, “Franciscusa de Venture, sina Petrovog,” zadarskog građanina. Sveukupno je Frane dugovao 297 lira i 12 soldi za najam “šumovitog imanja blizu zaselka Bahelizza”, seoceta pod zadarskom vlašću, kojeg je iznajmljivao 1563. i 1564.<sup>76</sup>

a considerable number stayed in the coastal areas.<sup>69</sup> For them the Venetian military presence on both land and sea provided ample opportunities for individuals from all parts of the *Stato da mar*, including (petty) commercial activities.<sup>70</sup> The role of Venice, that “place of transition,” and the “relative harmony” in which its inhabitants dwelled, has been assessed by an increasing number of studies.<sup>71</sup> Recent years have further ‘complicated’ what once was a clear-cut image of adversity between the supposedly steadfast ‘bulwark of Christendom’ and its ‘hereditary enemy,’ the Ottomans. For the better part of the past two to three decades, these notions started to be replaced by more inclusive conceptual frameworks emphasizing the complexity of trans-cultural encounters, the hybridity of these multi-faceted entanglements between Islam and Christianity, and shifted decisively in the direction of “trans-imperial” agency.<sup>72</sup> Thus the following two sections on cooperation and co-existence aim to contribute to the on-going debates on the essentially “fluid and functional nature of identity among early modern peoples” that constituted the “underlying reality...of Venetian society.”<sup>73</sup>

The trying times along and across the frontiers the Republic of St Mark shared with the Ottoman Empire did not result in the cessation of cross-cultural contacts between the urban Catholic majority on the coastal side of the border area and the various inhabitants from Dalmatia and its hinterlands in the western Balkans.<sup>74</sup> In summer 1564, for instance, “Bernardus Michaglieuich of Croatia” made his way to Zadar; with him he brought a *procura*<sup>75</sup> contract stipulated in Zagreb on St Bartholomew’s

71 Usp. dio o suživotu u E. DURSTELER 2006: 2-10, kompletan s mnogim referencama; citati na 2.

72 Usp. oštru procjenu L. Darlinga (L. DARLING 1998: 245); o hibridnosti usp. komentar u W. SCHMALE 2012: paragrafi 28-33; o “transimperijalnom” djelovanju danas v. N. ROTHMAN 2012, posebno “Uvod” i poglavlje 1.

73 Za prvi navod E. DURSTELER 2006: 152; za potonji J. MARTIN – D. ROMANO 2000: 21.

74 Na “granici” usp. J. OSTERHAMMEL 2009: 468-477; T. MAYHEW 2008, *passim*, obično pogranična područja naziva “granicama”, v. 65.

75 *Procura* znači da se pravne moći jednostrano dodjeljuju zastupniku s ili bez eksplicitnog mandata, tzv. prokuratoru. Ako nije bio točno određen specifičan zadatak ili nije bio određen datum isteka, ovo ovlaštenje trajalo je do smrti jedne od ugovornih strana. Usp. J. JUNGWIRTH 2010; za pravnu osnovu u skladu sa zadarskim statutom J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 146-160.

76 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 28. rujna 1564.

69 On, e.g., Albanians in Renaissance Italy P. PETTA 2000; on their impacts on the Adriatic cities, e.g., S. BERTOŠA 2003; on late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Zadar in particular R. JELIĆ 1959; see also notes 68 and 81.

70 Cf., including further references, O. SCHMITT 2009: 90-3.

71 Cf. the section on ‘Coexistence’ in E. DURSTELER 2006: 2-10, complete with ample references; quotes on 2.

72 Cf. the stark assessment by L. DARLING 1998: 245; on hybridity cf. the comment by W. SCHMALE 2012: paragraphs 28-33; on “trans-imperial” agency now see N. ROTHMAN 2012, esp. the ‘Introduction’ and Ch. 1.

73 For the former quote E. DURSTELER 2006: 152; for the latter J. MARTIN – D. ROMANO 2000: 21.

74 On the ‘frontier’ cf. J. OSTERHAMMEL 2009: 468-77; T. MAYHEW 2008, *passim*, usually refers to the border areas as ‘frontiers;’ see also note 65.

75 A *procura* unilaterally confers legal powers with or without explicit mandate(s) to an appointee, the so-called procurator. If not specifically confined to a particular task or with a certain expiration date, these powers lasted until the death of one of the contracting parties. Cf. J. JUNGWIRTH 2010; for the legal basis according to Zadar’s statute J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 146-60.



Drugi primjer usporedivih veza nalazimo u tri pojedinačna notarska akta iz jeseni 1565.: trojica “grofova Georgius ... Thomas ... i Nicolaus Mogorich, ujak i nećaci iz sela Bosiljeva u Hrvatskoj,” iznajmili su tri svoja posjeda “Simonu Mazzarellu, plemiću iz Trogira, doktoru obaju prava i gradskom vijećniku”. Imanja u blizini sela Trščane pod zadarskom jurisdikcijom iznajmljena su Simonu na deset godina u zamjenu za 26 dukata godišnje. U prisutnosti svjedoka Simon je platio 130 dukata odmah, dijelom u metalnom novcu, dijelom u dobrima čiju su vrijednost prije procijenile obje strane.<sup>77</sup> Ostatak se mogao platiti nakon dvije i pol godine; tako je Simon morao platiti 65 dukata u gotovini i preostalih 65 dukata u tkanini. Do sredine 1560-ih uvjeti u Dalmaciji van gradskih zidina pogoršali su se do te mjere da se u ugovorima o najmu navodilo kako postupati “u slučaju kuge, općeg rata ili uništenja izazvanog turskim upadima ili olujama”, iz čega je vidljivo s kojim su se prijateljima sretali stanovnici Dalmacije.<sup>78</sup> Iako su pripadnici obitelji Mogorich posjedovali imanje unutar venecijanskog teritorija, nisu živjeli tamo, zbog čega su u posebnom aktu George, Thomas i Nicolaus Mogorich imenovali svoga novog zakupca njihovim pravnim predstavnikom “u svim sadašnjim i budućim sporovima, bilo kao tužitelji ili branitelji u pojedinačnim ili skupnim parnicama, pod matičnom jurisdikcijom ili u žalbenim postupcima”.<sup>79</sup> A kako bi upotpunili svoj put na obalu, tri posjednika dodijelila su “prava na uživanje njihove svojine od ukupno 18 morgena blizu lokacije zvane Gherbe Andre[as]u Nicolichu alias Segurouicah iz Trščana”.<sup>80</sup>

day (24 August). He had travelled to Dalmatia on behalf of “Hellen daughter of the late George of Plauno” (Plavno) to obtain outstanding rental fees from Helena’s business partner, “Franciscus de Ventura son of Peter,” a citizen of Zadar. In total, Franciscus owed the sum of 297 lire and 12 soldi for the leasehold of “a wooded property near the hamlet of Bahelizza,” a small village within Zadar’s jurisdiction, which he had rented for 1563 and 1564.<sup>76</sup>

A second example for comparable ties is offered by the following three individual notarial acts from autumn 1565: The three “counts Georgius...Thomas...and Nicolaus Mogorich, uncle and nephews from the village of Bosiljevo in Croatia,” leased three of their possessions to “Simon Mazzarello, a nobleman of Trogir, doctor of both laws, and the city’s communal chancellor.” The properties, located near the village of Trščane in Zadar’s jurisdiction, were leased to Simon for the duration of ten years in exchange for 26 ducats per annum. In the presence of witnesses Simon paid 130 ducats up front, partially in specie and partially in goods whose value had been estimated beforehand by both contracting parties.<sup>77</sup> The rest was payable after two and a half years; thence Simon was to pay 65 ducats in cash and the remaining 65 ducats in cloth. By the mid-1560s conditions in Dalmatia outside the city walls had deteriorated so far that the rental contract specifically noted how to proceed “in case of plague, all-out war or destruction wrought by Turkish incursions, and storms,” which in turn offer insights into the threats faced by Dalmatia’s inhabitants.<sup>78</sup> And while the members of the Mogorich family did possess property within Venetian territory, they did not live there, which is why, in a separate act, George, Thomas, and Nicolaus Mogorich appointed their new tenant their legal representative “in all present and future disputes, be it as plaintiffs or defendants in individual or collective suits, in original jurisdiction or appellate proceedings.”<sup>79</sup> And to round off their trip to the coast, the three landlords conferred

77 Ovih 130 dukata plaćeno je na sljedeći način: “49 dukata u gotovini, grimizna haljina vrijedna 52 dukata ... vunena tkanina vrijedna 13 dukata, i 5 i  $\frac{3}{4}$  lakata tkanine vrijedne 16 dukata.” DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29. svibnja 1565. (prvi od tri akta).

78 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29 May 1565 (the first of three acts).

79 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29. svibnja 1565. (drugi od tri akta).

80 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29. svibnja 1565. (treći od tri akta); 1 morgen = c. 2.370 m<sup>2</sup>; 18 morgen = c. 42.660 m<sup>2</sup> ili c. 4,27 hektara. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

76 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 28 September 1564.

77 These 130 ducats were paid as follows: “49 ducats in cash, a crimson dress worth 52 ducats ... a kersey worth 13 ducats, and 5 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ells of cloth worth 16 ducats.” DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29 May 1565 (the first of three acts).

78 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29 May 1565 (the first of three acts).

79 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29 May 1565 (the second of three acts).

Suživot nije uvijek bio nalagan ekonomskim razlozima. U kasnu jesen 1547. “časni otac Demetrius Azupo, grčki svećenik (...) u plaćeničkoj družini odvažnog Georgija Artea, kapetana *stratiotija*<sup>81</sup> koji čuvaju Novigrad (...) i gospodin Georgije, sin pokojnog *ser* Alexandera Cassiglionea sa Zakintosom” sastali su se da bi proslavili. Otac Demetrius obećao je “svoju kći Helenu *more greco*” – prema grčkom pravoslavnom obredu – Georgiju, uz miraz vrijedan 200 dukata, da se potroši na sljedeći način: “50 dukata u gotovini dostupnih Heleni, 20 dukata također u gotovini u roku od dvije godine i 130 dukata u pokretnoj imovini.” Zauzvrat i “kao znak njegove ljubavi” potonji je obećao Heleni uzdarje jednake vrijednosti kao što je bio njen miraz.<sup>82</sup>

Usporediv slučaj transkulturnog suživota je i mali broj Židova koji su živjeli u Zadru krajem 1560-ih. Osamnaest pojedinaca javlja se u notarskim spisima, uglavnom međusobno povezanih. Vrlo mala židovska zastupljenost u gradu reflektira se i u nedostatku klauzula koje bi se odnosile na njih u komunalnim zakonima, kao i u činjenici da su se morali koristiti uslugama kršćanskih notara.<sup>83</sup> U ovom slučaju putovanje počinje u venecijanskoj laguni gdje su se “Salvator Alfari, doktor medicine, i njegov budući punac Mele Zizo” dogovorili o mirazu vrijednom 350 dukata. Ugovor je napisan u Veneciji i sadržavao je klauzule “napisane na hebrejskom (...) i osobno potpisane od još dvojice svjedoka”.<sup>84</sup> Mele i njegova obitelj bili su porijeklom iz južne Italije, a živjeli su u zadarskoj župi sv. Šimuna.<sup>85</sup> Sudbina Laurina pokojnog brata “Salamona” također nudi usporediv sklop okolnosti; bračni ugovor spomenutog Salamona

“usufruct rights to a total of 18 morgen near the location called Gherbe upon Andre[as] Nicolich alias Segurouich of Trščane.”<sup>80</sup>

Yet coexistence was not always dictated by economic considerations: In late autumn 1547 the “Rev. Fr. Demetrius Azupo, a Greek priest...in the mercenary company of the valiant George Arte, captain of the *stratioti*<sup>81</sup> guarding Novigrad...and sir George son of the late *ser* Alexander Cassiglione of Zakynthos” came together to celebrate. Fr. Demetrius promised “his daughter Helena *more greco*”—according to Greek Orthodox ritual—to George, accompanied by a dowry worth 200 ducats, to be disbursed as follows: “50 ducats in cash available to Helena, 20 ducats also in cash within two years, and 130 ducats in movable property.” In return and “as a token of his love” the latter promised Helena an equally sized counter-dowry.<sup>82</sup>

A comparable case of cross-cultural coexistence is the small number of individuals of the Jewish faith living in Zadar in the late 1560s. 18 individuals appear in the notarial records, most of whom were related to each other. The city’s very small Jewish presence is also reflected by the absence of clauses referring to them in the communal body of law as well as by the fact that they had to use the services of Christian notaries.<sup>83</sup> In this particular instance the journey starts in the Venetian lagoon where “Salvator Alfari, a medical doctor, and his future father-in-law Mele Zizo” agreed upon a dowry worth 350 ducats. The contract was written in the city of Venice and contained clauses “written in Hebrew...and signed personally by two additional witnesses.”<sup>84</sup> Originally from southern Italy, by the time of his daughter’s marriage Mele and his family lived in Zadar’s parish of St

81 *Stratioti* ili *stradiotti* bili su jedinice lake konjice novačene uglavnom među Albancima i Grcima. M. MALLETT – J. HALE 1984: 73-74, 376-377, 447-451; P. PETTA 1996; v. također bilješku 69.

82 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes Mazzarellus, I, 2, 2, s.p., 22. listopada 1547. (moji naglasci); za sličnu epizodu u obližnjem Šibeniku O. SCHMITT 2009: 91.

83 Detaljnije S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 196-198; Židova je bilo više u ovoj regiji nakon kraja 16. stoljeća kad je Venecija oformila slobodnu luku u Splitu da bi revitalizirala svoju ekonomsku poziciju na Jadranu (i uravnotežila rastući potencijal Ankone, Trsta i Rijeke). Općenito B. RAVID 2001: 12-20; posebno o Splitu D. CALABI 2001: 31-35; R. PACI 1971; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 66, 95, 196.

84 DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.3r, 30. siječnja 1567. m.v. [1568.].

85 O Meleovu braku DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.44v, 23. svibnja 1567.; o njegovu tadašnjem boravku u Zadru DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 2, s.p., 22. ožujka 1556.

80 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 29 May 1565 (the third of three acts); 1 morgen = c. 2,370 m<sup>2</sup>; 18 morgen = c. 42,660 m<sup>2</sup> or c. 4.27 hectares. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

81 *Stratioti* or *stradiotti* were units of light cavalry usually recruited mainly from among Albanians and Greeks. M. MALLETT – J. HALE 1984: 73-4, 376-7, 447-51; P. PETTA 1996; see also note 69.

82 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes Mazzarellus, I, 2, 2, s.p., 22 October 1547 (my emphases); for a comparable episode in neighbouring Šibenik O. SCHMITT 2009: 91.

83 In more detail S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 196-8; the Jewish presence in the region increased after the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as Venice created a free port in Split to revitalize its economic position in the Adriatic (to counter the growing potential of Ancona, Trieste, and Rijeka). In general B. RAVID 2001: 12-20; on Split in particular D. CALABI 2001: 31-35; R. PACI 1971; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 66, 95, 196.

84 DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.3r, 30 January 1567 m.v. [1568].

bio je ugovoren kod Antonija Manfreda, javnog notara u Ankoni, jedna [ovjerena] kopija je na hebrejskom, a druga na latinskom.”<sup>86</sup>

Relativna tolerancija Mletačke Republike odavno je utvrđena u historiografskim istraživanjima, posebno u odnosu na Židove.<sup>87</sup> Stoga ne iznenađuje da je Židova bilo u gotovo svim dijelovima mletačke *Stato da Mar* i da su na razne načine sudjelovali u životu nežidovske većine.<sup>88</sup> Ovo je jasno vidljivo u slučaju “*ser Mayra Choena*”, porijeklom “sefardskog Židova”, koji je krajem 1540-ih bio stanovnik Zadra gdje se bavio posuđivanjem novca i međugradskom trgovinom s “Jacob[us]om Bonom, kapetanom marsilijane,<sup>89</sup> građaninom i stanovnikom Zadra”. Jakov je trebao upotrijebiti iznos od 105 škuda<sup>90</sup> “u trgovini (...) kako on nalazi primjerenim i priličnim”. Ako bi posao bio uspješan, Mayr bi dobio dvije trećine zarade, ostalo bi išlo Jacobusu; u slučaju neuspjeha, obje strane bi ravnopravno snosile troškove.<sup>91</sup>

Ovi transkulturni odnosi širili su se i na stanovnike s druge strane mletačko-osmanskih granica, doduše u nešto manjem opsegu. Sredinom 1560-ih kaštelan Novigrada “Marcus Bolliani” i vojnik s njim u službi “Geronimo da Mosto” sklopili su poslovni ugovor sa sljedećim stavkama: potonji se trebao upustiti u razne trgovinske poduhvate s najvećom vrijednošću od 20 dukata “s turskim podanicima ili onima bilo koje druge vjere”. U ugovoru nadalje stoji da jedna zainteresirana strana ne može poništiti posao bez pristanka druge strane i da će se sve dobiti, kao i rizici, ravnopravno dijeliti između Marcusa i Geronima.<sup>92</sup>

Simeon.<sup>85</sup> The fate of Laura’s late brother “Salamon,” too, exhibits a comparable set of circumstances; the latter’s marriage contract was “stipulated by Antonio Manfredo, notary public in the city of Ancona, one [certified] copy in Hebrew and the other in Latin.”<sup>86</sup>

The relative tolerance of the Venetian Republic, especially with reference to Jews, has been long established by historiography.<sup>87</sup> Thus it is not surprising there were Jewish coreligionists in almost every part of Venice’s *Stato da mar* who engaged in a number of dealings with the non-Jewish majority.<sup>88</sup> This becomes especially evident in the person of “*ser Mayr Choen*,” originally a “Hispanic Jew” and by the later 1540s a resident of Zadar where he engaged in money-lending and long-distance trade with “Jacob[us] Bono, captain of a *marciliana*,<sup>89</sup> citizen, and resident of Zadar.” Jacob was to use the sum of 105 scudi<sup>90</sup> to “engage in commerce...as he sees fit and opportune.” If successful, Mayr was to receive two thirds of the profits, the rest going to Jacob; if unsuccessful, the losses were to be borne in equal parts.<sup>91</sup>

To a certain albeit lesser extent these trans-cultural contacts extended to the inhabitants across the Ottoman-Venetian borders. In the mid-1560s the castellan of Novigrad, “Marcus Bolliani,” and his fellow soldier “Geronimo da Mosto” agreed on a business contract with the following clauses: the latter was to engage in various commercial enterprises with the maximum value of 20 ducats “with the Turkish subjects or those of any other Lord.” The contract further stipulates that one interested party cannot nullify the enterprise without the consent of the other and that all profits as well as all risks were to be shared equally by both Marcus and Geronimo.<sup>92</sup>

86 DAZD 31 BZ, Gabriel Cernotta, I, 1, 5, f.3r-f.4r, 31. ožujka 1562.

87 Općenito B. ARBEL 1996b: 974-976; P. PRODI 1973; o Dalmaciji F. ŠANJEK 2008; najnovije C. CRISTELLON – S. MEIDEL MENCHI 2013; D. D’ANDREA 2013; B. RAVID 2013; v. bilješku 34.

88 B. ARBEL 1996b: 974.

89 Ova vrsta plovila, istisnine između 72 i 179 metričkih tona, koristila se na (istočnom) Mediteranu u ranom novom vijeku. Zbog plitkoga gaza uglavnom se koristila u obalnim vodama; na Jadranu se marsilijana koristila na plovnim rijekama ili kanalima *Terraferme*. J.-C. HOCQUET 2006: 154, 190.

90 1 škuda = 6 lira 17 soldi; 105 škuda = c. 105 dukata. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

91 DAZD 31 BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 3, s.p., 29. veljače 1548. m.v. [1549.] (dva pojedinačna akta, moj naglasak).

92 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 11, c.13r-c.13v, 5. rujna 1565.

85 For Mele’s marriage DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.44v, 23 May 1567; for his then-residence in Zadar DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 2, s.p., 22 March 1556.

86 DAZD 31 BZ, Gabriel Cernotta, I, 1, 5, f.3r-f.4r, 31 March 1562.

87 In general B. ARBEL 1996b: 974-6; P. PRODI 1973; on Dalmatia F. ŠANJEK 2008; most recently C. CRISTELLON – S. MEIDEL MENCHI 2013; D. D’ANDREA 2013; B. RAVID 2013; see note 34.

88 B. ARBEL 1996b: 974.

89 This type of vessel, displacing between 72 and 179 metric tons, was used throughout the (eastern) Mediterranean in the early modern period. Because of its shallow draught it was mainly used in coastal waters; in the Adriatic the *marciliana* was used also in navigable rivers or the canals of the *Terraferma*. J.-C. HOCQUET 2006: 154, 190.

90 1 scudo = 6 lire 17 soldi; 105 scudi = c. 105 ducats. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

91 DAZD 31 BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 3, s.p., 29 February 1548 m.v. [1549] (two individual acts; my emphasis).

92 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 11, c.13r-c.13v, 5 September 1565.

Ipak, suživot – čak i u slučaju iste vjeroispovijesti – nije uvijek bio miroljubiv ili bez mogućih problematičnih posljedica. Krajem kolovoza 1549., na primjer, “velečasni otac Dominicus s Brača, prior dominikanskog samostana u Zadru,” tražio je pravnog zastupnika u prilično osjetljivoj stvari. Dominicus je shodno svojim ovlastima postavio “velečasnog oca Dionisiusa iz Zadra” koji je trebao otputovati u Veneciju da izrazi “indignaciju (...) u vezi s vojnicima smještenim u jednoj od kuća dominikanskog reda za vrijeme zadnjeg turskog rata” (tursko-mletački rat od 1537. do 1540.) jer su kuću “devastirali”.<sup>93</sup> Iako su mletačke vlasti ponudile mogućnost legalnog obeštećenja, zbog birokracije i relativno loše mletačke prakse isplaćivanja ovo imenovanje opunomoćenika bilo je nužno gotovo cijelo desetljeće nakon što su sukobi s Osmanlijama završili.<sup>94</sup>

## 5. SURADNJA

Život na Jadranu u ranom novom vijeku nije bio ograničen samo na sukobe i suživot. Mletačka vlast racionalizirala je i stabilizirala socioekonomski i politički poredak, ali fizičke i mentalne granice ostale su fleksibilne. Između kasne antike i nadolazeće habsburške vlasti nad Dalmacijom u ranom 19. stoljeću ovo područje bilo je rascjepkano kao i većina drugih predmodernih entiteta.<sup>95</sup> Mletački utjecaji na razvoj dalmatinskih gradova očiti su u nizu polja kao što su pravni poslovi ili uspostavljanje urbanog plemstva koje je odvojeno od ostatka populacije, ali to ujedno znači da je “Dalmacija” u predmodernom dobu tek nešto više od geografskog pojma.<sup>96</sup> Stoga je važno naglasiti, u strogo pravnom smislu, da su stanovnici gradova i sela u okolici Zadra zapravo bili “stranci” jedni drugima. Ovo opet znači da su osim dviju spomenutih tema postojale brojne mogućnosti više ili manje miroljubive suradnje preko raznih geografskih, pravnih, političkih, religijskih i/ili društvenih barijera. Između pregovora osmanlijskih i mletačkih dužnosnika s jedne strane i manje-više stalnih prepada

Yet coexistence—even within the same religious denomination—was not always peaceful or without potentially problematic consequences. In late August 1549, for instance, “the Rev. Fr. Dominicus of Brač, prior of the...Dominican monastery of Zadar” needed a legal representative in a rather delicate matter. In this capacity Dominicus appointed “the Rev. Fr. Dionisius of Zadar.” The latter was tasked to travel to Venice and to express “the indignation...about the soldiers stationed in one of the Order’s houses during the recent Turkish war” (the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537 to 1540) that had been left “devastated by them.”<sup>93</sup> Whereas the Venetian authorities offered possibilities for legalized redress of grievance, red tape and the Most Serene Republic’s relatively bad payment behaviour necessitated this *procura* appointment almost a decade after the latest round of fighting against the Ottoman had come to a close.<sup>94</sup>

## 5. COOPERATION

Life in the early modern Adriatic was not confined to conflict and coexistence. While Venetian rule rationalized and stabilized the socio-economic and political order, physical and mental borders remained flexible. Between late Antiquity and the incoming Habsburg dominion over Dalmatia in the early nineteenth century, the region was as fragmented as most other premodern entities.<sup>95</sup> Whereas Venetian influence on the development of Dalmatia’s cities is obvious in many fields such as legal matters or the establishment of urban nobilities separated from the rest of the general populace, it also means that in premodern times ‘Dalmatia’ is little more than a geographical expression.<sup>96</sup> Thus it is important to stress that, in a strictly legal sense, individuals of cities and towns neighbouring Zadar were, in fact, ‘foreigners’ to each other. This in turn means that next to the two previously discussed themes there existed also ample possibilities for more or less peaceful cooperation across the various geographical, legal, political, religious, and/or social fault lines. Between negotiations of Ottoman and Venetian officials on one hand and the more or

93 DAZD 31 BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 3, s.p., 22. kolovoza 1549.

94 Za dodatne primjere usp. S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 74-75.

95 R. FRIEDEBURG 2010; v. bilješke 19, 96, i 127.

96 V. N. BUDAK 1996; B. KREKIĆ 1997a; v. također bilješku 95; za temeljito dokumentiran primjer D. MIJAN 2004.

93 DAZD 31 BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 3, s.p., 22 August 1549.

94 For additional examples cf. S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 74-5.

95 R. FRIEDEBURG 2010; see notes 19, 96, and 127.

96 See N. BUDAK 1996; B. KREKIĆ 1997a; see also note 95; for an extensively documented example D. MIJAN 2004.

naoružanih bandi na graničnom području, većina populacije na obje strane granice živjela je u blizini “stranaca” u kulturnom, lingvističkom i/ili religijskom smislu, što je bilo karakteristično za obalne gradove u ranom novom vijeku na Mediteranu (valja naglasiti da se puno više zna zahvaljujući materijalima iz venecijanskih i dubrovačkih arhiva, dok za zaleđe nedostaje takvo obilje izvora).<sup>97</sup>

Mletački dužnosnici opisuju oronula utvrđenja, sela u kojima vlada gotovo potpuno bezakonje i redovita pustošenja uzrokovana bolestima, glađu ili ratom, ali svakodnevni život se nastavljao. Općenito je historiografija dosta rigorozno ocjenjivala mletačko sizerenstvo nad velikim dijelom Dalmacije nakon 1409./20. Na mnogim razinama (npr. proizvodnja soli i trgovina<sup>98</sup>) novi vladari uključili su pojedine urbane zajednice u njihov puno centraliziraniji sustav upravljanja što je u konačnici drastično smanjilo ekonomsku važnost područja.<sup>99</sup> Na ovom mjestu važno je istaknuti dvije stvari: glavna starije hrvatske literature površno ukazuje na pogubne učinke mletačke vladavine, ali se u zadnje vrijeme pojavila puno slojevitija, a manje pristrana perspektiva, uglavnom zahvaljujući Josipu Kolanoviću i Tomislavu Raukaru.<sup>100</sup> Ipak, u isto vrijeme, a djelomično i zbog izvora (dozvole za izvoz u pomorskoj trgovini), rezultati ne uključuju ekonomske pokazatelje u kopnenom zaleđu dalmatinskih gradova.<sup>101</sup> Dok se dalmatinska ekonomska povijest nastavlja preispitivati, definitivno je potrebno nastaviti istraživanja; istovremeno, nedostatak komparativnih studija za anžuvinsko razdoblje (1358. do 1409./20.) još je jedan aspekt koji zaslužuje više pažnje.<sup>102</sup>

less constant forays by armed bands back and forth across the borders the majority of the population on either side of the border thus lived in close proximity to a variety of—cultural, linguistic, and/or religious—‘strangers’ characteristic of coastal towns in the early modern Mediterranean (it must be pointed out, however, that much more is known and/or has been reconstructed thanks to material from Venetian and Ragusan archives and the lack of comparable plenitudes of sources for much of the hinterlands).<sup>97</sup>

Next to rather gloomy descriptions by Venetian officials about decrepit fortifications, a practically lawless countryside, and the regular devastation wrought by the disease, famine, and war, everyday life continued. In general historiography judged Venice’s suzerainty over large tracts of Dalmatia after 1409/20 in relatively drastic terms: On many levels (e.g., salt production and trade<sup>98</sup>) the new rulers incorporated the individual urban communities into their much more centralized system of governance, eventually reducing the region’s economic significance drastically.<sup>99</sup> At this point it is important to point to two issues: Whereas large parts of the older Croatian literature summarily point to the detrimental effects of Venetian rule, a much more nuanced and much less biased picture emerged in recent decades, mostly thanks to the efforts of Josip Kolanović and Tomislav Raukar.<sup>100</sup> Yet at the same time—and in part because of the source base (export licences for maritime commerce)—the results typically exclude the economic developments in the Dalmatian cities’ jurisdictions on the mainland.<sup>101</sup> While Dalmatian economic history continues to be reassessed, more research is certainly needed; at the same time the lack of comparative studies for the Angevin period (1358 to 1409/20) is another aspect deserving of more attention.<sup>102</sup>

97 T. MAYHEW 2008: 91-274; v. bilješke 65 i 74.

98 Općenito J.-C. HOCQUET 1978-1979; konkretno o Zadru T. RAUKAR 1977: 214-219, 281-297; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 85-88.

99 N. BUDAK 1996: 186.

100 Za starije interpretacije npr., G. NOVAK 1978: 92-94; or G. NOVAK 1928; revidiranje je započeo J. KOLANOVIĆ 1979; v., najvažnije, T. RAUKAR 2000; T. RAUKAR 1970; T. RAUKAR 1977; najnovije O. SCHMIT 2009: 82-90; o Novakovoj ulozi u području dalmatinske ekonomske povijesti T. RAUKAR 1991.

101 Za temeljito dokumentiranu studiju (zadarsko tržište nekretnina, 1540. – 1569.), usp. S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 143-170, gdje se po prvi put pruža procjena kretanja cijena na otocima pod zadarskom jurisdikcijom; usp. ove podatke s T. RAUKAR 1977: 71-196, posebno s dijelom o nekretninama na 151-196.

102 O. SCHMITT 2009: 84.

97 T. MAYHEW 2008: 91-274; see notes 65 and 74.

98 In general J.-C. HOCQUET 1978-1979; on Zadar specifically T. RAUKAR 1977: 214-9, 281-97; T. RAUKAR *et alii* 1987: 85-8.

99 N. BUDAK 1996: 186.

100 For the older interpretation, e.g., G. NOVAK 1978: 92-4; or G. NOVAK 1928; the reassessment started with J. KOLANOVIĆ 1979; see, most importantly, T. RAUKAR 2000; T. RAUKAR 1970; T. RAUKAR 1977; most recently O. SCHMIT 2009: 82-90; on Novak’s role in the field of Dalmatian economic history T. RAUKAR 1991.

101 For an extensively documented case study (Zadar’s property markets, 1540–69), cf. S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 143-70, that, for the first time, also assesses price developments on the islands under Zadar’s jurisdiction; cf. these findings with T. RAUKAR 1977: 71-196, esp. the section on real estate on 151-96.

102 O. SCHMITT 2009: 84.

U nastavku je suradnja u urbanom zadarskom okruženju i njezine manifestacije u notarskim zapisima razmotrena na tri razine: prvo, kao veze koje vežu dalmatinske gradove s metropolom u laguni; drugo, u sklopu cijelog Jadrana, obuhvaćajući sva obalna područja, što je područje i tema koja je relativno zapostavljena i u talijanskoj i (jugo)slavenskoj historiografiji osim u zadnjem desetljeću ili dva;<sup>103</sup> i konačno, s posebnim naglaskom na veze obalnih područja zapadnog Balkana s njihovim habsburškim, hrvatskim, mađarskim ili osmanlijskim zaledima. Posebno u vezi s potonjim mora se istaknuti da je u dobrom dijelu druge polovice 20. stoljeća historiografija bila dosta oštra u procjeni potrganih veza među područjima katoličko-talijanizirajućih utjecaja (kulturnih, ekonomskih, pravnih, političkih i religijskih). Smatra se da je ovaj proces dosegao vrhunac za vrijeme vladavine Ludovika I. Anžuvina (1342. – 1382.), nakon čega je uslijedio nagli pad koji je došao do najniže točke upravo u doba najvećeg procvata Osmanskog Carstva u 16. stoljeću.<sup>104</sup> Iako je u zadnje vrijeme počelo preispitivanje ove interpretacije, potrebno je još istraživanja da bi se izoštrila cjelokupna slika Jadrana u ovo doba.<sup>105</sup>

Srednja Dalmacija i njezin glavni grad Zadar bili su vezani uz Veneciju na više načina, uglavnom u smislu ekonomskih i političkih dodira, ali ne isključivo.<sup>106</sup> Iako se ovaj strukturalni faktor mijenjao kroz vrijeme,<sup>107</sup> često je dovodio do interakcije koja je prelazila kulturne i socijalne granice, prostor i vrijeme. Uzmimo na primjer slučaj velečasnog oca Petrusa Difnicusa, ninskog kanonika, koji je krajem 1550-ih poslao “gospodina Jo[h]anne[s] a Sidineu[s]a, brata uvaženog doktora obaju prava Blasi[us]a,” u Veneciju. Ninska biskupija, koju je predstavljao njezin kaptol, upetljala se u pravnu svađu oko naplate desetine sa stanovnicima malog zaseoka Leporina koji je pripadao biskupiji. Johannes Sidineus trebao je poduzeti sve potrebne mjere

In the following cooperation within the urban setting of Zadar and its notarized manifestations is discussed on three levels: First, the ties that bound Dalmatia’s cities to the lagoon metropolis; second within the entire Adriatic encompassing all coastal areas of the sea, an area and thematic focus of relative neglect by both Italian and (Yugo-) Slav historiography except for the past one or two decades;<sup>103</sup> and finally with particular emphasis on the connections between the coastal areas of the western Balkans and its Habsburg, Croatian, Hungarian, and Ottoman hinterlands. Especially with regard to the latter, it must be noted that well into the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography was relatively harsh in its judgment concerning the interrupted connections between the areas of Catholic-Italianate (cultural, economic, legal, political, and religious) influence. This is perceived to have reached its high point during the reign of Louis the Great of Hungary (r. 1342 to 1382), followed by a steep decline to reach its nadir during the apogee of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Whereas a reassessment of this particular interpretation has started in recent decades, equally more research is needed to refine the overall picture of the Adriatic in this period.<sup>105</sup>

In many ways, mainly but not exclusively in terms of economic and political links, central Dalmatia and its main city of Zadar were tied to Venice.<sup>106</sup> While this structural factor was subject to variations over time,<sup>107</sup> it frequently led to interactions across cultural and social boundaries, space, and time. Take, for instance, the case of the “Rev. Fr. Petrus Difnicus, canon of Nin,” who, in the late 1550s, appointed “sir Jo[h]anne[s] Sidineu[s], brother of the distinguished doctor of both laws Blasi[us]” to travel to Venice. The diocese of Nin, represented by its chapter, had been embroiled in a legal feud over payment of tithes against the inhabitants of the small subject hamlet of Leporina. John Sidineus was to engage in all activities necessary to resolve the is-

103 Usp. T. MAYHEW 2008: 16-18; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 16-18; usp. E. IVETIĆ 2005; E. IVETIĆ 2002; v. posebno F. PALADINI 2000 s brojnim referencama na dobar dio starije literature; F. PALADINI 2002; najnovije M. O’CONNELL 2013: 15-17.

104 Usp. T. MAYHEW 2008: 18-19.

105 O srednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji kao prometnom čvorištu N. BUDAK 1995; T. RAUKAR 1995; S. TEKE 1995; o mađarskim vezama s renesansnom Italijom najnovije K. PRAJDA 2011.

106 Za temeljit pregled s referencama v. A. MALZ 2006: 104-113; v. također bilješke 75 i 107.

107 O komunikaciji sredinom 16. stoljeća S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 66-73; o migracijama S. SANDER-FAES 2012.

103 Cf. T. MAYHEW 2008: 16-8; S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 16-8; cf. E. IVETIĆ 2005; E. IVETIĆ 2002; see esp. F. PALADINI 2000, which includes ample references to large parts of the older literature; F. PALADINI 2002; most recently M. O’CONNELL 2013: 15-7.

104 Cf. T. MAYHEW 2008: 18-9.

105 On medieval Dalmatia as turnover hub N. BUDAK 1995; T. RAUKAR 1995; S. TEKE 1995; on Hungarian ties to Renaissance Italy most recently K. PRAJDA 2011.

106 For an extensively referenced overview see A. MALZ 2006: 104-13; see also notes 75 and 107.

107 On mid-16<sup>th</sup> century communication S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 66-73; on migration S. SANDER-FAES 2012.

da se slučaj riješi, posebno u odnosu na matičnu jurisdikciju, i ako ustreba, *Quarantiu*, apelacijski sud u Veneciji.<sup>108</sup>

Drugi primjer odnosi se na “Johannesa Antoniusa, sina Hieronym[us]a Cernotte, plemića iz Raba,” koji je imenovao svog brata Gabriela, jednog od zadarskih notara, svojim pravnim zastupnikom. Tada Johannes više nije radio kao komunalni kancelar u Rabu, koji je bio još jedna otočna zajednica pod mletačkom upravom smještena sjeverozapadno od Zadra u Kvarnerskom zaljevu. Budući da su se “Georgiu[s] Conciza i Colanu[s] de Zaro iz Raba” već žalili prvo lokalnim instancama, a onda i institucijama u Veneciji, Johannes je trebao pravnu ekspertizu u poslovima s “Antoniom Balenom, državnim odvjetnikom, njegovim uredom i bilo kojim drugim zainteresiranim (...) magistratom ili stručnjakom”.<sup>109</sup>

Iduća dva primjera odnose se na varijaciju iste teme – suradnje na Jadranu kao prostoru koji dijele mnoge zajednice uz *sve* njegove obale, uključujući i područja van mletačke kontrole. U travnju 1560., na primjer, “Dobra, kći pokojnog Nicolausa Cuiticha iz Komiže na otoku Visu pod hvarskom jurisdikcijom,” pravno strankinja u Zadru, pojavljuje se u protokolarnim knjigama Simona Mazzarella. Ona je odredila “Georgiu[s]a Cuiticha, sina Petera i Nicolausa Smaila iz istog sela Komiže ... da podijele svu pokretnu i nepokretnu imovinu pod hvarskom jurisdikcijom ...između [Dobre] i njezine sestre Margarite”.<sup>110</sup> Bilo je relativno uobičajeno da pojedinac iz bilo kojeg dijela mletačke Dalmacije dođe u Zadar i pred komunalnim kancelarom (koji je i sam bio plemić iz Trogira, ali je uživao građanska prava u Zadru) izabere zastupnike koji će ga predstavljati u vezi s predmetom u mjestu u kojem živi.<sup>111</sup>

U drugom primjeru “Jo[h]annes de Ralica, sin pokojnog Nicolasa Michulich, iz sela Alfonsina u Apuliji” prodao je komad zemlje pod zadarskom jurisdikcijom. Zbog toga je Johannes otputovao u Dalmaciju i za cijenu od 15 dukata prodao “dva morgena<sup>112</sup> obradive zemlje s nekih 35 stabala masline (...) u blizina sela Sv Filip i Jakov... Luca[s]u

sue, in particular with reference to both original jurisdiction and, if needs be, making good use of the *Quarantia*, the Venice-based court of appeals.<sup>108</sup>

A second example involved “Johannes Antonius son of Hieronym[us] Cernotta, a nobleman of Rab,” who appointed his brother Gabriel, one of Zadar’s public notaries, his legal representative. By then John was no longer working as communal chancellor of Rab, another Venetian-controlled island community located to the northwest of Zadar in the Kvarner Gulf. Because “Georgiu[s] Conciza and Colanu[s] de Zaro from Rab” had appealed to first local and subsequently Venetian-based institutions, John needed legal expertise in these dealings with “Antonio Baleno, the Republic’s state attorney, his office, and any other interested...magistrate or authority.”<sup>109</sup>

The following two examples discuss a variation of this theme, namely cooperation within an Adriatic conceived as an area shared with the many communities along *all* of its shores, including those regions that were not controlled by Venice. In April 1560, for instance, “Dobra daughter of the late Nicolaus Cuitich of Komiža on the island of Vis within the jurisdiction of Hvar,” legally a foreigner in Zadar, appears in the protocol books of Simon Mazzarello. She appointed “Georgiu[s] Cuitich son of Peter and Nicolaus Smailo of the same village of Komiža...to divide all movable and immovable property existing within the jurisdiction of Hvar...between [Dobra] and her sister Margarita.”<sup>110</sup> It was relatively common for an individual from somewhere else in Venetian Dalmatia to go to Zadar and, in front of the communal chancellor (who himself was a nobleman from Trogir but enjoyed citizenship rights in Zadar), appoint representatives to deal with an issue at home.<sup>111</sup>

In another example “Jo[h]annes de Ralica son of the late Nicolas Michulich, a resident of the village of Alfonsina in Apulia” sold a patch of land within Zadar’s jurisdiction. For this John travelled to Dalmatia and for the price of 15 ducats sold “two morgens<sup>112</sup> of arable land with some 35 olive trees...near the village of Sv Filip i Jakov...to Luca[s] Bubicich

108 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 3, c.119r, 13. svibnja 1558.

109 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 4, f.6v-f.7r, 27. lipnja 1562.

110 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 7, s.p., 12. travnja 1560.

111 V. bilješku 107.

112 2 morgen = c. 4.740 m<sup>2</sup>. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

108 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 3, c.119r, 13 May 1558.

109 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 4, f.6v-f.7r, 27 June 1562.

110 DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 7, s.p., 12 April 1560.

111 See note 107.

112 2 morgen = c. 4,740 m<sup>2</sup>. J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759.

Bubicichu, sinu Gregor[ius]a (...) i njegovu bratu Paizeu”.<sup>113</sup> Prije nego što su kupci finalizirali dogovor, notar je kopirao garanciju koju je u Johannesovo ime napisala zajednica Alfonsina, a koja uključuje Johannesov osobni opis (“mladić od otprilike 22 godine koji već ima crvenkasto-smeđu bradu”), kao i službeno ovjerenu potvrdu njegova porijekla, s notarskim pečatom kancelara Alfonsine, “Simona Pilliciariusa,” datiranu 30. studenog 1568.<sup>114</sup> Na dan prodaje zemlje Johannes je prenio jedan od dva morgena “Nicolau Nigriju, sinu pokojnog Milichija iz sela Sv Filip i Jakov”.<sup>115</sup> Da bi dokumentacija bila kompletna, notar je umetnuo drugu kopiju u svoju protokolarnu knjigu, bilježeći posebno da je sve vjerno reproducirao i potpisao.<sup>116</sup>

Zadnja tri primjera služe za ilustraciju povezanosti, ali ipak različite pojave veza između obalnih područja i njihova zaleđa u zapadnom Balkanu. Nisu sve bile zanimljive kao posthumno putovanje pokojnog “Theodosi[us]a” koji se borio u mađarskoj vojsci protiv Osmanlija i čiji su zemni ostatci trebali biti pokopani u njegovu rodnom Zadru;<sup>117</sup> a nisu sve bile ni “svakodnevne” kao trgovački poslovi trgovaca kao “Andrea[s]a Postnera iz Ljubljane” ili “Phylippa Tuertcouicha iz Skradina”.<sup>118</sup> Ipak, u sličnom primjeru u kolovozu 1559. “grof Bogdanus alias Deodatus Fioruich iz Bosne” i stanovnik Zadra pojavljuje se u notarskim zapisima. U ime svog rođaka “Jo[h]annesa de Pechiara, sina

son of Gregor[ius]...and his brother Paize.”<sup>113</sup> Before the buyers finalised the deal the notary copied a guarantee written on John’s behalf by the commune of Alfonsina. It included a personal description of John (“a young man of roughly 22 years who, for someone his age, already sports an auburn beard”) as well as an officially certified confirmation of his origin, complete with the notarial seal of Alfonsina’s chancellor, “Simon Pilliciarius,” dated 30 November 1568.<sup>114</sup> On the same day as the land sale took place, John subsequently transferred one of the two morgen to “Nicolao Nigri son of the late Milichi of the village Sv Filip i Jakov.”<sup>115</sup> For the sake of completeness, the notary inserted a second copy into his protocol book, specifically noting to have reproduced everything truthfully, and signed below.<sup>116</sup>

The final three examples serve to illustrate a related but slightly different point, namely the connections between the coastal areas and its hinterlands in the western Balkans. Not all of these were as curious as the posthumous voyage of the late “Theodosi[us]” who had fought along the Hungarian army against the Ottomans and whose bodily remains were to be buried in his hometown of Zadar;<sup>117</sup> and not all of these were as ‘mundane’ as the commercial dealings of merchants like “Andrea[s] Postner of Ljubljana” or “Phylippo Tuertcouich of Skradin.”<sup>118</sup> However, in a comparable instance in August 1559 “count Bogdanus alias Deodatus Fioruich of Bosnia” and a resident of Zadar appears in the notarial records.

113 Tečaj u ovom dokumentu bio je nešto drukčiji nego „standardni” tečaj tipičan za mletačke dominione; u ovom slučaju tečaj je bio 1 dukat = 6 lira (nasuprot mletačkom „standardu” 1 dukat = 6 lira i 4 solda; J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759); 15 dukata plaćeno je sa “16 talira, 3 lire, i 12 soldi u gotovini”. Na dnu zadnje stranice ugovora je mali crtež ruke i piše: “okrenite stranicu da vidite istiniti opis gorespomenutog Johannesesa”. DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.21v-c.22r, 4. veljače 1569. m.v. [1570.].

114 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.22v, 30. studenog 1568. [*de facto* 4. veljače 1569./1570.].

115 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.22v-c.23r, 4. veljače 1569. m.v. [1570.].

116 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.23v, 30. studenog 1568. [*de facto* 4. veljače 1569./1570.].

117 Dok je služio u mađarskoj kraljevskoj vojsci, Theodosius je bio poznat i po svom “ratnom imenu” “Jo[h]annes Croatus”. DAZD 31 BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 1, c.13r-c.14r, 8. siječnja 1556. m.v. [1557.]; detaljnije S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 76, 177.

118 Za prvog DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 1, s.p., 9. studenog 1555.; za potonjeg Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 1, c.23r, 12. travnja 1552.

113 The conversion rate in this document varied slightly from the ‘standard’ conversion rates typical of Venice’s dominions; in this particular instance the conversion rate was 1 ducat = 6 lire (as opposed to the Venetian ‘standard’ of 1 ducat = 6 lire 4 soldi; J. KOLANOVIĆ – M. KRIŽMAN 1997: 759); the 15 ducats were paid “in 16 thalers, 3 lire, and 12 soldi in cash.” Sporting a small drawing of a hand, the footer at the end of the contract even reads, “turn the page and see the truthful description of the above-mentioned John.” DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.21v-c.22r, 4 February 1569 m.v. [1570].

114 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.22v, 30 November 1568 [*de facto* 4 February 1569/70].

115 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.22v-c.23r, 4 February 1569 m.v. [1570].

116 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 1, 3, c.23v, 30 November 1568 [*de facto* 4 February 1569/70].

117 While serving with the royal Hungarian army Theodosius was also known by his *nom de guerre* “Jo[h]annes Croatus.” DAZD 31 BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 1, c.13r-c.14r, 8 January 1556 m.v. [1557]; in more detail S. SANDER-FAES 2013: 76, 177.

118 For the former DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 1, s.p., 9 November 1555; for the latter Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 1, c.23r, 12 April 1552.



Francisc[us]a,” plemića iz Zadra, Bogdan je prenio komad zemlje u Sali, uključujući sve životinje na njemu u korist “Johannesa Antoniusa Rossetta de Pontremolija, građanina i trgovca iz Zadra”. U zamjenu za godišnju najamninu od 14 dukata potonji je dobio pravo uživanja i sva druga prava za period od dvije godine.<sup>119</sup>

Još zanimljiviji primjer transkulturne suradnje dogodio se u ožujku 1568., samo nekoliko godina prije izbijanja Ciparskog rata. “Hasi Memri, Iusuf, Alli Caraoruz, Hasan i Ferhat, [svi] muslimani iz Bosne,” došli su u Zadar tražiti pravdu.<sup>120</sup> Bili su pomorci na trgovačkom brodu koji je prevozio “tkaninu, 56 bala moltona i kordobske kože, sveukupno 5980 komada, tri paketa voska, 25 klupaka konopa, sveukupno 302 konopa”. Na putu do Ankone uskoci su opljačkali brod 10. ožujka, ali teret je povratila mletačka mornarica na Jadranu pod zapovjedništvom “Pietra Ema” i dovezla ga do Zadra.<sup>121</sup> Nakon vraćanja njihove robe muslimanski trgovci izdali su izjavu o napuštanju tražbine da bi pravno oslobodili mletačke vlasti optužbe o njihovu dugu. Notarski akt sastavljen je u nadbiskupskoj palači i potpisan od svih strana, svjedoka, gradskog službenika i bosanskih trgovaca čiji su potpisi na arapskom također zapisani u notarskoj protokolarnoj knjizi.<sup>122</sup>

Konačni primjer sličan je gorespomenutom. Samo nekoliko dana kasnije, početkom travnja 1568. “Bonifatius Bonifaci zvan Collandi iz Pirana, stanovnik Korčule,” stigao je u Zadar. Budući da je i njegova roba bila ukradena, ovlastio je “svog nećaka Franciscu[s]a...i njegova oca gospodina Andrea[s]a Bonifaciu[s]a” kao svoje pravne zastupnike “da povrate ili brod ili svu robu od uskoka”. Prokurator je morao upotrijebiti sva sredstva da ostvari ovu nakanu pred piratima ili bar da osigura (djelomičnu) kompenzaciju od mletačkih magistrata.<sup>123</sup>

On behalf of his kinsman “Jo[h]annes de Pechiaro son of Francisc[us],” a nobleman of Zadar, Bogdan transferred a patch of land in Sali including all the animals on it to “Johannes Antonius Rossetto de Pontremoli, a citizen and merchant of Zadar.” In exchange for an annual rent of 14 ducats the latter gained usufruct and all other rights for the duration of two years.<sup>119</sup>

An even more interesting instance of cross-cultural cooperation, though, occurred in March 1568, only a couple of years before the outbreak of the Cyprus War. “Hasi Memri, Iusuf, Alli Caraoruz, Hasan, and Ferhat, [all] Muslims of Bosnia,” arrived in Zadar to seek justice.<sup>120</sup> They were sailors aboard a merchant ship carrying “clothes, 56 bundles of molton and cordwain, in all 5.980 pieces, three bales of wax, 25 coils of rope, in all 302 ropes.” En route to Ancona Uskok pirates had plundered the ship on 10 March but the cargo was recuperated by the Venetian navy in the Adriatic under the command of “Pietro Emo” and brought to Zadar.<sup>121</sup> Upon return of their merchandise the Muslim merchants issued a quitclaim to legally exonerate the Venetian authorities of their debt. Drawn up in the archiepiscopal palace, the notarial act was signed by all involved parties, the witnesses, the communal official, and the Bosnian merchants whose signatures in Arabic were also written down in the notary’s protocol book.<sup>122</sup>

The final example all but combines these previous issues: Only a couple of days later in early April 1568 “Bonifatius Bonifaci named Collandi of Piran and a resident of Korčula” arrived in Zadar. Because his merchandise too had been stolen, he appointed “his nephew Franciscu[s]...and his father sir Andrea[s] Bonifaciu[s]” as his legal representatives “to recuperate either the ship or all the goods from the Uskoks.” The procurator was to employ all necessary means to achieve this assignment in front of the pirates or at least obtain (partial) compensation from the Venetian magistrates.<sup>123</sup>

119 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 1, c.35r-c.35v, 8. kolovoza 1559.

120 O vezama Bosne i Venecije S. FAROQHI 2004; v. također priloge u S. S. FAROQHI – G. VEINSTEIN 2006, posebno prvi dio (“The Venice Connection”).

121 O senjskim uskocima C. W. BRACEWELL 1992; J. FINE 2006: 216-218; o gusarenju i krijumčarenju najnovije O. SCHMITT 2008.

122 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 6, f.34r-f.34v, 25. ožujka 1568.

123 DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.37v, 5. travnja 1568.

119 DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 1, c.35r-c.35v, 8 August 1559.

120 On the connections between Bosnia and Venice S. FAROQHI 2004; see also the contributions in S. S. FAROQHI – G. VEINSTEIN 2006, esp. Part 1 (“The Venice Connection”).

121 On the Uskoks of Senj C. BRACEWELL 1992; J. FINE 2006: 216-8; on piracy and smuggling most recently O. SCHMITT 2008.

122 DAZD 31 BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 6, f.34r-f.34v, 25 March 1568.

123 DAZD 31 BZ, Cornelius Constantius, I, 1, 1, c.37v, 5 April 1568.

## 6.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Sredinom 16. stoljeća Jadran je bio prilično opasno mjesto. Osmansko Carstvo doseglo je vrhunac sredinom stoljeća, a kršćanska pomorska sila, oslabljena izgubljenom pomorskom bitkom kod Preveze (1538.) i napadima Hajreddina Barbarosse, bila je u nikad gorjoj poziciji. Spomenuti primjeri pokazuju kao prvo da je potencijal za međusobne i/ili klasne sukobe bio isti kao i u drugim dijelovima Europe ili mletačke pomorske države. Prijeteća situacija u susjedstvu s Osmanskim Carstvom imala je malo utjecaja na ove aspekte svakodnevnog života mletačkih podanika u Dalmaciji, barem dok nije bilo općeg rata. U ovom kontekstu postoje obilni historiografski dokazi o kontinuitetu društvenih struktura kroz srednjovjekovno i rano novovjekovno razdoblje. Istovremeno, spomenuti slučajevi dodatno kompliciraju preповршne pretpostavke o predmodernom svakodnevnom životu. Zapravo, notarski akti dopuštaju povjesničaru da rekonstruira neke aspekte sukoba (rješenje), suživota i suradnje, a ako ih stavimo u širi kontekst transkulturnih razmjena na (istočnom) Mediteranu, oni priječe donošenje brzopletih rješenja i crno-bijelih zaključaka.

U mirnijim vremenima suživot i suradnja preko kulturnih, političkih i religioznih granica bili su norma za uglavnom katoličke podanike Venecije. Mletačka politika relativne religijske slobode se očitovala, na primjer, u činjenici da su Židovi živjeli i radili uz Grke; ili u redovitim poslovima dalmatinskih katolika s osmanlijskim podanicima s druge strane granice. Ipak, primjeri ukazuju na dvije dodatne karakteristike svakodnevnog života na Jadranu u ranom novom vijeku. Na osvojenim područjima Venecija je primjenjivala ne samo politiku relativne tolerancije – koja je usporediva s onim što je historiografija označila pojmom *convivencia* na Pirinejskom poluotoku ili Svetom Rimskom Carstvu prije Tridesetogodišnjeg rata<sup>124</sup> – već je propagirala i “jednakost pred zakonom”.<sup>125</sup> Ovo je s druge strane značilo da se određeni, doduše rudimentarni aspekti onoga što danas poznajemo kao

## 6.

## CONCLUSION

In the mid-sixteenth century the Adriatic was a rather dangerous place: The Ottoman Empire had reached its apogee during the middle decades of the century while Christian sea power, epitomized by the lost naval battle of Preveza (1538) and the raids by Hayreddin Barbarossa, was at an all-time low. The discussed examples show that, first, the potential for internecine and/or class conflict was no different from other parts of Europe or the Venetian maritime state. The menacing neighbourhood situation with the Ottoman Empire had little bearing on these aspects of everyday life of Dalmatia's Venetian subjects, at least during the absence of all-out war. On these matters there is ample historiographical evidence on the continuity of social structures throughout the medieval and early modern periods. At the same time the exemplary cases further complicate all too-easy assumptions about premodern everyday life. In fact, the notarized acts also allow the historian to reconstruct some aspects of conflict (resolution), coexistence, and cooperation. And if put into the wider context of cross-cultural exchanges in the (eastern) Mediterranean all but preclude jumping to easy solutions and black-and-white conclusions.

During more peaceful times coexistence between and cooperation across cultural, political, and religious boundaries were the norm for Venice's mostly Catholic subjects. The Republic's policy of relative freedom of religion manifested itself in, for instance, Jews living and working alongside Greeks or the regular dealings of Dalmatia's Catholic inhabitants with subjects of the Most Sublime Porte across the border. Yet the examples also point to two additional features of everyday life in the early modern Adriatic: Throughout her dominions Venice employed not only a policy of relative tolerance—as such certainly comparable to what historiography has conceptualized as *convivencia* in, among other places, the Iberian peninsula or the Holy Roman Empire prior to the Thirty Years' War<sup>124</sup>—but also proclaimed ‘equality before the law.’<sup>125</sup> This, in

124 “*Convivencia* (španjolski “zajedničko življenje”) uobičajeni je termin za koegzistenciju muslimana, Židova i kršćana u srednjovjekovnim iberskim kraljevstvima” u srednjoj Europi u 16. stoljeću, T. BRADY 2009, posebno Ch. 12, 15, i 16 (definicija na 233, n. 18; originalni naglasak).

125 Za obilno dokumentirane primjere O. SCHMITT 2009: 93-100; za citat S. LJUBIĆ 1890: 247.

124 Defined as “*Convivencia* (Spanish: living together) is the usual term for the coexistence of Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the medieval Iberian kingdoms”—in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Central Europe, T. BRADY 2009, esp. Ch. 12, 15, and 16 (definition on 233, n. 18; emphasis in the original).

125 For amply documented examples O. SCHMITT 2009: 93-100; for the quote S. LJUBIĆ 1890: 247.

“vladavinu zakona” mogu prepoznati u brojnim slučajevima “stranaca” koji su došli u Zadar iz drugih dijelova mletačke pomorske države poput Istre i Hvara, Apeninskog poluotoka ili preko granica sa zapadnog Balkana. Ipak, ovu anakronističku analogiju treba uzeti s rezervom jer se Venecija rado predstavljala kao nepristran sudac vlastitim podanicima i strancima u jednakoj mjeri. Ova samostvorena slika može se vidjeti, na primjer, na fasadi Duždeve palače u Veneciji: među dekorativnim elementima prepoznamo *Venetiu* koja nosi mač i vagu, atribute Pravde – ali bez poveza za oči.<sup>126</sup>

Konačno, iako bi bilo lako pretpostaviti premoderne oblike vladavine iz centara moći, ovo je problematično iz više razloga, od kojih je najvažniji njihova kompozitna narav.<sup>127</sup> Venecija je zaključivala posebne (ali neujednačene) dogovore sa svojim dominionima koji su bili vezani za Republiku individualno, a zbog čega su generalizacije problematične. Ovo je posebno jasno vidljivo ako se razmotre posljedične implikacije: netko iz Bosne bio je “stranac” u Zadru, kao i netko iz južne Italije ili iz Dubrovnika – i obrnuto. Prihvaćanje ove dodatne složenosti definitivno je imalo prednosti i mane, ali nam također pomaže da potpunije razumijemo Jadran u ranom novom vijeku kao *zajednički* prostor.

turn, meant that certain, admittedly rudimentary aspects of what we today call ‘the rule of law’ may be identified in the numerous cases of ‘foreigners’ who came to Zadar from other parts of the Venetian *Stato da mar* like Istria or Hvar, the Apennine peninsula, or from across the borders in the western Balkans. Yet this anachronistic analogy must be taken with a grain of salt as the Most Serene Republic liked to present itself as an impartial judge to its own subjects and foreigners alike. This self-styled image can be seen, for instance, on the façade of the Ducal Palace in Venice: Among the decorative elements is also a *Venetia* carrying a sword and balance scales, the attributes usually wielded by Lady Justice—but without a blindfold.<sup>126</sup>

Even though, lastly, it is tempting to presume premodern polities from the centres of power, this is problematic on a number of accounts, most importantly because of their composite nature.<sup>127</sup> Venice concluded separate (but unequal) compacts with its subject dominions that were tied to the Republic individually and which, in turn, renders overarching generalizations problematic. This becomes especially apparent if the ensuing implications are considered: Someone from Bosnia was as ‘foreign’ in Zadar as someone from southern Italy, or Dubrovnik—and vice versa. While acceptance of this added complexity certainly has both advantages and disadvantages, it also helps us more fully conceive of the early modern Adriatic as a *shared* space.

126 V. npr. prikaz na naslovnici G. RÖSCH 2000.  
127 Usp. J. ELLIOTT 1992.

126 See, e.g., the depiction on the cover of G. RÖSCH 2000.  
127 Cf. J. ELLIOTT 1992.

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