

## THE RAGUSANS IN VENICE FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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**ABSTRACT:** Based upon the documents from Venetian archives, this study deals with the presence and activities of the Ragusans in Venice from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century with regard to their residence, occupation, and spiritual and everyday life, with particular insight into the activities of distinguished Ragusans in the province of culture, science, and art.

The migration of the population from the eastern coast of the Adriatic to Venice taking place over the centuries, can be viewed as a complex process caused by the political, cultural, and trade links between the two neighbouring regions.

Most of the towns along the eastern Adriatic coast share common historical features, having all once been part of the Venetian Republic. Dubrovnik, however, managed to retain its independence as a city-republic, except for the period from 1205 to 1358, with a powerful economy founded on sea-borne commerce, and a cultural and scholarly life stirred to the greatest heights among the cities on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Therefore, the migra-

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tion of Ragusans to Venice did not follow the same pattern and intensity as that from other Croatian cities. The chapters that follow will present certain peculiarities of their presence in Venice, in comparison to other immigrants from the eastern coast.

This research is based upon sources from Venetian archives (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, *Archivio di Curia Patriarcale*, and *Archivio di Scuola Dalmata dei Ss. Giorgio e Trifone*; the libraries *Marciana*, *Querini-Stampalia*, and *Fondazione Giorgio Cini*) as well as upon published documents and historiographical results.<sup>1</sup>

### *The period investigated*

The span of emigration from Dubrovnik to Venice can, in accordance with the intensity and number of the immigrants in certain periods, be divided into several phases. The analysis was performed upon a large number of uniform archival sources (testaments) from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.

The intensity of Ragusan immigration to Venice before the early fifteenth century was rather low, the immigrants being mostly merchants or captains temporarily residing in Venice owing to the character of their occupations. The immigration rate began to rise in the first years of the fifteenth century and reached its climax between 1475 and 1499, the period with the greatest number of Ragusans recorded in Venice. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the immigration rate decreased somewhat, but regained its previous rate between the years 1525 and 1550. This immigration trend was induced by unfavorable military and political circumstances in the Croatian mainland as well as economic necessity among the Ragusan population, and it correlates to a great extent with emigration trends evident in other Croatian regions. A certain number of Ragusan emigrants separated from their families and settled in the Lagoon temporarily, taking part in trade and shipping activities, with the eventual intention of returning home. Most of the emigrants, particularly those of more modest means, chose Venice as their permanent destination. They assimilated easily, married, and raised families, building their business ties exclusively in Venice. A great many decided to stay in

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<sup>1</sup> For an extended bibliography on Veneto-Ragusan relations see Lovorka Čoralić, "Dubrovčani u Veneciji od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća". *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 32 (1994): pp. 16-17.

Venice after becoming established in their jobs and residential neighborhoods with families and children, never to return to their native town.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw a continual decline in the number of immigrants from Ragusa, which was to proceed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That period witnessed a rapid fall in the number of immigrants of lower social status who arrived in Venice in search of prosperity and better jobs, while, at the same time, the number of sufficiently rich families building their wealth on trade and shipping in the Mediterranean, multiplied.

### *The immigrants' family names as indication of their origin*

Apart from the toponym designating the town they emigrated from (e.g. de Ragusa, de Ragusio, Raguseo, etc.), one of the major features pointing to their place of origin is the record of their family names. Although the majority of immigrants, principally those of lower social ranks, were registered only under their first and father's names, various documents comprising the record of the Ragusan immigrants reveal their most varied descent. Thus, the members of most distinguished noble families of Bobali (Bobaljević), Bona (Bunić), Darsa (Držić), Gondola (Gundulić), Gozze (Gučetić), Luccari (Lukarević), Menze (Menčetić), Primo, Sorgo (Sorkočević), Tudisio (Tudizić), Zamagna and others were also to be found in Venice.<sup>2</sup> Immigrants of plebeian birth can more frequently be traced in the source materials, among which we encounter members of the families Barbarich, Bernenich, Franovich, Grando, Gliubac, Milich, Milichevich, Petrovich, et al.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Notarile testamenti* (hereafter cited as: NT), b. 578, no. 230; b. 1260, no. 776; *Cassiere della Bolla Ducale: Grazie - Novus liber 1299-1305*. Fonti per la storia di Venezia, ser. I - Archivi pubblici. Venezia, 1962: p. 20, no. 74; Branislava Tenenti, »Noli ragusei per Venezia nella seconda metà del Cinquecento.« *Studi Veneziani* 16 (1974): p. 231; Bariša Krekić, »Un mercante e diplomatico da Dubrovnik (Ragusa) a Venezia nel Trecento.« In: Idem, *Dubrovnik, Italy, and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages*. London: Variorum, 1980: pp. 74-102; Bariša Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Ragusans in Venice as Real Estate Owners in the Fourteenth Century.« In: Idem, *Dubrovnik: a Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600*. Aldershot-Brookfield: Variorum, 1997: XI, pp. 27-35; Josip Lučić, »Pomorsko-trgovačke veze Dubrovnika i Venecije u XIII stoljeću.« In: Idem, *Dubrovačke teme*. Zagreb, 1991: pp. 434-435.

<sup>3</sup> NT, b. 66, no. 108, 195; b. 474, ff. 2v-3r; b. 810, no. 11; Nikola Čolak, *Regesti marittimi Croati*, vol. I. Padova: Centro di Studi Storici Croati Venezia, 1985: pp. 84 (no. 1255), 121 (no. 1474), 122 (no. 1477), 145 (no. 1609), 154 (no. 1657), 166 (no. 1726 and 1729), 167 (no. 1731), 316 (no. 2734), 330 (no. 2994), 397 (no. 4080).

*The immigrants' principal occupations*

The documents offer support to the fact that the Ragusans in Venice, like other foreigners from the eastern Adriatic, were engaged in occupations of various character and social value, with some slight deviations.

Jobs pertaining to trade and commerce represented the most dominant group of occupations. Merchants trading in different farming products, timber, valuable ores, cloths, hides, wax, and other goods from the eastern coast of the Adriatic have been explicitly noted. This group proves to be the most mobile one; their domicile, despite frequent absences, was in most cases their homeland, with Venice serving as a temporary business destination. Venice was the dwelling-place of merchants of common origin, too, but extensive business activities were carried out by the patriciate, whose members launched large-scale commercial activities constructed on great financial funds inaccessible to lower immigrant classes.

The second group of occupations consists of a variety of seafaring professions, traditional for immigrants from the Croatian coast. Therefore, quite a number of Ragusan captains and masters of vessels were recorded in Venice on their short passage through the port, the time necessary for the loading and discharge of cargo. In pursuit of a career came a number of sailors, helmsmen, oarsmen, and shipwrights who decided on settling permanently in the Lagoon.<sup>4</sup>

The Ragusans were also engaged in the production of cloths, an occupation rarely to be found among the immigrants from other parts of the eastern coast of the Adriatic. They were usually recorded as kersey trimmers or dyers, as well as manufacturers and traders of finished cloths.<sup>5</sup>

The Croats were well-known to have worked as shipbuilders, carpenters,

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<sup>4</sup> Domenico olim barcarol condam Helia de Ragusa (NT, b. 386, no. 370, 19 February 1563); Alegretto de Ragusio marinario (NT, b. 360, no. 13, 24 August 1457); Primo de Ragusio mariner filio Jacobi (NT, b. 545, no. 18, 5 April 1410); Biasio de Ragusa condam Antonio galeoto nel viazzo proxime passato sopra la galea Jacomo de Cha Da Mosto (NT, b. 278, no. 110, 17 March 1540).

<sup>5</sup> Nicolaus Alegretti de Ragusio varotaio (NT, b. 66, no. 260, 30 March 1501); Iohannes Grando de Ragusa textor pannorum (NT, b. 66, no. 108, 17 July 1496); Georgius de Ragusio tessor pannorum (NT, b. 337, no. 31, 7 September 1439); Catarina relicta Blaxi de Ragusio cimatoris (NT, b. 958, no. 162, 25 April 1498); Georgius de Natalis de Raghusio tintor syrici (NT, b. 959, no. 328, 3 August 1511).

and makers of oars and other naval supplies in the Venetian arsenal, which at the time was probably the leading military and maritime complex of the Mediterranean. These occupations were traditionally performed by expatriate Croats in Venice. However, it may be observed that fewer Ragusans engaged in these occupations than Croats from other regions.<sup>6</sup>

The occupations in which the Ragusans most rarely indulged belonged to the domain of craftsmanship (shoemakers, gunsmiths, and barbers).<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to point out that these Ragusans, seldom as they were, participated in upper professions related to medical practice or education (*rector scolae*), that were unaccessible to other immigrants.<sup>8</sup> Seldom did Ragusans partake in the offices of the state, although they can be traced as scribes, keepers, and janitors.<sup>9</sup>

Members of the Ragusan clergy were rarely to be seen in the ecclesiastical institutions of Venice. Some of the widows of Croatian immigrants joined the order of lay sisters of St. Francis and other orders, spending their last days in one of the convents of Venice.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Nicolaus de Ragusio marangonus filius Petri (NT, b. 735, no. 415, 13 June 1485); Regina relictā Nicolai Dominici olim de Ragusio marangoni et calafati (NT, b. 735, no. 454, 14 November 1485).

<sup>7</sup> Georgius condā Nicolai de Ragusio tonsor (NT, b. 786, no. 81, 11 May 1528); Steffanus barberius de Raghuisio (NT, b. 66, no. 369, 6 February 1492); Nicolaus de Ragusio schiopetarius (NT, b. 858, no. 128, 21 June 1483); Maria relictā Zuanne Raguseo caliger (NT, b. 325, no. 561, 30 January 1583).

<sup>8</sup> Between 1300 and 1307 Pietro di Ragusa was a physician in the parish of S. Giovanni Grisostomo (Ugo Stefanutti, *Documentazioni cronologiche per la storia della medicina, chirurgia e farmacia in Venezia dal 1258 al 1332*. Venezia, 1961: pp. 67, 70-71, 74, 101-102); Nicolaus de Ragusio was “rector scholarum in confinio S. Maria Formosa” (*Maestri, scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500*. Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia, vol. 1, Deputazione di storia patria, serie I, vol. 12. Venezia, 1907: p. 284).

<sup>9</sup> Nicolaus condā Viviani de Ragusio famulus offitii Iustitiae Nuove (NT, b. 930, no. 499, 30 November 1530); Matheus de Ragusa famulus Offitii stature (NT, b. 877, no. 748, 18 December 1502); Stephanus condā Rado de Raghusa scrivan de nave (NT, b. 296, no. 589, 13 April 1557).

<sup>10</sup> Nicolaus de Ragusi cappellano de S. Moisè (NT, b. 910, no. 146, 1 April 1457); prete Marinus condā Allegretto de Ragusio mansionario de S. Trinità (NT, b. 271, no. 533, 26 April 1496); clericus Paulus Georgii de Ragusio mansionario in ecclesia S. Benedicti (NT, b. 133, no. 442, 14 June ca. 1520); Don Giovanni Enrico Petrovich condā Pietro da Raghusa (NT, b. 810, no. 11, 2 June 1803); Suor Maria relictā Zuanne Raguseo al presente pinzocara del terzo ordine di S. Francesco in S. Anzolo Raffaele (ASV, NT, b. 325, no. 561, 30 January 1583); Suor Isabeta vocata Catarina relictā Niccolò de Andrea Raguseo, al presente monacha di Madona S. Maria de la Celestia (NT, b. 42, no. 12, 4 February 1540).

Servants and maids working and residing in the homes of their Venetian lords or occasionally serving in parish homes represented the lowest group on the social ladder of the Ragusan immigrants.<sup>11</sup>

*The immigrants' residential areas*

The evidence concerning the Ragusans' dwellings in Venice is of utmost value. The sources determine the residential area according to the part of the city, the quarter (*sestiere*), or the parish (*contrata, confinio*). Although they emigrated from different parts of the eastern Adriatic coast and were of a most colorful mixture of social origins, occupations, and social status, the Croatian immigrants grouped in one part of Venice: Castello. This eastern part of the city, characterized by its long quay suitable for accosting (*Riva degli Schiavoni*), was the place where the Croats, particularly during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, gathered most. The Ragusans, too, chose this zone in preference to the others, but unlike the rest of the Croat immigrants, who were to concentrate almost exclusively here, the Ragusans easily dispersed throughout Venice. Many of them have been traced as dwellers of the central city zone of S. Marco. In Castello, their most favoured residential area, the Ragusans were registered in the parishes of S. Pietro di Castello (Venice's cathedral until 1807), S. Maria Formosa, S. Trinità, S. Giovanni in Bragora, and S. Biasio, while in some other parishes of this district their presence was rather scarce (S. Giovanni Nuovo, S. Martino, S. Provolo, S. Leo, S. Severo, S. Antonio).<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned areas, the Ragusans were present in the *sestieri* of Cannareggio, S. Polo, Dorsoduro, and S. Croce. In Dorsoduro there exists a street by the name of *Calle dei Ragusei* (in the vicinity of the church of Madonna dei Carmini) although no explicit evidence has been found of a

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<sup>11</sup> Marija from Dubrovnik was a domestic at the parish home of the church of Ss. Apostoli (NT, b. 742, no. 30, 30 December 1484); Rada from Dubrovnik was a *massara* (pastry cook) in the household of Domenico Faledro (NT, b. 133, no. 533, 29 April 1494).

<sup>12</sup> Marin de Bona condam Simon de Ragusi de confinio S. Pietro di Castello (NT, b. 578, no. 230, 20 January 1529); Andreas de Canali de Ragusi de S. Maria Formosa (NT, b. 377, no. 114, 24 December 1496); Lucieta de Zorzi de Ragusa de S. Giovanni in Bragora (NT, b. 187, no. 352, 19 February 1682); Iohannes de Ragusio condam Petri de S. Blaxio (NT, b. 576, no. 269, 24 July 1429); Troian condam Hieronimo da Ragusa de contrata S. Trinità (NT, b. 210, no. 525, 1 September 1558).

Ragusan presence there.<sup>13</sup>

Most immigrants remained in Venice for good, having found permanent jobs, married, and raised their children there. Their life and work were restricted to one distinct city area. Place of burial, which represented a regular item of the Ragusan testament, usually coincides with the parish they had inhabited during their lifetime. The churches of Castello were, therefore, the most frequent burial places of the Ragusans, with the church of S. Francesco della Vigna heading the list. The church of S. Zuanne di Furlani or S. Zuanne del Tempio was also favored as it nestled the Croatian immigrants' confraternity of SS. Giorgio e Trifon (*Scuola degli Schiavoni, Scuola Dalmata*).<sup>14</sup>

#### *Everyday family life, kin, and social relations*

The immigrants' everyday lifestyles were determined by numerous encounters and relations founded upon the privacy of family life, personal ties, business contacts, neighborhood relations, common professional interests, and social gatherings. They established themselves in the circles of their relatives in Venice, friends and acquaintances, business partners and compatriots. In terms of family life, some of immigrant couples moved to Venice with their children and evidently continued living in the manner they had been accustomed to in their region of origin, undergoing no radical changes. A much greater number of Ragusans migrated to Venice individually; as the nature of their jobs (merchants, seamen) did not require a permanent change of residence, they frequently visited their home and families. This research focusses mainly on those immigrants who settled and started their family lives in Venice, and whose families were the center of their everyday activities.

The consent of the family members was required for various agreements or for the writing of legal documents (testaments, codicils, inventories). As a rule, closer relatives were bequeathed before all others, with the universal

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<sup>13</sup> Giuseppe Tassinari, *Curiosità Veneziane ovvero origini delle denominazioni stradali*. Venezia, 1990: p. 537.

<sup>14</sup> Nicolosa fiola condam Niccolò da Ragusa: *sepelire a S. Zuane di Furlani* (NT, b. 296, no. 533, 29 October 1556); Iohannes de Ragusio: *sepeliri ad S. Iohannes de Templi in archis scole S. Georgii* (NT, b. 911, no. 347, 20 June 1470).

successor (*herede universario*) always being one of them.

It is evident that marriages most often took place between people of the same origin. In the case of the Ragusan immigrants, they married their fellow-citizens but also Croats from other parts of the eastern Adriatic coast (Šibenik, Trogir, Hvar, Poljica, Omiš, Kotor, Bar).<sup>15</sup>

Family members and relatives residing in Venice generally inherited the gross of the legacy of the decedent. Most of the immigrants, however, never lost contact with their homeland and kin left behind. The immigrant's relatives were the most common heirs to his real-estate back home, but under one condition: they were obliged to manage the estate and remain on it. The testaments of Ragusan immigrants also reveal the inheritance passed on to close and distant relatives back home: legacies of minor significance (personal property, smaller amounts of money), but also land in the environs or houses in the very city. Thus, Marin de Bona, son to the late Šimun, bequeathed to son Zano a piece of land in Trstenica and a townhouse in the St. Nicholas quarter. Fiora, daughter to the late Marko, bequeathed all her property in Župa to her niece Marija, whose domicile was in Dubrovnik, while Helena, daughter to the late Nikola, bequeathed 50 ducats to her sister Ana, who also lived in Dubrovnik. Nikolosa, daughter to the late Primo, bequeathed a golden ring to his son Vincenzo from Dubrovnik, while Marija, Ivan's widow, also from Dubrovnik, lay sister of the order of St. Francis in Venice, bequeathed four gowns and a tablecloth to her daughter Katarina, married in Šibenik.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Stoia de Ragusi relicta ser Zuanne de Ragusi (NT, b. 337, no. 194, 3 November 1447); Maria de Ragusio detta Spurcha uxor Iohannis de Sebenico (NT, b. 208, no. 167, 4 November 1527); Mathia condam Brancho de Raghusi et consorte Pietro de Lesina (NT, b. 641, no. 267, 8 February 1540); Margareta da Spalato uxor Andree de Ragusio (NT, b. 672, no numeration, 24 June 1465); Catarina da Cataro uxor Iohannis Grando de Ragusio (NT, b. 66, no. 108, 17 July 1496); Anna de Polizza uxor Mathei da Ragusa (NT, b. 877, no. 748, 18 December 1502); Margareta de Ragusa uxor Marin de Tragurio (NT, b. 826, no. 55, 24 November 1430); Catarina fu Jacomo Marcettovich d'Almissa, relicta in primo voto Simon da Ragusa, al presente moier Antonio Livich da Sebenico (NT, b. 23, no. 68, 4 November 106); Anna fia condam Nadal Pastrovichio relicta Andree Raguseo (NT, b. 851, no. 3, 5 January 1570); Catarina fia condam Stoici d'Antibaro uxor Luce da Ragusa (NT, b. 914, no. 70, 9 October 1469).

<sup>16</sup> NT, b. 578, no. 230, 20 January 1523; b. 187, no. 229, 24 June 1672; b. 72, no. 97, 1 December 1611; b. 870, no. 246, 29 September 1484; b. 325, no. 561, 30 January 1583; b. 297, no. 526, 1 March 1568.

The Ragusans built their social contacts and personal ties on the bases of fellow-citizenship, affiliated occupations, neighborhood relations, and everyday social contact. In the Ragusan testaments analyzed, there is frequent mention of friends and acquaintances from Dalmatian cities (Omiš, Split, Hvar, Korčula, Trogir, Kotor, Paštrovići), Primorje (Senj), and primarily Dubrovnik. Quite a number of Ragusans distributed their assets among their most trusted friends.<sup>17</sup> They also required their friends' presence as witnesses to the writing of the will,<sup>18</sup> and it was not uncommon for some of these to be heirs of part of the estate.<sup>19</sup> If the testator had no relatives, his friends who resided in Venice would then be the sole successors of the entire property.<sup>20</sup> Although they limited their social contacts to those immigrants who intended to stay permanently in the new environment, legacies were a means of keeping in touch with dear friends and relatives across the Adriatic. The latter would usually receive smaller bequests of money or private belongings from the testator's movable property or, less frequently, they were legally appointed to govern the land and houses the bequeather owned in his native country.<sup>21</sup>

One can observe the special relationship established between Ragusan immigrants employed in domestic service and their patrician Venetian lords. Having spent their entire lives in one family, these immigrants, mostly women,

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<sup>17</sup> Nicolaus de Ragusio: *comissari prete Niccolb Claudus de Ragusio, Marinus Natali de Ragusio e Antonio da Ragusio* (NT, b. 735, no. 415, 13 June 1485); Zuanne de Ragusi: *comissarii miei Niccolb Tento mio compare e Margareta da Ragusa fu Rado da Bosina* (NT, b. 1186, 3 October 1469); Zuanne de Zorzi de Ragusa: *comissario Albertin d'Almissa* (NT, b. 1066, no. 81, 1 August 1470); Anna relicta Andrea Raguseo: *comissaria ... Catarina relicta Thomaso Buchia Pastrovichio* (NT, b. 851, no. 3, 5 January 1570); Marusa uxor Jacobi de Allegretto da Ragusa: *comissari Zorzi da Cataro e Michael da Cataro* (NT, b. 337, no. 30, 22 August 1439).

<sup>18</sup> Blacha d'Antivari uxor Steffani de Ragusa: witness Luca Dominici da Spalato (NT, b. 656, no. 18, 7 August 1463); Nicolossa condam Primo da Ragusa: witness Steffano de Niccolò da Cataro (NT, b. 297, no. 526, 1 March 1568); Blacha de Ragusi: witnesses Thomasius de Jadra and Antonio de Segna (NT, b. 131, no. 96, 10 April 1480); Helena consorte Polo Raguseo: witness prete Niccolò da Curzola (NT, b. 578, no. 347, 10 October 1532); Andreas da Canali da Ragusa: witness prete Sebastian condam Nicolai d'Antivari (NT, b. 377, no. 114, 24 December 1496).

<sup>19</sup> Marusa uxor Jacobi Allegretto da Ragusa: *Lasso a Anna de Ragusa una pelizza* (NT, b. 337, no. 30, 22 August 1439); Heuphemia uxor Petri de Ragusa: *Lasso Agnese uxor Rado de Lesina una pelizza, una traversa e un paro caligarum* (NT, b. 71, no. 56, 28 July 1489).

<sup>20</sup> Zuanne de Zorzi da Ragusa: *Residuum lasso a Albertin d'Almissa mio comissario* (NT, b. 1066, no. 81, 1 August 1470).

<sup>21</sup> Iohanna uxor Iohannes de Ragusio: *Dimitto Marini da Ragusio condam Damiani teraticum meum in Ragusio* (NT, b. 576, no. 296, 2 November 1433).

named no other but their lords or household members as executors of their will, and in most cases, appointed them the universal successors of their humble property.<sup>22</sup>

### *Spiritual life*

Parish churches, convents, hospitals and confraternities were places of great importance in the everyday lives of all the residents of Venice. The ceremonies of christening, marriage, and burial, as well as festivities of religious character and daily religious services characterized the spiritual perspective and piety of the believers. The spiritual life of the Ragusans and other foreigners alike was no different from the religious patterns of the domestic population and represented a constitutive element of their lives. Data concerning this aspect are to be found in the part of the testament referring to the details and expenses of the funeral and the legacies intended for clerical institutions in Venice and the homeland. The first concrete piece of information pertaining to religious customs was the citing of the habit in which the testator wished to be buried, usually implying the type of dress worn by the members of a religious order (e.g. the brethren of St. Francis). The most significant instructions given in this part of the testament relate to the determination of the nature and number of services in commemoration of the deceased and the salvation of his soul. A service was to be held on the day of the burial as well as during the months or even years to follow. For this purpose, the priest and the church were provided with a sufficient contribution (*elemosina*), or sometimes parts of the inheritance, which had remained after the distribution of the legacies. Masses were usually held in the parish of testator's domicile, most commonly in the churches of Castello.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Rada de Ragusio massera ad salario in domo Dominici Faledo: *comissario patrone meo Dominico Faledo* (NT, b. 133, no. 533, 29 April 1494); Catarina relicta Michael de Ragusio in domo Hierolimo Venier: *comissario meo Hierolimo Venier* (NT, b. 8876, no. 692, 10 November 1490); Blanca d'Antivari: *comissarii miei nobilis vir Iohannes Veniero condam Angeli dominum meum et Michael Priuli* (NT, b. 656, no. 18, 7 August 1463); Franceschina fia Niccolò da Ragusa habitatrix in casa Mathio Malipero: *residuum lasso a Mathio Malipero condam Francescho, Elena sua consorte e Domenico suo fiolo* (NT, b. 63, no. 62, 25 March 1541).

<sup>23</sup> NT, b. 60, no. 260; b. 360, no. 57; b. 377, no. 114; b. 576, no. 289; b. 672, no. 102 and 105; b. 735, no. 415 and 454; b. 846, no. 201; b. 929, no. 297.

Funerals took place in accordance with religious customs. The testaments of some Ragusans contain detailed instructions as to the burial ceremony, with torches and candelabra of varied size and weight. The fellow-brethren of the deceased, as well as the members of the chapter, took part in the procession. The orphans from the local orphanage were usually present, as funerals were an appropriate occasion for alms-giving. The funeral required the presence of the local priest and a cleric to assist him, along with lay sisters of St. Francis if the deceased had been a woman.<sup>24</sup>

According to the testator's wishes it was also customary to send one or more persons to the sacred places in or near Venice where indulgence was granted on patron's day. In Venice, the pilgrims traditionally visited the shrines of S. Croce, S. Trinità, S. Pietro di Castello, S. Laurentio, and these churches were therefore most frequently mentioned among the wishes of the testator. Besides the aforementioned churches, Ragusan immigrants often expressed their desire to go on pilgrimage to S. Biagio and S. Zuanne dei Furlani as well.<sup>25</sup> Rare was the case of the testator instructing a pilgrimage to the famed Italian sacred places of Assisi, Loreto and Rome.<sup>26</sup>

Omnipresent as they were, religious institutions played an important role in the everyday life of all the inhabitants, shaping their moral views and attitudes to the standards of a Christian spirituality. Churches, convents, hospitals, and confraternities were often to receive legacies, a common act of redemption observed in the past. The parts of testaments dealing with the bequeathed property offer most valuable data on the spiritual life as well as the private resources and connections of each immigrant.

Churches and convents represent the first group of religious institutions that received bequests. They were usually located in the area of the testator's residence; here, too, the churches of Castello and S. Marco can be singled out, which cannot be said for the churches of the remaining *sestieri* of Venice. Ragusans also included as heirs the religious institutions on the neighboring islands of Murano and Giudecca and the place of Marghera close

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<sup>24</sup> NT, b. 210, no. 525; b. 408, no. 157; b. 507, no. 18; b. 672, no numeration; b. 735, no. 415; b. 826, no. 7; b. 1018, no. 477.

<sup>25</sup> NT, b. 441, no. 490; b. 578, no. 347; b. 734, no. 168; b. 846, no. 201.

<sup>26</sup> NT, b. 585, no. 89; b. 735, no. 352; b. 877, no. 917.

to Venice. Legacies bequeathed to churches usually consisted of smaller sums of money donated *pro fabrica dicte ecclesie* or for the manufacturing of the objects used for the liturgy.<sup>27</sup>

Hospitals, i.e. shelters for the elderly, the poor, the physically disabled, and the desolate, were institutions founded under the patronage of the highest Venetian authority (*iuspatronato dogale*), clerical institutions and convents, confraternities, and Venetian patrician families. Most of the wills comprise legacies to hospitals in the form of lesser financial funds. The Ragusans usually donated to hospitals in Castello (S. Maria della Pietà, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Lazaro dei Mendicoli, S. Antonin o ospedale dei marinai) and Dorsoduro (S. Niccolò dei Mendicoli and Incurabili).<sup>28</sup>

Similar to the above were legacies to confraternities or professional guilds (*scuole*) with seats in one of the parish churches. Testators rarely failed to quote their fellowship in one of the confraternities, along with a request that his fellows take part in the funeral ceremony. Confraternities were most often bequeathed small sums of money usually intended for poorer members of the congregation or for the dowries of young girls from needy families. Ragusan immigrants would hand down parts of their legacies to Venetian confraternities, particularly those situated in their domicile parishes of Castello and S. Marco.<sup>29</sup> Besides these, Ragusans did not fail to mention the confraternity of the Croatian immigrants (*Scuola degli Schiavoni*), which, though organized for the immigrants from the territories under the Venetian dominion in the eastern Adriatic, willingly opened its doors to the immigrants from Dubrovnik. In fact, the documents from the archives of the confraternity register a number of Ragusans who were appointed to rather important functions there.<sup>30</sup> Following the example of other immigrants from the eastern

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<sup>27</sup> NT, b. 66, no. 369; b. 133, no. 533; b. 271, no. 533; b. 278, no. 110; b. 297, no. 526; b. 360, no. 11; b. 377, no. 97, 114 and 209; b. 575, no. 89; b. 656, no. 18; b. 735, no. 352; b. 851, no. 3; b. 877, no. 748 and 917; b. 1066, no. 81; b. 1137, no. 57.

<sup>28</sup> NT, b. 1137, no. 58; b. 671, no.15; b. 66, no. 369; b. 377, no. 114.

<sup>29</sup> NT, b. 133, no. 533; b. 271, no. 533; b. 1018, no. 477.

<sup>30</sup> There is record of Nicolaus a Thure Ragusinus, *guardian grande* of the confraternity, in 1481. In the register *Capitolare della veneranda Scuola di SS. Giorgio e Trifone dalla nazione Dalmata*, Marko Zorzi (son to the late Nikola from Dubrovnik) was registered in 1636 as member of the administration board referred to as *XII Nuovi*, and in 1661 Marko, son of Luka - member of the judicial board *II sopra lite*. As member of *XII Vecchi* Zuanne Ragusin may be found registered in 1747.

Adriatic, Ragusans as well would bequeath to the confraternity modest sums of money.<sup>31</sup>

Most of the legacies were handed to ecclesiastical institutions as such, with a smaller number intended for particular church officials. In most cases, the legatees were priests from the testator's parish, usually the one chosen as for the place of burial. Quite a number of these priests, having received but insignificant parts of the legacy, was of Croatian origin.<sup>32</sup>

The spiritual life of the immigrants was for the most part directed towards the ecclesiastical institutions of the city. However, some testators did not forget to bequeath sums to churches and monasteries back home.<sup>33</sup>

*The immigrants' resources: business activities, financial transactions, capital funds, and real estate*

The Croats in Venice were engaged in numerous activities of diverse social reputation, significance, and profitability. The majority of the immigrants from the eastern coast of the Adriatic worked in the traditional occupations of their homeland (seafaring, shipping, carpentry and masonry), which offered insufficient bases for amassing greater wealth. Contrary to most Croatian immigrants, the Ragusans in Venice established extensive trade activities, and in terms of the amount of invested capital and profit, they proved to be businessmen of greater ability than the former.

Although the Ragusans persisted in developing large-scale commercial and maritime activities, Venice being one of the most prospective destinations, the latter's government aimed at disrupting the free traffic and trade of the Ragusans within the territories of the Venetian Republic. This was particularly effective in the thirteenth century, when Dubrovnik was under Venetian

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<sup>31</sup> Steffanus da Ragusio: *Lasso Scuola degli Schiavoni mezzo ducato* (NT, b. 671, no. 21, 7 October 1457).

<sup>32</sup> Mathia condam Brancho de Ragusi: *Mia vesta nigra sia data a fra Dionisio Schiavon mio confessor del ordeno de S. Zuane Polo; Item lasso a prete Paulo Schiavon da Zara, official a S. Justina una camisa de homo* (NT, b. 641, no. 267, 8 February 1540); Michael condam Zorzi da Ragusa: *Lasso prete Damian da Pago ducatos duos* (NT, b. 337, no. 133, 7 May 1449).

<sup>33</sup> Steffanus de Ragusio: *Lasso chiesa S. Niccolò de Stagno ducatum unum; lasso S. Maria de Stagno ducatum unum* (NT, b. 671, no. 21, 7 October 1457).

rule. According to a number of contracts and regulations of the time, which define the relationship between Dubrovnik and the Venetian Republic (1226, 1232, 1236, 1252), the traffic of Ragusan vessels, as well as their entrance into the Lagoon, was restricted. The reason behind this was the Venetian intent of limiting Ragusan trade to its hinterland.<sup>34</sup> Despite all the measures and sanctions, the volume of Ragusan trade with Venice was considerable, and numerous examples of mercantile activities and enterprises have been observed throughout the centuries. Trade and shipping were the fundamental profitable activities the Ragusans were likely to undertake wherever they lived in Europe with Venice being no exception.

Data related to the maritime commerce of the Ragusans in Venice is to be found in various sources in the archives. Thus, in the series entitled *Noli e Sicurtà* we come across facts concerning the lease and insurance of vessels that sailed to Venice, shipowners, joint owners, captains, and other persons involved in the particular commercial enterprises. The documents further disclose the names and types of the vessels that frequented Venice, as well as the quality and quantity of the shipped merchandise. The wealthiest Ragusan merchants, who in the earlier days belonged primarily to the patriciate, were in possession of their own vessels. The captains, masters of the vessels who would receive a share of the dividend after a successful transaction, were most often of plebeian birth, from Dubrovnik or its region (Gruž, Rijeka Dubrovačka, Ston, Pelješac, Orebić), or the area of the Bay of Kotor (Perast, Prčanj). Prior to their departure for Venice, many a merchant signed a life insurance policy, in which the value of the insurance in relation to the quantity of the invested goods and the planned profits varied between 1.5 and 18%.<sup>35</sup>

Diverse contracts made by merchants in Dubrovnik before setting off to Venice—or in Venice itself—reveal the names, social status, private resources, capital assets, and stipulated profit, as well as the kind of merchandise they traded in, at the Venetian market. In the period investigated, the most popular goods originated from the Balkan hinterland (wax, honey, timber, valu-

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<sup>34</sup> Lučić, »Pomorsko-trgovačke veze«: pp. 573-574.

<sup>35</sup> See Branislava Tenenti, »Ragusa e Venezia nell'Adriatico della seconda metà del Cinquecento«. *Studi Veneziani* 16 (1974): pp. 102-127.

able ores, coarse cloths, skins, meat, wine, fish etc.). From Venice cereals, salt, fabrics, and a whole variety of luxury products (glass, steel, arms, jewelry, etc.) were imported. Boats and galleys were also purchased in Venice by very same merchants. Sometimes it was only a case of acquiring partial ownership of the vessel, in which case the income and profit would be divided among the joint owners and business partners.<sup>36</sup>

Financial claims, debts and their payment, loans, and credits were by all means activities in which quite a number of Ragusans in Venice took part and were closely interwoven with the previously described forms of trade and shipping. Financial activities differ in form, amount of invested capital, and initial motivation. Thus, Sebastiano Raguseo, inhabitant of Castello and the parish of S. Giovanni in Bragora, borrowed 18 *lire* from a certain Gabrielo Marignoni from the parish of S. Maria Formosa for the purpose of trade in Ancona in 1238. The money had to be paid back within 30 days, upon arrival in Venice, and the total that Sebastian was to hand to the money-lender amounted to the three quarters of the complete income from the business he did in Ancona.<sup>37</sup> The smaller sum of 18 *soldi* was borrowed by a Ragusan named Barba de Costuzza from Moradino Romari in 1291, to be returned in eight months' time.<sup>38</sup> The testaments most frequently contain evidence of the financial activities of the Ragusans and their debtors, some of whom were also from the eastern Adriatic.<sup>39</sup> The Ragusans in Venice also claimed money from *Camera armamenti*, a public fund into which the earnings of all the immigrants employed in the arsenal or the navy were deposited.<sup>40</sup> Quite a

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<sup>36</sup> See Josip Lučić, *Obrti i usluge u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb, 1979: p. 53; Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku*, vol. 1. Posebna izdanja SANU, bk. 340. Beograd: SANU, 1960: pp. 124, 130, 142, 144, 154, 233, 237, 298, 383 and 441.

<sup>37</sup> F. Patteta and M. Chiadauno, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, vol. 2. Roma, 1940: p. 242, no. 711.

<sup>38</sup> *Notaio di Venezia del secolo XIII (1290-1292)*, ed. M. Baroni. Fonti per la storia di Venezia, ser. II - Archivi notarili. Venezia, 1977: p. 27, no. 98.

<sup>39</sup> Piero da Simon da Ragusio: *Io haver nel man Simon Rochatagliata 28 ducati e lire sei ... debeo haver da Antoni Raguseo mariner della nave bracara scudi tre et da Pietro Cigrinis ducatos tres* (NT, b. 372, no. 135, 13 October 1573); Leo condam Pietro da Ragusio: *habere debeo da Tomasio da Segna socio meo ducati quatro* (NT, b. 71, no. 10, 10 July 1476).

<sup>40</sup> Blasio de Ragusa condam Antonio galeoto: *nel viazzo proxime passato sopra la galea de Cha da Mosto debo haver ducati 30 dalla camera armamenti* (NT, b. 278, no. 110, 17 March 1540).

number of immigrants, victims of business failure, fell into debt. In order to return their losses they would pawn their property, movable in particular. Continual nonpayment of house or flat rent was also a common way of falling into debt, which the immigrant tried to settle by pawning. We can trace the causes of the losses, their amounts and also the names of persons as creditors.<sup>41</sup>

The Ragusans in Venice developed another profitable activity as well: the acquisition of real estate (houses and land). Although their main concern consisted in accumulating great stocks of money and vessels, the documents offer some evidence of Ragusans as real property owners. Owing to the results of the research of Bariša Krekić, it is possible to state several facts.<sup>42</sup> As house proprietors in Venice, we find record of the members of the wealthy patrician families that were most successful in trade (Bona, Menze, Gozze, Luccari, etc.), while the commoners are rarely to be noted. It is interesting to observe that the dwellings of the noble families were not in Castello, the area where the majority of the immigrants from the eastern Adriatic concentrated, but in Cannareggio and S. Marco (the parish of S. Bartolomeo). After the proprietor's death, the houses were inherited by his family members. The inheritance procedure was not all that simple. Legal actions had to be taken in order to determine the status of the estate and the legatees, who often lived outside Venice and could not deal with the matter in person. Thus, they had to appoint proxies, most likely members of the Ragusan patriciate, and often their own relatives.

Besides owning their residences, the Ragusans also owned storehouses (*botteghe*). They were usually located in particular areas where the merchants from the eastern Adriatic flocked (Castello - Calle delle Rasse, Calle dei Albanesi).<sup>43</sup> These tradesmen cannot compare to the aforementioned merchants of noble origin who had been engaged in large-scale enterprises Europewide with Venice being but one among the many of their business

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<sup>41</sup> NT, b. 127, no. 739, 8 February 1533; NT, b. 875, no. 136, 13 August 1478; b. 190, no. 248, 9 April 1532; *Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1284-1286*; *Zapisi notara Ača de Titullo 1295-1297*, ed. Josip Lučić. Monumenta historica Ragusina, vol. 3. Zagreb: JAZU, 1988: p. 336.

<sup>42</sup> Krekić, »Venetians in Dubrovnik«: pp. 27-35.

<sup>43</sup> NT, b. 325, no. 561.

markets. On the contrary, the owners of modest stores were permanently tied to Venice, which would have been their single center of business achievement.

*The dark sides of life: deviant behavior and crime*

The activities and the presence of immigrants from the eastern Adriatic did not solely manifest within the limits approved by law and accepted moral codes. Diverse patterns of criminal behavior were recorded, including the most violent crimes in a number of registers of the Venetian authorities, particularly in the records of *Esecutori contra la Bestemmia* (cases of rape, sodomy, pederasty, etc.) and *Santo Officcio* (cases of heresy, witchcraft, slander against the Catholic church, disbelief, etc.). Severe punishments were inflicted for crimes such as robberies and murder: many an offender was executed in the course of the long history of the Venetian Republic for the purpose of warning and horrifying the public. Among the names of the offenders sentenced to death for the violent crimes, there exist a few of Ragusan origin. The first such execution took place in 1500, when, by decision of the Council of Ten (*Consiglio dei Dieci*), a Ragusan by the name of Felice was sentenced and put to death for highway robberies.<sup>44</sup> His compatriot Ivan, son of Nikola, aged 50, was sentenced and hanged to death in 1587 for an unknown crime.<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting to find that the members of the patriciate were not law-abiding citizens, as they might have seemed, for the records show that they were sometimes imprisoned. That happened to be the case with Dimko Benešić (de Benessa) in the second half of the fourteenth century, an envoy of King Tvrtko of Bosnia in Venice, who had stirred up an incident of some kind and was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.<sup>46</sup> Petar Poborić (de

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<sup>44</sup> *Raccolta de nomi e cognomi et anni, ne quali pubblicazione furono fatti morire per delitti dal principio della Repubblica fino a nostri giorni in questa città di Venezia, de quali si ha potuto ritrovare più certa memoria principiando dell' anno 728 in giù*, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. It. Classe VII, No 502 (=7313), doc. no. 545. One of the versions of the abovementioned manuscript was published by G. Tassini, *Alcune delle più clamorose condanne capitali eseguite in Venezia sotto la Repubblica*. Venezia, 1966: pp. 281-313.

<sup>45</sup> *Raccolta*, doc. no. 628.

<sup>46</sup> Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat* 1: p. 129.

Pobora) was also confined, due to unpaid debts, in 1316, but most likely managed to escape shortly after, and the indictment was transferred to the Ragusan Court.<sup>47</sup>

Venice often served as asylum for the Ragusans who had fled in order to avoid punishment in their native town. Thus, in 1595 Marin Bobaljević, later to become a literary benefactor, was forced to seek shelter in Naples and further in Venice for having killed the Ragusan diplomat Frano Gundulić.<sup>48</sup>

Female immigrants of Croatian origin were also recorded in the Court procedures and the files of *Esecutori contra la Bestemmia* and *Santo Officcio*, being almost exclusively accused of prostitution and black magic. Some of the cases of prostitution and rape concern women from Ragusa. In 1400 there is record of a Margareta from Dubrovnik, a concubine of a certain Juraj from Senj, who, accompanied by her compatriot Bona, former maid to a Venetian family, left for Treviso, where they were being persuaded by one Filippo from Naples to enter a brothel.<sup>49</sup> In the sixteenth century in the district of S. Marco (the parish of S. Benedetto) there is record of a prostitute named Orseta who borrowed eight escudos from her friend Franceschina, who lived near Piazza S. Marco.<sup>50</sup>

The prostitutes of Slavic origin in Venice were mostly recorded as inhabitants of the *sestieri* of Castello and S. Marco. However, in the vicinity of the church of Madonna dei Carmini (Dorsoduro) in Calle dei Ragusei one could find a number of houses habituated by persons of immoral conduct that were frequently monitored by the local constabulary.<sup>51</sup>

Slavic women immigrants were often the victims of violence during their stay and work in Venice. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, a case was recorded of a Ragusan named Ruža, wife of Ivan from Dubrovnik, wet-nurse to the son of the Master Alessandro, school rector in the parish of SS.

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<sup>47</sup> Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat* 1: p. 352.

<sup>48</sup> *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 2. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod 'Miroslav Krleža', 1989: p. 45.

<sup>49</sup> Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *La vita dei Veneziani fino al 1200*. Venezia, 1870: p. 67.

<sup>50</sup> F. Dittico, *Il Catalogo delle più onorate cortigiane di Venezia nel Cinquecento*. Venezia, 1956: p.71.

<sup>51</sup> E. Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*. Venezia, 1989: p. 17.

Apostoli. Her underage daughter Jakobela was seriously assaulted and raped one night by Alessandro. He was tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 150 ducats, a hundred of which were intended for Jakobela's dowry.<sup>52</sup>

*Political activity: the Ragusans in diplomatic service in Venice*

The past has witnessed quite a number of Ragusans taking part in diplomatic service as envoys both from their native city-republic and other states of the Balkan peninsula. This professional facet of Ragusan activities is exceptional in nature compared to other cities of Dalmatia. With regard to the goal of the diplomatic service in Venice and the party appointing them to it, we can distinguish several activities of Ragusans in Venice.

In 1232 Bonzola Bodatia and Gervasio Naymerii negotiated with Venice on behalf of the Republic of Dubrovnik. In 1236 Matheus Bodatia and Cerne Vitatie (Vitagna) acted as negotiators, and in 1253 there are records of at least four envoys - Dobrane de Lampredio, Cerne de Vitagna, Theodoro de Bodatia and Goislavo Theodori Crosti.<sup>53</sup>

Ragusans in Venice also performed other minor and current diplomatic services for their native city. In 1304, there is record of the diplomatic activities of Nikola Menčetić. Four years later, there is an account of Marin Držić, and in 1361 of Miho Bobaljević.<sup>54</sup> Ragusan diplomats were sometimes sent on special missions to Venice, as was the case with Matija, son of Juraj, in 1357. His task was to find a physician who could practice in Dubrovnik, and the same task was undertaken by Vlaho Držić two years later.<sup>55</sup> The Ragusans who established themselves in Venice were men of high reputation who performed, although unofficially, various diplomatic services for the benefit of their native town. We find record of the father and son Trajan and Pavao Lalić, respectable merchants from Venice in the eighteenth century,

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<sup>52</sup> *Maestri, scuole e scolari*, 1: p. 145.

<sup>53</sup> Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, vol. 1. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, vol. 1. Zagreb: JAZU, 1868: pp. 47, 53 and 83.

<sup>54</sup> Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat* 1: pp. 118, 190, 319.

<sup>55</sup> Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat* 1: pp. 194, 213.

who unofficially represented the interests of Dubrovnik and of the members of the Ragusan community in Venice.<sup>56</sup>

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we can trace the Ragusans who had offered their professional diplomatic services to other states. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Stephen Dragutin, ruler of Rascia, was represented by Vito Bobaljević to discuss a marriage contract between Stephen's son Vladislav and Constanza, daughter of Michael Morosini. In the fourteenth century (1350), Mihael Buća represented King Dušan of Serbia, and in the latter part of the same century Dinko Benešić acted on behalf of King Tvrtko of Bosnia.<sup>57</sup> Finally, the example of Jakov Bunić is worth mentioning. Representing the interests of Muhammad II, Jakov came forward with the sultan's proposition concerning the peace agreement between Venice and Turkey in 1465.<sup>58</sup>

Some of the Ragusans in Venice who had acted as agents for the Republic of Dubrovnik are far more familiar to us as men of letters. Ivan Bunić, poet and translator, took part in diverse diplomatic missions in Venice together with his father (1685-1690, 1692-1694). In 1705 the former represented Dubrovnik before the French and Spanish emissaries regarding the inimical French actions taken against Ragusan vessels during the Spanish War of Succession.<sup>59</sup>

Besides acting on behalf of the government, the Ragusans represented the interests of the church, too. In 1486, Dominican Matija Bunić took part in a general congregation of the order held in Venice, managing to found the independent Ragusan Dominican province.<sup>60</sup> A year later a theologian named Toma Basiljević traveled to Venice in secrecy in order to negotiate the revocation of the prohibition of Ragusan traffic on Venetian territory.<sup>61</sup> Members

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<sup>56</sup> Ilija Mitić, *Dubrovačka država u međunarodnoj zajednici (od 1358. do 1815.)*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1988: pp. 146-148.

<sup>57</sup> Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat* 1: pp. 117, 129, 165.

<sup>58</sup> *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* 2: p. 493.

<sup>59</sup> Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, vol. 2. Ragusa, 1803: p. 237.

<sup>60</sup> Appendini, *Notizie*: pp. 88-89; Simeone Gliubich, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia*. Vienna-Zara, 1856: p. 47.

<sup>61</sup> Mirko Breyer, *Prilozi k starijoj književnosti i kulturnoj povijesti hrvatskoj*. Zagreb, 1904: p. 186.

of the Franciscan province took their share of diplomacy, too. In 1692, a Ragusan Franciscan provincial Hilarije Crljenković set off to Venice in order to obtain permission for his monastery for the design of an altar dedicated to St. Joseph and Our Lady of Carmel.<sup>62</sup>

### *Ragusan writers and scholars in Venice*

The influence of Italian literature upon that of Croatia can by no means be disregarded. Here Venice, among other Apennine towns, played the leading role. As early as the Middle Ages, the western Adriatic coast launched diverse forms of literary writing (legends, lives of saints, visions, miracle plays, the so-called morality novels, folk ballads, chivalry romances, and gallant verse), and with the age of the Renaissance the literary interrelations between the two cultures reached their climax. It is worthwhile to note that Dubrovnik occupied a most distinguished place in these relations. Numerous young Ragusans became students at Italian universities, and modeled themselves upon the ideals of Italian literature, spending years of their life in different towns of the Apennine peninsula, with Venice being one of the most favored destinations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a Ragusan diplomat, Tomo Crijević, studied at the university of Padua, while his relative, a historian and biographer, Dominican Serafin Crijević studied philosophy and theology at the Jesuit College of the monastery of S. Maria Rosario in Venice, where in 1710 he obtained his doctorate.<sup>63</sup> Venice had also witnessed the greatest Ragusan comedy playwright, Marin Držić, who had worked there as chaplain of the archbishop's curia. He died in Venice in 1567 and was buried in the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>64</sup>

Having been indicted for the murder of the Ragusan diplomat Frano Gundulić, Marin Bobaljević fled to Venice in 1595, where he was to act as a literary benefactor to some of his fellow-citizens, enabling the publishing of

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<sup>62</sup> Appendini, *Notizie*: p. 88.

<sup>63</sup> D. Farlati and G. Coleti, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 6. Venetiis, 1800: pp. 350-353; Appendini, *Notizie*: pp. 14-16, 30-31.

<sup>64</sup> Rafo Bogišić, »Tragom Držićeva groba.« *Forum* 16/11-12 (1967): pp. 823-832; Slobodan Prosperov Novak, *Planeta Držić*. Zagreb, 1984: pp. 10, 153-154.

their works in Venice.<sup>65</sup> The scientist Marin Getaldić sought shelter in Venice in 1603, having fled from Rome after taking part in an assault. Venice was also the place where Getaldić published some of his works (1607). Following years of absence, in 1614 he was to return to the Lagoon, from where he wrote a letter to the great scholar Galileo Galilei.<sup>66</sup>

Venice was one of the leading printing centers where the majority of writers and scientists from the Croatian coast published their works.<sup>67</sup> Venetian booksellers and printers Marco and Bartolo Ginami (considered by some authors to have been of Dalmatian origin), as well as Bartolo and Carlo Antonio Occhi, have been reported as publishers of works by Dalmatian authors written in Croatian, Italian, and Latin.<sup>68</sup> Venice saw the publishing of one of the first works from the domain of commerce: Ragusan Benko Kotruljević's *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto* (1573).<sup>69</sup> Nikola Nalješković, poet and playwright, published his *Dialogo sopra la sfera del mondo* in 1579,<sup>70</sup> and in the seventeenth and eighteenth century the works of the famous baroque poet Ivan Gundulić appeared in print (*Suze sina razmetnoga*, 1622, 1670, 1703; *Pjesanca o veličanstvu božjem*, 1622 and *Pjesni pokorne kralja Davida*, 1630, 1703).<sup>71</sup> Ragusan poet, historian, and biographer Ignjat Đurđević published his works *Usdasi Mandaljene pokornize u spilli od Marsiglje* (1728)

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<sup>65</sup> Marin Bobaljević aided the publishing of Sabo Bobaljević's Italian poems (*Rime amorose e pastorale et satire*, Venezia, 1589), together with Jakov Lukarević's *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* (Venezia 1605). See Serafin M. Cerva, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, vol. 2/3. Zagreb: JAZU 1977: pp. 176, 376-378, 447, 547, 574; vol. 4. Zagreb: JAZU, 1980: p. 61.

<sup>66</sup> Marin Getaldić, *Sabrana djela*, ed. Žarko Dadić, vol.1. Zagreb, 1972.

<sup>67</sup> Ragusan printer Dobrić Dobrićević (Bonino de Boninis) pursued printing techniques in Venice, and subsequently published the select works of L. C. F. Lactancius (*De divinis institutionibus adversus gentes*). See Breyer, *Prilozi*: pp. 1-13.

<sup>68</sup> The Ginami printing house published the works of Marin Držić (*Tirena*, 1630, 1632), Dinko Zlatarić (*Elektra*, 1621), Ivan Bunić Vučić (*Mandaljena pokornica*, 1659), Dinko Ranjina (*Pjesni razlike*, 1632), and Ivan Gundulić (*Pjesanca o veličanstvu božjem*, 1622; *Suze sina razmetnoga*, 1622, and *Pjesni pokorni kralja Davida*, 1630). See Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografija hrvatska*, vol. 1. Zagreb, 1860: pp. 32, 48, 140, 185. On the bookshop of Bartolo Occhi, see Tomislav Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*. Prošlost Zadra, vol. 3. Zadar, 1987: pp. 438-439.

<sup>69</sup> *O trgovini i savršenom trgovcu*, ed. R. Radičević and Ž. Muljačić. Zagreb, 1985.

<sup>70</sup> Franjo Rački, *Nikola Stjepka Nalješković*. Stari pisci hrvatski, vol. 5. Zagreb: JAZU, 1873.

<sup>71</sup> *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti*, vol. 12-13. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1964.

and *Saltier slovinski* (1729) both in Venice,<sup>72</sup> while the collection of practical instructions and morals in catechism entitled *Besjede kaerstjanske* was written and published by the preacher, writer, and biographer Đuro Bašić in 1765.<sup>73</sup> The Ragusan white friar Rajmund Zamanja published his treatise on the principles of writing in the “Slavic language” in 1639, while the year 1784 saw the publishing of the Latin translation of the poets from the “Greek anthology”, edited and printed by Rajmund Kunić.<sup>74</sup>

Various works of scientific character were printed in Venice, too. Thus, captain Nikola Sagroević, having continued the research on the tide of his predecessor, the Zadar scholar Frederik Grisogono, published his *Ragionamenti sopra varietà de flussi e riflussi del mare oceano occidentale* (1574). Familiar with Ruđer Bošković and his work was Ivan Zuzorić who depicts a sundial found in an ancient villa in Tusclum in the book *Sopra un'antico oriuolo a sole* (1746).<sup>75</sup>

Although methodologically limited by the degree of the development of the natural sciences, philosophy proved to be a province of the utmost interest to Ragusan scholars, and the first editions of their works were published exclusively in Venice. Antun Medić, mathematician, was the author of a philosophical dispute *Expositiones in Metaphysicam Aristotelis* (commentaries on the book 6, 7, 11, 12 of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*) printed in 1596 and 1599.<sup>76</sup>

*Philosophiae versibus traditae libri sex*, which recounted Descartes' philosophy in 10,249 hexameters and *Philosophiae recentioris ... versibus traditae libri decem* in 24,227 hexameter verses, dealing with the philosophical and natural views of Isaac Newton are the most extensive works of the Ragusan poet, philosopher, and mathematician Benedikt Stay-Stojković, one

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<sup>72</sup> Franjo Švelec, *Ignjat Đurđić*. Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, vol. 18. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1971.

<sup>73</sup> Vicko Adamović, *Grada za istoriju dubrovačke pedagogije*, vol. 1. Zagreb, 1885: p. 73; Miroslav Vanino, »Ljetopis dubrovačkog Kolegija (1559-1764).« *Vrela i prinosi* 7 (1937): pp. 5-12.

<sup>74</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografija hrvatska*: p. 32; *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 2. Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, vol. 3. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1970: p. 441.

<sup>75</sup> Vladimir Bazala, *Pregled hrvatske znanstvene baštine*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1978: p. 257.

<sup>76</sup> Bazala, *Pregled*: p. 158.

of the greatest Croatian didactic poets.<sup>77</sup>

Finally, regarding works of historical content, in 1605 Venice was the publishing place of the Ragusan chronicles *Il copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* by Jakov Luccari-Lukarević.<sup>78</sup>

Worthy of mention are a few Ragusan families that have considerably contributed to the literary and scientific heritage of their native city and who have also had their works edited and printed in Venice. The work of Ivan Bunić Vučić, *Mandaljena pokornica* was published in 1705 by the printer Bartolo Occhi in whose bookshop it was eventually sold, as stated in the imprint: “Sù la Riva de Schiavoni, all’Insegna di San Domenico al ponte della Madonna”.<sup>79</sup> The book of the Ragusan Dominican friar Ignacije (Vlaho) Aquilini, entitled *Ofičice bl. Djevice Marije...* (1689) comprised the prayer of his compatriot, the poet and politician Saro Bunić, while the dedicatory speech on the occasion of the death of Eugene of Savoy was published in 1749 by Jerolim Frane Bunić, writer and bishop of Trebinje and Mrkan.<sup>80</sup> There is no explicit evidence offering proof of the poetess Julija Bunić having been a member of the Bunić patrician family. Only one of her poems has survived to this day, published in the collection of Miho Monaldi under the title *Rime* in 1599.<sup>81</sup>

Some members of the Gučetić (Gozze) patrician family have also published their works in Venice. Nikola Gučetić published several works in the field of philosophy in the last years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.<sup>82</sup> In 1661 Dživo Gučetić published *Quaresimale*, whereas Vicko Marija Gučetić printed a work of religious character in 1743.<sup>83</sup>

We most often encounter the eminent members of the Bošković family in

<sup>77</sup> *Hrvatski latinisti* 2: pp. 349-396.

<sup>78</sup> *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, vol. 3. Zagreb, 1974: pp. 62, 162.

<sup>79</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografija hrvatska*: p. 28.

<sup>80</sup> Farlati-Coleti, *Illyricum sacrum* 6: 371; Mirko Deanović, »Odrzi talijanske akademije “degli Arcadi” preko Jadrana.« *Rad JAZU* 248 (1933): pp. 58-60.

<sup>81</sup> Frano Kulišić, »Znamenite žene u Dubrovniku.« *Dubrovnik* 17/1/2 (1908): p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> Ljerka Šifler-Premec, *Nikola Gučetić*. Zagreb, 1977.

<sup>83</sup> Armin Pavić, *Historija dubrovačke drame*. Zagreb, 1871: pp. 38-40, 174-175; Adamović, *Grada*: p. 78.

the literary and scholarly circles of *La Serenissima*. In Venice were published some of the most important works of Anica (1714-1804), author of verses,<sup>84</sup> Petar (1704-1727), poet and translator,<sup>85</sup> and by far the most renowned, the outstanding mathematician, physicist, astronomer, philosopher, diplomat, and poet Ruder Bošković (1711-1787).<sup>86</sup>

Finally, one should not fail to mention the significance and location of Ragusa, its history and people, their mentality, customs, and habits as the themes sketched in the comedies of the Venetian playwrights. The basic and most common feature of all such works, particularly those of *Cinquecento* (Andrea Calmo, Ludovico Dolce), is the exaggerated use of the so-called *Schiavone* dialect (a mixture of Croatian and Italian) with the intention of producing realistic and comical portrayals of characters of Croatian origin. Ragusans are therefore commonly presented as paragons of the middle class virtue, and their town as a unique example of beauty and harmony, but commonly inhabited by quarrelsome gentlemen and old misers who pursue every opportunity to contradict the prominence of youth and freedom of the mind.<sup>87</sup> In addition, one figure has to be pointed out with special sympathy, as he introduced characters from the Croatian coast, including Ragusans. That author was Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793), a lifelong friend of the Ragusan benefactor, polygraph, and author of numerous theoretical discourses on theatre - Stjepan Šuljaga Grmoljez (1719-1790).<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ivan Esih, »Dubrovačka pjesnikinja Anica Bošković.« *Dubrovački vjesnik* 9/389 (1958): p. 3; Rafo Bogišić, *Anica Bošković*. Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, vol. 19. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1973: p. 333.

<sup>85</sup> See Appendini, *Notizie*: p. 245; Gliubich, *Dizionario*: p. 59.

<sup>86</sup> See Žarko Dadić, *Ruder Bošković*. Zagreb, 1987.

<sup>87</sup> Mate Zorić, »Naša nazočnost u višejezičnom teatru Andree Calma.« In: *Hrvatsko-talijanski književni odnosi*, vol. 1. Zagreb, 1989: pp. 157-218; Idem, »Dubrovnik i Dubrovčani u komedijama Ludovica Dolcea.« In: *Hrvatsko-talijanski književni odnosi* 1: pp. 219-232.

<sup>88</sup> In his disputes, Šuljaga espoused Goldoni at the time when Goldoni's reforms were severely criticized in the Italian theatre, supported him financially, and being Goldoni's representative in Venice, he was authorized to intervene into the texts Goldoni provided him with from Paris in case the theatre demanded certain alterations. See Frano Čale, *O književnim i kazališnim dodirima hrvatsko-talijanskim*. Dubrovnik, 1968: pp. 81-151; Idem, *Usporedbe i tumačenja*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 1991: pp. 138-172.

*Ragusan artists in Venice*

The communication and the exchange of artistic ideas and concepts between the two coasts of the Adriatic are best displayed in its volume and diversity through past centuries. A great many artists and craftsmen (builders, sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, woodcarvers, miniaturists, glassblowers, etc.) from different parts of the Italian peninsula, side by side with native artists, took part in creating and perfecting the cultural heritage of the cities of the eastern Adriatic, and vice versa. Thus, we can find records of Croatian artists working in Venice, with Ragusans occupying an outstanding position. In 1415, there is mention of a young Ragusan by the name of Ivan Miličević, who was to take apprenticeship with Petar Pozdančić, mason and sculptor from Šibenik.<sup>89</sup> A renaissance sculptor named Niccolò dell'Arca exchanged the hospitality of Ragusa for that of Venice in the mid-fifteenth century. The painted relief representing the birth of Christ in the church of S. Spirito dell'Isola has been attributed to him.<sup>90</sup> Around 1420 Marko from Ragusa is known to have made and decorated chests in Venice. The second half of the fifteenth century bears the record of two Ragusan goldsmiths in Venice, Pasko, son of Pribeša, and Nikola Dabišinović, and a hundred years later we trace another name of the same profession, Petar Fortis.<sup>91</sup> Worthy of mention is the work wrought by the Ragusan Juraj, son of Alegreto: a cupboard of silverware as a wedding gift to the duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, and his wife-to-be Eleonora of Aragon, which was ordered by the Venetian government in 1473.<sup>92</sup> A number of Ragusan goldsmiths made various decorative objects by the order of Venetians and, although they themselves had never visited Venice, their work ornamented the palaces of patrician families, as well as the interiors of churches and convents.<sup>93</sup>

Several Ragusan painters tried their fortune in Venice. In the first half of

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<sup>89</sup> Cvito Fisković, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV i XVI stoljeća u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb, 1947: pp. 27, 58-59.

<sup>90</sup> Cvito Fisković, »Hrvatski umjetnici u Mlecima.« *Mogućnosti* 3/1 (1956): p. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Fisković, »Hrvatski umjetnici«: pp. 16-18.

<sup>92</sup> Fisković, »Hrvatski umjetnici«: pp. 17-18.

<sup>93</sup> Cvito Fisković, »Dubrovački zlatari od XIII do XVII stoljeća.« *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 1 (1949): pp. 189, 192, 205, 212.

the fifteenth century we trace Master Tomo Perkoturović, who, accompanied by his pupil Dominik from Durrës, set off for Venice.<sup>94</sup> In the biography of the most eminent painter Nikola Božidarević, we can track down his Venetian period from 1477 to 1494, when he was improving his artistic skill in the studio of Vivarini and Vettore Crivelli.<sup>95</sup> Vlaho Držić, another Ragusan painter, spent several years in Venice, too, in the company of Titian, Pietro Aretino, and Antonio Brucioli. After a series of fruitless mercantile attempts and conflicts with his brothers, Vlaho returned to Dubrovnik and continued the corresponding with his Venetian friends, among who was the celebrated writer Pietro Aretino.<sup>96</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The multi-faceted relations between Dubrovnik and Venice flourished during the latter part of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century.

Ragusans most commonly lived in Venetian *sestieri* of Castello and S. Marco. Unlike most of the Croat migrants, who, apart from the above-mentioned areas, also populated Cannareggio, the Ragusans were distributed throughout the city.

As opposed to the rest of the Dalmatian cities, whose patrician families were but occasionally recorded in Venice, it is evident that the members of the most distinguished and wealthy Ragusan patrician and common families were continually present in the Lagoon.

The principal occupations of the Ragusan immigrants coincide to a greater extent with those of the other migrants from the eastern Adriatic coast (shipwrights, carpenters, builders, sailors, etc.). Besides these, quite a number of immigrants established themselves as merchants, businessmen, captains, sworn patrons, and ship-owners, but administrative officers as well. Compared to other Croatian migrants, the Ragusans were much better off as they devel-

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<sup>94</sup> Fisković, »Hrvatski umjetnici«: p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> Kruno Prijatelj, *Dubrovačko slikarstvo XV-XVI stoljeća*. Zagreb, 1968: pp. 22-26.

<sup>96</sup> Frano Kesterčanek, »Vlaho Marinov Držić.« *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 9 (1955): pp. 181-190.

oped extensive mercantile, maritime, and financial affairs, and owned considerable real estate as well as sufficient capital funds.

Viewed from the aspect of their everyday way of life and communication (family, relatives, and friends), no difference in this life pattern has been observed in comparison to the immigrants from other Croatian parts, particularly those from Dalmatia and Bay of Kotor.

The Ragusans' spiritual life also correlates with that of the rest of the immigrants. However, their presence in the confraternity of the Croats (*Scuola degli Schiavoni*) is somewhat less evident.

The activities of Ragusan diplomats in Venice could by no means be overlooked as they have been recorded not only as envoys from their natural country, but from foreign states as well, which distinguishes them from the agents from other Croatian towns.

A cultural and artistic fusion took place between the Ragusans and their new environment. Many of them, like the writers and scientists belonging to the families Bošković, Gundulić, Gučetić, and others, as well as many artists (Nikola Božidarević, Niccolò dell'Arca, etc.) contributed with their literary, scientific, artistic, and printing work to the cultural and artistic development of Venice over hundreds of years of relations guided by common interests.