

ŠIME BUDINIĆ IN ZADAR, 1556-69
THE TOPOGRAPHY OF EVERYDAY LIFE
OF A RENAISSANCE HUMANIST

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Izvorni znanstveni rad

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This essay examines the everyday life of Šime Budinić (1530/35-1600) and his assumed family ties from the 1540s to 1565. Scholarly attention so far has focused on his later theological and humanistic endeavours, and little is known about his formative years and the decade he spent working as a notary. Based on new archival evidence, this essay adds to our knowledge about him and provides new insights into the early life and times of this Dalmatian humanist.

Combining previously unknown primary sources written by Budinić and his fellow notaries, the present contribution utilises approaches developed by social historians during the last quarter of the twentieth century (microhistory, *Alltagsgeschichte*) to reconstruct the extent and depth of Budinić's interactions. This approach unearthed new evidence of the Budinić family's possessions and ties to Zadar's urban elites. Investigation of the notarial records revealed a complete absence of archival evidence linking Šime to the rest of the Budinić family, which suggests that Šime Urlić's initial interpretation may be deemed more plausible than Stjepan Antoljak's later amendments. In addition, this approach is used to reconstruct Šime Budinić's »topography of everyday life«, his activities revealing a number of points of departure for future research within (and beyond) the Venetian Adriatic.

Keywords: Renaissance Humanism; Republic of Venice; Dalmatia; Microhistory; Entangled History; Urban History; Šime Budinić

1. Introduction

The suitability of microhistory as an approach to the study of the relational dimension of individuals seems hardly to have been considered in the context of »moving beyond« the study of structures (status groups, classes) and/or the connections between individuals and locations (networks). While both aspects have been intensively studied by scholars working on diasporas and minorities, urban societies, and commercial connections, it is hardly an exaggeration that the enduring legacy of Fernand Braudel's oeuvre continues to influence — dominate — much, if not most, of Mediterranean scholarship.¹

Further refinement of the understanding of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean after Braudel has kept a generation of scholars across many disciplines busy. Not unlike the aftermath of comparable historiographic watersheds, the past quarter-century has witnessed a considerable increase in the number of approaches bearing more or less relation to each other.² While this is neither the place nor the time to comment on these academic developments in detail, and as »few if any of the field's practitioners have made use of microhistory as a technique«, this essay does employ microhistory to gain new insights into an established field of research.³ Focused on a comparatively well-known individual, Simon Budineus (* 1530-35, † 1600), I will explore a number of microhistorical episodes drawn from the Croatian State Archive of Zadar (Zara), with the overarching aim of

¹ On Braudel's *Méditerranée* start with Nicholas Purcell, »The Boundless Sea of Unlikeness? On Defining the Mediterranean«, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 18, no. 2 (2003), 9-29; Bernard Heyberger, »La frontière méditerranéenne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle: Introduction«, *La frontière méditerranéenne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle: Échanges, circulations et affrontements*, eds. Bernard Heyberger and Albrecht Fuess, Brepols, Turnhout, 2013, 9-27; and Richard E. Lee, »Lessons of the *Longue Durée*: The Legacy of Fernand Braudel«, *Historia Crítica*, 69 (2018), 69-77. See also note 5.

² The contours of these developments can be traced via N. Purcell, *op. cit.* (1); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, »The Mediterranean and ›the New Thalassology‹«, *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006), 722-740; the essays in *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World, 1600-1800*, eds. Gabriel Piterberg, Teófilo F. Ruiz, and Geoffrey Symcox, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2010; and Maria Fusaro, »After Braudel: A Reassessment of Mediterranean History between the Northern Invasion and the Caravane Maritime«, *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, eds. Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood, and Mohamed-Salah Omri, I.B. Tauris: London, 2010, 1-22.

³ Colin Heywood, »Microhistory/Maritime History: Aspects of the British Presence in the Western Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period«, *La frontière méditerranéenne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle: Échanges, circulations et affrontements*, eds. Albrecht Fuess and Bernard Heyberger, Brepols, Turnhout, 2013, 84-111, at 84.

arriving at new insights by aggregating the individual pieces of archival evidence.⁴ Budineus, or Šime Budinić, a renowned Renaissance humanist and theologian, was one of Zadar's most prominent scions, and his scholarly activities have attracted the attention of scholars throughout the twentieth century, including Šime Urlić, Stjepan Antoljak, and Ante Strgačić. Yet, despite this long-standing interest, considerable uncertainties concerning Budineus' family ties and activities before his relocation to Rome around the mid-1580s remain.⁵ They are the subject of this essay. Investigation of the rich but under-used notarial records left by both Budineus and by his fellow notaries allows the historian to trace his formative years and family background, as well as his activities and relationships.⁶

Investigation into these issues is twofold: firstly, the following elaborations relate to the main tropes of Braudel's *Méditerranée*, in particular to the tendency of contemporaries (and many later scholars) to consider the early modern period in terms of more or less fixed and comparatively unchanging categories and »the underlying reality [sic] of economic, social, and geographical fluidity«.⁷ Secondly, given Budineus' prominent role in Zadar—he was both a cleric and a prolific notary who left more than 800 individual deeds written between 1556 and 1565—such an approach is highly promising as it allows for broader comparisons with other notable individuals elsewhere. Although there is no dedicated monograph-length

⁴ Topographical information follows present-day conventions, with their historical »Italian« equivalents given in parentheses when first mentioned. Exceptions are those places generally familiar, e.g., Rome or Venice. Anthroponyms are reproduced as they appear in primary sources. In a similar vein, and to increase legibility, I have translated all quotes, with the original wording in some of the footnotes. Note also that the Venetian year began in March, that calendar norms in the rest of the Adriatic are much less clear, and unless indicated otherwise, all dates are reproduced as they appear in the primary sources.

⁵ Šime Urlić, »Prilozi za biografiju Brna Krnarutića«, *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8 (1916), 341-364; Stjepan Antoljak, »Dva priloga proučavanju povijesti hrvatske književnosti u Zadru: Porijeklo i obitelj pjesnika Šime Budinića«, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 1 (1954), 142-148; Ante M. Strgačić, »Neobjavljena djela Zadrana Šime Budinića«, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 2 (1955), 359-373. There is a brief summary in Tomislav Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, 1409-1797*, Narodni list, Zadar, 1987, 413-416; the most recent biographical sketch is by Franjo Švelec, »Budinić, Šime«, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [online version, accessed 20 April 2018], incl. bibliography.

⁶ On the sources used see *Pregled arhivskih fondova i zbirki republike Hrvatske*, ed. Josip Kolanović, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb, 2006-2007, vol. I, 881-884. On the wider importance of Zadar's archives cf. Oliver J. Schmitt, »L'apport des archives de Zadar à l'histoire de la Méditerranée orientale au XV^e siècle«, *Venise et la Méditerranée*, eds. Sandro G. Franchini, Gherardo Ortalli, and Gennaro Toscano, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venice, 2011, 45-54, esp. 47-49.

⁷ John Martin and Dennis Romano, »Reconsidering Venice«, *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1279-1797*, eds. John Martin and Dennis Romano, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Md., 2000, 1-35, at 21.

treatment of his life, it holds considerable potential importance for the historiography of the entire sphere of Catholic-Italianate cultural diffusion, yet such a conceptual approach will inevitably lead well »beyond the individual« (and, given the current state of trans-Adriatic historiography, such a book will hopefully be written in the not too-distant future).⁸

Approaching the frontiers of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean in this post-Braudelian and postmodern environment may appear daunting at first, especially as much of recent historiography on the topic is often one of diasporic communities and their similarly travelling objects.⁹ Certainly, a microhistory of individuals and/or artefacts comes with its own set of limitations, yet recourse to recent developments associated with history »from below« appears helpful, especially if the findings of individual realities can be aggregated. What Alf Lüdtke, Lutz Niethammer, and others call *Alltagsgeschichte*, the history of everyday life, may hold one of the more promising solutions to overcome these limitations.

The aim of this essay, to put individuals, their activities, and relationships on a »map«, allows us to explore the analytical opportunities and interpretative possibilities that come to the fore »by attempting to classify the life-history of individuals within a particular social and historical context«. ¹⁰ By collating and relating archival evidence centred on one individual, it becomes possible to reconstruct, in words and images, such »topographies of everyday life«, by which is meant a »cartographic« reconstruction that unites the spatial and temporal

⁸ Simon Budineus left six protocol books containing 827 individual deeds notarised between 3 October 1556 and 30 July 1565. Further context and an outline of his activities via Stephan Sander-Faes, »Between Families and Institutions: Zadar's Notaries as Intermediaries between Church and Society in the mid-Sixteenth Century Adriatic«, *Südost-Forschungen*, 73 (2014), 172-190, esp. 178-189. I have begun to explore these issues in my recent article, entitled »Beyond the Individual: Renaissance Dalmatia's Intellectuals as a Socio-Functional Group'l Onkraj individualnog: Intelektualci renesansne Dalmacije kao društveno-funkcionalna skupina, *Miscellanea Hadriatica et Mediterranea* 6, no. 1 (2019), 133-66. See also the recently-completed research project led by Jasenka Gudelj, which focused on »The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy«, albeit from an art historical perspective; <https://hrzzvn.ffzg.unizg.hr/> (29 Jan. 2020).

⁹ Cf. Carlos Aguirre Rojas, »1968 as a Turning Point in Historical Thinking: Changes in Western Historiography«, *História* (São Paulo), 23, no. 1 (2004), 197-218. On Mediterranean diasporas now see *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1100-1800*, eds. Georg Christ et al., Viella, Rome, 2015, incl. guidance on a variety of methodological approaches in Pt. 1. On the »material culture of connections«, see the essays in *Writing Material Culture History*, eds. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2015; and *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, eds. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, Routledge, London and New York, N.Y., 2016.

¹⁰ Lutz Niethammer, *Posthistoire: Has History Come to an End?*, Verso, London and New York, N.Y., 1992, 149.

dimensions. While the former relates to *synchronic* factors, the latter alludes to *diachronic* aspects, and their combination enables a more comprehensive reconstruction than either set of circumstances would do on its own.¹¹ Thus emerges the possibility to survey and analyse, across time and space, the ties that bound our forebears together. (I have included two visualisations at the end of this essay.)

2. Microhistory, *Alltagsgeschichte*, and Topographies of Everyday Life

There are few books written by early modernists that left a mark on other fields and disciplines, of which both Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* and Braudel's *Mediterranean* stand out.¹² Given that microhistory »is essentially a historiographical practice« that started with »no established body of orthodoxy to draw on«, much has changed since Giovanni Levi wrote these words almost thirty years ago.¹³ In a look back at the historiographic landscape of the past generation, it can safely be said that microhistory has come of age, yet at the same time it is also a call to build, expand upon, and try to move beyond the ideas and hypotheses introduced over the past few decades.¹⁴

If, therefore, we take another look at the study of the early modern Mediterranean, there are a large number of publications on its more prominent aspects and distinct inhabitants, in particular related to merchant communities and confessional diasporas, with another strand of research focusing on the »bigger men«, and some women, of history. What perhaps unites most of them is that they were written from the perspective of the centre and/or ascribe certain characteristics to one or

¹¹ Cf. Stephan Sander-Faes, »Alltagstopographien: Verflechtungen von Stadt, Umland und Bewohnern im venezianischen Dalmatien des 16. Jahrhunderts«, *Stadt, Region, Migration: Zum Wandel urbaner und regionaler Räume*, eds. Hans-Joachim Hecker, Andreas Heusler, and Michael Stephan, Thorbecke, Ostfildern, 2017, 61-79, esp. 62-65.

¹² Cf. James S. Amelang, »The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller«, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 40, no. 1 (2009), 31-34, esp. 31-32.

¹³ Giovanni Levi, »On Microhistory«, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991, 93-113, at 93.

¹⁴ E.g., Anne Jacobson Schutte, »Carlo Ginzburg«, *Journal of Modern History*, 48 (1976), 296-315; Tony Molho, »Carlo Ginzburg: Reflections on the Intellectual Cosmos of a Twentieth-Century Historian«, *History of European Ideas*, 30 (2004), 121-148; Edward Muir, »Introduction: Observing Trifles«, *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, eds. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Md., 1991, vii-xxviii; and the comments of a pertinent roundtable on the twenty-fifth anniversary of *The Cheese and the Worms*, published as »Il formaggio e i vermi venticinque anni dopo: Boston, tavola rotonda, 5 gennaio 2001«, *Uno Storico, Un Mugnaio, Un Libro: Carlo Ginzburg, Il formaggio e I Vermi, 1976-2002*, eds. Aldo Colonnello and Andrea del Col, Circolo culturale Menocchio, Montereale Valcellina, 2002, 13-41.

the other location or group.¹⁵ Yet, looking at these events and developments from such one-point perspectives is not enough, and more »qualitative« work needs to be conducted: there is a need to search for the individuals, their mundane activities, their (family) relations and business associates as well as the movable and immovable objects that in a way »anchored« their lives in time and space.¹⁶ We are looking to study not the structures Venice's overseas possessions, not the activities of its most prominent representatives, but the random and scattered evidence of the resident local population in the Adriatic from the outer islands of the lagoon metropolis to the Straits of Otranto.

How does one analyse individual snippets of information beyond the local and at times localistic, seemingly antiquarian and anecdotal evidence, usually preserved in manuscript form, such as the sale of a small patch of land in 1542 a little outside the city walls, the temporary transferral of usufruct rights to a local merchant in 1549, or the appointment of a cleric as a family's tutor? It is precisely in everyday activities that the combination of a microhistorical approach and History of Everyday Life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) offers an analytically fruitful way forward to study what »from above« often seems like a bewilderingly heterogeneous and somewhat eclectic enumeration of mundane, if not outright trivial, activities.

Investigation into the daily life of the people who lived through this period will show, on a case-by-case basis and in the aggregate, that there is more than meets the eye. Recognition of these aspects allows the (micro-) historian to move beyond simplified top-down, one-point, and normative approaches and instead study the »fragmentation, contradictions and pluralit[ies]« that characterised the Venetian *commonwealth* during the sixteenth century.¹⁷ In doing so, this essay

¹⁵ Within the Venetian context, see, e.g., the essays in *Les Chemins de l'exile: Bouleversements de l'East européen et migrations vers l'Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Alain Ducellier et al., Armand Colin, Paris, 1992; Brühilde Imhaus, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1300-1510*, Il Veltro, Rome, 1997; the essays in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes, X^e-XVI^e siècles*, ed. Michel Balard, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 2002, esp. the contributions by Bernard Doumerc and Thierry Ganchou; or Paolo Petta, *Despoti d'Epiro e Principi di Macedonia: Esuli albanesi nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Argo, Lecce, 2000. More recently, see, e.g., Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandisch Merchants in Early Modern Venice*, Brill, Leiden, 2009; and Ersie C. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice, 1498-1600: Immigration, Settlement and Integration*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2016, an esp. welcome addition as the author also details extensively the more »regular« people.

¹⁶ Paraphrased after C. Heywood, *op. cit.* (3), 85.

¹⁷ G. Levi, *op. cit.* (13), 107. On the conceptual-terminological implications of »commonwealth«, see Stephan Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites of Zadar: Dalmatia and the Venetian Commonwealth, 1540-1569*, Viella, Rome, 2013, 17-18; Stephan Sander-Faes, »To avoid the costs of litigation, the parties compromise...«: Crime, Extrajudicial Settlement, and Punishment in Venetian Dalmatia, c. 1550«, in *Venezia e il suo Stato da mar: Atti del convegno internazionale, Venezia, 9-11 marzo 2017/Venice and its Stato da mar:*

seeks to draw renewed attention to the sixteenth century, a period marked, in the words of Venice's first modern historian Pierre Daru, by the absence of »any events worthy of the attention of posterity«.¹⁸

This essay focuses on Venetian Dalmatia in the sixteenth century.¹⁹ Having reacquired the region in the early fifteenth century (except for Dubrovnik/Ragusa²⁰), the Venetians organised their Dalmatian possessions in accordance with their own strategic interests.²¹ These economic, ecclesiastical, legal, and political transformations were not without benefits, and their gradual, if non-linear, introduction influenced the various mores, norms, and possibilities of Dalmatia's cities and its inhabitants.²² After 1409/20, the *Serenissima's* officials assumed

Proceedings of the International Congress, Venice, 9-11 March 2017, eds. Rita Tolomei and Bruno Crevato-Selvaggio, Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, Rome, 2018, 127-57, esp. 135-137.

¹⁸ John J. Norwich, *A History of Venice*, Penguin, London, 2003, 459-460, quoting Pierre Daru, *Histoire de la république de Venise*, Didot, Paris, 1821, vol. IV, 118.

¹⁹ General overview by Bernard Doumerc, »L'Adriatique du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle«, *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, ed. Pierre Cabanes, Seuil, Paris, 2001, 203-312. For specific guidance see notes 22 and 23.

²⁰ Start with Neven Budak, »Prilog bibliografiji grada Dubrovnika i Dubrovačke Republike na stranim jezicima«, *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti*, 35 (1997), 195-239; and the 2-vol. *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808*, ed. Vinko Foretić, Nakladni Zavod, Zagreb, 1980. Concise histories by Susan Mosher Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Penn., 1992; and Robin Harris, *Dubrovnik: A History*, Saqi, London, 2006; and the essays in *Unequal Rivals: Essays on Relations between Dubrovnik and Venice in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, ed. Bariša Krekić, HAZU-Dubrovnik, Zagreb, 2007; and *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300-1600*, ed. Bariša Krekić, Variorum, Aldershot, 1997. See also the studies by, e.g., Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, Zdenka Janeković-Römer, Vesna Miović, and Ignacij Voje. See also the website of the Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik (accessed 27 October 2017).

²¹ Tomislav Raukar, »Društvene strukture u mletačkoj Dalmaciji«, *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća*, ed. Mirjana Gross, Liber, Zagreb, 1981, 103-125, at 103.

²² Cf. Benjamin Arbel, »Colonie d'oltremare«, *Storia di Venezia*, vol. V, *Il rinascimento: Società ed economia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1996, 947-85, esp. 974-976; i d., »Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period«, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler, Brill, Leiden, 2013, 125-253, esp. 144-164, 182-193; Gaetano Cozzi, »Ambiente veneziano, ambiente Veneto: Governanti e governati nel dominio di qua dal Mincio nei secoli XV-XVIII«, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi, Marsilio, Venice, 1997, 291-352, at 292, 302. See further Reinhold C. Mueller, »Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia«, *Quattrocento adriatico: 15th-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. Charles Dempsey, Nuova Alfa, Bologna, 1996, 25-56; Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in the Venetian Maritime State*,

all positions of temporal and ecclesiastical relevance while offering certain non-essential participatory opportunities to the various local urban elites and their non-noble compatriots.²³

The main focus of this essay is sixteenth-century Zadar, whose jurisdiction extended over the city proper and its suburban settlements, included small fortified towns such as Nin (Nona), Novigrad (Novegradi), and Vrana (Aurana), 85 villages, as well as 37 islands and islets off the coast. Despite significant territorial losses to the Ottomans during and in the aftermath of two rounds of fighting (1537-40 and 1570-73, respectively), the basic administrative structures that originated in the Middle Ages were preserved.²⁴ There was also a linguistic dimension to consider

Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Md., 2009, esp. 27-33; Oliver J. Schmitt, »Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum, ca. 1400-ca.1600«, *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver J. Schmitt, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2009, 77-101, esp. 90-100. On incorporation into the *Stato da mar* cf. Gherardo Ortalli, »Entrar nel Dominio: Le dedizioni delle città alla Repubblica Serenissima«, *Società, economia, istituzioni*, vol. I, *Elementi per la conoscenza della Repubblica di Venezia*, eds. Giorgio Zordan and Gino Benzoni, Cierre, Verona, 2002, 49-62, esp. 52-54; for an extensively documented example see Ermanno Orlando, *Gli accordi con Curzola, 1352-1421*, Viella, Rome, 2002, esp. 52-74; and Oliver J. Schmitt, »Storie d'amore, storie di potere: La tormentata integrazione dell'isola di Curzola nello Stato da mar in una prospettiva microstorica«, *Venezia e la Dalmazia*, eds. Uwe Israel and Oliver J. Schmitt, Viella, Rome, 2013, 89-109; i d., »»Altre Venezia« nella Dalmazia tardo-medievale? Un approccio microstorico alle comunità socio-politiche sull'isola di Curzola/Korčula«, in *Il Commonwealth veneziano: Identità e peculiarità*, eds. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver J. Schmitt, Ermanno Orlando, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venice, 2015, 203-33.

²³ On Venice proper Stanley Chojnacki, »Identity and Ideology in Renaissance Venice: The Third *Serrata*«, J. Martin and D. Romano, *op. cit.* (7), 263-294, esp. 268-269; Gaetano Cozzi, »Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice«, *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale, Faber & Faber, London, 1973, 293-345, esp. 325-327. On the *Stato da mar* B. Arbel, *op. cit.* (22), 975; and Bernard Doumerc, »Il dominio del mare«, A. Tenenti and U. Tucci, *op. cit.* (22), 113-180, esp. 164-178; M. O'Connell, *op. cit.* (22), 57-74. On Dalmatia specifically Neven Budak, »Urban élites in Dalmatia in the 14th and 15th Centuries«, *Città e sistema adriatico alla fine del medioevo*, ed. Michele P. Ghezzi, Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, Venice, 1998, 181-199, at 186, 194-196; Bariša Krekić, »Developed Autonomy: The Patricians in Dubrovnik and Dalmatian Cities«, *Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times*, ed. Bariša Krekić, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1987, 185-215, esp. 188-192; see also Ivan Pederin, »Die venezianische Verwaltung Dalmatiens und ihre Organe (XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert)«, *Studi veneziani*, 12 (1987), 99-164, at 143; Tomislav Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću: Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi*, Liber, Zadar, 1977, 301-306.

²⁴ If not noted otherwise, contextual information in this paragraph is based on S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 40-46.

between those who primarily spoke »Slavic« and those who spoke »Venetian«. The majority used the former in most contexts, while the latter was in use as supra-regional vehicular language and thus used more often in particular by the social (i.e., noble) and mercantile elites. It follows that everyday life was characterised by situational multilingualism and a wide range of cultural-linguistic diffusion; neither the normative nor the territorial borders reflected clear-cut distinctions between social status and class affiliation, between locals (citizens and residents) and »foreigners« (literally, and legally, everyone who did not enjoy citizenship rights in Zadar), and Christians and their non-Christian neighbours.²⁵

To address the analytical and epistemological challenges of studying pre-modern societies, I use the concept of »Topographies of Everyday Life« to reflect the embeddedness of individuals and institutions in their respective communicative, cultural, economic, linguistic, political, religious, and social contexts. As these change over time, the concept is used to more fully understand an individual's roots within, and ties to, his or her social environment by first contextualising the various episodes and then connecting these situational instances.²⁶ Thus we are able to identify and reconstruct a dense web of entanglements, some unexpected, many linked, shared, and/or with differing degrees of overlap that reveal—and, ideally, allow for the reconstruction of—the personal, spatial and temporal dimension of *individual* realities.²⁷

²⁵ On literacy and literary production in Dalmatia Eduard Hercigonja, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti: Srednjovjekovna književnost*, Liber, Zagreb, 1975; Bariša Krekić, »The Attitude of Fifteenth Century Ragusans towards Literacy«, B. Krekić, *op. cit.* (20), 225-232; i d., »On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik«, *ibid.*, 312-332; Michael Metzeltin, »Le Varietà italiane sulle coste dell'Adriatico orientale«, G. Ortalli and O. Schmitt, *op. cit.* (22), 199-237; Sante Graciotti, »Plurilinguismo letterario e pluriculturalismo nella Ragusa antica (un modello per la futura Europa?)«, *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria*, 20, no. 9 (1997), 1-16; and Ljerka Šimunković, »La politica linguistica della Serenissima verso i possedimenti di là da mar: Il caso della Dalmazia«, *Mito e antimito di Venezia nel bacino adriatico (secoli XV-XIX)*, ed. Sante Graciotti, Il Calamo, Rome, 2001, 95-104.

²⁶ Macro-contexts incl., among others, the normative secular and ecclesiastical order(s), language and knowledge, social relations, and economic development. See, e.g., on the church in Dalmatia Franjo Šanjek, »The Church and Christianity«, *Croatia and Europe*, vol. II, *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: A Cultural Survey*, eds. Ivan Supičić and Eduard Hercigonja, Wilson, London, 2008, 227-58; further guidance on language and literature, printing, music, science and philosophy via the essays in the same volume.

²⁷ This relates to recent and current debates on microhistory; on the former, see the essays in *Mikrogeschichte—Makrogeschichte: Komplementär oder inkommensurabel?*, ed. Jürgen Schlumbohm, Wallstein, Göttingen, 2000; on the latter, John Brewer, »Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life«, *Cultural and Social History*, 7, no. 1 (2010), 87-109; Filippo de Vivo, »Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale: A Re-

3. Sons of Zadar: The Budinich Brothers, 1520s to 1550s

The point of departure is Simon Budineus. Known to posterity as Šime Budinić, he was born in Zadar between 1530 and 1535 to Michael Budinich and Clara, daughter of the canon Sanctus de Sanctis. They had at least two more surviving sons, Stephanus and Antonius, both goldsmiths like their father, and one daughter, Hieronyma. Simon first appears in the notarial courses in 1556, when, in October, he signed his first notarial protocol book as »cleric«. ²⁸ Over the next few years, Simon assembled an impressive array of functions and sinecures (benefices without pastoral duties): in 1558, he is mentioned as the rector of the church of Saints Sylvester and Thomas of Zadar (as noted by researchers Šime Urlič, Stjepan Antoljak, and Ante Strgačić). Two years later, in 1560, Simon was ordained and read his first mass before being named the beneficiary and successor as the holder of the prebendary of St Peter on the islet of Iž (Eso) by his maternal grandfather, Sanctus de Sanctis. By 1563, Simon disposed of the chaplaincy of Saint Mark outside Zadar's city walls and had assumed the office of archiepiscopal chancellor; sometime later that year, he was engaged in inappropriate behaviour at a funeral, was therefore threatened with excommunication, but quickly rehabilitated. Finally, in 1565, Simon Budineus, in his capacity as chancellor of Zadar's cathedral church of St Anastasia, appeared at the synod of Trogir (Traù) on the occasion of the proclamation of the resolutions of the Council of Trent. ²⁹

While our knowledge about Budineus' life after the mid-1560s is quite dense, there is little on the quarter century before he commenced working as a notary in Zadar. It is generally presumed that he began his education in his home town before attending university, »perhaps in Padua«, writes Franjo Švelec in the *Croatian Biographical Lexicon*, yet »nothing is known about his early years«. ³⁰ Given Budineus' later accomplishments as a humanist, theologian, and translator,

sponse«, *Cultural and Social History*, 7, no. 3 (2010), 387-397. Most recently, C. Heywood, *op. cit.* (3), 84-89. Note, however, that with the exception of Colin Heywood, all of these debates relate exclusively to historiographic trends in »western« languages, thereby excluding »everything eastern« including the eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic in particular. Thereby, in a way, they perpetuate this traditional but increasingly anachronistic divide.

²⁸ Državni arhiv u Zadru (hence DAZD) 31, Bilježnici Zadra (Notarii civitatis et districtus Iadrae, hence BZ) – Zadar (XII-1797), 1279-1797, notary Simon Budineus, fascicle I, box 1, book 1, c.1r-c.1v, 3 October 1556. In the following, all redundant information is either abbreviated or omitted; note that »f[ol].« (*folio*) indicates pagination applied by archivists whereas »c.« (*carta*) refers to the sources' original pagination.

²⁹ If not noted otherwise, biographical information derives from F. Švelec, *op. cit.* (5), which also includes a wealth of information on Simon's later life, omitted here and in the following. I have further relied on the accounts by Š. Urlič, *op. cit.* (5); S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5); A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5); and Raukar et al., *op. cit.* (5), 413-6.

³⁰ Quotes by F. Švelec, *op. cit.* (5).

it is certain that, like many other learned inhabitants of the area, he was fluent in both Venetian, which was the administrative, commercial, and military *lingua franca*, and Slavic, in addition to Latin, which was the language of the Catholic Church, humanistic enquiry, and the primary language used by the city's notaries to conduct their activities.³¹

In the absence of certifiable archival sources, circumstantial evidence gleaned from Zadar's notarial records indicates that Simon's parents, Michael Budinić and his wife Clara, lived in a »house befitting [their] standing« located in »in the Arsenal parish near Santa Marcella«, that is, in the vicinity of the port entrance in the northern corner of the city. Theirs was a »casa da statio« with a grand salon on the first floor and two large rooms on the ground floor underneath »che vardano verso la Strata sirocale«, today Zadar's main boulevard, Široka ulica (Calle Larga). Beyond the *portego* and a staircase made of stone, there were also a covered courtyard with a well, a kitchen, and magazines.³² (I have indicated the approximate location on the map provided below.)

Turning to the family's commercial activities, in early 1540, Clara and her fellow legal guardian and tutor, the lawyer Hieronymus Cortesius of Rab (Arbe), appear in the records of Petrus de Bassano, one of Zadar's most prolific notaries.³³ Together and on behalf of her sons Antonius and Stephanus, Clara and Hieronymus conceded eight morgen or approximately 1.9 hectares, of vineyards with olive trees located »subtus Montem Ferro« near present-day Zerodo (Cerodolo), to »Laurentius and Milichus, known by the name Despot, of Zadar, and Barichius Thoglianouich«, a day-labourer from the nearby village of Kamenjani (Chamegnani).³⁴ In exchange for their labour and the consignment of a third of all olives and a quarter of the grape harvest, the three tenants were granted usufruct rights for the duration of three years. Apart from transaction-related information,

³¹ Between 1540-69, c. 95 % (6,108 out of a total of 6,436 individual deeds) of all surviving notarised acts were written in Latin. Stephan Sander-Faes, »Urban Elites in the Venetian Commonwealth: Social and Economic Mobility in early modern Dalmatia (Zadar/Zara, 1540 to 1570)«, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Graz, 2011, 34-35. On Croatian and Dalmatian humanism see Rafo B o g i š i ć, »Croatian Renaissance Literature«, I. S u p i ć i ć and E. Hercigonja, *op. cit.* (26), 439-464; and Josip Bratulić, »The Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation«, *ibid.*, 465-479.

³² The description derives from the division of the maternal inheritance between Antonius and Stephanus, effectuated in the mid-1560s. DAZD 31, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 6, s.p., 12 April 1565.

³³ S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2019]), 151, 159-160.

³⁴ 1 morgen (gonjaj) was equal to c. 2,370 square metres; 8 morgen amounted to c. 18,960 square metres or approximately 1.9 hectares. Conversion via the *Zadarski statut sa svim reformacijama odnosno novim uredbama donesenima do godine 1563*, eds. Josip Kolanović and Mate Križman, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1997, 759; additional information on Zadar's property transactions by S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 143-170, esp. 156-163.

this notarial deed contains two additional previously unknown pieces of information: firstly, contradicting all the literature, which dates Michael Budineus' first appearance in Zadar to around 1517, his death in the mid-1530s, and refers to him as a goldsmith, he is referred to as »once a citizen and *merchant* of Zadar«. While the evidence does not rule out the possibility that Michael was active in both professions, perhaps first a merchant and then a goldsmith, it also allows for the interpretation that while Michael was a merchant, his sons became goldsmiths instead; in any case, in the absence of additional information at this point, both interpretations remain speculative.³⁵ The second piece of information pertains to the age of Michael's children. The notarised property transaction lists Antonius as »one of the late *ser* Michael's children already of legitimate age«. In the light of Zadar's statutes, which held that boys under the age of 14 were legally required to have at least one legal guardian, and allowing for the slight dating discrepancies deriving from the unclear use of the Venetian calendar³⁶, we can deduce that Antonius was quite likely born between 1521 and 1526 and that his brother Stephanus (and Simon as well, for that matter) was born later.³⁷

A few years later, in summer 1542, both Clara and Hieronymus, again acting »as tutors, they maintained«, sold three morgen, or about 7,110 square metres, of vineyards located near Zadar's lazaretto to »Franciscus of Rab, a master-cobbler«, for the price of 8 ducats. Both vendor and buyer also agreed on a buyback option.³⁸

³⁵ Pace S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 142-143; A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 360-361, with the source, quoted also by Stjepan Antoljak, holding that both Clara and Hieronymus were acting on behalf of the heirs of »quondam ser Michaelis Budinich olim civis, ac mercatoris Jadre«. DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 7, f.46v-f.47r, 2 February 1540 (my emphasis). Š. Urlić, *op. cit.* (5), 351, does not discuss this issue at all.

³⁶ The Venetian year began in March, which means that sources dated January or February of one year actually referring to the following year (in our modernised calendar). See also note 2.

³⁷ The deed holds that Hieronymus Cortesius acted »uti Tutor pupillorum filiorum, ac heredum quondam ser Michaelis Budinich olim civis, ac mercatoris Jadre, suij consanguineij, ac Antonius unus ex dictis filijs quondam ser Michaelis, Jam Civiliter etatis legitimam«. DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 7, f.46v-f.47r, 2 February 1540 (my emphasis). For the legal requirements concerning underage children, cf. J. Kolanović and M. Križman, *op. cit.* (34), 146-148. Antonius' estimated year of birth relates to the following three facts: first, S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 142, has established Michael's presence by 1517 (and death by 1535). Second, in a notarised donation, Clara named both Antonius and Stephanus »soi figlioli carnali«, as per DAZD 31, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, b, s.p., 12 April 1565. Third, Clara's dowry instrument was drawn up on 15 February 1521, rendering it likely that she married Michael earlier that year or in one of the preceding years; DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 9, f.38v-f.39r, 24 February 1543. Note, finally, that S. Antoljak, *ibid.*, 145, marks Stephanus as the older brother, which stands in contradiction to this source.

³⁸ DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 8, f.41v, 7 August 1542 (two individual acts, sale and buyback option).

About half a year later, as recorded in the margins of Petrus de Bassano's protocol book on the very same page, the Budinich family took advantage of this option and bought back the property for the same price.³⁹ On the very same day, in late February 1543, Hieronymus and Clara then re-sold those three morgen to »Lutia, wife of the late *ser* Petrus de Ventura, also known as Pesegl, once a citizen and resident of Zadar«. Citing »the most urgent necessity concerning...[her] children« as the reason for doing so, the re-sale also achieved the much higher price of 37 ducats, that is, an increase by a factor of 4.5 from the earlier transaction. Here, too, additional and previously unknown pieces of information are contained: on the one hand, we learn that Clara, née de Sanctis, was »also known as *dona* Dobrula, or Clariza«. Beyond these nicknames, the more relevant information given is that her dowry instrument was drawn up in Dubrovnik on 15 February 1521 by notary Petrus Franciscus Parisij of Milan.⁴⁰

Other transactions included the transfer of a house of wood and stone located in the vicinity of Zadar's arsenal in 1544 to »Mara Fachya of the suburbs«. Originally, Mara had bought the building from »Nicolaus Cimilio« for the price of £120. As the latter's debt instrument ended up in the possession of the Budinich brothers, Antonius and Stephanus then obtained the legal right to re-purchase the property for the duration of ten years, as established by the ducal chancery on 19 March 1544. Six years later, and in exchange for a surcharge of £63 in addition to the original price of £120, the Budinich brothers relinquished their right to re-purchase the property and transferred full ownership rights to Mara Fachya.⁴¹

Around the same time, the Budinich family appeared in two more property transactions of interest: on the one hand, they temporarily transferred nine morgen (c. 21,330 square metres) located near Zerodo to Petrus Caranina, a citizen and merchant of Zadar, who acquired usufruct rights for the duration of four years in exchange for payment of an annual fee of 6 ducats.⁴² On the other hand, Antonius and Stephanus Budinich sold twelve morgen (c. 28,440 square metres) »partially with vines and in part uncultivated territory« in the vicinity of Gaženica (Gasenica), via the executors of the late Johannes Rosa, the former bishop of Krk (Veglia), to Zadar's metropolitan chapter for the comparatively high price of 90 ducats.⁴³ Testifying to

³⁹ DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 8, f.41v, 24 February 1543.

⁴⁰ DAZD 31, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, I, 1, 9, f.38v-f.39r, 24 February 1543. Clara's dowry contract was mentioned because she included its worth of 500 ducats specifically to serve as a guarantee in this transaction.

⁴¹ DAZD 31, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, I, 1, f.37v, 10 March 1550.

⁴² DAZD 31, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, I, 1, f.14v, 12 March 1549; the property itself had three tenants on it, »Laurentius Canalis *superstitus*, Gelena Despotue, and Barichi Toglianouich«, who were all obliged to consign a quarter of the grapes and a third of all olives harvested each year.

⁴³ Prices per morgen within Zadar's territory (the ancient *ager publicus*, or *astareja*) averaged between c. 5 ducats per morgen during the 1540s and c. 6.5 ducats during the

the close collaboration and familiarity with each other in such transactions, the late bishop's executors included a number of individuals who were also members of the metropolitan chapter, including the Rev. Sanctus de Sanctis, Matthaeus Boriceuich, a master-goldsmith, the Rev. Gregorius Clauario, and, again, friend of the family and tutor of the late Michael Budinich's children, Hieronymus Cortesius.⁴⁴

4. Šime Budinić: Notary, 1556 to 1565

In the second part of this essay, the focus rests on the upwardly mobile trajectories of the Budinich family, in particular on the relationships that characterised the personal, spiritual, and commercial affairs of Antonius, Stephanus, and Simon. This section collates work by Šime Urlič, Stjepan Antoljak, Ante Strgačić, and Franjo Švelec with in-depth analysis of Simon Budineus' notarial legacy, his protocol books.

In spring 1550, the Budinich family leased one of their houses near Zadar's arsenal to »Mahir Coen, Hispano Hebreo«, for a duration of three years in exchange for payment of 37 *scudi*. In this episode, both witnesses may be considered persons of interest, as they were certainly known to the Budinich brothers: like them, both Matthaeus Boriceuich and Donatus Capitanich were also goldsmiths.⁴⁵

As evidenced by the degree of their integration into Zadar's most prominent circles, the Budinich family *as a whole* was on a socially upward trajectory during

1550s, or between 60 and 78 ducats for twelve morgen. Cf. S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 143-70, esp. 143-50, with property prices according to Fig. 9.2, at 148.

⁴⁴ DAZD 31, BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 2, f.19r-f.19v, 8 May 1550. In this instance, Clara again put forth herself and her dowry as guarantee. A few years later, in 1558, the metropolitan chapter consisted of »the nobleman Franciscus de Grisogonis, archpriest, Petrus Britanicus, primicerius [the first among the city's canons], Johannes Donatus Begna, canon and vicar, Johannes Sichirich, Matthaeus de Marchettis, Johannes Thomaseus, Antonius Mirchouich, Sanctus de Sanctis, and Vincentius de Ventura«, that is, of a number of prominent and well-integrated noble and non-noble inhabitants of Zadar. Apart from the Begna and Grisogono families, Johannes Thomaseus, Sanctus de Sanctis, and Matthaeus de Marchettis were kinsmen of, respectively, Zadar notaries Franciscus Thomaseus, Paulus de Sanctis, and Horatius de Marchettis. Both the Britanicus and de Ventura families were large and important within the societal and political fabric of Zadar. Cf. S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2014]), 179-180. Finally, the information about Matthaeus Boriceuich's profession stems from DAZD 31, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, I, 1, f.8r, 16 December 1548. On Cortesius, S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2019]), 159-160.

⁴⁵ DAZD 31, BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 4, f.1r-f.1v, 3 June 1550. This episode is also related by S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 147, n. 25. Note that the source gives a conversion rate of 1 Scudo = £6 S16, while the *Zadarski statut* lists an exchange rate of 1 Scudo = £6 S17; J. Kolanović and M. Križman, *op. cit.* (34), 759. Further details on Zadar's Jews by S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 196-198.

the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This assessment is further confirmed by the marriage connections of both Antonius and Stephanus that occurred during the 1550s. In 1551, Antonius married »Frosina de Mathapharis«, a descendant of one of Zadar's noble families with extensive and deep ties to the more influential and wealthier Begna dynasty. Frosina's dowry, guaranteed by Pasiza, wife of the late Nicholas de Begna, amounted to £1,703, of which £690 were consigned »in movable property and goods made of linen, wool, and lace« and the remainder paid out in cash.⁴⁶ Antonius' brother, Stephanus, married »Hieronyma, daughter of Jacobus Saghich« in summer of 1560. His bride was accompanied by an even bigger dowry worth 350 ducats, as recorded by notary Johannes a Morea.⁴⁷ Although Stephanus' in-laws were not members of Zadar's social elite, the Saghich family belonged to the city's most important commoners, with Jacobus serving as one of the executors of the renowned nobleman, physician, and professor at the University of Padua »Federicus Grisogonus alias de Bartholatijs«. In addition, the Saghich family counted notary Petrus de Bassano among their children's tutors.⁴⁸

In the available literature, Simon's relatives play only a marginal role. The most contentious issue in the chronologies by Šime Urlić, Stjepan Antoljak, and Ante Strgačić is the more or less precise timing of Budineus' career advances. Simon's entry into Zadar's public life is directly related to his activities as a notary, which began in the last quarter of 1556 when he placed a carefully worded and illustrated signet at the bottom of page one of his protocol book, and wrote: »I, Simon Budineus, cleric of Zadar, publicly sworn notary under Holy Imperial and Jadertine authority...«⁴⁹

⁴⁶ DAZD 31, BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 3, f.53r, 10 March 1555. Pasiza's guarantee was recorded by Danial Cavalca, I, 2, 6, f.36v, s.p., 13 April 1565. On the marriage see also A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 360; on Pasiza, see also S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 126-7, 138, n. 84.

⁴⁷ DAZD 31, BZ, Johannes a Morea, I, 1, 5, f.19v-f.20r, 28 August 1560. This union also appears in S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 143.

⁴⁸ On Jacobus' connections with Federik, see DAZD 31, BZ, Johannes Michael Mazzarellus, I, 2, 2, s.d., 9 September 1542; the tutorship is related via DAZD 31, BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 6, c.318r-c.318v, 8 June 1561. On Federicus, also known as Federik Grisogon, a Zadar-born academic, medical doctor, and physician working on fields as diverse as astrology, cosmography, mathematics, and musicology, see Mirko Dražen Grmek, »Grisogono, Federik«, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [online version, accessed 20 April 2018], incl. bibliography; most recently Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, »Federik Grisogono (Federicus Chrysogonus) und der Begriff der nützlichen theoretischen Wissenschaft«, *Prolegomena*, 6, no. 2 (2007), 279-294, at 290; and Žarko Dadić, »Natural Sciences«, I. Supićić and E. Hercigonja, *op. cit.* (26), 741-760, esp. 743-749.

⁴⁹ DAZD 31, BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 1, c.1r, 3 October 1556. See also A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 355.

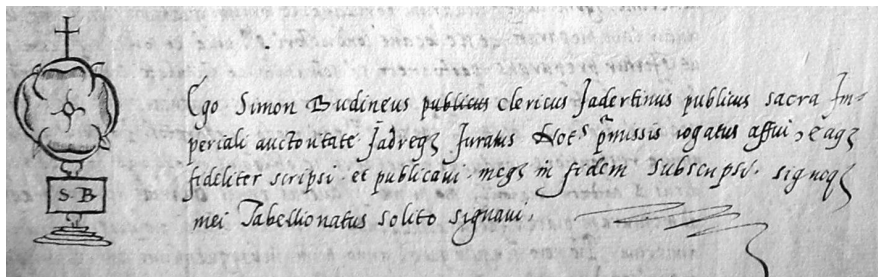


Illustration 1: Simon Budineus' signet. Source: DAZD 31, BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 1, c.1r, 3 October 1556; photograph by the author.

The main disagreements between these three accounts revolve around Budineus' priestly career, in particular around the date of his appointment as sacristan (*mansionarius*) of Zadar's cathedral church of St Anastasia and around the date of his ordination. As regards the former, both Urlič and Strgačić asserted that Budineus had attained the office of sacristan by 1559/60, which is confirmed by a notarial deed from January 1560.⁵⁰ With respect to the latter, there are slight dating discrepancies in the chronology: according to Urlič, Budineus' ordination took place on 4 April 1560, which is disputed by Strgačić who suggested 23 April 1560, while both accounts hold that Simon Budineus read his first mass on this occasion at the funeral on Margarita Mirinka.⁵¹ In a similar vein, there are some uncertainties concerning Budineus' priestly offices and the whereabouts of his sinecures. Here, too, the notarial records provide clarification beyond the established accounts. In January 1563, Simon is referred to as »assistant [or deputy] deacon and sacristan of Zadar's cathedral church, parishioner of the church of Saints Sylvester and Thomas, chaplain of the chapel of Saint George within and of the chapels of Saints Mark and Ursula outside the city walls, and of a house opposite the church of Saint Elias«. ⁵² Finally, after Sanctus de Sanctis' death in 1565, Budineus also acquired the former's sinecures and appeared as chancellor of the archbishopric of Zadar.⁵³

⁵⁰ Cf. Š. Urlič, *op. cit.* (5), 351-2; A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 354-356. In the deed, Sanctus de Sanctis »ad afflictum concessit domino Simoni Budineo clerico Mansionario ecclesie Jadrensis eius nepoti... quoscumque fructus dicti anni spectantes praebende canonicatus«. DAZD 31, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 2A, c.46v-c.47r, 9 January 1560.

⁵¹ Cf. Š. Urlič, *op. cit.* (5), 351; A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 354-355.

⁵² Š. Urlič, *op. cit.* (5), 352, mentions these accomplishments without providing a source; A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 357-358, cites the source but provides no date. Dating of the source via DAZD 31, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 4, f.32r-f.32v, 18 January 1563.

⁵³ Š. Urlič, *op. cit.* (5), 352; S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 143; A. Strgačić, *op. cit.* (5), 358-359.

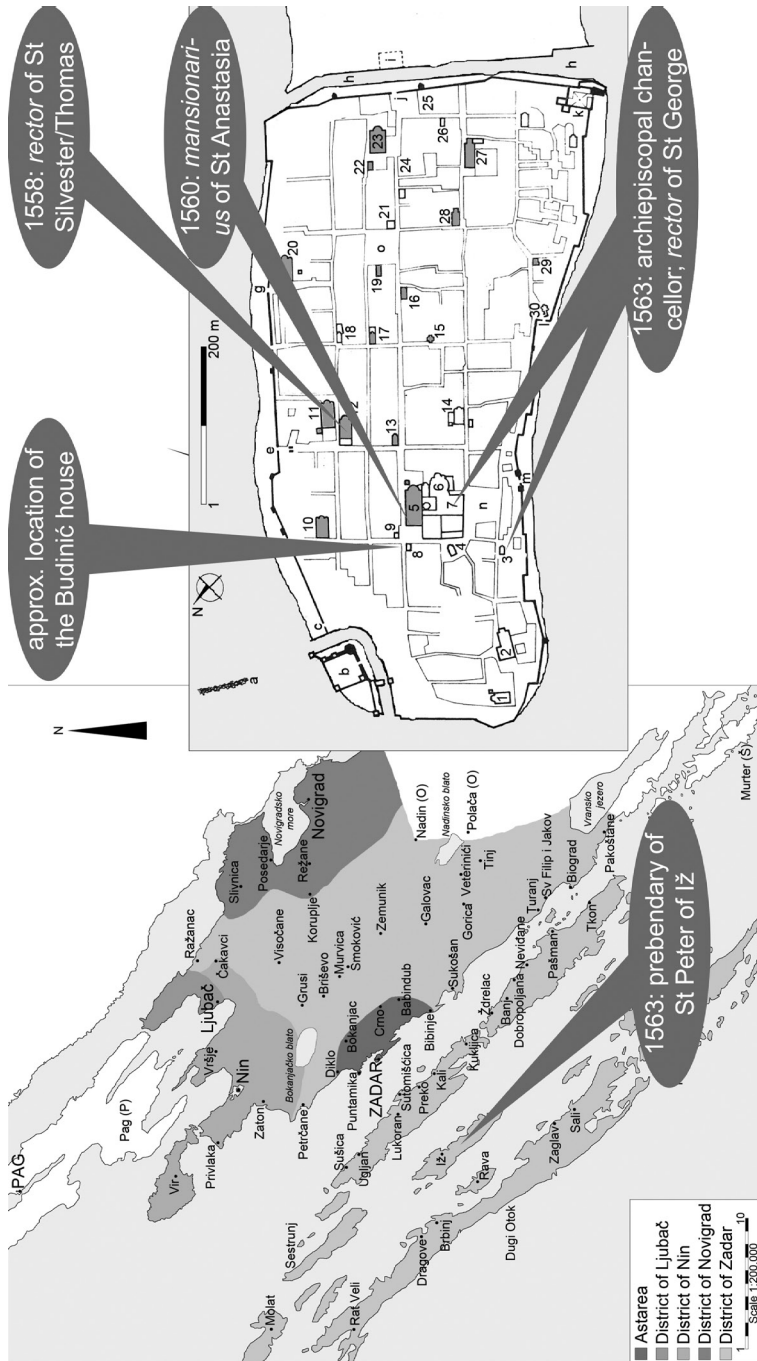


Illustration 2: Simon Budineus' »Cityscape«

S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (18), 227 (Zadar's jurisdiction), 229 (city map), based on T. Rankar et al., *op. cit.* (5), 135; additional markers included.

Apart from what is known about Simon Budineus, there are also six of his protocol books that contain 827 individual notarial acts. Their analysis reveals that he was the notary of choice of Zadar's ecclesiastical estate, the individual and institutional members of which were the single biggest constituent party among his customers: slightly more than two fifths (or 346 out of 827 deeds) were written at the request of fellow members of the clergy.⁵⁴ Given Budineus' fast rise through the ranks and his prominent position within Zadar's societal fabric, it comes as no surprise that among his customers were, among others, the archbishop of Zadar, Muzio Calino, and the bishop of Nin, Marco Loredan;⁵⁵ five out of Zadar's eight monastic congregations, that is, the nobles-only nunneries of Saint Mary (Benedictines), Saint Nicholas (Franciscans/Poor Clares), and Saint Demetrius (Dominicans) as well as the convents of St Catherine (Dominicans) and St Marcella (Poor Clares), both populated by commoners;⁵⁶ and a vast number of other ecclesiastical institutions such as parish churches, chapels, and hospitals as well as a large number of individuals from within Zadar's jurisdiction and from elsewhere in the Venetian Adriatic.⁵⁷

Figure 1: Simon Budineus' Customers

<i>No. of notarial acts</i>	<i>Requested by clergy*</i>	<i>Legal persons**</i>	
827	346 (c. 42 %)	100 (c. 12%)	10 (c. 1 %)
	St Ambrosius of Nin; Sts Cosmas and Damian of Rogovo; St Anastasia of Zadar/ archiepiscopal chapter/Muzio Calino, archbishop of Zadar; bishopric of Nin/Marco Loredan, bishop of Nin; five of Zadar's eight convents***; the parishes of St Elias and St Simeon of Zadar; and the brotherhoods of St Jacob, the Blessed Virgin, and Mary the Merciful.		

Sources: based on 827 individual acts notarised between 30 October 1556 and 30 July 1565, preserved in DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus.

⁵⁴ Cf. S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2014]), 182-183.

⁵⁵ DAZD 31 BZ, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 1, c.24r-c.24v, 8 January 1557.

⁵⁶ DAZD 31, Simon Budineus, I, 1, 6, c. 390r-c. 390v, 26 October 1562 (four individual deeds); Simon Budineus, I, 1, 6, c. 391r, 27 October 1562. Further information about the convents and their members around this time via S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), 89, 116-26.

⁵⁷ Overview by S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2014]), 183-189.

* Of the 827 constituent parties, a little less than half belonged to the ecclesiastical estate, which includes the above-referenced institutions, the remainder consisting of natural persons from all walks of life; further references to a select number of these can be found in S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (8 [2014]), 187-189.

** Ecclesiastical (and temporal) institutions were legal persons that relied on representatives to conduct their affairs, on which see *id.*, »Procuratorial Networks: Reconstructing Communication in the Early Modern Adriatic«, *People and Goods on the Move: Merchants, Networks and Communication Routes in the Medieval and early Modern Mediterranean*, eds. Özlem Çaykent and Luca Zavagno, ICSR Mediterranean Knowledge, Fisciano, 2016, 79-92.

*** These incl. the convents of St Mary (Benedictines), St Catherine (Dominicans), St Demetrius (Dominicans), St Nicholas (Franciscans/Poor Clares), and St Marcella (Poor Clares).

Apart from his own protocol book, Simon Budineus also appeared frequently in the records of his fellow notaries from 1557 through 1569.⁵⁸ Apart from his ecclesiastical obligations and humanistic endeavours, his activities are comparable to his contemporaries, that is, he engaged in property transactions, acted as a representative (*procurator*), and notarised testaments.⁵⁹ In this, Budineus' family ties, social connections, and societal activities mirrored the group behaviour of a certain number of Venetians that James Grubb has labelled »elite citizens«: those citizens of Venice who did not belong to the ranks of the patricians but whose collaboration within the republican administration was indispensable. By the end of the 1560s, membership in this particular group, formalised in a so-called *Libro d'argento*, conferred eligibility for certain offices.⁶⁰ Certainly, the number of these non-noble elite commoners in Zadar was much smaller than in Venice and their members acted in a more informal environment.⁶¹

⁵⁸ First mention by DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 5, c.15r-c.15v, 1 June 1557; his last appearance before the Cyprus War (1570-73) was recorded by Horatius de Marchettis, I, 2, f.4v, 3 January 1568.

⁵⁹ E.g., in 1558, Simon Budineus leased 3 *sors* on Iž to Petrus Fanfoneus, a nobleman of Zadar and doctor of both laws, in exchange for 3 ducats per year and the consignment of a quarter of all grapes and a third of all olives. DAZD 31, BZ, Nicolaus Canali, I, 1, 2, c.2r-c.2v, 28 November 1558; Simon revoked the land grant five years later, as per Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 5, s.p., 29 October 1563.

⁶⁰ James S. Grubb, »Elite Citizens«, J. Martin and D. Romano, *op. cit.* (7).

⁶¹ On Renaissance Dalmatia cf. N. Budak, *op. cit.* (23); on sixteenth century Zadar cf. S. Sander-Faes, *op. cit.* (13), esp. 111-141, 189-198.

5. Conclusions

This essay seeks to demonstrate that the combination of Microhistory and *Alltagsgeschichte*, resulting in the reconstruction of individual »topographies of everyday life«, offers a promising way for future study, across time and space, of the ties that bound our forebears together. Focused on Simon Budineus, a cleric and notary of Zadar, this approach has yielded the following four results. First, despite Budineus' high profile and correspondingly elevated historiographic visibility, investigation into the surviving notarial records revealed a number of previously unknown insights into his early life. Despite the fact that no record of Simon Budineus exists prior to 1556, there is a wealth of circumstantial evidence that, using his closest relatives as proxies, reveals insights into his early life, in particular the location of the main house of the Budinich family on the corner of Zadar's main streets, as well as information about other properties within and outside the city walls.

This, in turn, brings us to the second aspect: Simon Budineus' fast rise through the ranks within a decade of his entry into public life. The available literature and evidence gleaned from the notarial records suggest a combination of the following factors: throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, the Budineus family was on an upward trajectory whose momentum certainly benefitted Antonius and Stephanus as well as Simon. While the former two married comparatively well-to-do women, the latter, due to his ecclesiastical calling, quickly rose within the Church. Mention must be made of the physical location of his family's home situated on Zadar's main street near the city's cathedral church of St Anastasia. While geographical proximity may have played a role, the crucial factor appears to have been Simon Budineus' elevated levels of exposure to, and contact with, Zadar's ecclesiastical power brokers such as Sanctus de Sanctis. In addition, mention must be made of the influence of Hieronymus Cortesius, who served as the Budinich family's tutor, and whose intimate acquaintance is likely to have left a lasting, albeit temporal, influence on Simon's life.

These factors suggest, third, that more research is needed concerning the impact of, and relation between, the individual and structural factors that determined Simon Budineus' remarkable life. And, on a related note, how far did these circumstances shape his formative years? His family certainly had the right kinds of connections, especially well-connected and important role models like Hieronymus Cortesius and Sanctus de Sanctis, but their potential impacts remain under-researched. Such enquiry should further include Simon Budineus' agency, for after all, he was one of the more prolific notaries of his time in addition to his ecclesiastical aspirations, spiritual obligations, and humanistic interests.

Fourth and finally, this essay underscores the analytic and epistemological benefits of the approach labelled »topographies of everyday life«, that is, the identification, aggregation, and visualisation of as many details as possible. In

Simon Budineus' case, this approach has yielded both new insights concerning his closest relatives, of which information pertaining to the relationship between Clara Budinich, Simon Budineus, and Sanctus de Sanctis is paramount. In this context, the key is the phrase »avus maternus«, whose interpretation has shifted significantly over the past century: whereas Urlić in his 1916 article quoted it in Latin and noted specifically that »its meaning is generally understood to have been maternal uncle«, Antoljak, writing forty years later, suggested it meant »grandfather«, thereby significantly re-imagining the relationship between Clara Budinich (née de Sanctis), Simon Budineus, and Santus de Sanctis.⁶² Antoljak's interpretation also informed Švelec's entry in the *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, yet, the archival record, in a rental agreement between the two clerics, refers to Simon Budineus as Sanctus de Sanctis' »nepos«.⁶³ While the Latin word »nepos« may mean either nephew or grandson, the systematic study of the surviving notarial records pertaining to the Budinich family—Clara and her sons Antonius and Stephanus—yielded not a single instance in which Simon Budineus is mentioned as a family relation. This suggests that Urlić's initial reading may have been closer to reality than Antoljak's re-interpretation, and it also offers a number of points of departure for future research, which should start with Clara Budinich (who might still have been Sanctus de Sanctis' daughter), whose dowry was notarised in Dubrovnik in 1521 by Petrus Franciscus Parisij of Milan; the marital ties of Antonius and Stephanus Budinich with the Mathapharis and Saghich families of Zadar, respectively; and the still-open questions concerning Simon Budineus' education, which he may have obtained in Padua, although, given Clara Budinich's ties to Dubrovnik, he might also have spent some time in that city as well. A firm focus on personal activities, their embedding within the pertinent structures, and their »mapping« as proposed here has much to contribute to our understanding of individuals and societies in Renaissance Dalmatia and beyond.

⁶² Note that the originator of this particular relation is Š. Urlić, *op. cit.* (5), 352; this interpretation was repeated by S. Antoljak, *op. cit.* (5), 143, but see also the accompanying reference no. 33 on 147, which includes additional information on the translation and the hypothesis that it »was not uncommon at the time for priests to have children«.

⁶³ DAZD 31, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, I, 2, 2A, c.46v-c.47r, 9 January 1560. See note 50, above; and F. Švelec, *op. cit.* (5).

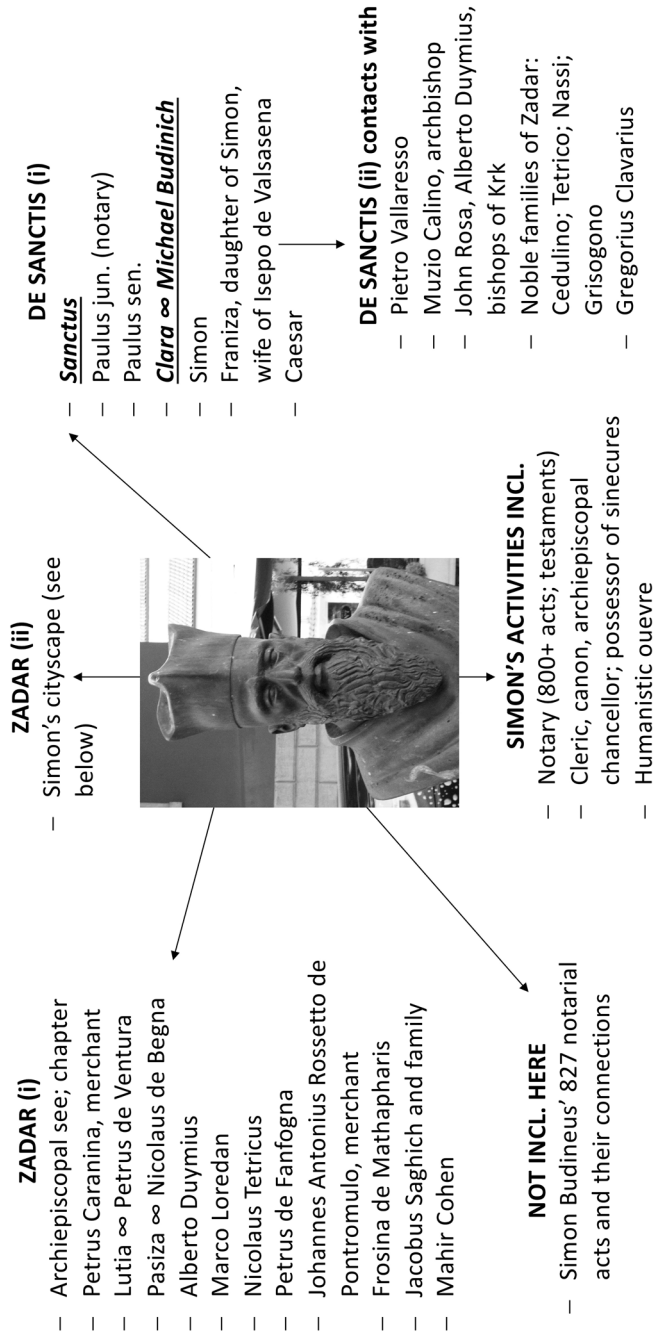


Illustration 3: Simon Budineus' »Topography of Everyday Life«