

Putovanje Williama Gella istočnom obalom Jadrana 1801. godine

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Sažetak

William Gell započeo je svoje prvo putovanje u Grčku 1801. godine iz Venecije kao engleski diplomat. Bokeljskim brodom prošao je istočnom obalom Jadrana. Putem je bilježio svoja zapažanja u dnevnik. Brod je pristao na Žirju, u Hvaru i u Boki kotorskoj. Uz opis putovanja donosi se i prijepis njegovih dnevnika na engleskom jeziku.

Ključne riječi: William Gell, putopis, istočnojadranska obala, Žirje, Hvar, Boka kotorska, Crnogorci

William Gell na putovanje 1801. uputio se kao engleski diplomat s misijom na Jonskim otocima. Misija je očito bila uspješna jer je po povratku 1803. imenovan vitezom, ali kasnije je ostao poznat kao engleski klasični arheolog i ilustrator, osobito po ilustracijama Troje i Pompeja.¹ Prvo putovanje u Grčku bilo mu je upravo ovo 1801. godine. Pažnju hrvatske znanstvene javnosti privukao je 2017. godine zbog svojih ilustracija istočne obale Jadrana koje se čuvaju u British Museumu.²

Prema svojim putovanjima Grčkom Gell je 1810. objavio knjigu *The Itinerary of Greece*, ali u njoj ne spominje svoj prolazak istočnom jadranskom obalom.³ Rukopis

- 1 https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Gell,_Sir_William, pristupljeno 24. lipnja 2022. – William Gell rođen je 1777. u Hoptonu u Derbyshireu u Engleskoj, a umro je 4. veljače 1836. u Napulju gdje je proveo veći dio svog života.
- 2 Potpisani je te godine objavio kratki članak u hvarskom župskom listu, Joško Bracanović. „Četiri crteža i jedan opis Hvara iz 1801. godine“. *Kruvenica – list župe sv. Stjepana I., pape i mučenika*, br. 42 (2017), 25-27. Iste su godine Ana Šverko i Iva Raič Stojanović na međunarodnoj konferenciji „Thomas Graham Jackson in Istria and Dalmatia“, održanoj od 22. do 25. studenoga u Splitu, imale predavanje „William Gell and Thomas Graham Jackson: Recording the Topography of Dalmatia at the Beginning and Towards the End of the 19th Century“. Zbornik s ove konferencije nažalost još nije objavljen. Gellovi crteži dostupni su na <https://www.britishmuseum.org>.
- 3 William Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece, with a commentary on Pausanias and Strabo, and an account of the Monuments of Antiquity at present existing in that country, compiled in the years 1801, 2, 5, 6 etc.* (London, 1810.)

Diary of a tour in Greece, the Morea, and the Aegean islands, commencing 29 April 1801, by Sir William Gell (1777-1836) (Dnevnik putovanja u Grčku, Moreju i na Egejsko otočje započeto 29. travnja 1801. sir Williama Gella /1777. – 1836./) čuva se u knjižnici University of Bristol.⁴

Ovdje objavljujem dio njegova rukopisa koji se odnosi na putovanje od Venecije do Boke kotorske, tj. njegov prolaz nekadašnjim teritorijem Mletačke Republike, u to vrijeme pod austrijskom upravom. Njegovo putovanje odvija se u vrijeme revolucionarnih i napoleonskih ratova i njegova je misija na Jonske otoke vjerojatno bila s time povezana. Međutim, ratna pozadina njegova putovanja tek se naslućuje na nekoliko mjesta u rukopisu. Uglavnom nabraja važnije toponime na svom putovanju uz neke zanimljivosti koje je o njima čuo. Više se zadržao na opisu Hvara i Boke kotorske, gdje je morao ostati više dana, pa bilježi i neke etnografske podatke, a osobito su mu pažnju privukli Crnogorci.

Dnevnik svoga putovanja u Grčku Gell započinje u Veneciji 29. travnja. Toga je dana nakon mjesec dana odgađanja njegova družina – tri Engleza i grčki tumač Georgio Gavra iz Santirene – uspjela osigurati kabinu na bokeljskom brodu *Lo Spirito Santo, e la Natività della Madonna* („Duh Sveti i Rođenje Gospino“) kapetana Ivana Marassija.⁵ Brod je plovio za Zante, sa zaustavljanjima u Kotoru i na Krfu. Isplovljavanje iz Malamocca sljedećeg dana bilo je neuspješno. Spominje kako su Malamocco, Palestrina i Chioggia tri uska otoka koji dijele lagune od Jadrana, a između svakog je luka. Ova u Malamoccu branjena je malom utvrdom. Isplovili su konačno 2. svibnja i već su sutradan prošli istarsku obalu (*Istrian coast*). S broda su vidjeli veličanstvenu ruševinu amfiteatra u Puli (*Pola*). Dana 4. svibnja u daljini su vidjeli Osor (*Osero*) i ušli u Kvarnerski zaljev (*sea of Quarnero*). Prošli su kanal između Silbe (*Salvio*) i Premude (*Primuda*). Na istoku im je bio Velebit (*Wellebich*) za koji bilježi da je pod vlašću Turaka (*Grand Turk*) te da dijeli provinciju Bosnu (*Bosnia*) od Morlakije (*Morlachia*).⁶ Istočno od kursa broda vidio je i otoke Pag (*Pago*) i Vir (*Ponte Dura*) koji formiraju ulaz u Novigradski zaljev (*canal of Novograd*). Između Petrčana (*Point of Schiavina*) i otočića Tri sestre (*Tre sorelle*) ušli su

4 University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, DM7. – Zalaganjem kolege Marinka Petrića, Katarine i Mauricea Carder, a dobrotom Billa Masculla, Jamiea Carstairsa i Emerald Brampton-Greene uspio sam dobiti stranice 1 – 11 i 13 – 14 (str. 12 ne postoji, preskočena je pri numeriranju) rukopisa, na čemu im zahvaljujem.

5 Imena kapetana i grčkog suputnika ne doznajemo od Gella, već iz knjige njegova suputnika – Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*. vol. I. (London, 1819.), 2.

6 Granice između Austrije i Osmanskog Carstva tada su odgovarale današnjim granicama Hrvatske i BIH, a ova kao i naredne greške potječu od karte koju je Gell najvjerojatnije koristio. Radi se o karti Pietra Santinija „Nouvelle Carte de la Partie Occidentale de Dalmatie, dressée sur les lieux“ iz 1780., gdje je granica nacrtana na Velebitu. Karta je dostupna na stranicama Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g6872d.f000234/?r=-0.273,-0.161,1.373,0.834,0>, pristupljeno 17. lipnja 2022.

u Zadarski kanal. Za Zadar (*Zara*) čuo je da je potpuno okružen morem, no nije to mogao vizualno potvrditi. Nasuprot Zadru vidio je otok Ugljan (*Veglia*)⁷ s tvrđavom sv. Mihovila (*ancient castle of St Michael*). Prošli su između kopna i Pašmana (*Pasman*), zatim između otoka Kakna (*Rachen*) i Kaprija (*Capri*) i uskoro pristali na Žirju (*Zuri, Geria*). Tamo su se susreli s ribarima koji nisu izgledali pretjerano barbarski, a govorili su hrvatski (*Illyrian*). Bili su i u selu za koje kaže da ima podnošljive nastambe (*tolerable dwellings*).

Od Žirja su plovili ravno do Hvara. Bilježi kako se na kopnu nalaze mjesta nazvana po Gaju Cestiju i Diomedu. Ovo drugo je sigurno rt Ploča – Punta Planka (*promunturium Diomedis*).⁸ Na Gaja Cestija očito ga je asociiralo talijansko ime Primoštena – *Capocesto*.⁹ S istoka su im bili otoci Drvenik (*Dervenich*), Mali Drvenik (*Zirona*) i Šolta (*Solta*) koji čine ulaz u Brački kanal (*canal of Brazza*). Preko puta Brača je Split (*City of Spalato*) gdje se umirovio car Dioklecijan, a vanjski zidovi njegove palače sada čine zidine grada. Gellova družina željela je obići Split i ruševine Salone, ali u tome su je spriječili vrijeme i udaljenost, pa je od rta Pelegrina (*Cape Pelegrino*) produžila u Hvar (*Lessena*).¹⁰

U Hvaru se brod zadržao tri dana. Navodi da je otok dug 40 milja, a grad je malen, ali slikovit i sjedište je biskupa. Smješten je u obliku polumjeseca na tri strane malog zaljeva i sigurna je luka za brodove. Na poluotočiću izvan grada franjevački je samostan zvan Santa Croce, zapravo posvećen Gospi od Milosti, no koristio se i ovaj naziv po staroj crkvi Sv. Križa, koja se po predaji tu nalazila prije gradnje samostana. Na suprotnoj je strani uvale grčka crkva, Sv. Veneranda, s visokim zvonikom i kućicom za svećenika. Iznad grada na jednom je brdu ruševna tvrđava, Fortica. Na drugom je treći samostan, zapravo tada već ukinuti sv. Nikole Nižeg, a ranije je pripadao augustinskom redu (OESA). Zanimljivo je da ne spominje dominikanski samostan sv. Marka, premda se crtež samostana nalazi u njegovoj mapi.¹¹ Gellu se

7 *Veglia* je zapravo talijansko ime Krka, dok bi Ugljan bio *Ugliano*. – Petar Skok, *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*. (Zagreb, 1950.), 20 i 103. Gell se očito služio ranije navedenom kartom Pietra Santinija. Na njoj je Ugljan naveden kao *Veglia*, a Kakan kao *Rachen*, v. Josip Faričić, „Geografska imena na starim kartografskim prikazima šibenskih otoka“. *Toponimija šibenskog otočja* (ur. Vladimir Skračić, Sveučilište u Zadru – Zadar, 2016.), 262.

8 Lucijana Šešelj, „Antička pomorska svetišta: promunturium Diomedis“. *Histria antiqua* 21, (2012.), 355-364.

9 Prema Petru Skoku (*Slavenstvo i romanstvo*, 158) ovo ime nema veze s Cestijem, već je složenica od riječi *capo*, u značenju rt, i riječi *cesto*, grčkog porijekla, a znači grm. Na spomenutoj Santinijevoj karti na kopnu nasuprot ruti od Žirja do Hvara naznačeni su *Cao Cesto*, *P^o Cao Cesto* i *Prom. Diomedio*. – Gaj Cestije Epulon bio je rimski pučki tribun iz 1. st. pr. Kr., poznat po svom nadgrobnom spomeniku, Cestijevoj piramidi u Rimu, uz cestu prema Ostiji. – <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=11338>, pristupljeno 20. lipnja 2022.

10 I Lesena je oblik koji nalazimo na Santinijevoj mapi. Uobičajeni oblici iz ovog vremena je Lesina i Liesina.

11 Slika sv. Marka nazvana je „Part of Lessena“. – O crkvama v.: Joško Kovačić, *Zapisi o crkvama u*

svidjelo kako su kuće isprepletene sa stablima i vrtovima. Za hvarsku katedralu sv. Stjepana I., pape, krivo tvrdi da je posvećena sv. Prošperu. Sv. Prošper zapravo je suzaštitnik grada.¹² Na trgu mu je pažnju privukla *Botteggha di Caffé*, koja mu je bila jasan pokazatelj da je grad bio pod mletačkom vlašću. Primjećuje da broj stanovnika opada, a smatra da se Austrijanci, koji su nedavno preuzeli upravu nad otokom, neće dobro skrbiti za ovaj teritorij jer nemaju pojma o trgovini.

Vrijeme nije dopustilo brodu da otplovi dalje i od Korčule (*Curzola*), pa je kapetan okrenuo brod natrag prema Hvaru. Kako je sutradan, 10. svibnja, bio blagdan sv. Prošpera, kapetan je odlučio zadržati se u Hvaru. Gell je prisustvovao obredima u katedrali i procesiji, za koju kaže da je bila podnošljivo pristojna.¹³ Prisustvovao je i plesu u jednoj kući.¹⁴ U luci su susreli petoricu Engleza koji su Francuzima zaplijenili austrijski brod kod Ancone i koji su ga obradovali viješću o engleskoj pobjedi u Bitci kod Kopenhagena 2. travnja.¹⁵

Konačno su napustili Hvar i prošli između Korčule i Pelješca (*Sabioncello*) koji pripada Dubrovačkoj Republici (*Ragusa*). Dubrovačka je strana bila kultivirana, dok je Korčula šumovita, prekrivena niskim čempresima. Sljedećeg su dana pristali na Mljetu (*Meleda*), ali Gella je razočaralo što su prošli teatar Agesilaja Cinika (*Agesilaus Cynicus*). Vjerojatno je mislio na rimsku palaču u Polači, čija se gradnja pripisuje Agesilaju iz Anazarbeje, upravitelju Kilikije kojeg je car Septimije Sever prognao na Mljet.¹⁶ Gell je čuo zbunjujuće priče o tom lokalitetu, među ostalim i to da se tu nalazi grob sina kralja osnivača Rima. Uspoređuje to s pričom iz Pule da su u Areni stanovale Amazonke.

Nastavili su put. Prema kopnu je bio Lopud (*Isola de Mezza*), a prema moru otočić Sveti Andrija (*S^t Andrew*) s malim ruševnim samostanom. Zatim su prošli kraj Dubrovnika za koji kaže da je s mora branjen velikim dvorcem, a ima i još fortifikacija. Iznad mjesta primijetio je više kuća za koje je zaključio da su ljetnikovci.

Dana 15. svibnja stigli su u Boku kotorsku (*Bocca di Cattaro*), posljednji teritorij koji je nekoć pripadao Veneciji, a tada je pripao Austriji. Prvo je predao pismo preporuke generala Thomasa Bradyja kapetanu luke Albertiju u luci Rose (*Por-*

Hvaru. (ciklostil, Hvar, 1982.).

12 Joško Bracanović, *Sveti Prošper hvarski.* (Hvar, 2021.).

13 U katedrali je jedan njegov suputnik bio prisiljen poljubiti križ s krvlju koji je nosio svećenik. Gell piše da je to krv nekoga priprostog lokalnog sveca kojeg je masakrirao puk. Vjerojatnije je da se radi o sv. Križiću, malom drvenom raspelu koje je prokrvarilo u osvit Hvarskog pučkog ustanka, a lokalna je predaja očito ostala izgubljena u prijevodu. – Joško Bracanović, *500 godina čašćenja svetoga Križića.* (Hvar, 2010.).

14 Pokreti plesača nisu bili vrlo otmjeni, a sviralo se na liri od tri žice gudaalom. Žene su bile odjevene u korzete prekrivene crvenim satenom.

15 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Copenhagen_\(1801\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Copenhagen_(1801)), pristupljeno 23. lipnja 2022.

16 Željko Poljak, „Otok Mljet“. *Naše planine – mjesečnik Planinarskog saveza Hrvatske*, 7-8/III. (1951.), 187.

to *Roso*), gdje su brodovi pristajali dok bi čekali dozvolu za pristajanje u Kotoru (*Cattaro*) ili Herceg Novom (*Castel Novo, Castelnovo*). Sljedećeg su jutra prebačeni malim brodom u Kotor. Kroz uski prolaz između Herceg Novog i Rose ušli su u zaljev koji podsjeća na lijepo jezero. Iznad Herceg Novog vidio je upečatljivu planinu Orjen (*white mountain*).¹⁷ „Jezero“ se ponovno sužava prije ulaska u Kotor, a uokolo su kuće kapetana koji su se za mletačke vlasti obogatili trgovinom. Na izlazu iz drugog tjesnaca vidio je dva otočića s crkvama – Sveti Đorđe (*St Gregorio*) i Gospa od Škrpjela (*Madonna di Scapella*). Ispred je bio Perast (*Perasto*) s nepravilnom fortifikacijom s ruševnom, ali slikovitom kulom iz koje se povlačio lanac u vrijeme opasnosti. Dojmile su ga se i visoke kamenite planine. U zaljevu kod Perasta je Risan (*Risano*) kod kojeg se nalaze ruševine u moru, a rekli su mu da je grad sagradila kraljica Teuta (*Theoca*) koja je imala nekakve veze s Rimom.¹⁸ Kotor je malen, ali dobro utvrđen grad i sjedište guvernera. Nad njim je utvrda nad kojom se dižu planine Crne Gore (*Monte Negro, Monte Nero*). Smjestili su se u udobnom boravištu za strance koje je držao Grk. Sljedećeg je dana bila nedjelja, 17. svibnja, sajmeni dan kada su u grad dolazili Crnogorci (*Montenerini*). Oni su, kao u to doba malo poznat narod, fascinirali Gella koji im je posvetio malo više teksta. Podatke mu je dao jedan Kotoranin koji je po majci bio Crnogorac. Teritorij im se prostire od zidina Kotora do Skadarskog jezera (*Lake of Scutari*) i uglavnom se sastoji od planina s tek pokojom udolinom. U to su vrijeme bili pod zaštitom Rusa i nisu plaćali danak Turcima. Kaže da njima upravlja četiri ili pet poglavica, no pravi vođa im je biskup, zapravo vladika Petar I. Cetinjski Petrović Njegoš (*Pietro Petrovich*), koji stoluje nekoliko milja od Kotora, tj. u Cetinju. Smatra da pretjeruju s brojem stanovnika jer tako sterilna zemlja ne bi mogla hraniti toliki broj. Čuo je priču o pobjedi malog broja Crnogoraca, 8 000 – 9 000, nad nadmoćnim turskim snagama skadarskog paše Mahmut-paše Bušatlije u Bitci na Krusima 22. rujna 1796. godine. Gell bilježi kako su Turci potučeni, a glave paše, njegova konja, njegovih pratilaca i časnika bile su postavljene na kolce oko vladikine kuće, no nije vjerovao da je istina sve što su mu ispričali.¹⁹ Vladika vodi ljude u bitku s križem u ruci, putovao je u Njemačku i Sankt Petersburg, a govori talijanski i latinski. Gell je smatrao da se Crnogorci, premda su nadmoćni nad Turcima u svojim planinama, ne bi mogli suprotstaviti u ravnici. Narod govori *ilirski*, a tek neki znaju talijanski. Kotorani su mu o Crnogorcima govorili kao o bandi ubojica, ali ih Gell nije tako doživio. Premda zamisao o hordi divljaka koji uvijek nose dugi nož, opasač s pištoljem i

17 Kaže da se brdo na hrvatskom zove sinonimom za *white mountain*. Bijela gora zapravo je sjeveroistočni dio masiva Orjena.

18 O Teuti i Risnu v. Marko Dragić, „Hrvatske povijesne i etnološke predaje o ilirskoj kraljici Teuti“. *Nova prisutnost* XVI, br. 2 (2018.), 289-290.

19 https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bitka_na_Krusima, pristupljeno 23. lipnja 2022. – Crnogorci su ovako postupili prema paši jer je on 1785. godine spalio cetinjski manastir.

pušku djeluje zastrašujuće, on je bio dojma da su oni bezopasni, osim za Turke. Na dan sajma pred gradom je bio natpis na talijanskom i hrvatskom koji je tražio da u duhu sporazuma između austrijskih vlasti i vladike svi koji ulaze ostave naoružanje pred vratima. Gledajući Crnogorce, Gell je zaključio da se, osim po odjeći,²⁰ malo razlikuju od Dalmatinaca. Jedan od njih, koji je govorio talijanski, jamčio im je da bi kroz njihovu zemlju mogli proći sigurno, čak i sa zlatnim šeširima, i bez troška. Govorili su mu i o ruševinama grada Dioklecijan (*Dioclesian*), zapravo Duklje, no on je sumnjao u njihovu informiranost. Na trgu gdje se odvijao sajam našao je komad rimskog natpisa na kojemu su po predaji odsjekli glavu nekom vladaru. Na trgu je bio i stup sa ženskom skulpturom, koji je podignut kao uspomena na žene koje su zbog preljuba bile osuđene i kamenovane.²¹ Kao i u Hvaru, i ovdje su mu pažnju privukla glazbala. Jedan čovjek je na guslama pjevao herojske pjesme, a više njih sviralo je frule od trske. Iz Kotora su se vratili u Rose gdje su dva dana čekali povoljan vjetar.

Gell je i inače bio nezadovoljan kapetanom i njegovom posadom, još od odgađanja isplavljanja iz Venecije. U Hvaru je smatrao da su mogli odmah otploviti, a ostali su tri dana jer se posada nije htjela smočiti na laganoj kiši, a kapetana su privukli *Botteggha di Caffè* i fešta sv. Prošpera. I sada ih je nakon odgađanja isplavljanja dočekalo mirno vrijeme bez vjetra, za što su mornari krivili Engleze koje su smatrali hereticima koji ne mole za dobar vjetar. To je naljutilo Gella jer je smatrao da su zbog njihove lijenosti i ljubavi za užitcima pet dana ostali u Kotoru. Za to je vrijeme kapetan recitirao stihove Pietra Metastasija i svirao gitaru na palubi, a mornari su, umjesto da veslaju, naizmjenice spavali i molili za povoljan vjetar. Uza sve to kormilar je zaspao na dužnosti, a posada se nikada nije željela odmaknuti više od dvije milje od obale. Gell zamjera da se oni sami, dok oni misle da se En-

20 Žene su nosile pojas od pozlaćenog srebra ili mesinga optočen dragim kamenjem. Djevojke su nosile kape od crvenog platna prekrivene srebrnim turskim parama. Jedna žena imala je širok ljubičasti ogrtač. Muškarcu su nosili neku vrstu debele crvene ili smeđe vunene odjeće koja se prebacivala preko ramena.

21 Rimski natpis glasi: D. M. S. CLODIAE EVPHROSYNE. ANN. XXIII. CLODIVS. EVPHROSINVS. ET. CLODIA. Isti natpis spominje i Franz Petter (*Dalmatien in seinen verschiedenen Beziehungen*. Erster Theil /Gotha, 1857./, 244). – O natpisu i skulpturi drukčije piše Dodwell (*A Classical and Topographical Tour*, 17.). On misli da je natpis služio kao mjesto dekapitacije kriminalaca u vrijeme kraljice *Theoe*. Za mali stup od crvenog granita sa sjedećom ženskom figurom kazali su mu da su za njega privezivane preljubnice i potom kamenovane. – Jovan J. Martinović (*Antički natpisi u Crnoj Gori*. Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2011., 50-51.) piše da je ovaj natpis bio do Stuba srama na Trgu oružja, i da ga je u ožujku 1945. grupa vanadala u provali lažnog patriotizma razbila maljevima. Isti autor (*Sto kotorskih dragulja*. Kotor: Intersistem, 2004., 142.) piše da su i originalnu piramidu na stupu razbili isti vandali, a kasnije je napravljena replika. Ali „Stub srama“ ne može biti ovaj koji spominju Gell i Dodwell jer taj nije od crvenog granita i umjesto skulpture gore ima piramidu. Za pomoć oko identificiranja nekih bokeljskih pojmova zahvaljujem Mirjani Vukasović iz OJU Muzeji Kotor i Pavlu Paliću.

glezi boje ploviti između otoka, boje otvorenog mora, pa se putovanje od 350 milja otegnulo na tri tjedna. Nakon utihe, za koje su jedva stigli do Bara (*Antivari*) na granici Albanije (*Albania*), uslijedila je grmljavinska oluja, pa su mornari skupili jedra i prepustili se valovima. Oluja je potrajala dva dana, a zatim su susreli gusare za koje se kasnije ispostavilo da su zapravo austrijski trgovački brod, pa su se morali vratiti u Kotor. Sutradan su susreli još dva navodno francuska piratska broda. Gella je iznenadio kapetan: dok se jučer spremao za predaju jednom brodu, sada je bio spreman na borbu s dvama. No, i ovi su se pokazali bezopasni, pa je brod konačno napustio austrijski dio obale i 25. svibnja doplovio do Drača (*Durazzo*).

Gellovo putovanje prate i spomenute ilustracije, čuvane u British Museumu. To su redom kojim se toponimi spominju u dnevniku: 1. *Part of Venice from St Marco Tower L. B. 19*; 2. *Part of Venice from St Marco Tower looking S. Dogana Vecchia L. B. 18*; 3. *Porto di Malamocco near Venice. Porto di S Pietre. Isola di Pelegrina or Palestrina L. B. 21 (b)*; 4. *Palestrina near Venice. Chioggia L. B. 21 (a)*; 5. *Island of Pago. Isand of Porto Duro. Welbieth Mountain the Turkish frontier. Entrance of the canal of Novograd. Point Schiavina. L. B. 21 (c)*; 6. *North entrance among the Dalmatian Islands. Primuda L. B. 20 (b)*; 7. *Entrance of the Dalmatian Islands from the North. Salvia L. B. 20 (a)*; 8. *North entrance among the Dalmatian Islands L. B. 20 (c)*; 9. *Canal & City of Zara from the North. Pasman. Isola Veglia. Scoglio Ogsliach.*²² *Is Veglia. Castel St Michiel L. B. 22 (a)*; 10. *Zara L. B. 22 (b)*; 11. *Zara Dalmatia L. B. 20 (d)*; 12. *Zuri or Geria L. B. 21 (d)*; 13. *Lessena. Santa Croce L. B. 22 (c)*; 14. *Lessena from the Greek church of St Veneranda L. B. 22 (b)*; 15. *Town and Harbour of Lessena in Dalmatia from the convent of St Nicolo L. B. 22 (a)*; 16. *Part of Lessena L. B. 21 (e)*; 17. *St. Buzero - Sabioncello L. B. 8 (a)*;²³ 18. *Sabioncello in Ragusa. Curzola L. B. 8 (b)*; 19. *St Andrea near Ragusa. Dalmatia L. B. 24*; 20. *Ragusa from W L. B. 14 (a)*; 21. *Castel Nuovo. White Mountain L. B. 25*; 22. *Bocca di Cattaro. Porto Rosa L. B. 26 (b)*; 23. *Churches of St. George Madonna Village of Perasto in the canal of Cattaro. Dalmatia L. B. 14 (b)*; 24. *Cattaro Dalmatia L. B. 6.*²⁴

S Gellom je na brodu bio još jedan klasični arheolog, Irac Edward Dodwell. On je također bilježio zanimljivosti s ovog putovanja i objavio ih u knjizi *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*. On donosi i razlog zašto putopis započi-

22 Ovaj se toponim ne spominje u dnevniku. Radi se o otočiću Ošljaku kod Ugljana.

23 Ni ovog toponima nema u dnevniku. Na slici je prikazan dominikanski samostan Gospe od Rozarija u Vignju (hvala Viniciju B. Lupisu na pomoći oko identifikacije). Gell je vjerojatno od mornara čuo „sv. Ruzarij“ i krivo ga zabilježio kao *St. Buzero*. Usp. Vinicije B. Lupis, „Dominikanski samostan i crkva Gospe od Rozarija u Vignju.“ *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, br. 36 (1998), 193–225.

24 Oznaka L. B. javlja se uz svaki naslov, a one s istim brojem i različitim slovima u zagradama nalaze se na istom listu. Svi crteži se nalaze u Gellovoj *sketch-book* 13 u British Museumu, muzejski broj 1853,0307.

nje u Veneciji, a ne u Engleskoj. Smatrao je da je ta ruta već previše puta opisana. Dodwell je također bio ilustrator, no nije poznato je li ilustrirao ovaj dio svoga putovanja. Dodwellov je opis detaljniji od Gellova, donosi puno više toponima, referenci na klasične piscem, ali i opise lokalne flore.²⁵

Dnevnik Williama Gella donosi nam zanimljiv opis istočne obale Jadrana u osvjet 19. stoljeća, pred eskalaciju revolucionarnih i napoleonskih ratova u ovim krajevima. Zajedno s njegovim crtežima obogaćuje sliku ovih prostora u tom povijesnom razdoblju.

*Diary of a tour in Greece, the Morea, and the Aegean islands, commencing
29 April 1801, by Sir William Gell (1777-1836)*

April 29. 1801

After a delay of more than a month at Venice, part of which time had been employed in the search of a Vessel sailing for the Levant, we at length procured the Cabin of Dalmatian Captain, who purposed touching at Cattaro, and Corfu, in his way to Zante. Our party consisted of three Englishmen and a Greek Gentleman who engaged himself as our Companion and Interpreter. Our Vessel was sanctified by the names of Lo Spirito Santo, e la Nativita de la Madonna. We had 2 guns and 12 or 14 men. Our first care, was to lay in a stock of provisions, which we procured at the expence of about 5 pounds each, a sum, as we were afterwards informed, more than sufficient, to have provided thrice the quantity of the same articles, had they been purchased by a Venetian; so much are the inhabitants delighted by imposing upon Strangers. Every thing being prepared, a Gondola soon conveyed us to Malamocco, one of the ports of Venice, where we found our Vessel. On the 30th we set sail, but with our Vessel, & our mariners, it was soon discovered, that it was no easy matter to sail, without a very fair wind, as they possessed neither patience, or skill, so that we returned into port, and waited there two days.

Friday May 1

Malamocco, Palestrina, & Chioggia, are three long narrow Islands which divide the Lagunes of Venice, from the Adriatic. Between each of these is a port. That of Malamocco is defended by a small fortification. As soon as the wind ceased, we again ventured to sea, and meeting with no other misfortune, than a breeze so gentle that it might rather be termed a calm, in the course of Sunday we began to

25 Dodwell. *A Classical and Topographical Tour*. 1-22. Opis Dodwellova putovanja objavila je Ksenija Rozman. „Slikar Simone Pomardi in potopisec Edward Dodwell.“ *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 33, br. 1 (1992), 511-515. Dio o Hvaru objavljen je u hrvatskom prijevodu, Bracanović, „Četiri crteža“, 26-27.

discover the Istrian coast & the next day had a distant view of the Island of Osero. Soon after we entered the sea of Quarnero, a large bay, formed by the projecting coast of Istria, and the shores of Dalmatia. Istria appears from the sea, a dreary and desolate country, affording however, in all probability (!), a few pretty vallies which the mildness of the climate must render fertile. In one of which, close to the shore is situated the magnificent ruin of the Amphitheatre of Pola the summit of which was visible from our Vessel. The Island of Salvio, a desolate spot containing a mean village and the still more uninteresting Island of Primuda form a canal through which we passed, having to the East, the great mountain Wellebich which is in the dominion of the Grand Turk, & divides the province of Bosnia from that of Morlachia. The Island of Pago, a large & sterile tract, & that of Ponte Dura, equally inhospitable lay to the east of our course, & form the entrance into the canal of Novegrad. The Point of Schiavina on the east, & the three little Islands, termed the "Tre Sorelli", form the entrance, into the Canal of Zara, through which we passed. Zara is the Capital of this division of Dalmatia, situated in a most wretched country but surrounded with a tolerable fortification. We were informed that the sea flows entirely round the City, but I could not discover any separation from the main land, as we passed under the walls. Opposite to the city on the western side of the channel lies the long Island of Veglia, barren, but varied with pretty hills on the summit of one of which is situated the ancient castle of St Michael, now I believe in ruins. Zara is the residence of a Bishop.

After passing between the Island of Pasman, & the main land, we were becalmed between Rachen, & Capri, two stocky spots, and a short time after landed in the Island of Zuri which our sailors pronounced Geria. We found a pretty little bay, in which were several Fishermen, who did not appear very barbarous & whose language was Illyrian. The crevices, which nature had left between the rocks were every where filled with aromatic plants, which produced the most agreeable odours. Walking over a point of land, we discovered a little village containing very tolerable dwellings, the habitations of the fishermen we had seen. Above the village, is an extensive prospect, over the neighbouring Isles. On the summit of the highest eminence we found a little vinyard in a very forward state and very large figs, but not ripe. On embarking, we proceeded slowly toward the south, having land only on the Dalmatian side, there being no other Island till we arrived at Lessena, which is more than 50 miles from Zuri. On the main land are some points which bear the names of Caius Cestius and Diomed. The Island of Dervenich, Zirona, & Solta, lay to the eastward of our track & form the entrance of the canal of Brazza; a large Island of that name forming one of its boundaries. The City of Spalatro, the once favoured retirement of the Emperor Dioclesian is situated under a lofty mountain on the mainland & is opposite to Brazza. The external walls of the Imperial palace

now form the walls of the city which is contained within them. From Cape Pelegri-
no in Lessena we had some hopes of discovering its situation but the weather &
the great distance prevented us. The country seems one continued barren rock,
probably however it is more cultivated round the City. The ruins of Salona are like-
wise not far distant. Lessena is a large Island being more than 40 miles in length.
It contains a small but very picturesque City, & is the see of a Bishop whose reve-
nues as we were informed amounted to 10.000 florins, about 1.000 £ Sterling, a
sum however probably much exaggerated. The city is situated in the form of a
crescent, round three sides of a beautiful little bay, which affords a safe harbour for
ships, and is, enclosed, by a number of small rocks and Islets which exclude the
Adriatic. A beautiful little monastery of Franciscans, called Santa Croce is situated
on a low peninsula and forms one extremity of the town. The other is terminated
by a Greek Church with a high tower, with small buildings for the Papa or priest.
In the centre, above the town is the castle an old ruined fortress, and a third mon-
astery, on a little mount covered with houses & fig trees has a very pleasing effect.
The houses are most beautifully interspersed, with gardens & trees, and here we first
saw the great Aloe, growing wild in a luxuriant manner amongst the rocks. The
main church dedicated to St Prospero the Patron Saint of the Island stands in the
Piazza or Place which contains among other shops a coffee house. A circumstance
which might appear extraordinary in so remote a situation, were it not for the rec-
ollection, that this was formerly Venetian territory, and that a Venetian Noble was
regularly sent to Lessena as Governor. After this it is impossible to wonder that
there is a coffee house, for where is the Venetian, who would exist without his Bot-
tegha di Gell, if he could by any means discover one. In the place is also a well the
upper part of which is formed of a single magnificent stone decorated with the
arms of one of the Governors. The water is merely rain, which is filtered from every
part of the Pavement, around, and is collected in four cavities at the bottom, from
whence the inhabitants draw it up in pails. Some of the Girls, who have been long
accustomed to this occupation, have great dexterity in overturning their pails, so as
to receive the greater quantity of water from these shallow cavities. Other have a
long labour in filling a small tub. The Bishops house is very mean & joins the
Church. It has a pretty little Garden full of orange trees behind. Lessena like other
places belonging to the Venetians, has once been more populous than at present.
Many of the best houses are in ruins which when inhabited might have made it a
pretty little town. The acting government consisted of three persons, but probably
the Austrians will change every thing, in a short time, as having no idea of trade,
they will not think it of much consequence, to take care of so small a territory. The
inhabitants are about 1.000 in number, as we were informed. In all probability they
decrease yearly. It was our ill fortune to arrive at this port two days before the fes-

tival of St Prospero the tutelary saint. The consequence was that though we had almost reached the Island of Curzola, a slight breeze springing ups somewhat contrary, and rain succeeding, we were informed that the sailors could not possibly remain in the wet, and the Captain lifting his eyes to the misen mast, on the top of which was a gilt star, probably the remnant of the worship of Castor & Pollux said a short prayer & sailed straight, for the harbour of Lessena. The next day being a feast, with a procession and firing of cannon, with an exposition of reliques, and a dance at night, it was in vain to expect a fair wind, for though it was fair during great part of the time, St Prospero & the coffee house forbid our Captain to perceive it, and accordingly we remained there three whole days. We took the opportunity of seeing the ceremonies. The church was full of devout people in their best apparel, who were kneeling before the shrine of the Saint. The bones of the holy man were visible through a glass case, and we performed the ceremony of walking round the tomb. In another part a priest shewed among other things a cross containing a small quantity of blood which one of our party advancing too near was constrained to kiss. It was the blood of some very vulgar, provincial Saint who had been massacred by the people. The procession was conducted with tolerable decency, while the organist was entertaining the people with all kinds of merry music. I had the curiosity to see the dancing, and accordingly went to an old house where in a large room I found many people dancing with no very graceful motion to the sound of a Lyre, an instrument exactly shaped like the Lyre of the ancients but, played with a bow, in the same manner as a violin. It had only three strings. The women were well looking and wore in general a pair of stays covered with red satin. We found in the port 5 Englishmen. They had in charge an Austrian Vessel which they had taken from the French near Ancona. We gave great happiness to the whole party, by the information that the English had made a descent upon Copenhagen. At length we again put to sea, and in a day and night, regained our old situation near Corzula, a long wooded Island which we passed before night. On the shore are two or three pretty bays with villages. The peninsula of Sabioncello in the territory of Ragusa, approached very near to Curzola, as we advanced, leaving a canal not more than a mile in breadth through which we steered. The Ragusan side was cultivated as far as the rocks and activities would permit while that of Curzola was covered with short Cypress plants which gave it an uncommon tint. The town of Curzola is situated on a pretty eminence near the canal & has a good appearance. Our ill fortune, still attended us, for a fine gale springing up in our favour, our Captain was not to be found, so that we were obliged to tack up & down the Channel till his return, when the wind again ceased. He had been to amuse himself in the town and had not troubled his head with the fate of the Vessel. The next morning we found ourselves at the Island of Meleda, but to our great disap-

pointment we perceived that we had passed the ruins of the Theatre of Agesilaus Cynicus which we intended to have visited. The account we heard of this edifice was very much confused and related by those who did not know either its use or its age. Among other things we were told of the tomb, of the Son of some King, whose name our informers did not know, but who founded Rome. A story like this prevails at Pola, where the people believe, that the Amphitheatre was the house of the Amazons. Having passed Meleda, we saw towards the main land, Isola de Mezza, and towards the sea the little rocky isle of St Andrew, on the summit of which, is situated a little monastery dedicated to that Saint, but now in ruins. The town & territory of Ragusa, soon presented itself, backed by lofty mountains, and presenting a most uninviting aspect. The town itself is situated close to the shore which here forms two or three bays, and is defended towards the sea by a castle of considerable extent and some other fortifications, which appeared to be erected on an insulated Rock when viewed from the sea. Above the City is a considerable number of houses seemingly calculated for places of summer retirement. On the morning of Friday the 15th we arrived at the Bocca di Cattaro, the last division of the Venetian territory, which fell into the hands of Austria, during the present war, and as we had a letter of recommendation from General Brady who had been Governor of the Province, to Sign. Alberti Captain of the Port, we waited upon him without delay. Porto Roso the little station at which he commands, is only frequented by those vessels who merely touch in the canal, but I believe all stay here, to receive permission to land at Cattaro, or Castel Novo. Sigr Alberti received us with great politeness, and in the morning of the following day, sent us a boat, with six men, in which we embarked for Cattaro. The Canal of Cattaro which is situated a little to the northward of the 42d degree of latitude, is not broad at the entrance but soon assures the appearance of a noble lake, having on one side the town and castle of Castelnovo, beautifully seated on the declivity of a hill & ornamented with trees, & on the other Porto Roso. The hill which is most striking, is in Illyric by some term synonymous to white mountain & has a fine effect. The lake afterwards becomes narrow, but a second triangular basin, adorned with habitations which are placed close to the water, and little Chapels prettily seated on eminences, succeeds. In each side are houses of such Captains as had during the reign of the Venetians acquired a competency by trade. A narrow pass, perhaps not more than 1/4 of a mile in breadth leads to a third opening, devorated with two islands each of which contains a church. One is stiled, St Gregorio, the other Madonna di Scapella. The beautiful town of Perasto, defended by an old irregular fortification, lies in front, & in the foreground, is a ruined but picturesque turret, from whence in time of danger, a chain was formerly stretched across the passage. The mountains have the most astonishing effect, being almost entirely composed of Rocks, which mount to a tre-

mendous height, in an infinite variety of forms. In a bay near Perasto, is situated Risano, a small town, in the vicinity of which The Inhabitants affirm that ruins are discernible in the sea. They add, that these are the ruins of a city built by a queen named Theoca who had some connection with Rome. The real history of the spot is not known to the inhabitants. The same kind of wild scenery continues to border the Canal as far as Cattaro where the mountains close on all sides and the water terminates. At the foot of these rocks are habitations little enclosures, and olives which have a rich appearance. Cattaro is a small but well fortified City and the seat of a Governor. The walls are old, but have some batteries in the modern stile. Above, on a high pointed rock is the Castle which is however overtopped by the Rocks of Monte Negro which rise almost perpendicularly to four times its height. Having a letter to the Commandant, we were received with great politeness, and we found in the town, a very tolerable house for the accommodation of Strangers, which was kept by a Greek. The next day was the usual time for fair, frequented by such of the inhabitants of Monte Nero, as have any goods to dispose of. It being on Sunday the 17th of May. As this race of men is but little known, We had the curiosity to enquire into their customs and regulations, & at length met with a person, whose Mother, was of that Country, & who consequently ought to be well informed of the subject. Their territory which is not 40 English miles in Length, or 20 in breadth, according to the maps, is a continues mass of Mountains, rising close to the walls of Cattaro, & extending to the Lake of Scutari. Amon these are a small number of vallies, in which the inhabitants are dispersed. At present they pay no tribute to the Turks, for having a mortal aversion to that nation, they found means to place themselves under the protection of Russia, which has left them free. They are nominally under the government of Four or Five Chiefs, but having much religion their real Leader is the Bishop who resides not many miles from Cattaro. They profess the Greek faith as indeed do many of the Imperial subjects. With regard to their numbers the accounts seem to be very much exaggerated, for it is impossible so steril a country could produce sustenance for such a number of inhabitants. In the course of a contest with the Turks, it is probable they would bring out all their forces, yet when the Pasha of Scutari entered their territory, about three years ago, they retate the story, of the overthrow of his numerous army, by the small force of 8, or 9.000 men, on the part of the Montenerini. They are however so much superior to the Turks, in their own mountains that the Pasha, being totally routed was taken prisoner, & his head, with those of his horse, attendants and officers were placed round the walls of the Bishops house. This however may not be all true. The Prelate himself, leads them in battle, with a crucifix in his hands. They are not however, a match for their enemies on the plain. The Bishop has a nominal jurisdiction over a great part of Dalmatia. He has made tour through Germany, & to St Peters-

burg, & they say he speaks Italian & Latin. The people speak Illyrian & some few Italian. The people of Cattaro, represent them as a band of assassins, but I doubt whether there is any truth in the supposition. There is perhaps something dreadful, in the Idea of an horde of savages, who never appear, without a long dagger, a brace of pistols, & a long gun, but I believe they are very harmless, with regard to any nation except the Turks. On the morning of the fair, which is held without the walls, a paper was posted near the gate in Italian & Illyric, requesting as a pledge of the good faith, which subsisted between Austrian Government, & the Venerable Father, Sieur Pietro Petrovich Bishop of Montenero, that such of the people who wished to enter the city would leave their arms such as Guns & Pistols in a shed which was prepared at the Gate. The paper stated, that a guard should be placed over them to prevent any injury to the arms & that they were at liberty to reassume them the moment they quitted the City. I observed no particular marks, except that of dress, in which they differed from the inhabitants of Dalmatia in general nor do I suppose they are more savage. One who could speak Italian came up to us, and on our saying we were English & expressing a desire to see their country, at the same time mentioning the accounts we had heard of his Countrymen, he replied; That if our hats were of gold, we should go & return safe. I believe the opportunity only was wanting, or we should have undertaken the journey. We were informed, that they would not only have acted as guides, but would have received us free of expence in every part of the Country, The women wear a kind of Girdle made of silver gilt, or brass which is thickly studded with agates, & other stones. The Virgins, wear close cap of red cloth, we saw two thickly covered with Para's, a small silver Turkish Coin having Cap an hole through each peace by which means they were attached in the form of scales to the cloth. One woman had a loose robe of purple which had some elegance, & the men all wore a species of thick woollen garment of a red or brown colour which when thrown over the shoulder had a picturesque effect. They are said to be severe in their punishment of adultery, a pillar at Cattaro on which is a female statue is said to have been erected, to perpetuate the memory of the punishment of woman who had been convicted & was stoned to death. We were informed that there are ruins of a City named Dioclesian, in the country, but I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of our informers knowledge on that head. In the market place of Cattaro, is a fragment of roman inscription. D.M.S.CLODIAE EVPHROSYNE. ANN.XXIII. CLODIVS. EVPHROSINVS. ET. CLODIA. The people have an Idea that some princeps was beheaded on this stone. On leaving the town, we found a crowd of Monte Nerini, assembled round a man who played on an instrument, with only one string, a doleful air to which he sung what they called an heroic song in Illyric verse. The instrument is formed with the skin of some animal placed over the mouth of a wooden bowl, to

this a long handle is fixed which serves for a finger board. The string consist of about 20 horse hairs, & it is played with a bow. In the fair were many flutes made of reeds which were exposed to idle. Their tone was off but the notes did not bear the same proportion to each other as those in modern music. We returned from Cattaro to Porto Rosa, where we reembarked and after another delay of two days, during which time the wind was quite fair we put to sea in the evening of Tuesday the 19th the wind being absolutely contrary. All the next day was calm, so that we continued opposite the little City of Antivari on the borders of Albania. The twenty first proved equally calm, which the sailors thought was owing to us, as we had not prayed to heaven for a wind; not recollecting that they had by their own idleness lost 4 or 5 days in the Canal of Cattaro. Our Captain amused himself at all times by reading the verses of Metastasio on the deck, by playing on his Guitar, or by sleeping & the sailors instead of towing the vessel slept & prayed alternately. The person whose duty it was to steer, did not think it his duty to remain awake, so that we were entirely left to fortune, yet at the same time had the wind increased in the smallest degree the sailors dared not have ventured out of sight of the shore. They pretend to believe that the English never venture among the islands through fear, where as it is well known, that it is that very motive which keens the Italian ships, continually within a mile or two of the shore & which had detained us three weeks on a voyage of 350 miles. To the calm succeeded a violent tempest of Thunder & lightning, during which the rain fell in torrents, and our fearful mariners furled every sail leaving us entirely to the guidance of the waves. The next day proved equally unfavourable, and the following night equally dangerous. We did not escape the observations of the crew on this occasion, for they attributed all their misfortunes to our heretical ideas, & not to their own love of pleasure. The storm being almost abated a new evil presented itself, a vessel which our Captain knew to be Corsair which had taken two prizes, met us full in front. The consequence was, that the wind was declared unfavourable by common consent, & we were condemned once more to visit Cattaro. Fortunately for us the enemy sailed so much better than ourselves, that we had not proceeded many miles, before the night came on, & we found ourselves within gunshot of the pursuer. She appeared to be a merchantman deeply laden & went off very peaceably as she came. In the morning we were again haunted by what we were informed were two French Pirates, in full pursuit of us. The most surprising part of the conduit of our Captain, was that though the day before, he had intended to give up his vessel quietly to only a single enemy, he made a great preparation of powder and ball, to encounter two at the same time. These proved like the last Austrian vessels deeply laden, but sailing much better than ourselves. The following day we came in sight of Durazzo, a mean little village, surrounded with a high wall.

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William Gell's journey along the eastern coast of the Adriatic from Venice to Boka Kotor (29 April – 25 May 1801)

Summary

Sir William Gell (1777 – 1836) was an English classical archaeologist and illustrator. In 1801, he embarked on a diplomatic mission to Greece, the Ionian Islands. In Venice, he boarded the ship *Lo Spirito Santo, e la Natività della Madonna* by Captain Ivan Marassi from Boka kotorska, sailing towards Zante. From then on, Gell kept a log of his journey. The log begins on 29 April 1801 in Venice, from where they set sail on 2 May. They passed along the Istrian coast and through the Kvarner bay and then through the channel between Silba and Premuda. They continued through the Zadar channel and then docked on the island of Žirje. They sailed straight to Hvar from Žirje. They also docked there, and unfavourable weather conditions and the celebration of the local co-patron St. Prošper made them stay for three days. They continued their journey between Pelješac and Korčula, passed next to Mljet and Dubrovnik and docked in the port of Rose in Boka kotorska. From there they took a small boat to Kotor. They stayed in Kotor again for five days because of the weather. They tried to continue their journey, but as they suspected that they were being pursued by pirates, they returned to Kotor again. Finally, on 25 May 1801, they reached Durres in Albania and thus exited the area of the former Republic of Venice, under the administration of Austria at the time. Gell's journey took place in the conditions of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, but these circumstances were noted only as secondary, along the way. Gell noted down many toponyms on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and brought some interesting facts related to them. He mostly described Hvar and Kotor, where he stayed for several

days. He also brought some ethnographic data for these places, with musical instruments drawing his special attention. He also dedicated part of the text to the Montenegrin people, who were little known in the Western literature until then. In addition to the log, Gell also left behind twenty-four drawings from this part of the journey, and these are kept in the British Museum.

Keywords: William Gell, log, eastern coast of the Adriatic, Žirje, Hvar, Boka kotorska, Montenegrins