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“Gunsmoke on the water”. Ships and Crews From Senj in the 18th Century**

The article focuses on the Habsburg effort to establish a constant navy, securing the establishment of safe maritime trade and navigation in the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas during the 18th century. The main focus is on the citizens and ship-owners from the city and port of Senj, located on the Austrian part of the East Adriatic coast. The citizens of Senj were very engaged in the Habsburg efforts of building an effective and constant naval strategy throughout the whole period of the 18th century since their economics depended on such actions alongside their centennial military experience in the past wars and conflicts with Ottomans. Hence, the paper analyses the engagement of ship-owners of Senj in securing safe navigation against various enemies, such as privateers of enemy countries and barbary pirates from the North African coast. Similarly, the reconstruction brings the actions of the citizens and aforementioned ship-owners, along with the efforts of the military government of Military Frontier, to bolster such efforts by manning the ships with military crews. Additionally, the paper brings the further development of the first steps of building the Habsburg navy in the Adriatic, which also considers the past efforts of the citizens and ship-owners of Senj, including many of them in the first establishment of the official navy in late 1780, and also in the line of defending this legacy in the late 18th century.

Keywords: Senj, 18th century, Habsburg Monarchy, Military Frontier, Adriatic Sea, Mediterranean Sea, seafaring, naval armament, military navy, sailing ships, the Age of Sails, piracy and privateering

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Introduction

The Habsburg Monarchy had access to the Adriatic Sea through several coastal fortresses and port cities in which possession came from the 14th to the 15th century. The most important of these coastal cities and ports were Trieste (1382), Rijeka (Fiume, 1466), and Senj (Zengg, 1527). This Habsburg coastal line needed to be integrally connected. Habsburg Trieste was divided from Rijeka and Senj territorially on the coast with a long stretch of Venetian ports in the Istria (such as Rovinj and Poreč). From Rijeka to Senj, this territory also includes former estates and smaller ports of Bakar and Kraljevica (Buccari, Porto Re) of Zrinski and Frankapan families during the confiscation after suppressing the Zrinski-Frankapan conspiracy in 1671. This small and thin line of Austrian coastal ports finishes in the sub-mountainous region of Velebit with Starigrad and Karlobag ports on the southernmost part of the Austrian coast. Further on to the south was the Venetian territory of Dalmatian towns and ports (such as Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir and Split). The Venetian territory also included the north and south Adriatic islands and the ports of the bay of Kotor. A further line of coast of the Adriatic Sea on the most eastern line was the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Ottoman ports of modern Albania (Drač and Skadar). Considering the slight stretch and number of ports on the Adriatic, Habsburg's interests in engaging in naval trade were exclusively passive until the 18th century. The first interests of Habsburgs and an opportunity to engage in the Adriatic maritime trade were set after the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). In 1717, Emperor Charles VI managed to proclaim free navigation on the Adriatic Sea, and a few years later, in 1719, proclaimed the cities of Trieste and Rijeka as free ports. Furthermore, ideas came to bolster the naval trade, such as building a shipyard in Kraljevica (1729) as a starting point for building ships for the future navy. A unique government for this line of coastal cities was needed to strengthen these efforts further. Although various wars, such as the War of Austrian Succession (1741-1749), postponed such organisations, Empress Maria Theresa ordered to join all ports and aforementioned cities, under the founder government of the Commercial Intendencia in Trieste (Intendenza Commerciale a Trieste). To bolster the maritime trade on the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas, the Austrian Government decided to join all coastal regions of various administrations to a unique territory of Austrian Littoral (Austriacum Litorale, Litorale Austriaco) in 1749. The Commercial Intendencia was responsible for governing the distinctive line of the Austrian coast, proclaimed Austrian Littoral. The city of Senj, with its population and ships in 1752, got under the authority of Commercial Intendencia in Trieste, which would, for the next twenty years (until 1776), be the leading authority for the decision of maritime trade. A few years later, the reformation of the former Habsburg anti-Ottoman defence system started in the parts of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. The Karlovac and Varaždin Gen-

eralcies, consisting of various captaincies, were reorganised from 1746 onwards into a military system of regiments and companies with a defined governmental and military structure. Considering the Habsburg Adriatic coast, two of those eleven regiments were established in the hinterland and territory of the former Captaincy and city of Senj – Lika Regiment with headquarters in Gospić and Otočac Regiment with headquarters in Otočac. In this sense, Senj became a base for maritime and continental trade exchange with these regiments. In these circumstances, the Habsburg Monarchy started, but at a slow pace, forming an organisation of a fleet strategically focused primarily on the Adriatic Sea and Mediterranean Sea. In the strategic sense, the focus was on coastal guard duties and security and surveillance of the coastal naval routes between Habsburg ports. All of the Habsburg coastal cities and ports in Austrian Littoral with their vessels started to be used as a nucleus of future naval force. To man these vessels with military crews, the Habsburg Monarchy started using soldiers of the Military Frontier regiments, which gravitated to the coast port of Senj, such as the Lika and Otočac Regiments.¹ Hence, this article aims to chronologically represent a reconstruction and analysis of the above-mentioned processes, focusing on the population of Senj, their ships and their activities in the 18th century Habsburg maritime strategies. The research considers the detection of relevant ships and the reconstruction of their type, armament, and ownership, especially for those vessels that were (or were planned to be) manned with military crews of soldiers of the Military Frontier.

Sources and Literature

The archival sources through which it is possible to trace the development of such efforts in the 18th century are of various types and origins. For the 18th century, a vast majority of sources are preserved in the funds considering the government of the city and port of Senj, especially in the period when the city was incorporated in the system of coastal trade cities under the government of the Commercial Intendencia in Trieste and which is nowadays in the funds of Austrian State Archive in Vienna and the Croatian State Archive in Zagreb. Within the aforementioned archival documents, a considerable number of naval permissions were granted to sea captains of Senj and other cities and ports of the Austrian coastline. These permissions also offer various vessel inventories with type specifications, rules

¹ General overview of the history of Croatia and *in specie* about the territories mentioned above in the 18th century see: Lovorka Čoralić, ed., *U potrazi za mirom i blagostanjem. Hrvatske zemlje u 18. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2013); Lovorka Čoralić, Mirko Valentić, eds., *Povijest Hrvata. Druga knjiga. Od kraja 15. stoljeća do kraja Prvog svjetskoga rata* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005). About initial military Habsburg organisation of the Austrian Littoral see for example: Ivan Pederin, "Habsburgovci, Jadran i rasprava oko ustroja Primorske gubernije (prema spisima Haus-, Hof, und Staatsarchiva)", *Acta Histriae* 14 (2006), no. 2: 469-484.

of sail, and reports written after the voyage. Most of the initially engaged vessels were privately owned trading ships of various wealthy citizens of Senj (some of the vessels were co-owned by two or more families forming a partnership). The authorities manned them with military crews derived from military personnel from the regiments above. According to that fact, many of the personnel lists about these military crews (i.e. personal data, types of soldiers, salaries) engaged on these vessels can also be found in the archival funds of these regiments in the Austrian and Croatian State Archives.² The secondary literature concerning the founding and development of the Austrian and Habsburg naval forces in the 18th century and about Senj covers various topics. The most important published work which became the basis for all later papers and publications was the work of Joseph Rechberger von Rechkron. The works of Croatian scholars mainly focused on the economic aspect of Austrian naval merchant trade and the shipyards in Bakar and Kraljevica, such as those of Zlatko Herkov and Igor Karaman. Also, a more specific approach to the maritime aspect of the city of Senj can be found in the works of Alexander Buczynski, Ana Maria Gruenfelder, and Vedran Klaužer.³

Initial efforts - the Ship-owners of Senj as Privateers in the Habsburg Military Service

As mentioned above, the first model of Habsburg engaging some of their naval force in the Adriatic Sea was during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). The conflict above included the widespread usage of privateers assembled from various Italian ports and North African pirate colonies engaged on the French side to distract, damage, and pillage enemy vessels. The Austrian port of Trieste was in constant danger from French vessels near the harbour and bombarded

² Austria (henceforth: AT) – Austrian State Archives, Vienna, (hereinafter: OeStA) – Finanz und Hofkammerarchiv (hereinafter: FHKA) – Neue Hofkammer und Finanzministerium (1762-1876) (hereinafter: NHK) – series Kommerz Litorale (1705-1813) (hereinafter: Kommerz Lit), Akten (documents). Croatia (hereinafter: HR) – Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, (hereinafter: HDA), fond 941 – Trgovačka uprava. Spisi za primorje (hereinafter: TUSP) 941). An overview and inventory of these relevant archival sources form the Croatian State Archives with a short contextual introductory see in: Mirjana Peremin, "Spisi komercijalne uprave za Senj, Karlobag, Kraljevicu i Bakar s posebnim osvrtom na fond Commercialia (1749-1776)", *Arhivski vjesnik* 36 (1993): 207-221.

³ Josef Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen in dem Zeitraum von 1500-1797* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Reichs-Kriegs-Ministeriums, Marine-Section, 1882). Igor Karaman, "Kraljevica - ratna luka i arsenal Habsburške Monarhije u osamnaestom stoljeću", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 11 (1978), no. 1: 147-181. Zlatko Herkov, *Gradnja ratnih brodova u Kraljevici 1764.-1767.* (Pazin-Rijeka: Historijski arhiv Pazin, 1979). Alexander Buczynski, "Trgovački pomorski grad Senj i Tršćanska trgovačka intendantca (1752-1775)", *Senjski zbornik* 18 (1991), No. 1: 205-215. Ana Maria Gruenfelder, "Senj i Karlobag u doba merkantilističke gospodarske politike", *Senjski zbornik* 29 (2002), no. 1: 125-154. Alexander Buczynski, *Gradovi Vojne krajine*, vol. 1-2 (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1997); Vedran Klaužer, "Senjski brodski kapetani i njihova plovidba Jadranom sredinom 18. stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozi* 32 (2013), no. 45: 263-281.

in August 1702.⁴ Since most Austrian ports and, accordingly, maritime trade suffered from these actions, the Habsburg government took a similar strategy as other states mentioned above and engaged various private ship-owners from coastal cities, especially from the city of Senj, as privateers ensuing the letters of marque (*Kapperbrief*).⁵ In this sense, for example, in 1702, the military commander in Senj sent two boats off to the sea with six pairs of rows and 30 men each to recon for enemy shipping in the Adriatic. The boats came back to port with success, reporting that they killed one enemy sea captain and took one lieutenant prisoner as well as ten sailors.⁶ This practice most surely involved the engagement of private ships of local noblemen and ship-owners, similar to the case of 1704. On 23rd March 1704, the state authorities allowed the Commander of the Croatian and Maritime Frontier and Supreme Captain of Senj Colonel Rudolph Count d' Edling, to issue a privateer licence, i.e., a letter of marque, and contract to a ship-owner, citizen and nobleman of Senj – Paul Domazetovich. The issued licence permitted the latter nobleman to attack Spanish-French vessels (*Galispane*) with one armed foist or galiot and one whiff as a small escort assistance vessel of the latter (*con una Fusta armata ed un Cayco*). On the other hand, the same licence, strictly under the threat of the death penalty, prohibited attacking Papal, Venetian, Ragusian or Ottoman vessels. Similarly, the aforementioned privateer and his crew were not allowed to disturb (pillage, take into captivity) neither on sea during the sail (i.e. on board) or on land (i.e., during the docking in various ports) subordinates of the states above.⁷ (See Appendix 1) Evidence of performing such duties based on the letter of marque is apparent in the action of a small galley (*galleote*) from Senj in the port of Durres in May 1709. This small galley attacked and plundered the French ship (*vascello*) “Bénédiction” (ital. *Benedizione*) of Captain Jean Baptiste Olinier from Marseille. The ship was taken to Senj and used temporarily for salt transport from Puglia to Rijeka before it was restored to the owner by the intervention of the French Consulate in Durres.⁸

Despite these actions, the Habsburg efforts to build a navy were on Trieste, where the ships “Emperor Karl VI” and “Triest” were constructed in 1726. Similarly, in

⁴ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 28.

⁵ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 97.

⁶ *Il Corriere ordinario* (Vienna) (online version), 29th April 1702, 4, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 17, fasc. 138, doc. 1764-138-1. This type of vessel was a smaller galley, a fast sailing ship (with one mast and sail) equipped with oars, especially used by pirates for chasing and hunting other (mostly) merchant ships, (*navis piratica*). *Caicco*, *Caichio* was a rowing boat used to assist such bigger ships or galleys and also for coastal service. For the definitions of ships see: Herkov, *Gradnja*, 141, 143.

⁸ Nikola Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati. Settecento. Navigazione nell'Adriatico. Fonti*, I vol. / *Hrvatski pomorski regesti. Osamnaesto stoljeće. Plovidba na Jadranu. Vrela*, svezak I. (Padova: Centro di studi storici croati, 1985.) 107.

1729, a military shipyard was built in Kraljevica. In the meantime, the Austrian Government started to develop its navy during the escalation of the War of Polish Succession (1733-1735) with France, Sardinia and Spain. On the account of employed Genovesian count Luca Palaviccini as a future navy commander, several stronger ships were delivered in July 1733 from Naples to Trieste: "Santa Elisabetha" with 60, "San Michele" with 40 and "San Carlo" with 70 canons.⁹ This core of the future navy was, by the End of 1735, enforced by four galleys, the frigate "Archiducesa Teresa", and a number of smaller auxiliary vessels (xebecs, feluccas) armed with cannons.¹⁰ Despite these efforts, the merchant ships were still very exposed to various attacks in which only luck and bold bravery could save them from capturing or pillaging. That was the case in October of 1732 when the nobleman and officer from Senj, Thomas Kuhačević engaged Tunisian pirates by the Messina Pass near Sicily. The ship under his command was the marsilian "Maria von Carmelo und St. Anton di Padua," with a pre-approved naval licence. It sailed under the emperor's flag, transporting the wooden material to Messina in Sicily. After leaving Senj, the ship first docked in Puglia of the Kingdom of Naples, where it was retained in quarantine (germ. *Kontumaz*) for several days. After that, before reaching the Messina Pass, the ship was anchored on 9th August due to bad weather at Melito di Porto Salvo (region Calabria). On the next day, 10th August, the boatswain (*nostromo*) Mličanin spotted a suspicious vessel approaching directly to the ship from the mast basket. However, since the sails of unknown ships were folded down, he could not determine the type of vessel and its intention. The vessel and its crew came near the ship, answering the captain's question claiming that they were friends. However, Captain Kuhačević soon recognized the Tunisian small galley (*galeotte*) and pirates, which had already started boarding the marsilian from the stern. The vicious fight occurred in which, although over-enumerated by the enemy, Captain Kuhačević with a flint gun, boatswain Mličanin with stone-ball mortars (*Steinbuschsen*) and crew member Rafaelić with a sabre managed to back off the pirates killing many of them. The remaining pirates retreated and sailed off with their vessel.¹¹ Some other captains and crews from Senj were even more successful, capturing barbary pirate vessels and merchant ships of various Austrian enemies. In 1734, noblemen from Senj Petar Vukasović and Daničić captured several vessels as prey on open seas and towed them to their home port in Senj. Also, as a minor galley commander, the aforementioned Vukasović captured another three vessels in 1736.¹² This strategy

⁹ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 32.

¹⁰ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 32.

¹¹ *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 1st November 1732, 9, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

¹² Franz Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militargrenze*, vol 1. (Wien: aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1875), 366-367. Cf. Mile Magdić, *Topografija i povijest grada Senja* (Senj: tiskom i nakladom H. Luster, 1877), 153; Herkov, *Gradnja*, 34.

was indeed suitable for the time being since the aforementioned Domazetović had acted with four other galleys from Senj in 1734 against the French on the River Po by Ostiglia.¹³ Since the aforementioned official navy disbanded after the alliance Austria signed with Russia in 1738, most of the equipment and armament for the navy in Trieste was transferred to Belgrade to a newly constructed shipyard. The ships in Trieste were evaluated as ineffective and expensive to maintain, so they were mostly sold to the Venetian Republic, as was the case with “Santa Elisabetha” and “San Michele” in 1738.¹⁴

Habsburg’s efforts and naval strategy in the Adriatic Sea followed in the mid-18th century based on the former strategies described above. The Habsburg government knew that to prevent privateer or pirate attacks on their merchant vessels, some sort and form of a constant but cost-effective naval force in the Adriatic Sea was an utmost necessity. The past efforts, bravery and military skills of the noblemen and population of Senj did not go unnoticed by Empress Maria Theresa. The idea that a sort of coastal guard (*guardia marina*) consisted of the population of Senj emerged in 1752, followed by the decision after long-lasting planning to finally model a sort of effective solution for guarding and surveilling the coastal waters against such attacks.¹⁵ Hence, finally, in the 1750s, Empress Maria Theresa ordered the equipping of one vessel to monitor the coastal waters because of pirate attacks in the Adriatic Sea. The Government decided to build and put in action an armed galiot (felucca) named “La Vigilanza” (The Vigilance) to serve as a sort of coastal guard ship for the harbour and waters of the port of Trieste. This vessel, as a type of smaller galley with two masts, was built in Trieste and was put in service in the summer of 1753, armed with two cannons and six stone-ball mortars (ital. *petrieri*, germ. *Steinstück*, *Steinmörser*) provided by the local arsenal.¹⁶ The crew consisted of a commander (germ. *Schiffmeister*), helmsman (germ. *Steuermann*, ital. *timoniere*), overseer (germ. *Aufseher*) – who also managed the artillery, and 24 oarsmen (germ. *Ruderknechte*). The crew should wear green coats, and every man on board should be armed with a flint and bayonet, a pair of pistols, a sabre and cartridge pouches. The commander should receive a monthly salary of 15, the helmsman and overseer 10 and the rowers 8 guilders each.¹⁷ Since the Empress ordered to recruit the crew from the citizens of Senj,

¹³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 17, fasc. 138, doc. 1764-138-1.

¹⁴ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 32.

¹⁵ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 132.

¹⁶ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 962, fasc. 116, Felucca zu Triest 1752-1784, Rescript of Empress Maria Theresa on Intendencia in Trieste 29th December 1752; Instructions from Empress Maria Theresa on Intendencia in Trieste 10th May 1753; 8th July 1753; 17th October 1755. Cf. Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 71.

¹⁷ At-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 962, fasc. 116, Felucca zu Triest 1752-1784. Instruction from Empress Maria Theresa on Intendencia, 10th May 1753. Cf. Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 71.

the vessel finally set sail in 1753 with a crew of 27 men, which were under the command of a nobleman from Senj Vincenzo de Vukassovich for the next 20 years (1753 – 1773).¹⁸ According to the ship's name and the plans, it was used for patrolling near the coastline (not in the open sea) and as a surveillance ship (germ. *Wacht-Schiff*) of coastal waters against pirate ships and smuggling (germ. *contraband*).¹⁹ This type of vessel was very appropriate for the task with its shallow keel and several cannons in the bow and stern. Since it was equipped with rows and several sails, it had multiple possibilities for manoeuvring using either the wind's power through sails or rowing.²⁰ With "La Vigilanza" set into action, a constant solution emerged for guarding the coastal line.

The problem remained with securing the safe navigation of merchant ships outside the Adriatic Sea, considering the constant presence of barbary pirates and various privateers in the Mediterranean and adjacent seas during the war. As before, the same problem with privateers and pirates occurred during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), but finally, the Austrian Government managed to sign contracts for safe sailing, bringing expensive gifts and tribute to barbary pirates, i.e. with Algiers (8th October 1748), Tunis (23rd December 174) and Tripoli (27th January 1749). Austria continued this policy also in 1757 and 1760.²¹ In the same sense, to bolster naval trade routes outside the Adriatic Sea, the Austrian merchant ships, especially those from Senj, which had their naval trade routes aimed at Sicily, Genoa, and Ancona but also to the Levant were provided with necessary sailing or safe passage permissions from 1749 on (*Flaggenpatente* for Austrian, *Scontrini* and *Passavanti* for Venetian and Ottoman *Ferman* for Muslim waters).²²

Nevertheless, the same issue of unprotected ships allured enemy privateer attacks during the war. This second factor was especially present and recognized as a problem during the escalation of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) when Austrian merchant ships were vulnerable to privateer attacks of various sea captains in the service of Prussia – which resulted in the lack of engagement of merchant ships and their owners in Levantine trade.²³ Even when paying tribute to barbary pirates, safe passage and navigation were not secured since many pirates

¹⁸ At-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, Litorale, fasc. 116, 1752-1784, box 962, fasc. 116, Felucca zu Triest 1752-1784. Letter from Empress Maria Theresa on Intendanca, 10th May 1753. Cf. Rechberger von Rechcron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 72.

¹⁹ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit Akten 921, box 921, fasc. 111, Extract from Commission-Protocol in Trieste from 3rd to 22nd October 1752.

²⁰ For the definition of felucca see for example: Herkov, *Gradnja*, 143.

²¹ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 41-42.

²² Herkov, *Gradnja*, 42. Cf. Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 96-97.

²³ At the beginning of the war only eight licence patents were issued on the Austrian Littoral. See: Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 98.

broke the deceitful agreements. Nevertheless, some noblemen and captains of Senj managed to counteract these actions, i.e., against many deceitful and broken agreements of barbary pirates. Such was the case of a nobleman from Senj, Antonio Carina who, in 1755 captured a xebec (*schiambbeco*) from Algiers. However, it was illegally taken from him by the two Neapolitan galleys.²⁴ However, what soon followed is the widespread sailing of Austrian merchant ships across the Mediterranean Sea to the West and through Gibraltar as far as the port of Cádiz, which was one of the ports for merchandise and goods exchange from ships that came from cross-Atlantic sailing.²⁵ To the East, Austrian ships started to sail across the Ionian and Aegean Seas. Even with permissions that state consulates provided by various barbary states and other countries, the ships were exposed to plunder and pillaging without any support from accompanying military ships or soldiers on board or equipped with heavier armaments. This wider spectre of sailing routes issued a problem of protecting such vessels not only against pirates from the North African barbary States (barbary pirates) and their ports (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli) but also from privateers in the service of the enemies of Austria. For example, a privateer naval attack on an Austrian merchant ship from Senj occurred in 1759 in the Aegean Sea near Samos. A merchant ship, a polacre (*polacca*) of the ship-owner Peter Stauber from Senj under sea captain Vuk Poljičanin (also from Senj) and with 12 sailors, was en route from Alexandria to Thessaloniki. The ship was intercepted and attacked by the privateer ship of English captain James Merryfield in the Prussian service on 10th November 1759 at 1 o'clock in the night. After the capture, the captain and the sailors were released, but the ship was pillaged, confiscated and taken to the Island of Malta. The diplomatic efforts to return the ship followed this confiscation and lasted several years.²⁶ This case showed that merchant ships were vulnerable and exposed to such privateer attacks in the war and that organizing and forming a protection model became necessary. It affected the maritime trade seriously. In 1757, the weak income from the transit ships coming and sailing from the ports of Senj was due to the on-going Franco-England War and the open conflict of Algerian pirates against Austria and Holland.²⁷

²⁴ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit Akten 1028, box 1028, fasc 1., passim.

²⁵ For example, such was the case of polacre "La Madonna del Carmine e San Giuseppe" owned by the nobleman from Senj Juraj Domazetović, which went on a three-month journey via Civitavecchia to the Straits of Gibraltar to the port of Cádiz where it unloaded the cargo of grain. See: Klaužer, "Senjski", 279.

²⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 17, fasc. 135, Doc. 1760-135-3; 1761-135-10; 1762-135-11. Cf. Klaužer, "Senjski", 278.

²⁷ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 961, fasc. 115, Report of the Intendenza in Trieste to Empress Maria Theresa, Trieste 14th June 1758. For the conflict with Algiers see for example: Thierry Allain, "When the War Came to Barbary: Dutch Traders and the Management of Their Entry into Conflict with Algiers, 1755–1757". In: *Conflict Management in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic*,

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The Austrian authorities started dealing with this issue after the war mentioned above ended. To finally prevent decades of pirate and privateer attacks on long-distance and overseas Austrian merchant ships, Habsburg authorities started to arm private-owned merchant ships from their Adriatic coastal cities and ports with cannons and military crews.²⁸ On the other hand and, simultaneously, during the 1760s emerged the idea of constructing two frigates "Aurora" and "Stella matutina" in the renewed and upgraded shipyard in Kraljevica. The construction started in 1765, but only the phase of building in which the hulls were made and launched in the water was finished in the spring of 1767. Besides the financial means, which were constantly insufficient, a rivalry in ideas and strategies between the Austrian Government, local authorities in Trieste and various ship-owners resulted in a stall. Finally, the frigates, constructed by the shipbuilder Julius Nocetti, were sold to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the summer of 1770 following the idea that the latter would take care of safe sailing. However, because of the ineffectiveness, the agreement was annulled, and the unfinished ships were returned to Kraljevica where they were left to the ravages of time and finally sold out on the auction in 1798.²⁹ However, the unfavourable conditions of merchant ships' safe navigation could not wait. The decision to arm merchant ships from Littoral, especially Senj, and equip them with military crews prevailed. For such action, a merchant government of Intendencia of Trieste, responsible for managing all coastal cities and ports, received an order to register all relevant ships that were suitable or would be equipped with arms and soldiers. This effort especially sparked the interest of noblemen and citizens of Senj, who had already pledged to such a strategy because of the pirate and privateer attacks on their ships. In this sense, in 1763, the list was made which enumerates the suitable ships in Senj in three categories or classes considering their year of production, state of wooden construction and displacement capabilities, which were all relevant and essential for placing on them a certain number of cannons and troops.³⁰ First-class ships from Senj enlisted in this register were all five naves. In the Adriatic, naves were big sailing ships with four masts and wide sterns suitable for carrying an additional load and cargo of armament and military crew without losing significant transport capacity for cargo.³¹ First ship in this class was nave "Santissima (An)

1000-1800: actors, institutions and strategies of dispute settlement, eds. Louis Sicking, Alain Wijffels (Leiden; Boston: Brill Nijhoff, 2020), 307–324.

²⁸ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 98.

²⁹ Karaman, "Kraljevica", 176. Cf. Herkov, *Gradnja*, 107, 121, 123.

³⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6.

³¹ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 123, 147.

nunziata e Gran Rodolfo” (Holy Annunciation and Grand Rudolphus). It was built in 1761 in Senj and owned by the Demelli brothers, citizens and noblemen from Senj. It had a displacement of around 513 tons and equipment for 30 persons.³² The second nave in this class was “La Sacra Famiglia” (The Holy Family). It was a private ship built in 1763 in Venice with strong construction, owned by the citizens and merchants of Senj – the Sussani brothers (*Fratelli Sussani*). The ship was under the command of temporarily assigned sea captain Michele Količević.³³ It displaced 220 tons and had space/equipment for 21 persons.³⁴ The next ship in this class was the nave “Santissima Trinità e la Regina d’ Ungheria” (Holy Trinity and Queen of Hungary). It was built in a local shipyard (*in attuale fabbrica*) in Senj in 1764 and was the property of the citizen and ship-owner Pietro de Stauber and his family.³⁵ Stauber’s nave had a displacement of around 200 tons and had equipment for 19 persons.³⁶ The fourth ship in 1st class in the register of 1766 was “San Francesco di Paula e San Giuseppe” (Saint Francis of Paula and Saint Joseph). It was not new, but it was of a young age (*di età fresca*) and, was of solid construction (*di costruzione forte*) and had equipment for 19 people. Displacement was around 217 tons.³⁷ This class’s last and fifth nave was “La Madonna del Carmine e S. Nicolò” (Our Lady of Carmel and Saint Nicholas) by the family Dubravčich in Senj in 1733. It was in 1764 described as middle-aged (*di età mediocre*) but of sufficient construction (*di costruzione sufficiente*). This nave had equipment for 18 persons and a displacement of around 170 tons.³⁸ The register of 1764 enumerates under the second class in all five minor naves. The first was the nave “Cavallo ed altrimenti la Santissima Nunciata” (The Horse or Holy Annunciation). It was middle-aged, built in America in 1757, but of strong construction with equipment for 15 persons. The displacement was 206 tons and was owned mutually by ownership partners (*Compagnia*), i.e. citizens of Senj: De-

³² HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc 1764-111-6., Cf. HR-HDA 941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

³³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

³⁴ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

³⁵ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

³⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, Fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5; doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

³⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6.

³⁸ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

melli, Domazetovich, Rucich and Subat.³⁹ The second ship in the 2nd class was the nave (*petacchio*) „Santissima Trinità e S. Francesco di Paula“ (Holy Trinity and Saint Francis of Paula). Although the ship was of advanced age (*d’età avanzata*) and constructed in Rovinj in 1733, it still had strong construction, which could produce around 144 tons of displacement and had equipment for 15 persons.⁴⁰ The nave (*presa*) “supranominata Presa ed altrimenti la Madonna del Carmine“ (named simply *Presa* or Our Lady of Carmel) had similar specifications: owned by Francesco Rosanich, built in Naples in 1735, advanced age, strong construction, equipment for 15 people and displacement of 140 tons.⁴¹ The fourth nave in the 2nd class was “Madonna di Rosario, S. Nicolò e l’Anime del Purgatorio” (Our Lady of the Rosary, Saint Nicholas and The Soul of the Purgatory). It was a newly built ship (*d’età nuova*) in 1762 in Senj, it could displace 117 tons and had equipment for 14 persons. The nave was the property of citizens and co-owners from Senj: Kregar, Miskulinovich and Lukanovich.⁴² The fifth nave (*checcina*) was “S. Anna e S. Prospero” (Saint Anna and Saint Prosper). It was middle-aged, built in 1743 in Rijeka, owned by Giorgio Demelli de Löwensfeld of strong construction and equipment for 13 persons and a displacement of 129 tons.⁴³ The 3rd class ship was the polacre “San Giuseppe e San Francesco di Paula” (Saint Joseph and Saint Francis of Paola), built in 1749 in Rijeka, owned by Francesco Rosanich, with equipment for 12 persons and a displacement of 106 tons.⁴⁴ The polacre by Giorgio Domazetovich, “La Madonna del Carmine e San Giuseppe” (Our Lady of Carmel and Saint Joseph), new with a solid construction, suitable for eleven crew members and displacement of 103 tons, was also in this class.⁴⁵ The polacre of Tomaso Domazetovich, “San Francesco Saverio” (Saint Francis Xavier), was also new, had space for eleven persons and displaced 93 tons. It was

³⁹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴¹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁴² HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁴ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁵ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5.

a product of a local shipyard in Senj in 1761.⁴⁶ Fourth was the polacre “La Madonna del Carmine e San Michiel Arcangelo” (Our Lady of Carmel and Saint Michael Archangel), with equipment for eleven persons and a displacement of 101 tons. Stauber and Tomljanovich owned it.⁴⁷ The fifth 3rd class was the polacre “La Madonna del Carmine, San Giuseppe e San Francisco di Paula” (Our Lady of Carmel, Saint Joseph and Saint Frances of Paola), newly built in Senj in 1756, owned by Giuseppe Antonio Vrignanin, equipped for ten persons and displaced 89 tons.⁴⁸ It was proposed in all to equip and arm the ships above with 68 canons of the 1st, 12 of 2nd and 60 of 3rd class (which should be provided by the proposed construction of arsenal in Senj), but in such a manner that all ships could be armed individually, i.e., only when taking the voyage outside the Adriatic Sea to the West or East Mediterranean (Levant). On the return from the voyage, each ship would have to disarm, unload the cannons and hand them over to the arsenal.⁴⁹

Armament and Military Crews

In the same register, the level and standard of armament were determined, i.e., what kind and how much military equipment (cannons, cannon-balls, gun-powder) every ship should at least or necessarily have in a particular class. The 1st class ships should be equipped with 20 canons of first level (*prime ordine*), i.e., of 6-(Nuremberg) pound calibre, four canons of second level (*secondo ordine*) i. e. and ten canons of third level (*terzo ordine*).⁵⁰ Vessels of 2nd class should have 14 or 16 cannons of the first order, two cannons of the second order and six canons of the third order, while the 3rd class ships should have only 12-14 canons of the third level.⁵¹ The cannons of the first order were those of 6-pound (Nuremberg pound) calibre distributed along the ship’s hull, whilst the canons of the second order were *columbrines* which were used on the stern (ital. *poppa*) for long-distance engagement and repulsing of enclosing enemy ships or on the bow where

⁴⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁸ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5. Cf. Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 8, fasc. 44, Rollo dè Bastimenti di Segna, e Carlobago, con annotazione del Luogo, e dell’ Anno, ove, e quando furono Fabbricati (1730-1764).

⁴⁹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5. Cf. Herkov, *Gradnja*, 34.

⁵⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵¹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

they served for damaging the pursuing foe. The 3rd class cannons were to be used for close combat.⁵²

Each type of cannon mentioned above should have three types of ammunition, i.e., cannon balls (*tre sorti di Balle*). The first type was regular round cannon balls (*le balle conenti ordinarie*). The second type was a form of two halves of cannonball connected with an iron chain (*la seconda sorte e di due mezze balle grcate, ligate con una verga di ferro*) called in German *Stangkugl* or in Italian *Angioli*, which served as ammunition for destroying (tearing apart) the mast and spar of the enemy ship (*queste servono per tagliare l'arboratura ed il sarteggiame*).⁵³ The third type of ammunition called *li sacchetti di mitraglia*, was a form of bundle shot which consisted of a group of 10-12 smaller balls or salvos (*balee piccole*) placed inside a bag (*sacchetto*) as a form of cartridge. The right measure and amount of gunpowder was also determined for each type of cannonball, which depended on the calibre and weight of a certain cannonball. Each ship should have 50 regular and 20 chained balls, alongside ten bundle shots for each with an appropriate amount of gunpowder.⁵⁴ The military crew of soldiers was armed with muskets (ital. *moschette*) and blanc weapon (ital. *sabia*), which would serve as protection against privateer and pirate attacks on long-distance routes.⁵⁵

Each ship of the 1st class was planned, considering the military crew alone, to be manned with 40 soldiers. Second-class ships should be manned with 25 soldiers each, and the 3rd class ships should have 15 soldiers each or 30 soldiers displaced, i.e., combined within two or more ships.⁵⁶ It was planned that 160 soldiers and their 20 officers, corporals and artillery commanders (*capi bombardieri*) serve on the 15 ships above.⁵⁷ Artillery staff (*bombardieri*) was part of the military crew in charge of maintaining and manning the cannons, armament, and ammunition. Hence, captains were also obliged to keep two artillerymen in service and on a regular salary throughout the voyage and after the ship's return to the port in Trieste. Artillerymen received a sort of extra sustenance in addition to the monthly salary of 9 guilders for each.⁵⁸ The military crew for all ships was considered to have the structure of a company. Therefore, a lieutenant from Senj was considered to be their commander. Each ship of the 1st class required one lieutenant, two corporals, one artillery master or bombardier chef and the ships of 2nd and 3rd class one corporal. The next stressed issue was where to recruit sol-

⁵² HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵⁴ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵⁵ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-122-46, doc. 1768-112-54.

⁵⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5; doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁵⁸ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54.

diers for the ships. Considering the necessary soldiers for these ships, the register and proposition 1764 offered two options. One was similar to manning the crews of feluccas mentioned above for local patrolling in Trieste, where the crews were appointed from the local population. Since this feature was rather expensive, the other idea and plan was to lower the financial costs of such a crew. In this sense, a proposition stated that the military crews for these ships could be taken or recruited from existing military personnel located in the coastal parts of the Military Frontier Regiments and their territories (especially those of Lika and Otočac Regiments), which were adjacent to the city and port of Senj and occupied the territories in the hinterland of the same city. The support for this idea came from the recommendation that such military frontier soldiers, i.e. *Grenzers*, are highly suitable for the task because of their experience in fighting against Ottomans and hence have courage, which would undoubtedly produce successful and fearless crews on ships in confrontation with various enemies and furious pirates. In this sense, a favourable point was made to take military personnel from the smaller coastal ports under the Military Frontier Command (such as Sveti Juraj or Jablanac, located between Senj and Karlobag).⁵⁹

This proposition and its ideas were more than just a dead letter on the paper. Of those above and enlisted ships, it is certain for two of them that propositions were put into action several years later. The 1st class nave „La Santissima Annunziata e Gran Rodolpho“, owned by the Demelli de Löwensfeld brothers, was put under the command of sea captain Nicolo Clissanin and nave “La Sacra Famiglia” owned by nobleman Marco Sussani from Senj was under the command of sea captain Michele Kollikar. Both ships were armed with necessary armament and utilities and manned by a military crew. According to the register of armament, utilities, salary, sailing and military crew made by the sea captains above in Trieste on the 1st and 10th March 1766, it is possible to follow and depict the process of manning and arming.⁶⁰ (See Appendix 2). The ships were in Senj, where a military crew manned them before sailing off to the port of Trieste to load cargo and obtain necessary documentation and permissions. The military crew (*Soldatesca*) on each nave consisted of 42 persons: an officer, two corporals and four senior soldiers (*Gefreite*) alongside a drummer (*Tamburo*), a surgeon

⁵⁹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5; doc. 1764-111-6.

⁶⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1776-112-46. *Tabella d'Inventario. Dimonstrante quanto di Soldatesca, Artiglieria, Munizione con suoi accessori, e Dannaro fu consegnato al Capitano Nicolo Clissanin Commandante il Bastimento nominato la SSma Annonciata, e Gran Rodolpho de Fratelli Demelli de Lewensfeld Segnani, della Portata di Tonnellate 519 Armato in Corso Mercanzia con Sovrana Munificenza, e sortito dal Porto di Trieste il di 1. Marzo 1766.* (Inventory Table demonstrating the number of soldiers and amount of artillery, ammunition with its accessories and money handed over to Captain Nicolo Clissanin, commander of the vessel named The SSma Annonciata and Grand Rodolpho, of the Demelli de Löwensfeld brothers from Senj, with the capacity of 519 tons and armed in mercantile style with the Sovereign Munificence, departed from the Port of Trieste on 1st March 1766).

(*Chirurgus*) and 33 soldiers.⁶¹ Since the name lists are not preserved, presumably some of the 22 officers and soldiers proposed for the service made by the Colonel of the Lika Regiment that same year boarded these ships.⁶² (See Appendix 3.) Every soldier was armed with a flint or a musket and a blanc weapon.⁶³ Hence, it was expected that some fighting would occur; a medical crew member was also included in the plan. A military medic-surgeon (*Chirurgo*) of Otočac Regiment Gottlieb Dietrich was appointed to this place on the nave "La Sacra Famiglia" and Grgur Devčić on the same service on the "Gran Rodolpho". Among 40 packages of canvas bandages for wounds (*tela per bandazi*), the surgeons also had to have a wooden crate with various medicine (such as ampoules of quinine extract) against some diseases typical for sailing on ships, such as scurvy (*scorbuto*).⁶⁴

The salaries (*fornimento, paga mensuale*) were dispersed so that the officer received 28 guilders and 30 kreuzers monthly, the surgeon and two corporals 12 guilders each. The food provision for the staff above was free of charge, whilst the two corporals and ordinary soldiers got an additional sum on their salaries (or rather to say withhold) for this purpose. Hence, the two corporals received six guilders each and an additional 2 guilders for the food provision, whilst the senior soldiers received four and a half guilders of salary and an additional 4 guilders. Drummer and each soldier received 3 guilders of monthly salary and an additional 4 guilders for the expenses of sustenance.⁶⁵ Daily sustenance (*Panatica*) and nutrition of the military crew on the voyage were also determined through the inventories above. Captains were obliged to disperse sustenance and food to each member of the military crew daily. It was determined that every military crew member should receive half of the sizable Venetian pound of biscuit bread daily. The crew also received a quarter of a small Venetian pound of soup (*minestra*) of cooked rice, barley or beans with sauce daily. When it comes to meat, the crew received each day (i.e. from Sunday to Thursday) a half of a large Venetian pound of fresh meat salted to taste, and on Fridays and Saturdays, a half of a small Venetian pound of fresh or salted fish. Alongside the limited consumption of drinking water, which depended on the state of stock during the voyage,

⁶¹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box. 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-45 (Nave *Sacra Famiglia*); doc. 1766-112-46 (Nave *Gran Rodolpho*). Cf. Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 98.

⁶² AT-OeStA/KA-Pers-MLST I-GIR 1, box 5474. Revision list of the military crew consisted of the Lika Regiment soldiers on the nave "Gran Rodolpho" by the Demelli de Löwensfeld brothers from Senj in 1766. Cf. Herkov, *Gradnja*, 50-52.

⁶³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-46 (nave *Gran Rodolpho*). Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box. 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54 (nave *Gran Rodolpho*); HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-46, fol. 13r (nave *Sacra Famiglia*).

⁶⁴ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-46. *Specifica delli medicamenti stati consegnati al Dietrich Chirurgo nella Nave Susani Segnana*. (Specification of medicaments delivered to surgeon Dietrich for the nave of Sussani from Senj.)

⁶⁵ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box. 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1765-112-28; doc. 1766-112-46, doc. 1768-112-54.

every crew member should receive a quarter of a jug of wine daily. Every soldier received a new coat (*capotto*).⁶⁶

The rules were also made for the military crew, considering the lodging and salaries when the ship was anchored in port. It was determined that when the military crew is quartered in a foreign port or on land, they must get their regular sustenance. However, after the return from the journey, the crew must be disbanded as soon as possible to get on the regular expenses of their regiments and companies.⁶⁷ Considering the soldiers alone, they were under the authority of their officers, who were obliged to prevent desertions.⁶⁸ In addition, penalty rules for the misbehaviour of soldiers were ordered in such a manner that it was not possible to prosecute the offender on the ship and voyage. Therefore, the offender had to be put in chains and incarcerated in a cage prison, which every ship should have, and then when returned to the land, the offender was handed over to the authorities of justice to perform interrogation and further judicial process.⁶⁹ Alongside the primary duty of military service of protecting the ship with their arms, soldiers' duties include taking precautions against inflammation, i.e., fire on board. Hence, it was determined that ship-lighting (*la candella*) must be lit all night long on the front part of the ship, i.e., bow quarterback (*castello*) and also on the rear part of the ship with cabins or stern quarterdeck (*casserole*). All crew members (soldiers and sailors, too) were obliged to maintain these lights and, at the same time, be aware of the prevention of sudden fires.⁷⁰ The military crew on the ship was stationed below deck in the chambers both during the day and at night, and only by the specific orders of the captain were they to be present on the deck. Hence, during the night, along with the ordinary sailing crew, half of the military crew had to be present for the night-time watch duties.⁷¹

According to the initial report that was made by the sea captain (*capitano della nave*) Nicolo Klissanin in Trieste on 28th February 1766, the captains were obliged, after the return to port after the voyage, according to the Royal resolution of 3rd August 1765, to make an inventory and account of all ammunition and accessories and return it to the arsenal except those which were spent in

⁶⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-46, doc. 1768-112-54.

⁶⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁶⁸ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5.

⁶⁹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁷⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-6 (nave Gran Rodolpho). Cf. HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1766-112-46 (nave *Sacra Famiglia*). For the Italian names for part of the ship see: Karel Pieter ter Rehorst, ed., *The Mariner's and Merchant's Polyglot Technical Dictionary* (London: Wiliam and Norgate, 1850), 96 (forecastle, Vorschiff, castello); 156 (quarterdeck, Halbdeck, cassaro), 185 (stern, Hinter-Schiff, Poppa). Cf. Henry Kahane, Renée Kahane and Olga Koshansky, "Venetian Nautical Terms in Dalmatia", *Romance Philology* 7 (1953) no. 2/3: 156–170.

⁷¹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

attacks or defence operations against the enemy, or lost on other occasions or circumstances (such as an accident).⁷² Similar rules and obligations were determined for sailing and military crew salaries. The salaries were to be calculated exclusively from the day a crew got onboard until the end of service, i.e., until the day of docking in the home port and disbanding the crew after the voyage ended. Presumably, the captains were obliged to pay out the salary to the crew daily for which they retrogradely received a counter-written sum of money from the Royal Cash-Register of Intendanca (*Caesarea Regia Cassa Commerciale*) according to quittance (*quittanza*). In this sense, it was determined that if there was some extra money, which could occur in cases in which some member of the crew was lost (killed, missed at sea, deserted, i.e., escaped during the docking in some foreign port), the captains should have kept the account of such money during the voyage and after the return had to hand it over to cash-register.⁷³

Last but not least, before sailing off, the rules of engagement in the case of the attack were also determined, as well as the hierarchy of command during the voyage and in battle. It was proposed that while on board, military crew members with their officers should ultimately be subordinated to the ship commander as the most experienced person at sea with his awareness of the dangers. Generally, it was ordered to avoid any encounters if possible and take precautionary measures against sudden attacks. Hence, the experienced crew member was obliged to monitor and scout from the mast basket for any vessels on the horizon daily – especially at dawn, noon and sunset. He was obliged to be suspicious about the nature and intentions and hoisted the flag of any ships sighted except the Austrian warships. Additionally, to avoid encounters, the larger and stronger armed ships were recommended to be treated only with friendly manners and manoeuvres.⁷⁴ On the other hand, in case of an encounter, it was proposed and determined that before engagement in battle, the commander of the ship was obliged to summon all officers (*tenente, caporali, capo bombardieri militari, capo di bandiera, scrivano, novliere, gvardiano*) to the secret council in the captain's cabin. The officers were obliged to counsel and advise the captain and to take a written vote on whether to attack or engage or not, but in the ultimate urge and the case of indecisiveness of officers, the captain had to take the final decision and the responsibility for the planned actions.⁷⁵ In the case of a successful encounter resulting in a spoil, it had to be separated into three parts: one for the Sovereign and the other two for the military and sailing crew.⁷⁶ In the case of an encounter that would result in a defeat, i.e. capturing and disarming the ship by the enemy, the

⁷² HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54.

⁷³ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54.

⁷⁴ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5.

⁷⁵ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁷⁶ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

soldiers and sailors who would fall into captivity and slavery were to be rescued and ransomed. Similar cases were determined for shipwrecks or sinking ships. It was planned based on a former proposal made by the Intendenza on 3rd July 1760, since that was the common practice anywhere, that military crew members should be rescued by the financial means of their respective schools or foundations (chests, registers). In the event of disarmament of the ship in a foreign country or port, the captured soldiers should still be accounted for the salary compensated through funds mentioned above until the ransom and return, but just in case there was no one else taken into the service in the meantime. Considering the engagement with enemies, especially barbary pirates, it was ordered to maintain peace, respecting all actual agreements with various barbary states. The commander and the crew were allowed to inspect the valid documents or passports of such ships, and vice versa, to let the currently “friendly” barbary ships check their documents, but in such a manner that only two persons could come to another vessel for this action. Whilst there was a tendency not to attack such ships, special attention was to be paid to the pirate ships that were fraudulently sailing under the flag of a friendly state.⁷⁷

Setting the Sails, Armed and Manned. Example of a Voyage of Armed Merchant Ship From Senj

Direct evidence about how one such voyage was performed is possible to depict and describe, thanks to the fact that excerpts from the captain’s log of nave “La Sacra Famiglia” are preserved in the archival documents. The excerpts were taken from the original ship’s log books (which are not preserved today) and were written to determine the eventual expenditure of ammunition, various other expenses and eventual losses during the voyage. Reconstructing the excerpts from the log book of Captain Michele Kollikere, it is possible to describe in detail one case of a voyage of armed and military crew manned Austrian merchant ship. According to the log, a nave, “La Sacra Famiglia”, started its voyage from the port of Senj, where it was manned with 42 military crew members, after which it set sail to the port of Trieste on 24th February 1766. It came into the port of Trieste four days later, on 28th February.⁷⁸ In the port of Trieste, the ship was loaded with grain cargo and simultaneously with the sustenance and supplies for the crew. Also, this was the day when the salaries started to be paid (*le paga*), and the sustenance of food and wine (*la panatica*) dispersed among crew members daily. The

⁷⁷ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 13, fasc. 111, doc. 1764-111-5, doc. 1764-111-6.

⁷⁸ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54. *Relazione del viaggio fatto nell'anno 1766 dalla nave Sacra Famiglia comandata dal capitano Michele Koliker, desunta dal Giornale corrente della medesima nave* (A report of the voyage made in 1766 by the ship “The Holy Family,” commanded by Captain Michele Koliker, taken from the current ship diary or logbook of the same ship).

ship was fully loaded with the cargo on 8th March. Presumably waiting for favourable weather conditions and fulfilling the paperwork, the ship set sail to Genoa on 12th March. The ship arrived on 5th April on the coastal waters of Sicily and the channel of Malta. Because of unfavourable counter winds and short water supply alongside extended physical efforts and thirst of crew caused by prolonged and harsh navigation on lousy weather (*parte stancata dal contrario e borasco vento, e parte ancora sprovista dell'acqua, a causa della lunga navigazione*) a council of commanding staff was made which decided to port to Malta and make necessary provision of water supply there which dropped to only a third of ordinary provision and initial supply. The ship left Malta after getting the necessary water supply and after the arrival of favourable winds (*doppo di aver fatta la necessaria provisione, e doppo girato il vento favorevole, parti la nave dal detto Porto di Malta*). It arrived at its first destination, the port of Genoa, at noon on 29th April. There, it completed the unloading of the grain cargo brought there, partially on behalf of the ship's owner and partially on behalf of the merchants of Trieste and Mantua. The ship remained docked in Genoa for several more days due to the prolonged unloading of cargo and unfavourable winds. The captain and the crew witnessed on their departure on 22nd May the arrival of Genoese corsair tartan dragging two Tunisian galleys which were captured and confiscated on the sea. On that same day, the nave finally set sail to the port of Trapani in Sicily to load a salt cargo. The ship arrived in the evening on 5th June in the port above and started loading a cargo of salt for the ship's owner the next day. Departure was set on the 19th of June, and the ship sailed through the Messina Strait, passing the lighthouse (*Faro di Messina*) between Sicily and Calabria on the 22nd of June. The next destination was Punta di Goro, where the salt cargo was unloaded and given to the Minister of the General Firm of Milano (*Ministro della Ferma Generale di Milano*). The ship arrived at Goro on 6th July, unloaded the cargo, and again set sail the next day to Sicily to load a new cargo of salt. Before sailing to Sicily, the ship entered on 13th July the port of Pareto (most probably Poreč, ital. *Parenzo*) in Istria to take a supply of water and refresh the provision (*per far acqua, e rinfrescare le provisioni*). In the waters of this port, the nave came across a Venetian military ship (*una nave de guerra Veneta*) commanded by the Captain of the Gulf of Venice (*comandata dal capitano del Golfo di Venezia*). A minor provocation was made by the Austrian ship commanders in the sense of temporarily neglecting to provide a standard cannon shot salute to the aforementioned Venetian ship. After the warning and a particular threat by the Venetian Captain that in the case of not returning the salute, the commander of the Austrian ship was to be called to personally appear on the Venetian ship and justify his actions, the Austrian ship, after the counsel of officers, finally counter-saluted the five canon-shot saluting salvo of Venetian ship with “only” three saluting cannon-shots. The nave left the aforementioned port in Istria on 23rd July. The ship came to the port of Augusta in Sicily on 6th August and departed after loading a cargo of salt on 19th

August. On the 25th, the ship passed the waters of di Capo S. Maria and the Strait of Otranto (*Capo d' Otranto*), where it encountered terrible and windy weather, which made the ship's mast and sails hurled and bent to the ground. At the same time, struggling with bad weather, the nave spotted a suspicious vessel closing at high speed using the strong counterwind. Since it was impossible to determine the type of this vessel, which resembled barbary xebec, the Austrian captain ordered firing a warning cannon shot – which was not answered. The captain then set the crew on battle stations and ordered them to fire cannons aiming at the mast of the approaching vessel. After five shots, the unknown vessel started to change its course, but the Austrian captain called the unknown captain to dock and explain his actions. It was a Genovese tartane whose captain came onboard and apologized for his actions and disobeying the signals from cannon shots since he thought that the Austrian ship was an unarmed merchant ship carrying a cargo of salt (*salinara*) that he planned to confiscate. Although the Austrian officers and crew considered that the Genovesian captain for such a thoughtless and treacherous plan deserved to be punished by a hundred blows on the back tied to a cannon, he was spared because of his advanced age and released with strict warning. Finally, on 8th September, the nave arrived with salt cargo at the port of Senj. After unloading the cargo, a part of the military crew disembarked and was handed over to the command of the Otočac Regiment. After the final decision of the regimental command, the rest of the military crew was dismissed, and the ship disembarked on 23rd September.⁷⁹

The strategies above of engaging the coastal guard galleys and equipping the merchant ships with armament, commanders from Senj and military crews from Grenz Regiments lasted for a decade, and both naves were performing sailing across the Mediterranean.⁸⁰ The nave “Sacra Famiglia” was still active in 1769 and under the command of Captain Michael Kolicher when anchored in Ancona with its cargo.⁸¹ Similarly, the nave “Gran Rodolpho” was also still active and armed with 20 canons in March 1774, according to the licence it got on behalf of the owner Abbot Vincenzo and his brothers Giorgio and Matteo Demelli de Löwensfeld.⁸² But a few years later, “Gran Rodolpho” met its destiny not from pirates or enemies but from the natural enemy of ships—harsh weather and storms. In February of 1776, “Gran Rodolpho”, sailing under harsh winter weather and a storm, was thrown onto rocks near the island of Krk. While some sailors man-

⁷⁹ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 15, fasc. 112, doc. 1768-112-54.

⁸⁰ HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 14, fasc. 111, 1767-111-114. Cf. Karaman, *Kraljevica*, 155, footnote 19.

⁸¹ Nikola Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati. Settecento. Navigazione nell'Adriatico. Fonti, II vol. / Hrvatski pomorski regesti. Osamnaesto stoljeće. Plovidba na Jadranu*, svezak II. (Padova: Centro di studi storici croati, 1993), 346.

⁸² AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 944, Erteilung der Flaggenpatente, Scontrini und Pasavant, Demelli de Löwensfeld (1750-1774).

aged to save themselves, the ship was doomed, and all cannons, masts, and cargo were lost.⁸³ “La Vigilanza” was still active in 1771 during its port surveillance activities under the command of Vincenzo de Vukasović, but a plan was made to construct a new small galley to replace it.⁸⁴ Felucca “La Vigilanza” was active till the end of 1772, and then the following year, it was finally put out of action along with its crew. A plan in 1774 to replace its crew with a contingent of 18 sailors (*marinari*) from Trieste failed, so, in the end, the now twenty-year-old vessel was taken out of service and sold with armament and equipment.⁸⁵ For the moment, one cannon boat (*Wacht-Chaolupe*) in Rijeka remained a coast guard ship, which was in 1772 under the command of the captain of port Giuseppe de Gerliczi and conducted by helmsman Antonio Sestan.⁸⁶ New support for surveilling the coastal waters and harbours came in 1775 when a new felucca was built in Trieste. It operated in the waters of Senj and, most probably as before, manned with the citizens of Senj. This felucca and its crew were also most probably to be credited for the capture and arrest of the notorious pirate (*der berühmte Seeräuber*) Franz Abramovich, who had plundered ships in Dalmatia, finally attacking and killing the crew of a small Venetian barge that had a large sum of money from the sale of grain on board. The pirate was caught in May 1777 and taken to prison in Senj.⁸⁷

Citizens of Senj and Military Frontier Soldiers as Crews on Military Ships

A new swing in the organisation of Austrian Littoral sea defence came during the reign of Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790). It was a consequence and result of ending the war efforts of Austria against the United Provinces. Signing the immediate peace in the autumn of 1784 (20th September and 8th November), arming against the United Provinces fell into the second plan. Emperor Joseph II ordered next year that two cutters, which were previously planned to be used as military ships defending the Austrian possession in the Netherlands, sail to the Adriatic

⁸³ *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 14th February 1776, 3, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

⁸⁴ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 55, 82.

⁸⁵ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 961, *Haupt=Tabella über den wahren Zustand der Inner-Oesterreichischen Mercantil Marine für das abgewichene 1772te Jahr*. Cf. Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 72.

⁸⁶ AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 961, *Haupt=Tabella über den wahren Zustand der Inner-Oesterreichischen Mercantil Marine für das abgewichene 1772te Jahr*.

⁸⁷ *Reichspostreuter* (s. l.), 1st May 1777, 3 (*Beytrag zum Reichs=Postreuter*), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. Cf. *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 19th April 1777, 7, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>; *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 6th May 1775, 5, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

Sea and coastal Austrian cities to protect domestic naval commerce.⁸⁸ According to the newspaper reports and other news, the two cutters were armed with 22 cannons and four stone-ball mortars (*Steinmörser*). The ships were bought in England and served in Oostende to protect Austrian naval commerce.⁸⁹ This type of vessel was mainly used for patrolling and had one mast with a crossbar sail and main sail.⁹⁰ Although the cutters above were supposed to sail from Oostende to Trieste on 17th July of 1786 during favourable weather and naval conditions, they arrived in late autumn of the same year, i.e., on 4th October.⁹¹ At the beginning of a long voyage, the cutters were provided in Oostende with the necessary crew and equipment. It was planned that after the arrival of vessels in Trieste, this temporary crew, as it was before with the aforementioned coastal guard and armed merchant ships, is to be replaced by the people from coastal cities (for sailing crews) and soldiers from Military Frontier regiments (for military crews). Thereupon, on 9th January 1786, Emperor Joseph II issued an order to replace the ship crews of two cutters with the military crews and artillerymen formed from the soldiers of Otočac and Lika Regiments and the military staff, i.e., officers from the citizens and noblemen of Senj, Rijeka and other coastal cities.⁹² According to the Emperor's order, the commanding staff of Otočac and Lika Regiments formed on 31st January 1786 a list of suitable soldiers for the service on these new vessels. Finally, according to the agreement with other coastal cities and authorities, mixed sailing and military crews of various officers and sailors from different countries, provinces and areas were set on board. Among them, many significant positions were occupied by the habitants or noblemen from Senj. (See Appendices 4. a, b, c). In the summer of 1787, i. e. on 17th May, the ships sailed off from Trieste to Senj to board the necessary military crew, after which they sailed again to the port of Trieste. They arrived back in Trieste on 8th June, loaded supplies and provisions for the five-month-long voyage and patrolled across the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas.⁹³ Daily local activities of the two cutters included patrolling alongside the Adriatic coast, after which they anchored in the port of Trieste. In other cases, the vessels acted upon a necessity or emergence

⁸⁸ Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 161.

⁸⁹ *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 2nd August 1786, 2 (1822) – 3 (1823), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. Cf. Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 161.

⁹⁰ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 146.

⁹¹ *Provinzialnachrichten aus den kaiserl. königl. Staaten und Erbländern* (Vienna) (online version), 30th September 1786, 1, 2 (402), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. Cf. Herkov, *Gradnja*, 125.

⁹² AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit, box 921, fasc. 111, Letter of Emperor Joseph II to Field-marshal Hadik, Vienna, 9th January 1786. Cf. Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 162.

⁹³ *Provinzialnachrichten aus den kaiserl. königl. Staaten und Erbländern* (Vienna) (online version), 2nd June 1787, 7 (279), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. Cf. *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 20th June 1787, 3 (1471), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

caused by enemy ships and corsairs in the vicinity. These activities were prominent during the outbreak of the Austrian-Turkish War (February 1788 – August 1791) as a preparation action for the upcoming conflict.⁹⁴ Once again, the Ottomans engaged pirates from the coasts of North Africa and the pirates from Ulcinj against Austrian ships.⁹⁵ Since French vessels as Ottoman allies entered the Adriatic Sea and bolstered privateer attacks of the latter on Austrian ships, the cutters were used for recon and pursuit. That was the case in May of 1788. Upon the notification and warning (presumably from some merchant ship that came across enemy vessels) that two Ottoman ships (*caravelle*) sailed in the waters of the Adriatic Sea as support to a certain French ship. This contingent attacked and plundered three ships (*tartane*): one of the Neapolitan Kingdom and two of the Papal State. Immediately, when this report came to Trieste, cutters were armed and sailed off to open sea to search and pursue those vessels.⁹⁶ During this war, along with such activities against Ottoman and pirate ships, cutters and their crews took on even more complex tasks. In 1788, during the Expedition of Colonel Filip Vukasović to Montenegro with the goal to draw the local population on the Austrian side, i.e., against the Ottomans, two cutters supervised the coast of Albania and the known pirate harbour of Ulcinj. They also performed reconnaissance missions patrolling near Budva against the potential threat of the sudden arrival of Ottoman vessels from Greece. Hence, the two cutters were used as a sort of front guard for the expedition force of Colonel Vukasović. Furthermore, the cutters escorted the vessels that were transferring the army corps of the aforementioned Colonel to Montenegro and additionally, in July 1788, performed the mission of supplying the latter with necessary supplies and money.⁹⁷

In the meanwhile, the ships from Senj suffered again from Ottoman privateer attacks and widow Rucich in 1788 asked for armament for her ships.⁹⁸ To prevent such attacks, three xebecs were built in 1788 in Kraljevica.⁹⁹ To enforce the anti-privateer and anti-pirate activities of the cutters, the Austrian government ordered in autumn 1789 the construction of one cannon boat (*Canonnier-Schaluppe*, *Lancia canoniera*) and two xebecs. Once again, Senj’s noblemen and citizens took part in realizing these plans. Xebecs named “E(rz) H(erzog) Franz” and

⁹⁴ *Reichspostreuter* (s. l.) (online version), no. 12, 19th January 1788, 2, last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

⁹⁵ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 98.

⁹⁶ *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) (online version), 24th May 1788, 2 (1270), last accessed on 10th January 2024, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. News about these actions of two cutters were reported to Vienna by the correspondence letter from Trieste dated 13th May 1788.

⁹⁷ Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 200. Cf. Emilij Laszowski, Velimir Deželić, “Pri-lozi k ratnoj povijesti Hrvata. Vukasovićeve vojna u Crnoj Gori i njegov dobrovoljački zbor 1788.-1790.”, *Vjestnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 19 (1917), no. 3-4: 235.

⁹⁸ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 98.

⁹⁹ Herkov, *Gradnja*, 124.

“Prinzessin Elizabeth” were under the command of Lieutenants Nicola Maurich and Anton Mallinarich (later under Johann Masckarich), while the canon boat was operated by the supervision of nobleman from Senj Simon Pasquich.¹⁰⁰ All vessels were manned by artillerymen, surgeons, carpenters, and sailors armed with sabres, flint guns, and lashing hooks. Xebecs were armed with 12 regular cannons, and the cannon boat had a powerful 24-pound cannon.¹⁰¹ This additional naval contingent fitted well with the strategy of supervising the sea passage sector between the Island of Krk and the mainland coast, sailing to recon by turns and acting together with the cutters. Due to the cease of conflict during the peace negotiations with Ottomans, the aforementioned contingent was disbanded in the summer of 1791, and the vessels were sold out.¹⁰²

However, pirate attacks didn't stop after the war and even the upcoming decades didn't bring peace and safe sailing. Hence, soon on the eve of the upcoming Coalition Wars against France in 1792 Algerian pirates captured the ship of the Draganich noble family from Senj, capturing the ship's crew and taking them to slavery.¹⁰³ The Coalition Wars further bolstered France to manifest privateer-licences for the attacking of Austrian ships.¹⁰⁴ Once again, the Austrian government engaged a small sea force task group consisting of one cannon boat and six smaller armed vessels (*barche*) dispersed among the ports of Senj and Karlobag and manned with the soldiers of Otočac and Lika Regiments. This task force was a part of the Austrian naval contingent in 1793, which consisted of one brigantine, two xebecs and the aforementioned vessels in Senj and Karlobag which were also most probably active in 1797 performing the tasks of suppressing the French privateer's attacks from Ancona.¹⁰⁵ This latest case represents the last attempt to engage the local population and noblemen of Senj in the naval efforts of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century following the collapse of the Republic of Venice, the Habsburg Monarchy, besides the city of Venice with its shipyard and arsenal annexed the territory of Venetian Dalmatia. The captured city and the military vessels, although not in great number and condition, became the core of the future Austrian navy which set its main development in the 19th century, especially after the elimination of piracy on the Adriatic which occurred in 1815.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 1, 219.

¹⁰¹ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 1, 218-219.

¹⁰² Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 1, 220.

¹⁰³ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 99.

¹⁰⁴ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 99.

¹⁰⁵ Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 99.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Sokol, *The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1968), 7, 9. Cf. Buczynski, *Gradovi*, vol. 2, 99.

Conclusion

The analysis and reconstruction in this paper showed several processes. The maritime efforts of Habsburgs in the 18th century included and counted on the citizens of Senj because of their efforts to provide naval trade through the harsh times of the first half of the 18th century. Independent initiatives that the citizens of Senj provided against privateer and especially pirate attacks made a starting point of including them in the Habsburg efforts of gaining its place in the naval maritime trade and sailing across the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas. Most of the Habsburg efforts to build its navy failed due to the lack of finances and unilateral agreement between several deciding bodies, such as the Commercial Intendencia in Trieste and the central government in Vienna. The maritime needs and efforts of the citizens of Senj could not wait for a universal solution, so they readily accepted the government's efforts to arm their merchant ships. In addition to their willingness to provide their ships with armament, a suitable choice for military crews was made from the soldiers of the Military Frontier Regiments in the hinterland of Senj. It was a practical and mutual benefit for the state finances and the ship-owners of Senj. The arming of merchant ships from Senj made the first genuine attempt that was actually achieved to build a sort of *ad hoc* navy for the Habsburgs. In the concrete action, the system worked well, providing safe navigation for several decisive ship-owners from Senj, such as the Demelli and Sussani families. Further efforts by Habsburgs were made to strengthen the navy capacities and strategies of safe sailing, including the population of Senj and soldiers for the Military Frontier multiple times, including them as an essential part of sailing and military crews of the first actual military ships, i.e. the late 1780s cutters.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Senj, 23rd March 1704. The privateer licence issued to Paul Domazetovich, a ship-owner and nobleman from Senj. Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box 17, fasc. 138, doc. 1764-138-1.

Copia.

Jo Rudolfo del Sac^o: Rom^o: Imp^o: Conte d' Edling di Sua Maestà Cesarea Generale di Battaglia, Collonello Supremo Capitano di Segna, ed Commandante del Confinio Croato, et Maritimo.

Essendo che alcuni Bastimenti Francesi; ed altri Inimici costeggiano per il Golfo di Venezia verso questa Riviera per daneggiare li Stati di Sua Maestà Cesarea; per il che mandiamo da questa Città il Pave Domazetovich con una Fusta armata, ed un Cayco per daneggiare Le Scorrerie Gallispane, proibendoli però sotto pena della Vita, non dover attaccare Barche Papaline, Veneziane, Ragusee, ed Turche; come anch' in terra di no' dar molestia ad alcuno Suddito di sudetti Stati, con pregar tutti li Sig.^{ri} Generali, ed Ministri, che per dove passava, concedergli libero Transito, ed ritorno; promettendo in poi di corrispondere a tale amicizia con il rendere il contra Cambio in qualunque simile, o altra occasione; ed in Fede ho sottoscritto la presente con propria mano, ed con solito Sigillo confirmata. Segna li 23. Marzo 1704. L.S. Rudolfo Conte di Edling

Appendix 2. Reconstruction of armament based on the inventories of the naves "La Santissima Annunziata e Gran Rodolpho" and "La Sacra Famiglia," written in Trieste on 10th and 11th March 1766. Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-941-TUSP, box15, fasc. 112.

Ship	"La Santissima Annunziata e Gran Rodolpho"	"La Sacra Famiglia"
Main armament - cannons		
6-calibre	20	4
4-calibre	6	18
Canon accessories		
rings or belts for cannon barrels (<i>stroponi</i>)	40	30
wooden bases and bearings (<i>caretti o sia letti per li suditti cannoni</i>)	28	22
spare wheels for cannon wooden bases (<i>rodelle di riserva</i>)	36	36
fuses for cannons (<i>michia/miccia par dar fuoco alli cannoni esstanate</i>)	50 ounces	50 ounces
cylinders/chambers for charges of 4 and 6-calibre cannons (<i>cilindri di calibri 6 et 4 per li tiri delli cannoni</i>)	2	2
iron wire hooks or rods for the cannon ignition (<i>gucchie di fil di ferro per li fuoconi delli canoni</i>)	12	8
wedges or nails for fixing the cannons in case of need (<i>chiodi d'azale per inchiodare in un bisogno li cannoni</i>)	20	18
calibrated tin measures for loads and cartridges for 4 and 6-calibre cannons (<i>misure di latta calibro 6 et 4 per li carichi e patrone de' canoni</i>)	2	2
a pair of scissors for cutting cartridges (<i>due para forfici da sarto per tagliare detti sachetti e patrone</i>)	2	2
Cannon ammunition and gun-powder		
gun powder for cannons (<i>polvere per li cannoni</i>)	1 920 ounces	1 280 ounces
iron-balls for canons (<i>balle di ferro per li sudetti cannoni</i>)	1 040 (* 40 for each of 26 canons)	880 (* 40 for each of 22 canons)
round shots, pellets for cannons (<i>mitraglia per cannoni</i>)	300 ounces	300 ounces
brown linen canvas for the baggy cartridges for cannons or cartridges for round-shots (<i>brazzi di tela Cragnolina di lino bruno per le patrone de cannoni e mitraglia</i>)	505 elbows (<i>brazzi</i>)	345 elbows
ropes for connecting the cannon balls and mitraglia (<i>spago per ligare le balle nelle suddette patrone, e li Sant della mitraglia</i>)	4 elbows	4 elbows

Ship	“La Santissima Annunziata e Gran Rodolpho”	“La Sacra Famiglia”
white strings for sewing up the cartridges (<i>azze per cuccire le patrone suddette</i>)	3 ½ ounces	3 ¼ ounces
needles for sewing up the cartridges (<i>aghi per cuccire le suddette patrone</i>)	72	72
Fire-arms ammunition, gun-powder and accessories		
plumb balls for musket bullets (<i>piombo in balle per carichi della moschetteria</i>)	236 ounces/8 lots	236 ounces/8 lots
gunpowder for muskets	118 ounces/4 lots	118 ounces/4 lots
araline-stone flints for muskets (<i>pietre d'azalino per detti moschetti</i>)	150 pieces	150 pieces
cartons for making musket cartridges (<i>foglia carta per le suddette Patrone, e Fisseche</i>)	315 sheets	315 sheets
Calibrated cylinders for making the musket cartridges (<i>cilindri per far la patrone e fisecche de muschetti</i>)	6	6
Measuring cup for the load of gunpowder for muskets (<i>cimenti di latta per misurare il carico della Polvere del Moschetto</i>)	2	2
conical funnel/plate for the filling of musket cartridges/charges (<i>pitia di latta per empire de fisseche de moschetti</i>)	1	1
iron hand grenades (<i>granate di ferre</i>)	150	150
gunpowder for hand grenades (<i>polvere per le medeme</i>)	19 ounces	19 ounces
sulphur for hand grenades (<i>zolforini per le medeme</i>)	2/4 ounces	2/4 ounces
Other		
new coats for soldiers and artillerymen (<i>cappotti nuovi per li soldati ed un artigliere</i>)	41	40

Appendix 3. 1766. Revision list of available and suitable officers and soldiers of the Lika Regiment for the service on the nave "Gran Rodolpho", owned by the Demelli de Löwensfeld brothers from Senj. Vienna, Austrian State Archives, Kriegsarchiv, AT-Oe-StAKA-Pers-MLST I-GIR 1, box 5474. Cf. Herkov, *Gradnja*, 52.

Companies of Captains Jure, Pave Rukavina and Vulle Dossen

First lieutenant (*Oberlieutenant*) Petrus von Aichelburg; Field surgeon (*Unterfeldscherer*) Gregorius Devchich; Corporal Pave Kovachevich, Drummer (*Tambour*) Jacob Lizenburger

Soldier's affiliation village, Surname, Name, Religion:

Bužim (hinterland): Peinovich, Mihal (Orthodox); Sebail, Paval (Roman Catholic)

Cesarica (coastal village): Budak, Riste (Roman Catholic); Smoiver, Dujo (Roman Catholic)

Konjsko (village, hinterland of coastal village Karlobag): Berklacha, Jovan (Roman Catholic); Berklacha, Mathessa (Roman Catholic); Sikich, Blaž (Roman Catholic)

Mazin (hinterland): Ruchich, Jandre (Roman Catholic)

Smiljan (hinterland): Jellinich, Nicola (Roman Catholic); Serdar, Petar (Roman Catholic); Peinovich, Jovan (Orthodox); Perpich, Jovan (Roman Catholic); Uzelacz, Nicola (Roman Catholic)

Oštra (village, hinterland, near Regiment HQ, Gospić): Busleta, Mathessa (Roman Catholic)

Staništa (village, hinterland of coastal village Karlobag): Dossen, Dujo (Roman Catholic)

Žabica (village, hinterland, near Regiment HQ, Gospić): Millenovich, Jure (Roman Catholic)

Appendix 4. a.) The sailing and military crews on cutters “La Ferme” and “Le Juste” based on the list by Rechberger von Rechkron, *Österreichs Seewesen*, 164-165.

Name, Surname, (Country or Region of Origin)

k.k. cutter “Le Juste”

Captain Thomas Botts (England), 1st Lieutenant Jaques Williams (England), 2nd Lieutenant Agentie de Conning (Netherlands), boatswain (*Oberbootzman, maître d’équipage*) Cajetan Costa (Genoa), master gunner (*maître – canonnier*) Vicento Panjetta (Tuscany), ship’s master carpenter (*maître – charpentier*) Julius Lindemann (Hannover), sailing master (*maître-voilier*) Antonio Banni (Toscana), 1st Mate (*Contre-maitre*) Francesco Donatino (Toscana), 2nd Mate (*2nd Contre-maitre*) Joh. Bapt. Salla (Venice), 2nd artillery master (gun master) Antonio Apostole (Trieste), 2nd carpenter (*Zimmermann*) Joseph Nogovich (Istria), 1st Quartermaster Joseph Diana, 2nd Quartermaster Stipe Buttoracz (both from Croatia), boatsman (*Bottsführer; Patron du canot*) Joseph Botts (England), midshipman (*garde marine*) Julius Nocetti (Trieste), surgeon (*surgeries*) Johann Carubi (from Senj), ship clerk (*secrtaire*), William von Murohy (Ireland), food and supply officer (*commis aux vivres*) Rafaele Zulle (Dubrovnik) and 33 sailors (one from England, the rest from the Austrian Littoral), 4 cabin boys (Mozzi) and 3 “Schiffsbuben” (also cabin boys) from the hereditary Habsburg lands. The military crew consisted of 1 lieutenant (Joseph Izzo from Vienna), 1 corporal, 1 gunner, 1 drummer, 1 cadet and 17 soldiers from the Military Frontier.

k.k. cutter “Le Ferme”

Captain Georg Simpson (Scotland), 1st Lieutenant L. F. van Iseghem (Netherlands), 2nd Lieutenant Biaggio Maskarich (Dubrovnik), boatswain (*Bootsman, maître d’équipage*) Oren Ovens (Netherlands), 1 master gunner (*Geschützmeister, maître-canonier*) Franz Bilfan (from Military Frontier), ship’s master carpenter (*maître-charpentier*) Laurenz Normann (Sweden), sailing master (*Segelmeister; maître voilier*) Thomas Buttler (England), 1st Mate (*Contre-maitre*) John Allason (Scotland), 2nd Mate (*2nd Contre maître*) Jakob Czernogorich (from Military Frontier), 2nd artillery master (gun master) (*Geschützmeister*) Francesco Patricio (Manilla), 2nd carpenter (*Zimmermann*) Anton Blasich (from Military Frontier), 1st Quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*) James Simington (Scotland), 2nd Quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*) Giovanni Romano (Trieste), boatsman (*Patron du canot*) William Hazel (Ireland), Seekadet (*garde marine*) Ignaz Stauber (from Military Frontier), Chirurg (*Chirurgien*) Xaver Kleindienst (Austria), ship’s clerk (*Schiffsschreiber; Secrtaire*) Pomier de l’Estang (France), food and supply officer (*Commis aux vivres*) Pietro Pauss (from Military Frontier), cook (*Koch*) Nicolo Rubinich (Istria), 32 Sailors (*Matrosen*), 4 Cabin-boys (*Schiffsjungen*), 3 Cabin-boys (*Schiffsbuben*) (all from Military Frontier). The military crew consisted of 1 officer, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, 1 gunner, 2 cadets and 16 soldiers from the Military Frontier.

Appendix 4. b) Otočac, HQ of Otočac Grenz Regiment, 31st January 1786. List of suitable (*tauglich*) soldiers from Otočac Grenz Regiment companies proposed for enlisting as the military crew on two cutters based on the order of the High General Command in Karlovac issued on 18th and presented on 23rd January 1786, written in Otočac HQ of Otočac Grenz Regiment on 31st January 1786, signed by the Colonel (Obrist) Vachlněk. Signature: AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit Akten 921, box.921, fasc. 111.

Otočac Regiment - Company of Captain Aloysius von Gauso; Company of (former) Captain Zandonatti (currently vacant)

Soldier's affiliation village, Surname, Name, House Number:

Biljevine (village, hinterland of coastal village Sv. Juraj): Vukellich, Ivan (29)

Jablanac (coastal village): Amanchich, Anton (17), Bevanda, Nicola (32), Billen Dujo (56), Billen, Pave (54), Dessich, Pave (34), Grubessich, Ive (13), Lucich, Gerga (33), Stokich, Illia (42), Stokich, Martin (40), Stokich, Mathe (48), Pravdacich, Mathe (20), Turina, Osip (19), Vukkelich, Illia (22)

Klada (village, hinterland of coastal village Starigrad): Babich, Dujo (3); Babich, Jadre (2); Babich, Illia (5); Babich, Nicola (8), Babich, Roko (6); Dragichevich, Jerko (20); Dragichevich, Pave (19); Dragichevich, Petar (16); Legacz, Dujo (24)

Kuterevo (village, hinterland): Roxmann, Mihal (30); Verban, Ivan (19)

Lukovo (coastal village): Babich, Blas (16), Rogich, Matessa (40), Samarssia, Barissa (26), Samarssia, Osip (1)

Ponore (village, hinterland): Banianin, Dragosav (17), Banianin, Dragosav (17), Diklich, Radosav (27), Diklich, Radosav (27), Ivanchevich, Jovicza (21), Ivanchevich, Jovicza (21), Sekis, Mihai (25), Sekis, Mihai (25)

Prizna (coastal village): Perpich, Anton (13); Perpich, Dujo (11)

Starigrad (coastal village): Devchich, Barissa (22); Devchich, Jadre (23); Kirin, Matessa (37); Modrich, Dujo (16); Negovan, Pave (35); Rogich, Dujo (10); Rogich, Dugo (12); Rogich, Gaspar (13)

Stinica (coastal village): Billen, Gerga (43); Billen Jure (44); Merssich, Pave (28); Miskulin, Marko (4); Segota, Gerga (25); Segota, Jure (13), Segota, Sime (15); Segota, Pave (11), Vukkussich, Mathe (8)

Stolac (village, hinterland of Senj): Nekich, Anton (26); Ronchevich, Jure (32)

Sveti Juraj (*St. Georgen*, coastal village): Babich, Viczko (39), Martinich, Mihai (28), Matichich, Dujo (42), Matichich, Joso (42), Matichich, Marco (37), Millosvich, Sime (12), Vukellich, Gaspar (4), Vukellich, Juricza (45), Vukellich, Lovre (31), Paidass, Jure (7), Popovich, Gergo (38), Popovich, Ive (38)

Volarice (village, hinterland of coastal village Sv. Juraj): Babich, Dujo (20); Rogich, Jacob (39), Rogich, Luka (37)

Appendix 4. c) List of suitable (*tauglich*) soldiers from Lika Grenz Regiment companies proposed for enlisting as the military crew on two cutters based on the order of the High General Command in Karlovac issued 18th and presented 23rd January 1786, written in Gospić (HQ of Lika Grenz Regiment) on 31st January 1786, signed by Lieutenant-Colonel (*Obristlieutenant*) Weiller in the absence of Regiments Colonel on 6th May 1786. Signature: AT-OeStA/FHKA-NHK-Kommerz Lit Akten 921, box 921, fasc. 111.

Colonel's Company; Company of Captain Anton von Hollievacz. Soldier's affiliation village, Surname, Name, House Number:

Bužim (village, hinterland, near Regiment HQ, Gospić): Devchich, Jure (43)

Cesarica (coastal village): Chachich, Ivan (4); Smoiver, Josip (6), Verban, Jure (13)

Kučišta Cesarička (village, hinterland of coastal villages Cesarica and Karlobag): Bachich, Jure (6); Budak, Lovre (4); Devchich, Anton (8); Perpich, Jure (14); Tomlienovich, Blax (20)

Konjsko (village, hinterland of coastal village Karlobag): Berkliacha, Jure (9); Maxuran, Anton (11)

Ledenik Cesarički (village, hinterland of coastal villages Cesarica and Karlobag): Baburich, Damian (2); Papich, Joso (8); Tomlienovich, Martin (10)

Staništa (village, hinterland of coastal village Karlobag): Bačić, Vid (7); Thomlienovich, Blax (4); Tomlienovich, Nicola (11)

Žabica (village, hinterland): Trossel, Mathessa (18)

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*Vedran Klaužer****“Dim topova na vodi”. Brodovi i posade iz Senja u 18. stoljeću****Sažetak**

U članku se obrađuje proces nastojanja Habsburgovaca za uspostavom stalne i efektivne mornarice temeljem angažiranja i naoružavanja trgovačkih brodova senjskih brodovlasnika te opskrbljivanja istih za vojnim posadama sastavljenim od pripadnika vojnokrajiških trupa kako bi se osigurala i uspostavila sigurna pomorska trgovina i plovidba Jadranskim i Sredozemnim morem tijekom 18. stoljeća. Građani Senja bili su vrlo angažirani u habsburškim naporima izgradnje te učinkovite i postojeane pomorske strategije kroz cijelo razdoblje 18. stoljeća budući da je o takvim akcijama ovisilo njihovo gospodarstvo. Pogodnost koju su habsburške vlasti vidjele u takvim inicijativama Senjana vezana je uz njihovo stoljetno vojno iskustvo u minulim ratovima i sukobima s Osmanlijama. Stoga se u radu analizira angažman senjskih brodovlasnika u osiguravanju sigurne plovidbe od raznih neprijatelja, poput gusara neprijateljskih zemalja te berberskih gusara sa sjevernoafričke obale. Dodatno, rekonstrukcija donosi i pregled uspostave vojnih pomorskih odreda i sistema naoružavanja trgovačkih brodova kao još jedan segment nastojanja habsburških vlasti i vojnokrajiškog zapovjedništva da se sigurnost i obrana plovila pojačaju popunjavanjem vojnim posadama s područja Otočke i Ličke pukovnije. Dodatno, rad donosi daljnji razvoj prvih koraka izgradnje habsburške mornarice na Jadranu, pri čemu se razmatraju i dotadašnji napori građana i brodovlasnika iz Senja, koji su mnoge od njih uključili i u prvo osnivanje službene mornarice krajem 1780. godine, državnom kupnjom dvaju kutera – službenih vojnih brzih plovila za obranu pomorske trgovine Jadranom.

Ključne riječi: Senj, 18. stoljeće, Habsburška Monarhija, Vojna krajina, Jadransko more, Mediteransko more, pomorstvo, pomorsko naoružanje, jedrenjaci, doba jedrenjaka, vojna mornarica, piratstvo i gusarstvo

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