

Movable Types Between Italy and East Central Europe

Multiple Mobilities in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic

Abstract

This essay investigates material objects and ‘their’ human companions in the Renaissance Adriatic. Notarial deeds and testaments from Venetian Dalmatia are utilised to reconstruct flows and means of communication and exchange. In a first step, the methodological and conceptual preliminaries are discussed, in particular relating to the sources and their suitability for qualitative and quantitative analysis. Notarised acts and testaments typically contain relevant geographical, economic, religious, and social information, thus rendering them useful for the reconstruction of individual as well as aggregated experiences of mobility. In the second part, this essay provides a selection of examples to as well as a quantifying outline to identify recurring patterns of people and goods on the move. In these undertakings, I am guided by the following questions: what kinds of objects were comparatively common throughout the sixteenth-century Adriatic, a maritime *entrepôt* situated at the crossroads between Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam? Who were the actors and what roles did ‘foreign’ objects play in everyday life? In combination, analysis of both types of sources allows the historian to retrace the multiple mobilities of various material objects and ‘their’ (temporary) human keepers, as well as to critically assess the characteristics, means, and ranges of material objects as they travelled through space and time as well as across borders.

1 Introduction

This essay looks at the way in which inhabitants of Venetian Dalmatia and (some of) their material possessions moved across the Renaissance Adriatic. At that time the Most Serene Republic was the dominant political, economic, and cultural power in the region, yet over the course of the sixteenth century Venice found itself repeatedly under attack by the expanding Ottoman Empire. Dalmatia’s urban communities were situated between the Catholic-Italianate sphere of cultural diffusion, its Central European hinterlands, and

the Ottoman Balkans; while firmly embedded within the Mediterranean lifestyle and civilisation of Renaissance Italy, the Adriatic can be considered the (maritime) crossroads between these areas.¹

My article pursues two aims: in a first step, by examining a number of instances of “moveable types” and their spatiotemporal ranges, I am arguing for a more holistic analysis drawn from a variety of sources to shed light on what I conceive of “multiple mobilities” of human actors and non-human companions, material and immaterial. In doing so, second, from the perspective of Venice’s Adriatic possessions, I propose tentative answers how to study “the central paradox in Venetian history ... the sharp contrast between the tendency of Venetians” – as well as their subjects (and objects) – “both to represent and to think of themselves in terms of fixed categories and the underlying realit[ies] of economic, social, and geographic fluidity”, thereby contributing to the burgeoning field of “maritime microhistory”.²

This essay is based on the rich, if under-used notarial records from Zadar (Zara).³ Continued adherence to both Catholicism and the Italianate cultural sphere means that the notarised deeds correspond closely to their counterparts throughout the Mediterranean. Thus, their study fits well into the research framework of established historiog-

1 Overview by Tomislav Raukar, Croatia within Europe, in: Ivan Supičić/Eduard Hercigonja (Eds.), *Croatia and Europe. Culture, Arts, and Sciences*, 3 voll., London 1999–2015, vol. 1: *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. A Cultural Survey*, London 2008, pp. 7–40.

2 Quotes from, respectively, John Martin/Dennis Romano, *Reconsidering Venice*, in: id. (Eds.), *Venice Reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, Baltimore 2000, pp. 1–35, at p. 21 (my emphasis/modification); Colin Heywood, *Microhistory-Maritime History. Aspects of the British Presence in the Western Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period*, in: Albrecht Fuess/Bernard Heyberger, *La frontière méditerranéenne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle. Échanges, circulations et affrontements*, Turnhout 2013, pp. 84–111, esp. pp. 84–89.

3 Topographical information follows present-day conventions, with their historical Italian equivalents given in parentheses when first mentioned; exceptions are those places generally familiar, e. g., Rome and Venice. Anthroponyms in direct quotations and elsewhere are reproduced as they appear in the primary sources. In a similar vein, and to increase legibility, I have translated all quotes, with the original wording in some of the footnotes; note that these transliterations are reproduced as they appear in the primary sources, i. e., not always consistent with standardised Latin orthography and/or grammar. The Venetian year began in March and, if necessary, this is referenced through the addition of “m. v.”, or “more Veneto”; calendrical norms in the rest of the Adriatic are much less clear; unless indicated otherwise, all dates are reproduced as they appear in the sources. On the DAZD Josip Kolanović (Ed.), *Pregled arhivskim fondova i zbirki republike Hrvatske [Overview of the archival funds and collections of the Republic of Croatia]*, 2 voll. Zagreb 2006–2007, vol. 1, pp. 881–884. On Zadar (Zara)’s urban history Tomislav Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletackom upravom, 1409–1797 [Zara under Venetian rule]*, Zadar 1987.

raphy in Renaissance (western) Europe. Either shore of the Adriatic exhibited aspects of shared civic, social, and urban development, in part dating back to late Antiquity.⁴ A variety of commercial, legal, and political factors contributed to the establishment and endurance of a Venetian commonwealth, which was certainly helped by a lack of credible alternatives to the emerging Ottoman threat. Within Latin Christendom, there did not exist significant socio-economic differences between Renaissance Italy and East Central Europe, and this assessment also holds partially for the Ottoman Balkans as well, with religious affiliation as more plausible indicator of differences.⁵

Venetian rule – domination, “venetocracy”, empire and “trans-imperialism”, or “*res-publica-cum-empire*” – was not a one-way street. Dominion abroad caused, as well as effectuated, domestic changes, whose study has increased markedly in scale, if not conceptual clarity, in recent years.⁶ Irrespective of these historiographic pitfalls, the many entanglements and their intensification throughout the (late) medieval period cemented Dalmatia’s adherence to an extended sphere of Catholic-Italianate cultural diffusion based on behavioural, cultural, economic, linguistic, legal, religious, and social characteristics that was also shared, albeit less prominently, throughout Central Europe over which the Habsburgs ruled.⁷

4 Neven Budak, *Die Adria von Justinian bis zur venezianischen Republik* – Wandlungen in Verkehrswegen, in: *Saeculum* 56 (2005), pp. 199–213.

5 Definition via Stephan Karl Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites of Zadar. Dalmatia and the Venetian Commonwealth, 1540–1569*, Roma 2013, pp. 17–18.

6 Gaetano Cozzi, *Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice*, in: John Hale (Ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, London 1973, pp. 293–345, esp. pp. 325–327; recent developments via Stanley Chojnacki, *Identity and Ideology in Renaissance Venice. The Third Serrata*, in: Martin/Romano, *Venice Reconsidered* (see note 2), pp. 263–294, at pp. 268–269. Terms and concepts relate to, respectively, Michael Knapton, *Tra dominante e dominio, 1517–1630*, in: Gaetano Cozzi et al. (Ed.), *La repubblica di Venezia nell’età moderna*, 2 vols., Torino 1986–1992, vol. 2, pp. 201–549; Chryssa A. Maltezou et al. (Eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee, XIII–XVIII sec.*, Venezia 2009; Monique O’Connell, *Men of Empire. Power and Negotiation in the Venetian Maritime State*, Baltimore 2009; E. Nathalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*, Ithaca 2012; and Gherardo Ortalli, *Beyond the Coast. Venice and the western Balkans. The Origins of a Long Relationship*, in: id./Oliver J. Schmitt (Eds.), *Balceni occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo – Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, Venezia-Wien 2009, pp. 9–25, at p. 23 (emphasis in the original).

7 To give just one example, see the ongoing edition of the correspondence of the Apostolic Nunciature in Graz (active 1580–1622), which so far yielded five vols., with six more vols. planned (URL: <http://www.oehirom.it/progetti/la-grazer-nuntiatur-1580-1622-digitale>; 14. 3. 2022).

2 Benchmarks and Outline

Research into Venice's body politic provides a reliable framework of reference, albeit one that is heavily biased towards the lagoon metropolis and its ruling class. Irrespective thereof, recent scholarship "has done away with a unilinear reading of Venice's past", which points to a variety of new, if not always embraced, avenues of research:⁸ with the exception of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Split (Spalato), Trogir (Traù), and Zadar (Zara), as well as recent work on the Kvarner Gulf (Quarnero), however, these auspicious fields of research lie mostly barren, especially with respect to the sixteenth century.⁹ All known obstacles – historiographic, palaeographic, a lack of pictorial sources, or individual preferences – may be overcome thanks to "the abundance of written sources" preserved in Dalmatian archives and their extensive, if under-appreciated and under-used notarial records that allow the historian to recover "the soundtrack of the city's bustle".¹⁰

In this essay, I am looking at material culture and inter-personal relations within their respective communicative, cultural, linguistic, political, religious, and social con-

8 Martin/Romano, *Reconsidering Venice* (see note 2), p. 27. Note the continued upper-class bias in many recent works on late medieval and early modern Dalmatia by, e.g., Oliver J. Schmitt, *Storie d'amore, storie di potere. La tormentata integrazione dell'isola di Curzola nello Stato da mar in una prospettiva microstorica*, in: Uwe Israel/Oliver J. Schmitt (Eds.), *Venezia e la Dalmazia*, Roma 2013, pp. 89–109; id., "Altre Venezie" nella Dalmazia tardo-medievale? Un approccio microstorico alle comunità socio-politiche sull'isola di Curzola-Korčula, in: Gherardo Ortalli et al. (Eds.), *Il Commonwealth veneziano. Identità e peculiarità*, Venezia 2015, pp. 203–233.

9 Overview by Neven Budak, *Urban élites in Dalmatia in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, in: Michele P. Ghezzi (Ed.), *Città e sistema adriatico alla fine del medioevo*, Venezia 1998, pp. 181–199; Serđo Dokoza, *Dinamika otočnog prostora [Dynamics of the insular space]*, Split 2009; Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo [Medieval Traù. Space and society]*, Zagreb 2009. The dearth of sixteenth-century studies was recently noted by Ludwig Steindorff, *Pogled izvana. Njemačka historiografija o hrvatskoj povijesti [A view from outside. German historiography on Croatian history]*, in: *Historijski zbornik 70* (2017), pp. 217–224, at p. 223. Exemplary works that go beyond the social elites incl. Dušan Mlacović, *Gradani plemići. Pad i upson iga plemstva [Noble citizens. The fall and the children of the nobility]*, Zagreb 2008; Ana Plosnić Skarić, *Lapicide i marangoni u spisima kasnosrednjovjekovne trogirске komune [Stone-cutters and carpenters in the writings of Trogir in the late Middle Ages]*, Zadar 2019.

10 Quotes from, respectively, Budak, *Urban élites* (see note 9), p. 199; and Sally McKee, *Women under Venetian Colonial Rule in the Early Renaissance: Observations on their Economic Activities*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998), pp. 34–67, at p. 35. On the wider importance of the State Archive in Zadar cfr. Oliver J. Schmitt, *L'apport des archives de Zadar à l'histoire de la Méditerranée orientale au XV^e siècle*, in: Sandro G. Franchini et al. (Eds.), *Venise et la Méditerranée*, Venezia 2011, pp. 45–54, esp. pp. 47–49.

texts from an urban perspective.¹¹ It is, after all, necessary to relate the various local and regional situations to their respective macro-contexts, including, but not limited to, religious affiliation, language use and literary tradition, political considerations, social relations, economic development, etc.¹² A focus on “communication”, widely understood, is helpful to identify any number of “cultural practices” that allow for a more comprehensive reconstruction of the normative, linguistic, and discursive realities available to, and circumscribing the activities of, sixteenth-century individuals.¹³ In doing so, this essay further relates to long-standing debates among practitioners of microhistory and how individual experiences did (or did not) relate to ‘the bigger picture’.¹⁴ The main aim of my paper, though, is not to plump for one or the other of these views (micro / macro; qualitative / quantitative analysis) but to investigate the interactions and, by way of aggregating individual realities and their “media of exchange”, to generate new insights into

11 Cf. Martina Löw, *Soziologie der Städte*, Frankfurt a. M. 2008, pp. 15–73, esp. pp. 66–68, who calls for the singling out of these individual components and their joint analysis in relation to human agency.

12 On religion Franjo Šanjek, *The Church and Christianity*, in: Supićić/Hercigona, Croatia (see note 1), pp. 227–258, who notes Dalmatia only in passing; on Venice proper Cecilia Cristellon / Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Religious Life*, in: Eric R. Dursteler (Ed.), *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, Leiden-Boston 2013, pp. 379–420; and David D’Andrea, *Charity and Confraternities*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 420–447. On linguistics and language use Bariša Krekić, *On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik*, in: *id.* (Ed.), *Dubrovnik. A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300–1600*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 312–332; Michael Metzeltin, *Le varietà italiane sulle coste dell’Adriatico orientale*, in: Ortalli/Schmitt, *Balceni occidentali* (see note 6), pp. 199–237; and Ljerka Šimunković, *La politica linguistica della Serenissima verso i possedimenti “di là da mar”. Il caso della Dalmazia*, in: Sante Graciotti (Ed.), *Mito e antimito di Venezia nel bacino adriatico, secoli XV–XIX*, Roma 2001, pp. 95–104. On economic development Tomislav Raukar, *Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV. i XVI. Stoljeću [Venice and the economic development of Dalmatia in 15th and 16th centuries]*, in: *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest 10 (1977)*, pp. 203–225; recent guidance by Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites* (see note 5), pp. 27–61.

13 On the former, James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture. Essays on Media and Society*, New York 2009, pp. 14–21; on the latter, cf. Roger Chartier, *Introduction*, in: *id.* (Ed.), *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations*, Ithaca 1988, pp. 1–16, here pp. 7–9; *id.*, *Le monde comme représentation*, in: *Annales E.S.C.* 44 (1989), pp. 1505–1520; *id.*, *Texts, Prints, Readings*, in: Lynn Hunt (Ed.), *The New Cultural History*, Berkeley 1989, pp. 154–175, esp. pp. 163–166.

14 Cf. the essays in: Jürgen Schlumbohm (Ed.), *Mikrogeschichte-Makrogeschichte. Komplementär oder inkommensurabel?*, Göttingen 2000; recent developments via John Brewer, *Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life*, in: *Cultural and Social History 7 (2010)*, pp. 87–109; and Filippo de Vivo, *Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale. A Response*, in: *Cultural and Social History 7 (2010)*, pp. 387–397, but note the geographical focus – biases – on “western” languages, thereby perpetuating, in a way, this traditional, if anachronistic, divide.

the entanglements, means, and spatiotemporal dimensions of people, goods, and objects on the move between Italy and Central Europe in the Renaissance Mediterranean.¹⁵

3 The Notarial Record

The first example concerns a warship berthed in Zadar (Zara)'s harbour. After the conclusion of the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537–1540, one of Venice's naval commanders "Tommaso Venier", paid 42 oarsmen for their service. In the presence of two witnesses, "ser Christopher Apolonius Scriuanello and Martin Bolicich of Zadar (Zara), the bireme's pilot", Tommaso paid out a total of £ 2.712 S 15, or c. 226 ducats, to his crew members.¹⁶ This comparatively large amount of money was transferred to oarsmen from virtually all over the *Stato da Mar*, with 17 individuals hailing from Zadar (Zara)'s jurisdiction, seven from Korčula (Curzola), and the others from elsewhere, e.g., "Petrus Radimouich of Šibenik" (Sebenico), "Elias of Dubrovnik, son of John", "Lio of Kythira" (Cerigo) in the Ionian Sea, or "Alexander of Koroni" (Corone). All of them had served on warships before, which were commanded by Venetian patricians from 15 different families; in terms of social composition, the document lists one artisan among the oarsmen, "master-oarsmaker Athanasius of Korčula, son of Vasili", who doubled as the ship's carpenter.¹⁷ (Fig. 1)

In this example, we learn of two score and a handful of sailors, but Zadar (Zara)'s notarial record contains much more information about comparable instances related to ships, their crews, and the goods these individuals possessed. First, between 1540 and 1569 the city's notaries recorded visiting warships 224 times (162 triremes; 62 biremes),

15 Here, I rely on Max Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Berkeley 1978, who held that such exchanges could relate "a single concrete situation" (p. 35) and that "media of exchange" employed include "means of exchange", "means of payment", or "money" ... insofar as it effectively imposes within the sphere of authority of its orders the conventional or legal (formal) validity of a means of exchange, of payment, or money" (pp. 75–80, at p. 78).

16 1 ducat = £ 6 S 4; £ 1 = 20 S = 240 denarii; Zadarski statut sa svim reformacijama odnosno novim uredbama donesenima do godine 1563 [The Statute of Zadar with all the reforms and new decrees approved up to 1563], ed. by Josip Kolanović / Mate Križman, Zagreb 1997, p. 759.

17 If not indicated otherwise, all information derives from DAZD 31, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 1, E, s.p., 4 December 1542; note that the source lists 44 oarsmen, as two rowers were represented by their respective brothers but not physically present. Tommaso is also (very) briefly mentioned by Paolo Giustinian, Zadar (Zara)'s former captain (military commander), in his report written in 1553; *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, ed. by Simeon Ljubić, Zagreb 1880, vol. 3, pp. 48–55, at p. 51 (*Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* 11).

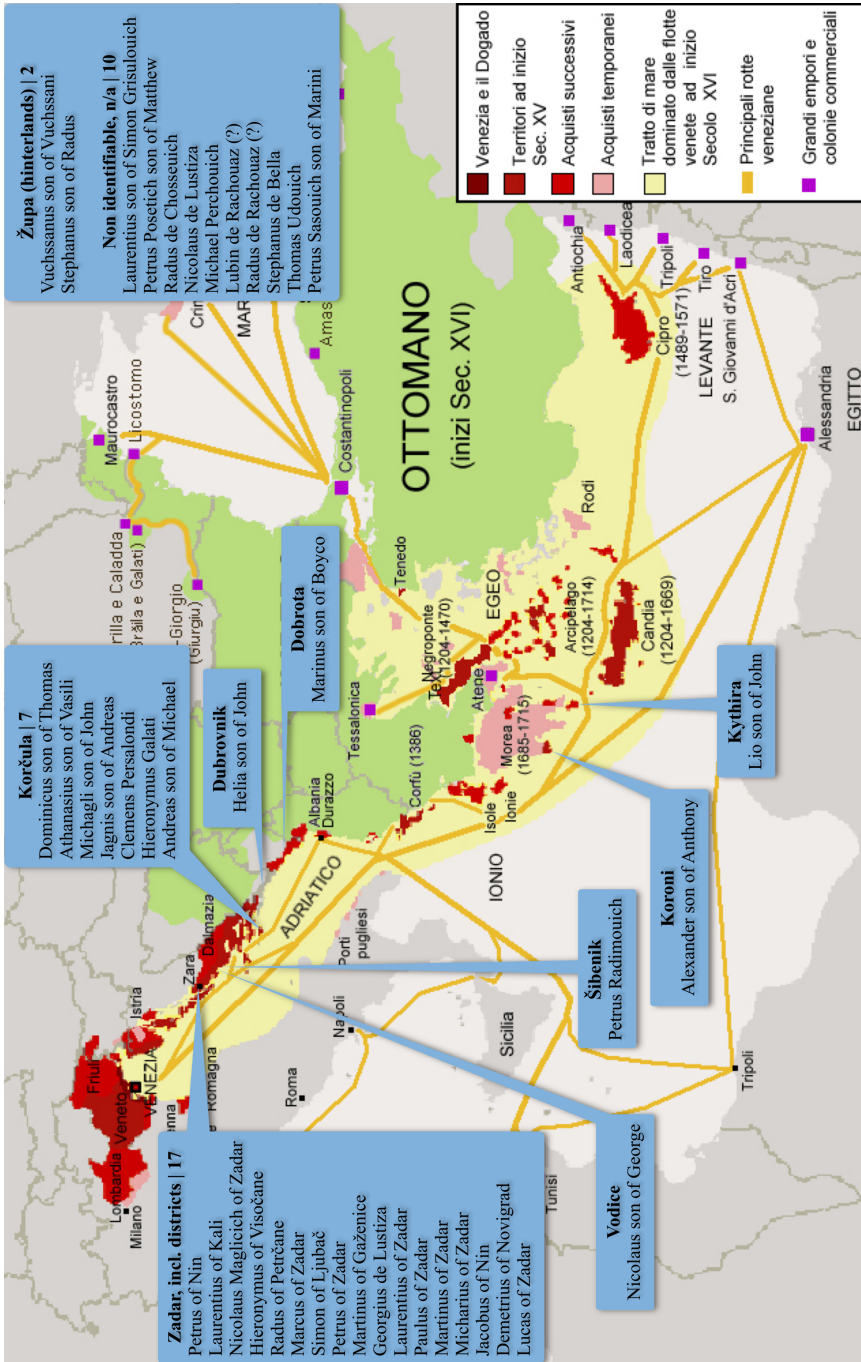


Fig. 1: Men and Movable Types in the Domain of the Republic of Venice (URL: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/Repubblica_di_Venezia.png; 14. 3. 2022; DAZD 31, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, E, s. p., 4 December 1542).

which roughly equals 7–8 times per year; it can safely be assumed that the actual annual incidence was much higher, though.¹⁸

Historically, Venetian galleys were manned by sailors and oarsmen (*galeotti*) of Albanian, Dalmatian, and Greek origins.¹⁹ While there was a medieval communal tradition of serving freemen, by the last third of the sixteenth century, compelled by shortages of manpower, many navies – including the Venetian – increasingly deployed convicts and slaves. As a consequence, the conscription and contracting of able-bodied freemen (*uomini da fatto*), prone to both desertion upon partial advance payment and / or reluctance to re-enlist after their contract expired, grew less important from the 1550s onwards. In addition, if a person enlisted, he could enter in a (sub-) contract with a third party who would, in exchange for a small surcharge over the original payment (*zonta*), take it upon himself to actually serve aboard the ship.²⁰

In terms of “infrastructure” and material culture, the joint Christian victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto (7 October 1571) was achieved with Venice deploying the majority of vessels, but due to significant shortages of manpower many of them were manned by troops in the service of the Spanish monarch, Philipp II, who served alongside sailors and oarsmen from all over the *Stato da Mar* and brought with them their own belongings. Another facet of this event was the capture of a large number of Ottoman vessels, which brought a variety of different objects, large and small, into Venetian possession, which, and in addition to peace-time reductions of fleet size, further contributed to both a drastic cut in ship-building as well as a reduction of military-related of people and goods on the move (even though we lack reliable studies on the more or less precise extent thereof).²¹

18 Data derived from analysis of all existing acts from notarised between 1 January 1540 to 31 December 1569: n = 6,425; markers used to compile the data incl. the type of ship (trireme; bireme) and *supracomes* (commander). Further information on the source base by Stephan Karl Sander[-Faes], *Urban Elites in the Venetian Commonwealth. Social and Economic Mobility in Early Modern Dalmatia (Zadar-Zara, 1540 to 1569)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Graz 2011, pp. 32–35, 269–293; on the Venetian navy, cf. Frederic C. Lane, *Venice. A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore 1973, pp. 364–369.

19 Contemporary naval commander and humanist Cristoforo Canal, in his treatise “*Della Milizia marittima*”, held the naval skills of Greeks and Dalmatians to be superior to anyone else; Lane, *Venice* (see note 18), pp. 367–368.

20 Based on the sample mentioned above (see note 18), this occurred 31 times during the period under survey.

21 Summary by Lane, *Venice* (see note 18), pp. 364–374; recent additions to the pertinent literature incl. Alessandro Barbero, *Lepanto. La battaglia dei tre imperi*, Rome 2012; Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea. The Final Battle for the Mediterranean, 1521–1580*, London 2013; on the battle’s wider

Finally, in terms of material culture, the notarial record provides us with considerable evidence, as e.g., the extrajudicial settlement of an inheritance feud involving father and daughter shows. After the death of his wife, “Helena Nunchouichia alias Crauich”, the two arbitrators ordered “Dominicus Claudus alias Battouina, a sailor of Zadar (Zara)”, originally from Hvar (Lesina), to pay his daughter, “Agneta alias Gnesa” £ 300 out of her late mother’s dowry. Dominicus did so partially in moveable goods, including “five diversely coloured dresses from ‘Rascia’ [Serbia] with one ‘fustanella alle donne’ and a pair of damask gloves” worth £ 114.²²

4 Ego-Documents

Another set of valuable sources are so-called “ego-documents”, i.e., testaments, codicils, etc. Decades of efforts, again mainly focused on the self-representation of Venice’s body politic, provide the foundation for further study.²³ As regards the Adriatic, the afore-mentioned reservations apply as well, with only few exceptions such as Dubrovnik (Ragusa), late medieval Rab (Arbe), Trogir (Traù), and Zadar (Zara).²⁴ Despite Dalma-

material impact, Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571). Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses*, 2 voll., Würzburg 2017.

22 DAZD 31, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, I, 2, fol. 13r, 1 October 1551; the other information, incl. the quotes, are from Simon Budineus, I, 1, 6, cc. 314r–v, 22 May 1561; Fustanella – “fustanio mulieri” – refers to a pleated skirt-like piece of clothing. Dominicus re-married “Matthea”, which may have been one of the reasons for his above-mentioned unwillingness to return his late first wife’s dowry (but the notarial record is silent on the timing, and what I have been able to find is from six years later), on which see Nicolaus Canali, I, 1, 4, s. d., 1 August 1567 (two acts). On extrajudicial settlements see Stephan Karl Sander-Faes, “To avoid the costs of litigation, the parties compromise ...”. *Crime, Extrajudicial Settlement, and Punishment in Venetian Dalmatia*, c. 1550, in: Rita Tolomeo/Bruno Crevato-Selvaggi (Eds.), *Venezia e il suo Stato da mar: Atti del convegno internazionale, Venezia, 9–11 marzo 2017 – Venice and its Stato da mar: Proceedings of the International Congress, Venice, 9–11 March 2017*, Roma 2018, pp. 127–157.

23 Overview by Patricia Fortini Brown, *Behind the Walls. The Material Culture of Venetian Elites*, in: Martin/Romano, *Venice Reconsidered* (see note 2), pp. 295–338; guidance by Linda Guzzetti, *Testamentsforschung in Europa seit den 1970er Jahren. Bibliographischer Überblick*, in: Markwart Herzog/Cecilie Hollberg (Eds.), *Seelenheil und irdischer Besitz. Testamente als Quellen für den Umgang mit “den letzten Dingen”*, Konstanz 2007, pp. 17–33; and the essays in *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean*, ed. by Jutta G. Sperling/Shona Kelly Wray, New York 2010.

24 E. g., Branka Grbavac, *Patrizierinnen in Zadar und Split. Ihr rechtlicher Status und ihr wirtschaftliches und religiöses Leben*, in: Martha Keil (Ed.), *Besitz, Geschäfte und Frauenrechte:*

tia's continued adherence to the Catholic-Italianate sphere and the close correlation of testamentary practices this entails, studies on these topics that focus on the early modern period are few and far between. Apart from this spatial (horizontal) aspect, we need to keep in mind that the behaviour of nobles and commoners was not only comparable, but socially (vertically) complimentary.²⁵

It is all but impossible to understand comprehensively the range of social behaviour and activities of late medieval and early modern individuals by looking at one group or the other. Given the large number of studies about the privileged few, I will restrict myself to a few examples from the lower rungs of the social hierarchy such as the will of "master-cobbler Zorzi Lucardinouich, a resident of Zadar (Zara)". He left S 4 each in customary bequests to the Corpus Christi altar in the city's cathedral of St Anastasia, to the *lazaretto* outside the city walls, and the reliquary chapel of St Simeon, with the latter church also serving as his burial site. Zorzi further took care of his wife's dowry worth £ 100, willed his movable trade goods – 14 ½ large cow hides, most located in his workshop and some at home, 38 pieces of cordovan [expensive equine leather], and white ribbons "to make cords for women's shoes" – to his business associate, "master Matteo Gambetta", and named his son Gasparo his residual heir.²⁶

The final example concerns one "ser Andreas Postner", a merchant originally from Ljubljana (Laibach). In the 1550s, he resided in Zadar (Zara)'s St Catherine parish and was married to "Corona", daughter of jurist and notary Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius. His wife's comparatively sizable dowry comprised 100 ducats and 1.5 morgen of land in the vicinity of Drašnica-Crvene Kuće (Caserosse), today on the outskirts of Zadar (Zara).²⁷ In exchange, Corona received a counter-dowry worth 200 ducats, underwritten by "ser Aloysius de Bassano", a member of the influential Bassano family among whose scions notary Petrus de Bassano deserves mention. Andreas had a store located in Zadar (Zara)'s communal square where one could buy "grains, wine, oil, and other goods", including *carisea*, or linen cloth, worth 16–18 ducats apiece. In addition to serving as a representative for "Catherine, daughter of the late Gregorius Perliza", who re-located

Jüdische und christliche Frauen in Dalmatien und Prag, 1300–1600, Kiel 2011, pp. 23–97; Valerija Turk-Presečki, Christliche und jüdische Frauen in Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft des mittelalterlichen Dubrovnik, in: *ibid.*, pp. 98–156; Mlacović, Gradani plemići (see note 12), pp. 202–288.

25 Cf. Samuel K. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800. Strategies for the Afterlife*, Baltimore 1988, p. 4; Ellen E. Kittel, *Testaments of Two Cities. A Comparative Analysis of the Wills of Medieval Genoa and Douai*, in: *European Review of History* 5, 1998, pp. 47–82, here pp. 59–61.

26 DAZD 31 BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, I, 7, fol. 10v, 11r (24 August 1569).

27 1 morgen = c. 2 370 m². Kolanović/Križman, *Zadarski statut* (see note 16), p. 759.

to Milan, Andreas also owned property near Trogir (Traù), some 110–120 kilometres away.²⁸ (Fig. 2)

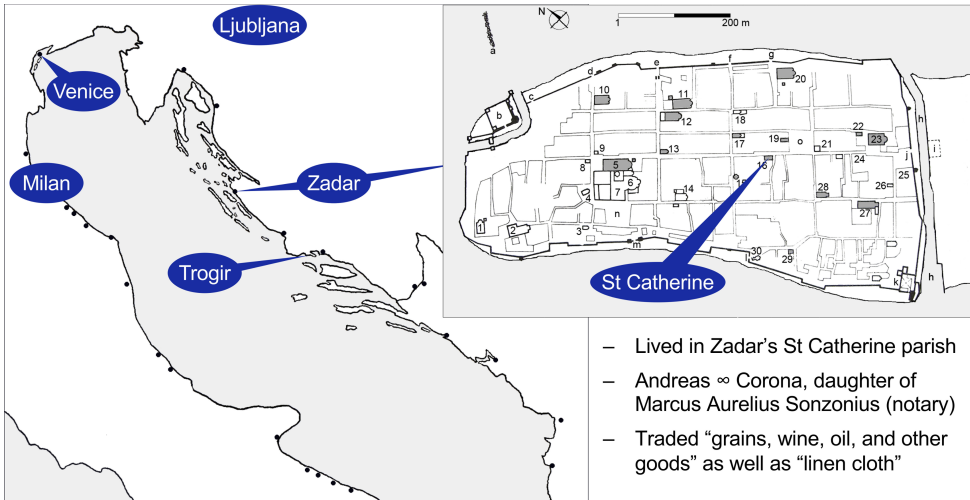


Fig. 2: The Topography of Everyday Life of Andreas Postner in the 1550s (DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel de Cavalca, I, 1, 1, c. 34r–v, 4 December 1553; c. 37r–v, 23 January 1554; I, 1, 3, c. 25r–v, 31 October 1555; Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 1, c. 3v–4r, 18 May 1555; I, 2, 1, c. 19v–20r, 7 February 1556; Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 1, s. p., 9 November 1555; Simon Budineus, I, 1, 1, c. 2r, 6 January 1558; I, 1, 3, c. 164v, 22 January 1559; big map based on Tomislav Raukar, *Zadar u XV. Stoljeću. Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi*, Zadar 1977, p. 255; city map based on Raukar et al., *Zadar* [see note 3], p. 135).

5 Conclusions and Outlook


Acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional influence exerted by Renaissance Venice, past and present, suggests three main conclusions. Recognition thereof should, first, encourage us to try to overcome the multiple biases of self-limiting conceptual and analytical approaches. Speaking about “moveable types” implies multiple mobilities that should also be studied in a likewise manner. Second, the combination and cross-referenc-

28 Reconstruction based on DAZD 31 BZ, Daniel de Cavalca, I, 1, 1, cc. 34r–v, 4 December 1553; cc. 37r–v, 23 January 1554; Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 1, cc. 3v, 4r, 18 May 1555; Daniel Cavalca, I, 1, 3, cc. 25r–v, 31 October 1555; Simon Mazzarellus, I, 1, 1, s. p., 9 November 1555; Nicolaus Drasmileus, I, 2, 1, cc. 19v, 20r, 7 February 1556; Simon Budineus, I, 1, 1, c. 2r, 6 January 1558; I, 1, 3, c. 164v, 22 January 1559.

ing of notarial acts with “other” sources (e. g., government reports, court records, etc.) is especially promising in terms of increasing the comprehensiveness of the reconstruction. That said, third, we should all strive for more holistic approaches as the addition of notarial acts and/or ego-documents alone, while certainly broadening our understanding of past societies, comes with its own set of class / status and gender biases, if not undertaken with commensurate analytical and conceptual clarity.

I would like to conclude with one final consideration: acknowledgement of these problems should encourage us to try to come up with ways to overcome them. In exploring these issues, it is important that the numbers support the more holistic approach outlined above: between 1540 and 1569, Zadar (Zara)’s notaries stipulated 6 425 individual deeds, yet of the 12 850 contracting parties almost two-thirds (8 393 acts, c. 65 %) did not belong to the either the clergy or the nobility.²⁹ Leaving aside related issues such as natural vs. legal personhood, multiple entries, and the nobility’s share of about ten percent of the total urban population of around 6 000 inhabitants, inclusion of notarial acts constitutes a powerful way to overcome these biases at least in part.³⁰ Another angle is provided by inclusion of testamentary data; for the same time period, 1 110 testaments by Zadar (Zara)’s population exists, of which 111 were written at the request of a person of privileged descent.³¹ If combined, new insights into what I call “topographies of everyday life” can be gained, which in turn provides a way forward that allows us to perhaps one day move beyond, and synthesise, both “the exceptional ‘normal’” as well as the abstractions of (more or less) anonymous quantitative approaches.³²

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29 Constituent / recipient parties: nobles – 1 677 acts, or c. 26 % vs. 1 363 acts, or c. 21 %; clergy – 790 acts, or c. 12 % vs. 627 acts, or c. 10 %; Stephan Karl Sander-Faes, “Il popolo di questa città è devotissimo”, but: Who are (were) “the People”? Urban Prosopography, its Limits and some Suggestions, unpublished workshop paper, University of Amsterdam, 1 July 2016.

30 Around 1550, Zadar (Zara) had between 6 538 (1553) and 5 826 (1554) souls, of which c. 600 were nobles. Population numbers via Raukar et al., Zadar (see note 3), pp. 261–262; survey by Marina Mocellin, *La città fortificata di Zara dal XV al XVI sec.*, in: *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 15 (1992), pp. 9–68, at pp. 43–44 and 60–61.

31 Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites* (see note 5), pp. 171–188.

32 Quote by Edoardo Grendi, *Microanalisi e storia sociale*, in: *Quaderni storici* 12 (1977), pp. 506–520, at p. 512; see the sketch provided by Stephan Karl Sander-Faes, *Beyond the Individual. Renaissance Dalmatia’s Intellectuals as a Socio-Functional Group – Onkraj individualnog. Intelektualci renesansne Dalmacije kao društveno-funkcionalna skupina*, in: *Miscellanea Hadriatica et Mediterranea* 6 (2019), pp. 133–166.