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## **A NEW STUDY PROJECT: FROM THE CROATIAN MARITIME REGESTA TO THE CODEX DIPLOMATICUS MARITIMUS CROATIAE – NEW SOURCES FOR ADRIATIC AND MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

*The article presents a pioneering project within Croatian historiography: the compilation of the Codex Diplomaticus Maritimus Croatiae planned in 20 volumes of about 100,000 documents/regesta already mapped and microfilmed. So far only 3 volumes of the Croatian Maritime Regesta have been published (with about 16,000 regesta) and the 4<sup>th</sup> has already been edited with another 4,000 sources to be published. The transcribed documents will also be digitized and merged with those previously transcribed, placing them all together on an online platform with a specially designed computer search program. Thanks to this system, it will be possible to quickly search for any topic in the total of 20,000 digitized documents and 4 volumes of maritime history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century which this project offers to the academic community in Croatia and abroad for further processing and research – and unification in future different maritime international databases. The innovative methodology and collaborations with Italian researchers are shown as well as the perspectives for funding the rest of the project for the transcribing of approx. 75,000 already mapped and microfilmed documents.*

*Key words:* Codex Diplomaticus Maritimus Croatiae, Croatian Maritime Regesta, Adriatic, Mediterranean, 18<sup>th</sup> century, Archival sources, Nikola Čolak, Database, Maritime history, Jewish history

### **1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

**T**his article introduces a new study project that emanates from the 16,000 documentary sources of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta, 18<sup>th</sup> century* by Nikola Čolak,<sup>2</sup> published in three volumes (Padova 1985 and 1993, Split 2017) and outlines the main lines for the

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a result of the Panel presented as “Project for a new research area: Maritime trade from the Eastern and Western Adriatic to the Mediterranean – Jews, merchants and travelers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century inter-religious trade” by Zrinka Podhraški Čizmek, Naida-Michal Brandl and Piergabriele Mancuso, on *The XI<sup>th</sup> Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies 2018*, in Krakow, Poland in July 2018.

<sup>2</sup> About the life and work of Nikola Čolak see: Zrinka Podhraški Čizmek, “The analysis of communist ‘treatment’ of ideological non-sympathizers in the example of two Croatian Catholic intellectuals: Nikola Čolak and Mirko Vidović” [“Analiza komunističkog ‘tretmana’ ideoloških neistomišljenika na primjeru dvaju hrvatskih katoličkih intelektualaca: Nikole Čolaka i Mirka Vidovića”], *Crkva u svijetu*, 52/2, 2017, 266-303; see also: Lovorka Čoralić, “In memoriam. Nikola Čolak (1914.-1996.)”, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 29/1, 1996; Josip Vrandečić, “Postfazione” [“Pogovor”], in: Nikola Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati, Settecento, Navigazione nell’Adriatico, Fonti* [Croatian Maritime Regesta of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Navigation in the Adriatic. Sources], III, ed. Zrinka Podhraški Čizmek, Split 2017, 669-678.

transcription and publication of a further 75,000 maritime archival documents already identified and marked, from which we can infer a new perspective on the history of various *nationes* and religions during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to map the most varied routes and links starting from the Adriatic and across the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup>

An important analysis tool is the methodology used and created *ad hoc* not only as an initial approach to the first 16,000 published documents, but in anticipation of the whole project that will include 100,000 archival sources. It was devised in collaboration with Piergabriele Mancuso from *The Medici Archive Project* in Florence and Maria Lucia De Nicolò from the *Maritime Museum* in Pesaro.

At the project's core is the collaboration between three researchers (Brandl, Podhraški Čizmek and Mancuso) in the mapping of a new historical reality that concerns different peoples and their stories and histories as active components of Adriatic and Mediterranean, which denoted an incredible entrepreneurial vivacity based on family and commercial ties.

The project dissemination is divided in three different sections: connections and collaborations between different universities and institutes on both coasts of the Adriatic (primarily for the transcription of the documents), then between small entities scattered throughout this geographical area (i. e. maritime, Jewish and other museums), and finally the organization of forums and conferences, one to two times a year, where scholars from both sides of the Adriatic could meet and compare the results of new studies. Those conferences will be organized in aforementioned small localities along the Adriatic coasts in Italy and Croatia.

## 2. *Croatian Maritime Regesta*: new documents and primary sources on maritime trade and everyday life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

This was a pioneering project in Croatian historiography initiated by Prof. Nikola Čolak in 1956 and its final aim is the publication of *Codex Diplomaticus Maritimus Croatiae*. Of the 20 planned volumes of documents/regesta (with approximately 100,000 units), already mapped and microfilmed, so far only three have been published (encompassing approximately 16,000 regesta). We have already prepared the fourth volume of *Croatian Maritime Regesta* with another 4,000 documents at the Zagreb University Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. There is a lack of published collections of maritime documents in Croatia. There is the *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* collected and published by Tadija Smičiklas and the collection of Venetian reports by Šime Ljubić and Grga Novak in eight volumes of *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* (1876 – 1977), consisting several hundred documents. Nevertheless, the 18<sup>th</sup> century has as of yet almost not been represented. Within that framework there is an evident need for a far more extensive and comprehensive project. Our plans are to transcribe all the collected sources through interrelated projects, to provide the Croatian and international scholarly audience with a complete picture of Croatian maritime affairs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The *Croatian Maritime Regesta* contains documents on everyday life, trade and connections between the two shores of the Adriatic; they come from different archives in Italy

<sup>3</sup> See: Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century*, I: *The Structure of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1992; see also Braudel, *The Mediterranean and The Mediterranean World in The Age of Philip II*, 2, University of California Press, 1995.

and Croatia (Trieste, Venice, Ancona, Fano and Bari in Italy, and Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and others in Croatia).

The first volume was published in Padua in 1985 by the late professor Nikola Čolak with 4,890 documents from the archives of Venice and Fano and contains different archival collections:

- sources from the collection *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, an institution that was a supervisor for trade, both in *Levante* and *Ponente*;
- a collection of Venetian consulates and letters from their consuls, *Provveditori generali* (governors-general) and priors from Ancona, Alexandria, Durrës, Shkodër, Split, Fano;
- lists of entries and departures from Ancona (major Adriatic port, entry and exit port to and from the whole Mediterranean);
- material on shipwrecks;
- documents, for *Levante* and *Ponente*, relating to *Serenissima* official affairs.<sup>4</sup>

The second volume was also published in Padua in 1993 with another 6,891 documents from the state archives of Venice and Ancona and contains the following sources:

- lists of entries and departures, *Ufficio Sanità* (The office for public health) – material connected to quarantine, crews, ship and commodity costs during quarantine and all issues of various centres of pests and other epidemics during the 18<sup>th</sup> century;
- documents on the entries and departures of the ships through *Arco di Traiano*;
- a very interesting set of documents from the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* in the Venetian Archives with Consular letters.<sup>5</sup>

The third volume, edited by Zrinka Podhraški Čizmek, the granddaughter of Nikola Čolak, was published by the Department of History at the University of Split in 2017, and it contains 3,927 documents from Venice and Ancona with the following sources:

- *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* with Consular letters from Ancona;
- a very interesting series of documents from the *Scuole Piccole San Niccolò dei Marinari* – the confraternity in which the *benintrada* and *luminarie* were paid by different people connected to maritime industry – thus, it is a very valuable material as it brings a whole series of captains, *paroni* (small shipowners), *parcenevoli* (co-owner and shipowner) and of course, ordinary sailors;
- materials regarding entries to Ancona through the *Arco di Traiano*. This was a result of the cooperation with the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb and 6.5 years of research work on these documents. The form of *Regesta* (documents in abstract form that give exhaustive information of referent sources) was chosen because of the vast number of documents available for this century.<sup>6</sup>

The final result will be a huge database, making it possible to combine the newly transcribed documents with those previously transcribed thus offering to Croatian and international researchers relevant topics of Adriatic and Mediterranean history. This Croatian maritime database, after necessary assessments, will be able to communicate with

<sup>4</sup> Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati, Settecento, Navigazione nell'Adriatico, Fonti*, I, Padova 1985.

<sup>5</sup> Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati, Settecento, Navigazione nell'Adriatico, Fonti*, II, Padova 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati*, III.

other maritime databases that are already in phase of realization for the Mediterranean seas and other seas around the world.<sup>7</sup>

The whole project is organized on a multilevel work that includes different phases. The first phase was eight years of analysis of the 12,000 published documents in volumes I and II for different aspects: types of ships, maritime routes, Jewish presence, pilgrims and pilgrimages and different merchandises. Even before the publication of the third volume of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta*, in 2017, we started our collaboration on the sources with Piergabriele Mancuso of *The Medici Archive Project* regarding the research methodology of vast number of documents and providing a reliable database.<sup>8</sup>

The second phase included establishing connections with scholars from universities and institutes in Italy (Bologna, Venice, Trieste) and in Croatia (Zagreb, Split, Pula, Zadar and Dubrovnik) interested in transcription and publication of another 75,000 documents from the archives with a pyramidal system for the actual part of the transcribing, and a call to museums interested to join the project hosting the conferences and revitalizing their exhibitions.

The third phase refers to aforementioned dissemination through planning forums and conferences after and during the publication of the *Regesta* (the plan is to publish another 16 volumes), allowing participants to share results from the research not only from these documents but also from other and different primary sources.

Every new volume will be uploaded on the project online site with all the documents *in regesto* and *in extenso* to be consulted by the international community of scholars.

The fourth phase will be a creation of quality database from published documents, making it able to crisscross this data with other databases in different Mediterranean projects.

### 3. *Croatian Maritime Regesta*, contents and methods: from general to specific

Focusing and mainly dealing with documents of not only maritime-commercial nature produced in the context of eastern-western 18<sup>th</sup> century Adriatic trade, *Croatian Maritime Regesta* is in fact a largely unexplored and for the time being a mostly untapped source

<sup>7</sup> See the three following international projects: "Seafaring Lives in Transition", "Mediterranean Maritime Labour" and "Shipping, 1850s-1920s" (*SeaLiT*), <http://www.sealitproject.eu/> (access 10. 4. 2019). Part of this project is also Mateo Bratanić, a historian of University of Zadar; *Navigocorpus* – "Corpus des itinéraires des navires de commerce, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles" ["Database on the Itineraries of Merchant Ships, 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries"], <http://navigocorpus.org/> (access 10. 4. 2019); "History of the Black Sea, 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century" – ARGO Database and JASON Database, <https://data.blacksea.gr/> (access 10. 4. 2019).

<sup>8</sup> It has to be emphasized that, during the 30 years of transcription of selected documents (1956 – 1985), Nikola Čolak analyzed all the families of captains, *paroni* and *parcenevoli* (Croats, Italians, Jews, Albanians, Greeks, Serbs and Montenegrins, English, French, Dutch, etc.). From the processed material he made their family trees, where possible, following them through several generations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The same can be said for the analysis of the variety of money and measures used in that century and the import and export of merchandise through the eastern Adriatic ports, as evidenced by fifty published scientific papers as well as numerous boxes on these themes in his personal archival collection. See the Foreword of the upcoming volume IV of *The Croatian Maritime Regesta*.

of information. Far from being completed, its current documents represent only a portion of a numerically much bigger, thematically and geo-chronologically much wider mine of information.

The methodology utilized is the transcription and summarization of original documents *in extenso* into the abbreviated form *in regesto*, except in those cases where the documents themselves are very significant. The sources will then be systematized into units in paper form and printed in books and in an e-format in order to be uploaded online and available to everyone.

Due to the methodology, structure of the analysis and synthesis based on a vast number of documents, this project enables us to extract valuable information from documents that may otherwise remain unidentified by researchers.<sup>9</sup>

Getting specific information from a general archive (as *Croatian Maritime Regesta* in fact are, in spite of their mostly economic-trading focus) is an extremely demanding task. The degree of serendipity intrinsic to such type of research, however, can be drastically reduced by singling out from each document the most relevant metadata and crisscrossing the pieces of information they provide.

A similar approach was adopted for the study of documents of Jewish/Hebrew nature making up the *Medici Archives* in Florence and in the making of BIA (Building Interactive Archives), a digital platform containing documents produced by the Medici court (*Mediceo del Principato* collection, stored in the National Archive in Florence), between the mid-16<sup>th</sup> and mid-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. What at first seemed to be scattered and separated *tesseræ* of a very unclear mosaic, had eventually been interconnected which led to revealing the stories of Jews who had been in contact with the court, playing a crucial role in the making of the Medici state.<sup>10</sup>

A similar methodology is now being used with the *Regesta* documents. After general scrutiny of all extant documents which were possible to connect into a single historiographical narrative, a number of apparently unrelated documents, unveiled previously unknown stories of travelling and non-travelling individuals, uncovered the biographical profiles and helped the reconstructing of genealogical ties which were completely unknown until today.<sup>11</sup> The same can be applied to different types of data such as types of ships, merchandise, maritime routes and much more.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> About methodology see Podhraški Čižmek, *The Pilgrimages and the Pilgrims to Loreto and Assisi in the Croatian Maritime Regesta of XVIII Century. Anthropological Hermeneutics of Religious Journeys*, Doctoral Thesis [*Hodočašća i hodočasnici u Loreto i Asiz u hrvatskim pomorskim registima 18. stoljeća. Antropološka hermeneutika vjerskih putovanja 2018.*, doktorska disertacija], Split 2018, 21-24.

<sup>10</sup> See *The Medici Archive Project*, <http://www.medici.org/mediceo-del-principato-2/> (access 10. 4. 2019).

<sup>11</sup> See Piergabriele Mancuso, „Regesti marittimi croati, contents and methods: from general to specific“, *The XI<sup>th</sup> Congress of the EAJIS*, Krakow 2018.

<sup>12</sup> About this topics see Maria Lucia De Nicolò (ed.), *Economia dei litorali e gestione delle risorse dall'antichità al Novecento*, Città di Cattolica 2009; See also: De Nicolò, *Sulle rotte dei relitti e dei linguaggi del mare*, Città di Cattolica 2009.

## 4. Croatian Maritime Regesta as a source for Jewish History

### 4. 1. Premises

The only Judaic studies program in Croatia is taught at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, within the Department of Hungarology, Turkology and Judaic Studies.

Jewish history in the Adriatic area was researched for the periods from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and then about the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We have a gap for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially referring to contacts between the two coasts of the Adriatic, where Jewish involvement was an integral part of everyday life and activities. Due to a scarcity of available published documents, and the huge number of them produced in this century, this period of Jewish history was studied only locally (i. e. the excellent project of Ivan Čerešnješ and Vesna Miović about Dubrovnik Jews from the Dubrovnik City Archives).<sup>13</sup> Our approach to the sources from all possible archives on both sides of the Adriatic allows us to recreate a realistic perspective about and between the communities of Jews in the Adriatic area. This opens up a completely new field of research which can provide new sources for cross-referencing data and analyses for both the eastern and western sides of the Adriatic and beyond: toward the Papal State, the south Adriatic (Ionic islands), Kingdom of Naples, Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Republic of Genoa, as far as western Mediterranean and beyond to the northern seas, eastern Mediterranean coasts, including northern Africa, Cyprus and Crete, and all the Ottoman coast cities, including what is now Albania and Greece.<sup>14</sup>

### 4. 2. The collaboration

In this context it is important to focus on interdisciplinary approach of both Jewish and Maritime historiographies that we are bringing together. Indeed, Zrinka has started from the Maritime studies perspective already in 2011. She became interested in the Jewish presence that she noticed while researching these documents and together with Naida-Michal created a whole new research project with very significant innovations.

In this collaboration, we identified a total of 544 mentions of Jews in the three volumes of the *Regesta*. In our further analysis we reconstructed the specific roles Jews had both as individuals and as members of different partnerships, societies and communities in the maritime trade, trade routes and different types of trade, as well as family networks and connections. They travelled and traded within the Adriatic itself, as well as the Mediterranean and the Northern seas as far as Norway or Russia.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Vesna Miović – Ivan Čerešnješ, *Research, Inventory and Cataloguing Documents of the Criminal Court Registers. "Lamenta Criminalia post terraemotum", "Diversi e possesso de Criminale" and "Criminalia" in the State Archives of Dubrovnik Involving Jewish Litigants (1667–1808)*, Ljubljana 2016; Miović, *Židovski rodovi u Dubrovniku (1546-1940)*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik 2017.

<sup>14</sup> See David Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews*, Parkes-Wiener Series on Jewish Studies, London 2002; Cesarani (ed.), *Jews and Port Cities: 1590-1990. Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*, Vallentine Mitchell, 2006; Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture*, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture, Stanford University Press, 2011; Francesca Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform*, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture, Stanford University Press, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> See bibliography in previous footnote about the concept of "Port Jews".



After the transcription of documents and compiling each set or volume in one whole, we used a research system to identify and describe Jewish presence and their specific roles. The result is a database in the form of an Excel table, where different collected data is specified: a number of document, a date of specific action, port/city/area of a document, a name, a surname, and father's name, their origin, a role in the society (merchant, agent, owner of merchandise or ships/*parcenevole* and *paron*, banker, public figure/*sensale*, sometimes even captain), citizenship, business partners, types and quantities of merchandise, their provenance, transitional and final destinations. From this data we can sort and extract various new information about their families, business connections and networks, their core businesses, specific roles some families had in different types of businesses, how this affected family matching, not just in the Adriatic, but also in the rest of the Mediterranean. The project will also analyze new roles that some of old families took in this century.

With this methodology we are creating a database of valuable information with software that extracts relevant crisscrossing information about Jewish history in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In documents we have already analyzed there are mentions of different Jewish communities of Venice, Ancona, Pesaro, Livorno, Rome, Split, Dubrovnik, Bitola, Salonica and Constantinople. Moreover, we can recognize specific Jewish names of the ships like *Li Tre Felici*, *Le Due Sorelle*, *La Bella Giuditta*, *La Bella Sara*, *Padre di Famiglia*, *La Bella Rachele*, *La Graziosa Ester*, *Il Savio Benefattore*. Some of the names we have found are: Emmanuel Jacur (see the photo of the document below), Leon di Menachem Vivante, Lazaro Jacob Vita e nipoti Vivante, Jacob Mulli, Iseppo Treves qm Emanuel, David e Isacco Morpurgo, Giovanni Lazaro, Lazaro Vivante, Abram Vita d'Angeli, Abram qm Leon Tedesco, Memo Curiel and many other.

Parts of these results were presented at different international conferences and congresses:

- "...li giudei debbano abitar unidi..." *The Birth and Evolution of the Venetian Ghetto (1516-1797)*, The Medici Archive Project, Beit Venezia and "I 500 anni del Ghetto di Venezia" with a presentation "Jewish Merchants between the two shores of the Adriatic in the 18<sup>th</sup> century" in Venice, May 2016;
- *Jews in the Balkans: History, Religion, Culture*, Moses Mendelssohn Centre for European-Jewish Studies (University of Potsdam), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Split with a presentation: "Jews as Building Factor of Adriatic and Mediterranean Worlds in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century" in Split, May 2017;
- *Representation of the "Port Jew"*, Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish relations, University of Southampton and Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town, with a presentation: "Adriatic Port Jews in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century", in Southampton, May 2017;
- *The XI<sup>th</sup> Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies 2018*, with a panel: "Project for a new research area: Maritime trade from the Eastern and Western Adriatic to the Mediterranean – Jews, merchants and travelers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century inter-religious trade", in Krakow, July 2018;
- *European Business History Association – 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Congress*, in the Session A3 – A Maritime Market: Jewish Enterprises and Grain Trade in Early Modern Europe, with

1759. 7. IV. Venezia.

Stollo et accor. Pet. Tyniay et al. nave Provid. Divina  
 Cap. Pietro Tomasseuch. Par. Emanuel Jacur et al. Capit. B.  
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di M. S. S. S. e. M. da Ven.	2
<b>Totali</b>	<b>324</b>

Fig. 1. Photo of the document RMC III, 3753.<sup>16</sup>

a presentation: "Jewish Presence in the Maritime Trade of Grain during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in the Adriatic Sea from the Croatian Maritime Regesta, vols. I-III", in Ancona, September 2018.

<sup>16</sup> 1759.7.IV, Venezia – Ruolo della nave "Providenza Divina" del capit. Petar del fu Andrija Tomašević (Tomasseuch!) da Dubrovnik, parcen. Emanuele Jacur, diretta a Kerkyra; partita in contumacia. Marinari: Antun del fu Franjo Vice da Cres (42), Almerigo del fu Valenzo Apollonio da Piran (42). In tutto 15 membri. Benintrada: 32:4 L. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Scuole Piccole San Niccolò dei Marinieri (SSNM), busta 519, Ruoli bastimenti, filza 46, f. 27; Čolak, *Regesti Marittimi Croati*, III, no. 3753.



On those conferences and congresses, we have already started a dissemination of our project with great interest and responses for our work on publishing and analyzing primary maritime sources.

## 5. Conclusion

We can conclude that the project of compiling the 20 volumes of *Codex Diplomaticus Maritimus Croatiae*, will enable us to see the daily life of the Adriatic and Mediterranean people and communities, through the publication of approx. 100,000 documents is moving forward. Until now we have edited 20,000 documentary sources which will be digitized and, in another phase, transform them all into a database, thus enabling *Croatian Maritime Regesta* to become a part of a wider network of maritime databases not only of the different Mediterranean seas but also beyond. Even in this phase of the project those documents outline the coordinates of a new world that emerges in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the period of Venetian decline and emergence of new realities that will characterize a Modern European *modo di vivere*.