

University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

The business of pilgrimage in fifteenth-century Venice

PhD candidate:
Laura Grazia Di Stefano

School of Humanities

Department of History

This dissertation is submitted for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

July 2018

Supervisors:
Dr Rob Lutton
Dr Ross Balzaretti

Internal Examiner: Dr Richard Goddard

External Examiner: Prof Anthony Bale

Acknowledgements

I would love to dedicate this thesis to the love of my life, Alessio. Thanks for being my rock and source of constant support since I was just little more than a teenager wearing a Mickey Mouse t-shirt. You never doubted the fact I was able to get through this PhD as well as in all the challenges I had in my life. For this and many other things, you will have forever my love and gratitude. This work is also dedicated to my family and their unique ways of being always with me despite miles and miles of distance separating us. Thank you for all the moral, financial and endless support you gave me through all my life and for having accepted my constant need of exploration away from your loving home despite, I know, this broke your heart.

Special thanks to the University of Nottingham for having sponsored my studies and allowed me pursue a PhD in a subject that I absolutely adore. Huge thanks goes to my supervisors Rob and Ross for having me supported through this long, and not always easy, doctoral route and for having me offered their suggestions and experience during the course of these years. I felt lucky to have you as supervisors and I think my PhD would not probably be the same without you. Thank you very much Richard Goddard for having read with passion my thesis draft(s) during the years giving me always your honest opinion. Thanks also for having listened with patience to all my complaints when I was teaching on Introduction to the Medieval World. I can be stressing when I want!

Great thanks goes to David Laven for his lessons on how to survive in a Venetian archive. Your suggestions were beyond useful and helped me to avoid nightmares during my research in Venice! In this regards, I would love to thanks

also the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, especially the staff at the records' distribution who, despite all, figured out all my (often absurd) document requests. Huge thanks also to the reproduction section staff who helped me in speeding up the (very long) timing for obtaining a map reproduction. You are the best! Particular thanks also to Eton College Archives, which allowed me to access their records about William Wey.

Special thanks to Prof Anthony Bale for having accepted the final examination of my thesis and having me introduced to his Leverhulme project on the Pilgrim's libraries. I was honoured to have provided my contribution in the last two years and to have met some of the best scholars working on medieval pilgrimage.

Huge thanks to all the friends I have met in the UK who were on my side in all the special moments of my life in the last years. Life in this country would not be the same without you!

A last, but not least thanks to my little cat, Macchietta for having watched the final writing of this thesis from the most advantaged position (my home desk) even during this long cold winter, without ever leaving me. I always believed that animals are better than humans, and you are definitely the most special cat.

Final thanks to all those institutions, family members and friends that for reason of space I did not mention in these acknowledgments.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **3**

LIST OF FIGURES **8**

LIST OF TABLES **10**

ABBREVIATIONS **11**

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION **12**

1.1 AIMS OF THE THESIS. 13
1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 18
1.2.1 Constantinople, Jerusalem and the Holy Land *21*

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY **33**

2.1 INTRODUCTION 33
2.2 PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL IN THE GENERAL RESEARCH 36
2.3 PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL WRITING UNDER A NEW FOCUSED ATTENTION. 53
2.4 METHODS 65
2.4.1 Assessing the role of Venice in pilgrimage: organization and religious relevance *66*
2.4.2. Case study 1 ..... *73*
2.4.3 Additional sources *76*
2.4.4 Assessing the role of Venice in pilgrimage: a real profitable business: a second case study. *76*
2.5 LIMITATIONS AND PROBLEMS OF THIS RESEARCH: THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO OF VENICE 79
2.5.1 The Venetian archives and the art of guessing. *79*
2.5.1.1 The notary archive 82
2.5.1.2 Family archives 83
2.6 FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS 83

PART I: THE RISE OF VENICE **84**

CHAPTER 3 - PILGRIMS IN THE HANDS OF VENETIANS **85**

3.1 INTRODUCTION 85
3.2 VENICE BEFORE BEING VENICE 86
3.2.1 The Doge's affair. Pilgrimage at the time of Pietro Ziani. *87*
3.2.2 Jacopo Tiepolo and the capitulum peregrinorum. *93*
3.2.3 Venice and pilgrimage in the fourteenth century. *99*
3.2.3.1 The Ufficiali al Cattaver. 100
3.2.4 The fifteenth century and private pilgrims' transportations *115*
3.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING PATRON 126
3.3.1 The Contarini family and the Holy Land *133*
3.3.1.1 The Contarini family and the Custiodia Terra Sanctae 135

3.3.1.2 One family to rule them all 150
3.4 Conclusions 164

CHAPTER 4 - VENICE AS AN *ALTERA HIERUSALEM*? 166

4.1 Introduction 166
4.2 A Holy Sepulchre for Venice. 166
4.2.1 The architecture of the Church and Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre and its integration into Venice's late medieval itineraries 176
4.3 Quo vadis? Wandering in Venice during civic celebrations 184
4.3.1 Venetian hospices 185
4.3.2 Rituals and celebrations 189
4.3.2.1 Ascension Day and the Marriage of the Sea 191
4.3.2.2 The Corpus Christi procession. 197
4.4 Conclusions 201

PART II – VENICE ACCORDING TO PILGRIMS' NARRATIVES ... 204

CHAPTER 5 - WILLIAM WEY AND THE *MATTERS OF VENICE* ... 205

5.1 Introduction 205
5.2 A traveller called William Wey 207
5.3 About money 213
5.4 William Wey and the other Venice 229
5.5 Conclusions 248

CHAPTER 6 - VENICE AND THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELLERS 255

6.1 Introduction 255
6.2 Travel à *l'italienne* 257
6.2.1 Hospitality. 259
6.2.1.1 Lionardo Frescobaldi and the Venetian "cortexia". 259
6.2.1.1 Roberto Sanseverino and Venetian grandiosity. 263
6.3 A German vision of Venice 269
6.3.1 Bernard Von Breydenbach 270
6.3.1.1 De forma contractus 276
6.4 Conclusions 284

CHAPTER 7 - HOW TO GET AWAY WITH THE COTTON. HISTORY OF AN UNDERCOVER PILGRIMAGE JOURNEY 286

7.1 Introduction 286
7.2 Quaderno del viazo and its hidden history 289
7.3 Part I: *provixiones*, watermarks and the cotton case 295
7.4 Part II and III: *peregrini et homeni de pasazo* 306
7.5 Conclusions 312

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSIONS 316

8.1 Future research developments 322

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....324

List of Figures

FIGURE 1 - MODERN MAP OF ISRAELI-PALESTINE (SOURCE WIKI-COMMON) 21
FIGURE 2 - VENICE'S COMMERCIAL ROUTES XIII-XIV CENTURIES..... 27
FIGURE 3 - VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF RESEARCH ON PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL LITERATURE 36
FIGURE 4 - THE ORGANIZATION OF PILGRIMAGE IN VENICE. 114
FIGURE 5 - EXTRACT FROM THE INCANTUS GALEARUM PEREGRINORUM, ASV, SENATO, DELIBERAZIONI, MAR. REGISTRI (SECC. XV-XVI IN.), REG. 1, F. 35V..... 117
FIGURE 6 - EXAMPLE OF PATRON LICENCE IN THE MISTI REGISTERS. ASV, SENATO, DELIBERAZIONI, MISTI. REGISTRI (SECC. XIV-XVI IN.), REG. 17, F. 76R. 127
FIGURE 7- GENEALOGY OF THE CONTARINI OF SS. APOSTOLI. COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA. ASV, ARCHIVIO MISCELLANEA CODICI. COD. 1 – STORIA VENETA, 18. SERIE M. BARBARO, ARBORI DE' PATRIZI VENETI. REG. 11 B-C, F. 473..... 140
FIGURE 8 - THE LEADING VENETIAN FAMILIES AND NUMBERS OF PATRONS IN THEIR EMPLOY. STÖCKLY, LE SYSTÈME DE L'INCANTO, P. 306 151
FIGURE 9 - GENEALOGY OF THE CONTARINI OF SAN CASSAN. COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA. ASV, ARCHIVIO MISCELLANEA CODICI. COD. 1 – STORIA VENETA, 18. SERIE M. BARBARO, ARBORI DE' PATRIZI VENETI. REG. 11 B-C, F. 453..... 156
FIGURE 10 - THE CONTARINA - BADEN STATE LIBRARY COD. ST. PETER PAP. 32 - KONRAD VON GRÜNENBERG - BESCHREIBUNG DER REISE VON KONSTANZ NACH JERUSALEM, FF.5V-6R. 157
FIGURE 11 - CANALETTO, RETURN OF THE BUCENTORO TO THE MOLO ON ASCENSION DAY, 1732. ROYAL COLLECTION. WINDSOR..... 168
FIGURE 12 - BASILICA OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (PHOTO CREDITS: LAURA DI STEFANO). 170
FIGURE 13 - MONASTERY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, CLOISTER VENICE, ASV, S. SEPOLCRO, ATTI, BUSTA 33, DISEGNI DEL MONASTERO. IMAGE COURTESY OF ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA..... 178
FIGURE 14 - ASV, S. SEPOLCRO, ATTI, BUSTA 33, DISEGNI DEL MONASTERO, DETAIL PORTA DEL CRISTO. IMAGE COURTESY OF ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA..... 179
FIGURE 15 - SEPULCHRE BRIDGE (PONTE DEL SEPOLCRO), RIVA DEGLI SCHIAVONI (PHOTO CREDITS: LAURA DI STEFANO). 180
FIGURE 16 - VENICE, CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN – PART OF THE ALTAR, WHICH BELONGED TO THE CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE (PHOTO: WIKICOMMON) 181
FIGURE 17 - SENSA FAIR STALLS DISPOSITION, ASV, PROCURATORI DI SAN MARCO DE SUPRA, CHIESA, B.53. 194
FIGURE 18 - VENICE, ARSENAL - BUCINTORO (XVI CENTURY) – (PHOTO CREDITS: LAURA DI STEFANO). 195

FIGURE 19 - INSTITUTION OF THE CORPUS CHRISTI. ASV, MAGGIOR CONSIGLIO, LEONA, F. 167V - IMAGE COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA..... 199
FIGURE 20 - ETON COLLEGE REGISTER 1457-1536, FOLIO 18 R., (46), WILLIAM WEY'S LICENCE..... 209
FIGURE 21 - EXAMPLE OF THE VENETIAN COINAGE DURING PASQUALE MALIPIERO'S GOVERNMENT..... 216
FIGURE 22 - ASV, SENATO, MAR, REG. IV, F. 123R..... 227
FIGURE 23 - GENTILE BELLINI, PROCESSIONE IN PIAZZA SAN MARCO, 1496, VENEZIA, GALLERIE DELL'ACCADEMIA..... 234
FIGURE 24 - MAP REPRESENTING THE ITINERARY OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. MAGNUS ACCORDING TO WILLIAM WEY..... 242
FIGURE 25 - CHURCHES LISTED BY WILLIAM WEY IN 1462 INCLUDING THOSE ASCRIBED TO ST. MAGNUS. KEYS ON FIGURE 26..... 244
FIGURE 26 - KEYS OF FIGURE 25..... 245
FIGURE 27 - WILLIAM WEY'S VENICE ITINERARY DIVIDED INTO COHERENT ZONES. CHURCHES I IN NDICATED BOLD ARE NOW SUPPRESSED..... 247
FIGURE 28 - OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS. BODL. 565, FOLIO 35R (FORMER FIRS FOLIO)..... 253
FIGURE 29 - OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS. BODL. 565, FOLIO 49V (FORMER THIRD FOLIO)..... 254
FIGURE 30 - BREYDENBACH'S PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CITY OF VENICE (SOURCE WIKICOMMON)..... 275
FIGURE 31 - ASV, DIARIO DI NAVIGAZIONE, MISCELLANEA, ATTI, DIVERSI MANOSCRITTI, BUSTA 134, DOC. 14, PARCHMENT COVER. PHOTO CREDITS: LAURA DI STEFANO COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA. 289
FIGURE 32 - LUMINARY CRESCENT WITH CROSS, RAYS (LEFT), AND CROWN WITHOUT ARCH. ASV, QUADERNO DEL VIAZO, CC. 15, 16, 17..... 298
FIGURE 33 - WATERMARK PICCARD N. 41333 (P.293) AND PICCARD N. 50969. 301
FIGURE 34 - RECONSTRUCTION OF QUADERNO DEL VIAZO'S HISTORY 305
FIGURE 35 - PILGRIMS LIST (PART) – ASV, DIARIO DI NAVIGAZIONE, MISCELLANEA, ATTI, DIVERSI MANOSCRITTI, BUSTA 134, DOC. 14, C.35. (PHOTO CREDITS: LAURA DI STEFANO COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA)..... 310

List of Tables

TABLE 1 - TOMASI'S CATEGORIZATION OF THE DUALISM IN THE TERMS PILGRIM/TOURIST 46
TABLE 2 - DIFFERENCE IN TRANSPORTS TO THE HOLY LAND FROM 1441. 122
TABLE 3 - LIST OF KNOWN PILGRIMS WHO TRAVELLED WITH AGOSTINO CONTARINI IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY 159
TABLE 4 - PILGRIMS' HOSPICES, HOSPITALS AND INNS IN VENICE. 189
TABLE 5 - AMOUNT OF MONEY TO CHANGE IN VENICE SUGGESTED BY WILLIAM WEY. 220
TABLE 6 - ESTIMATED COST OF WILLIAM WEY'S PILGRIMAGE OF 1458..... 223
TABLE 7 - ESTIMATED COST OF WILLIAM WEY'S PILGRIMAGE OF 1462..... 224
TABLE 8 - CHURCHES ASCRIBED TO ST. MAGNUS ACCORDING TO WILLIAM WEY. 239
TABLE 9 - LIST OF THE VENETIAN CHURCHES POSSESSING NOTABLE RELICS ACCORDING TO WILLIAM WEY..... 240
TABLE 10 - SUMMARY OF THE CONTRACTS WITH PATRONS AGREED BY WILLIAM WEY, FELIX FABRI AND BERNARD VON BREYDENBACH..... 282
TABLE 11 - QUADERNO DEL VIAZO, SCHEMATIC SUMMARY OF THE SECTIONS 294

Abbreviations

ASI	Archivio Storico Italiano
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
AV	Archivio Veneto
AOL	Archives de l'Orient Latin
BBB	Biblioteca bio-bibliografica
BL	British Library
BM	Biblioteca Marciana
Bmu	British Museum
BODL	Bodleian Library
CPR	Calendar of Papal Registers
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
DIV	Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane
ECA	Eton College Archives
EI	Enciclopedia Italiana
GGS	Guida Generale degli Archivi di Stato
NAV	Nuovo Archivio Veneto
NSCV	Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia
SH	Studia Hierosolimitana
SRF	Syllabus Rymer's Foedera
SV	Studi Veneziani

Chapter 1 - Introduction

"*Non enim Venetis solum mercandi quœdam licentia ac securitas promittitur, verum etiam sociis eorum atque amicis, et omnes qui vadunt in peregrinationem ad Sanctum Sepulchrum cum Veneticis sint salvi et securi in personis et rebus*."

Sultan Elmelik-elâdil Abubekr to Doge Pietro Ziani.[1]

On 15th of July 1217, Doge Pietro Ziani received a letter from the Sultan of Egypt, Elmelik-elâdil Abubekr, which changed the fortunes of Venice. In an unusual burst of friendship, the Sultan stated with admiration that Venetians were merchants operating with licence and granting security to their friends and allies and those pilgrims, going with them to the Holy Sepulchre, were safe in their person and things. By acknowledging this privilege to Venice, the Muslim authorities recognised the Republic as a reliable trade partner and the only city able to grant safety to pilgrims into their territories. From that moment onward, Venice placed itself in a crucial, dangerous position being recognised as both a bulwark of Christianity and as a political and commercial "friend" of the enemies of Rome. However, it was Venice's ambiguous alignment and its tacit acceptance of this role of a privileged city into the territories of Muslim dominance that determined its success in medieval pilgrimage. Without Venice's open-minded approach to commerce and cooperation in the construction of a

[1]ASV, Pacta e Aggregati, Liber Albus, II, cc. 246-250; Tafel Gottlieb, Lukas Friedrich and Thomas Georg Martin, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels -und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante: Vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol.2 (Wien, 1856), pp. 184-185.

profitable Christian-Muslim relationship against the advice of Rome, it is difficult to imagine how centuries of uninterrupted sea travel and pilgrimage to Jerusalem under the controlled supervision of the Republic could have happened. The creation of an environment in which Venice was recognised as an international trade power and as a main representative of the Christendom into the Holy Land provides the background to this thesis. The consideration of Venice's duality in the approach to pilgrimage is essential to investigate the city's participation in the Holy Land journey and to assess both its religious and cultural involvement in the late medieval pilgrimage.

1.1 Aims of the thesis

According to these premises, this study differs from earlier research because it considers Venice as another religious destination and it investigates pilgrimage as an effective Venetian business in the later Middle Ages. Past approaches maintained a certain distance in recognising Venice as a religious destination, focusing more on its role as port of departure toward the Holy Land.[2] The consideration of pilgrimage as an actual business by Venetians has been undervalued by scholars due to a greater survival of religious records focused on Jerusalem supporting the major part of the current historiography on the topic. Therefore, this study contributes significantly to pilgrimage scholarship by showing how the understanding of the medieval Holy Land journey cannot be exhaustive without integrating Venice as a key element for the comprehension of the pilgrimage experience.

[2] See literature review pp. 41-45.

In this regard, the establishment of pilgrimage as a lucrative activity in Venice during the fifteenth century can be considered the result of the successful foreign policy adopted by the Republic in those centuries preceding the monopoly of the Jerusalem sea-route. Indeed, the history of Venice in the Mediterranean as well as the creation of the city's identity as a vibrant, multicultural and open-minded place linking Europe and the East made the *Serenissima* the perfect candidate for the management of the religious and administrative duties of pilgrimage. Such a study raises a number of questions. What made Venice a key location during the peak period of pilgrimages to the Holy Land? What evidence supports the economic, religious and political participation of Venice in pilgrimage? To what extent did the leading position of Venice in commerce influence the management of pilgrimage as a common business? Who were the people involved in the organization of the economic and religious management of Venice as a city for pilgrims? In what ways did these people contribute to the functioning and promotion of Venice as a pilgrimage destination outside the Italian boundaries?

The thesis is divided into two main parts, which aim to investigate Venice's relevance in medieval pilgrimage from either the Venetians or pilgrims' points of view, considering both Venice's religious and trade vocations. Part one, is concerned with Venice's approach to pilgrimage from a religious and administrative perspective. Within this first part, Chapter Three investigates Venice's change in its governmental and administrative approach to pilgrimage from the Dogato of Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) until the late fifteenth century, assessing previous historiography and analysing new evidence. After the granting of pilgrims' safe passage into the Sultan of Egypt's territories during

the years 1217-1218, the Venetian governments issued a large number of statutes regulating pilgrimage departures from Venice. These statutes are fundamental to understanding the extent to which Venice's approach to pilgrimage is changed since its early regulations enacted in 1227-1228.

It emerges that Venice's pilgrimage statute has changed simultaneously to the structuring of the Venetian government. Indeed, early legislation had a strong, almost personal, imprint from the various Doges and their personalities, suffering greatly from Venice's approach to pilgrimage and pilgrims as an occasional source of income. Conversely, the constitution of new government bodies and the institution of new political offices, such as the *Cattaver* during the fourteenth century, saw the pilgrimage sector assuming a new relevance and being regulated as a separate type of business far from the Doges' attention. Moreover, the inability of the Venetian government to exercise a stronger control over the institutions and people involved in this business, damaged the perceived reliability of Venice and failed to provide pilgrimage with specialised management compared to that used in general trade. The second part of the Chapter, examines more closely the role of patrons of the galleys and the emergence of the Contarini family as leader of the Jaffa route during the end of the fifteenth century. Venice's administrative approach to pilgrimage is dealt within Chapter Four, which assesses the emergence of the city as a religious destination within the peregrination to the Holy Land at the end of the fifteenth century. Simultaneously to its administrative development in relation to pilgrimage, Venice attempted to establish itself as a religious destination. The chapter investigates whether by acquiring papal indulgences and creating exclusive pilgrimage and touristic route in its lagoon, Venice tried to emulate

Jerusalem' hospitality structures and itineraries in order to impress pilgrims visiting the city before their sea-travel. In particular, the investigation of the construction of a Venetian Holy Sepulchre in *Riva degli Schiavoni* helps to show how important it was for the city to be perceived as a counterpart of Jerusalem or even as more important.

Part two of the thesis considers the investigation of Venice's pilgrimage legislation and religious significance as a basis to comprehend and investigate pilgrims' perceptions of the city, and assess Venice's understanding of pilgrimage as a profitable business during the later Middle Ages. Study of pilgrims' narratives and Venetian archival documents related to pilgrimage journeys are essential to determine both arguments. Chapter Five is structured as a case study investigating specifically the narratives written by William Wey in 1458 and 1462. This fifteenth-century author is chosen among others for two different reasons. First, he was one of the first authors to provide a wider description of Venice in his narration. Second, his narratives highlight the dualism of Venice relevant to this research. Wey's perception of the city in both of his accounts is an indispensable example of pilgrims' understanding of medieval Venice, which significantly helps to assess whether pilgrims were aware of the Venetian legislation and internal organization of pilgrimage during their sojourn. William Wey's experience is consequently compared with that of other fifteenth-century travellers in Chapter Six. This investigates whether Wey's perception of Venice's religious significance was unique to the genre or, on the contrary, it was an early symptom of change in pilgrimage literature. Textual analysis of a number of fourteenth-and-fifteenth century sources (e.g. Lionardo Frescobaldi's *Viaggio* or Bernard Von Breydenbach's

Peregrinationae) highlights the ways in which different perceptions of Venice may result from differences in pilgrim nationalities, awareness of pilgrimage legislation and the type of welcome pilgrims received from Venetians, which influenced their experience of the city.[3]

Chapter Seven, is structured as a second case study. It aims to demonstrate Venice's administration of pilgrimage as a profitable business. Indeed, understanding the way in which pilgrims perceived Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not sufficient to confirm whether Venetians, who managed the organization of pilgrimage journeys, considered pilgrimage itself as a solely religious activity or rather as one component of their trade. In fact, little information about the actual travel is available from either type of sources (e.g., organization, navigation, route etc.). On the one hand, Venetian legislation appears as impartial, *pro peregrinis* and devoid of details about the travel itself; while, on the other, pilgrims' narratives are too personal and sometimes not objective as regards the surrounding reality. Religious and emotional filters applied to narration make some of the events narrated by pilgrims unreliable and more similar to early forms of the novel than a historically reliable travel chronicle (e.g., the great sea storm narrated by Casola in his voyage). A way to prove the reliability of the information provided by pilgrims and to discover more details about the voyage between Venice and Jerusalem would be to compare these accounts with logbooks of the galleys filled by the patrons, which indicate the salient features of the navigation.[4] These logbooks or *Quaterni navium*, to be delivered by patrons at the *Cattaveri* Office, are no longer existing,

[3] More details about the sources are discussed in the methodology. See p. 59.
[4] In relation to the production of logbooks by the galley patron, see Chapter Three.

with the exception of two lucky examples identified as *Procuratori di San Marco*, Miscellanea, Atti, Diversi Manoscritti, Busta 134, *Diario di navigazione*, Doc. 14 and Procuratori di San Marco de Ultra, Commissarie, Commissaria Bertucci Pisani, Busta 18 mistakenly preserved in private archives and now consultable at the Archivio di Stato in Venice. Chapter Seven, analyses both documents focusing specifically on *Diario di navigazione* in order to assess differences between travel literature and travel logbook from both the points of views of pilgrims and Venetians. Indeed, *Diario di Navigazione* is the most surprising source in terms of information contained and links between pilgrimage and trade in Venice. For this reason, a textual and partial codicological analysis of the logbook has been carried out and used as a second case study for this research in order to demonstrate the Venetians' use of pilgrimage as a profitable kind of business.

1.2 Historical Background

On the 23rd February 1473, the Venetian *Signoria* sent a Venetian man called Ambrosio Contarini, son of Benedetto and brother of the captain Agostino Contarini, to a diplomatic mission in Persia at the court of Uzūn Ḥasan.[5] According to Contarini, one of the aims of his travel was to write an account for posterity describing the towns, customs and manners of people from Persia.[6] Ambrogio Contarini described himself as a "man of the world" who lived a great part of his life traveling and working between Constantinople, Venice and Jaffa.

[5] For more information about the Contarini family see Chapter Three.

[6] The original Venetian text is published in Ambrosio Contarini 'Viaggio del Magnifico Ambrosio Contarini' in Ramusio Giovan Battista (ed.), *Delle Navigationi et dei Viaggi*, 2 vols., vol.2 (Venice, 1559). An English translation of the account is available in Thomas Roy William S.A., and Lord Stanley of Alderley (eds), *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini* (Farnham, 2010).

In the portrait that Contarini made of himself lies what was the stereotype of the Venetian wealthy merchant traveling to the eastern territories since the time of Marco Polo. The intersection and coexistence of different cultures was at the heart of the Venetian's cosmopolitism and shaped Venice's long-lasting fortune on the bursts of its Levantine trade long before the fourth crusade by establishing a direct connection and close ties with the Ottoman Empire and the Mamluk Sultanate. This enhanced the gradual creation of a favourable environment for travellers towards eastern destinations and increased Venice's popularity and reputation among foreign visitors. What is currently known as Orientalism, portrayed by Edward Said and other modern scholars as the western view of the Orient, including some of the dystopian common fears associated with the Muslim-ruled countries, does not appear to have affected greatly Venetians' concerns when, in the Middle Ages, they established permanent trade with Syria and Palestine.[7] Recently, Dursteler argued that people living in the Mediterranean area took advantage of a "fluid identity" due to lifestyles adapted to a coexistence of multicultural environments. He stated, "the archetypal Venetian merchant in Constantinople was Venetian not by birth but as a result of shedding – or rather adapting – cultural, political, and even religious layers of identity in order to participate in the lucrative Levantine trade".[8] This cannot be truer for Venetians who since the early Middle Ages set up their lives in places such as Alexandria, Constantinople and Jaffa and who created in Venice places

[7] About orientalism see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 2014) and Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014).
[8] Eric R. Dursteller, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity and coexistence in the early modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006), p. 19.

for the encounter of different cultures such as the *fondachi*.[9] Therefore, in the analysis of Venice's position within the Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land one should remember primarily that among the reasons that probably led the Republic to lead the oversea travel and itinerary in Jerusalem, was an open-minded approach to Muslim sovereignty in the Holy Land. Indeed, where religion posed an insurmountable barrier to other European states, claiming the Crusades as the only possible way to regain control of the Holy Land, Venetians understood that business could be ruled by separate deals sharing a little or nothing with the Venetian religious significance.[10] The spirit of tolerance shown by Venetians not only to Muslim people but also to Greek Orthodox Christians and Jews caused heated debate between Venice and the Papacy throughout the Middle Ages.[11] Indeed, the Republic always pointed out its autonomy and freedom from Rome as a profitable way to protect its overseas trade that was unapproved by the popes; although it is undoubtable that the *Signoria* promoted itself also as the bulwark of Christianity and was renowned for its support toward the defence of Christians against infidels. This created a sort of love-hate relationship between Venice and the Holy Land.

[9] The name *fondaco* or *fondegho* comes from the Arabic word *funduq, which* means house/storehouse. Foreign merchants used the *fonteghi* built in Venice as residences and markets. The most famous and still existent are the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* (which included also Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian merchants) and *Fondaco dei Turchi*. Among the now lost *fonteghi* there were the *Fondaco dei Greci* (known also as *ponte dei Greci*), *Fondaco degli Albanesi* and *Fondaco dei Persiani*. See Gianfranco Folena ' Il Veneziano de là mar' in Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV,* 2 vols, vol. 1 (Florence, 1973), p. 306.

[10] It is not a coincidence that one of the most common Venetian proverbs states *Prima siamo Veneziani, poi Cristiani* (Before all we are Venetians, then Christians). It is commonly thought that this saying was born during the fourth crusade, when the Venetian clergy replied to the accusations made against Venice by Innocent III.

[11] Kenneth Meyer Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571,* 4 vols, vol. I (Philadelpia, 1984).

1.2.1 Constantinople, Jerusalem and the Holy Land

Venice's relationship with Jerusalem was mostly associated with its participation in religious pilgrimage than its support for the Crusader cause. According to a certain perspective, apart from the relics imported from Jerusalem, Venice had no proper territorial interest in the city itself. In fact, from a geographical point of view (Fig. 1), Jerusalem was not close enough to the coastal area, which usually contained the most productive commerce, ergo the Venetian interest in trading within a specific zone. In this regard, both Jacoby and Prawer argued that the most important factor in Venice's integration and expansion into the Mediterranean was the seeking of economic-political agreements granting the Republic political freedom in the territory subjected to Venice's trade regardless of a Muslim rule.[12]



Figure 1 - Modern map of Israel-Palestine (source Wiki-common)

[12] Joshua Prawer 'I Veneziani e le colonie nel regno latino di Gerusalemme' in Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante*, vol.1 (Florence, 1973), pp. 628-629; Jacoby, *Venetian commercial expansion*, p. 387.

In fact, compared to Jerusalem, Jaffa and Acre were in a completely different position, being strategically important to access both the holy sites and commerce with Palestine.

Indeed, pervaded by the spirit of the first crusade in 1100, the Doge, Domenico Michiel (1118-1130), showed his interest in the Venetian conquest of Acre and Jaffa by sending an expedition, which resulted in a minor failure for the Republic's fleet.[13] However, ten years later, King Baldwin I granted to Venice a *rugae platea* (a part of a street in which to operate) in Acre renamed as *Vicus Venetus*.[14] This marked a first important collaboration between Venice and the Kingdom of Jerusalem that was ratified with the enactment of the *Pactum Warmundi* in 1123. The pact, negotiated by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Warmund, and the Doge Domenico Michele, granted Baldwin II (who was captured by the Artquids the same year) the help of the Venetians in his liberation. In return for Venice's military help in capturing Tyre and/or Ascalon, the Republic had been granted control over one third of Tyre and direct jurisdiction in all the cities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem ruled by Baldwin II, with the exception of Jerusalem itself.[15] This meant that from the 1123-24 the Venetians possessed in the Holy Land their own streets, markets, churches, baths, mills etc. with a considerable autonomy from Baldwin II' s control.[16] The pact granted to Venice freedom from the custom duties on commerce with the exception of the galleys carrying pilgrims that were subjected to the usual

[13] The expedition did not succeeded in the conquest of Acre but the Venetians acquired some privileges in the Kingdom of Haifa. See Prawer, *I Veneziani e le colonie*, p. 627.
[14] The mention of this privilege occurs in the details of the *Pactum Warmundi*. See Prawer, *I veneziani e le colonie*, p. 633.
[15] Prawer estimates a total of 21 villages under the control of Venice: Prawer, *I veneziani e le colonie*, pp. 633-634.
[16] The original Latin text is transcribed in Tafel, *Urkunden zur älteren*, pp .79-89.

payment of the custom, of which one third was reserved to the King of Jerusalem.

> […] Ad hec Venetici nullampenitus dationem uel secundum usum vel secundum ullam rationem, uidelicet nullo modo intrando, stando, uendendo, comparando uel morando aut exeundo, de nulla penitus causa aliquam dationem persoluere debent, nisi solum, quando ueniunt aut exeunt cum suis nauibus Peregrinos portantes. Tunc quippe secundum regis consuetudinem terciam partem ipsi regi dare debent.[17]

The *Pactum Warmundi* signified for Venice not only a great number of privileges supporting their commerce but the authorisation of a permanent establishment of the Venetian *Signoria* in the Holy Land. As Prawer argued, the Venetians established in Tyre did not behave as vassals of the King of Jerusalem but as an independent kingdom with its uses, customs and justice parallel to that administrated by the King.[18] This is confirmed because some of the richest families of Venice settled their trades and lives in Tyre as happened in other Greek colonies of the Venetian empire. Among those families, the Contarini were one of the first to gain the administrative control of more than a half of the villages entitled to Venice.[19] Already in 1124, a certain Rolando Contarini gained the right of succession in Tyre.[20] The additional presence of a *bailo* and the construction of a *fondaco* suggests there was a definitive Venetian settlement

[17] Tafel, *Urkunden zur älteren,* p. 86.
[18] One of the obligations introduced by the Republic in Tyre was the oath of obedience to Venice that needed to be made also by people not coming from Venice. Prawer, *I veneziani e le colonie,* pp. 636-637, 655.
[19] See Joshua Prawer 'Étude de quelques problèmes agraires et sociaux d'une seigneurie croisée au xiii siècle' in P. Graindor, H. Grégoire (eds), *Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines*, tome xxii (Bruxelles, 1952), pp. 15-16.
[20] Prawer, *Étude de quelques problèmes*, p. 15 The right of succession was granted by Baldwin II himself with a privilege enacted in 1125.

in Tyre a century before their establishment in Acre.[21] Historians agree that Venetian interest in the Holy Land had little or no religious motivation.[22] This judgement rests on Venice's tardy participation to the crusader cause and its actions against the Roman interest during the events of the fourth crusade in 1204. When Enrico Dandolo was elected Doge in 1192, Venice was recovering from a very difficult situation in the Adriatic Sea, which had seen a failed attack of the Venetian fleet hoping to acquire Zara, the loss of some Dalmatian islands as a consequence, and the continued assaults of the Pisan pirate vessels against Venetian merchants in the Greeks islands.[23]

The new Byzantine emperor, Alexius III, appeared more favourable to a collaboration with Pisa and Genoa rather than Venice, boosting anti-Venetian sentiments and acts in Constantinople and encouraging other rival maritime republics to replicate the same behaviour. Venetians tried to regain the privileges granted by Byzantium by sending an ambassadorship to Alexius III, who agreed a peace treaty in 1198.[24] Additional pressure on Dandolo arrived a few years later, when the elected pope, Innocent III, blamed Venice for its scarce interest in the crusader fight and asked the Venetian Doge for help in the Latin conquest of Jerusalem with a new crusade. After months of reluctance and a series of diplomatic meetings and correspondence with the Pope, in April 1201 Dandolo agreed to support the new crusade providing:

[21] Prawer, *I veneziani e le colonie*, pp. 646-647.
[22] Queller Donald E. and Katele Irene B. 'Venice and The Conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' in Agostino Pertusi (eds) SV, 21 (Venice, 1986), p. 16.
[23] Thomas Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (London, 2003), p. 112.
[24] Venetian attempted to regain the privileges granted by Byzantium by sending an ambassadorship to Alexius III, who agreed a peace treaty in 1198. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo*, pp.112-116.

> […] quatuor millia quingentos millites bene armatos, et totidem equos, et nouem milia scutiferos (de quibus scutiferis, si defecerint, argentum inferius dictum nobis tarnen minui non debet), et uiginti milia pedites bene armatos, cum uictualibus ad annum unum, quod eis dare promissimus.[25]

As a sign of personal engagement with the cause, Dandolo promised the participation (with no additional cost) of fifty armed Venetian galleys.[26] However, in return for the Venetian military support in Jerusalem, the Doge expected the payment of 85,000 silver marks of Cologne to be paid in August and an additional fifteen or ten thousand marks to be paid at the feast of all saints (November).[27] The failure to reimburse the established sum to Venice by the scarce number of crusaders arriving for the departure is one of the reasons that "forced" Dandolo to divert the crusade towards Zara and then Constantinople. The ability of the Doge to divert promptly the crusaders in Zara and the blatant way he resumed the *arengo*, a practice extinct at least thirty years before, to reassure the Frankish crusaders of Venice's "good intentions", suggest that he was more apparently aware of what Venice would commit. [28] It is undeniable that the Republic's interest in regaining the control of Zara was still on the cards after the clamorous defeat of the Venetian fleet in 1193 and that the Venice-

[25] 4,500 knights with their horses, 9,000 squires and 20,000 infantry with a year in supply of food. See *Pactum Domini Balduin comitis Flandrensis, et Theobaldi comiti trecensis et Lodovici comiti blesensis, factum cum prefato domino Henricu Dandulo, duce Venetie, pro passagio terre sanctae*. ASV, Liber Albus, ff. 26-28v. Transcription in Tafel, *Urkunden zur älteren,* pp. 362-368.
[26] Tafel, *Urkunden zur älteren,* p. 366.
[27] […] Propter que nobis dare debetis octoginta quinqué milia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Colonie, quo utitur terra nostra, de quibus hinc ad kalendas Augusti habere debemus quindecim milia marcarum, et inde ad festum omnium sanctorum alia decern millia […]. In Tafel, *Urkunden zur älteren*, p. 366.
[28] Madden, *Enrico Dandolo*, p. 125. The *arengo* or *concio* was an assembly of patricians and common people usually reunited for the Doge's election. The assembly was instituted around 697 but with the institution of the *Consilium Sapientium* and the Major Council was gradually abandoned and no longer used after 1178.

Constantinople's diplomatic and commercial relationship continued to deteriorate despite the fragile truce allowing the Venetians to trade again in the city in 1198. Venetians were able strategists and merchants; the request to pay a debt that was estimated as over twice of the annual income of the single French and English crowns meant that they have been well aware their parties would have been likely insolvents.[29] This subtle strategy allowed the Venetians to divert the crusade towards Zara and later Constantinople, to be "repaid" for the income due by the Frankish Crusaders for the Crusade. The Venetians' assault on Constantinople changed the Republic's course of history. Blamed by the pope and their former Byzantine allies, after 1204 the Venetians' position of dominance in the Mediterranean transformed their commercial routes. With the appointment of a *podestà* into the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, Venice established its administrative quarter in the city, operating Venetian justice in total autonomy from the Byzantine Empire.[30] Therefore, in the middle of the thirteenth century, with a series of permanent colonies established in Constantinople, Acre, Alexandria, Zara and other Greek islands, Venetians had unofficial control of the trade in the Adriatic and Mediterranean Sea (Fig. 2). Furthermore, they started investing conspicuously in non-commercial travel (pilgrimage) thanks to the use of their facilities in Acre and dedicated pilgrimage legislation.[31]

[29] Jeffrey M. Shaw and Timothy J. Demy, *War and Religion: An Encyclopedia of Faith and Conflict*, 3 vols., vol.1 (Santa Barbara, 2017), p. 297 .
[30] David Jacoby 'The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204-1261: A State Within A State' in Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and Schreiner Peter (eds), *Quarta Crociata. Venezia. Bisanzio, Impero Latino* (Venice, 2006), pp. 37-38.
[31] Venetian legislation about pilgrimage and the transport of pilgrims to the Holy Land, see Chapter Three.



Figure 2 - Venice's commercial routes XIII-XIV centuries

Nevertheless, successful expansion into the Mediterranean did not mean a period of peace and stability for the Republic or a new interest in Jerusalem itself. On the contrary, the years 1240-1257 saw the Venetians involved in a series of conflicts aimed at enlarging their colonies, in particular to obtain a larger number of territories in the Holy Land.

Soon after the establishment of a permanent administration in Constantinople and the resumption of the Byzantine trade, Venice's commercial interest moved again to the lordship of Tyre by taking part in the baronial conquest of the city in 1242.[32] Venice's participation in the Siege of Tyre allowed its merchants to obtain some additional privileges in the city and establish for the first time a *vicecomes* despite a larger presence of Genoese already established in the territory.[33] Just a few years later Venice appears to have gained a major control over Tyre having established definitely the office of the *bailo* and a consequent organised administration near Tyre's Venetian church of St. Mark.[34] Meanwhile, since 1251, the Venetians and Genoese in Acre shared major tensions after several episodes of violence involving both parties, although finished with the eviction of Venetians from Tyre in 1256.[35] Venetians resident in Tyre moved to Acre where another major reason for conflict was the possession of the monastery of Saint Sabas claimed by both Venetians and Genoese. The Genoese

[32] On the Venetian participation to the Siege of Tyre see David Jacoby, 'The Venetian presence in the Crusader Lordship of Tyre: a tale of decline' in Adrian Boas (ed.), *The Crusader World* (London, 2016), pp. 180-196.
[33] David Jacoby, 'New Venetian evidence on crusader Acre' in Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (eds), *The Experience of Crusading. Vol. II: Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 243.
[34] Jacoby argued that a number of agreements between the Doge Ranieri Zeno (1254) and Archbishop Gilles of Tyre allowed the payment of the tithe by the local Church of St. Mark demonstrating the establishement of Venetians in Tyre. Jacoby, *New Venetian evidence, p. 244.*
[35] The killing of a Genoese man by a Venetian did not ease the tensions between the two factions. Jacoby, *New Venetian evidence*, p. 241.

claimed to have possession over the monastery thanks to a letter written by the Prior of the Knights Hospitaller, while the Venetians claimed possession through a letter from Pope Alexandre IV recognising their rights.[36] War broke out between the two parties in 1257 when, after a series of unsuccessful meetings to halt the war, the Genoese fleet attacked the Venetian ships in the port of Acre. However, the initial success of Genoa's attack against Venice was stopped suddenly when its historical ally, the Republic of Pisa, changed its loyalty and fought for the *Serenissima* by supporting the troops and fleet of the admiral Lorenzo Tiepolo.[37] The fortifications built by the Genoese in Saint Sabas were destroyed and the Venetians, who in the meantime obtained the support also of the Knights Templars and the Earls of Ascalon, overwhelmed the Genoese presence in Acre in 1260.[38]

With the increase in the number of pilgrims requesting a passage to the Holy Land from Venice, the Venetian presence in Acre was strategically important. The establishment of Venetian merchants in Acre was significant not only for the geographical position of the city in the spice and cotton trade, but also for the access to the holy sites, at least until the new port for pilgrims' landing became Jaffa after the fall of Acre in 1291. The fourteenth century saw pilgrimage become an officially recognised activity by the Venetian government, which engaged with Jerusalem and its Muslim authorities more than the century before. On the other hand, Papal interference in Venetian trade with Muslim-ruled countries became even more oppressive. In April 1304, Pope Benedict XI forbade Venetians to engage in any type of trade with the *inicimis*

[36] Jacoby, *New Venetian evidence*, pp. 254-256.
[37] Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 40.
[38] The Genoese were allowed to return in Acre only in 1288. Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 40.

crucis Christi.[39] Trade in Egypt was regarded with particular suspicion by the Papacy, which continued asking Venetians to stop their unauthorised commercial partnership. However, Venice had no intention to end their profitable trade relationship with the enemies of the Roman Church. Conversely, during the fourteenth century, the Republic increased trade with Egypt and Syria gaining the well-recognised status of an international trade partner.[40] During 1349-1350, Venice was also endorsed by other Italian powers such as Ancona and Milan as a leading city in international trade, while Genoa begun a new war with the Republic between 1351 and1354 ended with peace treaty in 1355.[41] The unapproved partnership of Venetians with the Mamluks was not always easy. In fact, extortions that were damaging the Venetian fleet or the merchants operating in the Sultanate were more than frequent, often requiring the intervention of the Venetian ambassadors and the agreement of special treaties.[42] However, the special status of Venice in relation to their longstanding trade with Muslims allowed the government to request privileges of the Sultan concerning the well-being of pilgrims passing through Egypt, Syria and Palestine. In 1415, a Venetian embassy travelled to Cairo to deal with the Sultan against the extortions damaging Venetian merchants in Alexandria and Acre. As a special favour, the ambassadors Lorenzo Cappello and Santo Venier requested to appoint a Venetian consul in Jerusalem to protect pilgrims in Jerusalem, Ramla and Egypt

[39] Thomas Georg Martin, *DVL*, (Venice, 1880), pp.19-20.
[40] Useless was a second warning issued by the Pope in 1308 threatening excommunication of Christians who exported/imported merchandise from Alexandria. Setton, *The Papacy*, p.167.
[41] Ashtor reports of various agreements made by Venice to ensure its position as the only provider of eastern merchandise to Milan and Ancona. Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 70-71.
[42] Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, pp. 248-249.

against Muslim abuses.[43] The Sultan, Abou-Nassr-Scheik, and his successor Barsbay in 1422, agreed to the establishment of a consulate according to the "use and customs" of the Sultanate and covering only those pilgrims arriving in the Sultanate's territories with Venetian vessels.[44] Despite the agreement, in 1422 the Mamluks in Jerusalem imprisoned two Venetians and a Genoese consul accompanied by some Franciscans from Mount Zion and thirteen pilgrims.[45] In 1444, an order of imprisonment arrived from the Sultan requesting the imprisonment of all the pilgrims in his territory and seizing all the sacred sites in Jerusalem.

The peaceful resolution obtained by the Venetians to release all the pilgrims as well as to resume access to the holy sites as normal, demonstrated that their policy of "friendliness" towards the enemies of the Church worked better than useless conflicts.[46]

As Ashtor argues, in relation to their trade with Muslims, Venetians always tried to avoid any type of violent conflict, preferring to play a game of offers and requests.[47] George Christ outlines also how this "power of *cortexia*" used by Venetians was at the base of Venice's complex exchange operation in which the "partners interacted simultaneously on a personal, a commercial and institutional level";[48] A system that worked well for almost two centuries.

---

[43] Until that moment, only the Genoese were allowed to have a consul in Jerusalem protecting pilgrims. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 249.
[44] AOL, vol. 2 (Paris, 1884), pp. 357-358.
[45] AOL, p. 358.
[46] In exchange for the release of pilgrims and the holy sites, Venetians agreed to pay a major price in exchange of a large quantity of pepper. See Arbel Benjamin 'The last decades of Venice's trade with the Mamluks: importations into Egypt and Syria' in *Mamlûk Studies Review*, 7:2 (2004), p. 38.
[47] Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 242.
[48] Christ George, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden, 2012), p. 152.

Until the end of the fifteenth century, Venice's interest in Jerusalem was not strictly linked to its territoriality and trade as it was for Acre, Tyre or Jaffa. Venetians in Jerusalem aspired more to be protectors of the sacred places rather than conquerors, as their roles of consul and *custos* of the Holy Land demonstrate.[49] This notwithstanding Jerusalem assumed a commercial significance for Venice in relation to the pilgrimage business, after the introduction of the monopolised Jaffa sea-routes in the fifteenth century. The relationship between Venice and Jerusalem seems to have developed differently from that of other cities in the Holy Land. Pilgrimage was likely the bonding element between the two cities and since the fourteenth century become more than a valid reason for Venetians to protect their commercial interests not only in the territories where they were established but also in Jerusalem itself.[50] When pilgrimage became an officially recognised and ruled commercial activity during the fourteenth century, Venice's religious interest in Jerusalem was accompanied also by other sentiments. From one point of view, if Jerusalem was safe to visit for pilgrims then Venetians could carry them with their galleys and continue their commerce and institutional activities uninterrupted. Furthermore, their friendly behaviour and the ability to gain favours and agreements from local Muslim authorities by keeping safe the Holy Land's visitors enhanced Venice's prestige as protector of pilgrims.

[49] In this regard, see Chapter 3 and the history of the Contarini family in the Holy Land.
[50]The previously mentioned creation of a Venetian *custos* for the Holy Land, collaborating with the Franciscans of Mount Zion at the end of the fourteenth century, helped Venetians to preserve their interests into Jerusalem through a religious approach. See Chapter Three.

Chapter 2 - Literature review and methodology

2.1 Introduction

There is a lack of adequate scholarly contribution to the analysis of Venice's effective involvement in the organisation of late medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land, especially about the links between pilgrimage journeys and Venice's socio-economic and historical context. Before analysing the extent to which current scholarship considers the Venetian presence in the "pilgrimage scene" as a significant element of pilgrimage studies, it is necessary to offer a general investigation of the subject's historiography.

This chapter analyses first a wide variety of scholarly work conducted on pilgrimage and travel writing, considering, in particular, those contributions and approaches that investigated the topic in recent years. Second, it illustrates the methods used in this thesis to assess primary and secondary sources in order to reply to the research questions addressed in the introduction.

Because of the complexity and significance of the studies conducted during the last two centuries, the review of the literature follows different pathways permitting a broad understanding of the main areas of research covered by current historiography. This will consider three different academic approaches to the subject. The first approach, analyses the subject of pilgrimage literature generally. Indeed, there are significant studies investigating pilgrimage from an external point of view and providing more information concerning the journey and the related experience, rather than a closer investigation of the written

accounts produced because of the travel experience. In this type of "general" literature, written accounts are considered as the product of a deep and spiritual experience affecting the imaginary of the unaware medieval traveller.[1] Either this kind of literature does not consider the extent in which travel writings circulated during the Middle Ages, or how the dissemination of these travel writings influenced other travellers and their decisions to continue the production of pilgrimage accounts. This scholarship should be considered as an external frame surrounding a more specific approach to the topic. During the last century, a second type of interest emerged in the study of pilgrimage writing. This involved a new reading of travel literature, which does not consider any romantic or sentimental aspect of the travel, but analyses it objectively starting from the written evidence produced by the protagonists of the journeys. Studies in this field include investigations of different aspects of travel writing concerning not only the description of the journey itself, but also the analysis of the narration's impact within the community as well as the development of a genre affected by social and literary changes. After the analysis of the general historiography and the investigation of pilgrimage literature, I discuss a third and even more specific approach to the topic, which closely investigates travel texts by contextualizing them within a broad social and historical context. In this category, fall those works that provide, on the one hand, a linguistic examination of the narration by investigating the connections between a more general *corpus* of accounts and the development of trends in the field of travel literature and, on the other, those studies considering the socio-economic environment of

[1] Within general literature, the production of travel writing is placed into the background of the pilgrimage description and its significance. Scholars trend to analyse this phenomenon without exploring its different implications as well as without considering travel writings a valuable source of investigation.

production of travel writings as a significant element in the narration. In this category falls also the scholarly attention to the significance of Venice's involvement in the organisation of travels to the Holy Land, as well as the recurrent mentions of Venetians in travel accounts considering the shaping of narrations under the influence of a precise historical environment, which are a fundamental part of investigation in this thesis. From this body of literature, information that allows scholars to know more on the geographical and historical aspects of the accounts, but also about unexpected details concerning writers' personalities and their literary intentions and personal culture emerges with significant importance. This, notwithstanding, the literature on this topic has received scant consideration by historians during the last two centuries. Figure one, summarises how the status of the research can be viewed simplistically. The line of separation between the first two bodies of research is slightly lighter compared to the third.[2] After a detailed investigation of the studies made within the three main areas, I identify and analyse the gaps in the current historiography. With a description of the methodology, I will provide a detailed plan of the research. This sets out different approaches used in the evaluation of the various types of sources as well as the procedures used to explore the three different areas of the research, utilising them as a support for the constitution of a new focused research topic concerning pilgrimage and travel writing.

[2] One of the reasons for this differentiation can be found in the type of audience reached by the general research, which may include a non-specialist public.

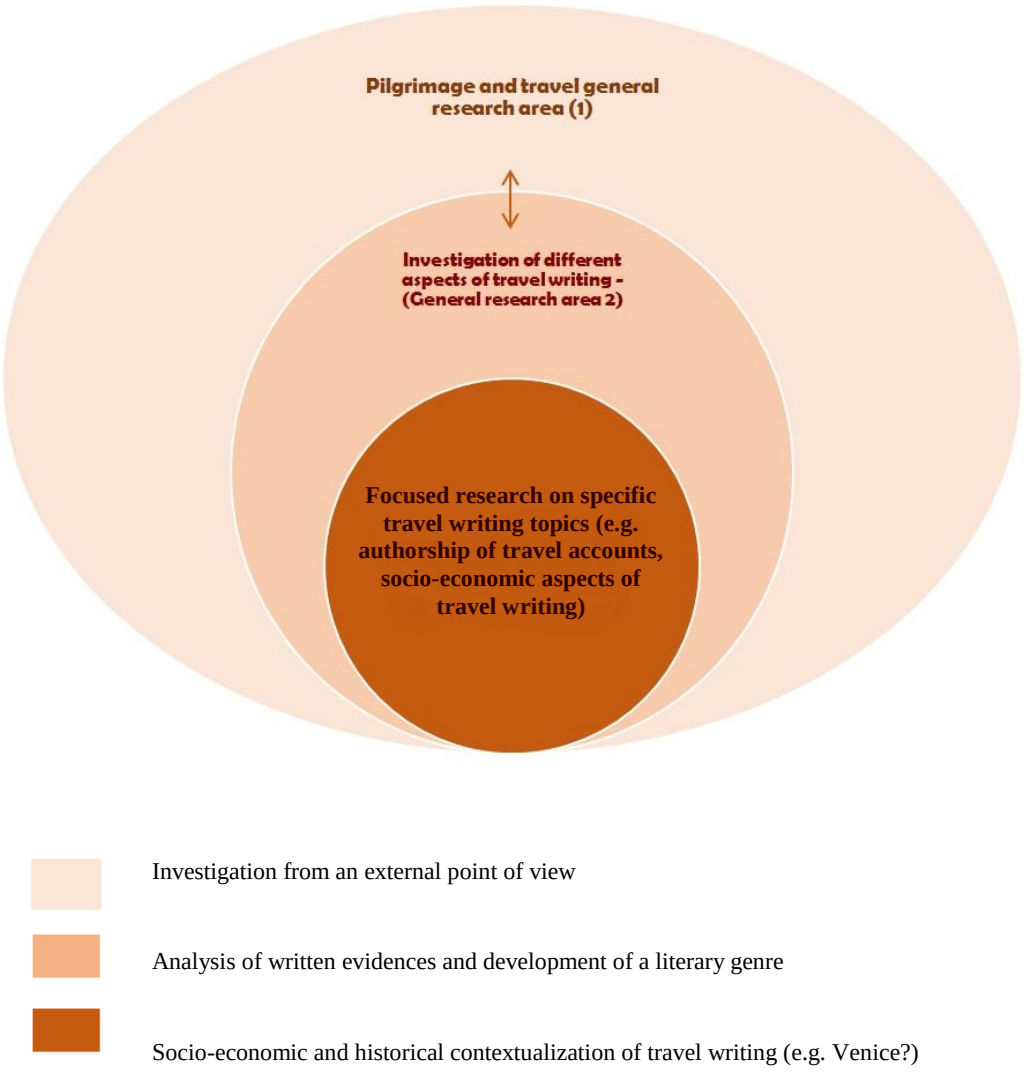


Figure 3 - Visual representation of research on pilgrimage and travel literature

2.2 Pilgrimage and travel in the general research

In the last two centuries, scholars provided a great deal of attention to travel literature, regarding the subject of pilgrimage. Authors such as Hall, Stopani, Oursel, Jusserand, Stopford, Morinis, Cardini, Newton, Prescott, Holloway, Morrison, Theilmann, Rudy and Beebe have been working on the subject providing a valuable and original overview of the enormous amount of material and themes investigated.[3] Prior research has documented that even if the great

[3] The work of these scholars does not represent the total amount of massive studies conducted on pilgrimage and travel but may indicate how much work has been done on

number of written accounts belongs to the late medieval period, the practice of pilgrimage found its roots in the classical past inheriting from it certain ideas transplanted into medieval Christianity (Hunt, Sumption and Hopper).[4] Hunt argued that the first pilgrimages to the Holy Land started in the pre-Constantinian period and considered early travellers as Christian pilgrims. His studies have used the theories of the Franciscans Bellarmino Bagatti and Emanuele Testa concerning an early Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem.[5]

Historians and theologians such as Taylor and Maraval dismissed these theories insisting that there is no evidence confirming any kind of Christian pilgrimage

---

the subject. See Donald J. Hall, *English Medieval Pilgrimage* (London, 1965); Renato Stopani, *Le vie del pellegrinaggio nel Medioevo* (Florence, 1991); Raymond Oursel, *Pellegrini del Medioevo. Gli uomini, le strade, i santuari* (Milan, 1997); Jean J., Jusserand *English wayfaring life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1961); Jennie Stopford, *Pilgrimage explored* (York, 1999); Alan Morinis, Victor Turner, *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (Westport, 1992); Franco Cardini, *In Terrasanta: pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna, 2005); Arthur P. Newton, *Travel and travellers of the Middle Ages* (London, 1949); Hilda F. M. Prescott., *Jerusalem journey: pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century* (London, 1954); Julia B. Holloway, *Jerusalem: essays on pilgrimage and literature* (New York, 1998); Susan S. Morrison, *Women pilgrims in late medieval England: private piety and public performance* (London, 2000); John M., Theilmann 'On the Road to Health: pilgrimage in Medieval England' in Gabriel R Ricci (ed.), *Travel, Discovery, Transformation* (New Brunswick, 2014), pp. 177-197; John M .Theilmann, 'Medieval Pilgrims and the Origins of Tourism' in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 2004:93, pp. 93-102; Kathrine M. Rudy, 'A guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 212' in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgenschchte*, 63, Bd., H. 4 (Berlin, 2000) pp. 494-515; Katherine Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri* (1437/8-1502) (Oxford, 2014).

[4] Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage* (London, 2001), p. 13.

[5] Edward D Hunt, 'Were there Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?' In Stopford, *Pilgrimage explored*, p. 26; See also Edward D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460* (Oxford, 1982). The "Bagatti-Testa school" argued the presence of a Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem headed by Peter. This community abandoned the site during the war preceding Titus moving to Pella in Decapolis. After the war, many members of the community returned to Jerusalem and established themselves on Mount Zion. For more information see Bellarmino Bagatti, Emanuele Testa and Mancini Ignazio, SH, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1976); Bellarmino Bagatti, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret. Vol I. 'Dalle origini al secolo XII*', (Jerusalem, 1967); Emanuele Testa, *Nazaret Giudeo-Cristiana. Riti, iscrizioni, simboli* (Jerusalem, 1969). Taylor dismissed the theories of the Bagatti-Testa school in Joan E.Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: the myth of Jewish-Christian origins* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993).

or Christian communities before the development of the Holy Land started by Constantine.[6] Even if it was possible to call the unknown pioneers who visited or lived in Jerusalem before Constantine "pilgrims" is it not possible to put them at the head of a movement, which became an institution during the rise of Christianity in the Middle Ages.

Following this thought, Bitton-Ashkelony argued that there is a visible difference between late antiquity and medieval pilgrimage.[7] In contrast to medieval travellers, late antique "pilgrims" did not experience that ethnographic curiosity affecting medieval travellers.[8] Losch remembered in his studies on the biblical places, that the concept of pilgrimage as an institution as well as the emergence of the term "Holy land" as description of the sacred places in Palestine was not a late antique or pre-Constantinian concept, since it was mentioned for the first time in the writing of the crusaders.[9] The medieval institutionalisation of pilgrimage and the flourishing of the cults and practices linked to the sacred journey attracted the attention of a great number of scholars.

---

[6] Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 293-332. Maraval offers a more moderate approach compared to the strong opinions of Taylor preferring to analyse, from a different point of view, the questions concerning the right understanding of the term "pilgrim" which in his opinion cannot be used in the same way for all the visitors to the sacred places. See, Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient, Histoire et géographie. Des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 9-10.

[7] Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 9-10.

[8] The concept of ethnographic curiosity is understood as the natural interest of men towards the world surrounding them. This includes not only the exploration of new places, but also the discovery of new cultures. Zacher (1976) argued that "At the close of the Middle Ages pilgrimage had gradually become little more than a mask concealing natural human yearnings to explore other lands- the journey itself, more than the sacred goal, become objective of men's travels." Bitton-Ashkelony (2005) resumed the work of Zacher adding that in the late antique sources there is little evidence of a curiosity towards other cultures and no evidence confirming an interest of late-antique pilgrims for flora, fauna, holy places etc. See Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage. The literature of discovery in fourteenth century England* (London, 1976), p. 5 and Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, pp. 9-10.

[9] Richard R. Losch, *The Uttermost Part of the Earth: A Guide to Places in the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 2005), pp. 152.

General literature on this topic explores various aspects of the pilgrimage experience, focusing on the spiritual and emotional involvement of pilgrims. The themes investigated concern the motivations, the cult of relics and saints, the journey, the atonement of sin and the purchase of pardons and the various meanings of the terms "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage", which can be opposed or associated to the terms "tourist" and "travel". Among the representatives of these general studies, Sumption and Hopper intended their works to be anthologies of the pilgrimage experience and to offer general knowledge on the topic.[10] Both authors gave the same structure to their analysis of the medieval phenomenon dividing the narration into different topics similar to those mentioned above. However, Sumption decided to focus more on the pilgrimage experience from a French point of view,[11] which in his opinion represented a more homogeneous cultural world.[12] Conversely, Hopper gave a general overview of the main pilgrimage destinations during the Middle Ages: the Holy Land, Rome, Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury. Both works offered a wide variety of information concerning the diverse aspects of pilgrimage and their history. The information provided added no new information or interpretation to the field already investigated in earlier works such as *Pilgrim life in the Middle Ages* written by Heath.[13] The overgeneralization of the theme and the absence of a deep analysis of the sources in order to provide an original interpretation of the facts is a main characteristic of these anthologies, which are intended for a non-

[10] See, Sumption, *Pilgrimage* and Sarah Hopper, *To be a Pilgrim. The medieval pilgrimage experience* (Phoenix Mill, 2002).
[11] He was interested also in England, Spain and the south of Italy.
[12] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. xiv.
[13] The work of Hopper shares a great quantity of aspects with Heath, in the descriptions of the English stages of pilgrimage. See in particular the chapters concerning Canterbury and Thomas Beckett, Our Lady of Norfolk and Shrines and miracles. Hopper, *To be a Pilgrim*, pp. 51-77, 120-134; Sidney Heath, *Pilgrim life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1911). See in particular Chapters Two, Eight, Nine and Twelve.

specialist public. Bowman in his article on pilgrim narratives described Sumption's book as "an unstructured collation of primary and secondary data on the several forms of medieval pilgrimage" and directed readers to more schematic works.[14] It appear that these works pay a little attention to the figure of the pilgrim offering an overall perspective from a few known pilgrimage works. The main attention is focused on pilgrimage as a spiritual experience and a religious means of redemption.[15] Recently, scholars have examined pilgrimage as a characteristic feature of medieval society and have offered, on the one hand, an overall view on its history during the centuries and, on the other, a more specific attention to pilgrims and journey descriptions. The works of Whalen and Chareyron provide extensive and detailed overview of the pilgrimage phenomenon and fill partially the gaps in the previous historiography in two different ways.[16] Whalen, approaches pilgrimage from a literary point of view, highlighting the ways biblical texts captured the attention of potential pilgrims and encouraged their desire for redemption through the undertaking of a sacred journey.[17] Chareyon, analyses pilgrimage texts, attributing them a specific importance not only as geographical and historical sources of information, but also as inspirational literature for other travellers.[18] Whalen used an extensive variety of sources offering a clear vision of the pilgrimage institution and its evolution through the investigation of fundamental sacred and profane texts,

[14] Glenn Bowman, 'Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem' in Alan Morinis and Victor Turner (eds), *Sacred Journeys*, p. 165.
[15] There is scarce attention to the double significance of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages and an insufficient consideration of the military context of the crusades in the description of the spiritual experience.
[16] See Brett E. Whalen, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto, 2011) and Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, 2005).
[17] Whalen, *Pilgrimage*, pp.1-19
[18] Chareyron tries also to validly respond to the question of audience of travel writings analysing the authors'intentions: Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem,* pp. 13-15.

which, on the one hand, encouraged pilgrims to undertake a spiritual voyage, and, on the other, described those changes affecting Christianity with relevant testimonials related to the examined period.[19] Whalen's book presents a long and chronologically structured collection of texts with minimal information about their historical contexts. This kind of analysis offers a multi-subjective vision of the pilgrimage institution provided by a wide range of writers and allows the reader to consider the perspective of the travel under different aspects.[20] The reader is forced to approach, first, Whalen's opinions and, secondly, the pilgrims' impressions expressed in several texts narrating the journey from a personal point of view. Chareyon's work does not show any change concerning the historical evolution of pilgrimage writings considered, in this case, as an affirmed medieval institution. Her investigation is devoid of consideration about the origins and influence of pilgrimage in medieval society. The study of the Islamic context made from an ethnographic point of view, which is supposed to be a central investigation in the text, does not offer a significant examination of the sources and confuses the reader with misleading citations and unclear concepts concerning the approach of Christians to different faiths.[21] Most sources investigate texts and propose a reconstruction of a general pilgrimage history. It emerges that the independent study of the sources and their integration within a historical context is a common problem among the authors facing the

[19] One of the most interesting testimonials is the one investigating the Christian reaction to the Islamic capture of Jerusalem in the seventh century through a series of texts extracted from a West-Syrian chronicle: Whalen, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 104-109.
[20] The aspects considered are various and investigated from a literary point of view. The texts are divided into different topics (saints, travellers, holy places, Islamic dominion, crusades etc.) and show the evolution of pilgrimage from its origins to the late Middle Ages.
[21] See Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 111-126.

general literature of pilgrimage and travel.[22] The trend shows a redundant repetition of already-stated concepts, which makes it difficult to see an actual original investigation of the topic.

Webb, who tried to shed new light in the panorama of pilgrimage studies, gives a more analytical approach to the sources.[23] Webb used primary sources to investigate the general European medieval context in which pilgrimage developed. The case of Pistoia, in particular, represents a comprehensive and detailed study of a specific environment and gives the precise idea of the development of the pilgrimage institution within a small community.[24]

Webb's work shows a trend affecting the intentions of the authors who are working on general travel literature. This trend concerns the predisposition of scholars to search for even more specific themes despite their investigations is covering a broader scope of research. For instance, Webb decided to approach pilgrimage in two different ways. First, with the usual broad description of the significance of medieval pilgrimage and its expressions and, second, with the investigation of specific topics such as the development of pilgrimages in the area of Pistoia or in England.[25] This structure highlights the intention of the author to find a specification in her own work, which allows the public to consider the study differently in respect to others. Unfortunately, the topic examined is too broad to be condensed into a general and unfocused work

[22] In the term "sources" are included not only written evidence produced directly by travellers but also documentation of various types (agreements, letters, and legislation) concerning travels.
[23] See Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001).
[24] For this chapter see 'Pilgrimage in One City: Pistoia' in Webb, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage,* pp. 148-160.
[25] Pilgrimages in England are investigated more specifically in a further edition of her previous work. See Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, (London, 2000).

without losing points in quality, especially if scholars want ambitiously to analyse accurately both the general context and some specific cases. In this new attempt of specification, Noonan shows an important sign of change introducing a clear specific subject within a wider topic of study. His investigation analyses the general pilgrimage and travel context, but focuses more attention on the written works of pilgrims as a means to identify historical changes and attributes to travels a new anthropologic importance. He argues, "the role of travel in the making of civilization has been crucial".[26] In particular, he supports the thesis that sees pilgrimage writings as a part of a more extensive travel literature, arguing that there was no distinction in the different types of travel because in medieval European society "to travel was to go on pilgrimage". Noonan generalises the concept of pilgrimage by extending its meaning also to all travel without a religious motivation (e.g. travel to the Orient).[27] Noonan's work eliminated the traditional division, which led scholars to distinguish a pilgrim from a tourist based on the ethnographic curiosity affecting their journey. This generalization of the term "pilgrimage" into a wider travel category was made in opposition to the theories of Victor and Edith Turner who, in contrast to Noonan's opinion, stated that "pilgrimage is a different form of travel" characterized by its liminality as a rite of passage.[28] Studies related to the deep medieval significance of the terms "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage" received a great deal of attention in general literature. The theories of Turner have created a long debate among historians. Actually, the Turners did not specify that their theory

[26] Thomas F.Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery*, (Philadelphia, 2007), p. 7.
[27] Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem*, pp. 8, 19.
[28] See Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1-39.

was related only to a medieval perception of the voyage, but explained how the conception of the rite of passage may be applied also to the older pilgrimage tradition. They started from Van Gennep's assumption that "all the rites of passage are marked by three phases: separation, limen or margin and aggregation"[29] considering the liminality as an aspect which may be applied to all the phases of cultural change, consequently also to the medieval perception of travel.[30] A "voluntary liminality" characterised Christian pilgrimage because pilgrims chose to move from its *Primary Centre* to a new community in a *Sacred Centre* and made by unknown, anonymous other individuals who represented the pure etymologic essence of the word pilgrim.[31] Following Turner, Cohen reworked the concept of liminality affirming, "the pilgrim's journey to the Centre, though perilous, is in traditional cultures and societies ultimately legitimate".[32] By contrast, Gothoni and Tomasi contested the liminal state of the journey. Gothoni argues that Turner and Turner analysed pilgrimage only as a social process without considering the emotional and intense experience

[29] Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 2.

[30] With the word "liminality" Turner expanded the use of the term "liminal" proposed by Arnold Van Gennep in *The rite of passage*, (London, 1908) indicating the state of "passenger" through a new dimension characterising the traveller in his state of being or cognition. See Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, pp. 2-3; see also Victor Turner, *The Center out: Pilgrim's goal*, in *History of Religions*, 12:3, (The University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 191-230.

[31] For the concept of anonymity in pilgrimage see, Rene Gothoni, 'Pilgrimage = transformation journey' in *The problem of ritual* (Symposium on Religious Rites held at Åbo, Finland, 13th-16th of August 1991), p. 104, https://journal.fi/scripta/article/view/67208.

[32]However, Cohen did not analyse the anthropological evolution of the term "pilgrimage" or investigate the concept from a historical point of view. On the contrary, he assumed that the pilgrimage dimension is linked to a wider and modern touristic experience, which detached the religious practice from the classical tradition and transformed the journey in different types of experiences: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential. Cohen Erik, 'Pilgrimage and Tourism: convergence and divergence', in Morinis, Turner, *Sacred Journeys*, pp. 51-55; see also Cohen Erik, 'Pilgrimage centers: Concentric and excentric', in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19:1, (1992), pp. 33-50.

affecting the single individual during the period of the journey, expressed often in writing.[33]

The consideration of these aspects of travel depicts the pilgrimage experience as a "transformation from one level of spirituality to another" which has universal form and makes up a metaphoric ellipse of travel including the basic steps of departure, a pilgrimage centre and return characterizing the itineraries of all the religious cultures.[34] Moreover, Tomasi does not agree with the Turner's generalization of the term "pilgrimage" used with the same significance both for the ancient and modern periods without considering the historical and anthropological evolution of the related institution. For Tomasi there is a visible difference between the medieval pilgrimage and the modern. Medieval pilgrimage was a peculiar institution of that specific period reflecting the religious expressions and way of life of a society, which sought the expiation of its sins and the purification of its souls through a penitential and spiritual journey.[35] After the medieval period, the institution of pilgrimage saw a gradual change transforming first into religious tourism and then journeys, which were not necessarily subjected to a religious motivation, but enjoyed the curiosity affecting modern tourists.[36] In the analysis of Tomasi, if the medieval religious traveller could enjoy a distinction from a modern tourist due to the absence of

[33] Gothoni, *Pilgrimage*, p. 101.
[34] Gothoni, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 108-113.
[35] Luigi Tomasi, 'Homo Viator: From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism via the Journey' in W. H. Swalos and Luigi Tomasi (eds), *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism. The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety* (Westport, 2002), pp. 2-24.
[36] Tomasi, *Homo Viator*, p.14

curiosity for the world surrounding him, the modern pilgrim cannot be distinguished from a tourist only for an alleged religious motivation.[37]

Therefore, in Tomasi's opinion, after the Middle Ages it is difficult to separate a pilgrim from a tourist solely based on the liminal state of travel due to the absence of an exclusive spiritual transition. Consequently, it is not possible to confirm Turner's theory concerning a timeless universal and general separation of pilgrimage as a form of travel due to the changed attitudes, in terms of curiosity, of the participants.[38] This point of view illustrates in what way Tomasi tried to categorize different types of pilgrimage based solely on the analysis of the external behaviour of the participants linked to the values of the society to which they belonged. This theoretical approach misses a real investigation of the historical context and supposed a standardization of the traveller's intentions limited to the culture of belonging as the table below shows.

Medieval traveller	religious pilgrim
Modern/contemporary traveller	curious tourist

Table 1 - Tomasi's categorization of the dualism in the terms pilgrim/tourist

Disregarding the modern/contemporary concept of tourism, which is not the topic of this research, it is possible to say both Tomasi's and the Turners' theories were affected by some limitations in the consideration of the medieval traveller. First, as an individual trapped in his religious condition devoid of any sense of

[37] The concept expressed by Tomasi is not clear. He is suggesting a complete absence of spiritual motivations as the main purpose for pilgrimage during the modern period, arguing that even in religious journeys there is a stable touristic component, which cannot be excluded as in some medieval travels.
[38] Tomasi, *Homo Viator*, 19-20.

fascination towards the world, except for the visited sacred places. Second, that "the Pilgrim's goal" is experienced necessarily through a liminal state of travel perceived as rite of passage. To be credible, the theory of Tomasi would need to prove the whole, or the great part, of the medieval pilgrimage literature contains no trace of curiosity. The concept of *curiositas* as expressed in Zacher's work needs a wider and deeper investigation. This means that, as well as the concept of travel, pilgrims' curiosity in travel literature was subjected to a change that cannot be reduced to a slight and chronological categorization of the traveller's vision of the world.[39] "Curiosity" in the context of pilgrimage and travel cannot be understood only as an anthropological trend shown by the travellers in terms of "exploration of the world" but needs to be found in the words describing the differences with the ordinary and sometimes prosaic life of every single voyager. It was curiosity that was shown by William Wey in his description of the Venetian traditions and it was curiosity that is revealed by the words of Giovanni de'Marignolle in his portrait of the Queen of Sheba. For this reason, although the work of Tomasi contrasts in a valuable way with the theory of the Turners, it remains confined within the limitations of a system, which offers no practical study of the pilgrim's vision of the world. On the other hand, the theory of Turner is too general to be considered useful for any specific case of pilgrimage. The liminal phase of the travel and its perception as a "rite of passage" needs to be employed more as an interpretation by which medieval pilgrimage may be understood, rather than an established anthropological explanation of the medieval perception of pilgrimage.[40]

[39] Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage*.

[40] These examinations are used by the Turners as a general pattern of reference that does not consider any individual approach to the pilgrimage experience. Nevertheless, the investigation of a liminal phase of travels may open new discussions on the perception

As can be seen, general historiography on pilgrimage and travel explores a multitude of topics, which in an overall consideration build a useful pattern of reference to investigate themes that are more specific. Nevertheless, this general literature remains vague and considers the written accounts only because of the travel that is understood as a wide social and anthropological process lived by the participants as an exclusive emotional and spiritual experience. In this type of literature, travel writings were a collateral effect of the journey and consequently less important than the voyage itself; however, the investigation of narrative has not been undervalued by historians.

Conversely, it has been studied as a separate branch sharing references with the general study and becoming even more independent and specific about the centrality of travel writing as a main subject of research. From the previous examination of the literature, it emerges that travel writings are considered as a peculiar product of the journey, which did not affect the value of the travel or its anthropological links to a specific human behaviour. Many scholars believe travel literature is a fundamental part of the journey and that without this, it would be difficult to investigate the evolution of travel practice and traditions. Written works produced by travellers remain the most valuable source of knowledge to understand medieval pilgrimage. Pilgrimage accounts provide not only a geographical description of the places visited but also a wide variety of practical details concerning the organisation, uses and logistics of the travel itself and valuable information related to the investigation of further sources used by pilgrims, which might reveal a practical overview of their cultural world.

of the voyage experienced by pilgrims. This does not necessarily coincide with their perception as “rite of passage” but would deserve further study, which may investigate the topic considering it within a historical point of view subjected to individual and social changes.

Scholars such as Hyde, Richard, Howard, Brefeld, Yeager, Chareyron, Mitchell, Jusserand, and Pringle highlight in brief the most important aspects of travel literature and investigate pilgrims and their narrations as a relevant feature.[41]

Richard divides the genre into seven different types of narration, whilst Hyde faces travel literature from a broader point of view not limited to the strict investigation of pilgrim's evidences.[42] By contrast, Brefeld investigates only the pilgrim's accounts considering them all as guidebooks. This vision is shared partially also by the aforementioned Chareyron, while Yeager and Mitchell consider travel literature only as evidence useful for the reconstruction of all the phases of the pilgrimage journey.[43] The trend shows a division between pilgrimage literature and travel literature, understanding the latter as production of narrations concerning non-religious travels. In addition, not all the scholars investigating pilgrimage literature agree regarding the concept, which divides pilgrims' guidebooks from simple narrations of pilgrimage journeys.

---

[41] See John K. Hyde, *Literacy and its uses* (Manchester 1993); Jean Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout 1996); Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley,1980); Josephie Brefeld, *A guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-aided Textual Criticism* (Amsterdam, 1994); Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (New York, 2005); Suzanne M.Yeager, J*erusalem in the medieval narrative*, (Cambridge, 2008); Pringle Denys, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Burlington, 2011); Rosamond J.Mitchell, *The spring voyage. The Jerusalem pilgrimage in 1458*, (London, 1965); Jean Jules Jusserand, *English wayfaring life* (London, 1889).

[42] Richard called this division "*definition du genre*", which comprise: guidebooks for pilgrims, narration of pilgrimages, narration of crusades and expeditions, bulletins of ambassadors and missionaries, descriptions made by explorers and adventurers, merchants' guides and fiction travellers: Richard, *Les récits de voyages*, pp. 15-36. Hyde's study does not offer the Richard's schematic categorization of travel literature, nevertheless in addition to travel accounts he considers a wide range of sources offering a broader understanding not only of travel but also of cities such as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* or the *Descriptio Londoniae* see Hyde, *Literacy and its uses*, pp. 136-161.

[43] Chareyron investigated different types of travel literature in another publication Chareyron Nicole, *Globe-trotters au Moyen Age*, (Paris, 2004).

Referring to pilgrimage literature, Richard himself admitted that "*il est évidemment difficile de dire si un tel texte, dans l'intension de son auteur, un guide à l'usage des pèlerins ou un récit de pèlerinage*".[44] He pointed out that this distinction exists and, even if it is slight, the category of pilgrimage literature cannot be generalized in one big class. Indeed, he identifies as pilgrim guidebooks all those compilations showing the precise intention of authors to be useful for other voyagers through the detailed indication of the routes to follow or the places to visit etc., while he indicates as pilgrimage narrations all those accounts focusing on the deeds of authors and their feelings about the journey and places visited.[45] In the last case, Richard is arguing that this kind of pilgrimage narrative is devoid of the author's intentionality and is not intended as guidebooks for other voyagers. In addition, one of the most interesting points that Richard underlines is that in pilgrimage narratives "*l'élément authobiographique e nest parfois presque absent*". This means that narration is impersonal and often inspired by previous works of the same genre.[46]

Brefeld expressed the same point of view in relation to guidebooks. In opposition to Richard, she does not categorize pilgrimage literature based on text-types, but she generalizes pilgrimage texts under a main "guidebooks category" without showing the differences between specific itineraries of travel and generic travel narratives. Based on this generalization, Brefeld supposes that linguistic similarities shown by a certain number of travel texts she has read were not a

[44] Richard, *Les récits*, p. 19.
[45] Concerning the pilgrim's guides, he provided examples such as *De locis sanctis* of Theodoricus or the *Historia Anglorum* of Mathieu Paris, while for the simple journey narratives he mentioned the works of Odoric of Pordenone or the *Hodoeporicon Sancti Willibaldi*. Nevertheless, he argued also that pilgrim narratives may have characteristics of both categories as the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* of Burchard of Mount Zion has shown. See, Richard, *Les récits*, pp. 15-23.
[46] Richard, *Les récits*, p. 21.

coincidence, but a sign that all medieval authors were in contact, directly or not, with a unique main source. She calls that source "prototype guide" arguing that it was diffused among voyagers before their journey, possibly by the Franciscans in Venice or Mount Zion.[47] To support her thesis it is possible to say that accounts showing no dependence from other similar works are rare and during the Middle Ages the concepts of plagiarism and copyright were unknown, consequently not respected. As Mitchell pointed out "plagiarism was not a dirty world in the fifteenth century, for it had no meaning at all".[48] Medieval authors made wide use of similar written sources by taking inspiration from them and using often the same structure or eventually the same words for their own narratives. This is not a surprise, but is this a valid reason to believe in the existence of a unique European source for all the travel writings? Brefeld's assertions lack credibility and her arbitrary choice of eighteen texts based on her personal knowledge, demonstrates the impossibility of proving this hazardous hypothesis due to a lack of objectivity and existing connections with the wider pilgrimage literature. Brefeld admits "At that time I felt that my study could only benefit from my arbitrary preference for certain texts. It is much easier to work with texts one knows well or likes better".[49] Therefore, the apparent link within the texts she examined and the emergence of the "New York" incunabulum as prototype guide for all pilgrimage accounts, based on a computer calculation and linguistic similarity with the other eighteen texts, cannot be interpreted as a scientific proof of her thesis.[50] However, despite the insubstantiality of her

[47] See Brefeld, *A guidebook,* pp. 9-32.
[48] Mitchell, *The spring voyage*, p. 18.
[49] See Brefeld, *A guidebook*, p. 75.
[50] Brefeld identified the New York incunable with a volume of the Pierpont Morgan Library called *Peregrinationes Terrae Sanctae*. However, she did not give details concerning its collocation within the library.

research, scholars such as Yeager have generally accepted the possibility of a shared common source. In addition, Yeager outlined how English pilgrims who were inspired by similar Continental sources experienced the "borrowing" phenomenon.[51] Chareyron, who focused her study on pilgrimage narratives, agree mainly with Richard concerning not only the division between secular and religious travels but also about the different pilgrim's narratives. Unlike Brefeld, she could not exclude in advance a genuine intention of pilgrims to produce something original notwithstanding a communal reference pattern.

Conversely, she highlights how medieval travellers as well as modern ones "brought with them a mental baggage they projected onto the world" making those sensitive to different things based on their personality and culture; an aspect reflected consequently in their written production.[52] A similar point of view was that of Mitchell who argued that medieval authors, notwithstanding their tendency to plagiarism, remained original in their intention to address their work to a certain type of public. She provides the example of William Wey affirming that "his *Itineraries*, although of course the material is largely drawn from earlier sources, is strikingly original in its arrangement and in the scope of its advice to would-be pilgrims".[53] The search for a specific audience may be interpreted as an attempt of originality by medieval authors. No scholars challenged the idea that the travel narrative might be intended for a wide range of public including merchants, explorers, missionaries, pilgrims or simply

[51] She gave the examples of Guylforde's *Pilgrimage to the Holy land* that borrowed extensive parts from Philippe de Voisin's *Voyage à Jérusalem* and Torkington and Wey's itineraries who were inspired by the anonymous *Informacyon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*. Yeager, *Jerusalem*, pp. 21-22.
[52] Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 6-7.
[53] Mitchell, *The spring voyage*, p.19.

people interested in this kind of literature.[54] Scholarly interest in the transmission and dissemination of travel writing, for the historical contextualization of written accounts as well as for the organisation of travel has been minimal. Only recently, this field of research is attracting scholars' interest.

2.3 Pilgrimage and travel writing under a new focused attention

Theoretical, social and anthropological investigations of the general travel literature allowed no space for a close study of medieval accounts and their historical contextualization. Past studies highlighted some unresolved issues, which are brilliantly summarized by the words of Kathryne Beebe. "There has been no comprehensive look at the extent to which this literature was used and disseminated by the medieval travellers themselves: who wrote it; and whether, at least among the echelon of voyagers, the transmission of pilgrimage writings might have accompanied the thriving trade in Holy Land tours that departed Venice each year".[55] Recently, an increasing number of scholars have approached travel literature from different points of view trying to fulfil the gaps that emerged from the previous historiography. In the wide panorama of studies related to a close examination of written travel texts, the works of Newett, Seymour, Davey, Andreose, Ménard, Constable, Deborah Howard, Bale,

[54] Hyde, for instance, added to travel literature a further category based on a specific audience. He identified the "ethnographic literature" as that type of narrative describing the differences and marvellous aspects of other cultures and expressing sometimes the prejudices affecting medieval travellers. This category of travel literature was mostly read by merchants interested in new investments or religious in searching for Christian propaganda in exotic lands. Good examples of this literature are the *Ystoria Mongalorum* of Carpini, the *Divisement du monde* of Marco Polo or the *Chronicon Bohemorum* of Giovanni de Marignolle. See John K. Hyde, 'Ethnographers in search of an audience' in *Literacy and its uses* (Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 162-216.
[55] Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, p. 33.

Campbell, Deluz, and Weber gave a more than a positive contribution in this direction, offering a new perspective in the study of pilgrimage and travel writing. Despite a close attention to authorship in travel accounts provided by, among others, Deluz, Seymour, Davey, Andreose, Beebe and Bale, Newett, was one of the first scholars to investigate a travel text within a wider historical context. Seymour, Deluz and Bale closely investigated *Mandeville's Travels* analysing also the author's role in the creation of a long-lasting tradition of the work's dissemination. Davey analysed the *Itineraries* of William Wey whilst Beebe provided a new interpretation of Felix Fabri's pilgrimage adding further information about the author's background. Andreose and Ménard published one of the best editions of the Odoric voyage in the Orient providing information about the author and the dissemination of his work through a close study of manuscript tradition and diffusion.[56] Newett provides not only an interesting examination of Casola's pilgrimage compared with a general *corpus* of travel accounts, but also an incredible amount of valuable information about the organization of travel to the Holy land during the late fifteenth century.[57] Although Newett's work received scant consideration by past and some of the recent historiography, her study remains, until now, the most complete scholarly investigation related to the assessment of a travel text and its historical context. From Newett's research emerges, for the first time, the importance of Venice's role as the first stage of the pilgrimage and as a city-state monopolizing the entire

[56] See Michael C.Seymour,'Sir John Mandeville' in *Authors of the Middle Ages*, (Aldershot, 1993) and Michael C. Seymour, *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford, 2002); Deluz Christiane, *Le livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris, 2000); Francis Davey, *The itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010); Alvise Adreose and Philippe Ménard, *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone* (Genève, Droz, 2010); Anthony Bale, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford, 2012) and also Anthony Bale, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Oxford, 2015).

[57] Mary M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's pilgrimage to the Jerusalem in the year 1494* (Manchester, 1907).

trade and pilgrimage navigation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, despite Newett's work, the investigation of pilgrimage writings from a historical perspective as well as attention to the Republic of Venice concerning its involvement in travel routes have been undervalued for a long time. Only in the most recent years, Newett's research has been reconsidered, arousing the attention of scholars to these less investigated topics.[58] However, until now a sizeable body of research investigating the economic, political and historical role of the city has provided most of the information about Venice's engagement in pilgrimage sea routes during the late Middle Ages. These studies approach the organization of pilgrimage and travel as one of the many activities of the Venetian Republic during its maritime monopoly and although they are not directly connected to the pilgrimage and travel historiography, they shed light on this undervalued topic. The works of Lane, Tucci and Pullan have been milestones in the Venetian research.[59] The long-lasting investigations on the history of the Venetian Republic made by Lane, especially those related to the study of Venetian shipping in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, clearly indicate the changes, which occurred within the naval organisation during the

[58] It is necessary to mention also the works of Doumerc, Crouzet Pavan, Stöckly, Della Santa, Caraci and Ashtor joined by the more recent works of Mueller, Bondioli, Bellabarba, Christ, Jacoby, Howard, Dursteler, Howels, Appelániz and Arbel. Some early mentions of the Venetian involvement in the organization of pilgrimage are given also by Stretton Grace, 'Some aspects of Medieval travel: notably transport and accommodation, with special reference to the Wardrobe Accounts of Henry Earl of Derby, 1390-1393' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 7 (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 77-97.

[59] There is a further historiography dedicated to the collection of Venetian documents. Scholars as main sources for their investigations often use these collections. Among the most important works, there are Cicogna Antonio, *DIV*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1824); Brown Rawdon, *CSP*, vol. 1, 1202-1509 (London, 1864); Golubovich Girolamo, *BBB*, vol. 4 dal 1333 al 1345 (Florence, 1923); Société de l'Orient latin, AOL, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris, 1884).

peak period of pilgrimage journeys.[60] Lane pointed out that the best descriptions of pilgrims' ships are those in the accounts of pilgrims who sailed from Venice.[61] These accounts show in which way the Venetian Republic changed its naval system (i.e. in terms of shipbuilding and navy legislation) to adapt its maritime services to the growing requests for sea transportations to the Holy Land.[62]At the *Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology Venice 2000* organised by Carlo Beltrame and Giulia Boetto around the theme of the Italian maritime power, a group of papers inquired into the changes in Venetian shipbuilding since the fifteenth century by assessing archival resources and previous historiography.[63] Bellabarba challenged Lane's explanation of galleys' replacement arguing that changes in models of production did not bring improvements in sailing. Through the close study of pilgrims' narratives, maps, and Venetian archival sources he established that fifteenth-century galleys, especially those used for pilgrimage routes, were better in quality, speed, capacity and safety than any other boat built in the Arsenal. In addition, he

[60] For the political and maritime history of Venice, see Frederick C. Lane, *Venice a Maritime Republic* (London, 1973). For the Venetian shipping history and the description of pilgrim galleys, see Frederick C. Lane, *Venetian ships and shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (London, 1992), pp. 17-22, and pp. 29-31.
[61] Lane, *Venetian ships*, pp. 16-17.
[62] It seems that merchant galleys, or *mude da mercato,* were no longer adapted to the accommodation of an increasing number of pilgrims in the fifteenth century. Even though, according to pilgrims' written evidences, they continued to offer the same service of new larger pilgrim galleys, or *mude peregrinorum,* at lower prices. Changes in trade routes and in political conditions during the early sixteenth century caused the progressive replacement of all the previous galleys with round ships. This involved a reduction of the crews and armaments on board which were excessively expensive. Lane, *Venetian ships*, pp. 26-30.
[63] Carlo Beltrame, *Boats, ships and shipyards. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology Venice 2000* (Oxford, 2003).

argued that the "galley-type" was the main model of inspiration for vessels of the following century.[64]

Described by most pilgrims' narratives, the sea voyage represented at least fifty percent of the journey experience because of its duration. Besides the large number of people involved, its organization required formal legislation concerning the galley's licences, the cargo, armaments needed etc. Moreover, pirates, political rivals and "infidels" constituted an unknown risk factor placing the Republic of Venice in a dangerous position, which could affect its diplomatic and trade relations with other countries. The controversial role played by the Republic of Venice and its representatives often emerges in pilgrims' descriptions of the journey; however, it has not received proper consideration, except from those studies related to Venetian politics and trade. The works on the economic and political history of Venice by Tucci, Ashtor, Jacoby and recently Christ, place the Venetian organization of the pilgrimage journey within a broad historical and economic consideration.[65] Tucci investigated the history of the Venetian Republic from different points of view, exploring the political

[64] Sergio Bellabarba, 'The sailing qualities of Venetian great galleys in 15th century. Evidence of their influence on the development of sailing ships in the Atlantic area during the following century' in Beltrame, *Boats, ships and shipyards*, pp. 201-211.
[65] Ugo Tucci 'Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel Quattrocento' in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3:2 (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 317-353; Ugo Tucci, 'I servizi marittimi veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Medioevo' in *Studi Veneziani*, vol. 9 (Pisa, 1985), 42-66; Ugo Tucci 'Gli itinerari marittimi nel tardo Medioevo' in *Viaggiare nel Medio Evo. Atti del VII convegno di studio della Fondazione Centro Studi sulla civiltà del Tardo Medioevo, San Miniato 15-18 ottobre 1998* (Rome, 2000), 39-57; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Studies on the Levantine trade in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978); Eliyahu Ashtor, 'Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel basso Medioevo' in ASI, vol. 143 (Florence, 1985), pp. 197-223; David Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage Médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: la perspective Vénitienne' in *Ateneo Veneto*, vol. 24 (Venice, 1986), pp. 27-58 reprinted in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian expansion* (Northampton, 1989), IV; George Christ, *Trading conflicts: Venetian merchants and Mamluk offficials in late medieval Alexandria* (Leiden, 2012).

and economic evolution of Venice and the commercial links with Mediterranean trade partners since the early Middle Ages. [66]

He describes the organization of religious sea travels as a thriving part of the Venetian economy arguing that maritime services offered by Venetians towards the Holy Land were a source of great income for the government, which cannot be separated from general mercantile traffic in terms of importance.[67] In Tucci's opinion "Venice incorporated the sacred spaces pertinent to Jerusalem" becoming an important stage of the sacred journey.[68] Nevertheless, the popularity of the Venetian sea travels did not correspond often with a service characterized by quality. Both Ashtor and Tucci offer a description of inefficiencies and inequities affecting the Venetian travel market.[69] Ashtor, who focused his research on the investigation of the Levantine trade, states that the Venetian government was interested more in maintaining good relationships with its important trade partners, to avoid political rivals in the Mediterranean, rather than being interested in the needs and complaints of the multitude of common pilgrims.[70] In contrast, Jacoby, who studied the Venetian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean during the late Middle Ages, explains the problems

[66] Among the most important of Tucci's publications, see: 'Alle origini dello spirito capitalistico a Venezia: la previsione economica' in *Studi Amintore Fanfani* (Milan, 1962), pp. 545-547; 'L'economia veneziana nel Quattrocento' in *Storia della civiltà veneziana,* vol. 2, (Florence, 1979), pp. 155-167; *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento Veneziano* (Bologna, 1981); 'Tra Venezia e mondo turco: i mercanti' in *Venezia e i Turchi: scontri e confronti di due civiltà* (Milan, 1985), pp. 38-55; *Venezia e dintorni: evoluzioni e trasformazioni* (Rome, 2014).
[67] Tucci, *I servizi marittimi veneziani*, p. 43.
[68] Tucci, *Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel Quattrocento*, p. 349.
[69] These are attributed to favouritisms towards specific political or commercial allies (e.g. Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby). See, Ashtor, *Venezia e il pellegrinaggio*, p. 201 and Tucci, *I servizi marittimi veneziani*, p. 51.
[70] Ashtor, *Venezia e il pellegrinaggio*, p. 204.

and complaints made by pilgrims because of the political situation in the Holy land during the Mamluks dominance.[71] Recently, Christ challenged Ashtor's assessment of Venetian interest in common pilgrims stating that "Venice styled herself as a protector of the pilgrims in the Mamluk Empire, and thus attempted to prove that she worked in the interest of Christendom".[72] He argued that pilgrims were a precious source of income for Venice; therefore, the Republic had a special interest in maintaining a good reputation among travellers.

In support of his statement, Christ provides a good example of the Venetian interest in pilgrims' safety with "the case of Savoy pilgrims" in Alexandria who enjoyed the help of the Venetian consul, Biagio Dolfin, concerning a dispute with a merchant in Cairo over the purchase of spices in the year 1418.[73] After the attack against a pilgrim galley by the Turkish pirates in 1408, the Republic of Venice gave more attention to the safety of its customers through the adoption of two main measures. These were the armament of pilgrims' galleys and the establishment of a Venetian consul to the Holy land acting as protector of

[71] Jacoby states that the poor condition of the Holy Land and the high risk of the sea voyage contributed to the fluctuation of pilgrims' departures from Venice: "*Les conditions précaires dans lesquelles s'effectuait ce pèlerinage après 1291, les vextation, taxes, estorsions et conditions hygiéniques impose aux pèlerins par les autoritéd mamluks tempérènt la ferveur de nombreux croyants et le dissuadèrent d'entreprendre le voyage d'outremer. L'augmentation du coût du séjour en Terre Sainte, en rapport étroit avec ces mêmes conditions, réduisit encore d'avantage le chiffre global des partants*". Jacoby, *Pèlerinage Médiéval*, p. 35. By the same author see also: 'New Venetian evidence on Crusader Acre' pp. 240-256; 'Il ruolo di Acri nel pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme' in *Il cammino di Gerusalemme*. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Bari-Brindisi-Trani (Bari, 1999), pp. 31-50; 'Christian pilgrimage to Sinai until the late fifteenth century' in *Holy Space, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles, 2006), pp. 79-93; 'A Venetian sailing to Acre in 1282: Between private shipping and privately operated state galleys' in Iris Shagrir, Roni Ellenblum, Riley-Jonathan Simon Christopher Smith and B. Z. Ḳedar (eds), *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 395-410.

[72] George Christ, 'Venice as protector of pilgrims and the power of the *cortexia*' in Christ, *Trading conflicts*, p. 150.

[73] Christ, *Venice as protector of pilgrims*, pp.145-150.

pilgrims against the abuses made by Saracens.[74] Notwithstanding the institution of Venice as "representative of Christian nations",[75] this meant neither the end of incidents with Saracens nor the end of pilgrims' complaints about the sea voyage, the patrons of the galleys, the prices paid etc.[76] The theme of safety was further explored by Tucci in *Storia di Venezia*. Tucci reiterates the way in which the Government of Venice ruled navigation in the Mediterranean since the early fifteenth century and remembers that pilgrims were responsible for the choice of a galley for the voyage based on their economic means.[77] It is implied that pilgrims who embarked in less expensive *mude da mercato* did not enjoy the protection and quality provided by the official armed *mude peregrinorum*. Consequently, not all the pilgrims who departed from Venice had a positive travel experience.[78] In this regard also Stöckly's study of Venetian galleys confirms that the "official" pilgrim's galleys provided a better service and pilgrims preferred them at least for two reasons: […] d'un côté, les escales fréquentes leur permmettent de descendre à terre pour se procurer en cours de route des aliments frais et visiter les villes et les cities. De l'autre côté, la sécurité

[74] For the Venetian consulate see AOL, vol. 2 (Paris, 1884), pp. 355-360; For the records about the Turkish attack to the Andrea Quirino's galley in 1408 see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Miste*, XLVIII, f. 33 b.
[75] AOL, pp. 357.
[76] In addition, despite the Venetian consul, together with the Florentine and Genoese ones, playing an active mediating role between the Muslim and Christian world they could not prevent any crime or fraud taking place in the Arabic zone. Moreover, the Venetian consul could not be guarantor for a comfortable sea voyage, propriate accommodation or correct behaviour of the patron during the journey.
[77] Tenenti Alberto, Tucci Ugo, *Storia di Venezia: temi. Il mare* (Rome, 1991), p. 389.
[78] The Republic of Venice tried to regulate pilgrim transport to avoid the perpetuation of scandals and frauds made by patrons. In this regard see Doumerc Bernard, 'Le dispositif portuaire Vénitien' in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 35e congrès (Paris, 2004), pp. 110-111.

et la garantie d'un certain contrôle de l'Etat sul les patrons semblent également avoir joué un rôle décisif […].[79]

Despite scholars paid some attention to the Venetian sea legislation and organization of travel, themes such as the pilgrims' perceptions of Venice and the role of Venice as the first stage of pilgrimage are not deeply explored in the historiography. Besides the aforementioned Newett, who identified in the Venetian participation into Holy Land travels one of the most relevant topics concerning the investigation of the fifteenth-century pilgrimage of Pietro Casola, a further attempt of study is that by Crouzet Pavan.[80] She identifies in pilgrimage accounts a potential means of diffusion of Venice's mythical image during the late Middle Ages arguing that the shaping of Venice's image changed simultaneously with the emergence of more descriptive itineraries.[81] Following Crouzet Pavan, it is possible to see that the participation of pilgrims in some important Venetian rituals such as the *sponsalizio* or the procession of *Corpus Domini* was, on the one hand, a sign of integration of pilgrims with the local community and, on the other, an ideological support to the perpetuation of Venice's mythical image within further narrations.[82] In a recent study about the role of architecture in pilgrimage experience, Deborah Howard resumed the previous studies made by Jacoby, Ashtor and Crouzet Pavan confirming, "Venice itself became a stage on the pilgrim itinerary, relic to visit, ritual to

[79] Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise: fin XIIIe - milieu XVe siècle* (Leiden, 1995), p. 185.
[80] Élisabeth Crouzet Pavan, 'Récits, images et mythes: Venise dans l'iter hierosolomytain (XIVe-XVe siècles)' in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 96:1 (1984), pp. 489-535.
[81] […]À l'évolution de la mentalité pélerine, à sa progressive saisie des épisodes du parcours, répond la capacité, plus ou moins forte, plus ou moins constante, de la ville, de surprendre, d'émerveiller, de donner à voir et à reconter[…]. Crouzet Pavan, *Récits, images et mythes*, p. 498.
[82] Crouzet Pavan, *Récits, images et mythes*, pp. 521-535.

observe and indulgences to collect".[83] In addition, she investigates the importance of architectural information in pilgrim narratives arguing that pilgrims travelled with a pre-existing mental image of the places to see, often embellished by earlier accounts.[84] Concerning Venice, Howard suggests that pilgrimage had a deep impact on Venetian architecture, which was adapted to welcome visitors creating a reminder of Jerusalem through the emulation of familiar biblical landmarks.[85] Howard's study links for the first time the most important scholarships on pilgrimage and travel during the last century through a historical, architectural and socio-economic analysis of Venice's leading position during the peak period of pilgrimage voyages to the Holy Land.

In addition, she gives relevance to the emergence of an anthropological and spiritual dimension of pilgrimage accounts suggesting that continual references to biblical stories in pilgrim narratives are combined with "the idea of the journey as an eschatological metaphor for life's journey".[86] This concept references positively the previously discussed Turner theory of pilgrimage as "rite of passage" by proposing it no longer as a theoretical and unprovable "liminal state" but as a concrete and physical experience combined with a deep and emotional life path towards salvation.[87]

---

[83] Deborah Howard 'Venice as Gateway to the Holy Land: Pilgrims as agent of transmission' in Paul Davies, Deborah Howard and Wendy Pullan (eds), *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500: Southern Europe and Beyond*, (Farham, 2013), p. 97.
[84] Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, p. 98.
[85] This refers particularly to the churches in the Arsenal zone. Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, pp. 102-105.
[86] Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, p. 102.
[87] "The proximity to the sites of Christ's life and death adds to the significance of the itinerary as a speeded-up representation of the pilgrim's own lifelong quest for salvation" Howard, *Venice as gateway*, p. 102.

The works analysed for this literature review play an important role in defining the scope of this study. The division into two main groups of investigation, and further partition, shows the fragmentation of the previous research which until now, except for some specific cases, for example the studies of Newett or Howard, does not provide contributions able to fill the gaps summarised by Beebe.[88] Previous research has highlighted the categorising of different topics within the subject of "travel writing" revealing on the one hand, disciplinary differences in the approach of sources and investigation of various themes and, on the other, some limitations concerning the interactions between these many interests. It emerges that former historiography on pilgrimage and travel focused on the general analysis of the topic and linguistic investigation of travel texts, rather than integrate the latter within a specific historical context, often analysed by collateral scholarship. This is particularly true in relation to the study of Venetian involvement in the organization of the sea travel, which is mainly analysed by specific scholarship on the history of Venice, rather than by research on the subject of pilgrimage and travel.[89]

Thus, the status of research shows minimal correlation between the dominant Venetian presence in the medieval eastern travel scenario, production of written accounts describing this presence, and the historical and socio-economic background in which all these elements should be placed. In particular, current historiography does not consider the shaping of the pilgrimage written tradition within the influence of Venice's organization of the journey. Topics deserving more scholarly attention are often excluded from the investigation, especially

[88] Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, p. 33.
[89] It is sufficient to recall the previously analysed works on the history and economy of Venice made by Lane, Tucci, Ashtor and Christ.

concerning the Venetian families or individuals involved in pilgrimage, the legislation created to protect pilgrims against indoor and outdoor fraud,[90] the agreements agreed by Venetian patrons with their passengers, and the creation of a "mythical image" of the city of Venice transmitted and disseminated pilgrimage writings. In addition, although great attention has been paid to the description and analysis of pilgrimage texts, this has focused particularly on those that were largely diffused in medieval Europe, such as accounts by Pietro Casola, William Wey, Felix Fabri, Margery Kempe, Bernhard von Breydenbach etc.[91] There has been no significant studies concerning the dimension, which places the narration outside the literary typology characterizing the genre of these accounts and analysing the interactions of these authors with "the real world". For instance, from the study of Newett, Davey and Mozer about the *Pellegrinaggio* of Casola, the *Itineraries* of William Wey and the *Peregrinatio* of Breydenbach it emerges that these pilgrims were in contact with institutions, families and individuals both in Venice and in the Holy Land who helped them to organise their voyage, gave them a contract for their journey, provided them with a guide for the sacred places, accommodation and an interpreter for those who did not understand the languages (i.e. both in Italy and in Palestine) and mediation on their behalf with the Sultan's authorities. Who were these people and why are there no analyses of the pilgrims' agreements with the Venetian patrons of the galleys? Were these agreements controlled by the Venetian government or were they an idea of the Arsenal's leading families to provide a

[90] To control the possible abuses made not only by Mamluks in the Holy Land but also by Venetians in and out of Venice concerning price to pay for the voyage, accommodation etc.

[91] For the Breydenbach work, see Isolde Mozer, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, New York, 2010).

semblance of peace of mind to their customers? Lastly, were Venetian ceremonies and traditions performed during the pilgrimage departure period an intentional tool in the shaping of Venice's image within pilgrim's minds?

Current research is focused more on the investigation of authors' personalities and literary descriptions of travel, giving to the aforementioned themes minor relevance. However, the investigation of pilgrimage and travel texts would be accompanied also by archival research of the historical context and the development of the socio-economic background in which the narration would be placed. Archival evidence will be used in this thesis as a basis for a documentary history of Venetian organisation of travel to the Holy Land during the late medieval period.

2.4 Methods

My research questions are assessed by using qualitative research methods. This study uses such analysis to gain insight into Venice's emergence as a religious destination in the fifteenth century (Chapter Five) and a new understanding of pilgrimage as business in late medieval Italy (Chapter Seven). A case study approach is used to determine both main points. Before the case studies, an analysis of the political, social and religious environment existing in Venice from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries has been carried out. This includes a wide understanding of the Venetian legislation about pilgrimage, research into the people involved in the administration of travel to the Holy Land and a reconstruction of Venice as a possible religious destination (Chapters Three and

Four). Research for these chapters surveys different published and unpublished records held in archives and libraries in the United Kingdom and Italy.[92]

2.4.1 Assessing the role of Venice in pilgrimage: organization and religious relevance

Documentary analysis about the emergence of a structured pilgrimage organization in Venice involved the investigation of state papers produced by the Venetian government since the thirteenth century. Assessment of these records was essential to understand, on the one hand, what kind of role pilgrimage and pilgrims occupied within the everyday Venetian administration (e.g. was pilgrimage considered a business or a different category of income? Did pilgrims enjoyed special rights in the Venetian territory? Etc.). On the other hand, did the constitution of a body of legislation for pilgrimage make Venice more reliable than other cities as a port of departure (such as its rival Genoa)? According to the examined primary sources, from the thirteenth century there was a gradual evolution of pilgrimage legislation, it become more complex, classifying pilgrims as a privileged category. This means that Venice progressively changed its consideration of pilgrimage and pilgrims' importance within its affairs since its first systematic approach to this type of travel.

During the thirteenth century, pilgrimage was not considered a different type of lucrative activity by the Venetian government and clauses inherent to its regulation were inserted in the general legislation about navigation enacted by the Doge and the Minor Council. Therefore, documentation produced by the

[92] These are The British Library, The Eton College Archives, The Bodleian Library, The Biblioteca Marciana in Venice and The Archivio di Stato in Venice.

Doges between 1223 and 1233 is analysed.[93] This is related in particular to those records called *statuta* currently at the Archivio di Stato of Venice and in the Biblioteca Marciana. Furthermore, the *Liber Plegiorum* (or *Liber Communis*) preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Venice is an irreplaceable resource for the oldest Venetian legislation as it is the most ancient register preserved at the archive. These type of documents offer a superb comprehension of the origins of the pilgrimage business in Venice. In addition, when compared to records produced afterwards they provide an extensive insight into the changes in the Venetian approach to pilgrimage.

However, the *Consiglio dei Pregadi*, best known as *Senato,* produced most of the records considered for this part of the investigation. The body of statutes enacted in the thirteenth century, the evolution in legislation and types of approaches to the pilgrimage phenomenon can be linked with the internal evolution of the *Senato* itself, which during the centuries gained a wider range of action and responsibilities progressively more complex.[94] The Venetian *Senato,* formed by a group of sixty Venetian patricians guided by the Doge, had a limited legislative and judicial power over the political and economic administration of Venice. This was related specifically to that *materia* concerning commerce and navigation. During the thirteenth century, the *Senato* became the supreme authority in relation to legislation and all the economic affairs of Venice and as Da Mosto remembered, it was the "soul" of the Venetian

[93] Between 1205 and 1249 Venice was admininstrated by two doges Pietro Ziani and Jacopo Tiepolo.

[94] The Venetian Senato was itself a complex institution. Only the Doge and his councillors had governmental powers while the other patricians involved acted in the name of their governmental institution e.g. Procuratori, Cattaver etc. For more information about the evolution of the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* see Andrea Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato Di Venezia*, Tomo I, (Rome, 1940), pp. 34-51.

Republic.[95] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, powers related to the relationship of Venice with other countries, the administration of the custom duties, the management of the mint of Venice, the supervision of the Arsenal were added to those already existing.[96]

The expansion of the *Senato*'s powers in relation to the management of the maritime business coincided with changes in pilgrimage administration, which had become, since the fourteenth century, an activity regulated by the Senate and its delegation, the *Cattaver* Office. Relevant to this research is the documentation produced since 1440 in the series of registers called *Mar.* These registers contain all the legislation related to the maritime activities of Venice, including pilgrimage. Before 1440, legislation about navigation is recorded in the series called *Misti* while records about pilgrimage administration are preserved in the registers that belonged to the *Cattaver* Office.[97] Through part of these records it is possible to trace also who was in charge of the "pilgrimage sector" in Venice and in what ways these people were involved. The Venetian political system was intricate and allowed that patrician families, who were already members of the government, were at the same time involved in different types of business. Pilgrimage, at least since the fifteenth century, was considered as a part of trade and linked to Venetian oligarchic power. This signifies that due to the nature of Venetian political organization, pilgrimage management was also in the hands of the Venetian nobility. Nevertheless, the surviving legislation is too synthetic to allow a deeper assessment of the relationship between

[95] Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato*, p. 36.
[96] Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato*, pp. 36-38.
[97] There are four main registers produced by the *Cattaver* Office and they are called simply *Ufficiali al Cattaver*.

Venetian noble families and pilgrimage. Therefore, additional documentation is examined for this purpose.

Venetian state records suggest the general management of pilgrimage was openly in the hands of the *Senato*. Nevertheless, from pilgrimage narratives such as that of Pietro Casola, Bernard Von Breydenbach and Santo Brasca, the actual material administration of pilgrimage (e.g. galley departures, pilgrims' accommodation etc.) appears to have been managed by a few Venetian patrician families, usually already involved in overseas trade. These are identified as Morosini, Loredan, Lando, Contarini, Arian, Querini and Soranzo.

Members of these families took part actively in the organisation of religious travel to the Holy Land between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries although previous studies have not dealt with their importance or their familial history in relation to pilgrimage. It is interesting to note that the Contarini family is the one that shows a long-lasting involvement in the pilgrimage business. Records such as documents preserved in the private archive of Giacomo Contarini held by the Archivio di Stato in Venice show that over the centuries, members of the Contarini family managed maritime navigation long before their involvement in the pilgrimage business. For example, folder 22 contains some of the oldest legislation about navigation and protection of the Arsenal's secrets in places outside Venice in which representatives of the Contarini family were involved.[98] Additional information about the family comes from the study of the letters sent by Ruggero Contarini to his Brother Giovanni while in Oxford in the late fourteenth century. This correspondence shows the involvement of the family in

[98] ASV, Archivio proprio di Giacomo Contarini, Folder 22, Doc. 2, *Leggi vecchie circa la fabbrica delle navi.*

the Holy Land a long time before the Senato regulated pilgrimage departures in the fifteenth century. These letters, reproduced in a publication by Dalla Santa regarding the economic condition of the Contarini family, say much more than what was analysed by the Italian author over one century ago.[99] Indeed, the Contarinis were not only a point or reference in Venice but also in Jerusalem because of their role as *commissario della Terra Santa* and their links with the Franciscans of Mount Zion.[100]

This is proved by the wide archive of the family branch called Contarini dal Zaffo who possessed lands and activities in Jaffa during the fourteenth century.[101]

Overall, these records show that the involvement in pilgrimage by the Contarini family saw a gradual evolution since Ruggero Contarini's administration of Venetian affairs in the Holy Land. After the enactment of a new body of pilgrimage legislation by the Senate in the mid-fifteenth century, the family appear as the one holding the monopoly of the galleys' departures to the Holy Land. These data emerge from both the Senate records designating members of the family as the "winners" of the *incanto* for the pilgrim's galleys and from the pilgrimage narratives produced between 1465-1495 suggesting Agostino Contarini as patron of the vessel for the sea voyage.[102] These accounts, particularly the one written by Pietro Casola, are used to assess the role of the patron from a pilgrim's point of view.

[99] Giuseppe Dalla Santa 'Uomini e fatti dell'ultimo Trecento e del primo Quattrocento' in NAV, xxxii, parte I (Venice, 1915), pp. 5-105.
[100] For more details about this topic, see Chapter Three.
[101] See ASV, Archivio proprio dei Contarini del Zaffo (XIV-XIX) and De Mas Latrie Louis 'Les Comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon du XIIe au XIXe siècle' in AV, v. xviii (1879), pp. 370-418.
[102] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro 4.

Apart from the documentation produced by Barbaro about the origins of the Venetian families, little information is available in relation to the galley's patrons.[103] Thus, pilgrims' narratives and the related information about patrons and the navigation experience suggested by travellers might be the only source of evidence about patrons and how they managed the sea crossing. Data obtained from pilgrimage narratives have been compared and crosschecked with official Venetian records.

This comparison was necessary to assess also the application of the Venetian legislation in practice. Results from this evaluation were helpful to reply also to some additional questions such as were pilgrims aware of Venetian legislation? To what extent were the Venetian legislation and governmental authority effective in contrast to a familial administration of travels?

Pilgrimage narratives played a fundamental role for this research because of the direct or indirect information provided by their writers. From what is written by pilgrims it is possible to comprehend not only material data useful to the understanding of the pilgrimage organization for example, type and amount of money used, provision for the voyage, miles travelled and expenses, but also about pilgrims' feelings and perception of the travel in terms of experience.

As discussed in the literature review, other authors have already considered pilgrimage in terms of experience, in particular concerning the city of Jerusalem.[104] Nevertheless, scholars studying late medieval pilgrimage literature and travel have undervalued the role of Venice. In the second part of this thesis,

[103] See ASV, Miscellanea codici I, *Storia veneta* 17, Gia miscell codd. 894, Serie M. Barbaro: Arbori de patriti i veneti, Registri i-vii and Archivio Miscellaneo Codici I, *Storia Veneta* 18, Serie M. Barbaro: Albori De Partritii Veneti, Registri ii b-c, cc 539.
[104] See literature review pp. 29-47.

a mixed methodological approach is used to assess whether Venice became a religious point in the fifteenth century and to understand how pilgrims might have perceived Venice in their pilgrimage narratives. This approach includes a case study, a comparative study, field research in the territory and investigation of different records.

Starting from the organisation of Venice as city "religiously attractive" to pilgrims, records from the Lateran *Regesta* have been surveyed to detect what kinds of "advantages" pilgrims would obtain while visiting the lagoon.

Several grants of indulgences released by the Vatican to different Venetian religious institutions during the early fifteenth century have been found confirming Venice's new aspiration of becoming spiritually interesting for visitors. Additional evidence has been found in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, preserved in the folder named "S. Sepolcro", which contains the history, the acts, the plans and the maps regarding the building of a reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre in Via degli Schiavoni (see Chapter Four).[105] Furthermore, to identify what additional religious institutions were suitable for pilgrims' itineraries of Venice a study of the Venetian churches and their "attractions" is conducted. One of the most useful secondary sources for this study was the list of churches provided by Flaminio Cornaro identifying also some religious institutions that are no longer existent in the Venetian territory and whose records are no longer in the archive.[106] Among the hundreds of churches listed by the Venetian

[105]The unedited map of the sepulchre is here reproduced integrally with the authorisation of the Archivio di Stato of Venice.
[106] Flaminio Cornaro, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello, tratte dalle chiese Veneziane, e torcellane* (Padua, 1758).

historian, around thirty churches are selected for further investigation. Criteria for selecting these churches are as follows:

- Geographical position
- Religious relevance/historical importance
- Relics possessed during the Middle Ages
- International links/networks
- Presence of pilgrims' hospices

All these details were essential to rebuild the complicated framework of the religious development of Venice and to understand by how this framework was, from a certain point of view, similar to the one already developed in Jerusalem.[107] A case-study approach is used to survey pilgrims' reception of Venice.

2.4.2. Case study 1

The subject of the first case study is the pilgrimage narratives written by William Wey in 1458 and 1462. This fifteenth-century author was chosen, among others, for two different reasons. First, he was one of the first authors providing a wider description of Venice in his narration. Second, his narratives reflect both sides of Venice (religious and commercial) relevant to this research.

The main source used for this study is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 565 and its edition (Roxburghe, 1857). Secondary sources such as Davey and Boyle have been used to assess the most recent scholarly use and understanding of the manuscript within the pilgrimage literature tradition.[108] The case study is

[107] This is referred in particular to the type of pilgrims' welcome in both cities, the itinerary of the churches and the accommodation facilities thought for religious visitors.
[108] Mary Boyle 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 22 (c.1470)' in *The Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 28, issue 1 (Oxford 2015), pp. 22-36

divided into four main parts. The first provides details about William Wey's life in England. Information about the author's life was obtained through archival study at the Eton College Archive. Although little information is available from previous studies on this topic, Eton College still preserve documentation related to William Wey's participation in the academic life of the school. Of particular interest were the statutes of the college and their rules (Eton statutes, 1464, ECR 61 BD/C/1); the college expenses (Eton College Expenses, BD/A1-A2; AR/A6 31) showing the stipends for the fellows and the annual college registers.

Determining the stipend of the fellows, in particular the one earned by Wey, was very useful to gain a general idea of the economic wealth of the pilgrim in relation to the pilgrimage expenses. The register of 1457 confirmed the college received a royal authorisation for William Wey to travel to the Holy Land the following year. Nevertheless, the register did not contain further indications in relation to the travel undertaken in 1462. Therefore, these have been searched in other records and found in the Lateran registers relating to English affairs in 1461. The second section of the case study surveys the information provided on Venice by William Wey's first narrative. Data provided by the pilgrim in relation to the changing of money and the value of certain Venetian coins have been verified with actual data of the same period. These are compared in particular with the value of coins provided by Marin Sanudo and tables of conversion in the work of Papadopoli.[109] It is established that information about money provided by Wey contains mistakes and differences between the two versions of

[109] See Patricia H.Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White, *Venice Cità Excelentissima. Selection from the Renaissance diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore, 2008); Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *Le vite dei dogi*, vol. 2, 1457-1474 (Venice, 2004); Aldobrandini Nicolò Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate da Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini con disegni di C. Kunz*, vol.1 (Milan, 1893).

the provision he wrote for his work suggesting a pilgrim's scarce knowledge of the Venetian mint and customs during the period of his first travel. The third section of the study assesses, through a detailed textual analysis, how data from the first narration (including those with reference to money) were amended and integrated in a new revised narrative "version" making Venice appear for the first time as religiously interesting in 1462. A conceptual analysis of the Latin text, in particular in relation to the description of Venice and St. Mark's Basilica is conducted for this section. Additional investigation includes the assessment of the potential itinerary made by Wey while in Venice. This itinerary has been calculated according to the churches and relics mentioned by the pilgrim in his second visit to Venice. Although it is not clear whether the pilgrim himself undertook this itinerary, the churches listed correspond to those that emerge as relevant in Chapter Four. The remaining part of the study was conducted as ground research in Venice to assess whether a religious itinerary of Venice as suggested by Wey was actually possible. Nine churches, including the seven suggested by the author as those built by St. Magnus were chose for the ground research. Criteria considered as relevant to the understanding of the pilgrims' itinerary were:

- Historical relevance of the site
- Distance travelled
- Walkability
- Area of Venice connected to the institution
- Ease in finding the location
- Days taken to complete the itinerary

Results from the ground research were afterward analysed and used to rebuild an "ideal" itinerary of Venice. The small sample of the churches visited is argued to be re-integrated in a wider itinerary of Venice built according to the list of churches provided by other pilgrims who visited the city in the fifteenth-century (Chapter Six).

2.4.3 Additional sources

Additional pilgrimage accounts written in the fourteenth and fifteenth century have been analysed in Chapter Six. This chapter aims to investigate further pilgrims' perceptions of Venice and understand diverse perspectives of the same location according to their nationalities and services received/used. Among the sources considered are Lionardo Frescobaldi, *Viaggio di Leonardo Frescobaldi in Egitto e Terra Santa* (1384-5), Pietro Casola, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme* (1494), Bernard Von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1497) etc.

The analysis is focused on those accounts providing a more detailed description of Venice and the Venetians and suggesting new details about pilgrims' experience and perception of the city and its inhabitants. For example, the narration of Lionardo Frescobaldi gives many indications about Venetians' reserved special treatment for Italians and Casola and Fabri provide deep insights of Venice's religious importance and itinerary of the city.

2.4.4 Assessing the role of Venice in pilgrimage: a real profitable business: a second case study

The second case study in Chapter Seven, includes a partial codicological analysis of the document ASV, Diario di navigazione, Miscellanea, Atti, Diversi Manoscritti, Busta 134, Doc. 14 known as *Quaderno del viazo*. The analysis considers dating, watermark, origin of the logbook and type of paper used. In

addition, a textual analysis of the content related to the expenses and people aboard the vessel cc.1-37 is carried out. Except for Goodman, the logbook *Quaderno del viazo* never appeared interesting for pilgrimage scholarship.[110] Scholars have never conducted a complete or partial codicological analysis of the text.[111] The codicological analysis of the text done for this thesis is partial because a palaeographical examination of the script has been temporarily excluded from the main purpose of the case.[112]

The case study is divided into three parts. The first part assesses cc.1-16, which includes the first two sections of the manuscript about the expenses for the travel called *provixiones.*

The names that emerge from the textual analysis of this section, suggest the participation in this travel of a certain Lorenzo di Prioli/Priuli and Lorenzo Querini. Although Querini was registered as *chomito* of the galley, Prioli appears as the actual financial backer of the travel having been himself the patron of another vessel and at the same time employed in the Fraterna Soranzo in their Syrian *bancho* of cotton. This detail leads to investigation of the manuscript from a new point of view, not only as a unique extant pilgrimage logbook but also as a potential rare witness of a well-hidden history. In this regards an investigation of the paper and watermarks of the manuscript has been done to understand whether the Soranzo were the only family involved or what kind of interest they had in financing pilgrimage. The watermarks belong to Francesco Datini's company and place the logbook in an unexpected position. Therefore, a study of primary and secondary sources inherent to the relationship between the Soranzo

[110] Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her world* (Harlow, 2002), pp. 183-185.
[111] This includes also the studies conducted by Tucci and Arbel on the manuscript concerning the surviving list of cargo. For this, see Chapter Seven p. 281.
[112] Future examination of the script is not excluded.

and Datini families is conducted. An interesting correspondence between some Venetian agents and members of the Datini Company is held by the Archivio di Stato of Prato e.g. busta 930, inserto 15, codice 902007 or the Lettere di Corner Francesco, figlio del Doge, e Soranzo Gabriello a Datini Francesco di Marco e Luca del sera e comp. (1395-1399). Ashtor has published additional relevant material regarding the Venetian cotton trade and the trade activities of the Soranzo family.[113] Legislation preserved in Misti, Registro 40, f. 56v suggests the Soranzos were the only family allowed to engage with certain types of trade in the Venetian territories. The second part of the case study assesses cc.17-35, which is related to the passengers of the galley indicated as *peregrini* and *homeni de pasazo*. This section investigates, in particular, the identity of those pilgrims aboard and the amount of income derived from their transportation. The study of the income derived from both pilgrims and common passengers for a return or a one-way journey to Jaffa outlines how the profits from these activities were not satisfactory to cover the expenses declared in the first part of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the logbook closes with an active balance of the income despite the vessel being declared as a pilgrims' galley. Discrepancies in balance suggest the galley was used for additional trade (e.g. cotton or spice) and was not inspected by the *Cattaver* Office. This hypothesis is confirmed in the third part of the case study analysing the origin and preservation of the manuscript. The archival history of the manuscript is a further sign of why this booklet has never been destroyed and survived in private archives until now.

[113] Eliyahu Ashtor ' The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages' in *Studies on the Levantine*, pp. 675-715.

2.5 Limitations and problems of this research: the Archivio di Stato of Venice

This research has been affected by some limitations linked to the archival organization of the Archivio di Stato of Venice. As stated several times, investigation of the records held by the Venetian Archive was vital to this research. Nevertheless, the organization of the archive itself affected partially the results obtained from this study.

2.5.1 The Venetian archives and the art of guessing

The Archivio di Stato of Venice is one of the oldest and rich in the history of Italy. Although it was damaged several times during the past centuries, it still counts 70 km of shelf units and more than 800 archival collections divided into two main islands of the lagoon.[114] The most ancient documentation dated to the tenth century by the scholar Lazzarini was lost during a fire in 976.[115] Damages to documentation occurred also in four other fires destroying a large part of the medieval archive including the chancellery records, the senate records, the notary records and the correspondence of the foreign ambassadors.[116] During the Napoleonic occupation, the Venetian records saw additional wastage, which caused the loss of precious old material until the official institution of the Archivio di Stato in 1815 inside the convent of Santa Maria dei Frari, where is

[114] For a detailed history of the archive check the guide of the archive curated by Maria Tiepolo Francesca 'Archivio di Stato di Venezia' in GGS (Venice, 1994). Available online at http://www.maas.ccr.it/PDF/Venezia.pdf .
[115] Tiepolo, *Archivio di Stato*, p. 869. About the study of Lazzarini see Lazzarini Vittorio 'Originali antichissimi della Cancelleria veneziana (Osservazioni diplomatiche e paleo-grafiche)' in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 6:11 (1904), pp. 199-229.
[116] The first fire was in 1231 and destroyed all the records preserved in the Sanctuary of St. Mark. The second fire was in Rialto in 1514 and destroyed the most ancient records of the archive. The third and fourth fires were on 1574 and 1577 both in Palazzo Ducale and in destroyed private archives of some Venetian families, ambassadorial correspondence and the medieval notary records. Tiepolo, *Archivio di Stato*, p. 870.

still now located a great part of the archival documentation. The coherent organization of the remaining fields was an ambitious and complicated project that was never realised. The initial plan included the reorganization of the records according to the date and institution of production accompanied by essential instruments to identify single records inside the various folders together with possible transcription of the documents in a modern form. Nevertheless, the past political and economic organization of the Venetian Republic and the resulting written material were too complex to be organised in a reasonable time and no attempt made in this regards was successful until now. The only part of the project that has been realised was the *guida* written by Andrea da Mosto and still used as the main source to identify the organisation of the folders inside the archive.[117] The Archive is currently engaged with a series of projects related to the modernization of the instruments for research and digitization of the records. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that a complete renovation of the archive will be carried out in the next five years because of the amount of records and administrative problems experienced by the Italian political administration in the current moment.[118] Therefore, with the exception of some of the contemporary records, the remaining documentation does not have a modern digital catalogue providing information about the content of the single folders, which is specified in a generic way.[119]

E.g. Fondi, Senato 1300 - 1797, con parti in copia dal sec. XIII, -

[117] See Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato* II. The most updated source is the already mentioned guide edited by Tiepolo, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*.
[118] One of the most important current projects is the *Progetto divenire* that aims to make available online the most important documents of the Venetian Archive.
[119] The online catalogue provides only the subdivision of the funds according to families, institutions etc.

Mar,

Mar. Filze,

Mar. Registri

Mar. Rubriche – Registri 5 (digitized 2) – Last revision 2007

Incanti di galere.[120]

Most of the medieval documentation is searchable exclusively through the only physical copy of the handwritten registers preserved at the reading room of the archive. This makes it difficult to plan research in advance.[121]

This first stage of research, generally quicker in British libraries and archives, has been in this case time consuming. For example, the registers were deteriorated and not updated with actual information. This means that some of the folders appearing in the registers were actually lost or not available for consultation. Moreover, the archive adopts a policy of "Reservation" of the sources that makes folders/records in use by scholars unavailable to other users for an unspecified period with no notice on the online catalogue.[122] Because the content of the single folders most of the time is not specified, or registered through keywords e.g. *Ambasciatori, incanti, pagamenti* etc. the investigation of the folders and the understanding of their material, especially those containing unpublished records, took longer than expected. Although the large quantity of sources used for this research provides a standfront contribution to the

[120] http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/siasve/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?Chiave=10284&ChiaveAlbero=10281&ApriNodo=1&Tipo=fondo.

[121] The preservation of a unique copy of the registers meant that they were not always available for consultation because already in use by other scholars.

[122] For example, in order to consult the Cattaver registers that were in use by a well-known professor I needed to speak with the Director of the archive in person and ask him as special permission to study them in the absence of the other scholar.

understanding of Venice as both religious destination and provider of services for pilgrims, the still "under construction" organization of the Venetian archive posed a limit to what was materially possible to investigate during the limited time of doctoral research. Indeed, additional years of research are likely needed to find potential uncatalogued or unpublished material among the thousands of records held in the archive and devoid of any public attention. Reported below, there are two examples of documents/folders that were inaccessible but potentially useful and possible objects of future research.

2.5.1.1 The notary archive

The notary archive of Venice is huge and complex. Venetians kept records of their legal acts since the twelfth century and despite a massive loss of the medieval documentation due to carelessness, the amount of surviving notary records is still enormous.[123] Notary acts such as pilgrimage contracts or testaments made by pilgrims before departure are likely deposited in the notary archive and would have been an additional useful instrument to the understanding of Venice's role in pilgrimage. To find them without the use of a detailed guide containing at least the object of the act is now impossible or subject to a long period of research. The notary archive's guides are organised according to chronology and alphabetical order of the notary signing the act. This means that hundreds of documents of a different nature are catalogued without an object specification under a specific year. Therefore, unless in possession of specific information about the people involved in the act, such as the notary himself, this research would not produce immediate positive results.

[123] The section of the *Cancelleria Inferiore* (which include the notary acts) contains more than 5,347 documents.

2.5.1.2 Family archives

Although the Venetian archive possesses records divided according to the family, which produced them, not all the documents related to a certain family can be found in the specific archive of that family. This is because the archive follows a division accorded to the period and institution of production of the records and does not possess any instrument to identify whose family is connected to both. For example, information about a Contarini X patron of the galley is likely to be found casually in the register related to the sea activities or to the parish where the family belonged rather than in his family archive. This type of organization widens greatly the necessary ground of research and needs certain specific types of information (e.g. the parish of residence of a single member of the family) that sometimes are difficult to find without additional research.

2.6 Further considerations

In opposition to other archives (e.g. the National Archives in Kew), providing a clearer structure of the records preserved and reflecting plainly the documents' position within a specific conservation hierarchy, it is necessary to know the story of the archive itself, and the way in which families, and later the institution itself, preserved their records in order to find and investigate the sources used for this research.

Part I: The rise of Venice

Chapter 3 - Pilgrims in the hands of Venetians

3.1 Introduction

In the fifteenth century, Venice emerged as an important religious point on the main pilgrimage route towards the Holy Land. Nevertheless, if one looks back at Venetian history and at the pilgrimage narratives written before that century, the role of Venice was completely different. The scope of this chapter is to illustrate the origins and evolution of the Venetians' supremacy in the field of travel to the Holy Land. This includes, first, an investigation of the legislation related to pilgrimage and pilgrims that was enacted gradually by the Venetian government from the thirteenth century onward. Second, an assessment of the socio-political relationship between Venice and Jerusalem considering the way in which both cities were conditioned by a mutual influence in regards to the construction of the "pilgrimage religious experience". Lastly, an investigation of the role of those people involved in the organisation of travel from Venice. This analysis concerns, in particular, patrons of the galleys who appear to have been responsible for pilgrims' safety in different phases of the journey and whose importance is undervalued.

The main questions addressed by this chapter are: how did Venice became a city for pilgrims? To what extent did Venetian legislation affect pilgrimage narratives? Who were the people involved in these travels? To find an answer to these questions, a study of the Venetian interest in pilgrimage and its relationship with the Holy Land is assessed first.

3.2 Venice before being Venice

The organisation of the pilgrims' departures from Venice was not always as structured as in the fifteenth century. Before gaining the monopoly of the galleys' departures towards the Holy Land and being notorious for its fame, Venice's approach towards this genre of travels was far from the Doge's main interest. Venetians' interest in the Holy Land soon after the fourth crusade was mainly military and commercial. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the organisation of pilgrimage sea-routes was not a primary problem for the Venetian Republic. The transport of pilgrims was regarded with suspicion and sometimes forbidden by Doges such as Pietro Ziani, focused more on the goods trade and protection of Venice's supremacy in the Adriatic. Pilgrims were free to board from different Italian cities for their sea voyage; Genoa, in particular, tried to organise a pilgrimage sea-route before Venice officially ruled these types of travels and, according to the *Liber Plegiorum*, Ancona was the nearest alternative to Venice in the thirteenth century.[1] The precise moment in which Venice's interest in pilgrimage became systematic is uncertain and there is little evidence to explain the drastic change that led the city to lead the organisation of sea-travel to the Holy Land. However, the progressively increasing number of visitors asking for a passage to Palestine was probably at the root of Venice's favourable approach towards the pilgrimage phenomenon. Unfortunately, registers indicating even approximatively the amount of people arriving for the Holy Land journey are not preserved. Nevertheless, records testifying to the

[1] ASV, *Liber Plegiorum*, c. 90. See also David Jacoby, *Mercanti genovesi e veneziani e le loro merci nel Levante crociato' in Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV* (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova-Venezia, 10-14 marzo 2000), p. 213.

change of Venice towards pilgrimage can be found in the legislation enacted from the thirteenth century onwards.

3.2.1 The Doge's affair. Pilgrimage at the time of Pietro Ziani

Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) is remembered as one of the most important Doges of Venice. Worthy heir of Enrico Dandolo's legacy, Ziani got his power during a complex period of change for the Venetian Republic. After the Fourth Crusade, he needed to face the challenge of Venice's new asset of power in the Mediterranean Sea and reorganisation of the Venetian political administration according to a freshly expanded territory.[2] Being a man known for his wisdom, Ziani understood rapidly that numerous colonies distant from the Venetian mainland were difficult to manage by himself and decided to let them under the administration of Venetian nobles, although subjected to the main rules of the Venetian government.[3] This guaranteed to the Republic the support of the richest families of the lagoon and control over the newly acquired territories in the simplest way.[4] At the time of Pietro Ziani, the sea route as it is often described by fifteenth-century pilgrims in their accounts, did not yet exist.[5] Acre (*Acconis*) was the main port of landing instead of Jaffa (*Zaffum*) and pilgrims sailed in merchant ships instead of pilgrims' galleys.[6] Most of the vessels going to the Holy Land from Venice were those accompanying the crusaders to Jerusalem.[7]

---

[2] Between 1207 and 1210, Venice acquired the Greek colonies of Modone, Corone, Corfu and Creta.
[3] See Riccardo Predelli 'Il Liber Communis detto anche Plegiorum del R. Archivio Generale di Venezia' in AV, II, Tomo III, parte II, pp. 12-13.
[4] Ziani concluded also a series of agreements also with the cities of Aquileia, Pisa and Padua to protect Venice from Genoa and other rivals in the Italian territory after the war in 1214. Predelli, *Il Liber Communis*, p. 14.
[5] The fifteenth-century sea route often included stops at Modone, Zara, Corfu, Jaffa etc.
[6] For a study of the early presence of Venetians and Genoese in Acre see Jacoby, *New Venetian evidence*, pp. 240-256.
[7] For which Venice asked to the king of Hungary, Andrew II, the renunciation of all rights and privileges above Zara: Cicogna, DIV, p. 531.

On the other hand, as Pringle outlined, Syria and Palestine in the thirteenth century were more involved in "demolition rather than construction" of their holy sites and certain practices, for example the collection of indulgences, familiar to most of the pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were not fully developed during that period.[8]

Therefore, although pilgrimage as a religious practice had continued uninterrupted since the twelfth century, the new fees introduced by the Muslim states to access the holy sites and the unstable political situation of Palestine made the journey risky and not as practical as it would have been after 1250.[9] The transport of pilgrims in the early thirteenth century was apparently a hot topic for the Venetian republic; Venetians going to Palestine were strictly controlled and fined if involved in pilgrims' transportation without proper authorisation from the Doge. This was the case regarding a merchant called Pietro Abramo di San Marziale who was going to board his ship for Morea and was stopped by a government official who seized his goods and ship. He was accused of transporting pilgrims from Ancona without having paid an additional fifth of the travel to the Venetian Republic. The merchant replied he was neither going to the Holy Land nor transporting pilgrims, but the government did not accept his explanation and fined him.[10]

A few years after this episode, the first official reference to pilgrims occurred in the Venetian legislation. In March 1227, the Doge, Pietro Zani, enacted a statute

[8] Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, pp. 14-17.
[9] About the Muslim fees for access to the holy sites see, David Jacoby 'The economic impact of Christian pilgrimage on the Holy Land' in *Religione e istituzioni religiosenell'economia Europea. 1000-1800. Atti della- Quarantatreesima Settimana di Studi. 8-12 maggio 2011* (Florence, 2012), pp. 704-707.
[10] ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1224, Febbraio, 22, c. 105; See also Predelli, *Il Liber Communis*, p. 34.

managing the cargo of the galleys leaving Venice.[11] The statute specified not only the division of the spaces in the merchant galleys but also some responsibilities of the *patronus*. It specified that pilgrims could be passengers on the vessels. In the case of pilgrims aboard the ship, the patron had to ask them to pay two-thirds of the freight in order to prepare for them a space in which to sleep.[12] A second reference to pilgrims occurred in December 1227. Pietro Ziani and the minor council enacted an ordinance preventing the boarding of pilgrims from the ports between Ancona and the Gargano because of the existence of specific ports dedicated to the departures for Syria.[13] The ordinance specified, in addition, that no one had the authorisation to board pilgrims after the *Quarnero*.[14] A similar regulation was enacted the following year confirming that patrons of the galleys were not authorised to board male and female pilgrims after Rimini and Quarnero:

> […] huismodi ordinem a patroni navium observandum, videlicet quod nullum caricare vel levare debant peregrinum vel peregrinam absque precepto domini ducis et eius consilii, hoc est Arimano infra et ab oro Quarnarii infra. Verum tamen in Arimano ipsos possint caricare et levare et deinde usque montem s. Angeli, excepto in Ancona et eius pertinentiis,

[11] ASV, *Liber Plegiorum*, Statuta Domino Pietro Ziani, Ordinamenta super saornatione, caricatione et stivatione navium, c.30.
[12] The space is called *camerella* (little room). However, this does not mean necessarily that the space was a room. In fact, the Latin meaning of the word indicates both room and space in which to sleep. ASV, Liber Plegiorum, Statuta Domino Pietro Zani, *Ordinamenta super saornatione, caricatione et stivatione navium*, f. 105.
[13] […] Nessun veneziano getti le ancore (facere portum) nel porto di Ancona per ragion di commercio. Chi vorrà caricare vada nei porti giacenti fra Ancona ed il Gargano, non possa però prendere a bordo grano e pellegrini; quelli che andranno nei detti porti per salpar indi verso la Siria […], ASV, *Liber communis*, 1227, Dicembre, 31, c. 90; See italian transcription at Predelli, *Il liber communis*, pp. 140-141.
[14] Quarnero or Quarnaro is a gulf in Croatia (Kvarner Gulf) between the Istrian peninsula and the Croatian littoral part of the Venetian territory until the twentieth century.

> ubi nec ire neque aliquem levare debeant peregrinum et ab altera parte ripe, id est ab oro Quarnarii supra uxque Raguxium, libere possint eos levare et deferre […].[15]

Patrons were otherwise allowed to board pilgrims after the two locations listed as long as they avoided the area of Ancona.[16] This meant that in the first half of the thirteenth century, only patrons with specific governmental authorisations could give pilgrims a passage to the Holy Land from Venice or other related ports. The specification that both male and female pilgrims could not sail from certain ports suggests that there might have been illegal exceptions in the past not tolerated by the Republic, although no document on the *liber plegiorum* confirms that hypothesis. Considering the meaning of these restrictions, it is likely that Doge Pietro Ziani had already realised that pilgrimage could be a dangerous and potentially out-of-control matter for Venice, especially in a sensitive time for the maritime Republic. An accident that affected a pilgrims' galley, which had left Brindisi a few months after the second ordinance, was probably an additional reason for the Doge to forbid the boarding of pilgrims within the territories of the Dogato with three additional ordinances in August 1228.[17]

[15] ASV, Liber Communis, 1228, Maggio, c. 91; see also Simone Gliubich, *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*, vol.3 (Zagreb, 1872), p. 400.
[16] The Gargano is a specific sub-region of Italy whose name coincides with the known mountain range. The region extends on the northern side of Puglia close to Foggia.
[17] The galley, which departed on 10 June 1228, was wrecked on the rocks near Corfu after a storm. The Duke of Corfu saved the survivors of the wreak but after having discovered they were merchants and pilgrims defrauded them of all their gold and belongings as well as of the remaining cargo of the galley. See, ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1228, Giugno, 10, c. 91; Predelli, *Il liber communis*, pp. 147-148.

1st August 1228,

> […] nessun veneziano imbarchi pellegrini entro i confini del dogado senza permesso del Doge e del suo consiglio […].[18]

12 August 1228,

> […] è proibito a tutti i Veneziani di imbarcar pellegrini in Venezia, in Ancona e nei porti intermedi senza consenso del Doge; chi vorrà imbarcarne, lo faccia nei paesi giacenti fra Ancona ed il Gargano nei modi che prescriverà la Signoria, senza permesso della quale nessun veneto potrà far uscir di Venezia suoi legni. […].[19]

12 August 1228,

> […] Niun veneziano osi imbarcar pellegrini senza permesso da Zara ed Ancona in qua; è lecito farlo oltre Zara fino a Ragusi, ed oltre Ancona fino al Gargano, purchè sia pagata alla Republica la quartaria netta da spese, che i padroni o conduttori di navi manderanno per sicuro mezzo a Venezia al più presto […].[20]

Although the basic message of the ordinances is the same, there are some essential differences in what is specified by the Doge. The first ordinance has a general tone and invites all the Venetians to not board pilgrims from any of the Venetian territories without the Doge's approval. It is not defined whether exceptions to the ordinance existed or what might have been the punishments for the offenders. The second ordinance is more specific. It confirms the prohibition to board pilgrims from Venice but at the same time invites those who possess an

[18] ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1228, Agosto, 1, c. 93, Predelli, *Il liber communis*, p. 151.
[19] ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1228, Agosto, 12, c. 93; Predelli, *Il liber communis*, p. 152.
[20] ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1228, Agosto, 12, c. 98; Predelli, *Il liber communis*, p. 152.

authorization from the Doge to board pilgrims from the ports between Ancona and the Gargano. Even if it is not specified, these might be the ports situated on the Croatian coast: Pula (Pola), Zadar (Zara) and Spilt (Spalato) already part of the Venetian sea-route towards Syria and the port of San Giorgio often mentioned as Fermo.[21] The Doge specified, in addition, that not a single galley could leave the port of Venice without permission. The third ordinance adds Zara as a forbidden port for pilgrim departures.[22] Patrons who wanted to transport pilgrims had to board them after Zara and Ancona as long as they paid the *quartaria* directly to the Republic of Venice.[23] As a later document reports, patrons who adhered to rules had to swear publically their commitment to respect the ordinance and the payment of the tax to the Republic.[24] The accord between the Doge and patrons completes the series of documents relating to pilgrimage enacted by Pietro Ziani. It is clear that during the early thirteenth century, Venice tried to confine pilgrims to specific territories of the Republic, away from the political heart of the lagoon. The reasons for this decision lie in the turbulent events involving Venetian participation both nationally and internationally and in the weakness of the pilgrimage sector, recognised only as a potentially remunerative type of trade and not as a stand-alone activity by the Doge and the minor council. This distant approach to pilgrimage changed after Jacopo Tiepolo's election as Doge in 1229.

[21] The district of Fermo is in the Italian region of the Marche distant about 42 miles from Ancona.
[22] This limitation may have been caused by the continued rebellions of Zara against the Venetian Republic.
[23] The *quartaria* was a tax on goods and activities producing an income. It was usually a quarter of the income obtained from the trade.
[24] A note published on 15th August 1228 reports the names of patrons and vessels committed to the ordinance. Four vessels confirmed their involvement in pilgrims' transportation for the winter travel of that year: the galleys Verga d'oro, S. Antonio, S. Giovanni and Armellina. See, ASV, *Liber Communis*, 1228, Agosto, 12, c. 93.

3.2.2 Jacopo Tiepolo and the *capitulum peregrinorum*

Scholars described the rise to power of Jacopo Tiepolo as controversial.[25] Unlike Pietro Ziani, Tiepolo belonged to a party considered as "the new Venetian aristocracy" by members of the historical families guiding the Republic. Notwithstanding the Tiepolo family's long tradition in the ranks of the Venetian nobility, their responsibility and active participation in the life of the Republic were viewed with suspicion and distance by the most conservative Venetian aristocrats.[26] Furthermore, the support of the commoners, who granted Tiepolo his victory against Marino Dandolo during the 1229 election, created many discrepancies among Venice's highest factions who tried to limit additionally the sphere of the Doge's power.[27]

Tiepolo, who was not officially recognised as Doge by his predecessor Ziani,[28] had to sign a *promissione* limiting significantly his powers.[29] However, this did not prevent him from being equally important in Venice's history and the

[25] Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1854), pp. 212-215.
[26] Jacopo Tiepolo himself was, before becoming Doge, *podestà* and ambassador in Constantinople as well as Duke of Crete. See Romanin, *Storia documentata*, p. 212 and about the dominion of Venice in Crete and the role of Jacopo Tiepolo see, Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 26-27.
[27] An internal political fracture that continued until the *Serrata* in 1297 when members of the aristocracy decided to make hereditary membership of the Major Council. This act was believed necessary to prevent members of the "new aristocracy" from joining the elections of the Doge. See, Rösch Gerhard 'The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286–1323' in John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano (eds), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 67-88.
[28] Rösch, *The Serrata*, p. 81.
[29] The *promissione* was a document listing the rights and duties of the Doges. Jacopo Tiepolo was the first doge to have restrictions regarding his role. For example, he needed to renounce any state revenue with the exception of his stipend, contribute to public loans, share the tributes from the Istrian and Dalmatian colonies and to not establish any communication with the Pope or Emperor without the Council's approval. About the *promissione* of Tiepolo see, John Julius Norwich, *A history of Venice* (London, 2003), p. 151.

development of the Venetian pilgrimage industry in the following century. Tiepolo's contribution to the construction of that Venice known as a "city for pilgrims" had the most, possibly involuntary, long-term effects. His ambition to collect all the most ancient and modern Venetian laws in a unique collection, known as *statuti,* gave him the opportunity to revise some previous legislation considered inadequate to the needs of the Republic in that moment. Among these were the ordinances related to pilgrimage enacted by Pietro Ziani. After Frederick II Hohenstaufen signed the truce that returned part of Jerusalem and the Holy Land to western powers in 1229, the number of pilgrims willing to embark for the *sancta peregrinatione* from the Italian coasts increased. It is likely that the Venetian government expected this increase. Indeed, just a few months after the truce, Tiepolo's first maritime statute had an ordinance stating, "if a ship is fully boarded by pilgrims in Venice or outside Venice it is lawful for the patrons to board the ship according to what is agreed with pilgrims".[30] A subsequent ordinance called '*qualiter debet refici patronibus dampnum corredi si navis fuerit navulizata peregrinis'* added that 'if a ship rented by pilgrims has been damaged in its equipment (e.g. sails. rudders, anchors etc.) sailors aboard the ship are not responsible for the damages'.[31]

These ordinances seem in conflict with those enacted by Ziani prohibiting patrons from boarding pilgrims from Venice, suggesting a decisive change not only with regard to pilgrimage and the boarding of pilgrims from Venice but also about patrons who, from this moment onwards handled their pilgrims and the success of the sea-crossing, including possible damage to the ship. Newett, who

[30] Venice, BM, *Statuta Domino Jacobus Teupolus 1229*, Codice Membranaceo CXXX, Classe V, c. 30. See also, Riccardo Predelli, Antonio Sacerdoti, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani fino al 1255* (Venice, 1903), p. 59.
[31] BM, *Statuta Domino Jacobus Teupolus 1229*, c. 32; Predelli, *Gli statuti*, p. 63.

first analysed these statutes in 1907, assumed that all the ordinances included in the first of the *statuta navium* were valid also for those galleys intended for pilgrims' transportation.[32] However, the statute never specified that and if this was the case, pilgrims should have been regarded as an ordinary category of travellers and mentioned together with other subjects cited in the general body of the statute (e.g. *mercatores*, *marinariis* etc.). Conversely, if one analyses the general outlook of the legislation until that moment, it is clear that pilgrims had always been considered as a separate category of travellers and the departures from Venice were rather an exception to those rules. It seems that for a certain period Venice preferred that pilgrims were embarked from other ports controlled by the Republic rather than from Venice itself.[33] Although Venice was "back in the game" concerning pilgrims' departures from the lagoon in 1229, the consideration of pilgrims as a peculiar category of travellers did not change in Tiepolo's legislative body. By stating that:

> […] si aliqua nauis tota fuerit naulizata peregrinis in Ueneciis vel foris Uenecias, licitum sit patrono eam caricare secundum quod concordabitur cum peregrinis […]

Patrons appeared to be allowed to not follow the rules that the statute applied for general passengers and cargo but to board the ship according to what was agreed with pilgrims themselves.[34] Therefore, this may invalidate what Newett took for granted about the galleys 'cargo and confirms the special status of pilgrims among the categories of travellers.

---

[32] Newett, *Canon Pietro*, pp- 24-27.
[33] The same Frederick II when going to the Holy Land for the sixth crusade, just a few months before the enactment of the *statuta*, departed with a Venetian galley from Brindisi, as suggested in Ziani's ordinances.
[34] Venice, BM, *Statuta*, c. 30.

The *capitulum peregrinorum*, the last section of this first *statuta navium*, is an additional confirmation of pilgrims' special consideration within Venetian naval legislation. The ordinance is clear about the role of patrons and the correct behaviour in case of pilgrims as passengers of the vessel. The clause appears as a special maritime ordinance, separate from the rest of the statute. Here, provided a reasonably accurate translation, although incomplete in certain passages. The clause established that galleys intended for the Syria voyage had to depart with pilgrims twice a year (one for the "Easter voyage" and one for the "winter voyage") except when specific problems affected the departures. Patrons of the galleys managed pilgrims and their belongings until the end of the trip.[35] Moreover, it is mentioned for the first time that pilgrims and patrons had to agree a contract, which had to be respected by patrons, who risked a fine in case of misconduct. As Newett argued, patrons needed to prove their *bona fides* by swearing to the *Bailo* of Acre or other Venetian officials.[36] However, she did not mention that in the case of a failed oath patrons incurred a penalty forcing them to give to the Venetian government a half of the profit gained from the voyage.[37]

[35][…] Preterea statuimus quod naues que exiuerint per muduam pasce de Syria cum peregrinis, debeant exire et collare de partibus illis usque ad octauum diem intrante mense madii; et qui per muduam yberni nauigauerint, debeant exire et collare usque ad octauum diem intrante octubri, nisi remaneret iusto impedimento temporis […]. Venice, BM, *Statuta*, c. 351t; Predelli, *Gli Statuti*, p. 82; Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 25.

[36] The *bailo* was permanent Venetian ambassador in territories of Venetian interest. Like many of the Venetian representatives, the bailo had an office called the office of the *bailo*. The most important *baili* where at Constantinople, Acre, Cyprus and Negroponte. However, Venice sent *baili* also to their colonies such as Corfu, Aleppo etc. For more information about the *bailo* see Kazhdan Alexander P. 'Bailo' In Alexander P. Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (Oxford, 2005).

[37] […] Et patroni nauium teneantur se presentare et iurare, coram baiulo Acconis (a) uel rectore nostro qui ibidem fuerit pro tempore,sub pena totius medietatis nauli quod receperint a peregrinis […]. Venice, BM, *Statuta*, c. 37; Predelli, *Gli Statuti*, pp. 74-75.

To be sure of the patrons' commitment towards their passengers the Venetian government held a deposit of 20 *soldi* for every estimated mile of the journey.[38]

The publication of an entire chapter dedicated to pilgrims and their rights shows that Doge Jacopo Tiepolo and his administration had a very different vision of what pilgrimage could represent for the Republic compared to Pietro Ziani. Pilgrims were no longer considered as "cargo" of the ship, displaced to specific ports away from the main Venetian concerns. Conversely, they became a subject of new interest for the government, which judged as them deserving protection against possible unlawful patrons. Tiepolo was interested not only in the reformation of the civil law and protection of new valuable customers, such as pilgrims, but also in the promotion of a new profitable religious bond with important mendicant orders such as the Franciscans. When the Franciscans arrived in Venice for the first time in 1222, they were not granted a church or a place of residence as Doge Pietro Ziani was not interested in their permanent establishment in the lagoon. Nevertheless, Tiepolo, who was much more concerned about questions outside the aristocratic sphere, allowed them to stay and gifted them various lands to build what are now the churches of SS. Giovanni and Paolo and Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (current location of the Venetian Archives).[39] The establishment of this link with the Franciscans and, a few years later, with the Dominicans, was decisive in the development of the pilgrimage industry and pilgrimage organization by Venetians in both Venice and

[38][…] nostro communi emendare teneatur soldos XX pro quolibet miliario nauiprout fuerit extimata […], Venice, BM, *Statuta*, c. 37.

[39]See Christopher Kleinhenz, *Routledge Revivals: Medieval Italy (2004): An Encyclopedia. Volume 2* (London, 2017), p. 1128; Maria Barbara Bertini, *I custodi della memoria: l'edilizia archivistica italiana statale del XX secolo* (Rimini, 2014), pp. 322-323; Henry Thode, *Francesco d'Assisi e le origini dell'arte del Rinascimento in Italia* (Rome, 1993), pp. 288-290. About the history of the Basilica Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, see Cornaro, NSCV, pp. 361-367.

Jerusalem.[40] The interest of the Doge in, until then, neglected topics such as the rights of passengers or the definitive establishment of the mendicant orders, was an early sign of Venice's favourable change towards its religious value.

Although during the period of Marino Morosini's government (1249-1253) nothing changed regarding the administration of Venetian maritime legislation, his successor, Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268), was interested once again in pilgrimage. In fact, Zeno's legislative body confirms that those questions inherent in pilgrims' rights and departures from Venice were no longer ignored by the Venetian administration, as further additions to Tiepolo's *capitulum peregrinorum* show.[41] In fact, Doge Zeno' s *capitulum super peregrinis* of 1255 maintained the status quo of Tiepolo's previous ordinances with some small changes concerning the departures of galleys for Syria by removing the obligation of a specific leaving date. In addition, Zeno expanded the legislative section regarding the responsibility in case of damages on the galley. Pilgrims were not considered responsible for the repayment of possible damages either if a galley was fully occupied by them or if they were travelling together with other merchants.[42] Zeno was also interested in giving Venice a wider connection with local religious institutions and pilgrims in the city; this was a good opportunity to enhance that religious side of Venice unknown to previous administrations. In fact, under Zeno's government some of the most important pilgrims' hospices,

[40] About the presence of Franciscans in the Holy Land and their relationship with Venetians see the recent publication of Beatrice Saletti, *I francescani in Terrasanta (1291-1517)* (Padua, 2016).
[41] Newett, *Canon Pietro*, pp. 26-28.
[42] In case of damages on the main structure of the galley (veils, rudders anchor etc.), pilgrims were not considered responsible. This was confirmed also when pilgrims were aboard of a galley together with merchants that, in this case, were investigated and eventually fined according to the proportion of the reparations. Predelli, *Gli Statuti*, pp. 142-143.

such as the *Cà di Dio* were founded.[43] This was a sign of a decisive change in Venice's approach to pilgrimage, which certainly facilitated its ascent in the field of Holy Land travel.

3.2.3 Venice and pilgrimage in the fourteenth century

The fourteenth century was the period of Venetian consolidation of power in overseas travel. The surving documentation of this century reports a gap. This highlights the missing records that testify the changes in pilgrimage administration from the Minor Council to the *Cattaver* Office. Concerning the navigation, Tiepolo's legislation was still used as the main reference for the maritime questions, although in 1302 the Minor Council ordered that all the new ordinances *ad modum naviganti et mercadantia* had to be kept in two separate registers to be delivered at the chancery and *provveditori*.[44] At the time of Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354), another book of statutes called *liber sextus* expanded and improved Tiepolo's former maritime legislation.[45] However, no formal change to the past pilgrim legislation was approved until later in the century. In fact, except for Tiepolo's law that dealt with the relationship between pilgrims and patrons, there were no specific rules about the boarding of pilgrims, and nobles or rich merchants arriving in Venice during that period had the

[43] Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dal suo principio sino al giorno d'oggi*, 13 vols., vol. 2 (Venice, 1848) p. 336; Cornaro, NSCV, pp. 160-161.
[44] Newett mistakenly dated this document to 1303, while on the register of the Major Council the act is registered in 1302. See ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni. Registri (secc. XIII-XVI in.), Reg. 8, Magnus et Capricornus (1299 - 1309), f. 40r. It is possible to consult this document online at http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/imagefullscreen.htm?fs=1&imgIndex=40&idUa=27&first=0&last=365 . See also Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 28.
[45] The government published another two volumes called *Liber Albus* and *Liber Blancus*. These included all the agreements of Venice with the Orient (*liber Albus*) and the Occident (*liber Blancus*). They are preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Venice in the section *Pacta e Aggregati*.

possibility to rent private galleys for the oversea voyage by asking the government for a specific permission.[46]

Furthermore, patrons willing to board pilgrims for the Holy Land voyage still needed the official approval granted by the Senate before sailing as the records held in the *Misti* registers show.[47] Therefore, according to the remaining records, the administration of pilgrimage was still partially under the direct control of the highest sphere of the Venetian power. However, at the end of the fourteenth century, it is likely that due to the increase in pilgrims' arrivals in the lagoon, the government delegated part of the administration to a specific office called *Cattaver*.

3.2.3.1 The Ufficiali al Cattaver.

The name *Ufficiali al Cattaver* or *Cattaveri* appears frequently in bibliographic sources often associated with wrong recycled information. Both Newett and Mitchell first argued about certain "pilgrims' books" registered by the *Cattaver* Office and containing the contracts between pilgrims and patrons that are now lost.[48] Archival study of the remaining registers done for this research show that previous scholars misinterpreted this information and pilgrims' books, as

[46] In cases of well-known personages, such as Henry of Lancaster in 1392, it was the Venetian Government itself provided a galley and patron for the voyage to the Holy Land without further expenses. It is clear that it was a strategic plan that ensured the Republic not only a good reputation outside its boundaries, but also a good opportunity to expand its political and trade opportunities with other countries. For the privileges reserved to Henry of Lancaster by the Republic of Venice see ASV, Senato Deliberazioni miste, XLII, f. 88 a; ASV, Registro del Maggior Consiglio, Leona, p. 61; Brown, *CSP*, p. 33.

[47] […]1382, Aprilis 14, Quorum galea cum patronus mauroseno Andrea (Andrea Morosini crf.) possit levare peregrini lxx vel lxxi inter masculos i feminas i ire ad viagium fuit […]. ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. XIV-XVI in.), Registro 38, f.111v.

[48] Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola*, pp. 88-89; Rosamund J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft* (London, 1938), p. 31.

understood by Newett, have never been produced.[49] However, before reviewing this aspect it is necessary to provide same background about the origins of the *Cattaver* Office and the role of their magistrates.

The original name of this bureau was *Ufficial al Cattaver* of which members were called in Venetian vernacular *Cattaveri*.[50] The bureau was founded in 1280 by the administration of Giovanni Dandolo as an extraordinary administrative body in charge of the invigilation of the public expenses of Venice.[51] However, in 1281 the office became an ordinary part of the Venetian governmental structure being responsible not only for patrolling on the public financial expenses but also for invigilating the correct administration of taxes and the use of public and private money for commercial activities.

In 1355, the major council of Venice ordered that at least one *Cattaver* had to supervise every meeting of the council, suggesting the growing importance of this new role for the Republic.[52] Indeed, it is arguable that in the fourteenth century the bureau became so influential, in relation to Venetian internal matters, that it was involved also in the supervision of the maritime commercial navigation from Venice (including the transport of pilgrims to the Holy Land).[53] One duty of the *Cattaver* magistrates, in relation to pilgrimage, was to ensure that the Venetian residents did not defraud incoming pilgrims, charging them

[49] A greater insight of this topic will be provided in the following pages and in the case study presented in Chapter Seven.
[50] Members were called also *Avogadori de intus* because of their role as overseer of the Venetian *fisco* (revenue management). For more information about the history of the *Cattaveri* see Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato*, tomo I, pp. 101-102.
[51] It was not intended for a longer duration.
[52] Da Mosto, *L'archivio*, p. 101.
[53] In this case, the gap in the surviving Venetian documentation does not confirm the expansion of their sphere of action. However, the registers produced by the office between 1387-1392 demonstrate that during this period members of the office were already in charge of some Venetian maritime affairs such as pilgrimage. Therefore, the Major Council should probably have granted them this power.

with further and prohibited expenses for their travel. In fact, the first four registers held by the Archivio di Stato contain mainly copies of legislation involving their jurisdiction and notifications and complaints about pilgrimage administration in Venice.[54] It is necessary to specify that although the registers report a list of Venetian legislation, the *Cattaveri* did not have legislative power. In fact, they acted as external agents and ensured that all the parties involved respected the specific legislation requiring their supervision. Nonetheless, they acted as a point of reference for different Venetian figures involved in pilgrimage, such as patrons and *tholomagi*. In this regard, in 2004 Davis and Martin mistakenly attributed the *Cattaveri*'s role of referees as already existent as early as 1229. However, the magistrate was founded only fifty-one years later.[55] The legislative and administrative structure of the pilgrims' departures from Venice as it is known in the fifteenth century only emerged after the middle of the fourteenth century, when the greater part of the documentation is missing and before the minor council's legislation of 1392 that will be examined below. If an earlier structural division of duties among the Venetians dealing with pilgrims existed, the government did not legislate this officially until later in the fourteenth century when a series of misconducts against foreign visitors committed by Venetian operators risked compromising Venice's trade relationship with foreign countries.

In 1392, the Major Council enacted an ordinance depicting clearly not only the role of different people dealing with pilgrims, but giving also a great insight into

[54] I am grateful to the director of the Archivio di Stato of Venice, Raffaele Santoro, for granting me the authorization to consult under his supervision the most ancient volumes of the registers (vols. I-III) that were at the time under digitization at the archive's laboratory.
[55] Robert C. Davis and Garry R. Marvin, *Venice, the Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World's Most Touristed City* (London, 2004) p. 25.

the complex mechanism behind pilgrimage departures.[56] The Major Council established that due to the many cases of patrons' misconduct and fraud against foreign pilgrims, three magistrates working at the *Cattaver* Office had to inspect every galley before the departure and let pilgrims do a second inspection after them before choosing a galley for the voyage. In addition, each patron needed to work closely with a scribe who was responsible for writing the agreements between the parties in a *quaternus navium* accompanied by a *cedula* (a sort of scheme of the contract), which specified the length and stops during the sea-travel itinerary.[57] This *quaternus* had to be delivered to a *Judicibus Forensicum* (a public notary) within eight days and registered at the notary office once each of the pilgrims departing for the journey had paid three ducats to the the *Cattaver* Office. In opposition to what has been stated by Newett, the *Cattaver* Office was not in charge of the pilgrims' book containing the journey's contracts and probably never produced one, being responsible solely of the supervision of the entire procedure. It is more likely that if contracts of this nature survived, they would have been preserved in the notary archive and not in the *Cattaveri*'s registers. An additional confirmation of this hypothesis comes from the notes in the *Cattaveri*'s registers indicating that the above-mentioned *quaterniis* have been delivered in time to a notary office.[58] Additional sections of the legislation give a clearer insight into the organization of pilgrims' arrivals and departures

[56] A copy of the legislation is preserved in the *Compendium capitularis advocatorum de intus et indicum contrabannorum er qui appellatur chataver.* See ASV, Ufficiali al cattaver, sec. XIV – 1797, Busta 2, ff lxxxiv- lxxxviii.

[57] In the account of Pietro Casola it emerges that the scribes working with patrons during the fifteenth century were in charge also of the written communication between patrons and the people on the mainland. For example, they were responsible for delivering the letters written by the patrons to the Guardian of Mount Zion or to local representatives such as the Governor of Gaza in the case of Casola's voyage. Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 232-233.

[58]ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f.88r.

by reporting that patrons and their scribes were not the only people in contact with incoming pilgrims. In fact, there were also agents called *misseti* (or sensali) and the *tholomagi*.

The role of the *misseti* is scarcely analysed by current scholarship but was crucial at the time of pilgrims and patrons bargaining for a place in a galley. The role of a *missete* was that of mediator between the parties during the negotiation phase of a contract. Nevertheless, the reality was a little bit more complex. In the thirteenth century, the Venetian government founded an office called *Dazio della messetteria* or *messetteria* to regulate the profession of the merchant brokers called *messeti/misseti*.[59] These brokers, known also by the name *visdomini*, worked initially in the mercantile sector and ensured the payment of the trade customs to the Republic from Venetians and foreign merchants. In 1338, they became more influential and responsible for mediations concerning real estates, lands, waters and navigation.[60] However, as underlined by Da Mosto, the customs they requested needed to be paid only on those contracts of which one party was Venetian.[61] The duty on those contracts amounted to 3% for deals agreed in Venice and 2% for those agreed in other Venetian territories, while all the operations and collection of customs were conducted by only four *misseti*.[62] The legislation included in the *Cattaver*'s registers is clear about what a *missete* had to do during the phase of pilgrims' negotiations with patrons in terms of good behaviour and collection of the *messattaria*.[63] This stated that pilgrims were not allowed to bring with them their own *missete*. On the contrary,

[59] Romanin dates its foundation to 1217 when it is reported in the register Clericus et Civicus. Romanin, *Storia documentata*, p. 381.
[60] Da Mosto, L'archivio, p. 198; Romanin, *Storia documentata*, pp. 380-383.
[61] Da Mosto, L'archivio, p. 198.
[62] Da Mosto, L'archivio, p. 198.
[63] The messattaria was the custom due in every contract.

they had to pay the custom duty directly to the dedicated office.[64] The *Cattaver* Office was responsible for invigilating on the correct behaviour of the *misseti.* This was done by presenting all the documentation relating to the payment of the fee to the *Quarantia* within eight days after the conclusion of the contract and by ensuring that each *missete* swore a *sacramentorum solenne illi faciens bene et legaliter missetariam suprascripta bona fide sine fraude* (i.e. that they working legally and in good faith).[65] Each *missete* must not accept any part of the tax for its own income from both pilgrims and patrons. This was because brokers were public employees working for the Republic. Therefore, conversely to what has been stated by Newett, their remuneration was not included within the amount of the tax they had to collect from pilgrims.[66] The latter needed to be paid in full into the merchant office (*Consilium mercatorum*) otherwise, the *missete* incurred the punishment of a month in jail and the withdrawal of his licence.[67] Furthermore, the Republic's brokers were not allowed for any reason to refuse to request the fee or to allow pilgrims to "skip" the payment of the *messattaria*, with the exception of a *fideiussione* (suretyship) being requested of the government for specific cases.[68] In the light of the above, the mediation between parties was not solely the role of the *misseti,* who were essential not

[64] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 87v.
[65] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 87r. The *Quarantia* was the Venetian name for the Council of Forty, the supreme court of the Republic.
[66] Newett argued that the *misset*i had a percentage on each contract. However, this statement is not accompanied by any record and because the *misseti* were Venice's official representative it is more logical they had a salary from the Republic. Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 40.
[67] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 87r.
[68] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 87r. This was particularly clear to some Venetian and Pisan pilgrims who, by trying to skip the payment of the tax, risked to being refused to board a galley and forced the government to strictly control the patrons and *misseti* involved in the transaction to avoid fraud. […] dicti missete non audeant nabulizare dictos peregrino nisi per loca et itinera quo volent ire sub dicta pena […] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f.93v.

only to the conclusion of the contract between Venice and the incoming pilgrims, but also to the departure of galleys.

It is possible to affirm that, once in Venice, pilgrims were subjected to two different types of contract. On the one hand, the contract agreed with the patron, for which the Republic was responsible only in relation to the general terms and conditions (e.g. cost of the travel, limitations of the cargo, general exceptions or prohibitions as reported by Jacopo Tiepolo's legislation etc.). The most specific details such as the itinerary, provisions or accommodation aboard were matters of direct agreement between pilgrims and patrons. Therefore, these were not supervised, except when pilgrims reported a problem. On the other hand, was the contract stipulated with Venice, of which the *misseti* were representatives on behalf of the Republic. Although the government could not control the specific terms of the patron's contract, with the obligation to pay the *messattaria* on each transaction, the Venetian Republic regarded itself as a third party responsible for the whole journey ensuring the reliability and *bona fide* of the operators. Conversely, by accepting the payment of the fee, pilgrims mutually agreed to fulfil their part of the contract with the Republic and demonstrated their acceptance of the Venetian legislation and operators, with the only exceptions being cases of misconduct.[69] Therefore, pilgrims were subjected to two different types of contract, one explicitly with the patron of the galley, usually written by a scribe and delivered to a notary office and another implicit with the Venetian Republic concluded with the payment of the *messattaria* to the Republic's brokers.

[69] Concerning pilgrims' awareness of Venetian legislation, see Chapter Six.

Moreover, other operators called "*tholomagi/tholomazi*" were in contact with pilgrims during different phases of their stay in Venice.[70] Widely reported by scholars, the *tholomagi* were the first people meeting pilgrims at the port of Venice.[71] *Tholomagi*'s competences were broad and ranged from tourist guides of Venice to interpreters or assistants during various phases of pilgrims' arrival and stay in the lagoon (e.g. accommodation, money-changing, market, passage etc.). Like the *misseti*, the *tholomagi*'s profession was ruled directly by the Venetian government, which tried to limit the insurgence of non-authorised guides committing misconducts towards foreign visitors. As previously said, past research argued that the Venetian government as early as 1229 had ruled on the way in which the *tholomagi* operated in Venice.[72] However, this actually happened later in the fourteenth century when the *tholomagi*'s activities were placed under the direct supervision of the the *Cattaver* Office together with the *misseti*. With the legislation *Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis* enacted 23rd March 1367, the government hoped to limit the rise in misconducts against pilgrims by unofficial guides, which was source of complaints. One goal of the government was to make "official" *tholomagi* recognisable in the eyes of foreign visitors to

[70] About the correct spelling of the word, see Anna L. Lepschy 'Tholomacii non tholomarii' in *Italian Studies*, 25:1 (2013), pp. 79-80. The author argues that the correct spelling of the word is Tholomacii (singular, Tholomacio). Nevertheless, most Venetian documents report also the variation *Tholomagi* or *Tholomazi*. In addition, Newett mistakenly calls them "tholomarius"; however, the most correct name is tholomagi or tholomazi. In this regard, see Davis, Marvin, *Venice*, p. 304. The Italian translation for tholomazi was *servi della piazza* literally "servants of the square" probably because of their presence in the most important Venetian squares such as St. Mark's and Rialto.

[71] Newett argued that the *Cattaveri* awaited pilgrims at the port. See Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 40. However, the *Cattaveri*'s role was that of supervision of other Venetian operators, including tholomagi who were the actual people awaiting the pilgrims' arrival in Venice.

[72] Davis, Marvin, *Venice*, p. 25; see also Maria Georgopoulou 'The holy sites of Candia' in Michele Bacci, Martin Rohde (eds), *The Holy Portolano / Le Portulan sacré: The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages* (Berlin, 2013), p. 150 who reported the same information of Davis and Marvin.

avoid the risk of being defrauded. It was specified that those *tholomagi qui non habent familiam nec Domum in Venetii* had to be chosen under the direct supervision of illustrious Venetian nobles and they could not exceed the number of eight.[73] Furthermore, those *tholomagi* working for the Republic had to make a public oath assuring the *Cattaver* Office (on behalf of the government) their intention of doing *mercato* only with pilgrims, clerics or knights. *Tholomagi* had to engage in conducting pilgrims only where they desired and to do their best to ensure them fair and honest transactions, as the first part of the oath reports:[74]

> […] I swear to the Saint Evangelists of God I will not do market with any of the merchants but with pilgrims, clerics and knights and in good faith and without defrauding them I will give them suggestions and help. I swear to engage with them and do market where it is better for them and take nothing but what they might want to give me according to their will […].[75]

The expression *fare mercato* (translated as "doing market") had in this case the meaning of taking accordance/agreements. By trying to protect visitors from dishonest Venetian merchants, the government forbade their tholomazi from making agreements with patrons or accommodation owners behind the visitors' back. This precaution was necessary because of the percentage gained by the *tholomagi* on each contract. In fact, the Republic wanted to avoid merchants and *tholomagi* agreeing a percentage to share after having sold goods at a raised price. The Republic advised their representatives to be vigilant in relation to

[73] The punishment for this transgression was a fee of twenty-five liras. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f. 84r.
[74] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f. 84r.
[75] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f. 84r. The original document on the register is in Latin. A partial translation in Venetian of this text exists in Filiasi Jacopo, *Memorie storiche de' Veneti primi e secondi del cittadino Giacomo Filiasi*, tomo sesto (Venice, 1797), p. 68.

those pilgrims, clerics and knights who might want to defraud Venice, although this option was less common.[76] Further suggestions to recognise Republic's authorised *tholomagi* was that of looking at the commission they requested for the services provided. As established by the government, *tholomagi* who were working for the Republic could not ask for a payment higher than ten ducats for each agreement concluded between pilgrims and patrons and those asking for a higher commission risked the banishment from their office (*privationi officii*) and a fee of twenty-five ducats.[77] However, all these measures, adopted to reduce the likelihood of frauds, were apparently not enough to ensure an effective invigilation of the *tholomagi*'s work, which in the following century was object of continued revised ordinances seeking to restrict their range of action or their influence over pilgrims and patrons. As is possible to read from the registers of the cattaver office, *tholomagi*'s misconducts were particularly difficult to avoid and control even after the new ordinances.

This was because pilgrims were likely not aware of most of the Venetian legislation and consequently not able to recognise an "official" *tholomagio* from a non-authorised guide as hoped for the government, especially when arriving in Venice with a large crowd of fellow travellers. One of the most common frauds was the request of higher wages by non-authorised guides who had a "secret" agreement with patrons or hospice hosts, a deception sometimes committed also by an official guide, or the presentation of an old unsafe galley as a newer one. Having a wide range of action, *tholomagi* operated not only in the main squares of Venice but also in various key points of the lagoon, possibly even outside its

[76] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f.84r.
[77] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f.84r.

boundaries. This emerges from an ordinance reducing the operability of the guides outside Venice without specific authorization.[78] The ordinance intended, hypothetically, that those visitors who recognised *tholomagi* out of their operation zone or non-authorised guides pretending to be official *tholomagi*, reported them to the *Cattaver* Office. Nevertheless, the intrigues and agreements made by various and, most of the time, unofficial Venetian operators were so extensive and complicated, to be difficult to trace and recognise, particularly by first-time visitors not used to the Venetian "market approach" towards potential customers. Additional cases of misconduct occurred also among the Republic's *tholomagi* who appeared to be involved in pilgrims' frauds and negligence toward foreign visitors. This is clear from some of the complaints reported by the same *Cattaveri* arguing about how the *inobedientia tholomarium* as well as the negligence of some of their operators caused trouble and complaints among pilgrims going to the Holy Land.[79] It is possible to argue that the *tholomagi*'s job existed unofficially prior to the structuring of pilgrimage departures in the late fourteenth century and did not respond well to the new limitations and regulations imposed by the government. This applied especially to the commission gained from each contract and the maximum number of guides allowed to operate in one specific places[80] In fact, even after countless measures adopted by the government to prevent fraud against pilgrims, the *Cattaver*

[78] […] aliquis tholomari exire soluerit de civitare non possit stare sinet licentia […]. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 99r.

[79] This was referred in a particular case in which some of the *tholomazi* did not divide their work equally leaving pilgrims without a proper guide wandering in Venice. In this occasion, no economic sanction was taken. However, the *Cattaver* Office suggested *that ipsi tholamari attendere debeant ad plateas iuxta forma*. See ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f.100r.

[80] This is referred, in particular, in an ordinance enacted in 1457 limiting the number of *tholomazi* at two at the edge of St. Mark's and two at Rialto because of the increasing number of misconducts towards pilgrims. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f.101v.

registers report that issues about *tholomagi*'s behaviour were not resolved until the mid-sixteenth century.[81] Such a limited number of officials was likely not enough to exercise an enough control over all the people involved in pilgrims' departures, causing a major failure in pilgrimage administration. However, looking at the facts from a different perspective, the presence of these *tholomagi* as guides in Venice and the special interest shown by the Republic in protecting its visitors, is relevant to this research. It means that at the end of fourteenth century Venice was already on the way to becoming a stage of pilgrimage by trying to structure both bureaucratic and leisure sides of the city experience and sea-voyage. All these legislation and ordinances show that by 1392 there was already a structured hierarchy behind Venice's pilgrimage "business" that, if respected, allowed pilgrims to enjoy their Venetian sojourn and depart smoothly for the Holy Land. On the other hand, it legitimated Venice as a reliable provider for the sea-travels and potential "new" religious destination for pilgrims.[82] Fig.4 illustrates how the Venetian organisational system of pilgrimage was actually a complex mechanism based on multidirectional approaches to pilgrims from their arrival until their departure from Venice. Arriving largely by the sea, pilgrim groups from fifty to two hundred people disembarked, mostly at the Arsenal or in St. Mark's. As already said, legislation ensured they were welcomed by groups of *tholomagi* receiving a percentage on each contract concluded with specific patrons. The *bona fide* of the *tholomagi*, as well as their management of

[81] One of the most tragic accidents happened in 1546 when some *tholomagi* convinced a group of pilgrims to hire a specific galley (possibly in accordance with the patron) that was instead judged as unsuitable for navigation by the *Cattaveri*. The galley sunk during the return travel from the Holy Land and all the pilgrims died causing *danno et vergogna universal ad honor et gloria del signor iddio laude di questa nostra città* (damage and shame to Christ's honour and glory, pride of this city). ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f.105v.

[82] About this, see Chapter Four.

the first phases of the pilgrims' arrival in Venice, was crucial to determine the success of the Venetian stay and consequently a positive impact of the city in pilgrims' minds. The concerns expressed by the government with regard to the *tholomagi*'s behaviour were more than understandable considering they accompanied pilgrims during most of the Venetian sojourn, proposed the most suitable pilgrims' hospices, directed pilgrims to the most reliable galleys and patrons and assisted them in the change of money and shopping for their voyage. Therefore, a great part of the leisure and administrative sides of the Venetian stopover was managed by *tholomagi* and it is easy to imagine they tried to take advantage of their indispensable role without caring about the legal or ethical consequences. Pilgrims meeting with the *Cattaver* magistrates came only later in the process and only in case the *tholomagi* decided to act legally according to Venetian legislation. Here, a magistrate of the *Cattaver* Office could show pilgrims various galleys previously inspected and judged as safe for the voyage and let them decide the most suitable for their needs. Conversely, the *tholomagi* would have accompanied pilgrims directly to the patron, skipping in this way the inspection of the galley.

Pilgrims were at this point introduced to patrons by the same *tholomagi* who acted as interpreters to help them agree the terms of their contracts and understand the passages and itinerary of the sea-travel. Scribes and *misseti* were both present at the signing of the contract, one to write the agreements and deliver them to the notary office, the other to collect the *messattaria* on behalf of the Venetian Republic. After a maximum of eight days, once the *Cattaver* Office had received notice of the positive conclusion of the contracts and payment of the fees, pilgrims could depart. The Venetian management of

pilgrims' departures, based on the honest communication between all the parties involved and a collegial administration of the responsibilities between different institutions was ideally perfect, satisfying both supply and demand. However, it did not work; at least not in the long term. People without a proper licence continued to operate in Venice pretending to be authorised *tholomagi* and patrons under them, continued to embark pilgrims in old and dirty galleys together with their merchandise.

> […] Given that our patrons are responsible for many extortions and frauds against those pilgrims they had to bring with their galleys to the Holy Sepulchre, showing them rotten galleys painted like new ones giving them the impression of that their ships were scrupulous equipped […] for the fame and honour of our Lord it is necessary to act'.[83]

[83] […] Cum per Patronos Navium et aliorum Navigiorum nostrorum sunt multe extorsiones cum deceptionibus et fraudibus personi peregrinis quas conducere debent cum suis navigiis in visitandu sepulchrum Domini et alias parses ultramarinas nonstrando dies peregrinis navigia metesima et marcia que fuirunt apstaris de novo et similiter faciunt fiere novas pieturas et dando est do intelligendum quo illo navigi est apartata et pieta […]quam pro fama et honore nostro domini sit necessarium providere. […]. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, ff. 25v, 25r.

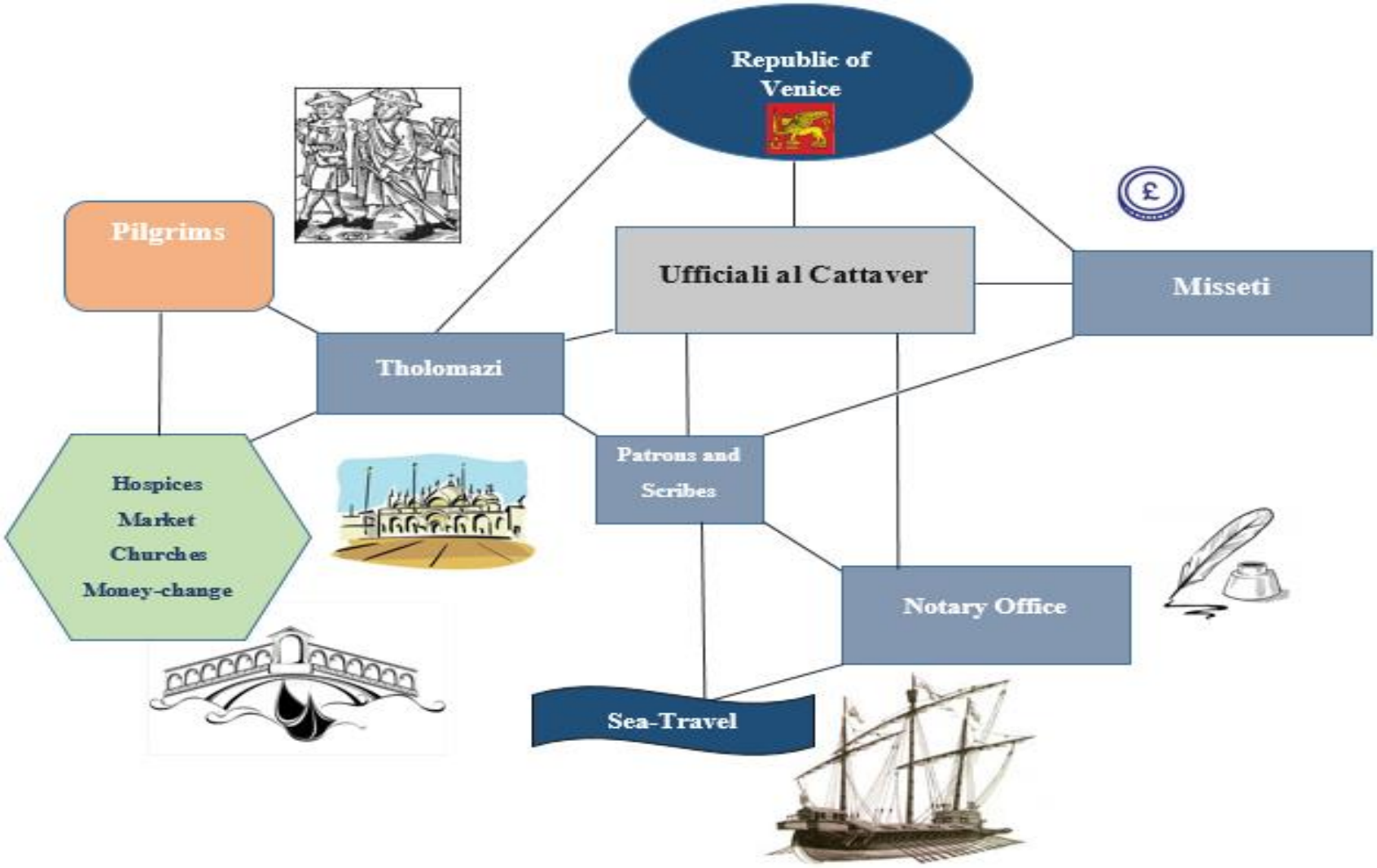


Figure 4 - The organization of pilgrimage in Venice.

3.2.4 The fifteenth century and private pilgrims' transportations

Several years of misconducts and uninterrupted illegal pilgrimage business led the Venetian government to judge the two-century-old Tiepolo's legislation as inadequate for a phenomenon that was no longer an occasional source of income for Venice, but it had become an actual institution. During the early fifteenth century, the Senate argued that a major problem affecting the transports to the Holy Land was the association of pilgrimage with trade. In February 1405, it approved for the first time an ordinance containing the prohibition of transporting pilgrims and merchandise in the same galley. It was specified that this order included also Venetian pilgrims wishing to go to the Holy Land, probably to avoid misunderstandings concerning what was considered a *galea a mercato* and what not.

> […] dicti peregrini possint consequi vocum suum, quod elargetur et ex nunc concedatur eisdem peregrinis quod possint naulicare unam nostram navim, vel navigium, aut galeatiam buttarum trecentarum, et inde infra, pro eundo ad viagium predictum, prout eis libuerit, verum non.possit aliquod havere subtile et havere capselle, nec aliqua alia res caricari super ipsam navim […] nec aliqua ratio illis qui dédissent dictum havere dictis marinariis vel peregrinis, non possendo ire nec redire aliquis mercator noster cum predicto navigio vel galeatia[…].[84]

This was an early approach to a new way of understanding navigation developed officially in 1440. Although pilgrims were no longer counted as part of the galleys' cargo and subjected to the protection of Venetian laws this was not

[84] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. XIV-XVI in.), Reg. 46, f. 167v.

enough to ensure them a pleasant stay in the lagoon or, in most cases, a pleasant journey to the Holy Land. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, despite the Senate's orders, pilgrims still travelled in what were known as "Syria's galleys" used for both trade and passage for travellers going to the Holy Land. From a certain point of view, merchandise and pilgrims were part of the same "package" for Venetians trading in overseas territories. It was common for them to travel together towards the same destination and a new approach to the phenomenon would not emerge while a large part of Venice's income was brought in by its merchants who had their own way of seeing business. Thus, said pilgrims, likely knew what they would encounter by embarking in the dirty, old and overcrowded mercantile galleys. Therefore, when the government of Francesco Foscari (1423-1457) introduced additional regulations because of a renewed special attention to the pilgrimage business, what was considered as the normal trade administration for those working on the Syria's galleys became incompatible with new conceptions of the commerce. In 1440, the Venetian senate approved a second official ordinance setting out the incompatibility of pilgrims and merchandise in the same galley with the exception of previously authorised goods or gold for a maximum value of *due mille auri bonorum denarum*.[85] Newett argued that pilgrims actually begged the authorities to suspend the laws regarding the transportation of goods in favour of the patron.[86] However, any record does support her statement and she probably confused an additional episode when pilgrims begged Doge Francesco Foscari to help them escape from

[85] The ordinance refers also to two previous legislation, of which registers are now lost, arguing about the incompatibility of pilgrims transportation together with merchandise. See, ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. XV-XVI in.), Reg. 1, f.5r.
[86] Newett, *Canon Pietro,* p.68

Cairo.[87] It is likely that the Republic was much more interested in keeping pilgrimage and trade as two separated activities because this would have protected additional income that a unified sector could not guarantee, especially if those people who conducted the operations of cargo and navigation acted illegally. A further ordinance called *incantus galearum peregrinorum*, enacted in 1441 by the Senate to *recuperare pecunia arsenatu* (revive the Arsenal incomes), confirms the creation of direct means of transport for the exclusive use of pilgrims. This included a privatization of the Jaffa-sea route and a definitive "official" separation of the pilgrimage business from other types of trade by allowing patrons to buy special licences for the pilgrims' transportation (Fig.5).[88]

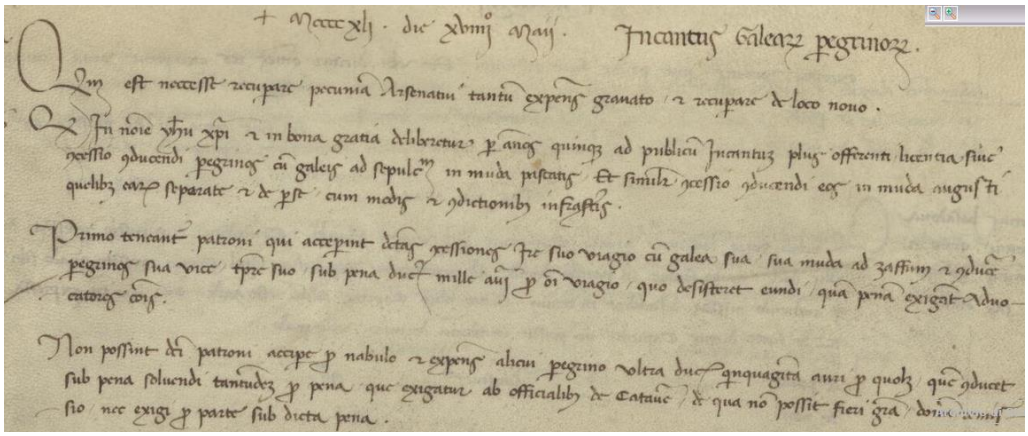


Figure 5 - Extract from the *Incantus galearum peregrinorum*, ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. XV-XVI in.), Reg. 1, f. 35v.

[87] In 1430, the sultan of Egypt Malik al-Ashraf (Barsbay) captured a group of pilgrims going to Jerusalem. In a letter addressed to the Doge, they asked to mediate with the sultan in their behalf. See Iain Fenlon, *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 73.

[88] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. XV-XVI in.), Reg. 1, ff. 35v-36r. For a detailed English translation of the main eleven points of the ordinance, see Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 69-71.

Of the thirteen clauses introduced by the ordinance, only a few are the most relevant to understand Venice's evolution of the approach towards pilgrimage. First, the *incantus* had a validity of five years subject to revision.

This means the government recognised that pilgrimage was a business in constant development and long-term legislations such as those enacted by Tiepolo, were no longer working in the end, especially because of the fragile political situation in Palestine. This was the case in particular with the difficult political and commercial situation between Venice and the sultanate of Malik al-Ashraf (Barsbay) which saw Venice vexed by the Mamluks for the trade of pepper and the deterioration of the mutual trust between the two parties in relation to pilgrims in Jerusalem and other Muslim-controlled areas. A treaty signed by Francesco Foscari in 1442 restored part of the Venetian trading privileges in the Muslim territories even if the commercial situation improved only with the death of Barsbay in 1448.[89] Second, the system of the *incanto* was based on a purchase-only scheme restricted exclusively to *nobilis venetiis* approved by the Senate. Therefore, only authorized people having an immediate spending power were able to buy licences and consequently new galleys intended for pilgrims' transportation. In this regard, the choice to entrust nobles with the transport to the Holy Land had also a second consequence. In fact, the association of sea-transportation with a reputable Venetian name would have guaranteed pilgrims a certain level of reliability because of the likelihood that a noble man would not have destroyed the good name of his family with illicit traffics for some extra cash and the risk of a more than six-hundred ducats fee.[90]

[89] About the Venetian and the Mamluks relationship see Deborah Howard 'Venice and The Mamluks' in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797* (London, 2007), pp. 72-89.
[90] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 1, f. 35v.

Third, the Republic reserved the right to rent any of the galleys intended for the Jerusalem voyage to any important person visiting Venice and wishing to go to the Holy Land with a Venetian galley. This ensured that international affairs and public relations always had priority in favour of foreign good relationships. Last, part of the money gained from pilgrimage business had to be re-invested in better, newer and safer galleys not exclusively used for pilgrimage. The re-investment of the money gained from the pilgrimage business was a novelty for the Venetian government. Until that moment, no part of the income gained from pilgrimage was intended to be invested in the same sector or similar (i.e. commerce). It is not clear whether the *messattaria* and the three ducats fee requested by the *Cattaver* Office for each pilgrim who signed a contract were used as an investment, or simply to pay the administration costs of the magistrate. According to the new terms introduced by the *incantus*, patrons, in order to keep their licence for the following year, had to pay to the Senate a fifth of the sum paid to obtain the licence and the *incant*o of the galley. Moreover, all the money gained from new licences were intended for the Arsenal and the construction of new galleys.[91]

Nevertheless, if one considers the background and context in which this new legislation was created and approved, the safeguard of the pilgrims' interests appear to have been the least important of the Venetian's objectives. Difficulties in controlling the wrong behaviour of the *tholomazi* as well as preventing most of the well-organized frauds against pilgrims, led the government to plan a different stratagem. This new legislation was designed to safeguard the good

[91] […] Denari qui habebunt de predicto incantibus sunt obligati Arsenatui per emendis lignamibus per galiam grossis ea obligatione qua sunt denari aliorum incantum galia a mercato […]. ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg.1, f. 36r.

name of Venice and at the same time ensure that those wealthy enough to afford the cost of a private transportation were conducted smoothly to their destination. Therefore, with the ordinance known as the *incantus galearum peregrinorum* Venice provided on the one hand, a strictly controlled and exclusive sea-route with reserved, newer and faster galleys for all those pilgrims going to the Holy Land able to pay for these transportations. On the other hand, it was no longer responsible for all those pilgrims who, despite knowing about the existence of these State "pilgrims' galleys", decided for whatever reason to choose, at their own risk, different means of transport, incurring the possibility of fraud and complicity in illegal acts against the Republic. This new ordinance did not cancel all the previous legislation on the subject and pilgrims were still free to choose between at least three different ways of travel involving a decreasing level of safety concerning financial risk, maritime navigation and illegal transport towards the Holy Land (Table 2).

Type of transport	**Cost**	**Specifics**
State private galleys	50 ducats	- Armed galleys - No merchandise aboard - Shorter length of the journey - Limited number of pilgrims aboard - Newly built galleys - Noble patron - Inspected galleys

		- Republic protection in case of misconduct - Personalised agreement - Possibility of a private rent
***Cattaveri*'s authorized galleys**	Up to 50 ducats	- Armed and not armed galleys - Cargo not specified - Regular length of the journey - Written agreement - Personalised agreement - Inspected galleys - Galleys pre-approved according to their safety - Possibility of personal inspection/choice of galley - Authorised patron - Republic protection in case of misconduct

Mercantile galleys (Not authorised for pilgrims' transportation)	From 5 ducats according to accommodation on board and destination.	- Armed and not armed galleys - Merchandise aboard - Longer journey - Limited space aboard (overcrowding) - Possibility of old/unsafe galleys - Galley not always inspected prior to departure - Patron may not be a nobleman or authorised for pilgrims' transportation - No protection against frauds/loss/accidents

Table 2 - Difference in transports to the Holy Land from 1441.

After the first State *incanto*, which assigned the license of operation to members of the noble families Mauro, Lauredan and Contarini, it is possible to affirm that those galleys approved by the *Cattaver* Office remained the most affordable and

safe way to travel towards the Holy Land for pilgrims.[92] Despite the newly introduced pilgrims' State galleys represented an interesting albeit expensive alternative, which was successful anyway.

In fact, the Senate renewed the ordinance for an additional five years in 1446 with only a few additions.[93] On the wave of this success, no new legislation on the subject was approved until May 1452, when a new ordinance from the Senate changed the *incanto* system of the pilgrims' galleys monopoly by abolishing the restriction on the state licences authorised for the transportation of pilgrims.[94]

> […] quoniam est providendum per peregrini venientes ad hanc civitates nostra pro eundo ad Sanctum Sepulcrum ire possint cum galere, galearis et navibus ad eorum beneplacitu et voluntade[…].[95]

From this moment onward, any noble of Venice who was over thirty years old was allowed to work in the business of pilgrimage as long has he was able to build galleys at its own expense, was not involved in any other type of trade during the journey and paid to the Republic a fee of 100 ducats and two hundred pounds of white wax.[96] The white wax was probably considered as a donation in favour of the School of St. Mark for the ceremony during Corpus Christi.[97] The most interesting fact about this new ordinance was that it reinforced again the role of the *Catttaver* in the supervision of the entire procedure and phases before

[92] ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 1, f. 36r; Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 71-72.
[93] For this, see Newett, *Canon Casola*, p.75. The original Latin version of the ordinance is still preserved in ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 2, f. 175r-175v.
[94] ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 4, ff.122v-123r.
[95] ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 4, f.122v.
[96] For a complete list of all the clauses of the legislation see Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp.79-80.
[97] For more details about the Corpus Christi ceremony, see Chapter Four.

departure placing a new emphasis on the protection of the pilgrims' rights.[98] The Senate's purpose was likely to find a compromise that would help pilgrims to not be confused by the multiple ways of reaching the Holy Land that existed at that time (Table 2). Nevertheless, the reinstatement of the *Cattaver* as the body with most responsibility for pilgrimage bureaucracy meant that the system, which involved the sequence *tholomagi*-patron-*cattaver*, did not change much since its institution more than a century before. Indeed, the new legislation did not provide any solution to the uninterrupted problems caused by the *tholomagi*'s behaviour and neither did it include any possible legal action, whether already seen cases of misconducts, in particular, those related to patrons and *tholomagi*'s illegal agreements would have happened again. As stated before, registers of the *Cattaver* confirm that notwithstanding all the actions taken with regards to the *tholomagi*'s conduct and the emergence of unauthorised guides, problems in relation to the legal administration of pilgrims' departures remained the same since the enactment of the ordinance *pro tholomagy et peregrinis* in 1367. Indeed, just two years after this new ordinance the cattaver office reported that tholomazi needed to be observed closely, every week because:

> […] Cum pro comodo peregrinorum facti sint certi ordines servandi per tholomarios peregrinorus et super utilitatibus corsem que non observantur per ipsos tholomarios in dammnu peregrinorum […].[99]

[98] Indeed in case of failure in producing a written contract delivered to the cattaver office, a pilgrim's word was considered always right against that of the patron. ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 4, f.123r.
[99] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, f. 101r.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, additional concerns were raised among magistrates of the *cattaver* over the liberalisation of the licences for pilgrims' transportation, which caused an imbalance of power towards patrons, who were no longer interested in collaborating with *tholomagi* and searched for their own interest against the Republic's laws and their passengers. As Newett reports, those authorised *tholomagi* expecting a percentage on each contract concluded between pilgrims and patrons and delivered to the *Cattaver* Office were no longer paid because patrons concluded their own illegal agreements giving no notice to the others institutions involved in the pilgrimage bureaucracy.[100]

This caused an increasing number of troubles for the Republic as pilgrims defrauded by patrons, who asked for additional costs for the journey or provided a poor service aboard, reported them to the *Cattaver* Office asking for refunds or legal actions. Having lost the complicity of most of the Venetian guides, patrons had secret agreements with innkeepers who lied to *tholomagi* on the number of pilgrims staying in their hospices.[101] This granted to patrons a major income from pilgrims' transportation, not being bound to give a percentage of the earnings to the Republic's guides as foreseen by the law. Nothing new was achieved by additional government ordinances asking innkeepers to list and repeat guests at the *Cattaver* Office under the threat of ducats 25 for each non-declared guest.[102]

[100] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 88.
[101] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 89.
[102] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 89. This is referred to an ordinance enacted on May 1488 and included in the *Cattaver*'s registers. See ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, Reg. IV, f.102v.

By the end of the fifteenth century, none of the legislation approved in the field of pilgrims' arrival and transportation since Tiepolo's time achieved the desired effect on the management of pilgrims' traffic. That ideally perfect mechanism based on mutual trust and communication designed by the government to administrate this type of travel was actually an unachievable system. Although Venice's way of approaching pilgrimage definite changed by 1255, years of ineffective ordinances and lack of control over the Venetian nobility worked to legitimate patrons to create their own sub-system of departures, which, according to most pilgrims' narratives, worked better than the government's own.

3.3 The importance of being patron

With the formalisation of the system *tholomagi*-patron-*cattaver* in the second half of the fourteenth century, patrons of the galleys assumed an increasing importance in the success of the journey and pilgrims' experience in both Venice and the Holy Land.

However, not much is known about the patron-persona until the enactment of the *incantus galearum peregrinorum,* which gave them an identity and categorised them as 'lord nobles of Venice'. It is better not to confuse patrons responsible for the pilgrims' galleys with those called *Patroni all'Arsenal* (Patrons of the Arsenal), which were in charge, since 1258, of the Venetian *Arsenale* and all its related matters, e.g. construction of the galleys, finance, administration etc.[103] The Venetian vernacular use of the word *patrone* is varied

[103] The importance and influence of the *Patroni* of the Arsenal decreased gradually from the fifteenth century when most of their duties were granted to the *Provveditori all'arsenal*. See Da Mosto, *L'archivio,* p. 160. About the Arsenal see also Mauro

and associated principally with maritime business and artistic patronage. Since Tiepolo's time, patrons in charge of pilgrims' transportation managed the cargo of their ships and the agreements made with their passengers. Before the fifteenth century, it was unnecessary that a patron was a nobleman or a sailor to be able to conduct pilgrims overseas; the most important thing was his business skills, essential for this job.[104] However, with the progressive personalisation of the voyage to the Holy Land and the renewed attention towards pilgrims' needs, patrons gained more responsibilities and participation in various stages of the journey even after the pilgrims' arrival in Palestine.

Before the privatisation of the Jerusalem sea-route, patrons, as well as *misseti* and *tholomazi*, remained most of the time anonymous figures in the Venetian legislation as well as in pilgrims' narratives, appearing with their family names only in cases of a licence concession or specific ordinances.[105]

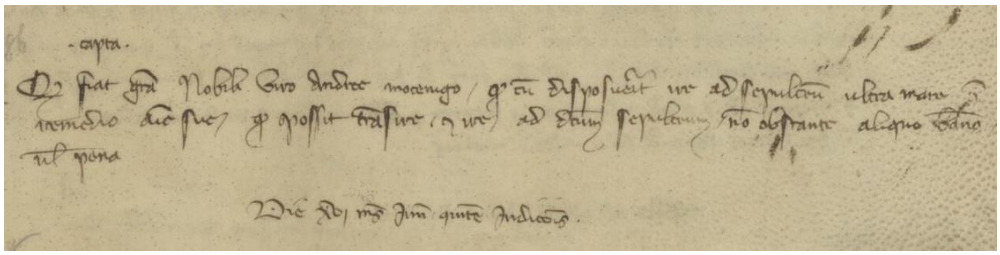


Figure 6 - Example of patron licence in the Misti registers. ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. XIV-XVI in.), Reg. 17, f. 76r.

Bondioli 'The Arsenal of Venice and the art of building ships' in Beltrame, *Boats, ships*, pp. 10-13.

[104] Tenenti, Tucci, *Storia di Venezia*, p. 363.

[105] In 1337, a patron called Andrea Mocenigo was licensed to conduct pilgrims to the Holy Land with his galley ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg. 17, f. 76r. A major number of licences were released in January 1399 when the patrons Cristoforo Contarini, Jacobo Romano, Marco Giustiniani, Nicolao Lombardo, Nicolao and Paolo Donato received a two-year authorisation for pilgrims' transportation. See ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg.44, f.83r. In this regard, see also AOL, vol.2 (Paris, 1884) p. 242.

Little information is available about patrons and their role during the sea-voyages of the fourteenth century due to a lack of state documentation and pilgrims descriptions of the journey in their company. Even in cases of private rents in favour of foreign noblemen and important people, records did not specify the patron's details.[106]

However, with some certainty it is possible to know between the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century that Venetian nobles were constantly present among patrons operating in the Jerusalem voyage. In particular, the noble family of the Querini was apparently involved in the pilgrimage business during the first two decades of the fifteenth century. This was one of the first signs showing that the patron role was changing and becoming increasingly exclusive. In fact, as reported by the cattaver office and the senate, in 1409 a patron called Andrea Querini (vernacular: Quirini/Quirino) was acting as guide of a pilgrims' galley when a Turkish galley attacked them near Antalya.[107] After this episode, the senate decided that every galley carrying pilgrims to the Holy Land had to be armed with:

> […] corratias lxxx cum suis bracalibus, et toditem bacinetus, xxx lanceas longas, ballistas xx cum suis manetis et crochis, et arma pro sua persona item capsa veretorum xv, a ii. c. veretoni pro capsa, et clipeari lx, et ultra

[106] In 1398 a passage to the Holy Land was granted to Lord Gianfrancesco Gonzaga and twenty-five members of his family. Nevertheless, although some of the galley stops are indicated, there is no further detail about who conducted the group until Jaffa. See ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg.44, fol. 42v.
[107] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg.48, f.33v; ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, Busta 2, f. 102r.

> hoc , nauclerii et scribani, marangoni et calafati galearum predictarum teneantur portare arma et ballista suas, sicut tenentur […].[108]

It is not specified whether the government offered armaments to the galleys; therefore, it was probably the responsibility of the patron to provide a sufficient number of spears and crossbows to protect his passengers as well as ensure each member of the crew had their own weapons.[109]

Five years later, another member of the Querini family, named Francesco, was operating in the pilgrimage business.[110]

The Querini family was one of the oldest noble families of Venice. It was well known for its reliability in overseas trade having been for long time involved in the commerce of cotton, pepper and ginger, although formally accused of financial 'misdealing, extortions, and embezzlements' in the middle of the fourteenth century.[111] The interest in pilgrimage shown by leading Venetian nobles already involved in overseas trade was a significant development for the pilgrimage business. Not only was the transportation of pilgrims a growing sector in which was valuable to invest a conspicuous sum of money, particularly for the armament of the galleys, but that the association of the figure of the patron with a reputable Venetian noble was useful also to the patron himself. In fact, the construction of a positive image and reliability in sea-travels meant a larger

[108] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg.48, f.33v. A transcription of the original document s available also in AOL, vol.2 (Paris, 1884) pp. 246-247.

[109] This increased not only the responsibility of the patron but also the costs of the galley equipment.

[110] For more details about the travel of Francesco Querini, see Chapter Seven.

[111] About the indecorous behaviour of some of the Querini's family member see Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore, 2009), pp. 131-132. Maritime commerce and political activities were the main sources of income for the family, which remained one of the leading cotton carriers until the end of the fifteenth century.

number of customers and the possibility to be chosen by the government for accompanying people of a certain political, economic or religious importance with a private galley. This task would bring to the family operating the voyage honour, good reputation and a possible trading network. This was the case, for example, for Antonio Loredan, who, thanks to its good name and reliability in carrying pilgrims in the mid fifteenth-century, was chosen by the Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft, for a private service to the Holy Land with his galley *Lauredana*.[112] Together with the Lauredan, one of the most reputable families of Venice operating in the pilgrimage sector were the Morosini. Although it is not possible to establish the exact moment when the Morosini started to be involved in pilgrimage, the concession of occasional licences granted by the government for "one-time" passages to the Holy Land demonstrates the family was already involved in this business by the end of the fourteenth century.[113] Their reliability in matters of overseas travels granted them the opportunity to provide some of the private services offered by the Republic to the most illustrious personages visiting Venice during that period. For instance, during the visit to Venice of the Florentines Lionardo Frescobaldi, Simone Sigoli and Giorgio Gucci, the government granted them a private transportation for their voyage to Egypt and the Holy Land. In this case, the cog called "*Pola"*, belonging to Sir Lorenzo Morosini, was chosen for the voyage as the account of Frescobaldi himself reports:

[112] Unfortunately, soon after this voyage, Antonio Lauredan was found guilty of illicit trading of Syrian silken goods. The Venetian Senate consequently removed him from his office with an official condemnation. About this see Rosamund Mitchell 'Antonio Loredan and the Jaffa Voyage' in *Italian Studies*, 13 (1958), pp .83-87.

[113] See the already mentioned licence in note 47 of this Chapter. ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Registro 38, f.111v. An Additional licence has been released in 1384 for the June passage to Andrea Morosini. See Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 38 and ASV, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Registro 38, f.175r.

> […] La cocca in sulla quale andammo si chiamava Pola, e 'l padrone di detta cocca si chiamava Messer Lorenzo Morosini, nobile e gentile uomo di Vinegia […].[114]

The *cocca* (round ship) was a vessel generally used for long-distance trade. According to Lane, the ship was much safer and cheaper than the buss because of its square sails that were useful in case of strong winds.[115] It is not the case that the cog was named "Pola" (Venetian name for the city of Pula in Istria). In fact, Pula was also the important port town where most of the Morosini had their commercial and administrative power.[116] It is interesting to note that although the family was successful in the business of pilgrimage for a long time, they never took part in the private *incantus* of the galleys granting them the monopoly on pilgrimage between 1441 and 1446.

A reason for this decision may lie in the fact they used cogs as sea-transport. In the eyes of a Morosini who used to trade freely in different eastern and northern territories, it would not have been very useful to focus exclusively on a particular activity by replacing a cog with a galley for the solely purpose of transporting pilgrims. This would have increased costs, restricted the range of potential trade activities and not guaranteed a secure income during the winter *muda*.[117] In fact, a possible lower number of visitors during winter would have meant the incomes

---

[114] Frescobaldi Leonardo, V*iaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi: in Egitto e in Terra Santa, con un discorso dell' editore sopra il commercio degl' italiani nel secolo XIV*, (Rome, 1818), pp. 69-70.

[115] About the round ships see, Lane, *Ships and shipbuilders*, pp. 35-53.

[116] For more information about the Morosini family see, DSPV, (Venice, 1780), pp. 111-112; Temple-Leader John, *Libro dei nobili veneti ora per la prima volta messo in luce*, (Florence, 1866), p. 61.

[117] It should be remembered that each *incanto* required a deposit of 1,000 ducats plus a fee of a fifth of the price for the auction of the licence. ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 1, f. 35v. The *mud*a, were the periodical departures of convoys from the Venetian port. In the case of pilgrims' departures, there were two regular *muda*, one in winter and one in spring.

resultant from the winter *incantus* were much lower than that gained during the spring voyage, not guaranteeing to patrons the return of the investment made in obtaining the licence. Indeed, one of the conditions of the *incantus* was the concession of a licence to be used together with newly built galleys for the transport of pilgrims for a period of five years (to renew each *muda*). This established maximum period was probably due to the galleys' "lifetime", which was considerably brief. An interesting point of view on the topic is that offered by Doris Stöckly who argued that according to the number of galleys sent to the arsenal for repairing or substitution, the possible duration of the vessels was likely between four and seven years depending on the route followed and the number of voyages made.[118] This would confirm the limited time offered to patrons for the use of their licence.[119] Furthermore, the restrictions imposed on the transportation of merchandise in state pilgrims' galley would have been more than a valid reason to not participate to the *incantus* and continue to work in the usual activity. However, lack of participation in the licence auction in the period of the privatization of the pilgrimage route did not prevent the Morosini from continuing to work in the field of travel as further references to members of the family testify in the course of the fifteenth century.[120] The family had probably acquired a new licence for the transport of pilgrims when the government decided to make the Jerusalem route available to all the nobles of Venice in 1452. Nevertheless, this did not grant them the monopoly of the business nor the

[118] Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto*, pp. 203-204.
[119] Stöckly provides the valid example of a *Lauredana* galley used for the Romanie and Barbarbadica travel, which needed to be replaces just after five voyages. Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto*, p. 203.
[120] Andrea Morosini was one of the most well known patrons of the family working with pilgrims during the mid-fifteenth century. He accompanied William Wey in 1462 and the German pilgrim Ulrich Brunner in 1470. For this see, Francis Davey, *The itineray of William Wey* (Oxford, 2011). and Gustave Brune 'Note sur un voyage inédit a la Terre Sainte en 1470' in *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (Paris,1854), p. 30.

influence gained by the family who led the pilgrimage sea-travel since the thirteenth century, the Contarini.

3.3.1 The Contarini family and the Holy Land

The name Contarini is one of the oldest and most prestigious names of the Venetian history. Schroeder traces their establishment in the lagoon since the foundation of the Venetian Republic.[121] It is documented the Contarini enjoyed an extensive number of important public roles having had at least eight Doges as well as governors, cardinals and diplomats ruling in and outside the Venetian boundaries. The Contarini were one of the first Venetian families to establish permanent trading contacts in Constantinople and Jaffa by expanding their family branches overseas.[122]

The study of the merchant galleys of Venice by Stöckly reports the Contarini were the family with the largest number of patrons and captains working in Venetian galleys followed by Loredan and Morosini since the fourteenth century.[123] Their extensive oversea trade in Syria and Palestine probably facilitated their involvement also in pilgrims' transportation as early as 1399, when Cristoforo Contarini obtained from the Senate a two-year authorization to

[121] Francesco Schröder, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle provincie Venete*, (Venice, 1830), p. 255

[122] The Contarini family was divided into six main branches: Contarini dal Naso, Contarini dal Bovolo, Contarini dal Zaffo, Contarini di San Silverstro, Contarini dagli Scrigni, Contarini dalla Porta di Ferro. These denominations represented the characteristics of each branch of the family. Specifically, the branch "Contarini dal Zaffo" (or "del Joppe") was a vulgarization of the title of an important member of this branch, Giorgio Contarini, who achieved the title of Count of Jaffa from the Cyprus princess Caterina in 1473. Prior to this event, the family's branch name was "Contarini della Madonna dell'Orto" although they were already known as "dal Zaffo" because of their galleys going to the Holy Land. See Schröder, *Repertorio genealogico*, pp. 257-258.

[123] Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto*, pp. 303-308.

conduct pilgrims to the Jerusalem.[124] However, the interest of the family in the Holy Land was born much earlier than their role as patron of the pilgrims' galley known as *Galea del Zaffo*. In 1361, a member of the branch of SS. Apostoli, Nicola Contarini who was working as Venetian ambassador in Alexandria, was sent to Jerusalem by the Doge Lorenzo Celsi in order to resolve the dispute between the Franciscans and the Sultan. In a letter addressed to him, the Doge asked him to ensure that in each of the most important churches of the Holy Land there lived at least two Franciscans celebrating the Latin ritual:

> […] optaremus pro reverentia Dei et consolation visitantium Loca Sancta, quod in Ecclesia sepnlchri dominici et in ecclesia Betlem, nec non in Ecclesia ubi est sepulcrum gloriosissimæ virginis Mariae, essent continuo aliqui fratres minores, qui celebrarent in eisdem Ecclesiis […].[125]

This request was made to facilitate the visits of pilgrims in these locations and to increase their safety and that of the friars who were residents in the Holy Land. The Doge specified to Nicola Contarini that it was his responsibility to ensure the Sultan understood that a favourable response from him would be seen as a special favour to the Republic of Venice: […] hoc valde gratum habebimus et reputabimus nobis ad favorem specialem, et super hoc faciatis quid honeste et cum honore nostro potueritis […].[126] However, it is not possible to know what the reply of the Sultan was on this occasion. A long time ago, Ranise argued that the related correspondence has been lost in the Franciscan archives in Jerusalem and the recent publication of Saletti and Campopiano about the Franciscans of

[124] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg.44, f.83r.
[125] An original transcription of the letter can be read in Carlo Guarmani, *Gli Italiani in Terra Santa. Reminiscenze e ricerche storiche* (Bologna, 1872), p. 371.
[126] Guarmani, *Gli Italiani in Terra Santa*, p. 371.

the Holy Land added no new information in this regard.[127] However, the family's reputation seems to have been enhanced by this unexpected connection with the Franciscans; only a few years later, in 1392, Ruggero Contarini, who also belonged to the branch of SS. Apostoli, obtained the title of *Commissario per la Custodia della Terra Santa* (Commissary for the custody of the Holy Land).[128]

3.3.1.1 The Contarini family and the Custodia Terra Sanctae

The custody of the Holy Land by the Franciscans was established formally in 1342, thanks to the bulls *Gratias Agimus* and *Nuper Carissima*e enacted by Pope Clemente VI. The ordinances authorised the friars to conduct a non-violent protection of the Christian holy sites in Palestine and were understood as a formal constitution of the custody of the Holy Land.[129] However, the Franciscans appear to have being permanently established in the Holy Land since at least 1272, although the concession of the Cenacle of Jerusalem by an agreement between friar Rogero Garini and the Sultan of Egypt, Melek-en-Naser-Moammed, happened only in 1333, under the supervision of friar Gerardo Odone.[130] The same year, is recorded the establishment of the first Guardian of Mount Zion who was Garini himself:

---

[127] Piero Ranise, *Storia universale delle missione francescane, del Padre Marcellino da Civezza. Volume IV* (Rome, 1860), p. 40; Saletti, *I francescani*, pp. 89-90; Michele Campopiano 'Islam, Jews and eastern Christianity in late medieval pilgrims' guidebooks: some examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Zion' in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 24:1 (2012), pp. 75-89

[128] For a more detailed history of the custody of the Holy Land see the recent publication of Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 119-123.

[129] See the Franciscan publication, *Terra Santa. Pubblicazione mensile della custodia Francescana*, Anno 1, N. 1, 15 Gennaio 1921, (Jerusalem, 1921).

[130] In this regard it was fundamental the financial help of the Kings of Naples, Roberto of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca who provided everything the friars needed. See Hanna Kildani, *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Development of the Structure of Churches and the Growth of Christian Institutions in Jordan and Palestine* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 214-216.

> […] Anno domini MCCCXXXIII et XXXII idem generalis Geraldus Odonis ad requisitionem domini Zacheriae archiepiscopi Sancti Thaddei in Armenia misit multos fratres de provincia Aquitaniae ed de alis partibus Ordinis ad convertendum sibi subtitos. Armeno maioris Armeniae et alio infideles tenebat enim ipse sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae unitatem. De quibus frater Rogerius Garini dictae Profinciae ad Terram Sanctam pergens, obtinuit a Soldano Aegypty locum sacrum montis Sion, ubi fuit illud "coenaculum magnum stratum" in quo Coenam cum discipulis dominus manducavit, et illud, ubi "Spiritus Sanctus" super Apostolos in die Pentecostes in igneis linguis descendit. In quo loco fratrum conventum aedificavit; et ex ibi et in "Sancto Sepulcro" fratres nostri habitaverunt usque in hodiernum diem […]".[131]

The Contarini family, specifically the branch of the SS. Apostoli, was "there" from the very beginning of Venetian interest in the Holy Land by its dealing with pilgrims' transport and by accepting to aid the cause of the Franciscans on behalf of the Venetian Republic. The proximity of the family to the Franciscan friars and their religious and commercial interests in pilgrimage probably helped them to establish a reliable reputation in both the Holy Land and Venice concerning the pilgrimage business. The role granted to Ruggero Contarini was probably obtained thanks to his deep religious devotion and his friendship with the Guardian of Mount Zion, Friar Gerard Chauvet. Chauvet was enrolled as Guardian of Mount Zion in 1388 and known for his particular interest in protecting pilgrims' welfare in the Holy Land.[132] No records testify to how

[131] See Golubovich, BBB, pp. 9-10.

[132] He was interested in acquiring lands and properties for the church and in the construction of houses for pilgrims in the city of Ramle. See Girolamo Golubovich, *Serie cronologica dei reverendissimi superiori di Terra Santa: ossia, dei provinciali*

relationship between Ruggero Contarini and Gerard Chauvet has developed. However, when the friar chose Ruggero as commissary for the Holy Land it is known he left him an *ampia prochura* (power of attornment) concerning the management of the Franciscans' finances.[133] Ruggero Contarini was not only devout but also a businessman and a socially and politically active member of his family.

In this regard, Giuseppe Della Santa has provided one of the most brilliant portraits of this branch of the Contarini in his publication *Uomini e fatti dell'ultimo Trecento e del primo Quattrocento*.[134] Through the transcription of the private correspondence between Ruggero Contarini and different members of his household, Della Santa aimed to illustrate the economic development and involvement in Venetian political life of Ruggero and his brothers. Nevertheless, these letters are relevant also to this research because they illustrate the various duties that Ruggero had as *commissario* highlighting, in particular, the involvement of the family in foreign affairs and into the Holy Land.[135]

---

custodi e presidenti della medesima già Commissari Apostolici dell'Oriente e sino al 1847 in officio di Gran Maestri del S. Militare Ordine del SS. Sepolcro (Gerusalemme, 1898), pp. 18, 204 and Guarmani, *Gl'Italiani in Terra Santa* p. 229.

[133]Berardo Rossi, *The Custody of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 152, Dalla Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 31.

[134] See Dalla Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, pp. 5-105

[135] One of the limitations in the chronological and economic reconstruction of the Contarini's life in Della Santa's work is that he illustrated a documented story only from Ruggero's point of view. The arguments and events reported by the other brothers, in particular Giovanni, can be deduced only by Ruggero's replies or by investigating the historical context in which the correspondence was born. This make difficult to know what Giovanni point of view was. Research at the Archivio di Stato done for this thesis attempted to recover the missing correspondence written by the others Contarini brothers. Nevertheless, because Della Santa first published his work in 1917, reports archive signatures that no longer correspond to the current order of the documentation in the Archivio di Stato of Venice. Indeed, current registers contain no traces of these letters. This may suggest the letters have been lost or moved to one of the miscellaneous folders rich with still uncatalogued records.

Ruggero Contarini, was the eldest among his brothers, the others being Andrea, Zantiu (Giacomo) and Zuane (Giovanni). Amid the members of the family, Andrea held a stable business in Damascus and traded Venetian merchandise between the Orient and Beirut.[136] At the time of Ruggero's role as commissariat in the Holy Land, Andrea was the only member of the family responsible for foreign trade, especially after losing his brother Giacomo and his wife Maria during the Black Death.[137] However, it seems that all the Contarini's mercantile activities, including those overseas, were part of a unique family business. In fact, one of Ruggero's main duties was the management of the financial operations for all the members of his family. The youngest brother, Giovanni, was a student at the University of Oxford. Giovanni Contarini arrived in England with a galley during the year 1392, after having completed a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. He studied at the University of Oxford until 1398 when he obtained a Master of Arts.[138] Before his permanent move to Paris to pursue an ecclesiastical career and study theology, Giovanni Contarini spent some time in London, in order to take care of family business and conclude some projects with the English crown.[139] Having learned the art of the *mercatura* in Venice from his elder brothers, Giovanni was also an able merchant who used his experience to trade in the business of *azzurro*, the colour used for precious fabric, extracted from the lapis lazuli.[140] The letters transcribed by Della Santa highlight

[136] Dalla Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 14.
[137] Dalla Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, pp. 16-17.
[138] See Alfred B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, vol. I, (Oxford, 1957), p. 478.
[139] The period of his stay in London was extended due to the spread of the plague also in Paris.
[140] The brothers managed directly from Venice the trade of "azzurro". In fact, Ruggero sent the merchandise to his brother with Venetian ships and then Giovanni resold the products in Oxford, London and Paris. See Della Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 25.

not only the familial relation between the brothers but also a wide network of commercial, diplomatic and social exchange between the Contarini family and England, which suggests the involvement of Venice in different affairs related to the Holy Land. According to what is reported by the letters, Ruggero Contarini acted also as a mediator between the Franciscans and those who wanted to undertake a pilgrimage in Jerusalem by acting as an organiser, an ambassador and a guarantor for anyone interested in visiting the Holy Land. It is curious that most of the letters concerning the role of Ruggero as *commissario* were addressed to Giovanni.

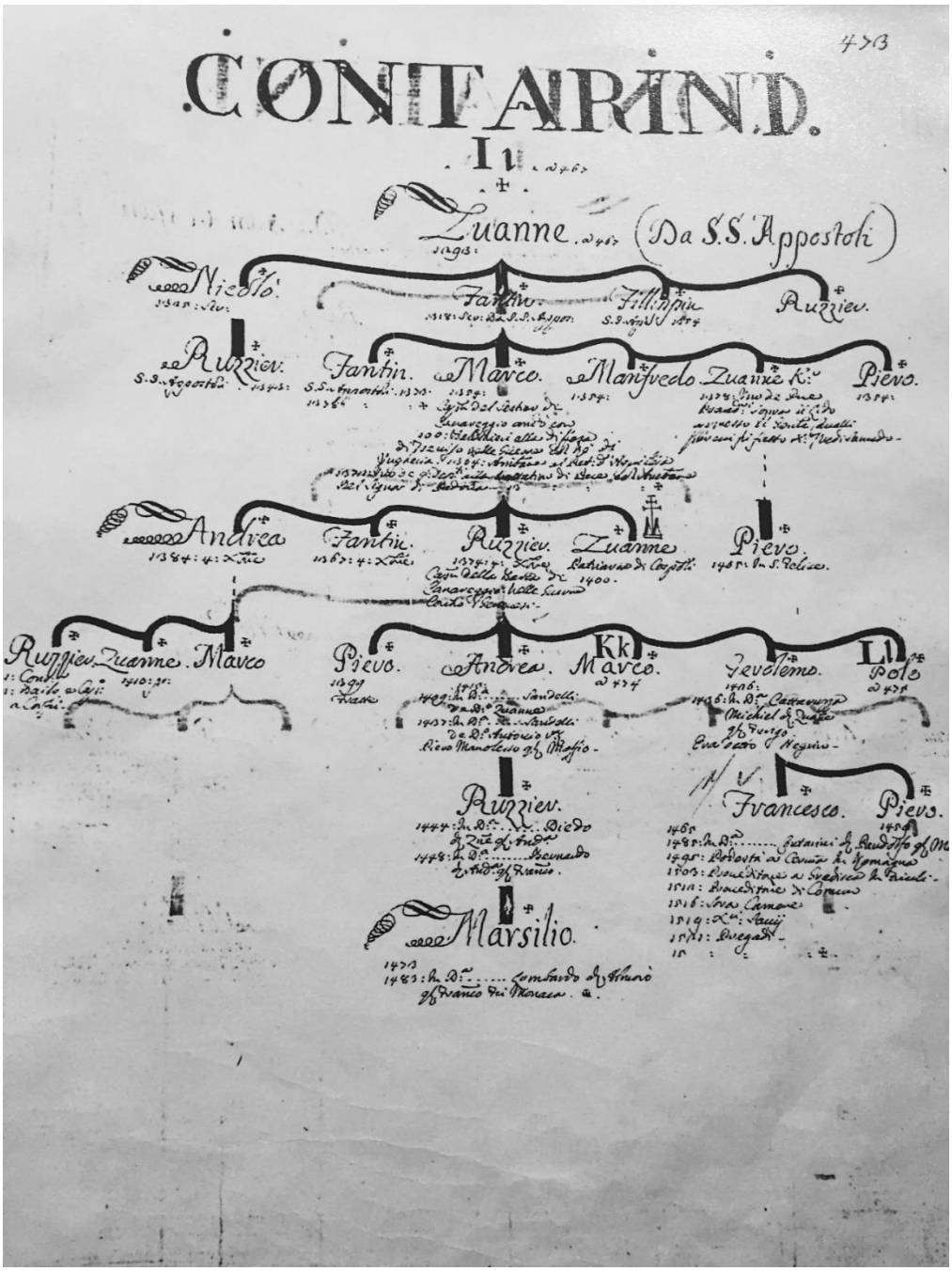


Figure 7- Genealogy of the Contarini of SS. Apostoli. Courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. ASV, Archivio Miscellanea Codici. Cod. 1 – Storia Veneta, 18. Serie M. Barbaro, Arbori de' patrizi Veneti. Reg. 11 B-C, f. 473.

This suggests that Giovanni's activity in England was useful to the Contarini family, probably to establish a profitable network of trade with the English crown. It will be for this reason that Ruggero confirmed to his brother that he would keep him informed about his Holy Land affairs, despite his concern for the expense cost of correspondence.

1392 November 15

[…] From now I will send to you all the letters of the Guardian of Mount Zion, I remind you that they cost from 12 to 20 *soldi* according to the letter.[141]

The involvement of Ruggero in a close relationship with the Franciscans in the Holy Land and the presence of Giovanni in Oxford and London advantaged the family in its relations with the English Crown, aiding consequently favourable diplomatic relations between the Republic of Venice and England. Indeed, it was thanks to that role that the Contarini family enjoyed the favour of the future king Henry IV, at that time Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby. In 1392, the Earl of Derby was determined to visit the Holy Land after his expedition in Prussia. The Register of the Great Council and additional records in the collection of *Misti Senato* demonstrate the Contarini family, holding also an office in the Great Council, was involved in the organisation of the journey and agreement between the Republic of Venice and Lord Lancaster.[142] In this regard, Henry of Lancaster, through a letter written by the Duke of Austria, requested from the Venetian Government a galley to be equipped at its own expense in order to go to the Holy Land.

[141]1392 Novembre 15, […] Io ve mando la letere del vardian de Monte Sion et mandarove de qui in Avanti tute, ma arechordove ch'el se paga da soldi 12 in 20, segondo le letere […]. See Dalla Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 31. Ruggero does not specify the content of the letters written by the Guardian of Mount Zion. However, it is clear that Giovanni had probably requested to see them.

[142] The Contarini were considered one of the founders of the Republic of Venice. They were at the head of the Great Council from 1297 to 1797. See Dorit Raines 'Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797' in *Storia di Venezia*, Rivista I, (Florence, 2003), pp. 1-64. For a better understanding of the patrimonial and genealogical succession among the family members, see the thesis of Leonardo Chesi, *Tra casato e famiglia. La dimensione dell'unità familiare nei Contarini attraverso le loro vicende patrimoniali, politiche e successorie (secc. XV-XVIII)*, (Venice, 1996/97).

The Great Council approved his request with a decree of 19 November 1392. Although, the government invited him to observe the prohibition to carry merchandise on the galley:

> […] Cum cogitum si per pre(de)cessores nostros, sapiens et bonum esse complacere pricibus mundi et presertim in his que habilitere fieri possum, et nobis constet dictas complacentias duxisse bonum effectum et magnificum dominus Henricus Lancastrie, comes Derbie, Horford et Northampton, dominus Brembens, primogenitus ducis Aquitanie et Lancastrie, per suos oratores nobiles et milites deprecarit fecerit nos, et similiter dominus dux Austriae per suas litteras nos rogaverit quod complaceamus eidem de corpore unius galee, fulcite omnibus coredis necessaris, quam vult armare suis expensis, ut possit ire ad visitandum Sanctum Sepulcrum et Terras Sanctas […] Verum suoer dicta galea non possit caricare aliqua mercantia cuiuscumque condtitioni existat, nec levari aliquis domo de passagio ultra numerum comitive dicti comitis tam eundo quam redeundo. […].[143]

The explicit involvement of the Contarini family in the affairs of Henry of Lancaster was underlined principally in a letter to Giovanni Contarini written on 19th April 1393. In this letter, Ruggero informed his brother Giovanni that the Guardian of Mount Zion came to see him with the Earl of Derby, in order to send a power of attorney personally:

> 1393 April 19, Venice

[143] ASV, *Senato Deliberazioni miste*, 42, f. 88r. See also AOL, pp. 238-239 and Brown, CSP, p. 33.

> […]The Guardian of Saint Jerusalem came here with the galley of the son of Duke of Lancaster, who had to send a power of attorney by his hand, and he did it here by my hand. Jesus Christ born and died in those sacred places we have to do his wills. The Guardian departed from here with that lord and I think that with the grace of God you will see in him in those parts,[144] so you can reason with him.[145] I have not received any other letter for you unless that one I sent you about the martyrdom of those four blessed monks. I have to send you these letters with great expense, and if I will not write you often, do not you think again that is because of the cost.
>
> Grace of God.[146]

Ruggero was involved in affairs requiring great responsibility and it is likely the Guardian of Mount Zion trusted him very much to let him deal with tasks of this kind. As emerges from the letters, another of Ruggero's duties as commissary for the Holy Land was the collection of funds and donations intended for the Franciscans and the sacred places of Jerusalem. The Guardian of Mount Zion, Gerard Chauvet, intended to boost the Franciscans' cause by making England

[144] It is understood that Giovanni would have seen the Guardian of Mount Zion and the Lord of Lancaster in England.

[145] "Reason" is translated literally from the word in Venetian dialect *raxionar* (in Italian *ragionare*). The Italian word *ragionare* used in this context represents a regionalism currently used both in the North and South of Italy as sort of metaphor which indicates the act to speak with another person.

[146] 1393 Aprile 19. […]El vardian de Santa Ieruxalem è vegnudo de qui chon questa gallia del fio fel ducha de Lanchastro el qual de avava mandà una prechura de so man, et qui de l'à fata per man de noder molto anple. Jexu Christo che nasiè et mori in quelli santi luogi, de faza adovrar a far quello che sia la soa voluntade. El dito vardian è partido de qui chon quel signor. Et penso chon la grazia de Dio vy el vederè in quelle parte, sì che porè raxionar chon lui. Io non recevì mai si letera vostra, salvo quello ve mandì del martirio de quelli 4 benedeti frati e abiè el mandar de queste letere è gran chosto, e perhò, se non ve scrivo chusì speso, non ve para da nuovo perchè la spexa è granda. Deo grazias […]. Della Santa *Uomini e fatti,* p. 32.

participate to the fundraising plan through the mediation of Giovanni Contarini in London.

> 1397 to 9th march 1398
>
> […]I have not received the bundle of the Guardian. When I arrived here, Sir A. Ziane was patron of one of the seven galleys to send in the Po for the help of the Lord of Mantua. When God will send it, I will receive it and I will send it to you. The Guardian departed yesterday with our galleys, he is going to Cairo to meet the Sultan for a discussion on the finances. Our God will help him.[147]
>
> 1398 August 30
>
> […] The Guardian of Mount Zion, by the Grace of God, came back yesterday, from Cairo, healthy. I will send you your letter and your bundle by these galleys, sent by Sir A. Ziane.[148]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the content of these "bundles" that Ruggero sent to his brother by the Guardian of Mount Zion. However, it is clear that Giovanni played a role in the religious and diplomatic connections between Italy, England and the Holy Land. In fact, the travels in different parts of Europe made by Chauvet during this period were linked to the collection of private funds

[147]1397 a 9 marzo 1398. […] El fardelo del vardian non ho rezevudo perchè, quando ziunzi de qui, ser A. Ziane iera fato paron de 1 de queste 7 galie e mandà in Po in aida del signor de Mantoa. Quando Dio el manderà, farò de averlo e de remandarlo. El vardian, al partir de le nostre galie, era sta menado al Chairo per andar al Soldan, dubionme i sera fato manzaria. El nostro Signor y sia in aida. See Dalla Santa, Uomini e fatti, p.32.

[148] 1938 agosto 30. […] El vardian de Monte Sion iera, per la grazia de Dio, tornado dal Chaiero, e chon ben. La vostra letera y mandì; el fardeleto y manderò per queste gallie, el qual mandase per ser A. Ziane […]. It is clear that Mr A. Ziane was a trusted man involved in a commercial relation with the Contarini family as well as he having some connections to or he worked directly as Patron in the galleys, which operated in England. Dalla Santa, Uomini e fatti, p.32.

for a specific project: the restoration of the crumbling Church of Bethlehem.[149] The restoration of the church of Bethlehem took a long time, a great sum of money and saw the death of Gerardo Chauvet himself, who died in 1398.[150] To complete the project, Chauvet involved both Contarini brothers to work from two different sides. On the one hand, Ruggero, with his role of commissary for the Holy Land, was responsible for the collection and transaction of money in the Italian territory. On the other hand, Giovanni, who lived in London, would have been able to take advantage of his position and family name to enter into contact with Henry of Lancaster and conduct the negotiation for the restoration of the church directly with the (future) king. Indeed, Giovanni was at the beginning of his ecclesiastical career and he probably thought that it was an honour, as well as a great opportunity for him to perform some tasks in England commissioned by the Guardian of Mount Zion. Thanks to the private correspondence between the two brothers, it is possible to know that their relations with Henry of Lancaster continued even after his voyage to the Holy Land and meeting with Ruggero Contarini in 1393. Letters written by Ruggero and his brother Andrea demonstrate that Giovanni maintained a good relationship with Henry of Lancaster during his years of study in Oxford and subsequent life in London. In fact, when Giovanni obtained his M.A., the future king of England made him a gift well appreciated by all the members of the family:

[149] Herman Joseph Heuser, *The American Ecclesiastical Review. A Monthly Publication for the Clergy*, vol. 61, (Philadelphia, 1919), pp.625-626.

[150] The decease of the Friar is confirmed by a letter of Ruggero to Giovanni who informed his brother about the new Guardian of Mount Zion, Jean de Rochefort dated 1399 May 13th: […] In these days I had a letter from Jerulasem dated 1st of February from friar Jean de Rochefort, who wrote to me and Jachomelo that friar Gerard, who was Guardian of Mount Zion, on 23rd December passed away […] the new guardian is the said Jean de Rochefort that was your confessor […] See. *Della Santa*, p. 33.

> […] I knew of your achievement in these blessed Arts and of the gift made to you by the son of the Duke of Lancaster. God deserves him […]. (Letter from Ruggero of 17th December 1398)
>
> For your being there (in England) and for the honour made to you by the son of the Duke of Lancaster and for you being right, I received a great consolation, praying Lord Christ of your acquaintances with so many benefits[…] (Letter from Andrea dated before July 1399).[151]

The death of the family friend and Guardian of Mount Zion, Gerard Chauvet, did not mean in this case a change in the important diplomatic role undertaken by the brothers for the restoration project. Ruggero maintained his role as commissary for the Holy Land until 1415 and continued to manage the fundraising intended for the restoration of the Church of Bethlehem, as shown by a letter of the same sent to Giovanni just before the news of Gerard's death. From the latter, it is understood the Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, donated 1.500 ducats for the restoration of the Church, which Ruggero promptly sent to the Holy Land:[152]

1399 march 5th

> […] For your consolation, I let you know that here I received from the messengers of the Duke of Milan, to send to the Guardian of Mount Zion, 1.500 ducats, in order to obtain the license by the Sultan to repair that blessed Church of Bethlehem. We have to send those ducats by an armed galley, with Sir Nicolò Mudazo as patron, with a petition of Mr. Fan. I hope in God that in the back of that one we will have news and so we can

[151] Della Santa, *Uomini e fatti,* p. 39.
[152] The involvement of Gian Galeazzo Visconti was mentioned also in Cesare Manaresi 'Gian Galeazzo Visconti e la Chiesa di Betlemme', in *Archivio storico lombardo,* vol. 44, (Milan, 1917) p. 197.

> immediately send the timbers and hardware which were all paid with the money of the Lord and Duke of Milan. I pray God […].[153]

Meanwhile, Giovanni was dealing with the English King, by now Henry IV, to obtain his participation in this project. Ruggero was very proud of the ambitious role that his brother was performing in this task revealing his thought in a letter of 22nd December 1399:

> […] You wrote me about the events of the King of England and of your appearance in front of the King for the events of Bethlehem, which he watched with his eyes. I was very pleased and I pray God to instil you the grace to say something useful for those sacred places for the honour and glory of God […].[154]

After many years from its beginning, the project for the restoration of the Church of Bethlehem was still carried out by Giovanni Contarini. However, despite the great participation of the European nobility and the commitment of the Contarini brothers, the passing of the active friar Gerard Chauvet had a deep impact on the destiny of the ambitious plan. Until the end of 1399, the letters written by Ruggero suggest his brother was still working with Henry IV. Actually, Ruggero showed a little concern about the intentions of the King to occupy a zone of Jerusalem presumably occupied by the son of Murad I, Bayezid I.

---

153 Della Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 32.

154 1399 dicembre 22. […] Vuy me scrivè di fati dey re d'Egletera e dela remenazion avè fato de chomparer avanti el re per y fati de Betelem, el qual el vetè chon y suoo hochi; de recevì gran plaxer, e priego Dio v'abia infoxo grazia de poder dir choxe che sia utelle per quelli luogi santi pr gloria e honor de Dio. Della Santa, Uomini e fatti, p. 33.

> […]I have heard willingly what you are following with the King about the Jerusalem events, but I am afraid that these zones are held by Bayezid who held it for the sins and inadequacy of Christians […].[155]

The letter does not specify what kind of project Henry IV had for the mentioned Muslim zone, but the words of Ruggero give the impression that the English king was planning a crusade, at the beginning of 1400. On the other hand, Ruggero was very disappointed with the new Guardian who, compared to Gerard Chauvet, appeared no longer interested in the Church of Bethlem's renovation:

> 1400 March 31st
>
> […] If you could, follow what you think is right with the King of England concerning those sacred places, which places would made pleased God […] it seems to me that the loss of Gerard is not good; this guardian is for the present, he is not a man who is able in doing many things, and so it seems that the repairing of the Church is not a thing for him, God decides.[156]

Ruggero followed the project of restoration until 1415, when he left his office and title of *commissario per la terra Santa* to his nephew Carlo through a testamentary act: […] Item loco mei substituo commisarium ser Karolum Contareno quondam domini Jacobi dispensation videlicet administrationis seu ordinationis quondam fratis Gerardi ordinis minorum olim guardiani Montis

[155][…] I'ò sentito volentier quello aveti seguido chon'l re di fati de Ieruxalem, ma dubiome molto che quelle chontrade non sia hochupade per Baixeto, el qual à quello e vuol per i pechadi et inniquitade di cristiani. Della Santa, Uomini e fatti, p. 33.

[156] 1400 marzo 31. […] Se podè, seguy quello vuy prinzipiase chon re d'Engletera per quelli luogi santi, dei qual luogi voria, se'l plaxese a Dio[…] perchè me par, per lo manchar de frar Zirardo, y non vada ben; questo vardian è al prexente, non hè homo de tanti fati, e chusì y par luy che l'chonzar de la gliexia non sia da luy. Dio de sia. Della Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, p. 33.

Zion […].[157] His feelings about the scarce commitment of the new guardian of Mount Zion were not completely wrong. The actual restoration of the church of Bethlehem took longer than expected as it was authorized in 1448 and realized effectively only in 1480.[158] However, it seems that Giovanni Contarini was able to conclude the agreements with the English crown, before his election to the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1409.[159]

These included a collaboration between Venice and England to bear the expenses for the restoration of the church, finally accomplished by King Edward IV.[160]

Apart from their interest in the pilgrimage business, the Contarini family played a valuable role in the construction of a long-standing friendship between the Republic of Venice and the English crown, by creating the base for a trusted trade collaboration regardless of the mutual religious interest towards the Holy Land.[161] Despite its division into numerous branches, the family was able to

---

[157] Della Santa, *Uomini e fatti*, pp. 32-33.

[158] For a complete chronology on the restoration made to the Church of the Nativity see Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A-K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 137-157. The restoration of the Church of the Nativity is well described also by the pilgrimage accounts of Francesco Suriano and Felix Fabri. See Girolamo Golubovich, *Francesco Suriano Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente* (Milan, 1900) and Konrad Dietrich Hassler, *Fratris Felix Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, (Stuttgart, 1843–1849).

[159] For more information about Giovanni Contarini's life see Luttrell Anthony 'Giovanni Contarini, a Venetian at Oxford: 1392-1399' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29 (London, 1966), pp. 424-432. Luttrell stated that Contarini obtained the patriarchate in 1406. However, this happened after Giovanni completed his theology studies in Paris in 1409. See Giorgio Fedalto 'Contarini Giovanni' in DBI - Volume 28 (1983) http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-contarini_res-24404c30-87eb-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

[160] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader*, p. 140; See also Michele Bacci, Giovanna Bianchi, Stefano Campana and Giuseppe Fichera 'Historical and archaeological analysis of the Church of the Nativity' in *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, Volume 13, Issue 4, Supplement, (December 2012), p. e8.

[161] It is known that before the development of Giovanni Contarini friendship with Henry IV, Doge Andrea Contarini attempted to establish a stable commercial and diplomatic relation with England by asking the protection of the English king for the Venetian galleys trading to Flanders in 1375. See petition in London, BL, Stowe MS 142, miscellaneous historical letters, etc.; 1375-1810, Andrea Contarini, Doge of Venice, to

adapt its affairs to widely different roles, not least because of their leading position in the Great Council from the foundation of the Venetian Republic. Their genuine religious interest in the Holy Land and long-standing friendship with the Franciscan friars as well as their involvement in international trade, made them more than competent to administrate successfully the monopoly of the pilgrimage business in the fifteenth century.

3.3.1.2 One family to rule them all

Ruggero claimed the participation to the custody of the Holy Land as a legacy belonging to his family by passing the title of c*ommissario* to his nephew Carlo Contarini.[162] It is likely that no one in Venice would have questioned the authority and expertise of the Contarini in the field of pilgrimage, especially after the departure of the Loredan family from the business in 1458.[163]

Unlike the Morosini, who did not engage with the introduction of a private Jerusalem sea-route, because they did not want to damage their freedom in oversea trade, the Contarini were wealthy and powerful enough to be in the front line to win one of the state auctions organised by the Senate in the mid-fifteenth century granting them the monopoly of the pilgrims' transportation. Since 1441,

---

Edward III. of England, desiring a safe conduct for merchant-ships about to be sent to Flanders, f. 1. Later in the fifteenth century Pietro Contarini, Venetian ambassador in England was entrusted by the Venetian government to support Henry VII in the anti-French Holy League. See Wyatt Michael, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation*, (Cambridge, 2005), p. 20.

[162] Nothing is known about Carlo Contarini's management of the commissariat except that Pope Martin V legitimated the role of commissary with a bull called *His quae* in 1421. For this see the current website of the Franciscans for the custody of the Holy Land, http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=1607 .
It is likely that a connection with the Franciscans in Mount Zion favoured the Contarini family's patronship of the pilgrims galleys. Indeed, a good relationship with the friars residing into the Holy Land granted a favourable collaboration between the parties and smoother itinerary for visitors who were guided by both parties during the pilgrimage.

[163] Mitchell, *Antonio Loredan*, pp. 83-87.

for at least ten consecutive years, members of the Contarini family took care of the pilgrims' transport from Venice through the monopoly on the pilgrimage route to Jerusalem.[164] As previously stated, Stöckly argued the Contarini family had the majority of patrons and captains embarking in Venetian galleys during the fifteenth century (Fig.5), and it is likely this included also pilgrims' galleys, which often had a Contarini as their main guide towards the Holy Land. [165]

5.G. LES FAMILLES DOMINANTES CHEZ LES PATRONS

Numéro d'ordre	*Familles*	*Participations sur galées*	*Participations sur naves et coques*
1.	Contarini	138	16
2.	Morosini	88	3
3.	Loredan	83	
4.	Soranzo	68	3
5.	Capello	61	
6.	Michiel	55	
7.	Giustinian	51	3
8.	Barbarigo	47	
9.	Bembo	46	
10.	Dandolo	43	
11.	Canal Da	42	
12.	Duodo	40	
13.	Dolfin	38	
14.	Venier	37	

Figure 8 - The Leading Venetian families and numbers of patrons in their employ. Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto*, p. 306

When the Senate ended the auctions for the exclusive monopoly of the Jerusalem sea-route, the Contarini did not lose their primacy as main providers of the Holy Land overseas passage. Although the restrictions on merchandise and the forced armament of the galleys cost them the suspension of the licence in 1455,[166] the reliability gained during the years of the *incantus galearum* allowed them to operate in the sector at least until the sixteenth century. Members of the Contarini

[164] ASV, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 1, f. 36r; Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 71-72.
[165] Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto*, pp. 305-306.
[166] Tenenti, Tucci, *Storia di Venezia*, p. 389.

family were still granted a licence for pilgrims' transportation even after the official "end" of the state programme.[167]

Their fame as skilled overseas merchants and able sailors, their devotion towards the Holy Land cause and their noble titles worked as additional guarantees for the pilgrimage business: no port was as reliable as Venice and no patron was as prestigious as a Contarini. Furthermore, the achievement of the title of Counts of Jaffa in 1474 by the hand of the Queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, reinforced the feeling that this family had always belonged to Venice and to the Holy Land.[168] Pilgrims felt safe and entrusted their lives into the hands of the Contarini because after years of maritime experience and family tradition, they were more than skilled to bring them back home safely. Safety and reliability were likely two of the things that surely impressed the Milanese Pietro Casola when he met for the first time the *magnifico domino* Agostino Contarini after his arrival in Venice in 1494.[169] When Agostino Contarini assured him that he had been on the sea for over forty-two years.[170] In fact, his career as patron of the *Contarina* started with the unofficial acquisition of the Jerusalem-route monopoly probably around 1450.[171] Born from Benedetto Contarini and Giustiniana Giustinian in the parish of San Cassan during the first quarter of the

[167] Zacharia Contarini was replaced by Andrea Contarini who operated in the pilgrimage sector for almost twenty years before leaving the primate to Agostino Contarini because of his misconduct. See, ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Reg. 1, f.36r; the licence of Andrea Contarini was afterwards retired with a definitive act by the Senate in 1474. See ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar. Registri (secc. XV-xvi in.), Reg. 10, f. 6v.
[168] About this see Mas Latrie, *Les comtes de Jaffa*, pp. 401-403.
[169] Anna Paoletti, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme di Pietro Casola*, (Alessandria, 2001), p. 83
[170] Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 96.
[171] This was at the time shared with other members of the family such as Andrea and Zacharia Contarini.

fifteenth century, Agostino Contarini was the second of three sons (Fig. 6).[172] His elder brother, Ambrosio (Ambrogio), worked as a diplomat and ambassador for the Republic at the court of the king of Persia Uzūn Ḥasan in 1474 while his father was a known merchant.[173]

Although his family enjoyed a very reputable name in the field of maritime navigation, Agostino Contarini was famous not only for his sailing skills but also for his unfair behavior towards pilgrims. Episodes of carelessness towards his passengers and lack of respect for the Venetian laws were apparently ordinary for the patron and captain of the *Contarina* who, according to Felix Fabri was guilty of having delayed for a week his voyage forcing all the pilgrims in his galley to wait for his brother in Larnaca, Cyprus.[174] However, as Fabri himself hinted when relating his choice of patron for his second voyage, he knew very well what he would likely face with Agostino Contarini but his sailing skills were good enough to deserve his trust against the rival Pietro Lando:

> […] I myself approved of Master Augustine Contarini, whom I knew to be a wise and trusty man, because in my former pilgrimage, I had crossed the sea on board his ship, but others abused him and praised the other. So for peace's sake I did not interfere in the matter, but declared that they were both good pilots if they would take us quickly to the port for which we were bound, adding that if I knew which of the two would be the quickest

[172] ASV, Archivio Miscellanea Codici. Cod. 1 – Storia Veneta, 18. Serie M. Barbaro, Arbori de' patrizi Veneti. Reg. 11 B-C, f. 453.
[173] Much more famous than his brother Agostino, Ambrosio Contarini wrote a detailed account of his travel to Persia that is considered one of the best of his period and in which the same Agostino took a brief part acting as messenger for his brother to the republic of Venice. See, Ambrosio Contarini '*Viaggio del Magnifico Ambrosio Contarini*' in Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi*, vol.2, p. 116; see also, Marica Milanesi 'Contarini Ambrosio' in DBI – vol. 28 (1983). No information is available about the third brother, Guglielmo Contarini.
[174] Prescott, *Jerusalem journey*, p. 87.

> and soonest ready to sail, that would be the one whom I should recommend pilgrims to choose. Both, however, promised that they would begin their voyage directly, which I knew to be a lie. […].[175]

In the end, Fabri's company opted to go with Lando not because of Contarini himself but because of his galley, considered by the other Germans *minus ampla et cum hoe antiqua et foetida*.[176]

However, the German knight Konrad Grünemberg, who described Agostino Contarini as *the einen mann so großer tugend* (noble-hearted man ever known) dismissed Fabri's statement about his galley arguing that the *Contarina* was far superior compared to the other pilgrims vessels departing from Venice.[177] To prove his statement he left a painting, which offers the best surviving visual description of the Contarini vessel (Fig.10).[178] Agostino Contarini, like other patrons, used to delay the pilgrims' departures for unspecified reasons. Howard outlines that Venetian merchants lost no chance from patrons' behavior to gain advantages from the numerous pilgrims who came to Venice for their departures.[179] This was a brilliant strategy, which allowed pilgrims to spend more time and money in Venice as well as to explore the city's sacred places. Casola's words confirm he used the time spent waiting for his galley to undertake a tour of Venice.

---

[175] Fabri 'The book of wanderings of brother Felix Fabri' vol.1 in *The library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1896), p. 84.
[176] Hassler, Fabri *Evagatorium*, p. 88.
[177] See Andrea Denke, *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486: Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar* (Weimar, 2011), pp. 290, 311-317.
[178] Baden State Library Cod. St. Peter pap. 32 - Konrad von Grünenberg, Beschreibung der Reise von Konstanz nach Jerusalem, ff.5v-6r.
[179] Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, p. 96.

> […] At this time I found that I had been in too great a hurry to leave home, and that I must wait several days before the departure of the said galley […] I determined to examine carefully the city of Venice, about which so much has been said and written, not only by learned men, but also by great scholars, that it appears to me there is nothing left to say. And I did this solely to amuse myself during the time I had to spend in such a great port […].[180]

These recurrent delays became an invaluable source of income for the Republic and its merchants who benefited from the pilgrim presence to increase trade and promote Venices' religious status with celebrations and itineraries for the collection of indulgences. However, the constant breaking of the rules followed by a conspicuous number of complaints, cost Agostino Contarini a forced retirement from the pilgrimage business in 1497 with a formal act by the Senate that replaced him with Alvise Zorzi.[181] Excluding a few pieces of information reported below, not much is known about Contarini and other patrons' identities and personalities, especially before 1450, when patrons of the pilgrims' galleys were only names on the registers.

[180] Newett, *Canon Pietro*, pp. 124-125. For the Italian version of the Casola itinerary, see Paoletti, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, p. 83.

[181] The establishment of a new patron in the year of Agostino Contarini's retirement is confirmed by the account of Marino Sanuto in *Diarii*, Marin Sanudo, Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Niccolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet and Marco Allegri (eds), First volume (mccccxvi-mdxxxiii) from the autograph Marciano Ital. cl. VII codd. cdxix.cdlxxvii, (Venice, 1879), p. 645; See also, Domenico Malipiero and Francesco Longo (Senatore.), Agostino Sagredo 'Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500' Volume 1, in ASI, Tomo VII, Parte I, (Venice, 1843), p. 158. For major information about the activity of Alvise Zorzi see Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 101.

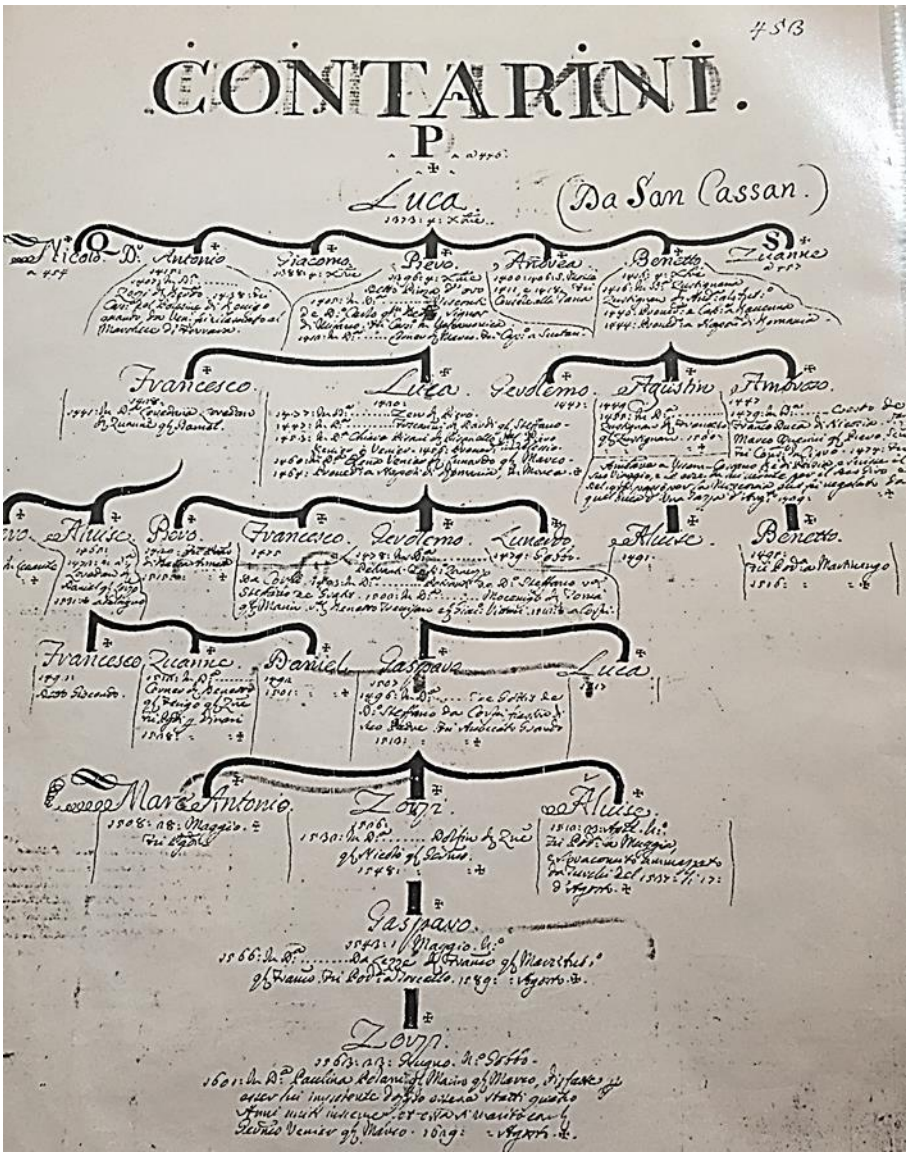


Figure 9 - Genealogy of the Contarini of San Cassan. Courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. ASV, Archivio Miscellanea Codici. Cod. 1 – Storia Veneta, 18. Serie M. Barbaro, Arbori de' patrizi Veneti. Reg. 11 B-C, f. 453.

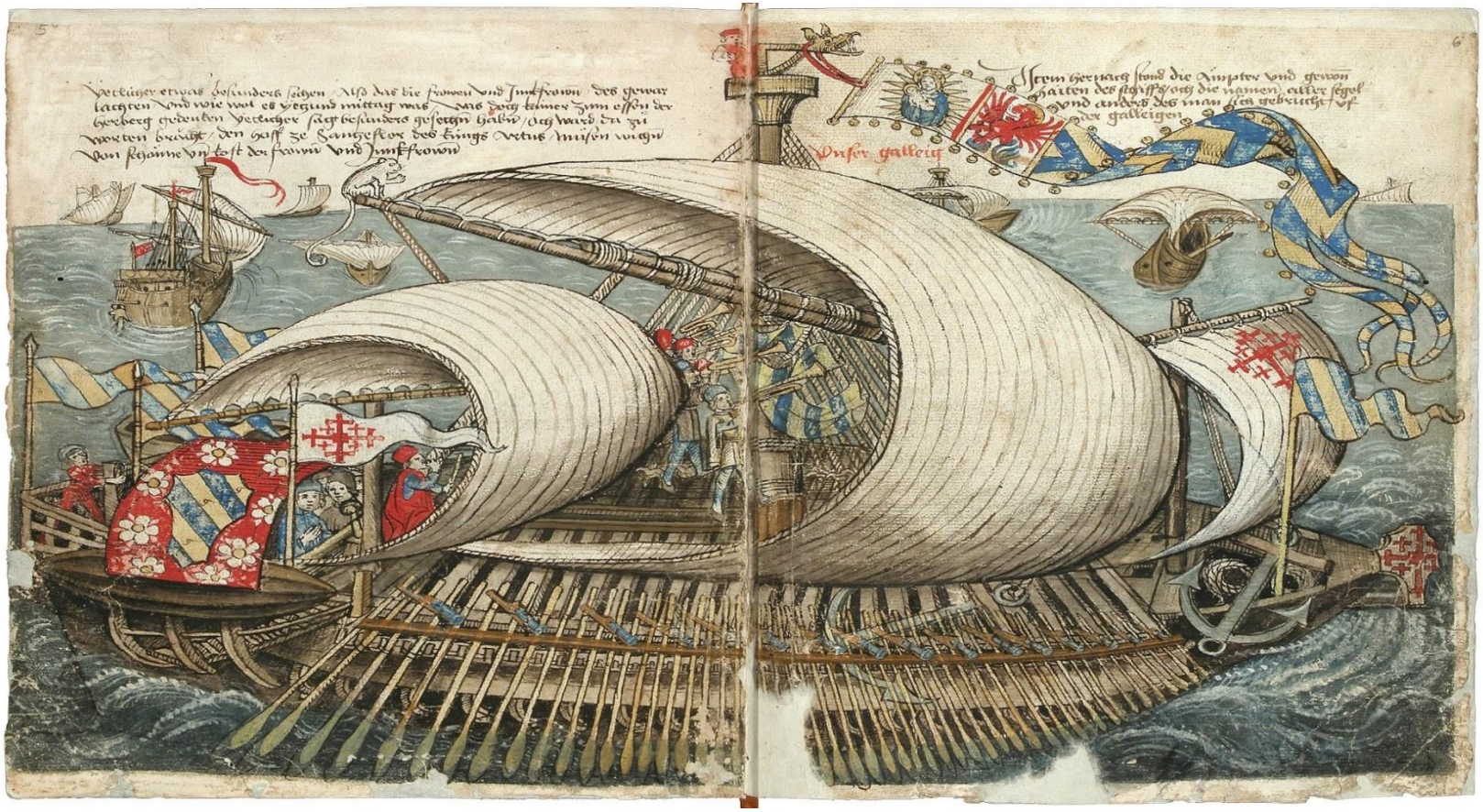


Figure 10 - The Contarina - Baden State Library Cod. St. Peter pap. 32 - Konrad von Grünenberg - Beschreibung der Reise von Konstanz nach Jerusalem, ff.5v-6r.

Moreover, Venetian legislation, years of misconduct reports filed by the *Cattaver* Office, and the unfair contracts and poor condition of the galleys listed by pilgrims in their accounts, suggest patrons, regardless of their noble names, were petty and interested only in their profits from in pilgrimage business. The lack of any record produced by the patrons themselves and scholarly investigation about their role and behavior aboard the galleys make their role within the journey obscure. Were they friendly? Did they establish a more personal relationship with their passengers or did they remain strictly professional? How did they managed problems and social life during the sea crossing? Although Agostino Contarini travelled together with some of the most famous pilgrims of the fifteenth century (Table 3), Pietro Casola and Felix Fabri were among the few passengers to describe him from a different and unusual human perspective. As opposed to what emerges from the legal records of the Venetian Republic, in the eyes of (some) pilgrims Agostino Contarini appeared as a humble, loyal man who had great confidence in his capabilities at the sea.

Known pilgrims who traveled with Agostino Contarini.[182]	
1464	Gabriele Muffel
1476	Gian Giacomo Trivulzio
1479	Sebald Rieter Senior
1480	Felix Fabri
1480	Santo Brasca

[182] This list is based on the information collected in Sergio Bellabarba 'The sailing qualities of the Venetian Great galleys in the 15th century. Evidence of their influence on the development of the sailing ships in the Atlantic area during the following century' in Beltrame, *Boat, ships and shipyards*, pp. 202, 208-209; Reinhold Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Buchhandlung, 1900), pp. 181-182 and Kieler Werkstücke, *Europäische Reiseberichtedes späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie* (Frankfurt, 1994), p. 242.

1482	Walter G. Guglingen
1483	Bernhard Von Breydenbach
1484	Francesco Suriano
1486	Konrad von Grünenberg
1492	Peter Fassbender
1493	Boguslav V. Lobkoviz
1494	Reinard Von Bemmelberg
1494	Konrad Von Parsberg
1494	Pietro Casola
1494	Ludwig F. Greiffenstein

Table 3 - List of known pilgrims who travelled with Agostino Contarini in the fifteenth century

> […] He received us with great humility, and led us round his galley, and gave us our choice of a place for twelve people, and also gave us a collation of wine and sweetmeats, and assured us that he would deal loyally with us. He knew me well, and referred to me as a witness to his good faith and honesty, saying, 'Lo, here is Brother Felix, your chaplain, who knows how I deal with pilgrims ; I beg of him that he speak the truth, and you will make up your minds to stay with me.'[…].[183]

Casola noticed also that he was kind with his crew, by maintaining them at his own expenses:

[183] Fabri, *The book of wanderings*, p. 86.

> […] Don Agostino Contarini, a Venetian patrician, the principal Patrono, who had four young men to serve him. With him, there were two other Venetian gentlemen, assigned to the galley by the Signoria; but Don Agostino gave them so much a month and maintained them at his own table […].[184]

Agostino Contarini appears also to be interested in the welfare of his pilgrims by avoiding travelling in bad weather conditions. Indeed, Casola pointed out that although the patron had previous experience with storms and was able to bear them, he had compassion for those suffering seasickness by searching for a place to wait safely for the storm to pass:

> […] On Thursday, the 19th of June, the day of Saint Protasius, as the said weather continued, he turned back towards Ragusa, and sailed back again the two hundred miles from there to Apulia. He desired to make a port out of compassion for the pilgrims, who suffered greatly, and he wanted to make the port at a fortified place called Budua, near another called Antivari. […].[185]

Casola acquired a sort of reverence for his *magnifico patrono* during the sea voyage, sometimes depicting him more as a companion than a patron.[186] The pilgrim never disputed the role of Contarini as captain of the galley, in contrast to Francesco Suriano, who travelled ten years before Casola, and argued that he saved the *Contarina* from a storm without the help of the crew and shaming the

[184] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p.160.
[185] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 183.
[186] Several times Casola states that he spent time with Contarini rather with his fellow travellers. Newett, Canon Casola, pp. 205, 209.

captain who *si vergognava prima di pur volgergli la parola* (he was ashamed to speak to him about this).[187]

Before being a *custos* of the Holy Land, Francesco Suriano traded merchandise with the Orient together with the members of his family. Since he was twelve-years old, he travelled between Venice, Alexandria and Aleppo aboard his family's galley. During this period, he probably acquired some sailing skills and Golubovich himself confirms Suriano had made about sixteenth voyages prior to his engagement as guardian.[188] Nevertheless, there is no evidence confirming he was able to guide or command a galley or had ever done so before, especially alone as he stated in his account. Therefore, one might argue that he exaggerated a little especially considering that he compared himself to Agostino Contarini who at that time had more than thirty-five years of experience in navigation.[189] Indeed, it was thanks to Contarini's experience and reassurance about his confidence in navigation that Casola was no longer afraid of the sea and the storms:

---

[187] Golubovich, *Francesco Suriano*, pp. xxviii-xxix. The topic of sea misadventures with seasickness and miraculous escapes from death is popular in pilgrimage accounts. Therefore, it is not possible to confirm that all the narrations including thunderstorms are genuine. Most of them offer a captivating topic for the narrations as well as a further sign that the pilgrimage was made under the blessing of God who saved pilgrims despite the dangers of the sea. The Trinity College Library, MS. R, 3,19, temp. Hen. VI, *The pilgrims Sea Voyage and the Sea-Sickness* has an entire ballad dedicated to the sea-voyage and sea-sickness during the journey. Sea-sickness was largely due bad weather conditions rather than patrons' abilities in navigation. Winter journeys were the most favourable to this genre of unforeseen. However, the topic of the sea-misfortune was so popular that in fifteenth-century accounts thunderstorms strucked also spring voyages such as those of William Wey, Gabriele Capodilista and the same Pietro Casola who encountered multiple storms.

[188] Golubovich, *Il trattato di Terra Santa,* p. xlii

[189] At the time of Casola's voyage Suriano was already Prior of Mount Zion. The pilgrim expressed little sympathy for Suriano arguing that it was his fault if some of the poorest pilgrims fell sick stating that "not a single person was satisfied with him, beginning with the captain". It would mean that Contarini and Suriano did not have a good relationship. See, Newett, *Canon Casola,* p. 245.

> […] For my part, reassured as I was by the magnificent Captain, I had no more fear of the sea either as regards seeing the storms, or indeed as regards the stomach either. The said storm continued all the following night, and it seemed as if we must inevitably all go to the bottom so terrible were the blows given by the sea and the great mass of water that dashed over the galley […].[190]

Casola's positive description of Contarini's behaviour and work aboard the galley was enforced by the good relationship the patron established with the pilgrim during the journey, allowing Casola to dine in his company and to follow him during his "affairs" out of the pilgrimage sphere.[191] It is understood that not all the hundreds of passengers traveling with the *Contarina* had the same positive experience or opinion about the patron. Casola himself describes how most of his fellow travellers were not happy about the patron's behaviour and choices during the voyage by murmuring against him *like the children of Israel against Moses when he was leading them through the desert*.[192] The far-fetched comparison of Agostino Contarini with Moses demonstrates Casola's deep understanding of the risks and difficulties of the patron's job, showing him a great sympathy. This was possible only through the development of a peculiar, unusual friendship that allowed him to observe Contarini from a different point of view and not blame him for some unpopular decisions he took during this pilgrimage. This can be seen in particular in various episodes that according to Casola forced Agostino Contarini to delay the pilgrims' stay on the galley to

[190] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 196.
[191] Contarini allowed Casola to meet the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes. Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 209.
[192] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 222.

ensure their safety or to resolve some disputes with the Moors.[193] From the travellers' point of view, the patron and captain of the galley Agostino Contarini was delaying the voyage with the purpose of extorting extra money from his passengers. However, Casola argued that this was not the case. Indeed, in order to keep safe his passengers and obtain the permit to cross the Holy Land, it seems that Contarini had to reach a compromise with the Governor of Gaza costing pilgrims one hundred and fifty ducats.[194] It is likely this agreement was very unpopular among his passengers but in the best scenario, Contarini's decision would probably saved hundreds of lives. Although it is undeniable and legally proved that most of the Venetian patrons had misbehaved towards their passengers, Casola's account shows the other side of the coin, offering a different perspective on an often undervalued key figure in the *sancta peregrinationae*.[195]

Patrons were not only the main guides of the galleys and patrician men from influential Venetian families, but were also a point of reference for a great part of the journey. They needed to show patience, coolness and a certain ability to move in dangerous situations that could cost them the lives of their passengers. They were responsible not only for pilgrims and the galley crew but for the foreign affairs of the Venetian Republic itself. Indeed, an infringement of an agreement in the lands of the Moors could have caused a serious diplomatic

[193] See Newett, *Canon Casola*, pp. 217-218, 221-223.
[194] See Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 233.
[195] The role of the patrons within the pilgrimage business remains scantly investigated by contemporary scholars. Editions such as *The itineraries of William Wey* by Davey, give little space and information about the role of Wey's patron Andrea Morosini. See Davey, *The itineraries*, pp.236-242.

incident, and broken the fragile balance established in the Holy Land during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

3.4 Conclusions

Different primary sources demonstrate how the reconstruction of the Venetian role within the Holy Land pilgrimage should be investigated through different perspectives to build a coherent historical frame. Based on the Venetian history and later legislation for the management of pilgrims' departures, the initial and primary interest of the Republic was to ensure and maintain a certain public order in sea transportations, which only addressed pilgrim's galleys as a separate category concerning their cargo. For over two centuries, the Venetian government tried to treat the pilgrims' sea-transport the same way as the mercantile traffic, with methodical and rigid restrictions that did not work for the increasing and chaotic phenomenon of journeys towards the Holy Land. However, evidence from the register of the *Cattaver* office and multiple ordinances ordered by the Senate, show that the difficulties in the direct control of pilgrims and Venetian workers were much more complicated to manage compared to the normal administration of trades and navigation. This included not only the possibility of a bad reputation outside the Italian boundaries but also the danger of diplomatic incidents with foreign allies caused by pilgrims' complaints or patrons uncontrolled actions in Palestine. The progressive adaptation of the city to pilgrims' needs and the creation of an exclusive pilgrims' sea-transportation were only a consequence of repeated mistakes in handling the pilgrimage phenomenon, which was administrated by a minority of people often doing their own business. The scarce invigilation of pilgrims' transition in Venice, the excessive amount of responsibly assigned to patrons

and the lack of control over their behaviour and possible abuses overseas, prove that Venice's management of the pilgrimage business was still out of control even after centuries of Venetian participation to the Holy Land journey and despite the expertise of some of the most powerful families of the city, such as the Contarini. The next chapter investigates the development of Venice as a religious stage within the *sancta peregrinationae* contemporary to the legislative and economic administration of the pilgrimage phenomenon since from fourteenth century. The results of this investigation will be useful to understand different perspectives of the Venetian role within the Holy Land pilgrimage.

Chapter 4 - Venice as an *altera Hierusalem*?

4.1 Introduction

An article about the *Sepulchrum domini* reproductions in the Veneto zone, the librarian Antonio Diano argues that the Venetian architecture of the Middle Ages was intentioned more as a representation of a new Byzantium than a new Jerusalem.[1] Based on his investigation of the jerosolimitan *mimesis* in Venice, Padua and Verona, Diano suggests that the representations of Jerusalem's art and architecture in the Veneto's churches are not related to the historical events, which linked Venice, particularly, to the Holy Land (i.e. crusades, pilgrimage etc.).[2] He states that the jerosolimitan model was marginal and largely neglected in medieval Venice and the Veneto; in contrast, he assumes that the strong political and commercial relations with Constantinople reflected in Venetian architecture and Venice's aspiration to become a new Byzantium. He states that his study is based on the surviving testimonials of *Sepulchrum mimesis* in the Veneto considering them only in terms of their imitation of the military architecture developed during the first three Crusades. This means that Diano considers the relationship between Venice and Jerusalem only in terms of political expression, interpreting in the style of Urban II, the concept of pilgrimage understood as crusade. This concept excludes any possibility of a socio-economic connection between the two cities and consequently any kind of

[1] Antonio Diano, 'Le riproduzioni del Santo Sepolcro e le Venezie medievali. Paradigmi di un'assenza' in *Arte veneta*, V. 62 (Venice, 2005), pp. 101-109.
[2] Diano, *Le riproduzioni del Santo Sepolcro*, p.105.

artistic and architectural expression, which does not correspond to a military understanding of the *Sepulchrum domini* and crusading influence in Venice.

Although it is undeniable that Venice's medieval architecture had deep connections with Byzantine art, due undoubtedly to her long and profitable relation with Constantinople, Diano's pays scant attention to the Venetian links with Jerusalem and, consequently, to the reproduction of an architecture remembering the Holy Land.[3] The points that Diano does not consider are connected with the emergence of Venice as an early stage of pilgrimage before the oversea voyage to Palestine. In fact, Venice's (and the Veneto's) links with the Holy Land in the Middle Ages were not just related to the construction of exact copies of the Holy Sepulchre, fact that can be seen as a deep sign of devotion, than a direct demonstration of political or economic conjunctions with Jerusalem.[4] On the contrary, their connections were continuous for centuries, gradually shaping Venice as a city suitable for pilgrims, linking the Venetian stage as the direct counterpart to the Jerusalem journey and representing the two cities as two points on the same line, notwithstanding their differences. The construction of pilgrims' hospices, the importing of relics, the organisation of routes for devotional practices and collection of indulgences at local shrines, as

[3] It should be remembered that the Byzantine style used in Venice, especially the one used for the St. Mark's basilica, was influenced by Roman characteristics. In addition, certain areas of the lagoon developed a Venetian gothic architecture seen in the construction of the monumental Franciscan church, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, the actual location of the Archivio di Stato. Therefore, the city developed during the centuries a mixed architecture creating a unique visual impact of the lagoon skyline that cannot be associated with any other place.

[4] A good example is the case of the Genoese Adorno family which built a Holy Sepulchre chapel, called "Jeruzalemkapel" in Bruges on 1429 as a sign of deep devotion of the family to Jerusalem and the holy places. The construction of the chapel is not a reflection of socio-economic exchanges between Bruges and Jerusalem but "a concrete manifestation of a kind of domestication of the pilgrimage experience". See Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, 'Capell nuncapato Jherusalem noviter Brugis': The Adornes Family of Bruges and Holy Land devotion' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39:4 (Kirksville, 2008), pp. 1041-1064.

well as the celebration of special rituals (e.g. *lo Sposalizio del mare* during the Ascension day) were created and promoted appositely to build in pilgrims' minds not only an indissoluble connection of Venice with the sacred journey to the Holy Land, but to impress in their memory the Venetian itinerary with equal importance, creating the mythical image of the city that was disseminated in pilgrimage writings.[5]



Figure 11 - Canaletto, Return of the Bucentoro to the Molo on Ascension Day, 1732. Royal Collection. Windsor.[6]

The absence of a Holy Sepulchre reproduction in Venice and the Veneto, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[7] does not correspond to a lack

[5] For more information about the *Sposalizio del mare* see http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sposalizio-del-mare_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/; Ateneo Veneto: revista di scienze, lettere ed arti, vol. 2 (Venice, 1838), pp. 65-66; Cappelletti, *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 310-313.
[6] Photo credits: Wikicommons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canaletto_Return_of_the_Bucentoro_to_the_Molo_on_Ascension_Day,_1732._Royal_Collection._Windsor..jpg.
[7] With the exception of the twelfth-century Holy Sepulchre church in Verona: Diano, *Le riproduzioni del Santo Sepolcro*, p. 104.

of interest in this type of architecture or to an absence of commercial and political exchange with Palestine, as Diano pointed out explaining this absence mostly as an expression of a pro-imperial society.[8] Conversely, the questions that should be raised are: did Venice need a local Holy Sepulchre to express her political supremacy or her undoubted connection with the oriental capital of Christendom, beyond a possible private devotion? Did Venice need to be an *altera Hierusalem*? The evidence suggests that the flourishing of local Holy Sepulchres in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was linked to the increasing phenomenon of pilgrimage undertaken for religious reasons as well as to the proliferation of new routes involving different European shrines usually less attractive than those in the Holy Land. For Italian cities like Verona, Padua or Barletta, living in the shadow of the most known religious locations such as St. Mark's in Venice or the Vatican in Rome, the possession of their own Sepulchre or their own visible and sacred connection with the Holy Land during the Middle Ages ensured a vital source of income. The arriving of pilgrims, in addition to an increasing religious popularity, meant commercial growth and the possibility of expansion of political and economic network with others cities.

[8] Diano, *Le riproduzioni del Santo Sepolcro*, pp. 102, 105.



Figure 12 - Basilica of St. Anthony of Padua (Photo Credits: Laura Di Stefano).

In Venice's case, the city did not have its own Holy Sepulchre until the late fifteenth century commissioned by the noble Elena Celsi.[9] Nevertheless, the absence of a direct reminiscence of the Holy Land did not prevent the city from expressing its connections with Palestine in other ways, or from being recognised by pilgrims as an early stage of their sacred journey due to an affirmation of itself in a unique way. The relationship shown between Venice and Acre, Jaffa and Jerusalem is different from the relationship between French, English or other Italian cities with the same places.

[9] Cornaro, NSCV, pp. 117-119. About this topic, see section 4.2.

As Howard pointed out, Venetians were distanced from the social aura of chivalry shared by most of the Frankish Crusaders, because they were merchants not feudal barons.[10]

Therefore, the *mimesis* of Jerusalem occurred, often in a hidden way, under the mediation of merchants' eyes, visible in the recreation of their Palestine memories on Venetian soil.[11] Venice did not try to be another Jerusalem on the route of the medieval pilgrim, but created its own image and deep impact in pilgrims' minds through the constitution of a different and unique itinerary that could not be experienced in other places. Venice's relevance within the medieval pilgrimage was expressed through the creation of a detailed organization of the pilgrims' arrivals and departures, the employment of "touristic guides" and interpreters for foreign pilgrims, the construction of pilgrims' hospices, the adoption of legislation respecting pilgrim's rights, the organisation of events and celebrations to entertain pilgrims during their stay, and the creation of religious tours including the collection of indulgences and visits to prestigious relics and churches totally different to those visited in the Holy Land. As changes in legislation and bureaucratic structure in the organization of pilgrimage and pilgrims in Venice have been discussed in previous chapters, Chapter Four investigates Venice's interest in being religiously significant for its visitors: a goal reached by the city only during the fifteenth century, a period in which the city became very attractive to visitors.

[10] Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, p. 89.
[11] One of the best examples is the reproduction of the cloister of the Knights Hospitaller of St. John in the house court of the Lion Family (Corte del Remer) made after the fall of Acre in 1291. See Howard, *Venice as Gateway*, pp. 90-91.

4.2 A Holy Sepulchre for Venice

When in the fifteenth century Venice became the main point of departure for the Holy Land, thanks to the services and hospitality granted to pilgrims it was considered more than a simple port of transition towards Jerusalem both by its visitors and by its residents. It is not a surprise that after having contributed socially, politically and commercially to pilgrimage for more than three centuries, Venice shared with Jerusalem more than a spiritual connection. Therefore, the construction of a copy of the Holy Sepulchre during the same period appears as both a recognition of this special bond and attempt by Venice to be recognised as equally important within the holy pilgrimage.

The construction of the Sepulchre, (later Church of the Holy Sepulchre), was not initiated by the Republic itself but as with many other small initiatives, by a noble family of Venice. In 1409, the noblewoman Elena Celsi, inherited from her husband Marco Vioni some houses in the *contrada San Zuanne Bragola*.[12] Being a very religious and charitable woman, she decided to use the properties partly as a hospital for widows and poor women and partly as a hospice for the perpetual use of women pilgrims going to the holy places of Rome, Assisi and the Holy Land.[13]

[12] It was in the parish of S. Giovanni in Bragora in the *sestiere* of Castello. The zone is known today as Riva degli Schiavoni See ASV, S. Sepolcro Atti, 1, Catastico delli Beni del venerando monastero del S. Sepolcro di Venezia, Origine del monastero del S sepolcro, f. 2v.

[13] She additionally specified this in her testament signed by the notary Gaspari di Mani on 2nd January 1409, just after her husband's death. Tassini Giuseppe 'Iscrizioni dell'ex chiesa e monastero del S. Sepolcro in Venezia' in AV, 17 (1879), p. 274.

The pilgrims' hospice was titled *Ospedale delle Pellegrine da Vioni* and Mrs Vioni herself until her death in 1451 administrated it. From that moment onward, other Venetian nobles administered the properties according to her will, among them a certain Angelo Gabrielli and Silvano Contarini.[14] Between 1409 and 1450, the *Ospizio Celsi* (as it is known in Venice) was authorised to have a chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the same chapel was then built a sepulchre *a simiglianza del santissimo Sepolcro di Gesu Christo.*[15] According to the document preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Venice, the chapel became so popular that pilgrims started going there to leave alms and collect indulgences, which were authorised by Pope Alexander VI through a specific act of grace.[16] The chapel was consequently known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the women living at the hospice as "women of the Sepulchre".[17] Not many records survive from the construction and development of this Sepulchre in Venice.[18] However, a few records in the Archivio di Stato confirm it was built "exactly like the sepulchre of Jesus in Jerusalem" and that it became a point of reference for pilgrims arriving in Venice before their sea travel to the Holy Land at the end of the fifteenth century.[19] As a proof of this, Bernard Von Breydenbach is one of the few pilgrims to have visited the Venetian

[14] ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, 1, f. 2r.
[15] A sepulchre like the one of Jesus Christ. ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, 1, f.3v. There is no document in the surviving folders of the hospice that indicates the exact date of foundation of the chapel with the copy of the Holy Sepulchre. Nevertheless, this must have been built between 1409 and 1450 as it was already finished when the properties changed administration in 1451.
[16] The Pope authorised the hospice to live under the rule of the Franciscans and to extend the properties to the neighboring area. ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, 1, f.3v.
[17] ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, 1, f.3v.
[18] Records about the foundation and development of the Church of the Sepulchre were already missing in 1758 when Flaminio Cornaro published his work about the churches of Venice, although the author was able to visit the church in person before its demolition in 1807. Indeed, the author states he was not able to find documents confirming the exact date of construction of the Sepulchre. See Cornaro, NSCV, p. 116
[19]ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, 1, f.3v.

Sepulchre, and described it in his narration as […] Ibi etiam per fores ecclesia (it is referred to as the church of St. Zachary) eiusdem ad sepulchri domini imitar eius quod est hyerosolimis formatum […].[20] According to Flaminio Cornaro, who visited the monastery and church before their suppression in 1807, the church owned some significant relics attracting pilgrims during their stay in Venice. Among them, a simulacrum with Christ's cross that, as stated by a popular legend, arrived in front of the monastery's doors from the sea during an overnight storm.[21] The piece was placed in the altar inside the sepulchre and was open to believers for adoration together with other known relics such as a bone of St. Andrew Damasceno who was the first monk of Jerusalem.[22] Around and inside the Sepulchre's area there were more than thirty inscriptions, most of them alluding to the sacredness of the place and indicating to pilgrims the location of the "Sepulchre of Christ".[23]

Interestingly, an inscription that was placed at the entrance of the monastery in Riva degli Schiavoni insinuated in pilgrims' minds a doubt about what Sepulchre was worthier to visit stating that *Quale iter ad Christi tumulum?* A second inscription was placed in 1484 on the door of the Sepulchre showing *Sepul. IHU XPI mcccclxxxiiii.*[24] It is clear that, for the Venetians, the construction of a holy sepulchre was not just a case of jerosolimitan *mimesis* or a 'domestication of the Jerusalem experience' as it was for the Adorno's *Jeruzalemkapel* built in

[20] "In front of the doors of the same church (The church of St. Zachary) there is a Sepulchre built as the one in Jerusalem". See Bernard Von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. Digital reproduction of London, Wellcome Library, 5.b.7 (SR), Bernard Von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1497, f. 19r.
[21] Cornaro, NSCV, p. 119.
[22] Cornaro, NSCV, p. 119.
[23] For a complete list of all the inscriptions, see Tassini, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 274-300.
[24] Tassini, *Iscrizioni*, p. 279.

Bruges.[25] The construction of a copy of Jerusalem's sepulchre, although started as an act of pure devotion, soon became something else coinciding with Venice's monopoly of the Holy Land sea-route. The sepulchre in Venice was seen not only as a symbol of the city's significance within the sacred pilgrimage towards the Holy Land but also as a demonstration of Venice's religious relevance independently from Jerusalem but in an equal way connected. The spiritual bond that Venice established with Jerusalem was something that went over the city's participation in pilgrimage and was transplanted into its civic imagery even after pilgrimage was no longer a profitable activity at the end of sixteenth century. The man of letters Francesco Sansovino, in his work about Venice written in 1562, brilliantly summarised what the city represented and aimed to be in the mind of its visitors for more than three centuries during its involvement in the *sancta peregrinationae*:

> […] Signora di sé stessa prima che del mondo, nè tanto a molti temibile, quanto a tutte le genti riguardevole, così rappresentando in terra quasi Hierusalem celeste. […].[26]

The church of the Holy Sepulchre in Venice represented this bond in a period in which the city was the only reliable place from where to reach the Holy Land. At the same time, the construction of a Holy Sepulchre cannot be seen as an attempt by the city to be a *haltera Hierusalem*. Conversely, the ambiguous

[25] Kirkland-Ives, *Capel Nuncapato*, p. 1042.

[26] Master of herself before the world, not fearful to many but important for all, thus representing in earth almost heavenly Jerusalem: Franciscum Sansovinum, *Delle orationi recitate a principi di Venetia nella loro creatione da gli ambasciadori di diverse città* (Venice, 1562), p. 69. Concerning the understanding of Venice as Jerusalem in figurative arts see Lionello Puppi 'Venezia come Gerusalemme nella cultura figurativa del Rinascimento' in August Buck and Bodo Guthmüller (eds), *La città italiana del Rinascimento fra utopia e realtà* (Venice, 1984), pp. 117-136.

inscription placed before the entrance to the church can be understood as a declaration of Venice's independence, and affirmation of a religious significance equally important to that of Jerusalem. The religious significance that was apprehended by its visitors when later in the fifteenth century the pilgrim Pietro Casola described Venice as a different, unique city:

> […] I have been to Rome, the chief city of the world and I travelled to Italy, and also very much outside of Italy, and I must say that – though I do not say it to disparage anyone, but only to tell the truth – that I have not found in any city so many beautiful and ornate churches as there are in Venice.[27]

4.2.1 The architecture of the Church and Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre and its integration into Venice's late medieval itineraries

Unfortunately, no medieval layout of the monastery has been found yet at the Archivio di Stato, making it impossible to know what the exact architecture of the place was in the fifteenth century. In fact, the folder containing all the surviving documents related to the Church of the Sepulchre, displays only modern records produced before the monastery's suppression in 1807. It is well known that the church and the attached monastery were renovated several times during the centuries. Therefore, it is likely that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of 1484 had changed by the nineteenth century. Fig. 13 shows the only remaining map of the monastery's cloister drawn in the eighteenth century.[28] The drawing

[27] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 137.
[28] ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, Busta 33, Disegni del monastero.

of a staircase (Fig. 13 side A) suggests an upper floor where the church was likely located.

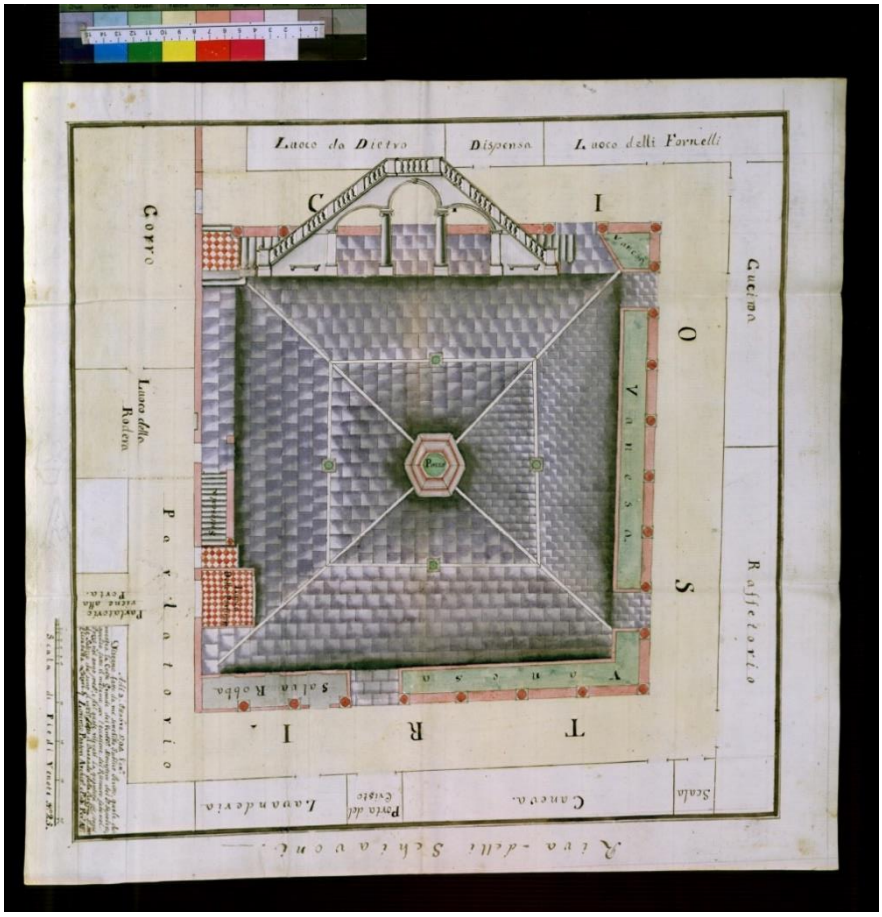
The architect Lorenzo Pastori drew the map in 1795, on the occasion of the cloister's last renovation. Although the church is not visible, the main gate on Riva degli Schiavoni known as *Porta del Christo* (Christ's door) for its famous inscription *Quale iter ad Christi tumulum?* was still available at the end of the eighteenth century (Fig. 14).[29] From that door, pilgrims were attracted into the monastery and visited the church of the Sepulchre. The most accurate description of what the Sepulchre looked like is found in a journal published in Venice in 1854, the *Omnibus.*[30] According to Fontana, the monastery had two entrances, the first near the bridge of the Sepulchre (Fig.15) and the second, the main one, on Riva degli Schiavoni. Despite some renovations and additions, both gates preserved, until the nineteenth century, their medieval outlook and part of the cloister and the balcony of the first floor the church was located.[31] The copy of the Sepulchre was situated in the main nave of the church, inside a grotto made with natural stone. The main altar, designed by Tullio Lombardo, was made of marble and sustained by four angels and columns in porphyry giving the impression the altar was "floating" in the middle of the grotto; the altarpiece was made of marble too, carved and decorated with precious stones.[32] Near the altar, there were eight steps going down toward an enclosed section of the Sepulchre

[29] All the inscriptions were removed during the suppression of the monastery in 1807. Tassini, *Iscrizioni*, p. 275.
[30] Gianiacopo Fontana 'Il ponte del Sepolcro a Venezia' in *L'Omnibus raccolta di letture popolari di storia, letteratura belle arti, curiosità* (Venice, 1854), pp. 11-13. Additional description of the Sepulchre can be found also in Ermolao Paoletti, *Il Fiore di Venezia ossia i Quadri, i Monumenti, le Vedute ed i Costumi Veneziani rappresentati in incisione da abili Artisti ed illustrati da Ermolao Paoletti*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1839), pp. 171-173.
[31] Fontana, *Il ponte del Sepolcro*, p. 12.
[32] Fontana, *Il ponte del Sepolcro*, p. 12.

where it was possible to venerate a life-size buried Christ, which was a major attraction for pilgrims and locals.[33]

A

D



B

C

Figure 13 - Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, Cloister, Venice, ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, Busta 33, Disegni del monastero. Image courtesy of Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

[33] Fontana, *Il ponte del Sepolcro*, pp. 12-13.

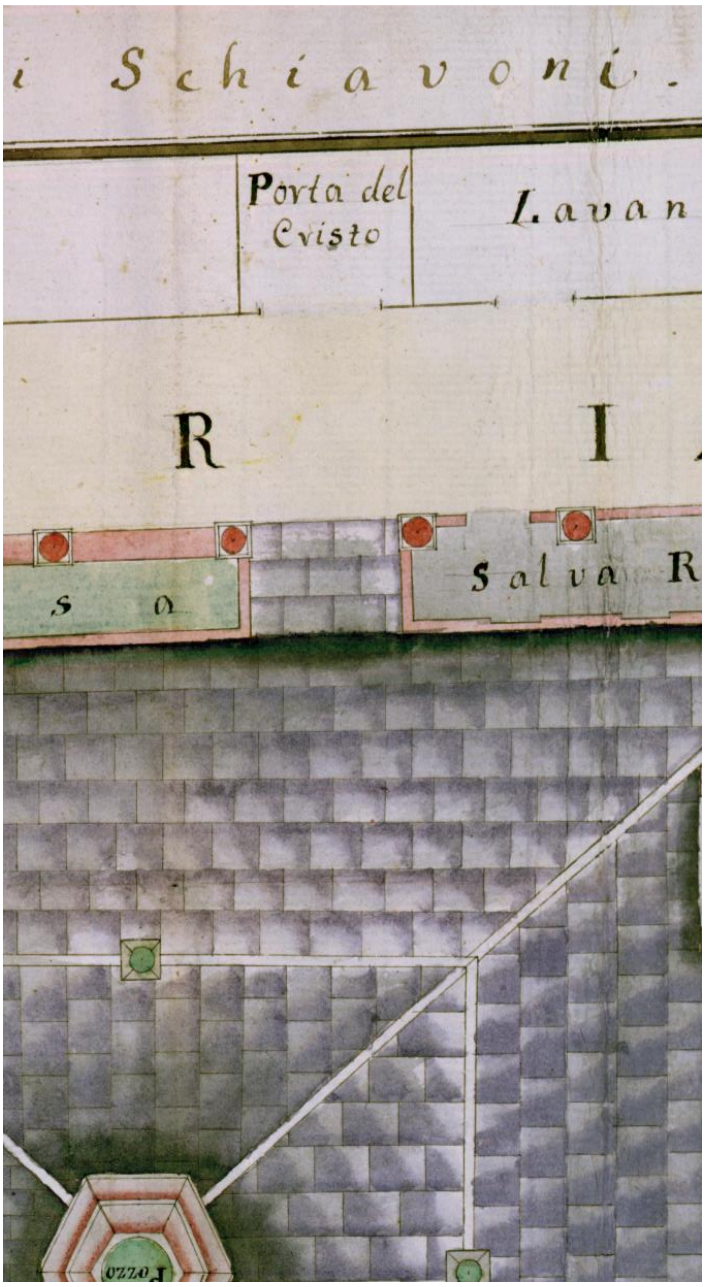


Figure 14 - ASV, S. Sepolcro, Atti, Busta 33, Disegni del monastero, Detail Porta del Cristo. Image courtesy of Archivio di Stato di Venezia.



Figure 15 - Sepulchre Bridge (Ponte del Sepolcro), Riva degli Schiavoni (Photo Credits: Laura Di Stefano).

After the suppression of the monastery in 1807, the buried Christ was donated to the Church of St. Canzian in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio to continue to be exhibited in public. Unfortunately, it seems that it was profaned shortly after the donation and no longer available in the current church. Conversely, a part of the altar made by Tullio Lombardo is still surviving and after the suppression was moved to the nearby Church of St. Martino (Fig. 16). It is confirmed by Fontana that on the basement of the cloister were located the kitchen, the parlour, the refectory and the laundry as shown in Fig.13.



Figure 16 - Venice, Church of St. Martin – Part of the altar, which belonged to the Church of the Sepulchre (photo: Wikicommon)

Therefore, one can assume the description of the Sepulchre is accurate as well. According to the records preserved at the Archive, the church of the Sepulchre became famous among pilgrims arriving into the lagoon and it was visited as part of the itinerary of Venice. However, except for Bernard Von Breyedenbach's reference, pilgrims who left an account of their stay in Venice while going to the Holy Land between 1450 and 1500 never allude to having visited a church with a Holy Sepulchre copy in Venice, despite having visited the area and churches surrounding the monastery.

The fact that the church was located inside a female monastery suggests there might have been rules to follow in order to have been granted access to the Sepulchre, and perhaps an authorisation to obtain before the visit. It is likely that Pietro Casola visited the monastery (and possibly the Sepulchre) during his visit to the nearby church of St. Zaccaria and nearby female monasteries, although he states generally:

> […] As I heard a great deal about certain monasteries for women, I went also in company to visit a few of them, especially the convent of St. Zaccaria. […].[34]

The number of surviving accounts containing a description of Venice does not reflect the actual number of pilgrims visiting the city every year. However, it is curious that among those narrations written in the mid-fifteenth century only one mentions the Venetian church of the Sepulchre. This could mean that the Sepulchre was not as significant as Venetian records report, perhaps not included in pilgrims' itineraries or that most of the surviving narrations are based on earlier descriptions of Venice that did not include a visit to the Sepulchre built, as it was, later in the fifteenth century. In his description of the Venetian Sepulchre, Paoletti reports also how this church was inserted into the Venetian tradition and used during the Easter celebrations. In fact, it seems that during the afternoon on the Palm Sunday, after having heard mass at St. Mark's, the Doge and his councillors led visits to the churches of Pietà and the Sepulchre.[35] A more public ceremony used to be held on Easter Day when the Doge conducted a procession from St. Mark's to the Church of the Sepulchre to celebrate the

[34] Newett, *Casola*, p. 136.
[35] Paoletti, *Il fiore di Venezia*, p. 22.

resurrection of Christ.[36] It is possible that this ceremony was introduced much later than the fifteenth century, influencing pilgrims' acknowledgment of the Venetian Sepulchre as a meaningful part of the Venetian religious significance. However, if one reconsiders the significance of the Church of the Sepulchre according to a wider approach, it can be seen that the construction and mimesis of a copy of the Holy Sepulchre in Venice did not signal ambition to become "another Jerusalem". The popularity of Venice as a valuable sacred destination was already at its peak when the Sepulchre was built at the end of the fifteenth century. It is likely that, although locally worthy, the Sepulchre never reached the popularity and religious significance of other places of worship that made Venice a unique religious destination such as St. Mark's or St. Giorgio Maggiore's, which displayed several valuable relics and granted pilgrims significant indulgences. Furthermore, its location in a secluded female monastery likely did not help its promotion within pilgrims' itinerary in Venice, especially during the Middle Ages. Lastly, its demolition in 1807 suggests that, compared to other devotional places, the Church of the Sepulchre was no longer considered either religiously significant or architecturally important within Venice and the Veneto. Otherwise, the Venetian government would have made more effort to safeguard it instead of contributing to his destruction.[37] In fact, the material used for the church and Sepulchre construction was reused by the government to expand the Arsenal and as an additional support of the *fundamenta*. The building, which hosted the monastery, instead, was used as a

[36] Paoletti, *Il fiore di Venezia*, pp. 22-23.
[37] In the history of Venice only a few religious institutions have been suppressed (See Chapter Five), most of the churches, although renovated in the modern era have been in the city since the Middle Ages.

base for the Italian police station (*Carabinieri*).[38] According to the available records, the religious significance of the church of the sepulchre in Venice was not comparable to that of other religious institutions in Venice and to the civic celebration that made Venice a unique destination along the pilgrimage route.

4.3 *Quo vadis?* Wandering in Venice during civic celebrations

One of the questions posed by this research is what evidence is there of the economic, religious and political participation of Venice in pilgrimage? As discussed in previous chapters, the legislation enacted by the Senate since the early thirteenth century demonstrates Venice's political and economic engagement with the Holy Land journey long before this became a lucrative business. However, Venice's promotion of its religious significance followed a different path. Nowadays, Venice contains about two hundred and fifty churches many of which were already established during the early Middle Ages. It is more than reasonable to think that pilgrims stuck in the city for ten or more days needed to spend their time somehow, probably asking for a (religious) tour of the city.[39] Venetians were more than prepared for this eventuality; for this reason the city's (religious) promotion worked closely with the bureaucratic organization of pilgrims' arrivals and departures in Venice. It was a specific duty of the *tholomagi* to provide pilgrims with a pleasant stay in Venice. This included the suggestion of suitable hospices, an (often-tailored) tour of the

[38] A recent study on the work of Tullio Lombardo argued that an excavation inside the current building may still recover a part of the Sepulchre. Matteo Ceriana, *Tullio Lombardo: scultore e architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento: atti del Convegno di studi* (Verona, 2007), p. 66.
[39] About this, see Chapter Five.

churches to collect indulgences and the involvement of pilgrims in the religious and civic life of Venice through the participation in fairs, celebrations and civic rituals.[40]

4.3.1 Venetian hospices

Venetians hospices were likely a primary means of connection between pilgrims and Venetian culture. In fact, the hospice was not only the main accommodation but also a place to find other companions, share and collect information about the journey, and the stay in Venice. Hospices, together with their affiliate *tholomagi*, were probably the main institutions helping pilgrims to set up their itineraries in the city and promoting Venice's civic and religious celebrations.[41] In the fifteenth century, a conspicuous number of churches had their own hospices/inns ready to host pilgrims wishing to visit the holy places of Rome and Jerusalem. Among these, the hospice Orseolo, situated at the rear of St. Mark's basilica, operated since 978 and was active throughout the entire Middle Ages, granting accommodation to incoming visitors.[42] Churches/hospices, served as a base for the Venetian stay but also provided a religious connection between pilgrims' beliefs and the city's spirituality.

---

[40] In 1462, William Wey was able to assist in the election of a new Doge and the following celebration. See Chapter Five.

[41] Franciscans had also a vital role in connecting pilgrims, Venice and the Holy Land. However, it is not clear whether they actively promoted the city of Venice through specific guides or booklets as is proved for Jerusalem. About this, see Michele Campopiano, *Islam, Jews and eastern Christianity*, pp. 75-89.

[42] N. Stivieri, *Storia di Venezia: dalla sua origine fino ai giorni nostri* (Venice, 1878), p. 16 For an analytic description of the Hospices and charitable institutions in Venice see also, Semi Franca, *Gli Ospizi di Venezia* (Venice, 1983). Alongside the hospice, Orseolo the ospice Moro founded in 939 was operating in the sestiere of Cannareggio, on the other side of the city. Semi, *Gli ospizi*, p. 182.

It is likely that pilgrims, who belonged to a specific religious order, preferred to sojourn in these hospices, which belonged to the same order.

It is well known that most of the pilgrims who arrived from Germany, especially merchants, preferred to stay or spend their time at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* where most people of the same country exchanged news and information.[43] In case a pilgrim was not aware of the most suitable place to stay in Venice, the *tholomagi* were responsible to direct people to the most appropriate location, often causing problems to the Venetian administration.[44] Pilgrims' hospices and hospitals were called in Venetian "*Cà di Dio"* regardless of their real names or the fact there was a hospice having this name on Riva degli Schiavoni.[45] Most of the hospices in Venice had a dual function: to welcome pilgrims going or returning from sacred places and to support the poor and people poor health. These institutions worked as charitable organisations and often invited foreign visitors to leave alms for the poor recovering in their structures. This helped to sustain them and allowed pilgrims to stay at a reasonable price. Most structures had separate sections for men and women, while certain institutions accepted only pilgrims and guests of a certain sex like the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which accepted only women, or the Hospice Santa Maria della Scala, which accepted only male guests.[46]

---

[43] Felix Fabri states he stayed on both journeys to the Holy Land at an inn called "St. George" but because no one was speaking German, excluding the owners, he passed much time at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. See Felix Fabri and Aubrey Stewart 'The books of wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri' in *The library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1896), p.10.

[44] *Tholomagi* often had secret agreements with the Hospices'owners to increase the price paid by pilgrims. See Chapter Three.

[45] For more information about this Cà di Dio see Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane, ovvero Origini delle denominazioni stradali di Venezia* (Venice, 1872), p. 120; Semi, *Gli Ospizi*, pp. 87-95.

[46] For more information about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see section 4.

The latter was founded in 1433, according to the will of India Formento, a noble woman from the *sestiere* of Castello who, before going to the Holy Land, instructed the Procuratori of St. Mark to use her seven houses on the Corte Formenta to build a hospice for male pilgrims going or returning from the Holy Land. Tassini reports the structure had the following inscription:

> […] Peregrine memorare cum fueris ad Loca Sancta rogare deum pro anima dominae India quae pro vestro reducto fieri fecit hoc ospitali […].[47]

Tab 4, shows the most well-known pilgrims' hospices, hospitals and inns in Venice operating between 868 and 1600.[48] There was a slight difference between institutions accommodating pilgrims in Venice. Hospices and hospitals were generally public accommodations managed by the Venetian government and most of the time supported by charitable institutions such as the *Scuole Grandi*. Conversely, private citizens generally managed inns, commonly called *ostaria* or *locanda*, with some exceptions seeing both private and religious institutions administrating certain properties.[49] According to Felix Fabri, the inn "St. George" was "large and respectable" and was used mostly by Germans and

[47] Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, pp. 277-278.

[48] Information about these churches and hospices can be found in Cornaro, NSCV; Fontana Gianjacopo, *Storia popolare di Venezia dalle origini sino ai tempi nostri*, vol. 1(Venice, 1871), pp. 167-168; About the hospice in St. Giacomo in Paludo see Cecilia Moine and Elisa Corrò 'Scrivere di San Giacomo' in *L'isola di domani. Cultura materiale e contesti archeologici a San Giacomo in Paludo* (Venice, 2014), pp. 161-169 and Semi, Gli Ospizi, pp. 50-64.

[49] A hybrid administration may have occurred also in religious institutions such as the hospital of SS. Pietro and Paolo. This hospital, adiacent to the main church, was founded in the eleventh century as an accommodation for pilgrims. However, it was later enlarged at the end of thirteenth century and was admininstrated by six nobles of Venice. See, Giuseppe Tassini, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o volti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati* (Venice, 1885), p. 11.

noblemen coming from various countries, while other inns in Venice hosted pilgrim monks and laymen.[50]

It is not clear where this St. George inn was actually located or whether it was part of the property managed by the Church of St. Giorgio Maggiore. Despite this, the fact that the inn had German owners suggests it was a private property.[51] However, it seems that most of the inns were located in the central zone of Rialto, the heart of Venice's commerce.

Religious Institutions	Secular Institutions
• Hospice Moro (Benedictine) • Cà di Dio • Church of St. Giovanni Battista • Church of St. Elena (monaci olivetani) • Church of St. Biagio and Cataldo (Benedictine) • Church of St. Giacomo in Paludo (Padri minori) • Monastery of St. Andrea (Island of Ammiano – Soppresso) • Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Franciscan - for women only) • Church of St. Maria delle Grazie • Church of Ss. Pietro and Paolo (Hospital) • Hospital of St. Caterina (Franciscans) • Church of St. Giorgio Maggiore (Benedictine) • Ospitale de' Pellegrini (in the church of St. Trinity) • Church of St. Maria degli Angeli (Augustinian)	• Fondaco dei Tedeschi • Fondaco dei Turchi • Hospice Orseolo • Hospice of the Armenian • Hospital St. Andrew • Ospitale de' Pellegrini (in the church of St. Trinity) • San Leone in Bucca Fluminis (Lizza Fusina) • Hospice of St. Maria della Scala (for male pilgrims only) • Hospice of the Island of St. Clemente • Hospital St. Giacomo in Paludo • Inn of St. George • Hospice of the Pizzochere dell' Angelo Raffaele

[50] Fabri, Stewart, *The books of wanderings*, pp. 10-11.
[51] See Goodman, *Margery Kempe*, p. 177. Its private nature might be confirmed also by the list of public hospices published by Semi, which does not mention the Hospice of St. George.

• Church of St. Michele (Camaldolese) • Church of St. Maria del Brolo (Gerosolimitan) • Church of Giudecca • Church of Francesco della Vigna	

Table 4 - Pilgrims' Hospices, Hospitals and Inns in Venice.

Medieval Rialto was one of the busiest commercial zones of Venice and it was much easier for pilgrims to find information and provisions for their travel and their stay in Venice while staying in that area rather than in Murano where, for example, the Church of St. Michele managed another hospice welcoming pilgrims. Except for Fabri and Casola, it was quite uncommon for pilgrims to describe their accommodation in Venice. Conversely, the peculiarity of rituals and celebrations in Venice often had a central place in the narration.

4.3.2 Rituals and celebrations

Venice's public rituals and celebrations shaped the city's collective imaginary within the Holy Land itinerary and imprinted in pilgrims' minds that mythical impression diffused in countless travel writings across the centuries. Although it cannot be called "antagonism", Venice's position as a counterpart of Jerusalem in medieval pilgrimage pushed the city to meet pilgrims' expectations and, from a certain point of view, to appear even greater than Jerusalem itself. Winter stays in Venice passed almost unobserved in travellers' accounts because no public activities were planned, leisure and commercial departures were limited, and the number of visitors arriving in the city was inferior compared to summer.

Conversely, those pilgrims arriving for the spring voyage were able to admire the Venetian's grandeur in all its splendour. Records such as requests to obtain indulgences for those people visiting during the spring season demonstrate the Republic's willingness to accommodate a large number of people during a specific season as well as to promote its religious significance during the peak period for pilgrimage departures through a series of public celebrations. As early as 1409, Venice concluded an agreement with the papacy and the Diocese of London. This agreement granted to St. Mark's Basilica ten consecutive years of indulgences for all those English pilgrims visiting the church during the Ascension Day, Good Friday and Holy Saturday in exchange for alms intended for the repair and conservation of the Augustinian monastery of St. Bartholomew in London.[52] Indulgences to promote the sacredness of the Venetian churches were granted in large quantities by the papacy during the fifteenth century and added great value to the pilgrims' stay in the city. However, the Senate was not happy to see how religious indulgences became an additional means for Venetians to extort money from its visitors. For this reason, in 1480, the Senate banned the publication of new indulgences and jubilees in the city.[53] The collection of indulgences and witness to Venice's celebrations became matters of routine for pilgrims and determined Venice's own identity within the Holy Land journey. In fact, although it could appear as self-propaganda, civic rituals in Venice were complex and determined by the intricate coexistence of religion and politics in the city as two side of the same coin. Edward Muir's work

[52] Rome, Lateran Regesta, vol. cxxxvi, Alexander V, 6 Kal. Sept. Pisa, f. 53 in CPR vol. 6, 1404-1415, pp. 149-160.
[53] Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *La Republica di Venezia e la corte di Roma, nei rapporti della religione*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1874), pp. 434-435.

describes accurately the significance of the civic ritual for the Venetian society.[54] According to Muir the "Civic rituals in Venice were a peculiar hybrid of liturgical and ceremonial elements, taken from diverse sources that prospered in the Venetian community. These regular communal affairs reveal an indigenous civic identity and ideology based upon a broad consensus about social values. Civic rituals were commentaries on the city, its internal dynamics, and its relationship with the outside world".[55]

The rite of procession, in particular, was a special Venetian trademark, a demonstration of power and a further occasion to imprint in visitors' minds the unicity of the city's grandeur.

4.3.2.1 Ascension Day and the Marriage of the Sea

Public rituals represented the *façade* that Venice exhibited to the world and its aspiration to be remembered by its visitors as a uniquely great city. Pilgrims' first impact with the grandiosity of Venice was likely experienced during the Doge's entrance in great pomp aboard the *bucintoro* through the canals of the lagoon.[56] Ascension Day marked the Doge's first public appearance during the period of the spring voyage and the first occasion for pilgrims to see him in person.[57] The celebration on Ascension Day, known as *Sposalizio del Mare* (marriage of the sea) was a public remembrance of Venice's naval power during the Dalmatian conquest. It is uncertain when the Marriage of the sea became part

[54] Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).
[55] Muir, *Civic Ritual*, p. 5.
[56] The Bucintoro was an ornate galley used by the Doge during the ritual of the Marriage of the Sea on the Ascension Day. The Doge used the galley also to welcome important dignitaries.
[57] This applied to pilgrims in general. Eminent people departing for a pilgrimage may have had the occasion to meet the Doge in a private event.

of the Ascension Day rituals. However, the first public celebration aboard the *bucintoro* occurred only in 1311 when the Senate approved the construction of a *navilium ducentorum hominum*.[58] Brunetti argued that the well-known civic ritual of the later Middle Ages merged with a former and much simpler religious celebration known as *benedictio maris* possibly performed at the time of the Dalmatian conquest in the year 1000.[59] On the other hand, the ritual of the *desponsatio* was included in the customary much later and is attributed to the visit of Alexander III in Venice.[60] Over time, what was a religious benediction before an official departure of the Venetian galleys from the Arsenal gradually disappeared in favour of a much more mundane display of greatness. In fact, the celebration for the *Sensa,* which lasted between one or two weeks before and after the final parade of the *bucintoro* through the canals of the lagoon, started with the organisation of the *Fiera* (fair). The *Sensa* fair was a major occasion for pilgrims to find souvenirs, do shopping, and discover some specific and sophisticated articles produced in Venice, such as manuscripts and later in the fifteenth century, early printed books, all in the same place. During the fair, merchants and artists from and outside Venice gathered in the St. Mark's square. Stalls (Fig. 17) were mounted all over the *piazza* to display a countless number of objects (e.g. paintings, books, Murano glass, carved wood, ornaments, spices etc.) and it seems the fair was so popular that attracted more than 100,000 people yearly.[61] However, Welch's recent study of Venice's medieval market system

[58] It is believed that *Bucintoro* was a distortion of the world *ducentorum*. In fact, the ship must have been able to carry about two-hundred men. See, Giustina Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziàne*, vol. I (Venice, 1852), p. 193.
[59] Brunetti Mario 'Sposalizio del Mare' in EI (1936), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sposalizio-del-mare_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/ .
[60] Mario Brunetti, *Sposalizio del Mare.*
[61] A recent study by Evely Welch offer a wider perspective in relation to Italian medieval fairs and brilliantly investigate the changes in the Sensa fair during the centuries. See,

argued the fair was not really thought as a further reason to do shopping for pilgrims, but rather as an occasion for Venice to merely display beautiful things, which did not need to be bought.[62] Her theory is supported also by Marin Sanudo's statement in relation to the fair, affirming, "there were many foreigners but they spent little money".[63] Even though this thesis has a valid basis, it should be considered also that some foreigners arriving for the *Sensa* fair were pilgrims ready to embark on a galley with a limited personal space. It is unlikely they were able to buy and bring with them bulky objects such as paintings, glass artworks or even manuscripts. It does look like the actual fair's purpose was more to give its visitors a unique experience in touching and seeing art and unusual objects rather than acquire new customers. In fact, the focus of the celebration was not the fair itself but the parade of the Doge aboard the *Bucintoro* and its symbolic religious and political significance. On the eve of Ascension Day, the *Bucintoro* (Fig. 18) was moved out of the Arsenal to be admired by people before the official parade.[64] Fabri described the vessel as "a great ship fashioned like a tabernacle, painted, covered with gilding and shrouded with silken hangings".[65]

Evelyn S.Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (Yale, 2005), pp. 166-184.

[62] Evelyn Welch 'The fairs of early modern Italy' in Blondé Bruno, Stabel Peter, Stobart Jon, Van Damme Ilja (eds), *Buyers & sellers: retail circuits and practices in mediaeval and early modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 46.

[63] Welch, *The* fairs, p. 46; Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, p.182.

[64] *L'Omnibus raccolta di letture popolari di storia, letteratura belle arti, curiosità*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1854), p. 173.

[65] Fabri, *The book of wanderings*, p. 98.

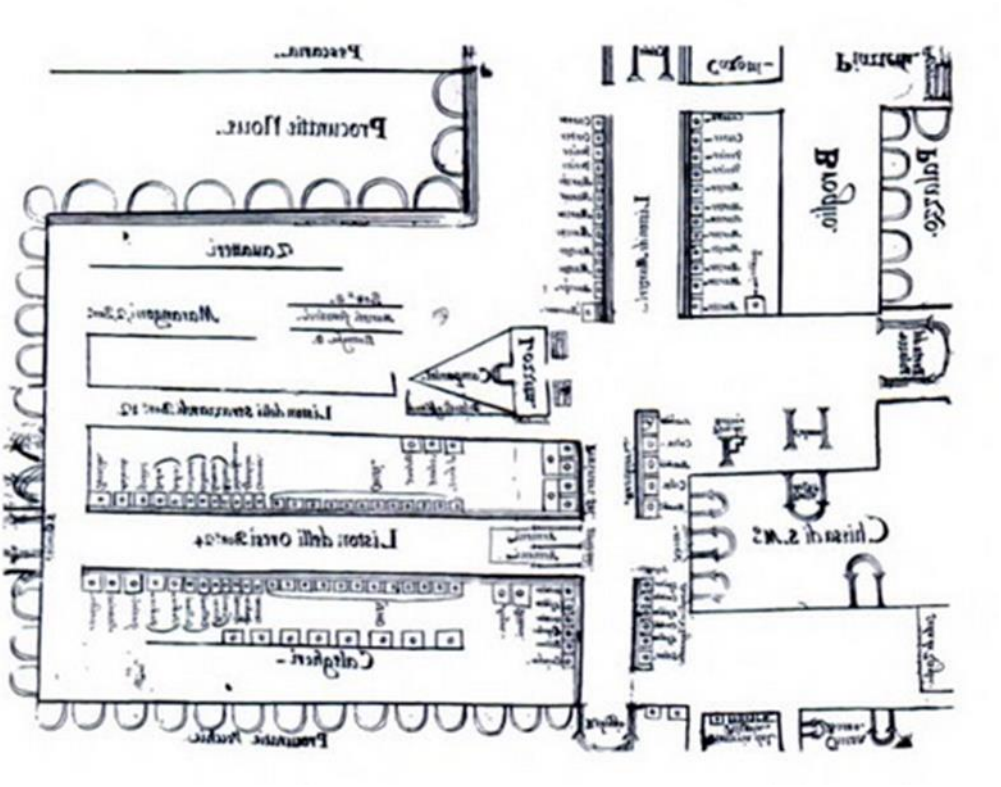


Figure 17 - *Sensa* Fair stalls disposition, ASV, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b.53.[66]

Before the parade, a religious procession accompanying the Doge to the *bucintoro* did not fail to remind pilgrims of the sacredness of that moment. The ceremony is described as pompous and so noisy that Fabri stated, it "seems to shake the very sea" with all the city's bells ringing, trumpets, cannons and over five thousand vessels celebrating the passage of the Doge from the Arsenal to the church of St. Nicholas on the Lido.[67] The final stage of the celebration was the *Sponsalizio*. The Doge, as a propitiatory rite inaugurating a new naval season, threw a ring towards the sea as a symbol of the annual "marriage". Crouzet-Pavan, in his study about the myth of Venice, argued this moment represented

[66] The picture is published in Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, p. 179.
[67] For the description of the feast, see Fabri, *The books of wanderings*, pp. 98-99.

for pilgrims a symbol of the "maritime adventure" on which they were embarking.[68]



Figure 18 - Venice, Arsenal - *Bucintoro* (XVI century) – (Photo Credits: Laura Di Stefano).

However, although Crouzet-Pavan's hypothesis may be plausible within the celebration context, any pilgrim who left an account of their stay in Venice during the fifteenth century did not discuss the *Bucintoro* as a symbol of the upcoming maritime journey. On the contrary, with the exception of Felix Fabri, pilgrims' mentions of the Ascension Day ceremony are generally very brief. For example Santo Brasca, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1480, describe his participation in the Sensa as:

[68] Crouzet Pavan, *Récits, images,* p. 532.

> […] Preterea andai a vedere sposare el mare fuora de le castelle ove gli era il duce nel Bucintoro con tante barche de citadini et done ornatissime, che certo era grandissima magnificentia a vedere".[69]

This does not mean the celebration did not impress visitors, but that it was perceived differently from pilgrim to pilgrim. For instance, William Wey preferred to highlight the background linked to the symbolism of the marriage of the sea instead of describing the ceremony itself in every detail like Fabri.[70] What emerges from all these accounts is the intention of Venice to mark herself as a unique place on the pilgrimage route offering to pilgrims a type of spirituality that was different from the one they would experience in Jerusalem; a spirituality that revolved around the figure of the Doge as the legitimate representative of the Christian faith on earth.

The Doge was perceived as one of the closest emissaries of God on earth. Therefore, everything organised by him and his holy government in the city resulted from this sanctity and great expression of his faith. Bernard Von Breydenbach himself affirms that there were not right words to praise the glory, piety and sanctity of the Doge, who in his eyes was a prince surrounded by the wise members of the Senate and most judicious person to enact the saint laws of Venice.[71] Except for a few "lucky" pilgrims who met the Doge personally in his palace, he remained for great part of the visitors a sort of symbolic figure who

---

[69] "I went to see the marriage of waters out of the walls where the Doge was in the Bucintoro with many other citizens'boats and ornated women. Of course it was something great and magnificent to see". Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy, *Viaggio in Terra Santa di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458* (Milan, 1966), p. 49.

[70] William Wey dedicates an entire paragraph to explain the origins of the Marriage of the Sea throught the legend of the Pope Alexander III and the Emperor Frederick. See Davey, *The itineraries*, pp. 120-122.

[71] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, pp. 24-25.

represented the start and the end of the Venetian stay before the journey to the Holy Land.

4.3.2.2 The Corpus Christi procession.

If the Ascension Day's celebration represented, symbolically, the arrival of pilgrims in Venice on occasion of the pilgrimage, the Feast of Corpus Christi and its well-known procession represented, on the other hand, the end of the pilgrims' stay in Venice and the start of a new journey towards Jerusalem. Corpus Christi (in Venetian *Corpus Domini*) was one of the most impressive celebrations and processions organised by Venice during the later Middle Ages. Although the feast of Corpus Christi in Venice had a much longer tradition, the "official" ritual procession was approved only in the fifteenth century. In fact, with the probable intention of impressing visitors, the Major Council decided on the 22nd May 1407 to institute the procession of Corpus Christi with a formal act.[72] The act (Fig. 19) established that from that year onward a procession guided by the Doge and his counsellors, followed by all the members of the Venetian nobility and the clergy had to depart from the doors of the St. Mark's Basilica surround the square and return to the same place.[73] During the following fifty years, the Senate changed Corpus Christi's celebration from a simple and traditional procession around St. Mark's square into a mundane event. On 26th

[72] ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni. Registri (secc. XIII-XVI in.), Leona, f. 167v. Garry Wills dates the first procession of the Corpus Christi in 1317. However, no records demonstrate his statement, while it is confirmed there was an already existent church of the Corpus Domini in the sestiere of Cannareggio that was founded in 1336 and demolished during the Napoleonic domination in 1810. Newett attributes the earliest celebration of the Corpus Christi in 1295. Garry Wills, *Venice: Lion City: The Religion of Empire* (Washington, 2013), p. 195 and Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 370.

[73] […] debeant omnes canonici et mansionarii ecclesia e S. Marci et facere processionem predictam per portam ecclesiae S. Marci ab horis apud canonìcam et ire per apud procuratias usque caput platea circundando plateam et revertendo in ecclesiam per portam que est apud canonicam per oppositum aulae […]. ASV, Leona, f. 167v.

November 1440, a decree of the Senate established that, during the procession, fifty pounds of torches have to be kept lighted to the adoration of Corpus Christi and each noble of Venice participating to the procession had to hold a lighted candlestick in his own hands for the entire duration of the ceremony. After the procession, all the remaining wax had to be brought into the Church of St. Mark as a sign of devotion.[74] Less than fifteen year later, in 1454, the Major Council allowed the participation of the *Scuole Grandi* of Venice in the procession and defined most of the visual details described in late fifteenth-century pilgrims' accounts (e.g. the colours of the clothes, the wax ceremony etc.).[75] If one considers the way in which the Senate was acting in relation to the pilgrims' arrivals and departures in Venice during the same period, by creating an exclusive means of transport for pilgrims and protecting their rights, it does not appear as a coincidence that even religious events like the procession of Corpus Christi became even more impressive.

This reflected a newly acquired city's "status" as Venice presented itself as the first stage of the *sancta peregrinationae*. The brand new ritual started with the celebration of mass in St. Mark's and was planned to be one of the greatest (and well-prepared) displays of Venetian wealth and power of the Middle Ages. It seems that in St. Mark's Square a wooden arched structure covered in white clothes surrounded the *piazza*. Each of the columns of this structure was covered in crimson coloured damasks and large torches of white wax lighted the path.[76]

[74] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Terra, Reg. 1, f.5v.
[75] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 370.
[76] Michiel, *Origine delle feste*, p. 125.

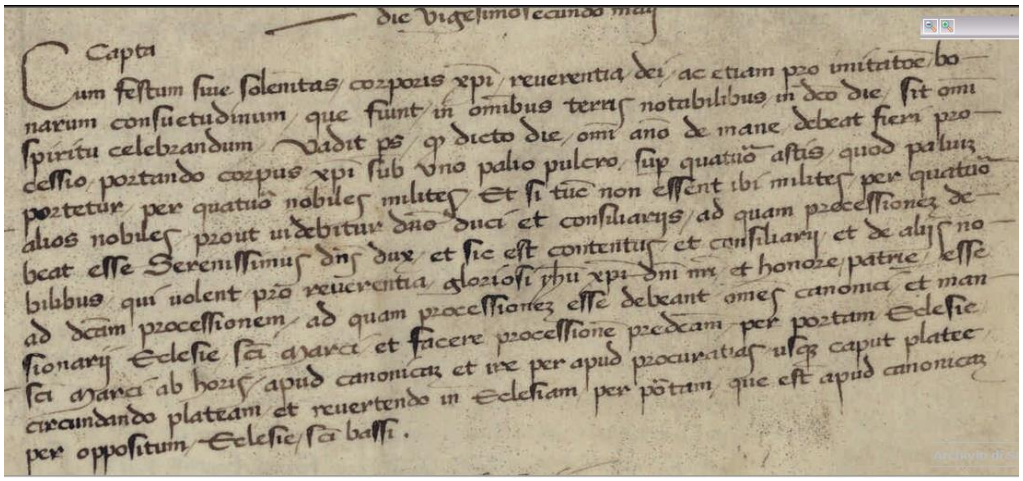


Figure 19 - Institution of the Corpus Christi. ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Leona, f. 167v - Image courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

The five Schools of Venice paraded one behind the other showing to the spectators all their riches and beautiful objects in silver and gold.[77] Their members dressed in five different colours and held wax candlesticks of different colours too. According to Casola the first School appearing in the procession was the Scuola della Misericordia, whose members were *all vestiti de una capa bianca, con uno poco designale rosso da uno lato, el quale conteneva el nome de la Misericordia.*[78] A characteristic of the Schools' procession highlighted by Casola was the use of *doppieri*; heavy-weight wooden chandeliers with multiple coloured wax candles fastened together that he describe as "at least of two pound weight each" brought in procession by the scholars of the School.[79] Following the Scuola della Misericordia, there appeared, in order, the Scuola Grande della Carita, the Scuola of San Marco, the Scuola of San Giovanni, and the Scuola of

[77] In the fifteenth century there were only five Scuole Grandi, as the sixth, the Scuola Grande of San Teodoro was upgraded as "Grande" only in 1552.
[78] Dressed in a white tunic, laterally borded in red with a small symbol containing the name "Misericordia". See Paoletti, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, p. 104.
[79] Newett, *Canon Casola*, p. 148.

San Rocco.[80] The procession continued with the members of the Venetian clergy and the Patriarch followed by the Doge, the counsellors, the ambassadors and the senate of Venice. It was customary during the fifteenth century that each member of the government and lord of Venice was accompanied by a pilgrim during the procession as the same Casola confirms in his account:

> […] E dreto a lui se misi el prefato Duce e li oratori e subsequenter quili signori consiglieri e li altri zentilhomini; lo sequitaveno, siando molto humanamente richesti, li peregrini se trovaveno lì. E forono acobiati con li prefati zentilhomini, finché ghe fu de acompagnare.[81]

This custom was probably introduced to make pilgrims arriving in Venice for the Holy Land departures partakers of the celebration. In this way, they not only assisted in an extraordinary event but they contributed to make it happen. Their position in the procession gave them the impression of being treated with the same importance, as the lords of Venice, making them feel important to the Republic and the religious celebration itself.

Will points out how the procession of Corpus Christi was a mere excuse for Venetians to present themselves as the legitimate protectors of the Lord's Body, even more legitimate than the pope himself.[82] Pilgrims, who were witnessing something they had never seen before, likely perceived this grandeur and

---

[80] Only the Scuola of San Marco was allowed to display doppieri with white wax, while the other Schools had to display coloured wax candles: green for Misericordia and Carità, red for San Giovanni and grey for San Rocco.

[81] […] and behind him (the Patriarch of Venice), there was the Doge, the ambassadors, the councillors and others gentlemen. Even the pilgrims where there as they were coupled with the previously mentioned gentlemen to accompaign them into the procession. Paoletti, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, p. 108. When pilgrims' departures declined after the sixteenth century, the Lords of Venice accompanied themselves with some poor citizens to remember the ancient customs. Michiel, *Origine delle feste*, p. 125.

[82] Wills, *Venice*, p. 195.

ambition of the city to be considered as the legitimate protector of the Christian values represented by the Doge. However, the procession of the Corpus Christi was not only a display of wealth and power but also a moment of collective prayer and faith for pilgrims who were soon to depart on a risky voyage. The feast of the Corpus Christi marked for pilgrims the end of the Venetian stay and the imminent departure for the Holy Land.[83] The end of the procession, with the Doge greeting the participants in front of the St. Marks's door, symbolised a last blessing of the Venetian authorities before the journey.

4.4 Conclusions

As early as the tenth century Giovanni Diacono called Venice the "*aurea Venetia*", an adjective that was used also by William Wey five centuries later and shaped the so-called myth of Venice long before it was fully established.[84] In a work of 1961, the historian Franco Gaeta pointed out that it is not possible to talk about just "one myth of Venice" but that one should consider the multiplicity of myths involving the lagoon since the Middle Ages.[85] In this regard, if the idea of a long lasting and perfect institutional system guided by the Doge was an example of the power and sovereignty of Venice above other Italian city-states since the Middle Ages, an even more rooted idea of Venice as the most holy place shaped a great part of the Venetian imaginary. Venice's religious significance had always a central importance for the Republic since the *translatio* of the St. Mark's body in 828. However, the inner religious devotion

[83] With the exception of specific cases (e.g. Pietro Casola who departed a few days later because his galley was not ready), pilgrims departed for the spring voyage the day after the Corpus Christi.
[84] Giovanni Diacono 'Cronaca Veneziana' in Giovanni Monticolo (ed.), *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime* (eds) (Rome, 1890), p. 144.
[85] Franco Gaeta 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23:1 (1961), pp. 59-67.

that spread in the city since its foundation found its definitive dimension in the course of the fifteenth century. Although it cannot be considered the only factor in the creation of the religious Venetian myth, the enormous increase of pilgrims arrivals in the fifteenth century contributed to the city's need to affirm its religious identity within the pilgrimage route. Venice's peculiar role as counterpart to Jerusalem and the main provider of the maritime services towards the Holy Land widely contributed to the making the city an important religious attraction. From a certain point of view, Venice had to respond to pilgrims' need to be welcomed and guided though their journey as well as presenting itself in a manner that met their expectations. The maintaining of the minor transitory role of point of passage up to the fourteenth century must have been difficult to accept for a city like Venice, which was used to being considered a powerful protagonist of the Mediterranean scene for its trade and wars and declared itself above the papal jurisdiction. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, through the obtaining of new indulgences for pilgrims and the gradual transformation of classic religious rituals into spectacular civic celebrations Venice revealed its ambition in becoming a brand new religious destination. However, notwithstanding some specific and isolated cases of jerosolimitan *mimesis,* such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Venice did not tried to be an *altera* Jerusalem. On the contrary, it tried to stand out while maintaining the same type of Holy Land hospitality with guides, itineraries, indulgence collection and support to its visitors. Its religious significance developed in a completely different way from that of Jerusalem, being focused on three main points: the figure of the Doge, the civic celebrations and processions, and the display of wealth as a sign of the city sovereignty and as a symbol of the divine providence. In this regard, the French linguist Guillaume Postel stated that Venice was an

eternal city blessed by God, and that *perennitas* was shown in the symbols of power of Venice's wealth gold art and glass.[86] He marked Venice as a "Perfect government, most sacred *regalitas* and true Jerusalem".[87] Postel's sixteenth-century perspective summarised vividly what Venice aspired to be, not only within the pilgrimage route but also within the Christianity itself. In fact, despite its role the city did not aspire to be another Jerusalem through *mimesis* or devotion but wished to be considered the "true" Jerusalem because of its unicity, geographical position, government and wealth obtained by a divine choice.[88] The next chapter investigates how Venice was perceived by its visitors and whether this sense of grandiosity and aspiration of being considered equally or superior to other major religious destinations passed to pilgrims and was described in their narrations.

[86] Marion Leathers Kuntz, *Postello, Venezia e il suo mondo* (Florence, 1988), p. 175
[87] Kuntz, *Postello*, p. 173.
[88] Sante Graciotti, *Mito e antimito di Venezia nel bacino adriatico: secoli XV-XIX* (Venice, 2001), p. 157.

Part II – Venice according to pilgrims' narratives

Chapter 5 - William Wey and the *Matters of Venice*

5.1 Introduction

As outlined by Parsons in his *Worth the Detour,* since the very beginning one of the most important functions of travel guidebooks was that of intermediary "between the high ground of cultural aspiration and the low ground of vulgar curiosity".[1] As agents of cultural transmission and travel companions, medieval travel guidebooks found their place between that mythic reality narrated by travellers and a complicated and less romantic travel market made of socio-economic exchanges, legislation and crowd management. One of the most interesting points of travel accounts is shown by the difference between travellers' expectations or descriptions of places versus reality. Until now, the investigation of these differences has received scant attention and any cross checking between local chronicle and factual narration has been completely neglected. Reasons moving an author to depict a world that does not match perfectly with reality may be different from those moving him to undertake a pilgrimage. Notwithstanding the latter remain the most investigated by scholars and described by medieval authors.[2] In the case of descriptions of Venice in

[1] Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour. A history of the guidebook* (Phoenix Mill, 2007), p. xiv.

[2] For instance, in the accounts of William Wey there is a long section reserved to the explanation of the "main reasons for a pilgrimage". See 'Materie moventes transire ad Terram Sanctam' in William Wey, Bulkeley Bandinel, George Williams, (eds), *The itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, a. D. 1458 and a. D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostelle, a. D. 1456: from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1857), pp. 25-32; Recently the reasons for pilgrimage

medieval travel accounts, the perpetuation of the "Venetian myth" seems to have taken two different paths: on the one hand, the dissemination of a Venetian image of maritime power and on the other hand, an increasing tendency to describe Venice as a new sacred place and new stage of pilgrimage. William Wey was, among other pilgrims, one of the authors who unconsciously outlined this division narrating in different ways the two sides of Venice. As a first stage of examination, the two *itineraria ad Terram Sanctam* produced by William Wey in 1458 and 1462 are considered in this chapter. The peculiarity of these narratives is that descriptions of Venice made by Wey reflect both commercial and religious sides. As far as we know Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Bodley 565, is the only surviving William Wey manuscript. Furthermore, Wey's work was edited and transcribed by the Roxburghe Club in 1857 and was followed by a recent modern English translation.[3]

Nevertheless, although these publications give a comprehensive and well-structured panorama of the different pilgrimages made by Wey, as well as valuable information about his authorship, the description of the Venetian context deserves further investigation. Before doing so, a general introduction to the author and his background is necessary.

were investigated also by Brett Edward Whalen, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 368-370.

[3] For the transcription of the original manuscript see Wey, *The itineraries*; for the modern translation see Davey, *The itineraries*.

5.2 A traveller called William Wey

Everything is known about Willelmus Wey (or William Weye) comes from the studies made by Bulkeley Bandinel for the Roxburghe edition in 1857 and from the modern contributions made by Francis Davey, Pnina Arad and Mary Boyle. With the exception of his confirmed fellowship at Exeter College, Oxford, from 1430 until 1442 and at Eton College from 1441 to 1467,[4] any other personal information about William Wey's life remains obscure and contradictory.[5]

The same can be said of his itineraries, which display a certain number of historical inconsistencies.[6] Notwithstanding a letter written by King Henry VI, probably during the year 1457, granted him the licence to travel "to Rome, to Jerusalem and to other Holy Places"[7] this cannot be considered as a sufficient proof to explain his prolonged absence from Eton, an unlicensed second pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1462 and a previous pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (which may fall into the category of the "other Holy Places") in

[4] See Davey, *The itineraries*, p. 10 and Wey, *The itineraries*, pp. i-ii. The presence of William Wey at Exeter College is confirmed by a register of 1429, while his Eton fellowship is recorded in a register of 1447. See 'Socii Collegii Regal. Etonensis' in Thomas Harwood (ed.), *Alumni Etonenses: Or, A Catalogue of the Provosts & Fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge, from the Foundation in 1443 to the Year 1797: with an Account of Their Lives & Preferments, Collected from Original Mss. and Authentic Biographical Works* (Birmingham, 1797), pp. 51-52 and William C. Boase., *Register of the rectors, fellows, and other members of the foundation of Exeter College, Oxford: with a history of the College and illustrative documents* (Oxford, 1894), pp. lxx-lxxi, 36.

[5] Davey provides two possible dates for his birth (1407 in Devon) and death (30 November 1476) that, however, are not accompanied with any documentary proof, except a mention in the register of Exeter College. Furthermore, Davey suggests that William Wey died in his seventieth year, while in the Roxburghe edition it seems that at the same age the author was "*consecratus ad modum peregrinorum*" for his last pilgrimage in 1462. For this, see Wey, *The itineraries*, p. v.

[6] Among these, it should be remembered the anachronism in the description of the Venetian "wedding of the sea" origins in which William Wey describes Alexander III's escape from Rome dressed like a Franciscan monk in the year 1177, five years before the birth of St. Francis and 32 years before the foundation of the order. Davey, *The itineraries*, p.120; Wey, *The itineraries*, p. xii.

[7] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. iii.

1456.[8] Bandinel stated that in the archives of Eton College there was an "official letter" of King Henry VI authorizing William Wey's pilgrimages on 11th August but without the year.[9] In this case, Bandinel's main source, Mr Dupuis, did not provide any type of archival reference for this letter. A search at the Eton College Archive as part of this study confirms this "letter" exists, although it is not an autograph. The famous king's licence for *Maister William Wey* is a copy transcribed in one of the numerous Eton College registers. Therefore, it is not possible to state that what appears in the register (Fig.20) is an accurate read of the original licence. Furthermore, the letter is not addressed to William Wey himself but to the Provost of the College and, as Bandinel stated, no date is displayed.[10]

[8] On 9th February 1344, a royal proclamation forbade pilgrims and other categories of persons from leaving the kingdom without special licence of the king. See SRF, vol. 1 p. 336.

[9] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. iii.

[10] The register belongs to the year 1457; consequently, it was supposed that also the letter's production date was 1457. However, it is suspicious that a royal letter and its transcription do not provide any kind of official date for this type of licence, considering that on 14th August 1457 King Henry VI released other pilgrimage licence, for instance to John Earl of Norfolk authorizing him to go to "Ireland, Rome, Jerusalem and elsewhere". *De Licentia, pro Duce Norfolkiae*, An. 35. H. 6. Franc. 35. H. 6. m. 9; 'Rymer's Foedera with Syllabus: July-December 1457', in SRF, vol. 11, (eds) Thomas Rymer (London, 1739-1745), pp. 401-408 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rymer-foedera/vol11/pp401-408; SRF, vol. 2, p. 688. For the letter transcription mentioned by Mr Dupuis see Wey, *The itineraries*, pp. v-iv. Another mention to this letter can be found in Maxwell H.C. Lyte, *A History of the Eton College 1440-1884* (London, 1889), pp. 54-56 where the author mentions this letter as part of *Eton Register*, vol. 1, f.46; concerning the licence for the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage it seems that this was not released individually but it was usually granted to the patrons of the English galleys who were responsible for many pilgrims travelling towards St. James of Galicia. Between 1455 and 1456 the King released at least four such licenses. See *SRF*, vol.2, p. 686.

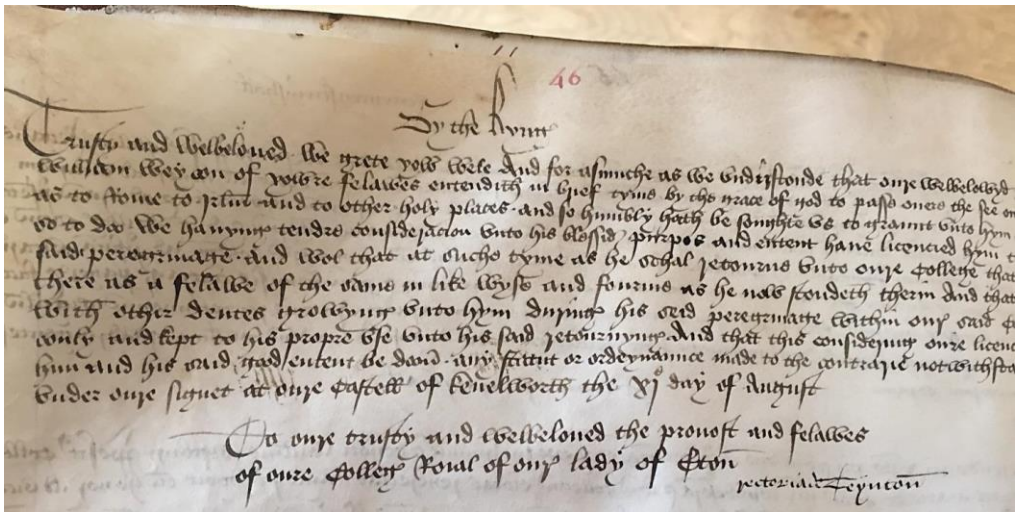


Figure 20 - Eton College Register 1457-1536, Folio 18 r., (46), William Wey's licence.

Concerning the prolonged absence from Eton College,[11] Bandinel argued that in the absence of official records confirming the vacation of his fellowship, the absence of William Wey from his office would be justified with resignation of the fellowship from Eton before his admission to Edington in 1467.[12] This does not correspond with the incipit of Wey's *itinerarium* in which the pilgrim declared himself a fellow of the Eton College.[13] This hypothetical "empty space" between the period of the fellowship at Eton and monastic life at Edington might justify the pilgrimage made in 1462 for which any royal official licence has not yet been discovered.

[11] The rules of Eton College allowed their Fellows up to a maximum of six weeks absence (excluding some specific conditions that needed the approval of the Provost and the majority of the Fellows). See Wey, *The itineraries*, p. iii.

[12] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. iv; However, except from this supposition, from both edition consulted it seems that William Wey pursued an uninterrupted career from Exeter to Edington.

[13] "[…] Ego Willelmus Wey, sacre theologie baccularius socius Collegii beatissime Marie et sancti Nicholai Etone juxta Wyndesoram […]" Wey, *The itineraries*, p.82. For discussion about a further mistake made by Wey in this incipit see Wey, *The itineraries*, p.ii. His fellowship with Eton College until 1467 is confirmed also by the College registers, see *Eton Register 1141-1698*, p. 23. http://etoncollege.daisy.websds.net/Register/GetFiles/GetArticlePages/21

However, this does not mean that William Wey travelled without authorization. In fact, in addition to the approval released by the royal chancery there were other licences valid for the Holy Land passage, such as those produced by the Pope. In one of the registers produced by the Lateran chancellery in 1461 is still preserved a concession for a portable altar to a certain William Wey, priest of the Diocese of Lincoln and Fellow of Eton College.[14] This short but important mention contains a great amount of information. First, it disproves the unjustified "empty space" between the Eton and Edington periods showing that in 1461 William Wey had not disappeared but was a priest of a church within the diocese of Lincoln. Eton College was still within the diocese of Lincoln, therefore this seems to confirm that William Wey was still a member of the College as he stated in his narration.[15] Second, the authorisation is a positive response to a request made by the pilgrim to obtain a portable altar, which means that William Wey requested it to move somewhere else and be able to fulfil his religious duties.[16] The words "indult to him" may indicate that the Pope authorized him not only to have this altar but to the temporary suspension of the religious duties in his office and use the altar to celebrate mass in another place.[17]

---

[14] "To William Wey, priest, of the diocese of Lincoln, bachelor in theology. Indult to him, who is a priest and belongs to the royal college of Eton, to have a portable altar. Registered briefly: […] Pius etc.,' address and 'salutem etc. Hinc est quod nos tuis devotis supplicacionibus inclinati ut liceat tibi, qui presbyter es ac de collegio reguli (sic) de Eton existis, habere altare portatile etc. Datum […] (H. and Blondus. | H.x. Folani.)' in 'De altaribus Portatilibus' *Lateran Regesta*, vol. DLXXX, f.244; see also 'Lateran Regesta 580: 1461', in CPR, Volume 12, 1458-1471, (ed.) Jesse A. Twemlow (London, 1933), pp. 160-163.
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol12/pp160-163

[15] Wey, *The itineraries*, p.82

[16] Before the Council of Trento (1545 – 1563) which reserved the use of portable altars only to Popes, these were often requested by priests to be able to celebrate the mass out of their office.

[17] Among the meanings of the word "Indult" (from the Latin *indultum*) there is also that of special of temporary dispensation from the ordinary dutied granted to the members of the Roman Catholic Church. William Wey himself states he celebrated mass in Jerusalem.

However, Pope Pius II does not state that this portable altar was for a pilgrimage; nevertheless, it is possible to imagine that William Wey provided this reason in his request given the authorization arrived just the winter before his travel to the Holy Land in 1462. Last, we do not know the exact appearance of this "portable altar", but it is known that medieval portable altars may have different forms such as a stone, a reliquary box, a plate, a triptych etc.[18] Among those gifts that Wey left to the Edington priory are listed a number of objects that might correspond to a portable altar. Among these, a "Paxbrede" is indicated by Davey as an *osculatorium* used for the mass to convey the "kiss of Peace" but that might have been additionally used as portable altar.[19] The gift-list contains also a reliquary box with relics and a "stone in which is the depth of the mortice of Our Lord's cross" that are good candidates as portable altar, even if it is likely Wey collected them during his travels. The list includes many objects used for the celebration of the mass suggesting the altar might have been part of the same list although not reported.[20] The Pope's licence is useful evidence for the reconstruction of the "behind the scenes" of William Wey's pilgrimage, but other hypotheses are interesting. These include the suggestion by Davey that Wey was involved in overseas fundraising for the Wars of the Roses.[21] The direct involvement of the pilgrim in the crown's affairs might be the most reasonable explanation not only for his long and justified absence from Eton and his economic wealth (that made it possible for him to undertake at least three

[18] Colum Hourihane, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2012), pp. 43-44.
[19] Davey, *The itineraries*, pp. 223-226; Sherman M. Kuhn, *Middle English Dictionary*, vol. 2 (University of Michigan, 1982), p. 726.
[20] Among these objects are a decorated cloth, a chalice of silver, the cruets of pewter, a vernicle, a sacring bell and two standing candlesticks of lateen. Davey, *The itineraries*, p. 223.
[21] Davey, *The itineraries*, p.13.

pilgrimages),[22] but also for the audience of his manuscript which, despite seemingly being addressed to a large public of pilgrims willing to undertake the *sancta peregrinationae*, received neither the attention, nor the distribution of similar contemporary works. In fact, the Bodleian manuscript is the only surviving copy of Wey's travels.[23] These details, in addition to the great descriptive abilities of William Wey, make him the perfect candidate for an undercover assignment. However, it should be remembered that, with the exclusion of the papal licence for a portable altar, there is no evidence to confirm the supposition of an undercover espionage mission made by Wey and, until proven otherwise, *the Itineraries* remain a description of a genuine religious

[22] It is possible that William Wey received private funding for his pilgrimage or in the case of a fundraising mission his voyages might have being paid directly by the Crown. Davey, who tried to build William Wey's family background, has found different references to an "earlier" William Wey in Devon such as a donation to a certain William Weye in a will made by Oliver Radysworthy, Rector of Cheldon parish on 1st May 1411. It seems that Oliver Radysworthy left "to Robert atte Forde, to celebrate for his soul, 3s. 4d. also to Wm. Weye, Roger Monelond, and John Bloy "junior", 3s. 4d. each" See 'XXX, Oliver Radysworthy Rector of Cheldon, i, 315b' in Rev. F.C. Hilngeston-Frances Charles Hingeston-Randolph, *The Register of Edmund Stafford (A.D. 1395-1419) and index and abstract of its contents* (London, 1886), p. 397. More interesting is a further reference to a William Wey who was a prisoner in the bishop of Exeter's prison in 1440. Davey argues that this prisoner was probably a relative or the father of William Wey the pilgrim and that the latter prayed for his kinsman during his pilgrimage. For this and the other references see, Francis Davey, 'The bishop's prisoner' in *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, Vol. 39 (Cornwall, 2002), pp.170-175.

[23] Nevertheless, some other works ascribed or belonged to William Wey are mentioned in an entry of the catalogue of Syon Monastery, Isleworth "*Willelmus Wey in suis sermonibus dominicalibus super evangelia. Idem in sermonibus de principalibus festis & aliquibus Sanctis cum aliis sermonibus generalibus*" See, Mary Bateson, *Catalogue of Syon Monastery Isleworth* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 162, 244. However, these works seem to be lost as well as another manuscript mentioned by the *Registrum of the library of the Brethren, c. 1500-c. 1524* at the University of Oxford: SS1.1127, William Wey, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (not known to survive).
See http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/medieval_catalogues/SS1/. Until the last century it was believed that also the *Itineraria* (MS. Bodl. 565) belonged to Syon monastery in the parish of Isleworth. However, this information was due to a misreading of the cataloguer. Actually the Bodleian manuscript was originally owned by Edington. See George James Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery: The Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow* (London, 1840), p. 527; Bateson, *Catalogue of Syon Monastery*, p. 162; *Archaeologia, Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, vol. 21(London, 1827), pp. 408-415.

pilgrimage. In both narrations of his journey to the Holy Land (1458 and 1462), William Wey started his voyage from Venice. The name of Venice appears in many contexts in Wey's narration and the portrait of the city that emerges from his account assumes different values depending on his description of this experience. Because Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Bodley 565 is the only surviving copy of Wey's work, the pilgrim's original plans for this manuscript cannot be confirmed with certainty. This is particularly because some of the manuscript characteristics (e.g. binding and the order of the chapters) suggest the surviving copy was not the one intended for distribution but was rather a draft.[24]

5.3 About money

In 1458, two years after his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, William Wey decided to further his route of redemption through the *sancta peregrinationae ad Hierusalem*. With the previously mentioned licence signed by King Henry VI, he obtained a good safe-conduct for his travel to the holy places.[25] There is little information about the city of Venice in the narration of this first pilgrimage. Moreover, the account of the sea-voyage is devoid of any detail and it is structurally comparable with many other contemporary pilgrimage accounts. The chapters before the itinerarium highlight the role of Venice in this first

[24] A few clues can demonstrate this hypothesis. Firstly, the three accounts are not bound in a chronological order. Indeed, the itinerary to Santiago the Compostela, which was in 1456, appears only in the last pages. This detail cannot be addressed directly to William Wey but might be additional evidence that MS. Bodl. 565 was originally a draft. Secondly, a Latin copy of the "Provision" (that appears in Middle English right after the Changes of the Money) is repeated partially in Chapter Nine. Lastly, there are two different descriptions of the Venetian stage in the itineraries to the Holy Land. On the double version of the "Provision" see Davey, *The itineraries*, pp. 25-32.

[25] See the copy of this licence at ECA, *Eton College Register 1457-1536*, Folio 18 r., (46).

pilgrimage, especially by those concerning the change of money and the suggestions for pilgrims arriving at Venice.[26] Intentionally or not, the portrait of Venice described by Wey in the first two chapters does not coincide with the emergence of Venice as a religious stage on the main pilgrimage route to Jerusalem, but rather it emphasises the commercial side of the maritime republic depicting the city as trading place, port of departure and merchant town. The first information that Wey provides about Venice concerns the value of money and the type of contract one would sign before embarking to the Holy Land. Based on the great number of values mentioned, Wey seems an expert in matters of currency suggesting to pilgrims when to change and what amounts to change in different cities. As Davey pointed out, it is suspicious that William Wey, by showing this kind of economic expertise, neither mentions nor suggests using a letter of credit instead of bringing this large amount of money from England to the final destination of his travel.[27]

It is widely known that the pilgrim route, especially for those departing from the north of Europe, was full of dangers, with a high possibility of thefts or unpleasant encounters that would not be reduced even after the arrival in Palestine.[28] For this reason, pilgrims used to travel in groups and a letter of credit was usually the safest way to avoid carrying a great amount of cash.[29] Therefore,

[26] See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl., 565, ff. 3-4; Chapter One "Campcio monete a Calisia ad Venetia" and Chapter Two "Item provisio qualitier peregrini disponent se et pro se a Venecia ad Jerusalem et a Jerusalem ad Veneciam" in Wey, *The itineraries*, pp, 1-7.
[27] Davey, *The Itineraries*, pp. 24-25.
[28] Wey himself warns pilgrim about this possibility: "*the Sarsens wyl go talking wyth yow and make goyd chere, but they wyl stele fro yow that ye haue and they may*". See Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 7; For the translation see Davey, *The Itineraries*, p. 29.
[29] William Wey must have been aware of this possibility, especially considering the large diffusion of Italian bankers in England during the period (with a large majority of them stable in London, Oxford and Southampton).

for some reason he decided to not indicate the letter of credit as a possibility and to not use it. In this regard, it is likely that William Wey was not alone or in the sole company of his servant during his travels. He may have travelled with a group of other people, reducing greatly the possibility of unpleasant misfortunes and explaining why he decided to carry with him some cash instead of a letter of credit. William Wey may have taken advantage of the "protection" of a certain number of fellow pilgrims travelling with him, probably to change his cash with good value in order to avoid the payment of the bank rates on the letters of credit arriving from northern European countries.[30] Wey's suggestion to change in Venice rather than other places corresponds, in addition to a favourable value of exchange, to a particular Venetian legislation, about which he might have been aware, that allowed pilgrims to receive travel-money in exchange for foreign coins or uncoined gold and silver.[31] Although he did not mention any specific type of Venetian coin, listing solely the subdivision *aurea*, at the time of both his travels to Venice the current coins were those minted under the name of the Doge Pasquale Malipiero (1457-1462).[32]

[30] As for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, he may have taken of the unique licence released to the Patron to travel with other pilgrims.

[31] Since the enactment of a *capitolare* in 1278, the purchase of bullion and coins from foreign importers was forbidden by the mintmaster on the behalf of the Venetian government. Nevertheless there were some exceptions, which until the fourteenth century, allowed categories such as pilgrims or Germans to be excluded from these rules. See Frederick Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in medieval and renaissance Venice*, vol. 1 (London, 1985), pp. 152-153 and Alan M. Stahl, *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 2000), p. 139.

[32] Although the coins minted under the previous Doge Francesco Foscari were probably still in circulation in 1458 (even if their value should be inferior to the current coins) it seems that pilgrims exchanging their money with Venetian currency obtained the newest minted coins from the moneychangers. Lane, Mueller, *Money and Banking*, p. 153.



1) Ducat



2) Grosset

Figure 21 - Example of the Venetian coinage during Pasquale Malipiero's government.[33]

According to Wey's classification of coins, in Venice there were "grotys, grosetys, galy halfpens whyche be clepyd ther soldes and bagantynes".[34] Though this subdivision is accurate enough, there is a misunderstanding concerning the galley halfpenny description.[35] Indeed, even if these coins were officially called *soldi* or *soldini* they did not have the same value as the *bagattini*, which were a different and smaller kind of coin.[36]

[33] Images are taken from two private online auction websites. For the Ducat see Goldberg Auctions http://images.goldbergauctions.com/php/lot_auc.php?site=1&sale=83&lot=1314; For the Grosset see Sixbid Auctions http://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=483&category=10571&lot=497679.

[34] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 3.

[35] The silver coins *soldi* acquired the name of galley halfpennies because of their importation by Venetian "Galley-men" who brought them from Venice to England during the early fifteenth century. For this see the PAS database of the Bmu: https://finds.org.uk/medievalcoins/denominations/denomination/id/170.

[36] The *Bagattino* or Bagantyne/Bagantine belongs to the smaller coins produced in Venice since the fifteenth century. Papadopoli says that it was mentioned in official documents for 1442, but I found an earlier mention of the Bagantine in the account of King Henry IV's expedition to Holy Land in 1392. He mentions the bagantine together with the ducat in the *Providecia apud Venys* as value of the meat bought in Venice for

Moreover, in Wey's classification of the Venetian coins there is no mention of the *quattrino* or *katerine.*[37] This coin entered the Venetian currency in 1453 under legislation of the Senato enacted on 18th December of the same year. The *quattrino* was widely used, particularly for the trade of merchandise in the Venetian city market.[38] It is strange that William Wey did not use a coin that was so largely known and used in the Veneto territory for everyday trade during his purchases in St. Mark's.[39] Looking closer at the rate employed by Wey for Venetian coins, it seems that the currency he used as a reference for the Venetian ducat was the one established by the Senato in 1443 in which one ducat was worth 5 *lire* and 14 *soldi* or 114 *soldi*.[40] […] For a doket of Venyse ye schal haue v. li. and xiiij soldis […].[41] For the other Venetian coins, he refers to the value

---

his travels. The coin abbreviated as *bag.* is described as "a very small Venetian copper coin". For the bagattino's introduction in Venice see Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate da Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini con disegni di C. Kunz*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1893), 442 available online at https://ia800300.us.archive.org/30/items/lemonetedivenezi30164gut/30164-pdf.pdf. For the Henry IV mention of *bagattino* see Lucy Toulmin Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in the years 1390-1 and 1392-3* (London, ,1894), pp. 121,181.

[37] One *quattrino* was worth four *soldi piccoli* and four quattrini were worth one Venetian *soldo*. Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete*, pp. 270-1.

[38] Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete*, p. 270 Moreover, a special legislation about the *quattrini* was enacted on 1458. The Senato tried to eliminate the counterfeit money and use for the mint only *quattrini* (called also *duini*). See ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registro n. 4 (1456-1461), Terra, 79v. http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/imagefullscreen.htm?fs=1&imgIndex=159&idUa=22410&first=0&last=388 .

[39] Wey refers to the *quattrino* only when he describes the currency of other Italian cities such as Rome or Bologna. From his description it seems that he did not know of the existence of this coin in the city of Venice.

[40] See 'Valore del ducato d'oro' in Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete*, p. 401.

[41] Davey translates this passage as "You will get 5 pounds and 14 *soldi* for a Venetian ducat". However, despite the use of pound as translation of lire it is not completely wrong if it is specified that its value was "pound of tiny coins" or to "pound of groats", for this see David Chambers, Brian Pullan and Jennifer Fletcher (eds), *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630* (Toronto, 2001), p. 461. In this case the translation is wrong because William Wey is usually very specific when he mentions the change of English coins (e.g. he specifies that a particular change is referred for instance to "English pennies") and it would not make sense to use a mixed value without specifing that the *li*. (that is used officially to abbreviate the word lira) indicates the British pound

established by the Senate on 9th July 1429 in which a grosset was worth 4 *soldi*.[42] Actually, during Pasquale Malipiero's government there were minted five different types of coins: the ducat, the grosset, the *soldino* or galley halfpennies, the *quattrino* or *duino* and the *piccolo* or *bagattino*.[43]

The mismatched currency that Wey used for his chapter "campcio monete a Calisia ad Veneciam" may be due to the possibility that during the *Dogato* of Pasquale Malipiero the monetary situation in Venice was stable enough to avoid drastic fluctuation of the gold value.[44] Nevertheless, this explains neither his omission of the *quattrino* nor his attribution of the *tornese* to the mint of Candia: […] Take also with yow fro Venyse a doket other too of Torneys; hyt ys bras money of Candi […].[45] This mistake is not repeated again in the "Provisions" written in Latin for the second pilgrimage in 1462 in which the Torneys are not indicated as a coin of Candia but as a Venetian coin.[46] Looking at the general amount of money suggested by Wey in the provisions of his two Holy Land pilgrimages (Table 5), there is a visible imbalance between the average money

instead of the word lira, especially if the latter is accompanied by another Italian value which indicates the *soldi*. Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 3; Davey, *The itineraries*, p. 23

[42] Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete*, pp. 264-5.

[43] 'Le monete di Pasquale Malipiero' in Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete*, pp. 287-288.

[44] Until now, it has been very difficult to find information about the exact currency of coins minted during Pasquale Malipiero's government and it should be remembered that William Wey wrote his accounts probably after his return so he might have encountered some difficulties in checking the exact exchange preferring to use older information.

[45] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 6; During the early fifteenth century there was a wide production of Torneys in Venice that was reduced drastically during the government of Francesco Foscari and seems to have ceased definitively with Pasquale Malipiero and resumed again in 1487 with Agostino Barbarigo. However, the export of these coins abroad, especially in Candia, was so abundant that they continued to have a value in foreign exchanges. Therefore, the coin that Wey confused for a coin minted in Candia was nothing more than an old Venetian coin exported to the Orient and confined to the Levantine trade. Vincenzo Lazari, *Le monete dei possedimenti veneziani di oltremare e di terraferma*, vol. 25 (Venice, 1851), pp. 72-73.

[46] […] et eciam de Torneys duos ducatus habebitis viiij. pro soldo […] See Chapter Nine in Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 92.

used in 1458 and that used in 1462. The difference shown between the two totals is high enough to suppose that the author made an evaluation mistake somewhere. Possibly, William Wey wrote the first provisions before his voyage based on unofficial information gained earlier than his departure and then rewrote it after having acquired more accurate data, based on his own experience after his pilgrimage. This possibility could explain some of the unsolved facts related to his work, such as the use of Middle English for the first provisions,[47] the indication of obsolete currencies and the mistake concerning the money of Candia.[48] Additionally, Wey's continuous use of the"Ducat" in both provisions needs further attention. After his arrival in Venice, Wey mentions several times the use of the Ducat in his purchases for the trip to the Holy Land. He buys food, beverages and supplies paying the amount in Ducats and receiving as well a change in Ducats […] by a bedde by seynt Markys Cherche […] ye schal pay iij dokettis; and when ye com ayen bring the same bedde to the man ye bowt hit of and ye schal haue a doket and halfe ayen […].[49] The Ducat is widely used also as the main coin for the change of money in Venice (as shown above).[50] Nevertheless, although Wey suggests many times he pays in "ducats" he is not very clear about which type of money he really used.[51] According to his manuscript, he received Venetian ducats during an early exchange of money in Bruges.

[47] Which can be seen as a draft or some notes taken by William Wey before his departure and then rewritten later in Latin with more accurate information.
[48] The ignorance about the existence of *quattrini* minted in Venice remain unexplained.
[49] Wey, *The itineraries*, pp. 5-6.
[50] Indeed, the Ducat was a proper coin of Venice, Rome, Florence, the Netherlands and many other places in Europe, except England.
[51] He may have used a silver currency correspondent to the price in ducats. From Wey's introduction to the change of money, it is possible to suppose that he changed English money in Bruges with Venetian or Netherlandish ducats gold coins that he kept until Venice.

1458	1462
30 Ducats to change in Grossi	10 or 12 Ducats to change in Grossi
3or 4 Ducats to change in Soldi (Galley halfpennies)	3 Ducats to change in Soldi (Galley halfpennies)
1or 2 Ducats to change in Torneys	2 Ducats to change in Torneys
TOT: 36 Ducats	TOT: 17 Ducats
The total of Ducats is calculated on the maximum number suggested by Wey (e.g. on 3/4 ducats, I considered 4). Below it is possible to find the change proposed by Wey in both years and an estimation of the total amount of money that the pilgrim carried with him from Venice after the change of Ducats in the other values suggested. In 1462, no currency is suggested for the change of Grossi to Soldi. Therefore, I used the currency of 1458.	
1458 1 Ducat worth 28 ½ Grossi. 30 Ducats worth 855 Groats 1 Grosso worth 4 Soldi. 178 Groats worth 456 Soldi 1 Soldo worth 8 Torneys. 2 Ducats worth 1,824 Torneys **TOT:** 855 Grossi, 456 Soldi and 1,824 Torneys	**1462** 1 Ducat worth 29 Grossi. 12 Ducats worth 348 Grossi No value for the Grossi in Soldi 1 Soldo worth 8 Torneys. 2 Ducats worth 1,824 Torneys **TOT:** 348 Grossi, 456 Soldi and 1,824 Torneys

Table 5 - Amount of money to change in Venice suggested by William Wey.[52]

[52] See Wey, *The itineraries*, pp. 6, 91-92.

If he was actually able to pay and receive Venetian ducats in his exchanges, there was no need to suggest that pilgrims use other coins (e.g. Soldi or Grossi). Therefore, why did Wey suggesting a further change of these ducats with a Venetian inferior currency? This contradiction is the proof that Wey did not actually use ducats for his everyday purchases; nevertheless, he preferred to indicate the ducat unit of account as the main reference of exchange.[53] In terms of value, the Venetian gold ducat can be compared to a modern large denomination banknote that despite being widely known and diffuse, it would be extremely rare and difficult to use in everyday purchases.[54] For this reason denominations of this type are often called *moneta fantasma* literally "ghost money"; they have a nominal value and are used frequently as a unit of measurement, but are not used as coinage for everyday trade.[55] As Chambers and Pullan outlined in their *Venice a documentary history*, the Venetian gold ducat was one such type of ghost money.[56] The presence of ducats in the Venetian market was connected largely with foreign exports and bank interests with Levantine commerce, in addition to a political strategy of competition with other strong currencies such as the *Fiorino*. Nevertheless, although it is difficult to imagine use of the ducat in trade outside of the great mercantile context,[57] it should be considered that the Venetian government treated medieval pilgrims as

[53] This indication suggests that for readers it was probably easier to understand the amount of expenses if these were calculated on the basis of the nominal value instead of a calculation based on the different values of inferior coins.
[54] A good example is the €500 banknote which is known and diffused, but totally absent from daily trade.
[55] Therefore, although the nominal price of the retail goods was always determined in ducats, the actual payment was usually due in silver coins.
[56] See. Chambers, Fletcher and Pullan, *Venice*, p. 461.
[57] The mercantile context is understood as the sale of goods in large quantities intended for the resale in the retail market or the use in the production sector.

a privileged class often excluded from the strict legislation ruling foreign imports and exchanges. For this reason, even if the general context suggests one should consider the Ducat only as nominal value, the special condition of William Wey could not exclude completely the possibility that he obtained this great amount of gold ducats for his voyage.[58] Based on the data reported in the Table 5 after the change of ducats in Venice, Wey obtained a considerable sum of *soldi* and *soldi piccoli* to use during his voyage. This sum (855 *Grossi*, 456 *Soldi* and 1,824 Torneys for the pilgrimage of 1458 and 348 *Grossi*, 456 *Soldi* and 1,824 Torneys for the pilgrimage of 1462) seemingly does not include the price he paid for the transport and all the supplies he bought before the sea-voyage.[59] Indeed, the pilgrim indicates the latter as separate expenses that, if added to the above-indicated total, may suggest the average of money spent by Wey for his pilgrimages (see Table 6 and Table 7). For the provision of 1462, (Table 7) Wey does not provide the cost of the agreement with the Patron. However, based on other pilgrim testimonials[60] and as it has been stated by the *Incantus galearum peregrinorum* enacted by the Venetian Senate in 1441, the maximum price for a passage to the Holy Land was fifty ducats.[61]

[58] Breydenbach in his *peregrinationae* states that the patron of the galley accepted only ducats *nuovi di zecca*, which means that the ducats should be freshly minted. This may confirm the use of ducats in their proper currency, but indicates also that in order to be freshly minted they should be obtained directly from the Venetian mint or its representative and not from previous exchange in London, Bruges or Calais. Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes* p. 18.

[59] Furthermore, the imbalance between the two amounts suggests that the first provision was an estimated quotation of expenses modified with more actual data on 1462.

[60] See Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 11.

[61] […] Non possint decti patroni accipere per nabulo et espenses alicui perergrinos ultra ducatis quinquaginta […]. See the 'Incantus Galearum Peregrinorum' 1441 in ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, Reg. I, folio 35v. Available online at http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/imagefullscreen.htm?fs=1&imgIndex=1&idUa=145&first=0&last=467 .

1458 Provision	
Agreement with the Patron	100 ducats
Barrel(s)	20x3 barrels= 60 ducats
Bed, Mattress, Pillows, Sheet and quilt	3 ducats
Donkey	1 Grosset
Food	? The food expenses seem to be included in the money that Wey changed in Venice
Chest	?
Money to change in Venice	36 ducats
TOT: 199 Ducats 1 Grosset (circa)	

Table 6 - Estimated cost of William Wey's pilgrimage of 1458.

1462 Provision	
Agreement with the Patron	?
Barrel(s)	20x3 barrels= 60 ducats
Bed, Mattress, Pillows, Sheet	3 ducats
Donkey	?
Food	? The food expenses seem to be included in the money that Wey changed in Venice
Chest	
Money to change in Venice	17 ducats
TOT: 80 ducats (circa)	

Table 7- Estimated cost of William Wey's pilgrimage of 1462.

Therefore, it is possible to increase the amount to a total expense of about 130 ducats. The price paid by William Wey for his pilgrimages (especially for that made in 1458) is very high considering the stipend of a high officer of the Venetian Government was around 100-200 ducats per year.[62] All these details, including the number of mistakes in the change of money and evaluations of costs could be a sign that William Wey did not know exactly the amount of money that he was going to spend for his pilgrimage and the exact currency of Venetian coins at the time of his first journey to the Holy Land.[63] Therefore, for the 1458 pilgrimage he prepared a draft, likely based on information gained from

[62] Labalme, Sanguineti, *Venic*e, pp. 541-42.
[63] Including the mistake with the money of Candia.

other sources,[64] a sort of quotation now known to the public as "Provision" that was further modified for the pilgrimage of 1462 with more accurate details and amounts of money. The use of Middle English and Latin for the two different provisions might confirm the first copy was written in Middle English, with some evident mistakes, was not intended for publication in a narration that was written totally in Latin with information that is more accurate. The two copies were afterwards bound together in the volume we know as MS. Bodley 565.

In addition to the information discussed above concerning the plan of expenses made by Wey for his travel, in the provision it is possible to find the only information, which corresponds partially to the actual Venetian legislation of that period: the patron's agreement. At the time of both of Wey's trips to Jerusalem the privatization of the Holy Land galleys was only a remote memory. The Senate's *incantus galearum peregrinorum*, which granted faster and private galleys to Jaffa, was not renewed after 1452 and the organization of pilgrims' transportation was set back by sixty years. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Venetian government tried with every means to control the abuses made by Venetians toward foreign pilgrims, even if with bad results.

The privatization of the Jerusalem galleys did not bring the expected results: pilgrims continued to prefer cheaper and more dangerous merchant galleys and patrons took advantage of the situation to impose their own system of travel. The constant phenomenon of frauds and galleys without licence did not decrease during the fifteenth century causing complaints and problems in departures.[65]

[64] He possibly read one of the diffused merchant lists with money currencies or he gained information directly from a merchant or other pilgrims.
[65] See Newett, *Canon Pietro*, p. 81.

Centuries of weak legislation showed that Venetians were definitively not able to manage pilgrimage travels as well as the commercial routes in the Mediterranean Sea. This problem is clearly shown in pilgrimage accounts such as those of William Wey indicating the agreement with the patron not as a compulsory contract imposed by the Venetian maritime law, but rather as a recommendation to avoid further problems during the trip. William Wey never makes any mention of the fact the contract was actually a clause of Venetian law and, with every probability, he did not know this was the case. Effectively, also in this part, the two provisions are slightly different and this suggests again that William Wey wrote the first *preuysyoun* based on imprecise information.

In the 1458 statement, Wey suggests that one should sign the contract in front of the Doge or other lords of Venice in order to be sure that the patron was not able to defraud the pilgrim.

> […]When ye schal yowre couenant take, goyd hede that the patron be bovnde un to yow afore the duke other lordis of Venice, in a c. dokettins to kepe al maner covenuntis wyth yow […].[66]

The Venetian law concerning the pilgrim's contract was not much respected by patrons who tried to avoid the writing of this contract and the related fee. Pilgrims who had the possibility to sign a contract with a patron could be considered lucky. Given the situation, there was only a remote possibility to sign a contract in front of the Doge. As discussed in the last chapter, the figure of the Doge was too important, and probably too busy, to be able to deal personally with every pilgrim passing from Venice during the Easter and winter voyages.

[66] Wey, *Itineraries*, p. 4.

The Doge in person was not able to be a witness of every single pilgrimage contract.[67] For this reason, the presence of the *Cattaveri* as invigilators of the patrons' safe-conduct was still authorized by the Senate in 1452 and in following years.[68]

> […] patroni dictarum galearum, teneant ed debeant dare i nota nostri officialibus de Catavere omnem quentamem pactum, quam et quod fueront cum dictoribus peregrinorum, tam pro nabulo per pro expentis et omnibus alys rebus […].[69]

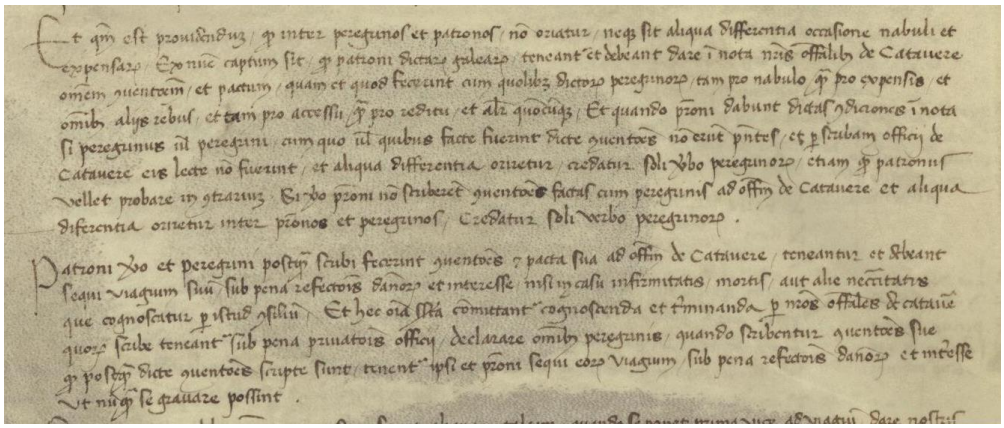


Figure 22 - ASV, Senato, Mar, Reg. IV, f. 123r.

No Doge or (named) Lords of Venice were authorized to act as guarantors for pilgrim contracts because this role was, had been for long time, played by the *Cattaver* Office on the behalf of Venetian Republic. Furthermore, this would imply a liability towards every single pilgrim that neither the Doge nor anybody else was able to satisfy.

[67] This would mean that the legislation was respected, while it is known that only a small number of contracts were effectively signed and registered at the *Cattaver* Office.
[68] See Chapter Four.
[69] ASV, Senato, Mar, Reg. IV, f. 123r.

The 1452 legislation specifies, that all the contracts signed by patrons and pilgrims must be read by the parties in front of an employee of the *Cattaver* Office. Apparently, William Wey did not know much of this legislation when he wrote his first provisions. The hypothesis is confirmed by the corrections that he made in the 1462 provision where he did not suggest signing a contract guaranteed by the Doge (or a Venetian lord) but he argued that:

> […] Item, si poteritis, scribatis convenciones factas inter vos et patronm et ponite ante dominos civitatis, quia tunc patronus custodiet vobiscum pacum suum […].[70]

With "ante domino civitatis" Wey no longer mentions the presence of the Doge but suggests that the contract should be made in front of a Venetian citizen that was not necessarily a lord but might possibly be a Cattaver as established by the Venetian law. What emerges from the 1458 pilgrimage account is not only a perception of Venice that is different from the further account made in 1462, but a William Wey who is different from the man who undertook a second pilgrimage four years later. The "first" William Wey is an educated and wealthy scholar who does not know what to expect, but after all tried to not be unprepared to the risks and expenses of a long and dangerous journey planning it with careful attention. From what is written in the Middle English provisions, it is clear that this "first" William Wey collected enough information about Venetian culture to be sufficiently prepared for this kind of voyage.

However, this information was not precise enough to be associated with a direct experience or to be part of an official narration.

[70] Wey, *The itineraries,* p. 90.

For this reason, the William Wey of 1462 amended it with actual data and rewrote it in proper academic language and style. The "second" William Wey is not anymore an unexperienced pilgrim who arrived in Venice with second-hand information. He is a man who had travelled far and experienced enough of Venetian culture to have the possibility to focus his attention also on different stages of his Venetian stay such as the religious itinerary of the city and its local traditions.

5.4 William Wey and the other Venice

We do not know exactly how much time William Wey spent in Venice during his first pilgrimage to the Holy Land because the portrait of the city that emerges from his first description concerns largely its economic and mercantile sides and what the pilgrim had learnt from his previous sources. In Venice you can change your money, obtain a passage to the Holy Land and buy all the necessary goods for your travel; a leisure experience is not included. In the 1458 narrative, Wey does not show any other type of interest towards the *Serenissima,* especially concerning its touristic or cultural side. This "indifference" might have been due to a lack of time to explore the city or to an initially different way to set up his written account that excluded all those experiences not related to the religious *peregrinationae*.[71] The account of 1462 seems to be different from many points of view.

[71] It should be remembered of that pilgrimage was understood as a spiritual and religious experience and any type or curiosity or topic outside the religious area was unpopular among Christians. Furthermore, from other pilgrimage narratives, such as that of Roberto Sanseverino, it is possible to know that the celebrations for the marriage of the sea took place also in 1458. Therefore, William Wey deliberately decided to not give relevance to this kind topic in his first account. See Roberto Sanseverino and Gabriele Maruffi (ed.), *Viaggio in Terra Santa* (Bologna, 1888), pp. 17-20.

Notwithstanding, Venice has not lost the characteristics of the mercantile city described by Wey in 1458, four years after his first Venetian encounter, the maritime republic appears under a new "sacred" light. Indeed, Venice is described for the first time as an important religious stage within the itinerary to the Holy Land. This notwithstanding the curiosity that Wey shows for Venice cannot be read in terms of Zacher's ethnographic curiosity towards the world, but remains confined within the description of a place under a religious filter, making the narrative perfectly consistent with the genre of pilgrimage narrative.[72] The religious background of William Wey, Etonian and priest of the Lincoln diocese, was too strong to allow him to describe a place outside of its religious nature, be relating the "touristic" side of the travel that was not appropriate for a medieval man of Church.

Consequently, the Venice that he decided to describe in his second pilgrimage perfectly corresponds with the affirmation of the city not only as a point of departure, but also as further religious destination within the Jerusalem journey. Other English pilgrims, such as Henry of Derby, Margery Kempe and John Tiptoft had already experienced the Venetian stay before or simultaneously to William Wey's travel period.[73]

---

[72] Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, p. 5.

[73] Henry of Derby (afterward King Henry IV) passed through Venice in 1392. No kind of political or cultural description of the city is provided together with his "Provision" and the only memory of his Venetian stay concerns a list of expenses. See Toulmin Smith, *Expeditions*, pp. 220-224. Margery Kempe travelled to the Holy Land in 1413 and notwithstanding she spent about three months in Venice, she gave little attention to this part of the travel. For a recent translation of her work, see Bale, *The Book of Margery Kempe*. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester travelled to the Holy Land in 1458 with the galley of Antonio Loredan. He was probably the most experienced connoisseur of Italian culture, having travelled for years in different cities of the country. Nevertheless, it seems that he never produced a pilgrimage account; therefore, his Venetian experience is known only through the reading of secondary sources. For this see Mitchell, *John Tiptoft*, pp. 28-48; Mitchell, *Antonio Loredan*, p. 85.

Nevertheless, he is the first author who gives a different relevance to this part of the pilgrimage providing not only a picture of Venice assuming a new and unusual religious value, but showing a wide understanding of the complex and most traditional aspects of the Venetian political structure.

Venice had always a controversial relationship with the papacy due to its, often unapproved, Levantine exchanges, its initial indifference towards crusading as well as its political position towards others Italian papal cities (e.g. Ferrara). However, William Wey does not doubt the crucial role that Venice had as protector of the Christian faith and the "most holy place".[74] Indeed, both Doges mentioned by the pilgrim, Pasquale Malipiero and Cristoforo Moro, were particularly close to the papal cause against "infidels". Although the Doge Malipiero, known also as *dux pacificus*,[75] was not inclined to war preferring to maintain stability and peace for the Republic through a series of agreements with the supposed "Pope's enemies".[76]

Conversely, Doge Malipiero was interested more in the flourishing of cultural and commercial networks, in the supporting of the "Venetian myth" and in the propagation of that renaissance life-style spreading in Italy during the last decades of the fifteenth century.

[74] Davey, *The itineraries*, p. 120.
[75] Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, vol. 2, p. 7.
[76] After having boycotted the Venetian participation in a crusade organized by Pope Pious II against the Ottoman Turks in 1459, Pasquale Malipiero was known as "amigo di tutti i signor Soldan" (literally: friend of all the Sultans) as a letter of the Sultan Albuser Hamer Sultan Elmayrd written to Pasquale Malipiero after his death confirms. For the letter see Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, vol. 2, pp. 29-31.

It is not a case that, under the Dogato of Pasquale Malipiero, Venice was one of the best cities for the dissemination of the cultural knowledge of the world throughout the production of manuscripts, early printed books and maps.[77]

This slice of the flourishing Italian Renaissance in Venice was experienced directly by William Wey in his encounter with Italian culture and it emerges clearly from the second description of his Venetian stay. The often-appreciated mnemonic techniques used by Wey for the description of the places visited are not the only showpiece the pilgrim used for his second narration. William Wey was not only a good observer and writer, but he was also expert enough in art history and Christian symbolism to be able to use this kind of knowledge as a religious standpoint for his descriptions of Venice. Venetian medieval religious and civil celebrations were not celebrated in sobriety. Public rituals were a status symbol of Venice's power and richness involving most of the lagoon population and attracting many overseas visitors for their exclusivity.

Thus, how to describe the legitimate curiosity and interest towards the different traditions of a new place without losing the right religious guidelines and purpose of a pilgrimage? One of the methods used by William Wey to describe his experience in Venice was through the medieval Christian symbolism of colours.

[77] Doge Malipiero, probably influenced by the passion for books of his wife, Giovanna Dandolo, known also as "Empress of printing" strongly supported the diffusion of early printed books through the introduction of German printing in Italy. Sanudo himself remembers this introduction […] In tempo di questo Doxe Venexia stette in paxe et in quiette et in questa Terra, poi per tutta Italia, fo principià l'arte dil stampar di libri, qual havé principio da alchuni Todeschi […] translated as "In the time of this Doge, Venice was in peace and in this land, and after in the whole of Italy, was introduced the art of printing which was started by some Germans". Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, vol. 2, pp. 27-28; for the contributions of Giovanna Dandolo see also Edgcumbe Staley, *The Dogaressas of Venice: The Wifes of the Doges* (London, 2013), pp. 200-202.

In particular, he uses colours to describe Venice and its tradition as in a landscape picture. He transforms his visual experience in words giving the reader the impression of observing a picture or a scene painted with the Venetian technique of the *vedutismo.*[78] It is impossible to not recognise in his words the precise intentions to depict Venice under a certain light, a sacred light:

> […] In the procession with the venerable Doge went the Patriarch of Venice and the Premissory of Saint Mark in episcopal vestments; the Patriarch had a cross and the Premissory a crucifer of great worth. Ahead of him there were twenty canons robed in amices together with many priests and clergy. Behind him came the lords of the city and a large throng of ordinary people […].

Reading the words of William Wey it is impossible to not "view" in detail what he is describing like in the scene of a painting.

[78] The Italian painting technique of the *Vedutismo* originated in Venice between the late medieval period and early renaissance becoming extremely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This type of technique offers a detailed eye-view (the word *vedutismo* originates from the Italian word *veduta* literally "view") of a particular everyday-life scene or historical event and its participants. Among the most important representatives of this artistic movement in Italy were Gentile Bellini (Fig. 4), Vittore Carpaccio and Canaletto. A great part of the *vedutismo* works are understood also as veritable representations and evidences of the past society. For more information about the *Vedutismo* movement see Simone Ferrari, *Vedutismo. Da Canaletto a Guardi, da Pannini a Bellotto. Vedute e paesaggi prima della fotografia* (Milan, 2008); Renzo Chiarelli, *I vedutisti Veneziani* (Florence, 1965).



Figure 23 - Gentile Bellini, Processione in piazza San Marco, 1496, Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Fig. 23 in particular represents the Procession in St. Marks's painted in 1469 by Gentile Bellini, an earlier example of Vedutismo produced in Venice in the late Middle Ages. William Wey's description of the same event has not many differences with what can be seen in this painting. This type of narration cannot be casual, but it is purposively studied to create in the reader's mind an image of what is read. However, it seems that William Wey used this type of narration only for his second pilgrimage, while his first itinerary appears more schematic and devoid of any type of narrative theme out of the "pilgrimage stations". A further confirmation of Wey's narrative intentions (and probably knowledge of the use of colours as artistic expression of Christian symbolism) is given by the use of gold as the predominant colour for the description of the Venetian ceremonies' details. Adjectives such as *aurea* and *deaurata* (and their multiple Latin inclinations) were used more than frequently to describe Venice and its ceremonies. For instance, in a paragraph of fourteen lines describing the St.

Mark's Basilica and the Doge's arrival in the Cathedral, the colour *aurea* and its synonyms were used at least nine times.[79]

According to medieval art history, gold is par excellence the colour which best represents the Christian faith in its meaning. Gold is the symbol of divinity and light, it is the expression of God's will during the creation and its spiritual presence among men.[80] The Bible itself associates many times the presence of God with the colour gold (e.g. in the description of the Garden of Eden, in the Song of Songs, in God's indications for the construction of the Ark of the Covenant).[81] With the use of golden mosaics, Byzantine art gave to that representation of divinity a material visual expression.[82] The St. Mark's Basilica and its decorations is one of the best Italian examples of this visual expression of Christian symbolism, having in its structure all the characteristics of a sacred divine epiphany of God.[83] Indeed, in writing his account William Wey seems to play with all these elements in order to create in the reader's mind certain

[79] See Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 84. The association colour-meaning was not certainly a novelty in the Middle Ages, especially within the liturgical environment. See for example the association between colours and meanings used by Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century as explained by Thomas D. Tremlett "The *Matthew Paris Shields* (c.1244-59)" in *Rolls of arms, Henry III*, Aspilogia vol. 2 (Oxford, 1967). William Wey transformed this association, usually experienced through a visual impact, in words.

[80] Gold is considered an "otherworldly" colour due to its association with God. No one earthly kind can be considered superior to God; therefore, the colour gold can be used only to describe expressions of divinity, see Urech Edouard, *Dizionario dei simboli cristiani* (Rome, 1995), p. 184.

[81] 'A river flowed from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divided to make four streams. The first is named the Pishon, and this winds all through the land of Havilah where there is gold. The gold of this country is pure': *Genesis*, 2, 10-12; 'He made the pillars there of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem' *The song of Songs*, 3: 10. For the long description of the construction of the Ark of the Covenant according to God's indications see *Exodus*, 25: 10-22.

[82] For more information about the use of colours in Byzantine art see Gage John 'Light from the East' in *Colour and Culture. Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London, 1995), pp. 39-68.

[83] It should be remembered that in the Basilica's roof mosaics are painted scenes from Genesis remembering the golden light of God.

perceptions of Venice. In the reading of St Mark's altar description, William Wey virtually creates a connection with the biblical verses of John's Apocalypse. Notwithstanding, the objects he mentions have nothing to do with biblical episodes of the Apocalypse, the numerology used associated with them in the narration evokes a vision of the celestial court as it was described in the Apocalypse of John:

> […] Iunde ad Veniciam, civitatem nobilem et grandem, xxij. die Aprilis venimus, ubi videbamus in vigilia sancti Marci super altare sancti Marci duodecim coronas aureas, plenas lapidibus preciosis et duodecim pectoralia plena eciam lapidibus preciosis […].[84]

Just as John used the number twenty-four to describe the elders surrounding God's throne and their crowns, William Wey associates the same number and the symbol of the crown to describe the main altar and its surrounding. 'Surrounding the throne were twenty-four other thrones, and seated on them were twenty-four elders. They were dressed in white and had crowns of gold on their heads'.[85] Furthermore, scenes from the Book of Revelation are painted through the whole archway soon after the Basilica's entrance as a warning

[84] Wey, *The itineraries*, 84; Crowns and pectorals mentioned by Wey were part of the St. Mark's treasure during the middle ages. The legend says they all belonged to the twelve maids of the Empress St. Helena and they were made of pure gold and full of the most precious stones. See Thomas Roscoe and Alexandre Sosson 'The Church of St. Mark' in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, N. 466, vol. 15 (London, 1830), pp. 458-60. Unfortunately, nothing has remained of these jewels because during the Napoleonic conquest of Venice in 1797 they were deprived of all the precious stones and then destroyed. Of these crowns and pectorals there remains today only the sixteenth-century inventory published in Antonio Pasini, *Il tesoro di San Marco in Venezia dal 1797 al presente* (Venice, 1878), pp. 1-8.

[85] *Book of Revelation*, 4:4. John N. Darby, *Notes sur l'Apocalypse. Notes on the Apocalypse, gleaned at lectures in 1842. Translated from the French* (London, 1849), p. 11; William Wey instead of twenty-four preferred to use the formula "twelve and twelve".

against the dangers of sin.[86] William Wey was probably inspired by all these elements in the creation of his personal vision of St. Mark's Basilica which is represented not solely as a Church, among many others, but as a sacred place linked directly to God. These types of feelings experienced by pilgrims during their visit to St. Mark's or to other examples of byzantine churches are actually explained by art history. Some years ago, the art historian Xavier Barral argued that pilgrims were a fundamental part of the Byzantine architectural frame stating, "the iconic mirror-view of the floor and roof appears in a decorative optic as two fundamental icons of the Christian cosmology. The faithful walks on earth looking at the sky, which is represented by the earth of the shrine, becoming the earthly synthesis of the heavenly Jerusalem".[87] William Wey, walking inside St. Mark's with his eyes on the sparkling and domed golden roof would have perceived the Basilica as a representation of Jerusalem in Venice

> […] et summum altare erat de argento deaurato, et ecclesia sancti Marci edificata ad modum templi Christianorum in Jerusalem […].[88]

Further, Wey's association of Venice with the verses from the Book of Revelation are shown in his description of the seven churches built by St. Magnus in Venice. Once again, the Apocalypse vault in St. Mark's basilica showing the seven churches of Asia in the mosaic introducing the scene *Que*

[86] This archway is mainly known as "*Volta dell'Apocalisse e del giudizio finale*" (literally: archway of the Apocalypse and Last judgement). At the time of William Wey visit to St. Mark's the interiors and the naves of the Basilica had already the current aspect, while the high part of the external façade was built in the fifteenth century. Therefore it is still possible to see what William Wey saw and experienced many centuries ago.

[87] The phrase is my translation. See Xavier Barral i Altet, *Contro l'arte romanica? Saggio su un passato reinventato* (Milan, 2009), p. 202.

[88] Wey, *The itineraries,* p. 84.

refero recte gradibus servare jubete may have inspired Wey.[89] Wey uses the numerology of John's Apocalypse to indicate a sacred equivalence with Venice. Indeed, as for the colour gold, the number seven has a special importance for Christians and it is recurrent in the Book of Revelation.

It usually means entirety and abundance, but in the case of the Seven Churches of Asia, it has further significances related directly to God. The choice of these churches, considered with more importance among others in the same territory, was not casual. The seven churches of Asia had specific peculiarities that showed the strengths and weaknesses of men in the earth.[90]

The churches of St. Magnus share with those of the Apocalypse their connection with God because the legend of the saint says God, the Apostles and the Holy Virgin in their construction guided him. As if those listed in the Book of Revelation, the Venetian churches had specific peculiarities that Wey describes partially in his account.[91] Nevertheless, Wey's description presents some problems. First, the "legendary" churches founded by Saint Magnus were eight, not seven as Wey argued, and second, his list does not correspond to the actual churches founded by St. Magnus (Table 8).[92]

[89] The phrase appears above the painting of the angels holding in their hands the seven churches of Asia and it introduces the archway of the Last Judgement as it is described by John in the Book of Revelation.
[90] According to the Book of Revelation, every church has a characteristic as well as unique message from the Lord.
[91] E.g., "St. Mary the beautiful is the church attended by the Doge and Lords of Venice on the eve of the Purification"see Davey, *The itineraries* p. 122.
[92] I will call the churches of St. Magnus "legendary" to distinguish them from other Venetian churches because of their building history. William Wey does not mention an eighth church; nevertheless, he is aware that the Church of St. Jeremiah holds the body of St. Magnus. Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 88.

A. Churches ascribed to St. Magnus according to William Wey	B. Actual churches founded by St. Magnus
1. San Giacomo di Rialto	1. San Raffaele
2. San Giovanni in Bragora	2. Santi Apostoli
3. San Salvador	3. Santa Maria Formosa
4. Santa Maria Formosa	4. San Pietro di Castello
5. San Silvestro	5. San Giovanni in Bragora
6. San Girolamo	6. San Zaccaria
7. San Pietro di Castello	7. San Salvador
	8. San Giustina

Table 8 - Churches ascribed to St. Magnus according to William Wey.

Additionally, William Wey lists another category of churches indicated as those possessing relevant relics (Table 9).[93] Assuming that Wey knew the truth about the actual number and names of the Venetian churches built by St. Magnus, this could be considered a further proof that he was inspired by the similarities between Venice and the Holy Scriptures in order to induce in his readers' minds a sacred perception of the city. The reasons for these mistakes could be multiple. For example, a Greek architect called Eutinopo founded the church of St. James of Rialto.[94]

[93] The pilgrim does not state openly the name of the churches but he lists their relics. The churches have been located through research and comparison with other contemporary accounts. Some of them are repeated also in the list regarding the churches founded by St. Magnus. Names are left in Italian. Davey, *The Itineraries*, pp. 122-123.

[94] Cornaro, NSCV, pp. 369-371.

However, St. Magnus was one of the four bishops who consecrated the church once it was finished.[95] Wey probably confused the two events thinking that the Church of St. James of Rialto was actually one of the "seven churches".

1. San Marco
2. S. Elena
3. S. Zaccaria
4. S. Daniele
5. S. Lorenzo
6. S. Giuliano
7. S. Canciano
8. Santi Gervasio e Protasio (San Trovaso)
9. S. Nicolo'
10. S. Basilio
11. S. Giorgio
12. S. Aponal
13. S. Servolo
14. S. Maria e Donato
15. San Domenico
16. San Francesco della Vigna
17. Santi Cosma e Damiano
18. San Lio
19. San Clemente
20. San Marcuola
21. San Cipriano
22. San Secondo

Table 9 - List of the Venetian Churches possessing notable relics according to William Wey.

The confusion is plausible if the pilgrim wrote his account a long time after his journey. The description and history of the churches provided by Wey is slightly inaccurate appearing to be remembered badly as if the pilgrim received oral information on the city's sights and then confused this information at the moment of writing his account long time after his journey. Nevertheless, this

[95] Cornaro, NSCV, p. 369.

does not explain the two further mistakes with the churches of St. Silvester and St. Jerome that were founded centuries after St. Magnus' lifetime.[96]

Only four of the seven churches listed by Wey were actually founded by the saint, while the others had another type of importance in the Venetian territory.[97] Apparently, Wey seems unaware of his mistake listing genuinely those churches he believed were founded by St. Magnus.[98] This error may have been due to a misinterpretation of what was explained by the Venetian guide, to a mistake of memory or wrong information received. To understand the reasons for this "mistake" a field study of William Wey's itinerary of the supposed St. Magnus' churches has been done in Venice to verify its actual practicability and impact on his perception of Venice.[99] It needs to be clarified that although it is not clear if the pilgrim himself personally undertook the itinerary suggested in his account, the order by which the churches are listed and their location in the city, indicates an actual pilgrimage route including a large number of churches within the Venetian territory. The map below (Fig. 24) shows a possible itinerary made by William Wey for visiting the churches listed in the first part of his account (Table 8, section A). The distance between point 1 and point 8 is about 1.86 miles. The itinerary, which started from the church of St. Mark (1) and continued to the Church of San Geremia (2), returned to the *sestiere* of St. Mark to visit the

[96] The church of St. Silvester was founded in the ninth century, while that of St. Jerome was built in the fourteenth century.

[97] E.g. the Church of St. Sylvester was consecrated by Pope Alexander III and was already mentioned by Wey during the narration of the origins of the marriage of the sea feast. See Davey, *The Itineraries*, pp. 121-122. The Church of St. Sylvester was the Patriarchal church of Venice. For more information about the history of this church see Cornaro, NSCV, pp. 351-358.

[98] The list is repeated without any alteration also in the section called *De civitate Venecie*. Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 117.

[99] All the churches listed by Wey still exist in Venice despite they having been restored several times.

churches listed from numbers 3 to 7. The last two churches of the list, San Girolamo (8) and San Pietro di Castello (9) are situated at two opposite sides of Venice and needed to be visited separately because of their distance. The completion of the itinerary took five days.

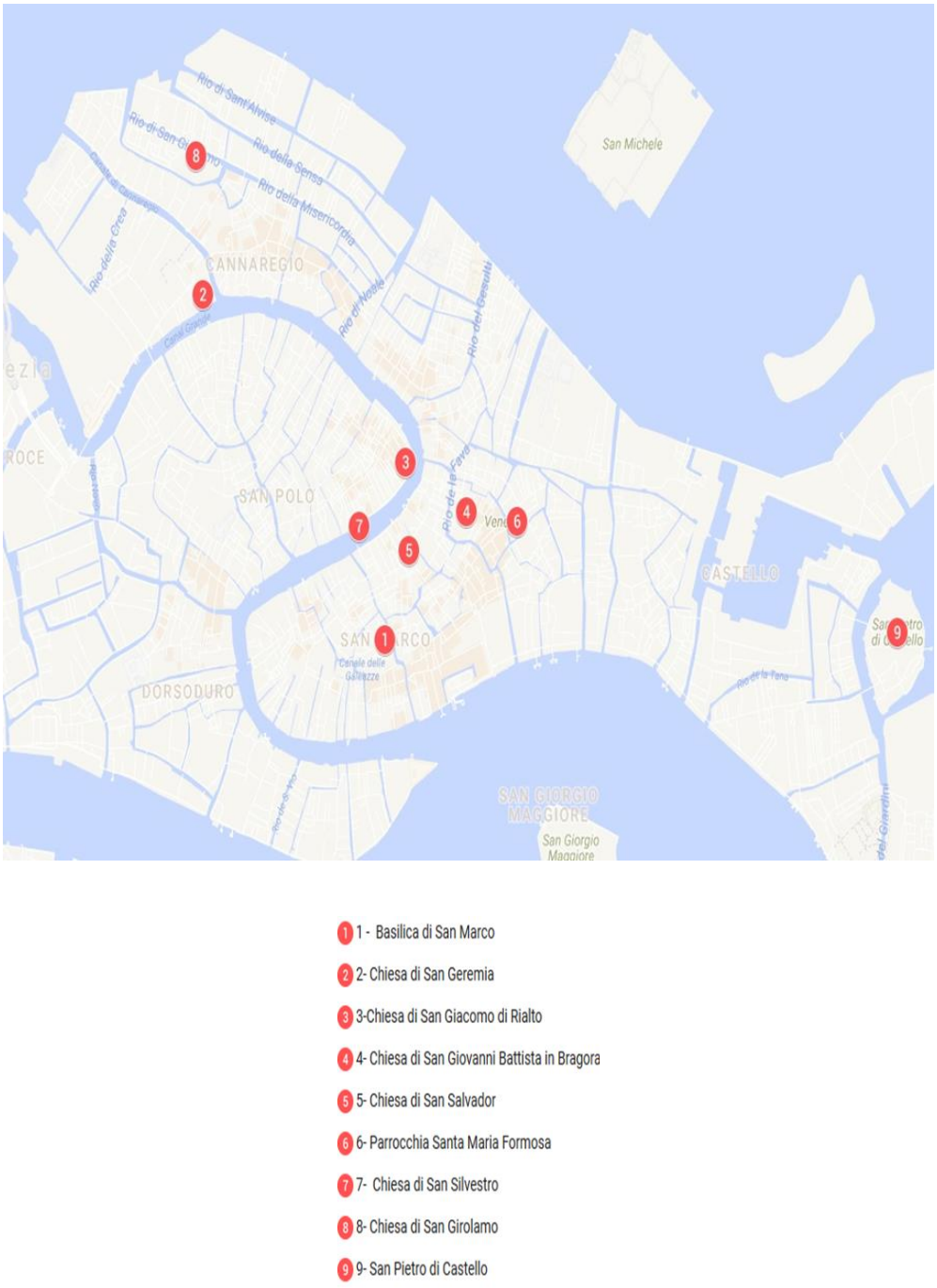


Figure 24 - Map representing the itinerary of the churches of St. Magnus according to William Wey.

During the walk, it was particularly difficult to find the church number 8, which is located in a hidden and unpopular section of the *Cannaregio* quarter, far away from the Rialto central zone.[100] Therefore, assuming that William Wey, and the most other pilgrims in the fifteenth century, was based in the area of Rialto and the city's islands were connected as well as today, it is unlikely that the pilgrim was able to find the church's location without the help of a Venetian resident.[101] Consequently, the possibility that the church was part of an appositely prepared tour for pilgrims is likely high. The field study demonstrated that the order in which the churches are listed in Wey's narration is not practical and would be time consuming. The route appears to be discontinuous and not functional in terms of time and walking coherence to a modern tourist. However, from the perspective of a medieval religious man an itinerary of this type would have expressed a deeper religious connection with the Bible.

Indeed, William Wey's decision to highlight the connection of Venice with the Scriptures does not means necessarily the actual route followed by pilgrims reflected this order but rather that he stresses the value that a symbolic interpretation of a small part of this pilgrims' path may add to the creation of a religious perspective on Venice. Although Wey's route does not reflect the actual itinerary of the Churches of St. Magnus his interpretation of the St. Mark's mosaics and their connection with the other churches in Venice offers an interesting perspective on the impact that Venetian architecture had on medieval

[100] The church it is about 1.7 km from Rialto Bridge (walking for 26 minutes circa). It was not indicated in Google Maps and some of the passages to the location were not accessible to general public.
[101] The church, now as in the medieval period, is located completely out of the "touristic" zones.

travellers, revealing a precious key to the understanding the city's symbolism from a medieval standpoint.

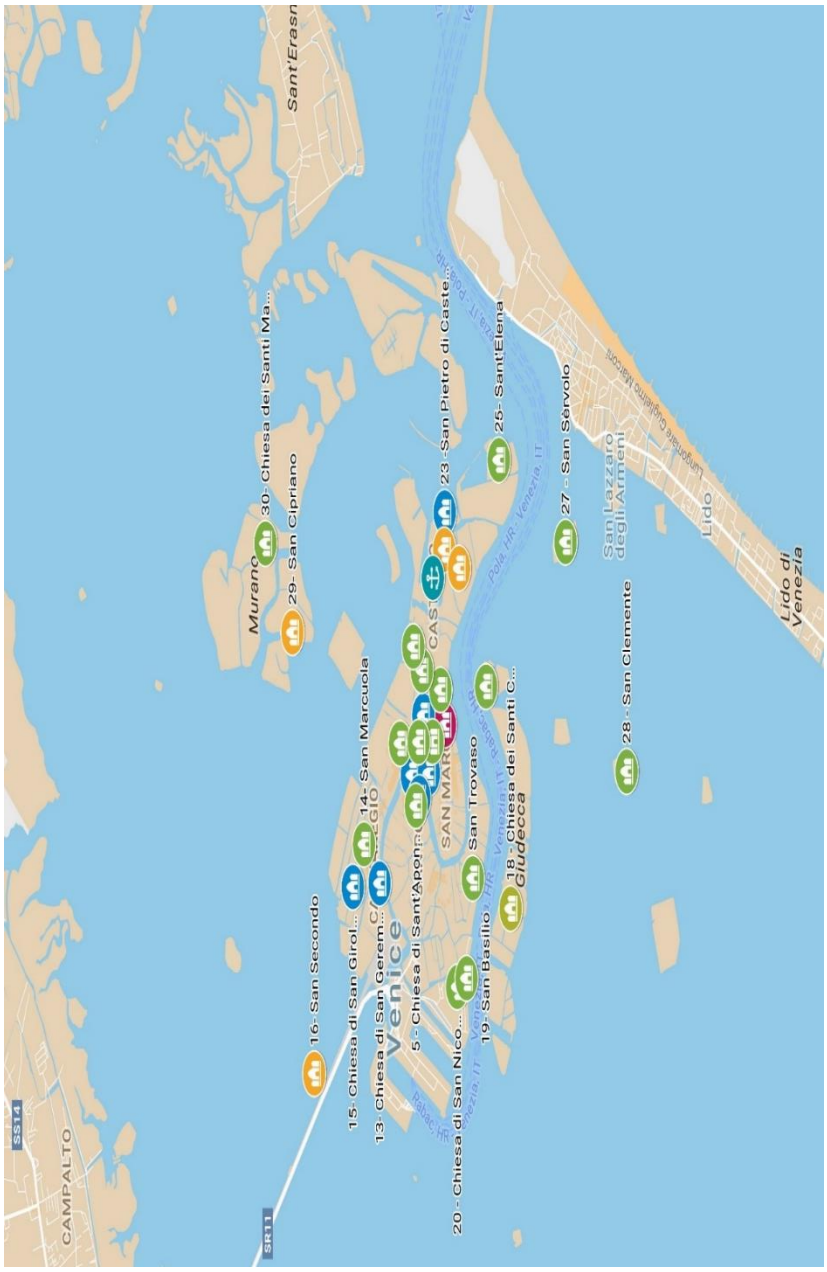


Figure 25 - Churches listed by William Wey in 1462 including those ascribed to St. Magnus. Keys on Figure 26.



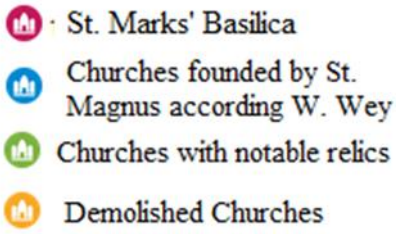


Figure 26 - Keys of Figure 25

The reintegration of the "St. Magnus itinerary" in a broader Venetian exploration demonstrates (Fig. 25), on the contrary, how practical was the way in which Venetians organised their local religious tours.[102] Those churches situated in the *sestiere* of San Marco and those near Rialto were certainly the most visited and known by pilgrims, however the presence of specific relics held by churches outside the touristic zone was probably the principal reason for further organized tours in decentralized *sestieri* of Venice such as Castello, Cannaregio or Dorsoduro (Table 6). Indeed, in certain zones such as that of Cannaregio, which in the medieval period was mostly frequented by residents and in some parts was marshy.[103] It was possible to visit churches holding some relics that would have been interesting for incoming pilgrims, such as the body of St. Magnus or the bones of St. Sergio and Bacco.[104] Moreover, during the organized visits to the Arsenal, pilgrims seized the opportunity to visit those religious institutions placed far away from city centre such as the Basilica of St. Pietro di Castello, situated in the little island of San Pietro di Castello, or the monastery of San Domenico.[105]

[102]A visit-plan based on the specific zones or linked to a particular event was much more functional in terms of time and walking coherence. Furthermore, an itinerary developed according to different *sestieri* would suggest that pilgrims visited a limited number of churches per day, possibly situated in the same zone.

[103] The name Cannaregio comes from the peculiarities of that zone that was marshy and covered by cane thickets.

[104] William Wey mentions these relics in his accounts. See Davey, *The itineraries*, pp.122-123. Furthermore, the Church of St. Jerome was ruled by the Augustinian order, a fact that might be of particular interest to Wey due to his subsequent retirement to an Augustinian priory.

[105] The island is about a fifteenth minute walk from the Arsenal.

Cannareggio	San Polo	San Marco	Dorsoduro	Castello	Murano	Other Venetian Islands	Outside Venice
San Geremia	Sant'Aponal	Basilica di San Marco	San Nicolò	San Pietro di Castello	Santi Martiri	San Giorgio Maggiore	**San Secondo**
San Girolamo	San Giacomo di Rialto	Santa Maria Formosa	San Basilio	San Zaccaria	**San Cipriano**	Santi Cosma e Damiano (Giudecca Island)	
San Marcuola	San Silvestro	San Salvador	San Trovaso	San Francesco della Vigna		San Servolo	
		San Lio		San Lorenzo		San Clemente	
		San Canciano		Sant'Elena			
		Santi Apostoli		**San Domenico**			
		San Giovanni in Bragora		**San Daniele**			
		San Giulian					

Figure 27 - William Wey Venice itinerary divided into coherent zones. Churches indicated bold are now suppressed.

5.5 Conclusions

It is clear that in the last quarter of the fifteenth century Venice's role in pilgrimage accounts was not understood anymore as a simple stage of departure, a port or a commercial city. Venice became something else; it was the counterpart of Jerusalem, the other side of the mirror beyond the Mediterranean Sea. In the eyes of William Wey St Mark's was built as the Christians' Temple in Jerusalem and Venice was a *sanctissimum locum* full of the golden light of God. The centrality of Venice within the Holy Land pilgrimage emerged for the first time in Wey's account as a focus point. It looks like a predominant sense of Venice stands out in the whole narration written in 1462. Hidden behind a religious layer William Wey showed towards Venice an interest that went beyond religion. It should be noted that the pilgrim spent more than a month in the Venetian territory compared to a period of thirteen days in the Holy Land.[106] Therefore, he had the opportunity to experience longer, and probably deeper, the Italian culture in its many aspects. The slightly more passionate way described the Venetian experience suggests that he "enjoyed" much more this stage of the travel rather than the rest of the pilgrimage revealing a type of curiosity towards Italian culture never shown in earlier pilgrimage narratives.[107] Even the canons used for the written description of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in 1458 are different from those used for the "Venetian pilgrimage" in 1462. In fact, in the Jerusalem

[106] For the pilgrimage made in 1462.

[107] This supposition is given by the different types of narration that Wey uses to describe both the Holy Land and Venice as well as the use of qualifying adjectives used for describing Venice as "sacred, holy" place. William Wey rarely uses the same type of adjectives for the description of other stages or places during his travel.

narrative Wey seems to be inclined to follow a more "classic" structure of narration, already seen in previous pilgrimage accounts.

This structure includes many *materia* such as the "reasons" to undertake a pilgrimage, the mileage between different cities and the stations to visit in the Holy Land.[108] Conversely, the narration of the "Venetian stage" was apparently a new emerging theme among fifteenth-century travel-guides and, as stated before, it seems that William Wey could not employ any earlier similar accounts in this sense. Therefore, without any type of previous structural example to follow, the author built this part of his narration solely based on his experience and sources consulted on Venetian history, in addition to the information received from the patron of his galley. Sources on Venetian history written by Venetian chroniclers were diffused widely in Italy during the mid-fifteenth century. Nevertheless, only a few of these were actually transmitted outside the Italian country. Therefore, William Wey's information about Venice may have been acquired through the reading of local chronicles directly in Venice or through the study of a few famous Venetian works disseminated in England. If Wey had the opportunity to see a Venetian *Cronica* in England, one of these works might be a manuscript derived probably from a copy of the *Cronicon Altinate* and diffused in England in the fifteenth century as *Chronicon Venetum saec. XI*. This manuscript in the nineteenth century belonged to the collection of Venetian Manuscripts of Thomas Phillips.[109] Further sources available in Venice

[108] According to the History of the Station of the Cross, William Wey was the first to indicated the various Holy Land stages with the term "stations". See Herbert Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross: an account of their history and devotional purpose* (London, 1914), pp.45-61.

[109]. See Serban V. Marin 'Considerations Regarding the place of the Chronicon Altinate in the Venetian historical writing' in *Revue des études sud-est Européennes*, Tome LI (Bucharest, 2013), pp. 83-103; Carlo Castellani 'I Manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella

and Padua at the time of Wey's Venetian stay were the chronicles produced by Enrico Dandolo, Antonio Morosini and the *Historia Veneticorum* written by Giovanni Diacono. In Venice, during the mid-fifteenth century the concept of "public library" had already been domesticated since Petrarch's endowment of a library for the "*gloria, e utilità e piacere dei nobili e letterati cittadini".* Nevertheless, although a real "public library" such as the Biblioteca Marciana was not accessible at that time, great part of manuscripts and precious volumes produced in Venice were available in religious institutions such as the Franciscans libraries of Francesco della Vigna in Venice or Antoniana in Padua. According to Reihnold Röhricht, the library of Francesco della Vigna was particularly famous during the Middle Ages as a main point for the collection of pilgrimage guides to Jerusalem, therefore it is plausible that Franciscans may have been helpful to pilgrims also with the history of Venice and its sources if requested specifically by a pilgrim.[110]

Considering the innovation and importance of Venice in Wey's narration, we might argue that the author was aware of the "literary gap" affecting pilgrimage accounts regarding this part of the journey and consequently decided to give it a different relevance.[111]

---

collezione Phillips in Cheltenham nella contea di Gloucester' in AV, Anno xix, Tomo xxxvii (Venice 1889), pp. 200-248.

[110] See Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae: chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des heiligen landesbezüglichen literature* (Berlin, 1890), p. 8 and Adonella Cedarmas, *Per la cruna del mondo: Carlo Camucio e Moisé Vita Cafsuto, due pellegrini nella Terra Santa del Settecento* (Milan, 2006), p. 141-143. In William Wey's itinerary, there is no direct connection between his visit to Venice and the church of St. Francis della Vigna. However, in other itineraries such as those written by Santo Brasca and Pietro Casola the church is part of a bigger Venetian"sacred route" that involved pilgrims during their days waiting for the departure.

[111] There is a further possibility that Wey, in the production of his book, was responding to the requests of a patron. Nevertheless, the donation of his manuscript to Edington priory at the completion of the Jerusalem chapel indicates a different type of purpose which might coincide with the construction of a complete Holy Land experience.

The role of the Holy Land itinerary in 1462 narration seems to be placed in the background compared to that of Venice:

> […] et sic de aliis locis in Jerusalem, Josaphat, Monte Oliveti, valle Syloe et Monte Syon, sicut in precedent itinerario meo dixi.[112]

This statement outlines Wey's intention of not being repetitive in his book and this "as I already said" could indicate that Wey's original writing idea included the creation of a pilgrimage account that was coherent and detailed in every aspect of the voyage without repetitions. However, this plan was probably too ambitious as well as too long to be completed within the time of a unique pilgrimage. Therefore, in order to be concluded, this ambitious project required a further voyage to the Holy Land, and according to the structure of the only surviving copy of the manuscript, it probably never reached its definitive format. Indeed, the *matters of Jerusalem*, as William Wey calls his work in that document judged by historians as his will, were actually a number of Middle English and Latin loose papers bound together probably after his death in the volume currently known as MS Bodl. 565.

Given the main structure of the account is in Latin, one can suppose William Wey's overall intention was to write an account in Latin and not in Middle English. This hypothesis can be supported also by the analysis of the manuscript, which confirms that the various parts of the narration were lately bound together in order to assume a coherent structure that was probably different from the original medieval one. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl., 565 is written on a 24x18 parchment and contains 105 folia. At least two different types of

[112] Wey, *The itineraries*, p. 96.

numeration (one indicating the foliation sequence and one written in Arabic numbers) sign the parchments. This suggests the work has been bound more than once over the centuries. The Arabic numeration, which was probably written during the nineteenth century, together with the modern binding process, tried to give the manuscript a logical order according to the list of *materia* presented to at folio 1r of the current version.

Nevertheless, these modern quire signatures do not correspond to the former order of the folia showing a different sequence of the quires in the manuscript. For example, the original folio primo, according to the fifteenth-century signature, corresponds to the first page of the itinerary to Jerusalem made by Wey in 1458, which in the modern binding appears at folio 35r (Fig. 28).[113]

[113] Photo credits: Laura Grazia Distefano, courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

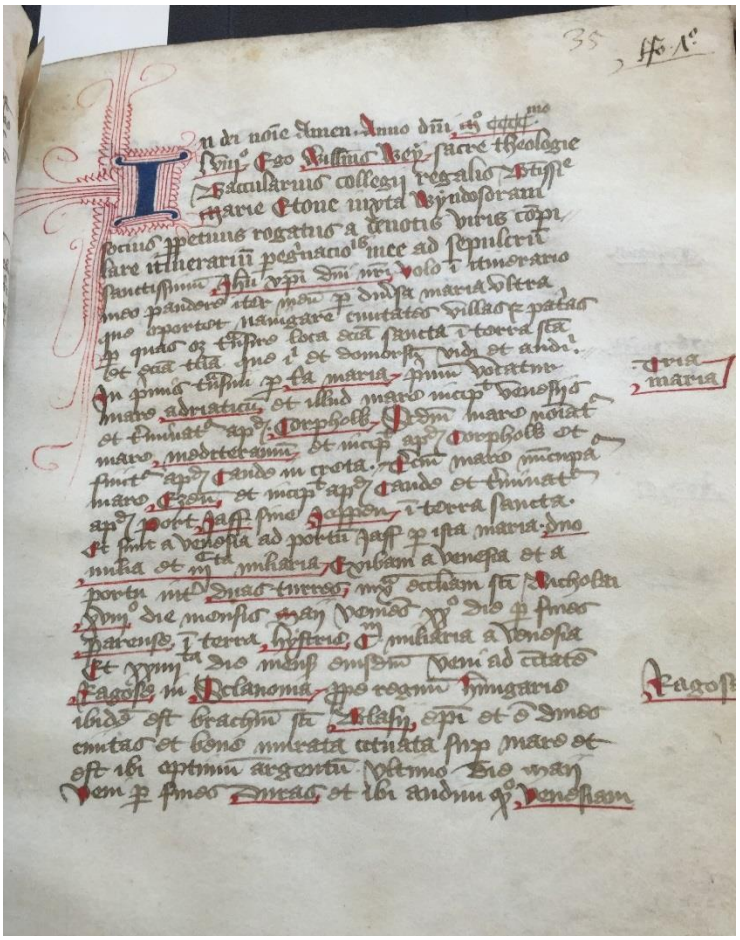


Figure 28 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565, folio 35r (former first folio).

The same applies to the third folio, which is now folio 49v (Fig.29). This confirms the original numeration of the folia was probably changed in order to assume the new, modern sequence. Therefore, the medieval structure of *Matters of Jerusalem* would appeared different from its modern revised version.[114] This would suggest that what is now MS Bodl., 565 is likely a draft or a hybrid codex that, due to several interpolations affecting its original structure, incorporates part of a draft and part of an unofficial incomplete work, which would have

[114] We do not know whether the original manuscript contained additional pages that were removed or lost during the various interpolations so we do not know if the Middle English part was actually longer that the one still preserved in the MS Bodl., 565.

constituted one of the most complete guides to sacred pilgrimage written in the mid-fifteenth century including Venice as an important religious destination.

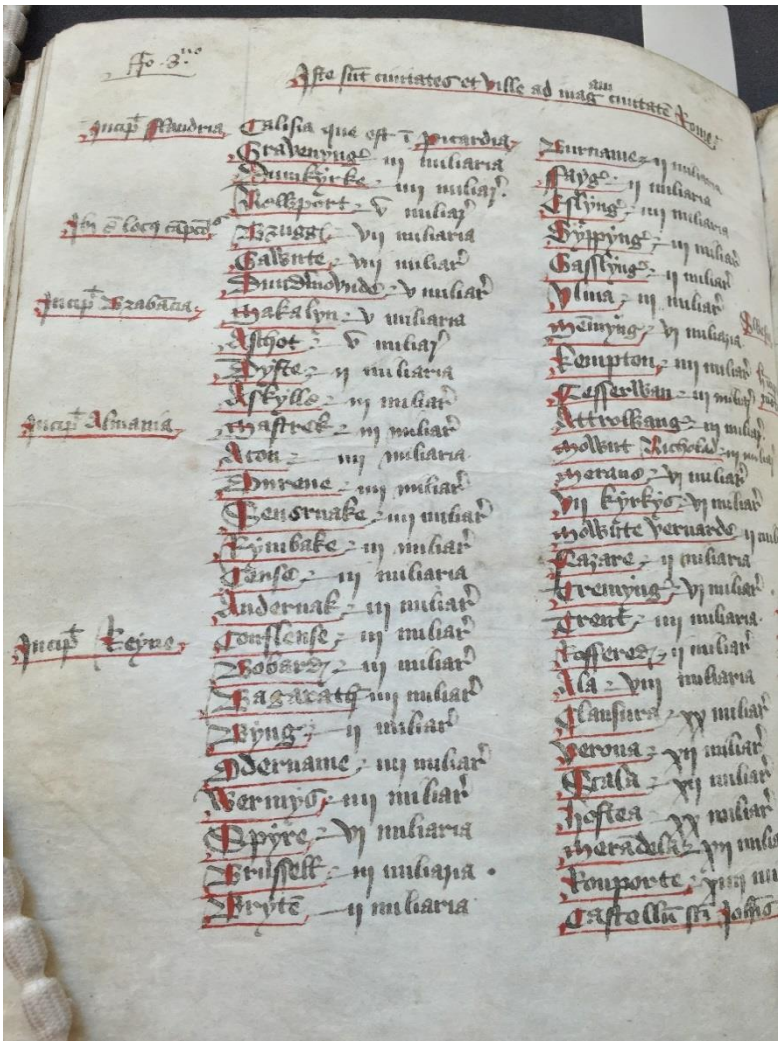


Figure 29 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565, folio 49v (former third folio).[115]

.

[115] Photo credits: Laura Grazia Distefano, courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Chapter 6 - Venice and the fifteenth-century travellers

6.1 Introduction

Travellers such as William Wey made an enormous contribution to pilgrimage literature, especially to the development of pilgrimage accounts, which were not merely as useful "travel instruments" but also as a new kind of entertaining prose for different types of public, including those who did not have the intention to travel towards a specific destination such as the Holy Land. This change happened during the mid-fifteenth century, when several new enjoyable literary themes emerged within pilgrim narratives.[1] As discussed in the previous chapter, William Wey was one of the first European pilgrims to perceive and describe Venice in a written travel account not only as the departure point of his travels but also as a religious destination deserving further attention.[2] However, Wey was not the only fifteenth-century pilgrim who gave to Venice and Venetians a new popularity. Descriptions of the Venetian stage, although they became more common in the fifteenth century, were present even in early pilgrimage literature.[3]

[1] In this case, I would like to consider also the fourteenth-century pilgrimage account written by John Mandeville as an early attempt to use pilgrimage guides as "entertaining" reading.

[2] Although as seen in Chapter Four the Republic of Venice tried to gain this role a long time before William Wey's travels. Before William Wey, Venice's marvels were described briefly in Italian pilgrimage narratives.

[3] As is described in previous chapters, Venice held the monopoly of the organisation of pilgrimages to the Holy Land since the fourteenth century. Venetian involvement in this ranged from the management of pilgrims' arrival in Venice to the arrangement of their stay and safety while in the Holy Land. Therefore, although the use of the terms "Venetian stage" in this thesis largely refers to the sojourn of pilgrims in Venice, it may indicate also the uninterrupted and constant presence of Venetians in other phases of the travel. These may be the sea-voyage or the various refuelling stops in Venetian

This chapter investigates how Venice's multiple roles in the organisation of pilgrimages to the Holy Land were perceived and described in other European narratives disseminated during the later Middle Ages. It investigates how the background of the single traveller, and possibly his nationality, influenced not only travel itself but also the way of describing the travel experience and the formation of a narrative prototype in the production of the description of Venice (and consequently the rest of the pilgrimage account).

For instance, even though the general structure of a pilgrimage narration might be similarly widespread in Europe, there is a substantial difference in the form and purpose between an account written by an orthodox German friar and that written by an Italian noble warlord or merchant. A common destination and the contemporaneity of the written production cannot be used as a single parameter to define pilgrimage literature as a homogenous literary genre. This peculiarity is even more emphasised if we consider not solely the inclusion or not of a Venetian stage as part of the religious itinerary, but also the differences in the Venetians' interactions with pilgrims of different nationalities. The Venetians' behaviour towards incoming pilgrims was one of the most crucial factors in determining a positive or negative impression of Venice and its inhabitants. This aspect was a further addition that did not consider the possibility of complimentary entertainment tours of the city's religious venues. Fourteenth-century pilgrims considered Venice principally as a port for embarkation to the Holy Land but Venice did not yet have the organisation and articulate "civic and religious program" that was displayed a century later.

territories outside the main lagoon (e.g. Heraklion (Candia), Methoni (Modone) etc.) that from a medieval perspective can be seen as an extension of Venetian authority itself.

It is likely that no one pilgrim wanted to report an insignificant or uncomfortable part of his journey, especially if this was considered as outside the religious focus of the travel. Therefore, if nobody seems to be interested in talking systematically about the marvels of Venice before the fifteenth century the reason might be found in Venice's organisation of the Venetian stay and approach to its visitors and the consequent perception of this phase of the travel.

6.2 Travel à *l' italienne*

Italians boast a secular tradition in overseas travel having a record in the number of merchants, missionaries and ordinary people who reached Palestine, Asia and the Middle Eastern territories during the medieval period. Italian travellers desirous of a knowledge of the world collected Marco Polo's "heritage" and written production of detailed travel accounts of the journey to Asia and Jerusalem flourished throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[4] During the same period, travel narrations written by Italians report a peculiarity about the Venetian pilgrims' stage that does not appear in other European narratives.[5] Although the consciousness of an "Italian nationality" was far from being accepted on a national scale, against a more diffused sense of belonging to a specific territory (e.g. people considered themselves as Venetians, Genoese,

[4] Among the most important works produced during the fourteenth century was the *Libro d'Oltramare* written around 1350 by Niccolò Poggibonsi with the original title of *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem* also the *Relatio* written in 1330 by the Franciscan missionary Odorico da Pordenone and diffused in Europe through the translation of Jean Le Long, *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone;* the *Chronicon Bohemorum* written in 1350 by Giovanni de' Marignolli; the *Viaggio al Monte Sinai* written by Leonardo Frescobaldi, Simone Sigoli, Giorgio Gucci and Andrea Rinuccini. For Published editions of these itineraries see Alberto Bacchi Della Lega, *Libro d'oltramare, 1346-1350* (Jerusalem, 1945); Andreose, Ménard, *Le voyage*; J. Emler 'Kronika Marignolova' in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, III, (Pragae 1882), pp. 492-604; Frescobaldi, *Viaggio.*

[5] With the exception of writers socially or politically involved with Venetian business on an international scale.

Milanese etc.), a certain "sense of community" according to Susan Reynolds's point of view, is often shown in pilgrimage narratives when describing the Venetian stay.[6] The sense of community is particularly evident in the emergence of that "x factor" giving the Italian traveller a position of advantage (regardless to his social and economic position) compared to a foreign traveller arriving in the same territory. For instance, compared to a hypothetical German or English visitor the Italian pilgrim who arrived in Venice was at least aware of the local political situation, knew the language, possibly he also knew Venetian residents and the safer and less expensive places to stay according to the Venetian change of money.[7] This "x factor" gave the Italian pilgrims greater independence and made them less likely to become a victim of the already discussed Venetian tourist traps. Most of the Italian travellers to the Holy Land and Asia departing from Venice were politicians, merchants and Franciscan missionaries arriving from the centre-north of Italy.[8] Not all of the hundreds of Italian travellers arriving in Venice for every departing season were wealthy and powerful personalities, but being "famous" or wealthy added to the basic advantage of

[6] In the fourteenth century, the Italian territory was not unified. Italy reached its political unity as a state only in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there was a sort of empathy between people living in the neighbouring towns of northern Italy, probably due to a shared religious belief and common commercial interest. Even if it was not yet nationalism, the sense of belonging to the same ethnicity played a fundamental role in medieval society. In order to describe that particular feeling in the simplest way, I will use the term "Italian" despite being conscious of its politic limitations during the medieval period. With regard to the meaning of state and nation, see Reynolds Susan 'Nations, Tribes Peoples, and States' in *Medieval worlds*, No.2 (2015), pp. 79-88.

[7] A foreign pilgrim usually arrived in Venice knowing little or nothing about the city and Italian culture probably with "second hand" information that often did not correspond to reality (e.g. as in the case of William Wey discussed in the previous chapter). Foreign pilgrims were at the mercy of Venetian residents and administrators of the pilgrimage voyages and so easier victims of frauds and misunderstandings.

[8] It is not possible to establish a model of the medieval "Italian traveller". Moreover, according to the surviving pilgrimage accounts, the typical Italian traveller of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was generally a wealthy and religious middle-aged man, usually a merchant or a person actively involved in the political and social affairs of his home town, who usually lived in the centre or north of Italy.

being Italian further benefits that helped to ensure a pleasant and memorable Venetian experience.

6.2.1 Hospitality

Venetian officials usually knew in advance about the arrival of illustrious or strategically important Italian dignitaries giving them a warm welcome and treating them with respect and hospitality.

6.2.1.1 Lionardo Frescobaldi and the Venetian "cortexia".

The Florentine politician Lionardo Frescobaldi who travelled to the Holy Land in 1384 together with two other eminent Florentine companions, Giorgio Gucci and Andrea Rinuccini, is a clear example of the courtesy reserved by Venetians to an important Italian dignitary.[9] Lionardo Frescobaldi was an eminent member of the patrician Frescobaldi family, one of the most powerful families in Florence that undertook affairs with the English Crown during the fourteenth century. His narration is peculiar because it offers not only an uncommon point of view about the well-known delays in the departure of ships from the Venetian port, but also an example of the Venetian hospitality towards an important Italian public figure that can be compared with the Venetian behaviour toward a contemporary foreign pilgrim. It was usual for the Venetian patrons of the galleys to delay pilgrimage departures up to one or two weeks for unspecified reasons, most of

[9] In the period of his travel Lionardo Frescobaldi was working as a Florentine ambassador and, as he himself admitted in his account, the bishop of Volterra, his old friend, appointed him to travel to the Holy Land in order to describe the best places to stay and what lands were suitable to successful military campaigns. […] procurassi i porti e paesi di là, sicché alla mia tornata ne dessi notizia dove si potesse comodamente pigliar porto a gente d'arme, e procurassi e fiumane e luoghi e siti da campeggiare e quali terre fussino atte a vincere per battaglia […] Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli, *Pellegrini scrittori: viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta* (Florence, 1990).

the time justified to foreign pilgrims as "bad weather conditions". However, in Frescobaldi's narration for the first time a pilgrim admits he was the main cause of one of these delays in departure. When Lionardo Frescobaldi reached Venice after his departure from Florence in good health, he became sick with a tertian fever.[10] There are two different printed editions of Frescobaldi's pilgrimage, called here as VL and PS, which diverge in the narration of this episode.[11] VL states that Frescobaldi was already sick when he arrived in the Venetian house of his relative Giovanni Portinari (a Florentine merchant established in Venice) and he searched for the forgiveness of his soul with an "indulgence tour" of the Venetian churches.[12] Despite, Frescobaldi stated the indulgences he gained in Venice were not enough to make him regain "good health" and this prolonged infirmity kept him and his companions *impacciati* for their imminent departure.[13] In contrast, PS states that he became sick after his tour of the Venetian churches and the completion of all conventional practices of the pilgrimage.[14]

[10] The tertian fever is one of the first symptoms of malaria.

[11]Frescobaldi's narrative circulated for a long time in northern Italy after its first appearance in the fourteenth century. Today the pilgrim's work survives in about twenty manuscripts produced between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the manuscrips' *stemma codicum* see Trovato Paolo 'Per le nozze (rinviate) tra storia e filologia sulle vulgate di alcuni pellegrinaggi tre e quattrocenteschi (Lionardo Frescobaldi, Mariano da Siena, Alessandro Rinuccini) e sulle guide di terrasanta' in *Filologia Italiana*, 3 (Pisa and Roma, 2006), pp. 31-76. Unfortunately, there is a little study about Frescobaldi's manuscript dissemination in Italy. The only two printed editions of his work are outdated and not inclusive of a study of Frescobaldi's work as part of a broader pilgrimage literary tradition. For reason of convenience, I will call the first edition (Frescobaldi, *Viaggio di Lionardo*) based on the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb.lat 4047 (previously Barb. 932) "VL" and the second edition (Lanza, Troncarelli, *Pellegrini scrittori*) based on three different manuscripts: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II iv 119; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 2257, and Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, ms. 211 "PS".

[12] In this edition, Frescobaldi stated that he infected also another person who was travelling with him, Paolo Mei a priest from Casentino: Frescobaldi, *Viaggio*, p. 52.

[13] *Impacciati* is a florentine word that means they stopped; they were not able to travel. For this edition, see Frescobaldi, *Viaggio,* pp. 49-52.

[14] See Lanza, Troncarelli, *Pellegrini scrittori*, pp. 171-172.

To complete these practices, Frescobaldi's party insisted they were unable to go on pilgrimage aboard a traditional pilgrim's galley.[15] Both versions of the narrative confirm that despite the delayed departure, he decided to leave regardless of his infirmity. PS adds further information about this episode. When Frescobaldi became sick, his friends Gucci and Rinuccini "*raunarono certi mercatanti fiorentini e più viniziani amici de' fiorentini"*[16] together with the patron of the galley and some Venetian doctors who discouraged the group from undertaking such a long journey with this kind of infirmity and suggesting to him and his group to return to Florence instead. Even so, Frescobaldi, who was determined to travel to the Holy Land, did not follow this recommendation. At this point, the patron of the galley, Lorenzo Morosini, offered to Liornardo his galley's bedroom that was located in the helm of the ship.[17] The Venetian hospitality to Italian pilgrims as shown in the case of Lionardo Frescobaldi was remarkable, especially if compared with other pilgrimage accounts produced by contemporary foreign pilgrims. For instance, less than ten years after Frescobaldi's journey, Lord Henry of Lancaster, afterward King Henry IV, who

[15] Indeed, Lionardo and his companions did not want to proceed, as other groups of pilgrims usually did, with a standard sea-voyage straight to Jerusalem, but they wanted to visit also Egypt and its shrines, refusing to board the traditional galley with other pilgrims. This would mean that the length of the journey for other fellow pilgrims would have been considerably longer, dangerous and expensive. Lionardo himself described how other foreign and Venetian pilgrims were against this not expected itinerary and for that reason, having failed to persuade them (with the exception of other pilgrims coming from Florence), he decided to rent a brand new ship and depart alone with his companions. It is possible only to imagine how these types of unexpected requests may have harmed the general routine of the Venetian organization of travel and might have become politically embarrassing if not appropriately satisfied. As it is easy to deduce, Frescobaldi's group not only obtained a brand new ship but also paid seventeen ducats per person, a price that was far lower than that usually paid by "normal" pilgrims which amounts to forty or fifty ducats.

[16] Translated literally as "They asked the help of some the Florentine friends that were merchants in Venice and some other Venetian friends of Florentine people". Lanza, Troncarelli, *Pellegrini scrittori*, p. 172.

[17] Lionardo specifies how the doctors had great care of him and the patron let him arrange the room as if he was in his house in Florence.

was expected to arrive in Venice during December 1392, had to book his private galley for the Holy Land almost one month before his travel. Furthermore, he needed for this the help of the Duke of Austria Albert III, who asked for special permission from the Venetian Government.[18] What made a common Florentine politician more important than a (future) king? Considering the temporary infirmity of Frescobaldi only as an unforeseeable circumstance, the Florentine representative needs to be observed and compared to Henry of Lancaster in a more objective way. Despite being a notable public figure in Florence, it is clear that Lionardo Frescobaldi cannot have enjoyed the same importance and sphere of influence in Italy and abroad as the future English king in his own country.[19] Apparently, the only additional or "special" advantage that he had was to be "Italian" and consequently socially and politically closer to the Venetian way of life compared to Henry of Lancaster. Nevertheless, this type of friendliness linked to a common sense of nationality was a mere cover for more complicated and fragile local politics that Venetians tried to safeguard in the context of an unknown and potentially turbulent future. Therefore, although Henry of Lancaster was undeniably and objectively "more important" in a broader European social and political hierarchy, Lionardo Frescobaldi was strategically essential to the safeguarding of the Florentine-Venetian relations, which preoccupied Venetians more than their foreign affairs. In fact, Frescobaldi experienced a type of empathy and friendliness that went beyond a simple warm welcome, often demanded by social etiquette.[20]

[18] ASV, Senato Deliberazioni miste, XLII, f. 88°.
[19] It should be considered also that Henry of Lancaster received a very warm welcome due to his close relationship with the Contarini family, as described in Chapter Three.
[20] The feeling of a warm welcome is compared by Frescobaldi's perception of Venice as if he was in Florence.

6.2.1.1 Roberto Sanseverino and Venetian grandiosity.

A similarly remarkable welcome was that granted to Roberto Sanseverino in 1458. Sanseverino, who travelled contemporareously to William Wey and likely in his same galley, had a very different type of experience in Venice compared to the English pilgrim.[21] Raised among the highest ranks of the Milanese nobility, Sanseverino was known for its captain's qualities and for its kinship with the Duke of Milan Francesco Sforza.[22] His travel to the Holy Land is often described as "political" rather than religious, as the work of Maruffi on the early edition of the pilgrimage text reports.[23] In one of the letters addressed to Francesco Sforza, Sanseverino admits openly his intention to inform his uncle "*de li progressi del turcho*" while going to the Holy Land.[24] This political intent is reflected directly in his narration, which is analytical and has a marginal religious focus compared to other narratives of the same period.[25] The formality of his journey is widely perceived in his description of his Venetian stay, which highlights the privileges of his noble status with regards to his experiences in the lagoon. Sanseverino arrived in Venice accompanied by another thirteen people from northern Italy and it does not appear as a coincidence that the company reached the city together with Francesco Sforza's brother Alessandro, expected

[21] Copies of the narration written by Sanseverino survives in Modena, Biblioteca Estense - Universitaria, Estense, Lat. 1082 = alfa.U.5.11, cc. 84r-93v and Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, DCCCCXLVII (MLIII), cc. 410r-417. Maruffi reports additional copies of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma, in the Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan and in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna that have not been located. Sanseverino, Maruffi, *Viaggio,* pp. xxi-xxii.

[22] Roberto Sanseverino was the nephew of Francesco Sforza born from the marriage of Leonello of Caiazzo and the sister of Franscesco Sforza, Lisa.

[23] Sanseverino, Maruffi *Viaggio,* pp. xx-xxii.

[24] To inform his uncle about the Moorish presence in the Holy Land while traveling there. Sanseverino, Maruffi ,*Viaggio,* p. xx.

[25] Recently, Paola Calò underlined how in the narration of Sanseverino's journey there is no space for Roberto "the pilgrim" but the protagonist of the travel is just "Roberto the hero" and famous Milanese *condottiero*. Calò Paola, *Viaggio in Terra Santa: fatto e descritto per Roberto da Sanseverino* (CSVA, 2007), pp. 2-3.

in Venice around the same time.[26] Sanseverino's uncle Alessandro was accommodated (probably by the Doge in person) at the hospice of San Giorgio Maggiore where the company met to organise the rest of the stay in Venice.[27] In contrast to other pilgrims arriving into Venice for the same occasion, Sanseverino was immediately granted a meeting with the Doge, Pasquale Malipiero, before the celebrations for the Ascension Day, probably due to the presence of his uncle, Lord Alessandro Sforza, with him. In Sanseverino's account, it is specified that not only the *condottiero* met the Doge but also that he went with him to the Vesper's procession and mass on Ascension Day.[28] Doge Malipiero invited them afterwards to join him at the *sposalizio del mare* but not as common spectators but as part of the celebration itself aboard of the *bucintoro,* an honour granted only to the highest members of the patriciate. The depiction of the celebration in Sanseverino's account is different from that described by other pilgrims during the same period not only because of its social status, but because he experienced the feast from a completely different position, being among the protagonists observed by "common" pilgrims such as William Wey. It is important to note that Sanseverino's journey is narrated in the third person. It is not clear whether Sanseverino had a personal scribe but it is likely the narrator was someone who accompanied the *condottiero* during his journey. To better understand his type of experience, I translate here from the original vernacular edition the piece concerning his participation in the Ascension Day celebration.

[26] Among them the counsellor of the Sforza family and man of letters Giovanni Matteo Botticella and the architect Guiniforte Solari. See Calò, *Viaggio,* p. 6.
[27] The account specifies that Alessandro Sforza "*era proveduto de aloziamento*" (has been accommodated). Meaning that someone in Venice offered him this accomodation. Calo, *Viaggio*, p. 13.
[28] Calo, *Viaggio*, p. 13.

[…]On 12th March, Lord Roberto and company went to S. Giorgio maggiore to meet the marquis (Alessandro Sforza) in order to go with him and the Lord Doge of Venice to "marry the sea", as it was customary to do every year in this city. To let you understand the customs observed by the Signoria to marry the sea, which many of you may not be aware of, they will be explained here briefly. First, a procession of religious men proceed with their crosses according to their religion.[29] Then, the six flags of St. Mark's are brought by the servants of the *Signoria* followed by six trumpeters with silver trumps and by the Doge's army wearing black cloth with the Maripietro's coat of arms. After this, the procession continues with the Doge's esquires' displaying of gold brocades and a tribune finely inlaid with gold. Lastly (before the Doge's appearance), is displayed a round golden canopy on a stick admirably worked. The Doge ultimately appears with his headgear and a beautiful sword in a golden and silver sheath followed by the members of the Signoria and other gentlemen proceeding according to their status. Lord Alessandro and Roberto, because they were in Venice for that occasion, accompanied closely the Doge in both processions.[30] They reached then the *bucintoro*, which was ornate and situated near the St. Mark's square. Although the ship was provided with oars, there were four other ships tied to each other helping with the rowing. The Doge sat on the main boat, also lord Alessandro and Roberto were sitting with him together with other gentlemen […].[31]

[29] It looks like the narrator is suggesting that multiple religions participated in the procession but it likely meant the multiplicity of religious orders or rules (e.g. Benedictines, Franciscans, and Augustines etc.).
[30] He is referring also to the "return" procession to St. Mark's.
[31] My translation from the official vernacular edition in Calo, *Viaggio*, pp. 13-15.

From this part of the narration, it is clear that who was describing the scene was not Sanseverino himself but someone who was watching the Ascension Day celebrations from the outside as a common spectator. This person, was looking at Sanseverino with the same admiration as he was looking at the Doge. The specification of the *condottiero*'s proximity to most important political figure of the city was a means to let the reader understand the importance of the protagonist of the narration and the respect shown him by the Republic of Venice during his visit to the city. In contrast to William Wey and any other pilgrims, who after the celebrations returned to their accommodation waiting to depart the day after the Ascension, Roberto Sanseverino (together with his uncle Alessandro) was invited by the Doge, Pasquale Malipiero, to join him for the mass and afterward for a private dinner in his company. This "behind the scenes" on Ascension Day is quite unusual in pilgrimage narrations and demonstrate the eagerness of the author to show Sanseverino's special treatment in Venice.

> […] Once disembarked from the ship the procession preceding the *bucintoro* with the Doge and the Signoria encountered the Patriarch of Venice and the abbot of St. Niccolò with their religious who touched the hands of Lords Alessandro and Roberto and made them kiss certain relics in a tabernacle they were holding in their hands. They headed then toward the church (the church of St. Niccolò) which was well ornamented with religious vestments and rugs. The Doge stopped at the door while the other religious inside the church started singing, they proceeded then toward the high altar to hear the mass that was sang too. After the mass, they [he is referring to Roberto Sanseverino and Alessandro Sforza] accompanied the Doge to his palace together with many little boats. When they reached the

> palace, the Doge decided to stop and stand between them, so every man who was approaching him make him and them obeisance. Afterwards, he went to dine with the Lords Alessandro and Roberto, who were invited by him the day before as well as the ambassador, the Marquis of Varese.[32]

Since 1449, a date on which the Republic of Venice and the Signoria of Milan swore a ten-year close alliance in which they agreed to be a "friend of the friends and an enemy of the enemies" of either party, both cities collaborated side by side in commerce and politics.[33] We do not know the main reason for the dinner between Malipiero, Sanseverino and Sforza but, beyond mere pleasantries, it is likely the condottiero informed the Doge of his journey's second end, a topic that might be of particular interest for the Republic, especially if a possible war with the infidels were to involve Venice.

This type of welcome given to both Frescobaldi and Sanseverino shows how the Venetians gave often a priority to their local affairs over problems on the international scene.[34] The dominion of the Adriatic Sea and the maritime predominance against other Italian maritime republics (such as Pisa and Genoa) were always particularly important within Venetian politics and the national system of alliances. The fragile Italian balance among different political systems made coalitions with other powerful cities, such as Florence or Milan, more valuable compared to foreign alliances of the same type. This does not mean that the international scene was undervalued and an eminent foreign pilgrim was not able to obtain similar privileges in Venice, but only that local politics had

[32] My translation from the original vernacular edition in Calò, *Viaggio*, pp. 14-15.
[33] About the alliance path see Riccardo Predelli, *I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia: Regestri*, vol. V (Cambridge, 2012), p. 39.
[34] Unless these problems on the international scene would compromise their national business.

precedence over foreign affairs. Venetians were professionals and well prepared for the arrival of important European figures, treating them with respect and cordiality in order to maintain good and favourable international relations as well as a good impression of Venice. Nevertheless, it is likely that when foreign pilgrims arrived in Venice they were not aware of the complicated relationship between Venice and other Italian cities during their visit. Consequently, their writings may reflect a perception of the Venetian environment that was determined by a set of variable external circumstances not linked directly with the pilgrimage experience. Furthermore, in both narratives analysed previously any concern related to the agreements with the patrons and the conditions of transportation are shown. Excluding the weather conditions that slowed Sanseverino's departure and the temporary infirmity of Frescobaldi, both departures proceeded smoothly, without complaints or need to be precise about what were the patron's duties or the pilgrims' rights. This demonstrate that, from a certain point of view, the Venetian legislation was created appositely to assist foreign visitors and people who did not have a direct political or commercial relationship with the Republic. Conversely, visitors considered relevant to Venetian business did not need to know what their rights were, what was legitimate to bring on board a galley or how many daily meals they were entitled to for the price of a passage to the Holy Land. This was because the government was took care of everything making their stay, and consequently their narration, different from a "conventional" pilgrimage account.

6.3 A German vision of Venice

As can be seen in Lionardo Frescobaldi's narrative, the description of Venice reflects how pleasant his visit was. Frescobaldi's development of this part of his account, usually overlooked by contemporary pilgrims, destabilises the classical structure of the fourteenth-century pilgrimage travel guide, creating a sub-category about Venice, which became more systematic only in the following century.[35] Conversely, the brief but descriptive stay of Sanseverino stresses the admiration and honours received by the Doge in person, creating a distance between not only him and other "common" pilgrims who experienced the same events (e.g. William Wey), but also between him and the narrator of his account who was observing the scene as an external spectator. Both narrations appear to be focused on their protagonists and the remarkable treatment they received once arrived in Venice. The emphasis on this aspect, rather than the pilgrimage itself as a main point of the narration, might have been influenced by the social/political status of the pilgrims towards Venice, which differs from that of most visitors who departed from the lagoon during the same period. In fact, both narrations are devoid of the classic topics developed in contemporary pilgrimage accounts such as the provisions made for the travel, the contract with the patron of the galley and in, certain cases, the praise dedicated to the city of Venice (seen in William Wey, Pietro Casola and Bernard Von Breydenbach). Furthermore, they demonstrate to a lack of awareness of the complex system created by Venetians to govern pilgrimage departures and, in this regard, it seems they did

[35] Even Frescobaldi's companions Giorgio Gucci and Simone Sigoli (who joined Frescobaldi's group once in Venice) appear to have been reluctant to give the Venetian stage a major length in their accounts. See Bellarmino Bagatti 'A visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384' in *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, VI (Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 16-127 and Simone Sigoli, *Viaggio al Monte Sinai* (Florence, 1829).

not come into contact with any of the figures working with pilgrims in Venice (e.g. Cattaver or *Tholomagi*). In contrast to the majority of pilgrims who visited Venice during the same period, personages like Sanseverino were considered strategically important to the Republic, which was interested in protecting its major business and political alliances with its closer neighbours. Despite the likelihood of belonging to a noble rank, foreign pilgrims who did not gain the Doge's personal attention had to pass through all the different "steps" planned by the Senate to grant its visitors a smooth departure towards the Holy Land. This included being received by the *tholomagi*, finding an accommodation, agreeing a contract with a patron and receiving information and directions on tours of Venice and what to buy and bring for the upcoming journey. The perspective and impression of Venice shared by this other "category" of pilgrims during this first stage of the pilgrimage would appear probably more authentic and journey-centric than the one experienced by Italian patricians who shared with Venice the same political and economic interests. However, it is uncommon to find in pilgrimage accounts any mention of Venetian official guides. Bernard Von Breydenbach offers a unique perspective about Venice during his journey to the Holy Land of 1483, despite not being in direct contact with any Venetian operators except for the patron of his galley, Agostino Contarini.

6.3.1 Bernard Von Breydenbach

Born from the noble family of Breydenbach-Breidstain, Bernard was a wealthy and active member of the religious and cultural life of Mainz. At the time of his departure to the Holy Land, he was the dean of the metropolitan church of Mainz and interested in the newly German introduction of printing. As he himself declared, the scope of his pilgrimage was not only religious but also that of

producing a book of travels for which he hired the illustrator Erhard Reuwich.[36] It was probably to have the most complete book of travels that Breydenbach followed the more uncommon, yet expensive, route of the Holy that ended in Sinai.[37] To the eyes of fourteenth-and fifteenth-century pilgrims, it would have appeared bizarre to find in travel guides pleasant descriptions of Venice not only as a welcoming place, but also as an interesting religious destination in its own right, especially considering that Venice was known mainly for its naval power and overseas business rather than for its beauty. However, it was even more incredible to see Venice painted within the pages of a pilgrimage account accompanying the readers' mind to a visual experience of travel. Breydenbach was very innovative from this point of view. If William Wey was one of the first pilgrims to promote the religious relevance of Venice, Bernard von Breydenbach was the one who showed the floating city to those who had not seen it before.[38] This innovation changed the way of describing pilgrimage by associating words to actual visual references of the place described.[39] Because of this new way of approaching pilgrimage narrative, Ross described Breydenbach as at a "juncture" in the history of media, although unaware of his position.[40] The work of the German author, which results from collaboration with multiple people, including the Dominican Martin Roth, is still preserved in ten main incunabula

[36] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, pp. 14-15.
[37] Bartolini states that among the pilgrims who departed with Breyedendbach's group only 18 could afford the expensive pilgrimage to Sinai. See, Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, p. xi.
[38] Despite this, the German pilgrim Hans Tuchers, who travelled in 1479, had already published a pilgrimage account called *Reise ins Gelobte Land* containing illustrations of his journey. Other pilgrims such as Felix Fabri used Tuchers' account as a source of information. About this, see Beebe, *Pilgrims*, p. 85.
[39] For an accurate study of the use of illustrations in the narrative of Bernard Von Breydenbach, see Elisabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (Pennsylvania State University, 2014).
[40] Ross, *Picturing*, p. 21.

and several other printed editions in Latin, French and Dutch.[41] Breydenbach arrived in Venice from Ulm on the 9th May 1484 together with other two companions, Johannes von Solms and Philip von Bicken, in addition to Reuwich.[42] Departing almost a month later on the 2nd June, his stay in the lagoon was long enough to experience Venice at its best. The organisation of his work is much more schematic and chronologically ordered than Wey's. Concerning the section relating to Venice the work is organised as follow: arriving in Venice, contract with the patron, relics held in Venice and Padua, praise of the city of Venice, and departure. Before analysing the contract that Breydenbach agreed with Agostino Contarini to his impression of Venice is considered. As opposed to Frescobaldi and Sansovino, Breydenbach's welcome in Venice seems not to have been worthy of being remembered in the pages of his work. Nevertheless, in contrast to William Wey's first encounter with the city, which gives the impression of an inexperienced traveller, Breydenbach shows more confidence in approaching Venice for the first time. In contrast to the English pilgrim, the German dean of Mainz and his group look like they had already a person to contact in Venice who helped them to settle down and organise the details of the travel. This person was the German Peter Ugelheimer, merchant and associate of the French printer Nicolas Jenson who, at the time of Breydenbach's visit, had a company in Venice called 'Johannes de Colonia, Nicolas Jenson et socii' working as a direct competitor to the other German printers in Venice, Johann e Wendelin von Speyer.[43]

[41] Bartolini reports another five incunabula that are mentioned among their libraries'repertories but not physically located in them. For a complete list of these incunabula see Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, pp. xviii-xix.
[42] Solms passed away during the group is stay in Alexandria.
[43] Cecchetti Bartolomeo 'Stampatori, libri stampati nel secolo XV, testamento di Nicolò J. e di altri tipografi in Venezia' in AV, XXXIII (1887), pp. 457-467.

Ugelheimer was likely the main person giving Breydenbach and his group information about Venice, possibly also through printed copies of chronicles or religious works arriving directly from his workshop. This relates, in particular, to Breydenbach's use of the *Chronicon Altinate* on the foundation of Venice, and the list of relics held in Padua and Venice, which appear to be copied from or inspired by to a section of the *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum* published by Petrus de Natali in 1372 called *De reliquiis veneratis in ecclesiis Venetiae civitatis.*[44] Breydenbach used several main sources as aids to write his *oratio* about Venice accompanying the narration with a visual impression of the city itself (Fig. 30). Nevertheless, from his praise of the city does not emerge anything personal that touched him during his Venetian experience, although is clear he had admiration for Venice and its people to write such a well-considered and positive description of the city. With the exception of the churches of St. George and the Holy Sepulchre of Venice that have been mentioned as directly experienced, it is not clear whether Breydenbach and his group actually visited all the churches and relics mentioned in the list.[45]

The most genuine and personal description of the city is likely that related to his visit to the Arsenal which left the pilgrim aware of the "power and circumspection of Venice" after having seen at least a thousand men working within its walls to protect and build the galleys used by Venetians for trade and

[44] Breydenbach is not the only one to use the list of Venice's relics. This appears also in William Wey and Santo Brasca's itineraries. The original manuscript preserving the list is Rome, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 225, cc321r-322v. I am currently developing a collateral study of the distribution of a list of saints and relics in Venice which I hope to publish as additional paper after the submission of the doctoral thesis.

[45] One has to assume they undertook a tour covering at least the main churches given the group remained in the lagoon for 22 days. Furthermore it seems that they arrived in May, therefore the Easter celebrations, usually occurring in April, may have not been experienced.

warfare.[46] Unlike Wey's, Breydenbach's narration is not intended to make the reader aware of the personal experience of the pilgrim, although this is considered useful by the author himself. On the contrary, it aims to make the reader aware of what to really expect once in Venice, a city that, according to Breydenbach, had so many virtues that he could not list them all even if he had " a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues and an iron voice".[47] As a main point about what to expect while in Venice, there was certainly a meeting with the patron to reach an agreement in relation to the Holy Land journey. This is a central topic in the section the author dedicated to Venice, as it was an integral part of the journey on the same level with the visit to the churches and the rest of the stay in the city itself. Once they arrived in Venice, Peter Ugelheimer introduced Breydenbach and his group to Agostino Contarini. It was thanks to the German printer, who was living in Venice for a couple of years, that the group received an appropriate guidance to the right steps to take before the departure, in particular concerning the passage aboard of the pilgrims' galley.

[46] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, p. 23.
[47] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, p. 24.



Figure 30 – Breydenbach's panoramic view of the city of Venice (source Wikicommon).

6.3.1.1 De forma contractus

As the mediator of the meeting with Contarini, Ugelheimer probably helped Breydenbach in the drafting of the contract according to the Venetian law. The *De forma contractus cum patronus galee* stipulated by Breydenbach looks quite different from the *Preuysyoun* suggested by Wey. In fact, Breydenbach's contract, like Felix Fabri's, shows a certain awareness of the legislation and customs for departures established by Venetian law, despite some contradictions.[48] On the contrary, William Wey's scheme of contract looks very general, with some genuine mistakes and no specific awareness of the Venetian legislation regarding pilgrims' departures. In addition to the many factors analysed in the previous chapter, Wey's lack of specific details about his contract may be due also to an absence of a direct communication with his patron. Indeed, Breydenbach specified that to obtain a fair contract with the Venetian patron required caution and cunning and he noted the clauses of *their* contract in the account to help in the future those who wanted to undertake the same journey. The use of 'their' indicates there was only one contract stipulated for the whole group of pilgrims and not multiple single contracts with each passenger of the group. This means that William Wey, if part of a bigger group, might not have been the person in charge of the direct negotiation of the clauses of his contract with the patron, but that someone else did it for him (and his group). This would explain why his suggestions look general and devoid of any specific information. Table 10, summarises briefly the main points of the most complete pilgrimage contracts transmitted in pilgrim's narratives.

[48] Ugelheimer intervention might have helped Breydenbach to reach the most convenient deal.

William Wey	Felix Fabri	Bernard Von Breydenbach
1. Make the contract in front of the Doge or Lords of Venice (corrected in the second version) 2. The patron will bring pilgrims to the Holy Land and then to Venice 3. Pilgrims and patrons will agree certain stops to get fresh water, bread and meat 4. The Patron cannot berth the galleys for more than three days in a harbour without the pilgrims' consent 5. The Patron cannot board merchandise cargo 6. The Patron will stop in Pula, Corfu, Methoni, Candia, Rodhes and Jaffa but not Cyprus at any price. 7. The Patron will serve hot food and wine twice a day 8. The Patron will protect pilgrims'	1. The Patron should bring pilgrims to Jaffa and return to Venice 2. The galley must be boarded with expert sailors and well-armed for the protection of pilgrims against pirates and attacks 3. The Patron cannot stop in unknown harbours (by unknown he means not agreed) especially in Cyprus. 4. The Patron must provide pilgrims with food twice a day. If a pilgrim wants to remain alone or with his group in the morning or evening, the patron must provide him/them with food in any case 5. Pilgrims from Venice to the Holy Land will be served with good bread, pottage, biscuits, water, good wine and meat	1. The Patron should bring pilgrims to Jaffa and return to Venice 2. Pilgrims should instruct two people in the group to supervise the patron at each harbour and ensure he has sufficient and qualified crew for the trip according to the law. 3. The patron has to replace at his own expense any member of the crew in case of absence or death 4. The patron must arm the galley for the sum of 80 men to protect pilgrims from enemy attacks 5. The Patron must dock only in the designed ports for a maximum of three days unless a thunderstorm is approaching 6. In case pilgrims want to visit Nicosia in Cyprus he must wait

properties in his galley	6. The Patron must provide pilgrims who have requested food in the morning and a glass of malvasia and other wines at dinner 7. If pilgrims have the necessity to stop at a harbour for medicines or any reasonable cause, the patron should provide them with a boat and crew to reach it. 8. The Patron must protect his pilgrims in and outside the galley and accompany them once landed to protect them from harassments and other problems 9. Once into the Holy Land the Patron should give pilgrims enough time to visit holy places as for as the river Jordan and protect them from infidels' harassments. 10. The patron is in charge of expenses such as safe-conduct and donkey mounts 11. Pilgrims must pay the patron 40 freshly coined ducats to be	for them at the harbour 7. During the return travel the galley can stop for two-three days in any port to buy or sell merchandise but those merchandise cannot occupy any of the spaces reserved to pilgrims 8. The patron must provide pilgrims with food twice a day and if a pilgrim wants to remain alone from his group, the patron must provide him with food in any case. 9. On the route from Venice to the Holy Land and return, the Patron must provide pilgrims with good bread, good wine, fresh meat, eggs and other type of food. 10. The Patron must provide pilgrims who have requested it, food in the morning and malvasia and other wines at dinner as custom to do.

	paid a part in Venice and a part in Jaffa 12. In case of a pilgrim's death, the patron should not keep his goods and give them to those designed by the pilgrim himself. If the pilgrim dies before reaching the Holy Land, the Patron should return a half of the sum given for the travel 13. If a pilgrim dies while on the galley, the patron must give him an appropriate burial in a cemetery. If any land is too far to bury the body people are authorised to throw the body into the sea. 14. If pilgrims want to continue the pilgrimage to St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, the patron should return 10 ducats. Pilgrims must notify their request as soon as possible in Jerusalem 15. The patron must give pilgrims a space in the galley where to	11. If a group of pilgrims want to reach land to take some fresh water or other necessities, the Patron must provide them with a boat and crew to reach the harbour and the galley on return. 12. The Patron, for what he is concerned, must defend pilgrims on land or sea from frauds or harassments 13. The patron must allow pilgrims to stay in the Holy Land a reasonable time and protect them and wait for them with the galley. He will accompany them to visit the Holy places as far as the river Jordan and he will return them to the galley. He will be faithful and honest protecting pilgrims from frauds or lies by the infidels or others. 14. In case of a pilgrim's death, the patron should not keep his goods and give them

	keep chickens, wood, water and the necessary for the journey. If pilgrims have a cook with them, the patron has to provide him the necessary to cook. 16. If any pilgrim gets seriously sick during the travel and could not proceed with his agreed accommodation, the patron should consent to move him to the castle or stern of the galley. 17. The patron must respect each point of the contract and behave honestly, in case something has not been agreed.	to those designed by the pilgrim himself. If the pilgrim dies before reaching the Holy Land, the Patron should return half of the sum given for the travel 15. If pilgrims want to continue the pilgrimage at St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, the patron should return 10 ducats. Pilgrims must notify their request as soon as possible in Jerusalem 16. If pilgrims want to bring with them a translator from Venice, the Patron should provide him with food and drinks until the Holy Land. Once landed in Jaffa the translator will be on charge of the pilgrims 17. The patrons have to pay the pilgrims' expenses in relation to safe-conduct and rent of the mounts. 18. Each pilgrim must pay 42 new coined ducats to the patron

		giving a half in Venice and a half in Jaffa 19. If pilgrims want to go to Sinai, the Patron should provide them with information according to his knowledge and deal with infidels as if it was a “personal business”. 20. If any pilgrim wants to leave part of his baggage on the galley to return to Venice the patron should keep it on the galley 21. The patron must give pilgrims a space in the galley where to keep chickens, wood, water and the necessary for the journey. If pilgrims have a cook with them, the patron has to provide him the necessary to cook. 22. The patron must respect each point of the contract and behave honestly, in case something has not been agreed. In

		case of misconduct, the patron must refund pilgrims of every expense made.

Table 10 - Summary of the contracts with patrons agreed by William Wey, Felix Fabri and Bernard Von Breydenbach.

As it is possible to see, Felix Fabri and Bernard Von Breydenbach's contracts are very similar. Nevertheless, Breydenbach's has some specific sections that help to understand the patrons' approach to pilgrims from a different perspective.

As a second point of his contract, Breydenbach specifies that two people of his group were responsible for the supervision of the patron in relation to the crewmembers' expertise and health conditions. It is unclear whether this clause was a sort of internal agreement between the members of Breydenbach's group, written as an additional point in the account, or Agostino Contarini agreed to be supervised by a group of German pilgrims aboard his ship after at least twenty years of service on the same sea-route. Fabri's clause on the same topic appears more credible arguing simply:

> […]Quod galeam bene provideat cum expertiis marinariis qui sciant artem navigandi in omnem ventum […].[49]

Breydenbach's contract clauses gives the impression his group did not trust Contarini in full. It frames mostly of the patrons' duties in case of specific episodes (e.g. in case of a pilgrim death) rather than on the condition of the travel themselves. Nevertheless, point seven looks controversial. Despite William

[49] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, p. 89.

Wey's suggestions in his contract that the trading of goods was not allowed, as customary in the Venetian law, Breydenbach's states clearly that the patron was allowed to trade and carry merchandise aboard the pilgrims' galley during the return voyage as long as the merchandise would not occupy pilgrims' spaces.

This introduces a contentious argument as, to ensure pilgrims' security against the likelihood of attacks by pirates, (and separation between actual trade and pilgrimage); the Venetian government had always forbidden business cargo aboard of pilgrim's galleys since the fourteenth century. In fact, galleys conducting regular trade were subjected to different types of laws and taxes leading to stricter control over the people and vessels going in and out of Venice. On the contrary, controls related to pilgrims' galleys had much more flexibility being based mostly on the security and condition of the galley rather than its content. This means that once pilgrims (and, if everything was proceeding according to the law, the *Cattaver* magistrate) approved the galley for their voyage; nothing stopped the patron from making his own deal with the passengers passing unnoticed in case of an unregistered contract. In this case, Contarini's "deal" was probably that of authorising pilgrims to supervise him during the voyage in exchange for the possibility of carrying merchandise aboard the ship during the return travel; a clause that Breydenbach judged as a smart deal for his group but that was actually in complete favour of Contarini who, bypassing the Venetian law, traded merchandise without paying any customary fee. Furthermore, point seven gives the impression that, notwithstanding the details and agreements reached to finalise each point of the contract, this never passed through a legitimate legal route as neither the notary nor the *Cattaver*

Office is likely to have received it, in contrast to Felix Fabri's.[50] In fact, a notary operating according to the Venetian law would never accept such trading conditions.[51] This suggest that Breydenbach's group's departure, which appears to have been mediated by Peter Ugelheimer, remained likely a private affair that did not involve any of the Venice's official operators. It is uncertain how many of these "Breydenbach-style" contracts passed unnoticed under the eyes of the Venetian government until Agostino Contarini was reported for "offensive behaviour aboard a pilgrims' galley" to the court of the Venetian Senate in 1497 as discussed in chapter three.[52] Breydenbach himself admitted his departure was delayed because Contarini, just before their leaving, was reported to the Senate for legal problems.[53] The group of pilgrims was ready to make a petition to the Doge asking him to "turn a blind eye" on the Contarini's behaviour in order to depart in time.[54] This means they likely did not care what Contarini was doing with his ship as long as they arrived safely at the Holy Land.

6.4 Conclusions

Despite not following the lawful path planned by Venice for its visitors, Breydenbach's authenticity and good faith in what is suggested to his readers appears reliable. With the exception to points two and seven, Breydenbach's contract looks genuine and, together with Felix Fabri's, it is probably the closer example to the ideal procedure the Venetian government intended to obtain from

[50] Felix Fabri specifies his contract was signed in front of a notary at his hospice and the articles were made according to their knowledge and after a proper oath. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol.1, p. 91.
[51] It is warm recalling Antonio Lauredano's revocation of his licence after his illicit trade aboard of the John Tiptof galley. Mitchell, *Antonio Loredan*, pp .83-87.
[52] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, Reg. 14, f. 118r.
[53] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, p. 25.
[54] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, p. 25.

its operators in contact with incoming pilgrims. Nevertheless, Breydenbach's flexibility in relation to Contarini's behaviour leads to more questions on the subject. How many pilgrims were prepared to pass over patrons' misconducts in order to depart on time and/or arrive safely to the Holy Land? Was misconduct by patrons encouraged by pilgrims themselves? The fact that the Venetian government allowed people of interest, such as Frescobaldi and Sansovino, to make their own arrangements at the limits of the Venetian law probably encouraged patrons to use this flexibility and the lack of appropriate controls over operators and passengers to take advantage of the situation and use it for their own benefit. This created one of the main reasons for the complaints related to the sea crossing and patronal behaviour received by the Senate since the establishment of pilgrimage as a lucrative activity and, it has seen in Breydenbach, it appears pilgrims were probably accomplices. The first phases of the pilgrims' arrival in Venice, in particular their welcome by the guides and meeting with the patron, a person with whom they would have spent a lot of time on a galley, were crucial to determining pilgrims' perception of the city and consequently their experience during the rest of the sea voyage. Cases like Sansovino and Frescobaldi, who received the honour of being "guests" of the Republic, were an exception to a routine that may have been involved more "Contarini's approaches" to pilgrims than one might imagine. The next chapter will consider this business aspect of pilgrimage that, until now, has been greatly unevaluated. In fact, Contarini was not the only "smart" patron in town making his own rules behind back, but other well-known Venetian families used pilgrimage journeys as an *escamotage* to escape the heavy taxation on trade.

Chapter 7 - How to get away with the cotton. History of an undercover pilgrimage journey

7.1 Introduction

The historiography on pilgrimage suffers a lack of interest in the discovery of new aspects of the journey experience that are not strictly related to its religious "side". This is likely due to a wide circulation of primary sources including a genuine religious narration of the *sancta peregrinationae* in which the literary model of the *itinerarium* appears as the standard acknowledged prototype for the description of the Jerusalem journey. Studies of the non-religious aspects of the Holy Land journey concern the understanding of pilgrimage not only as a religious experience but also as a complicated business involving different countries and institutions. In particular, the role that Venice and the Venetians had in the logistic and economic administration of late medieval pilgrimage has been for a long time underestimated and marginalised in the panorama of the religious journey to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, a study of the wide variety of Venetian documents held in the Archivio di Stato of Venice provides useful information about not only Venice and the Holy Land journey, but also about the understanding of pilgrimage as a trade similar to many others practiced in Venice during the later Middle Ages.[1]

[1] Documents produced by the Venetian Senate for the regulation of the galleys departure and pilgrims' rights are particularly relevant. See ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, Busta 2, Volume C, Compendium and ASV, Senato, Mar, Reg. 2, Incantus Galearum peregrinorum, fol. 145r.

The transportation of merchandise aboard pilgrims' galleys was forbidden at least since the fourteenth century.[2] This meant that those Venetian patrons wishing to take advantage of the pilgrimage sea-route to increase the volume of their trade in the Mediterranean Sea found themselves in an unexpectedly, difficult position and needed to reconsider in what type of "commercial activity" it was worthwhile investing. The transport of merchandise aboard the pilgrims' galleys could be a problem not only from a logistical point of view, by lengthening considerably the duration of journey, but also from the perspective of the pilgrims' safety. In fact, a longer length of the journey as well as the value of the goods transported from one port to another, would greatly increase the possibility of pirate attacks during the sea-crossing causing not only economic damage to Venetian trade, but also possible diplomatic issues with the pilgrims' countries of origin. Thus, the separation between the "pilgrimage business" and the usual trades was the most obvious and coherent solution adopted by the Venetian government to contain potential damages and complaints. Nevertheless, the limitations imposed by the Senate as well as a fine of 500 ducats for those who broke the law, did not discouraged patrons and merchants from continuing to smuggle goods in a variety of ways.

This chapter investigates the way in which the pilgrimage journey can be understood not only as a mere religious experience, but also as a source of economic income for individuals and trade companies involved in its organisation. Indeed, the business of pilgrimage was, for certain Venetian families, an additional opportunity to increase the volume of their trade

[2] From 1392, the Venetian *Cattaver* Office, which was entitled to the inspection of the galleys and patrol of the patron's safe conduct towards pilgrims, strictly forbade the transport of merchandise in those galleys sailing for the Holy Land. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, Busta 2, Volume C, f. xxv.r.

bypassing the heavy taxation on Levantine imports imposed by the Venetian government through the smuggling of merchandise in non-commercial travels. The chapter analyses in particular a fifteenth-century logbook preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice witnessing the smuggling of Syrian cotton aboard a galley intended for a pilgrimage journey. The logbook, called *Quaderno del viazo*, is one the few surviving documents that provides clear evidence of the complexity behind the organisation of pilgrimage journeys in Venice during later Middle Ages, as well as an understanding of the pilgrimage as part of a complex economic mechanism.[3] The first section of the chapter gives general information about *Quaderno del viazo* and its possible belonging to the category of certain Venetian documents called *quaterni navium* produced from the late fourteenth century in order to inform the Venetian government about the key elements of each pilgrimage sea voyage. The second section of the chapter provides a codicological and contextual investigation of the manuscript to show the use of pilgrimage galleys for the intentional purpose of smuggling goods such as cotton or spices. Indeed, from the analysis of the manuscript's watermark, as well as from the names of the people involved in the organisation of this specific travel, a complicated network of "forbidden" trade, of which pilgrimage was an essential part, emerges.

[3] Actually, the complete title of the manuscript is *Quaderno del viazo del 1414*. However, the catalogue in the Archivio di Stato of Venice reports it as ASV, *Diario di navigazione*, Miscellanea, Atti, Diversi Manoscritti, Busta 134, Doc. 14. Further information on this manuscript can be read in Ugo Tucci "I servizi marittimi veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Medioevo" in SV (Pisa, 1985), pp. 42-66 and in Goodman, *Margery Kempe*, p. 183-185.

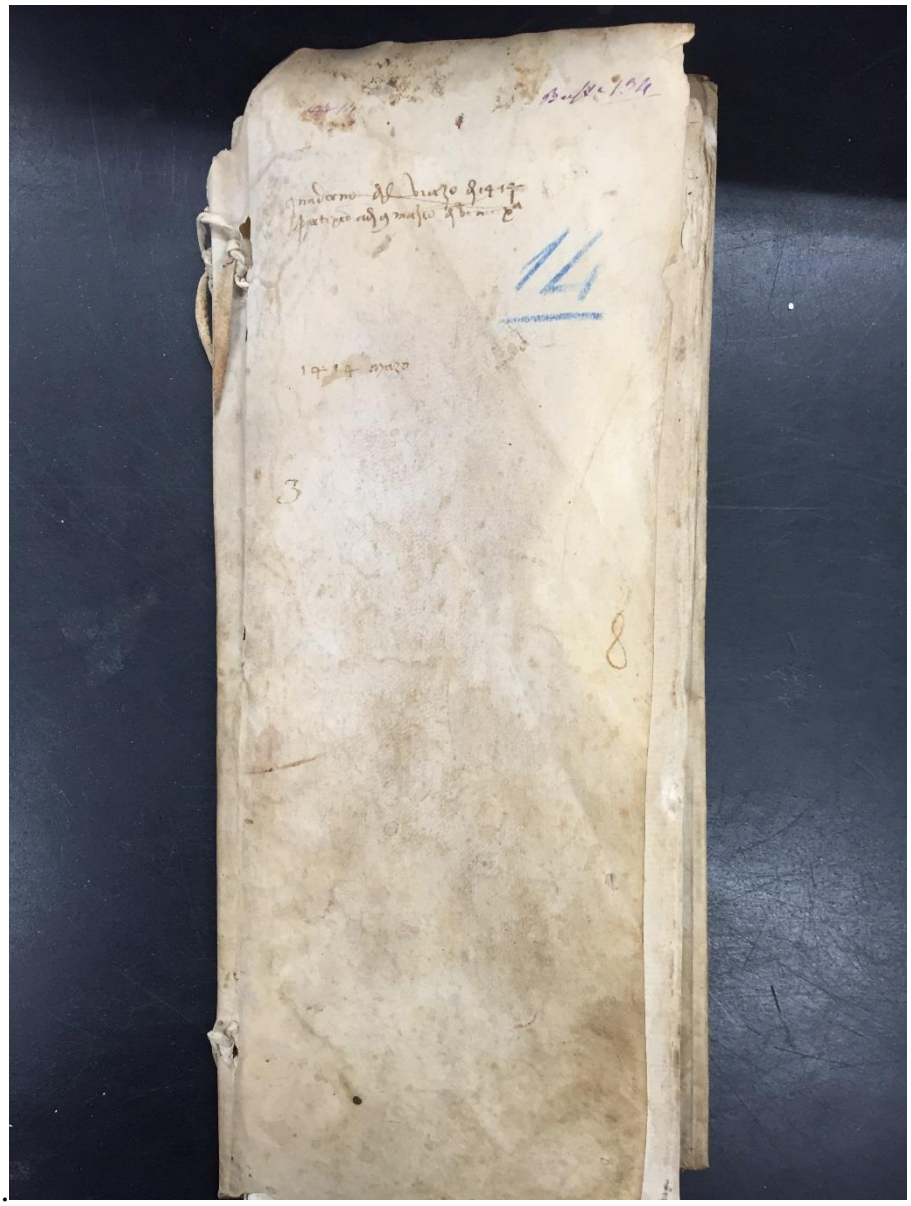


Figure 31 - ASV, Diario di navigazione, Miscellanea, Atti, Diversi Manoscritti, Busta 134, Doc. 14, parchment cover. Photo credits: Laura Di Stefano courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

7.2 *Quaderno del viazo* and its hidden history

Quaderno del viazo appears to be an ordinary account book that could have been produced by one of the many Venetian merchants trading in the later Middle Ages.[4] Nevertheless, the content of this booklet of expenses is rather extraordinary for its genre. Despite not being a pilgrimage narrative, *Quaderno*

[4] The notebook is a paper register containing 52 folios bounded in parchment (110x290 mms.).

del viazo reveals more than has ever been said regarding pilgrimage during the late Middle Ages thanks to its detailed content and intricate history of production. A first mention of this manuscript occurs in a publication of Ugo Tucci (1995). He argued the booklet recorded the accounts of a pilgrim galley guided by the patron Francesco Querini in 1414.[5] However, although Tucci is right in defining the manuscript as an account book, his publication analyses in particular the (bad) transport conditions of pilgrims in the Venetian galleys during the Middle Ages as well as the expenses of the pilgrimage galleys. Tucci's investigation is focused on this type of data without providing more details about the contextualization of Querini's book within a broader understanding of the journey to the Holy Land among a wider network of the naval organization of Venetian trade.[6]

This manuscript is likely the only surviving proof of this type regarding the actual application of pilgrimage legislation in Venice in the fifteenth century and a clear example of the Venetian understanding of pilgrimage as one business among others. A clause of the legislation enacted in 1392 by the Venetian government established the rules that patrons had to respect in order to operate a "legal" pilgrimage business.[7] One of these procedures included the compilation for each journey of a *quaternum navium* specifying the details of the journey written by the Patron's *scriba navigiorum*.[8]

---

[5] Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p. 60. Recently, Tucci's definition of this manuscript has been resumed by Benjamin Arbel in 'Le liste de chargement de navires vénitiens (XVe - debut du XVe siècle): un essai de typologie' in Damine Coulon, Chatherine Ottenfroux, Paule Pagès et al., *Chemins d'outre mer* (Paris, 2016), pp. 31-50.

[6] Tucci uses *Quaderno del viazo* only to identify those data useful to the aim of his paper.

[7] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b.2, vol.c, *Compendium*, ff. lxxvi-lxxvi.

[8] […] quorum scribani navigiorum tneantur et debeant notare inquaternis Navium omnia pacta conventione et navulizationes factas cum dictis Peregrinis […]. ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b.2, vol.c, *Compendium*, folio lxxv, recto.

This is the only legislation that gives a detailed view of the complex mechanisms behind pilgrimage departures in Venice and further specific details about the role of the patron and other Venetian workers involved in this business. The use of logbooks and cargo lists to support the documentation of the naval route and movement of merchandise was standard practice for Venetians involved in shipping, as the extensive number of surviving lists demonstrates.[9] However, until now, research in this field has failed to recognise that one of those surviving lists is a pilgrimage *quaternum navium*, implying the loss of all the documents belonging to this category. There might be several reasons why pilgrimage *quaterni navium* have not generally survived. First, Venetian authorities may have destroyed them after the accomplishment of their duties. In fact, according to the 1392 legislation, these books (documenting an official government activity) had to be returned to the *Cattaver* Office for inspection. It is likely that after these inspections, and a period of preservation of the documents to avoid legal complaints, these account books were no longer useful and thrown away. Second, Venetian families conducting "private" mercantile activities needed to keep track of their incomes and expenses for longer periods due to the involvement of many members of different families in their affairs. Thus, they preserved this documentation in private archives, which have survived widely until now.[10] Third, it is possible that these *quaterni navium* were not produced at all. According to the *Cattaver* registers compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a huge number of complaints against Patrons'

[9] For this see Arbel, *Le liste de chargement*, pp. 31-50; Frederic C Lane 'Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution' in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 38, n.2 (Oxford, 1933), pp. 219-239; Frederic C. Lane 'The ship lists of 1499' in *Venetian ships and shipbuilder* (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 259-261.
[10] An example can be the extensive archive of the Contarini family.

misconduct reported by pilgrims. Therefore, it is likely Venetian legislation was not generally respected among those who administrated pilgrimage departures. Consequently, they might have not returned or written any of these *quaterni navium*, at least not officially. Therefore, *Quaderno del viazo* may represent a rare exception.

In fact, except for another account book credited as the galley's logbook of Andrea Arian, *Quaderno del viazo* is the only surviving logbook expressly intended to record a pilgrimage by sea.[11] After a careful analysis of the manuscript, there are reasons to believe that *Quaderno del viazo* is not solely the accounting book of Francesco Querini's galley, as Tucci argues, but might be his *quaternum navium* compiled by his scribe and probably the only surviving example of this type. According to the legislation enacted in 1392, the *scriba navigiorum* had to note in his *quaternum navium* at least the *pacta conventione et navulizationes factas cum dictis Peregrinis* and also the *tempus quo patroni se participes navium predicta*.[12] *Quaderno del viazo* contains both essential items, which is a list of pilgrims boarded on the galley with the relative price agreed with them according to their "accommodation" on the ship and the sea itinerary, the duration of the travel, and the provision stops made by the patron during the whole sea-voyage. There are no surviving examples of fifteenth-century documents named as *pacta conventione* between pilgrims and patrons

[11] The book of Andrea Arian documents a journey from Venice to Jaffa in 1408 and mentions the presence of pilgrims as passengers in his galley. For the sea travel expenses of Andrea Arian see ASV, Procuratori di San Marco de Ultra, Commissarie, Commissaria Bertucci Pisani, Busta 18. Moreover, although the reference to the original piece in the Venetian archive is wrong, a partial transcription of this document has been provided by Luigi Fincati 'Splendore e Decadenza di Venezia' in *Rivista Marittima*, vol.1 (Rome, 1878), pp.163-188. The correct reference and limited investigation of the piece is provided in Arbel, *Le liste de chargement*, pp. 8-10.

[12] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver busta 2, Volume C, *Compendium*, f. lxxxvi, v.

that can be considered as a reference model. However, descriptions of these contracts have survived in pilgrimage accounts such as those of William Wey and Bernard Von Breydenbach.[13] According to their narratives, a standard *pactum* was understood as an agreement made, most of the time verbally, with the patron of the galley indicating the price for the overseas passage, the sea itinerary and the number of meals provided on board. The structure of *Quaderno del viazo* is articulated in ten main sections (Table 1) showing both the expenses and the income of Querini's galley for a return voyage to the Holy Land from 9 March 1414 to 15 August 1414. These sections can be divided further in three main parts giving the manuscript a coherent development.

[13] See Davey, *The itineraries*, pp. 26-29 and Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes,* pp. 16-19.

Part I		Part II				Part III			
First Section	**Second Section**	**Third Section**	**Fourth Section**	**Fifth Section**	**Sixth Section**	**Seventh Section**	**Eight Section**	**Ninth Section**	**Tenth Section**
Allowances Higher rate	Allowances Lower rate	Galley expenses (Crew, extraordinary expenses, galley costs)	Provisions of food on board	Pilgrims list and rates of pay for the passage	Extraordinary expenses	Provisions of food on board (return travel)	Allowances	List of men registered as “men of passage”	Expenses for a new voyage (incomplete)

Table 11 - *Quaderno del viazo,* schematic summary of the sections

7.3 Part I: *provixiones*, watermarks and the cotton case

The first part of *Quaderno del viazo* includes sections one and two (cc.1-16). The first section lists those expenses called *provixiones*, namely the stipends for some of those people working on board the ship starting from the highest allowance reserved to the patron.[14] All the expenses are developed hierarchically according to the role and the stipend received by the person mentioned.[15] The second section includes different types of allowances that, according to the hierarchy of salaries for this journey, would be placed in the lower scale. These *provixiones* are paid to those workers called *homeni de remo* (oarsmen) who appear to be hired from a third party. The logbook reports more than 120 names registered to work as oarsmen aboard the galley of Francesco Querini and their allowances went from one to six ducats. Nevertheless, a part of those men registered as oarsmen seems to have been "borrowed" from a certain Messer Lorenzo di Prioli (the patronymic appears also in the variant *di Priuli*).[16] There is little information about a Messer Lorenzo di Prioli living in Venice during this period. Nevertheless, a study by Jong-Kuk Nam of the commercialization of cotton in the Mediterranean Sea during the fifteenth century mentions a certain

[14] Tucci argued the indication of a *provixion* given to Francesco Querini meant that he was not the owner of the galley but only the person in charge for the travel. See Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p.60. Francesco Querini (indicated in the quaderno also with the name *soprachomito*) gained for the journey a stipend of 150 ducats and a further 5 ducats for the *bon nolo* of the galley (a section of the book called *doni fati per la galia* indicates further *provixiones* allowed to the crew for the good incomes of the journey). See ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c.1 and c.8a.

[15] Among those people receiving a *provixio* there was a *chomito* (second in command after the patron), a *marangon* (a carpenter), a *calaffao*, a *maestro d'ascia* (people who took care of the naval maintenance), eight *nocchieri* (helmsmen), twenty *balestrieri* (crossbowmen), one *balestriere de popa* (crossbowman that stayed in the stern) and ten *portolatti* (rowers giving the commands to oarsmen). For more details about the total amount of the expenses for the crew see Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p.62.

[16] Indeed, various pages with oarsmen's names conclude with the phrase *homeni tolti de messer Lorenzo di Prioli.* ASV, *Quderno del viazo*, cc.13-16.

Messer Lorenzo di Prioli as one of the most important members of the *fraterna* Soranzo at Hama (Syria) from 1413 to 1434.[17] The company of the Soranzo family was one of the principal trading firms in the Venetian trade of cotton during the later middle ages. It is credible that a Lorenzo di Prioli leading the most important Venetian branch of the cotton market in Syria had his own oarsmen and might be involved in other types of business (such as pilgrimage), possibly under the supervision of the same Soranzo family. Tucci expressed some concern about the fact that Francesco Querini's galley registered a positive income despite the expenses. In particular, those costs concerning the armament of the galley were definitely higher than the "regular" incomes derived from the pilgrims' passage.[18] For this reason Tucci, although he never paid attention to the name of Lorenzo di Prioli, suggested that Querini might have been involved in the transportation of merchandise actually forbidden by the Venetian law. Jong-Kuk Nam states that in order to reach Venice in time, the cotton sacks would have been boarded at Tripoli or Beirut in one the galleys passing from Syria between March and September.[19] In fact, the name of *nobilis messer Lorenzo di Priolio* appears in September of the same year as patron of a *galea a peregrinis* for the *itura del Zaffum* in the Venetian register containing the galleys' auction (*incanto*) from 1413 to 1415.[20] Therefore, it is likely that Querini, whose galley departed from Venice in March, was involved in a well-covered transportation of cotton under the main direction of Lorenzo di

[17] See Jong-Kuk ì Nam 'Le Coton de Syrie' in *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Age* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 107-136.
[18] Tucci indicates a total income of 5,066 ducats but only 3,575 ducats was registered as regular income derived from the passage price paid by pilgrims and ordinary people (for this last point see further). Tucci, *I servizi marittim*i, pp. 62-63.
[19] Nam, *Le Coton de Syrie*, pp. 107-136; Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p. 63.
[20] ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, *Registri* (secc. XIV-XVI), Registro n.50, folio 150.

Prioli/Priuli who was likely the actual owner of the galley and member of the Soranzo Company. Francesco Querini received not only a very good *provixio* for his role as *chomito* of the galley but he was allowed to "borrow" Lorenzo di Prioli's oarsmen at a convenient allowance.

The involvement of Francesco Querini and his crew in an illegal smuggling of cotton, and possibly even spices, may be confirmed by another, undervalued, aspect of *Quaderno* revealed by a codicological analysis of the paper. *Quaderno*'s paper contains two watermarks: a luminary crescent with a cross and rays in cc.15-16 and a crown without arch in c.17 (Fig.32). These two watermarks have been recognised as Piccard n. 41333 and Piccard n. 50969 (Fig.33). They were produced in the early fifteenth century by the paper mill of Fabriano for the exclusive trade of the Merchant of Prato, Francesco Datini. The commerce of Datini's paper produced by Fabriano was based mostly in Barcelona and Avignon. Nevertheless, the distribution of this paper started directly from Venice, where Datini had different agents working for his company and managing his various trades.[21] It is significant that an ordinary administration instrument, such as a logbook, was written on that specific type of paper. It may indicate interactions between the businesses of pilgrimage with other types of trades. Fabriano's paper, known for its innovative characteristics, was disseminated widely across Europe during the early fifteenth century.[22]

[21] For more information see Bocchi Andrea, *Le lettere di Gilio de Amoruso, mercante marchigiano del primo quattrocento* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 4-17.

[22] For more information about the history of Fabriano's paper, its characteristics and dissemination see the wide historiography published by Giancarlo Castagnari, in particular, Giancarlo Castagnari 'Le principali fonti documentarie Fabrianesi per la storia della carta dal XIV al XV secolo' in Giancarlo Castagnari, *Contributi italiani alla diffusione della carta in Occidente tra il XIV e XV secolo* (Fabriano, 1990), pp. 29-61 and Giancarlo Castagnari 'Le origini dell'arte della carta a Fabriano' in Giancarlo Castagnari, *Miscellanea di Storia della Carta: origini techiche imprenditori fede religiosi* (Fabriano 1991), pp. 67-80.

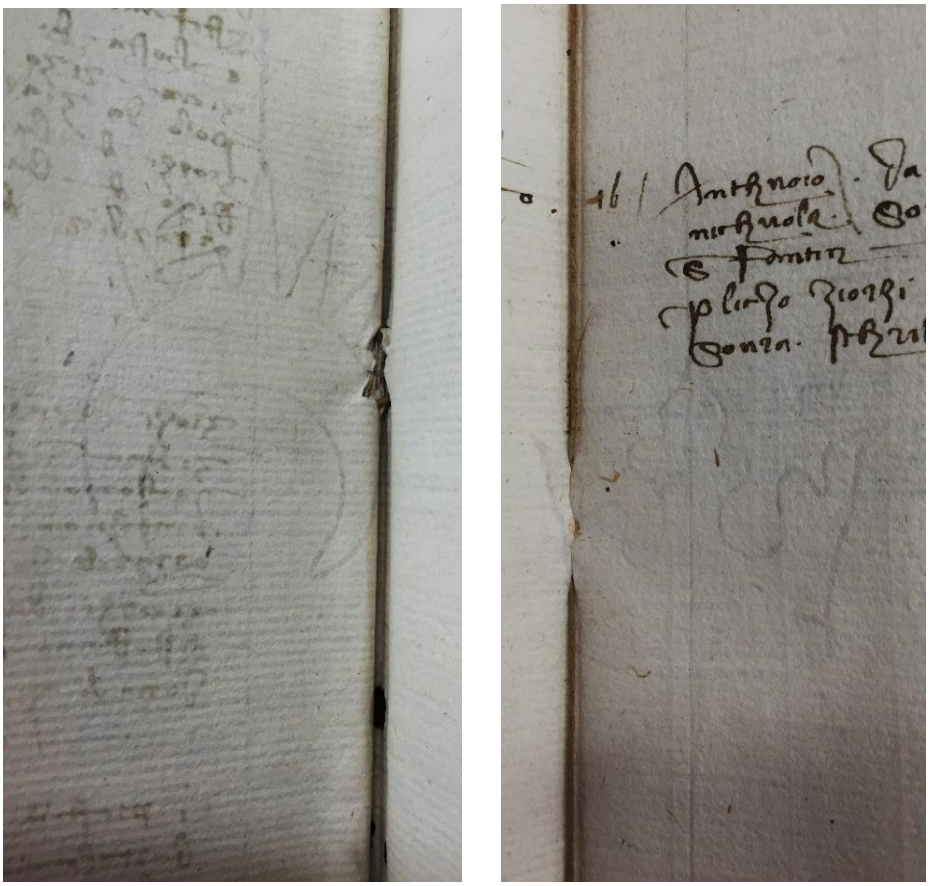


Figure 32 - Luminary crescent with cross, rays (left), and Crown without arch. ASV, Quaderno del viazo, cc. 15, 16, 17.

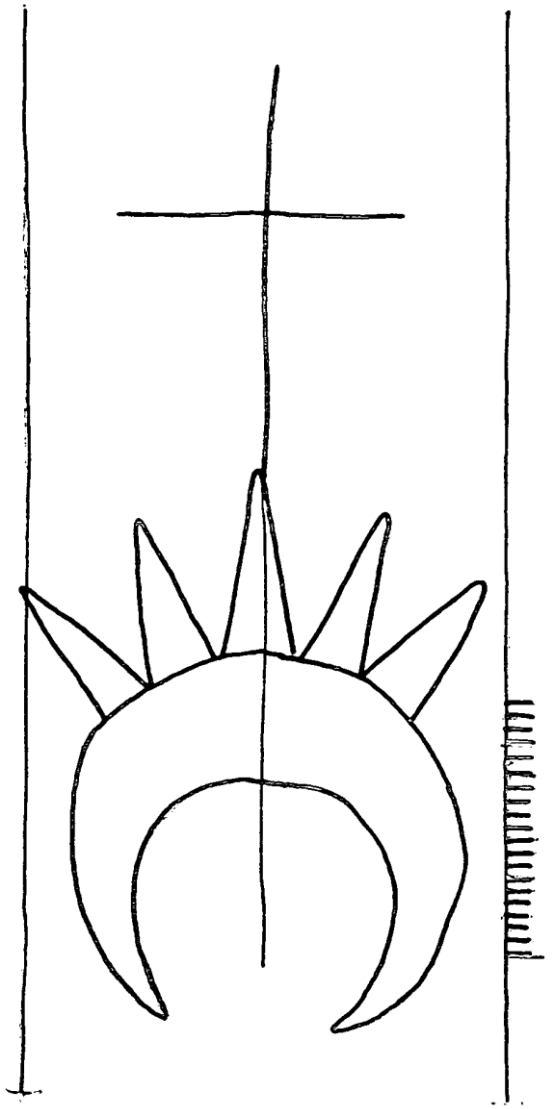
Venice played a key role in this distribution being one of the main ports for the paper cargos intended for Spain, France, Germany and Flanders. However, the most interesting information about this manuscript comes not just from the provenance of the paper and its distribution, but also from the peculiarity of its watermarks. As previously stated, Francesco Datini has used these types of distinctive watermarks as insignia of his commercial activity in and outside Italy. This means that although Fabriano's paper was widely used and disseminated in Venice and other European markets, only those men working for Datini in Venice had access to those specific watermarks. This finding narrows the field considerably and suggests that, although Francesco Datini was already dead at this time, the person who wrote the book was still pursuing his company's

interests. Francesco Datini's death in 1410 did not stop his firm's trade. In fact, the merchant books preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Prato indicate an active commercial business at least until 1420. After 1410, other merchants such as Cristoforo di Bartolo Carocci, Niccolò di Giovanni Mazzuoli, Tieri di Benci and Tommaso di Ser Giovanni continued these activities under the company's name of Datini. From an investigation of the commercial links of the Merchant of Prato with Venice, it is clear that here existed a closer connection of his company with some of the most powerful families of Venice, such as the Soranzo during the thriving period of cotton trade from Syria. From 1403 to 1421, Venice invested heavily in the export of Syrian cotton. Dedicated convoys departed regularly from the Venetian port bringing back tons of raw cotton sacks ready to be traded throughout Europe. The organization of this trade, in particular its logistics, was principally under the control of the Venetian Senate, but the physical management of this business was mainly in the hands of the Soranzo Brothers.[23] According to the data presented by Ashtor about the volume of cotton trade from Syria to Venice during the early fifteenth century, it emerges that there was an intricate network of collaboration between several powerful Venetian families and their Tuscan counterparts.[24]

[23] For more information about the Venetian involvement in the Levantine trades of the Syrian cotton see Ashtor 'The ascendancy of Venice' in *Levant Trades*, pp. 200- 269 and Eliyahu Ashtor ' The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages' in *Studies on the Levantine*, pp.675-715.

[24] For the table concerning the volume of cotton trade in Venice see Ashtor, *Levant Trades*, pp. 265-266.

A DATINI PRATO 434
Barcelona 1395 Feb.



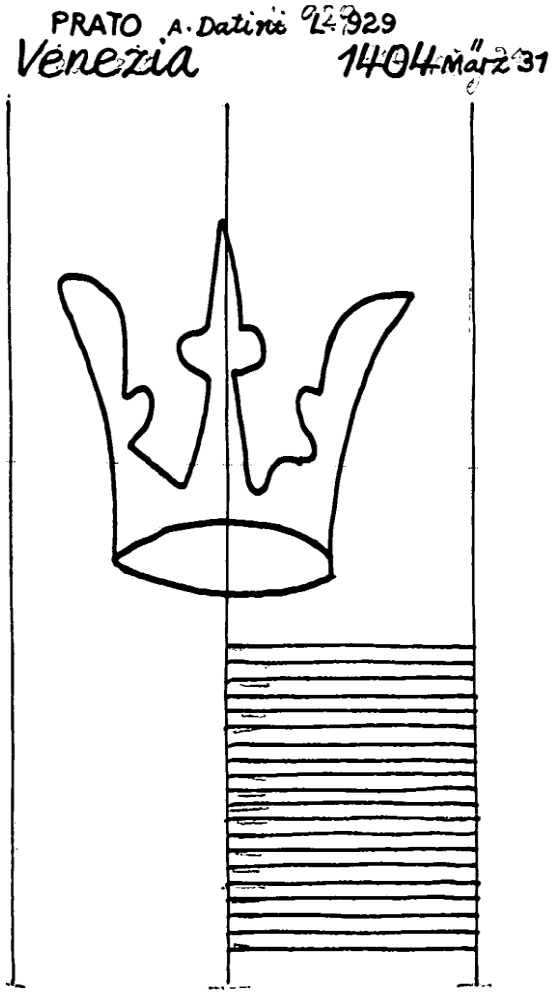


Figure 33 - Watermark Piccard n. 41333 (p.293) and Piccard n. 50969.

Francesco Datini, who already had various agents managing on behalf of his company the spice market in Venice, seems, to have been directly involved in this dense network and in the wide distribution of raw cotton imported from Syria through the Venetian convoys, as his large correspondence on the topic testifies.[25] However, the Merchant of Prato and his company's administrators

[25] The section relevant to the Venetian business correspondence in the Fondo Datini held by the Archivio di Stato in Prato is rich of letters containing data about the cargo of the galleys importing cotton from Syria. Among various letters, see in particular those written by the Datini's Venetian agents Paoluccio del Maestro Paolo di Camerino and Gaddi Zanobi di Taddeo; Prato, Archivio di Stato, Fondaco di Barcellona, Lettere di Paoluccio del Maestro Paolo da Camerino a Datini Francesco di Marco, busta 930, inserto 15, codice 902007. Most of the data about this trade are synthesised in the table made by Ashtor, *Levant Trades*, pp. 265-266.

seem to have managed this trade also with the company of Soranzo. In fact, Datini had a longstanding relationship with the Soranzo family, which concerned not only an active participation in the trade of cotton and spices from the Middle East but also a financial link with the Bank of Soranzo in Venice.[26] The Archivio di Stato of Prato preserves still a long series of letters exchanged by Francesco Datini and Gabriele Soranzo who, in addition to his trade, administrated also his finances in Venice, Barcelona and Majorca.[27] This long-term partnership with the Soranzo was not casual. According to a late thirteenth-century Senate legislation, the Soranzo family was the only *bancho* able to trade with goods "forbidden" to other Venetian bankers (e.g. oils, iron, silver etc.).[28] For this reason, the exclusive privileges reserved to the Soranzo Company were an important advantage for Datini's trade. The wide range of actions allowed by the Senate to the Soranzo family and their presence in Venetian finance and trade with both the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe, granted to the Soranzo's brothers not only a deep knowledge of the movement of merchandise between different countries, but also a large understanding of the possible inspections of navigation conducted by the government. The powerful social status of the Soranzo family and the freedom of action provided by the Venetian government to their financial and mercantile activities, gave them the opportunity to know

[26] For this, see Ashtor, *Levant Trades*, p. xviii.

[27] See Prato, Archivio di Stato, Fondaco di Valenza, Lettere di Corner Francesco, figlio del Doge, e Soranzo Gabriello a Datini Francesco di Marco e Luca del sera e comp. (1395-1399). For more information about the activities of Gabriel Soranzo, see Reinhold C. Mueller 'Sull'establishment bancario veneziano. Il banchiere davanti a Dio (secoli XIV-XV)' in Borelli Giorgio (ed.), *Mercanti e vita economica nella Repubblica Veneta (secoli XIII- XVIII)*, (Verona, 1985), pp. 45-103 and Francesco Ferrara 'De banchi Veneziani' in AV, Tomo I, parte I (Venice, 1871), pp. 106-155.

[28] *Bancherii, scriptae possunt barattare oleum et alias merces cum ferro et alis mercibus eis proibitis.* ASV, Senato, Misti, Registro 40, f.56v, Die 4 Februarii, 1386; Initially, the bank of Soranzo was not allowed to trade silver but, after one year of exclusive trade and exchange of merchandise, the Senate authorised them to trade with silver for a maximum amount of 4,000 ducats. See ASV, Senato, Misti, Registro 40, f. 89r.

when and how to break the law likely passing undetected.[29] It was within this context that the voyage documented by *Quaderno del viazo* was possible (Fig. 34). The time of the year and the route organised for the pilgrimage sea-travels offered the perfect cover for the illegal trade of merchandise, such as cotton and spices, devoid of any tax imposed by the Venetian government.[30] Furthermore, the expertise of the Soranzo family and its wide network of collaborators in Syria and Venice, such as Lorenzo di Prioli and Francesco Querini, made it easy to organize such exchanges under the eyes of the Venetian Senate and the unaware pilgrims buying a relatively cheap passage to the Holy Land. Last, the close interactions between Datini's company and the Soranzo family mean the scribe of the *Quaderno* was likely a person acting between the two firms. The involvement of the Soranzo family in this particular journey can be confirmed even by the preservation of the document in the folder of the *Procuratori di San Marco.*

The presence of *Quaderno* in this particular folder indicates the logbook, once returned from the Holy Land, never left Venice or reached the *Cattaver* Office as the standard procedures for the ordinary inspection of a "regular" *quaternum navium* suggest.[31] Conversely, because of the irregular by high incomes registered in the logbook, it is likely the register was kept in the private commercial documentation of the Soranzo Company. After the reorganization of the Archivio di Stato of Venice in the late nineteenth century, most of the

[29] It is very likely that the Venetian government was more willing to keep an eye on those smaller trading companies with no access to privileged trades, more easily to identify in case of fraud, rather than inspect the large amount of trade conducted by a powerful family like the Soranzo.
[30] Ashtor, *The Venetian Cotton Trade*, pp. 696-697.
[31] ASV, Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Volume C, Pro Tholomagys et Peregrinis, f. lxxxvi.

surviving documents belonged originally to the archive of the *Bancho Soranzo* were included in the folder named *Procuratori di San Marco*. The reorganization of the surviving documents in the folder *Procuratori di San Marco* aspired to rebuild its original and progressive development in relation to the activities of their representatives. Members of the Soranzo family historically held the prestigious political role of Procuratore of S. Marco.[32]

[32] See Da Mosto, *l'Archivio di Stato*, pp. 25-27.

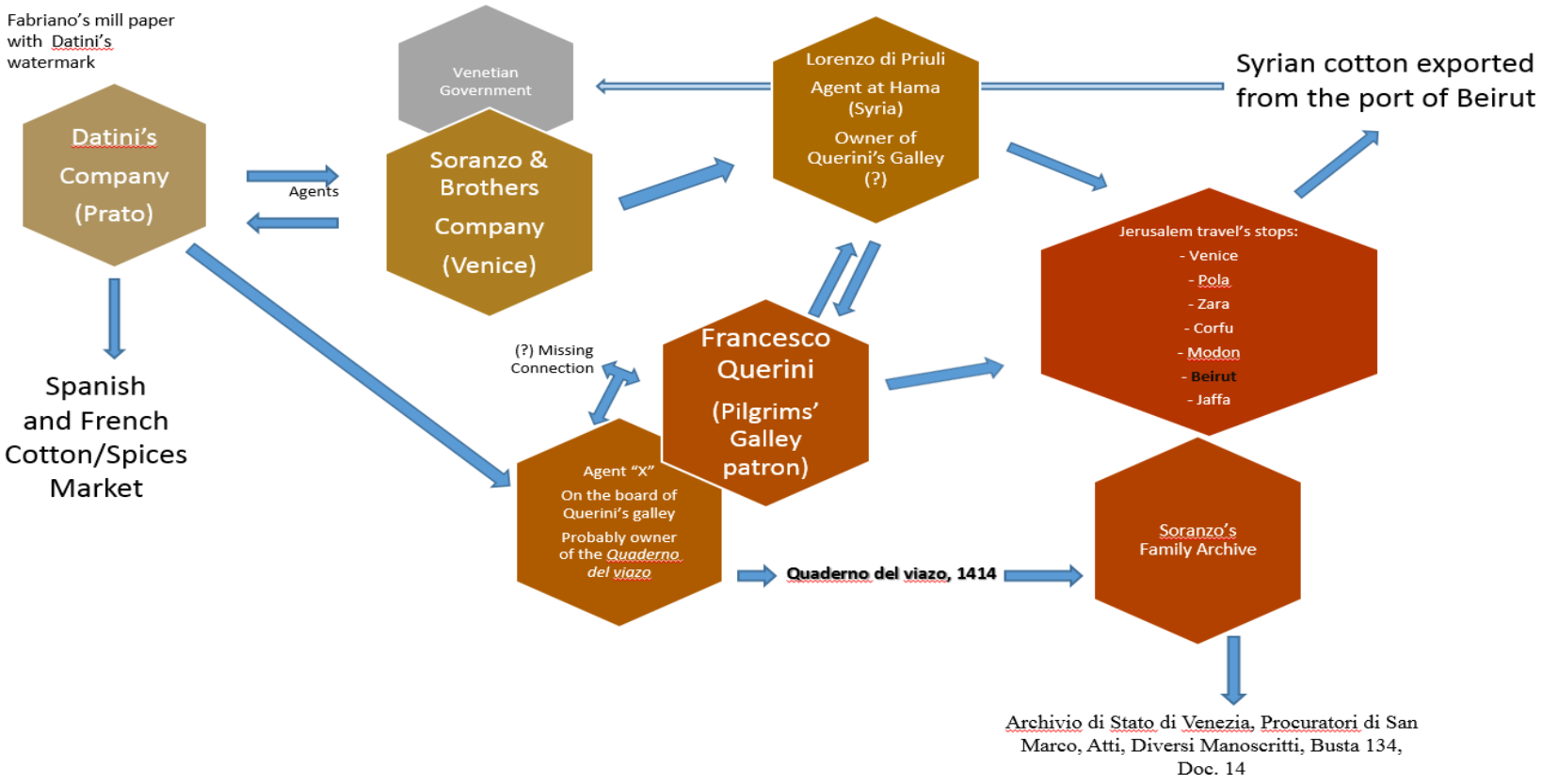


Figure 34 – Reconstruction of Quaderno del viazo's history

7.4 Part II and III: *peregrini et homeni de pasazo*

The second and third parts of *Quaderno del viazo* give far less information about the transmission of the manuscript and the organization of illegal traffic of cotton with a non-commercial galley. Nevertheless, these parts give indication on how the pilgrimage journey was not only part of a wider network of trades, but it was considered as a trade itself. In addition to further expenses for the maintenance of the galley and the crew registered as *spexe del bancho della gallia, spexe straordinarie* and *spexe de zurma,* the fourth section reports also those expenses called *spexe de la mesa de popa*.[33] These concern the provision of food on board, the stops made at various ports in the Mediterranean Sea giving an indication on what amount, and type of food was consumed on board. Furthermore, the fifth section (c. 35) is probably the only surviving list testifying to the number and names of pilgrims who boarded for the Holy Land from Venice. No one document of this type has been discovered until now. There are other sources, such as the papal and royal licences, that may testify that a certain number of pilgrims asked for authorization to depart during a specific period of the year during the later middle ages. However, it is not possible to establish the exact number of pilgrims that boarded in a certain galley because this number was probably noted in the sailing documentation filed by the patron's scribe and,

[33] The *spexe del bancho della gallia* are those expenses related to the rowers and oarsmen and their place in *the bancho della gallia* (a part of the galley reserved to them). *Spexe de zurma* are those expenses concerning the crew in a more general way (e.g. one of the most interesting expenses is about a trip to Padua by Marco Morosini to meet a man called "grandmaster"). ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c. 22; those registered as *spexe straordinarie* (extraordinary expenses) regard expenses of various natures not linked to the crew. It is interesting to note that among these costs appears one payment of four ducats registered as '*limosina a un pelegrin che va a San Jacomo'* literally alms for a pilgrim that was going to St. James. See ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c. 21.

except the short list presented in *Quaderno del viazo*, no other document of this type has survived or is yet discovered.

Folio c.35 contains the names of all those pilgrims who boarded for the travel to the Holy Land with the galley of Francesco Querini and the price they paid for the passage according to their personal space on board. The price range for a passage to Jaffa was from a minimum of 24 ducats to a maximum of 65 ducats.[34] However, the majority of pilgrims paid around 50 ducats for a space in the galley indicated as *de soto.*[35] Unfortunately, it is not possible to trace the actual identity of the majority of pilgrims on board because most of their names are indicated vaguely with little reference to their provenance or title. Nevertheless, this information can be used to outline some general observations about the passengers on board. Most of the pilgrims registered for this journey were religious. This aspect is highlighted particularly by the mention of their title "Fra" just before their forename (e.g. Fra Benedetto or Fra Cristofalo).[36] Moreover, despite the general absence of a proper patronymic, the indication of the nationality/city of origin demonstrates that there were pilgrims of different nationalities on board the galley. Actually, most of the names are accompanied with the city of origin of the pilgrim, as in the case of *Ser Francesco da Fiorenza* or a certain Donato from *Pantaliate* who was travelling with a Milanese companion. *Pantaliate* is the Venetian word for Pantigliate, a little town near

[34] The oscillation of the price for the passage to Jaffa is a further indication the galley was only an "apparently official" transportation for pilgrims. Indeed, the price established by the government for the passage to the Holy Land was since the fourteenth century fifty ducats. A cheaper price may be a sign the galley had something irregular the pilgrims might be aware of or not.

[35] *De soto* can be translated in Italian as *di sotto*, literally in the bottom or in the lower level of the galley.

[36] The title *Fra* is an abbreviation for the Latin world *frater* or *frate* in Italian. This word was used (and is still in use) in Italy to indicate those religious men belonging to a mendicant order, especially Franciscans. See http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/frate/

Milan in Lombardy. During the Middle Ages Pantigliate belonged to the Milanese diocese. There is no direct evidence that Donato from Pantigliate mentioned in the pilgrims list was actually the famous Milanese merchant Donato Ferrario from Pantigliate who lived during the same period.[37] Nevertheless, Donato Ferrario was in Venice the 1 March 1414 to exchange a letter of Change of 40 ducats from a certain Maffiolo da Sovico.[38] The presence of Donato Ferrario in Venice during the same period of Francesco Querini's departure for the Holy Land, when a homonym Donato from Pantigliate was registered on board with a Milanese companion for the price of 65 ducats, does not confirm they were the same person. However, this coincidence suggests the likelihood that Ferrario made a personal journey that was not registered necessarily in the account book of his commercial business due to its religious nature. In fact, Donato Ferrario was notoriously religious, so much that he decided to leave all his possessions and annuities to a charitable organization founded by himself in 1429 to help the poor and needy.[39]

Among the foreign passengers there was one pilgrim registered as Fra Martin da Ziara (Brother Martin from Zara) and two other pilgrims, both called Zuane (Venetian form for Giovanni/John), registered as from *ngaria* that is an abbreviated form for the vernacular word *Ungaria* (Hungary).[40] One of these two Hungarian pilgrims is registered also among the list of the *homeni de pasazo* with the following statement […] Fra Zuane d'ungaria pelegrin torna cho la galia

[37] In fact, there is no mention of a voyage to the Holy Land in Donato Ferrario's commercial books analysed by Marina Gazzini in *Dare et habere: il mondo di un mercante milanese del Quattrocento* (Florence, 2002).
[38] See Gazzini, *Dare et habere*, p.119.
[39] The organization called *Scuola della Divinità* in honour of All Saints marked a turning point in the life of the noble merchant who renounced all his richess and mercantile activities for a charitable life. See, Gazzini, *Dare et habere*, pp. 45-77.
[40] See ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c. 35.

del Ziaffo […]. This registration is slightly different from the others reporting only the name of the passenger and his destination. Actually, from this indication it is not clear whether the pilgrim decided to make or not the return voyage with Querini's galley. Venetians usually called the *galia del Ziaffo* one specific galley administrated by the Contarini family known also as Contarina and used specifically for the Holy Land voyage.[41] Furthermore, the two Hungarian pilgrims paid different amounts for the passage. Fra Zuane who was considered also among the "homeni de pasazo" paid 24 ducats, while his fellow compatriot paid 48 ducats. The payment of half the price may confirm he paid for only a one-way voyage with the Querini's galley. This registration suggests the pilgrim returned to Venice with a different galley. On board Querini's galley there was also an English and a Scottish pilgrim registered as *Davit Polo henglayse* and *Ruberto Moffett de Scotia,* respectively, reporting more details about their identities. Anthony Goodman, in his publication about Margery Kempe, argued that Ruberto Moffett might be a certain Robert Moffat, nephew of the bishop of Glasgow, Matthew Glendowyn, that was going to the Holy Land in a different galley from the one used by Kempe.[42] Conversely, other foreign pilgrims are listed more vaguely as *franzezi* and *da Ulmo*.[43] In addition to pilgrims, other people indicated generally as *homeni de pasazo* (section nine, cc. 44-48) joined the galley during various stages of the journey.

[41] For more information about the Galea del Zaffo see Pietro Casola, *Viaggio di Pietro Casola a Gerusalemme tratto dall'autografo esistente nella biblioteca Trivulzio* (Milan, 1855), p. 49.
[42] See Goodman, *Margery Kempe,* p. 184. Davit Polo may be an Italianization of an English name as David Pole or Poole.
[43] ASV, *Quaderno del viazo,* c. 35.

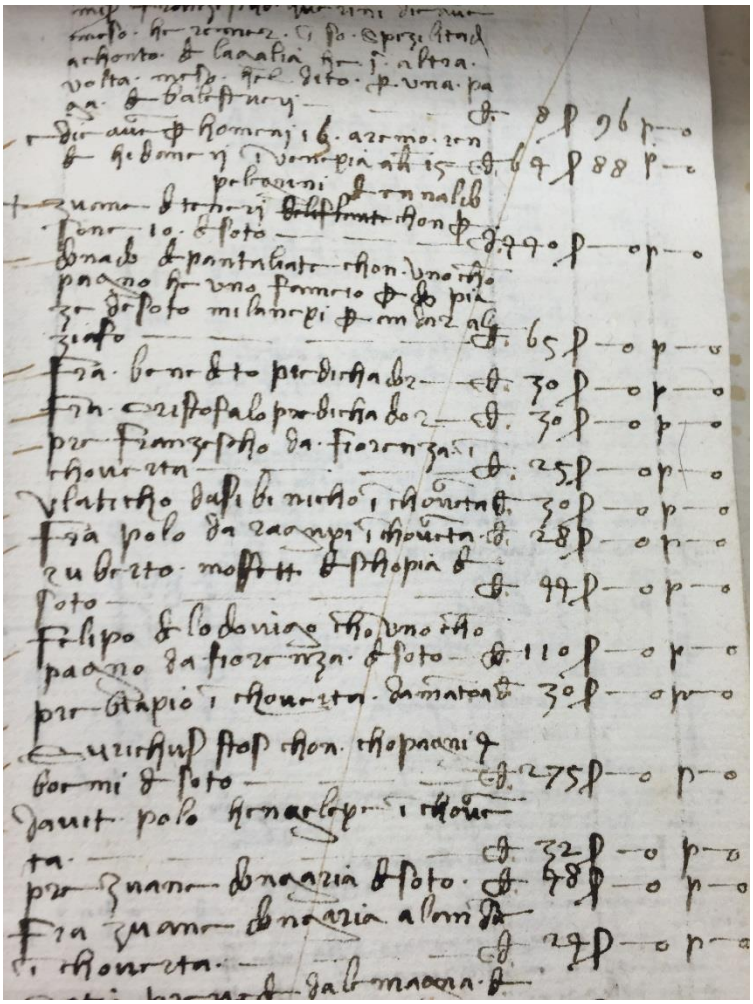


Figure 35 - Pilgrims list (part) – ASV, Diario di navigazione, Miscellanea, Atti, Diversi Manoscritti, Busta 134, Doc. 14, c.35. (Photo credits: Laura Di Stefano courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia).

De pasazo means that these men stayed in the galley only for a brief period and not for the whole length of the journey. Therefore, the galley was used as a common means of transport and, in this case, *pasazo* was intended to be used as 'ride'. The price for this brief stay on the galley was up to twenty-seven ducats. The cost depended on the length of the passage and on the use or not of the *mesa de popa.*[44] For instance, Ser Filippo de Grimaldi who took a ride from Methoni to Beirut using the food service on board paid nine ducats compared to Fra Zuane

[44] The *mesa de popa* was the restaurant service aboard.

who paid only three ducats for the same passage without taking advantage of the refectory aboard.[45]

Because of this temporary stay aboard, it is likely that those indicated as *homeni de pasazo* were principally merchants who took advantage of the sea-route followed by the galley to reach one of the ports placed on the itinerary of the journey. The names of these ports are indicated clearly in section four, *spexe de la mesa de popa*, and coincide with the stops for the provision of food made along the way.[46] As well as the pilgrims list, also the section related to the *homeni de pasazo* appears as a very brief summary of passengers' names providing little information about their identity. However, within this section the information about passengers' identities appears even scarcer giving the impression that, in the case of a short ride, the registration of personal details for a passage aboard of the galley was not mandatory. For instance, among the *homeni de pasazo* registered for the return travel there is a passenger registered simply as *zintilomo* (literally: gentleman) who paid twelve ducats for a ride from Jaffa to Modon.[47] This cursory and unsafe method of registration of the passengers aboard may suggest two different things. First, it confirms that those men who needed to travel frequently for business in one of the Venetian colonies appear to have used the galley as a common means of transportation. Second, it suggests the registration and transportation of the passengers to the Holy Land was not the main purpose of the booklet as well as of the voyage. In fact, passengers' details, particularly those concerning the *homeni de pasazo,* are too poor to be considered relevant for this particular journey.

[45] ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c.46.
[46] The stops listed in *Quaderno* are Pula, Zara, Corfu, Methoni, Beirut and Jaffa.
[47] ASV, *Quaderno del viazo*, c. 47.

Moreover, considering the income derived from such a low number of pilgrims and "casual" passengers is not sufficiently high to cover the expenses for a return voyage to the Holy Land, this further confirms the use of pilgrimage as cover for a forbidden transportation of merchandise.

7.5 Conclusions

Notwithstanding its concision, *Quaderno del viazo* contains much information on certain aspects of the Venetian administration of overseas business that are still unfamiliar. The booklet demonstrates that Venice's management of trade in Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean was complex and linked deeply to its closed oligarchy ruled by a few powerful families with a huge network of collaborators. In the study of the Venetian sources, the boundary line between politics, business and religion is often subtle. *Quaderno del viazo* represents simply the "tip of the iceberg" of a more intricate and extensive network of economic and political exchanges that have not been fully considered by the past and current economic and maritime scholarship of Venice and deserve careful attention. In particular, the interactions between families and institutions with different types of trade (e.g. cotton trade, pilgrimage) are often undervalued in favour of more analytical data. For instance, the valuable statistical information presented by Ashtor in his studies on the Levantine trade is detailed and useful for the reconstruction of the volume of Venetian trade in the later Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the author fails to analyse how the personal and political involvement in business of certain Venetian families might have influenced the progress and development of trades towards a specific direction. It is also true that due to the fragmentation of the medieval documentation preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, it is now harder to rebuild certain type of relations.

For this reason, documents like *Quaderno del viazo* can be considered as a precious contribution to the understanding of the social and political connections of the Venetian families with their trades. In fact, *Quaderndo del viazo* provides a significant contribution from different perspectives. First, it offers a noteworthy insight as regards the comprehension of the late medieval pilgrimage not only as a religious experience, but also as business regulated by official statutes. Excluding the considerations taken after the codicological analysis of the manuscript, *Quaderno*'s appearance and content follow regularly the indications provided by the legislation enacted in 1392 about the compilation of a *quaternum navium* including the details of the passengers and the travel. Nevertheless, this, apparently regular, *quaternum navium* is preserved among the documentation belonging to the *Procuratori di San Marco*, suggesting that it never reached the *Cattaver* Office as indicated by the law. The reason for this diversion can be found in the income registered by the logbook that was much higher than the sum that would have been earned by the transportation of pilgrims alone. Therefore, *Quaderno del viazo* was seemingly a *quaternum navium* but actually documented the participation of various distinguished members of the Venetian nobility and their Tuscan partners, in an illegal trade of merchandise. Pilgrimage was used merely as a cover due to its convenient business organisation, its favourable sea route, its logistics and the willingness of passengers to turn a blind eye to Venetian affairs for a reduced price for the passage to the Holy Land.[48]

[48] It is likely that, as in Breydenbach's case, pilgrims were aware of the "alternative" use of their galley but the opportunity of a discounted price in exchange for their complicity would be considered convenient in a long and expensive voyage.

Second, *Quaderno* offers a significant perspective also on how the intricate correlation between politics and trade under the administration of the same families acting in accordance with their personal interests led to a failure in the administration of pilgrimage legislation. This is particularly evident in the consideration of the booklet as the main source describing the "behind the scenes" aspects of a pilgrimage journey organised in accordance with two centuries of *capitula peregrinorum*. Thinking about the various amendments of the 1255 pilgrimage legislation,[49] which was enacted originally with the aim of protecting pilgrims' interests for a safe and "trade-free" journey, it is clear that these series of laws failed their main purpose because of the conflict of interest shown by the Venetian administration. Despite the existence of a clause limiting the "trade power" of the galleys intended for the Holy Land voyage, little information is known about the reasons why Venetians created and then bypassed the strict limits imposed for this type of travels. In fact, it is controversial that members of some families such as the Soranzo, the Contarini or the Morosini were involved both in the legislative decisions of the Venetian government and in trade at the same time. This suggests that certain authoritarian legislations (e.g. the previously mentioned legislation about the trade of forbidden goods such as silver and copper allowed only to members of the Soranzo Company) were created appositely for discouraging some of the less influential Venetian families in participating in a partially "closed" market.[50]

[49] The first pilgrimage legislation date back to 1255 and was enacted by Doge Jacopo Tiepolo. The subsequent laws were in great part amendments of the original document. For the *capitulum peregrinorum* see Venice, Marciana Library, Statuta Domino Jacobus Teupolus 1233, Codice Membranaceo CXXX, Classe V, Folio C37.

[50] The organization and access to certain types of business in Venice mirrored the oligarchic structure of the government allowing only noble and influential people to rule.

Lastly, *Quaderno del viazo* demonstrates that the administration of trade in the Mediterranean Sea suffered the influence of the personal interest of the Venetian families, by showing the ease with which powerful families, such as the Soranzo, taking advantage of their influence and wide network of collaborators, broke the rules passing undetected under the eyes of the Venetian government.

Chapter 8 - Conclusions

Current historiography on pilgrimage demonstrates there are still aspects of the topic deeply undervalued not only as a specific category of study within the field but also in terms of the general understanding of medieval pilgrimage itself. The comprehension of Venice's role as an essential part of the pilgrimage experience has been in many cases not only underestimated but also neglected. This opened the opportunity to explore a new territory. However, at the same time, the vastness of the records and the connections emerging from this aspect of "Venetian's side of pilgrimage" was so impressive that the space, time and funding of a doctorate were not enough to cover what might easily amount to a lifetime's work.

Therefore, this doctoral thesis aims to step forward from the outdated studies of Newett and a limited economical/maritime understanding of Venice provided by Tucci and Lane over the course of the last century, to open a new discussion and define the actual role of the maritime Republic within the medieval religious pilgrimage, not only as an exclusive provider of services, but also as a protagonist of the journey itself. One of the principal aims of this thesis was to assess whether religious pilgrimage was understood and managed as a form of business by Venice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From a certain point of view, to define one the most famous phenomena of the Middle Ages as a "business" is quite hazardous and possibly against the vivid religious fervour shown by most of its participants. Nevertheless, if by "business" we means a "trade considered in terms of its volume or profitability" this description fits

perfectly with the significance of pilgrimage for Venetians at the end of the fifteenth century.

This definition does not exclude the classic understanding of pilgrimage as a religious phenomenon, and certainly does not refer to the physical act of peregrination, but it adds to the term an additional value that is still much underestimated within the field of pilgrimage studies. As it is clear from the first approaches to pilgrimage in the thirteenth century analysed in Chapter Three, Venetians did not understand immediately the value and potential of a possible pilgrimage "logistical centre" being established in Venice. In fact, evaluating the phenomenon according to its "volume or profitability" it emerges that what was earned from pilgrimage compared to general trade in the thirteenth century was not sufficient for Venice and its powerful families to consider investing in in pilgrimage as a separate sector and to include it as a proper business within the Republic's trade.

The early approach to pilgrimage shown by Venice in relation to navigation and people management was determined by an open contradiction. For more than a century, pilgrimage had a minor role within the Venetian business and, with the exception of cargo limitations, pilgrims saw no special care in the way they were received and treated in Venice. Nevertheless, they were recognised as a "different" category of travellers, although their rights were not perfectly delineated. The situation changed positively at the end of the fourteenth century, when numerous pilgrims gathered in Venice and the Republic approved measures to avoid the development of chaos and complaints from their visitors. In the fifteenth century, there was an undoubted explicit link between trade and pilgrimage in Venice, which has never been fully assessed.

In order to evaluate the effective consideration of pilgrimage as an actual business, it was necessary to give an answer to an additional question: were the Venetians able to separate trade from other types of activities? For a city that shaped its fortune on centuries of trade and war, it was hard to detect what was considered trade or not. Commerce was, and probably still is the soul of Venice. The type of benefits the Republic would have gained in the long and short term were probably determined by every business decision made since the compiling of the *liber plegiorum*. As highlighted in Chapter Three's conclusions, Venice had to pass through centuries of inadequate approaches to pilgrimage before finding a balance that barely made it work as a stand-alone activity. To free itself from the rigid fame of maritime power and be remembered properly for its greatness and support of the Christian cause by its religious visitors, Venice had to enhance its religious significance and connection with Jerusalem through the creation of celebrations and a brand new sacred religious identity.

One of the most unexpected findings while assessing this change, and the type of people who were involved in the "reformed" Venetian pilgrimage industry, was the involvement of the Doges. For the first time in pilgrimage historiography, the significance of the Venetian Doges within the pilgrimage experience in Venice has been discussed in this work. The Doge emerges as a key figure for the Venetian "pilgrimage business". It looks like his importance underwent a change contemporary to the evolution of pilgrimage management itself. This happened at two different moments of Venetian "pilgrimage history".

Firstly, when pilgrimage was still not considered as a relevant part of the Venetian trade, the Doge and his Minor Council were the only people in charge of the main decisions concerning the strategy to adopt in relation to this type of

travel. The level of support given to pilgrimage (in this case related to navigation) and its administration was highly influenced by the Doge's preference. As seen in Chapter Three, not all the Doges in the thirteenth century considered pilgrimage as a beneficial activity for Venice. Doge Ziani, for instance, despite recognising pilgrims as a different type of traveller, did not want Venice to be associated with pilgrimage by moving the departures towards other Venetian territories. Tiepolo, on the other hand, was more far-sighted compared to his predecessor, by recognising in pilgrimage an activity deserving more attention, although not specifically categorised it as a stand-alone business. In a second moment of Venetian pilgrimage history, at the end of the fourteenth century, the profitability of pilgrimage became important and needed a different and more complex approach.

During this period, the Doge was no longer in charge of the ordinary decisions in relation to navigation and pilgrims' administration, but he became the protagonist and symbol of Venice's religious facade. As the shaping of the Venetian government took a permanent line, pilgrimage and all its related matters were delegated to the Senate and Major Council.[1] In the meantime, the Doge's role changed as he was regarded as the representative of the Christian nation in Venice and the Veneto, and main figure in every celebration organised during the pilgrims' arrival for the spring voyage. As Chapter Four demonstrates, while in the thirteenth century and part of the fourteenth the Doge was the head of a powerful trade maritime power (of which pilgrimage contributed only on a minimal basis), at the end of the fourteenth and fifteenth

[1] This was due also to the increasing limitation of powers imposed to the Doges after Pietro Ziani in the *promissione ducale*. Romanin, *Storia Documentata,* vol.2, pp. 212-219.

centuries the Doge represented the dividing line between the sacred and profane, religion and trade. The Doge was the first and last important person that pilgrims saw in Venice during their stay, a permanent reminder of Venice's sacred connection with Jerusalem and, as representative of the dualism religion and trade, he was probably also one of the main people affecting pilgrim's imaginary and understanding of Venice's significance from different perspectives. The relevance of the Doge during the pilgrims' Venetian stay has been identified many times in pilgrimage narratives produced during the fifteenth century, and sometimes he is identified as a representative of Venice's sanctity. However, what has not been found in the analysis of these narratives is an actual awareness of the Venetian legislation or legal procedures organised by the government to make pilgrims' stay and departures smooth. Centuries of changes of the related legislation were, unfortunately, not enough to eradicate the fraud caused by the ingenuity of pilgrims and the interest of Venetians in gaining more than what was legally permissible.

According to the law, it seems that pilgrims should have been able to recognise the legitimate Venetian operators without any problem on arrival in Venice. Nevertheless, what emerges from pilgrimage literature is that information of this kind was usually exchanged with other travellers after or before their arrival, or that a complex system of doubtful recommendations was working outside of Venice's sphere of control. In fact, with the exception of pilgrims welcomed by the Republic itself (e.g. Sanseverino) who were treated as separate cases in the creation of a positive Venetian experience, most pilgrims considered in this thesis seemed to have a person (not always explicitly mentioned) to contact in Venice who helped them with the essentials for their travel.

This procedure, although common and likely preferred by pilgrims themselves, most often because of the challenges of language, was actually risky and liable to fraud. It is not difficult to imagine these "contacts" suggesting specific patrons in exchange for a percentage upon the number of pilgrims concluding the final contract. Therefore, at the basis of this procedural chaos, there was a substantial lack of control not only over the Venetian operators but also over pilgrims themselves. In fact, a great part of pilgrimage fraud is likely to have happened because pilgrims trusted the wrong person on their arrival in Venice and possibly even before. Despite being scarcely considered by the historiography, the participation in this newly popular and less supervised moneymaking industry called "pilgrimage" of well-known trade magnates such as the Contarini and Soranzo was a determining factor influencing the pilgrimage industry in Venice. Directly or indirectly, Venice's most powerful families wanted to be part of any activity giving them the possibility of a major gain. In the case of pilgrimage, this interest was not due to the revenue coming from the pilgrims' payment for the passage to the Holy Land, but to the possibility of trading goods in Levantine territories without paying the customary fees. As is demonstrated in Chapter Seven, the smuggling of goods, in this case cotton, aboard pilgrims' galleys to Jaffa seems to have been well established and involved more than one patrician family. Despite being forbidden by the law, pilgrims seem generally not to have been bothered by the transportation of merchandise as long as this would not invade their space. Bernard Von Breydenbach confirmed this in his narration and the analysis of *Quaderno del viazo* demonstrate that it is likely that pilgrims aboard of the galley were aware of the merchandise aboard but this did not affect their willingness to of depart.

This points out that, notwithstanding the efforts made by the Venetian government to keep pilgrimage's administration a separate activity regulated by different legislation, its effective management by powerful families, who were already involved in the Levantine trade, in addition to the lack of proper controls and the indifference shown by certain pilgrims in relation to the goods in transportation, meant that pilgrimage was considered and managed as an effective business despite its undoubted religious implications. These findings open up a new understanding of Venice's role within medieval pilgrimage to Palestine. Venetian sources such as the logbook *Quaderno del viazo*, indicate that pilgrimage was not only a relevant economic activity by itself but that it was fully integrated with other types of maritime business such as the trade of cotton and other merchandise from the Eastern Mediterranean. On the other hand, the contemporary development of Venice as a "city for pilgrims" through the enhancement of the city's religious significance and the well-organised reception of pilgrims with spectacular religious celebrations and unique experiences (e.g. the *Sensa* fair), contributed to the transmission of the Venetian myth into pilgrimage narratives and to the consideration of Venice as a valuable religious point within the Holy Land journey.

8.1 Future research developments

As previously mentioned, records preserved in Venice are extensive and greatly unexplored. This thesis aims to be a stepping-stone in the field of pilgrimage studies; however, there is still much to learn about the behind the scenes of the medieval travel. The research carried out for this thesis is essential to understand the relevance and significance of the Venetian contribution to pilgrimage during

the later middle ages. This thesis should be considered as a solid basis from where to start a new dialogue and research to be continued in the upcoming years of my academic career. Several topics are still overlooked and need to be integrated in a wider consideration of Venice in the Mediterranean scene. For instance, what emerges from the investigation of *Quaderno del viazo* is that historiography on Venice produced during the last two centuries barely considers the extent in which personal interest and economic power exerted by some influential Venetian families may have acted towards the advancement of certain trade and business alliances. Furthermore, investigation of the social and political connections between pilgrimage and different types of business are still unknown and need to be rebuilt to understand the wider and complex stratification of the Venetian *Stato da Mar* in the later middle ages. Moreover, a great deal of attention should be given also on Venice's role within the distribution of informative sources for pilgrims in and beyond Venice itself. Pilgrims' use of sources like the *Chronicon Altinate* or the *Catalogus Sanctorum* suggests that visitors might have been in contact with libraries or institutions (in or outside the lagoon) providing them with these sources. Venice's libraries links with external institutions such as the Franciscan libraries along the pilgrimage sea-route are still unknown or scarcely considered in the general frame of pilgrimage studies. Investigation of who was involved and how the information system interacted with the general trade and management of pilgrimage in Venice will lead to a deeper and more specific knowledge of the Venetian environment and pilgrims' narrative background during the peak period of departures to the Holy Land.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Eton, Eton College Archives

- Eton College Register 1457-1536
- COLL PF 08 02, The boke of the goods of the College in dyvers placys of the sayd Coll.'
- ECR 39 30, Royal Patents: Public instrument of admission of masters and scholars to Eton College
- ECR 61, Foundation charter
- ECR 61 BD/C/1, Eton statutes,1464
- Audit Rolls: Eton College Records, vol. 61 Bursary accounts rolls 1442-1642
  - AR/B/1
  - AR/C/1
  - AR/C/2
- BD/A1, College expenses
- BD/A2, College expenses
- AR/A6 31, College expenses

London, British Library

- Lansdowne MS 112/52, Some Venetian Merchants, to the Lord Treasurer; for leave to import their wares as usual, notwithstanding Velutelli's grant
- Stowe MS 142, miscellaneous historical letters, etc.; 1375-1810. In two series, English or relating to England and (art. 87-106) foreign, Andrea Contarini, Doge of Venice, to Edward III. of England, desiring a safe conduct for merchant-ships about to be sent to Flanders, f.1
- Cotton MS Nero B VII, Records and papers concerning England and Italy, 1371–1612

London, Wellcome library

- MS 8004, The physician's handbook http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20120322230853/http://library.wellcome.ac.uk/physicianshandbook/toc1.asp

Nottingham, Lincolnshire Archive (microfilms issued by the University Of Nottingham)

- Episcopal registers of the bishops of Lincoln

- MF/618, Episcopal Register of Bishop John Chedworth, Reg 20

Oxford, Bodleian Library

- MS Bodley 565, The itineraries of William Wey
- MS Laud. 622, Codex membranaceus in folio majori
- MS Ashmole 61, Item 34, The Stations of Jerusalem

Prato, Archivio di Stato di Prato

- Fondaco di Barcellona, Lettere di Paoluccio del Maestro Paolo da Camerino a Datini Francesco di Marco, busta 930, inserto 15, codice 902007
- Fondaco di Valenza, Lettere di Corner Francesco, figlio del Doge, e Soranzo Gabriello a Datini Francesco di Marco e Luca del sera e comp. (1395-1399)

San Marino, California, Huntington Library

- MS EL26 A13, F115v, Added itinerary to Rome, Venice and Jerusalem by grouping city names according to country http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=EL+26+A+13

Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia

- Archivio proprio di Giacomo Contarini, Filza 22
- Archivio proprio di Giacomo Contarini, Filza 24
- Archivio proprio dei Contarini del Zaffo (xiv-xix), Busta 4, Manoscritti
- Archivio proprio dei Contarini del Zaffo (xiv-xix), Busta 10, Stampe libri
- Archivio proprio dei Contarini del Zaffo (xiv-xix), Busta 13, Inventari di beni mobili
- Archivio Miscellaneo Codici I, Storia Veneta 17, Già miscell codd 894, Serie M. Barbaro: Arbori de patriti i veneti, Registri i-vii
- Archivio Miscellaneo Codici I, Storia Veneta 18, Serie M. Barbaro: Albori De Partritii Veneti, Registri ii b-c, cc 539
- Miscellanea codici I, Storia veneta 17, Già miscell codd 894, Serie M. Barbaro: Arbori de patriti i veneti, Registri i-vii
- Miscellanea Atti Diversi Manoscritti, b. 134, Fascicolo 14, Quaderno del viazo del 1414
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Mar, 1
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Mar, 2
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Mar, 4
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, Reg. 14, f. 118r
- Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Reg. 17, f. 76r

- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti,, xlii, f. 88 a
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti. Registri (secc. xiv-xvi in.), Registro 38, f.111v
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro iv
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro xvi
- Senato, Deliberazioni Miste, Registro, xl, viii, f. 33 b.
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro xlii
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro xliv
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro xlvi
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro xlviii
- Sentato, Deliberazioni, Misti, Registro l
- Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri (secc. xv-xvi in.), Terra, Reg. 1, f.5v
- Liber Plegiorum (or Liber Communis), c.30, c. 90, c. 91, c. 93, c.98, c. 105
- Liber Albus, ff. 26-28v.
- S. Sepolcro Atti, 1, Origine del Monastero delle Monache del Santo Sepolcro presso alla Pietà di Venezia e qual persone fossero quelle che dettero prencipio a si degna opera.
- S. Sepolcro Atti, 1, Catastico delli Beni del venerando monastero del S. Sepolcro di Venezia
- S, Sepolcro Atti, 1, Busta 33, Disegni Monastero
- Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 1, Capitolare del Magistrato al Cattaver 1260-1374
- Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, Volume C, Compendium capitularis advocatorum de intus et indicum contrabannorum er qui appellatur chatavere
- Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 3
- Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni. Registri (secc. xiii-xvi in.), Reg. 8, Magnus et Capricornus (1299 - 1309), f. 40r
  Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni. Registri (secc. xiii-xvi in.), Reg. 21, Leona, f., 61v; 167v
- Minor Consiglio, Liber Communis, Plegiorum, 1223 – 1229, Statuta Doge Pietro Ziani
- Pacta e Aggregati, Liber Albus, II, cc.246-250
- Procuratori di San Marco de ultra, Commissarie, Busta 218, Commissaria Bertucci Pisani, 1408 Quaderno della Galeazza Padrone Andrea Arian per il Viaggio Rodi-Zaffo Cart. xiv-xv

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana (BM)

- Statuta Domino Jacobus Teupolus 1233, Codice Membranaceo cxxx, Classe V
- Statuta Navium, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. Marciano lat.cl. v, cxxx, cc. 243-245

Printed primary sources

Bacchi Della Lega, Alberto, *Libro d'oltramare 1346-1350* (Jerusalem, 1945)

Boase, Charles W., *Registrum Collegii exoniensis. Register of the rectors, fellows, and other members of the foundation of Exeter College, Oxford: with a history of the College and illustrative documents* (Oxford, 1894)

Breydenbach, Bernard Von, Bartolini Gabriella (ed.) *Peregrinationes. Un viaggiatore del quattrocento a Gerusalemme e in Egitto* (Rome, 1999)

Brunet, Gustave 'Note sur un voyage inédit a la Terre Sainte en 1470' in *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (Paris, 1854)

Calendar of State papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs: existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy, Brown, Rawdon (ed.), vol. 1 (1202-1509), (London, 1864)

Calò, Paola (ed.), *Viaggio in Terra Santa: fatto e descritto per Roberto da Sanseverino* (CSVA, 2007)

Dalla Santa, Giuseppe "Uomini e fatti dell'ultimo Trecento e del primo Quattrocento" in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xxxii, parte I (Venice, 1915), pp. 5-105

Davey, Francis (ed.), *The itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010)

Davey, Francis (ed.), *Richard of Lincoln: a Medieval Doctor Travels to Jerusalem* (Exeter, 2013)

Andrea, Denke (ed.), *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486: Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar* (Weimar, 2011)

De Worde, Wynkyn, Edward, Gordon Duff (ed.), *Information for pilgrims unto Holy Land* (London, 1893)

Emler, J. "Kronika Marignolova" in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, III (Pragae 1882), pp. 492-604

Fabri, Felice, *Venezia nel mcdlxxxviii* (Venice, 1881)

Fabri, Felix 'The books of wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri' vol.1 in *The library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1896)

Fratris Fabri, Felicis, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, 3 volumes (Stuttgardiensis, 1848)

Frescobaldi, Leonardo, *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi: in Egitto e in Terra Santa, con un discorso dell'editore sopra il commercio degl'italiani nel secolo XIV* (Florence, 1818)

Golubovich, Girolamo, *Serie cronologica dei reverendissimi superiori di Terra Santa: ossia, dei provinciali custodi e presidenti della medesima già Commissari Apostolici dell'Oriente e sino al 1847 in officio di Gran Maestri del S. Militare Ordine del SS. Sepolcro* (Jerusalem, 1898)

Golubovich, Girolamo, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra santa e dell'Oriente francescano,* vol. 4 dal 1333 al 1345 (Florence, 1923)

Golubovich, Girolamo, *Francesco Suriano Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente* (Milan, 1900)

Harwood, Thomas, *Alumni Etonenses: Or, A Catalogue of the Provosts & Fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge, from the Foundation in 1443 to the Year 1797: with an Account of Their Lives & Preferments, Collected from Original Mss. and Authentic Biographical Works* (Birmingham, 1797)

Hassler, Cunradus D., *Fratris Felix Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem* (Stuttgart, 1843–1849)

Labalme, Patricia H., White Laura Sanguineti (eds), *Venice Città Excelentissima. Selection from the Renaissance diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore, 2008)

'Lateran Regesta 580: 1461', in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 12, 1458-1471, Twemlow, Jesse A. (ed.) (London, 1933)

Lepschy, Anna L. Momigliano (ed.), *Viaggio in Terra Santa di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458* (Milan, 1966)

Malipiero, Domenico, Longo Francesco (Senatore.) and Sagredo Agostino "*Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*" in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Tomo VII, (Venice, 1843)

Mozer, Isolde, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, New York, 2010)

Newett, Mary M., *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494,* (Manchester, 1907)

Predelli, Riccardo, Sacerdoti Adolfo, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani fino al 1255* (Venice, 1903)

Predelli, Riccardo, *I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia: Regestri,* vol. 5 (Cambridge, 2012)

Riccardo, Predelli 'Il Liber Communis detto anche Plegiorum del R. Archivio Generale di Venezia' in *Archivio Veneto,* II, Tomo III, parte II, pp. 12-13

Ramusio, Giovanni Battista (ed.), *Navigazioni e viaggi,* Second volume, (Venice, 1559)

Sanseverino, Jacopo, *Viaggio fatto da Jacopo da Sanseverino con altri gentiluomini e da esso descritto: Testo ined. del sec. 15* (Lucca, 1868)

Sanseverino, Roberto, Maruffi, Gabriele (ed.), *Viaggio in Terra Santa* (Bologna, 1888)

Sanudo il Giovane, Marin, Caracciolo Aricò, Angela (ed.), *Le vite dei dogi,* vol. 2, 1457-1474 (Venice, 2004)

Société de l'Orient Latin, Archives de l'Orient Latin, Vols. I-II (Paris, 1884)

Stewart, Aubrey 'The books of wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri' in *The library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1896)

Syllabus (in English) of the documents relating to England and other kingdoms contained in the collection known as "Rymer's Foedera", vols. 1-2, Thomas Duffus (ed.), (London, 1869, 1873)

Toulmin, Smith Lucy, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in the years 1390-1 and 1392-3* (Westminster, 1894)

Thomas, William, S.A. Roy, and Lord Stanley of Alderly (eds), *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini* (Farnham, 2010)

Thomas, Georg Martin, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive acta et Diplomata res venetas, graecas atque Levantis. 1300-1350* (Venice, 1880)

"Trinity College Library, MS. R, 3, 19, temp. Hen. VI, The pilgrims Sea Voyage and the Sea-Sickness" in Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.), *The stacions of Rome and the pilgrims sea-voyage* (London, 1897), pp. 35-40

Wey, William, Bandinel, Bulkeley, Williams, George, (eds), *The itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, a. D. 1458 and a. D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostelle, a. D. 1456: from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1857)

Secondary sources

Antonelli, Giuseppe, *Dizionario delle date, dei fatti, luoghi ed uomini storici*, Volume I (Venice, 1842), p. 633

Arad, Pnina 'As if you were there: the cultural impact of two pilgrims' maps of the Holy Land' in Kühnel Bianca and Noga-Bana Galit (eds), *Visual constructs of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 307-316

Arad Pnina 'Pilgrimage, cartography and devotion: William Wey's map of the Holy Land' in *Viator*, 43:1 (2012), 301-322

Arbel, Benjamin 'Les listes de chargement de navires vénitiens (xv^{e}-debut du xvi^{e} siècle): un essai de typologie' in Coulon Damien, Ottenfroux Chaterine, Pagès Paule et al. *Chemins d'outre-mer* (Paris, 2004), pp. 31-50

Arbel, Benjamin 'The last decades of Venice's trade with the Mamluks: importations into Egypt and Syria' in *Mamlûk Studies Review*, 8: 2 (2004), pp. 37-86

Ashtor, Eliyahu, *Studies on the Levantine trade in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978)

Ashtor, Eliyahu, *Levant trade in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983)

Ashtor, Eliyahu 'Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel basso Medioevo' in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 143 (Florence, 1985), pp. 197-223

Aungier, George J., *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery: The Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow* (London, 1840), p. 527

Bacci, Michele, Bianchi Giovanna, Campana Stefano and Fichera Giuseppe 'Historical and archaeological analysis of the Church of the Nativity*'* in *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 13:4 (December 2012), pp. e5-e26

Bacci, Michele and Rohde, Martin, *The Holy Portolano / Le Portulan sacré: The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages* (Berlin, 2013)

Bagatti, Bellarmino, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret, vol. I. "Dalle origini al secolo XII*", (Jerusalem, 1967)

Bagatti, Bellarmino, Testa Emanuele and Mancini Ignazio (eds), *Studia hierosolymitana in onore di p. Bellarmino Bagatti*, II volumes (Jerusalem, 1976)

Bale, Anthony, The *Book of Margery Kempe* (Oxford, 2015)

Bale, Anthony, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford, 2012)

Barber, Richard, *Pilgrimage*, (Woodbridge, 1991)

Barral i Altet, Xavier, *Contro l'arte romanica? Saggio su un passato reinventato* (Milan, 2009)

Bateson, Mary, *Catalogue of the library of Sion monastery Isleworth* (Cambridge, 1898)

Beebe, Kathryne, *Pilgrim & Preacher. The audiences and observant spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8 – 1502)*, (Oxford, 2014)

Bell, Adrian R. and Dale, Richard S. 'The medieval pilgrimage business' in *Enterprise & Society*, Sept. 2011, 12:3, pp. 601-627

Beltrame, Carlo (ed.), *Boats, ships and shipyards. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology Venice 2000* (Oxford, 2003)

Bertini, Maria Barbara, *I custodi della memoria: l'edilizia archivistica italiana statale del XX secolo* (Rimini, 2014)

Bettinelli, Giuseppe, *Dizionario storico-portatile di tutte le venete patrizie famiglie* (Venice, 1780), pp. 111-112

Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005)

Blondé, Bruno, Stabel, Peter, Stobart, Jon and Van Damme, Ilja (eds), *Buyers & sellers: retail circuits and practices in mediaeval and early modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2006)

Boerio, Giuseppe and Manin, Daniele, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano di Giuseppe Boerio* (Venice, 1829)

Bolton Holloway, Julia, *Jerusalem. Essays on pilgrimage and literature* (New York, 1937)

Boyle, Mary 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 22 (c.1470)' in *The Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 28, issue 1 (Oxford 2015), pp. 22-36

Bowman, Glenn 'Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem' in Alan Morinis (ed.), *Sacred Journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage* (Westport, 1992)

Brefeld, Josephie, *A guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-aided Textual Criticism* (Amsterdam, 1994)

Brunetti, Mario 'Sposalizio del Mare' in Enciclopedia *Italiana* (1936),

http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sposalizio-del-mare_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/

Castellani, Carlo "I Manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillips in Cheltenham nella contea di Gloucester" in *Archivio Veneto*, Anno xix, Tomo xxxvii (Venice, 1889), pp. 200-248

Cacciavillani, Ivone 'Storia del Commissariato Triveneto di Terra Santa' in *Commissariato di Terra Santa in Venezia: VI centenario* (Roncade, 1992)

Cardini, Franco 'Il pellegrino Assente. L'enigma di una mancata partenza per Gerusalemme (Firenze, agosto 1384) ' in Coulon, Damien, Ottenfroux Chaterine and Pagès, Paule et al (eds). *Chemins d'outre-mer* (Paris, 2004), pp. 87-97

Cardini, Franco, *In Terrasanta: pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna, 2005)

Castagnari, Giancarlo 'Le origini dell'arte della carta a Fabriano'in G. Castagnari, *Miscellanea di Storia della Carta: origini techiche imprenditori fede religiosi* (Fabriano, 1991), pp. 67-80

Castagnari, Giancarlo 'Le principali fonti documentarie Fabrianesi per la storia della carta dal XIV al XV secolo' in G. Castagnari, *Contributi italiani alla diffusione della carta in Occidente tra il XIV e XV secolo* (Fabriano, 1990), pp. 29-61

Cedarmas, Antonella, *Per la cruna del mondo: Carlo Camucio e Moisé Vita Cafsuto, due pellegrini nella Terra Santa del Settecento* (Milan, 2006)

Campopiano, Michele 'Tradizione e edizione di una compilazione di testi sulla terra santa proveniente dal convento francescano del Monte Sion' in *Revue d'Histoire des textes*, Tome IV (Turnhout, 2011) pp. 329-359

Campopiano, Michele 'Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: some examples from the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion' *in Al-Masaq: Islam and the medieval Mediterranean*, 24:1 (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 75-89

Cappelletti, Giuseppe, *Storia della repubblica di Venezia dal suo principio sino al giorno d'oggi. Opera originale* (Venice, 1850)

Cecchetti, Bartolomeo, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma, nei rapporti della religione*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1874)

Cecchetti, Bartolomeo 'Stampatori, libri stampati nel secolo XV, testamento di Nicolò J. e di altri tipografi in Venezia' in *Archivio veneto*, 23, (Venice,1887), pp. 457-467

Ceriana, Matteo, *Tullio Lombardo: scultore e architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento: atti del Convegno di studi* (Verona, 2007)

Chareyron, Nicole, *Globetrotters au Moyen Age*, (Paris, 2004)

Chareyron, Nicole, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2005)

Chambers, Davida and Brian Pullan (eds), *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630* (Toronto, 2001)

Chandeler, Richard, *The life of William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, lord high chancellor of England in the reign of Henry VI., and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford* (London, 1811)

Chesi, Leonardo, *Tra casato e famiglia. La dimensione dell'unità familiare nei Contarini attraverso le loro vicende patrimoniali, politiche e successorie (secc. XV-XVIII)*, (Venice, 1996, 1997)

Chiarelli, Renzo, *I vedutisti Veneziani* (Florence,1965)

Christ, George, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden, 2012)

Cicogna, Antonio, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna cittadino Veneto*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1824)

Cohen, Erik, 'Pilgrimage and Tourism: convergence and divergence', in Alan Morinis (ed.), *Sacred Journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage*, (Westport, 1992)

Cohen, Erik 'Pilgrimage centres: Concentric and excentric', in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19:1 (1992), pp. 33–50

Constable, Giles 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages' in *Studia Gratiana*, vol. 12 (Rome, 1976), pp. 123-46; reprinted in Constable Giles, *Religious life and thought 11th -12th centuries*, Collected Studies Series 89 (London, 1979)

Constable, Giles 'Monachisme et pèlerinage au Moyen Age' in *Revue Historique*, vol. 256 (Paris, 1977), pp. 3–27

Constable, Olivia Remie, *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world. Lodging, trade, travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003)

Corbellini, Sabrina, *Cultures of religious reading in the late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013)

Cornaro, Flaminio, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello, tratte dalle chiese veneziane, e torcellane* (Padua, 1758)

Crouzet, Pavan Élisabeth 'Récits, images et mythes: Venise dans l'iter hierosolomytain (XIVe-XVe siècles)' in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 96:1 (1984), pp. 489-535

Cust, Lionel, *A history of Eton College* (London, 1889)

Da Mosto, Andrea, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, vols. 1-2 (Rome, 1937)

Darby, John N., *Notes sur l'Apocalypse. Notes on the Apocalypse, gleaned at lectures in 1842. Translated from the French* (London, 1849)

Davey, Francis 'The bishop's prisoner' in *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, vol. 39 (Cornwall, 2002), pp.170-175

Davies, Rees "Nations and National Identities in the Medieval World: an apologia" in *Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine*, 34 (2004), pp. 567–579

Davis, Robert C. and Marvin, Garry R., *Venice, the Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World's Most Touristed City* (London, 2004)

Delaruelle, Étienne, *La piété populaire au moyen age* (Torino,1975)

Deluz, Christiane, *Le livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris, 2000)

De Mas, Latrie Louis 'Les Comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon du XIIe au XIXe siècle' in *Archivio Veneto*, vol. 28 (1879), pp. 370-418

Diano, Antonio, "Le riproduzioni del Santo Sepolcro e le Venezie medievali. Paradigmi di un'assenza" in *Arte veneta*, vol. 62 (Venice, 2005), pp. 101-109

Donkin, Lucy, Vorholt, Hanna, *Imagining Jerusalem in the medieval West* (Oxford, 2012)

Doumerc, Bernard 'Le dispositive portuaire Vénetien (XIIe-XVe siècles)' in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévostes de l'einsegnement supérieur public*, 3e congrès (Paris, 2004), pp. 99-16

Dursteler, Eric R., *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006)

Eade, Jhon and Sallnow, Michael J., *Contesting the sacred: the anthropology of Christian pilgrimage* (London, 1991)

Edgcumbe, Staley, *The Dogaressas of Venice: The Wifes of the Doges* (London, 2013)

Emden, Alfred Brotherston, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1957), p. 478

Enciclopedia Bibliografica Treccani, Famiglia Contarini, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/contarini_res-7edc92fd-8bad-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_%28Enciclopedia_Italiana%29/

Eton College: an explanation of the various local passages and allusions in the appeal, etc., of King's college versus Eton College (London, 1819)

Fedalto, Giorgio 'Contarini Giovanni' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 28 (1983) http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-contarini_res-24404c30-87eb-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

Fenlon, Iain, *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* (Cambridge, 2009)

Ferrara, Francesco 'De banchi Veneziani' in *Archivio Veneto*, Tomo I, parte I (Venice, 1871), pp. 106-155

Ferrari, Simone, *Vedutismo. Da Canaletto a Guardi, da Pannini a Bellotto. Vedute e paesaggi prima della fotografia* (Milan, 2008)

Filiasi, Jacopo, *Memorie storiche de' Veneti primi e secondi del cittadino Giacomo Filiasi*. Tomo sesto (Venice, 1797)

Fincati, Luigi "Splendore e decadenza di Venezia" in *Rivista Marittima* (Rome, 1878), pp. 163-188

Folena, Gianfranco ' Il Veneziano de là mar' in Agostino Pertusi, *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1973), pp. 297-339

Fontana, Gianiacopo 'Il ponte del Sepolcro a Venezia' in *L'Omnibus raccolta di letture popolari di storia, letteratura belle arti, curiosità* (Venice, 1854), pp. 11-13

Gage, John 'Light from the East' in *Colour and Culture. Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London, 1995), pp. 39-68

Gardiner, Frederick Crombie, *The pilgrimage of desire. A study of theme and genre in medieval literature* (Leiden, 1971)

Gibbons, Alfred, *Early Lincoln wills: an abstract of all the wills & administrations recorded in the Episcopal registers of the old diocese of Lincoln: comprising the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton, Huntington, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester, and Hertford, 1280-1547* (Lincoln, 1888)

Goodman, Anthony E., *Margery Kempe: And Her World* (London, 2014)

Gothoni, Rene 'Pilgrimage = transformation journey, in *The problem of ritual*, (Symposium on Religious Rites held at Åbo, Finland, 13th-16th of August 1991), p. 104

Guarmani, Carlo, *Gl'Italiani in Terra Santa: reminiscenze e ricerche storiche* (Bologna, 1872)

Guglielminetti, Marziano, *Libro piccolo di meraviglie di Jacopo da Sanseverino* (Milan, 1985)

Guthe, Hermann, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipszig, 1890)

Hale, John Rigby, *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973)

Hagen, August H., *Wiltshire archaeological and history magazine*, vol.53 (Devizez, 1950), pp. 375-376

Hall, Donald John., *English mediaeval pilgrimage* (London, 1965)

Hammerton, Rachel Joan, *English Impressions of Venice Up to the Early Seventeenth Century: A Documentary Study* (University of Saint Andrews, 1987)

Heath, Sidney, *Pilgrim life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1911)

Heuser, Herman Joseph, *The American Ecclesiastical Review. A Monthly Publication for the Clergy*, vol. 61 (Philadelphia, 1919), pp. 625-626

Hingeston-Randolph, Frances Charles, *The Register of Edmund Stafford (A.D. 1395-1419) and index and abstract of its contents* (London, 1886), p. 397

Hopper, Sarah, *To be a pilgrim. The medieval pilgrimage experience* (Phoenix Mill, 2002)

Hourihane, Colum, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2012)

Howard, Deborah, 'The pilgrim city' in *Venice & the East: the impact of the Islamic world on Venetian architecture, 1100-1500* (London, 2000), pp. 189-215

Howard, Deborah 'Death in Damascus: Venetians in Syria in the mid-fifteenth century' in *Studi Veneziani*, 45 (Pisa and Rome, 2003), pp. 143-158

Howard, Deborah 'Venice and The Mamluks' in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797* (London, 2007), pp. 72-89

Howard, Deborah 'Venice as Gateway to the Holy Land: Pilgrims as agent of transmission' in Paul Davies, Deborah Howard and Wendy Pullan (eds), *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500: Southern Europe and Beyond*, (Farham, 2013), p. 97

Howard, Deborah and Pullan, Wendy, *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500: Southern Europe and Beyond*, (Farham, 2013)

Howard, Donald R., *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley, 1980)

Hyde, John K. 'Navigation of the eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries according to pilgrims' books' in Hyde John K., *Literacy and its uses, studies on late medieval Italy* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 87-111

Hyde, John K. ‘Italian pilgrim literature in the late Middle Ages’ in Hyde J. K., *Literacy and its uses. Studies on late medieval Italy* (Manchester 1993), pp. 136-161

Hunt, Edward D., *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460* (Oxford, 1982)

Hunt, Edward D. ‘Were there Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?’ In J. Stopford, *Pilgrimage explored*, (York, 1999), pp. 25-40

Hussey, Christopher, *Eton College* (London, 1922)

Jacoby, David ‘Pèlerinage Médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: la perspective Vénitienne’ in *Ateneo Veneto*, vol 24 (Venice, 1986), pp. 27-58

Jacoby, David ‘Il ruolo di Acri nel pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme’ in *Il cammino di Gerusalemme*. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Bari-Brindisi-Trani (Bari, 1999), pp. 31-50

David, Jacoby ‘*Mercanti genovesi e veneziani e le loro merci nel Levante crociato’ in Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV* (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova-Venezia, 10-14 marzo 2000), pp. 213-256

Jacoby, David ‘New Venetian evidence on crusader Acre’ in Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (eds), *The Experience of Crusading. Vol. II: Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 24-246

Jacoby, David ‘Venetian commercial expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th centuries’ in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange. Papers of the Thirty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John's College* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 371-373

Jacoby, David ‘Christian pilgrimage to Sinai until the late fifteenth century’ in *Holy Space, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles, 2006), pp. 79-93

Jacoby, David ‘The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204-1261: A State Within A State’ in Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and Peter Schreiner (eds), *Quarta Crociata. Venezia. Bisanzio, Impero Latino* (Venice, 2006), pp. 19-79

Jacoby, David ‘A Venetian sailing to Acre in 1282: Between private shipping and privately operated state galleys’ in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum, J. S. C. Riley-Smith, B. Z. Ḳedar *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 395-410

Jacoby, David ‘The economic impact of Christian pilgrimage on the Holy Land’ in *Religione e istituzioni religiosenell’economia Europea. 1000-1800. Atti della-Quarantatreesima Settimana di Studi. 8-12 maggio 2011* (Florence, 2012), pp. 704-707

Jacoby, David ‘The Venetian presence in the Crusader Lordship of Tyre: a tale of decline’ in Adrian Boas (ed.), *The Crusader World* (London, 2016), pp. 180-196

Jusserand, Jean J. “La vie nomade et les routes d'Angleterre au moyen age (xive siècle)” in *Revue Historique*, T. 20, Fasc. 1 (1882), pp. 1-72

Jusserand, Jean J., *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1961)

Kazhdan, Alexander P., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (Oxford, 2005)

Kildani, Hanna, *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Development of the Structure of Churches and the Growth of Christian Institutions in Jordan and Palestine* (Bloomington, 2010)

King, Margaret, *Venetian Humanism in an age of patrician dominance* (Princeton, 1986)

Kirkland-Ives, Mitzi ‘Capell nuncapato Jherusalem noviter Brugis": The Adornes Family of Bruges and Holy Land devotion’ in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39:4 (Kirksville, 2008), pp. 1041-1064

Kleinhenz, Christopher, *Routledge Revivals: Medieval Italy (2004): An Encyclopedia.* vol. 2 (London, 2017) p. 1128

Labalme, Patricia H. and Sanguineti White Laura (eds), *Venice, Cità Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (London, 2008)

Lane, Frederick C., *Venice and History. The collected paper of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, 1966)

Lane, Frederick C., *Venice a Maritime Republic* (London, 1973)

Lane, Frederick C. “Venetian bankers, 1496-1533” in *Journal of Political Economy*, 45:2 (Apr. 1937), pp. 187-206

Lane, Frederick C. and Mueller Reinhold C., *Money and Banking in medieval and renaissance Venice*, vol. 1 (London, 1985)

Lane, Frederic C., *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1992)

Lanza, Antonio and Troncarelli Marcellina, *Pellegrini scrittori: viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta* (Florence, 1990)

Lazari, Vincenzo, *Le monete dei possedimenti veneziani di oltremare e di terraferma*, vol. 25 (Venice, 1851)

Lazzarini, Vittorio ‘Originali antichissimi della Cancelleria Veneziana (Osservazioni diplomatiche e paleo-grafiche)’ in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 6:11 (1904), pp. 199-229

Le Neve, John, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae: or A calendar of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries in England and Wales, and of the chief officers in the*

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from the earliest time to year m.dcc.xv, vol.1 (Oxford, 1854)

Lilley, Keith D. 'Cities of God? Medieval Urban forms and their Christian Symbolism' in *Royal Geographical Society, Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 29:3 (Sept. 2004), pp. 296-313

Losch, Richard R., *The Uttermost Part of the Earth: A Guide to Places in the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 2005)

Lyte, Maxwell Henry C. Sir, *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875* (London 1875)

Lyte, Maxwell Henry C. Sir, *A History of Eton College, 1440-1910* (London, 1911)

Luttrell, Anthony 'Giovanni Contarini, a Venetian at Oxford' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29 (London, 1966), pp. 424-432

Madden, Thomas, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (London, 2003)

Malipiero, Domenico, Longo Francesco (Senatore.), Sagredo Agostino 'Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500' vol. 1, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Tomo VII, Parte I, (Venice, 1843)

Manaresi, Cesare 'Gian Galeazzo Visconti e la Chiesa di Betlemme', in *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 44, (Milan, 1917) p. 197

Maraval, Pierre, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient, Histoire et géographie. Des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985)

Marin, Serban V. 'Considerations Regarding the place of the Chronicon Altinate in the Venetian historical writing' in Revue *des études sud-est Européennes*, Tome LI (Bucharest, 2013), pp. 83-103

Marshall, Christopher, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1993)

McKee, Sally, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000)

Michelson, Paul E. 'Mythical Venice' in Papers of NEH Institute conference on Venice (2006), pp. 1-12

Milanesi, Marica 'Contarini Ambrosio' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28 (1983)

Missiaglia, Giovanni Battista, *Biografia universale antica e moderna ossia Storia per alfabeto della vita pubblica e privata di tutte le persone che si distinsero per opere, azioni, talenti, virtù e delitti*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1822), pp.257-260

Mitchell, Rosamond J., *John Tiptoft. 1427-1470* (London, 1938)

Mitchell, Rosamond J. 'Antonio Loredan and the Jaffa voyage' in *Italian Studies*, 13 (1958), p. 83-87

Mitchell, Rosamond J., *The spring voyage. The Jerusalem pilgrimage in 1458* (London, 1965)

Moine, Cecilia and Corrò, Elisa 'Scrivere di San Giacomo' in *L'isola di domani. Cultura materiale e contesti archeologici a San Giacomo in Paludo* (Venezia, 2014), pp. 161-169

Morinis, Alan, *Sacred Journey. The anthropology of pilgrimage* (Westport, 1992)

Morinis, Alan and Turner, Victor, *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (Westport, 1992)

Morrison, Susan S., *Women pilgrims in late medieval England: private piety and public performance* (London, 2000)

Mueller, Reinhold C., *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale* (Rome, 2010)

Mueller, Reinhold C. 'Sull'establishment bancario veneziano. Il banchiere davanti a Dio (secoli XIV-XV)' in Borelli, Giorgio (ed.), *Mercanti e vita economica nella Repubblica Veneta (secoli XIII-XVIII)*, (Verona, 1985), pp. 45-103

Muir, Edward, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981)

Nam, Jong-Kuk, *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Age* (Leiden, 2007)

Newton, Arthur Percival, *Travel and travellers of the Middle Ages* (London, 1949)

Noonan, Thomas F., *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery*, (Philadelphia, 2007)

Norwich, John Julius, *A history of Venice* (London, 2003)

O'Connell, Monique, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore, 2009)

Oursel, Raymond, *Pellegrini del Medioevo. Gli uomini, le strade, i santuari* (Milan, 1997)

Page, William, *The Victoria history of the county of Buckingham* (London, 1908)

Papadopoli, Aldobrandini Nicolò, *Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate da Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini con disegni di C. Kunz*, vol.1 (Milan, 1893)

Paoletti, Ermolao, *Il Fiore di Venezia ossia i Quadri, i Monumenti, le Vedute ed i Costumi Veneziani rappresentati in incisione da abili Artisti ed illustrati da Ermolao Paoletti*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1839), pp. 171-173

Pasini, Antonio, *Il tesoro di San Marco in Venezia dal 1797 al presente* (Venice, 1878)

Paoletti, Anna, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme di Pietro Casola* (Alessandria, 2001)

Parsons, Nicholas T., *Worth the Detour. A history of the guidebook* (Phoenix Mill, 2007)

Parks, George B., *The English traveller to Italy*, vol.1, The Middle Ages (to 1525) (Rome, 1954)

Phillips, Kim M., *Before Orientalism Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014)

Prawer, Joshua 'I Veneziani e le colonie nel regno latino di Gerusalemme' in Pertusi, Agostino (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. 1, part 2 (Florence, 1973) pp. 625-656

Prawer, Joshua 'Étude de quelques problèmes agraires et sociaux d'une seigneurie croisée au xiii siècle' in *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des études byzantines*, tome xxii (Bruxelles, 1952), pp. 5-61

Prescott, Hilda F. M., *Jerusalem journey: pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century* (London, 1954);

Prescott, Hilda F. M., *Once To Sinai the further pilgrimage of Friar Felix Fabri* (New York, 1958)

Pringle, Denys, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A-K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 137-157

Pringle, Denys, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Burlington, 2011)

Puppi, Lionello 'Venezia come Gerusalemme nella cultura figurative del Rinascimento' in Buck August and Guthmüller Bodo (eds), *La citta italiana del Rinascimento fra Utopia e Realtà* (Venice, 1984), pp. 117-137

Pubblicazione mensile della custodia Francescana, *Terra Santa*, Anno 1, N. 1, Tipografia dei PP. Francescani (Jerusalem, 1921)

Queller, Donald E. and Katele, Irene B. 'Venice and The Conquest Of The Latin Kingdom Of Jerusalem' in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (Venice, 1986), pp. 14-43

Raines, Dorit 'Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano. 1297-1797' in *Storia di Venezia*, Rivista I (Florence, 2003), pp. 1-64

Ranise, Pietro, *Storia universale delle missione francescane, del Padre Marcellino da Civezza. Volume IV* (Rome, 1860)

Renier, Michiel Giustina, *Origine delle feste veneziàne*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1852)

Reynolds, Susan 'Nations. Tribes, People, and States' in *Medieval Worlds*, vols.1-2 (2015), pp. 79-88

Riant, Paul Comte 'Voyage en Terre sainte d'un maire de Bordeaux' in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1884), pp. 378-388

Richard, Jean, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout, 1996)

Ruddock, Alwyn A., *Italian merchants and shipping in Southampton*, Southampton University College, 1951

Rudy, Katherine M. 'A guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 212' in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgenschchte*, 63, Bd., H. 4, 2000, pp. 494-495

Röhricht, Reinhold, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Buchhandlung, 1900)

Roscoe, Thomas and Sosson, Alexandre, 'The Church of St. Mark' in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 466:15 (London, 1830), pp. 458-60.

Rösch, Gerhard 'The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286–1323' in John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano (eds), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 67-88

Rossi, Berardo, *The Custody of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1981)

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York, 2014)

Saletti, Beatrice, *I francescani in Terrasanta (1291-1517)* (Padua, 2016)

Salter, Rev. H.E., *The Oxford deeds of Balliol College* (Oxford, 1913)

Salvestrini, Francesco, *L'Italia alla fine del Medioevo: i caratteri originali nel quadro europeo*, vol. 1 (Florence, 2006)

Sansovinum, Franciscum, *Delle orationi recitate a principi di Venetia nella loro creatione da gli ambasciadori di diverse città* (Venice, 1562)

Sanuto Marin, Rawdon, Brown (ed.), Itinerario *di Marin Sanuto per la terra ferma Veneziana nell'anno 1483* (Venice, 1847)

Sargent-Baur, Barbara N., *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1992)

Schröder, Francesco, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle provincie venete* (Venice, 1830)

Seymour, Michael C. 'Sir John Mandeville' in *Authors of the Middle Ages*, (Aldershot, 1993)

Seymour, Michael C., *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford, 2002)

Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571,* vol. I (Philadelpia, 1984)

Shagrir, Iris, Ellenblum Roni and Riley-Smith Jonathan S. C., *In Laudem Hierosolymitani* (Aldershot, 2007)

Shaw, Jeffrey M. and Demy Timothy J., *War and Religion: An Encyclopedia of Faith and Conflict*, vol.1 (Santa Barbara, 2017)

Smith, Seth D.U. 'An inventory of gifts to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre that was at Edington' in *The Wiltshire archaeological and natural history magazine*, vol. 55, (1953-1954), pp. 161-174

Stahl, Alan M., *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 2000)

Grace, Stretton, 'Some aspects of Medieval travel: notably transport and accommodation, with special reference to the Wardrobe Accounts of Henry Earl of Derby, 1390-1393' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 7 (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 77-97

Stride, William K, *Exeter College* (London, 1900)

Renato, Stopani, *Le vie del pellegrinaggio nel Medioevo* (Florence, 1991)

Romanin, Samuele, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1854)

Stivieri, N., *Storia di Venezia: dalla sua origine fino ai giorni nostri* (Venice, 1878)

Stöckly, Doris, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise: fin XIIIe - milieu XVe siècle* (Leiden, 1995),

Stopford, Jennie, *Pilgrimage explored* (York, 1999)

Summer, William H., *History of the Congregational churches in the Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks Association: with notes on the earlier nonconformist history of the district* (Newbury, 1805)

Sumption, Jonathan, *Pilgrimage* (London, 1975)

Tafel, Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich and Thomas, Georg Martin, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels -und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante: Vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Wien, 1856), pp. 184-185

Tafur, Pero, *Travels and Adventures: 1435-1439* (London, 2004)

Tassini, Giuseppe 'Iscrizioni dell'ex chiesa e monastero del S. Sepolcro in Venezia' in *Archivio veneto*, 22 (1879), pp. 284-314

Tassini, Giuseppe, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o volti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati* (Venice, 1885)

Taylor, Joan E., *Christians and the Holy Places: the myth of Jewish-Christian origins (Oxford University Press* (Oxford, 1993)

Temple-Leader, John, *Libro dei nobili veneti ora per la prima volta messo in luce* (Florence, 1866)

Tenenti, Alberto and Tucci Ugo, *Storia di Venezia: temi. Il mare* (Rome, 1991)

Terra Santa. Pubblicazione mensile della custodia Francescana, Anno 1, N. 1, 15 Gennaio 1921, (Jerusalem, 1921)

Testa, Emanuele, *Nazaret Giudeo-Cristiana. Riti, iscrizioni, simboli* (Jerusalem, 1969)

Theilmann, John M. 'Medieval Pilgrims and the Origins of Tourism*'* in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 20:4, pp. 93–102

Theilmann, John M. 'On the road to Health: pilgrimage in Medieval England' in Travel, *Discovery, Transformation, culture and civilization*, vol. 6, (2014), pp.177-197

Tomasi, Luigi 'Homo Viator: From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism via the Journey' in W. H. Swalos, L. Tomasi (eds), *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism. The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety* (Westport, 2002), pp. 2-24

Tremlett, Thomas D. 'The Matthew Paris Shields (c.1244-59)' in *Rolls of arms,- Henry III*, Aspilogia vol. 2 (Oxford, 1967)

Thackeray, Francis St. J. 'Eton College Library' in *Notes and queries*, sixth series, vol.3 (London, 1881), pp. 101-104

Thode, Henry, *Francesco d'Assisi e le origini dell'arte del Rinascimento in Italia* (Rome, 1993)

Thurston, Herbert, *The Stations of the Cross: an account of their history and devotional purpose* (London, 1914)

Tiepolo, Maria Francesca 'Archivio di Stato di Venezia' in *Guida generale degli archivi di Stato* (Venice, 1994).

Trovato, Paolo 'Per le nozze (rinviate) tra storia e filologia sulle vulgate di alcuni pellegrinaggi tre e quattrocenteschi (Lionardo Frescobaldi, Mariano da Siena, Alessandro Rinuccini) e sulle guide di terrasanta' in *Filologia Italiana*, 3 (Pisa, Rome, 2006), pp. 31- 76

Tucci, Ugo 'Sur la pratique Vènetienne de la navigation au XIVe siècle. Quelques remarques' in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 13e année, N. 1 (1958), pp.72-86

Tucci, Ugo 'Alle origini dello spirito capitalistico a Venezia: la previsione economica' in *Studi Amintore Fanfani* (Milan, 1962), pp. 545-547

Tucci, Ugo 'Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel Quattrocento' in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol.3 (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 317-353

Tucci, Ugo 'L'economia veneziana nel Quattrocento' in Storia *della civiltà veneziana*, vol. 2, (Florence, 1979), pp. 155-167

Tucci, Ugo, *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento Veneziano* (Bologna, 1981)

Tucci, Ugo 'Tra Venezia e mondo turco: i mercanti' in *Venezia e i Turchi: scontri e confronti di due civiltà* (Milan, 1985), pp. 38-55

Tucci, Ugo ‘I servizi marittimi Veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Medioevo’ in *Studi Veneziani*, 9 (Pisa, 1985), pp. 42-66

Tucci, Ugo ‘Gli itinerari marittimi nel tardo Medioevo” in *Viaggiare nel Medio Evo. Atti del VII convegno di studio della Fondazione Centro Studi sulla civiltà del Tardo Medioevo, San Miniato 15-18 ottobre 1998* (Rome, 2000), pp. 39-57

Tucci, Ugo, *Venezia e dintorni: evoluzioni e trasformazioni* (Rome, 2014)

Tucoo-Chala, Pierre and Pinzuti, Noel ‘Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre a Jerusalem en 1480’ in *Annuaire-Bulletin De la Societe de L'Histoire de France 1972-1974* (Paris, 1974), pp. 73-174

Turner, Victor and Turner Edith, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian culture* (New York, 1921)

Turner, Victor ‘*The Center out There: Pilgrim's Goal*’ in *History of Religions*, 12:3 (Feb., 1973), pp. 191-230

Urech, Edouard, *Dizionario dei simboli cristiani* (Rome, 1995)

Vauchez, André, *The spirituality of the medieval west: from the eighth to the twelfth century* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1993)

Vauchez, André, *The laity in the Middle Ages: religious beliefs and devotional practices* (Notre-Dame, Indiana, 1993)

Van Gennep, Arnold, *The rite of passage*, (London, 1908)

Weber, Elka, *Traveling through Text: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts* (London, 2014) <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=573276>

Webb, Diana, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, (London, 2000)

Webb, Diana, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001)

Welch, Evelyn S., *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (Yale, 2005)

Werkstücke, Kieler, *Europäische Reiseberichtedes späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie* (Frankfurt, 1994)

Whalen, Brett E., *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto, 2011)

Woolfson, Jonathan, *Padua and the Tudors. English Student in Italy 1485-1603* (Cambridge, 1998)

Wyatt, Michael, *The Italian encounter with Tudor England. A cultural politics of Translation* (Cambridge, 2005)

Yeager, Suzanne M., J*erusalem in the medieval narrative* (Cambridge, 2008)

Zacher, Christian, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage. The literature of discovery in fourteenth century England* (London, 1976)

Zacher, Christian K. ‘Travel and Geographical Writings’ in Severse, Burke J. A.(ed.) *Manual of the writings in Middle English, 1050-1500* (New Haven, 1967), pp. 2235-2254