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ITALY - HUNGARY

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MOVEMENT OF MEN, GOODS AND CULTURES
IN TWO AREAS OF EUROPE.
HUNGARY AND SOUTHERN ITALY BETWEEN
THE 15TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

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The bridge's outline shown on the cover is the Chain Bridge of Budapest, Hungary.

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MOVEMENT OF MEN, GOODS, AND CULTURES IN TWO AREAS OF EUROPE: HUNGARY AND SOUTHERN ITALY BETWEEN THE 15TH AND 21ST CENTURIES: THE BILATERAL PROJECT CNR/MTA

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Preface

The bilateral scientific and technological cooperation agreements concluded by the Italian National Research Council - CNR with foreign counterpart institutions constitute a significant instrument for the establishment of an institutional framework for the development of joint research initiatives. One such agreement is that between the CNR and the Hungarian Research Network - HUN - REN, (ex Hungarian Academy of Sciences – HAS - MTA). This gave rise to the project entitled *Movement of men, goods, and cultures in two areas of Europe: Hungary and Southern Italy between the 15th and 21st centuries*. The aim of this project is to focus on two European areas over an extended period of time: southern Italy and Hungary. The objective was to examine the forms and channels of circulation of people, goods and cultures in these areas, and to analyse the ways in which, from the 15th century to the present, political, economic and social institutions have controlled, regulated and hindered them. This analysis was to be conducted from a long-term historical perspective, encompassing both urban spaces and frontier localities.

The selected focus was a comparative analysis of distinct geographic areas with markedly disparate institutional histories. Southern Italy, despite enduring foreign domination, exhibited a distinctive political and economic status until the unification of Italy. Hungary, on the other hand, has sustained its state continuity since the Middle Ages, undergoing significant territorial and political transformations over centuries, largely due to its interactions with dominant empires, including the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Russian-Soviet empires.

These two European areas have always been regarded as exemplars of frontier regions, both in terms of their alignment or opposition to the development of new instruments

for controlling and regulating the flow of economic, social and cultural resources. In these regions, local and state interests coexist. Only an approach that combines knowledge of the past with present reality allows a solid and effective exit from sterile paradigms such as ‘clash of markets’ or ‘individualism vs. communitarianism’ dualisms that have dominated political and economic debate in recent decades. Combining different approaches from an interdisciplinary perspective (traceable to political, cultural, economic and social history), a further objective was to propose a different interpretive key to the dissemination of knowledge gained in humanities research.

The research concentrated on the concept of the frontier as both a geopolitical space and a symbolic entity, as well as on the analysis of places that are subject to continuous bureaucratic and administrative definition. These are spaces in which problems related to the frontier emerge and become entrenched, traversed by people, technologies, goods, capital and cultures, and continually redefined by the relationship between centres of government, local communities, jurisdictional bodies (from merchant guilds to sea consulates), and individuals (outsiders, merchants, travelers and diplomats). The border may be widened or narrowed in accordance with prevailing political considerations and the requirements of territorial security. These, in turn, are shaped by economic and social circumstances. In the first instance, those in positions of authority determine the manner in which the border is to be defended militarily and the conditions under which legal crossings may be made. The coordinating activity of the centre is inextricably intertwined with the actions of local communities. It is evident that the role of the territory becomes particularly proactive in times of emergency, such as war, food shortages and health crises. In such instances, immediate solutions must be prepared. During the Ancien Régime, communities provided financial assistance, supplied troops, organised the civic militia and managed the system of sanitary vigilance. Secondly, similar roles are played by jurisdictional bodies and individuals. Both can, on the one hand, offer instruments of direct control over the movement of goods, people and capital, and, on the other hand, challenge the very concept of ‘frontier’ by coming into direct contact with the central authority, obtaining privileges and exemptions for the transit of the same.

The project, which ran from 2019 to 2022 (with an extension to 2023 due to the pandemic), aimed to analyse the methods of control and regulation for border crossing. This analysis was conducted over three distinct phases. The initial phase of the study focused on examining the organisational structure of the border and the criteria for legal crossing. Which institutions were responsible for regulating the movement of people and goods? What was the relationship between local practices of recognition of foreign status and those emerging at the national level since the nineteenth century? What was the relationship between economic actors (merchants, entrepreneurs) and political institutions? In the second phase of the study, the policy-making practices of local authorities were examined, beginning

with an analysis of communication with state and judicial authorities. The objective was to identify the sources of instances of exchange, control, or rejection. The question thus arises as to whether the impetus for change came from below or from above. Furthermore, what were the channels through which decisions regarding their supervision and/or reception were made? What levels of authority (government, intermediary institutions, local representatives) were involved in decision-making processes and with what role? Ultimately, our analysis concentrated on the influence of the border on the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of the diverse urban environments. To what extent did the decision-making processes result in a transformation of the realities of neighbourhoods and their population, their redefinition, and the creation of cross-border identities? What was the impact of incoming and outgoing migration trends on the spatial organisation of territories? Furthermore, how did such changes affect the redefinition of gender roles? The investigation also encompassed the modes and channels of political, social and cultural interaction, as well as the forms and modes of circulation of people, goods and cultures between the two areas. This was done with consideration of the geopolitical dynamics determined by the relationship with politically dominant empires.

The proposed long-term perspective, spanning from the Middle Ages to the present, was selected to elucidate not only the shifts in the interactions between powers and institutions, but also any elements of continuity. This approach encourages a rethinking or refinement of the policies implemented by urban and state institutions.

The final objective of this project was to evaluate the efficacy of border control functions, to ascertain the extent to which the study of technical measures aligns with precise political and jurisdictional logics, and to determine the level of centre-periphery integration defined in this context. Additionally, the project aimed to assess the efficiency of the system and the perceived level of security, which are fundamental aspects in fostering social consensus towards the ruling classes. This assessment was conducted from a bottom-up perspective, considering the perceptions of those directly involved in the defence and surveillance actions.

The volume, which is hosted in the Bridges series, collates a selection of the findings from the discussions that have been presented in recent years at workshops held jointly by the two teams, namely the Italian and the Hungarian.

The circulation of goods is dealt with in the essay "*Che maledette siino quest'ano le spezie!*" *Insights on the medieval spice trade from the Datini Archive* by Maria Giagnacovo and Ilaria Zilli. The authors highlight the significance of the spice trade within the commercial activities of the renowned Prato merchant Francesco Datini. This is a perspective that has been overlooked by historiography, which has traditionally accorded greater importance to other forms of trade, particularly when considering the Hungarian territories as transit routes for medieval merchants. A review of the extant correspondence, financial records and

business documents from the Datini enterprise reveals a significant volume of transactions involving the purchase and sale of pepper, ginger, nutmeg and cloves, along with other commodities that were regarded as spices in the medieval era. These transactions were conducted with a diverse range of apothecaries across the Italian Peninsula. The Datini papers also provide a substantial corpus of information, both descriptive and quantitative, regarding the circulation of spices in the medieval Mediterranean. This includes data on the varying availability and price trends of spices in major Italian and European emporia. The data allows for the identification of the factors influencing the supply, demand, and price trends of these commodities. The abundance of information documented in the reports substantiates the crucial role of acquiring timely data from across the Mediterranean in the spice trade. Events that had the potential to impact the pricing and accessibility of spices in Levantine markets were promptly reflected in European markets.

We find the circulation of information in the essays by Hajnalka Kuffart, Mónika F. Molnár and Giovanni Lombardi. In *Italian-Hungarian Careers in the Fifteenth Century: the Example of a Catalan. Life and letters of Perotto Vesach* Hajnalka Kuffart highlights how in the last quarter of the fifteenth century relations between Hungary and Naples intensified due to the alliance between King Matthias of Hungary and King Ferdinand I of Naples, sealed with a marriage between the two dynasties. The pursuit of certain careers allows one to discern the areas of interest in which the royal courts were engaged. Perotto Vesach's career commenced and concluded in Naples; however, he spent a period of over twenty years in the Kingdom of Hungary between these two points. He was a witness to numerous significant occurrences, which he chronicled in correspondence with the ducal couple of Ferrara, with whom he had spent a portion of his youth. Furthermore, his letters offer a valuable source of information regarding the history of Hungary. This contribution provides a concise overview of Vesach's life and includes the complete transcription of his Italian letters to date.

Mónika F. Molnár in *Antonio Caraffa between Naples and Hungary* discusses the role of the Neapolitan general in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the war waged in Hungarian territory between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in Vienna (1683-1699). As an officer in the Habsburg army, Caraffa played a key role in this struggle. Hungarian historians, however, have focused almost exclusively on his activities in Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia). But, through a valuable hitherto unpublished source found in the State Archives in Naples, the author gives us a different profile of General Antonio Caraffa, as the volume contains correspondences of Caraffa with the most important figures of the Hungarian war theater.

Giovanni Lombardi in *The fall of Buda (1686), the Neapolitan publishing and the Diary of Carlo Porsile* delves into the vast echo that the Hungarian campaigns (1684-87) had in Europe and the Mediterranean, through the circulation of news and in the press. In Naples, the events were closely monitored and the seizure of Buda was announced in

an atmosphere of eager anticipation. The elites celebrated the successes through symbolic languages and a veritable communication industry. Public demonstrations demonstrated social structures and political balances, guided popular phenomena, and reaffirmed values and self-representations. The press played a significant role in the dissemination of information pertaining to historical events. This was achieved through the publication of gazetteers, encomiastic literature, and dedicated historical books and reports. In this context, the influence of certain works is significant in the broader context of Neapolitan publishing. The context of dedications, routes and timelines, background and reputation of those involved in the publications provides meaning to the texts, particularly in the context of common sources and certain standardisations. In this context, the *Diario* published by Carlo Porsile assumes a particular form. It provides an interpretation of the events in question, set against the backdrop of a political landscape undergoing a process of redefinition, one that is no longer subject to the pressures of the news cycle or the influence of celebratory impulses.

The movement of people through a particular source, police records, is analyzed in Paola Avallone and Raffaella Salvemini's essay, *Hungarian Travelers in Naples in the first half of the 19th century*. It is widely acknowledged that prior to unification, the concept of tourism in its contemporary form had not yet fully emerged. The so-called "Grand Tour" originated in the 17th century and comprised a lengthy journey through continental Europe undertaken by affluent young aristocrats hailing from Great Britain. Moreover, Naples, in conjunction with Sicily, was regarded as one of the concluding destinations on this itinerary, particularly following the ascension of the Bourbon dynasty. Nevertheless, it remains uncertain how many of these travelers originated from the Austrian Empire, with Hungary being a particularly pertinent case in point. By analysing the documentation produced by the relevant control bodies, namely the Police, the authors have been able to reconstruct the reasons for the influx of visitors to Naples, the identity of these individuals, their accommodation, the mode of transportation used and the documentation required at the border. Of particular interest is the analysis of the reasons for their coming to Naples.

The essays by Erica Mezzoli, Árpád Hornyák, and Antonio Bertini and Tiziana Vitolo analyze the special relationships that were established between Hungary and certain states. Mezzoli in *A Maritime "Idyll". Infrastructures, Capitalism, Maritime Modernity and Representation of Everyday Life During the "Hungarian Idyll" in Fiume (Rijeka), 1868-1914*, highlights the characteristics of the extraordinary maritime development of Rijeka (Fiume) during the so-called "Hungarian idyll" by delving into the moral implications of the Hungarian investment in Rijeka. The evolution of Rijeka's logistics hub, both from the point of view of railway and maritime infrastructure, is examined, and the maritime sector and its transition from sailing to steamship is analyzed from a quantitative point of view, with a depiction of (modern) everyday maritime life in the Liburnian port. With regard to the Hungarians during the Second Industrial Revolution, it was their role as "machine

builders” that enabled them to gain familiarity with the maritime element. It is evident that they experienced a certain degree of lag in comparison to other European contexts, particularly in relation to the Austrian “consort.” Nevertheless, this did not impede their ability to catch up and establish Rijeka as one of the most dynamic and intriguing maritime and industrial centres in Europe between the late 19th century and the First World War.

Relations between Hungary and Serbia are covered in Árpád Hornyák’s essay *Relations between Hungary and Occupied Serbia in the Second World War*. During the Second World War, relations between the two countries were at a relatively low ebb. Furthermore, the lack of interest on both sides was compounded by the fact that Serbia had been stripped of its statehood during the German occupation. Nevertheless, the author indicates that despite these circumstances, there were periods when relations between the two parties were strengthened. Hungary was the first to demonstrate such willingness, particularly in the wake of the catastrophic German and Hungarian losses on the Eastern Front in early 1943. Conversely, Serbia evinced greater interest in Hungary from 1944 onward. It is evident that the evolution of relations was predominantly shaped by the prevailing circumstances of the wartime era. It is important to note, however, that projects aimed at improving relations between the Hungarian and Serbian sides were almost always unfeasible. Examples of this include the creation of Serbian defence forces in Bačka in September 1944 and the joint actions supported by the Nedić and Mihajlović governments to prevent the advance of the Bolsheviks.

In the chapter, *The History of the Baths of the Bay of Naples and Budapest for a Possible Comparison of Safeguarding and Valorisation*, Antonio Bertini and Tiziana Vitolo address the interesting topic of baths. In the history of relations between Italy and Hungary, the events at the Agnano thermal spa near Naples serve to establish a connection between the two countries. This is due to the presence of a Hungarian doctor who had the opportunity to gain insight into and visit the area now occupied by the spa and the entire surrounding region. Utilising the entrepreneurial intuition of the Hungarian doctor, an essential project for the recuperation and enhancement of the region’s bathing establishments has commenced. A historical analysis of the area, encompassing the natural elements, cultural, material and immaterial heritage, and the potential for socio-economic development, has been conducted in order to define the state of the art of the spa phenomenon in the Gulf of Naples. This has been accompanied by research, including iconography, and an in-depth study of the Agnano spa area. The objective of this essay is to contribute to the ongoing discourse on the subject by conducting a comparative analysis of the potential and prospects for the development of thermalism in two countries and two cities: Naples and Budapest.

Cultural aspects are addressed in the final two essays *Cultural and textual transmission of an early modern best-seller: the codex V G 46 (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II in Naples) of E. S. Piccolomini’s “Historia de duobus amantibus” in its Italian and Hungarian*

context by Ágnes Máté and *Dictionary without borders* by Margit Kiss. The first essay addresses the relative position of the ms codex V G 46 in the Latin textual tradition of Enea Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus*. In the context of long-term research on the textual tradition of the *Historia*, the author demonstrates that manuscript V G 46, currently housed in Naples, belongs to a distinct group of manuscripts of the novella, produced in Rome. In particular, the errors in the Neapolitan manuscript must be corrected in accordance with those in the Hain 225 incunabulum and with a manuscript held in Budapest. The comparison indicates that the two manuscripts of the romance were produced at an early stage of textual transmission, motivated by the convening of the Congress of Mantua by the same author of the romance text, who had ascended the throne of St. Peter with the name Pius II. In the second essay, Kiss addresses a particularly pertinent topic, namely the issue of humanistic digitisation. The extended dictionary model is concerned with the incorporation, representation and utilisation of knowledge in digital dictionaries. Given the substantial amount of data that has already been accumulated in digital form by digital humanities projects, it is a positive step to transform this data into knowledge and utilise it to enhance the support provided to researchers. The extended dictionary, which extends beyond the traditional dictionary structure, incorporates data from both internal and external sources, thereby forming a comprehensive lexicographic system.

These ten contributions, elaborated by Italian and Hungarian scholars as part of the bilateral project, serve to reinforce the bonds of scientific collaboration and academic discourse between two European regions that are, on the surface, markedly disparate, yet which have, over the course of centuries, shared a profound and intricate historical connection. The subjects addressed, pertaining to the Mediterranean history conceived as a setting for personal, cultural and material encounters and exchanges, can undoubtedly serve as the basis for further and valuable initiatives, including meetings and scholarly conferences, as well as research on the themes of the relationship between Southern Italy and Hungary¹. We would like to express our gratitude to our institutions, CNR in Naples and MTA in Budapest, for their annual financial contribution, which has made it possible for scholars in the two cities to engage in scientific cooperation. The result of this collaboration is the present volume, which we recommend to all those interested in the new research on Italian-Hungarian history and relations, including scholars and members of civil society.

¹ The project of which this volume is the result was followed by a second bilateral project on *Networking transnational relations (and cultural transfer) between Buda and Naples from the 14th to the 18th century*, currently active (years 2023-2025).

CIRCULATION OF GOODS

«CHE MALADETTE SIINO QUEST'ANO LE SPEZIE!»¹. INSIGHTS ON THE MEDIEVAL SPICE TRADE FROM THE DATINI ARCHIVE*

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Assuming that this term encompasses, in a broad sense, the aromas, it can be said that men made use of spices from the most ancient antiquity: not only to make their food tastier, but also to make their medicines and the many substances intended for the embellishment of the body more effective and pleasant; and to honor with the grace of fragrance their deities as well. And so intense has been the taste for spices among men, that they were not contented with those offered spontaneously by their respective regions, and desired to obtain even those from faraway territories, at the cost of outrageous expenses and innumerable risks. This is how the spice trade came to be, a trade which at certain periods gained considerable proportions, involving a large number of caravaners, sailors, and dealers, and gaining the attention of the state for the imposition of taxes, the regulation of prices, and surveillance (LUZZATTO 1936).

1. Introduction

This paper reflects on the importance of the trading of spices within the affairs of famous Prato merchant and entrepreneur Francesco Datini. Established across Europe in the second half of the 14th century, his companies mainly commercialized products such as weapons

* This essay is the result of a research collaboration between the two authors. The first and the second paragraphs were written by Ilaria Zilli, the third and the fourth by Maria Giagnacovo, and the fifth and conclusion were written by both. Where not available in English, cited texts and the content of the Datini Archive were translated by the authors.

¹ Archivio di Stato di Prato (ASPO), *Datini*, b. 183, letter Genoa-Avignon, comp. Ambrogio di Meo Boni, 6(08)/10/1385.

and “merce”², wool, hides and leather, woad and kermes³. However, the spice trade, even if it was a less prominent part of his business, played a significant role in the success of his companies.

The Datini Archive is probably the richest surviving mercantile archive of the 14th century⁴. From its papers, emerges the great care with which Datini followed the economic trends of his time, amongst them the growing interest shown in European trade towards the “exotic” merchandise that were spices; a trend he did not overlook. In the Middle Ages, spices were, in fact, an essential component of the food consumption in Western Europe. Despite their elevated price, they were high in demand, making their trade highly rewarding for merchants.

There is an extensive and long-established historiography of the spice trade in medieval centuries. It is not our intention to give an exhaustive account of it here; it suffices to say that from Heyd’s pioneering studies⁵ dating from the early twentieth century, to Ashtor’s later studies⁶, and Freedman’s more recent work⁷; the history of spices, their circulation, and diffusion, has attracted, and continues to attract the interest of many scholars, especially economic historians. Coming from distant worlds, still unknown to Europeans and often shrouded in myths, spices reached the markets of the Old Continent following land and sea routes that ended on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. This Sea, described by Fernand Braudel as a crossroads of continents, civilizations, and the Western, Islamic and Byzantine cultures⁸; allowed, for a constant exchange of men and goods over the centuries. Through it, spices arrived in Venice and Genoa, unloaded from merchants’ ships to be further distributed between other European cities and markets⁹.

As mentioned by Gino Luzzato in the Treccani Encyclopedia entry cited as the epigraph of this paper, spices were widespread and appreciated since the antiquity in

² “For the Tuscans “merce” was an incredible range of metal products for various purposes”: FRANGIONI 2010, 275, note 3.

³ For merchandise bought and sold by Datini’s companies see: BRAUNSTEIN 2001, 455-479; DI STEFANO 2009; FIORENTINO 2007; FIORENTINO 2015; FRANGIONI 1977, 493-554 FRANGIONI 1987, 145-171; FRANGIONI 1991, 273-286; FRANGIONI 1995a, 223-250; FRANGIONI 1995b; FRANGIONI 2002; GIAGNACOVO 2005, 132-222; GIAGNACOVO 2006, 71-92; ORLANDI 2010a, 377-383; ORLANDI 2014a, 307-324; ORLANDI 2021a, 63-75; SPALLANZANI 2010, 385-392.

⁴ On Francesco Datini Archive see: CAMESASCA 2019, 17-29; DINI 1991, 45-58; MELIS 1962, 3-28; TOCCAFONDI 2004, XVII-XXIX; TOCCAFONDI 2012, 245-255.

⁵ HEYD 1913.

⁶ ASHTOR 1975, 250-275; ASHTOR 1978; ASHTOR 1980, 753-763; ASHTOR 1983; ASHTOR 1985, 15-63; ASHTOR 1986a; ASHTOR 1986b, 26-41.

⁷ FREEDMAN 2009; FREEDMAN 2015a, 47-53; FREEDMAN 2015b, 289-302.

⁸ BRAUDEL 2010. MALAMUT, OUERFELLI 2012.

⁹ MALAMUT, OUERFELLI 2012.

Mediterranean Europe. It's important to clarify, however, that in these times, the term spices, from the Latin *species*, meaning “a special or valuable commodity as opposed to ordinary goods”¹⁰; encompassed a much wider variety of goods than it does today. For instance, the commercial manual of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, written before 1340, contains a list of no less than 288 spices including: fragrant plants, animal products – some edible, others used as medicines or perfumes – wax, alum, coral, lead and copper¹¹. This is to say that the term was used in a very broad sense in the Middle Ages. The orders placed by *speziali* to Francesco Datini attest of that. *Speziali* were apothecaries who sold spices and prepared medicines with them. For instance, records show that in May 1392, Bernardo Bonsi and his partners ordered a long list of products from Datini newly opened business in Genoa, to supply their apothecary shop in Florence. These included, to name but a few, “clear and fresh glue”, clove-stalks, hepatic aloe that is “clean and of good colour”, Socotrine aloe “that is clean and shiny”, white and clean “draghanti” or Tragacanth, aloe wood in small pieces, red sandalwood “that is of good colour”, dried citron peels that “are not moth-eaten”, verdigris that is “dry”¹². As we can see, the oriental origin of a merchandise was often enough of a criterion to define it as a spice¹³.

In this paper, we have chosen to consider only a few of the many spices being traded by Francesco Datini business system. We will focus specifically on those defined by Paul Freedman as edible spices¹⁴, namely pepper, ginger, nutmeg, clove and cinnamon, giving pepper a particular attention. These spices were copiously used among the wealthy in medieval Europe, making them characteristic of the elite cuisine of the Middle Ages¹⁵. This is confirmed by the account books – those of the Papal court¹⁶, of aristocratic families¹⁷, and of some prestigious Magistracies such as, for example, the Priory of Florence – but also by the cookbooks of the times¹⁸.

Arriving from the Levant and the Far East through a complex commercial intermediation network involving Arab and Tartar merchants¹⁹; these luxury goods, because of their high demand in western European markets, attracted the interest of all merchants who, like Francesco Datini, engaged in long-range trade. We know that Datini purchased

¹⁰ BRUNELLO 1986, 33.

¹¹ CIASCA 1927, 370; FREEDMAN 2009, 21-22.

¹² ASPO, *Datini*, b. 755, letter Florence-Genoa, comp. Bernardo di Ugolino Bonsi, apothecaries, 22/05/1392.

¹³ BALARD 2017, 291.

¹⁴ FREEDMAN 2009, 22-25.

¹⁵ See, for example, LAURIOUX 1983, 15-31; LAURIOUX 1985, 43-79; FREEDMAN 2009, 31-65.

¹⁶ ALIQUOT 1984, 131-150.

¹⁷ ABBOT 2012; NASO 1999, 107-108.

¹⁸ GRIECO 2021, 335-352.

¹⁹ BALARD 1978, 719.

pepper, ginger, cloves and other spices in Venice and Genoa principally. The complex trade network that brought spices from the Far East and the Middle East to the markets of the eastern Mediterranean remained the same from the Roman era²⁰ up to the dawn of the modern age, when Bartolomeo Diaz's venture opened a direct sea route to the East Indies.

For many centuries, therefore, spices traveled to the Mediterranean from their countries of origin along the Black Sea to Byzantium and Asia Minor, on northern routes; via Petra and the cities of Syria further south; and through Egypt, the Red Sea and the Nile on southern routes (Fig. 1). Over this period, the Mediterranean maintained a central role in the traffic of these products from East to West. This explains why many merchants, with large capital at their disposal, who were engaged in extensive trade and belonged to a network of information spread over that geographical area, were involved in the trade of these goods.



Fig. 1. Medieval spice trade map, 1100-1500 AC (Thricolome, CC BY-SA4.0).

²⁰ BELFIORE 2004; BELFIORE, PURPURA 2006, 66-69; INNES MILLER 1973.

In the pages that follow, we will show, through a series of examples, how the Datini Archive offers new insights into the spice trade in the Middle Ages. Based on the data gathered in the archive, we will outline the numerous factors that influenced spices price trends and made their trade profitable but simultaneously very risky for European merchants.

2. Europe in the late 14th century, as seen from Prato

Recent decades have seen many studies dedicated to Francesco Datini and to his business system which extended outside the Italian peninsula. Federigo Melis was, however, the first historian to deeply explore Datini's business archive, focusing his attention not only on account books but also on the protagonists of Datini's business achievements, that is: "the companies and the men who ran them"²¹. Melis' research therefore extended to the life and the activities of the Prato merchant and his partners. It told the story of this merchant-entrepreneur and of his companies while inserting them in the economic context of their time. By using Datini papers to reconstruct and explain the economic choices and developments of his companies from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective, Melis emphasized the importance of quantitative instruments for economic analysis. For example, he shed light on the commercial techniques and on the evolution of the accounting practices of the time²². His studies introduced a method of enquiry in which economic behaviour is examined and interpreted from the point of view of those who are embedded in the world of business: "men for whom the urge to earn money was not purely a desire for a personal wealth but also a product of the company model that they themselves had set up"²³.

Thanks to the Datini Archive, which contains over 150,000 business letters and more than 600 account books²⁴, we know how Francesco lived²⁵ and we can analyse how his wide company system was ran and operated between 1383 and 1396. But that is not all. This archive, which is the primary source of our research, has constituted and still constitutes a fundamental starting point for studies on the economic and social context of the second half of the 14th century, providing a sort of open window onto that world. Datini company system in its golden era (1398-1399) was composed of sole trading companies in Florence and Prato, trading companies in Avignon, Florence, Pisa, Genoa

²¹ NIGRO 2010b, XIII.

²² See MELIS 1950, and some more recent articles: ALEINIKOV 2020, 374-386; GURSKAJA, KUTER, ALEINIKOV 2020, 91-102; KUTER, BAKER, GURSKAJA 2022, 15-28; KUTER, GURSKAJA, ALEINIKOV 2020, 7-35; KUTER, GURSKAJA, BAGDASARYAN 2020, 117-130; ORLANDI 2021b, 534-551.

²³ NIGRO 2010b, XIV.

²⁴ See Note 4. All letters may be consulted online in the Research section of the databank of the State Archive of Prato.

²⁵ See CASSANDRO 2010, 3-51; MELIS 1962, 45-121; NANNI 2010; ORIGO 1979.

and Catalonia (Barcelona, Valencia and Majorca)²⁶, manufacturing companies (the Wool Workshop and the Dyeing Workshop, both based in Prato)²⁷, a banking company in Florence²⁸ and a temporary business association (the so-called *veli* company, a joint venture with Domenico di Cambio for trading *veli* or cotton cloth)²⁹. Recently, the entrepreneurial history of the Datini system has been re-read through some business science theories. For instance, an attempt has been made, using Social Network Analysis, to demonstrate how the competitiveness of the Prato merchant's company system relied on his ability to create and/or insert his companies in extensive networks constituted by Tuscan companies and businessmen, foreign merchants, institutions, and merchants from different geographical, social, economic and political contexts³⁰. In fact, Datini companies were embedded within a large network of commercial relationships and correspondents, based on information sharing, reciprocity and solidarity. This allowed them to establish their presence, trading a wide variety of goods, in many emporiums across the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and Europe. This wide-ranging network was supported by a sustained letter exchange that ensured the circulation of economic and non-economic information, and which proved indispensable to the strategic business planning of the Datini group³¹. The efficiency and size of the network would affect the quality and the volume of information exchanged, showing that the commercial successes of the Datini company system "were also the result of the geographical and quantitative dimension" of the partnerships and business relationships the group could activate and maintain over time, thanks to a crucial letter exchange between merchants and, by extension, with other companies³².

Angela Orlandi's analysis of the correspondence received by the Company of Catalonia, which she did with the Netdraw programme, is a good example of this. She retraced the nodal points and members of the Company of Catalonia's geographically diffuse network, revealing how a large number of correspondents were primordial to the strategic plans of the three offices in which it was divided. The application of this model, as the author herself emphasizes, does not however reveal the direct and personal relationships that Francesco Datini men had with merchants from other localities, especially with Majorca traders who, it is known, traded actively with Barbary. These ties, which were fundamental to the infiltration of the Datini group in the North African markets, emerge instead from the content of the

²⁶ On the divided company of Catalonia and its special feature see ORLANDI 2010b, 347-376.

²⁷ On Datini's involment in textile manufacture see AMMANNATI 2010, 489-514.

²⁸ NIGRO 2010c, 515-527.

²⁹ On the business structure of Datini company system see MELIS 1962, 125-134; NIGRO 2010a, 237-238.

³⁰ ORLANDI 2014b, 81-106; ORLANDI 2016, 117-148; ORLANDI 2017, 395-410.

³¹ On information relevance on decision making of late medieval companies see FRANGIONI 1996; GIAGNACOVO 2009, 163-199; GUIDI BRUSCOLI 2011, 119-146.

³² ORLANDI 2016, 124.

letters. More generally, the choice to invest in personal and commercial relationships with local merchants, instead of opening new offices, was instrumental to successfully doing business on foreign markets that were regulated by specific rules and customs³³, such as the Barbary market. In light of some modern business sciences theories (Resource Based View of the Firm, Agency Theory, Stewardship/Stagnation Theory), the corporate and management choices of the Datini group, such as those concerning its governance, have revisited the question the so-called “family effect” on company’s performance and can be considered as an *ante litteram* example of a “«light» network organisation, (...) much more functional than the «heavy» hierarchically organised”³⁴, that appeared in Europe to relaunch long-distance trade after the Black Death in 1348. In fact, the Datini group represents the first known case of the so-called *Sistema di aziende*: “the company system which was the forerunner of the holding company”³⁵.

In the Tuscan context at the end of the Middle Ages, the family still played an important role in the setting up and in the constitution of the capital of a company. However, the story of the Prato merchant and of his company system allows us to assert that the family alone was no longer a key factor or a binding factor of economic success. In order to build up his group, Francesco Datini, with no family members to involve, was able to select a group of highly skilled employees among his circle of friends and acquaintances. This “human capital with high skills, willingness to take risks and business expertise”³⁶ has been one of the Datini company system’s strengths. Their abilities, reliability, and dedication, led some of Francesco’s employees to take on high-ranking roles in his company system, reaching, for some, the rank of partner. They were involved in business management and decisions and earned shares of his profits according not only to the sum they invested in the business, but also to the work and the expertise they contributed to its success³⁷. The letters he wrote to his partners and collaborators illustrate Datini’s determination to reach “a reasonable consensus with (them), respecting interpersonal relationships (trust) and the institutional context (the purpose and stability of his company system)”³⁸. This outlines the competitive advantages of the system set up by Francesco Datini. Breaking away from the medieval tradition, which was more imbricated in hierarchies and rigid rules, Datini demonstrated he was capable of strong pragmatism when taking decisions and of accurately evaluating the

³³ HOUSSAYE MICHIEZI 2007, 569-594; HOUSSAYE MICHIEZI 2012, 49-178; HOUSSAYE MICHIEZI 2010, 67-84; ORLANDI 2016, 125-142.

³⁴ POLONI 2021, 21.

³⁵ NIGRO 2010a, 239.

³⁶ ORLANDI 2016, 118.

³⁷ ORLANDI 2014b; ORLANDI 2017; SANESI 2018.

³⁸ NANNI 2020, 55.

people and contexts in which he moved. We can then say that the Datini records, because they reflect this innovative way of doing business, constitute an open window onto the world – economic and otherwise – of the late Middle Ages. At the same time, these records also testify to a particular entrepreneurial spirit and to a propensity for innovation, resulting from a combination of economic, social, and cultural factors that Gianpiero Nigro has referred to as the “Florence factor”³⁹.

As the Datini group’s organizational system shows it, in the late Middle Ages, Tuscan companies emerged who relied on efficient work organization and the enhancement of human capital. This *modus operandi* constituted in turn a stimulus for innovation in accounting practices, and a promotion of efficiency as a management tool for business activities.

3. Datini’s company system and the spice trade

It is well known that the absence of commercial specialization was a common characteristic of great late medieval firms. Indeed, in search for any opportunity to earn a profit, these firms would invest in a large variety of goods. For this reason, medieval companies had to be present in many supply, distribution and sales markets, with their own *fondaci*⁴⁰ or, as was often the case, by means of collaboration and trade relations with other merchants. The Datini company group did not escape this rule, even though its trade and mercantile interests laid mainly in the Western Mediterranean⁴¹ and despite having a lesser involvement in the spice trade and with the Near East⁴². In the city of Avignon – the residential city of seven popes during the Avignon Papacy and of antipopes during the years of Papal Schism; also, the place where Datini’s economic success began – the merchant focused on the trade of arms, metal goods and fustians. There, it chose not to trade spices because, as Boninsegna di Matteo, director and partner of the Avignon company said it:

I don’t know about spices and I’m not knowledgeable about it all. It’s a trade I don’t like and I’m too busy with our workshop’s affairs to involve myself in it (...). It seems to me that the spice trade needs great solicitude in writing and having news from

³⁹ NIGRO 2015, 40.

⁴⁰ *Fondaco* was a store or private warehouse where goods are stored and sold. EDLER 1934, 127.

⁴¹ MELIS 1962, 107-110; NIGRO 2010a, 231-243. On Genoa’s strategic role in extending Datini’s sphere of economic interest in Western Mediterranean see GIAGNACOVO 2010, 321-322; GIAGNACOVO 2005, 59-78.

⁴² HAYEZ 2022, 176.

every place and needs that one being where the spices are sold together with the merchants who trade them⁴³.

According to the merchants of the time themselves, trading spices demanded a great effort and required constant up-to-date information on the factors that influenced their prices such as political and economic events or plague epidemics, for instance. This is why, as mentioned before, the spice trade involved a high risk but often brought great rewards. In fact, Francesco Datini kept trading spices in multiple markets, sometimes, like in Avignon, with the support of local companies “accustomed to the buying and selling of spices”⁴⁴. In Avignon Datini relied on Francesco Benini and Niccolao di Bonaccorso, who had great experience as apothecaries⁴⁵. The Datini Archive, therefore provides us with a great deal of information on the circulation of spices in the Mediterranean in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. They also offer details about the availability and price of spices in the main Italian and European emporiums, as well as a great deal of information on factors that could influence supply, demand, and price trends. This is to say that the Datini Archive is full of documents that are not only descriptive but also useful for statistical-quantitative processing. In fact, several scholars have studied the *carichi di nave* (Fig. 2-3) or ship cargoes (also called bills of lading), from supply markets located on the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean⁴⁶, to examine the spice routes across this sea at the end of the fourteenth century. The ship cargoes, originally attached to a letter, recorded what was loaded onto a ship, listing the number of containers and packaging typical of the time (box, bundle, case, bale, pack), per type of good⁴⁷. The information regarding shipment was recorded by

⁴³ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 745, letter Avignon-Genoa, Francesco di Marco Datini and Bassano da Pessina, 7/03/1392.

⁴⁴ In Avignon Datini used the company of Francesco Benini and Niccolao di Bonaccorso di Tano da Prato to trade spices (ASPO, *Datini*, b. 655, letter Genoa-Florence, comp. Francesco di Marco Datini e Andrea di Bonanno, 25/03/1392): but other companies had also offered themselves as privileged intermediaries to the Prato merchant to buy and sell spices on the Avignon market. Among them was Andrea di Tieri's company, which brag of having abilities and expertise in the spice trade equal to those of the Datini company in Avignon in the arms and metal products trade: “we think to make you earn large profit in trading spice, but we are not able to do the same in selling a bascinet (it was the most widespread head protection)”. ASPO, *Datini*, b. 745, letter Avignon-Genoa, comp. Andrea di Tieri, 11/12/1393 and 17/01/1394.

⁴⁵ Niccolao di Bonaccorso di Tano da Prato, a fellow citizen of Francesco Datini, was one of his main correspondents from Avignon. Initially Francesco supported him financially to set up joint ventures specialised in spice trade, which were concluded without luck and profits. The relationship between Niccolao and the Datini company system, closer while Niccolao was a partner of Benini (1392-1396), gradually weakened: after 1401, their correspondence became more sporadic. HAYEZ 1994, 69-71.

⁴⁶ See HEERS 1955, 157-209; OUELFELLI 2018, 20-30.

⁴⁷ MELIS 1972, 39. Some *carichi* are given on pp. 322-328.

1782 9301418

Charrigo de Gheto-Dalestida
 ia venona abimelia qzq ds
 ionano

+ pepe	no	840
+ zingio	no	118
+ incenso	no	1
+ polt	no	1
+ pice	no	1
+ cande verde	no	2
+ zingio	no	1
+ hosto	no	2
+ fiore de carnata	no	1
+ cloa	no	1
+ Induco	no	8
+ denti	no	2
+ zuche maciato	no	79
+ Cardenio	no	957
+ Carnata	no	2
Incensida	no	2
+ pepe	no	12
+ cloa	no	1
Modone	no	1
+ feta	no	37
+ pepe	no	69
+ Crema	no	2
+ Canaxo	no	1
+ Carnata	no	12
+ Chardamom	no	1

para del galata de Syria
 d'loro an 9301540

pepe	no	60
zingio	no	255
zand	no	215
zingio	no	85
zand	no	5
zingio	no	82
zingio	no	20
zingio	no	7
zingio	no	15
zingio	no	40
zingio	no	11
zingio	no	25
zingio	no	20
zingio	no	14
zingio	no	244
zingio	no	5
zingio	no	40
zingio	no	4
zingio	no	2
zingio	no	1
zingio	no	3
zingio	no	26
zingio	no	310
zingio	no	16
zingio	no	6
zingio	no	5
zingio	no	20
zingio	no	40
zingio	no	12

Fig. 2. Cargo ship of two galleys arrived in Venice from Alexandria with pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon and other spices ASPO, *Datini*, b. 1171, 24th January 1383 [1384]. Any further utilisation of the reproduction is expressly forbidden.

Fig. 3. Cargo ship of galleys arrived in Genoa from Syria with pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon and other spices. ASPO, *Datini*, b. 1171, no date. Any further utilisation of the reproduction is expressly forbidden.

captains or scribes destined to the merchants when ships arrived to port or, sometimes, even before they docked and unloaded. Merchants who were aware in advance of what a ship was carrying and when it was likely to arrive were in a better position than their competitors to predict future changes in supply and price fluctuations. To help their network of business correspondents plan cost-effective strategies and investments⁴⁸, merchants were thus prompt to share these lists with them. Ship cargoes record show that in Datini's time spices were available in abundance on the main eastern Mediterranean supply markets from which they were imported to Europe. In their correspondence the merchants in Francesco Datini's network often described this great availability of spices and their concerns about the negative impact of such an excess supply on prices.

However, for as insightful as they are, these ship cargoes and correspondence do not allow us to precisely calculate the exact amounts of spices transported on the ships arriving from eastern Mediterranean, neither do they give us a realistic idea of pepper quantities and of the different qualities of ginger that might have been available on the most important European commercial emporiums. There are various reasons to this. First: some ship cargoes are undated⁴⁹. Second: the ship cargoes preserved in the Datini Archive alone, do not enable us to calculate the total volume of spices that arrived to their various destination markets, including Venice and Genoa, through the commercial routes in the Mediterranean. Third: ship cargoes list the number of *pondi*, the most commonly used packaging for spices in the late medieval Mediterranean⁵⁰, but not their weight; and we know that the weight of a *pondo* of pepper or cinnamon could be quite variable. In fact, Jacques Heers suggests that a *pondo* was equal to 288 pounds in Genoa (approximately 91 kilograms)⁵¹, whereas Elyahu Ashtor supposes that a *pondo* doesn't mean the same as a *collo* and that the Egyptian *pondo* was heavier than the Syrian one⁵². Francesco Datini's letters and accounting books, give us yet other information. They report, for instance, that the *pondi* of pepper prepared in Genoa to be sent to Pisa usually weighed 500 *libbre* (pounds), or about 158 kilograms, while the weight of the bales ranged from 250 to 260 *libbre* (79-82 kilograms)⁵³. Considering these weight variations of the *pondo*, we can only assume that the *pondi* of pepper loaded on ships coming from the eastern Mediterranean or Romania had different sizes, shapes, and therefore weights, than those packed with great care at their port of arrival before being sent

⁴⁸ GIAGNACOVO 2014, 48-49.

⁴⁹ ASHTOR 1978, 573-612, 579; OUERFELLI 2018, 24.

⁵⁰ ASHTOR 1978, 575.

⁵¹ HEERS 1995, 182-183. Heers equated the light Genoese pound to about 316 grams. This equivalence has also been suggested by ROCCA 1871, 117. More recently it has been pointed out that about 317 grams for a Genoese pound is the most frequent value over the centuries: see BORZONE 1982, 46.

⁵² ASHTOR 1983, 181-182; ASHTOR 1980, 574-578.

⁵³ GIAGNACOVO 2014, 250-251.

to their destination market. Using the measure of a *pondo* proposed by Heers, we can roughly estimate the amount of pepper and ginger unloaded in the port of Genoa from ships arriving from Egypt, Syria and Romania, in the years from which the Datini's ship cargoes have been preserved (1380, 1383-1387, 1391-1392, 1394-1398, 1401). Based only on the *carichi* that were dated, we found that, in this period, a total of 4,493 *pondi* of pepper, and 2,511 *pondi* of ginger⁵⁴, which amount respectively to about 411 tons and almost 230 tons, arrived in Genoa. If we include undated ship cargoes to this calculation and consider all of Genoa's *carichi*, we obtain higher total quantities: around 460 tons of pepper and 366 tons of ginger. This is a partial result, which is not representative of the quantity of spices that arrived in the same years via the Mediterranean on European markets, since it only offers an approximate idea of the availability of these spices for the Genoese emporiums.

Even if we used the *carichi* of the Datini Archive, for the ships reaching Venice from the Levant in that period, and calculated the quantities of spices reaching Venice, it would still be impossible to use the Datini Archive to estimate the overall supply of pepper and ginger carried via the Mediterranean to European markets. Nevertheless, the data from the documents it contains, provides us with important information. Firstly, they tell us that at the end of the fourteenth century large supplies of spices were still arriving regularly to the port of Genoa, despite the fact of Genoa having diversified its trade, over the course of that century, to base it mainly on raw materials and bulky, low-value goods, destined to the western Mediterranean and the North Sea⁵⁵. Secondly, the Datini records show that, in the last decade of the fourteenth century, Venice had a higher volume of trade with Eastern Mediterranean ports than Genoa did.

Venice, who had built its economic success on trade with the Levant, made large investments in spices, buying pepper, ginger and other such commodities in Egypt and Syria, to the value of thousands and thousands of dinars⁵⁶. According to Datini's paper, the supply of spices, especially of pepper and ginger, available on markets to late medieval European consumers, was large and regular. Mohamed Ouerfelli estimates that if we add the imports of smaller trading nations such as Pisa, Majorca and Ragusa to those of Genoa and Venice,

⁵⁴ *Carichi* often list the sum total of different qualities of ginger, without distinguishing between them. We did the same to calculate the quantities of ginger arrived in the Genoa market. We did not take into account "green ginger," that "seems to have been a kind of fresh ginger cooked and preserved in syrup" (GRIECO 2021, 330-331), ginger "in lemon water" fresh ginger and candied ginger (*gengiovo confetto*).

⁵⁵ See BASSO 2008; CHIAPPA MAURI 1973, 571-612; DOEHAERD 1938, 5-76; HEERS 1984; IGUAL LUIS 1992, 76-116; JEHEL 1993; LOPEZ 1975, 281-288; NICOLINI 2007, 215-327; PETTI BALBI 2002, 503-526; RÍOS TOLEDANO 2018, 271-293; RÍOS TOLEDANO 2019, 81-111.

⁵⁶ ASHTOR 1983, 182-188.

we can estimate that Europe imported about a thousand tons of spices annually⁵⁷. Data recovered from Datini's letters and from *valute di mercanzia*, which were records of the price of spices and other goods on a particular day in a particular city⁵⁸, also contribute to this idea that a large supply of spices was available in the European emporiums of the time⁵⁹.

In the last decades of the fourteenth century, European merchants were purchasing most spices from Levantine markets. By the middle of the century, in fact, the Mediterranean, Egyptian and Syrian ports had once again become central to the spice trade and the supply of European markets. The sack of Alexandria in 1365 led to the breaking off the commercial ties with the Mamelukes dominions and to the blockade of the trading routes of the Black Sea and Persia passing from Tana and Trebizond to get into central Asia. It's only in 1370, when the sultan of Cairo and the king of Cyprus made peace, that Western merchants restarted purchasing spices on eastern Mediterranean emporiums. Venetians, Genoese and other trading nations of Europe "began to renew their activities in Egypt and Syria", mainly in Alexandria, Beirut and Damascus, to where spices were carried "on different routes connecting the ports of the Red Sea with Cairo and Alexandria and those of the Persian Gulf with the trading towns of Syria"⁶⁰. The volume of the European's spice trade with Egypt and Syria was therefore increasing, while the Genoese and Venetian's spice trade with the Black Sea and Romania was decreasing greatly: it was "no more than a trickle"⁶¹, according to the *carichi* of the ships coming from the Black Sea and the Greek ports which carried a few spices⁶². At the end of the 14th century, however, only "a trickle of the Asian spice movement"⁶³ was reaching the shores of the Black Sea.

Pepper sold in the European markets was bought mainly in Alexandria⁶⁴. As the merchants of the time well knew, the price of pepper in the Egyptian emporium influenced

⁵⁷ OUFELLI 2018, 28. On the value and importance of trade with the Levant in the last decades of the 14th century see ASHTOR 1983, 180-199.

⁵⁸ MELIS 1972, 38-39.

⁵⁹ These documents, provides a wealth of data for wholesale spice prices on the main European market cities of the time such as Venice, Genoa, Avignon, Montpellier and Barcelona. To get a database large enough to be of significance for economic and quantitative analysis, using Datini Archive, is a very hard work that no scholar has ever carried out.

⁶⁰ ASHTOR 1983, 101-114.

⁶¹ ASHTOR 1983, 104.

⁶² HEERS 1984, 170, 173.

⁶³ BALARD 1978, 719-722.

⁶⁴ It is the dried berry of *Piper nigrum Linnaeus* (BRUNELLO 1986, 55), which is indicated in Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's commercial manual as black pepper, i.e. the whole dried fruit. According to Pegolotti, the best quality pepper had to be well dried and separated from impurities: BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 360. To preserve the quality of the pepper, it had to be carefully packed to prevent it from getting wet during shipping it long distance: GIAGNACOVO 2014, 250-251.

the trend of its quotations in Venice and Genoa and the investments in its purchase. “I think pepper remains expensive because in Alexandria it was worth 70 *bisanti* (dinars) and so here it will cost between 18 ½ and 19 [*lire*]⁶⁵.

Pepper was certainly one of the spices most traded by the Datini companies. The merchant from Prato and his companies mainly bought spices in Genoa and in Venice where he had not, however, opened his own company, as he had done in Genoa in 1392⁶⁶, or kept regular employees. In Venice, the Datini group relied specifically on Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi, whose company was based in the Rialto. Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi exchanged a prolific correspondence with the Datini’s companies over the years, and played an important role in the bulk of their trading activities in Venice, which focused on the acquisition of spices and other expensive oriental goods arrived by convoys from Alexandria and Syria. The Davanzati and Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti companies, both also active in Venice, were instead mainly entrusted with the Datini group’s banking and financial activities⁶⁷.

4. The value of information in the spice trade

At the time, Venice was a strategic and important marketplace for large trading companies. It was a market presenting plenty of opportunities for merchants to invest large sums of money in a wide range of merchandises. Moreover, news and trends would reach Venice from all corners of the Mediterranean and the lands bordering it. Collected by the merchants, this information was readily shared with their network of business correspondents⁶⁸. In fact, in order to act wisely, late medieval firms needed timely and correct information. Having up-to-date information gave companies the ability to conclude successful mercantile and financial transactions, to plan business strategies, and to anticipate changes in demand and markets when making decisions. Then, as now, the gathering of exact and up-to-date information was a fundamental condition to the success or failure of a business. Medieval merchants were well aware of this, especially those active in the spice trade since it required, in their view, “great diligence in writing and having news from every place”⁶⁹. Venetian merchants generally had access to a wider range of information than other European merchants regarding the ensemble of the Mediterranean markets and products because, as

⁶⁵ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 651, letter Genoa-Florence, comp. Ambrogio di Meo Boni, 2(04)/11/1387.

⁶⁶ On the origin and the history of Genoa Company see: GIAGNACOVO 2010, 321-346; MELIS 1962, 225-236.

⁶⁷ MELIS 1962, 219; NIGRO 2010, 245.

⁶⁸ CONGDON 1997, 157-171. On the value of information and an exchange letters network based on economic and personal relations to decide which merchandise to invest in see: FRANGIONI 1996; GUIDI BRUSCOLI 2011, 119-146; GIAGNACOVO 2009, 163-169; HAYEZ 2004, 113-134; ORLANDI 2016, 117-148. PALERMO 2020, 69-86.

⁶⁹ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 745, letter Avignon-Genoa, Francesco di Marco Datini e Bassano da Pessina, 7/03/1392.

Eleanor Congdon points, in the late fourteenth century the city “was an excellent ‘listening post’ for events from all over, which might affect merchants”⁷⁰. Indeed, ships sailed regularly to Venice from the main ports of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, loaded with goods but also with letters containing both economic and other information. Those who wanted up-to-date news about what was happening in the Levant, therefore, had to have one or more trusted correspondents in Venice⁷¹. Wartimes and battles, social-political events, plagues, piracy, corsairs war, and even baseless rumours, whether they were intentionally spread or not carefully checked, usually had an impact on market trends, price fluctuations, and the strategies of companies⁷². For merchants who traded spices, the need to have information about the Levantine markets’ supply availability, the prices of spices, as well as any events that would prevent Western ships from transporting spices, was even stronger. As the contents of the Datini Archive highlight it, merchants involved in international trade were interested in all information coming from across the Mediterranean. The content of the letters through which this information reached them was a key factor when deciding the right time to invest money in the spice trade (Fig. 4).

In the late summer 1384, for example, a letter from Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi mentions a ship sailing to Venice from Candia, and carrying letters written some time before in Damascus – Syria’s main trading centre and the destination of caravans laden with spices and silk from Mecca, Central Asia, Baghdad, Sultana and Tabriz. These letters – he wrote – reported that there were “spices of all kinds in abundance and that a caravan with a large quantity of spices was expected to arrive any day now”⁷³. A few days later – Zanobi carries on saying – other ships from Candia had docked in Venice, bringing more recent letters. In one of them, dated 10 August 1384, there is news of the arrival in Damascus of a caravan loaded with a large quantity of merchandise. Despite this, the price of many goods in Damascus had suddenly increased due to the presence of the Venetian ships: “everything had risen from 6 to 10 per cent”⁷⁴. The letter also reports the prices of spices that had risen – “Pepper had increased to 1340 dirhams, sugars to 1350, cloves to 75, nutmegs to 53” – and the quantities of spices purchased by the Venetians:

⁷⁰ CONGDON 1997, 163-164.

⁷¹ MOUKARZEL 2017, 216

⁷² See GIAGNACOVO 2021, 25-38; PALERMO 2020, 75-86. Regarding the effects of the recurring passage of the plague on the markets of Avignon and Genoa see GIAGNACOVO 2022, 59-96; GIAGNACOVO 2000, 97-131. On the Sicilian market see VENTURA 1994, 727-728. On the question of why spices were very expensive in medieval Europe see also FREEDMAN 2009, 151-169.

⁷³ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 548, letter Venice-Pisa, Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi, 18/09/1384.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

about 350 *chantare*⁷⁵ of pepper, a 100 of ginger *colombini* and *belledi*, 30 of *michini*⁷⁶, 400 of sugars; some say it was a much greater quantity and that it was of very bad quality; and 20 *chantare* of *verzini*⁷⁷, some even say it was around 30, which would be too much; and also 20 *chantare* of walnuts and 20 of cloves⁷⁸.

Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi also added information from other letters, dated from July 26, and that reached Venice from Alexandria via Candia. Those letters contained another important information: a caravan carrying many spices would arrive in Alexandria within a few days, it also said that on July 26, 1384, pepper was quoted on that marketplace “63 *bisanti*, which is a great price to purchase”⁷⁹.

This kind of letter exchange between merchants, especially those involving Venice and Genoa, shed light on all the events that could influence, directly and indirectly, the trade and price of spices in the Levantine markets, and consequently in the European markets. In fact, “the prices on the spice markets in Venice, Genoa, and Barcelona (...) corresponded to the fluctuations on the Levantine markets”⁸⁰. That’s why Datini’s letters carefully follow the westward advance of Tamerlane, who had sowed ruins from central Russia to northern India, from the borders of China to Asia Minor and Syria, going so far as to threaten the Ottoman rule⁸¹. Ships returning from Alexandria, Rhodes, and Candia brought news to Venice of Tamerlane’s conquest of Syria and destruction of Damascus. This news spread quickly through the letters exchanged within the network of the Datini companies. From Venice and Genoa, where it had arrived between January and February 1401, it spread to the most important trading marketplaces of the time in a matter of months. We know, however, that news of the occupation of Syria had reached Genoa as early as September 1400, transmitted

⁷⁵ It was an unit of measurement.

⁷⁶ *Colombino*, *michino* and *belledi* are three different types of ginger. *Colombino* was imported from Quilon or Kolam on the Malabar coast in Travancore, while *michino* was sourced from «le contrade della Mecca», as noted by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. It is likely that *michino* is ginger that passed through Mecca rather than being a product of the area itself. *Belledi* is the prevalent ginger variety found on the west coast of India. BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 419.

⁷⁷ Brazil-wood. BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 433.

⁷⁸ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 548, letter Venice-Pisa, Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi, 18/09/1384.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁰ ASHTOR 1983, 169.

⁸¹ On these events and the figure of Tamerlane see PIEMONTESE 1996, 213-226; FISCHER 1956, 201-232; FORBES MANZ 1989; KNOBLER 1995, 314-349.

from Venice using “fanti propri”⁸². Venetian merchants considered these events in terms of their business and took advantage of a certain information asymmetry. They knew more about what was happening and could anticipate the price increase of certain goods ahead of their competitors, buying large quantities of spices and cotton while they still costed less⁸³. After hearing the news about Tamerlane, merchants in Genoa also expected a quick rise in the price of Oriental goods:

Ginger *belledi* for 24, 26 or 28 *lire*; cloves between s. (*soldi*) 15 d. (*denari*) 9 to s. 16 per *libbra* (pound) and nutmegs s. 6; cinnamon of better quality than mediocre, per 29 *lire* and per 35 *lire* for the fine one; cottons per 16 and 17 *lire*, there are buyers but sellers keep the price at 18 *lire* and, if this news was confirmed, this would all be worth more. Pepper is being sold for 25 *lire* in cash and, when the news is confirmed, it will increase to 28 and 30; cloves to s. 18; nutmegs to s. 8; and ginger and cinnamon's value will increase about $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$ ⁸⁴.

The arrival in the port of Genoa of ships from Romania “which were carrying few spices”⁸⁵, was yet another event that enhanced the upward trend in the prices of these merchandises. Datini and his partners tried to predict how Tamerlane's invasion of Syria would affect the price of spices and the commercial strategies of rival companies. At the end of September 1400, for example, the Genoa company wrote:

The news about Tamerlane, who had entered Syria and had defeated the Lord of Aleppo, inflicting great damage in the country, seems to be true: for this reason spices will remain expensive, and so will the cotton. Pepper is sold for 25 *lira boce*, but there are no sellers of any spices: the Borromei have bought much *belledi* ginger and other spices, we think that being in Venice, you will have heard this⁸⁶.

The news that Tamerlane had attacked the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt led the merchants of Barcelona to buy large quantities of spices. They feared that soon the spice supply markets would become inaccessible to European merchants. In Genoa, on the other

⁸² ASPO, *Datini*, b. 881, letter Genoa-Barcelona, comp. Bruno di Francesco e Luca di Andrea, 15/09/1400. The *fante proprio* was a private infantryman, charged to deliver news of primary importance. More expensive than collective services, it was also better able to meet the dual requirements of speed and confidentiality. See FRANGIONI 1984.

⁸³ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 881, letter Genoa-Barcelona, comp. Francesco di Marco Datini, 13(15)/09/1400.

⁸⁴ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 881, letter Genoa-Barcelona, comp. Bruno di Francesco e Luca di Andrea, 15/09/1400.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 881, letter Genoa-Barcelona, comp. Francesco di Marco Datini, 25/09/1400.

hand, the merchants were stalling and no negotiations on spices were taking place: “Here still no spices have been bought - as was said - and pepper is sold at 25 [*lire*], ginger *belledi* between 26 and 28 *lire*, other things at their usual price, cloves have been sold s. 17 d. 3 per *libbra*”⁸⁷. In Genoa, the merchants had indeed greeted the news about Tamerlane with caution. They suspected that the Venetians, who were the first to spread the news, had exaggerated or reported untrue news in order to raise spice prices. The Venetian Senate also considered the news from Syria and Egypt to not be entirely reliable. For this reason, it had ordered the Venetian consuls in Damascus and Alexandria, who had fled to Famagusta and Candia, to remain there so as to have more reliable information on Tamerlane’s movements and plans⁸⁸. It was of crucial importance for the merchants to verify the accuracy of the news concerning Tamerlane, who, occupied Damascus in January 1401, after having conquered Aleppo. If the news had been true, in fact, it would have been problematic for the European markets to keep trading with the Levant and be supplied with spices and other goods that had a sustained demand. However, in March 1401, a letter reported that the Genoese and the Venetians had bought many spices in Alexandria. They purchased more than a thousand sporte of pepper and other spices with a remaining 80,000 *bisanti* to invest for the Genoese; and invested 50,000 *bisanti* with another 20,000 remaining *bisanti* to invest for the Venetians⁸⁹.

Having access to reliable information about the events that were happening in the Levant was necessary for the Datini companies and for others, in order to plan their investments and, above all, to avoid the speculative traps set by the Venetians, who had the reputation of “spreading a lot of news to make their spices worthwhile”, thus pushing their prices up artificially⁹⁰.

Even foreign merchants living in Venice gathered conflicting information about the events of the autumn of 1400, as evidenced by a letter sent to Barcelona by Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti. The merchant states that the news of Tamerlane’s advance into Syria, which had raised the price of Oriental goods, “was not true, and cotton and other spices from the Levant have returned to their usual price, or lower. It is estimated that the value of all Levant merchandises would decrease because they would all be widely available and affordable”⁹¹.

⁸⁷ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 881, letter Genoa-Barcelona, comp. Francesco di Marco Datini, 7(12)/10/1400.

⁸⁸ MOUKARZEL 2017, 223-224.

⁸⁹ AINAUD 1965-1967, 332.

⁹⁰ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 1071, letter Genoa-Majorca, comp. Francesco di Marco Datini e Andrea di Bonanno di ser Berizo, 20(23).02.1401.

⁹¹ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 927, letter Venice-Barcelona, Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 16(23)/10/1400.

5. Spice price trends at the end of 14th century

Fuelling doubts and suspicions, the uncertainty over the war in the Near East was also influencing, as we have just mentioned, the price fluctuation of spices and cotton in the European markets. These rose and fell based on the news arriving from the Levant. When the news was making European merchants fear that they would no longer be able to buy spices in the eastern Mediterranean emporiums, the price of spices obviously increased. Throughout 1401 in Venice the price of pepper got higher or lower depending on the available news about Tamerlane and on what was happening in Damascus, which was and remained in the 15th century, the main hub of the Venetian trade in Syria (Graph. 1). When the news of Tamerlane's conquest of Syria and the escape of the Venetian consul spread in January 1401, the wholesale price of pepper in Venice increased by 7 per cent (10 *lire* in absolute value) in a day: "for this reason pepper was sold yesterday 141 [*lire*] and today it is sold 151 for the same quantity"⁹².

A merchant, writing in Bologna in those days, reported that "it is said that Tamerlane has conquered the whole of Syria, or most of it, and that the Venetians consul and others have fled. As a consequence, pepper which had a low value of 141 *lire* the day before, was now being bought for 170 *lire*"⁹³. This means that the price quotation of pepper in Venice had increased by about 20% in just a few days, because there were merchants ready to pay more to acquire it. In February, the price of pepper continued to rise, up 22% from its initial quotation, and 14% from the increase it had shown in January, but spices trading was halted due to doubts about the gravity of the situation in Syria and the contradictory news that continued to come in: "until the situation is clearer, people are not able to make a decision; those who have to sell do not want to sell and those who have to buy do not want to buy [...]. For foreigners, nothing is bought. Pepper is sold occasionally to the apothecaries who need it"⁹⁴. Companies' fears grew about the events in the Levant, which is why spice prices remained high and merchants were very cautious about buying. The spice market in Venice remained at a standstill for weeks. Since January, fears had been spreading that Tamerlane had conquered Damascus, the hub of the caravans coming from Central Asia and Arabia with their precious cargoes. But by April, no evidence that Damascus had been conquered had reached Venice or any other place.

⁹² ASPO, *Datini*, b. 927, letter Venice-Barcelona, Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 8/01/1401.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁴ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 927, lettera Venice-Barcelona, Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 18/02/1401.

For this reason, as Francesco Datini's correspondents in Venice explained it,

we are not doing any spices trade because their price is high and no one takes the risk of buying because one is uncertain whether it is true or not that Tamerlane conquered Damascus and did the wonderful things that were said. Once the truth is known, trade will resume and some business will be done⁹⁵.

By the beginning of March, letters had arrived in Venice with reassuring news about the availability of spices and the possibility for European merchants to get supplies in Egypt:

in Cairo and in Alexandria they traded peacefully and there is a large supply of good-priced merchandise, i.e. spices, and the Genoese and merchants of other origins will soon bring large quantities of them to the West, so that we predict that spices will be worth less both here and elsewhere⁹⁶.

For this reason, the price of pepper had fallen in Venice. In April, however, the price of pepper began to rise again: there was still uncertain and confusing news coming from the Levant.

In addition, three galleys from Candia recovered and brought back to Venice, the spices transported onto ships from Beirut that had wrecked near the island of Santorini⁹⁷. However, it was discovered that "the great quantity (...) that they brought back [was] damaged". This fact, associated to the presence in Venice of "some Germans" hunting for good bargains pushed the price of pepper even higher⁹⁸. In May 1401, pepper prices started to fluctuate, as a result of these events and reported information. When good news arrived from the Levant about Tamerlane and the supply of spices in Alexandria, the price of pepper fell, but as soon as its demand increased on the Venetian market, the price rose rapidly. At the end of the month, after assessing the news reaching Venice, the merchants were convinced that the price of spices would continue to fall:

⁹⁵ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 721, letter Venice-Bologna, Giannozzo e Antonio Alberti, 23/04/1401.

⁹⁶ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 721, letter Venice-Bologna, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 8/03/1401.

⁹⁷ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 1003, letter Venice-Valencia. Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 15/01/1401; b. 1083, letter Venice-Majorca, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 15(20)/01/1401.

⁹⁸ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 721, letter Venice-Florence, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 15/04/1401.

Here (in Venice) cotton and spices are worth very little and every day that passes they are worth less. We believe that spices will certainly come to a bad end because of their abundance on the market. There are a lot of them in Syria and in Alexandria where they are sold at better prices for many years now and this I why their trade will necessarily come to a bad end⁹⁹.

At the beginning of June, in fact, the price of pepper had fallen between 10% and 11% compared to the peak which it had reached in May. During the month it continued to fluctuate according to the news received from the Levant, as well as to the demand from German merchants. In fact, we observe that, when the Germans left Venice, the price of pepper fell by around 3% within a week, and – according to the merchants – it would keep dropping “in the absence of bad news from the Levant”¹⁰⁰.

In July, a few important news spread in Venice that were considered to be true. The first: “Tamerlane had left Syria and the country had remained at peace. Merchants could now trade there as they had never done before”. The second: a large quantity of spices was available on the market of Alexandria. This news caused the price of pepper to drop further and the number of sellers in Venice, “especially spice sellers”, to increase¹⁰¹. In autumn the price of pepper fell again. Tamerlane’s threat now seemed to be over and ships were expected in Venice, from the Levant, with huge loads of spices: “Due to this news, the price of pepper went down to 154 [*lire*] per lb., and it will come even more down to 150 [*lire*] or less”¹⁰². In the opinion of Bindo di Gerardo Piaciti, that was the time to take advantage and to invest in pepper because “it is a merchandise that never gets spoiled”¹⁰³. After that, the price of pepper, in Venice, remained low and stable until the end of 1401. The market was well supplied¹⁰⁴ and the usual supply routes seemed to be secure¹⁰⁵. However, every time purchases by German merchants increased, the price of pepper in the Venetian marketplace tended to rise¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁹ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 721, letter Venice-Bologna, Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 28/05/1401.

¹⁰⁰ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 550, letter Venice-Pisa, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 25/06/1401.

¹⁰¹ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 927, letter Venice-Barcelona, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 23/07/1401.

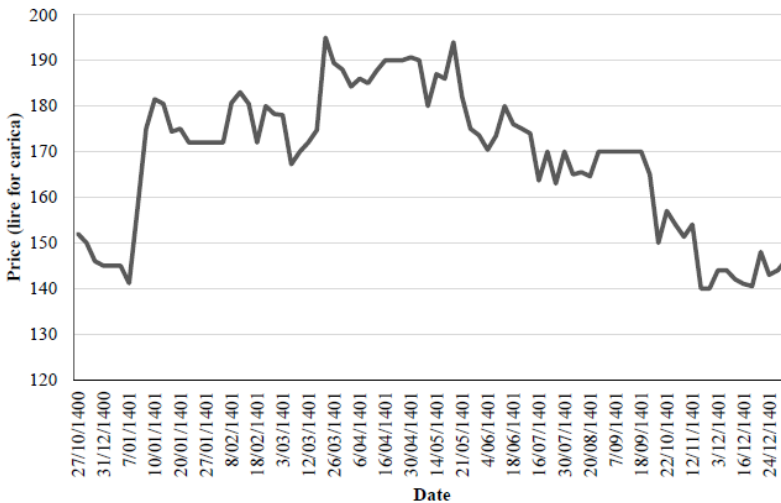
¹⁰² ASPO, *Datini*, b. 550, letter Venice-Pisa, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 19/11/1401.

¹⁰³ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 713, letter Venice-Florence, Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti, 26/11/1401.

¹⁰⁴ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 927, letter Venice-Barcelona, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 17/12/1401

¹⁰⁵ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 1083, letter Venice-Majorca, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 6/12/1401.

¹⁰⁶ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 550, letter Venice-Pisa, Commissaria di Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi e Antonio di ser Bartolomeo Gherardini, 31/12/1401; b. 713, letter Venice-Florence, Gherardo di Bindo Piaciti, 31/12/1401.



Graph 1: Daily Average Price of Pepper on Venetia market, late 1400-1401.

6. Conclusion

Francesco Datini archival records have allowed us to follow the involvement of the merchant and his companies in the trading of oriental spices in general, and of edible spices in particular. The Prato merchant looked at spice trade trends with great interest even if his group's business strategies had been orientated mainly towards the western Mediterranean and consequently predominantly towards other products. The birth of the Genoa company in 1392 and later that of the divided Company of Catalonia, represented, in fact, a key step in his plans to extend his business westwards and to establish his ventures in the rich trade of Genoa¹⁰⁷. However, Datini valued and was well aware of the importance of spices in the European market. So much so that he had to get involved in their trade. This is why there are traces of many spice-related deals in his business correspondence and of related incoming and outgoing records in his account books, (spice here being considered in the wide meaning of the term given by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti).

¹⁰⁷ That means, for example, that he could trade the woad from the Lombard Oltrepò or the leather and hides from the Romania and the East to the other western market and could profit, in general, from the role of the Catalan region in the international trade system to expand his business. See GIAGNACOVO 2010, 323-324. On the Datini system's trade of the woad from the Lombard Oltrepò see also NICOLINI 2020, 161-192.

The main contribution of this paper is therefore to have highlighted the Datini company system's involvement in the trade of spices, which has usually been considered by historiography as having been less important compared to its involvement with the trade of other goods (wool, woad, weapons, metal products, cotton and wool cloths, leather and hides). The surviving letters, *estratti-conto*¹⁰⁸ and accounts books of the Datini Archive attest to the many transactions involving the purchase and sale of pepper, ginger, nutmeg and cloves, as well as other products considered as spices in the medieval centuries (e.g. sugar, saffron, wax, alum and many products used as medicines or perfumes). The Datini group supplied several apothecaries with 'spezie' all over the Italian peninsula. In fact, Datini knowledge of the spice market was such, that many turned to him for advice on market trends related to these commodities that were so important for both the alimentation and the pharmacology of the time. Pierozzo di ser Donato and Donato di Bonifacio, Bernardo di Ugolino Bonsi, for instance, two Florentine apothecaries, usually turned to the Datini company in Genoa for information on the availability of less common spices than pepper or ginger, such as *mummi*a (mummy)¹⁰⁹, *orpimento* (orpiment)¹¹⁰, *turbitti* (turbith)¹¹¹, *tuzia* (tutty)¹¹². They also ordered from the company¹¹³.

The Datini records can also play an instrumental role in the calculation of the incidence on their prime cost, of all the costs necessary to transport the valuable goods that were spices¹¹⁴, from their markets of supply (Genoa and Venice above all) to those of distribution or consumption.

A letter written in 1391 by the company of Salvestro di Bongianni Pucci and Bruno di Francesco, one of many found in the Datini Archive, exemplifies this clearly. Their company bought 3,000 *libbre* of pepper in Genoa on behalf of the Datini company of Pisa,

¹⁰⁸ *Estratti-conto* were the documents that the commission agent wrote at the end of the purchase, sale or shipment of goods and sent to the merchant who had ordered the operation to explain his work. See GIAGNACOVO 2014, 60-64; MELIS 1972, 28-33.

¹⁰⁹ On this spice see FREEDMAN 2009, 25-26.

¹¹⁰ "Yellow arsenic, or arsenic trisulphide, the mediaeval auripigmentum, was known both as a natural product and as an artificial compound": BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 424.

¹¹¹ BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 432. It is supposed to be a clambering plant native to the East Indies whose root has purgative properties.

¹¹² BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI 1936, 432. It is supposed to be zinc oxide which has ophthalmic medicinal properties, astringent, drying, refreshing.

¹¹³ See for example Bernardo Bonsi's letter: ASPO, *Datini*, b. 755, letter Florence-Genoa, comp. Bernardo di Ugolino Bonsi, 22/05/1392.

¹¹⁴ The Datini papers have already been used to study the incidence of trading costs for some other merchandise. See FIORENTINO 2007; FRANGIONI 1983; GIAGNACOVO 2007; GIAGNACOVO 2006.

spending 984 *lire* s. 7 d. 6¹¹⁵. The pepper, which was weighed, sieved and packed in *pondi*, was loaded onto Antonio Morando's ship and shipped to Porto Pisano (the port of Pisa). This document is important because it describes in detail all the costs incurred in getting the goods to their final destination (insurance, freight, etc.). Thus, it allows us to better understand which costs contributed (and justified) the high price of pepper on the western markets¹¹⁶. If they wanted to make an adequate profit, Francesco Datini partners had to consider all these expenses, which were then added to the cost of the spice itself. Their consideration of timing was also very important. As the Genoese correspondents suggested it, in this specific case, it was urgent to find a buyer for that shipment because they foresaw the arrival in Genoa of large quantities of pepper, which would have increased the city's supply and consequently lowered the price of pepper.

This advice confirms that in order to trade spices profitably, merchants not only had to be always up-to-date, but they also had to have a great ability to assess trends in near and far markets. Getting the information was certainly a necessary but not a sufficient condition to the running of a successful spice business. Ambrogio di Meo Boni, a Florentine merchant with a business in Genoa, wrote to Francesco Datini that he wanted to keep away from spices, because, despite a potentially favourable economic conditions "they [the spices] have so damaged me this past year that I trade them unwilling!"¹¹⁷.

In conclusion, the extraordinary entrepreneurial and mercantile capacity of Francesco Datini is further asserted by the analysis of his involvement in the spice trade which he managed successfully, despite it being marginal to his main trade. It can in fact be said that, it was precisely the organizational structure he had built up over the years and the extraordinary efficiency of his information network that allowed him to also enter and succeed in this profitable but very risky trade, at times earning extraordinary profits.

The Datini records have been used to reconstruct the spice routes in the Mediterranean and to estimate the availability of these goods – at least of the most demanded spices in European markets at the time, such as pepper or ginger. As we have shown in this paper using the example of pepper, this documentation gathers even more specific information, useful to both the study of the price trends of different spices and to the definition of the

¹¹⁵ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 514, letter Genoa-Pisa, comp. Salvestro di Bongianni Pucci e Bruno di Francesco, 5/06/1391.

¹¹⁶ In this case the first cost was in fact charged with a series of expenses: realising the packing (0.35%), tax charges, including the *riva*, i.e. the tax paid by purchaser on goods sold in Genoa (4.03%), transport from the seller's *fondaco* to that of the buyer (0.03%), *senseria*, i.e. the broker's fee (0.15%), insurance for the sea transport to Tuscany (1.22%), a series of miscellaneous expenses, including weighing and removing impurities from the pepper (0.17%) and finally the commission due to Salvestro e Bruno's company for intermediation (1.05%). In total, the incidence of the costs of trading pepper amounted to 7%.

¹¹⁷ ASPO, *Datini*, b. 183, letter Genoa-Avignon, comp. Ambrogio di Meo Boni, 6/12/1385.

main factors influencing spice price changes in the last decades of the fourteenth century. The analysis of more *estratti-conto* would enable us to retrace all the trade costs for a series of different goods labeled as spices by medieval merchants and which were used in proto-industrial processing. As Julia A. DeLancey did it for pigments, and more generally for colouring materials¹¹⁸, we could use these documents to learn and better describe the availability and trade route of spices in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. It is certainly a laborious project, but one that would enrich our knowledge of the medieval spice trade.

¹¹⁸ DELANCEY 2010, 74-85.

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CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION

**ITALIAN-HUNGARIAN CAREERS IN THE 15TH:
THE EXAMPLE OF A CATALAN
LIFE AND LETTERS OF PEROTTO VESACH***

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It is often the case, that studying the careers of more or less minor characters in history can bring us closer to the ‘main characters’ in the spotlight: kings, queens, prelates, whose lives and actions can be seen in a different light from the perspective of one of their men. The following biography is of a person, who was an insider at three renowned European royal courts during the Renaissance: he had close ties with the King of Naples, the Duke of Ferrara and the King of Hungary, but was no stranger in Rome either. Perotto Vesach’s career began in the second half of the fifteenth century. His letters reveal a person who was outspoken but also well-versed in courtly intrigue, who allowed himself to be surprisingly direct in his dealings with, for example, the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara. At the end of the short biography, I collected his Italian letters, which could be found so far, together with an instruction and a letter of acknowledgement from Cardinal Giovanni d’Aragona.

What are the events in which the career of the examined person unfolds? In 1474, King Matthias of Hungary (1458-1490) and King Ferdinand I (1458-1494) signed a treaty of alliance¹, which was sealed two years later with a marriage between the king of Hungary and Beatrice, who was Ferdinand’s second-born daughter². Ferdinand’s first-born daughter, Eleonora, was married to Ercole I d’Este, Duke of Ferrara, in 1473³. Their younger brother Francesco, who was 14 at the time of Beatrice’s marriage, accompanied Beatrice to Hungary

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¹ The relevant sources have recently been found in the archives of Simancas, Spain: MARTÍ 2017, 497-501.

² Albert Berzeviczy’s biography of Queen Beatrice, the most complete monograph to date, was published in four languages: Hungarian (1908), Spanish (1910), French (1911) and Italian (1931). The Hungarian volume is the most complete, the others are shorter summaries of the original. In this paper, however, I will refer to the Italian version. See also COLESANTI-SANTORO 2022.

³ Their correspondence has been collected and published by GUERRA 2010.

and he was raised at the royal court for a few years. Their older brother, Cardinal Giovanni⁴, who chose a career in the Church, arrived to the Kingdom of Hungary as papal legate in 1479 and during his mission he obtained the office of the archbishopric of Esztergom from King Matthias. After Giovanni's unexpected death in 1485, Eleonora's third son, Ippolito d'Este, succeeded his uncle in his office in Esztergom.

Perotto Vesach was a descendant of a family of Catalan origin, most probably from a family that moved to Naples through the service of the Aragonese dynasty. He himself must have already been born in Naples, because at the remarriage of King Ferdinand, he was unaware of Catalan customs and was stunned by the Catalan women's dress⁵. A certain Joan de Vesach is known from a family branch living in the Iberian Peninsula, he was the court physician to King John II of Aragon (1458-1479) and was accused of poisoning King Charles IV (Carlo di Viana) of Navarre in 1462, but somehow managed to escape from prison⁶. In 1511, Thomas Vesach who was a Dominican friar, translated the legend of Saint Catherine of Siena into Catalan⁷. From among the family members living in Italy, Giovanni Andrea Vesach and Ugerio Vesach were in the service of King Alfonso I of Naples in the early 1450s. The former was mentioned in the sources as a member of the royal court, treasurer and bailiff of Puglia, the latter was mentioned as a controller⁸. Whether one of them or another of their relatives was Perotto's father, he must have been a well-known figure in court circles, since Perotto reported his death in the summer of 1476 to the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este⁹.

The child Perotto first appears in November 1468 in the sources as a page (*patge*) in the Catalan-language account book of the then twelve-year-old Giovanni d'Aragona's abbey in Montevergine, as the person entrusted with the regular collection of money¹⁰. So they must have been close in age and probably Perotto was raised together with the prince destined to be a prelate. His later letters show that his two brothers, Periteo and Bernabò, also served Giovanni, the former as chamberlain from 1480 to 1483¹¹.

From 1476-1478, six reports to Ferrara have survived¹², in the first of them he described himself as he was beholden to the Duke of Ferrara. The reports suggest that as a

⁴ FARBAKY 2021; HAFFNER 1997; PÁSZTOR 1961.

⁵ See letter no. 5.

⁶ ESCARTÍ 2011, 34.

⁷ LLOPIS-SEMPERE 2008, 2-3, 7-10, 13.

⁸ Fonti Aragonesi 1957, 151, 153, 155; SPERANZA 2014. 886-887, 890.

⁹ See letter no. 2.

¹⁰ ASMNa, Real Casa Santa Annunziata, Feudi, Feudo di Montevergine, Conti, b. 16. fasc. 15. 19rv, 22r, 25r.

¹¹ See letter no. 10.

¹² See letters no. 1-6.

young man, he accompanied Duchess Eleonora d'Aragona when she got married in 1473 and stayed with her for some years afterwards. Thus as a courtly youth, the young Perotto Vesach was able to learn the basic customs and secrets of Renaissance courtly life in Ferrara. What is certain is that his loyalty to the Aragonese dynasty, as well as to the members of the Este family, can be observed throughout his life. Historiography generally considers that he was an envoy of Ercole d'Este, probably because of the archival classification of his letters. However, his mandate is not known and he was not paid for the service to the Este family.

After a long stay in Ferrara, he returned to Naples on 25 May 1476. On behalf of the Duke of Ferrara he paid his respects to the royal family and to a person who was very close to the royal couple of Ferrara, Count Diomede Caraffa, to whom he reported on the well-being of the Duke of Ferrara and the men of his court. This was perhaps the time when it was decided that he remained in Giovanni's service, who was waiting for the title of cardinal, instead of accompanying Princess Beatrice who was about to marry King Matthias of Hungary and was preparing to leave for Hungary. He was pleased to report that his master did not want him to leave Italy so that he would 'not have to travel with no purpose in among barbarians'. "The only thing that would have made me happy had I been obliged to go there was that I might have been able, on my return, to report to your Grace the abominations of that country" - he added pointedly¹³. At the same time, he belittled the preparations for Beatrice's wedding, to which the distinguished guests and the entourage to be sent to Hungary had already been gathered, and he anticipated that the wedding would certainly not be as beautiful as Eleonora's. Beside taking into account the eagerness of the young courtier, the harsh and pejorative tone was probably due to the general anti-Hungarian sentiment among the people of Naples, which can also be traced in other reports of envoys and chronicles, and which was in all probability a consequence of the campaigns of King Louis I of Hungary (1342-1382) in Naples¹⁴.

Despite his repugnance, he was forced to travel to Hungary a few years later, accompanied by Giovanni d'Aragona, who had already received the title of cardinal, who had been sent by the pope to the countries of the region to deal with the Ottoman threat. In his first letter from Buda to Ferrara, Vesach enthusiastically told the duchess that he had experienced something quite different from what he heard before about this country. In particular, he wrote with rapture about King Matthias, who, according to him, could not have been a better husband for Beatrice, whom Perotto considered very happy on the basis of their old acquaintance. According to his letter, there was so much agreement between the royal couple that what one of them wanted, the other wanted that too. As a gesture of his

¹³ See letter no. 1; GUERRA 2012, 567.

¹⁴ VITALE 2014.

love, the king gave his wife fifty thousand ducats a year to spend – Perotto first wrote this in numbers and then repeated in letters to make the vast sum clear – which Beatrice could use as she wanted. And if it ran out, Matthias himself said that he would give another fifty thousand to her from the royal chamber every year. To show how true that was, Vesach gave an example, that he himself had witnessed the presentation of a gift of eighteen thousand ducats¹⁵. Despite this narrative, the figure of fifty thousand ducats seems a bit exaggerated, and employing the means of propaganda was not far from King Matthias anyway.

In February 1480, Matthias donated the benefice of the archbishopric of Esztergom to his brother-in-law, who solemnly entered the city on 11 May. Vesach had probably already made the necessary preparations on the spot by that time, as his master had entrusted him with the economic management of the archdiocese, which he had taken over on 23 April 1480. The radical change in his preconceptions of the country obviously contributed to Vesach's acceptance of this appointment.

Until 11 January 1484, he held the office of governor and revenue collector of the archbishopric of Esztergom¹⁶ according to a copy of a receipt from the same period issued and signed by Cardinal Giovanni in Esztergom on 27 May 1484. This was written about that the magnificent Perotto Vesach of Naples, whom Giovanni called his chamberlain, had accounted accurately in front of him after completing his service. His accounts were verified and approved by three people: Paulo Legisco de L'Aquila, adviser of the King of Naples, Bernardo Vitale, the Queen of Hungary's comptroller, and Gasparo de Sanfelio, Cardinal Giovanni's own comptroller¹⁷. He was succeeded by Bernabò Brancia, a native of Salerno, who was also a trusted old associate of the cardinal.

Vesach exchanged the service of the archbishop for that of the Hungarian royal court and soon became one of Beatrice's closest confidants, especially after the tragic death of the Queen's beloved brother. Thus, his favourable opinion expressed in 1480 on the basis of his first impressions, did not change at all. Despite changing positions, he remained close to the affairs of Esztergom too. This and his insider knowledge are shown by the fact that only two months after the death of his former master, Cardinal Giovanni (October 1485), he reported to Princess Eleonora that the royal court intended to give the archbishopric of Esztergom to one of her sons. He also encouraged her that the very rich archdiocese (in his own words, a 'little papacy') was definitely worth having and praised at length the advantages of Esztergom. As a result, in January 1486 the ducal couple of Ferrara sent Bartolomeo Bresciani as an envoy to Buda¹⁸. On his arrival, Bresciani was welcomed by

¹⁵ See letter no. 7.

¹⁶ About his service see HAFNER 1997, 79, 82.

¹⁷ See document no. 11 (receipt).

¹⁸ Cf. KUFFART 2022, 291-292.

Vesach and lodged in the house of the archbishopric of Esztergom situated in Buda, where he himself was staying at the time of the ongoing Hungarian diet. They both sent reports to Ferrara about the diet, which discussed the donation of the archdiocese and the possible military aid to the king of Naples against the rebel barons¹⁹.

However, Ercole's and Eleonora's replies of gratitude and request for further assistance²⁰ didn't find him in Buda: on 28 April 1486, Queen Beatrice replied to her sister that it was not necessary to deal with the appointment through Vesach, since he was already in the service of the queen herself, in one of her remote castles.²¹ His appointment as castellan and *comes* of Zólyom²² can thus be dated to the spring of 1486, although the first source that mentions him in that position is from August 1486. He held the office until the end of 1500, and throughout he remained the member of Queen Beatrice's court and one of her most important confidants²³.

In the meantime, the Queen's nephew Ippolito d'Este indeed received the archbishopric of Esztergom and in the summer of 1487 he travelled to Hungary with a large entourage from Ferrara led by Governor Beltrame Costabili²⁴. Ippolito was only eight years old at the time, so the childless Queen treated him as her own son. The question of succession to the throne was by then an overwhelming burden on the royal couple. King Matthias had intended his illegitimate son, John Corvinus, to succeed him, but Beatrice did not support him at all. She herself would have liked to succeed her husband on the throne, but Matthias knew very well that the Hungarians would not accept a woman as ruler²⁵.

Vesach also actively sought to strengthen the Queen's position of power. According to an envoy's report, it was probably at his suggestion that in 1489 Beltrame Costabili, who was the director of goods in Esztergom, accused Prince John Corvinus's mother in front of papal legate Angelo Pecchinoli of having cursed Beatrice, who had therefore could not give birth to an heir to the throne for the King. The legate excommunicated the woman for witchcraft. In response to this, King Matthias expelled Governor Costabili from the country, and Vesach was rumoured to be trusted with the archbishopric of Esztergom again²⁶. The

¹⁹ See letters no. 12-14.; Bresciani's letters: MNL OL DF 294346-354.; About the conspiracy of the Neapolitan barons see SCARTON 2011.

²⁰ MNL OL DF 295590; NAGY-NYÁRY 1877, 72-75.

²¹ GUERRA 2010, 71-72.

²² Zólyom county is part of present day Slovakia (Zvolen).

²³ On his offices in Zólyom see BORSA 1991, no. 412-413, 421-424, 428-429, 432, 453-455, 458; BERZEVICZY 1914, 275; HATVANI 1857, 15-16; MNL OL DL 46343; MNL OL DL 84737.

²⁴ On the topic in a greater detail see KUFFART-NEUMANN 2021; MORSELLI 1957. On the governor see BIONDI 1984.

²⁵ BERZEVICZY 1931, 229-238.

²⁶ BERZEVICZY 1914, 138-140.

scandal was eventually settled, but this was probably the origin story of the bad relationship between Vesach and Costabili, who remained in Esztergom after all²⁷. Vesach, however, had already complained about the behaviour of the entourage of Ferrara in Hungary in 1488²⁸. Signs of this conflict were also evident later, although Vesach maintained financial relations with the archbishopric of Esztergom²⁹.

As is well known, on 6 April 1490 Matthias died in Vienna and the majority of the Hungarian nobility elected the king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II Jagiello as his successor in Hungary. One of the terms of the election of Vladislaus II (1490-1516) was that he should marry the widowed Queen Beatrice. Both the King and the Hungarian barons took an oath to this. The main reason for this term was that the Hungarian aristocracy knew well that it would have been impossible to repay her dowry to Beatrice after the death of Matthias because after the election of King Vladislaus, Maximilian of Habsburg, Vladislaus's brother John Albert and even the Ottomans attacked Hungary and they needed money for the military defence. The new king married Beatrice in a secret ceremony on 4 October 1490, but deliberately made a formal error during the ceremony to ensure that the marriage would be annulled later, and left the scene immediately after the wedding. He then took an incredible care to never remain alone with Beatrice for any length of time, so that no one would think that they had ever consummated the marriage.

It was a sign of the unbroken relationship between Beatrice and Vesach, that the widowed Queen wanted to send him to Naples after her marriage ceremony to persuade the King to consummate the marriage by presenting him with a new dowry of 100,000 ducats³⁰. However, this trip never took place. In addition, during the wars of the throne, the Queen helped Vladislaus to finance his army. For two years, the King was able to persuade Beatrice that he would keep his promise and publicly proclaim their marriage. However, at the diet of 1492, the King presented the matter to the nobility and the majority of them refused to allow the marriage to go ahead. The reason given was Beatrice's well-known infertility. They did not want the King to marry the 'old queen'³¹. So the King made a pragmatic political decision and would ask the pope to annul the marriage. From after the diet, the aggrieved Queen began a determined fight to assert her matrimonial rights, with the help of her entire family from Naples, Spain, Ferrara, Milan and of Maximilian of Habsburg.

²⁷ BERZEVICZY 1914, 238-239, 286-287.

²⁸ Letter no. 5.

²⁹ KUFFART 2018, *passim*.

³⁰ BERZEVICZY 1914, 168-169.

³¹ Although, Beatrice was a year younger than Vladislaus himself, but during that period of time, a 34-year-old woman was no longer considered young.

The case of Beatrice's marriage was presented before the Holy See by another important confidant, Juan Moncayo³². For a long period, the pope did indeed support the Queen's cause, and in 1493 he even appointed Ippolito d'Este as cardinal. In 1497, however, there was a turnaround when Ippolito exchanged the archbishopric of Esztergom for a residence in Italy and Beatrice then lost her most important support in Hungary. From then on, it was only a matter of time before the pope announced the divorce, which finally happened in 1500. After that, Beatrice's return to Italy seemed inevitable. In 1499, Vesach sent a report to Moncayo in Rome on the proceedings of the Hungarian diet. He ended his letter, perhaps as an encouragement, by saying that the whole country was crying out for the Queen³³. As Beatrice's situation gradually deteriorated, Vesach tried to approach the Estes, offering gifts and his services to Cardinal Ippolito and his sister Isabella d'Este³⁴.

Perotto Vesach began to expand his estates in Hungary during his office in Esztergom. He acquired interests in four counties: he bought Libád in Esztergom county in 1483. In Teplíce, in Bars county, the Queen donated a house to him³⁵, which he used as residence³⁶. He also acquired a piece of land in Konkoly³⁷ in Komárom county³⁸. His most significant transaction was undoubtedly that of Szenyér³⁹: in August 1482, he bought the castle of Szenyér in Somogy county and its appurtenances from János Antimus for six thousand forints. The purchase was later approved by King Matthias, who donated the royal rights that belonged to the estate to Vesach for his loyal service. However, the establishment and registration of his ownership was contested by many of the relatives of János Túz of Lak and the Antimus family, which led to years of litigation. Vesach gradually tried to win over the parties, settling their claims separately. Finally, in September 1485, he succeeded in gaining possession of the estate without any opposition, but in the following years he was subjected to harassment and abuse, mainly by András Terjék and his son Elek. In 1485, Vesach further expanded his estates in Somogy county, when he bought Szob from his former enemy, Mihály Szobi, for one thousand eight hundred forints⁴⁰.

Since in the 1480s he had made great efforts to gain full possession of the Szenyér estate and to buy out or win over the opposing parties, it is possible, though not proven,

³² Juan de Moncayo y Coscón's, viceroy of Sicily (1459-1462), illegitimate son, who served Beatrice as *maiordomo* in the 1490s: RAH, Salazar y Castro, A-9, fol. 83, no. 863.

³³ Letter no. 17.

³⁴ Letters no. 16-17, 19-20.

³⁵ MNL OL DL 19601.

³⁶ MNL OL DL 20001.

³⁷ Today: Konkol, part of the town of Hurbanovo, Slovakia.

³⁸ MNL OL DF 273632.

³⁹ Today: Szenyér, Somogy county, Hungary.

⁴⁰ BORSÁ 1993, II/9, III/7, 11-12; BORSÁ 1979, 111-130; MNL OL DF 236660-662.

that he tried to win over his biggest opponents, the Terjék family, by marrying Borbála, the daughter of András Terjék. Whether or not his wife, Borbála belonged to the Terjék family, she gave birth to five children, whom Vesach named after King Matthias and members of the House of Aragon (Matthias, Francis, Beatrice, Lucretia, Eleanor). In one of his letters, he mentions the birth of a fourth daughter⁴¹, so he may have had more than five children, but they did not live to adulthood.

In spite of his initial opposition against the Hungarians and the country, his acquisition of property, the fact that he started a family and his actions to help preserving the Queen's power all suggest that Perotto Vesach did indeed intend to settle in Hungary and envision his future there. But the fall of Queen Beatrice balked his plans. His loyalty to the House of Aragon apparently led him to make no attempt to get into to the court of King Vladislaus II. So he was forced to sell his estates, first of all his hard-won Szenyér, which he sold for six thousand forints in 1497⁴², what suggests that he was already preparing to return to Italy. In 1500, he sold Libád to the chapter of Esztergom for two thousand forints⁴³, and after twenty years in Hungary, he left the country in 1501 with his whole family, and he never considered to return. He may well have returned to Naples, which was under French rule, in the company of the widowed queen. It is suggested by the last surviving source of information on Vesach, a cipher key dated between 1501 and 1505, which was made to encrypt his correspondence with Cardinal Ippolito of Este⁴⁴. The documents in cipher have not been found, but the contents of the cipher note suggest that he may have written reports to the cardinal (*Andronico, Zoanne Lombardo, Albino, Principale*) also under pseudonyms (*Petro Antonio Bresca, Guido Andrea, Cesarino Cortese, Cypriano*), from a war-torn region⁴⁵. Perotto Vesach disappeared from the sources after this, so it is likely that he died in the first or second decade of the 1500s. A document from Hungary of 1524 refers to him as "late"⁴⁶.

⁴¹ Letter no. 15.

⁴² MNL OL DF 236668; MNL OL DF 264672.

⁴³ MNL OL DF 236554-556, MNL OL DF 278387; BERZEVICZY 1914, 405-407.

⁴⁴ ASMó, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Cifrario, b. 4. fasc. 1.

⁴⁵ CREMONINI 2017, 129-135, 151.

⁴⁶ MNL OL DF 236697.

Appendix: Perotto Vesach's letters

1.

Naples, 1 June [1476]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Napoli, b. 1. fasc. 9. pag. 159-163. [sine anno; autograph]

Partially published: BERZEVICZY 1914. 20-21.

Illustrissimo Signore mio. Per esser tanto obligato a vostra illustrissima signoria, me pare debito fare per lettere quel che personalmente non posso, per questo aviso vostra illustrissima signoria como yo ionse qua i'Napoli ali XXV del passato, donde per fino adesso non so dove me sono che ancora non me recognosco. Donde ho trovato la maestà del signor re et tucti questi signori, soy figloli stano benissimo. Subito fi li comendationi di vostra signoria ad sua maestà, di che me domandò assai di vostra signoria et di madamma. Donde se trovò el conte, el quale disse cose assai là; el signor don Joanne depoi me tenne tucta la nocte et m'esaminò d'ogne cosa. Donde yo le disse la benivolentia et amore che vostra signoria le porta, et con quanta affetione me aviti rasonati di ipso et le contay lo honor et inmerite caricce me ave facte vostra signoria per suo respecto et quanto era el disiderio di vostra signoria de vederlo per la fama ne avuto sentuto. Donde sua signoria ne restò tanto alegro che non se porria dire più et contentissimo donde ypo èy tucto parsiale di vostra signoria et ho le contato del bagno, donde ne fa far un'altro qui in quella similitudine, et credo sua signoria scriverrà una lettera de sua propria mano a vostra signoria, alo qualo yo ve suplico di grazia. Recevuta la dicta lettera respondiate et mostrate in modo che ipso cognosca che vostra la ave avuta grata. Et lo conte de Matalune⁴⁷ ce lo ave confortato assai. Et più aviso vostra signoria como la maestà del signor re ave deliberato che lo signor don Joanne sia cardenale, et avene scritto di sua propria mano alo papa, alo quale ave resposto che èy conteto farelo per ben che ce sono stati alcuni cardinali assai contrarii, como èy el vice cancellieri⁴⁸, et roan puro èy stato concluso del sì. Et cossi speramo de queste quatro tempore di pasqua rosato esser publicato o al più longo al settenbro. Donde credo se farrà uno gran maystro et non serrà cossi grande che de bono animo serrà di vostra signoria adfeccionatissimo.

Anco aviso vostra signoria como lo conte de Mantalone mandò per me che yo dovesse andare ad parlare con sua signoria et me tenne più de secte hore in secreto con ipso de continuo domandandomi de vostra illustrissima signoria et de madamma vostra in modo che yo cognossecti che sencha feccione ipso èy vostro servitore et parsiale che certo yo credo che non forria cosa alcuna de che vostra illustrissima signoria lo in carricasse che non lo facesse. Et si me conto per sua fede

⁴⁷ Diomede Carafa, duke of Maddaloni (1465-1487).

⁴⁸ Rodrigo Borgia, vice-chancellor (1457-1492).

che per fareve piacere ypo ad sue spese mandò lo figlolo con la inpresa di vostra signoria et me domandò como stevevo contento di ipso. Yo le respossi et si le disse che el semele faceva vostra signoria de ipso, quando ce va qual che alcuno de qua che la più parte e di continuo parlato del conte di Matalune. Ipo ne restò assai satisfacto et contento et si me disse che adesso à facto per modo che madama averrà una quantità de iomente per via sua, et che mai restarrà di fare per vostra signoria et per madama. Et me disse uno grandissimo bene de messer Bonifatio Bivelacqua, tanto che non se porria più dir. Et domandomi se vostra lo avea caro et poi me domandò como se regea vostra signoria et dele nature vostre, et di tucto yo le resposse como me parse, poi me domandò como stavano contenti quessi cortisani di vostra signoria. Yo le disse che assai bene. Ipo me disse che ipso ve confortò che levasseno el tinello et le spese et che redocisseno la casa in lo modo che sta al presente. Et domandome che volontà avea vostra signoria de vedere la maestà del signor re. Yo le resposse che assai. Ipo me disse se Dio vole che faccza uno figlolo mascolo, farrà bene ad venirece perché yo farrò che con poco spesa sence conducerà perché ipso senne porrà venir ad uno di quessi soi castelli che stanno in quella marina di Pisa et la mandiamo le galee et in tre di serria qua, dice, Dio ce faccza grazia che possa fare uno figlolo mascolo che ogni cosa venerà bene.

Et più aviso vostra signoria como la maestà del signor re ave delliberato che lo illustrissimo signor don Federico venga et ave mandato per ipso cinco galee dele quale èy capitano Bertoldo Carrafa, et vanno a Niccza dela dochessa di Savoya et èy ce andato lo conte Alberico, lo quale era qua mandato per lo signore. Et la maestà del signor re ave ordenato che ipso sende venga et tucti li gentilomini per mare et che chi vole vendere li cavalli se le venda, et li cavalli et li muli del signore se conducano per terra, li quali anno carreto dele condure lo dicto conte Alberico et lo barone dela Torella. Credo serrano qui per tucto lo presente. L'altro eri arivò uno cavallaro del signore, lo quale èy venuto volando, dice, lo duca di Borgogna sta bene et èy insuto in canpo et tuctavia sequirà. Altro non so di questo del signore.

Anco aviso vostra illustrissima signoria, como l'altro eri che fo el penultimo del passato⁴⁹ arivò uno cavallaro di Castegla con le nove, como èy publicato et concluso lo matrimonio del prencepe de Capua et la figla del re de Castegla, el quale se publicò là ali tre del passato, dico de mazo. Èy uno grandissimo matrimonio. Dubito che apresso non se faccza altro, dico dila figla del re d'Aragona con alcuni de questi nostri signori.

De la regina de Ungaria aviso vostra illustrissima signoria como tuctavia mecte in ordene per partir. Donde yo credo che la festa non serrà sì bella como fo quella di madama, la dochessa vostra, et fa lo talamo dintro lo castello et la se farrà la festa. Ave mandato per tucti li baruni del reame, li quali tuctavia veneno. Questi sono quelli che vanno in compagnia dela regina: lo duca di Andre⁵⁰, lo conte di Terranova et la contessa, lo conte di Montorio et la contessa, un'altra donna delo Segio di Porto divenne con madama; madama Laura di messere Antonio di Bologna, donno Alfonso, lo

⁴⁹ 30 May 1476.

⁵⁰ Francesco II del Balzo, duke of Andria.

quale èy figlio bastardo dela maestà del signor re, lo quale va per stare là; Tomase Figli Marino⁵¹ et più altri gentilomini, dico a mio preposito che non va sì honorevolmente como andò madama.

Anco aviso vostra illustrissima signoria como yo non vado in Ungaria perché el signore non vole yo vada più fori de Italia che stono qui assai contento per non andar intra barbari senza rasona. Per Dio, ve iuro signore, che quasi non so ancora se sono qua. Per una sola cosa me piaceva che ala tornata me fosse stato a fareve relatione dele bestialità di quello payese.

Anco aviso vostra signoria illustrissima como Vicentio Carraffa, lo quale era assai fagorito dela maestà del signor re, avendo domandato licentia ala maestà del signor re et essendose posto in ordene per partire multo bene, la maestà del signor re lo ave facto piglare presone et ave lo tenuto una frocta de di et anco ce èy. Et più meser Nugno ve là. Anco ave avuto licentia et eysende andato via, signor mio, mai fuy sfastidito de corte più che de queste nostre che spero che non passaranno troppo di che vostra illustrissima signoria senterrà miserie di questa corte che vende maraveglite cose inaudite. Per Dio che yo lo ho dicto et de continuo lo dico che beato quelli che sono apresso di vostra signoria, yo lo disse alo conte che ipso me rasonava dela liberalità di vostra signoria, yo le disse signore, ad ogne uno sta ben di parlare di liberalità, altro che ala corte nostra, che se volessemo pegnere la miseria, deveriamo pengeri li officiali dele curti nostre che simo venuti in tempo che chi non parla di portar dinari, non ce èy fagorito, né ave loco apresso el suo signore.

Signor mio, yo suplico vostra signoria non pigle sfastidio di queste longo scrivere perché ve ho voluto del tucto avisare, et piacendo a vostra illustrissima signoria de continuo lo farre che, per Dio ve iuro, signor mio, che non sono meno servitore di vostra illustrissima signoria che del mio illustrissimo signor don Joanne. Et suplico vostra signoria me comande como vostro minimo servitor di casa che non meno me repoto, solum di una cosa suplico vostra signoria che quello yo ve scrivo non se sapia per altri et screvendo al conte ve piazza dingnareve recomandareme perché ipso èy et re hoze di questo regno. Altro per la presente non me occorre, se non che me recomando ali pedi di vostra illustrissima signoria.

Scricta i'Napoli, el primo di Jugno.

De vostra illustrissima signoria humele servitore et schiavo,

Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Illustrissimo signore mio, (seg)nor duca de (Ferra)ra. In Ferrara.

⁵¹ Filomarino.

2.

Naples, 21 August [1476]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Napoli, b. 1. fasc. 9. pag. 164-166. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissimo signore mio. Non se maravegla vostra signoria se questi dì a dietro non ho scritto a vostra signoria. La causa si è stata primo per la morte di mio padre, et poi perché questo mio illustrissimo signor⁵² si è stato de fora ala Cava⁵³ et a Salerno, pigliandose piacere, et tornaymo qui la vigilia de Nostra Donna de agosto⁵⁴ per comandamento dela maestà del signor re, et ge ne simo fermati per fine che serrà facta la festa.

Perché so che de nessuna cossa yo porria dare aviso a vostra illustrissima signoria che più piacesse, ve aviso como la maestà del signor re sta polito et sano, più che mai fosse, et con uno bonissimo colore. El signor duca tene el suo male colore et peio regemento. El signor don Joanne et tucti li altri fratelli stanno benissimo et politi.

Del signor don Federico avimo 'ltime nove como è stato con lo re de Franza, el quale le avea facte honori et caricce assai, et certi doni. Et era andato per inbarcharese, et qua se aspecta da dì a dì mardone como è tanto tardato de donno Alfonso non sentimo altro fine al presente. Donno Arico è venuto qua per la festa, la quale festa se mette in ordine per li X di sectembro, et è bandita la iostra parto dicto dì, et razionease che seranno li tavolieri quatro: lo duca de Metse, lo conte di Lauria, lo conte di Aliano, et Joan Antonio di San Soverino. Aspectase qua el cardinale de Napoli per legato.

De lo papa avimo nova 'ltimamente che se trovava ad Arieto, et credese se abia ad fare questa eleccione di questi signori cardinali per questo sectembro. De le cose di questo illustrissimo signore in che stanno ne aviso madama particularemente, la quale ne informarà vostra illustrissima signoria del tucto.

De Spagna avimo qua nova per via del capitano dele galee como el signor re de Castegla è signore de Castegla in pace et lo re di Portugallo sende è tornato in Portugallo, et è stato insieme con suo padre el signor re de Ragona. Et dicese, se fortifiche et se sforzano non solum de defenderonose da francisi, ma di loro offendere. Qua se dice ch'el re di Franza ce vole andar in persona con grandissimo exercito.

Del matrimonio del signor re nostro con la infante de Aragona tuctavia se tracta, et so de openione che certissimo se fa. El signor re ave facta fare adesso una bellissima corona et ricca non meno de quella di re Alfonso.

Del figlolo de vostra illustrissima signoria primo la maestà del signor re et tucti i figlioli et specialemente el mio signore ne anno avuto tanto piacere che al mondo non se porria dire più, et

⁵² Giovanni d'Aragona.

⁵³ Cava de' Tirreni.

⁵⁴ 14 August 1476.

tucto questo payese et precipue in questa terra, per Dio, signor mio, che non è stata meno alegrecza qua che en quessa casa di vostra signoria.

Anco aviso vostra signoria como la santità di nostro signore et la maestà del signor re anno conferito una abatia al signor don Joanne de valore di MCC docati l'anno per morte del cardenale di Bologna, et è la dicta abatia in Calabria.

Anco aviso vostra signoria como in questa città sono stati assayssima febre in tanta che la metà di questa città è stata inferma, è morto messer Rainaldo Brancaczo et lo conte di Bochiano sta ala morte.

Altro per la presente non me occorre, se non che sapia vostra signoria che qua è uno vostro fedelissimo servo, et non ho maiore grazia se non quando vostra signoria me comande. Recomandanome ali pedi di quella.

Neapoli, a dì XXI di agosto.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria fedele servitore,
Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Alo mio illustrissimo signore, lo signor duca de Ferrara. In Ferrara.

3.

Naples, 4 September [1476]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Napoli, b. 1. fasc. 9. pag. 167-168. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissimo signore mio. De continuo ho avisato vostra signoria, ma dapoi che lo magnifico messer Teofano è arivato qua, me ave parso soferfluo lo avisar perché sono certo che per esso sia vostra signoria informato per soi lettere che ogne di scrive. Alo quale la maestà del signor re fa honore assai et vedelo volientero, et certo compare assai honorevolmente. Et eri se fè una giostra in la sellarria, donde la maestà del signor re stecte in una finestra con messer Teofano senpre al suo costato et lo inbassaturi de lo re di Ungaria et di altri signori stectero per quelle finestre in più lochi.

De le ordenationi di questa festa non mence destengo per finché lo dicto messer Teofano avisa di tucto, solum che è stato determinato che la regina vada per mare fino ad Ferrara, et imbarcase ad Manfredonia. Questa è la ultima deliberatione porria ben essere che mo tassero di openione perché è erstima(to) di questo re.

Del signor don Federico la maestà del signor re ne è stato admirato fino in eri che venero' lettere como se ritrovava in Avegnone, et devease imbarcare ali XXVII d'agosto con lo cardenale Santo Pietro in Vincula et venire se ne via.

Del signor don Joanne mio signore, le cose di sua signoria sono adcertate per la santità di nostro signore che se lo tenga per certo. Et eri ebemo una lettera del signor duca di Urbino, lo quale è con la santità di nostro signore ad Arieti, che dice che nostro signore ne ave la maiore voluntà del mondo, solum de una cossa dubitamo: del tempo che è de questo sectembro overo ad natale. Ma avimo lettere che è permesso al reverendo di (Francia?) per la santità di nostro signore che fra tre mesi le averà facto el suo arcevescovo di Lione cardenale, et questo sectembro è el termine, ma una cosa ne ave facto et fa dubitare: lo tardo venir del cardenale Santo Pietro in Vincula.

Anco sentimo che in questa electione ce farrà lo fratello del duca de Milano monsegnore Ascanio, de quello frate⁵⁵ che lo re de Ungaria vole, lo papa non lo vole fare per nullo modo perché li cadinali non ce voleno tanti frati che in la eleccione se crede ce farrà lo generale di San Francisco, et lo re di Ungaria se nde vole, ne elegerà un altro.

Lo cardenale di Napoli aspectamo qua, lo quale fino al presente non è arrivato.

Altro per la presente non me occorre, se non che de continuo me recomando in grazia di vostra illustrissima signoria.

In Napoli, a dì IIII di sectembro.

De vostra illustrissima signoria humele et fedele servo,

Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Lo mio illustrissimo signor duca de Ferrara etc. In Ferrara.

⁵⁵ Gabriele Rangoni.

4.

Rome, 17 June [1477]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Roma b. 10. fasc. 70.

[sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissimo signore mio. Vostra illustrissima signoria non se meravegle se per lo passato non ho sscripto ad quella. La causa si è stato perché yo era disposto non scrivere a vostra signoria fino intanto che la facenna del mio illustrissimo signore non fosse spacczata et questo perché yo scrisse a vostra signoria le cose esser certissime, et in questo inganno non solo yo ma la mayesta del signor se et tucto lo suo consiglio sende inganno. Adesso yo sono venuto qua, in Roma sopra questa facenna, adesso qua con lo signor duca de Calabria, lo quale ave facto una grandissima instantia sopra questa facenna. Et perché la santità de nostro signore lo ave creato et facto cardenale secreto per una bolla, la quale avimo i' nostro potere, lo signor duca volea la santità de nostro signore lo publicasse adesso. La santità de nostro signore non lo ave voluto fare, ma le ave dicto che li lo mandarà questa festa fino i'Napoli per lo vicecancellieri, lo quale è criato legato i'Napoli ad incoronare la regina, et con questa conclusione è partito lo signor duca et con questo apontamento me nde vado i'Napoli. Questo yo lo scrivo a vostra illustrissima signoria perché so serto ne ave piacere per lo amore portate alo mio illustrissimo signore, et suplico quella de questo non ne razonee perché non volimo se saczano de certo per fino alo effecto ancora che lo volgo dica multi cose, et suplico quella se digne per mio satisfatione avisareme se avuta receputa la presente, eczo che yo non dubito sia pervenuta in altre mano.

Lo signor duca parti eri sera da qua, lo quale è stato qua assai pomposo, et vene in ordine quanto mai vedesse compagnia. Lo prencepe di Salerno è romasto qua malato di male de morbilli, et è romasta la sua galea per le navelo, lo quale dice vole seguire. In ogne modo lo signor duca, questi signori cardinali anno facti assai caricce di parole alo signori duca.

Altro per la presente non scrivo, se non che averria (causa) de esser per alcuni di con vostra signoria per recontareve le nove gale di questo nostri francisi per la pressa che ho dela partuta. Non dico altro se non che ali pedi dela vostra illustrissima signoria me recomando, como schiavo che so di quella.

Da Roma, a di XXVII di Jugno.

De vostro schiavo et servitore

Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Alo illustrissimo signor mio, lo signor duca de [Ferra]ra etc. In Ferrara.

5.

Naples, 10 February [1478]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Napoli, b. 1. fasc. 9. pag. 169-173.

[Autograph. The writing on the top of the pages is faded. The original date is 10 February 1477, but based on the content, the letter was clearly written in 1478. Therefore, the author probably treated March as the start of the year.]

Illustrissimo signore mio. Non se maraveglia la vostra signoria se questi di indiretro non ho scritto a quella. La ca(usa) si è stata che ho voluto fare defredar queste (...) perché (...)sno poco suspecto che non scrivesse (...) che conosco che non (...) ben fosse trovato in nessuna mende fo stato et perché queste cose sono alquanto defredate, yo retorno a fare lo mio debito. Per questa aviso la vostra signoria, como lo signor re sta polito et tucti li figlioli et precipue el mio signor cardenale, lo quale ave scritto ala vostra signoria de sua propria mano, et mai risposta né ave avuta la sua signoria ave ricevuto qua lo cappello, et lo signor re li fa assai honore et caricce, et così anco la signora reyna. Delo suo andare in Roma non porria avisare vostra signoria perché non ne sapimo niente fino al presente. Sua signoria ne ave gran voluntà, et anco la santità de nostro signore lo papa ne ave scritto uno breve ala maestà del signor re, pregandolo che lo mande subito, non però sua maestà non ave altro annovato. Lo signor re de Aragona li ave facto grazia de X milia docati de beneficii, et adesso lo signor re de Castegla li ne ave facte grazia de VI milia, dico primo vacante si le poccza piglare senza altra consulta, et scritto ala santità de nostro signore li conceda vacando alo dicto signor cardenale. De una cosa certifico la signoria vostra che lo signor cardenale ve è afficionado fratello, tanto che credo non lo crederiti fino che le expereyentie non acadeno.

Del facto del signor don Federico de Castegla ia è lecentiato che ia anno facto lo mayestro de Santo Jacobo, lo quale è uno de cardeneg(..) et lo nostro inbassatore, messer Antonio d'Alesandro se nde ritornò. La signora reyna de Castegla è pregnata de certo et de questo ne ave lettere la signora reyna nostra.

Qua se dice per certo che la pace di Franca con lo re de Aragona et de Castegla se farrà et se restituysse lo conte di Rosseglo et si anco se tracta uno matrimonio del signor don Federico con una consanguinea del re de Franca, et lega con lo signor re nostro, et lo re di Franca, et ce va inbassatore messer Jacovo Tolomeo. Credese se concluderà.

La pace di ienoesi et del signor re d'Aragona et di Castegla è conclusa qua i'Napoli.

Lo signor re nostro fa lagorare una grandissima quantità di paviglioni et tende, ad gran furia messer Jan Batista di Urbino è partito et andato al duca di Urbino. Del resto di Italia non loquarò perché la signoria vostra sa ogne cosa.

El signor re nostro ve perso la galea de sango, lo quale intrando in lo porto de Trapan, donò in una se(..) ala seconda guardia, et la ciurma (...) lo patron se fè fare et cossì fo seccorto da dui altre galee che andavano in sua conserva et recopedosse tucta la ciurma et la robba, lo bucto è perso,

andavano in Tunisi. Erano tre alee, quella di Jancho, donde era ipso proprio, et quella di Bertoldo et quella di Pasqual.

Qua fè carrega trenta milia tomola de grano per Senise ch'el signor re manda là.

Lo signor re se trova a Sarno, et credo andarà ad Centora. Fa una gran cara fra de sua persona ala signora regina, et de grandissime assentie in modo che yo dico che madama se pò lodare più de vostra signoria che non fa la signora regina del signor re nostro, la qual ve aviso che èy una virtuosissima et saviissima donna, et fa tante caricce a donna Beatrice⁵⁶ che se le fosse figlia, non ne le faria più. Senpre se la porta per la mano, per Dio, signore, che donna Beatrice èy tornata bonica et belloctola.

Don Ferrante⁵⁷ sta policto et èy uno bellissimo filgolo digno de tal patre. Martina ce actende bene. De una cosa aviso vostra signoria che diana la signora reyna la fè vestire al modo loro, et fo iodicata la più bella donna de questa terra con quello abito. Suplico vostra signoria, fate ordinare quando sende venerra che porta uno abito de queste donne ala catalana, serverra a doy cose che vederri la sua bellecza in quello modo, et suo marito averrà razone de più amarla et poi anche la vostra signoria vederà lo tragio delo vestire de queste catalane.

Queste donne dela regina, loro pare mille anni de esserono partiti d'aqua per li nostri bestiali modi, milli anni me pare de essere con la signoria vostra illustrissima per fareve uno poco redire de queste ioctilitate, di questi nostri savii regiturii.

Credo che vostra signoria avia sentito como lo signor re nostro ave desposeduto del contato, el conte di Aliano, al quale non èy restato una preta et lo stato di Jucobbuco de Montagnana ave venduto al fratello delo signore de Pionbino.

Anco aviso vostra signoria como lo signor re de Castegla ave facto (...) con lo figlio del duca de (Friugla) et questa (...) figlio (...) che èy qua a loro fino al (...) èy de novo digno di (...) socere per lo conte (...) et poi per lo magnifico messer Antro de (Atrsege) del tucto (...) stata informata la vostra signoria illustrissima con la quale me pare mille anni de essere per possene basare li mano, et ridere di queste nostre demonstratione de liberalitate. Altro non scrivo se non che me recomando ali pedi dela vostra signoria.

Scricta i'Napoli, a di X. februarii 1477.

De vostra illustrissima signoria

fedele servitore et schiavo, Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Alo mio illustrissimo signore, lo signore duca de Ferrara. Ferarie.

⁵⁶ Beatrice d'Este arrived to Naples in May 1477, where she was raised until the age of 10. PARDI 1937, 33; BACCHI-GALLI 2006, 247-248.

⁵⁷ Ferdinando d'Este was born in Naples on 9 September 1477. BACCHI-GALLI 2006, 255-256.

6.

Pozzuoli, 16 February [1478]

From Perotto Vesach to Ercole I d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori Napoli, b. 1. fasc. 9. pag. 174-177.

[Autograph. Calculating with March as the beginning the year, the year of issue is probably 1478 not 1477 what is originally written in the document.]

Illustrissimo signore mio. Adesso in questa hora che sono tre hore de nocte, stonno yo con lo signore cardenale. In lo retrocto è arivato uno cavallaro da Napoli con una lettera dela vostra illustrissima signoria, facta a XXI del passato, la quale ave lecta el signore dinanti a me, et avela avuta multo cara in modo tale che me ave dicto che vostra signoria vederrà in li occorrentie se serrà bon fratello dela vostra signoria. Per Dio, signore mio, che yo lo ho avuto a grazia che tale lettera sia qua venuta in questo tenpo, perché l'altro dì venne lo molietiero dela vostra signoria et non portò lettera alcuna, né stavamo tucti maraviglati como per un'altra ho avisata vostra signoria.

De novo non ce è cosa alcuna al presente, se non che lo signor cardenale non credo anderà fine al futuro octobro in corte de Roma, et questo è per certo cause non liciti a scrivere per non sapere le lettere como capitanno. Stamo qua in Puczolo per aver più comodo de libertà el signore che non i'Napoli.

Eri arivao qua uno cavallaro del re de Franca al signor re per lo quale scrivea poi d'altre faccenne, como avea sentito che la santità di nostro signore avea facto cardenale lo signore et che lo ave avuto tanto caro como se le fosse stato figlolo, et che le vole piglare carreo de venificarelo in suo regno, et che li vole comectere tucte soi faccenne.

Li baruni di Spagna sono venuti molto male in questo facto deli provesionie che ave facto lo signor re di Castegla de primi vacanti al signore puro se è octenuto per sei milia ducati.

Lo signor re tracta di continuo lo facto del signor don Federico con lo re de Franca, messer Jacovo Tolomeo ce anderà como per altra ho avisata la vostra signoria illustrissima.

Anco aviso vostra signoria como lo signor re ave facto piglare presone tre: dui soi officiali sustituiti d'Alberico Carafa, et un altro chiamato Nardo di Mercogiano. L'uno se chiama Argento, lo quale è stato scrivano di racione del molo, lo quale se dice avere fraudato ala corte XL milia docati. L'altro se chiama Actenaso del Parco, scrivano di racione del castello dele opere dela corte. Questi sono stati sustituiti d'Alberico Carrafa. Non se sa quello che ne soccederrà, tuctavia se loro fa lo processo.

Ancora la possessione dele terre dela signora regina sta cossì con li privilegii spacciatima non ave avuto fino al presente la possessione, quando la averrà piglata ne manderrò la lista ala vostra signoria.

Lo signor don Enrico è partuto questa matina da Napoli et va in Calabria, ma non per stare solo per vedere la mogliere. Dicese parabolose che lo signor re li dona lo contato de Aliano, lo quale ave levato questo dì passati alo conte di Aliano. Povero homo, lo quale ave voluto dare ala maestà del

signor re XX milia docati e lelo ristituescha et non ne ave voluto fare niente. Non credo che arive a dui milia ducati lo anno di renta.

Altro per la presente non me occorre, se non che fo schiavo fedele dela signoria vostra, ali pedi dela quale de continuo me recomando.

Da Piczolo, a dì XVI di frebaro 1477.

De vostra illustrissima signoria fedele servitore et schiavo

Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Alo illustrissimo signore mio, lo segnore duca de Ferrara. Ferrarie.

7.

Buda, 9 March [1480]

From Perotto Vesach to Eleonora d'Aragona

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissima madama mia. Poiché sono fora de Italia et èy me licito el scrivere, per questa aviso vostra signoria como el mio illustrissimo et reverendissimo signore⁵⁸ con volontà del signor re⁵⁹ me ave mandato da questo serenissimo re et regina di Ungaria⁶⁰, dali quali sono tanto accaricczato et honorato per respecto del signore re⁶¹ et del mio reverendissimo signor cardenale che non se porria dire più. Et certo, madama, ho trovato de Ungaria altro che quello che se dicea et in specialità dela maestà di re, el quale èy tanto gentile prencepe, quanto al mondo se possesse dire, de che certo, conosco madama la regina, se pò tenere contentissima, et esse anco dice essere contenta. Et certo yo conosco che nde ave ragione che non so qual altro marito avesse possuto trovare tanto al suo preposito, quanto questo virtuosissimo re et che più se affacesse(.) de qualità et natura che sono unum velle et unum nolle, quello che vole l'uno, vole l'altro. Madamma, la regina ave avuto lo stato donde sua maestà ave de posser spendere ogne anno a suo piacere L milia docati, dico cinquanta milia docati de oro. Et lo signor re li ave decto che quando sua maestà averrà spesi quelli li nde darrà cinquanta milia altri de camera ogne anno. Et cossì como lo dice, lo fa, como ho visto darele presento di valore de diciducto milia docati di valuta in uno tracto. Certo, madama mia illustrissima, non se porria tanta èy la libertà et animo unita con le virtù de questo serenissimo re. Ave uno grandissimo stato et assai baruni, dali quali è molto temuto, obedito et amato. Èy assay giovane de etade trentasecte anni, rebostissimo, più presto grande che piccolo di persona. Tene argentaria la più bella che abia mai vista, de panni de racza mo se fornisse et de zoye ave comperato senza li altre menuti uno collaro da ipso da caro XXV milia docati d'oro, et tuctavia conpera zoye. Certissimo, questo èy uno potentissimo re d'ogne cosa, dotato altro che di uno figlolo mascolo.

Ave donato al reverenssimo signor cardenale, vostro fratello uno arcevescovato, el quale vale meglio de trenta cinco milia docati per anno. Per lo signor don Federico avea tractato uno partito assai meglio de quello che ave facto, et se quello di Francescho non era facto, za questo era concluso, el quale credo sua maestà tracterrà per lo illustrissimo signor don Francisco, credati, madama, che sua maestà mai penca se non como pò conpiacere ala casa de Aragona, la quale certamente deve fare assai capitale de sua maestà. Et certo ama vostra illustrissima signoria, et questo so che più volte me so' trovato con sua maestà, quanto rasonea di quella con amore grandissimo. Questa mia lettera ho facta solo per dare aviso ala vostra illustrissima signoria, como qui in Ungaria èy uno servitore de

⁵⁸ Giovanni d'Aragona.

⁵⁹ Ferrante d'Aragona.

⁶⁰ King Matthias and Queen Beatrice.

⁶¹ Ferrante d'Aragona.

quella, ala quale suplico de gracia, me recomandi ali pedi del signor duca, como fecionato servitor di sua illustrissima signoria, et anco di vostra illustrissima signoria.

Scricta in Buda, a dì VIII di marzo.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria servitore

Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Illustrissima madama, (madam)a mia, la signora (duch)essa di Ferrara. Ferrarie

8.

Buda, 5 November [1480]

From Perotto Vesach to Giovanni d'Aragona

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissimo signore mio. L'altro dì per lo francese correro de vostra signoria ve avisai largamente. Mo me occorre per questa avisare vostra signoria, como li facti delo arcevescovato mai se estrensero più che da poi che partio lo dicto correro in modo che porriano andar meglio, dico dele entrate. Eri vidimo lo inventario, et trovamo vale molto più che quello che se dicea, et spero che ala ionta de vostra signoria qua, trovariti da posser spendere estra ordenario che de lo ordenario. Ia èy facto lo preparatorio, le cose stanno in bono termene, le fabriche dela ecclesia sono fenite che so montate puro assai, et mo demenuymo le spese del castello che montano puro assai, et sonci a ricevere uno frocta de miglara de ducati, li quali dice el signore, vole siano recolti primo la venuta di vostra signoria. Dio lo sa, et poi questi signori che mai cesso de solicitare mo(str)anno che vene da me, et che vostra signoria non solicita altramente che quanto piace ale loro maestate. Segnor mio, sapiati che èy uno picczolo regno. Madamma me ave chiamato et dictomi che vostra signoria porta Ponponio qua, che prega vostra signoria, se l'amate como a sorella, et se avite vogla de piacere le, che non lo portate et avenno modo de venire che li lo torbata et aviatelo in modo che non venga qua, altramente li farissino uno grandissimo despiacere. Et avemelo dicto, yo lo devesse scrivere strengendove in questo tanto quanto se pò. La roda del turco èy maiore che non ò scritto ala signoria vostra, et ogne dì se trovano presuni et iente morta, la arteglaria del signor re se careca a furia, et le ienti d'arme se radunano a Zagabria et a Cincoecclesie⁶² et quelle di Transilvania che stanno contra al turco, et aspecta sua maestà tucti li boemi che seranno prestissimo qua che sono una gran gente.

Altro non me occorre per la presente, se non che aspectamo la resposta dela francese et ali pedi di vostra signoria me recommando.

Da Buda, a dì V di novembro.

Di vostra signoria schiavo
Perocto

Addressed to: Alo illustrissimo et reverendissimo signore mio, lo signore carde(nale d)e Aragona.

⁶² Pécs.

9.

Naples, 9 January 1483⁶³

From Giovanni d'Aragona to Perotto Vesach

Badia di Cava, Armarium X. 17. 24v

Partially published: HAFNER 1997, 82.

De licterellis

L. Aquilanus episcopus

Perothi: Come per altre nostre ve havemo scripto, quando nui eramo in quesse parte, la serenissima signora regina donò carricho et commissione ad uno, nominato Alexandro Antavante, factore de li Gondi, che facesse fare certi paramenti de inbroccato per la persona nostra, quali secondo semo informati, sono già facti et stanno in Buda in potere del dicto Alexandro. Et perché li promesimo che liberamente li facesse condurre in Buda che quando la signora regina non li pagasse, li paghiamo nui. Però volimo che in casu sua maestà fosse occupata in altre despese et non li pagasse, li pagate vui de li denari nostri di Strigonia perché tucti sono di sua maestà, et essa ne li ha donati che per vigore dela promissione li ficimo non ne porriamo excusare con honore modo de non farli satisfacere.
Datum Neapolis, VIII Ianuarii 1483.

Non fate lo contrario perché questa è la mia intentione.

De Visach de Neapoli

L. Aquilanus episcopus

⁶³ Unlike Vesach's letters from Naples, here the year didn't start in March. Giovanni d'Aragona had already been to Hungary in January 1484.

10.

Buda, 5 November [1483]

From Perotto Vesach to Periteo Vesach

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Periteo, mio bello et dolce frate. Mai ho possuto intendere che era de nui fine al presente che èy arivato qua uno parente de mossen Pasquale, lo quale venea con lo signor nostro qua, et aveme dicto nova di tucti di casa, et precipue di vui. Quanta sia stata la alegrezza, lo potiti pensare per esseromo cressuti insiemi ali servizio di quesso nostro signore che puro adesso possa dire avereci uno frate più di mi (tamus esset?). Prego te, dolce fratello, de continuo me recomanda ali pedi del nostro signore et a tucti di quessi signori gentilomini et precipue al nostro comone frate, messer Bernabbò, et prego te che ve portate como frati insiemi, et atendere con fedetetà et amore alo servizio di quesso nostro signore, perché avimo stentato fino adesso, mo èy ben razonevole che in comenzamo ad regnare uno poco. Spero che zonto serrà qua el signore, conosserà che lo ben servito qua como ho facto in l'altre parti et non li ho facto vergogna. De una cosa me doglo, che qua èy fama che una gran parte deli servitori vecchi sono fora de casa. Assai me nde doglo per lo honore del signore che pare una cosa, non so como pensato che primo che arivassero questoro, fo contata qua una costione soccessa in Ferrara tra quelli del signore che acolpi di Garrafa. Se dicea che se aveano dato ogni cosa, se dice assai me nde dispiace del beneficio del signore. Te aviso, che èy maiore, che non se dice dela rocta del turco èy stata una grandissima cosa et multo più grande che non se racconta.

Altro non te scrivo, te recomando mio frate et recomandolo alo signore et recomandami a messer Bernabbò, et a tucti di casa, eta ad Alfonso dici che ho facta la facenna sua.

Da Buda, a dì V di novembro.

Tuo Perocto

Addressed to: Alo mio maiore fratello, Periteo mal(...) camerero et (...)to delo signor cardenale d'Aragona.

11.

Esztergom, Kingdom of Hungary, 27 May 1484

Quittance of Giovanni d'Aragona to Perotto Vesach

Badia di Cava, Armarium X. 18. 21rv

Perotti de Bisach de Neapolis.

L.Aquilanus episcopus

Joannes etc. Magnifico viro Perottho de Bisach de Neapolis camerario nostro plurimum dilecto! Justa et rasevele cosa è che essendo vui stato governatore et perceptore de le intrate del arcevescovato nostro de Strigonio per li tempi passati, ne debiate ala fine reportare quella laude, commendatione et cautela, quale li viri boni meriti et portanti ricercano. Et per questo avendo nui commeso ali magnifici messer Paulo Legisco de L'Aquila, regio paterno conseglieri, a Bernardo Vitale scrivano de ratione de la serenissima signora regina de Hungaria, nostra sore observandissima, et a Gasparo de Sanfeliu, scrivano de ratione nostro, che deversero videre li cuncti de vostra administratione incomintiando da li vinttre de aprile del anno mille et quattrocento octanta, fine et per tucto li undeci de jennaro de millet et quattrocento octantaquattro proximo passato. Ne hanno referito vui essereve portato bene et fidelmente in dicta administratione, certificandone li cuncti vostri verissimi et approbatissimi. Et perché per la relatione de li predicti et per quello che havemo visto et compreso, conoscemo vui esserene portato con grandissima lialità in le cose nostre, et haverece ne renduto bon cuncto, ve havemo voluto fare la presente per tenore de la quale confessamo et dechiaramo essere ben contenti et satisfacti de vui per tucto lo dicto tempo del'administratione vostra predicta, quitandove et absolvendove da quella et dechiarando etiam che si per inadvertentia, o fraude, o per qualsevoglia altra via et modo vui havissino in vostro potere denari o robbe nostre de ciò che natura et quantità se fossero, volemo ex nunc ne siano donate et relassate, cussì come nui per vigore de questa medesima liberamente ve donamo et relassamo, de le quale per nullo tempo vui, né herede vostre ne habiate da rendere cuncto ne ragione, volendo che questa nostra generale quitanza ve sia sufficientissima cautela imperpetuum, promictendove sub fide et verbo principis atque cardinalis mai per alcun tempo donarve, né farve dare impaccio né molestia alcuna per questa causa, né a vui, né a nissuna persona per vostra parte. In testimonianza del che ve havemo facta fare la presente sobtoscripta de nostra propria manu et sigillata del nostro solito sigillo.

Datum in castro nostro Strigoniensi, XXVII Maii 1484.

Joannes cardinalis de Aragonia
manu propria

Ego, Paulus Legistus de Aquila fateor supradicta et testor.

Ego, Bernardus fateor supradicta et testor.

Ego, Gaspar Sanffeliu fateor supradicta et testor.

12.

Vienna, 6 December 1485

From Perotto Vesach to Eleonora d'Aragona

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [autograph]

Partially published: BERZEVICZY 1914. 73-75.

Illustrissima madama mia. Non se porria con penna scrivere né con lengua esprimere lo dolore grandissimo ave preso lo signor re et la maestà de madamma dela morte dela benedecta anima del mio reverendissimo signor cardenale. Et certo non serria stato persona avesse immaginato, questo serenissimo re ne avesse facta tanta demonstratione di dolerse di tal caso, et certo in questo caso ave mostrato sua maestà no fengere in lo amore dimostra ala casa di Ragona, de nui, poveri servitori che simo qua, la signoria vostra illustrissima pò pensare como stiamo contenti. Ionta la nova et lo signor re, vedenzo la maestà di madamma sì dolorata et essere in tanta tristicia, per metigare in parte el dolore, le donò lo arcivescovato di Strigonia, lo quale tenea la bona memoria sopradicta. Et li disse che de dicto arcevescovato ne disponesse como li piacesse, et che, se avea qualche parente che se volesse fare preite, che ce le donasse che sua maestà serria contento. Et cossi ave fermato là Bernabò⁶⁴, como prima, in lo governo. Et la maestà de madamma lo ave accettato et tenelo. Et ne ave scritto al signor re, don Ferrante: sua maestà⁶⁵ pense a chi del sangue di sua maestà⁶⁶, se possesse dare che soa maestà delibere de là et qua se sequirà. Et questi baroni non ci consentieriano altro che se èi parente.

La maestà de madamma avea pensato darlo ad uno deli figli dela illustrissima signoria vostra, et questo serenissimo re le piaceva assai, ma ogni cosa èi remisso al signor re don Ferrante che quello sua maestà delibierà, serrà facto, pur benché monsegnore Ascanio et altri signori cadinali ci abiano scritto et a tucti loro èi stato risposto che la maestà di mandamma lo ave donato ad uno di soi parenti. Yo como servitore affezionatissimo delo illustrissimo signor duca et anco di vostra signoria, me ave parso darne aviso a vostra illustrissima signoria, la quale porrà scrivere al signor re, vostro patre, delo aviso ave avuto vostra signoria da qua, et suplicarlo, sia contento per uno deli figlioli di vostra signoria. Et subito da qua serranno facti le provesioni per Roma. Et perché lo signor re ave mandato per lo episcopo di L'Aquila⁶⁷, et anco madama, che quando la cosa socederà serria ypo curatore et delo arcevescovato et anco dela signoria sua. La signoria vostra illustrissima sa che yo lo ho tenuto in governo tre anni et hocto mesi, et so che èi in uno anno ne ho extracti XVIII milia docati contanti, senza victoagli et vini, che di vini solo fa milli bocti, et pesse et altri intrati. Èy el primo barone del regno et la prima dignità, èi legato nato. Concludo et dico che èi uno piccolo papato. Creda vostra signoria che èi una dignissima cosa, et quando

⁶⁴ Bernabò Brancia, the director of goods of the archbishopric of Esztergom between 11 January 1484 and 17 April 1487.

⁶⁵ King Matthias.

⁶⁶ King Ferdinand.

⁶⁷ Obvious error. Agria should be used in place of. The bishop of Eger: Gabriele Rangoni (1476-1486).

calvacza, senpre ave trecento cavalli apresso. La signoria vostra ce facza bono pensiero, et presto siano le provesionì che non èi cosa da lassar scanpare. Yo farò senpre lo officio di bon servitore, et tanto più vedendoci queste maestate ben disposte.

Dele nove de qua, questi signori erano in grandissima prosperità et alegrecca, se questo caso non fosse soceso. El campo delo signor re sempre sequisse la victoria di questa Austria, lo inperatore èi i'Noremberga, in le stufe.

Da qua ad tre di loro maestate se parteranno per Buda, donde èi congregata la dieta del regno, et tucti li baroni sono là. Se stima, siano dele persune XXX milia venute in questa dieta. Et là se concluderrà la sussidio del signor re don Ferrante, lo quale questo re deliberà de commecter lo stato et la persona. Et io che ave mai lo vidi inanimato in alcuna impresa, quanto in questa contra ali nemici del signor re don Ferrante. Ave scritto lettere diaboliche alo papa et al collegio, manda li inbassatori ad venciani⁶⁸ per intendere che anno da fare se contra al signor re don Ferrante, overo sterrano al vedere. Ave mandati per tucti li soi capitani, li quali sono in Buda. Ave spaczato subito uno inbassatore al turco. Credo la signoria vostra illustrissima vederrà quello che altrui non se pensa, et questo èi homo che non ave respecto a lectere, se non fa de facti, et c'èi bene inanimato che dicano delo inperatore che li donarra in pocho poco lo stima che li lassarà uno de soi capitani. Alo incontra che serrà assai per la cesarea maestà deliberà se lo pontefice non desiste dela impresa, le levarrà la obbedientia. Sua maestà dice vole mostrare quale parente èi al signor re don Ferrante. Dio facza non ci sia bisogno.

Tucti questi spaczamenti, tanto delo arcevescovato, quanto dela guerra se parteno hoze da qua, li cavallari per Napoli, perciò sia avisata vostra signoria, la quale suplico me vogla recomandare ali pedi delo illustrissimo signor mio, lo signor duca, del quale sono schiavo fedelissimo, et cossì anco di vostra signoria. Ex Vienna, VI Decembris 1485⁶⁹.

Di vostra signoria illustrissima fedele servitore,

Perocto de Vesach

[*There are two postscript as well, one of them on the bottom of the page, the other is on a slip of paper attached to the letter:*]

[1. *Postscript on the bottom of the page:*] Aviso anco vostra signoria che credo, questoro socedendo la cosa como spero, se contentariano del secondogenito⁷⁰ più presto che delo terzo⁷¹.

[2. *Postscript attached to the paper:*] Se la illustrissima signoria vostra me vole respondere, mande le lettere per via de Milano, et di messer Simonot⁷².

eydem servitor Peroctus

Added to: Ala illustrissima et excellentissima signora mia, la signora dochessa (di Ferra)ra et (...). Cito et fideliter.

⁶⁸ Veneziani.

⁶⁹ Another hand wrote the year, afterwards.

⁷⁰ Ferdinando d'Este.

⁷¹ Ippolito d'Este.

⁷² Simonotto Belprato, envoy from Naples.

13.

Buda, 14 January [1486]

From Perotto Vesach to Eleonora d'Aragona

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissima madama mia. Per un'altra de Vienna avisai vostra illustrissima signoria delo arcevescovato di Strigonio, como lo signor re et la maestà di madamma aveano reservato dicto arcevescovato ad volentà del signor re don Ferrante, per uno deli soi, dico che sia del suo sangue, et non parente longo, pur benché lo signor cardenale Ascanio ci avesse scritto et li fo data risposta che era dato. Al presente ci ave mandato lo abate di Forlì con breve del papa con lettere di mano del signor re⁷³ et dela dochessa di Calabria⁷⁴. Aveno portato del stato di Milano et si ave facta et fa molta instantia per dicto arcevescovato. Yo sono stato presente ala odientia, li ave dato lo signor re, et poi ala risposta, la quale èi stata che se vada con Dio che lo signor re lo ave dato. Poi molte repliche dicea che avea inteso lo signor re ne avea provisto una con madamma alo figlio di vostra signoria che non li pareva se dovesse posponere per uno picolino lo dicto cardenale, et che farria che lo signor re don Ferrante et lo illustrissimo signor duca, vostro consorte cederiano et scriveriano in fagore⁷⁵ di dicto cardenale. Li fo risposto che quando lo signor re, don Ferrante non lo vorrà per alcuno deli soi che questo re et madamma lo darranno ad uno ungaro più presto che a cardenale. Poi venne che al manco ce li donassero una pensione sopradicto arcevescovato, li fo risposto che se stesse milli anni, mai averrà altra risposta che quella ave avuta. Et ypso disse: "bene, io me voglio stare qua acuni dì ad piacere", et ave spazato uno cavallaro. Credimo farrà fare instantia al signor re don Ferrante pertanto ne aviso vostra signoria che soleceti el dicto signor re, suo patre, perché non senne farrà altramente che como ho scritto di sopra, et vorria vostra signoria me mandasse una cifra con la quale possesse scrivere a vostra signoria, pur benché madama facza come sorella di vostra signoria illustrissima, sia certa Quella che yo fo lo officio di servitore. Questo cavallaro solo per questa facenna èi spazato. Vostra signoria facza che vada sicuro che le lettere non se perdano perché per vostra signoria va, ali pedi dela quale me recommando con quelli del illustrissimo signor duca.

Ex Buda, XIII Jenuarii.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria
servitore Procto di Vesach

Addressed to: Alo illustrissima madamma mia, la signora dochessa di Ferrara etc. Cito et fideliter.

⁷³ King Ferdinand of Naples.

⁷⁴ Ippolita Sforza.

⁷⁵ Sic.

14.

Buda, 2 February [1486]*From Perotto Vesach to Eleonora d'Aragona*

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissima madama mia. Per doi altre ho avisata vostra signoria illustrissima dela cosa de Strigonio, como lo signor re e la maestà de madamma lo anno reservato a volontà dela maestà del signor re don Ferrante, volendolo per alcuno suo parente, dico desso del suo sangue, el quale è stato pensato uno deli figlioli di vostra signoria illustrissima. Et non volendolo per alcuno deli soi carnali, questi serenissimi maestate et questo Regno non voleno se non ungaro. Qua è uno del reverendissimo monsegnore Ascanio, lo quale è lo abate de Forlì, lo quale ave facta grandissima istantia per dicto arcevescovato. Et portato uno breve del papa, una lettera di mano propria del signor re don Ferrante, et cossì propria dela dochessa di Calabria, una del duca di Milano⁷⁶, et un'altra delo signor Ludovico⁷⁷ et un'altra de messer Francisco Fontana⁷⁸. Lo signor re li donò odientia secreta, donde fo lo suo consiglio secreto, et yo fuy presente. Lecte lettere li donò audientia, le disse sua maestà che dicesse che volea dire. Ipso disse che monseignor suo suplicava sua maestà, le volesse fare grazia delo arcevescovato di Strigonio, et ce alego molte rasone che le lo concedesse. Lo signor re li disse che se nde andasse ala stantia che poi li faria rispondere. Da là ad certi dì li donò un'altra volta odientia, puro fuy presente, le fè dire per lo episcopo varadino⁷⁹ che la maestà sua lo avea dato a volontà del signor re don Ferrante et dela serenissima regina, como ho dicto di sopra. Ipso replicò che se steva al volere del signor re don Ferrante, che ipso screveria alo suo reverendissimo signor cardenale che farria che lo signor re don Ferrante scriveria per ipso, et che lo signor duca di Ferra' ce consentirea. Li fo risposto che quando lo signor re don Ferrante no' lo vorrà per alcuni deli soi, como ho dicto di sopra, che lo darranno ad alcuno ungaro. Summa sumarum, li è stato declarato che non ce lo voleno dare. Ipso poi ave tentati molti partiti, et de pensione et d'altre, et non ave possuto cavare altra risposta. Ipso ave mandato uno correro volando a monsegnore suo per fare replicare al signor re don Ferrante, et fare cedere al illustrissimo signor duca di Ferrara. Pertanto aviso vostra signoria che non lo facza, perché se cederrà lo signor duca vostro consorte, non però lo averà lo signor Ascanio reverendissimo, ma lo averà qualche altro ungaro. Preterea pense vostra signoria che per lo mundo non ci sono molte Strigonie! La signoria vostra ce facza ogne istantia sia possebele col signore re vostro patre perché da qua la cosa è composta per meczo de madamma che certo ve è bona sorella. Yo solleceto quanto posso et so, et fo lo officio de bono servitore. Et comenderia se lo signor duca et vostra signoria ce mandasseno uno homo qua, como se venesse avisare la maestà de mada' per la morte del

⁷⁶ Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza.

⁷⁷ Ludovico Sforza.

⁷⁸ Francesco Fontana, Gabriele Rangoni's nephew, King Matthias's envoy in Italy.

⁷⁹ Jan Filipec.

signor cardenale reverendissimo, et rengratiarla de quanto ave inteso vostra signoria per mei lettere circa la practica di Strigonio, non serria se non cosa santa, non inperò le cose sono cuncluse como ho dicto di sopra. Ma avendo la signoria vostra illustrissima a mandare non sia persona dela natura di messer Nicolo Sadolecto⁸⁰ che poco honore fè ala nostra natione. Et chi mandasse vostra signoria illustrissima, porria venire ad Pesaro en dui dì traverserà ad Segna, como èi ad Segna subito èi qua. Tucto lo remecto alo vedere del signor duca et di vostra signoria illustrissima.

Lo signor re èi qua, donde èi celebrata la dieta generale di questo Regno. Donde sono stati tucti baroni et prelati et nobili, li quali se sono (a)pellati dela scomunica che fa el papa a chi donasse aiuto al signor re don Ferrante, et che voleno mectere li stati robe figloli et le persone in sossidio de re don Ferando. Et anno facto uno decreto che lo primo che va a Roma per bolle overo ad appellare sia traytore del Regno. Èy stato uno grandissimo tumulto et remor contra al papa con dirle concobinario publico che, per fare grande li soi bastardi, vole desfare lo signor re don Ferrante, che tucti voleno vedere tagliati a peczi li figloli primo che questo vedano premia. Se non serria persona lo avesse da credere se non chi lo avesse visto lo abate di Forlì di monsegnore Ascanio et uno cancelliero di monsegnore d'Agria, ce foro' presenti che romasero como morti che yo ce li condussi per ordene del signore re, lo quale delibera morire overo aiutare lo signor re don Ferrante, dalo quale expecta risposta che ci ave mandati cinco correri et mai ne torna nessuno et perciò sta sospeso et non sa che se fa. Le loro maestate sono qua et se aspectano queste benedecte risposte che mai ne vene nulla. La dieta domatina fenisse. Altro non me occorre se non che me recommando ali pedi del signor duca et di vostra signoria illustrissima, et non inputi vostra signoria alo mio scrivere perché la ho scricta in messa.

Ex Buda die II februarii.

Di vostra signoria fedele schiavo Perocto Vesach

Addressed to: Ala illustrissima signora mia, la signora dochesa de (Ferra)ra etc.

⁸⁰ Nicolò Sadoleto, envoy of Ferrara.

15.

Vienna, 15 May [1488]*From Perotto Vesach to Eleonora d'Aragona*

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [sine anno; autograph]

Illustrissima madama mia. Per Francisco Cattivello⁸¹ yo scrisse a vostra signoria illustrissima da poi non me èi occorso. Adesso per questo me ave parso debito scrivere a vostra signoria illustrissima, et non me stenderò troppo in avisare quella del illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsegnore, vostro figlolo⁸² perché me remecto ale lettere di questi altri signori che li sono appresso. Ma non resterò de certificare la vostra signoria che lo signor re lo ama de tanto bon core che sua maestà prima me ave iorato che non meno li vole bene che se le fosse ussito del corpo. Et questo sua maestà me lo ave dicto più di doi volte, et spesso lo fa monsignore con esso, et ala volte sua maestà primo li taglia. Io ve iuro, madamma, che l'altro dì monsegnore et yo cenavamo con sua maestà, et lo signor re primo li tagliava el pane, et lo tenea ad suo costato, siché la maestà sua li tracta da figliolo, et la maestà di madama non èi necessario se scriva.

Et in questi dì passati messer Beltramo⁸³ non c'era che era andato ad Strigonio. Lo signor re fè che lo signor duca, suo figliolo⁸⁴ lo convitasse ad una villa longe da qua doi migla taliani, et da là a dui dì poi li fè fare un altro viaggio puro col signor duca in una terra deli aquistati⁸⁵, et là stectimo doi dì là. Et solo lo signor re lo fa per darle piacere, siché la signoria vostra ne ste di bono animo che yo li sono bono servitore et procuratore apresso lo signor re. Ma una cosa voglio dire che non me piace niente el modo se tenea questi vostri⁸⁶ che sono con monsegnore vostro figliolo, che non èi poco vergogna che donde anno passuto tanta segnuri ungari, et figlioli di baroni, non ci possano vivere in pace deici ferrarese, che l'uno publica l'altro, l'uno dice mal del'altro che èi el maiore vitoperio del mondo, che pare mai aiano visto bene. Et èi el peio ch'el signor re intende tucto che me so trovato in secreto quando èi stato referito ad sua maestà. Yo loro lo ho dicto che me doglio che nce siano venuti, per Dio, ve iuro che se avesseno visto le lamentationi publiche che loro taliani se anno facto del mangiare, la signoria vostra se serria desperata. Yo loro ho dicto el mio parere, de poi poco me nce acosto con loro, pensate che èi stato referito che como anno uno docato d'oro, lo vendeno ali iodei per avanzare tre pinci per docati. Et questo èi el peio che vivono con le intrate future. Considerate enche sta' li facti di monsegnore che nce so' tanti vini che valeno più di tremilia docati, et anno li inpediti con la corte che non se nce piglia fine et li interessi corrono. Questo che ho scritto a vostra

⁸¹ Francesco Cattivello, curier from Ferrara.

⁸² Ippolito d'Este.

⁸³ Beltrame Costabili, governor of the archbishopric of Esztergom.

⁸⁴ John Corvinus.

⁸⁵ On of the occupied towns in Austria.

⁸⁶ He meant the entourage from Ferrara sent to Hungary.

signoria, yo lo ho scricto con amore et passione che ho de questo figliolo. Suplico la signoria vostra, la preste la bruse, che non voglio queste cose se intengano per altri.

Lo signor re sta benissimo et per questi inbassatori di Milano ave sopreseduto di partire per ex Sclesia⁸⁷, donde sua maestà ave mandato el canpo contra certi duca che aveano facto uno poco di disobidentia. Mo èi venuto nova dela infirmità del inperatore⁸⁸, lo quale dicenno stare grave. Non so quando sua maestà parterrà, yo vado con sua maestà, donde sia certa vostra signoria che in quello porrò servire monsegnore, lo farrò como se fosse viva quella bona memoria del signor cardenale d'Aragona.

La maestà di madamma ave avuto uno poco di terczana, ma la ave lassata. Eri sera cenò con la maestà del signor re. Altro non me occorre se non che ala malora ho facta la quarta figla femena et perciò me piace stare ala corte, et non andare in casa per paura di non fare la quinta. Recomandomi ali pedi del signor duca et dela illustrissima signoria vostra.

Ex Vienna, die XV Maii.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria servo
Perocto

Post datam: lo signor re proprio ave ordinato lo caritativo sussidio⁸⁹ moto proprio che monterà una frocta di docati per sussidio dele bolle di monsegnore, et cossì èi inposto, et più disse sua maestà che nce vole aiotare del suo, dico per Dio che le cose di monsegnore stanno tanto bene apresso lo signor re che non porriano meglio. Ma sua signoria ave carastia di homini, et manderà la signoria vostra illustrissima una cifra.

Addressed to: Ala illustrissima madamma, (madam)a la signora dochessa di Ferrara etc.

⁸⁷ Slesia.

⁸⁸ Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor (1457-1493).

⁸⁹ In 1488, King Matthias ordered the clergy of the archdiocese of Esztergom to pay a synodal contribution in order to be able to pay for the archbishop's papal bull. KUFFART 2018, 60, 88, 195.

16.

Esztergom, 25 August [1496]

From Perotto Vesach to Isabella d'Este

ASMn, Stati preunitari, Antichi regimi, Periodo Gonzaga, Archivio Gonzaga, Dipartimento affari esteri, Ungheria, b. 533. no. 4. [sine anno; handwritten signature]

Illustrissima madama mia. Exendo questo inverno passato con lo reverendissimo et illustrissimo cardinale de Strigonio, messer Tadio de Lardi me fè intendere che vostra signoria illustrissima haveria havuto desiderio de haver havuto alcuno zibellino per lo collo et perché me fè bisogno andare per servitio de questa serenissima regina in uno certo loco, non possente satisfare alo debito mio, et trovandosi mia moglie et de vostra signoria servitura in uno certo loco mio ad presso di Strigonio, et intendendo lo che lo preditto messer Tadio me haveva ditto et trovandose non so che zibellini, ne mando tre non digni de vostra signoria. Depo me scripse donde io era et subito fè provisione de haverme alcuno bello et mandai fine in Littvania, donde ne hebe uno con li ogne che è quase inpossebele haverne, et lo reverendissimo sopraditto cardinale intendendolo me scripse donde io era li lo mandasse, et perché lo tengo per signore, li lo mandai. Et li scripse como haveva fatto venire per vostra illustrissima signoria che ce lo mandava sì sua signoria lo donava ad vostra signoria, io ne li basaria la mano, non dandolo, la signoria sua era libero farne lo suo piacere. Depoi ho visto una littera de Francesco che serviva ala maestà de madama, et dice esser stato adcarezato et honorato da vostra signoria illustrissima che più dire non se porria et tra le altre cose scrive che li martori se portano per zibillini, et per questo me è parso non aspettare per le provisioni che ho fatto de haverando alcuno bello mandare quisti dui li quali me ho trovato adpresso di me, si non sono cossi belle como a vostra illustrissima signoria se conviene, piglie el bono animo del servitore ala quale di continuo humilmente me recommando.

Ex Strigonio, XXV di agosto.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria humile servitore, Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Ala illustrissima signora mia, la signora donna Ysabella de Aragonia et de Aeste, marchesana di Mantua etc.

17.

Esztergom, 11 September 1498

From Perotto Vesach to Isabella d'Este

ASMn, Stati preunitari, Antichi regimi, Periodo Gonzaga, Archivio Gonzaga, Dipartimento affari esteri, Ungheria, b. 533. no. 4.

Illustrissima domina, post humile commendazione. Essendo venuto Rusino presente portatore de Italia, me portò lettere de quella, per le quale me scriveva haver acceptato dicto Rusino a sui servitii, recordandose dela antiqua servitu per ipso Rusino prestata ala felice memoria della signora duchessa, vostra madre. Et perché cognosco lo dicto Rusino esser affectionato servitore dela casa de vostra illustrissima signoria, lo aricomando a quella, quanto sia possibile.

Preterea vostra illustrissima signoria me scrive ancho che li verca dui cavalli bianchi per carrecta, et subito riceputa hebbi la lettera, ho donato ordine per haverli, come per el dicto Rusino vostra illustrissima signoria intenderà, spero servirla in questo et in ogni altra cosa me comandarà. Recomendandome de continuo a vostra illustrissima signoria.

Ex Strigonio, XI settembre 1498.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria
servitore Perotto de Vesach

Addressed to: Ala illustrissima mia signora, signora donna Yssabela de Aragona de Gonzaga, marchesana de Mantua

18.

Esztergom, 2 June 1499*From Perotto Vesach to Juan Moncayo*

ASMI, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [contemporaneous copy]

Publ.: BERZEVICZY 1914. 379-380.

Ex litterarum Perrocti de Vesach ad Moncayium

De le cose de qua da me ve aviso como la dieta è facta, et la conclusione è stata confusione, como vedereti per li introclusi capituli ve mando, el che è quanto se è concluso in dicta dieta, et li modo è stato questo che li baroni se condusero a Buda, dove monsignore de Strigonio fè la monstra qua in Strigonio de seicento cinquanta cavalli armati e ben in ordine, et de cento cinquanta uszari, et cum questa gente intrò in Buda, le arme portarò dentro carrecte.

Et così li altri baroni intrarò desarmati, et tutti sono alloggiati in Buda, li contati venerno armati et si alloggiarono in Pesch, et ordenarono un par de forche, et uno ligno cum una spata ignuda sopra dicto ligno, et questo era denante al padiglione del consilio del regno. Et chiamarò tucti li nobili che erani in servitio de li baroni, et tucti andarò et mandarò per el signor re, el quale per alchuni respecti non andò. Questoro venuto el dì prefixo, chi era el XV poi santo Georgio, si parterono et publicarono li introclusi capituli, et donarò la corona a Gereb Petro⁹⁰ et al conte palatino⁹¹ cum decreto che mai prete la debia havere. El signor re inteso questo, lor mandò proponere due cose: che volessero pigliare questo edicto de privare li preti de conservatione dela corona, et che li pregava che aspectassero due o tre hore. Loro erano già in campagna et in arme per partire. Resposeno prima al facto deli preti che non ne volevano fare niente quanto al facto delo aspectare che sua maestà haveva havuto tempo XV dì, in li quali haveria potuto tractare cum suy fidelissimi subditi, et che ha demonstrato dubitare de loro fidelità, et che in vano hanno facto una gran spesa che non ponno più suportare. Et così sonarono le trombete, et ogniuno tornò alla via de casa. Li baroni sono restati per alchuni dì cum el signor re in consilio, tamen ogni homo se ne andato a casa senza alchuna conclusione. Li prelati non ce sono stati tucti, questi sono lo Collocia⁹², lo Cinquegiese⁹³, lo Transilvano⁹⁴, lo Resprinita⁹⁵, lo Bosnense⁹⁶, El Zagabria è morto⁹⁷. Dubito che questo regno non succeda pegio che Boemia, si non se ce prevede presto. Dio perdona alla santità de nostro signore el

⁹⁰ Péter Geréb, judge royal of Hungary (1494-1500).

⁹¹ István Szapolyai, palatine of Hungary (1492-1499).

⁹² Péter Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa (1480-1501).

⁹³ Zsigmond Ernuszt, bishop of Pécs (1473-1505).

⁹⁴ László Vingárti Geréb, bishop of Transylvania (1476-1501).

⁹⁵ János Kamarcai Vitéz, bishop of Veszprém (1489-1499).

⁹⁶ Gábor Polnar, bishop of Bosnia (1493-1501).

⁹⁷ Osvát Szentlászlói (Túz), bishop of Zagreb (1466-1499) who died on 16 April 1499.

papa che, se sua santità havesse pigliato qualche mezo overo asseto alle cose dela maestà de madama, le cose seriano assectate altramente, perché tutto el regno chiamaveno sua maestà.
Ex Strigonio, secunda Junii 1499.

19.

Esztergom, 2 June 1499

From Perotto Vesach to Ippolito d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2. [handwritten signature]

Illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsignor mio. Ho riceputo in questi dì una di vostra signoria, per quella ho inteso lo piacere se dona in cacie di che ne ho una grandissima invidia, poi ancho me scrive in comendato di Francione. Sapia vostra signoria che per obedire a quella, farò tanto quanto me serà possibile che dicto Francione cognosca li comandamenti di vostra signoria a me li habiano valuto de le occurentie. De qua scrivo amplamente a Pandolpho, per non dar fastidio a vostra signoria in troppo legere, dal quale porrà intendere el tutto facendo fine et aricomandandome di continuo a vostra signoria illustrissima et reverendissima, come humile servitore de quella.

Ex Strigonio, die seconda Junii 1499.

Di vostra illustrissima et reverendissima signoria
servitore Perocto de Vesach

Addressed to: Alo illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsignore mio, lo signor cardinale da Este etc.

20.

Esztergom, 9 April 1500

From Perotto Vesach to Ippolito d'Este

ASMo, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Carteggi con rettori, vescovi e oratori di Stati e città, Italia, Oratori, b. 1737/2.

Illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsignore mio. Questa non è per altro, si no che la inclusa habia bono recapito, si la signoria vostra reverendissima volerà intendere quello che da qua occorre, la poterà aperire vostra illustrissima signoria, ala quale di continuo me ricomando.

Strigonia, VIII aprilis 1500.

Di vostra illustrissima signoria servitore Piroto de Visache

Addressed to: Al illustrissimo et reverendissimo monsignore mio, lo cardinale de Este. In Ferrara.

Abbreviations

ASMn: Archivio di Stato di Mantova

ASMo: Archivio di Stato di Modena

ASMNa: Archivio Storico Municipale di Napoli

MNL OL DF: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (National Archives of Hungary, Collection of Photocopies)

MNL OL DL: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatic Archives)

RAH: Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia (Madrid)

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ANTONIO CARAFFA BETWEEN NAPLES AND HUNGARY

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1. Introduction

1.1 *The sources*

Like in the case of many of his compatriots, we would have very little information about Antonio Caraffa's life and activity unless Caraffa had sent his personal archives from Vienna to Naples. In this materials among the autobiography of Caraffa there was also his correspondence with the Emperor Leopold I and some of the aristocrats of the Viennese Court. This personal archive – that unfortunately would be dispersed in the later period – arrived in Naples and was Antonio's nephew Adriano (or Hadrian) Caraffa three years after his uncle's death that passed it to his former tutor, the famous Neapolitan philosopher, historian and jurist Giambattista Vico (1668-1744). Vico was Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Naples. He was trained in jurisprudence, but read widely in Classics, philology, and philosophy, all of which informed his highly original views on history, historiography, and culture. His thought is most fully expressed in his mature work, the *Scienza Nuova* or *The New Science*¹.

Adriano, Duke of Traetto, who had been one of Vico's pupils and nephew of general Antonio Caraffa, commissioned Vico to write the biography of Antonio Caraffa in order to conserve the memory of his uncle². Vico wrote this biography of Caraffa between 1713 and 1715, entitled '*De rebus gestis Antonj Caraphaei*' on the basis of these original documents. Vico's biography of Caraffa, after a contemporary edition of 1716, has been also published in Naples in a bilingual, Latin and Italian modern critical edition³. As mentioned, most of

¹ ADAMS 1935; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/vico/#Rel>; with a huge bibliography: <https://philpapers.org/sep/vico/>.

² NICOLINI 1967.

³ VICO 1716; VICO 1997.

the documents used by Vico have been lost – Manuela Sanna⁴ suggests they may have been destroyed in a fire in 1848 – however, a volume of these Caraffa's materials has survived in the Naples State Archives (*Stato di Napoli. Museo. Miscellanea di scritture. Stanza 147. Numero busta 99 B 146.*) The collection contains 65 documents, mostly written in Latin and Italian, but there are some letters also in Hungarian, German and Turkish. This volume will be published in its entirety in the near future in a bilingual (Italian-Hungarian) critical edition, with the collaboration of the Tonia Campomorto, Phd candidate from Naples that has translated most of the Latin letters. This volume of Caraffa's correspondence will be a valuable contribution to the history of the period and to the knowledge of Caraffa's activities. Its main topics are the Turkish-Habsburg peace negotiations of 1686-1688, the Turkish surrender of the castle of Eger and the surrender of the castle of Munkács (Mukachevo, Ukraine). The various materials were arranged by Caraffa himself in three groups as follows:

1. Varie lettere scritte hinc inde tra il S(igno)re Conte Antoni Carafa, il G(ran) Visire, l'Interprete Mauro Cordato, il Bassà di Varadino, et altri concernente li trattati di Pace, che li Turchi averebbero voluto istituire dalli 31: 8bre 1686 sino alli 25: Aprile 1688.;
2. Lettere passate col Bassà d'Agrià e copia delli capitoli della resa di quella piazza 14 dicembre 1687;
3. Lettere hinc inde con la principessa Helena Zrin moglie del Tekely, concernenti la resa della importantissima e fortissima piazza di Munkatz dalli 15 novembre 1686 sino alli 25 gennaio 1688⁵.

1.2 *Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century*

The Ottoman Empire that had been threatening for decades the Hungarian Kingdom, in 1521 occupied Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade, Serbia) and the southern defence line of Hungary collapsed. Five years later Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) marched against Hungary and in the Battle of Mohács of 1526 defeated the Hungarian army. The medieval Hungarian Kingdom which for the previous one and a half century had successfully defended its southern borders and thereby Christian Europe, in 1526 was shattered under the blow of the much more powerful and mightier Ottoman Empire. In 1541 Sultan Suleiman occupied also Buda, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom and brought the central part of the country under direct control, in other words incorporated it in the Ottoman Empire. Above this great wedge of central and southern Hungary in his

⁴ VICO 1997, 10.

⁵ For a more detailed description of these topics, see: MOLNÁR 2018.

dominions, the Sultan created a new vassal State in Transylvania entrusting this territory to the successors of the Transylvanian voivode János Szapolyai. The territories to the west and north of the conquered line remained in Habsburg's possession. Consequently, there were three States formed in the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom: the so-called Royal Hungary belonging to the Habsburgs, the commonly named Ottoman Hungary (that assumed nearly the 40 percent of the country) and the Principality of Transylvania⁶. In the so-called "tripartited Hungary" the main goal of the Ottomans was to extend their territories, while the Habsburg's and Hungarian target was to reoccupy the lost parts and unify and consolidate the former Hungarian Kingdom. This goal could only be achieved during the reign of Emperor Leopold who was also the King of Hungary between 1657 and 1705. The expulsion of the Turks began with the reckless action of Kara Mustafa Pasha, who attacked Vienna in 1683. The recent reforms introduced by the Köprülü grand viziers strengthened the Ottomans and Vienna's conciliatory policy towards them was interpreted by the Ottomans as the Habsburg's weakness and whereupon the possibility to at least occupy Vienna. In the meanwhile further complication make difficult the already not simple picture: namely, from 1682 the territory of the former Hungarian Kingdom was now divided into four parts⁷. The malcontented Hungarian insurgents led by Imre Thököly, supported by the Ottomans, formed alongside the above mentioned three parts a completely new vassal state in the north-east of Hungary, the so-called "*Orta Macar*" (Middle Hungarian) Principality⁸. Thököly as an ally of the Sultan fought since the siege of Vienna against the Emperor's army. This fourth politic body in Hungary meant a very sensitive conflict of interest between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires in Hungary.

In the circumstances, the Viennese court decided to mobilize his Christian allies, namely the Polish King and the Republic of Venice to fight against the "eternal enemy", specifically the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Under the patronage of Pope Innocent XI on 5 March 1684 formed the Holy League. They forced the Turks to fight on several fronts at once. The fights and the victorious campaigns of the allied forces from 1683 to the peace of Carlowitz (1699) called as the Great Turkish War. In this hectic and confused age the Hungarian territory became once again a theatre of war of the conflict of the two neighboring superpowers⁹.

⁶ SZABÓ 2013, 301-339; FODOR 2000, 107-172; PÁLFFY 2021; ÁGOSTON 2021.

⁷ FAROQHI 2006, 57; PAPP 2009, 255-269; VARGA 2007; KÖPECZI 1988, 9-32.

⁸ VARGA 2002.

⁹ ROMSICS 2016, 54-70; STOYE 2006; ÁGOSTON 2021.

2. Antonio Caraffa

Antonio Caraffa (1642-1693)¹⁰ whose parents were cousins, was born in Puglia in 1642. The Caraffas belonged to one of the ancient noble families of Naples. Antonio as the last child of his parents had the personal tragedy: he was born shortly after his father's premature death, and perhaps as a result he was characterised by carefulness and discipline throughout his life. After his father, Marcantonio Carafa's death his mother Maria Tommasina remained alone with the new-born baby and with her three sisters and two brothers. Caraffa spent his childhood and youth in Naples, where he devoted his life to perfecting his body rather than his mind and intellectual education. After years of misery and poverty in Naples, he soon decided to join the army. Enrolled in the Order of the Knights of Malta on 23 December 1660, he embarked for Malta in April 1664 on a Genoese ship that was attacked by pirates off the coast. After his escape, he finally reached the island of Malta, where he fought against the Turks. From there, however, a duel gone wrong forced him to move on: like many of his Italian contemporaries, he chose the court of Vienna. He was helped by the recommendation of his relative Carlo Caraffa Della Spina (1611-1680). He was the nuncius in Vienna between 1658 and 1664, and later would become also a cardinal. In 1665 Antonio Caraffa entered in the service of Leopold I. The young nobleman from southern Italy then joined the army under Raimondo Montecuccoli of Modena. He started his career as a simple soldier, fighting in several front zones of the Habsburg Empire and had a very quick elevation in the military system. At the age of thirty, in 1672, he was appointed colonel and commander of a newly created cavalry regiment. This regiment carried Caraffa's name until 1918. In 1673, he married Caterina Cardona, which increased his prestige even more since the noble lady was a member of the Spanish upper aristocracy. Because of his military services, Leopold gave him in 1686 the title of „duke of the Holy Roman Empire” and in 1687 on the initiative of the Emperor he won also the Order of the Golden Fleece¹¹, one of the most prestigious awards in Europe since the times of Charles II (1661-1700), the last King of the Spanish Habsburgs. Finally, he became a General Commissary (*Generalkriegskommissär*) of the Imperial-Habsburg army, so he achieved the highest rank in the Austrian military hierarchy at the time¹².

During the Great Turkish War – after the activity of the famous general Count Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609-1680), the idol of a large number of Italian generals in Vienna – the Italian officers was able to gain to support one of the fractions (parties) of the Viennese court, and thereby allowed to get involved in policy-making and in the political

¹⁰ BENZONI 1976, 485-494; VICO 1716; MOLNÁR 2018.

¹¹ THALLÓCZY 1895, 32.

¹² PINTON 2004, 1-3.

decisions¹³. The Emperor had a rather delicate task for Caraffa: in addition to the ongoing battles against the Turks, he basically had to suppress the rebellions in Upper Hungary and, if possible, capture the leader of the rebels, Imre Thököly de Késmárk¹⁴.

2.1. *Antonio Caraffa's rule in Hungarian theatre of war*

Caraffa practically from 1682 managed the military affairs of Upper Hungary instead of István Csáky of Kereszteg, who officially held the office of *supremus capitaneus partium regni Hungariae superiorum* from 1681 until 1699¹⁵. On the eve of the Turkish siege of Vienna (1683)¹⁶, Prince Charles of Lotharingia entrusted Caraffa with the task of securing the march of the Polish King John Sobieski and his army, who were rushing to the aid of Vienna.

The series of victories in Vienna in 1683 and the subsequent imperial triumphs, as well as Emperor Leopold I's open letter of 12 January 1684 proclaiming amnesty for those who would returned to their allegiance and promising to liberate the country from Turkish rule, brought important political changes. In these changes, Antonio Caraffa, like many other imperial officers, played a major role, especially in the North-Hungarian region and Transylvania, as an active participant in the struggles against Imre Thököly and his *kuruc* soldiers.

This was made possible by the situation of war, resulting from the campaign against the Turks of the troops of Emperor Leopold I, in which the civil administration was temporarily taken over by military officers until the situation was consolidated. The housing and provisioning of the imperial soldiers, as well as the almost constant demands of the Viennese court for financial contributions from the Hungarian towns and counties, were always a source of great tension. Supply difficulties persisted throughout the war of liberation against the Turks, as the Austrian branch of the Habsburg Empire was in a constant state of economic crisis, subordinating everything to the interests of the army and always on the verge of bankruptcy in terms of the ratio of income to expenditure on maintaining the army. Hungary was both a theatre of war and a rear area in a war, in which the troops of the international coalition led by the Habsburgs (the Holy League), Thököly's *Kurucs* and the increasingly marginalised Ottomans were fighting each other in three major theatres of operations. The whole country became a staging ground. Each

¹³ MARTELLI 2010, 45-100.

¹⁴ <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/imre-thokoly>; VÁRKONYI 1994; KÁRMÁN 2019; KÁRMÁN - KUNČEVIĆ 2013.

¹⁵ PÁLFFY 1997, 274.

¹⁶ STOYE 2006.

army wanted to secure its own supplies, not caring who else would demand the same from a particular area.

In this difficult situation, the imperial soldiers, including Antonio Caraffa, were hard pressed to collect from the counties and towns not only the cash tax but also the war tax levied on the supply of the army. After Imre Thököly and his troops had lost most of the castles in Upper Hungary between September and December 1685, this region occupied by the imperial army under Caraffa was considered conquered territory: the Italian general demanded a heavy contribution on supplies for his troops. After this could no longer be paid in the city of Debrecen, for example, at the beginning of February 1686 General Caraffa took the collection into his own hands and his troops sacked Debrecen with particular cruelty. In the course of the torture of the population, in what contemporaries called the “Debrecen slaughterhouse”, a sum of around 200 000 florins was collected. Even in Vienna, this amount was a shocking figure.

In the autumn of 1686, after the successful liberation of Buda, General Caraffa was an active participant in the peace movement, while at the head of his troops camped near the town of Szolnok, General Caraffa made a huge contribution again. However, despite the fact that these events were deeply condemned by his contemporaries, they were in fact a common feature of the Christian European wars of the time.

But even these atrocities were far outweighed by the events in Eperjes, a town in Upper Hungary that had been in the hands of Leopold I since the autumn of 1685. This town was one of the most important bastions of the Lutheran faith in Hungary and the main educational centre, which Emperor Leopold I tried to change by forcible Catholicisation. As a consequence, after 1682, the town became a major supporter of the *Kuruc* movement and of Thököly, and the imperial court set an excellent example to other towns that were still resisting, especially Munkács, which was defended by Thököly's wife Ilona Zrínyi¹⁷. The atrocities committed against the Protestant, well-respected and mainly wealthy people of Eperjes were based on an allegedly exposed conspiracy and collusion with Thököly. Emperor Leopold I and his most influential advisors, such as the Chancellor Kinsky and the Imperial Chancellor Strattmann, believed that after the successes against the Turks it would be useful to intimidate the Hungarian nobility and to punish the enemies of the Viennese court in an exemplary manner. Also, since only the richest and most influential people were tried, we can conclude that they were plundered to raise more money to continue the campaign in Hungary. It was to investigate this matter that lead General Caraffa, with the permission of Emperor Leopold I, to set up the Eperjes Court of Emergency, consisting of twelve both Hungarian and German members. In a letter to the Emperor, Caraffa wrote

¹⁷ Roic 1992, 387-400.

that he was aware of the odious task he was facing and asked for someone from the court to be appointed to assist him, who would be able to support him with his authority¹⁸.

The court of the Eperjes court of last resort, which existed from 3 March to 3 November 1687, handed down death sentences on the basis of trials by concession: in the main square of Eperjes, on what contemporaries called the '*theatrum sanguinarium*', 24 noble and wealthy citizens were publicly and cruelly executed and hundreds tortured by the manner of Italian Inquisition. This event provoked a great exclamation not only in Hungary and Transylvania, but almost throughout Europe. At the end of May, Emperor Leopold I praised Caraffa and encouraged him to continue his work, which led to the imprisonment and torture of several nobles and wealthy citizens in the region: the former Thököly-heroes of the counties of Trencsén, Zólyom, Hont, Gömör, Turóc and Szepes. For Caraffa, the fight against Thököly and his followers meant defending the Christian West against the Turks and against the "heresy" of religious innovators. In this spirit, there was not a single Catholic among those he arrested and executed.

The massacres, which provoked fierce protest, were only stopped by the Diet of Pozsony (Bratislava) for obvious political reasons. In the autumn of 1687, Emperor Leopold I, in the wake of the military successes and the intimidating activities of General Caraffa, saw the time as ripe to fulfil his ambitions. The Hungarian Diet decided to recognize the Habsburgs' succession to the Hungarian throne in gratitude to the Emperor, who had recaptured Buda and liberated large parts of Hungary. The country thus ceased to be an elective kingdom. The coronation of Leopold's son, the nine-year-old Joseph I, took place on 9 December 1687¹⁹. After the parliament, the prisoners of Eperjes were released by amnesty.

Meanwhile Caraffa repeatedly asked the Emperor to transfer the command of the armies of Upper Hungary to someone else and to send him to Spain, because he feared that after the coronation the Hungarians would be even more hostile to him and he had already spent too long a time, twenty years, in Hungary. Furthermore his rivals were creating all kinds of difficulties to prevent him from governing Hungary. The Emperor, in his reply, refused his request on the ground of the interest of the State, and exhorted him now to make amends to his subjects with generosity and mercy, and to use violence only on his enemies. He asks Caraffa to maintain this balance, so that he may avoid danger with wisdom and prudence. He also promised him other higher commissions and, on his recommendation, as already mentioned, Caraffa was awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece by the King of Spain²⁰.

¹⁸ JÁSZAY 1996, 287-288.

¹⁹ COMAZZI 1688.

²⁰ THALLÓCZY 1895, 32.

Almost exactly one week after the coronation ceremony, on 17 December, the starving Turkish guards of the important Vilayet seat of Eger handed over the castle to the Imperial General Caraffa, who arrived personally under Eger to clarify and seal the capitulation. Negotiations and bargaining led to a result. According to the agreement seen by Caraffa, Rustem Pasha of Eger surrendered the castle with all his military equipment, but the Turkish fighters were allowed to leave the castle with their armaments and 'flags flying' under the imperial military escort and march to Nagyvárad (Oradea). On 18 December 1687, after 91 years of foreign occupation, Rustem, the last Pasha, withdrew from the Eger Castle with 3,500 Turks.

One month after the events in Eger, on 14 January 1688, Munkács, defended by Ilona Zrínyi, capitulated to the Italian general, and on the 17th General Caraffa himself entered the castle. Earlier, the Imperial General Caraffa had repeatedly tried to persuade Ilona Zrínyi to surrender the castle by correspondence, and had also tried to exert pressure on the defenders of Munkács. In November 1687, the fortress was again surrounded, and instead of Caprara, who had failed, the Vienna military council entrusted General Caraffa, who had already earned himself a feared reputation, with the task of finally taking the castle of Munkács. At the beginning of 1688, after 26 months of bitter defence, Ilona Zrínyi surrendered the castle, handing over Thököly's imperial badges and declaring Imre Thököly's reign as prince of Upper Hungary *de iure* finished. Under point 5 of the agreement, Caraffa confiscated Thököly's princely *insignia* (the gold and silver threaded belt with jewels, the caftan, the staff and the sword, and the sultan's charter of the title of King of Hungary and hereditary Count of Késmárk), which had been presented to him by Ibrahim Pasha on the orders of Sultan Mehmed IV in 1682. Similarly, Ilona Zrínyi had to hand over the entire archive, diplomatic and private correspondence of the castle.

The above-mentioned manuscript volume in the State Archives of Naples, which is in effect a collection of 65 letters written largely in Latin and Italian, as well as in Hungarian, German and Turkish contributes to knowledge of the history of this period. It is also provides valuable contributions for Antonio Caraffa's activities, especially in relation to the peace negotiations of 1686-1688, the surrender of the castle of Eger and Munkács²¹.

2.2 *Transylvania*

In the autumn of 1687 Prince Charles of Lothringia with his army marched into Transylvania. The victorious commander concluded an agreement with Mihály Apafi Prince of Transylvania, under which the province would supply the imperial troops and in return

²¹ MOLNÁR 2018.

guarantee the independence of the Principality of Transylvania. But as the Viennese court was anxious to bring Transylvania under its influence as soon as possible, this agreement could not be accepted by the Emperor. After his successes in Hungary, the Habsburg court expected Caraffa to prepare the way for the incorporation of the principality into the Habsburg provinces²² and to force the principality to pledge of loyalty. It was no coincidence that it was he - a mercenary soldier of Italian (not of German!) origin - who was chosen for such a task.

The idea and the arrangement of Antonio Caraffa about the settlement of the Transylvanian question fit very well in the global imperial strategy and on the debate of “*ragion de stato*” of the absolutism of the Viennese court²³, whose main elements were the violent repression of the rebels and the persecution of the Protestants²⁴. In the first half of 1688, Caraffa invaded Transylvania with imperial troops, forcing its castles to surrender. As a result, on 9 May 1688, the Transylvanian prince Apafi signed and sent to the Emperor a declaration known as the *Declaratio in Protectionem Cesareo-Regiam*, placing Transylvania under Leopold I’s protection. A month later, not under Caraffa’s pressure but through his mediation, the 13-point document²⁵ containing the conditions of the Transylvanian people, which the orders had drawn up for the Emperor at the Diet of Fogaras, reached Vienna.

Caraffa returned from Transylvania to Vienna in 1690 and submitted a lengthy memorial to Emperor Leopold I, containing his proposals for the government of Transylvania. The most important elements of this submission were to guide the court’s policy towards Transylvania for a long time, and most of Caraffa’s proposals and considerations were taken into account in the formulation of the so called Diploma Leopoldinum signed by the Emperor in Vienna on 4 December 1691. This document declared the insertion of Transylvania into the Habsburg provinces. In this proposal²⁶, Caraffa suggests that they should be gradually brought under German administration in stages. Accordingly, he drew up an immediate and a long-term programme of action for Transylvania. The former include the reduction of the taxes and that of the number of German troops in Transylvania. Caraffa proposes that only as many troops as could be used to hold Thököly back should remain inside, and the rest should be billeted outside Transylvania but nearby. In the longer term, he considers the most important issue to be the clarification of the question of the government of Transylvania, i.e. whether the province should remain a principality or come under direct German administration. Caraffa also relied on the Germans in Transylvania,

²² KALMÁR 2016, 444.

²³ KOLTAY-KASTNER - BENEDEK 1968, 21.

²⁴ MOLNÁR 2013, 471-483.

²⁵ KARAFFA URAM 1874, 438-439.

²⁶ MOLNÁR 2016, 65-66.

saying that the Saxon-Hungarian conflict could be counted on the principle of *divide et impera*, and he would leave it to the Transylvanian high command to support the Saxons covertly²⁷. Accordingly Caraffa proposed civilian government instead of violent military methods, deliberately keeping social and ethnic differences alive and depriving Transylvania of all constitutional autonomy, by incorporating Transylvania into the hereditary provinces of the Habsburg dynasty.

2.3 Antonio Caraffa's views on consolidating the post-liberation situation

Caraffa like many other mercenary generals in Italy, writes a long description of what the Emperor would have to do to restore a prosperous and secure region to the reoccupied parts of Hungary²⁸. Its proposals included the following key points: first of all, a peace with the Ottomans, then to set up a properly functioning system in Hungary, and in this way the Viennese court could achieve great and lasting results in this region. Caraffa presented these proposals to the Emperor and the Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) on the basis of twenty-two years of military and administrative experience in Hungary. He established that since Transylvania on the one hand and the city of Belgrade on the other were annexed to the empire, if the Christian religion could be established in this kingdom, its defence systems could be strengthened, strict discipline could be demanded from soldiers and commanders, an industry and trade for civilians could be promoted, and public money could be used wisely to achieve a kingdom of great prosperity and wealth.

In describing the great advantages and possibilities of Hungary, Antonio Caraffa specifies and enumerates that this territory is very large and extensive, and it is crossed by the largest river in Europe. It is rich beyond belief in pastureland, so much so that it feeds the tables of Germany alone with one hundred thousand cattle per year. Moreover very abundant in the fruits of nature not only for the needs of other nations but also for the superfluous. From Upper Hungary, salt from Máramaros seasoned foreign tables, and from the limited area of Tokaj, wines were exported that brought in large quantities of gold from Poland and other northern regions. After this description, Caraffa poses the question to the great Viennese magistrates and the Habsburg ruler: "what would happen if its borders were extended far and wide and the state was wisely ordered to a peace and concord that could last forever?"

First of all, says Caraffa, it is very important to bring people back to Christianity, that is to strengthen it in the correct doctrine of Catholic dogmas and customs. Because he thinks

²⁷ MOLNÁR 2013, 471-483.

²⁸ KOLTAY-KASTNER - BENEDEK 1968, 33-34.

that being strengthened by the common Christian faith, during the internal rebellions the Hungarians could more easily take the part of the Emperor and incited by religious stimuli against the Turkish would become their fiercest enemies. As a second point, he thinks it very useful to strengthen the Hungarian fortresses that had been partially destroyed by the negligence of the Turks or completely destroyed by recent attacks and invasions. Further suggests to build new fortifications near the rivers Danube, Tisa, Drava, Sava and Maros. To achieve this, it would first of all be necessary to employ expert military architects specialized in the marshes - the best in this field were the Dutch - because almost all of Hungary was a swamp. Caraffa also has a proposal for the financing of the fortification, which suggests that in order not to aggravate the Viennese treasury and he could ask the Pope not to demand the tithe until the new fortresses have been built. So much so that the pope had already given support for the struggles against the Turkish and the Hungarian rebels. He considers the strengthening of Transylvania more important, which in his opinion can stop not only the Poles, the Wallachians, the Moldovans, but also the Tatars. As for the equipment of these fortresses, the country is abundant in raw materials such as copper, and everywhere you can find pieces of guns and other things that should collect and remake new weapons. His next consideration is that it is necessary to use a strict discipline towards the Hungarian soldiers and contain the number so that they are not useless to the sovereign and harmful to the kingdom. Then these Hungarian soldiers claiming and boasting that they are local soldiers can claim double or triple the salaries from the citizens. After that Caraffa also has suggestions regarding the Serbs called 'rascians'. According to him, the king should force them to cultivate the uncultivated lands that are found everywhere in Hungarian territory. The Serbs and the Dalmatians could then have a privilege of not having to pay taxes for five years and with a very strict decree forbidding German soldiers to do any damage to them. From these interventions the emperor could have more advantages: on the one hand to have vast cultivated territories since it makes great a prince not the vastness of the territories but the industrious care of the lands. On the other hand could put an end to the pretexts caused by the raids of the Serbs and Dalmatians who may endanger the peace between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. Caraffa concerning the trade with the Turks advises to strengthen the remarkable and famous city of Belgrade so that it could become the emporium among all nations. The traders returning to their old place in Belgrade could export leather, wax, honey, wool, silk and gold to the Turkish territories and if the Viennese court succeed in get back also Bosnia e the dominion on Ragusa Belgrade would become a famous trading centre not only to the East, but also to the West. Caraffa continues his thoughts on a broader geopolitical level, and notes that the emperor would have drawn a perpetual border to his possessions, which would have stretched across the Adriatic Sea as far as the Kingdom of Naples, and the related empires of Germany and Spain would have exchanged goods and aid with each other.

Caraffa concludes by mentioning two things about the Hungarians, of course, always keeping in mind the interests of the Habsburg Empire, i.e. the size and the possibility of increasing the revenues from the Kingdom of Hungary. He begins with the commonplace of the time, namely that the Hungarians are of a fiery, inflammable nature, but that if they could put their warlike spirit to the service of the sciences and the arts, in peaceful conditions and by reducing the tensions which divide them, they would be capable of great things. As a second aspect, in addition to the peaceful settlement of political relations, he stresses the importance of the Treasury and its settlement, stating as a basic principle that the Treasury can best be filled with the active participation of the citizens, which would also ensure greater peace for the monarchy in a long term. However, this also requires that the Treasury be managed conscientiously and honestly, in order to prevent fraud that impoverishes public funds²⁹.

3. Conclusion

Caraffa remained in Hungary until 1691. He was then sent by the Emperor to Italy to serve as the Habsburg Imperial Commissioner for Northern Italy in the so-called War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697) between King Louis XIV of France and the League of Augsburg. However, Caraffa, who was based in Milan, raised taxes several times over in order to provide for the imperial troops. Following a series of protests, the Emperor ordered him back to Vienna in April 1692. As compensation, he asked Leopold I to appoint an envoy to Rome. The Emperor allowed him to do so, but a sudden attack of fever on 7 March 1693, while still in Vienna, ended his life³⁰.

Antonio Caraffa achieved a very high rank in the service of the Habsburg court, and as mentioned above, his services, both military and political, were highly appreciated by the Emperor Leopold I., but his activities and atrocities in Hungary left terrible memories among Hungarians. Vico, in the second chapter of the life of the neapolitan officer Caraffa, writes that “good counsels, which are the chief agent in bringing about the felicity of a state, are themselves enforced by necessity, with which virtue is almost always associated, for by the operation of choice empires are often ruined but never founded”³¹. Still his writings provide very valuable data on the integration of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire and fit well into the ideology of the absolutism of Leopold I, which was accompanied by a ferocious persecution of Protestants and the armed oppression of rebels, and was mainly driven by the *Geheimrat* (Privy Council) at the Viennese court. Antonio Caraffa has always

²⁹ VICO 1716, 555-559.

³⁰ BENZONI 1976.

³¹ ADAMS 1935, Chap. IX: The Life of Caraffa.

been an active part of the interactions between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire in the Hungarian territory at the end of the 17th century and the Kingdom of 'Orta Macar' of Imre Thököly between 1682 and 1688. In addition to be a successful general of the Habsburg army where he played an important role during the Great Turkish War actively fighting against the Ottomans, he was actively involved in the political decisions of Vienna referring about the situation of Transylvania and about the position of Imre Thököly³². In many respects, the reason for his selection for these tasks was in many respects that his Italian origin, his education, his Italian culture, his military knowledge and his talent qualified him to perform these tasks. But it was also a factor that, on the other hand, the Viennese court circles preferred to choose mercenaries coming from afar to carry out certain delicate tasks, subordinate only to the Emperor and the *ragione di Stato* (Reason of State) in the Machiavellian sense. Since the empire-building ideology of the Austrian Habsburgs included the incorporation of the Italian aristocracy into the 'imperial nobility', in the Viennese court of the Emperor, Hungarian and Czech King Leopold I³³ always had a strong presence of Italian personalities. The Emperor used them primarily for military services, but also for special diplomatic missions and even as official historians³⁴. Their loyalty and reliability were never in doubt³⁵. In my analysis I have tried to point out that the view, traditionally rooted in Hungarian historiography, that these mercenary generals of Italian origin, whose main role model was Antonio Caraffa's master Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609-1680), acted out of hostility towards Hungarians, must be abandoned and an attempt must be made to interpret the events and the historical role of the Italian generals within an imperial and European framework³⁶.

³² MOLNÁR 2016, 184-189.

³³ BÉRENGER 2001; BÉRENGER 2004; LORENZI 1986; SPIELMAN 1997.

³⁴ PRIORATO 1670; COMAZZI 1691.

³⁵ MARTELLI 2010.

³⁶ MOLNÁR - SZALAI 2020.

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THE FALL OF BUDA (1686), THE NEAPOLITAN PUBLISHING AND THE *DIARY* OF CARLO PORSILE

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“La historia la escriben los vencedores a su manera. Cada país presenta a sus soldados bajo la luz más favorable, se ocultan los errores, se matiza la maldad y después de la batalla ganada todos son héroes” (Isabel Allende, *Mi país inventado*)

1. Introduction: the expectations and the context

In 1687, Carlo Porsile printed in Naples the *Diario de' Successi dell'Arme Cesaree*. The book appeared on the wave of a literary trend¹. The Hungary war campaigns (1684-87) echoed in the European and Mediterranean countries. And the news on the siege of Buda was closely followed by Naples. Expectations went up and down. That appears from commercial, political, and administrative documents, but even more from the chronicles of the time.

In the summer of 1686, announcements of victory and retractions followed one after the other until the beginning of September. The Viceroy started celebrations and gave countermands in a sort of stop-and-go effect between the emotion of the people and the apprehension of the political and mercantile elites. The early news about the fall of Buda arrived on 7th August from Rome. The Neapolitan gazettes recounted the word-of-mouth, the misunderstandings, and the incipient celebrations promoted by the Viceroy. Soon, it became clear that the Caesarean Army, led by the Duke of Lorraine, had only managed to breach amidst the high mortality rate of soldiers and commanders, while the Duke of Bavaria had captured a blockhouse. “Parturient montes et nascetur ridiculus mus”, some commentator mocked²! On the next 16th, a similar voice turned out to be a farce. Such a

¹ *Diario de' successi dell'armi Cesaree* 1687.

² NICOLINI 1930, 156.

vox populi had taken form among Roman couriers, taverns, lackeys, and soldiers looking for bribes among monasteries and noble houses³.

As is common in conflicts, trivial issues, randomness, and rumours fostered business, speculations, and political interests. But these cases revealed an atmosphere of expectation. According to a flirtatious pamphlet, the ‘beautiful Parthenope’ – a Siren, in Greek mythology, a synonym of Naples – was all eager for the glorious victory of Habsburgs, and nobles, citizens, patriots, foreigners, men, and women waiting anxiously ‘with the soul on the lips’⁴.

Many factors boosted the attention to these foreign events. The rapid circulation of news and culture was proverbial in this Mediterranean crossroad. Despite the fierce plague of 1656, Naples remained a lively capital, crucial for the polycentric Spanish geopolitical system. The demand for information was pressing. Secular and religious ambits fuelled an intense circulation of ideas and a large publishing. As a state in the state, with jurisdiction, diplomacy and richness, the Church moved thousands in information exchange in a time when news travelled with people. But there was also the port, the banks, the trades, and the financial activities. Flattering booklets, occasional literature, curiosities, vulgarizations, and re-editions went with or followed public events: a heterogeneous context for rising publishers⁵. Certainly, censorship did not stop the circulation of news out of control and forbidden texts.

Anyway, the courts were focused on international events, verifying the rumours in official and unofficial networks, up to the spying. The elites followed Hungarian campaigns for direct interests. The lobbies led the mainstream through celebrations and symbolism. In short, the Habsburg-Ottoman War lighted passions and changed political balances, while the comparison with the magmatic Ottoman world moulded perspectives, fears, and idealized visions. The *Diario* of Carlo Porsile had meaning in this scenario.

Looking back, when the Viceroy Gaspar Haro de Guzman learned of the rescue of Wien on 22nd September 1683, he received the homage of the nobility at the Palace and the Royal Collateral Council at once. So, he quickly ordered the Real Chapel in the symbol Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in Market Square. There, three *Te Deum* resounded, involving the city representations. Gun saluted the *Te Deum*, the Blessed Sacrament exhibition, and the ritual parade of the Viceroy. The military performed in Market Square,

³ NICOLINI 1930, *Ibidem*.

⁴ BADIALE 1687.

⁵ BULIFON 1684; VELCHEREN 1684. The Viennese edition (1683) was donated by the Regent of the Royal Collateral Council, Diego Soria, Marquis of Crispiano, to the publisher Antonio Bulifon, who vulgarized and reprinted the book in Naples. The publisher dedicated the work to Domenico Orsini and Ippolita Tocco, members of the higher aristocracy and prominent feudal lords of the realm. Bulifon was bookseller of the Gravina’s Duke, Domenico Orsini. See also *Historica e succinta relatione* 1685 the report was dedicated to the Venetian ambassador in Naples, Antonio di Negri.

the symbolic place of life and death, peace and riots, well-being and gallows. Three days of illuminations and Viceroy's military reviews followed. The celebrations went on to the archbishopric, calculatedly. Merging secular and religious liturgies translated consonances in the symbolic background of the anti-Turkish action. Subtly and obliquely, all that sent studied messages to foreign representatives in the Reign. However, the Viceroy was former Spain's ambassador in Rome and had considerable diplomatic experience, according to a consolidated *cursus honorum*.

When the Marquis del Carpio, Haro de Guzman, received the umpteenth but definitive news from Rome upon Buda's fall of 2nd September 1686, such communication apparatus returned to action. Moreover, since his installation, the Viceroy had fostered an agenda of politicization of public celebrations and allegorical displays⁶. Royal Chapels started – the term referred, by extension, to both places and a ceremonial format – in the Carmine Church, as well as in those of San Paolo, San Giuseppe, Santa Maria La Nova, and Archbishopric, all emblems of socioreligious powers in the capital. The cannons of the four castles and the fleet flanked many *Te Deum*. Cavalcades and parades followed. Lancers attended the Marquis. The courts closed for nine days. Prisoners, both men and women, were pardoned. The guilds of wool and silk released their convicts. Three days of lights, fireworks, maypoles, wine fountains, chicken and food piles, and the serenade to the Royal Palace followed. Fierce and cathartic rituals appeared: simulating the conquest, people assaulted pyramids of bread, cheese and other food, fountains of wine, horses and men masqueraded like Turks⁷.

Acting out war episodes and repeating atavistic patterns worked as social glue against the common enemy. Through the mise-en-scene of the victory and the outburst of poverty and plunder, there was a controlled explosion of violence, a way in which the elites normalized the latent social conflicts, fostering elementary senses of aggregation. Besides, even though the capital was considered a backbone of the Spanish polycentric system of power – Naples was titled *Fidelissima*, very loyal – it was feared as capable of savage uprisings.

According to accounts, the authority built fifty stages for shows and choirs⁸. Similar schemes occurred, albeit in a minor key, upon capturing Seghedino (Szegedi) and Alba Reale (Székesfehérvár) in 1687 and 1688⁹.

⁶ GRIFFIN, BOSSA 1981.

⁷ ANTONELLI 2012, 394-395; NICOLINI 1930, 156-162. On the nexus among celebrations, participation and violence see GUARINO 2016, 7.

⁸ BADIALE 1687, 4 and *passim*.

⁹ ANTONELLI 2012, 450-451; NICOLINI 1930, 165.

2. Publishing as part of a public narrative

Naples excelled in the mentioned communication apparatus. It implied stage sets, ephemeral scenography, and processional scaffolding, namely money and skills. Handling emotions and baroque shows, the sector involved skilled artisans, specialists, and contractors under royal patrons and other sponsors.

Such events semanticized the places and the imaginary, displaying institutions and communities, guilds and brotherhoods, well-off people, delegates, agents, and religious as part of a mutual and collective recognitions: if vestments, dresses, and banners showed a social topography, priority and stage mirrored hierarchies and political weight¹⁰. The whole cleared roles and obligations. Without doubt, the meaning of everything went beyond Neapolitan boundaries, engaging nations, jurisdiction, and diplomacy.

The printers joined this. They arranged serial low-quality – but remunerative – printings like posters, holy cards stamped on paper or silk, leaflets and so forth. The gazetteers announced the events, flattering the audience and afterwards presenting a public and official version of the facts. The kind and the sequence of the news guided the participation. So, the narrative turned into action, favouring editorial projects too.

Such paraphernalia also embraced the anti-Ottoman epic and anti-Muslim rhetoric. In this context, ruling classes took up the news from Buda, fostering functional representation of the city, the kingdom and the political landscape. The whole of narrative forms reaffirmed social architectures and values. Even the Royal Chapels gathered a plurality of actors in a mutual recognition around the tribute to the Monarchy and the winners.

In this horizon, the war narration dealt with truth and things to keep quiet, mainstreams, illations, and misinformation. Hence, a pervasive control enveloped the booksellers, the printers, and all those involved. That fostered risks, monopolies and privileges, backroom deals and censorship-evading, grey zones, and manuscript circulation. Publishers and booksellers by back covered occurred, with reliable relationship and support.

But it would be improper to reduce these printer-authors to mere guardians of a mainstream. Through their works, moods, sources, and subliminal messages appeared. The writings reflected palimpsests of meaning. It is necessary to consider the reputational capital of these professionals, the backstories, and the context in which they ran.

¹⁰ MAURO 2020.

3. Carlo Porsile and the *Diario*: more than a typographer

After the pestilence of 1656, immigration refreshed the international nature of Neapolitan publishing. The typographer Carlo Porsile came out in the wave of this mobility, working, in the late 1660s, for other brands. From the 1670s, he printed for music and theatre, celebrations, nobles, layers, and religious, gaining an audience and approaching the vicerojal circles. It was also known as co-worker and brother-in-law of the royal printer, Salvatore Castaldo. When the latter died, Porsile took office on 15th September 1688¹¹: in short, when Porsile printed the *Diario*, a lot of the institutional press passed for his typography. Continuity meant loyalty. Years later, even the Spanish widow of Castaldo would have recalled the closeness between the two printers¹².

The Neapolitan revolt of 1647-48 and the epidemic of 1656 had set the role of the royal printer in the public arena, and it was consolidated when Porsile, *de facto*, began to work as such. Collecting and printing order volumes, dispatches, and what the courts required, he was a reference: skills and politics marked his career. Porsile influenced the life of the press and silk district. Even in 1693, as parish brotherhood's master, he checked the behaviours, the citizenship requirements, and the guarantees of merchants and entrepreneurs. Two years after, he was a constituent at Saint Blaise Church – religious, civil and guilds reference, a place for judgement and negotiation – working to the representative of the *Seggio del Popolo*, a pivotal political circumscription¹³. His printing house would have overcome political changes at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The reputation of the typographer accompanied the circulation of the *Diario*, bringing a halo of approval to a text subject to public scrutiny and endorsed in a framework of surveillance. In this context, Carlo dedicated the work to the feudal lord Giovanni Pandone, highlighting his patronage, connection to the cultural elites, and family ties with the high magistrates of the kingdom. The tribute was signed in Naples on 10th February 1687. Far from the pressure of events and the early celebrations, war was still a matter of state.

The reported war campaigns are those of 1684, 1685 and 1687. The storytelling exalted the leadership of the Duke of Lorena, honoured characters and lineages, the partisanship for the Austrians and their allies, and the warrior values. This mood permeated

¹¹ On Neapolitan publishing, and Carlo Porsile, see LOMBARDI 2000.

¹² Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASNa), Notai del Seicento, Nr D. Cavallo, ms. fs. 1347/3, *Declaratio et cessio per magnifico Carolo Porsile*, 7 June 1694.

¹³ See for example, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Napoli, Santa Visita del card. Giacomo Cantelmo, v. III, ff. 585-593; ASNa, Notai del Seicento, Nr D. Cavallo, 1347/4, *Nominatio procuratoris "Santa Visita del card. Giacomo Cantelmo" per ottina Divi Januarij ad ulmum*, ff. 50-51v, 19 April 1695.

episodes, feats of arms and examples of combat. The reports on the military corps and their leaders, the losses, and the skirmishes are detailed. The violence of captures and ransoms, the killing and the missions hit the imagination, drawing ardour and pathos in the reader. Manoeuvres, places, and fortifications gave descriptive power to the story. Enforcing the feeling of being inside a vivid narrative, the writer presented the text as the result of weekly reports, firsthand accounts and diaries. The witness-author of the events had been on the military field as a Great Prince's adventurer with the mission to relate day-by-day the facts. The 'journal' fell into the hands of an individual who shared it with a friend. Recognizing its value, he compared the accounts with letters from English mercenaries, translated them into Italian, choosing for the publication.

Literary motifs recurred. Histories of Hungary circulated everywhere in Europe often referring to previous authors and publications¹⁴. In this sense, *Diario* evoked the refrain on the existence of questionable narratives, inaccurate or fake. To awaken and satisfy a more refined and demanding audience, Porsile asserted the trustworthiness of a well-documented work, as well as the elegance and clarity of the report.

A small volume contained all the information that 'a thousand others had not gathered'.

4. The matter in the Neapolitan publishing

Just the year before the *Diario* of Porsile, the publishers Camillo Cavallo and Michele Luigi Muzi printed a small book, *Distinto Diario*. A cloying dedication from Domenico Antonio Parrino to a person of high lineage, Bartolomeo IV di Capua, accompanied the written. Under the guise of a homage, Parrino asked for political protection of the head of a noble house whose members traditionally were in the top offices of the kingdom and emblem of the Neapolitan warrior loyalty. Leaving aside the inferences behind the bombastic baroque dedication, a faint hint gains meaning on the editorial backstage: the Catholic world called for more detailed accounts.

Events were recent. Looking at the dedication signed on 8th November 1686 in Naples, these publishers had done intense work. And considering the unusual promptness

¹⁴ See, for example, ANGELINI 1674; BRUSONI 1665, which refers to ultramontane accounts and letters, and texts endorsed by writers; or, again, FRESCHOT 1684, which spoke of unsatisfied curiosity on the topic, the number of reports, the oddity of authors. The refrain on a trustworthy narrative occurs in PANCERI 1686. The list goes on. This literary genre was well-known in the Naples. For example, already published in Bologna, FRESCHOT 1687, it was reprinted in Naples on 1687, to comfort Christianity according to the editor Giuseppe Rosselli, and to instil pro-Austrian emotion according to the Royal Jurisdiction's censor. An edging: Freschot is indicated as Alemannic by the censor. He came from Franche-Comté.

of the permits, the job was facilitated from the top. Beyond the canonical licences, the royal privilege covered the book.

Following a leitmotif, the underlying editorial purpose was against misinformation. Moreover, the rhetoric prose seemed to allude to murmur and misbeliefs. From the initial pages, the accent fell on the number of victims on both the Christian and Muslim sides. Given that the real causes of a war remained almost unknown to people, the metaphor of David and Golia evoked the figure of the emperor Charles V. Ottoman feared him not for the number of his soldiers but for his fortune. In this context, the concept of Fortuna, although polysemic and more secular following Niccolò Machiavelli's reflections, was used to justify events as God's will. This rhetorical device cornered dissenting views while the 'few' Christians died, the Ottoman casualties and the enslaved proved the reason of the victors: an ideological mood wrapped in the handy 12° format¹⁵.

The story continued with a pressing chronicle, actions, and lists. The heroic storytelling ended with the unstoppable massacre made by soldiers reluctant to the order. According to the authors, this concise narrative had briefly fixed heroism and facts, knowing that other writing existed on the events or their sequel.

Distinto Diario was realized quickly but not improvised. There was a fil rouge. Days before, Cavallo & Muzi had published for the Parrino bookshop a canzone on the capture of Buda by Domenico Bartoli of Lucca, a preceptor and abbot, Tuscan author went to light motifs and occasion odes. The printing locations were Lucca and Naples¹⁶. Living aside the theme of the connections between the Neapolitan book market and the Tuscan cenacles¹⁷, the canzone showed the commitment of these entrepreneurs. In addition, Parrino dedicated the opuscle to Diego Ortiz de Zarate y Garibay, Secretary of State and War of the Kingdom of Naples. The tribute gave back to the authors a protective wing: in other words, it was an eye-opening deference. The general atmosphere favoured the circulation of sonnets and other laudatory works¹⁸.

In short, writing on Hungarian affairs came from professionals close to the top of the state. Cavallo had brought his family firm to the monopoly on newspapers and gazettes, sharing it with Domenico Antonio Parrino. Merging professional guaranties and loyalty to the crown, he gave account from time to time of the facts of Hungary. The *Distinto Diario* was sold at the bookstore-cenacle of Parrino, as the gazettes and other publications

¹⁵ *Distinto Diario* 1686.

¹⁶ BARTOLI 1686. In Florentine version, the *Canzone* was dedicated to the Papal Nuncio at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Giuseppe Archinto, who had direct experience in Vienna, Germany and Hungary and had a brother in the imperial troops.

¹⁷ LOMBARDI 2000.

¹⁸ *Al Serenissimo Carlo Quinto* 1686.

of this group. Former theatre actor, Parrino was used to the Italian courts, until becoming publisher, and historiographer. With Muzi, a Savoyard long time in Naples, they managed this notorious printing house and bookshop.

We do not dispose a critical collation about such publications, and this is not the place for discussing sources. Anyhow, the tight narrative of Cavallo & Muzi transposed in *Distinto Diario* a direct message. Focusing on the epic elements, rather than the sources, they reported the war hardness, the loot of slaves - that also dotted other tales – the slaughter in Buda supporting the reasons of the victory¹⁹. The gazettes' contractors were used to review the texts with the royal officers, submitting the drafts to the Viceroy's staff, handling with the chancelleries what to publish in war time, dealing with censorship and risks. As chroniclers, Cavallo and Parrino converted Hungarian news into an ordinary narrative. Their political background, the temporal proximity of the events marked the work.

Regarding this, the *Diario de' Successi dell'Arme Cesaree* of Carlo Porsile suggests different moods. Considering the euphoria of the early accounts, and the broad reuse of previous publications, the text appeared more balanced and well-studied. It reflected a changed climate²⁰. Further away from the events, the narrative delved into the public's reactions to the disclosure of the facts and their repercussions. The ferocity of the victory in the fall of Buda is now a given fact. Such a veil of justification accompanies the account of the Christian commanders' actions regarding plunder, killings, and rapes: they struggled in vain to stop the cruelty of the soldiery. These motifs have emerged in other publications as well, but in this context, they enhance the peculiarity of the book. Pointing out the high number of enslaved individuals now re-echoes what has become evident to the people, considering that the courts and the market are dealing with an unprecedented surplus of slaves, along with related issues and a fall in prices. The account of the facts supported argumentative processes, in many ways oblique or subliminal, referred to a society more reflective and less surprised in which different emotions emerged. The events continued to act.

In general, there was not a great distance between the core values of the two narratives: that of Porsile and those of Cavallo and Company. Setting aside the broader time frame considered by Porsile, they stand out for their style, timing, and sources. In some way, it is the Neapolitan context to explain the allusions hidden behind the restrained prose. Not by chance, in this publishing model based on shared sources, the dedications, introductions, editors, sponsors, and other notes became key references. We can say that with the fall of Buda, the news was shaped by expectations and passions. Months later, this information evolved into public memory and reflection.

¹⁹ See for example BRONDI 1686, 17 and *passim*, in which slaughter and slave raids crowd the tale.

²⁰ *Diario De' Successi dell'Arme* 1684a. Similar edition - *Diario De' Successi dell'Arme* 1684b - was published as 'Bologna, per Gioseffo Longhi'.

Time since the conquest of Buda, Carlo Porsile had to expose rather than celebrate. In line with this aplomb, the *Diario de' Successi dell'Arme Cesaree* was detailed and in clear prose. With very legible fonts, this pocket-sized (12°) could pass from hand to hand. Coincidence, the format was promoted by a prominent French editor in Naples, in business with Porsile: Antonio Bulifon, a pro-bourbon, fled later in the wake of Philip V because of the Spanish Succession War. Francesco Massari Roman-born publisher and stepfather of Parrino, paid for the edition²¹. Therefore, a network emerges around the editorial operation. Massari's involvement itself suggests Porsile's closeness to Parrino's entourage, even though the reasons and timing of this involvement are not clear. Massari's name was added to the decorative headpiece after the printing.

Ultimately, the *Diario* was not a niche product, but a book for modern readers, with an outlook on the events and their consequences over time. In Neapolitan publishing, a need to review the facts was appearing. In addition, between the lines, it is possible to glimpse political circumstances and moods. Something sounds like veiled messages to the factions, cryptic for the modern reader. The issue of the sources and the formation of the texts remains open.

5. General consideration

How the historical narration produces a mediated reality is a timeless topic. Somehow, it lies at the core of historiography and crosses disciplinary boundaries. So, it is appropriate to focus on some points rather than to establish conclusions.

Some discrepancies have emerged regarding the sequence of the celebrations, the descriptions, and the details related to the war for Buda. These can be considered secondary issues compared to the essence of our findings. Misprints and transcriptions errors were common. The social imagination shaped the representations, and vice versa.

The circulation of these publications in Europe and the Mediterranean opens up new fields of study, calling for new sources and patterns. A text analysis requires researches beyond the scope of this essay.

Nevertheless, various details are relative considering the sense of such literature for the Neapolitan audience. Part of the message of this publishing was in its historical and contextual happening, in the social and literary resonances, and in the reputation of the typographers. Some phraseologies found meaning in the social watermark, in the shadow of politics, editorial mechanisms, and expectations. The individual, collective, and institutional storytellers acted within the folds of the Neapolitan society.

²¹ LOMBARDI 2000: *passim*.

The fall of Buda in 1686 was a turning point in modern history in this part of the world. The editorial echoes of the events were important, both from a documentary point of view and as an expression of the colourful cultural Neapolitan industry. The circulation of news and the international nexus of the Mediterranean capital is an endless space of investigation there existed an economy of communication. In this context, some publishers stood out, and some publications succeeded or gained attention. All of this showed the political and social inferences of this kind of communication. Sometimes through ordinary means, as in the case of the gazettes. Other times through editorial projects, such as in the cases of *Distinto Diario* of Cavallo, Parrino and Muzi, or *Diario de' Successi dell'Arme Cesaree* of Carlo Porsile, where reports, concepts, and lists were flaunted and skillfully utilized. Occasionally, this was done through sonnets, canzoni, or other forms of laudatory literature.

The whole of that narrative was basilar to shape public opinion. It was a moment of social and political redefinition. The ties between text and context and the implicit or subliminal messages played a decisive role. The figures involved in the publishing were part of the communication, as were the characters depicted and the values proposed as reference for self-recognition of the Neapolitan society.

In this perspective, the Hungarian facts reshaped the arena of political action. This way, the ruling classes exploited symbolic languages and deep-rooted social ties, while the success reaffirmed hierarchies and diplomatic relations.

The Neapolitan publishing scene produced multiform storytelling, recounted with professionalism and determination, not as an external observer but as part of the flow of events.

In this sense, the representation embodied the communication codes of the time. The events surrounding the fall of Buda became part of a *mise en scène* of the society, highlighting its organizations and emphasizing its conventional values.

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CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE

HUNGARIAN TRAVELERS IN NAPLES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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1. Introduction

The concept of the Grand Tour, a long journey undertaken by young men of the British aristocracy in the 17th century to perfect their education, is a prominent feature of travel in Italy during the pre-unification period. However, the journey could involve individuals from a variety of social backgrounds: poor penniless people seeking work in lands far from their homeland, families fleeing persecution due to changes of government, clergymen to spread their beliefs, artists, painters and many others. Naples too, especially when it became the Capital with the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty on the throne, was among the destinations of all those plethora of travelers who for various reasons arrived in this city to stay there or to continue on to other parts of the Kingdom. But among these, how many came from the Austrian Empire and specifically Hungary? Why were they coming to Naples, who were they, where were they staying? Did they come by land or by sea? What documents did they have to present at the border? Thanks to the elaboration of data from a volume of the 1848 Ministry of Police of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, it will be possible to get answers to these questions.

2. Travelers in the Kingdom of Naples

Travelling by land and sea has marked the political, cultural and economic history of our country. For various reasons, merchants, nobles, soldiers and servants, together with clerics, pilgrims and travelers, crossed the Mediterranean by ship to reach the ports scattered along its coasts.

During the Spanish occupation (1503-1707), Naples retained its cosmopolitan character, with a circulation of people and goods by land and sea that profoundly transformed its urban structure and economy. Its port welcomed travelers from all over the Mediterranean, especially foreign merchants from Genoa, Florence, Ragusa, Venice and

Greece. The streets and squares named after the various foreign communities bear witness to the presence of merchants who settled in the Capital and ran their businesses there¹. These communities were joined by the men of the militia in the Spanish Quarter, built by Don Pedro de Toledo to house the army. Naples was not lacking in places of worship named after the different nationalities of the people who inhabited it, such as the Church of San Giacomo of the Spaniards. There were different types of travelers: those who simply crossed the land and sea borders; those who, once in the Capital, joined their communities living in the Kingdom and integrated into the urban population; those who sought work; and finally, the wretched and the wanderers.

Visits to the Capital of the Kingdom were not limited to merchants and investors. Immigration increased both because of its special tax exemptions and its food laws, which attracted rural and urban masses as well as foreigners². In such a lively environment, which also raised some uncertainties about social stability, mechanisms of social control emerged. The government feared the immigration of travelers who, being alien to the established communities and victims of circumstance, could endanger the security of the population³.

In 1559, in a measure to improve public order, control measures were introduced to collect data on the identity and origin of unemployed foreigners living in the towns, countryside and castles of the kingdom⁴. Once near the Capital, the coachmen were obliged to take every traveller to the house of the local postmaster. Illustrious persons were exempt from identification. The postmaster was expected to inform the viceroy, via the "Ufficio del Collaterale", of who was entering the Kingdom.

The results obtained by the enactment of these laws, through the surveillance of the cities, lands and castles of the Kingdom by captains and officers, were unsatisfactory, as evidenced both by the large number of regulations aimed at limiting the influx of dangerous foreigners and by the documents of the period. In 1600, Giovanni Scaramelli, a Venetian diplomat in Naples, wrote about the regulations to control the number of foreigners entering the city, which were registered by the officers⁵.

In 1680, the Kingdom was still closed to foreign beggars and those who, even if they claimed to be looking for work, could not produce documents proving their origin and social status. Despite the security measures in place, the Capital continued to exert its

¹ KOENIGSBERGER 1947; DE ROSA 1997, 239-270.

² PALERMO 1876, 25.

³ Prior to this initiative, Don Pedro De Toledo addressed the problem of the criminals and wanderers by arranging police action to control the dangerous influx of foreigners in the Kingdom [Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASNa), Collaterale Curiae, vol.10 e vol.11].

⁴ GIUSTINIANI 1804, 17-19.

⁵ *Corrispondenze veneziane da Napoli* 1991, 279.

fascination and opened its gates to those who wished to visit, provided they had a regular permit. The first visitors soon joined the illegal foreigners. In the sixteenth century, Thomas Hoby⁶, Andrew Boarde and Richard Rowlands arrived in the Kingdom; a detailed account of the entire Italian peninsula was found in a seventeenth-century book by Andrea Scotto, translated from Latin, which listed the coachmen's inns (where coachmen could eat, rest and replace tired teams of horses with fresh ones) from Naples to Sicily and Apulia⁷. He describes the Capital in detail, emphasising the size of the harbour, which could accommodate 30 galleys. In the 15th century, Giulio Cesare Capaccio and Pompeo Sarnelli published their guidebooks⁸. With the exception of Messina, visitors chose to travel by land. The travelers were aware of the dangers of travelling by land, but they were eager to enjoy the natural beauties of the Kingdom and to deepen their knowledge of it.

What formalities did travelers have to go through before leaving or on arrival in Naples? Who was in charge of controls? What kind of work did the institutions and officials have to do? Who had to deal with foreigners and what kind of documents were visitors expected to produce to prove their identity? In 1638, the maritime customs began to check foreigners on board ships. Every boatman and sailor had to inform the harbour customs officer of every foreigner entering the Kingdom by sea⁹.

Under the Austrian rule (1707-1734), maritime trade slowly began to expand again. The question of how to deal with incoming foreigners therefore became a priority¹⁰. The law of 24 March 1708 was a novelty in the institutional management of the entry of foreigners into the Kingdom, as visitors had to present a regular document or passport. It reiterated the previous legislation, i.e. the need for incoming travelers to be registered by the officials, stating that “*ne exteri e Regno decedano, vel in Regnum ingrediantur sine litteris publicis, vulgo passaporti*”.

Passports were therefore required to enter and leave the Kingdom, both by land and by sea. This measure was also extended to ships entering and leaving the port of Naples. The bodies that promulgated the regulation were the viceroy and the deputy ministers, while the royal and baronial officers along the borders and the magistrates carried out the checks on those arriving in Naples both by land and by sea. The checks on those arriving by sea were more rigorous than those on travelers entering the Kingdom by land. Ship captains had to obtain a passport before leaving the city's port. The harbour master, as customs officer, had to make sure that foreigners entering or leaving the Kingdom by sea were in possession of

⁶ CHANEY 1998, 102-143.

⁷ SCOTTO 1622, 23.

⁸ CAPACCIO 1630; SARNELLI 1865.

⁹ GIUSTINIANI 1803-1808, 20-111.

¹⁰ DI VITTORIO 1973, 398-414.

their passports. He also had to investigate the reasons for the journey. All the information gathered had to be reported to the viceroy.

Under the reign of Charles of Bourbon (1734-1759) and the regency of Bernardo Tanucci (1759-1767), land and sea trade were promoted by investing in the improvement of roads and ports. With regard to the road network, the main arteries of the Kingdom were renovated, including the royal roads of Rome, Abruzzo, Puglia and Calabria. One of the reasons for this new policy was the need for supply lines as an alternative to the port of Naples¹¹.

Another reason for this policy was tourism. The discovery of the archaeological sites of Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748 added Naples and the Italian Southern Italy to the Grand Tour itinerary. These new discoveries developed further interest in the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations, enticing travelers to visit the temples of Paestum and Sicily¹². Despite the precarious road conditions, the itinerary of the Grand Tour was covered by land. Usually, the first stop on the Grand Tour was Paris, where travelers could improve their French, then on to Dijon and along the river to Lyon. They continued on to the south of France, where they embarked for Genoa. From Genoa they traveled to Pisa, then Florence or Venice. Then they traveled south by land to Rome. Their next stop was Naples, where they could stay in one of the few hotels or be the guests of famous personalities of the time. One of the most prestigious and coveted salons was that of Sir William Hamilton, a scholar interested in Vesuvius and the archaeological remains of Herculaneum and Pompeii. His findings, together with those of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, amazed his English, French and German guests.

According to Maximilien Misson¹³, travelers need no less than 12/15 days to appreciate the beauty of Naples. He suggested that visitors should devote at least 5 days to visiting the city, staying in one of the two hotels mentioned: *La colomba d'oro*, which charged 10 carlini per day, or *I tre re*. The Vesuvian sites were reached by coach and information about the cost, the surroundings of Vesuvius and the customs of the locals can be found in the travelers' journals.

During the 19th century, new regulations were introduced for overland travel in the Kingdom. In 1806, the French established that the dispatch of passports and documents was the responsibility of the Minister of Police. For foreigners wishing to travel both inside and outside the Kingdom, the rules governing the details of passports were laid down¹⁴. Foreigners needed an authorisation issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs or by one of

¹¹ GIANNETTI 1985, 246-247.

¹² CIARALLO 2007, 17-25.

¹³ MISSON 1743.

¹⁴ *Bullettino delle leggi* 1808, 385-386.

the ministers of the country of origin in order to move freely within the country. Legislation did not neglect the maritime passport, which was valid for only one journey (1807). The growing popularity of travel to the Kingdom was also due to the increasingly detailed guidebooks, which provided information on entry procedures and average costs¹⁵. During the Restoration, the state of maritime transport changed. In 1839 Ferdinand II introduced free transport of people and goods by ship¹⁶. Regular boat and ship services were introduced in the tourist circuits. The king offered a group of scholars attending the VII Congress of Italian Scientists a trip from Capri to Paestum on Stromboli¹⁷.

The guidebooks of the mid-nineteenth century emphasise the extent to which border security was a well-established practice. In 1847, Stanislao D'Aloe, a member of the Accademia Ercolanese, began his book on the monuments of Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Castellammare di Stabia, Paestum, Pozzuoli, Cuma and Capua with some "Notices indispensables aux voyageurs"¹⁸. All foreigners arriving in Naples, whether by land or by sea, had to leave their passports at the border and indicate the name of the hotel where they would be staying. In exchange for their passports, they received a billet, which was given to the hotelier. Their stay in the Kingdom was linked to the possession of a *carte de sûreté* issued by the passport office of the police prefecture. For longer stays, the passport was returned to be presented at the border. Other formalities were required to enter Sicily. The passport had to be shown to the ambassador or consul of the traveller's country of origin. After paying 6 carlini, they received a passport valid for Sicily and the provinces of the Kingdom¹⁹.

Regarding the security policy in the ports of the Kingdom, the consuls had to issue a permit for the transport of goods together with the port captain of the customs office and a permit for the transport of travelers together with the port watchman of the maritime health office. Those arriving by sea had to hand over their passports to the harbour police. As a rule, a policeman went on board to apply the necessary precautions to prevent contagion, which had caused thousands of deaths in the past. The policemen would check the health of the passengers and give them a document to be submitted to the prefecture with the travelers' passports²⁰.

¹⁵ BROKEDON 1835, 165.

¹⁶ BIANCHINI 1971, 627.

¹⁷ CHEVALLEY DE RIVAZ 1846.

¹⁸ D'ALOE 1847.

¹⁹ GIUSTINIANI 1804, vol. XV, 17-19.

²⁰ SALVEMINI 2009, 259-296.

3. Travelers in Nineteenth-Century Southern Italy before the Unification

After being handed over to the police, the passports were taken to the Prefecture, where the registers were filled in with information such as first name, surname, nationality, social status, reasons for travelling, origin of the visa to enter the Kingdom, whether travelling alone or with another person. Today these registers are kept in the State Archives of Naples.

The data quoted in this article come from the first register of 1848. Although it was a year characterised by political and revolutionary events, 4,209 foreigners arrived in the Kingdom in 1848. In terms of nationality, 25% came from various Italian states; 22% were English, from England, Scotland and Ireland: in the 19th century, most European visitors came from England²¹; 14% were French, followed by those from the Austrian Empire, 12%. Fewer than a dozen came from America, 7%; 5% claimed to be Swiss, 5% Russian, 2% from the Baltic kingdoms, 2% from the Iberian Peninsula, and so on (Table 1, Graph 1).

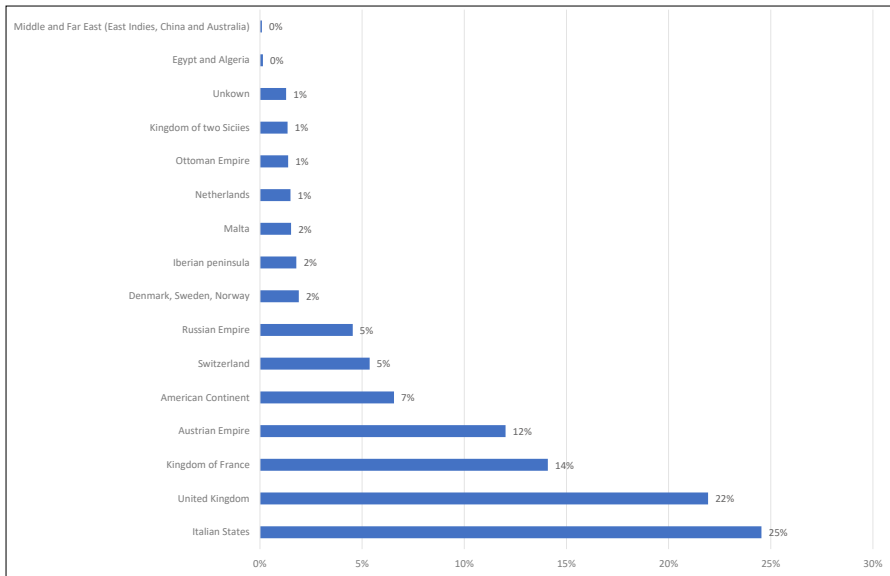
Table 1. Nationality of travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848

Nationality of travelers	n.
Italian States	1033
United Kingdom	923
Kingdom of France	593
Austrian Empire	506
American Continent	276
Switzerland	226
Russian Empire	191
Denmark, Sweden, Norway	80
Iberian peninsula	75
Malta	64
Netherlands	63
Ottoman Empire	58
Kingdom of two Siciies	57
Unkown	54
Egypt and Algeria	6
Middle and Far East (East Indies, China and Australia)	4
Total	4.209

Source: ASNa, Archivio della polizia, fs. 2849, year 1848

²¹ DAWES 2006, 28-34.

Graph 1. Nationality of travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848



Source: Data in table 1.

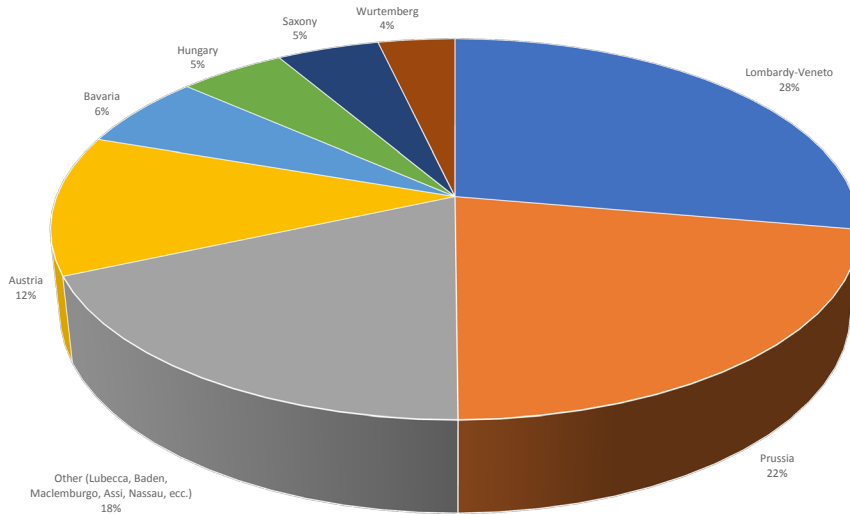
As Hungary was part of the Austrian Empire, we have taken into account all the states that were part of this geographical area at the time. Thus, of the 506 travelers from the Austrian Empire (Table 1), 28% came from Lombardy-Venetia, followed by those who claimed to be Prussian with 22%, 18% from the various German states, 12% from Austria, and only 5% were those who claimed to be Hungarian (Table 2 and Graph 2).

Table 2. Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848

Austrian Empire travelers	n.
Lombardy-Veneto	138
Prussia	110
Other (Lubecca, Baden, Maclemburgo, Assi, Nassau, ecc.)	92
Austria	59
Bavaria	31
Hungary	25
Saxony	24
Wurtemberg	18
Hannover	9
Total	506

Source: see table 1.

Graph 2. Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848



Source: Data in table 2.

In 1848, 86% of travelers were male and only 14% were female, a proportion that is confirmed for travelers from the Austrian Empire (Table 3). Many of these women traveled alone or with a servant, or with their husband or a relative; few traveled as lady’s maids. This confirms that women did travel on the Grand Tour in the 19th century²².

Table 3. Gender Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848

Gender	All	%	Hungarian	%
Male	436	86%	21	84%
Female	70	14%	4	16%
total	506	100%	25	100%

Source: see table 1.

²² DAWES 2003, 26.

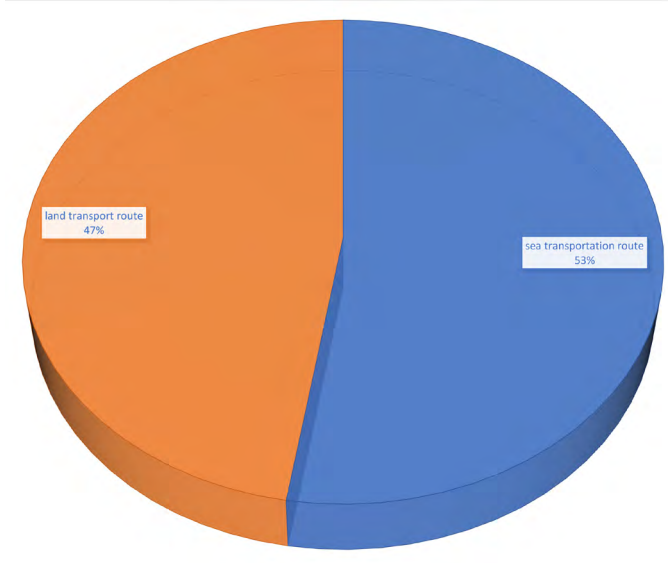
Traveling by sea (53%) was preferred to travelling by land (47%) (Table 4, Graph 5). Although the sea route was slightly more preferred than the land route, the fact that almost half of travelers still used the land route shows how safe the roads in the Kingdom had become over the previous hundred years. The percentage of overland journeys increased when the Kingdom of Naples gained its independence. Beginning with Charles of Bourbon, public policies were promoted to repair the ancient Roman roads, making Naples easily accessible from Rome and putting it on a par with other European capitals. Travelers arriving in the Kingdom by sea, especially from Malta, were quarantined and only then given a document to disembark²³.

Table 4. Transportation route

Transportation route	n.
sea transportation route	266
land transport route	240
Total	506

Source: see table 1

Graph 5. Transportation route (%)



Source: Data in table 4.

²³ SALVEMINI 2009.

Most visitors traveled during the first five months of the year, winter and spring (January to May) (Table 5, Graph 6). This period was also chosen by those travelling to the Kingdom on business, as activities slowed down in the summer²⁴. Unlike today, which is characterised by mass tourism and seaside resorts, nineteenth-century tourists visited southern Italy following the itinerary of the Grand Tour. Those who were privileged and could afford to travel and enjoy the natural and artistic beauties of the Kingdom preferred to travel in winter, when the weather was cold in their countries of origin and mild in southern Italy. In addition, tourists tended to stay in Rome, the Capital of the Vatican, at Christmas to take part in the Pope's celebrations, and then traveled south in the spring, when road conditions improved and sea transport resumed. This is why the highest percentage of visitors arrived in March. In the hotter months (June, July and August), fewer people arrived in the Kingdom. The percentage was slightly higher in September (Graph 6).

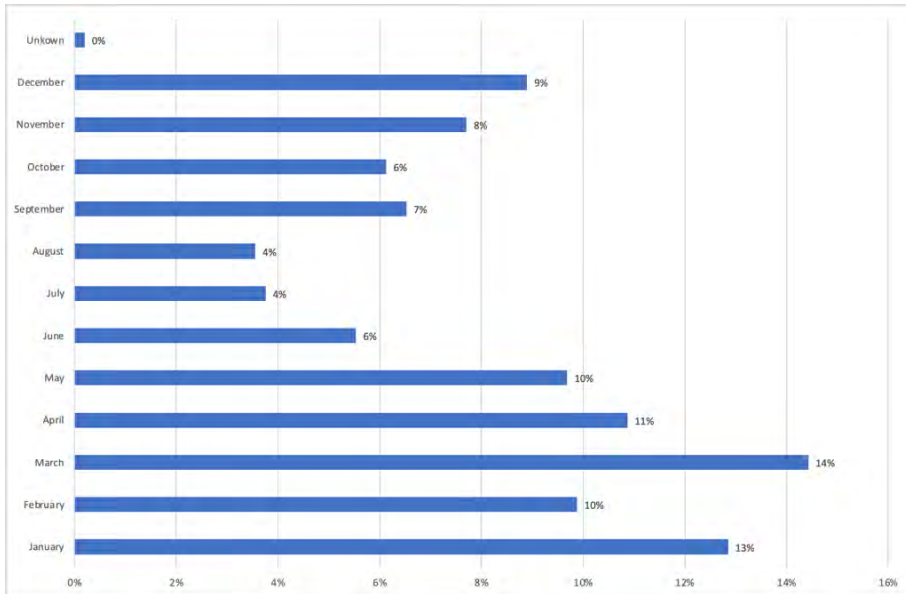
Table 5. Number of Austrian Empire travelers' arrivals by month in 1848

Month	n.
January	65
February	50
March	73
April	55
May	49
June	28
July	19
August	18
September	33
October	31
November	39
December	45
Unkown	1
Total	506

Source: see table 1.

²⁴ AVALLONE 2009.

Graph 6. Number of Austrian Empire travelers' arrivals by month in 1848 (%)



Source: Data in table 5.

Once in Naples, travelers were required to state where they were staying. It could be a hotel; a furnished apartment or a rented room; a private house as a guest or with the master as a servant; unspecified accommodation with an address; the workplace; one's own house (if the traveller was a resident).

In Naples - according to the *Guida del Forestiere* published in 1845 on the occasion of the Congress of Italian Scientists held in Naples - there were 77 hotels, divided into three categories, and 147 furnished houses, also divided into three categories²⁵. However, the existence of inns where it was possible to spend the night as well as having a quick bite to eat cannot be ruled out²⁶.

²⁵ *Manuale del forestiero in Napoli* 1845, 51-67.

²⁶ Luxury hotels: Martino Zir's "Albergo della Vittoria" in Piazza Vittoria; Melga Gottardo and sons' "Albergo delle Crocelle", in Via Chiatamone, 30; the "Gran'Albergo della Villa di Roma" in S. Lucia; Orazio Bonaccorsi's "Albergo della Gran Bretagna" on the Riviera di Chiaia, etc. For a good ratio price/quality were suggested: the "Albergo di Nuova York" on the "strada del Piliero"; the "Albergo del Globo" in Via Medina; the "Albergo di Francia" at Largo del Castello, etc. (cfr. Appendice dell'editore alla riedizione del 1845 della *Nuova Guida per Napoli e suoi contorni* di GALANTI, 325).

More than 50% of the travelers from the Austrian Empire who came to Naples as tourists in 1848 claimed to have stayed in a hotel. Smaller percentages claimed to have stayed in furnished houses or rented rooms, with friends, in monasteries or convents, outside Naples, on board ships, in barracks if they were sailors or soldiers, in inns and boarding schools if they were students (Table 6, Graph 7). Some of them gave only the address and a remarkable number gave a specific address, *Riviera 257*. For those who gave an address that could not be linked to a hotel or house according to the 1845 guide, we assume that there could have been mistakes made by the travelers or the officials. For example, the address *Riviera 165* could be *Riviera 155*, where, according to the guide, there was a furnished house. For those who gave the same address, since the address was linked to the registered location of the coach rental of Sig. Giuseppe Francesconi²⁷, it can be assumed that the travelers gave the address of their carrier, an ante-litteram tourist agent. Francesconi was in fact the manager of the first-class *Hotel Di Bellevue*, which was located very close to the carriage hire at *Via Riviera 259*²⁸. It is possible that the guide is incomplete. Even if not all the hotels and furnished apartments were listed in the 1847 guide, the *Libro degli indirizzi commerciale, scientifico, artistico per l'anno 1856* states that at this address there was Signor Nobile's *Hotel de l'Univers*. In the *Libro dell'anno 1862*, CENATIEMPO writes that there were two furnished apartments at this address, one belonging to Sig. Roullè and the other by Sig. Concia. The same could be said of those who gave *Rua Catalana 33*, where, according to the same guide, there were "Stanze mobiliate" (furnished rooms)²⁹, and of those who gave *Carminiello a Chiaia 59*, where, according to the *Guide-Almanach de l'étranger pour Naples et ses environs* published in 1865, there were "Apartments meublés" (furnished rooms)³⁰.

²⁷ *Manuale del forestiero in Napoli* 1845, 95.

²⁸ Ivi, 51.

²⁹ CENATIEMPO 1862, 103-104.

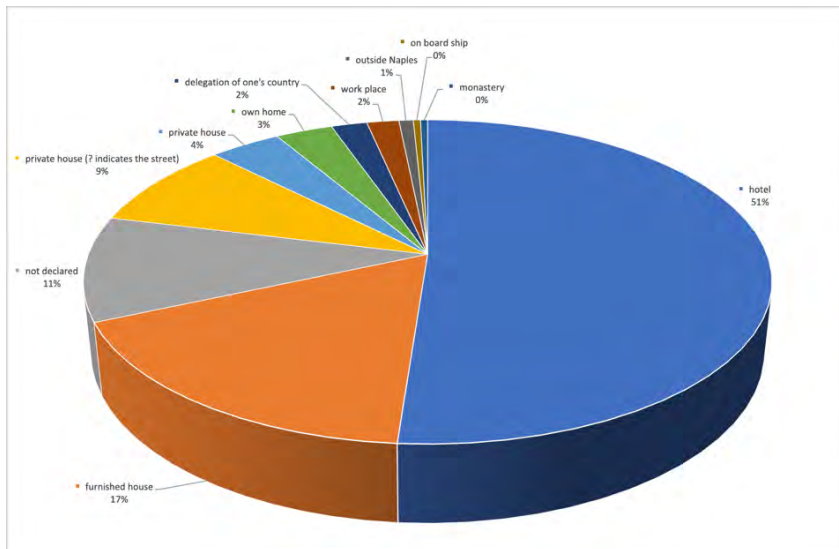
³⁰ PELLERANO 1865, 316.

Table 6. Accommodation of Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848

Accommodation	n.
hotel	259
furnished house	87
not declared	53
private house (? indicates the street)	44
private house	20
own home	16
delegation of one's country	10
work place	9
outside Naples	4
on board ship	2
monastery	2
Total	506

Source: see table 1.

Graph 7. Accommodation of Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicily in 1848 (%)



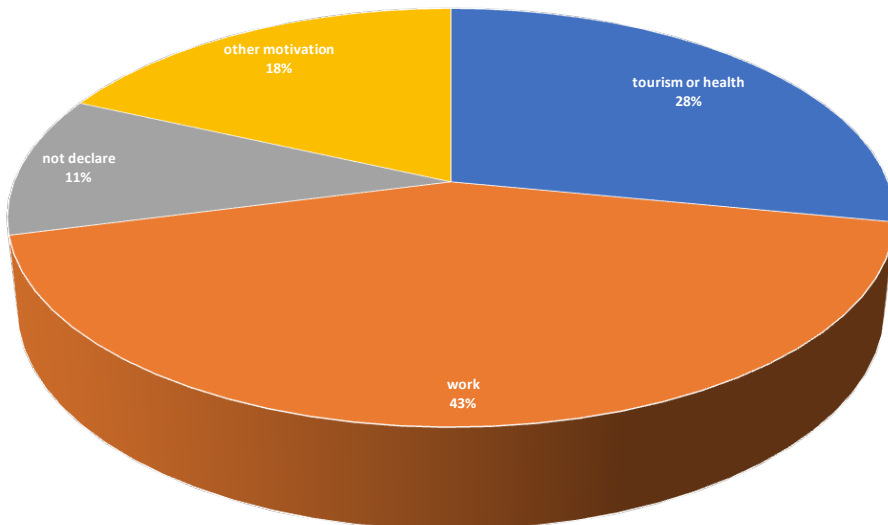
Source: Data in table 6.

Table 7. Reasons for the trip of Austrian Empire travelers

Reasons for the trip	n.
tourism or health	142
business - (profession, trade, service, for interest, political)	88
work - at the service of...	75
not declare	55
work	54
in transit for another destination	38
resident in Naples or Kingdom	18
come back	16
courier	8
family member in tow	7
refugee	5
Total	506

Source: see table 1.

Graph 8. Reasons for the trip of Austrian Empire travelers (%)



Source: Data elaboration in table 7.

43% of travelers from different parts of the Austrian Empire came to Naples for work, confirming the general trend³¹. Only 28% stated that they came to Naples for tourism or medical treatment. 18% indicated other reasons and for 11% we have no information (Table 7, Graph 8). Those who were tourists used the expression “per diporto” (for pleasure) or “per curiosare” (to visit). Someone said they were in Naples “per diporto e di passaggio” (for pleasure - stopover); this shows that Naples was one of the many cities to be visited on a tour of the peninsula. Some even used the term “diporto” for health reasons. The variety of the natural landscapes of the Kingdom, the artistic treasures, the liveliness of the Neapolitan people, the good food, but also the mild climate in winter, the sea and the thermal springs, which offered the possibility of curing various diseases, attracted many foreigners. Naples was only the first stop on a tour of the surrounding area, which included the Campi Flegrei, Cuma, Portici with its royal palace, Pompeii and Herculaneum.

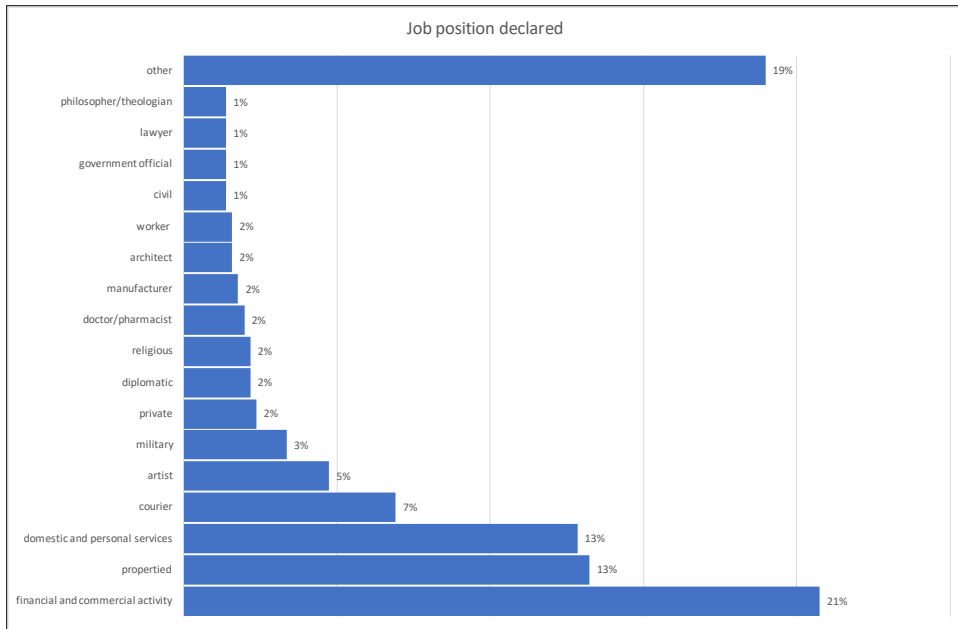
Table 8. Social condition of Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies

Social condition	n.
financial and commercial activity	105
propertied	67
domestic and personal services	65
courier	35
artist	24
military	17
private	12
diplomatic	11
religious	11
doctor/pharmacist	10
manufacturer	9
architect	8
worker	8
civil	7
government official	7
lawyer	7
philosopher/theologian	7
other	96
Total	506

Source: see table 1.

³¹ AVALLONE, SALVEMINI 2012, 427-444.

Graph 9. Social condition of Austrian Empire travelers in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (%)



Source: Data in table 8.

The majority of travelers to the Kingdom (21%) said they were in some way connected with business and finance. This is not unexpected given that the majority of travelers also came for business and to find work. This was followed by those who claimed to be property owners (13%) and those who provided domestic and personal services (servants accompanying the aristocracy or doing so anyway) (13%) (Table 8, Graph 9). The remaining categories of persons were distributed as Table 8 and Graph 9.

4. Some Hungarian travelers and others from the Empire

According to the police register from which we extracted the data, in addition to the quantitative and qualitative data on those who arrived in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1848, it was also possible to study personal data. In practice, it is possible to know who arrived in the Kingdom and their status.

Among the notable personalities who arrived in Naples that year was Baron Luigi Lo Presti. The surname indicates that this was a family of Italian origin. In fact, Lajos Álmos Lo Presti, in Italian Luigi, descended from a noble family of Spanish origin that had settled

in Sicily in the 14th century. After the War of the Spanish Succession, those who sided with Austria were forced to move to Austria in 1739. They were also naturalised in Hungary in 1764³². He was the eldest son of Lajos Lo Presti and Jozefa Ley Roy de Lozembrune. The family continued to speak Spanish as their mother tongue, although they encouraged their children to learn Hungarian. Lajos had a younger brother, Árpád, and two younger sisters. He was a man of considerable talent, if somewhat eccentric. From an early age he had shown a rebellious and unconventional nature during his time at the Collegium Theresianum, a Jesuit school founded in Vienna in 1746 by the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria.

During the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-49, both brothers played a decisive role, rather than being spectators. Árpád joined Artúr Görgei's army, where he reached the rank of major. He distinguished himself by his courage, often taking on the most dangerous courier missions. Meanwhile, Luigi recruited a troop of hussars at his own expense.

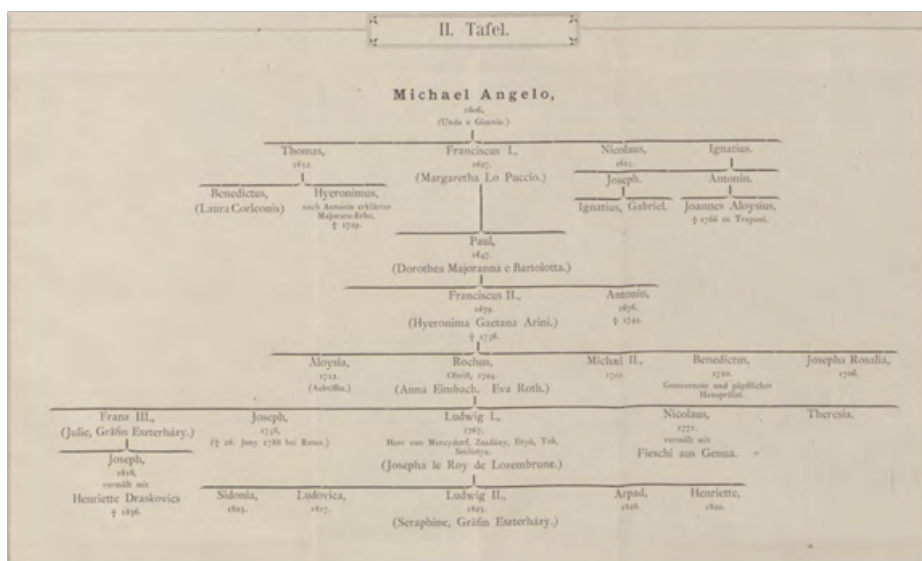


Fig. 1. Lo Presti's family tree Source: NEMZEDÉK-RENDJE 1885, p. 86.

³² The family first appeared in Sicily in the 14th century in the person of Pietro, from whom the direct descent of Lajos is proven. He came to Sicily from Spain. Here the family acquired large estates, including the Barony of Fontana d'Angioli, whose first owner was John Alois III. François II moved his entire family to Vienna in 1736, following unrest in Sicily. His son Rochus received the Hungarian birthright in 1764, but only his son Louis settled in Hungary.

However, circumstances did not go as planned and Lajos finally decided to travel to Naples on his own for the first time on 22 October 1848. He arrived by land and stayed at the Hotel Vittoria. Nine days later, he left for Rome, intending to take his wife and daughters with him. And indeed, we find him in Naples on 16 November, not only with his wife Serafina Eszterházy³³ and his daughters, but also with the daughters' aja (Maria Gurtler), the family doctor (Dr. Stimbach), two servants (Franz Krinzbach and Teresa Guiest) and others. In April of the following year, he moved to Marseilles, where his wife and daughters joined him in June.

After the surrender at Lăkar on 13 August 1849, which marked the end of the Hungarian Revolution, Árpád sought refuge abroad. He did not return to Hungary until the general amnesty was proclaimed³⁴. On his return, Lajos found his estates in a state of total debt, the result of his brother's failure to pay his taxes. At this point, Louis attempted to dispose of the majorat as a free estate, having discovered a formal error in the feudal title deeds. To this end, he initiated fourteen lawsuits against his brother Árpád and his two sisters. He eventually prevailed, but his properties in the county of Arad remained inaccessible due to the exorbitant costs associated with litigation. As a result, he severed all ties with his brother. In the 1860s, the family moved to Bratislava, where Louis devoted himself to technical studies, including the design of a pioneering single-track mountain railway, which he built in Diósgyőr, at his estate in Iltyo and at Archduke Albrecht's Teschen estate³⁵.

Among the many professionals who arrived in Naples from the Austro-Hungarian Empire that year was Giovan Battista Bencich from Trieste, a baritone of considerable renown at the time. In the capital of the Kingdom, however, he was only passing through on his way to Palermo, where he was frequently engaged at the Teatro Carolino. He performed

³³ Lajos' wife Serafina Eszterházy of Galantha was the daughter of the Hungarian court chamberlain Michael I. Esterazy of Galantha.

³⁴ Árpád is renowned for his financial contribution to the construction of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' headquarters, which amounted to 47,585 forints. Similarly, Louis provided financial support to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with a contribution of 2,100 forints. With Árpád's demise, the male line of the Lo Presti family in Hungary became extinct, as Louis had daughters.

³⁵ His proposals for enhancing terrestrial communications were also incorporated into some of his works. *Bemerkungen über die Verwendbarkeit der vorkommenden Baumstockentwurzeln-Vorrichtungen und insbesondere der priv. ungarischen Stockdore-Maschine. Zur Richtschnur für Forst- und Landwirthe, welche Maschinen dieser Art beurtheilen wollen. Ein neues System von billigen und verstellbaren Bahnen, die proportionel mit der Grösse der Verkehrsactivität ausgeführt werden können. Vom technischen und mechanischen Standpuncte besprochen. Pest, 1868.* In the city of Presburg, he submitted an application for an industrial patent, which was subsequently granted for a period of six years. The title of the invention was as follows: "Système de chemins de fer particuliers, d'une application universelle, et perfectionnements mécaniques apportés dans les vois ferrées dans leur ensemble et dans leurs détails" (Bollettino Industriale del Regno d'Italia, 1868, 437).

in a number of Italian theatres, including those in Padua and Venice, as well as in Odessa, a city in the Russian Empire.

Pietro Venier, a native of Verona, arrived in Naples in December. He was hired as a set designer for the Teatro S. Carlo in Naples and was given a furnished house to live in. We find him as early as 1835, when he was hired to design the sets for the opera *Lucia di Lammermoor*, which was being performed at the San Carlo. Because of his skills, he was invited to design the sets for the Piccinni Theatre in Bari, inaugurated in 1854.

The pianist and composer Anna Mezzani, from Venice, came to Naples in May with her mother, who had been awarded the diploma of honorary member of the Accademia di S. Cecilia in Rome, under the patronage of “two illustrious persons whose names we withhold in recognition of their knowledge and taste”³⁶. The Milanese Tito Ricordi, also known as Tito I Ricordi to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name, son of Giovanni Ricordi, came to Naples in February on business as a music publisher and stayed at the Hotel Roma.

Abbot Nicolò Negrelli, who arrived in Naples by land in March ‘for pleasure’, was a prefect and professor of Italian language and literature at the Royal Academy in Vienna. He wrote numerous essays commenting on foreign literary works, such as *Saggio di una versione italiana delle poesie di Uhland*³⁷, or as a translator himself, such as *Storia di S. Elisabetta d’Ungheria Langravia di Turingia* of the Count de Montemlembert Peer of France and the *Racconti* of Enrico Conscience.

5. Conclusions

The Kingdom of Naples, during the Spanish domination, had already established health and customs control procedures for the movement of people by land and by sea. They were carried out by means of customs permits and certified health certificates. The passport for entering and leaving the Kingdom was a measure introduced in the 18th century. The Kingdom’s need to curb vagrancy and enforce law and order led over the years to the need to clearly identify travelers by issuing a passport, similar to today’s document. We can thus see the origin of the process of identification carried out by the state through diplomatic and territorial authorities.

In the 19th century, the movement of people and goods was better defined, both in terms of roads and means of transport, and in terms of the documentation required by the governments of the pre-unification states. Controls became more formal and the entry

³⁶ *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura* 1850-51, 158.

³⁷ NEGRELLI 1836.

and exit of foreigners was recorded in police registers. We can then extract data relating to their origin, nationality, the reason for their journey to the Kingdom, where they would stay and whether they arrived by land or sea. Although the political institutions continued to function in an absolutist and authoritarian manner until the unification of the country, economic and social innovations led to a more liberal management of the movement of people and goods, as was the case in the decades between the unification and the First World War³⁸.

³⁸ MERIGGI 2005, 53.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

A MARITIME “IDYLL”.
INFRASTRUCTURES, CAPITALISM, MARITIME MODERNITY
AND REPRESENTATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE DURING THE
“HUNGARIAN IDYLL” IN FIUME (RIJEKA), 1868-1914*

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During the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, and leading up to the First World War, Fiume (Rijeka) – or more precisely, the city and its territory (*Fiume Város és Kerülete*) – witnessed a remarkable surge in technological advancements and economic prosperity. This was primarily due to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, which restored Hungarian sovereignty over the city. This newfound control led to significant state investments and the implementation of impressive infrastructure projects. These initiatives transformed a small secondary port into one of Europe’s most “modern” maritime *entrepôts* and industrial cities.

The following pages aim to illuminate the unique facets of this “modernity”, which assumed a distinctly maritime character in the case of Fiume. We will delve into the moral implications of the Hungarian investment in Fiume and the features of the so-called “idyll”. We will also explore the evolution of the Fiume logistics hub, both in terms of railway and maritime infrastructure. In the third part of the chapter, we will analyse the city’s maritime sector and its transition from sailing to steam navigation from a quantitative point of view. Finally, we will examine how the representation of (modern) maritime everyday life took shape in Fiume.

1. “To the sea, Hungarians! To the sea!”

Lajos Kossuth, journalist and hero of the Hungarian national cause, probably understood before others that every great transformation, whether historical, political, economic, or

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cultural, necessarily entailed a change in thinking and acting in space. And, equally necessarily, in the modern era, that new conception of space had to gain a maritime horizon¹. In our case, the Hungarians did not have to conquer anything. It had all been granted long ago: after the proclamation of the free port in 1719 by Charles VI, his daughter, Empress Maria Theresa, declared the city of Fiume and its district *corpus separatum* annexed to the crown of Hungary in 1779.

1.a *The maritime horizon*

For Kossuth, “winning the sea” meant (re)discovering that element and making it coherent within one’s political, economic and national project. But the sea was and remained simply an essential and unavoidable fact: “All Hungarians should come here when they are old because the road leads here, to our beach, our beach!”² In that context, Fiume was simultaneously a showcase and a development laboratory for the nation: “The bay of Fiume [is] like an enormous gate, opened by the Almighty to make the name of the Hungarians known and respected in the distant parts of the world where it is still unknown, and to intertwine the Hungarians with the civilisation of the outside world, to feel here at home, big, free and glorious”³.

However, from Budapest or the Pannonian plains to Fiume and the sea, one first had to get there. In Kossuth’s time, the only way was to travel along the Louisiana road, which connected Fiume to Karlovac (Carlstadt), the construction of which began in 1808 at the hands of General and *grenzzer* Filip Vukasović and ended in around 1811 by Napoleon’s troops. A train would have been needed, but there wasn’t one, and the railway still had to be built. Everything would have been opposed to the railway enterprise, especially nature. The latter, as is known, is stepmother in those places. There, even the trees with their branches implore Heaven for some benevolence. The mountains, the Dinaric Alps, were created on purpose by God’s wrath to hinder the Hungarian Prometheus in his ordeal⁴. This should have moved and given impetus to every “real” man. After all, there was the unique opportunity to win over nature, surpass the work of the frontier hero Vukasović and, finally, come face to face with Leviathan⁵: “Anyone who is not thrilled at the sight of this face of eternity, those who fail to draw a drop of that virile determination that makes men into titans, can bury trust itself. Life is no longer for him”⁶.

¹ SCHMITT 2002, 59, 70, 73, *et passim*.

² KOSSUTH 1846.

³ KOSSUTH 1846.

⁴ KOSSUTH 1846.

⁵ SCHMITT 2002, 18-24 *et passim*.

⁶ KOSSUTH 1846.

However, the question was not reduced to a mere aesthetic matter. At that juncture, it was not just about the possibility of affirming one’s masculinity and determination, nor of reaching one’s national shores. In the 1840s, the question arose both in geopolitical terms – and therefore also of political economy – and of relations between Hungarians and Croats. In that context, the railway would have represented both the engagement between the Danube and the Adriatic – and therefore, between the Hungarians and the world – and the long-awaited wedding ring that would finally cement the union between Hungarians and Croats⁷. Thus, net of the economic aspect, on the threshold of 1848, the question of building the railway to reach Fiume adopted a crucial political and national significance since it represented a fundamental piece in the framework of the unification of the Magyar territories or those to be Magyarized.

One final aspect to consider is central for understanding nineteenth-century humanity, particularly within the German cultural sphere of influence. In conclusion of the article, Kossuth stated: “The new era has created new needs. We need a train to Fiume!! Within this decision lies one of the keys to the future of our country”⁸. That was the “spirit of the times”, the *Zeitgeist*, against which it was impossible to rebel, otherwise the fulfilment of the national mission could have been fatally compromised. At that point in time, that was the absolute priority.

It must be said, however, that Fiume was not only within the Hungarian national horizon. By the end of August 1848, the Croatian Ban Jellačić occupied Fiume, expelling the Hungarian authorities from the city. The Croatian season of Fiume lasted until 1868 when, following the “Hungarian-Croatian reconciliation”, Fiume was reunited with Hungary again as *separatum coronae adnexum corpus*⁹. But now everything was different, and more changes were to come. In 1867, there was the *Ausgleich*, and the Empire became “dual”: Cisleithania under Austrian control and Transleithania under Hungarian control.

1.b *The “idyll”*

As we will see in more detail later, that was the moment in which Budapest was able to keep the “promises” of the 1840s: the railway and new port infrastructures were built, works

⁷ KOSSUTH 1846. The railway construction to reach Fiume was not the subject of a single Kossuth intervention on *Hetilap*. Along with the dispute around the so-called Anti-Corn Law, the railway to/from Fiume was the other most discussed topic in the magazine’s pages. HARASZTI 1961. Furthermore, the issue was also the subject of extensive correspondence between Kossuth and the Bavarian engineer Franz Kreuter, see *Kossuth Lajos* 2006.

⁸ KOSSUTH 1846.

⁹ On the Croatian period and the Hungarian-Croatian “Compromise” of 1868, see KLEN 1988, 211-230; POLIĆ 2010.

that stimulated an astonishing commercial and industrial development of the city. From the realisation of those major infrastructures – implemented thanks to constant injections of financial resources by the state – the “Hungarian idyll” of the city began, that is, forty years of growth and development, dramatically interrupted only by the outbreak of the First World War.

That “idyll” in Fiume took on the contours of a maritime and industrial epic, but also – given the city’s suitability for “modern” times – the tourism sector experienced a remarkable expansion¹⁰. There was not even a lack of large- or largest-scale industry, which, in Fiume, was characterised by its genderless nature, i.e. it employed both female and male workers depending on the processes. In 1910, the tobacco factory, one of the largest in Europe, employed around 1,171 workers – predominantly women; while the *Whitehead & Co.* torpedo factory employed approximately 727 workers – almost exclusively men¹¹. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Fiume was an industrial centre of primary importance within the Empire and Europe. In 1901, together with the nearby village of Sušak (Sussak), it had around 36 production plants and large business venues (Fig. 1).

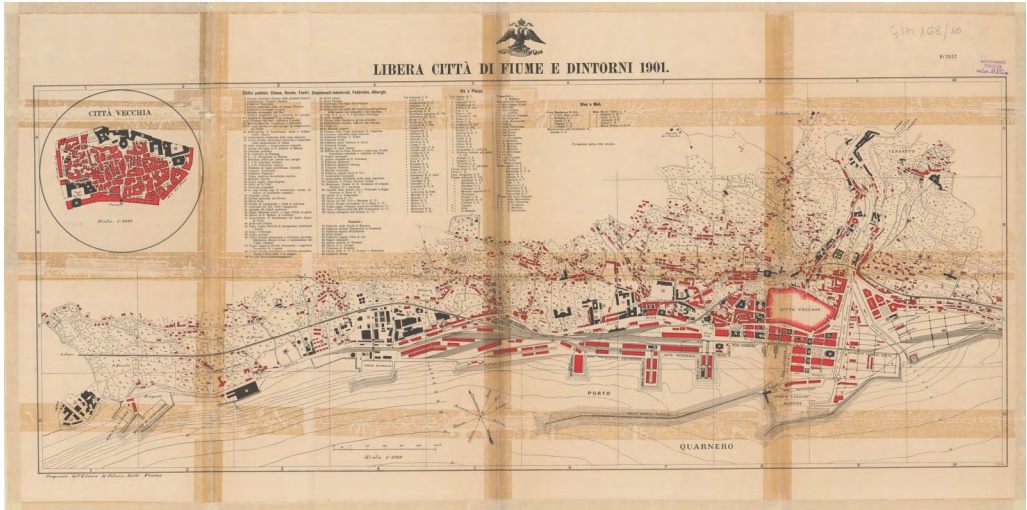
Given the socio-occupational pattern – i.e. the significant access to paid work, including industrial, of women and the extensive employment of men in the maritime sector – and the flexibility – i.e. autonomy – of the city’s political and governance framework, the municipal services did not fail to distinguish themselves for their foresight¹². For example, to meet the needs of workers, the city markets – particularly the fish market – stayed open

¹⁰ On this occasion it is impossible to account for the complete parable of Fiume’s economic development during the “idyll”. For a summary in English see PELLETS *et al.* 2018; for details, see the expanded Hungarian edition PELLETS *et al.* 2021; in Italian see ZUCCONI 2008, 45, 55-60 *et passim*; ANDREOTTI 1992.

¹¹ *1910. évi népszámlálás 3* 1914, 606. According to the 1910 census, approximately 20% of the population of Fiume was employed in industry (9,844 units). Women represented almost a third of that workforce (2,882 units). *1910. évi népszámlálás 2* 1913, 916.

¹² Likewise, the enormous questions relating to the peculiarities of the Fiume city government and the links between wage-employment conditions, gender relations and family *ménage* of the subaltern classes in maritime urban contexts also go far beyond the scope of this modest contribution. As regards the first, in extreme synthesis, suffice it to say that in 1872, with the “Statute of the Free City of Fiume and its District” (*Statuto della Libera Città di Fiume e del suo distretto*), the Fiume *enclave* managed to guarantee itself vast political autonomy and immense administrative freedom which allowed it to deal with every contingency quickly and effectively. The second question is even more complex and would require separate treatment. It concerns the result of the interrelationships between female wage labour and the impoverishment of the maritime urban proletariat – whose wages were often not enough to cover food – on the one hand, and the frequent absence of the “sole” male breadwinner – and (therefore) also the intervention of a connected informal welfare and social control system – on the other. After a walk in Fiume sailortown, Kőrösi portrayed those circumstances through the following “sketch”: “Many put food on the table by fishing. In sailor families, the father or husband often remains absent from home for long months. However, it is rare for the wife to fail in marital fidelity for fear of nosy neighbours and gossip.” Sándor Kőrösi in FRIED 2005, 56.

Fig. 1. Libera Città di Fiume e dintorni [Free City of Fiume and its surroundings], 1901.



Source: Military History Institute and Museum (Budapest),
Hungary: Military History Archives – Map Collection, G I h 168/10, no. 11 813.

until late evening¹³. But, above all, it should be noted that already in the master plan of 1873, the Municipality had provided for the construction of the “infant nursery” (i.e. daycare). This project came to fruition in 1883 when the nursery was built after Princess Clotilde of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha¹⁴.

The “idyll” naturally also resulted in a significant increase in the population: from 1869, the first year of renewed Hungarian sovereignty, to the threshold of the First World War, the productive population residing in Fiume and its surroundings almost tripled (Table 1).

Table 1: Civilian population present in the city of Fiume and its surroundings
(*Fiume Város és Kerülete*), 1869-1910.

1869	1880	1890	1900	1910
17,884	20,981	29,494	38,057	48,492

Source: *1910. évi népszámlálás* I 1912, 871.

¹³ FRIED 2005, 57.

¹⁴ ZUCCONI 2008, 77-79.

The arithmetical increase in the number of inhabitants also resulted in an increase – perhaps in geometric proportion – in the complexity of the religious and ethnic-linguistic composition of the city population. We know that the imperial censuses, particularly those of 1910, concealed substantial pitfalls regarding the attribution of nationality based on linguistic data¹⁵. In this regard, particular caution should be reserved for the urban subaltern classes, and specifically for women who, as Catherine Horel observes, despite a low level of education, for economic and working reasons, could not afford the luxury of being monolingual as, instead, was often the case for bourgeois housewives¹⁶. However, in the various population censuses, the data relating to the Hungarian language appears of considerable interest for our case. They seem to indicate that the Hungarians heeded Kossuth's exhortation, that some of them had indeed chosen the sea, and that, on the other hand, some “sea-folk” – the *Fiumani* – had somehow opted for Hungary. In this regard, as per the data in Table 2, in thirty years, the number of native speakers of Hungarian or those who had some knowledge of the language increased twenty-fold.

Table 2: Knowledge of the Hungarian language in Fiume and surrounding areas (*Fiume Város és Kerülete*), 1880-1910.

	Hungarian native language	NOT Hungarian native language - NO knowledge of the Hungarian language	NOT Hungarian native language - YES knowledge of the Hungarian language	Knowledge of the Hungarian language (native or non-native speakers)
1880	383 (2.1%)	[17,401 (97.2%)]	100 (0.5%)	483 (2.7%)
1890	1,062 (5%)	[19,232 (91.6%)]	687 (3.8%)	1,749 (8.3%)
1900	2,842 (7.2%)	34,360 (88.2%)	1,753 (4.5%)	4,595 (11.7%)
1910	6,493 (13%)	39,069 (78.4%)	4,244 (8.5%)	10,737 (21.5%)

Source: *1891. I. rész.* 1893, 140; *1910. évi népszámlálás* 1 1912, 42.

As for the question of the identities of the city and the hegemonic ambitions of some, much has already been written. Here, we will rely on the words of the Austro-Venetian Heinrich von Littrow – who we will meet again later – a man of multiple talents and the first regent of the Maritime Government of Fiume:

¹⁵ As regards the discussion about data collection according to the *Umgangssprache* (language of use) – criterion adopted in Austria – or *Muttersprache* (native language) – parameter used in Hungary – see VIVANTE 1984, 160-170. More specifically on Hungary, see MARÁČZ 2012.

¹⁶ HOREL 2023, 76.

If one wants to explain the origin of these people,
 We mean their nationality,
 It is difficult to explain thoroughly here,
 Because so much is still unexplained;
 They are good-natured, friendly and modest,
 and can tolerate others as well.

One searching for suitable comparisons in vain,
 Liburnians, they are finally alone after all,
 They love Italy’s customs and traditions
 And definitely want to be full-blooded Hungarians:
 If ethnographers classify here,
 they will probably lose their time¹⁷.

2. Building the Fiume “system”

Once the issue relating to the status of Fiume was resolved, in 1871, the Andrassy government passed a law that allocated 13 million forints for the construction of the new port of Fiume¹⁸. It was clear that the modest Fiumara port no longer seemed suited to the times. However, the decision to build new port infrastructure was not simply a response to the desire to catch up or, in the words of Thomas P. Hughes, to correct the Hungarian technological and infrastructural “reverse salient” within the framework of the imperial economy¹⁹. It is also, in fact, necessary to emphasise that those years were marked by the construction of major port infrastructures also on other coasts of the Mediterranean basin. For example, we recall the case of nearby Trieste. In the Austrian city, the construction of the *Porto Nuovo* – the current *Porto Vecchio* – began in 1868 and was finally completed in 1887. Naturally, the reason for such engineering zeal lay in creating the maritime engineering work par excellence of those years, the Suez Canal, whose completion in 1869 gave an unprecedented boost to global trade. In that context, it was a question of first imagining and then creating a logistics complex capable of supporting the volume of maritime and land commercial traffic expected to pass through the city in a few years. Thus, the city’s commercial centre of gravity moved from east to west. Furthermore, the project of the Hungarian Railway Directorate of 1870 envisaged both the enlargement of the port and the construction of a common railway

¹⁷ HEINRICH 1877, 16. For the Italian translation of the cited passage, see STELLI 1995, 40.

¹⁸ ZUCCONI 2008, 25.

¹⁹ On the concept of “reverse salient” in modernisation and technological development processes, see HUGHES 2012.

station for the Austrian railway line – which would have connected the city to Vienna via San Pietro del Carso (Pivka) – and for the Hungarian line – towards Budapest via Carlstad (Karlovac) – in a single integrated intermodal logistics system “vu la grande communauté qui dans une ville maritime existe entre les Gares et les Ports”²⁰.

On the eve of the First World War, the Fiume “system” occupied the entire coastal stretch of the city and a part of that of nearby Sušak. It consisted of 6.3 km of banks equipped with mobile cranes, 61 hectares of padded land, more than 62 hectares of water surface protected by breakwaters, 19 warehouses equipped with lifts with a capacity of 13,800 wagons of goods, outdoor warehouses on which approximately 6,000 freight wagons could be stored, a railway network of more than 60 km with 230 switches and 94 turning platforms. This entire logistical compound was served by electricity and the water network. There was also a fire prevention system and a disinfection apparatus (Clayton). Of course, towing and rescue services were also present. In this well-equipped logistical space, there was the railway station, the *Magazzini Generali* (General Warehouses), the main port, the *Gabriele Baross* timber port, the *Mandracchio*, the oil port, the floating dock basin, the *Danubius* shipyard and, finally, the torpedo factory – a jewel of port engineering of the time.

2.a *The Alföld-Fiume railway station*

Even just a few years prior, the approach to the intervention possibilities was completely different. Certainly, even before the Hungarian Railways (*Magyar Államvasutak*, MÁV) project, there were plans to connect the city to the railway line and proposals to improve and expand the port. However, a holistic – or systemic – vision of Fiume’s infrastructural and logistical issues as a commercial *entrepôt* was not considered.

Regarding the question of the railway, in 1868, a special commission was formed composed of representatives of the government and the city to discuss the best site on which to build the station of the Alföld-Fiume railway (*Alföld–Fiumei Vasút*), which was already under construction²¹. The railway should have been directly connected, bypassing the Budapest railway belt, to the Liburnian port with the Great Hungarian Plain to facilitate as much as possible the export of Transleithan gold: cereals.

²⁰ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár (MNL), Közmunka és Közlekedésügyi Minisztérium, 1867-1888 (K 173), Útépitészeti, vízépitészeti és vasúti szakosztály, box (b.) 1317, *Port et Gare de Fiume. Rapport de Mr Pascal directeur des travaux maritimes à Marseille*, Marseille 24 January 1871.

²¹ *Alföld-Fiumei Vasút* was a nineteenth-century Hungarian private railway company founded to connect the port of Fiume to Alföld by rail. Construction works began in the early 1860s but were interrupted in 1871. The portions that were actually built were Oradea-Békéscsaba-Szeged-Subotica-Osijek. The segment to connect Osijek to Fiume was never built due to a lack of capital.

At that time, the Alföld-Fiume line was not the only railway infrastructure that interested the city. Their other interest lay in the Fiume-San Pietro del Carso (Pivka) segment, which, in addition to joining Fiume with the Cisleitan half of the Empire, connected the Hungarian port to Abbazia (Opatija), a seaside and health resort which was proving to be increasingly popular in Central European high society²². However, in 1868, the priority was strictly national and concerned literally Hungary’s material construction as a state. Therefore, neither the connection with the *Südbahn* (Southern Railway) – whose construction work had yet to begin, incidentally – nor specifically that of the port infrastructure was the subject of discussion. In that circumstance, the reason of state and those of the national economy prevailed. Consequently, even the proposals for engineering intervention followed those logics²³.

Schematically, we can say that there were two options that most polarised the positions of the commission members. The first wanted the construction of the railway station on the delta of the Récina River (Eneo, Rječina); the second, on the contrary, in contiguity with the port structures of the Fiumara canal. For example, Defence Staff Captain Gustavo de Döpfner stated he was in favour of the first proposal, believing that, for strategic reasons, the station should be located precisely “à la sortie de la rue de Louise [the Louisiana road], comme sur la plus direct ligne de jonction avec le territoire intérieur”²⁴. Achilles Thommen, the representative for the Hungarian Ministry of Public Works and Director of Works of the railway, was the most energetic opponent of this possibility. Thommen considered it a priority that the station on the Alföld-Fiume railway be built in direct communication with the port to facilitate as much as possible the transport, transit and unloading procedures of goods from wagons to ships and all other embarkation and disembarkation procedures²⁵. Other solutions could have met the needs of passenger traffic, but not goods traffic. At that time, “le discargements direct est indispensable, parce que l’exportation de la Hongrie consistant en matières premières, elle ne peut supporter ni frais de porteur, ni frais de magasinage”²⁶. But above all, as in his words, Thommen’s proposal, “est basé sur les observations suivantes: Il faut tenir compte des communications de la voie ferrée avec la ville, de la voie avec la

²² On Abbazia (Opatija) as the “Austrian Nice” or the “Brighton on the Mediterranean” and on its rail connection see MODRICH 1891; VASKO-JUHÁSZ 2018; VASKO-JUHÁSZ 2020.

²³ In this regard see SCHULZE *et al.* 2012.

²⁴ MNL, K 173, Útépítészeti, vízépítészeti és vasúti szakosztály, b. 1317, *Protocol de séance*, [Fiume] 3 and 4 February 1868.

²⁵ *Ivi.*

²⁶ MNL, K 173, Útépítészeti, vízépítészeti és vasúti szakosztály, b. 1317, *Procès-verbal des délibérations de la commission au sujet de l’emplacement de la gare de Fiume, pour le chemin de fer Alföld-Fiume; séances du 3 et du 4 Février 1868*, [Fiume, 3 and 4 February 1868].

mer et de la ville avec la mer”²⁷. Therefore, for the man of the railway, the imperatives of the reason of state and the national economy represented necessary conditions but were not sufficient to motivate the project to create a logistics district for Fiume. According to his intentions, intermodality for eminently economic purposes was not enough. In his plan, the railway had to join the port, but in accordance with the city and its economic and cultural relationship with the sea. Today, we would say that, besides being economically advantageous, the project should have been sustainable both from a social point of view and from the perspective of the city’s immaterial culture.

2.b *The intervention of Hilarion Pascal*

At the time of the Directorate of Hungarian Railways project, the venture to build a direct connection between Fiume and the Great Hungarian Plain failed due to lack of funds. It was replaced with the less ambitious but decidedly more feasible plan, which envisaged Fiume’s “simple” connection with Carlstad (Karlovac) to reach Zagreb and Budapest. In the meantime, however, work on the Fiume-San Pietro del Carso section had also begun, and at that point, some of the resolutions adopted by the special commission of 1868 had to be reconsidered. For example, the decision that there should be a seamless space including the train station and the port certainly had to be called into question since:

Les études des relations et des circonfances à Trieste nous ont décidé à séparer la gare du port, c’est à dire à créer entre la gare et les quais une place accessible pour tout le monde.

Il nous semble très-dangereux qua de placer la gare tout-près du quai de port, et de monopoliser de cettte manière en faveur d’une entreprise (des chemins de fer) une grande partiè de ces établissements très-côteux qui dussent servir à des intérêts publics. (...) il faut qu’on rende la place aux manipulations du port accessible aux voitures publiques et qu’on la fournisse de voies ferrées pour la mettre en communication d’un part avec les magasins des négociants et d’autre part auci la gare même. (...) La séparation de la gare du port acquerra aussi une importance particulière, dès que la ligne de Carlsstadt-Fiume sera remise aux mains d’une société privée²⁸.

In the meantime, one of the maritime “starchitects” – or rather “star-engineers” – of

²⁷ *Ivi.*

²⁸ MNL, K 173, Útépitészeti, vízépítészeti és vasúti szakosztály, b. 1317, Buda 15 December 1870.

the time entered the scene: Hilarion Pascal, the chief engineer of the port of Marseille²⁹. He became involved at the invitation of the Hungarian Ministry of Public Works between 1869 and 1870 when the Railway Works Directorate sent him its project to get his expert opinion. In discontinuity with what was discussed by the special commission of 1868, the new project provided for the construction of a common railway station for the two railway lines (Fiume-San Pietro del Carso and Fiume-Carlstad) and the creation of new port structures, all to be built to the west of the old port. Pascal accepted the Ministry’s request, and in May 1870, he went to Fiume to carry out his investigations. During the mission, Pascal studied all the papers: the resolutions of the special commission of 1868 and two other intervention projects on the port alternative to those of the Directorate of Works for the railway³⁰. But above all, he spoke and consulted with multiple parties, in particular asked for “l’avis des marins, des Ingénieurs, des commerçants et d’autres notables, qui ont tout répondu à notre appel avec le plus grand empressement”³¹. The result of these talks was a series of proposed variants to the original project – which Pascal, overall, approved – and a road map for realising the various works. The first of these was a common station for the two railway lines on the site proposed by the Ministry. And so it was. In 1873, the city was finally connected to the railway, first to the *Südbahn* and then to the Hungarian one, with enormous benefits for commercial traffic³². Then, it was the turn of the port, the construction of which began in 1872. In this regard, it must be said that, as a whole, the intervention plan for the port by the Railway Works Directorate was indeed very far-reaching and, perhaps, too ambitious for the volume of the maritime traffic that Fiume was managing at the time³³. Thus, Pascal proposed beginning with the lengthening of the breakwater named after Empress Maria Theresa, the construction of the Szápáry bank and the widening of the Adamich pier³⁴.

All other expansion works on the port facilities would have to wait for Fiume to establish itself as a maritime *entrepôt* and for the imperial and international economies to recover from the *Gründerkrach* of 1873.

²⁹ Regarding the port works designed or supervised by Hilarion Pascal see: BARTOLOTTI 2020; HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS 2011; HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS 2020.

³⁰ MNL, K 173, Útépítészeti, vízépítészeti és vasúti szakosztály, b. 1317, *Port et Gare de Fiume*, Marseille 24 January 1871.

³¹ *Ivi*.

³² In 1872, the value of import-export by sea and land was almost 26,000 florins; in 1874, it reached nearly 38,000 florins (ca. +46%). *Rapporto* 1875, 21.

³³ In 1872, the import-export value of Fiume’s maritime trade was just under 19,000 forints. *Rapporto* 1875, 22.

³⁴ MNL, K 173, Útépítészeti, vízépítészeti és vasúti szakosztály, b. 1317, *Port et Gare de Fiume*, Marseille 24 January 1871.

3. 1891: a watershed year

As we will see from the data analysed in this part of the chapter³⁵, 1891 can be considered a turning point in Fiume's maritime history, particularly in relation to the evolution of vessel operations' characteristics. To understand the latter statement, it is necessary to keep in mind that in Fiume, two forces acted simultaneously and found a strong acceleration in the 1890s: the transition from sailing to steam navigation and a profound structural reorganisation – both maritime but above all terrestrial – of mobility within the Kingdom of Hungary.

Taking a step back for a more prospective vision of the issue, more generally, we can say that 1891 was when the Empire began reorganising the maritime services. In that year, the Hungarian government suspended subsidies to Lloyd – which therefore ceased to be *Österreichisch-Ungarischer* to remain only *Österreichischer* until 1919 – and both Trieste and Fiume lost their free port status (B.L.I. 1891 no. 76). The latter circumstance had different implications for the two Upper Adriatic ports. After initial uncertainty, in Trieste, thanks to some forms of “compensation” – i.e. tax breaks for five years in favour of the industrial plants that would be built in the city³⁶ – that occurrence was the driving force behind an extraordinary industrial development. Otherwise, since it did not have an import trade of the magnitude of that of Trieste³⁷, the abolition of its status as a free port barely impacted Fiume's commerce. What did have a decisive influence on the trade of the Liburnian port was the completion of the process of nationalisation of the railway network on Hungarian soil – which also occurred in 1891 – and the manipulation of railway tariffs, which greatly encouraged the export of Transleithan agriculture products through the port of Fiume³⁸.

As for the question of nationalisation, it is crucial to clarify the situation in many continental European countries at the time: the railway connectivity system built on countries' national soil had been constructed – and was managed – by banks and companies that were often non-national and/or with extensive foreign financial participation, mainly French³⁹. This was also the case in Hungary, which found itself with a railway network

³⁵ The selection of data that will be presented is part of a dataset referring to vessel operations in Fiume and the Hungarian-Croatian Littoral between 1879 and 1917, currently being published with the Croatian Social Science Data Archive (CROSSDA) of Zagreb (Croatia).

³⁶ PANJEK 2003, 310.

³⁷ In this context, a significant exception relates to oil imports. The oil refining industry was highly advanced in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the end of the 1880s, the country possessed 11 oil refineries, among which the one in Fiume (founded in 1882) was the largest and most important. *Bollettino* 1891, 243.

³⁸ LAMPE *et al.* 1982, 299-300.

³⁹ See HERTNER 2006.

largely built and managed by the Austrian State Railway Company (*Österreichische Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft*), which, despite its name, had absolutely nothing to do with the state. The company was founded in 1855 as a syndicate between one of the infrastructure investment giants of the time, the French *Crédit mobilier*⁴⁰, and the Viennese banking houses *G.G. Sina* and *Arnstein&Eskeles*⁴¹. Thus, a large part of the railway network in the Austro-Hungarian Empire remained under French financial control until the nationalisations ended in Hungary in 1891 and Austria in 1909⁴².

Regarding tariffs, the Hungarian railway administration introduced special tariffs, reducing freight rates for direct import and export transport to and from Fiume. This was a significant development that directly impacted Fiume’s maritime trade. Additionally, cumulative tariffs for export were also implemented, with the Hungarian government compelling state-subsidised shipping companies and state railways to jointly conclude agreements on cumulative freight rates for transporting essential goods. On the eve of the First World War, the cumulative tariff contained the rates for 72 types of goods and 150 ports where the steamers of the *Adria* and *Ungaro-Croata* companies stopped and all the stations in the interior of Hungary. This cumulative and reduced sea-land freight system greatly benefited Hungarian exports through Fiume, helping to keep the overall traffic volume competitive with that of Trieste⁴³.

As we see from Figure 1, alongside the progressive decline in traffic from sailing vessels, we witness a leap forward in overall traffic (+57%) in the period 1895-1900, i.e. the moment in which the fruits of the aforementioned rail tariff pattern were ripening.

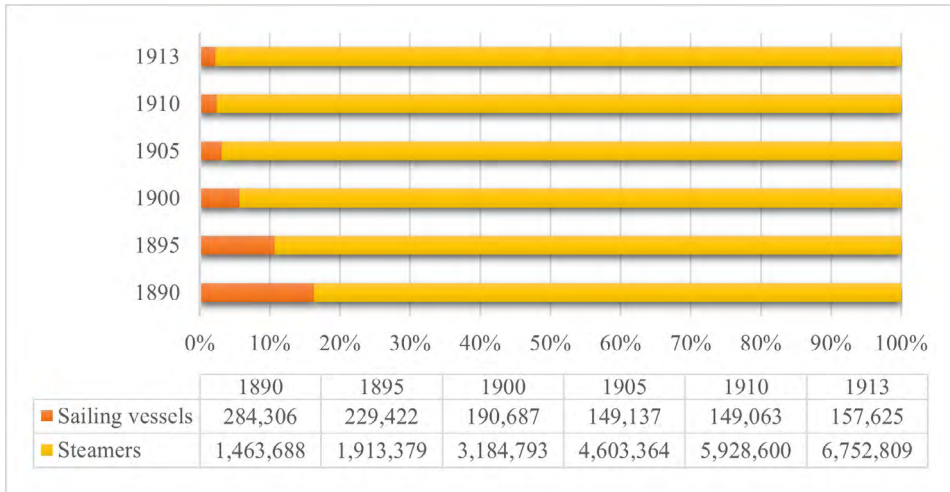
⁴⁰ The *Crédit Mobilier* (full name *Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier*) was a French universal bank established in 1852 by a Napoleon III decree by the Pereire brothers. It specialised in financing domestic and foreign heavy industry, public works and railways. As with many other financial entities of the time, its ascendant parable ended with the Panic of 1857. After the withdrawal of the Pereire brothers in 1867, the company was liquidated in 1870. See AYCARD 1867; CAMERON 1961, 134-144.

⁴¹ In 1883, the company was named Privileged Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company (*privilegierte österreichisch-ungarische Staatseisenbahn-Gesellschaft*) and, after the nazionalisation of 1909, Imperial-Royal State Railways (*k.k. Staatsbahnen*; kkStB).

⁴² HERTNER 2006, 19; CAMERON 1961, 217-228.

⁴³ BABICH 1923, 23-24. About Gábor Baross’ railway tariff policy and the Hungarian zone system, see NEMÉNYI 1891.

Fig. 1. Shipping movement in Fiume (arrivals and departures, loaded and empty vessels; GT).



Source: *Jahrbuch* vol. 1, 211; Id. vol. 3, 266; Id. vol. 8, 246; vol. 13, 253. *Annuaire* vol. 18, 242; Id. vol. 21, 192.

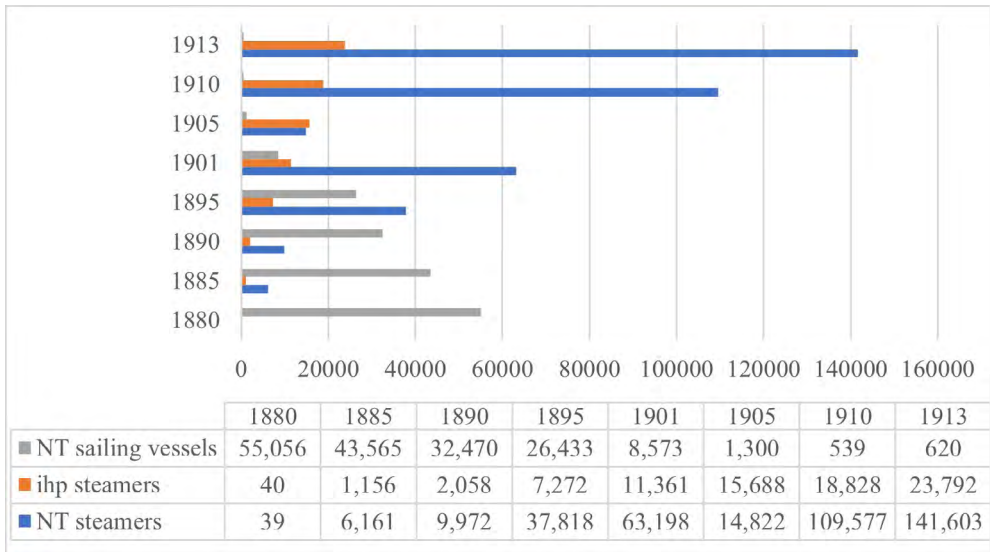
Fig. 2 tells us another side of the story. It clearly shows us the physiognomy of the epochal transition between the age – and even civilisation – of sailing navigation and that of steam in Fiume. It was an overall quick process that only took about ten years to complete (1885-1895), and the definitive overtaking of the new order over the old occurred in the first half of the 1890s. In those few years, as we see from the data, the net tonnage (NT)⁴⁴ of steamers registered with the Port Authority of Fiume almost quadrupled.

The transition from sail to steam was not dictated by the times only. Likewise, exports were not determined solely by the impactful rail tariff scheme. Like the Austrian government, the Hungarian government also decided in 1893 to approve a law subsidising tramp trade (*navigazione libera-szabad tengerhajózási*; law XXII/1893). The law provided for a purchase premium based on the NT for the first fifteen years of ownership of the vessel and a subsidy in relation to voyages undertaken (*migliatico*) in the interest of national trade⁴⁵. As we can see from Fig. 3, the law immediately reinvigorated Fiume's ocean-going navigation, which had begun to languish in the decade 1880-1890. In 1895, Fiume's ocean-going vessels' NT exceeded the figure of 60,000, which would more than double on the eve of the First World War.

⁴⁴ The NT was used as a parameter since it is the only constant data in all the sources analysed.

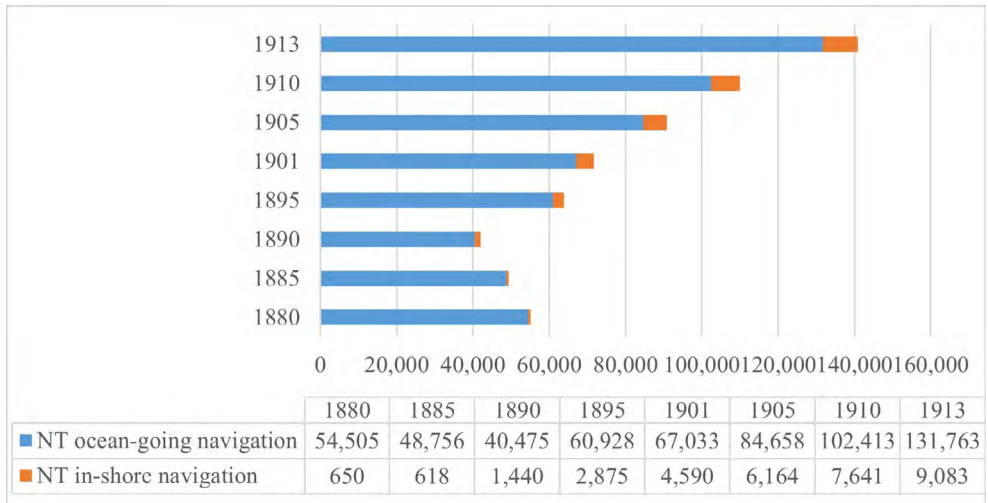
⁴⁵ *Évkönyv – Annuario* 1894, 265.

Fig. 2. Fiume Vessels, 1880-1913 (NT).



Source: Source: *Statistica – Statistik* 1880, 10; Id. 1885, 9. *Évkönyv – Annuario* 1891, 209; Id. 1896, 242; Id. 1902, 248; Id. 1906, 294; Id. 1911, LXX; Id. 1914, LV.

Fig. 3. Types of Navigation, 1880-1913 (NT).



Source: *Statistica – Statistik* 1880, 10; Id. 1885, 9. *Évkönyv – Annuario* 1891, 209; Id. 1896, 242; Id. 1902, 248; Id. 1906, 294; Id. 1911, LXX; Id. 1914, LV.

The final figures of this limited but telling selection of data about vessel operations in Fiume in the last decades of the nineteenth century concern aboard maritime labour. As we can observe from Figure 4, in just over thirty years, the turnover of the aboard workforce was almost complete in Fiume. If the transition from sailing to steam meant an epochal change which, among others, resulted in the so-called “collapse of distance”, the shift from sea-salty sea dogs to industrial sea[wo]men was equally far-reaching in anthropological terms⁴⁶. From that point on, maritime work on board not only expanded in numerical terms, but also became increasingly permeable to the demands of ashore communities and, finally, opened up to many other professions and gender identities.

4. “Greetings from Fiume”. Representations of (everyday) maritime modernity

In *Les Mots et les Choses*, Foucault traces the beginning of modernity in the gaze of Diego Velázquez, who represents reality by looking at/representing himself and looking at us simultaneously in his *Las Meninas* (1656). The subject of the painting is not the Infanta of Spain, her maids, or the reigning couple in the background. The actual subject of the painting is a “game of mirrors”: the painter works and looks at us and, at the same time, looks at our gaze on the reality represented. Here, Man’s gaze becomes the measure of all things. Therefore, in other words, according to the French philosopher, modernity begins when the Man who *speaks, lives, and works* – the practices par excellence of the modern episteme – simultaneously becomes the subject and object of his knowledge in a concrete and daily dimension. From that moment on, the gap between reality and its representation ceased to be a clear space, and the (mere) representation of the real began to be problematised as such – actually, much more in its relationship with the representing subject than with the represented object⁴⁷.

In this sense, postcards are not trivial and “cheap” representations of reality. They are powerful catalysts of emotions and social connections, embodying a sense of democratic and non-classist inclusivity. As Lydia Pyne observes, due to the vastness of their production and circulation, they represent the most common type of artefact that humanity has historically exchanged. Their success is probably because they are a formidable storytelling tool: thanks to them, everyday life becomes a narrative capable of connecting aesthetically, but above all emotionally, sender and recipient⁴⁸. In this way, in addition to defining the identity –

⁴⁶ On the characteristics of the transition from sail to steam workforce, see DAVIDS *et al.* 2023.

⁴⁷ FOUCAULT 1966.

⁴⁸ When *Correspondent-Karten* (postcards) entered the market in Austria in October 1869, almost three million pieces were sold in just the first three months of circulation. PYNE 2021, 9-11, 17.

today we would say the “brand” – of a city⁴⁹, they became the first global social connection infrastructure (i.e. social network)⁵⁰ capable of becoming the placeholders of democratic and non-classist “affective geographies”⁵¹, but also vehicles of (portable) cultures⁵² of work and production. And there’s more. Much more.

In the case of Fiume, in the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, postcards and tourist guides tell us that, perhaps, the paradigm of the “new mobilities”⁵³ is not so new after all and that the so-called “transient nature” does not belong only to the contemporary tourist⁵⁴. It was also a characteristic of the inhabitant/worker in the context of maritime modernity, such as that of Fiume at the dawn of the twentieth century. As Cesare Casarino suggests, the substance of nineteenth-century maritime modernity is the constant dialectic, which, in practice, translates into a constant crisis, where processes of construction and destruction follow one another without respite until the definitive collapse of the system⁵⁵. The materiality of this maritime modernity is an open construction site on a shore teeming with humanity and trafficked by freight wagons (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Fiume, 1904.



Source: Rijeka City Library (Rijeka-Fiume), Croatia (via Europeana - CC BY-NC-ND).

⁴⁹ KISIEL 2021, 300.

⁵⁰ PYNE 2021, 13 and 18.

⁵¹ MILNE 2014, 307.

⁵² On postcards as tools of “portable cultures”, see LURY 1997.

⁵³ On the “new mobilities” paradigm, see SHELLER *et al.* 2006.

⁵⁴ See THURLOW *et al.* 2010.

⁵⁵ In the words of Walter Benjamin, *wirklich Ausnahmezustand* (real state of emergency). CASARINO 2002, 1-17, particularly 3.

4.1 *The tourist guides*

Heinrich von Littrow also noted in his *Fiume und seine Umgebungen* (trans.: Fiume and its surroundings), the first modern tourist guide to Fiume published in 1884, that “Fiume’s port is destined to remain unfinished”⁵⁶. It is interesting to note that in the same year, *A Quarnero: Fiume és Abbazia* (trans.: The Kvarner: Fiume and Abbazia) by Géza Kenedi was also published. After staying between Fiume and Abbazia for health reasons, the author, lawyer and journalist gave the Hungarian public an illustrated account of the “exotic” wonders of Kvarner.⁵⁷ Like modern Velázquez, they both represented what they saw and portrayed themselves simultaneously. One, Kenedi, was a “simple” tourist in Fiume and, therefore, reported the local marvels to an audience of other potential “simple” tourists. On the contrary, the other author presents a somewhat different profile. An officer of the Austrian Navy, von Littrow was among those who contributed to the transition of the navy from the Venetian-Austrian *milieu* to the actual Austro-Imperial one in the post-1848 period. Arriving in Fiume in the aftermath of the *Ausgleich*, he was first Captain of the Port and later regent of the Maritime Government for the Hungarian-Croatian Littoral (*Magyar Királyi Tengerészeti Hatóság iratai-Pomorska oblast za ugarsko-hrvatsko primorje*)⁵⁸. Therefore, not only was he a “local”, but also

⁵⁶ STELLI 1995, 107. Original edition of the tourist guide: VON LITROW 1884.

⁵⁷ KENEDI 1884.

⁵⁸ Heinrich von Littrow was born in Vienna in 1820. Educated at the Marine College (*k.k. Marine Kollegium*) in Venice, he began sailing as a cadet of the Austrian Navy on warships in the Mediterranean. Later, he returned to the *Kollegium* in Venice as a professor of German stylistics, mathematics and nautical science. During this second stay in Venice, von Littrow became friends with the poet Heinrich Stieglitz, but the events of 1848 separated their destinies: Stieglitz, sympathetic to the cause of the Venetian patriots, remained in Venice with the insurgents; von Littrow moved to Trieste and, under the command of Franz Gyulai, began to dedicate himself to the project of re-organisation of the navy. Between 1849 and 1861 he published many specialist works, among which we highlight: the “German Marine Dictionary” (*Deutsches Marine-Wörterbuch*, 1849?), the “Seamanship Manual” (*Handbuch der Seemannschaft*, 1859), and finally the “Nautical Dialogues in Italian, French, English and German to be used in nautical schools and for the practical life of the seafarer” (*Seemännische Gespräche, italienisch, französisch, englisch und deutsch, zum Gebrauche fi nautische Schulen und fitr das praktische Seeleben*, 1861). Having now become frigate captain and member of the Geographical Society of Vienna, from 1857 to 1863, von Littrow assumed the direction of the prestigious Imperial Royal Nautical and Commercial Academy (*k.k. Handels- und Nautische Akademie*) of Trieste. Captain von Littrow distinguished himself in the Austrian port as a tireless cultural animator. Starting in 1858, he promoted and organised the “scientific-popular” evening lessons and, from the following year, appeared as a member of the *Schillerverein* of Trieste. In 1864-1867, he was Captain of the Port Authority, first of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and then of Segna (Senj). In 1867, he finally arrived in Fiume, first to take command of the Port Authority and later to be a Maritime Inspector and the Regent of the Maritime Government. In 1870, he published, both in Italian and German, “Fiume considered from the maritime side” (*Fiume in maritimer Beziehung*), a real port and maritime development programme for the city. After retiring in 1880, he moved to Abbazia, where he passed away in 1895. STELLI 1995, 23-59.

a seafarer, a technician and a man of institutions. In “Fiume and its surroundings”, he gave equal weight to both the indications regarding the historical-cultural attractions and those of a technical-infrastructural and institutional nature. In particular, the guide gave ample space to the description of the port and its furnishings (two parts of the volume), the Zvir – the source of the city’s drinking water supply – and, finally, a very detailed list of buildings and public bodies, and also of all the factories and associations⁵⁹. Thus, von Littrow accompanied the visitor in discovering the attractions of Fiume. However, he also wanted – and had to – mediate the tourist’s actions in an institutional, social, economic and productive space increasingly marked by modern industrial capitalism. It is, therefore, evident that a trip or visit to Fiume at the end of the nineteenth century did not in any way represent a pop version of the aristocratic travel scheme in vogue only until a few decades earlier. Meanwhile, the steam and steel of the Second Industrial Revolution had fundamentally contributed to the new spatial physiognomy of the modern world economy. In that context, people travelled increasingly for pleasure or economic needs rather than a pure thirst for knowledge. In any case, this last dimension of mobility was gradually becoming a *pendant* of the first two. When von Littrow put down on paper what he thought was worth seeing in Fiume, in reality he was talking to himself. He was addressing that relatively new anthropology of professionals, businessmen – and businesswomen – that (maritime) modernity had created and who were momentarily in the city for professional reasons or just in transit. Like the bizarre bourgeois who, from a tourist postcard, with his hat, trench coat, briefcase and umbrella, greets us in mid-air above the port of Fiume, raised aloft perhaps by a gust of Bora or perhaps by the urgency of its many professional commitments after “A trip to Fiume” (Fig. 3)⁶⁰. Anyway, we can count that lovely gentleman among those in the city to conquer the most “authentic” spirit of modernity as a founding element of their transnational – and capitalist – collective class consciousness⁶¹.

⁵⁹ The guide comprises eleven descriptive parts of the city, three of which concern suggestions for day trips or trips lasting a few days. Also, between eleven and twelve illustrations are present. Of particular interest is the fact that among the appendices of the volume, together with the arrival and departure times of trains and steamships, there are indications on the city fish market with the names of the fish in Italian.

⁶⁰ As regards “professional tourism”, it is worth pointing out that, to celebrate the city’s reunion with Hungary, the XIV Congress of Hungarian Doctors and Naturalists was held in Fiume in September 1869. In his communication, Vincenzo de Domini, Director of the Nautical-Commercial College of Fiume, hoped that “to Fiume, given its notoriety as a pleasant, industrial, maritime and commercial [city], rightly so should we also add the reputation of being cultured and hospitable!” On that occasion, to celebrate the event and best greet those welcome guests, the Municipality published the “Historical-Natural, Statistical and Health Topography of the City and the Fiume District” (*Topografia storico-naturale, statistica e sanitaria della Città e del Circondario di Fiume*) to be included as a “gadget” in the conference folder/bag and to be distributed to conference attendees. STELLI 1995, 75; DE DOMINI 1869, 118; *Topografia* 1896.

⁶¹ See MACCANNELL 1976.

Fig. 3. Ein Ausflug nach Fiume [A trip to Fiume], 1904.



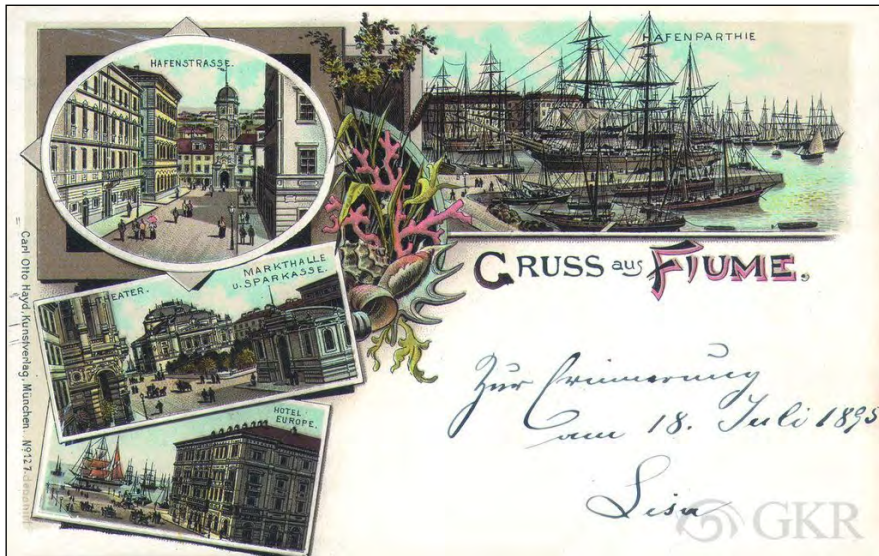
Source: Museum of Zempléni (Szerencs), Hungary (inventory no. 0131293).

4.2 City pride

As Catherine Horel points out, in imperial public discourse, the authorities often proclaimed confessional and linguistic diversity as a positive characteristic, and, in this sense, there was also a form of marketing of cities as multicultural places⁶². Thus, even in the case of Fiume, it is easy to find places of worship of different religions or confessions represented on vintage postcards. However, more often, the most immortalised subjects were others. An excellent example of an “overall view” of the Liburnian port is in Image 4, where in some cameos, the subjects considered most “authentic” and representative of the city are

⁶² HOREL 2023, 454 and 457.

Fig. 4. Gruss aus Fiume [Greetings from Fiume], 1895.



Source: Rijeka City Library (Rijeka-Fiume), Croatia (via Europeana - CC BY-NC-ND).

portrayed: the banks, the *Hafenstrasse*, the market square with the theatre and finally, the Hotel Europa. The *hôtellerie* is another frequent theme: a service explicitly aimed at all that come and go of various humanity that could be found in an industrial port of the time. A recurring pair of elements represented was constituted by the building of a public institution together with a means of steam locomotion⁶³, as in the case of Image 5, which portrays a steamer of the *Ungaro-Croata* Company and the headquarters of *Adria*, i.e. the Hungarian flag companies. An explicit declaration of (double) belonging to the maritime-industrial modernity of the time.

The force of nature, as a fundamental element of daily maritime life capable of influencing the activities connected to navigation in a non-secondary way, also found space in this type of representation. This is the case with Image 6, which depicts a vessel at the mercy of the Sirocco, a wind notorious in Kvarner – and throughout the Upper Adriatic – for harbingering storms, rough and unpredictable seas, and dark clouds. Dark like the trail of smoke left behind by a small steamship, which, in a postcard from 1914, is portrayed

⁶³ Another interesting example is that of the postcard which portrays the building of the Imperial Royal Navy Academy (*k.k. Marineakademie*), on *Hungaricana*: <https://gallery.hungaricana.hu/en/OSZK-Kepeslap/1412493/?list=eyJmaWx0ZXJzIjogeyJTT1VSQ0UiOiBbIktUX09TWksiXX0sICJxdWVye-SI6ICJmaXVtZSJ9&img=0> [30 June 2024].

Fig. 5. Fiume. Riva Szápáry [Fiume. Szápáry bank], [1900-1910].



Source: Wikipedia (CC).

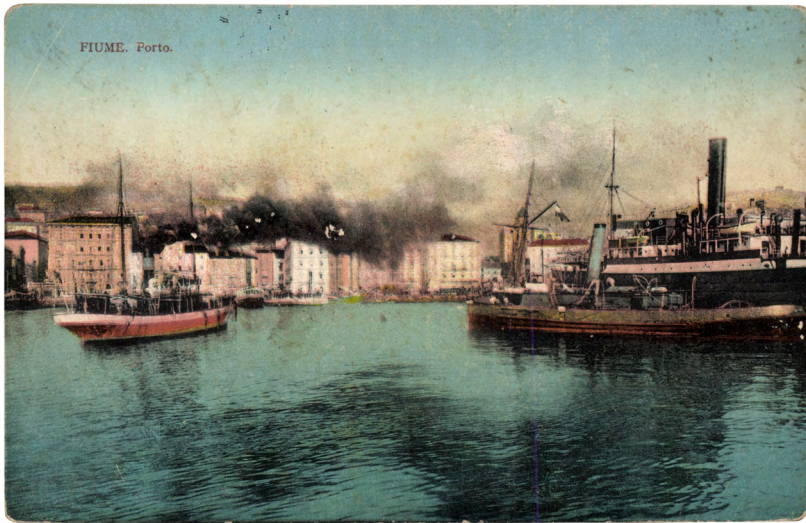
Fig. 6. Sirocco nel Quarnero. Fiume [Sirocco in the Kvarner. Fiume], 1904.



Source: Museum of Zempléni (Szerencs), Hungary (inventory no. 0131041).

leaving the port of Fiume towards other shores (Fig. 7). The image is moving; the intention is to give the observer the impression of movement – precisely as the Futurists were doing at that moment and, perhaps, also anticipating the great epochal transition to come.

Fig. 7. Fiume. Porto [Fiume. Harbour], 1914.



Source: Museum of Zempléni (Szerencs), Hungary (inventory no. 0131226).

Yet, at least for the case of Fiume, what was “worth” portraying and circulating seems to have been something else. Alongside views of the port and its facilities from every possible angle, panoramas of industrial contexts represent a relevant share of the “picture-postcard” images. Factories, cisterns, and smoking chimneys are widespread subjects, often taking care to include the railway track and telegraph poles in the image. Such as in the case of Image 8 – an image that seems to have come from the brush of Rousseau Le Douanier – where the mineral oil refinery is flanked by both the railway and the electrical (or telegraph) pylons. An interesting aspect is that, in these industrial landscapes, the human figure is almost always absent. When included in the image, it is presented very minimally; one might say “sweetened”, as if not to want to steal the show from the protagonist, that is, the industrial plant itself or the product. This is the case of Image 9, which served both as a postal post and as an advertisement for the Cocoa and Chocolate Factory of Fiume. Here, the human element is “global” and “lunar”. The picture’s most concrete and real elements are the fumigating factory and, on the back of the postcard, indicating that the product is “Medically Recommended!!”

Fig. 8. Fiume. Fabbrica Olii Minerali [Fiume. Mineral Oils Factory], 1913.



Source: Rijeka City Library (Rijeka-Fiume), Croatia (via Europeana – CC BY-NC-ND).

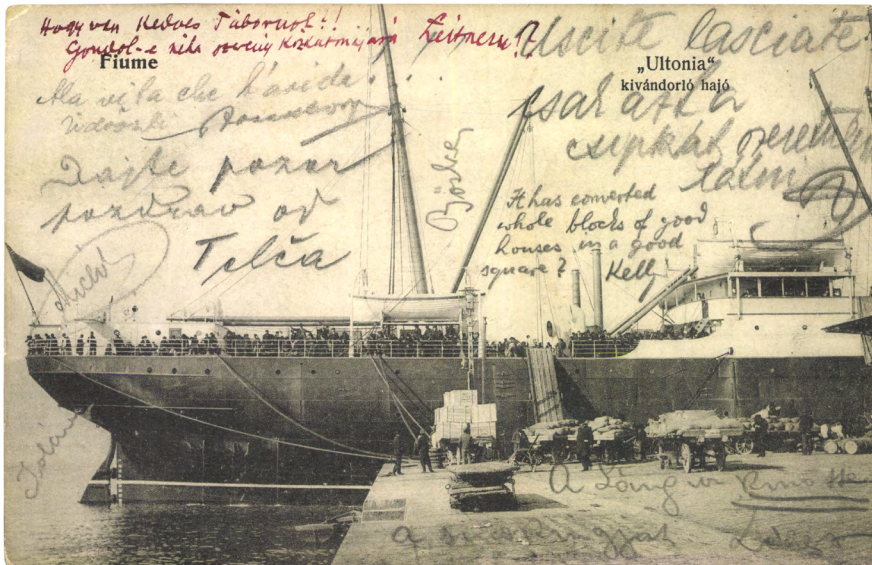
Fig. 9. Fiumei Cacao- és Csokoláde-Gyár [Cocoa and Chocolate Factory of Fiume], [1900-1910].



Source: Museum of Zempléni (Szerencs), Hungary (inventory no. 0048230).

A final theme that can be traced is what, in some way, we can define as “human services”, in particular, towards the subordinate classes. In tourist postcards, we can also find images of the New Institute of the Poor (*Nuovo Istituto dei Poveri*)⁶⁴ or of the baths which in Fiume functioned as both bathing establishments and public baths. This is the case of the *Quarnero* Municipal Bath, a structure designed and dedicated mainly to the working classes for their health and personal hygiene⁶⁵. Finally, there was also room for the representation of hope for a better future or, at least, a less miserable one than the present. Ships used for overseas emigration were another popular subject among *souvenirs* from Fiume. In Image 10, we can see *Ultonia*, one of the *Cunard* steamers that managed the emigration service from the Kvarner port⁶⁶. The postcard shows the image and words of women and men portrayed at the extreme limit of their context of origin, ready for a decisive “sea change”. Ultimately, in Fiume at the turn

Fig. 10. Fiume. ‘Ultonia’, kivándorló hajó [Fiume. Ultonia, emigration ship], 1906.



Source: National Széchényi Library (Budapest), Hungary: Research and Special Collections Division – Collection of Small Prints and Posters, F450.

⁶⁴ See: <https://gallery.hungaricana.hu/en/SzerencsKepeslap/1196445/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJGaXVtZSAifQ> [30 June 2024].

⁶⁵ *Fiume: Bagno comunale Quarnero*, 1914 – Rijeka City Library, Croatia https://www.europeana.eu/item/2058617/https___svevid_locloudhosting_net_files_original_0855a6630f07b-29503de5597fc6778d1_jpg [30 June 2024].

⁶⁶ In Fiume, emigration to North America was managed by the British company *Cunard*. In this regard, see KLINGER 2011.

of the century, the daily horizon was not only that which “trivially” represented reality or, in other words, the *status quo*. It was also what allowed us to perceive the potential of new lives.

5. Conclusion

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that, in the maritime sector, the Industrial Revolution – particularly the second – functioned as a sort of reverse circuit system. In that period, steel and steam came between the sea and man and, in the words of Carl Schmitt, “the Leviathan transformed from a large fish into a machine”⁶⁷. Thus, those who already enjoyed a great and long maritime tradition, such as the English and the French, and who at the time were also experimenting with significant processes of industrialisation and mechanisation, from “children of the sea”, became “machine builders”⁶⁸. It was the exact opposite for the Hungarians. By becoming “machine builders”, they became familiar with the maritime element. It must be said that they suffered a certain delay compared to other European contexts, in particular in comparison to their Austrian “consort” – and this was due to multiple reasons that go well beyond the scope of this small contribution. However, this did not prevent them from catching up and making Fiume one of Europe’s most dynamic and interesting maritime centres in the period leading up to the First World War.

An empire, in a sense, can be compared to a system. The same goes for a port. Both entities, within the framework of the hierarchical relations that regulate their relationships, are inserted within an even higher-level system, that of the global economic flows of the time. At the time of the Compromise of 1867, Hungary was still an economically backward country, especially compared to Austria. Nonetheless, a politically emancipated country needs modern infrastructure, a national industrial economy, adequate institutions and communication networks. This is even more valid in our case, a context in which the general economic trend was largely influenced by *gesamtmonarchisch* (pan-monarchic) dynamics, which equally involved both monarchies as a single entity (i.e. system). In that framework, “backwards” became synonymous with “uneconomic”, a characteristic that Hungary could no longer afford as a politically independent state, as part of the imperial structure or as an economic actor that aspired to act within the great and interrelated capitalist system of the time. The connection of Fiume to the railway and the construction of new port infrastructures responded precisely to the need to fill that technical and economic gap –

⁶⁷ SCHMITT 2002, 101.

⁶⁸ SCHMITT 2002, 102.

the “reverse salient” – with the Austrian half of the Empire and, ultimately, with the rest of the “modern” world, which is regulated by the mechanisms of industrial capitalism.

Engineers were the great developers of the structures that underpinned states, empires and economies of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism. Their intervention practices, as in the case of Hilarion Pascal, seem far from those of the typical self-referential and visionary narratives on modernity of classical liberalism⁶⁹. The connection to the railway and the construction of the port were not simply “handed” to the city of Fiume. Thanks to Pascal’s “mediation” and “translation” work, they were negotiated and modelled according to the needs of those who would take advantage of the infrastructures. In this way, the technological and infrastructural modernity that characterised the city between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was not something that was simply “dropped from above” thanks to the will of enlightened governments and huge investments – two elements which, however, did form part of the equation. Rather, it was an example of “reflexive modernisation”, that is, a process in which “progress” (i.e. technological change/ advancement) is not a factor that impacts society from the outside but, on the contrary, is actively participated in and guided from within⁷⁰.

Like other cultures, that of modernity also need to be communicated. To do this, one can write books, articles or songs. Or it can be communicated through painting and sculpting. Some find politics and acting in civil society to be the most helpful way. Nonetheless, at the turn of the nineteenth century, in a mobility hub such as a port, there was nothing better than an image to circulate: a postcard. A low-cost medium that did not require significant effort to compose the message but was no less effective in communicative terms. We would simply describe them as “easy” in everyday life. Yet, as a source for studying everyday life during the golden period of industrial capitalism, postcards still pose significant critical issues in interpretive terms. They are, in fact, capable of introducing a very insidious variable into the historian’s analytical work: emotions. In other words, it still remains a mystery as to what relationship could possibly exist between a stay in an industrial port such as Fiume, a postcard depicting a port crane and the message “Much love”.

⁶⁹ See MARS DEN *et al.* 2005.

⁷⁰ On the notion of “reflexive modernisation” in the context of technological processes, see BECK 1995.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND OCCUPIED SERBIA IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR*

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After the invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Hungarian diplomatic relations with Belgrade were severed. The Yugoslav government in exile considered itself at war with Hungary, so no diplomatic contact was possible between it and Budapest. At the same time, the Hungarian state sought to settle relations with the successor states that had been established on the territory of the dissolved South Slav state. It had already established official diplomatic relations with the Independent State of Croatia in the summer of 1941, with an embassy, headed by Ferenc Marossy. However, Budapest was unable to establish full diplomatic relations with Serbia, which was under German occupation, and reduced its representation to the level of a consulate, while Serbia, as a puppet state, could not even ensure this level of representation for itself in Budapest. The puppet state status and the German occupation of Serbia fundamentally determined the possibilities of Hungarian foreign policy towards Serbia.

Just as formal inter-state relations did not develop in the usual way, the development of economic relations between the two states was also extremely difficult. Bilateral economic relations between Hungary and Serbia were almost non-existent, not least because the Serbian government was not free to dispose of its resources due to the status of the Serbian territories and the German occupation. The Third Reich played a decisive role in shaping the very limited Hungarian-Serbian economic relations. To such an extent that the regulation of Hungarian-Serbian trade in goods was not regulated by Budapest and Belgrade, but by an agreement concluded between the Hungarian government and the German government on 29 July 1941. This agreement also provided for the settlement of debts between the two parties, with the Deutsche Verrechnungskasse of Berlin as the settlement bank¹. In addition to the above, Berlin's dominant role was demonstrated not only by urging the Hungarian government to

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¹ KÖZGAZDASÁGI ÉRTESÍTŐ 14 September 1941, 1265-1267.

settle economic and financial issues with the Yugoslav successor states as soon as possible in bilateral negotiations, but also by demanding that Hungary assumes its share of the Yugoslav public debt based on population, which represented 8% of the total Yugoslav debt².

Before going into the details of these relations, it is important to point out that Hungary only wanted to regain the territories that were annexed from the country in the First World War, and the Hungarian political and military leadership had no plans to acquire further territories. Budapest was scrupulous to ensure that Hungarian troops did not cross the southern borders of former historic Hungary³. Accordingly, Miklós Horthy stated in his manifesto that the Hungarian military action was not directed against the Serbian people, with whom he had no quarrel and with whom he wished to live in peace in the future, and he designated the thousand-year-old Hungarian borders as the operational limit of his troops⁴. This was important for Hungary, not least because it had serious territorial disputes with all its neighbours, and its on-paper allies, thus another irreconcilable enemy neighbour was not needed⁵.

Attempts to Establish Direct Connections

During the Second World War, one of the cornerstones of Hungarian-Serbian relations was the Hungarian governments' policy towards Serbs in the reannexed Bačka. Another important element was the development of the situation in Banat. However, while in the case of the Serbs in Bačka the Hungarians were clearly dominant and it was a one-way street⁶, the situation of both nations in the Banat was crucially dependent on German hegemony⁷. In both areas, it

² The Hungarian government agreed to this, albeit reluctantly, because it believed that this method of calculation was still preferable to basing the share on the tax revenue of the territories it had acquired, which in this case would have been at least 12 percent. MOL K 27 Mt. jkv. 17 February 1942.

³ In fact, for a period of one week, at the request of the Germans, the Hungarian Rapid Corps took part in the occupation of the areas up to Valjevo between 16 and 23 April. DOMBRÁDY 1986, 213.

⁴ HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 33-34.

⁵ There was a consensus in the Hungarian political leadership on the acquisition of territory in the Délvidék, as evidenced by the fact that the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Upper House of Parliament were united in their approval of the policy pursued by the Hungarian government and the steps taken to acquire the territories of the Délvidék. DIMK v. 1035-1038. 11 April 1941.

⁶ It is important to note that the invading Hungarian military, and later the military and civilian administration, did not face even approximately the same level of resistance as in the Délvidék. This obviously could and did have something to do with the strong, often excessive, actions of the Hungarian authorities.

⁷ Until the summer of 1942, the Hungarian consulate in Belgrade also acted regularly on behalf of the Hungarians of the Banat, as the citizenship of the population of the area was unsettled. This was not initially frowned upon by the Germans, but from May 1942 it could only act on behalf of its own citizens. MOL K 28. 99. p. 3089/pol-1942.

was indirectly the situation of the Serb and Hungarian minorities, the Hungarian, Serb and German policies towards them, and the willingness of Hungarians and Serbs to cooperate within this framework, which influenced the level of understanding towards the other side. However, the most significant factor was definitely the development of the military situation.

On the Hungarian side, the search for relations followed two paths, both rather low intensity. One was aimed at the Serbian puppet government, the other at the Yugoslav government's exponent in Serbia, Draža Mihajlović. Until the second half of 1942, there was little willingness on either side to deepen relations⁸. However, by the end of 1942, there were several signs that the possibility of establishing good neighbourly relations between Hungarians and Serbs was becoming more and more attractive. This was indicated by the fact that Mihailo Olćan, Serbia's Minister of Economy, was sent to Banat in October 1942 by the head of the Serbian puppet government, Milan Nedić, with instructions to create a friendly atmosphere between the Hungarian and Serbian populations⁹. Other unofficial sources close to Belgrade's government circles also testified that it had become important for Serbia to win the goodwill of its northern neighbour. Thus, in a report sent at the end of December 1942, the Hungarian envoy in Berlin, Döme Sztójay¹⁰, informed the Hungarian Foreign Ministry of a conversation he had had with two Serbian correspondents in Berlin (Mikasinović, a correspondent for *Obnova*, and Marinković, a correspondent for *Novo Vreme*), that both of them have an understanding and even a sympathetic attitude towards the Hungarians, and that the leading political circles in Belgrade are also not hostile to Hungary and would be happy if some common ground could be found¹¹. The conversation with the two journalists is worth quoting because it is the first time that the Serbs have expressed their views on the events in Bačka - which were later repeated in speeches and toasts - indicating that the Serbs are not entirely free of responsibility for what happened,

⁸ The leaders of the Hungarian Public Culture Association of Délvidék (DMKSZ) have been instructed from Budapest not to talk to Serbian ministers. For this reason, Tibor Talián, the president of the DMKSZ, refused to attend the meeting initiated by Turner, because Turner was accompanied by Serbian Interior Minister Aćimović. MOL K 28. 8. p. M.E. 1942 R.24489 (slides 180-181).

⁹ MOL K28. 8. p. 89/pol.1942. Bolla's report of 26 October 1942.

¹⁰ He was of Serbian origin and was registered at birth as Dimitrije Stojaković.

¹¹ However, Sztójay himself found this difficult to achieve, on the one hand, because Belgrade was under German administration, and on the other hand, as he wrote, the Germans, although they propagandized the cooperation of small nations, in reality, "they do not look kindly on Hungarian-Serbian cooperation or on Serbia moving in any direction". For this reason, he also saw no chance of sending press reporters from Belgrade to Budapest in the near future, because the Germans did not even allow Serbian journalists to travel to Rome. MOL K 28. 8. p. 9533/pol. 1942.

but that the best thing they can do is to put the past behind them and focus their attention on the positive developments of the future¹².

The importance of thawing the frozen relations was also felt on the Serbian side, if only due to the fact that in the face of a severe economic situation and increasing supply difficulties, surrounded by hostile states, there was little to turn to. Thus, in December 1942, Nikola Petrović, former editor of the journal *Jugoslav Lloyd*, turned up in Budapest on behalf of the Serbian Prime Minister's Office. Petrović negotiated with the responsible Hungarian authorities, representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Foreign Trade and the Hungarian Seed Exporting Company, to supply seeds to Serbia. The Hungarian authorities were positive to the request, and the Seed Export Company also expressed its readiness to supply the requested seeds of legumes and vegetables against compensation. Serbia's greatest need was for lentil, cabbage and fodder beet seeds¹³, but Petrović was quick to point out that Serbia did not have free resources and that the seller would have to make do with caustic soda (sodium hydroxide) and soda ash (sodium carbonate), possibly with *Pengő*, as compensation¹⁴.

In this case, both parties saw more than just business. The Hungarian side was able to demonstrate its goodwill and remorse for the events in Novi Sad, something it had been striving to do since the summer of 1942, and in 1943 it was particularly keen to do¹⁵. For the Serbian side, in addition to the possibility of alleviating supply difficulties in the future, it represented the first friendly step between the two nations. It was in this light that the toast of 15 January 1943, in which the Minister of Agriculture and Food, Radosav Veselinovic, spoke, with Nedić's authority, about the thousand-year coexistence of the two peoples, which had only twice clashed, and then not by the will of the people, but '*at the wrong instigation*' of politics, should be seen. In his speech, the minister stressed the need for friendship and cooperation between small nations and then made statements that sounded pleasant to Hungarian ears, in which he spoke about the events in Novi Sad, for which he

¹² Not everyone shared this view, however, and it was at this time, in early November 1942, that Draža Mihajlovic, on behalf of the entire Serbian nation, asked the Allies to bomb German, Hungarian, and Bulgarian cities in retaliation for the massacre of the Serbian population. *JUGOSLOVENSKE VLADE* 1981, 481.

¹³ MOL K 28. 8. p. M.E. 1943. R. 17402 Lajos Bolla's note of 28 January 1943.

¹⁴ Although the Hungarian economy did not need *Pengő* in the face of rising inflation, it needed the first two products all the more. As early as 1941, the Hungarian economy complained about the deterioration of supplies, with ammonia and caustic soda deliveries being disrupted by damaged roads and bridges in Serbia. Chamber of Deputies Logbook, Volume XI, 1939. p. 489. 21 November 1941.

¹⁵ Both in the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Defence, and the Prime Minister himself, Bolla was instructed to work to create a friendly atmosphere between Hungary and Serbia. MOL K 28. 8. cs. Lajos Bolla's note of 28 January 1943.

did not hold the Hungarian government responsible, and even risked a statement blaming Serbian politics for not returning to the Hungarians the territories they had inhabited¹⁶. It was in this atmosphere of cautious friendship that Vlada Ilić, a former senator and mayor of Belgrade, who was awarded the Grand Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit, made a statement to the Hungarian Consul General in which he indicated that he was ready to take up the post of head of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Joint Economic Chamber again if the opportunity arose¹⁷.

Outreach to the Yugoslav government in exile was also very low intensity. In this case, however, it was not the Hungarian government that took the initiative, but Draža Mihajlović, who had already taken steps to establish relations in the summer of 1942¹⁸. Thereafter, the Hungarian side provided Mihajlović with limited material and military assistance, and Serbian envoys from Mihajlović's circle occasionally appeared in Budapest, but it turned out that they were not ordered by Mihajlović himself, but either came on their own initiative or on the orders of a lower-ranking Chetnik leader, and contacts were always severed after one or two occasions¹⁹.

The search for relations with the Yugoslavs gained new momentum in the spring of 1943, which was now part of the Hungarian attempts to leave the Axis. The plan to support Mihajlović in the face of the Yugoslav resistance led by Josip Broz Tito, which was causing growing irritation in the southern provinces under Hungarian administration, and to establish contact with him in preparation for this, had already been in the Hungarian prime minister's mind in April 1943. Miklós Kállay believed that "it would be a pity to throw Mihajlović into the arms of the Bolsheviks because he is wavering between the Yugoslav government in London and his own nationalism"²⁰. Through Mihajlović, Budapest sought to establish contact with the Yugoslav government-in-exile and, through it, with the Western allies. On 26 May 1943, two ex-Yugoslav officers with Hungarian service passports issued in false names approached the Yugoslav Consul General in Istanbul, Vladimir Perić, who had arrived on behalf of General István Újzászzy, with the knowledge of Prime Minister Kállay, to contact Mihajlović²¹. The gist of the offer was that the Hungarian army was ready to support Mihajlović at the decisive moment, should he request it. In return, they

¹⁶ MOL K 28. 8. p. M.E. 1943. R. 17402. Lajos Bolla's note of 28 January 1943.

¹⁷ MOL K 28. 8. p. 1117/pol. 1943. Lajos Bolla's report of 23 January 1943.

¹⁸ The request was made through the Serbian MP Milan M. Popovic, who forwarded Mihajlović's message to Istvan Újzászzy, head of the State Protection Centre of the Ministry of Interior, whom he knew from Prague in the 1930s, where both were military attachés. HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 466.

¹⁹ HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 474-475.

²⁰ MAGYAR-BRIT 1978, 41.

²¹ According to British archives, the two officers were Milan Popović and a Colonel Šuković, commander of the "Vakul" organisation. MAGYAR-BRIT 1978, 148, 150.

asked that if the Allies invaded the Balkans, Mihajlović and his troops should not cross the new Hungarian border, as this would result in the blood of Serbs and Hungarians being shed in vain since the border would not be determined by Serbs and Hungarians anyway. They assured the Serbs that the atrocities in Bačka were deeply regretted by all Hungarians and promised that the perpetrators would be severely punished. Finally, they suggested that one of the officers should remain there as a liaison²². The Yugoslav government, however, received the Hungarian request - the sincerity of which was doubted by most of the eminent figures in the British Foreign Office, which was closely associated with them - with great scepticism, and simply regarded Budapest's offer as an attempt at mutual reassurance, which the Hungarians wished to see²³.

This was a period when the Hungarian government made a series of gestures towards the Serbs in Bačka, with the aim of making itself more presentable to the Western allies. London, together with Washington, had made it clear to Budapest - obviously in consultation with the Yugoslav government in exile - that a precondition for any rapprochement was adequate reparations for the massacres in Novi Sad²⁴. At the Council of Ministers meeting on 16 February 1943, Prime Minister Kállay saw the time as ripe for a review of the sentences passed by the military courts, the internment and expulsion, the property status of the Orthodox Church and the Matica Srpska, and raised the need to review other grievances against the Serbs²⁵. It is hard not to see the connection between the Prime Minister's remarks and the disastrous Hungarian losses on the Eastern Front at Voronezh. Among the reconciliatory steps taken, the compensation paid to the relatives of the victims of the raid, the re-authorisation of the Matica Srpska, and the Serbian Reading Circle stand out²⁶. All in all, by the spring of 1943, such a "Serbian policy" had become the official programme of the Hungarian government, which seemed to be capable of reassuring and reconciling the Serbs in the South and establishing Hungarian-Serbian coexistence²⁷. The intention to improve relations was also very much in evidence of the gesture the Hungarian government made to

²² MAGYAR-BRIT 1978, 145-146.

²³ The Yugoslav government in exile finally, following consultation with the Foreign Office, firmly rejected the Hungarian approach and forbade further negotiations with the Hungarian government's envoys. MAGYAR-BRIT 1978, 150.

²⁴ MAGYAR-BRIT 1978, 147.

²⁵ MOL K. 27. Mt. jkv. 16 February 1943.

²⁶ SAJTI 2004, 307-308.

²⁷ This change of attitude is signalled by the Hungarian Prime Minister's instruction to the editors-in-chief of the press, in which he drew the attention of the editors to the fact that Hungary does not necessarily need to increase the number of its enemies, and therefore, "however good and correct the information in an article, if it needlessly attacks nations or peoples with whom we have no quarrel, or with whom, as with the Serbs, we must one day sit down to the negotiating table, it must be omitted". "... in the service of war". FŐSZERKESZTŐI ÉRTEKEZLETÉK 2007, 41.

the Serbs in February 1943, offering to deliver the requested seeds without compensation if senior Serb politicians were willing to travel to Budapest. This, however, went beyond what was acceptable to Serbia and what the Germans had allowed. The Germans watched the seed deal with suspicion and, like the Hungarians and Serbs, saw in it more than just a business deal: an attempt to create a Hungarian-Serbian bloc, which they could not allow to happen, and so the seed deal, which had started well, came to nothing²⁸.

The changed military situation only reinforced the Hungarian government's intention to try to survive the war with as few casualties as possible and to keep as far away from the Balkans as possible. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the Hungarian government in March 1943 refused the German request to send 2-3 divisions to Serbia on occupation missions, in return for which the Germans would have equipped these Hungarian troops with modern weapons. The Hungarian Chief of General Staff, Ferenc Szombathelyi, saw this as a good opportunity and considered it worthy of support if only because he considered, although he did not say on what basis, that the Serbs would prefer Hungarian troops to invade their territory instead of German invasion troops, and that this would even arouse their sympathy. In the Council of Ministers, however, the majority of ministers took a firm stand against granting the request. The Minister of the Interior, Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer, even threatened to resign if the government agreed to the German request. The refusal was backed up by a number of arguments that illustrate the increased importance of Serbia for the Hungarian government and Hungary. Prominent among the arguments was that only a long period of tranquillity could bring about an improvement in relations between the two peoples, which had been severely strained by the events in Novi Sad. It was seen as axiomatic that the two peoples should continue to live side by side after the war and that it was far from being in the Hungarian interest for Serbs to show hatred towards Hungarians. It is inconceivable that a Hungarian invasion force should appear in Serbia, burdened with the memory of the Hungarian invasion and raids in the south, without disturbing incidents and reprisals²⁹. This was also considered an important consideration because Budapest had no direct contact with the occupying Serbian government, and so there was no faint possibility of establishing the basis for the entry of occupation troops through direct negotiations between the Hungarian government and the Nedić government. An important element in the rejection was the argument that Serbia would be the fourth to join the new trio of

²⁸ The Germans then even banned Serbian officials from getting off the train in Budapest during their transit through Hungary, because "the Serbian gentlemen are political". MOL OL K63 Küm.pol. 1943-16-54. quotes SAJTÍ 1987, 272.

²⁹ According to some contemporary views, this was precisely the purpose of the Germans' request, to prevent the possibility of Hungarian-Serbian cooperation. HMTI document no. 71. 366-367. quotes: SAJTÍ 1987, 124.

Croatia, Slovakia, and Romania, the new triad that was forming against Hungary: “We must never ignore the fact that even if we win, the peoples around us will remain, the nations will live on and their diplomatic game will continue”. - the argument goes. It didn't take much imagination to see that this diplomatic game would be directed primarily against Hungary³⁰.

In light of this, it is not surprising that the Hungarian government consistently rejected this repeated German demand. At a secret meeting chaired by Horthy on 10 September 1943, it was decided that any request for their participation in the invasion of the Balkans would be firmly rejected³¹. It is characteristic of the importance of this question that it was the only one which the Hungarian government managed to enforce, and that all other decisions relaxing co-operation with the Germans were not put into practice³².

The reason for this determination by the autumn of 1943 was (also) to avoid the risk of being confronted by Anglo-American troops landing in the Balkans³³. By this time, the Hungarian government was in full swing, through various unofficial channels, negotiating with the Allies the conditions for getting out of the war, one of the strands of which, as we have seen, was to be found in the contact with the Serbs. On 9 September, the day before the secret meeting under Horthy's leadership, an agreement was reached between László Veress, a diplomat of the Hungarian government, and Bennett Sterndale, First Secretary of the British government's embassy in Istanbul, which set out the terms of the armistice. Nevertheless, it is at least speculative that the prospect of a confrontation with Anglo-Saxon troops would have deterred the Hungarian government from sending part of its forces to the Balkans since it might actually have facilitated the transition³⁴.

The Endgame

As the front approached, it became increasingly clear that the war could not be ended in a way that would ensure the continued existence of a viable political establishment, not only in Hungary but also in Serbia. This realisation offered a basis for promoting cooperation between all the forces that did not want this change to occur, and the need for contacts between the Hungarian government and the puppet government in Belgrade and the movement led by Draža Mihajlović intensified.

³⁰ HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 304-305.

³¹ HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 332.

³² HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 332.

³³ HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 332.

³⁴ It is not impossible that it was precisely for this reason that the Germans finally accepted the Hungarian position, while on all other issues - the method and scale of deliveries, the recall of 80,000 Hungarian troops stationed in the eastern front to Hungary, etc. - they asserted their will.

The rising intensity of the relations between Belgrade and Budapest was indicated by the support that the Hungarian government provided to help Nedić. At its economic meeting on 6 March 1944, the Hungarian government allocated one million two hundred and fifty thousand *Pengő* for the Nedić government, which it intended to provide in the form of a donation³⁵. On August 26, 1944, the Serbian government's Minister of Propaganda, Đorđe Perić, requested an entry visa for the Belgrade industrialist Dimitrije Konjović, whom the Nedić government intended to send to Budapest with the mandate to request arms from the Hungarian government for Nedić and, through him, Draža Mihajlović³⁶. He justified the request on the grounds that if Serbia failed, the situation in Hungary would become untenable. He, therefore, proposed that a link be established between the two governments to cooperate in the common struggle, which could also be the basis for a future friendly relationship. He also requested that Lieutenant-Colonel Krasznay, the Hungarian liaison officer posted to the German military headquarters in Serbia, should go to Belgrade as soon as possible to contact the Serbian military circles there to discuss the details³⁷. The increased Serbian desire to strengthen relations at this time is demonstrated by the fact that the Hungarian Foreign Minister, General Gustáv Hennyey, reported at the meeting of the Council of Ministers on 17 September 1944 that he had been successful in contacting Generals Nedić and Mihajlović. He was informed that both considered the Treaty of Friendship to be in force and would welcome any assistance from Hungary³⁸. The Council of Ministers agreed that the friendly approach of the two Serbian generals should not be rejected³⁹.

The Hungarian government has also been trying unsuccessfully for some time to establish direct links with Serbian nationalists. It was possible to send Krasznay down to Belgrade, but it was more difficult to establish regular contact with Draža Mihajlović. In

³⁵ The Nedić government's preliminary request was for 700 warm-blooded military horses, 3,000 pairs of boots, 10,000 cubic metres of building timber, and hundreds of tonnes of paper and cardboard of various qualities. As it did not consider it economically feasible to fulfil these requests but considered it important to be friendly towards the Nedić government, the Hungarian government finally decided on 10 June 1944 to offer Belgrade 1,000 pairs of boots, 250 cold-blooded horses, 1,000 tons of building timber and 10 wagons of printing paper as a gift worth the mentioned amount. MOL K 27 Mt. jkv. 10 June 1944.

³⁶ Originally, Vlada Ilić was to be asked, but he did not accept the assignment. HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1989, 465.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ In this spirit, Nedić made a statement to the Hungarian Consul General in Belgrade, Lajos Bolla, to whom he explained on 19 September 1944 that the joint struggle would have an impact on the further development of relations between the two peoples, and noted that there was an eternal treaty of friendship between them, which he still considered valid, and that the events in Novi Sad should not disturb the relations between the two peoples. HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG 1986, 472-473.

³⁹ MOL K 27 Mt. jkv. 27 September 1944.

view of the increasingly chaotic relations in Serbia, the most expedient way to establish direct contacts seemed to be to entrust Mihajlović with the representation of a powerful Serb in Hungary, known to Hungarian circles, who would be in constant contact with the government in Budapest and whose identity would guarantee that he was indeed mandated by Mihajlović⁴⁰. However, the movement of the front line in the following weeks cut off communication between Budapest and Belgrade, and for this reason alone this plan came to nothing. Neither did the unrealistic Hungarian idea of creating a Serbian defence force from the pro-Hungarian Bačka Serbs to protect the southern front until Hungarian and German troops could send sufficient forces into the area⁴¹.

At that time, Belgrade was just weeks away from being occupied by Soviet and partisan forces, which not only sealed the fate of Nedić and Draža Mihajlović but also the defeat of their ideology and politics. Hungarian efforts to secure Hungary's sovereignty over Bačka through an eventual agreement with the Serbs also failed. The triumph of the Partisan forces swept away the old order in Serbia, ended Hungarian rule in Bačka, and opened a new chapter in the history of Hungarian-Serbian relations.

⁴⁰ An unnamed Hungarian military personnel, whose task it was to contact Mihajlović, barely escaped with his life from being sent to Ravna Gora, Mihajlović's headquarters. *HORTHY-MAGYARORSZÁG* 1986, 475.

⁴¹ For details on this issue, see *SAJTI* 1987, 230-238.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BATHS OF THE BAY OF NAPLES AND BUDAPEST FOR A POSSIBLE COMPARISON OF SAFEGUARDING AND VALORIZATION

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1. Introduction

Thermalism constitutes a strong element of identity as it is closely linked to the territory. Even more so in places where this occurs and where this practice is ancient, dating back, as in the case of Budapest and the Bay of Naples, to Roman times, with an alternating history and events. Thermalism has, in Hungary, a tradition more than a thousand years old, marked by three different epochs that have left significant evidence in the architectural landscape of some urban centres, first and foremost the capital. The latter was founded by the Romans on the eastern limes of the empire along the banks of the Danube, as a castrum with the name Aquincum at the point where the ford of the Danube was easiest and where there were considerable water reserves, including thermal baths (Fig. 1-2). In particular, Figure 1 shows in the Peutingerian table the location of the Roman camp, today's Obuda, highlighted with a symbol accompanied by the inscription 'Aquincó', which characterised the area for the presence of thermal waters even then. In medieval and modern times, Budapest was called Ofen in the Saxon language. The most modern baths date back to the period of Turkish rule, between 1541 and 1686, but the Hungarian capital only gained fame as a baths town around 1920, when it began to utilise the economic potential of this important resource. Even today, Budapest is considered a 'hydromineral' city with thermal springs scattered throughout many of its districts and is the European city with the largest number of health and wellness centres. Hungary is known as one of the countries richest in thermal waters and its resorts are known all over the world.

In Italy, the official definition of thermalism is still the one given by a Royal Decree of 28 September 1919, according to which under this name is to be understood the activity carried out in establishments (terme) where, according to the special therapeutic or hygienic properties recognised to them, mineral waters are administered, hot muds both natural and artificially prepared, silts, moulds and the like are used, and the presence of caves in particular conditions of temperature and humidity are utilised. The thermal baths, born in Roman



Fig. 1. Extract from the Tabula Peutingeriana, an itinerary map of the Roman Empire drawn up in the 1st century B.C. and updated up to the 4th century AD in which the location of Budapest is highlighted with a city symbol and the inscription Aquino.

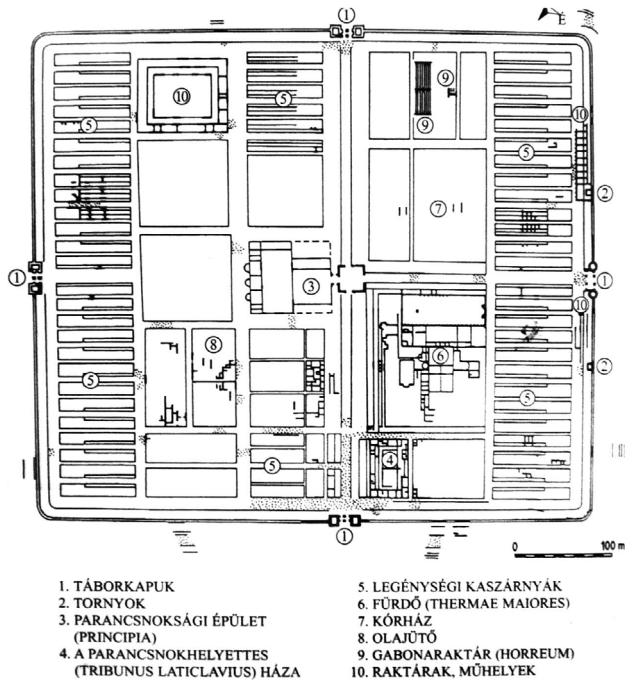


Fig. 2. Plan of the Roman camp of Aquincum with the major baths highlighted with No. 6.

times and rediscovered between the 14th and 15th centuries, were exclusive destinations of the aristocratic elite until, during the 19th century, scientific-technological progress and changing social needs, typical of the industrial era, led to the definition of new architectural types and new receptive bodies, which made the thermal baths the preferred destinations of the bourgeoisie. In the first half of the 20th century, wellness tourism established itself as a true mass phenomenon and the renewed interest in physical cures also stimulated state investment in the sector. The following paper, the start of a research project, investigates the historical places of spa tourism and the processes of transformation of landscapes resulting from the recovery and enhancement of the historical and cultural identity of the tourist-care facilities linked to the presence of spas. This comparison is proposed to stimulate an in-depth study of the experiences of these two European countries, which have shared this phenomenon since their birth, both in the character of the settlements and in the relationship between landscape and environment.

2. The Bay of Naples area

The Bay of Naples (Fig. 3), comprising the gulfs of Naples and Pozzuoli, is situated between Cape Miseno, to the north-west, Punta Campanella, to the south-east, which forms the extreme edge of the Sorrento peninsula. From a thermal point of view, three areas can be identified: the Campi Flegrei, which also includes the island area of Ischia, the more purely urban area of Naples and the south-eastern area of Stabia.



Fig. 3. Bay of Naples with the places of greatest presence of thermal waters highlighted (elaboration by A. Bertini on a 1950 Ciavatti cartographic base).

The Flegrea¹ or north-western area is made up of the thermal springs of the Stufe di Nerone near Lake Lucrino, the baths of Baia, the baths of Agnano, the baths of Bagnoli and the thermal complexes of the island of Ischia, which can be considered a single large area with hundreds of springs. In the urban or central area of Naples (Fig. 4), most of the springs and thermal waters, important in the city's history, are now largely disused, but evidence remains of the presence of the thermal springs of Carminiello ai Mannesi, the thermal baths

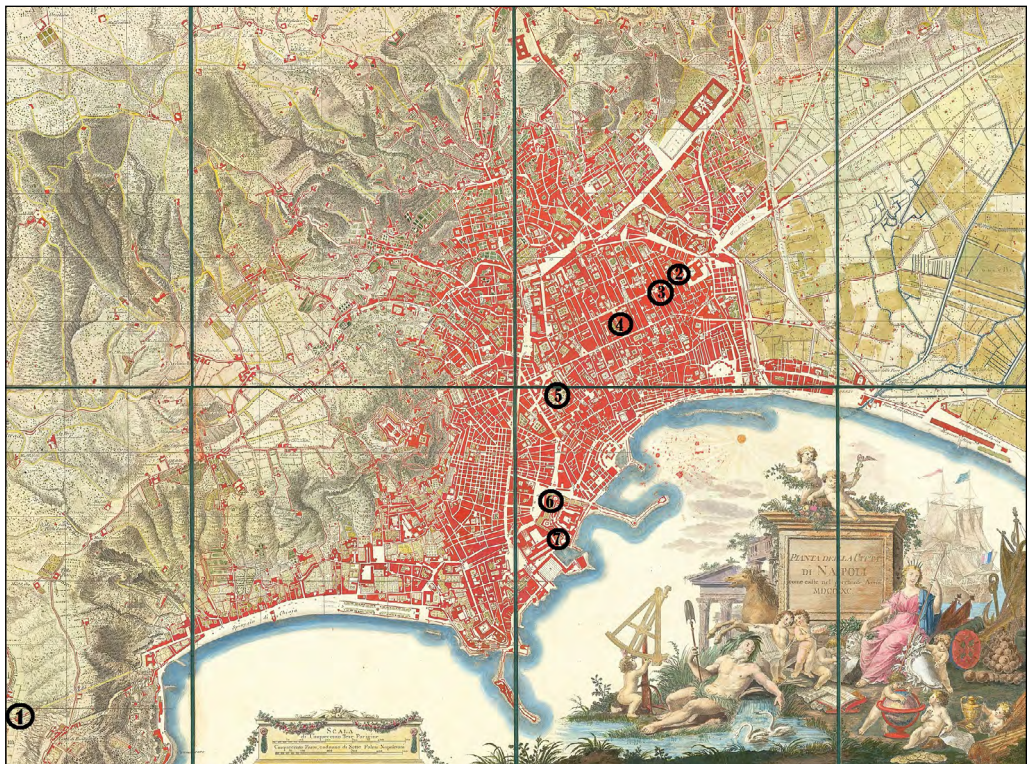


Fig. 4. Extract from the map of Naples and its surroundings drawn up by Rizzi Zannoni in 1793, with the location of the baths mentioned in the text. Legend: 1, the 'statio-termale' of via Terracina; 2, Baths under the Ricca palace (current seat of the Historical Archives of the Banco di Napoli); 3, Carminiello ai Mannesi; 4, Bagno Nostriano; 5, Roman baths of the monastery of Santa Chiara; 6, Baths of the palace of the Prince del Balzo (private baths); 7, Ferruginous waters of via Acton.

The 'regio thermensis' was also identified with the ellipse (elaboration by A. Bertini).

¹ For the morphological reconstruction of the Phlegraean area, we recommend: *La fascia costiera campana da Cuma alla piana, del Fiume Sarno: dinamiche paleo-ambientali e porti antichi*, Thesis, University of Pisa, 2010-2011, candidate Stefano Marinelli, Supervisor Prof. Nella Maria Pasquinucci.

of Santa Chiara, and the thermal baths of the Casa del Balzo near Castel Nuovo, of the ferruginous waters in Via Acton, of the baths open to the public and probably a *statio* along the route that connected Neapolis with Puteoli in Roman times along Via Terracina, of the baths of the *insula episcopalis* and the end of Via dei Tribunali under Palazzo Ricca, seat of the Banco di Napoli Historical Archives.

The south-eastern area of Stabia includes the thermal baths of Torre Annunziata, Pompei, the very extensive and now abandoned thermal baths of Castellammare di Stabia and the very famous thermal establishment called ‘Scraio’ in the municipality of Vico Equense. These just mentioned are the existing structures on the mainland, while the volcanic, bradyseismic and hydrothermal phenomenon is also present in the area in front of the mainland in the two contiguous gulfs of Naples and Pozzuoli. Between 2015 and 2016, a team of researchers at a distance of about 5 km from the port of Naples identified a ‘dome’ (bulge) on the seabed with associated gaseous emissions. A similar phenomenology to that found in the Gulf of Naples also characterises the activity of the Flegrea area in the Gulf of Pozzuoli².

2.1 *Brief history of the baths in the Bay of Naples*

The Hellenian merchants, refugees and migrants from the island of Euboea who settled on the island of Ischia (Pithekoussa) as early as the 8th century B.C., then founded Kyme (the Roman Cumae) and after about fifty years Parthenope and then at the end of the 6th century B.C., Neapolis, they proved to be well acquainted with the thermal riches of the Phlegraean area, including the very rich Agnano ones, also because they came from an island, Euboea called Negroponte by the Venetians (from 1204 until 1490 when the Ottomans returned), which has thermal and sulphurous water phenomena similar to those on Ischia. With the settlement of the Romans in the area in the 3rd century B.C., there was widespread thermal activity throughout the Phlegraean Fields, which began in the Republican period (509

² The researchers who carried out the surveys are from the Institute for Coastal Marine Environment and Geosciences and Georisources of the National Research Council (Iamc and Igg of the CNR), the National Institute of Geophysics and Volcanology (Ingv) and the ‘Department of Earth Sciences’ of the University of Florence. The scientific campaign conducted, called ‘Safe 2014’ (Seafloor Acoustic Detection of Fluid Emissions), has detected manifestations that may, in some cases, precede the formation of submarine volcanoes or hydrothermal explosions’, at a depth varying between 100 and 170 metres. The height of the ‘dome’ is about 15 metres and covers an area of 25 km². During the surveys, 35 active gaseous emissions and more than 650 small craters were discovered. The results of the study were published in ‘Scientific Reports-Nature’.

B.C. to 27 B.C.) and lasted throughout the Imperial period (27 B.C. to 476 A.D.)³. The oldest written source on the baths in the Bay of Naples is that of Titus Livius, who in 'Ab urbe condita' mentions 'the "Aquaе Humanae" when consul Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Ispallo went there in 178 B.C.. About a hundred years later, the architect Marcus Vitruvius Polonius also described the *Campi τερμοσ*, Phlegraean as 'fiery lands rich in springs'. In the 1st century A.D., it was Plinio il Vecchio in the 'Naturalis Historia' who highlighted the quantity and quality of the thermal waters in the Phlegraean area. Although in the Republican age, the Phlegraean baths were known and discreetly frequented, it was in the Imperial age that imposing thermal complexes were built, which took on the name of *terme* (from the Greek adjective 'hot'), replacing the term *balnea*, i.e. public baths, and distinguishing it from the private bath, i.e. what the Romans called *balneum*. The Baths of Baia (Fig. 5) were the favourite destination of many emperors, first and foremost Augustus and later Caligula, Claudius, Nero and Hadrian. Horace, in the 'Epistulae', describes the baths of Baia by saying that they were located on the slope of the hill surrounded by myrtle bushes, an autochthonous plant presence still visible today, and with the rooms carved out of the tuffaceous rock. Ovidio, in the '*Ars amatoria*', emphasised that the baths of Baia were a place of healing and amorous perdition at the same time, and listed several famous baths of the time. By this time, the entire coastal and hilly area between Cape Misenum and Baia, between Lucrinus and Puteolis (Fig. 6) up to Neapolis had become a celebrated and praised place of 'delicate' and 'otia' and everywhere patrician villas, sumptuous imperial villas and large thermal centres known throughout the Roman world had sprung up (Table 1).

³ The first volcano to erupt in the last 10,000 years of volcanic activity was Agnano (10,000 years ago), followed by Montagna Spaccata, and then the craters of Pisani, Fondi di Baia (10,000 years ago) Solfatara (between 5,000 and 4,000 years ago), Astroni, Cigliano (4,000 years ago), Averno and finally, in 1538, Monte Nuovo. (DI FRAIA 2013, 2).

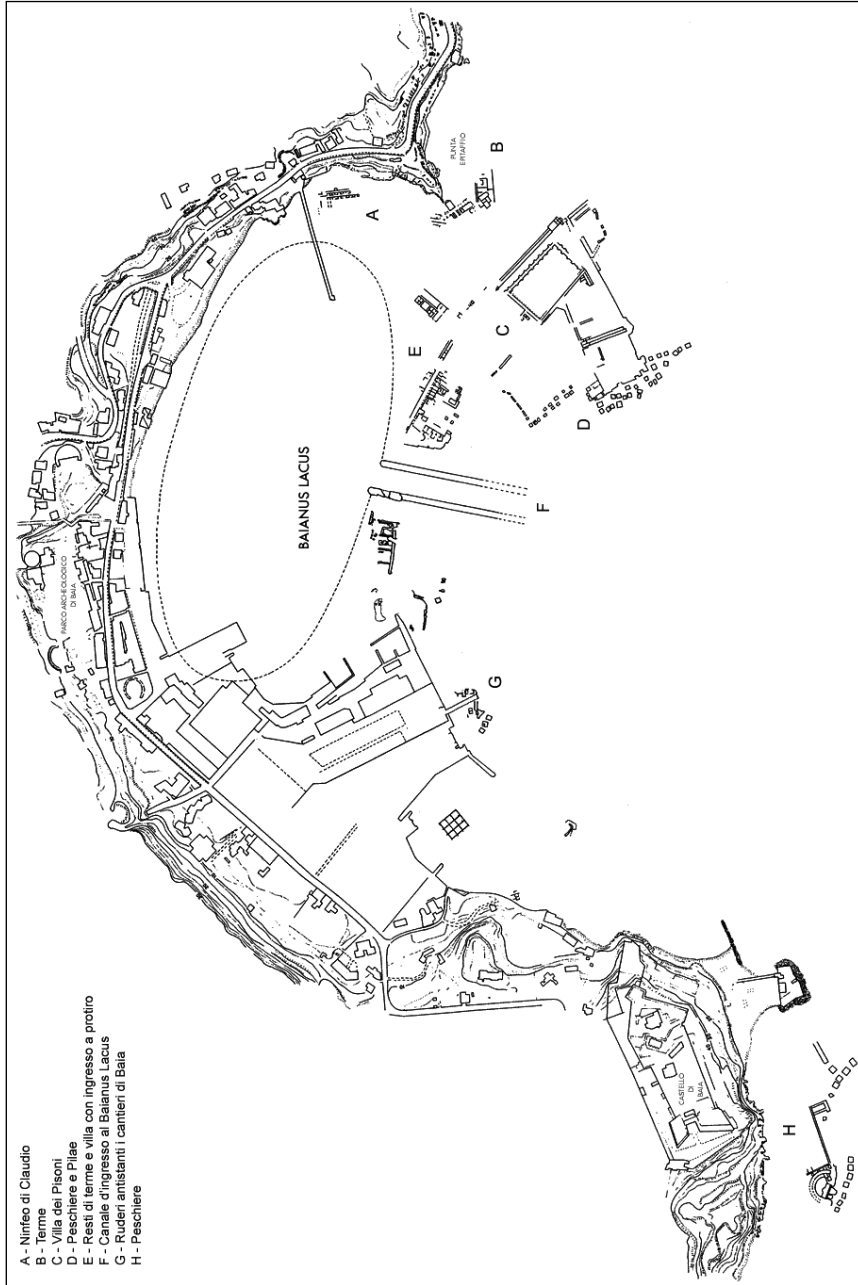


Fig. 5. Reconstructive drawing of the baths of Baia. A large part of the grandiose bath complex of Baia is still visible today, in a specially prepared archaeological park. Another part of the area was submerged by sea water following bradyseismic movements typical of the area. For these submerged archaeological remains, too, the Italian state has set up an archaeological park in which it is possible to go on guided tours in transparent hulled boats and admire the submerged remains of the most famous Roman baths of the imperial era (Jean Claude Golvin, www.archeoflegrei.it, accessed 28 February 2023).



Fig. 6. Aquarelle drawing of the Gulf of Pozzuoli, taken from *Balneis Puteolanis* by Pietro da Eboli.

Table 1. Some of the historical baths in the Campi Flegrei area (elaboration by A. Bertini).

Thermal Baths	Notes
Agnano	
Bagnoli	
Masullo	
Tricarico	
Cotroneo	
Rocco	
Manganella	ex Bagno Giuncara
<i>Between the Dazio and La Pietra railway stations</i>	
Balneolo	
Di Leo	mineral spas
Antiche terme Calatura	

Vitolo	
<i>Pozzuoli</i>	
Terracciano	
Puteolane	
La Salute	
Pisano-Verdino	
Bagno Fortuna	Present since 1891, the oldest

In addition, so many thermal complexes were built that the area between Via Diaz and the Stock Exchange Palace was classified as regio Thermensis. Along the route between Naples and Pozzuoli, in Via Terracina in Fuorigrotta, a bath complex, consisting of several rooms and decorated with black and white floor mosaics, was built at the beginning of the 2nd century near a *statio*. The bath area in Via Terracina was still active in the 5th century A.D. The southern side of the *statio* Gulf of Naples is also affected by the presence of thermal springs, especially in the territory of Castellammare di Stabia, a centre that arose in 340 B.C. in the very area where the thermal waters are located. But even in the centre of the bay where Naples stands, there are considerable traces of thermal waters and springs that have been forgotten and destroyed over time. First, there is the area of Bagnoli, also known since antiquity, where there are abundant thermal springs that are little used today, and in the city of Naples itself there are traces of hydrothermal springs. To set up industrial activities such as Italsider and Cementir, most of the springs in the Bagnoli area were cemented over. After Roman times, there are records of thermal baths in Naples around the year 1000 as meeting places. “Around the balneum ran colonnades, exedras, porticoes and gardens, such as those surrounding the Nostrian bath, the oldest in the city, located in the regio Augustale, near the forum.” In 1076 there is news of a balneum vetus destructum at the via Capuana, while another balneum veterem is mentioned in 1164⁴, near the disappeared via dei Ferri Vecchi. There was also a thermal bath inside the Caputo city gate, built in the early 12th century. Another was at Monterone and included ‘ipso spoliatorio et tepidarium et fornace et cum puteo aque vive’⁵. The area of Patrizzano, where the so-called ‘Zizze’ fountain still stands today, was very rich in springs, but we do not know if they were thermal springs, while the spring at the monastery of San Pietro Martire was famous in the Angevin period (Fig. 7).

⁴ CAPASSO 1891-1893.

⁵ CAPASSO 1881-1892, II, 102.

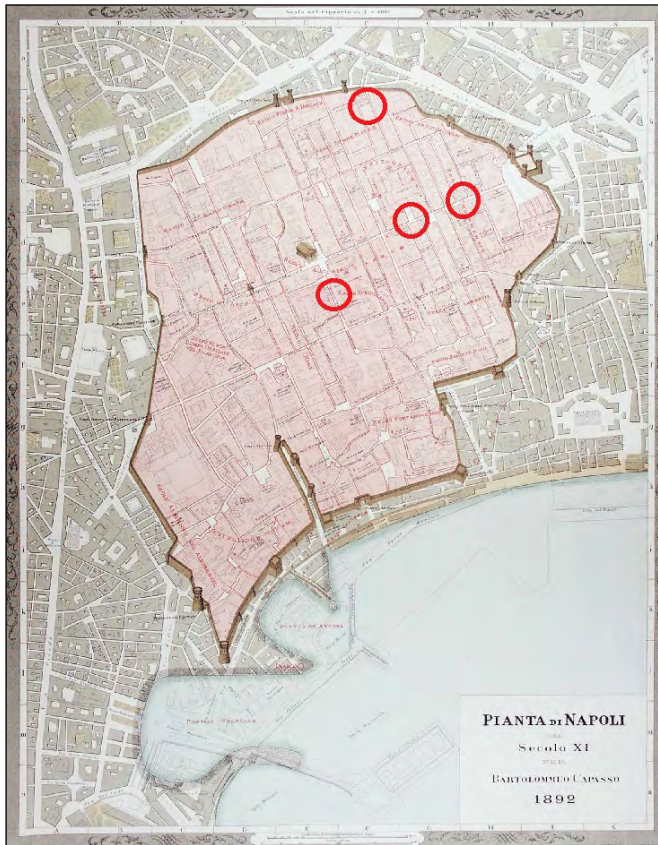


Fig. 7. Plan of 11th century Naples inspired by Bartolomeo Capasso's studies in 1892. In the northeastern part of the map near the Castel Capuano and at the end of Via dei Tribunali in the Forcella area was the "Regio Ihermensis". At that time, the city was divided into Regio, neighbourhoods with different place names than today. In the map, the hydrothermal springs of which we have traces are highlighted with a red circle (elaboration by A. Bertini).

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, a Latin senator, politician and man of letters who lived around the 6th century, wrote that the Atalarico, King of Goths went to Baia to be cured by the thermal waters. While Pope Gregory the Great in his memoirs recalls that doctors advised Germano, bishop of Capua in the 6th century, to go to the sudatorium of Agnano, which later took the name Sudatorium di San Germano. The Jewish doctor Beanimo di Tudela, who came to Italy from Spain in 1164, also described Puteoli's thermal waters in his book "I viaggi di Beanimo di Tudela". The court poet Pietro Ansolino or Ansolini da Eboli wrote his "De Balneis Puteolanis" (also called "De Balneis Terrae Laboris") between

1212 and 1220, dedicating it to the Emperor, and reports that Frederick II of Swabia visited Baia between October and November 1227. Only copies of the work translated into the vernacular have survived. Of these, the oldest is codex 1474 in the Angelica Library in Rome, dated between 1260 and 1270 (Figg. 8-9-10). Among the baths mentioned in ‘De Balneis Puteolanis’ are the Sudatorium di San Germano, the Balneum Astruni, the Balneum de Fatis, the Balneum Plage, the Balneum Petrae, the Balneum Calaturae, and the Balneum Silvanae, the latter being the current ‘Terme Stufe di Nerone’).

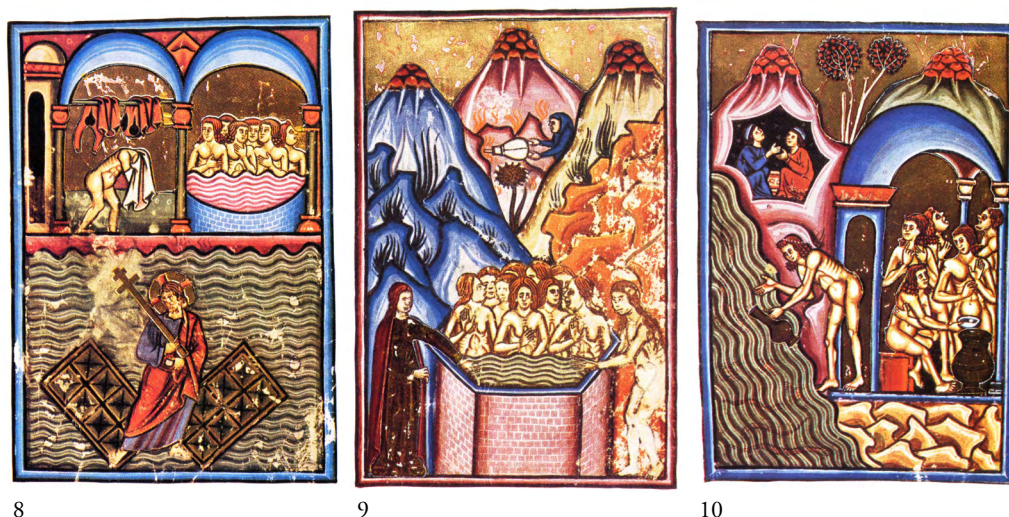


Fig. 8, 9 and 10. Miniatures from the Codex Angelicus Ms. 1474 (Angelica Library in Rome), The “De Balneis Puteolanis” or “De Balneis Terrae Laboris” or “De Euboicis aquis” is attributable to Pietro Ansovini da Eboli or Alcadino di Siracusa, written in the last decade of the 12th century. From left to right the Tripergole baths, the Solfataro Baths and the Agnano baths or ‘Sudatorium’.

During the Angevin domination, the Phlegraean baths received a further boost. The village of Tripergole, located near Lake Avernus, saw the development of numerous health and accommodation facilities, managed by Neapolitan and Puteolan religious orders⁶. There was also a pharmacy and three taverns, which certainly also functioned as inns. King

⁶ In Angevin times, the Puteolan thermal pole was concentrated near Tripergole and was famous for its thermal baths, as well as for the hospital and church of S. Marta built by Charles II of Anjou in 1298, a village cancelled by the eruption of Monte Nuovo at the end of September 1538. Here, the rulers had a castle in which to stay. In Aragonese times, it also became King Ferrante’s place of recreation (DI FRAIA 2013, 11).

Robert of Anjou, known as the Wise, in 1332 obliged the men of the hamlets of Posillipo, Fuorigrotta and Pozzuoli to repave the road from Piedigrotta to Tripergole to encourage thermal tourism. From the 16th century onwards, Phlegraean thermalism was also supported by several religious orders. Among these was the Gerolomini of Naples, who in 1625 built their hospice in Pozzuoli for the poor in need of thermal treatment. In the following years, the Hierolomini acquired land at the Terme Subveni Homini (today's Terme Puteolane) where springs had been found and built a spa for their lay guests. Pedro Antonio de Aragon, entrusted the Irpinian doctor Sebastiano Bartolo, head professor of anatomy and philosophy at the Naples Gymnasium, with the task of researching and restoring the ancient hot springs. The doctor indicated more than 40 springs in his books, 'Breve Ragguaglio de 'bagni di Pozzuolo' written in 1667 and 'Thermologia Aragonia' published after his death. For his research, he used the 'Trattato dei bagni di Pozzuolo' published in 1526 as an appendix to the second edition of the 'Cronaca di Partenope'. Sebastiano Bartolo identified three geographical areas, each corresponding to a section of the route from Naples to Miseno. In 1668, by order of the viceroy, three epitaphs in Latin (each contained in a shrine) were placed along this route to inform travellers on their way to Pozzuoli of the therapeutic virtues of the springs along the way. The first aedicule was placed in the archaeological park behind the church of Santa Maria a Piedigrotta where Virgil's tomb was supposed to be. Among the baths mentioned are the Bagno secco or Sudatorio di San Germano (whose waters were suitable for the treatment of skin diseases), the Bagno degli Astroni, the Bagno di Fuori Grotta (located near the Coroglio beach, outside the Seiano grotto or Crypta Sillana that crossed the Posillipo hill) the Bagno della Pietra⁷, the Bagno di Subveni Homini, the Bagno di Santa Anastasia or dell'Arena (located near the sea, whose very hot waters surfaced by digging into the sand) and the Bagno della Solfatara or Bagno del Foro di Vulcano. The second epitaph indicates 20 baths located between Pozzuoli and Baia. The third epitaph was placed at the far end of the hill of Tritoli, today's Punta dell'Epitaffio, indicating the last 8 baths between Baia⁸ and Miseno, and has been lost (Fig. 11).

⁷ "La Pietra", The Stone. According to seventeenth-century writers (Mazzella, Mormile, Sarnelli), the place name originated from a Terma whose waters also had the virtue of 'breaking the stone in the bladder, i.e. the stones, and taking away the renella'. Anecchino believed, however, that the toponym derived from the area's quarry. (DI FRAIA 2013, 16).

⁸ Thermal structures required large quantities of fresh water, typically rainwater collected in cisterns that were often hypogean (FERRARI, GUIDONE, LAMAGNA 2015, 493).



Fig. 11. Extract of the map depicting the Gulf of Naples with some of the hot springs from Naples to Miseno highlighted, as reported in Sebastiano Bartolo's epitaphs of the 17th century (elaboration by Antonio Bertini on the cartographic base of the Istituto Geografico Militare (Igm) 1890, Carta d'Italia al 100.000, Foglio 184 'Napoli', published in 1905).

“Among the ancient buildings for thermal use in the area that were probably compromised by the events were two “trugli” - the popular name given to the domed central-plan structures - whose existence is testified by a group of drawings, including originals and copies, drawn up between the 15th and 17th centuries”⁹. Phlegraean thermalism lived its last golden age between the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century when the development of ancient thermal springs and the discovery of new ones allowed the birth of new establishments, very elegant and comfortable, built in the new Art Nouveau style. Among the spas in operation at the time was the Terme di Agnano in Agnano, the Terme Masullo in Bagnoli, the Terme Tricarico, the Terme Cotroneo, the Terme Rocco and the Terme Manganello (built where the Bagno di Giuncara described by Simone Bartolo once stood). Between the Dazio and stations of the Cumana railway, Terme La Pietra, the Balneolo thermo-mineral establishment, Terme Minerali Di Leo, the Antiche Terme Calatura and Terme Vitolo were built. In Pozzuoli, the Terme Terracciano, Terme Puteolane, Terme La Salute and Terme Pisano Verdino are worth mentioning. Starting in the second half of the 19th century, a residential district was built next to the old farmhouse, transforming the area into a small residential and spa resort characterised by simple Art Nouveau architecture equipped with a promenade and thermal baths and connected to

⁹ LANZARINI 2021, 8.

Naples by the first section of the Cumana line. Around 1880, the first omnibus line, horse-drawn carriages on rails, was inaugurated, connecting Fuorigrotta with Pozzuoli, passing in front of the thermal baths. Later, the line was extended as far as Torregaveta and replaced by the tram. In 1892, the Cumana railway from Naples to Torregaveta, already in operation since 1889, was also inaugurated. Even today, from Piazza Bagnoli to the old Dazio (in the area on the western border between Naples and Pozzuoli), at least seventy thermal water veins have been found, which could be used to create a spa area in the Bagnoli area, almost marking a return to the origins of the early 20th century¹⁰. After the war interlude, the decision to industrialise the area compromised the previous activities, forcing almost all the spas to close and relegating the survivors to a niche activity. Today, the Terme Puteolane and a spring captured in 1950, inside the Averno Tourist Complex ('Damiani'), used for saunas and whirlpools, with a temperature of 70°, remain in operation. This is not the first time that Puteolan thermal waters have been forgotten. Despite everything, they still exist and possess their beneficial characteristics intact. Sooner or later they will again be considered a resource, even for employment; for now, they rest in peace in the lap of the Phlegraean volcanoes¹¹.

3. The Agnano Baths case study

The Agnano area is located in the western part of Naples, bordering the territory of Pozzuoli and is part of the still-active Campi Flegrei volcanic complex. The volcanic activity of this area is evident in the numerous manifestations of a geothermal nature that have characterised these places since antiquity, such as the volcanic fumaroles and thermo-mineral springs in which the soil is rich and whose use for therapeutic purposes has very ancient origins, well attested by documents and literary sources, as well as numerous archaeological remains. The oldest archaeological evidence found in Agnano dates back as far as the 4th-3rd century B.C. and can still be seen today inside the park of the current baths. These are some wall fragments of Greek origin from what is probably the oldest Phlegraean thermal structure ever found, although the debate on the subject is still open. Also at Agnano, whose thermalism in reality almost always followed rather autonomous historical paths, an imposing thermal establishment was built in the age of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). It was distinguished by the grandeur of the building, which was developed on seven superimposed levels, with a

¹⁰ The baths of Baia were rediscovered in the early 20th century and once the excavation work was finished, they were the subject of an archaeological restoration project that served as a school and laboratory in Italy, designed by Amedeo Maiuri. A reconstruction of the event can be found in: VERONESE 2018, 20-43. www.fupress.net/index.php/ra/

¹¹ DI FRAIA 2013, 12.

front of about three hundred metres, by the great variety of mineral waters and above all by the perhaps unique characteristic of heating the rooms by exploiting the natural heat that escaped from the side of the Monte Spina hill, on which the structure rested. Unlike the more famous baths of Pozzuoli and Baia, however, the Agnano baths did not enjoy the same notoriety as they were not located in a major town but at some particular station of the 'Puteolis-Neapolim per colles' road that in antiquity connected the cities of Naples and Pozzuoli. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, like all the great bath complexes in the area, the building was abandoned until the end of the 5th century when, at the behest of Thrasamond (496-523) king of the Vandals, it was magnificently enlarged and restored. According to the description of the poet Flavius Felix (493-500), the reconstruction work was such that in the Middle Ages, when the Puteolan and Baian buildings had already fallen into ruin, the building at Agnano, still in operation, became the most renowned Phlegraean mineral bath complex.

Traumatic geological events disrupted the layout of the territory and changed the circulation of underground water, favouring, around the 11th century, the formation of a large lake that submerged the whole of the most depressed part of the plain. The building, no longer fed by the coffin and thermal springs, slowly fell into disrepair and, stripped of its mosaics and every marble covering and ornament was forgotten for a long time.

Nonetheless, for many centuries the thermal activity at Agnano survived thanks to the spontaneous and uninterrupted exploitation of the extraordinary gaseous emissions that leaked from the soil and the hillside at the edge of the Lake. These hot springs were enclosed within several artificial caves in a small isolated building known in antiquity as the 'Sudatorio di Agnano' or 'Stufe di S. Germano'.

The great fame that these stoves enjoyed in the Middle Ages, with their extremely hot dry vapours and extraordinary curative properties, was also due to the Christian imagination which, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, slowly replaced pagan mythology in attributing supernatural meanings to the "purgatorial" visions of the Phlegraean area, often using simple transpositions of already consolidated myths and beliefs. Also contributing to Agnano's notoriety was the widespread presence throughout the area of volcanic phenomena such as the "mofete", or hot emissions of carbonic acid gas that occurred, in particular, in the so-called "Grotta del Cane" (Dog Cave) and the lesser-known "Grotta del Morto" (Dead Man's Cave), which attracted travellers from all over Europe with their curious properties.

From the earliest history, thermal sites were not only considered places of physical well-being but also places for spiritual well-being. We need only cite a few striking examples from the past, as the waters of the Nile and Ganges rivers were considered sacred and therapeutic waters. Similarly, the waters of the Agnano thermal site became not only a place for physical but also spiritual well-being, as evidenced by the sanctuary dedicated to Igea and Asclepio.

Moreover, it was only with the arrival of the Romans that the thermal baths in the Phlegraean area attained a high status and consideration, and luxurious villas were then built close to the baths in the Gulf of Naples. These singular natural phenomena, together with those told of the lake, with its bubbling waters devoid of fish and its shores frequented by numerous frogs and snakes, not only aroused the interest of many scientists but also fuelled popular curiosity and fantasy to the extent that Agnano gained the reputation of a 'magical place'.

This state of affairs persisted undisturbed until Alfonso of Aragon (1396-1458) decided to transfer the maceration of hemp and flax already introduced by Charles II of Anjou (1248-1309) at Ponte della Maddalena to Lake Agnano. This activity, pestiferous and risky for the salubrity of the air, was very profitable because of the sophistication of the hemp and linen macerated in those marshy waters. Despite two bans issued following the plague, the first in 1656 and the other in 1663, the retting of hemp continued until the first half of the 19th century, making the waters of the lake, already infested with the *Anopheles* mosquito, the bearer of infectious diseases, increasingly putrid and smelly, thus leading to the definitive decline of all Thermal Spa activity at Agnano (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Lake Agnano with the 'sudatorio di San Germano' and the 'Grotta del Cane' in a 1612 depiction by J. Hoefnagel and part of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the first atlas of the world published by Braun & Hogenberg.

When the draining was completed in February 1871, a complex system of basins and canals, still in operation today, was built to permanently prevent the lake from reclaiming 130 hectares of land for agriculture. But the reclamation had a completely unforeseen side effect that conditioned the fate of the plain much more than the recovery of the land to agriculture did. The history of thermalism in Agnano began in the second half of the 19th century, more precisely on 28 September 1870, the day on which the draining of the ancient and 'pestiferous' Lake Agnano was begun. After the Unification of Italy, in fact, with a law issued on 3 May 1865, the new unitary state decided to reclaim the lake by granting a Neapolitan entrepreneur, the engineer Martuscelli, to carry out the work at his own expense in exchange for ownership of the reclaimed land and the surrounding state-owned land. The reclamation began with the excavation of the emissary canal along a 1,463 m long, entirely underground, rectilinear route that traversed the Monte Spina hill as far as the Bagnoli beach and was opened on 28 September 1870, allowing the foul-smelling lake water to slowly flow into the sea (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Photo by Giorgio Sommer showing part of Lake Agnano before its draining and, on the right, the hunting lodge, in neo-medieval style, commissioned by King Ferdinand IV.

On that occasion, he succeeded in creating a strong consensus on the need to create a The archaeological complex of the Baths of Agnano consists of four distinct archaeological areas, which fall within the area currently occupied by the modern Baths

of Agnano, along the edge of the ancient caldera, which only became a lake in the Middle Ages, of Agnano. The area of the Phlegraean Fields, particularly rich in secondary volcanic phenomena, was first used for therapeutic purposes from the 2nd century B.C. onwards. Numerous complexes sprang up to exploit the intense activity of the soil, including the Agnano thermal baths. The layout of the spaces in the natural baths was strongly influenced by the local topography and the location of the heat and hydro mineral springs. In the first phase, the thermal area consisted solely of a series of rooms excavated in the rock, in direct contact with the vapours coming from underground. Sweat baths were carried out here, which, according to ancient medicine, allowed harmful humours to be expelled. The practice of bathing in cold or hot water was also linked to the presence of natural springs. In the second phase, the need to increase the number of spaces for use led to the expansion of the original core, which was enriched with new masonry rooms, away from heat sources. It was, therefore, necessary to provide heating for these rooms as well. According to classical sources, the inventor of this system was a wealthy Roman entrepreneur, Sergius Orata (late 2nd century B.C. - early 1st century B.C.). He is credited with introducing into the Roman world the use of hypocaustum, known in Greece as early as the 3rd century B.C. as an indirect means of spreading heat. Finally, the application of a technique to artificially produce heat marked the definitive affirmation of thermal practices in the daily life of the Romans: the presence of a furnace under the floor (hypocaustis) and, later, the use of a lateral feeding furnace (praefurnium) allowed, in fact, the birth of thermal complexes even in areas without natural springs. Among the most valuable assets of the Baths of Agnano are the natural saunas, here called Stufe di San Germano, named after the Bishop of Capua who, according to Gregory the Great in his 'Dialogues', was cured here for arthritis associated with a skin disease. This dry bath or sudatorium was probably part of the Hadrian-era facility that was later rebuilt by the Vandal king Thrasamond (496-523), the remains of which are still standing and visible to the southeast of the structure.

3.1 *The figure of Joseph Schmeer*

In 1887, a Hungarian doctor named Giuseppe Schmeer, attracted by the fame Italy enjoyed among foreign intellectuals, travelled to Naples. Among the many excursions he made on that occasion, he went to Agnano, a place that had always been renowned by all European countries for its San Germano stoves and naturalistic curiosities such as the phenomenon of the Grotta del Cane that so fascinated travellers on the 'grand tour'. He was able to ascertain that the immense reclaimed plain of Lake Agnano was rich in thermal springs of all kinds with remarkable medical potential. Even though Schmeer was no stranger to experience in the field of thermalism in our country, he

realised that there was a virtually unexplored area at Agnano with enormous potential yet to be studied. Realising the considerable potential of that area, he began a study of those waters and their therapeutic effects. At the same time, he started an experiment on the sick sent to him, with their diagnosis, by the most renowned Neapolitan clinicians, treating them free of charge and sending them back to those same colleagues at the end of the treatment. The results were extraordinary and this contributed to a growing interest on the part of the Neapolitan medical world in this new therapeutic methodology. From 1889 onwards, Schmeer collected an enormous amount of data that later became an indispensable reference for anyone who approached the study of treatments with the waters and mud of Agnano. The architectural and organisational model reflected that of the great European spa towns. However, it failed to lead to the establishment of a society capable of realising these ideas. Between 1904 and 1906, he built a modest masonry establishment to which he devoted all his energy, assisted by Professor Gauthier and what later became the medical director of the Agnano thermal baths, Dr Emilio Di Tommasi. A new important impulse for the growth of Schmeer's establishments occurred in 1905 when the King of Italy accompanied by the Emperor of Austria visited Agnano. The king was so impressed by these extraordinary resources and their therapeutic properties that, starting in 1906, he stayed at Agnano periodically, awakening the interest not only of those in the industry but also of the political and business world.

3.2 The thermal spa project

In 1910, the growing interest in the development possibilities of Agnano attracted a group of ambitious building entrepreneurs, the engineers Ricciardi, Borrelli and Mannajuolo, who at that time were engaged in numerous constructions in Naples. Attracted by the building programme presented in 1903 by Schmeer, the Neapolitan entrepreneurs, after having commissioned some feasibility studies and design hypotheses from a young architect from Piacenza, Giulio Ulisse Arata, around 1907-08, decided to invest in the construction of the Agnano spa. On 16 February 1909, the first 'Società Terme di Agnano' was established. On 20 June 1910, the company was transformed into an Anonima (limited company) to obtain more funding, but on 10 August 1910, after having exerted all possible efforts to realise the ambitious project of the Agnano spa, Giuseppe Schmeer died. From that moment on Agnano, having by then become the example of a permanent thermal spa, saw its activities and thus its international prestige increase considerably (Fig. 14).

The excavation work of the ancient Roman baths, begun by Schmeer and continued until the mid-1920s, was also decisive. However, after the inevitable halt due to Italy's entry into the war, it was only between 1915-1918 that the thermal baths resumed operations.



Fig. 14. Period photograph by an unknown author from 1880 showing the entrance to the Baths of Agnano built to the design of the Piacenza architect Giulio Ulisse Arata.

A succession of congresses and conventions on hydro-climatology and hygiene began to take place, especially in southern Italy, to valorise and stimulate the exploitation of the extraordinary hydro-climatic heritage that represented a concrete development opportunity for the regions hardest hit by the conflict that had just ended. The Agnano spa thus became an example for all the thermal and climatic resorts in southern Italy, which, despite counting on extraordinary natural resources, were unable to take off due to the serious damage suffered during the war. For the Agnano establishment, the decision to keep the thermal activity open all year round was strategic, thanks to the mild climate even in winter, contrary to the large facilities in northern Italy, as well as the rest of northern Europe, which continued to practice thermalism only in the hot season. In the 1920s, great efforts were made to complete the building works undertaken in the 1910s by carrying out substantial architectural transformations and even extensions that were, however, overhauled in the 1960s. The first works concerned the springs, which had not undergone any interventions since Schmeer's time, having concentrated all energies in the 1910s on the construction of

the nursing wards. But already during the war, a campaign of soundings had been carried out in the drainage plain, which did not take long to bear fruit. The great Baths of Agnano, however, did not remain active for long and not only because of the changed historical and social conditions.

4. Conclusion

The guiding thread that directed this initial study developed around the topic of the history of thermal baths in Naples and Budapest was centred on the historical, social, political and economic reconstruction of thermalism, to stimulate a comparison between the reality of Campania and that of the Hungarian capital. The reflections that emerged from this first phase of the study, which saw the fine-tuning of the methodological framework to proceed with a reciprocal comparison, started from the awareness that there is potential in the Phlegraean area that could encourage forms of mixed territorial aggregation, both public and private, to create a system of articulated and integrated tourist offer. The same methodological approach, but on the Hungarian front, could be adopted to reconstruct the forms of management of spa facilities in Hungary and, in particular, in the capital. This type of approach made it possible to reconstruct the path of creation and development of thermal facilities in the Bay of Naples, with particular reference to the Agnano thermal baths, which developed thanks to the presence and impetus initiated by the Hungarian physician Giuseppe Schnerer. The figure of the Hungarian doctor represented the trait union for the analysis and comparison proposed by the authors in this study. The spin-off of this activity can contribute to creating economic activity, but also enhancing local resources. In fact, in the Campania region, the regional legislation reorganising tourism of 10 December 2012 provided for the identification of districts based on a reorganisation of the Aziende Provinciali per il Turismo (APT). The hope is to be able to start a debate on this topic that can fill the scarce existing literature, the scope of which could give interesting impetus to the debate, to sustainably increase the development of such important landscape areas.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS

**CULTURAL AND TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF AN EARLY MODERN
BEST-SELLER: THE CODEX V G 46 (BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO
EMANUELE II DI NAPOLI) OF E.S. PICCOLOMINI'S "HISTORIA DE
DUOBUS AMANTIBUS" IN ITS ITALIAN AND HUNGARIAN CONTEXT**

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Shortly before his fortieth birthday in 1444, Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464, from 1458-1464 Pope Pius II), who was then employed at the Imperial Chancellery in Wiener Neustadt, completed what is probably the most successful short story in humanistic literature¹, the *Historia de duobus amantibus* (The Tale of Two Lovers). The narrative about the adulterous love between Eurialus and Lucretia is set in Piccolomini's birthplace, Siena, in 1432-33, when Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor was in the city, waiting for his coronation. The text was originally written in Latin, and before the end of the fifteenth century it had already been printed dozens of times. More than ninety surviving manuscript copies testify to the universal popularity of the text, and its influence is also reflected by a variety of translations and other sources. The Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (1434-1503) included the story in his work on Hungarian history, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (1497) for its historical value, and in a similar vein the German historian Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) treated the narration as an historical account in his *Weltchronik* (1493). By the end of the sixteenth century the work had been translated into German, Italian (Tuscan, Venetian and Milanese dialects), French, Spanish (Castilian dialect), English, Hungarian, Polish and Danish. Further translations in English, Italian and Hungarian followed by the end of the eighteenth century. *Historia's* popularity as an entertaining story continued well into the nineteenth century, when it became the subject of philological inquiry as well.

In this article I focus on a manuscript copy of *Historia* (V G 46), nowadays held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II of Naples². I will list my main findings, in

¹ MARSH 2017, 308.

² KRISTELLER 1992, 103.

order to prove that (1) the Naples manuscript (ms N) pertain to the Y-branch of the textual tradition of *Historia*, and that (2) its closest relation is a print produced in Rome by Adam Rot in cc. 1472 (H 225, IGI 7796, ISTC ip00671300). First, I hint at the formation of the two main branches (X and Y) of the Latin textual tradition of Piccolomini's love story. Second, I focus on the unique readings in ms N which connect it to other textual witnesses of *Historia*, produced predominantly in Italy until cc. 1492. Finally, I present a series of unique readings which testify for the close relationship between ms N and the Rome edition H 225. My argumentation is based on research executed by E.J. Morrall³ and Ines Ravasini⁴ until the early 2000s, and my own discoveries about the textual tradition of *Historia* made between 2009 and 2022⁵. In this article I can only offer a sketchy repetition of the main findings about the textual tradition. The detailed analysis of the textual history of *Historia* in connection to its twenty-one vernacular versions, translated between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century, can be found in my two monographs, published in 2018 and in 2023, respectively⁶.

Branch Y of the textual tradition: relations of the Naples manuscript inside and outside Italy

E.J. Morrall established the most important facts about the textual tradition of *Historia*, cc. thirty years ago. As Morrall have demonstrated, all copies of *Historia* (manuscripts and printed versions alike) fall into two main groups, to which he referred as branch X and Y of the textual tradition. On the one hand, according to Morrall, among the early editions of the love story printed in the Appenine peninsula, all the products of the Venetian printing houses pertain to branch X. On the other hand, Ines Ravasini's research on the textual tradition established a series of special readings, which shows the eminent role the city of Rome played in forming branch Y. My research on the manuscripts of *Historia* held nowadays in different cities in the Appenine peninsula and in Central Europe, then, calls attention to the importance of the Congress of Mantua in the geographical spread of the early variants of *Historia de duobus amantibus*. During the following analysis, I will focus on branch Y of the textual tradition and on the Naples manuscript as one member of that textual group.

³ MORRALL 1996.

⁴ PICCOLOMINI 2004.

⁵ I have examined all the "Italian" manuscript and print witnesses of the short story, with the exception of a manuscript nowadays in Torino (Biblioteca Nazionale, ms H V 17), another in Cremona (Biblioteca Governativa, Fondo Civico, AA 2. 51.), and a third one in Rome (Bibliotce Angelica, ms 1373). For my other research of the textual tradition see MÁTÉ 2023, appendices.

⁶ MÁTÉ 2018; MÁTÉ 2023.

The regularly occurring differences of two readings (*inveniat* – *dimisit*, or *offendat* – *deseruit*) in *Historia* constitute the two main branches of the textual tradition. The first reading of the two verbs (*inveniat/offendat*) appears in that scene of the short story when Eurialus sends his first letter to Lucretia, using an old, ill-famed woman as a messenger. Lucretia finds the messenger disrespectful for her social status, and reproaches the old woman. She even threatens the messenger with physical violence in case her husband, Menelaus would find the ill-famed person in her company. “Sed abi ocius, ne te vir offendat meus et quas tibi remisi, de te poscat poenas. Cavetoque admodum, ne ante conspectum redeas meum”⁷. The two readings according to the two branches are as follows:

X: ne te vir inveniat meus.

Y: ne te vir offendat meus⁸.

The other decisive reading for the two main branches appears in the third letter of Lucretia, when she reminds both herself and Eurialus of a series of heroines who were deceived by their foreign lovers. Amongst others, Lucretia mentions the case of Ariadne, who was left alone (*deseruit/dimisit*) by Theseus on the island of Naxos. “Tradendus erat Theseus Minotauro in escam: sed Adrianæ consilio fretus evasit. Illam tamen desertam apud insulam dimisit”⁹.

X: illam tamen desertam aput insulam deseruit.

Y: illam tamen desertam aput insulam dimisit¹⁰.

The Naples manuscript falls into the group of branch Y containing the pure *offendat/dimisit* readings, while there are also some smaller groups with intermingled readings¹¹:

ms N 8r offendat - 10r dimisit

offendat/dimisit mss Va, Vb, Q, R, Bp2, Mf, M, Mm, RCo, RCa, CV2, CV3, CV4, Ricc, N, Ps2, Ps3, Ps4, Ps7, P2, WOs, WUn1, WUn2, Gs, Ps9, Ps10, LA. H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 225, H 239, C 64, C 65, R 3, R 4, BMC IV. 44¹².

⁷ MÁTÉ 2018, 258.

⁸ MORRALL 1996, 223.

⁹ MÁTÉ 2018, 262.

¹⁰ MORRALL 1996, 223.

¹¹ Here I take into consideration only manuscripts and incunabula, as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of *Historia* are irrelevant in this matter, both for their date of publication and textual properties.

¹² For the detailed bibliographical description of the manuscripts and prints see MÁTÉ 2018, 347-378.

inveniat/dimisit mss Be, Me, H 234, H 237.

offendat/deseruit mss Mr, Mh.

offendat/misit mss Mg, Mj, Mü, Mk.

Geographically speaking the *offendat/dimisit* variant was widespread, as the manuscripts containing it are held nowadays in Vienna (mss Va, Vb), Budapest (mss Q, Bp2), Eger (ms R, the Hungarian city, not Eger in Silesia), Munich (mss Mf, M, Mm), Rome and the Vatican (mss RCo, RCa, CV2, CV3, CV4), Florence (ms Ricc), Naples (ms N), Paris (Ps2, Ps3, Ps4, Ps7, Ps9, Ps10) Prague (P2), Wrocław (mss, WUn1, WUn2), Giessen (ms Gs) and Los Angeles (ms LA). The incunabula pertaining to this group were published in Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Lyon, Bologna, Milan and Rome.

The following unique readings, examined here in order to establish the closest relations of ms N, were first identified by Ines Ravasini in a small group of incunabula, all printed in Rome¹³. Those readings help us focus our attention on the manuscript and print production of *Historia* in the Appenine peninsula and on the emanation of those readings to other parts of Europe. The first such reading is in the part of the love story when Sosias, the servant realises that even without his help the two lovers managed to get in touch via letters. Sosias instantly starts to worry about the reputation of his master, Menelaus and his lady, Lucretia, pronouncing the following words: “Frustra, inquit, amantum conatibus obsto. Nisi astu provideo et hera peribit, et dominus infamiam subibit”¹⁴. The majority of the textual tradition in fact, reads *hera* ‘lady’ and *dominus* ‘master’¹⁵. It is his employers about whom Sosias is worried in these texts. In the “Roman” textual group, however, instead of the reading *dominus* one finds *domus* ‘house’. In these versions of *Historia*, indeed, Sosias is worried about the house(hold), the metonymically understood bigger family. Ines Ravasini used this shortened but meaningful reading as the name for the whole “Roman” group of the text, which she calls the *domus* group. According to my research, the following manuscripts and editions pertain to the *domus* group, including ms N as well: ms N 14v et domus infamiam subibit

mss Ma, FiC, R, Mf, Me, Mh, M, Mk, RCo, RCa, CV2[domum], CV4, Tr1, Tr3, N, Gi, Gs, Ps2, Ps8, LA, Ps10. H 225, H 228, H 234, H 237, C 64, C 65, C 69, R 3, R 4, BMC IV. 44.

¹³ PICCOLOMINI 2004, 195-201.

¹⁴ MÁTÉ 2018, 270.

¹⁵ PICCOLOMINI 2004, 195.

Compared to the previous textual group, here one can notice the appearance of new manuscripts and prints, putting on our mental map of the textual tradition Madrid (ms Ma)¹⁶ and Trieste (mss Tr1 and Tr3) as well.

In an earlier phase of the love story, Sosias announced to Eurialus that an unnamed lady is in love with him. Though Sosias did not reveal the lady's name to him, the mere news of being loved makes Eurialus' heart burn, as it is wounded by the arrow of Cupid. "At Euryalus certo cupidinis arcu percussus, nullam membris quietem dabat igne furtivo populante venas, qui totas penitus vorabat medullas"¹⁷. In the majority of the textual tradition, it is the members of Eurialus that become restless (*nullam membris quietem dabat*) after being shot by Cupid. The minority textual group of "Roman" prints, on the other hand, states that it was the young man's spirit which turned impatient (*nullam animo quietem dabat*). In my opinion, such a Latin variant could only have been a result of a conscious word change by a copyist, as it is hard to imagine how someone could misread *animo* for *membris*. One may face a too shy/chaste copyist here, who wanted to avoid the association between the word *membrum* -i (n) 'part of the body' and the expression *membrum virile* 'male part'. ms N 7r nullam membris

nullam membris quietem dabat mss R, FiC, Mf, Me, M, Mk, RCo, CV2, Tr1, Tr3, N, Gi, Gs, Ps2. H 225, H 228, H 234, H 237, C 69.

nullam animo quietem dabat mss Ma, RCa, CV4. C 64, C 65, R 3, R 4, BMC IV 44.

nullam moraberis ms Mh.

As far as the reading *nullam membris* is concerned, it has a relatively wide geographical spread. It is possible to find this special reading in incunabula, printed in utterly different parts of Europe, e.g. Strasbourg (H 228), Paris (C 69) and Rome (H 225, H 234, H 237), as well as in manuscripts currently found outside Italy (ms R in Hungary, ms Mf and other codices today in Munich), and in codices held now in Italy but written by Northern hands (mss CV4, Tr3). The copyist who brought in the change *nullam animo* into the *Historia*'s text, in turn, might have worked in Rome, and the new reading diffused into other editions and manuscripts produced there. It indicates that the variant of *Historia* conserved by ms N has wider connections in the textual tradition and it is not a member of the relatively closed circle of the "Roman" prints *plus* ms Ma, identified as such by Ravasini¹⁸.

Near the end of the story, all the secret ways the lovers previously used to facilitate meeting each other seem to be blocked. This is the moment when Eurialus finally follows an

¹⁶ PICCOLOMINI 2004, 202.

¹⁷ MÁTÉ 2018, 254.

¹⁸ PICCOLOMINI 2004, 195-202.

earlier plan of Lucretia and asks for Pandalus' help. Eurialus depicts their difficult situation with poetic exaggeration: "Ambo perimus, nec remedium protelande vite nostre videmus nisi tu sis adiumento". The reading of ms N is much more abridged: ms N 26r ambo perimus nisi tu sis adiumento.

Taking into consideration only the textual witnesses of the *nullam membris* group from above, one can still register nine different smaller groups of variants: 1. no data ms M. 2. sentence fully intact ms Tr3. 3. word order: nostre vite ms Ps2. 4. ullum – scis H 228, C 69. 5. scis ms Gi. 6. pro te laude mss R, Mk. 7. [δ Ambo perimus] mss Mf, Me, CV2, Gs. 8. [δ Nec remedium vite nostre videmus] ms N. H 225, H 234, H 237. 9. tacere mss RCo, Tr1, FiC.

Ambo perimus nec remedium protelande vite nostre videmus nisi tu sis adiumento ms Tr3.

Ambo perimus nec remedium protelande nostre vite videmus nisi tu sis adiumento ms Ps2.

Ambo perimus nec remedium protelande vite videmus ullum nisi tu scis adiumento H 228, C 69.

Ambo perimus nec remedium procelande vite nostre videmus nisi tu scis adiumento ms Gi.

Ambo perimus nec remedium pro te laude vite nostre videmus nisi tu sis adiumento mss R, Mk.

[δ *Ambo perimus*] *Nec remedium vite nostre videmus nisi tu sis adiumento* mss Mf, Me, CV2, Gs.

Ambo perimus ne remedium protelande vite tacere[!] videmus. Nisi tuus adiumento ms RCo.

Ambo perimus ne remedium protelande vite tacere[!] videmus nisi tu sis adiumento, custodi et frater ms Tr1.

Ambo perimus nec remedium pro te lande[!] vite tacere[!] videmus nisi tu sis adiumento ms FiC.

Ambo perimus [δ Nec remedium vite nostre videmus] nisi tu sis adiumento ms N. H 225, H 234, H 237.

Some common errors above, *tacere* and [δ *Nec remedium vite nostre videmus*] lead me to two conjectures. Firstly, those common errors show the close relation between certain manuscripts held nowadays in different collections in Italy: ms RCo in Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome, ms Tr1 in Biblioteca Attilio Hortis, Trieste and ms FiC in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. Secondly, they also point to the Roman origins of ms N. In fact, all three incunabula, H 225, H 234 and H 237 sharing with ms N the lacuna [δ *Nec remedium vite nostre videmus*] were printed in Rome. Their differences from the *nullam animo* group above, however, show that diverse textual variants of *Historia* arrived to the Eternal City to be published during the three decades between cc. 1472-1492. In my opinion, the Naples manuscript and print H 225 (Rome, Adam Rot, cc. 1472) indicate one special way of textual development. As far as I see the problem, the variant present in ms N and print H 225, after being printed by Rot, got further deteriorated in other editions

printed in Rome, and in a manuscript nowadays held in Madrid (ms Ma)¹⁹. The further deteriorated “Roman” editions in question are as follows: C 65 (Theobald Schenbecher, cc. 1472), C 64 (Johan Gensberg, cc. 1474), R 4 (Theobald Schenbecher, cc. 1473), R 3 (Bartholomeus Guldinbeck, cc. 1477), BMC IV 44 (Theobald Schenbecher 1473)²⁰. The detailed analysis of the two other Rome editions, H 234 and H 237, printed in Rome by Stephan Planck respectively in 1485 and 1492, then, let me understand that their antigraph could have come to Rome in a very different route than the earlier “Roman” prints. The closest textual relation of those two Planck editions is, indeed, print H 228. The print H 228, however, was published in 1476 in Strasbourg, and it pertains to branch X of the textual tradition, occupying a position in the *socio* group of the stemma established by E. J. Morrall²¹. Thus, one can find the traces of two different textual groupings present in Rome between 1472-1492.

The textual examinations presented in this subchapter indicate two facts. First, they mean that the Naples manuscript pertains to branch Y of the textual tradition of *Historia*. Second, they indicate that the Naples manuscript and print H 225 are different from the closed circle of “Roman” prints and the Madrid manuscript, which were identified as a distinct group of the “Italian” textual tradition of *Historia* by Ines Ravasini.

Naples – Mantua – Budapest

In order to trace the geographical origin of the antigraph that both ms N and H 225 could have been based on, I show a unique reading which they share only with one another manuscript so far, ms Q (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Egyetemi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 99). The unique reading in question is in that part of the love story, when Lucretia tries to convince herself not to enter into a dangerous liaison with Eurialus. She refers to the commodities of her city which she would have to leave, had she decided to go away from Siena with her lover. Lucretia puts her doubts in a series of questions: “Cur tuta timeam? Accingar et omnem moram pellam. [...] Quot me ambiunt proci, quocumque pergo? Quot rivalet ante fores excubant meas? Dabo amori operam. Aut hic manebit, aut me secum abiturus abduceret. Ergo ego et matrem et virum et patriam relinquam?”²². The important part of this quotation is in the last sentence, where the lady mentions her mother, husband and

¹⁹ PICCOLOMINI 2004, 411.

²⁰ I would like to call attention to the doubtful identification of the printers in the different bibliographies. In case of each print all the possible printers are listed in my first monograph (MÁTÉ 2018, 365-378.) and the data are regularly updated for the ISTC on-line.

²¹ On his stemma: siglum see MORRALL 1996, 229.

²² MÁTÉ 2018, 247-248.

homeland. In the Latin variant shared by mss N and Q and print H 225, however, Lucretia mentions her father, who is otherwise absent in Piccolomini's original story:

Ergo ego et matrem et virum et *patrem* relinquam? ms N 5r, ms Q 93r, H 225 6v.

The Budapest manuscript contains some other readings as well (e.g. ducit portam *structum* [δ] fuit²³, certo cupidinis arcu percussus²⁴) which testify to its Italian origin. However, there have certainly been existed some variants between ms Q and the, as yet, unknown antigraph of ms N and print H 225. As one can see from the analysis above, the latter textual witnesses share a series of readings with manuscripts which were quite clearly of Italian or merely "Roman" origins, like mss FiC, RCo or Tr1. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is possible to identify an "ancient Italian" layer of unique readings in the ms Q, which got further deteriorated in the manuscripts copied one after another in Italy²⁵, but remained intact in those witnesses, like ms Q itself, which exited the manuscript circulation of the Appenine peninsula²⁶.

The Budapest manuscript indeed resides for a long time in Hungary, as it was composed during the Congress of Mantua (1459-1460), a major international event organized by Pius II himself, in order to establish an anti-Ottoman alliance of the rulers of Europe. The text of *Historia* was copied into the empty pages of an otherwise elegant humanistic codex by the unlearned hand of a person called Gyárfás. According to Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, this person could have been a member of the entourage of the bishop of Csanád, Albert Hangácsi, envoy of King Matthias Corvinus to the Congress of Mantua. The circumstances of collecting Piccolomini's text are described by Gyárfás in ms Q (ELEK, Cod. lat. 99. f. 120.) as follows: „Hec Gyarphas in Manthua tempore diete quam indixerat Stissimus d. n. pius papa secundus fieri contra Turcos, qui praefatam epistolam dum adhuc fuerat consiliarius friderici imperatoris ediderat, vocabaturque protunc Eneas Silvius Anno domini M° cccc° sexagesimo et epistola praescripta sunt de duobus amantibus, rogaveratque eundem Eneam Silvium poetam quidem consanguincorum epistolam de duobus amantibus

²³ MÁTÉ 2018, 303-304.

²⁴ MÁTÉ 2018, 311.

²⁵ See, for instance, the direct influence of ms Ricc, another "Italian" manuscript copied *vivente* Pius II, on the "Roman" prints of *Historia*, and its indirect effects on the Italian translation of *Historia* prepared by Alessandro Braccesi. MÁTÉ 2018, 119-120.

²⁶ The detailed analysis of all the manuscripts held nowadays in Italy and the Vatican City in order to establish their chronological order requires a separate study. I plan to examine the remaining three Italian manuscripts of *Historia* (Torino, Cremona and Rome) during future research trips financed by a second MTA Budapest-CNR Napoli bilateral project.

qui fecit modo praescripto”²⁷. Thus, the ms Q is certainly a textual witness of *Historia* copied in Mantua, *vivente* Pope Pius II.

Research on art history established that the Congress had a clear impact on miniature painting in Mantua. In her paper Giuseppa Z. Zanichelli highlights²⁸ that the most famous collectors and merchants of books had also participated at the congress. People present at the congress, besides pope Pius II himself, included cardinal Bessarione, the members of the Sforza and the D’Este families, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, who most probably brought some exceptionally valuable codices with him for sale to Mantua. Z. Zanichelli quotes a number of cases when a codex was composed still in Florence, but its final emendation was finished only in Mantua, right before its sale²⁹. In my opinion, it is not too far-fetched to suppose that the text of *Historia* spread in a similar way in Mantua amongst the participants of the Congress. Certain special readings of the Budapest manuscript indeed, present it as one witness of the *Historia*’s geographical spread originated in Mantua. In my opinion, also the antigraph of ms N and print H 225 could have had its roots in a variant, which went through Mantua from Italy to different parts of Europe. At the present stage of my research of the Latin textual tradition of *Historia*, however, that manuscript variant is yet undiscovered, or may have been lost forever.

Traces of a common ancestor: scribal and printing errors in the Naples manuscript and the Rome edition Hain 225

As I have stated at the beginning of my article, the Naples manuscript of Piccolomini’s love story and the print attributed to Adam Rot (Rome, cc. 1472) by the Hain Bibliography under the serial number 225, are the closest relations to each other in the textual tradition of *Historia*. They are not antigraphs to one another, but the two textual witnesses share a common ancestor, probably an unknown or lost manuscript. There are cc. a dozen unique readings pointing to the fact, that ms N and print H 225 have a common ancestor, but here I only explain five of those readings.

The first important reading is a common error present only in ms N and H 225. It is a worse variant in comparison to other readings of the same place of the textual tradition. I quote the words of Sosias, servant to Lucretia, who wants to keep a secret the liaison between Eurialus and Lucretia, thus, he undertakes the task of helping their rendez-vous. “Sensit dolum Sosias, secumque [...] Adibo, et operam praebebo meam. Restiti, quoad potui, ne committeretur nefas. Id quia non licuit, meum est curare, ut quod peius agitur,

²⁷ Quoted by RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY 1980, 651, note 6.

²⁸ ZANICHELLI 2003.

²⁹ ZANICHELLI 2003, 416-421.

occultum sit.” In the Naples manuscript and in H 225 Sosias’ statement of undertaking the task, however, turns into a negation, and the word *peius*, in this context metaphorically meaning cc. ‘worst thing, major sin’, is changed into an adverb of time, *prius*:

meum **non** est curare ut quod **prius** agitur occultum sit ms N 14v, H 225 17 v

The deteriorated reading *prius* appears also in other manuscripts and prints³⁰ in the branch Y of the textual tradition, while the negation is a variant present only in the two witnesses at issue.

The second unique reading of ms N and H 225 refers to a wider process of deterioration of one sentence in the textual tradition, their reading representing one of many phases. The reading is taken from the lovers’ third night when Eurialus complains that time is passing too fast, and thereby also alludes to the short summer nights he experienced in Northern Europe: “Nunquam mihi nox visa est hac brevior quamvis apud Britannos Daciosque fuerim”³¹. The two textual witnesses at issue, however, contain a non-sensical reading, *lactanos*.

apud lactanos Daciosque fuerim ms N 32v, H 225 33r

This reading is one of the many tortured forms of the word *Britannos* present predominantly in the “Italian” manuscript tradition of *Historia*³². During the copying process the word *britannos* written with minuscule letters without dots, goes into pieces as a series of vertical and round forms i.e. feet and belly of different letters. In this case the initial syllable *bri-* transforms into the combination of the letter *l* plus an *a*, as the letter *r* is counted for the foot of the *a*, and the letter *i* without a dot is read as *c*. I listed below the deteriorated forms of the word *Britannos* registered so far. For the detailed analysis of the copying mechanisms leading to those deteriorated readings, I refer to my recent monograph³³.

b-r-i-t-a-n-o-s

l-o/a-i-c/t-a-n-o-s

l-a-c-t-a-n-o-s

l-a-t-t-a-n-o-s

l-a-i-c-a-n-o-s

l-a-i-t-a-n-o-s → *l-i-a-t-a-n-o-s*

³⁰ MÁTÉ 2018, 321; MÁTÉ 2023, 216.

³¹ MÁTÉ 2018, 297.

³² MÁTÉ 2018, 342.

³³ MÁTÉ 2023, 56-61.

The third reading hints at a strange variant present in the common ancestor of the Naples manuscript and print H 225. The mistake in question did not help either the copyist or the printer to understand the mythological reference in Piccolomini's love story. As in my previous example, I quote the third night of the lovers. During that encounter, it is Eurialus, who refers to the mythical three-days-long night that Zeus spent with Alcmena, disguised as the lady's own husband. Eurialus prays for the prolongation of his joys and for time to stop. "Invida nox, cur fugis? Mane Apollo, mane apud inferos diu [...] Da mihi noctem, ut Alcmena dedisti"³⁴. The ancient heroine's name appears deteriorated in both of our textual witnesses, neither of them indicating a proper understanding of the mythological context.

Da mihi noctem ut *Achimene* dedisti ms N 32 v
Da mihi noctem ut *Alchimene* dedisti H 225 33r

The fourth shared reading of ms N and H 225 is a *lacuna*, a missing name, which, in my opinion, was characteristic already to their common ancestor. The missing name in question creates an unprecedented reading where a member of the Greco-Roman pantheon mixes up with a figure taken from the Old Testament. The omission is in the scene when the lovers spend their first night together. The narrator comments on their strenuous passion, referring to a story of Amnon and Thamar (Prophets II 13, 1-22). According to this story, Amnon, son of David fell in love with his half-sister, Thamar, but after sleeping with her, he despised the girl and sent her away from his tent. Piccolomini's original story describes the deeds of Eurialus as follows: "Acceptaque mulieris veste, pugnantem feminam, quae vincere nolebat, absque negotio vicit. Nec Venus haec satietatem ut Hamoni cognita Thamar peperit, sed maiorem sitim excitavit amoris"³⁵. The variant transmitted by our two textual witnesses omitted the man's name, Amnon/Hamon, thus alluding to an alleged intercourse between the deity of love, Venus herself and the virgin Thamar, which excited even more desire in the former.

nec *veneris* *sacietatem* ut *cognita tamar* peperit sed maiorem sitim excitavit amoris ms N 19r,
H 225 21v

This time the error of their common ancestor got transmitted to our two textual witnesses of *Historia* without correction.

³⁴ MÁTÉ 2018, 297.

³⁵ MÁTÉ 2018, 277.

The final reading on my list shows that with help of the context itself the printer of H 225 was capable of correcting an error present in the antigraph. The same error, however, was transmitted to ms N without any change or correction. The quote is from that part of the love story, when Eurialus gets instructed to disguise himself as a porter of grain in order to enter Lucretia's house. He acts accordingly, provoking a series of exclamations and questions of the narrator, who wonders about the power of love over humankind. Piccolomini: "O insensatum pectus amantis! O mentem caecam! O animum audacem corque intrepidum! Quid est tam nimium quod tibi non parvum videatur? Quid tam arduum quod planum non aestimes?"³⁶. The antigraph of the Naples manuscript and print H 225 could have been one of such textual witnesses, which helped the reader's orientation in the text with rubrics or glosses, e.g. indicating the beginning of the love letters with separate headings. Such a heading was introduced in the antigraph before the narrator's comment on the transformation of Eurialus into a porter. The difference between ms N and H 225 consists of the qualification of that gloss itself. In ms N, indeed, the heading in question is called *Explanatio auctoris* (ms N 15v), while in H 225 (18 v) it is more aptly reads as *Exclamatio auctoris*. This correction of H 225 is one of the very few examples when the printer did change some things in comparison to ms N and to their common textual ancestor.

The above sample of five copying errors shared by ms N and print Hain 225 should suffice to prove, that these two textual witnesses have a common ancestor. At all probability they were both based on a manuscript version of *Historia de duobus amantibus*, which is not yet uncovered by textual scholarship.

Conclusion

Summing up the above: the Naples' manuscript of E.S. Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* pertains to the branch Y of the textual tradition. It is a witness of an early textual deterioration of the love story formed in the Appenine peninsula. Traces of such deterioration are possible to detect in other manuscripts, e.g. the Budapest ms Q, which exited Italy already in the 1460s. The same line of textual development of *Historia* got first published in the print H 225 in Rome. The Naples manuscript and print H 225 at all probabilities share a common antigraph, which is still unknown to scholarship. The pertinence of ms N to the *nullam membris* group indicates its chronological priority in comparison to the *nullam animo* group, or the so-called "Roman" prints and the Madrid manuscript identified by Ines Ravasini. The Naples manuscript's textual properties clearly distinguish it from prints H 234 and H 237, which in turn are witnesses of the migration

³⁶ Máté 2018, 271.

of another variant of *Historia* from Strasbourg to Rome. There are three manuscripts held nowadays in Italian collections whose relation to ms N was never examined: manuscripts Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa, Fondo Civico, Aa 2. 51., Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms H V 17, and Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms 1373. It is my distinct plan to examine those three remaining manuscripts in the coming years, and publish a comprehensive article about the relation of all manuscripts of *Historia* held nowadays in different collections in Italy and the Vatican City.

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DICTIONARY WITHOUT BORDERS

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Among the earliest applications of computers we can find methods related to text processing techniques, e.g. creating concordance list already at the beginning of the 1950s¹. However, already in the 1960s important results were obtained in lexicographic projects also in Hungary². In the initial period, lexicography took advantage of computers by accelerating the sorting of the material³. From this time, computer-based concordance creation as a source material for dictionaries has played an important role⁴. Beyond this, compiling dictionaries was complemented with the application of word processors and markup language (XML) databases, both in Hungary and abroad⁵. The appearance of computers in lexicography resulted in numerous important changes in the fields of storing, displaying, structured word processing, and quick word-based searching, which were applied, on the one hand, in computer assisted (paper) lexicography⁶, and on the other hand, in the digitalization of completed printed dictionaries⁷. In spite of all the advantages of these dictionaries, the dependence on the book form leads to the fixation of the traditional dictionary forms also in the IT environment. Dictionaries created with these methods bear many of the difficulties of classical dictionaries: they necessarily apply restrictions, since they cannot strive for completeness either in the processing of the example material or in exploiting the related knowledge that has to be represented. The digitalized dictionary does not help users in accessing other relevant contents. The meaning descriptions of such dictionaries are created for human reading, and although the computer can analyze them syntactically and

¹ BUSA 1980, 83-90.

² PAPP 1965, 187-200.

³ KELEMEN 1966, 29-54.

⁴ PAPP 1975, 351-355.

⁵ NSZT.

⁶ OED.

⁷ Linde's Dictionary of Polish.

process them as texts, it cannot help in their meaningful application. Meaning is not really represented in a way that can be processed by the computer.

The enormous (and mostly untapped) computational and storage capacity of the modern IT systems makes it possible to develop research methodologies with higher resource requirements than earlier⁸. An important Hungarian innovation in this field is the MIgeiSz., which is unique because this frequency dictionary presenting verbal extension frames is essentially created by the computer⁹. The growing flexibility of databases and indexation systems, and the inclusion of NLP aspects, lexicographers' dreams have steadily multiplied and found their way to the creation of better electronic dictionaries. Beside dictionaries being compiled in a digital environment, a newer type of dictionary is already available: electronic dictionaries in their own right, conceived afresh for the electronic environment¹⁰. In the international practice there are methods that focus on the advantages of computers much more. They aim to create user-friendly, personalized, and flexible dictionaries, which is not insignificant for dictionary users¹¹. Moreover, on the user side, there is a need for more intelligent search options, formal and semantic connections, and for a manageable texts corpus¹².

In electronic dictionaries a change can also be observed related to the representation of meaning. Presenting the concept categories of the dictionary's vocabulary and their semantic relations becomes more important¹³. Taking advantage of the benefits of ontologies in the dictionary becomes necessary because of the exploration of deeper and more complete layers of the definition¹⁴. For example BabelNet is today's most far-reaching multilingual resource that covers hundreds of languages, and, according to need, it can be used as either an encyclopedic dictionary, a semantic network, or a huge knowledge base. It is a multilingual ontology and semantic network. This resource is created by linking the largest multilingual Web encyclopedia (i.e. Wikipedia) to the most popular computational lexicon (WordNet)¹⁵. Another successful project is Cornetto, a lexical resource for the Dutch language which combines two resources with different semantic organisations: the Dutch Wordnet with its synset organisation and the Dutch Reference Lexicon¹⁶. In processing closed corpora, e.g. in the case of author's dictionaries, this supporting function can help

⁸ MÉSZÁROS 2016, 1310-1315.

⁹ MIgeiSz.

¹⁰ SCHRYVER 2003, 146.

¹¹ NESI 2000, 839.

¹² LEW, SCHRYVER 2003, 143-199.

¹³ FONTENELLE 2000, 230.

¹⁴ ECKARD, BARQUE, NASR, SAGOT 2012, 81-94.

¹⁵ NAVIGLI 2013, 25.

¹⁶ HORÁK, VÖSSEN, RAMBOUSEK 2008, 200-208.

in understanding the author's texts more properly¹⁷. According to Patrick Hanks' theory about what the dictionaries of the future will look like: "contextualization and phraseology will come to take center stage. These dictionaries will be electronic products with hypertext structures and links"¹⁸. These examples also show that there is a need for renewal in lexicography, with a direction toward more content, more connections, more flexibility and user-friendliness, better access, and more connectivity with other sources of knowledge, lexicographic and beyond.

Our research focuses on how knowledge can be incorporated, represented, and used in digital dictionaries¹⁹. There is huge potential in exploiting these opportunities. Extending to a knowledge base makes it possible to access much more semantic content than before. Knowledge-based systems are especially successful in representing and using human knowledge in computerized systems. As digital humanities projects have already accumulated a lot of data in digital form, it is a natural step forward to transform this data into knowledge and utilize it for better supporting human researchers. Through the development of the extended dictionary model we can contribute to the performing of additional basic research tasks that were impossible in the classical dictionary compiled in the traditional way. It will be possible to analyze all the words of a particular corpus without volume limits, and this model will support different interpretation methods through the integration of encyclopedic knowledge elements and their computer supported analysis.

Our aim is to develop a digital dictionary model that, using the tools of lexicography, textology, and IT together, through its structure makes it possible to extract and process information with the help of an IT tool in order to expand the definition frames of the text, going beyond the present (mostly manual) possibilities. The efficiency of the dictionary-making process is increased by utilizing various software tools, as well as taking a step beyond data-centric digitalization and introducing knowledge-based methods in creating and using the dictionary. With the help of this extended method we create a structured knowledge base. By being linked to other databases, the dictionary now has new applications that go beyond describing the linguistic features of the corpus. Reaching beyond a contextual interpretation that explains a specific textual location, and building a knowledge base, encyclopedic knowledge also becomes easily accessible and analyzable with computer tools.

¹⁷ ARNOLD 2006, 5-14.

¹⁸ HANKS 2012, 64.

¹⁹ This research project was running in the collaboration of Tamás Mészáros (Budapest University of Technology and Economics) and Margit Kiss (HUN-REN Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Literary Studies). The current article is created in based on our results: KISS, MÉSZÁROS 2018, 871-879; MÉSZÁROS, KISS 2018, 1-10.

The model of the extended digital dictionary as an experimental method was elaborated on the vocabulary of Kelemen Mikes's work *Törökországi levelek [Letters from Turkey]*. Kelemen Mikes played an influential role in 18th-century Hungarian prose literature. The Mikes dictionary is based on the textual material of the critical edition. We chose the XML standard both for storing the concordance list and for authoring the dictionary. This is a common choice for digital humanities researchers, as it is very flexible in storing various kinds of data in a self-describing format, and it is also easily processable by computerized tools. This collection of word form entries served as a good basis for making content expansions, and for creating a method of a new, modern digital dictionary based on a historical corpus.

In order to provide the dictionary with as much semantic information content as possible we extended the dictionary in two ways: on the one hand, we allowed the dictionary maker to include lexicographical knowledge about the entries; on the other hand, we enriched the dictionary by linking it to already existing external knowledge sources²⁰. We extended the entries of the Mikes dictionary in such a structured way that it contain extra knowledge suitable for computer representation, search, and processing. We linked all the sample sentences to each authorial word form, in some cases several thousands of them. From the individual sample sentences we can get to the wider textual context, since the sample sentences are linked with the corpus in the dictionary. We supplemented the word forms with the form variation of Mikes, as well as the contemporary headword. Beside the modern dictionary headwords, we also defined so-called reference headwords where necessary, so we can extend the searchability of the words by adding different headword variations and by presenting their connections to other headwords. Proper names, words rooted in foreign languages, words invented by Mikes, and those headwords which differ from the form used by Mikes have received further annotations for content. We have attached the part of speech category to every occurrence of a word. The dictionary also assigns semantic information to named entities.

We supplemented the extra knowledge entered by the dictionary maker with a second pillar by linking already existing knowledge elements available in external data sources: adding critical notes, and connecting to external databases such as DBpedia. We have created links to these data sources, and thus we have made other specialist knowledge that is available in external sources accessible to the users of the dictionary. By extending an entry with a DBpedia identifier we can get from the dictionary entry to a source containing encyclopedic knowledge, where the user can find a significant amount of additional information.

²⁰ See details: KISS, MÉSZÁROS 2018, 871-879.

The other element of extending from an external data source relates to linking those information contents to the entry which come from the notes made to the critical edition²¹. Critical annotations created by literary researchers are a primary knowledge source when researching one's oeuvre, for the better comprehension of the text and for acquiring background knowledge about it. They help the reader with information such as explanations of the less well-known proper and geographical names that appear in the work, as well as those of obsolete and dialectical words, and not commonly known phraseological expressions, among others. It extends to the historical aspects of the given work, points out the sources of the author's views and philosophical influences, and refers to the work's genesis. These include a deep knowledge of the author, the oeuvre and the literary, cultural, geographical and historical era when the works were created. In contrast to the author's texts we can observe that they usually have a more or less well-formed structure and they can be categorized based on their primary purpose: linguistic, historic, external reference etc.

Lajos Hopp wrote more than 5000 research notes about various parts of the Mikes oeuvre. We also analyzed what kinds of annotations were created by him. We categorized them into 10 subtypes (like historical, social, geographical, grammatical etc.), and then manually labeled the annotations based on their categories to determine what type of knowledge is stored in them.

We have already processed critical annotations in the Mikes-corpus, they are available in XML TEI format. From the XML version of the critical annotations we create a database and automatically attach its entries to the appropriate parts of the dictionary and to the corpus by identifying word forms in the citations and by extracting references from the XML tags and attributes. All personal and geographic names are annotated, thus they can be connected to the corresponding entries automatically. The bibliographic references in the annotations to additional literature have already been collected. We developed a software tool that automatically transforms the annotations into a structured format including citations, references and the annotations themselves. The tools also marks factual (e.g., Constantinapole is a city) and relational knowledge (e.g., a note is referring to a certain part of the corpus, or it contains a reference to external entities).

²¹ See details: MÉSZÁROS, KISS 2018, 1-10.

radosta - 19 9bris 1724

Mindenkor pirangat ked leveleiben hogy meg nem iram kednek mint telttjuk itt az ulti
 rigassagban csak sokajunk eligan jo kedunk van hogy majd meg halunk bunokban mit k
 egyebet ha jo velnek jobban teltteturim mert arra elog jo poldat ad a mi urunk de rosz va
 attal tartok hogy az is ne maradjyak de talan az ulti okosabbá tesszen vagy akarom vagy
 ketlen valo okossagual pedig semmi erdeme nincsen akkor volna valami kis erdemunk
 chebenek a meg tiltot gyumolcsbol de nem eszunk es nem akor amidin arra nem nagy egy
 vagyon de mar most ha csak egy nehaeny napig is akcsab leszok mert tegnap ulti erkeszt o
 ersebe itt hog egy nehaeny napot tilteni es addig rea tarttjuk magunket valamint a kempu
 asszony ebs nemem es utan hintot mit kellett kuldeni araji puspokok pedig az
 nehoztellek volna mivel az elot fekeppen anap keleti orszagokban apuspokok kezes
 gyalog jartak nem szoltak az orosekrol akh samarra vagy eszverre utlenek a gorog an
 egyhaziaban emiandentor igy volt szokasban mert a puspokok mint hogy csak kezesseg
 valanak azert nem raggytanak a fele alkalmatossagokra **Konstantinápolyban** annyi
 vateruarkhoz talan csak egy vate akrol mondjakk hogy het szaz paripat tartot azt

Konstantinápoly

Megjegyzés uk

Konstantinápoly

Konstantinápoly

lora övén, a csauz, a Constantinapoly mellett lévő retnek avégin, egy (TL 37)
 Constantinapoly 5 (ML 305)

Konstantinápolyi

lovát, és a pápa azon Constantinapolyban megyen és onét viszá küdi (TL 95)
 szerencsétlen lévén hadakozása, viszá tére Constantinapolyban, a hadának negyec
 hogy a szegény fejdelem testit. Constantinapolyban vigyek, azért legnap estve egy
 amurátes látván hogy mitsoda szükséges Constantinapolyban valo menetele, magá
 semmi szándékát nem látta volna Constantinapolyban vaio igyekezeteről, azért nem
 portának nagy készületin, követel küdenek Constantinapolyban de a császár olyar
 erre valo nézve követelet küde Constantinapolyban, a többi között vaie Cardinalis.

constantinápoly

constantinápolyban

a jesuitákhoz viszik bé innét. constantinápolyban, tudom hogy őt lesz kérd (TL 79)

Constantinápolyban

— TL 1

Type: B,TŐ

Eldfordul még Constantinápoly (168, 183. lev.), Constantinapoly (25, 41
 Constantinopolis. Ottoman Turkish: قسطنطينية, Kōs'tan'īniye) was the capital city of the Roman/Byzantine Empire
 123, 127, 138, 178, 179, 204. lev.), Constantinapoly (115, 123, 200. lev (336–1204 and 1261–1453), and also of the brief Latin (1204–1261), and the later Ottoman (1453–1923) empires.

DBpedia **Browse** **Formas** **Flashed Browser** **Spine**

About: Constantinople

An Entry of Type *city* from Named Graph <http://dbpedia.org> within Data Space dbpedia.org

Constantinople (Greek: Κωνσταντινούπολις Konstantinoúpolis or Κωνσταντινούπολη Konstantinoúpoli; Latin:
 Constantinopolis. Ottoman Turkish: قسطنطينية, Kōs'tan'īniye) was the capital city of the Roman/Byzantine Empire
 123, 127, 138, 178, 179, 204. lev.), Constantinapoly (115, 123, 200. lev (336–1204 and 1261–1453), and also of the brief Latin (1204–1261), and the later Ottoman (1453–1923) empires.

Fig. 1. A sample headword *Konstantinápoly* 'Constantinople'.

Figure shows a sample headword *Konstantinápoly* 'Constantinople'. It contains all its writing variations, word forms, citations from the corpus in their extended textual context. All sample sentences are assigned a part-of-speech designation. The dictionary also marks that it is a geographical name, which is part of a country and region, as well as its exact coordinates. Linking to DBpedia we can access an amount of information which would not be possible to include with a traditional, paper-based entry structure. The notes on *Konstantinápoly* are attached to the entry as an external data source, provide detailed information about Kelemen Mikes' personal attachment to Constantinople.

In our research our aim was to develop a new dictionary methodology by processing a historical corpus. On the basis of this new methodology, it is possible to solve more sophisticated, more specialized, more complex linguistic, philological, textological, cultural, and historical problems that have not been possible manually. The number of tasks that can be completed with the dictionary is multiplied. The traditional function of interpretation is expanded by the availability of machine-assisted semantic and encyclopedic knowledge. The dictionary also provides an opportunity for corpus-based complex linguistic, morphological, syntactic, collocative, phraseological, part-of-speech, and stylistic examinations, including text mining methods. The lexicological research can be conducted on words and examples in their entirety. From the viewpoint of textology, text migrations, text variants, previously uncovered textual connections between different, distant points of the corpus, and thematic

motifs can be analyzed, and further, previously unresolved philological-textological issues can also be investigated. The linguistic impact of other texts can be analyzed, and an analysis of related texts can be conducted. Qualitative and quantitative text analysis techniques can be applied and improved.

In the extended digital dictionary makes it possible to access much more content than before. The dictionary itself then becomes the basis of further analyses, as a new data source. The methodology creates a completely new perspective and makes it possible to conduct badly needed tasks in humanities research, to get a better awareness of linguistic, literary, historical, and cultural trends and processes. Although this model was developed for Hungarian historical corpus, the method can also be applied to other languages as well.

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Dictionaries

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ABSTRACTS

1. «CHE MALADETTE SIINO QUEST'ANO LE SPEZIE!». INSIGHTS ON THE MEDIEVAL SPICE TRADE FROM THE DATINI ARCHIVE

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The paper aims to highlight the importance of the spice trade within the commercial activities of the famous Prato merchant Francesco Datini, a weight considered by historiography to be insignificant compared to that of other types of goods. Letters, account extracts and account books in his archive confirm that over the years the Datini company system concluded numerous purchases and sales of pepper, ginger, nutmeg and cloves, as well as other products considered spices in the medieval centuries, supplying various apothecaries throughout the Italian peninsula. The Datini papers also offer a great deal of information - descriptive, but also quantitative - on the circulation of spices in the medieval Mediterranean, for instance on their greater or lesser availability and price trends in the main Italian and European emporiums. They make it possible to identify the factors that influenced the supply, demand and price trends of these genres. The wealth of information reported confirms how important it was in the spice trade to gather up-to-date information from across the Mediterranean: events that could potentially influence the price and availability of spices in Levantine markets were immediately reflected in European markets.

Keywords: Datini, spices, prices, trade strategies, information

Il paper vuole evidenziare il peso del commercio delle spezie all'interno delle attività commerciali del celebre mercante di Prato Francesco Datini, un peso considerato dalla storiografia poco rilevante rispetto a quello di altre tipologie di merci. Lettere, estratti-conto

e libri contabili del suo archivio confermano che nel corso degli anni il sistema aziendale Datini concluse numerose compravendite di pepe, zenzero, noce moscata e chiodi di garofano, nonché di altri prodotti considerati spezie nei secoli medievali, rifornendo diversi speziali in tutta la Penisola italiana. Le carte Datini offrono inoltre numerose informazioni - descrittive, ma anche quantitative - sulla circolazione delle spezie nel Mediterraneo medievale, ad esempio sulla loro maggiore o minore disponibilità e sugli andamenti dei prezzi nei principali empori italiani ed europei. Esse consentono di individuare quali fossero i fattori che influenzavano l'offerta, la domanda e l'andamento dei prezzi di questi generi. La ricchezza di notizie riportate conferma quanto fosse importante nel commercio delle spezie raccogliere informazioni aggiornate da tutto il Mediterraneo: gli eventi che potevano potenzialmente influenzare il prezzo e la disponibilità delle spezie sui mercati levantini si riflettevano immediatamente sui mercati europei.

Parole chiave: Datini, spezie, prezzi, strategie commerciali, informazione

A tanulmány célja, hogy rávilágítson a fűszerkereskedelem súlyára a híres pratói kereskedő, Francesco Datini kereskedelmi tevékenységén belül, amelyet a történetírás más áruajtákhöz képest jelentéktelennek tart. A Datini archívumban megtalálható levelek, számlakivonatok és számlakönyvek azonban nyilvánvalóvá teszik, hogy az évek során a Datini üzletház számos bors, gyömbér, szerecsendió és szegfűszeg, valamint más, a középkori századokban fűszernek tekintett termék felvásárlását és eladását bonyolította, úgy hogy különböző patikákat is ellátott velük az egész olasz félszigeten. A Datini-térképek mellett számos - leíró és mennyiségi - információval szolgálnak a fűszerek középkori mediterrán forgalmáról, például a fűszerek elérhetőségéről, beszerezhetőségéről és az árak alakulásáról a legfőbb olasz és európai piacokon. Lehetővé teszik azon tényezők azonosítását, amelyek befolyásolták ezen árúciók kínálatát, keresletét és az árak alakulását. Az általuk összegyűjtött és lejegyzett információk gazdagsága megerősíti, hogy a fűszerkereskedelemben mennyire fontos, sőt alapvető volt a Földközi-tenger egészéről naprakész információk gyűjtése: azok az események, amelyek potenciálisan befolyásolhatták a fűszerek árát és elérhetőségét a levantei piacokon, az európai piacokra is azonnal visszahatottak.

Kulcsszavak: Datini, fűszerek, árak, kereskedelmi, stratégiák, információk

2. ITALIAN-HUNGARIAN CAREERS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: THE EXAMPLE OF A CATALAN. LIFE AND LETTERS OF PEROTTO VESACH

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In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the relationship between Hungary and Naples intensified due to the alliance between King Matthias of Hungary and King Ferdinand I of Naples, what was sealed with a marriage between the two dynasties. By following certain careers, it can be seen on what issues the royal courts were in contact. Perotto Vesach's career started and ended in Naples, but between these milestones, he spent almost twenty years in Hungary. He witnessed many important events, what he reported to the duke and the duchess of Ferrara, where he spent some years of his youth. His letters provide valuable sources for the history of Hungary too. This paper gives a brief summary of Vesach's life and includes his so far found and unpublished Italian letters.

Keywords: biography, Renaissance, Medieval Kingdom of Naples, Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

Nell'ultimo quarto del Quattrocento i rapporti tra Ungheria e Napoli si intensificarono grazie all'alleanza tra il re Mattia d'Ungheria e il re Ferdinando I di Napoli, suggellata con un matrimonio tra le due dinastie. Seguendo alcune carriere, si può vedere su quali questioni erano in contatto le corti reali. La carriera di Perotto Vesach iniziò e finì a Napoli, ma nel frattempo trascorse più di vent'anni nel Regno d'Ungheria. Fu testimone di molti avvenimenti importanti, di cui riferì nelle sue lettere ai coniugi ducali di Ferrara, con i quali trascorse alcuni anni della sua giovinezza. Le sue lettere forniscono preziose fonti anche per la storia dell'Ungheria. Questo contributo fornisce un breve riassunto della vita di Vesach e include la trascrizione integrale delle sue lettere italiane finora rinvenute.

Parole chiave: biografia, Rinascimento, Regno di Napoli nel Medioevo, Regno d'Ungheria nel Medioevo

A 15. század utolsó negyedében, Hunyadi Mátyás és Aragóniai Ferdinánd szövetsége révén a nápolyi-magyar kapcsolatok intenzívebbé váltak, melyet a két dinasztia közti házasság erősített meg. Egy-egy életpályát végigkövetve jól látható, milyen ügyek mentén zajlottak az érintkezések a két udvar között. Perotto Vesach pályafutása Nápolyból indult és ott is végződött, de közben bő húsz évet töltött a Magyar Királyságban. Tanúja volt több fontos eseménynek is, melyekről leveleiben számolt be a ferrarai hercegi párnak, akiknél ifjúsága néhány évét töltötte. Jelentései értékes forrásadatokkal szolgálnak a magyar történelemre nézve is. A tanulmány röviden összefoglalja Vesach életét, illetve közli az eddig fellelt olasz nyelvű leveleinek teljes szövegű átírását.

Kulcsszavak: életrajz, Reneszánsz, a Nápolyi Királyság a Középkorban, a Magyar Királyság a Középkorban

3. ANTONIO CARAFFA BETWEEN NAPLES AND HUNGARY

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The article examines the role of General Antonio Caraffa of Naples (1642-1693) in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Great Ottoman War (1683-1699). Since he was a general in the Habsburg army, he played an important role in the war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Despite this fact, Hungarian historians have focused almost exclusively on his activities in Eperjes (now Prešov, Slovakia) and the terrible crimes he committed there. This article focuses on an unedited source found in the National Archives of Naples, which contains the correspondence of Antonio Caraffa with the most important personalities of the Hungarian battlefield.

Keywords: General Antonio Caraffa, great Turkish war, Habsburg-Ottoman relations, Imre Thököly, principality of Upper Hungary

Questo articolo tratta prima di tutto il ruolo del generale napoletano Antonio Caraffa (1642-1693) nella storia del Regno d'Ungheria durante la guerra svolta nel territorio ungherese tra gli Ottomani e gli Asburgi di Vienna (1683-1699). Essendo ufficiale dell'armata asburgica il Caraffa svolse un ruolo fondamentale in questa lotta. Gli storici ungheresi tuttavia si concentravano quasi esclusivamente alla sua attività svolta a Eperjes (oggi Prešov, in Slovacchia). In quest'articolo fondato su una preziosa fonte finora inedita trovata nell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli si cerca di presentare la presenza ungherese del generale Antonio Caraffa, visto che il volume contiene delle corrispondenze del Caraffa con le più importanti figure del teatro di guerra ungherese.

Parole chiave: Generale Antonio Caraffa, Guerra Austro-Turca, relazioni Ottomano-Asburgiche, Imre Thököly, Principato dell'Alta Ungheria

A dél-itáliából származó Antonio Caraffa (1642-1693), sok honfitársához hasonlóan a bécsi Habsburg udvarban találta meg a megélhetését. 1665-ben lépett I. Lipót császár szolgálatába, ahol folyamatosan emelkedett a katonai ranglétrán, 1682-ben tábornokká nevezték ki. Magyarországon mind a török, mind a Thököly Imre ellen folyó harcokban

aktívan kivette a részét. A császár kényes feladatokat bízott rá: a debreceni és a szolnoki *Caraffa-járás* néven elhíresült események után Caraffa az eperjesi vértörvényszékkal írta be magát a magyar történelembe. Több évtizedes magyarországi erőfeszítéseért gazdagon megjutalmazták: megkapta a birodalom hercege címet (1686), majd a következő évben a császár kezdeményezésére elnyerte az Aranygyapjas Rendet is, mely a Habsburgok spanyol ágának a legfontosabb rendjele volt.

Kulcsszavak: Antonio Caraffa Tábornok, Magyarországi Visszafoglaló háború, Habsburg-Oszmán kapcsolatok, Thököly Imre, Felső-Magyarországi Fejedelemség

4. THE FALL OF BUDA (1686), THE NEAPOLITAN PUBLISHING AND THE DIARY OF CARLO PORSILE

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The campaigns in Hungary (1684-87) resonated widely across Europe and the Mediterranean, influencing the flow of news and the press. Naples closely followed the events. The capture of Buda occurred in an atmosphere of great anticipation. The celebrations took place using symbolic languages and various communication apparatus. Public demonstrations displayed social architectures and political dynamics, shaped reactions, affirming values, and self-representations. Publishing had a crucial role in recounting the events through gazettes, laudatory literature, or dedicated books and historical accounts. Some publishing gained significance within the broader context of the general Neapolitan publishing. The dedications, editorial paths and timings, backgrounds, and reputations of those involved in such a printing characterized these works, especially in light of shared sources and standardizations. Within this framework, Carlo Porsile's Diary stands out. He examined events in a changed political landscape, now more distant from the occurrences and celebratory pressures.

Keywords: fall of Buda, Naples, publishing, Hungary, political communication

Le campagne d'Ungheria (1684-87) ebbero vasta eco in Europa e nel Mediterraneo, nella circolazione delle notizie e nella stampa. A Napoli gli eventi erano seguiti con attenzione e la presa di Buda fu annunciata in un clima di trepida attesa. Le élite celebrarono i successi attraverso linguaggi simbolici e una vera e propria industria della comunicazione. Le manifestazioni pubbliche mostrarono architetture sociali ed equilibri politici, guidarono fenomeni popolari, ribadirono valori e autorappresentazioni. La stampa giocò un ruolo importante nel racconto degli eventi, attraverso la gazzettistica, la letteratura encomiastica, o libri e relazioni storiche dedicati. In questo contesto, l'influenza di alcune opere trova significato nel contesto generale della editoria napoletana. Dediche, percorsi e tempistiche, retroterra e reputazione di quanti coinvolti nelle pubblicazioni conferiscono significato ai testi, specie a fronte di fonti comuni e a certe standardizzazioni. In questo quadro, acquista fisionomia il *Diario* pubblicato da Carlo Porsile. Esso offre una lettura degli avvenimenti, in un clima di ridefinizione dell'arena politica, ora distante dall'incalzare delle notizie e da impellenze celebrative.

Parole chiave: caduta di Buda, Napoli, pubblicistica, Ungheria, comunicazione politica

A magyarországi török ellenes harcok (1684-87) komoly sajtóvisszhangra találtak úgy a földközi-tenger medencéjében, mint egész Európában. Nápolyban is figyelemmel kísérték az eseményeket és így módon Buda felszabadításának a híre várakozással teli hangulatban érkezett meg a városba. Az ennek tiszteletére szervezett nyilvános ünnepséget a városi elit szimbolikus nyelvezet alkalmazva egy igazi kommunikációs ipar segítségével rendezte meg. A nyilvános rendezvények a társadalmi építészetet és a politikai egyensúlyt hangsúlyozták, emellett a népi értékeket és az önreprezentációt emelték ki. A sajtó is fontos szerepet vállalt az események megismertetésében, a dicsőítő irodalmi műveken, a különböző kiadványokon, a könyveken és a témának szentelt történelmi beszámolókon keresztül. Bizonyos művek hatása a nápolyi könyvkiadás általános kontextusában is kiemelt jelentőséggel bír. A dedikációk, az útvonalak és az időkeretek, a kiadványokban szereplők háttérrel és hírneve új értelmet ad a szövegeknek, különösen a közös eredetű forrásokkal és a standardizálással szemben. Ebben a keretrendszerben Carlo Porsile Naplója kiemelkedő jelentőséggel bír. Ő ugyanis az eseményeket már egy megváltozott politikai környezetben tudta értelmezni, eltávolodva a konkrét események mindennapi követésétől és az ünnepségek során kialakult nyomásgyakorlástól.

Kulcsszavak: Buda eleste, Nápoly, Magyarország, politikai kommunikáció

5. HUNGARIAN TRAVELERS IN NAPLES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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With regard to the period preceding unification, it is evident that the concept of tourism, in its current form, was not yet fully established. The ‘Grand Tour’, which originated in the 17th century, was a long journey across continental Europe undertaken by the wealthy young aristocrats of Britain. The purpose of this journey was to complete their education by visiting major cities and sites, with the journey beginning and ending in the same city. Naples became a final stage of the ‘Grand Tour’ with the ascendance of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne. However, it remains unclear how many of these travelers came from the Austrian Empire and specifically Hungary. It is necessary to ascertain the reasons behind the influx of visitors to Naples, the identities of these individuals, their accommodation, the mode of transportation employed, and the documentation required at the border and especially the reasons for their coming to Naples. The elucidation of these queries will be facilitated by the analysis of data from a volume of the 1848 Ministry of Police of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Keywords: travelers, Naples, Hungary, border controls, 19th century

Per quanto riguarda il periodo precedente l’unificazione, è evidente che il concetto di turismo, nella sua forma attuale, non era ancora pienamente consolidato. Il “Grand Tour”, nato nel XVII secolo, era un lungo viaggio attraverso l’Europa continentale intrapreso dai giovani aristocratici ricchi della Gran Bretagna. Lo scopo di questo viaggio era quello di completare la loro educazione visitando le principali città e siti, con un viaggio che iniziava e terminava nella stessa città. Napoli, in particolare, divenne una tappa finale del “Grand Tour” con l’ascesa al trono della dinastia dei Borbone. Tuttavia, non è ancora chiaro quanti di questi viaggiatori provenissero dall’Impero Austriaco e in particolare dall’Ungheria. In questo saggio si accerteranno le ragioni dell’afflusso di visitatori a Napoli, l’identità di queste persone, la loro sistemazione, il modo di trasporto utilizzato e la documentazione richiesta alla frontiera e soprattutto le motivazioni della loro venuta a Napoli. L’analisi dei dati di un volume del Ministero della Polizia del Regno delle Due Sicilie del 1848 faciliterà la risposta a queste domande.

Parole chiave: viaggiatori, Napoli, Ungheria, controlli doganali

Ami az Olaszország megszületését, vagyis az Itáliai-félsziget egy államban történő egyesítését megelőző időszakot illeti, nyilvánvaló, hogy a turizmus fogalma a mai formájában még nem alakult ki. A “Grand Tour” fogalma, amely a 17. században alakult ki, egy, a gazdag fiatal brit arisztokraták által megtett, a kontinentális Európát átszelő hosszú utazás volt. Az út célja az volt, hogy a nagyvárosok és nevezetességeik meglátogatásával tegyék teljessé tanulmányaikat. Ezek az utazások mindig ugyanabban a városban kezdődtek és végződtek. A Bourbon-dinasztia trónra lépésével gyakran Nápoly lett ennek a “Grand Tour”-nak nevezett útnak az egyik végállomása. Máig nem tisztázott azonban, hogy az utazók közül hányan érkeztek a Német Birodalomból és különösen Magyarországról. Ez a dolgozat a Nápolyba érkező látogatók személyazonosságát, szálláshelyüket, az általuk használt közlekedési módot és a határátlépéshez szükséges okmányokat, valamint mindenekelőtt a Nápolyba érkezésük okait vizsgálja. A Két Szicíliai Királyság Rendőrségi Minisztériumának 1848-as kötetéből származó adatok elemzése megkönnyíti a válaszadást ezekre a kérdésekre.

Kulcsszavak: utazók, Nápoly, Magyarország, vámellenőrzés, 19. század

6. A MARITIME “IDYLL”. INFRASTRUCTURES, CAPITALISM, MARITIME MODERNITY AND REPRESENTATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE DURING THE “HUNGARIAN IDYLL” IN FIUME (RIJEKA), 1868–1914

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The chapter aims to highlight the characteristics of Fiume’s (Rijeka) astonishing maritime development during the so-called “Hungarian idyll”. The chapter delves into the moral implications of Hungary’s investment in Fiume and the features of the “idyll”. It also explores the evolution of the logistics hub of Fiume, both in terms of railway and maritime infrastructure. In the third part, the chapter analyses the city’s maritime sector and its transition from sailing to steam navigation from a quantitative point of view. Finally, it examines how the representation of (modern) maritime everyday life took shape in Fiume. As for the Hungarians during the Second Industrial Revolution, by becoming “machine builders” they became familiar with the maritime element. It must be said that they suffered a certain delay compared to other European contexts, particularly in comparison to their Austrian “consort”. Nevertheless, this did not prevent them from catching up and making Fiume one of Europe’s most dynamic and interesting maritime and industrial centres from the last three decades of the nineteenth century until the First World War.

Keywords: Fiume, infrastructures, sail-steam navigation transition, everyday life, modernity

Il capitolo si propone di evidenziare le caratteristiche dello straordinario sviluppo marittimo di Fiume (Rijeka) durante il cosiddetto “idillio ungherese”. Nel capitolo si approfondiranno le implicazioni morali dell’investimento ungherese su Fiume e le caratteristiche dell’“idillio”. Verrà inoltre esaminata l’evoluzione del polo logistico di Fiume, sia dal punto di vista delle infrastrutture ferroviarie che marittime. Nella terza parte si analizzerà da un punto di vista quantitativo il settore marittimo e la sua transizione dalla navigazione a vela a quella a vapore. Verranno infine prese in considerazione le caratteristiche della rappresentazione della (moderna) quotidianità marittima nel porto liburnico.

Per quanto riguarda gli Ungheresi durante la Seconda Rivoluzione Industriale, fu il fatto di diventare “costruttori di macchine” che permise loro di familiarizzare con l’elemento marittimo. In questo senso, va detto che essi subirono un certo ritardo rispetto ad altri contesti europei, in particolare relativamente alla “consorte” austriaca. Tuttavia, tale circostanza non

impedi loro di recuperare terreno e di rendere Fiume uno dei centri marittimi e industriali più dinamici e interessanti d'Europa tra gli ultimi tre decenni del XIX secolo e la Prima Guerra Mondiale.

Keywords: Fiume, infrastrutture, transizione navigazione vela-vapore, quotidianità, modernità

Jelen tanulmány célja, hogy rávilágítson Fiume (ma Rijeka) rendkívüli tengeri fejlődésének jellegzetességeire az úgynevezett “magyar idill” korszakában. Az írás alapvetően a fiumei magyar befektetések erkölcsi következményeit és a “idill” jellemzőit elemzi, kiemelve a város, mint logisztikai csomópont fejlődésének bemutatását is, mind a vasúti, mind a tengeri infrastruktúra szempontjából. A dolgozat harmadik része mennyiségi szempontból mutatja be Fiume városának tengeri ágazatát és ezen belül elsősorban a vitorlásról a gőzhajózásra való áttérését. Végezetül az immár modernné váló liburniai kikötőváros tengeri mindennapjainak legfőbb jellegzetességeit ismerteti. Ami a magyarokat illeti, ők a második ipari forradalom idején, amikor “gépgyártókká” kezdtek válni, akkor kezdtek megismerkedni a tengeri hajózással. Más európai államokhoz képest, különösen osztrák “társukhoz” viszonyítva, bizonyos késedelmet szenvedtek el e téren. Ez azonban nem akadályozta meg őket abban, hogy felzárkózzanak, és Fiumét a XIX. század utolsó három évtizedétől az első világháborúig Európa egyik legdinamikusabb és legérdekesebb tengeri és ipari központjává tegyék.

Kulcsszavak: Fiume, infrastruktúra, átmenet a vitorlázásról a gőzhajózásra, mindennapi élet, modernitás

7. RELATIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND OCCUPIED SERBIA IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Hungarian-Serbian relations were at a rather low level during the Second World War. In addition to the lack of interest on both sides, the fact also contributed to this that Serbia was deprived of state sovereignty under the German occupation. Although these relations were at a low level, there were periods when one or the other side felt that it is in her interest to increase the intensity of the relationship. The Hungarian side showed first willingness to do so, especially after the disastrous German and related Hungarian defeats on the Eastern Front in early 1943, and then the Serbian side showed increased interest in Hungary in 1944. All in all, it can be said that the development of relations was mainly influenced by the development of the current war situation. Nevertheless, it's important to point out that the projects aimed at improving relations between Hungarian and Serbian parties were almost always unrealistic ideas, such as the creation of Serbian defense forces in Bačka in September 1944, or joint actions supported by the Nedić government and Mihajlović to prevent the Bolsheviks progress.

Keywords: Hungary, occupied Serbia, diplomatic relation, separate peace

Le relazioni tra Ungheria e Serbia erano a un livello piuttosto basso durante la Seconda guerra mondiale. Oltre alla mancanza di interesse da parte di entrambe le parti, a ciò contribuì il fatto che la Serbia era stata privata della sua sovranità statale durante l'occupazione tedesca. Sebbene queste relazioni siano rimaste sempre a un livello basso, ci sono stati periodi in cui l'una o l'altra parte ha ritenuto di avere interesse a intensificarle. L'Ungheria fu la prima a mostrare una volontà in tal senso, soprattutto dopo le catastrofiche perdite tedesche e ungheresi sul fronte orientale all'inizio del 1943, mentre la Serbia mostrò un maggiore interesse per l'Ungheria a partire dal 1944. Nel complesso, si può affermare che lo sviluppo delle relazioni fu influenzato principalmente dalla situazione bellica prevalente. Tuttavia, è importante sottolineare che i progetti volti a migliorare le relazioni tra le parti ungheresi e serbe erano quasi sempre idee irrealistiche, come la creazione di forze di difesa serbe a Bačka nel settembre 1944, o le azioni congiunte sostenute dal governo Nedić e Mihajlović per impedire l'avanzata dei bolscevichi.

Parole chiave: Ungheria, Serbia occupata, relazioni diplomatiche, pace separata

A magyar-szerb kapcsolatok a második világháború idején meglehetősen alacsony szinten voltak. Ehhez a két oldal érdektelensége mellett az a tény is hozzájárult, hogy Szerbiát a német megszállás alatt megfosztották állami szuverenitásától. Bár ezek a kapcsolatok végig alacsony szinten voltak, mégis előfordultak olyan időszakok, amikor egyik vagy másik fél érdekében állónak érezte a kapcsolatok intenzitásának növelését. Erre a magyar fél mutatott először hajlandóság, különösen a keleti fronton 1943 elején bekövetkező katasztrofális német és a hozzá kapcsolódó magyar veszteségek után, majd a szerb oldalon 1944-ben mutatkozott fokozott érdeklődés Magyarország iránt. Összességében elmondható hogy a kapcsolatok alakulását főként a mindenkori háborús helyzet alakulása befolyásolta. Fontos rámutatni, hogy a magyar és szerb kapcsolatok javítását célzó a projektek szinte mindig irreális elképzelések voltak, mint például a szerb védelmi erők létrehozása Bácska 1944 szeptemberében vagy a Nedić-kormány és Mihajlović által támogatott közös fellépés a bolsevikok térnyerésének megakadályozására.

Kulcsszavak: Magyarország, Szerbia elfoglalása, diplomáciai kapcsolatok, különbéke

8. THE HISTORY OF THE BATHS OF THE BAY OF NAPLES AND BUDAPEST FOR A POSSIBLE COMPARISON OF SAFEGUARDING AND VALORIZATION

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In the history of relations between Italy and Hungary, the events of the Agnano thermal baths constitute a connecting element between the two countries thanks to the presence of a Hungarian doctor who had the opportunity to get to know and visit the area now occupied by the thermal plant and the entire surrounding area. Taking advantage of the Hungarian doctor's entrepreneurial intuition, an important work of reclamation and enhancement of the area's thermal baths began. Through a historical analysis of the places, the natural elements, the cultural, tangible and intangible heritage of the site, and the potential for socio-economic development, the state of the art of the spa phenomenon in the Bay of Naples is defined, accompanied by research, including iconographic research, and an in-depth study of the Agnano spa area. The aim of the paper is to fuel the current scarce debate on the subject, for a comparison of the potential and development prospects of thermalism in the two countries and two cities: Naples and Budapest.

Keywords: history of thermalism, history of Naples, history of Budapest, history of landscape, identity enhancement

Nella storia dei rapporti tra Italia e Ungheria, le vicende delle terme di Agnano costituiscono un elemento di collegamento tra i due Paesi grazie alla presenza di un medico ungherese che ebbe modo di conoscere e visitare l'area oggi occupata dallo stabilimento termale e tutta la zona circostante. Sfruttando l'intuizione imprenditoriale del medico ungherese, è iniziata un'importante opera di recupero e valorizzazione delle terme della zona. Attraverso un'analisi storica dei luoghi, degli elementi naturali, del patrimonio culturale, materiale e immateriale del sito e delle potenzialità di sviluppo socio-economico, viene definito lo stato dell'arte del fenomeno termale nel Golfo di Napoli, accompagnato da ricerche, anche iconografiche, e da un approfondimento sull'area termale di Agnano. L'obiettivo del documento è quello di alimentare l'attuale scarso dibattito sul tema, per un confronto sulle potenzialità e sulle prospettive di sviluppo del termalismo nei due Paesi e nelle due città: Napoli e Budapest.

Parole chiave: storia del termalismo, storia di Napoli, storia di Budapest, storia del paesaggio, valorizzazione identitaria

Az olasz-magyar kapcsolatok történetében - egy magyar orvos jelenlétének köszönhetően, akinek lehetősége nyílt megismerni és bejárni a termálfürdőt és az egész környező területet - az Agnanói Termálfürdő összekötő kapcsot jelent a két ország között. A magyar orvos vállalkozói érzékét kihasználva a terület termálfürdőinek helyreállítása és felvirágoztatása érdekében fontos munka kezdődött. Napjainkban a helyszín történeti elemzésén, a természeti elemek, a terület materiális és szellemi kulturális örökségének felmérésén, valamint a társadalmi-gazdasági fejlődés lehetőségeinek vizsgálatán keresztül a Nápolyi-öbölben található gyógyfürdőjelenség jelenlegi helyzetének meghatározása történik. Ezt a folyamatot kutatások, köztük ikonográfiai kutatások és az agnanói termálvizes környék teljes felmérése kíséri. Jelen tanulmány célja, hogy hozzájáruljon a témáról jelenleg folyó vitához, mely a termalizmus lehetőségeinek és fejlődési kilátásainak összehasonlítása érdekében a két országban és két városban: Nápolyban és Budapesten zajlik.

Kulcsszavak: termalizmus története, Nápoly története, Budapest története, tájtörténet, identitás Erősítése

9. CULTURAL AND TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF AN EARLY MODERN BEST-SELLER: THE CODEX V G 46 (BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE II DI NAPOLI) OF E.S. PICCOLOMINI'S "HISTORIA DE DUOBUS AMANTIBUS" IN ITS ITALIAN AND HUNGARIAN CONTEXT

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The article discusses the relative position of ms V G 46 of Eneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* in the Latin textual tradition of the love story. Referring to my long-term research of the textual tradition of *Historia*, the study demonstrates that ms V G 46 pertains to a specific group of textual witnesses produced in Rome. In particular, the article hints at the connection of the Naples manuscript with print Hain 255 and a manuscript held nowadays in Budapest. The hypothesis is that from the chronological point of view both manuscripts are early witnesses of Piccolomini's text, which were copied in connection to the Congress of Mantua, when the author, by that time elevated to Saint Peter's throne under the name of Pope Pius II, was still alive.

Keywords: textual tradition, scribal errors, ms V G 46 Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II of Naples, Council of Mantua, ms Cod. Lat. 99. ELEK, Budapest

In quest'articolo si tratta della posizione relativa del codice ms V G 46 nella tradizione testuale latina della *Historia de duobus amantibus* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini. In contesto di una ricerca a lungo termine sulla tradizione testuale della *Historia*, va dimostrato che il manoscritto V G 46, oggi custodito a Napoli, appartiene ad un gruppo specifico di manoscritti della novella, prodotto a Roma. Specificamente vanno contrastati gli errori del manoscritto napoletano sia con quelli dell'incunabulo Hain 225 che con un manoscritto custodito a Budapest. Secondo la tesi dell'articolo cronologicamente tutti e due i manoscritti della storia amorosa erano prodotti in una fase primordiale della trasmissione testuale, motivata dalla convocazione del congresso di Mantova da parte dello stesso autore del testo amoroso, ormai salito sul trono di San Pietro col nome di Pio II.

Parole chiave: tradizione testuale, errori scritturali, ms V G 46 Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II di Napoli, Concilio di Mantova, ms Cod. Lat. 99. ELEK, Budapest

A tanulmány a nápolyi ms V G 46 kódexben található *Historia de duobus amantibus* szövegváltozatnak a novella latin szöveghagyományában elfoglalt helyét tárgyalja. A szöveghagyomány feltárásában végzett csaknem két évtizedes munkám fényében kimutatom, hogy a nápolyi ms V G 46 kódex a szöveghagyomány egy specifikus, Rómában keletkezett csoportjához tartozik. A nápolyi kódex sajátos másolási hibáit a Hain 225 jelű ősnymtatvány, és a budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár egy kódexének jellegzetességeivel hasonlítom össze. Állításom az, hogy időrenjüket tekintve mindkét kódex korai másolat, amelyek elkészültét a mantovai kongresszusra érkező nemzetközi közönség igénye motiválta abban az időben, amikor a *Historia* szerzője, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, még élt, s immár II. Piusz pápaként ült Szent Péter trónján.

Kulcsszavak: szöveghagyomány, másolási hibák, ms V G 46 II Vittorio Emanuele Nápolyi Nemzeti Könyvtár, Mantovai Zsinat, ms Cod. Lat. 99. ELEK, Budapest

10. DICTIONARY WITHOUT BORDERS

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The *extended dictionary* model focuses on how knowledge can be incorporated, represented, and used in digital dictionaries. As digital humanities projects have already accumulated a lot of data in digital form, it is a natural step forward to transform this data into knowledge and utilize it for better supporting human researchers. The *extended dictionary* beyond the traditional dictionary structure, includes data from internal and external knowledge sources and all forming a complete lexicographic system.

Keywords: 18th century, extended dictionary, digital lexicology, lexicography Kelemen Mikes

Il modello di *dizionario esteso* si concentra su come la conoscenza possa essere incorporata, rappresentata e utilizzata nei dizionari digitali. Poiché i progetti di umanistica digitale hanno già accumulato molti dati in forma digitale, è un progresso trasformare questi dati in conoscenza e utilizzarli per supportare meglio il lavoro dei ricercatori. Il *dizionario esteso*, oltre la struttura tradizionale del dizionario, include dati provenienti da fonti interne ed esterne, formando un sistema lessicografico completo.

Parole chiave: XVIII secolo, dizionario esteso, lessicologia digitale, lessicografia di Kelemen Mikes

A *kiterjesztett szótári modell* azt helyezi fókuszba, hogyan lehet tudást beépíteni, láttatni és felhasználni a digitális szótárakban. Mivel a digitális bölcsészettudományi projektek már rengeteg adatot halmoztak fel digitális formában, ebből adódóan a továbblépés az lenne, hogy ezeket az adatokat valamilyen tudássá alakítsuk át, és a bölcsész kutatók munkájának a támogatására használjuk fel. A *kiterjesztett szótár* a hagyományos szótári struktúrán túl belső és külső tudásforrásokból származó adatokat is tartalmaz, és mindezek egy teljes lexikográfiai rendszert alkotnak.

Kulcsszavak: 18. Század, kiterjesztett szótár, digitális lexikológia, Mikes Kelemen szótár

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