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GHERARDO ORTALLI
e
ALESSIO SOPRACASA

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Progetto e redazione editoriale: Ruggero Rugolo

30124 Venezia - Campo S. Stefano 2945
Tel. 0412407711 - Telefax 0415210598
ivsla@istitutoveneto.it - www.istitutoveneto.it

INDICE

Benjamin Arbel

DAILY LIFE ON BOARD VENETIAN SHIPS: THE EVIDENCE OF RENAISSANCE TRAVELOGUES AND DIARIES

1. *A temporary microcosm*

Social and cultural historians have occasionally used diaries, inventories, iconographic sources and other materials to take a fresh look at the patterns of life in different societies. Daily life on board ships, however, attracted only scant attention among historians. When it did, the subject of study was nearly always the life of the professional seamen, mariners, or of those people on land whose life was regularly connected to maritime activity. Thus, Michel Mollat dedicated a book to the daily life of seamen in the Atlantic and the maritime milieu on the Atlanic coasts between the ninth and the sixteenth century; P.E. Pérez Mallaína and Carla Rahn Philips focused on the Spaniards on the Indies Fleets during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[1], and Rosalba Ragosta edited two volumes dealing with the life of Mediterranean seamen[2]. The religious and musical lore of seamen also attracted some interest among scholars[3]. However, the experience of passengers who spent a limited time span on ships, has attracted less attention, and when it did,

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[1] M. Mollat, *La vie quotidienne des gens de mer en Atlantique, IXe-XVIe siècle*, Paris 1983; P.E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea. Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, Baltimore-London 1998; C. Rahn Philips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain. Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Baltimore-London 1986, pp. 152-180 (with a few pages concerning also civil passengers).

[2] *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, 2 vols, ed. by R. Ragosta, Naples 1981.

[3] E.g. *La preghiera del marinaio. La fede e il mare nei segni della Chiesa e nelle tradizioni marinare*, 2 vols, ed. by A. Manodori, Rome 1992; D. Proctor, *Music of the Sea*, London 1992.

it was mainly by medievalists[4]. This study focusses on the Renaissance period, which is rich in relevant testimonies, and tackles sea voyages on Venetian ships from the perspective of temporary spectators – the passengers. It deals with a few aspects of life at sea, some of which have not received much attention in previous studies. It also underlies the reflection of some specific developments of this period on the life of passengers who travelled on Venetian ships.

A sea voyage between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean lasted several weeks or months, during which passengers, whose number could reach hundreds of persons of different social, cultural and economic backgrounds, had to interact with one another within a rather confined space. This isolated capsule constituted a temporary microcosm, functioning under particular circumstances, quite different from those to which these men and women were accustomed in their daily life on land.

2. *Sea voyages in Renaissance travelogues*

Medieval travellers occasionally referred to various aspects of life on ships that carried them between Europe and the East. However, from the second half of the fifteenth century, with the process of cultural secularization well advanced, the attention paid to ship management and to life on board, as described in contemporary travelogues and diaries, increased significantly[5]. This growing interest in maritime affairs was shared by writers of different cultural backgrounds: Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and laymen, Italians, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Swiss, Spaniards and others. Most

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[4] J.K. Hyde, *Navigation of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries according to Pilgrims' Books*, in *Papers in Italian Archaeology,* I, *The Lancaster Seminar. Recent Research in Prehistoric, Classical and Medieval Archaeology*, part 2, ed. by H. Mck. Blake - T.W. Potter - D.B. Whitehouse, Oxford 1978, pp. 521-540; J. Richard, *Les gens de mer vus par les croisés et par les pèlerins occidentaux au Moyen Âge*, in *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, I, pp. 341-355; U. Tucci, *I servizi marittimi veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel medioevo*, «Studi veneziani», 9 (1967), pp. 43-66; M. Balard, *Biscotto, vino e... topi: dalla vita a bordo nel Mediterraneo medievale*, in *L'uomo e il mare nella civiltà occidentale: da Ulisse a Cristoforo Colombo*, Genoa 1992, pp. 241-254.

[5] Richard, *Les gens de mer*, pp. 342-344, 353-355.

of these texts were written by pilgrims, who used Venetian ships to reach the Holy Land and to return to Europe. Their accounts were often published after their repatriation, and in some cases were translated into other languages[6]. Diaries kept during sea voyages, recording daily every detail of the passage, including even the change of winds and their intensity, begin to appear in the second half of the fifteenth century. They contain invaluable information on galleys and round ships, some of which cannot be found in other sources[7]. These variegated testimonies constitute the main sources for the present study, which deals with voyages that took place on round ships, merchant galleys and pilgrim galleys that sailed on a regular basis between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean[8]. This sea-lane has probably been described in Renaissance travelogues to a greater extent than any other maritime route used by contemporary Europeans[9].

Sailing was considered an integral part of the life of medieval and early modern Venetians, but the great majority of descriptions of maritime crossings on Venetian ships was written by non-Venetians, most of whom were unaccustomed to sea voyages. Indeed, it often takes a foreigner to describe customs that are taken for granted in a given society.

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[6] Only the editions used for the present study are mentioned in the following notes.

[7] See especially R. Da Sanseverino, *Felice et divoto ad Terrasancta viagio facto per Roberto de Sancto Severino (1458-1459)*, ed. by M. Cavaglià - A. Rossebastiano, Alessandria 1999; F. Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terre Sancte, Arabie et Aegypti etc.*, 3 vols, ed. by D. Hassler, Stuttgart 1849 (esp. the journey carried out in 1483-1484; as customary, this author's surname will be here used in the Latin genetive case); A. Magno, *Voyages (1557-1565)*, ed. by W. Naar, Paris 2002. For usefulness of these descriptions for the study of Venetian ships, see F.C. Lane, *Navires et constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance*, Paris 1965, pp. 15-20.

[8] On Venice's merchant marine during this period, see F.C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore-London 1973, esp. chapters 24 and 26; J.-Cl. Hocquet, *Venise et le monopole du sel. Production, commerce et finance d'une République marchande*, I, Venice-Paris 2012, pp. 281-693. On galleys, see mainly D. Stöckly, *Le système de l'*Incanto *des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII^e^-milieu XV^e^ siècle),* Leiden-New York-Köln 1995 and C. Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner. Économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XV^e^-XVI^e^ siècles)*, Leiden-Boston 2008.

[9] For the numerical preponderance of French literature of travel to the Levant, see G. Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*, Paris 1935, pp. 10-11.

The present study is based on 28 travelogues and diaries describing sea voyages between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean that took place between the late-fifteenth and late sixteenth century. Those of them that indicate the dates of arrival to and departures from ports and anchorages along the routes eastward and westward have also been subjected to a quantitative analysis. The basic elements of the latter accounts (ports of departure and destination, type of vessel, comprehensive duration of the voyage, ports of call – including duration of stay in each one of them), can be consulted in the Appendix.

3. *The passengers*

As already indicated, many of the passengers on these vessels were pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land. The two pilgrim galleys that left Venice at the end of May and the beginning of June 1458 each carried about 100 pilgrims, on the pilgrim galley that took Felix Fabri to the Holy Land in 1480 there were 110 pilgrims (altogether 330 persons, including the large crew), and Pietro Casola's galley carried 170 pilgrims in 1494[10]. The writer describing Denis Possot's journey to Cyprus on the *Santa Maria* in 1532, noted that there were some 300 people on that big round ship[11]. Elijah of Pesaro, who travelled on a merchant galley in 1563, estimated the overall number of people on board at about 400, which was probably not much of an exaggeration[12]. Our

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[10] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 33; *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494*, ed. by M. Newett, Manchester 1907, p. 161; R.J. Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage. The Jerusalem Pilgrimage in 1458*, London 1964, p. 64. On the dimension of the crews of Venetian merchant vessels, see Lane, *Venice*, pp. 48-49; Id., *Wages and Recruitment of Venetian galeotti, 1470-1580*, «Studi veneziani», n.s. 6 (1981), p. 17, reprinted in Id., *Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History*, ed. by B.G. Kohl - R.C. Mueller, London 1985; J.-Cl. Hocquet, *Gens de mer à Venise: diversité des status, conditions de vie et de travail sur les navires (XIII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, in *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, I, pp. 131-132; cf. Id., *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, 2, *Voiliers et commerce en Méditerranée (1200-1650),* Lille 1979, p. 125, n. 114; Stöckly, *Le système de l'*Incanto, p. 278.

[11] D. Possot, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte, 1532*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, Geneva 1971 (facsimile of the ed. Paris 1890), p. 108.

[12] Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage de Venise à Famagouste en 1563*, ed. by B. Goldberg - M. Adelman, in *Vie eternelle*, Paris-Vienna 1878, pp. 9-10 [in Hebrew].

almost-automatic suspicion of large numbers provided by past authors should not necessarily lead us to discount these numerical evaluations, although some could be slightly, but not significantly overstated. In fact, in periods of military tension the number of passengers recorded in the travelogues is smaller, reflecting undoubtedly a general tendency to wait until circumstances in the eastern Mediterranean were less risky. Thus, in 1480, the year of a massive Ottoman attack on Rhodes, the galley on which Pierre Barbatre sailed to the Holy Land is said to have carried only about 90 pilgrims on the way eastward and merely 60 on the return voyage[13].

Pilgrims often travelled in groups (as they do nowadays). For example, Pierre Mesenge, a French canon from Rouen, left his hometown in April 1507 in the company of seven other pilgrims, three of them priests, three merchants from Rouen and one from Caen. In Venice, they met other French pilgrims, from Britany, Lorraine and Flanders, and tried to reach a consensus as to which vessel they should take – a galley or a round ship. Meanwhile, some fifty Hungarian «and other German» pilgrims arrived, and the two groups elected representatives to negotiate the terms of passage with the two shipmasters[14]. Francesco Suriano, who sailed eastward in 1480, was accompanied by 11 Franciscans who intended to join others of their order in the Levant[15]. Denis Possot sailed in 1532 on the *Santa Maria*, accompanied by a cousin and three other men from his hometown, Coulommiers[16]. John Locke reports in 1553 on «Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrims», who sailed together with him on the same Venetian ship, the *Fila Cavena*, to the Holy Land[17]. Pilgrims of higher social status were accompanied by servants. Thus, Pero Tafur was escorted by two squires when travelling

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[13] P. Tucoo-Chala - N. Pinzuti, *Introduction*, in *Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre à Jérusalem en 1480*, «Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France», 1972-3, pp. 79, 88.

[14] P. Mesenge, *Sainte* [sic] *voyage pour visiter le Sainte* [sic] *Sepulcre*, Bryn Mawr College Library, *Ms. 13*, ff. 3-6.

[15] F. Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, ed. and transl. by T. Bellorini - E. Hoade, Jerusalem 1949, p. 32.

[16] Possot, *Le voyage*, pp. 11, 107.

[17] J. Locke, *Voyage to Jerusalem*, in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, V, ed. by R. Hakluyt, Glasgow 1904, p. 77.

on the pilgrim galley from Venice to Jaffa in 1436, and the party that Felix Fabri joined as chaplain in 1483 included four nobles and seven servants, one of them a barber who was also a musician, another a cook, and still another, an interpreter[18].

Some passengers travelled individually, or nearly so. The young Arnold von Harff hired in Venice a dragoman or travel guide, a Spanish renegade, who was supposed to accompany him throughout the voyage to the Islamic Levant in return for 4 ducats per month, as well as food and drink and 100 ducats as a gift[19]. He travelled on a round ship, as he writes, 'with other merchants', probably implying (since he was not one) that the two merchants from Cologne, with whom he travelled from Germany to Italy, also embarked on this ship. In any case, he notes that his pilgrimage was mostly made in the company of merchants[20]. The main objective of the *Crose*'s voyage to and from Alexandria in 1561 was the transportation of goods, but passengers could always add some further income to the ship's budget. Judging by Magno's detailed report of these voyages, most of its passengers travelled individually[21]. Elijah of Pesaro sailed on a merchant galley from Venice to Famagusta accompanied, apparently, by his six children[22].

Venetian magistrates on their way to the respective territories that they were to administer or on their way back home at the end of their two-year term of office were occasionally present on board, sometimes accompanied by their families. A new governor of Crete, together with his wife and children, was aboard a big Venetian round ship that reached Modon on 9 July 1479[23]. On the *Santa Maria*, which carried Denis Possot to Cyprus in 1532, there were also Stefano Tiepolo (in the text:

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[18] P. Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, ed. and transl. by M. Letts, New York-London 1926, p. 47; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 84-85.

[19] A. von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold Von Harff,* ed. and transl. by M. Letts, London 1946, p. 6.

[20] *Ibid*., pp. 4, 71.

[21] Magno, *Voyages*, pp. 634, 663.

[22] B. Arbel, *Elijah of Pesaro's Description of Famagusta (1563)*, in *Cyprus as a Crossroads. Geographical Perceptions and Representations from the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by G. Grivaud - G. Tolias, Athens 2014, p. 125.

[23] H. Tucher, *Die 'Reise ins Gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479-1480)*, ed. by R. Herz, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 359-360. A new governor of Modon arrived on the same ship.

«Etienne Stampoulo»), the elected *provveditore* of Cyprus, accompanied by his wife, children and retinue, some 41 persons altogether, as well as the elected governor of Zante, Angelo Barbarigo with his family and retinue of some 25 persons[24]. Alvise Balbi, the outgoing *provveditore* of Cephalonia, as well as nine other colonial administrators, embarked on the *Crose* in August 1560, on their way back to Venice[25]. Venetian merchant ships also carried soldiers travelling to their assigned posts in Venice's overseas territories, as were the 100 soldiers on the *Santa Maria*, on its way to Cyprus in 1532[26]. Others were returning to Venice, to be dismissed or sent elsewhere.

A chronological examination of the above examples reveals changes in the ethnic and cultural composition of the passengers on Venetian ships during the Renaissance period. This development seems to reflect changes in inter-cultural contacts that took place between the mid-fifteenth and the late sixteenth century. During earlier decades, up to the beginning of the Reformation, with occasional presence of Jews, the passengers on board were nearly all Catholic Europeans – pilgrims, merchants, Venetian magistrates and administrators. Thus, not only socially, but also culturally, there was a difference between the crew, in which there were undoubtedly many Orthodox Christians, and the passengers. The only exception were presumably the soldiers, who may have numbered Orthodox Christians among them. Somewhat later, Protestant Europeans began to travel on Venetian ships, a new phenomenon with some potential of strife, as will be discussed below. Finally towards the end of the sixteenth century, we have at least one indication of the presence on Venetian ships of passengers of Oriental background, as noted by the Spaniard Juan Ceverio de Vera, who sailed on a round ship from Venice to Syria in 1596. He was impressed by the ethnic heterogeneity of his fellow-passengers, who, «beside pilgrims of many nations, comprised Turkish, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite, and Greek passengers»[27], most of whom must have been merchants. This testimony may reflect the growing presence, in that period, of 'Levantine'

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[24] Possot, *Le Voyage*, pp. ix-x.

[25] Magno, *Voyages*, p. 629.

[26] Possot, *Le Voyage*, p. 107.

[27] J. Ceverio de Vera, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa, 1596*, ed. by C. Martínez Figueroa - E. Serra Rafols, La Laguna 1964, p. 23.

merchants in the city of Venice, which led to the establishment of the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, first in 1579, at the *Osteria dell'Angelo*, and eventually, in 1621, in the *palazzo* of the duke of Ferrara[28].

Female pilgrims and other women-passengers also travelled on Venetian ships. Felix Fabri mentions seven old and pious women who shared the same galley that took him to the Holy Land during his first journey (1480), and, on the way back, took upon themselves the care of sick passengers. On the same voyage, Fabri notes the presence of the shipmaster's pregnant sister- in-law (wife of his brother who served as the Queen of Cyprus' counselor), who embarked on the galley in Cyprus[29]. During his second pilgrimage (1483), Fabri mentions several women who were travelling aboard another galley in the same convoy. In Fabri's galley, there was also one woman who accompanied her Fleming husband. She is described by Friar Felix as «restless and inquisitive»[30]. Quite a different character is presented in Fabri's description of the wife of a relatively young goldsmith, who travelled with him on the merchant galley from Alexandria to Venice in 1483. This woman was rarely seen outside her cabin, not even during stopovers at different ports during the voyage that lasted 66 days. She did not even use the public toilet, located on the upper deck – one of the sailors took care of her needs in this respect[31]. Fiorenza Crispo-Cornaro, mother of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, took the pilgrim galley in 1485 to join her daughter[32]. When the galley carrying Pietro Casola to Venice anchored in Candia in October 1494, the wives of two senior colonial magistrates, who returned to Venice after completing their term of office, embarked on the ship in the company of their husbands[33]. One of them forced the shipmaster to stop at Zara, against his original plan, since she insisted on visiting a relative of hers in that town[34].

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[28] P. Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*, Florence 1975, pp. 131-133.

[29] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 31, 43, 55.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp.149-150.

[31] *Ibid.*, III, p. 210.

[32] *Voyage de Georges Lengherand* [...] *à Venise, Rome, Jérusalem, Mont Sinaï et Le Kayre, 1485-1486*, ed. by D.-Ch. de Godefroy-Ménilglaise, Mons 1861, pp. 107-108.

[33] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 318.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

4. *The impact of sailing patterns on life on board*

A common conviction shared by historians of the late medieval and early modern Mediterranean is that ships preferred to sail along coasts, and that consequently, astronomical navigation was rather uncommon in this area long after the invention of the compass[35]. Studies touching upon the pilgrim galleys have also emphasized their reliance on very frequent stops at many ports, as sources of supply and as foci of commercial activity[36]. Such claims cannot be substantiated with regard to the ships used by our travellers.

The average duration of a sea voyages from Venice to the eastern Mediterranean ports (between Alexandria and Tripoli, as well as Cyprus) in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth century, based on 26 accounts of such crossings, was 36.5 days, counted from the day of embarkation in Venice to disembarkation in the final port of destination, with the quickest voyage lasting 19 days and the longest 67. The average duration of the sea voyage back to Venice was 59.9 days. In the latter direction, the shortest voyage lasted 26 days and the longest 89[37]. Interestingly, the average number of way station in both directions (though calculated on the basis different number of travel accounts) was the same: 4.7 ports of call. Sixteenth century crossings tended to be less dependent on ports of call than earlier ones, arguably because of the growing use of round ships by passengers travelling to these destinations.

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[35] E.g., F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, London 1975, pp. 103-108; U. Tucci, *Sur la pratique vénitienne de navigation au XVIe siècle. Quelques remarques*, «Annales ESC», 13 (1958), p. 72; M. Balard, *Coastal Shipping and Navigation in the Mediterranean*, in *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons. The Sailing Ship, 1000-1650*, ed. by R. Gardiner, London 1994, p. 131 (focusing mainly on the Middle Ages).

[36] Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p. 49 (referring to the fourteenth century); D. Jacoby, *Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre sainte: la perspective vénitienne*, «Ateneo Veneto», n.s. 24 (1986), p. 39.

[37] See the Appendix. Since the experience of travellers is our subject here, these numbers refer to the span of time between embarkation in the port of origin and disembarkation in the port of destination, which, of course, is longer than the time spent in actual sailing. In calculating the average duration of crossing, I have excluded one case of a sea voyage to Istanbul. Other Levantine destinations have been considered as representing roughly the same area and distance.

The routes on which we focus always included crossings lasting at least several days in open sea, such as the tracks between the southern Adriatic and Cyprus, or between Alexandria and Crete, as clearly reflected in the travel diaries. Thus, after leaving Acre on 12 October 1458, Roberto Sanseverino noted that for thirteen days they had seen nothing but sky and water[38]. The Beirut galleys on which Moses Basola sailed eastward in August 1521 did not enter any port for six consecutive days between Pola and Corfu, and then, for ten days, between Zante and Famagusta[39]. John Locke noted in his journal that while sailing between Cyprus and Crete, no land could be seen from the ship from the 21st of October until the 4th of November (i.e. for 14 days)[40]. During such crossings, astronomical navigation was imperative; indeed, several travelogues mention the habitual and constant use of compasses and maps on Venetian ships[41]. Even inside the relatively narrow Adriatic Sea, round ships used for open sea voyages and the big galleys did not stop at more than three or four, and often less ports of call. This is particularly true for the voyages eastward of round ships from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward, and for the few voyages westward carried out by round ships[42]. The latter, with their smaller crew and bigger capacity, were less dependent than galleys on the renewal of provisions, and therefore normally avoided entry into ports where they had nothing to look for. Under exceptional circumstances, the crossing between Beirut, Tripoli and Southern Anatolia and Venice could even be completed without stopping at any port of call[43].

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[38] Sanseverino, *Felice*, p. 220.

[39] M. Basola, *In Zion and Jerusalem. The Itinerary of Rabbi Moses Basola (1521-1523)*, ed. by A. David, Jerusalem 1999, pp. 50-52.

[40] Locke, *Voyage*, p. 100.

[41] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 123-124; *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486*, ed. by A. Denke, Köln-Weimar-Vienna 2011, pp. 312-314; Magno, *Voyages*, pp. 527, 534; J. Sottas, *Les messageries maritimes de Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Paris 1938, p. 79.

[42] See Tab. I and II in the Appendix, as well as R. Gluzman, *Between Venice and the Levant. Re-Evaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, «Mariner's Mirror», 96 (2010), pp. 264-294.

[43] This was done in 1384-5 by Nicolò Riccio's cog in 42 days: Hyde, *Navigation of the Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 530. See also Tab. II in the Appendix. Even longer crossings could be made without dependence on land, see U. Tucci, *Marinai e galeotti nel Cinquecento veneziano*, in *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, II, pp. 691-692.

Whenever possible, both round ships and galleys carrying passengers sailed continuously without stopping at night[44]. Obviously, this had an impact on the duration of the voyage. During the homebound journey, when Jacques Le Saige's round ship anchored in a small bay near Curzola, a group of pilgrims decided to hire a small fishing boat, which, they hoped, would enable them to reach Venice faster. Le Saige declined a proposal to join them, explaining that the ship on which they were sailing was faster and safer, since it sailed day and night in mid sea, whereas the small boat had to sail along the coast and stop every night at some port[45].

Sailings were often interrupted by calms (*bonaccia*, *bonazza*, pl. *bonaccie*), which, when lasting several days, could be quite annoying. Unfavourable weather conditions forced galleys and round ships to find shelter in a port or a protected inlet, where anchors were dropped to stabilize the vessel until the resumption of sailing was possible. Thus, the ship on which Sanseverino returned from the Holy Land in December 1458 was stuck off the island of Sapienza for 22 days without being able to resume their journey to Venice[46]. Yet, such pauses, which were mostly shorter, did not necessarily mean that passengers were able to disembark. On the other hand, in an organized port town, where provisions and repairs could be made, a prolonged stay was sometimes imperative, as it happened during the journey of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera on the

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[44] For night sailing in round ships, see, for example, Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 218-219, 273, 287; *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige de Douai à Rome, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, Venise, Jérusalem et autres Saints lieux*, ed. by R.-H. Duthilloeul, Douai 1851, pp. 73, 134, 158, 162-163, 165; Possot, *Le voyage*, pp. 117, 123; Magno, *Voyages*, pp. 541-542, 610-612, 617-618, 625, 631-632, 635, 637-640, 668, 673; J. Carlier de Pinon, *Voyage en Orient*, ed. E. Blochet, Paris 1920, pp. 299-302, 306. In galleys: L. de Rochechouart, *Journal de Voyage à Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart, Évêque de Saintes (1461)*, «Revue de l'Orient Latin», 1 (1893), pp. 227, 231, 233; Tucher, *Die Reise*, p. 352; G. Capodilista, *Itinerario*, in *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca, 1480, con l'Itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista, 1458*, ed. by A.L. Momigliano Lepschy, Milan 1966, pp. 166, 168, 170-171, 174-175, 177; P. Walther, *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, ed. by M. Sollweck, Tubingen 1892, pp. 91, 250, 257; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 35, 44, 51, 55-56, 161, 163-165; *ibid.*, III, pp. 145, 214; *Voyage de Georges Lengherand*, pp. 93, 97, 107; Basola, *In Zion*, pp. 48, 50, 52.

[45] *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 165.

[46] Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 236-251.

galleys of Alexandria, which anchored in the port of Candia for 13 days in December 1501[47].

Prolonged delays along the return journey could cause passengers to lose their patience, since the tired pilgrims were less eager to explore sites along the route and were more interested in shortening the trip as much as possible. Thus, Roberto da Sanseverino and his party were fed up by the difficult journey of return from the Holy Land in December 1458, preferring to disembark at Ancona and continue the journey on land[48]. In October 1494, a group of pilgrims who thought that the galley stopped in too many places on its return voyage, left it during a short stop in an uninhabited location, called La Murata, off the Dalmatian coast, believing that they could accelerate their advance by taking a few boats to Zara and find another connection there[49]. Anyway, in all but one of the 43 voyages included in our database, passengers spent most of the time of the crossings in both directions on board (including many intervals during which the vessels lay at anchor), a reality which significantly affected their life during these journeys[50].

5. *Accommodation, food and meals*

Accommodation conditions on board were subject to negotiation between the shipmaster and the passenger(s), and, of course, were determined by the sum paid for the voyage. The Venetian pilgrim galleys

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[47] P.M. d'Anghiera, *De rebus oceanicis* [...] *praeterea Legationis babilonicae libri tres*, Basel 1533, f. 80r.

[48] Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 275-291.

[49] Basola, *In Zion*, pp. 331-332.

[50] See the Appendix. Exceptional cases are those of d'Anghiera, whose galley was forced to stay 11 days on Corfu, 12 in Candia and 7 in Pola in late autumn 1501, that of Sanseverino's ship, which stayed at Sapienza for 22 days in 1458, and of Locke's ship, which remained in Cyprus for 17 days in 1553. Yet only in d'Anghiera's case was the time spent in ports of call longer than that spent on board. The voyage of Meshulam of Volterra back to Venice is also an exceptional case, since the merchant galley on which he sailed collected pilgrims in Jaffa and returned to Beirut, where it stayed long enough to enable passengers and merchants to visit Damascus. See d'Anghiera, *De rebus oceanicis*, ff. 76r-80r; Locke, *Voyage*, pp. 93-100; Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 237-251; Meshulam of Volterra, *The Journey to the Land of Israel in 1481*, ed. by A. Ya'ari, Jerusalem 1949 [in Hebrew], p. 79.

did not offer much comfort to passengers, who had to bring along their own mattresses, sheets, pillows and blankets, kitchen utensils, as well as a tin box that could be locked «as sailors on the ship are great thieves»[51]. Some items could be resold for half their price after returning to Venice[52].

Felix Fabri's detailed description of life on board emphasizes the hardship of passing the nights on the lower deck. The uncomfortable and congested dormitories were extremely hot during the summer; sleeping berths were arranged without any space between them, with the names of passengers inscribed on them with chalk. One could hardly move in the sleeping berth without touching one's neighbour, while fleas, lice, gnats and worms, not to mention the continual noise and «various foul vapours» were rendering the nights in the pilgrim galleys quite unbearable.[53] Fabri also notes that the noise of mules' and horses' hoofs on the upper deck prevented him from sleeping at night during one of his crossings[54].

In 1497, following complaints by pilgrims about the extreme discomfort of accommodation on the pilgrim galleys, official legislation fixed the space allotted to each passenger on these vessels at a width of a foot and a half, or 52 cm[55]. Yet since the pilgrim galleys often carried merchandise as well, the space left for passengers was even smaller, while chests and trunks obstructed passage in the central gangway. Friar Felix had to lean his mattress against a sack of spices during his trip back home on one of the Alexandria galleys[56]. In the cabin allotted to him on the same ship he could not even stand erect (the journey lasted 66 days)[57]. No wonder that passengers took advantage of stopovers to find some relief for at least one night in a rented room on land[58].

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[51] von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, pp. 69-70; H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century*, London 1954, pp. 91-92.

[52] *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eaton College to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456*, I, London 1857, pp. 5-6.

[53] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 138.

[54] *Ibid*.

[55] M. Newett, *Introduction*, in *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 101-102; Jacoby, *Pèlerinage médiéval*, p. 38.

[56] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, p. 208; Jacoby, *Pèlerinage médiéval*, p. 38.

[57] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, p. 208.

[58] *Ibid*., I, pp. 36-37 (in Corfu, on the first voyage), 154 (at Rovigno, on the second voyage), 167-168 (in Candia, on the second voyage).

There were however some exceptions. Passengers of higher standing, or those who could afford it, lodged in the 'castle', the structure at the stern where the shipmaster also lodged, and where the commanding officers were conducting the galley[59]. Conditions there must have been less uncomfortable. William Wey, who travelled twice to the Holy Land, in 1458 and 1462, writes that 40 ducats were the comprehensive price of such a trip, including all expenses (with two warm meals a day) and a relatively comfortable accommodation[60].

Travelling on a round ship could also offer greater comfort. Those who could afford it hired a cabin in which some measure of privacy and well-being could be enjoyed. Arnold von Harff was accommodated in 1496 in a private cabin on a round ship sailing to Alexandria. Yet he too had to bring his private sleeping equipment, including a hand basin «in which to spit and be sick»[61]. In short, the sea voyage was not considered as a very pleasant experience, even for better-off individuals.

Meals were an important component of the routine on board, marking, in addition to the three daily prayers, a basic division of the long time spent at sea[62]. As on the mainland, meals also had social and cultural significance, but the cramped space and the limited accessibility to luxuries somehow mitigated the extent to which social hierarchies could be fully exposed at the dining table. Although pilgrims were supposed to behave modestly, the travelogues reflect a tension between the tendency of upper-class passengers to keep apart, and the limitations imposed by the special circumstances of a sea voyage[63]. On the pilgrim galleys, there were three dining tables, and passengers were entitled to receive two meals daily. To the sound of trumpets, writes Friar Felix,

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[59] Sottas, *Les messageries*, p. 78.

[60] *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 4. 40 ducats were equal to the yearly income of the functionary responsible for the provision of timber and hemp from Treviso in the Venetian arsenal in 1503: *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, V, ed. by F. Stefani, Venice 1881, col. 107.

[61] von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, pp. 69-71; Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, pp. 53, 83.

[62] The morning prayer was held in front of an icon of the Madonna, during the day a priest celebrated a dry mass (without the Eucharistic elements), and at evening *Salve Regina* was chanted, preceded, in stormy weather, by litanies. See Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 127-134.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 136; *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 5.

all passengers rushed to the dinner area, to get hold of a good seat[64]. Women were not expected to participate in the common meals, but rather to eat in their berths[65]. The rowers and presumably also non-Christian passengers, were excluded from these dinner tables.

The custom of having three different dining tables was kept on round ships too, as described in detail by Alessandro Magno, whose diary includes several crossings on such vessels. At the shipmaster's table sat the first mate, the noblemen on board, the pilot, the scribe, the ship carpenter, the caulker, the bombardiers, as well as those passengers willing to pay five ducats a month (on Carlier's ship: six ducats) in addition to the passage-fare. At the second table were seated the purser, the cook, the barber-surgeon, the scribe's assistant, and those passengers willing to pay three ducats per month. Around the third table were assembled the other members of the crew and the less fortunate passengers. On Easter Sunday, everybody on board sat around a single table for the holiday meal[66].

These dinner arrangements did not follow a strict hierarchical order. Beside the more respectable figures, such as the noblemen and rich passengers, we find at the shipmaster's table officers whose occupations necessitated some learning, the ability to read and write, read charts, maps and tables, and make calculations. Yet the barber, the carpenter and the caulker, as well as the bombardiers, who shared their company during meals, were manual labourers. Their presence at the shipmaster's table is an interesting phenomenon, probably an expression of the 'democratic' spirit that, according to Tucci, singled out the Venetian merchant marine from other maritime milieus[67]. This trait would have presented a challenge to upper-class passengers who were unaccustomed to share their dinner table with barbers, carpenters and caulkers. However, on the ship that carried Jacques Le Saige eastward, which had

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[64] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 136-137. This passage is somewhat unclear, since it can also be understood from Friar Felix's description that pilgrims were served separately and hastily, and were subsequently required to leave the dinner area to enable the crewmembers to have their own meals.

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] Magno, *Voyages*, p. 531; Carlier, *Voyage*, p. 313.

[67] Cf. the hierarchical order of crewmembers on the Indies Fleet roughly during the same period in Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, pp. 75-95.

some 40 crewmembers and about 100 passengers, mostly pilgrims, food was served in three shifts, with the seamen in the last one[68]. Supposedly, there was not enough space on this ship for serving meals concurrently to everyone on board who was not busy with navigational tasks.

Situated at starboard in front of the rear castle, with its staff of cooks, the galley's kitchen must have been a very busy place. It also served passengers, as Jews for example, who preferred to prepare their food independently[69]. Some noblemen even brought along their own cooks on their pilgrimage to the Holy Land[70].

Sailing several weeks with little possibility to replenish the stores necessitated carrying great quantities of food and water on board. Diet also depended on the type of ship and, to a certain extent, on the status of the person concerned. At the upper echelons of galley society, fresh meat was consumed on a regular basis. This fresh-meat diet puts Mediterranean ships on a higher level than vessels in the contemporary Atlantic Ocean, where apparently only dried and salted meat was consumed[71]. However, judging from Felix Fabri's account, eating fresh meat was not always an advantage, since the shipmaster gave precedence to the butchering of worn out and diseased animals[72]. In privately-owned vessels, meat (not necessarily fresh meat) was consumed at least three times a week, with sardines and salted cheese on other days. Wine, or water diluted with vinegar, were served with the meals, depending on the table at which you were seated (or on the sum that you were willing to pay)[73].

An account book of the merchant galley *Querina*, which sailed to Beirut in 1414 and carried 47 pilgrims to Jaffa, offers a rare glimpse into the storerooms of provisions acquired for consumption on such a galley for a period of two months. Apart from over 120 quintals of sea biscuits (mostly for the *galeotti*), the account book mentions different sorts of cheese, wine, vinegar, fine fat (*grasso sottil*), peas, broad beans,

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[68] *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 64.

[69] Sottas, *Les messageries*, p. 80.

[70] Sanseverino, *Felice*, p. 216; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 85.

[71] Cf. E.R. Chamberlin, *Everyday Life in Renaissance Times*, London 1973, p. 32.

[72] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 137. On slaughter animals on board, see *infra*.

[73] Magno, *Voyages*, p. 531.

chickpeas, sorghum, barley and barley flour, rice, lasagne (105 pounds), saffron, various spices, black currents, salad, onions and vegetables, almonds, sugar, honey, fresh bread, over 9,000 eggs, fresh fish, 400 eels, salted fish and sturgeon eggs, several hundred pounds of salted meat, about 9 quintals of «dead meat», 13 chickens, 7 steers, 5 dead wethers and 137 live ones, bought in various places along the route. As noted by Ugo Tucci, one must also take into account food carried along privately and prepared on board individually by crewmembers, as well as certain categories of food, such as soup and wine, which were always available for seamen working on Venetian ships[74].

Passengers too did not entirely rely on the ship's supplies. The authors of travelogues warned future passengers to take private provisions of bread, cheese, fruit, sausages, two barrels of wine and one of water, as well as a cage for a few chickens, since the food served on board could often be of bad quality[75]. The restrictions on the volume of personal belongings carried by passengers were not always heeded to the letter. Arnold von Harff did indeed carry with him two kegs of fresh water and two small casks of wine, a cage with half a dozen hens, as well as half a bushel of millet seed for their feed[76]. Anchoring at port towns during the trip provided an opportunity to acquire fresh supplies.

Jewish travellers had special dietary requirements, related to religious strictures. When stopping at Corfu in 1495, an anonymous author of a Hebrew travelogue replenished his personal supplies with bread, (presumably kosher) cheese, grapes and peaches[77]. Another Jewish traveller, Elijah of Pesaro, bought at the same port in 1563 «good» (presumably kosher) meat, salted fish, «sour» grapes, watermelons, lentils, onions and garlic. At Zante he also found kosher cheese[78]. Elijah

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[74] Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, pp. 60-63; Id., *L'alimentazione a bordo delle navi veneziane*, «Studi Veneziani», n.s. 13 (1987), pp. 112-114, 118-122; Id., *L'alimentazione a bordo*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, 12, *Temi. Il mare*, ed. by A. Tenenti - U. Tucci, Rome 1991, pp. 601-604.

[75] See, for example, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 5.

[76] von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, p. 70; Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, pp. 53-54.

[77] A. Neubauer, *Ein anonymer Reisebrief vom Jahre 1495*, «Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums», 3 (1863), p. 273 [in Hebrew].

[78] Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage*, pp. 16-17.

advises Jewish travellers to try to convince the cook to leave some space for them «at the edge of the fire»[79].

6. *Animals on board*

In view of the fresh-meat diet offered to numerous persons travelling and working on Venetian vessels, keeping live animals on board was unavoidable. Our sources reveal the presence of herds of different animals on merchant and pilgrim galleys. The above-mentioned account book of the galley *Querina*, dated 1414, includes entries for the acquisition of 142 sheep, 7 oxen, in addition to 9 quintals of butchered meat[80]. Friar Felix notes that on the pilgrim galley on which he sailed in 1480 there were sheep, goats, calves, oxen, cows, pigs, standing together in a stable located near the kitchen[81]. According to Elijah of Pesaro, each merchant galley of the kind on which he sailed from Venice to Cyprus, carried 40 to 55 sheep, 2-3 oxen, 5-6 calves, and a great variety of poultry[82]. During his short stay on Corfu, Pietro Casola got some young geese for the rest of the journey eastward, and on the return journey, some sheep were acquired in Cyprus[83]. Similar, though less detailed testimonies concern slaughter animals on round ships. Thus, the master of the ship that carried Jacques Le Saige to the Holy Land in 1518 bought at Rovigno some 80 sheep, which left their mark on our pilgrim: «The continuous rocking of the ship», he writes, «caused the poor animals to cry and stamp their feet all though the night», noting somewhat later the death of three of these animals, which were then tossed into the sea[84]. Chickens were taken aboard the *nave* that the Sanseverino party boarded at Acre, and during the stay of the same ship at Milos,

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[79] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[80] Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p. 55.

[81] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 45-46, 119. See *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, pp. 146, 317-318 (cattle, sheep and goat bought by the shipmaster in Parenzo, 1486), and the depiction of a galley in an illustration accompanying one of the manuscripts of Konrad Grünemberg's travelogue, where sheep are clearly seen on board the galley: *ibid*., fig. 2.

[82] Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage*, p. 10.

[83] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 187, 296.

[84] *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, pp. 69-70.

in November 1458, some goats and chickens were brought on board [85].

Keeping many slaughter animals on ships necessitated, of course, additional provisions. Casola notes that the animals on board were fed on barley, but very sparingly, so that at the end of the voyage they had more skin than flesh[86]. Water in particular must have constituted a problem, since whatever quantity was available it had to suffice for both humans and animals. On Friar Felix's first voyage to the Holy Land, scarcity of water led the shipmaster to deprive animals from this vital resource[87]. Severe storms could result in the loss of slaughter animals, and consequently to hunger during crossings that lasted several days without contact with sources of new provisions[88].

However, animals could also travel on Venetian ships for other purposes. The horses, donkeys and mules, whose presence on the galley's upper deck was noted by Friar Felix, were presumably simply four-footed passengers[89]. He made friends with a parrot, who travelled on the same galley that took them from Alexandria to Venice in 1483[90]. Another traveller recorded the drowning of parrots that were carried by pilgrims as souvenirs from the Orient in 1486[91]. An attempt to export a parrot on the galley that sailed from Jaffa in 1494 failed as a result of Mamluk officials' intervention [92]. The Swiss pilgrim Melchior zur Gligen brought a monkey from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1519[93]. This was probably not a unique case, in view of the monkey depicted on a galley yard in one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts of Grünemberg's

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[85] Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 204, 233-234.

[86] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 158.

[87] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 119.

[88] *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, p. 169.

[89] Fabri, *Evagatorium,* I, pp. 46, 138; referred to in Tucci, *I servizi marittimi*, p. 59, n. 68.

[90] Fabri, *Evagatorium,* III, pp. 28-29.

[91] *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, p. 465.

[92] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 286-287. In the late fourteenth century, Henry of Lancaster (later King Henry IV of England) had carried with him a parrot and a leopard on his return from the Holy Land: Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, pp. 216-217.

[93] A. Esch, *Vier Schweizer Parallelberichte von einer Jerusalem-Fahrt im Jahre 1519*, in *Gesellschaft und Gesellschaften. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Ulrich Im Hof*, ed. by N. Bernard - Q. Reichen, Bern 1982, p. 151.

travelogue[94]. Falcons caught on Cyprus, Crete, Kythera and other Venetian possessions, were transported on Venetian ships to Venice on a regular basis[95]. Thus, at the beginning of October 1480, two men who boarded the pilgrim galley at Modon were accompanied by twenty falcons and hawks, which were meant to continue their voyage from Corfu to France[96]. These birds were competing with human passengers for the provision of meat on board. One traveller even complained that the 150 falcons transported on his ship in 1520 consumed more meat than all the human passengers[97]. A person described as the King of Spain's nephew, who boarded the pilgrim galley at Corfu, travelled accompanied by several horses and falcons. Since there was no space available for these animals, they had to travel separately on a *grippo* that sailed alongside the galley[98].

Cats on Venetian ships served quite a different purpose. Vessels loaded with great quantities of foodstuff for consumption, and sometimes larger quantities of commercial commodities, such as grain, sugar etc., constituted a virtual mice-paradise[99]. One pilgrim noted that at night you risked having rats passing over your body in the dark[100]. The ship's cat was therefore an important personality, and it should not surprise us that when a cat fell off the ship into the water, an incident described by John Locke, half a dozen crewmembers were immediately dispatched in a boat on a rescue mission. Locke wondered whether so much trouble would have been taken had a man fallen into the sea. Yet the cat belonged to the shipmaster, and Italians, according to Locke, were particularly fond of cats[101].

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[94] See illustration no. 9 in *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca.*

[95] This activity is subject of a forthcoming study. For the time being, see B. Arbel, *Venice and Kytherian Falcons: Ecological Aspects of Renaissance Colonialism*, in *Acts of the 8th International Congress of Pan-Ionian Studies (Kythera, 21-25 May 2006)*, Athens 2009, pp. 38-46.

[96] *Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre*, p. 166.

[97] H. Wölfli, *Reise nach Jerusalem, 1520/1521*, ed. by H. Bloesch, Bern 1929, p. 79.

[98] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 118.

[99] Fabri, *Evagatorium*. I, p. 142.

[100] Tucoo-Chala - Pinzuti, *Introduction*, p. 86, with reference to Hans von Mergenthal's testimony (1476).

[101] Locke, *Voyage*, pp. 87-88 (1553).

Pre-industrial societies, even urban ones, are known to have been accustomed to close contact with animals. Yet close quarters became even closer on board ships, and for a couple of weeks or months, animals of various sorts thus became travel companions, sharing the limited resources on board with human travellers. Their presence, in both its pleasant and unpleasant aspects, became therefore an important part of the daily and nightly experience on Venetian vessels.

7. *Confronting the elements*

The prayer «*A peste, fame et bello, libera nos Domine*» is often mentioned as expressing the three main threats to human life during medieval and early modern times. Yet this unholy trinity – plague, hunger and war – was more typical of life on land. At sea, especially on Venetian commercial vessels, the hierarchy of dangers was different. When at war, especially with its chief enemy, the Ottoman Empire, Venice prevented its merchant vessels from sailing to the eastern Mediterranean, unless special measures were taken to protect them. In peacetime, piracy was known to be a constant threat in that area[102], but Venetian ships were, by law, required to have armed men ready to confront unpleasant encounters of this sort, and also carried guns for defense. When necessary, Venetian warships escorted merchant vessels in areas that were considered insecure[103]. As noted by Francesco Suriano in 1480, «No other nation is so secure from pirates and sea robbers as that of Venice»[104]. Of the second element in the above-mentioned prayer – hunger – we hardly find any evidence on Venetian ships. Venetian merchant vessels were normally quite well provisioned and could not actually sail without stores of food, water and wine for the great number of passengers and crewmembers. Plague, on the other hand, constituted a real threat, especially when returning from the eastern Mediterranean. However, this was a periodical phenomenon, not a constant one. In

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[102] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, see the index under «pirates»; A. Tenenti, *I Corsari in Mediterraneo all'inizio del Cinquecento*, «Rivista storica italiana», 72 (1960), pp. 234-287.

[103] See, for example, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 77.

[104] Suriano, *Treatise*, p. 32.

his book on the experience of fear in late medieval and early modern Europe, Jean Delumeau singled out the sea as the most fearsome space in human existence. Among literary genres in which fear of the sea is widely represented, Delumeau singles out travelogues, in which writers that had passed the traumatic experience of devastating storms shared it with their readers[105]. Indeed, it was the sea itself, in our case – the capricious Mediterranean Sea – that constituted the main threat to anyone who took the risk of crossing it[106].

Winds in the Mediterranean basin are known to be highly unpredictable, even more so during those centuries, before the age of weather forecasts. Although in the period under discussion, the sea was never closed to Venetian vessels in any season, late autumn and winter were and are known to be stormier than the rest of the year. As testified by our travelogues, such storms could sometimes continue for many days, especially in a few zones of the eastern Mediterranean that were particularly dangerous for sailing, such as the gulf of Quarner in the Adriatic, the straits of Otranto, or the zone between Karpathos and Rhodes. But shipwrecks could happen anywhere, and they were not solely the result of the weather, but also of the vessel's condition and of the seamen's abilities of coping with difficult situations.

Wrecks of Venetian vessels were quite common in the period treated here[107]. The Venetian chronicle attributed to Domenico Malipiero records, for example, eight shipwrecks that occurred in the 1490s[108]. Such frequent maritime disasters, which involved not only loss of lives, but also severe economic losses, quickly became public knowledge. Our travellers must have been aware of the probability of ending their lives during a sea voyage. This awareness was certainly part of the deep anxiety experienced during great storms at sea, which are often described in our travelogues. Repetitive storms accompanied the journey of the Sanseverino party from Acre back to Italy. Some of these,

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[105] J. Delumeau, *La peur en Occident, XIVe-XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1978, pp. 31-42.

[106] Storms were obviously conceived as the biggest threat in the prayers of mariners: see *La preghiera del marinaio*.

[107] Renard Gluzman is building a database of Venetian shipwrecks in this period: see www.earlymodernshipwrecks.org (last accessed: 24/04/2016).

[108] D. Malipiero, *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*, parte quarta, ed. by F. Longo, «Archivio Storico Italiano», ser. 1, vol. VII/2 (1844), pp. 625, 627.

if we believe Sanseverino's dramatic description, were extremely scary, not only for the passengers but also for the experienced crewmembers. In such a situation, sails were normally dropped and little else could be done except leaving the ship to the mercy of the elements, praying and making vows[109]. During Friar Felix's return voyage in 1480, the ship encountered a tremendous storm, sea-water penetrated into the hull, the main sail, which had not been dropped on time, was torn and the main mast collapsed. Friar Felix writes that at that moment it seemed as if the entire ship was breaking to pieces, without any hope of survival, and one could not resist screaming out of despair[110]. During a terrible storm encountered by the galley carrying Casola back to Venice in October 1494, the situation was so bad that «every hope of life was abandoned by all»[111]. Even if somewhat exaggerated, anyone who experienced a sea storm recognizes the genuine feelings expressed in such descriptions.

When a violent storm continued for several consecutive days and nights, the result was often complete ignorance as to the location of the vessel. The fact that experienced seamen lost track of the ship's whereabouts, after being carried by waves and wind without human control, must have added to a general sensation of helplessness[112]. Thus, in December 1458, the officers of the ship carrying the Sanseverino party were surprised to discover that they ended up near Ancona, rather than near Istria, as they had surmised. In fact, their entire voyage had been interrupted by similar events[113].

In a section of his travelogue where he described the difficulty and danger involved in jumping from the galley's gangway into the service-boat, especially in an agitated sea, Fabri provides a very good depiction of how passengers felt after going through several days of stormy weather. At first, he writes, when reaching a port of call, there are passengers who prefer to stay in the galley, with all its inconvenience, rather than go through the dangerous leap from the gangway into the boat. But after experiencing a storm lasting several days and the consequent hardships,

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[109] E.g. Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 265-269; Tucher, *Die Reise*, pp. 600-603; *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 324.

[110] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 51-57.

[111] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 393.

[112] E.g. Tucher, *Die Reise*, pp. 600-602.

[113] Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 275-291.

they would be ready to risk even five such leaps in order to reach a secure port, rather than stay on board[114].

8. *Sickness and death in mid-sea*

The very presence in a shaky vessel, all the more so during storms, made many passengers seasick and susceptible to other ailments[115]. Pilgrimage in the Holy Land caused great strain, fatigue and illness. Friar Felix notes that the galley that took the pilgrims back to Venice in 1480 looked like a hospital, since nearly everybody was ill, and some of the passengers died during the voyage[116]. During a stormy crossing in December 1483, many people on the galley that carried Paul Walther back to Venice were sick. Walther himself suffered from severe fever and prepared himself for death[117]. Besides influenza that could be fatal, dysentery, typhus and particularly the plague, constituted a real menace, of which passengers, crewmembers and Venetian authorities at the ports of call (mostly Venetian territories) were well aware. Thus, the galley on which Louis de Rochechouart sailed to the Holy Land did not call at the usual ports of Corfu and Modon, knowing that they were then infected by the plague. However, many pilgrims could not resist the temptation of disembarking at Candia and going around freely, despite information on the presence of plague in this town as well[118].

Venice is well known for its highly developed system of anti-plague measures, which, in principle, functioned both in the metropolis and in any other territory ruled by the Republic[119]. These measures were

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[114] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 159. Meshulam of Volterra describes two incidents in which he fell into the water while trying to pass from the service-boat to the galley, see Meshulam of Volterra, *The Journey*, pp. 82-83.

[115] Some members of Sanseverino's retinue suffered continuously from sea-sickness, see Sanseverino, *Felice,* pp. 265-269; Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage*, p. 167.

[116] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 42-43.

[117] Walther, *Itinerarium,* p. 256.

[118] Rochechouart, *Journal*, pp. 232-234.

[119] *Venezia e la peste, 1348-1797*, Venice 1979. For a later period, see K. Konstantinidou, *Santi rifugi di sanità: i lazzaretti delle quattro isole di Levante*, «Studi Veneziani», n.s. 53 (2007), pp. 239-259.

efficacious to some extent, but could also constitute a nuisance for ship owners, merchants and passengers. It limited free movements, it forced ships, commodities and passengers to remain in quarantine, and it often resulted in sequestration and burning of goods that were suspected of carrying the pest. For example, Carlier de Pinon reached Parenzo in January 1580, and, together with the ship's clerk and some other passengers, he embarked on one of three boats that sailed to Venice, loaded with part of the ship's cargo. Yet after entering the Lagoon, some of their commodities were taken for quarantine, while Carlier and other member of the company had to remain 16 days in their boat, affloat in the middle of the lagoon, before being allowed to proceed to Venice[120].

Plague normally reached Venice and its overseas territories from the east, and the ships that connected Venice with these areas constituted a vehicle of the pestilence. The effect on people on board could be traumatic. During seventeen days (19 September to 6 October) of sailing between Cyprus and Rhodes on the ship carrying Jacques Le Saige back to Europe in 1518, the number of sick passengers increased daily. Seven of them died on the way, and six others were left behind in the hospital of Rhodes because considered unfit to continue the sea voyage. The short time – merely three days – between the appearance of the symptoms and death did not leave much doubt as to the nature of this sickness. No wonder that about 40 passengers who had reached the port of Rhodes on the plague-infested ship, preferred to leave it and seek another passage to Venice[121].

Death rituals at sea were necessarily different from the customary rites on land. Anointment and the last Eucharist, or *viaticum*, could not be administered with all their usual elements. The practice on ships was to carry out a «dry mass», without the elements of consecrated bread and wine. Besides, entombment was not possible during crossings of long tracts of sea. Even in areas in which land could theoretically be reached in a short time, the risk of entanglement with Mamluks or Ottomans, or even of shipwreck resulting from coasting was sometimes too high. Therefore, the normal procedure at sea was to wrap the corpse

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[120] Carlier, *Voyage*, pp. 306-308.

[121] *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, pp. 146-154, 157-158.

in cloth, weigh it with stones and cast it overboard into the water «while weeping»[122].

There were, however, exceptions to this rule. Jacques Le Saige reported in 1518 that two Swiss aristocrats, who died shortly before arrival in Rhodes, were not thrown into the water. The ship's carpenter prepared two coffins, which were placed in the service-boat towed behind the ship. Though arriving only a few days later in Rhodes, the bad smell emanating from the coffins was already bothersome. Nevertheless, the deceased corpses were subject to a proper Catholic rite. An even more exceptional case was that of Andrea Contarini, the outgoing Venetian consul in Alexandria who returned to Venice on the same ship that carried Friar Felix. The consul died when the galley had been anchored at the island of Nio (Ios), in the Aegean. It was decided to carry the corpse all the way to Venice for proper rites and burial. The dead consul was therefore brought to a chapel on land where a requiem mass was celebrated. Subsequently, his body was returned to the galley, where it was embalmed by a team of physicians and barbers of the galley flotilla, a procedure described by Friar Felix in minute detail. The embalmed body was then put in a coffin, which was duly dressed and sealed with pitch, and subsequently placed in the ship's hull until arrival in Venice 49 days later[123].

Men and women encountered death frequently in those times. However, like other phenomena, death became even closer on a densely inhabited vessel, a closed world surrounded by immense stretches of sea-water. On land, the most efficacious measure against the plague was escape to uncontaminated areas, but at sea, such a step was impossible. Thus the physical and psychological effects of illness, especially of the plague, and eventually death on board, must have left a deeper mark on passengers than on their contemporaries on land[124].

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[122] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 133. For concrete examples, see *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, pp. 147-148, 152; Locke, *Voyage*, p. 101.

[123] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, p. 296; Walther, *Itinerarium*, pp. 250-251; H.F.M. Prescott, *Once to Sinai. The Further Pilgrimage of Friar Felix Fabri*, New York 1958, p. 231.

[124] E.g. *Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre*, p. 114; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 34, 43; *ibid.*, III, p. 296; Locke, *Voyage*, pp. 100-101. For a different view on death during a pilgrimage, see Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage*, pp. 85-86.

9. *A situation of potential conflicts*

Spending much time without contact with the outside world, except for occasional encounters with other vessels (sometimes those with hostile intentions) and a number of short stops, as well as the limited space and great number of people on board, must have influenced human behaviour on board. Among the professional seamen, though comprising members of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, common experience within the multi-cultural Venetian milieu, as well as their interest in keeping their jobs, could have attenuated tensions and facilitated consensual solutions. Moreover, crewmembers had institutional means to help them resolve internal disputes. Several travel accounts describe the procedure that took place on the return voyage, shortly before reaching Venice, when two or three crewmembers were chosen to consider and bring to a final resolution minor claims that had been raised among their fellows[125].

Passengers, however, did not have such mechanisms to solve potential conflicts. Overcrowding of the sleeping compartment and lack of consideration on the part of many travellers, snoring neighbours, or chamber pots thrown at burning lights to put them out, led to severe quarrels[126]. The queue to the toilets on the galley's upper deck could also cause disputes[127]. Long and boring days were often spent in drinking, and the passengers' possession of weapons and knives could result in dangerous brawls. On the ship that carried John Locke from Venice to the east in 1553, a dispute amongst some Dutch passengers developed into a free-for-all, which forced the shipmaster to confiscate weapons[128]. On the voyage of the same ship back to Venice, some drunken Flemmish pilgrims threatenend to kill the shipmaster because he decided to lay anchor off Modon, and somewhat later a drunken Dutchman again caused a great uproar[129].

The close quarters of groups of passengers of different nationalities

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[125] Sanseverino, *Felice*, pp. 263-264; Tucher, *Die Reise*, p. 613; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 127; Richard, *Les gens de mer*, p. 346.

[126] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 137-38.

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-143.

[128] Locke, *Voyage*, p. 84.

[129] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 101, 103.

and beliefs sometimes brought out collective prejudices and animosities. The French pilgrim Pierre Barbatre reports that after leaving Jaffa on the return voyage from the Holy Land in 1480, the pilgrim galley on which he sailed was lying in a windless calm for a long while. Members of the crew claimed that it resulted from the presence of two Jewish passengers, and suggested throwing them overboard[130]. Agostino Contarini, shipmaster of the pilgrim galley that also carried a group of Jews to the Holy Land in 1481, preferred to conceal their identity from the Christian passengers in order to avoid trouble[131]. Conflicts related to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation must have further augmented religious tensions between Catholic and Protestant passengers. The Englishman Laurence Aldersey had to face a difficult moment on a Venetian ship during a storm off Crete in 1581. It was claimed that his presence on board and his refusal to participate in Catholic rituals to appease the elements were endangering the entire ship[132].

The temporary spatial co-existence of passengers of different nationalities and cultures apparently had a double effect: it created tensions and conflicts based on cultural divergence, and, at the same time constituted an incentive for cohesion among members of the same cultural group, or 'nation'. Felix Fabri describes the tension onboard the pilgrim galley between French pilgrims, whom he describes as haughty and hot-blooded («superbi et passionatissimi»), and the Germans. He noted that had it not happened that the French decided to return to Venice, following the advice of the commander of the Venetian fleet, there would have certainly occurred a bloody incident, and probably even killing, between the two groups before reaching Jerusalem[133]. Friar Felix expressed his collective image of Saxons and Flemings (he adds: «and other men of a low class»), who, according to him, preferred to

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[130] *Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre*, p. 153.

[131] Meshulam of Volterra, *The Journey*, p. 78.

[132] L. Aldersey, *The First Voyage or Journey Made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, &c. in the Yeere 1581*, in *The Principal Navigations*, V, pp. 206-207.

[133] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, pp. 38-39, 143. Fabri refers several times to collective attitudes to and by Germans on land, see *ibid.,* pp. 37, 75, 84, 147.

spend the days at sea over their wine[134]. Jacques Le Saige recounts that on a certain moment during the sea voyage in 1518, 'captains' were elected by each of the 'nations' present on the ship, in order to secure their respective interests[135]. Thus, Venetian ships may have contributed somehow to the long and complicated development of national consciousness and ethnic animosities in Europe.

10. *Sounds, music, and pastimes*

Sailing on galleys and round ships was accompanied by sounds that had specific functions and significance. Trumpets were sounded at daybreak and sunset, on the ship's departure, on hoisting the sails, when calling to meals and signaling their end, and on entry into port. Encounters with friendly vessels at sea were also celebrated, besides by firing canons, with the sound of trumpets and fifes, as observed by Elijah of Pesaro off Corfu[136]. Trumpets and fifes also greeted important personalities, such as the Duke and Captain of Crete, who boarded the galley on which Casola returned to Venice[137]. Calling the passengers to return to the ship, during stopovers along the way was also done by the sounding of trumpets[138]. The sound of the silver whistle, used day and night by the *comito* to signal orders to the crew, and the confirmation of the crewmen, also made by whistles, must have been quite bothersome[139]. The ship's guns were fired in recognition of friendly vessels at sea and when entering ports[140]. They were also employed to mark holidays or special occasions. Easter Sunday, for example, was celebrated by four sounds of gunfire, in addition to a festive meal around one big table, and on another trip, the day of Resurrection was announced by three sounds of gunfire (*moschetti*)[141].

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[134] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[135] *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 78.
[136] E.g. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, p. 317; Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage*, p. 16.
[137] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage,* p. 318.
[138] E.g. Fabri, *Evagatorium* , I, p. 39; *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 63.
[139] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 124.
[140] Carlier, *Voyage*, pp. 69, 129, 132, 289, 305.
[141] Magno, *Voyages*, pp. 538, 613. See also Carlier, *Voyage*, p. 40.

Human voices, shouts of crewmembers, commands, swearing and blaspheming on the part of the *galeotti*, bleating of sheep, snorting of pigs, desperate cries of butchered animals, were all part of the acoustic world on board. Felix Fabri observes that at night one mariner always kept his eyes on the compass, chanting «a sort of sweet song», which testified that all was well[142]. Fabri must have referred to the orders passed through singing by the pilot to the helmsman, who repeated the same tune in confirmation, a custom intended to prevent the helmsmen from falling asleep at night, but also, as noted by Sottas, contributed to the passengers' feeling of security[143].

Under favourable weather conditions, music became an important component of life on board[144]. Passengers passed their time in singing and playing various instruments, such as lutes, flutes, bagpipes, clavichords and zithers[145]. On the merchant galley that carried Elijah of Pesaro to Famagusta there was constant amusement, to the sound of flutes, trumpets, drums, harps, violins and organs[146]. Such moments of merriment were an occasion for interaction between passengers and crewmembers. The younger seamen on the pilgrim galley that sailed to the Holy Land in the spring of 1458 performed on board an acrobatic display[147]. A collection of music now in the British Library belonged to a Venetian trumpeter, Zorzi Trombetta, who travelled on one of the Flanders galleys in 1447/8, and played on demand at weddings and festivities[148]. Alessandro Magno writes that there were always passengers on board who played some musical instrument or accompanied the dancing and the singing of the crew[149].

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[142] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 124.

[143] Sottas, *Les messageries*, p. 79.

[144] Cf. Proctor, *Music of the Sea.*

[145] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 134 («aliqui cantant discantos, vel in lutaris, et fistulis et musis, clavicordiis, cytharis et aliis instrumentis, musicis tempus deducunt»).

[146] Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage*, pp. 10-11. Cf. the musical celebration on the Barbary galleys anchored in Tunis in 1476: A. Ducellier, *Le registre de Giovanni Manzini, notaire sur les galées vénitiennes de Barbarie (1472-1476)*, «Les Cahiers de Tunisie», 43 (1991), pp. 522-523.

[147] Sanseverino, *Felice*, p. 100.

[148] Proctor, *Music of the Sea*, p. 9.

[149] Magno, *Voyages*, p. 535.

Passengers and crewmembers also celebrated together religious festivities. The pilgrims Grünemberg (1486) and Casola (1494) have left descriptions of the feast of St. John, with fireworks, the sound of trumpets, dancing, singing and the illumination of the masts with numerous lanterns[150]. The Feast of St. Martin was likewise celebrated by the crewmembers of the Alexandria galley on which Fabri returned to Venice between November 1483 and January 1484, by singing, dancing and jumping[151]. Musical entertainment would sometimes be organized by the shipmaster. The list of expenses of merchant galleys on their way westward in 1476 includes a payment to a group of musicians who came on board to play and dance for the passengers and crew during the ship's stay at Syracuse[152].

Pastimes that are more individual are also described in some travelogues. Carlier de Pinon took with him materials that could better instruct him on the route followed by the ship and on the places it passed, such as Strabo's Geography and maps of different sort, particularly those relevant to the ship's itinerary[153]. Longer stops in various ports offered new possibilities for recreation. Alessandro Magno refers, for example, to fishing, archery, running on the beach, and even falconry[154]. Among various activities at sea, Friar Felix also mentions noting down, during the crossings, of the travellers' impressions of their voyage, «which was my own daily occupation», he writes; he also refers to picking lice and catching vermin as a routine activity on board[155].

Such variegated activities stand out in blatant contrast to the difficult conditions on board, to the dramatic and scary days spent during storms, and to the anxieties resulting from encounters with hostile vessels at sea. In fact, they were necessary as a psychological palliative, to relieve anxieties and soothe tensions that had accumulated during the sea voyage.

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[150] *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, p. 333; *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 190.

[151] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, p. 244.

[152] *Quaderno di bordo di Giovanni Manzini, prete-notaio e cancelliere (1471-1484)*, ed. by L. Greco, Venice 1997, pp. 3-4.

[153] Carlier, *Voyage*, p. 32.

[154] Magno, *Voyages*, pp. 587, 597, 607, 674.

[155] Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 135.

11. *Conclusions*

The study of Renaissance travelogues and diaries in this specific maritime context reveals that the stereotypic image of this genre, mainly based on medieval texts, is far less justifiable in regards to the later works. These narrative sources constitute, in many respects, a treasure trove of detailed and mostly reliable information on life at sea that can hardly be found in any other historical source.

Ships, as depicted by late medieval and early modern travellers, constituted a very peculiar milieu of human activity. The limited space, packed with people far more densely than anywhere on land, was a small world afloat, in principle intended to be always on the move, with a few short interruptions. Moreover, ships were very precarious vehicles of transportation, in which passengers and crews were particularly vulnerable to various dangers en route, mostly those resulting from natural events. Besides, unlike their normal way of life on land, voyagers aboard these ships found themselves during several weeks or months in very close quarters with strangers of different social origins and cultural background, as well as with animals of various sorts. Simultaneously, they had plenty of free time, enabling them to observe and report on their surroundings.

Overcrowding necessitated greater attention to organization and more patience and mutual consideration than in normal life on land. Yet it brought to the fore preconceptions, animosities and collective images of the 'other', often quite negative. The long days and nights at sea also intensified the importance of activities that were of more occasional nature on land, particularly pastimes, musical activities, and even religious ceremonies and lore. During the outbreak of an epidemic or the plague, the ship became a trap with hardly any possibility of escape, and the peculiar maritime customs related to death at sea left their mark on the surviving voyagers. Even the butchering of animals must have been an unsettling experience for urban travellers, unaccustomed to such dramas, since slaughter houses had by then been removed from the centre of great urban agglomerations, such as Venice.

The commercial vessels of Venice employed in the transportation of passengers may thus be considered as laboratories of social behaviour, in which many characteristics of human experience were intensified for the limited duration of the sea voyage. The accounts and diaries

of Renaissance travellers provide precious testimonies on this peculiar world, enabling us to study activities that were much more sporadic on land, and often hidden from the eyes of strangers – consequently from those of the historian.

APPENDIX: PORTS OF CALL AND DURATION OF SEA VOYAGES BETWEEN VENICE AND EASTERN- MEDITERRANEAN DESTINATIONS[156]

Tab. I - Sailing eastward.

From/to	Type of vessel	Comprehensive duration of voyage	Ports of call and (in parentheses) number of days, if indicated	Source
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	17 May-19 Jun. 1458 = 33 days	Ragusa (2), Durazzo (1), Rhodes (3), Episcopia (1)	Sanseverino, *Felice*, 97-125
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	18 May-18 Jun. 1458 = 32 days	Parenzo, Ragusa, Durazzo, Casope [?], Corfu, Candia, Rhodes, Paphos	*The Itineraries of William Wey*, 56-57[157]
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	25 May-26 Jun. 1461 = 32 days	Parenzo (1), Zara (1), Candia (2), Rhodes (1)	Rochechouart, *Journal*, 226-236
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	26 May-13 Jul. 1462 = 43 days (inc. 6 days at San Nicolò, before setting sail)	Parenzo, Rovigno, Zara, Šešula, Curzola, Ragusa, Corfu, Axtin [Astypalaia?], Carkey [Chalki?], Rhodos, Paphos	*The Itineraries of William Wey*, 92-95[158]

[156] A fuller list of sea voyages and their routes (without reference to duration) can be found in Gluzman, *Between Venice and the Levant,* pp. 274-289. Ports of call are here intended as stops in which passengers disembarked. Not all authors indicated the number of days spent in ports of call. Travelogues that do not include the dates of departure and arrival in Venice and in the final Levantine destination have been left out. In any case, the table is not meant to be exhaustive.

[157] See the following note.

[158] The dates of departures and arrivals of the pilgrim galley indicated in the Introduction, written by an anonymous editor (*ibid.*, pp. xi-xiv), concern only the second voyage (1462).

Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	10 Jun.-22 July 1479 = 43 days	Parenzo (1), Zara (1) Lesina (1), Ragusa (1), Corfu (2), Modon (5), Rhodes (1), Limassol (3)	Tucher, *Die Reise*, 350-368
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim Galley	6 Jun.-24 Jul. 1480 = 49 days	Parenzo (2), Ragusa (1-2), Corfu (8), Modon (2), Candia (4), Limassol (3)	*Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre,* 87, 112-128
Venice-Beirut	*Nave*	11-30 Aug. 1480 = 19 days	Modon (without disembarking)	Suriano, *Treatise*, 32-33
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	11 Jun.-14 Jul. 1482 = 34 days	Pola (1), Zara (4), Corfu (2), Modon (1), Rhodes (2), Limassol/Saline (2)	Walther, *Itinerarium*, 70-97
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	1 Jun.-2 Jul. 1483 =32 days	Rovigno (4), Ossero [Cres] (3), Modon (1), Candia (2), Rhodes (1), Saline (3)	Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, 148-187
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim Galley	1-30 Jun. 1483 = 29 days	Parenzo, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Cyprus	Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land*, ed. by E. Geck, Wiesbaden 1961, 16-18
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	2 Jun-28 Jul. 1485 = 56 days +11 days on board in Jaffa = 67 days	Parenzo (3), Zara (2), Lesina (1), Curzola (3), Ragusa (1), Corfu (2), Modon (1), Candia (4), Rhodes (3), Saline (6)	*Voyage de Georges Lengherand*, 84-113
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	3 Jun.-21 Jul. 1486 = 49 days	Parenzo, Zara, Sebenico, Ragusa, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Rhodes, Limassol, Saline	*Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, 317-365
Venice-Jaffa	Pilgrim galley	5 Jun.-17 Jul. 1494 = 42 days	Parenzo (½), Zara (1½), Ragusa (2), Corfu (2), Modon (2), Candia (3), Rhodes (3), Limassol (3)	*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 162-221
Venice-Beirut	Beirut galley	5 Aug.-8 Sep. 1495 = 34 days	Pola (2), Modon, Rhodes (2), Famagusta (3)	Neubauer, *Ein anonymer Reisebrief*, 273-274

Venice-Alexandria	Merchant galley	2 Oct.-23 Dec. 1501 = 53 days	Pola (7), Zara (?), Corfu (11), Zante (4), Candia (12)	d'Anghiera, *De rebus oceanicis*, 76r-80r
Venice-Jaffa	*Nave*	22 Jun.-27 Jul. 1518 = 35 days+ 4 on board in Jaffa = 39	Rovigno (2), Zante (2), Candia (5), Rhodes (1), Limassol (1)	*Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, 64-99
Venice-Tripoli	Merchant galley	21 Aug.-23 Sep. 1521 = 34 days	Pola (2), Corfu (2), Zante (1), Famagusta (3)	Basola, *In Zion*, 48-55
Venice-Cyprus (Saline)	*Nave*	14 May-9 Jun. 1532 = 26 days	Zante (1)	Possot, *Le voyage*, 107-136
Venice-Jaffa	*Nave*	17 Jul.-21 Aug. 1553 = 36 days	Rovigno (3), Zante (1), Limassol (2)	Locke, *Voyage*, 77-89
Venice-Cyprus (Saline)	*Nave*	12 Apr.-14 May 1557 = 32 Days	Igoumenitsa (2), Zante (2)	Magno, *Voyages*, 536-542
Venice-Cyprus	*Nave*	16 Mar.- 20 Apr. 1560 = 36 days	Malonta (1), Cephalonia (4)	Magno, *Voyages*, 600-614
Venice-Alexandria	*Nave*	4 Apr.-2 May 1561 = 29 days	Lagosta (Lastovo) (2), Zante (2)	Magno, *Voyages*, 635-642
Venice-Famagusta	Merchant galley	4 Aug.-11 Sep. 1563 = 39 days	Pola, Corfu, Zante	Elie de Pesaro, *Voyage*, 7-18
Venice-Istanbul	*Nave*	30 Apr.- 22 Jun. 1579 = 53 days	Valona (4), Corfu (3), Zante (8)	Carlier, *Voyage*, 33-69
Venice-Cyprus	*Nave*	14 Jul.-2 Aug. 1581 = 26 days	None	Aldersey, *The First Voyage*, 206-207
Venice-Jaffa	*Nave*	8 Jun.-4 July 1596 = 26 days	Zante (3), Candia (?), Limassol (?)	Ceverio de Vera, *Viaje*, 23-29

Tab. II - Returning to Venice.

From/To	Type of Vessel	Comprehensive Duration	Ports of call and (in parentheses) number of days, if indicated	Source
Jaffa-Venice	Pilgrim galley	5 Jul.-6 Sep. 1458 = 63 days	Saline, Rhodes, Candia, Corfu, Zara,	*The Itineraries of William Wey*, 78-79
Acre-Parenzo (pilgrims left the ship at Ancona)	*Nave*	12 Oct. 1458-9 Jan. 1459 = 89 days	Milos (6), Sapienza/ Modon (22), Ancona (?)	Sanseverino, *Felice*, 218-290
Jaffa-Venice	Pilgrim galley	30 Jul.-11 Oct. 1462 = 73 days	Saline/Paphos, Rhodes (4), Candia, Modon, Lissa [Vis]	*The Itineraries of William Wey*, 99-102
Alexandria-Parenzo	*Trafego* galley	6 Feb.-17 Mar. 1480 = 39 days	Rhodes (1), Longo (2), Milos (2), Modon/ Sapienza (5), Corfu (1), Ragusa, Lesina (1)	Tucher, *Die Reise*, 599-616
Jaffa-Parenzo	Pilgrim galley	13 Aug.-16 Oct. 1480 = 65 days	Saline (5), Rhodes (3), Candia (5), Modon (3), Corfu (2), Lesina (2)	*Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre,* 87, 153-168
Jaffa-Venice (via Beirut)	Pilgrim galley	28 Aug.-18 Oct. 1481 = 52 days	Beirut (9), Cyprus (5), Rhodes (2), Candia (3), Modon (2), Corfu (1), Ragusa (1), Pola (2), Parenzo (4)	Meshulam da Volterra, *Journey*, 78-88
Alexandria-Venice	Merchant galley	14 Nov. 1483-6 Jan. 1484 = 53 days + 5 days on board in Alexandria=58	Nio (3), Paros (3), Milos (5), Modon (5), Corfu (2), Curzola (1), Sebenico (3), Zara (2), Parenzo (2)	Walther, *Itinerarium*, 250-261
Alexandria-Venezia	Merchant galley	5 Nov. 1483-9 Jan.1484 = 66 days	Paphos, Rhodes, Milos, Modon, Corfu, Zara, Rovigno, Parenzo	Fabri, *Evagatorium*, III, 213-387

Alexandria-Venice	Merchant galley	15 Nov. 1483-8 Jan. 1484 = 55 days	Candia, Modon, Corfu	Breydenbach, *Die Reise*, 40-41
Kekova-Venice	*Nave*	9 Dec. 1485-4 Jan. 1486 = 26 days	No ports of call	*Voyage de Georges Lengherand*, 189-190
Jaffa-Venice	Pilgrim galley	26 Aug.-30 Oct. 1494 = 66 days	Saline (3), Limassol (1), Rhodes (3), Nio (2), Candia (7), Modon (½), Curzola (1), Lesina (3), La Murata (2), Zara (1), Briona (2), Parenzo (1)	*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 290-336
Jaffa-Parenzo	*Nave*	20 Aug.-3 Nov. 1518 = 75 days	Famagusta+Saline (20), Paphos (1), Rhodes (7), Zante (4), a bay near Curzola (1)	*Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, 133-165
Jaffa-Parenzo	*Nave*	15 Sep.-1 Dec. 1553 = 77 days (17 of which on Cyprus)	Saline (14), Limassol (3), Zante (3), Corfu (5)	Locke, *Voyage*, 92-105
Paphos-Venice	*Nave*	23 Jun.-28 Aug. 1560 = 67 days	Paleocastro (eastern Crete) (7), Zante (4)	Magno, *Voyages*, 617-633
Alexandria-Venice	*Nave*	19 Oct.-18 Nov. 1561= 30 days	Igoumenitsa (2)	Magno, *Voyages*, 663-668
Tripoli-Parenzo	*Nave*	8 Nov. 1579-5 Jan 1580 = 58 days	No ports of call	Carlier, *Voyage*, 298-306
Tripoli-Istria	*Nave*	4 Sep.-3 Nov. 1581 = 60 days	Saline (4), Limassol (8)	Aldersey, *The First Voyage,* 213-214