BETWEEN VENICE AND THE LEVANT: REEVALUATING MARITIME ROUTES FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Renard Gluzman MA Dissertation

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By Renard Gluzman

Maritime routes in the eastern Mediterranean have attracted the attention of many scholars engaged in geopolitical, technological and cultural studies bearing on the medieval and early modern periods. These studies display extensive uncertainty and lack of agreement in the interpretation of the contemporary evidence regarding maritime trade routes.[1] If we may deduce anything from the range of contradictory sources, it would be that the routes linking Venice to the Levant were not as inflexible and predetermined as much modern research insistently claims. Furthermore, crossing open water was an integral part of any long-distance voyage in the period covered. Venetian vessels sailed greater distances and much further from the coast than previously suggested.

John H. Pryor has made the most recent contribution to the study of these maritime routes, albeit now over twenty years ago. In his book *Geography, Technology, and War*, published in 1988, Pryor asserts that too much importance has been attributed to political and cultural conditions as factors limiting maritime voyages to predetermined coastal routes. Instead, Pryor claimed that a combination of technological constraints and weather patterns, mainly the prevailing currents and north-westerly winds, led seamen to choose a narrow route along the northern shore of the Mediterranean characterized by regular and frequent stops. This, he says, led eventually to European dominance over the Muslim world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2] The main thesis of his study won Pryor much acclaim, and he is considered the authority on the subject.[3]

This paper re-examines Pryor's construct regarding the maritime routes between Venice and the Levant from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. This period began with the organized commercial voyages to Cyprus and Armenia in 1308 and saw the growth of Venice as the dominant power in the Levant trade. It reached a peak in the fifteenth century with the development of a complex network of merchant galley routes, and ended with the battle of Lepanto and the loss of Cyprus to the Ottomans in 1571. This period also saw significant technological developments in sailing ships such as the cogs, carracks and galleons which gradually replaced commercial galleys by the late sixteenth century.

Based on records of 130 seagoing voyages on 193 different vessels, of pilgrims and other travellers to the Levant over a period of three centuries, as well as on my personal experience of sailing these waters, this paper suggests that Pryor has misunderstood the vagaries of weather at sea and his documentary sources were sometimes misinterpreted. Moreover, the meteorological data upon which much of his thesis is based is inaccurate and in some places simply incorrect.

SEA ROUTES ACCORDING TO THE PRIMARILY GEOGRAPHIC APPROACH

In his famous book on the sixteenth-century Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel linked historical processes to geographic conditions, which is the core of the primarily geographic approach. Braudel claimed that in the Mediterranean of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, vessels sailed along the shores, hugging the coast, hopping from rock to rock as it were. Open waters, he stated, were sailed around wherever this was feasible, or crossed as fast as possible.[4] Braudel based his claim on Tenenti's findings regarding shipwrecks of vessels that sank in the Adriatic Sea between 1580 and 1615, information gleaned from claims for indemnification, based on insurance policies. 'There is no doubt', wrote Tenenti, 'that all shipwrecks were found along the shores.'[5]

Historians who favour the primarily geographic approach apply modern meteorological data to earlier periods. This leads them to the conclusion that staying within a narrow strip of relatively comfortable weather along the shores was preferable to struggling with perilous winds on the high seas.[6] Pryor goes even further, and in a series of studies describes the weather and perils along the trunk routes.[7] One of his main contributions concerns the return voyage from Alexandria to the West. Pryor claims that in medieval times and until the sixteenth century seamen sailed in an anticlockwise direction along the shores of the Sinai peninsula, the Holy Land, Lebanon, Syria and southern Asia Minor. An anticlockwise current of 3 knots and the land breeze enabled good progress along the shores.[8] A direct northward crossing from Alexandria or the Holy Land to Rhodes or Cyprus, he states, was bound to fail due to adverse winds.[9]

Scholars also emphasize that weather conditions were not the only reason for hugging the coast. Although technological advances in the construction of ships increased their seagoing capabilities, Venetian captains had to consider other constraints: the need for fresh supplies, water, wood, technical services, refuge from pirates and storms, and sources of political and commercial news to ensure safe and profitable voyages. Besides, Braudel writes, the configuration of the shore invites frequent stops and is still considered to be the best navigational aid. All this, it is argued, compelled ships and galleys to stay close to the coast sailing cape to cape keeping land in sight until the late sixteenth century.[10]

ANALYSING THE PILGRIMS' DESCRIPTIONS OF SAILING

For some years I have been sailing the Mediterranean in my 31-foot ketch, *Halcyon*. In the summer of 2007 I set sail for three months intending to follow the Venetian trade routes. I started my voyage from Tel Aviv, near the ancient port of Jaffa, and reached Dubrovnik (formerly Ragusa) in the Adriatic Sea, before returning to Tel Aviv.[11] It seemed strange to me that while Columbus, Da Gama, Vespucci and Magellan and their followers were crossing oceans, the sailors of the Mediterranean were still hopping from rock to rock. I therefore began reading accounts of seagoing travellers and collected information from more than 130 travelogues describing the routes of vessels between Venice and the Levant. While other researchers have questioned the validity of Pryor's conclusions, my own survey of these sources, to the best of my knowledge, is the most extensive ever done for the study of these navigation routes.[12]
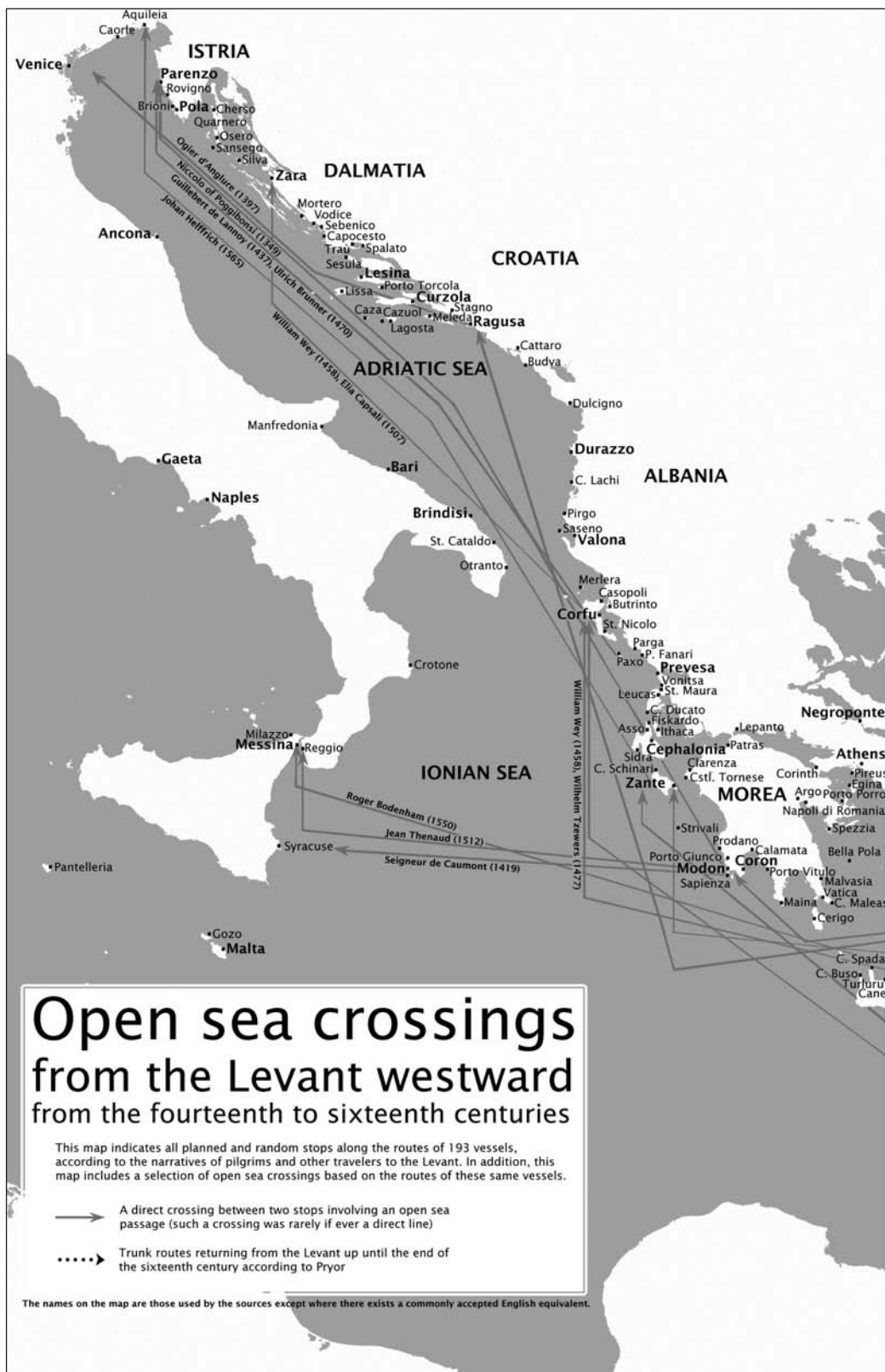
Aquileia
Caorle
Venice
ISTRIA
Parenzo
Rovigno
Brioni Pola Cherso
Quarnero
Osero
Sansego
Silva
Zara
DALMATIA

Ancona
Ogier d'Anglure (1397)
Niccolo of Poggibonsi (1349)
Guillebert de Lannoy (1437), Ulrich Brunner
Johan Helffrich (1565)

Mortero
Vodice
Sebenico
Capocesto
Trau Spalato
Sesula
Lesina
Lissa Porto Torcola
Curzola
Caza Cazuol Stagno
Meleda
Lagosta Ragusa

CROATIA

William Wey (1458), Elia Capsali (1507)

Cattaro
Budva

ADRIATIC SEA

Dulcigno

Manfredonia

Gaeta
Bari

Durazzo

ALBANIA

C. Lachi

Naples

Brindisi

Pirgo
Saseno
Valona

St. Cataldo

Otranto

Merlera
Casopoli
Butrinto
Corfu
St. Nicolo

Crotone

Parga
P. Fanari
Paxo
Prevesa
Vonitsa
Leucas St. Maura

Negroponte

C. Ducato
Asso Fiskardo
Ithaca

Milazzo
Messina Reggio

IONIAN SEA

William Wey (1458), Wilhelm Tzewers (1477)

Cephalonia Patras
Sidra Clarenza
C. Schinari Corinth
Zante Cstl. Tornese
MOREA

Athens
Pireus
Egina
Argo Porto Porro
Napoli di Romania

Roger Bodenham (1550)
Jean Thenaud (1512)
Syracuse
Seigneur de Caumont (1419)

Strivali
Prodano
Porto Giunco Calamata
Modon Coron
Sapienza Porto Vitulo
Malvasia
Vatica
Maina C. Maleas
Cerigo

Spezzia
Bella Pola

Pantelleria

Gozo
Malta

C. Spada
C. Buso
Turluru
Canea

Open sea crossings
from the Levant westward
from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries

This map indicates all planned and random stops along the routes of 193 vessels,
according to the narratives of pilgrims and other travelers to the Levant. In addition, this
map includes a selection of open sea crossings based on the routes of these same vessels.

→   A direct crossing between two stops involving an open sea
passage (such a crossing was rarely if ever a direct line)

•••••➤   Trunk routes returning from the Levant up until the end of
the sixteenth century according to Pryor

The names on the map are those used by the sources except where there exists a commonly accepted English equivalent.

Constantinople

Gallipoli

Lemnos
Tenedos

AEGEAN SEA
Mitilini

Chios

Caristo
Andros
Tinos
Mykonos
Ephesus

Serifos
Paros
Naxos
Sifnos
Nio
Patmos
Milos
Folegandros
Stampalia
Santorini
Nissiros
Cstl. St. Pietro
Lango
Symi

LYCIA

PAMPHYLIA

Antalia
Trunk Routes (Pryor)
Alania

CILICIA

Tarsus
Laiazzo
Alexandretta

Seigneur de Caumont (1419), Anselme Adorno (1471)
Ogier d'Anglure (1397)
El Marqués de Tarifa (1519)

Rhodes
Chalki
Lindos

Myra
Finike
Kekova
Kastellorizo

Corycus
Stallimuri

St. Symeon
Latakia

Thomas Brygg (1392)
Trunk Routes (Pryor)

Scarpanto

Rettimo
Standia
Suda
Candia
Spina Longa
Sitia
Kasos
Calimonio

Meshulam of Volterra (1481)

Kyrenia
CYPRUS

Famagusta
Salines
C. Greco

Paphos
Episkopi
Limassol
C. Bianco
C. Gata

Roberto da Sanseverino (1458)

Tripoli

Bernhard von Breydenbach (1483)
David Hareuveni (1524)
Jost von Meggen (1543)
Johan Helffrich (1562)
Alessandro Magno (1561)

Diego de Mérida (1512), Graffen zu Lowenstein (1562)

Jean Thenaud (1512)

Domenico Trevisan (1512)

Niccolò of Poggibonsi (1349)

Guillebert de Lannoy (1437)

William Way (1462)

Ulrich Brunner (1470), Wilhelm Tzewers (1458)
Nicolo d'Este (1458)
Seigneur de Caumont (1419)

SYRIA

Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Acre

Caesaria

Jaffa

Trunk Routes (Pryor)

Gaza

Trunk Routes (Pryor)
Alexandria
Rosetta
Bicchieri
Damietta
Trunk Routes (Pryor)

Fig. 1 The author's 31-foot ketch, *Halcyon*.

All these travelogues are primary sources of travellers, traders, officials and pilgrims (the latter comprising the majority of the sources) who actually undertook the voyage, not 'armchair' travellers, as far as I could ascertain. A full and detailed list is appended to this paper.

J.K. Hyde was the first to use pilgrim diaries for the study of maritime routes. He claimed that other sources such as contracts, book-keeping documents and insurance policies tell only a partial story. For the most part, they are land-based and were written before the voyage began. Second, their focus is on the transportation of merchandise and on matters related to the financing of those operations. Therefore, the route taken by the vessel can be only partially traced.[13] Hyde was also the first to note the extent of flexibility and variations from the initial route plan that can be surmised from these sources. He was right: flexibility and variation from the initial sailing plan represent one of the most striking aspects of diaries and travelogues.[14] In fact, they are a crucial and an integral component of every voyage. In my opinion it is impossible to describe accurately the Venetian maritime routes without taking this component into consideration.

I have also noted a number of pitfalls within these sources awaiting the unwary scholar. Primarily, travellers used different terms referring to a port at which they stopped as opposed to one they merely passed by. It has often been mistakenly stated that a ship anchored at a certain location for which the writer merely noted that it had been left behind. Italian terms, such as *toccare*, *essere*, *gionta al* and *dimorassimo*, and the German *lagen* all mean that a stop had been made. On the other hand, the expression 'from [one place] we have reached [another place]', or the expression 'we have approached' were generally meant to indicate that a certain location had been

passed without a stop. Likewise the Italian *costegiare*, *sorgere* and *scapular*, and the common German phrase *camen* (= *kamen*) do not imply a halt. For example, Stefan von Gumpenberg, who sailed in a galley, did not stop at Pola and Zara, which were only passed by. On these occasions he uses the phrases '*gen Bolen camen*' and '*von Bolen gen Saders*'. However, he did stop at Corfu and at Modon in the Peloponnese, where he uses the German word *lagen*, and notes in his diary the sea miles travelled since his last halt. In cases when a stop had indeed been made, pilgrims also used the phrases 'we disembarked' or 'we stayed', meaning that they had been hosted in the town.[15] The Jewish traveller Meshulam of Volterra, who sailed in a pilgrims' galley, did not stop at Sapienza, as stated in the modern interpretation of his diary.[16]

There is another common error found in modern maps illustrating the route along which pilgrims travelled. Meshulam of Volterra wrote that on his return journey from Jaffa to Italy, Cyprus was left to starboard of the ship, indicating that he sailed along the southern shore of the island, yet modern research has him sailing along the northern coast.[17] A similar mistake has been made in a map illustrating the travels of Jacques Lesage in a Venetian ship. The route proposed by Ivon Bellenger follows the northern coast of Cyprus, while it is clear from the text that Lesage made his way to the Levant and back along the southern shore of the island.[18] Michel Balard who examined documents of the ship's clerk Lorenzo Bozzio from 1368–9, concludes that the Genoese vessel hugged the Lycian shores all the way from Rhodes to Famagusta in Cyprus and back. Reading the sources as presented by Balard, however, we find no evidence for this route in the text. Balard himself states that this text is far from being a logbook, and that Bozzio aimed only to keep a record of voyage expenses.[19] Balard's description and sketch of the routes between Rhodes and Cyprus along the Lycian shores, are based partly on Pryor's thesis and partly on other logbooks which he does not specify.[20] Despite his cartographical recon-struction of the vessel's progress along the Lycian shore, it remains unclear where the vessel did not sail along the southern shores of Cyprus on its route to and from Famagusta.

The two most common inaccuracies contributing to the false impression that all maritime routes hugged the coast are erroneous interpretations of landmarks and places noted by travellers. For example, Satalia Bay along the southern shore of Asia Minor, mentioned in many narratives, does not have the same meaning as the modern Alanya Bay, the area around the cities of Alanya and Antalya. Thus, when pilgrims wrote that their vessel entered Satalia Bay, they did not mean that they sailed along the coast of modern Alanya Bay, as Pryor claims.[21] In fact, Satalia Bay included a much more extensive area stretching from Rhodes all the way to Cyprus, and vessels crossing these waters were very often out of land sight. Stefan von Gumpenberg in 1449 and Pietro Casola in 1494 went even further and included the waters between Jaffa and Cyprus as part of Satalia Bay. Jacopo di Verona recorded that in 1335 he entered Satalia Bay immediately after sailing along Scarpanto (modern Karpathos), one of the Dodecanese islands, located in the southern Aegean Sea, as did Niccolò of Poggibonsi in 1346, Moshe Basola in 1522 and Hans von Hirnheim in 1569.[22]

Those who have never sailed far from land are liable to make another error. Sailors commonly point to the horizon and say that 'such and such a place is over there'. Pilgrims would often do the same, and wrote in this way in their travelogues

in accordance with what they had heard from mariners. This did not imply that they had actually seen those places. For example, Ulrich Brunner, who sailed back from the Levant to Venice in 1470 close to the island of Milos in the Aegean Sea, reported that Negroponte and Constantinople were located on the starboard side.[23] Martin Baumgarten recorded in 1507 that the islands of Nio, Paros, Servi, Naxos, Milos and Falconera, all part of the Southern Cyclades, were to be found to starboard. It is highly improbable that all these islands were spotted from a galley sailing between Crete and the southern Peloponnese.[24]

Various names and locations in the writings of pilgrims were only meant to describe stages in the monotonous description of a voyage on the high seas. This way of writing may be compared to the method used by a ship's captain, who in the sixteenth century would often note various locations in the logbook only in order to indicate the position and progress of his vessel. Many examples can be found in the diary of Alessandro Magno, who copied from the captain's log the progress of his three voyages to Cyprus and Alexandria between the years 1557 and 1561:

> At sunrise the Gulf of Cattaro lay to the north at a distance of 20 miles, Malonta to the north-west by north, Budua to the north-east, Trasto to the north-east by North, Dulcigno to the east and Antivari to the east-north-east, and it was cloudy all day.[25]

It is very unlikely that Magno's captain was able to see all these places at the same time. This is also true for the yet unpublished diary of the *Giustiniana*'s voyage to Cyprus in 1567. The captain kept an exact record of the progress of the ship at sea and the places he passed. When a place was seen from a great distance, he used specific terms like *scopriva*, *si vedeva* or *da largho*, while closer places were noted with phrases such as *costizava* or *sotto i tereni*. On other occasions where no land was sighted the captain indicated the ship's position by noting the wind direction, estimated mileage covered, and bearings.[26]

Another look at Tenenti's above-mentioned interpretation is warranted. As noted, Tenenti claims that vessels sailing in the Adriatic hugged the shores, since nearly all shipwrecks found in the region are located along the eastern and western coasts.[27] I should like to offer a different interpretation, namely that the findings are evidence that vessels were swept to the shore by strong winds, especially the Bora wind blowing in the summer from the north-east and east. Drifting in adverse winds is an inseparable component of sailing. What scholars have commonly failed to acknowledge is that for all types of vessels, going aground is the most common cause of shipwreck. Sailing along the shore is far more treacherous than sailing the high seas.

WEATHER PATTERNS ALONG THE ROUTES TO THE LEVANT

Without going into detail about weather conditions along the routes to the Levant, I wish to point out some inaccuracies that are bound to creep into any attempt to draw far-reaching conclusions from a general weather analysis. Inaccuracies such as these cast doubt on the conclusions, especially those drawn by advocates of the primarily geographic approach.

Pryor has claimed that mariners stuck close to the coast to take advantage of the anticlockwise current of 3 knots running in this region. He bases his conclusions on

geographical studies and schematic maps at basin scale drawn from data collected mainly by Nilsen between 1908 and 1910.[28] More recent studies based on images taken from National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) satellites as well as *in situ* observations suggest that the case is far more complex than previously assumed.[29] In fact, it is still debatable whether Atlantic waters flow across the central parts of the eastern basin, or counterclockwise along the coasts. Various clockwise and anticlockwise gyres, eddies and jets, like the Mersa-Matruh gyre north-west of Alexandria, and the recurrent Shikmona gyre west of Haifa, as well as some smaller-scale features, that originated from the instability of the flow along coasts together offer a far more complex picture.[30] We should also take into consideration that the surface currents vary in direction and force due to the winds, as demonstrated by a model drawn by Gerges in 1976.[31] In addition, all modern navigation aids state that changes in the direction of sea current are often due to the prevailing winds and the complexity of the shoreline.[32] While Pryor bases his claims on a steady 3-knot current, modern research points to a current of 0–0.3 knots at most.[33] There is no reason to believe that a strong steady current as mentioned by Pryor ever flowed along these shores, even if we surmise that the Aswan Dam's effect on the flow of the Nile has been to weaken it.

Some other inaccuracies can be found in relation to the land breeze effect that Pryor often mentions. The land breeze is caused by temperature differences between land and sea during the day. In the Levant, the wind stops blowing from the north-west in the evening and starts to blow from the opposite direction during the night. Pryor claims that this makes coasting preferable.[34] However, the night breeze does not exceed 10 knots, being just 1 to 2 on the Beaufort scale. Such a gentle breeze is not strong enough to move a vessel at sea against the adverse waves left over from the previous day's prevailing north-westerlies.[35]

Pryor uses schematic seasonal weather maps that illustrate the dominant winds in various locations in the Mediterranean. These maps, however, are intended to give a general impression, and are not used for forecasting or navigation. Much more detailed climatology studies used for military purposes divide the force and direction of the winds during each month of the year, using monthly wind-rose charts or tables. This data indicates that the data Pryor uses is not sufficiently detailed to allow for unequivocal conclusions.[36] But this has little bearing on a coast-hugging vessel. Indeed, Pryor's assumptions about prevailing winds and currents cannot be used to support the theory of coasting. Air flows along the path of least resistance – the topography of the shore redirects the initial direction of the wind in such a way that every mountain or island alters the wind direction and force.[37] For example, according to Pryor's seasonal weather maps, the Etesian wind along the northern shores of Crete comes from the north or north-east. This leads him to claim that sailing westward or eastward along Crete is easy with the northerly summer winds.[38] In reality, when the wind comes into contact with the northern coast of the island, it changes direction to blow from the west. Sailing westward along the shores in the summer is therefore extremely difficult. This effect is not indicated in seasonal weather maps which, as noted, are prepared for general reference only. In short, local wind conditions, as affected by topographical features, are far more significant for the practical seaman than general wind patterns.

A claim commonly heard regarding visibility is that in the Mediterranean land

can be seen nearly at all times, which makes coasting a safe and easy option. However, this claim fails to take into account the effect of salt haze during the summer and early autumn on the Ionian, Aegean, and eastern Mediterranean waters. Salt haze scatters and reflects light rays much more than dust haze, causing poor visibility. Surface visibility in salt haze may be as little as 4 to 6 nautical miles. If one sails towards the sun the visibility is even worse.[39]

I do not claim that geographical conditions have no significant effect on the nature of maritime routes; on the contrary, they play a key role, but the picture is complex – the wind cannot be represented by a single arrow over a large area. Errors made in analysing weather conditions have led scholars to specious conclusions, which in turn have influenced the investigation of historical developments.

A CASE STUDY: THE PRIMARILY GEOGRAPHIC APPROACH APPLIED TO SAEWULF'S VOYAGE

What happens if we apply Pryor's theory to the narrative of a single voyage? Does it fit? It may be tested by using Pryor's own analysis of the travels of Saewulf.[40] This pilgrim sailed to the Holy Land in 1102–3, two centuries before the period examined above, which should have made the ship carrying him even more reliant on coast-hopping, according to Pryor's theory. Pryor claims that Saewulf sailed along the coast all the way from Italy to Jaffa and back, as was the custom during that period. Saewulf travelled aboard a commercial vessel. He records that the ship could not continue its route directly through the open sea owing to some technical problems. Therefore, he boarded a small craft of local traders at Monopoli in Southern Italy. The vessel had business at three stations along the coast of the Ionian Sea. It is clear from Saewulf's narrative that the main route from Italy to the Levant was across the open sea, yet Pryor fails to mention this fact.[41]

In another part of the text Saewulf describes the difficulties of sailing northward from Corinth to Riva d' Ostria (modern Livadostro Bay). Indeed the winds and currents around this area are remarkably strong due to the unique terrain which creates an air channel. However, Pryor claims that the word *contraria* refers to difficulties raised by local officials.[42] Since the text continues to deal with navigation, this claim makes little sense.

Another section of Saewulf's voyage began in Negroponte, the main city of Euboea in the Aegean Sea, aboard a commercial Byzantine ship. Pryor claims that the fierce Meltemi winds running down the Aegean Sea during the summer months make sailing northward impossible, yet the vessel did in fact sail against the winds to reach certain trading posts. Indeed, if we take into account that pointing high into a fierce Meltemi wind is impossible, we can see that as much as half of this part of his voyage was made in adverse winds.[43] In fact, sailing against the Meltemi winds is unavoidable in the Aegean. Another example of sailing against the strong winds is offered by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who rented a small craft of local traders in the summer of 1405 and sailed from Rhodes to Chios in adverse winds.[44]

Later Pryor describes some navigational hazards, based on data collected from modern pilot books. One such example is the danger of going aground on the reef north-west of the entrance to the port of Mandraki in Rhodes (the Kolona Shoal). Pryor asserts that ships travelling eastward sailed close to the Turkish coastline until they had passed Rhodes, then turned toward the south-west to enter that port.[45] In

fact, the reef is an extension of the shore and is clearly observable. Most of the day, fishermen are happily casting their lines from it. A distance of few metres is enough to pass it safely. The suggestion that vessels continued as far as the Turkish side of the channel, a distance of 15 miles, illustrates the hazards of what might be called armchair navigation.

The last part of Saewulf's travels eastward also offers little support to Pryor's theory. Pryor implies that the vessel carrying Saewulf intended to hug the Lycian coast in southern Turkey on its way to Paphos in south-western Cyprus. In fact, Saewulf clearly states that the ship had fled to those shores to escape bad weather. It is therefore doubtful that this was the primary intention of her captain.[46] Pryor also claims that during the passage from Paphos to Jaffa, Saewulf's vessel sailed first along the Cypriot coast, then crossed to Tripoli and Beirut before turning southwards to Acre, because of the Meltemi winds. Yet there is no evidence of this route in the text.[47] Quite the opposite: it is evident from the account that the ship crossed directly from Paphos to Jaffa:

> After leaving the isle of Cyprus, we were tossed about by tempestuous weather for seven days and seven nights, being forced back one night almost to the spot from which we sailed; but after much suffering, by divine mercy, at sun-rise on the eighth day, we saw before us the coast of the port of Joppa, which filled us with an unexpected and extraordinary joy.[48]

A direct crossing between southern Cyprus to Jaffa in both directions out of land sight was the custom throughout the period examined here. Almost no cog, carrack, galleon or galley chose the coastal route over a direct crossing. For most pilgrims, the coast of the Holy Land became visible north or south of Jaffa, depending on the conditions of the voyage. For example, on the one hand, Jacopo di Verona crossed in 1335 on a ship from Famagusta to Jaffa and was swept by adverse winds towards Caesaria. On the other, in 1483 Felix Fabri crossed directly from Paphos without sighting land until reaching Jaffa.[49]

Pryor claims that on the return voyage Saewulf sailed along the shores of Lebanon, Syria and Cilicia to avoid the adverse winds between Cyprus and Rhodes.[50] Again, I prefer to let Saewulf speak for himself:

> But, fearing to meet the fleet of the Saracens, we did not venture out into the open sea by the same course we came, but sailed along the coast by several cities . . .[51]

It is clear from Saewulf's account that the ship was compelled to take the coastal route to avoid a possible encounter with enemy ships and not, as Pryor claims, because of the weather. Among the numerous reports I have examined, I found only one vessel that chose the coastal route over sailing along the southern shore of Cyprus. All other vessels crossed the open sea directly from Jaffa or Egypt, tacking their way against the wind for approximately a week. Their goal was to go as far north-west as they could. In most cases vessels which departed from Egypt chose a port tack, owing to adverse winds, heading north-east until they reached one of the ports in southern Cyprus. On rare occasions they got as far as Anatolia or Rhodes, as Guillebert de Lannoy did in 1437 on a small ship from Jaffa to Cyprus and Denis Possot in 1532 on a commercial ship from Jaffa to Limassol. Both of them mentioned their decision to skip Cyprus and continue over the open sea directly to Lycia to take advantage of favourable winds.[52]

Ships sailing from Alexandria northwards or westwards tacked repeatedly in high seas until reaching the northern shores of the Mediterranean. As time went by, and more commonly during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find an increasing number of vessels able to point higher into the wind and reaching Crete, Modon and even Zante directly. However, luck was always a crucial factor, and during that period some vessels reached only the southern shore of Cyprus. All of the following travellers completed a direct crossing from Alexandria northward. Some were pushed towards the east by adverse winds: Niccolò of Poggibonsi in 1349 aboard a brigantine from Damietta to Famagusta; Bernhard von Breydenbach in 1483 aboard the galleys of Trafego from Alexandria to Crete; Jean Thenaud in 1512 from Alexandria to Kastellorizo; Domenico Trevisan in 1512 aboard a *galea bastarda* from Damietta to the southern shores of Cyprus; David Hareuveni in 1524 aboard a merchant galley from Alexandria to Candia; Daniel Ecklin von Arow in 1553 aboard a ship from Alexandria towards Famagusta; Alessandro Magno in 1561 aboard a ship from Alexandria to the proximity of Corfu; Albrecht Graffen zu Louwenstein in 1562 aboard a ship from Alexandria to Scarpanto.[53] Throughout this period, the duration of the crossing from Alexandria to some point on the northern shores did not change, and was between one and two weeks.[54]

The merchant ship carrying Alessandro Magno, which sailed from Alexandria on 19 October 1561, tacked her way against adverse NW and NNW winds and did not stop until it reached the Corfu area on 7 November – a much faster route than the alternative suggested by Pryor. Magno also left us detailed information about his vessel's progress in relation to the winds and course chosen. From his account it seems that his ship tried to point as high as possible into the NW wind, heading towards the west. When the wind backed, becoming more westerly than northerly, the ship altered course to port tack, heading NE or ENE. Magno writes that on rare occasions when the wind veered to the NE or even E, all sails were set and they headed directly to the NW. From his description it appears that the crew greeted any change in wind direction with elation.[55] Indeed, a good wind could give them a few hours of sailing at speeds of 4.5 to 8 knots.

In conclusion: Pryor's analysis of Saewulf's travel shows how inaccurate interpretations of weather and navigational hazards have resulted in a flawed theory. His thesis also fails to hold water when examined in the light of all other travel narratives included in the present research. It follows that Venetian vessels sailed greater distances and much farther from the coast than assumed so far. Moreover, crossing the open sea was an integral part of any long-distance voyage.

The model suggested by historians supporting the primarily geographical approach fails to give a satisfactory explanation to the question of sea routes. This does not imply that meteorological conditions fail to have bearing on maritime routes – quite the opposite. However, the 'deterministic' element dictated by the weather was not the need to hug the shore, but the constant need for flexibility. The present research suggests that an improved basis for discussion must take into consideration the type of vessel and the purpose of the voyage, as well as the extent of flexibility granted to the operators in all kinds of voyages. This flexibility allowed the vessel to navigate in accordance with economic and political constraints and variable sea conditions.

TABLE OF SOURCES

The following table consists of the routes of 193 different vessels, based on records of 130 seagoing voyages, according to the narratives of pilgrims and other travellers to the Levant over a period of three centuries. Sources are listed at the end of the table in the order in which they occur.

The table includes only the stops and omits all information between stops (regarding storms, calms, drifting, piracy and other information). It is important to note that the route between two stops was rarely, if ever, a direct line.

The table does not indicate the size or age of vessel, though these factors also affected the route.

Researchers consider a direct crossing to be an open sea passage out of sight of land, such as the crossing from southern Cyprus to Jaffa which is about 200 miles at sea, measured in a more or less direct line without any intermediate stops. To this, I have added direct crossings of more than 250 miles during which regular stops have been skipped, which involve open sea passages but are not necessarily all open sea. I have not included cases where a vessel passing between two relatively close stations was forced to remain at sea for an extended period owing to adverse conditions. An example would be all passages from southern Cyprus to any stop in Lycia which involved an open sea crossing lasting one to two weeks. Passages of this kind are not included in the following table.

In addition, the table illustrates the extent of flexibility and deviation from the planned route, and consists of all random stops along the routes of the same 193 vessels. I have included a station as a random stop only if the writer clearly stated it himself or if this could be understood from his description. No doubt there are many other random stops, but from the data presented here we can get a first impression of how flexibility and deviation from the planned route were an integral and principal part of any voyage throughout this period.

LEGEND

Modon–Famagusta	A crossing is indicated by two stations in bold type separated by a rule
Beirut	Other stations
♦	Indicates an unplanned stop
»	Indicates a stop near a station but not actually at the indicated port
…?…	Indicates that continuation of the route is not mentioned by the source.
Badia (Pola)	Name in parentheses following place name indicates region or closest main port
Stop	Indicates that a stop was made but location unclear
Pilg.	Vessel intended mainly for pilgrims
Comm.	Vessel intended mainly for commercial purposes
Local ship	Small craft of local traders
Full crew/Armed/Using oars	Indicates the galley had sufficient hands and equipment for rowing as well as sailing
Short-handed/Unarmed/No oars	indicates a galley with short-handed sailing

Abbreviations:
C. Cape; Cstl. Castle; F. Fort; Is. Island; P. Port; St Saint

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Simon Fitzsimons	Comm. ship (Venice)	Mar 1322	E	Venice Pola Zara Ragusa **Durazzo**—**Modon** Cerigo ◆Contarin (Candia) **Candia**—**Alexandria**
Jacopo da Verona	Comm. galley (Venice, no oars)	May 1335	E	◆**Venice**—**Otranto**—◆**Candia**—**Famagusta**
Jacopo da Verona	Local ship (grepperia)	Jul 1335	E	**Famagusta**—**Jaffa**
A Certain Englishman	Comm. galley (private)	Feb 1345	E	Brindisi Otranto Corfu
A Certain Englishman	Local ship (Greek, long ship)	Mar 1345	E	**Coron**—**Rhodes**
A Certain Englishman	Comm. ship (Genoa, round ship)	Mar 1345	E	Rhodes ◆Myra (Lycia) ◆»Paphos ?Famagusta
A Certain Englishman	Comm. galley (?Genoa)	Apr 1345	E	**Famagusta**—◆»**Caesaria** Jaffa
Niccolò of Poggibonsi	Comm. ship (private)	Apr 1346	E	Venice Pola ◆**Pola**—**Modon**—**Famagusta**
Niccolò of Poggibonsi	Comm. galley (soteï, using oars)	Feb 1347	E	**Famagusta**—**Jaffa**
Niccolò of Poggibonsi	Comm. galley (Tarsus, unarmed, no oars)	Win. 1349	E	Beirut **Tripoli**—**Damietta** Tanis
Niccolò of Poggibonsi	Local ship (brigantine)	Sum. 1349	W	Tanis **Damietta**—**Famagusta**
Niccolò of Poggibonsi	Comm. ship (Venice, coca)	Aug 1349	W	Beirut **Famagusta**—◆**Kekova**—◆**Tripoli (Africa)**—◆**Sapienza (Modon)**—◆»**Parenzo** Venice
Amedeo VI di savoia	Caravan of galleys and ships	Jun 1366	E	Venice Pola Ragusa Corfu Modon **Coron**—**Negroponte**—**Gallipoli** Constantinople
Amedeo VI di savoia	Caravan of galleys and ships	Jun 1367	W	Constantinople **Gallipoli**—**Negroponte**—**Coron** Modon Clarenza Corfu Durazzo Ragusa Lesina Vodice (Sebenico) Zara Pola Rovigno Venice
Arkhimandrit Agrefenïi	Comm. ship	1370	E	Constantinople Heraclea Marmora Is. Gallipoli Gallipoli Str. Lemnos Milos **Chios**—**Rhodes** Ephesus Miltos Milas Pratia Myra Antalia Alania Coricos Tarsus Antiochia **S. Cyprus**—**Jaffa**
Frescobaldi, Gucci & Sigoli	Comm. ship (Pola, private, coca)	Sep 1384	E	◆**Venice**—◆»**Zante** Modon **Coron**—**Alexandria**

Traveller	Ship	Date		Route
Frescobaldi, Gucci & Sigoli	Comm. ship (private, coca)	Apr 1385	W	**Beirut—◆Stop—Venice**
Thomas Brygg	Comm. galley (private)	Sep 1392	E	Venice . . . ?. . . **Candia—Alexandria**
Thomas Brygg	Comm. ship	Jan 1392	W	**Beirut—Rhodes . . .?. . .**
Henry Earl of Derby	Comm. galley (Venice, using oars)	Dec 1392	E	**Venice—Zara** Lissa Corfu **Modon—Rhodes—Jaffa**
Henry Earl of Derby	Comm. galley (Venice, using oars)	Feb 1393	W	**Jaffa—Famagusta** Paphos **Rhodes ◆Lango ◆Stop** ◆Stop Modon Coron Corfu Ragusa Lesina Zara Pola **Venice**
Nicolai de Marthono	Comm. ship (Gaeta, Genoa, caravan (4))	Jun 1394	E	**Gaeta—◆Cerigo—Rhodes—Alexandria**
Nicolai de Marthono	Local ship (Corfu)	Oct 1394	W	Jaffa Beirut
Nicolai de Marthono	Comm. ship (Genoa, pinace)	Jan 1395	W	**Famagusta—◆Lango**
Nicolai de Marthono	Comm. ship (Messina)	Feb 1395	W	Rhodes ◆Lango ◆Kythnos ◆Athens Corinth Patras
Nicolai de Marthono	Local ship (Cephalonia, brigantine)	Apr 1395	W	Patras ◆Leucas ◆Stop ◆»Preveza ◆P. Fanari Corfu ◆Casopoli (Corfu) St Cataldo (Lecce)
Nicolai de Marthono	Local ship (Corfu, barca)	Apr 1395	W	Venice Pola **Insule Is. (Pola)—Corfu** ◆Cephalonia **Modon—Rhodes—Beirut** Jaffa
Ogier d'Anglure	Comm. galley (Venice)	Aug 1395	E	Alexandria—◆Limassol—**◆Kastellorizo** ◆Courrans Is. (Lycia). . .?. . .
Ogier d'Anglure	Comm. ship (Venice, nave grosse)	Dec 1396	W	Kastellorizo ◆Stop (Lycia) Rhodes
Ogier d'Anglure	Local ship (Kastellorizo, barcheta)	Feb 1396	W	**Rhodes—◆»Ragusa—Venice**
Ogier d'Anglure	Local ship (Greek)	Apr 1397	W	Cadiz (Spain) Malaga **Ibiza—Gaeta Messina—Rhodes**
Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo	Comm. ship (Castilia, carrack)	May 1403	E	Rhodes ◆Rhodes ◆Lango ◆Animal Is. ◆Leros Chios
Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo	Local ship	Aug 1403	E	

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo	Comm. ship (Caffa, Genoa, carrack)	Nov 1405	W	Constantinople Gallipoli **Chios**—»**Stop (Sicily)** Gaeta ◆Gaeta ◆Corsica Genoa
Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo	Comm. ship (Genoa)	Feb 1405	W	**Genoa—Seville**
Nicolò d'Este	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan, using oars)	Apr 1413	E	Venice ◆Badia (Pola) ◆Cherso ◆Neume (Dalmatia) **Zara**—◆**Casopoli** Corfu ◆Cephalonia **Modon**—◆**Stampalia** ◆Stop (Lycia) ◆**Symi** ◆**Stop Rhodes Paphos**—»**Jaffa** Jaffa
Nicolò d'Este	Pilg. galley (Venice caravan (2), using oars)	May 1413	W	**Jaffa**—**Salines** ◆Limassol ◆C. Bianco ◆Vengra (Rhodes) ◆St Ormo ◆Nio ◆Stop Is. (C. Maleas) ◆P. Giunco Corfu ◆Casopoli ◆Castello (Albania) Ragusa ◆Stop(Zara) ◆**Silva—Venice**
Zosimy	Comm. ship	1419	E	Constantinople Chios Patmos **Ephesus**—**Jaffa**
Seigneur de Caumont	Comm. ship	Mar 1419	E	**Barcelona**—◆**Boutes (Sardinia)** ◆F. Caille (Sicily) **Syracuse (Sicily)**—**Rhodes**—**Jaffa**
Seigneur de Caumont	Comm. ship	Jul 1419	W	**Jaffa**—**Famagusta**—**Rhodes**—**Modon** ◆**Modon**—**Syracuse (Sicily)** . . .?. . .
Zosimy	Comm. ship	Aug 1420	W	**Jaffa**—**S Cyprus Rhodes** . . .?. . .
Piero Quirino	Comm. ship (private, coca)	Apr 1431	W	**Candia**—**Cadiz (Spain)** . . .?. . .
Mariano da Siena	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2), short-handed)	Apr 1431	E	Venice Pola Zara ◆Curzola ◆Ragusa Corfu Modon Candia Rhodes **Paphos**—**Jaffa**
Mariano da Siena	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2), short-handed)	Jun 1431	W	**Jaffa**—◆**Kekova (Lycia)** ◆Kastellorizo **Rhodes**—**Modon** Corfu . . .?. . .
Mariano da Siena	Local ship (barca)	Jul 1431	W	Corfu ◆Casopoli (Corfu) ◆»Bari
Bertrandon de la Broquière	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2))	May 1432	E	Venice Parenzo Pola Zara **Sebenico**—**Corfu** Modon Candia Rhodes **Paphos**—**Jaffa**

Traveller	Route		Date	Ship
Bertrandon de la Broquière	Venice Parenzo Zara **Sebenico—Corfu** Modon	E	May 1432	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2))
Guillebert de Lannoy	**Candia—S Cyprus—Jaffa** / **Candia—Alexandria**	E	1437	Local ship (Constantinople)
Guillebert de Lannoy	...?... Napoli **Messina—Modon** ◆Crete ◆Crete ◆**P. Malfetan (Lycia)—Famagusta**	E	Dec 1437	Comm. ship (Genoa)
Guillebert de Lannoy	**Famagusta—Jaffa**	E	1437	Local ship (grepperia)
Guillebert de Lannoy	**Jaffa—**◆**Kekova (Lycia)** Lindos (Rhodes) ...?...	W	1437	Local ship
Guillebert de Lannoy	...?... **Rhodes—Coron** ...?...	W	1437	Comm. ship (Catalonia)
Guillebert de Lannoy	...?... Modon ◆Cephalonia ◆Paxo **Corfu—Parenzo** ...?...	W	1437	Comm. ship (Venice)
Ein Pilgerbüchlein	Venice Parenzo **Zara—Corfu** Modon Candia Rhodes ...?...	E	1444	Pilg. galley (Venice)
Ein Pilgerbüchlein	Tripoli Limassol	W	Sep 1444	Local ship
Ein Pilgerbüchlein	**Limassol—Modon**	W	Oct 1444	Local ship
Steffan von Gumpenberg	**Venice—Corfu** ◆St Nicolo (Corfu) Modon ◆**Coron—Rhodes** ◆**Stop (Lycia)—Jaffa**	E	Sep 1449	Pilg. galley (Venice)
Steffan von Gumpenberg	...?... Limassol ◆Paphos Rhodes ◆**Stop (Lycia)** ◆**Stop (Lycia)—Modon** Corfu ◆»Corfu ◆Cipoletti Is. (Corfu) ◆Stop (Albania) Ragusa ◆»Sebenico **Zara—Venice**	W	Mar 1449	Comm. galley (Venice, using oars)
Varsonofii	Kiev Belgrad **Constantinople—Crete** Rhodes Cyprus Latakia (Syria) Tripoli Beirut	E	1456	Comm. ship
Roberto da Sanseverino	**Venice—Ragusa** ◆**Durazzo—Candia Rhodes** ◆**Episkopi (Limassol)—Jaffa**	E	May 1458	Pilg. galley (Venice, Loredana II, using oars)
William Wey	Venice **Parenzo—Ragusa Durazzo** Casopoli (Corfu) **Corfu—Candia—Paphos—Jaffa**	E	May 1458	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2), Contarina)
John Tiptoft	**Jaffa—S Cyprus Rhodes—Venice**	W	Jul 1458	Pilg. galley (Venice, Loredana II, using oars)

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
William Wey	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2), Contarina)	Jul 1458	W	Jaffa—Salines—Rhodes Candia—Corfu—Zara—Venice
Roberto da Sanseverino	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Oct 1458	W	Acre—◆Milos—◆Modon—Ragusa ◆Ancona . . .?. . . Venice
Varsonofii	Comm. ship	1461	E	Constantinople Gallipoli—Crete Rhodes S Cyprus—Damietta (Egypt)
Louis de Rouchechouart	Pilg. galley (Venice, Contarina, no oars)	May 1461	E	Venice Parenzo Zara—Candia Rhodes—Jaffa
William Wey	Pilg. galley (Venice)	May 1462	E	Venice Parenzo Rovigno Zara Sesula (Dalmatia) Curzola Ragusa Corfu Zante—Chalki Is. (Rhodes) Rhodes Paphos—Jaffa
William Wey	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Aug 1462	W	Jaffa—Paphos Rhodes Candia Modon—Lissa—Venice
Giovan Maria Angiolello	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1468	E	Venice ◆Venice—Modon . . .?. . .
Ulrich Brunner	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Jun 1470	E	Venice—Ragusa Corfu Modon Candia Rhodes ◆Paphos—Jaffa
Anselme Adorno	Comm. ship (Genoa, grand nef, armed)	May 1470	E	Genoa Corsica Sardinia—Tunis
Anselme Adorno	Comm. ship (Genoa, grand nef)	Jun 1470	E	Tunis ◆Sousa—Alexandria
Ulrich Brunner	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Aug 1470	W	Jaffa—Salines Rhodes Candia ◆Milos—Corfu—Parenzo
Anselme Adorno	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Oct 1470	W	Beirut Cyprus Rhodes
Anselme Adorno	Comm. ship (Spain, armed)	Nov 1470	W	Rhodes—Modon—Brindisi
Giosafat Barbaro	War galley (Venice, caravan (4), galea sottile)	Feb 1471	E	Venice—Zara—Corfu—Rhodes Famagusta

Alessandro Ariosto	Comm. ship (Venice, caravel)	1475	E	**Venice—S Cyprus—Jaffa**
Wilhelm Tzewers	Pilg. galley	Jul 1477	E	Venice ◆St Pietro (Quarnero) Zara Lesina Curzola ◆Ragusa Corfu Modon Candia Rhodes **Salines—Jaffa**
Wilhelm Tzewers	Pilg. galley	Sep 1477	W	**Jaffa—Salines** Famagusta Beirut
Wilhelm Tzewers	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan (3), no oars)	Dec 1477	W	Beirut Famagusta ◆Lamoy (Rhodes) Rhodes **Candia—◆Casopoli (Corfu)—Curzola Zara—Venice**
Felix Fabri	Pilg. galley (Venice, Loredana, using oars)	1480	E	Venice Parenzo Zara ◆Stop (Dalmatia) Curzola Ragusa Corfu
Brasca & Anonymous & Fabri	Pilg. galley (Venice, Contarina, using oars)	Jun 1480	E	Venice Parenzo »Lesina ◆Curzola Ragusa Corfu Modon **Candia—Limassol—Jaffa**
Brasca & Felix Fabri	Pilg. galley (Venice, Contarina, using oars)	Aug 1480	W	**Jaffa—Salines** ◆»Limassol ◆Paphos ◆»Rhodes Rhodes Candia ◆Candia »»Candia »Modon **Corfu—◆Lesina** ◆Stop ◆Stop Parenzo Venice
Francesco Suriano	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Aug 1480	E	**Venice—◆Modon—Beirut**
Meshulam of Volterra	Comm. ship (Genoa, round ship)	Apr 1481	E	**Genoa—Napoli . . .?. . . Chios—Rhodes—Alexandria**
Meshulam of Volterra	Pilg. galley (Venice, Contarina)	Aug 1481	W	Jaffa **Beirut—Rhodes** Candia Modon ◆P. Giunco (Ionian) Corfu ◆Ragusa ◆St Pietro (Dalmatia) ◆Pola Parenzo Venice
Information for Pilgrims	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Jun 1481	E	**Venice—Corfu** Modon Candia **Rhodes—Jaffa**
Information for Pilgrims	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Jul 1482	W	**Jaffa—Salines—Rhodes** Crete **Modon—Ragusa—Parenzo** Venice
Felix Fabri	Pilg. galley (Venice, biremes, using oars)	Jun 1483	E	Venice ◆Rovigno ◆Osero (Dalmatia) ◆Zara ◆**Oneum (Croatia)—Modon** Crete Rhodes Salines ◆»Limassol ◆**»Limassol—Jaffa**
Bernhard von Breydenbach	Pilg. galley (Venice, triremes, Contarina)	Jun 1483	E	Venice Parenzo—Corfu Modon—Rhodes ◆Paphos **Salines—Jaffa**

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Bernhard von Breydenbach	Comm. galley (galleys of Trafego, no oars)	Nov 1483	W	**Alexandria**—»**Nio** ◆Stefano (Aegean) ◆Milos ◆Milos Modon ◆Sapienza Corfu »Stagno (Ragusa) ◆»Curzola ◆P. Torcola ◆»Capocesto Larmo Zara Rovigno Parenzo Venice
Francesco Suriano	Pilg. galley (Venice, caravan (2), Contarina)	Aug 1484	W	**Jaffa**—**Salines** ◆Limassol ◆Paphos ◆Finike (S. Anatolia) Rhodes Candia ◆Modon Corfu Ragusa Curzola ◆Lissa Zara Parenzo Venice
Konrad von Grünemberg	Pilg. galley (Venice, no oars)	Jun 1486	E	Venice ◆»Venice Parenzo ◆Parenzo ◆Pola Zara ◆»Sebenico Curzola ◆»Ragusa ◆St Andrea (»Ragusa) Ragusa Corfu Modon Candia Rhodes **Limassol**—**Jaffa**
Konrad von Grünemberg	Pilg. galley (Venice, no oars)	Sep 1486	W	**Jaffa**—**Salines** . . .?. . . Venice
Obadiah of Bertinoro	Comm. galley (France, no oars)	Sep 1488	E	S France Palermo Messina—◆**Stop Is. (Aegean)** ◆Lango ◆St Pietro (Lango) **Rhodes**—◆**Bicchieri** Alexandria
Jerusalemspilger	Comm. galley (Venice)	c. 1490	E	Venice **Pola**—**Ragusa** Corfu Modon **Coron**—**Rhodes** Paphos Limassol Beirut Acre Jaffa
Bernardino di Nali	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Sep 1492	W	**Jaffa**—**S Cyprus** . . .?. . . Venice
Pietro Casola	Pilg. galley (Venice, triremes, Contarina)	Jun 1494	E	Venice Parenzo Zara ◆Stop (Dalmatia) ◆»Sebenico ◆Fara Is. (Lissa) Ragusa Corfu Modon ◆»Candia Candia Rhodes ◆Limassol Limassol ◆**Sauta (Limassol)**—**Jaffa**
Pietro Casola	Pilg. galley (Venice, triremes, Contarina)	Aug 1494	W	**Jaffa**—**Salines** ◆»Limassol ◆Limassol ◆C. Biancho ◆Stop (S. Cyprus) ◆Stop (S. Cyprus) Rhodes ◆Nio Candia **Modon**—◆**Curzola** ◆Lesina Capocesto (Dalmatia) Mortero ◆»Zara ◆Zara ◆St Jerome (Istria) ◆Brioni Parenzo »Venice
Pupil of Obadiah of Bertinoro	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan, no oars)	Aug 1495	E	Venice **Pola**—**Corfu**—**Modon**—**Rhodes**—**Famagusta** Beirut
Jehan de Cucharmoys	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Jun 1496	E	Venice Parenzo Zara **Ragusa**—**Modon**—**Rhodes** Paphos Limassol **Salines**—**Jaffa**

Name	Ship type	Date	Dir.	Route
Pfalzgraff Alexander	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Jun 1496	E	Venice ◆Venice ◆»Parenzo ◆»Zara ◆»Zara Vecchio **Ragusa—Corfu** ◆»Modon Modon Candia Rhodes **Limassol—Jaffa**
Jehan de Cucharmoys	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Aug 1496	W	**Jaffa—Salines** S Cyprus Paphos ◆Ralzamo (Satalia Bay) ◆Lamoy (»Rhodes) Rhodes Candia Modon Corfu
Pfalzgraff Alexander	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Sep 1496	W	**Jaffa—Salines** ◆Limassol ◆Finike (Lycia) Rhodes Candia ◆Flaschea (»Candia) ◆Flaschea ◆Cstl. Rapana (Morea) Modon ◆»Corfu Corfu ◆»Butrinto ◆Stop (Albania) ◆Budva Ragusa Curzola C. Cesto (Dalmatia) Mortero Zara Parenzo ◆Caorle Venice
Jehan de Cucharmoys	Local ship (grippo)	Nov 1496	W	Corfu Otranto
Herzog Bugislaus	Comm. ship (Venice)	1496	E	**Venice—**◆»**Modon** ◆»Modon Candia Rhodes **S Cyprus—Jaffa**
Herzog Bugislaus	Comm. ship (Venice)	1496	W	**Jaffa—S Cyprus** Rhodes Candia **Modon—Venice**
Arnold Von Harff	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan, full crew)	Apr 1497	E	Venice Parenzo ◆Brioni (Istria) ◆Pola Zara Lesina ◆Curzola Ragusa Dulcigno ◆Durazzo Sazeno Corfu Modon ◆S Morea Candia ◆Rhodes ◆**Lindos (Rhodes)—Alexandria**
Herzog Heinrich	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1498	E	Venice ◆Parenzo ◆**Lesina—Modon** ◆»Modon ◆**Coron—Rhodes** ◆Paphos **Limassol—Jaffa**
Herzog Heinrich	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1498	W	**Jaffa—**◆S Cyprus Salines ◆Paphos **Rhodes—Modon** ◆**Modon—Venice**
Caspar von Müllinen	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1506	E	Venice ◆Pola **Curzola—Candia Rhodes—Jaffa**
Sir Richard Guylforde	Pilg. galley (Venice, no oars, short—handed)	Jul 1506	E	Venice ◆Parenzo **Zara—Corfu—Candia** Rhodes **Limassol—Jaffa**
Caspar von Müllinen	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1506	W	**Jaffa—Salines** Limassol ◆»Paphos ◆Duirgen (Lycia) Rhodes…?….
Sir Richard Guylforde	Pilg. galley (Venice, short-handed)	Sep 1506	W	**Jaffa—Salines—Rhodes** ◆Lango ◆»Lango ◆Stop Candia ◆»Candia ◆Candia ◆Milos ◆»Milos ◆Milos ◆Milos ◆»Modon ◆»Cephalonia ◆»Corfu Corfu ◆Mezzo Is. (Meleda) ◆»Curzola Lesina Lesina ◆»Zara ◆Zara ◆»Unie ◆»Pola Parenzo ◆»Parenzo Venice

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Martin Baumgarten	Comm. galley (Venice, no oars, short-handed)	Jul 1507	E	Venice ◆N. Italy ◆»Rovigno Pola ◆»**Pola—Corfu—Candia—Alexandria**
Elia Capsali	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Oct 1507	W	Jaffa. . .?. . .Candia ◆C.Ducato (Leucas) **Corfu—Zara—Venice**
Martin Baumgarten	Comm. ship (Venice)	Feb 1507	W	Tripoli Salines Rhodes Candia ◆Flaschea (Candia) ◆Candia. . .?. . .
Martin Baumgarten	Comm. ship (Venice)	May 1507	W	Candia ◆Flaschea (Candia) ◆Bella Pola Is. (E. Morea) ◆Zante ◆Cstl.Tornese ◆Zante Antipaxo Corfu ◆Casopoli ◆Meleda ◆»Curzola ◆Lesina ◆Sesula (Dalmatia) Sebenico Rovigno
Jean Thenaud	Comm. ship (Rhodes)	Nov 1511	E	Aigues Mortes ◆Hyères ◆Vado Ligure (Savona) Livorno ◆St. Estienne ◆Ponza Is. Napoli . . .?. . .
Jean Thenaud	Comm. ship (Ragusa)	Jan 1511	E	Napoli Messina—◆**Zante**—◆**Candia—Alexandria**
Jean Thenaud	Comm. ship (Venice)	1512	E	**Venice—S Cyprus**
Diego de Mérida	Comm. ship (Genoa, brigantine)	1512	E	**S Cyprus—Jaffa**
Diego de Mérida	Comm. ship	1512	W	**Alexandria—Rhodes** Crete
Jean Thenaud	Comm. ship	Oct 1512	W	**Damietta—◆Kastellorizo** Rhodes
Jean Thenaud	Comm. ship (Portugal, caravel)	Dec 1512	W	Rhodes ◆**Symi—◆»Modon—◆»Reggio (Calabria)** Messina ◆Milazzo (Sicily) ◆**Senoys (Italy)—Nice**
Domenico Trevisan	Comm. galley (Venice, bastarda, using oars)	Jan 1512	E	Venice ◆Umag ◆Rovigno ◆P.Verdura (»Pola) ◆C. Promontore (Pola) ◆Silva Zara ◆St Maria (Dalmatia) ◆P. Cain (Zara) ◆Sesula ◆Spalato ◆P. Torcola Curzola ◆C. Lachi (Durazzo) ◆Pirgo ◆Saseno ◆C. Lachi Durazzo ◆Durazzo Corfu ◆P.Giunco ◆Fiskardo ◆St Nicolo (Corfu) ◆Stop (Cephalonia) Zante ◆Prodano Is.◆P. Vitulo ◆P. Porro ◆P. Quaje ◆Turluru Is. Candia ◆**Standia Is.—** ◆»**Damietta** ◆Bicchieri ◆»Alexandria Alexandria

Name	Vessel	Date		Route
Domenico Trevisan	Comm. galley (Venice, bastarda, using oars)	Aug 1512	W	Alexandria »Damietta—◆Episkopi (Limassol) ◆C.Bianco ◆Paphos ◆Paphos »Rhodes Rhodes ◆Sitia (Crete) Candia ◆Flaschea (Candia)—Zante Corfu ◆Casopoli—Curzola ◆»Lesina ◆Sesula ◆Traù »»Sebenico Zara ◆Stop ◆P.Cichala (Quarnero) Parenzo Venice
Elia Capsali	Comm. galley (Candia, unarmed, piracy acts)	Jan 1514	E	Venice Parenzo Pola ◆»Quarnero Zara—Coron Candia
Sir Richard Torkington	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1517	E	Venice Rovigno—Zante—Candia—Cyprus—Jaffa
Sir Richard Torkington	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jul 1517	W	Jaffa—Salines—Rhodes . . .?. . .
Sir Richard Torkington	Comm. ship (Rhodes)	Nov 1517	W	Rhodes ◆Calamo (Aegean) ◆Milos—◆Cephalonia ◆Swafana (Ionian) ◆Corfu ◆Casopoli (Corfu) ◆Calabria . . .?. . . Sicily
Jacques Lesage	Comm. ship (Venice, Dolfina)	Jun 1519	E	Venice ◆Rovigno—Zante—Candia Rhodes Limassol—Jaffa
Jacques Lesage	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1519	E	Venice—Zante—Candia—S Cyprus—Jaffa
El Marqués de Tarifa	Comm. ship (Venice, Coreça)	Jul 1519	E	Venice—Zante—Rhodes—Jaffa
El Marqués de Tarifa	Comm. ship (Venice, Coreça)	Aug 1519	W	Jaffa—S Cyprus—Rhodes ◆Lango ◆Scarpanto (Aegean)—Zante—Zara—Venice
Jacques Lesage	Comm. ship (Venice, Dolfina)	Aug 1519	W	Jaffa—◆Famagusta Salines ◆Paphos Rhodes—Zante—◆»Curzola Zara Parenzo Venice
Zwei Berichte. . .	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1521	E	Venice Rovigno—Zante—Rhodes—Jaffa
Zwei Berichte. . .	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1521	W	Jaffa—Salines Rhodes—◆Strivali Is. (Zante) Zante—Parenzo
Moshe Basola	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan)	Aug 1522	E	Venice Pola—Corfu—Zante—Famagusta Tripoli Beirut
Íñigo de Loyola	Comm. ship (Venice, Negrona)	Jul 1523	E	Venice Rovigno »»Pola—Famagusta Salines Beirut
Íñigo de Loyola	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Jul 1523	E	Venice Rovigno—Candia—Paphos »Salines—Jaffa
Íñigo de Loyola	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Oct 1523	W	Jaffa—Famagusta

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Íñigo de Loyola	Comm. ship (Venice, Malipiera)	Nov 1523	W	Famagusta Limassol ◆C.Gata ◆Limassol ◆Limassol ◆Stop—◆Scarpanto (Aegean) ◆Suda (Crete) ◆Zante ◆Cephalonia—Parenzo
Íñigo de Loyola	Comm. ship (Venice, Galión)	Nov 1523	W	Famagusta ◆NW Cyprus—Crete ◆Milos—Zante ◆Merlera Is. (Corfu) ◆Manfredonia. . .?. . .
Íñigo de Loyola	Local ship (Apulia)	Dec 1523	W	»Apulia—Venice
Pietro Zeno	War galley (Venice)	Mar 1523	E	Venice—Cattaro Corfu—◆Cerigo ◆Napoli (Morea) Mykonos Gallipoli Constantinople
David Hareuveni	Comm. galley (Venice)	Nov 1524	W	Alexandria—Candia . . .?. . Venice
Dom Loupvent	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1531	E	Venice Rovigno—◆Otranto—Candia—Limassol—Jaffa
Dom Loupvent	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1531	W	Jaffa—Salines Limassol—Corfu—Rovigno Venice
Denis Possot	Comm. ship (Venice, armed)	May 1532	E	Venice »Rovigno ◆Stop (Dalmatia)—◆Cstl. Tornese (Cephalonia)—◆C. Bianco (Limassol) Salines
Denis Possot	Comm. ship (nave)	Jun 1532	E	Salines—Jaffa
Denis Possot	Comm. ship (?Gaeta, private, galeon)	Jul 1532	W	Jaffa—Limassol »Limassol—Candia
Denis Possot	Comm. ship (Venice, caravan)	Aug 1532	W	. . .?. . . Candia ◆Seryne (Morea) ◆Seryne ◆Zante—◆Ragusa ◆Lesina . . .?. . .
Greffin Affagart	Pilg. galley (Venice)	Apr 1533	E	Venice Parenzo—Corfu—◆Zante—Candia—Limassol—Jaffa
Greffin Affagart	Comm. ship (Marseille)	Jul 1533	E	Venice Parenzo—Alexandria
Greffin Affagart	Comm. ship (Venice)	Aug 1534	W	Beirut Salines—Parenzo Venice
Jost von Meggen	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jun 1542	E	Venice—◆Casopoli Zante—Candia—◆Limassol ◆Salines—»Jaffa Jaffa
Jost von Meggen	Comm. ship (Venice)	Sep 1542	W	Jaffa—◆»Famagusta ◆»Salines Salines ◆Limassol ◆C. Bianco ◆C. Bianco ◆»Paphos ◆»Crete— ◆»Alexandria ◆Alexandria
Jost von Meggen	Comm. ship (Ragusa)	Feb 1542	W	Alexandria ◆Alexandria—◆Calimonio (S Crete) ◆Calimonio ◆Canea (Crete)—»Zante ◆Crotone (Italy) . . .?. . . Messina

Name	Ship type	Date	E/W	Route
Monsieur d'Aramon	War galley (Venice, caravan (3))	Feb 1546	E	Venice ◆»Pola ◆Zara Sebenico Ragusa
Piere Belon	?	1547	E	**Rhodes—Alexandria**
André Thevet	Comm. galley (Venice)	Jun 1549	E	Venice Parenzo—◆**Flaschea (Candia)** Candia
André Thevet	Comm. ship (Genoa)	Nov 1549	E	Chania Milos—Chios—Constantinople
André Thevet	Comm. ship	Nov 1549	E	**Constantinople—Athens—Rhodes—Alexandria**
Roger Bodenham	Comm. ship (England, private)	Nov 1550	E	Dover—Cadiz—Messina—Crete ◆Mykonos Chios
Roger Bodenham	Comm. ship (England, private)	Jan 1550	W	Chios—Candia—Messina . .?. . . London
Daniel Ecklin von Arow	Comm. ship (Venice)	Mar 1552	E	Venice ◆**Stop Is. (Istria)—Corfu—Candia**
André Thevet	Comm. ship (France)	1552	W	**Tripoli—Paphos Rhodes Candia—Malta—Corsica** Marseille
Daniel Ecklin von Arow	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jan 1552	E	**Candia—Alexandria—Famagusta**
John Locke	Pilg. ship (Venice, private)	Jul 1553	E	Venice Rovigno—◆**Meleda (Ragusa)—◆Zante—Limassol—Jaffa**
Daniel Ecklin von Arow	Pilg. ship (Venice)	Sep 1553	W	**Jaffa—Salines—Zante Corfu—Parenzo Venice**
John Locke	Pilg. ship (Venice, private)	Sep 1553	W	**Jaffa—◆»C. Greco (Salines) Salines ◆Stop ◆Limassol ◆C. Bianco—◆Modon Zante Corfu—◆Meleda** (Croatia) Curzola Rovigno Parenzo ◆Caorle Venice
Melchior von Seydlitz	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Jun 1556	E	**Venice—Zante—Cstl. Tornese (W. Morea)—Salines**
Alessandro Magno	Comm. ship (Venice, private, Bona)	Apr 1557	E	**Venice—◆»Corfu ◆»Zante—Salines**
Alessandro Magno	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan)	May 1559	W	**Paphos—◆Scarpanto (Aegean)** Candia ◆**Sapienza** (Modon) Zante Corfu Budva Ragusa
Alessandro Magno	Comm. ship (Venice, private, caravan, Croce)	Mar 1560	E	**Venice—◆Cephalonia—Salines**
Alessandro Magno	Comm. ship (Venice, private, Croce)	Jun 1560	W	Salines Limassol Paphos—Zante—Rovigno Venice
Alessandro Magno	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Apr 1561	E	**Venice—◆Lagosta (Ragusa)—Zante ◆Zante—Alexandria**

Traveller/source	Vessel	Time	Dir.	Stops
Alessandro Magno	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Oct 1561	W	Alexandria—»»Corfu—◆Rovigno Parenzo Venice
Graffen zu Louwenstein	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jul 1562	E	Venice ◆»»Parenzo—Ragusa—◆»»Candia Candia—Limassol—»»Jaffa Jaffa
Graffen zu Louwenstein	Comm. ship (Ancona)	Feb 1562	W	Alexandria—◆Rhodes ◆Milos ◆Cerigo (Aegean) ◆»Coron ◆P.Vitulo (Morea) Zante—◆Ragusa Ancona
Elijah or Pesaro	Comm. galley (Venice, caravan, no oars)	Aug 1563	E	Venice Pola—Corfu Zante—Famagusta Tripoli Beirut
Cesar Frederick	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	1563	E	Venice—S Cyprus
Johan Helffrich	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jul 1565	E	Venice—Zante—Salines Tripoli
Johan Helffrich	Comm. ship (Venice)	Feb 1566	W	Alexandria—Zante—◆Aquileia (N. Italy) Venice
Hans von Hirnheim	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Jun 1569	E	Venice ◆»»Parenzo—Zante—◆N. Cyprus ◆Famagusta Salines »»Salines Limassol—◆»»Gaza Jaffa
Hans von Hirnheim	Comm. ship (Venice, private)	Sep 1569	W	Jaffa ◆»»Caesaria ◆Stop (Caesaria) Salines Limassol ◆»»Paphos ◆Paphos—◆»»Candia ◆Candia ◆»»Candia—◆Zante—◆»»Rovigno Parenzo
Leonhart Rauwolff	Comm. ship (France)	Apr 1573	E	Marseille—Salines Tripoli
Leonhart Rauwolff	Comm. ship (Venice)	Nov 1575	W	Tripoli—◆Stop Is. (Candia)—◆Argostella (Cephalonia)—◆»»Meleda ◆Lesina ◆Stop Is. (Zara) ◆Stop (Italy) Rovigno
Laurence Aldersey	Comm. ship (Venice)	Jul 1581	E	Venice—Limassol
Laurence Aldersey	Local ship (Cyprus)	Aug 1581	E	Salines—Jaffa
Laurence Aldersey	Comm. ship (Venice)	Sep 1581	W	Tripoli Salines ◆»»Limassol Limassol—◆Stop (Istria) Venice

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Acknowledgement

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4 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 103, 109.

5 Tenenti, *Naufrages, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise, 1592–1609* (Paris, 1959), 45–65, pl. II. Pertes de Mer (Échouages ou Naufrages).

6 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 106; Balard, 'Navigations génoises', 784–6; Balard, 'Les transports', 21.

7 J.H. Pryor, 'Winds, Waves and Rocks: The Routes and the Perils Along Them', in F. Klaus, ed., *Maritime Aspects of Migration* (Cologne, 1989), 71–85; J.H. Pryor, 'The Mediterranean Round Ship', in R.W. Unger, ed., *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons: The Sailing Ship, 1000–1650* (London, 1994), 59–76; J.H. Pryor, 'The Geographical Conditions of Galley Navigation in the Mediterranean', in J. Morrison, ed., *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-classical Times* (London, 1995), 206-16; R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Peregrinationes tres. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*: *With a Study of the Voyages of Saewulf by John H. Pryor* (Turnhout, 1994), 34–57.

8 Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 51–2.

9 Following Pryor, Balard claims that a voyage along the southern shores of the Mediterranean was considered a high-risk adventure throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Commercial ships found it difficult to sail against the NNW winds, and were frequently swept back to go aground on the shores of Egypt and Africa. Galleys with a shallower draught, he writes, took advantage of the coastal routes as in ancient times. See respectively Pryor, *Geography*, 73; Balard, 'Les transports', 8–9.

10 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 105–6; Lane, *Venice*, 48; Pryor, *Geography*, 57; Pryor, 'Winds', 71–85; P. Falchetta, 'The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes', in P.O. Long, D. McGee, A.M. Stahl eds., *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript*, *volume 3: Studies* (Cambridge, Mass. 2009), 193–210.

11 As was the case for pilgrims and travellers in past times, my voyage was not uneventful. Progress westward from the Levant was thwarted by the Meltemi winds which carried my modest vessel towards the southernmost islands in the Aegean, only to narrowly escape going aground on the southern shores of Kasos Island due to confused winds in the proximity of the shore. Fierce gusts near Spina Longa in Crete tore one of the sails, and the passage north-westward from the SW tip of the Peloponnese demanded much patience, as it had demanded from mariners 500 years ago. Close to Ston in Croatia, the fierce Bora winds tearing down the mountain slopes were also a danger to my craft. One night in an open anchorage the wind was so ferocious that again we were at risk of grounding. In his diary the traveller Sir Richard Torkington mentioned a similar case where the sailors opened all hatches and doors to allow the wind to pass through the vessel as much as possible, thereby reducing the tension on the anchor – information I found very useful. The homeward voyage was not all plain sailing either, and I was compelled to spend five days in Ios Island due to a storm in the Aegean Sea.

12 This paper is based on research carried out for a masters degree under the supervision of Prof. Benjamin Arbel at Tel Aviv University's Faculty of History. Those with reservations about Pryor's conclusions include: N.M.H. Fourquin, 'Review Article', *Mariner's Mirror*, 75 (1989), 104; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (London, 2000), 137–43.

13 Hyde, 'Navigation', 521.

14 On the numerous variations in routes and stops, see also *ibid.*, 532; Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 139–40.

15 The same terminology is used in other diaries included in that collection. S. Feyerabend, 'Beschreibung der Wallfahrt zum H. Grab Herrn Steffan von Gumpenberg', in *Reyssbuch des Heyligen* Landes (Frankfurt, 1584), 236r–7r.

16 A. Ya'ari, ed., *Meshulam of Volterra: A Voyage in Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem, 1948), 83 (Hebrew).

17 Ya'ari, *Meshulam of Volterra*, 25, 80–1.

18 See 'L'itinéraire du Saint Voyage', in Y. Bellenger, *Jacques Lesage: voyage en Terre Sainte d'un marchand de Douai en, 1519* (Paris, 1989).

19 Balard, 'Navigations génoises', 782–3.

20 *Ibid*., 784–5, 793.

21 Pryor, 'Winds', 80; Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 52.

22 M.M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year, 1494* (Manchester, 1907), 236; 'Steffan von Gumpenberg', in Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch des Heyligen Landes*, 237v; V. Castagna, *Pellegrinaggio ai luoghi santi: Liber peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona* (Verona, 1990), 52; Niccolò of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas, 1346–50*, T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, eds., (Jerusalem, 1945), 5; A. Ya'ari, Travels *in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1946), 131 (Hebrew); Hans von Hirnheim, *Des Ritters Hans von Hirnheim: Reisetagebuch aus dem Jahre, 1569,* mit einem Nachworte heraugegeben von Ferdinand Khull (Graz, 1897), 25.

23 R. Röhricht, 'Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brunner vom Haugstift Würzburg, 1470', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Paläftsführenden Ausschub*, 29 (1906), 49.

24 Martin Baumgarten, *The Travels of Martin Baumgarten, a Nobleman of Germany, Through Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria in Three Books* (London, 1732), 496.

25 '. . . a sol a monte ne stava bocca di Cattaro per Tramontana largo miglia 20. Malonta per Maestro Tramontana, Budua per Greco, Trasto alla quarta di Greco ver Tramontana, Dulcigno per Levante, et Antivari per Greco Levante, et fu tutto il giorno nuvolo.' Alessandro Magno, *Voyages, 1557–65*, Wilfred Naar, ed., (Fasano-Paris, 2002), 606.

26 Biblioteca del Civico Museo Correr, Venezia, MS Cicogna 3596/29. ['Viaggio per Cipro della Nave Giustiniana, 1567'] I am currently preparing a full transcription of the text for publication.

27 Tenenti bases his thesis on data extracted from insurance policies. However, in any case, most wrecks are to be found along the shores, where shoals and rocks are often a cause of damage or sinking: Tenenti, *Naufrages*, 45–65, pl. II. Pertes de Mer (Échouages ou Naufrages).

28 Pryor, *Geography*, 13–4, 35, 95, 119, fig. 2, fig. 27; Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 51.

29 POEM Group, 'General Circulation of the Eastern Mediterranean', *Earth-Sciences Reviews*, 32 (4) (1992), 285–309; C. Millot, 'Circulation in the Mediterranean Sea: evidences, debates and unanswered questions', *Scientia Marina* 69 (Suppl. 1) (2005), 5–21; N. Hamad, C. Millot, I. Taupier-Letage, 'The Surface Circulation in the Eastern Basin of the Mediterranean Sea', *Scientia Marina* 70 (3) (2006), 457–503.

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31 M. A. Gerges, 'Preliminary Results of Numerical Model of Circulation Using Density Fields in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Acta Adriatica*, 1976, 18, No. 10, 165–76.

32 R. Heikell, *Greek Waters Pilot* (Cambridgeshire, Imray, 2004), 25–6; T. and D. Thompson, *Adriatic Pilot: Albania, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia and the Italian Adriatic coast* (Cambridgeshire, Imray, 2004), 7, 53.

33 Hamad, 'The Surface Circulation', 460, 468, 486–7, 496–7, 500.

34 Pryor, *Geography*, 92; Pryor, 'Winds', 73, 82; See also, Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres,* 43, 51–2.

35 Y. Goldreich, *The Climate of Israel, Observation, Research and Application* (Heidelberg, Springer, 2003), 48–51; R. Heikell, *Mediterranean Cruising Handbook* (Cambridgeshire, Imray, 2004), 122.

36 Compare Pryor's claims with data collected by the US Navy Weather Research Facility regarding prevailing winds in different stations along the shores of the Mediterranean: E. R. Reiter, *Digest of Selected Weather Problems of the Mediterranean,* The Navy Weather Research Facility (Virginia, 1971), Appendix C: 'Statistics of the Etesian, Frequency (%) and strength (Beaufort) for the three most frequent wind directions at selected island and coastal stations (average of observations at 08:00, 14:00 and 20:00 LT) (Metaxas)', 1–3.

37 If the wind is strong enough to pass over an obstacle such as an island, it will blow with great force down the leeward slopes of the obstacle. Otherwise, the wind will alter its

direction up to 90 degrees from its original course, as is the case with the Etesian winds in the Aegean sea and the Bora winds in the Adriatic during the summer months: Heikell, *Mediterranean*, 118, 122–3.

38 Pryor, *Geography*, 93, 95; Heikell, *Greek Waters*, 25-6.

39 See for example the US Navy conclusions regarding visibility and the haze effect in different parts of the Mediterranean: L. R. Brody and J. R. Nestor, *Handbook for Forecasters in the Mediterranean*, *Part 2: Regional forecasting aides for the Mediterranean basin*, Naval Environmental Prediction Research Facility (California, 1980), VII-13, V-19, VI-33.

40 Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 34–57.

41 In addition, Saewulf's stop at the island of Cephalonia was due to a storm ('we were driven by a tempest . . .') and was not predetermined for trade purposes as implied by Pryor: T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 31.

42 Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 37–8.

43 *Ibid*., 40–1, 43; Pryor, *Geography*, 98;

44 Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, 1403–6* (New York, 1970), 18–21.

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47 See Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 48; Pryor, 'Winds', 81.

48 Wright, *Early Travels*, 34. Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 48.

49 Castagna, *Pellegrinaggio*, 55; Felix Fabri, *The Wandering of Felix Fabri,* vol. 1, Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, VII (London, 1887), 202.

50 Pryor, 'Winds', 73, 81.

51 Wright, *Early Travels*, 47; Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*, 51–2.

52 Lannoy, *Voyages*, 128; Denis Possot and Charles Philippe, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte,* composé par maître Denis Possot et achevé par messier Charles Philippe, C. Schefer, ed., (Paris, 1890), 188.

53 See respectively, Niccolò of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage*, 127; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinations: un viaggiatore del quattrocento a gerusalemme e in egitto,* Ristampa anastatica dell'incunabolo (Roma, 1999), 245–6; Jean Thenaud, *Le Voyage d'outremer (Égypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine) de Jean Thenaud suivi de La Relation d l'Ambassade de Domenico Trevisan auprès du Soudan d'Egypte, 1512*, C. Schefer, éd. (Genève, 1971), 121–3, 216; A.Z. Aescoly, ed., *The Story of David Hareuveni, copied from the Oxford Manuscript* (Jerusalem, 1993), 31 (Hebrew); 'Beschreibung der Reyß ins heylig Land, Daniel Ecklins von Arow', in Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch des Heyligen Lands*, 401; Magno, *Voyages*, 297–306; 'Beschreibung der Wallfahrt zum H. Grab Herrn Albrechts Graffen zu Louwenstein', in Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch des Heyligen Lands*, 205.

54 In earlier times it is probable that most of the vessels tacked mainly to the NE just to reach Rhodes or the Lycian shore. Even so, crossing northward from Egypt was the common route for the return voyage. See also the article by Abraham Udovitch and comments by Eliyahu Ashtor: A.L. Udovitch, 'Time, the Sea and Society: Duration of commercial voyages on the southern shores of the Mediterranean during the high middle ages', in *La Navigazione Mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo*, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1978), 503, 509, 541–5, 558–9.

55 Magno, *Voyages*, 297–301.

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