
Almatourism

Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development

Croatian Pilgrimages to Loreto from the 5000 Documents of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* in the 18th Century - vol. I

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a small part of the pilgrimages undertaken by Croats during the 18th century across the Adriatic Sea to Loreto. The pilgrimages are described as a *sui generis* phenomenon of all human and religious societies. The history of the Catholic pilgrimage is analyzed through the perspective of common roots with Judaism and Islam, and the subsequent differentiation from other Christian confessions. Relations of the Croats with overseas territories since the 14th century are described, as well as their settlement in the hinterland of Ancona: Recanati and Loreto. The story of the Shrine of the Our Lady of Loreto is presented, the ties with the Croats settled there, and the foundation of a special seminary for Croats in 1580: the Illyrian College. During the review of the 4,890 documentary sources of volume I of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta*, a smaller segment of sources was found from the State Archive of Venice on the subject of pilgrimages. These sources list 44 pilgrimages from various locations on the Croatian coast. The types of ships they traveled on, the origin of the passengers, their number, organization in groups, the time of pilgrimage and the time of the year in which they occurred are analyzed. The most numerous pilgrims are from Lošinj (Lussino), followed by Cres (Cherso), Dugi Otok (Isola Lunga), Rovinj (Rovigno), Labin (Albona), Korčula (Curzola), Zadar (Zara) and Vis (Lissa).

This work is a contribution to the study of the links between the two sides of the Adriatic in the 18th century, which requires further publication and analysis of documentary sources.

Keywords: Loreto; Pilgrimage; Croats; Maritime; Illyrian College

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Ovim radom prikazan je manji dio hodočašća prekomorskim putem u Loreto, kamo su Hrvati potkraj 18. stoljeća često hodočastili. Hodočašće je predstavljeno kao pojava *sui generis* u svim ljudskim društvima i u različitim religijama. Analizirana je povijest katoličkoga hodočašća kroz prizmu zajedničkih korijena sa židovstvom i islamom te naknadna diferencijacija od ostalih kršćanskih vjeroispovijedi. Izneseni su podaci o vezama Hrvata s prekomorskim zemljama još od 14. stoljeća te o njihovu naseljavanju područja u zaleđu Ancone: Recanatija i Loreta. Predstavljena je povijest svetišta Majke Božje Loretske te veze s tamošnjim Hrvatima, zatim osnivanje posebnog seminara za Hrvate 1580. godine: Ilirskoga kolegija. Pregledom 4890 izvornih vrela iz I. sveska Hrvatskih pomorskih regesta pronađen je uži segment fondova Venecijanskoga državnog arhiva gdje možemo naći hodočašća. Ondje su navedena 44 hodočašća koja su krenula s hrvatske obale. Analizirane su vrste brodova kojima su hodočasnici putovali, podrijetlo i brojnost putnika, organiziranost u grupama, vrijeme ostanka na hodočašću i doba godine u kojem su hodočastili. Najbrojnijima su se pokazali hodočasnici s Lošinja, zatim s Cresa, Dugog otoka, iz Rovinja, Labina, Korčule, Zadra i s Visa. Ovaj je rad shvaćen kao prilog proučavanju veza među dvjema jadranskim obalama u 18. stoljeću, što zahtijeva daljnje objavljivanje i analizu izvornih vrela.

Ključne riječi: Loreto; Hodočašće; Hrvati, Pomorstvo; Ilirski kolegij

1. Pilgrimage as a Constant of Human Life

The entire history of humanity is marked by journeys of religious character. Pilgrimages and similar religious journeys are a constant in all of the major world religions, from Hinduism and Buddhism in the Far East to the three major monotheistic religions that arose and developed in the Mediterranean Basin: Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Jukić, 1987).

It is interesting that these three monotheistic religions are at the same time the “religions of Revelation”: in them, God reveals himself first to man, directly or through his messengers and prophets. Thus we see God calling Abram on an unknown journey, a journey of faith and trust in the unknown “god” and unknown land. From this trust, a Covenant will arise which, in Jewish faith and tradition, has already been in existence for 4000 years. In the Book of Genesis, in the Torah, God calls upon Abram: “Go for yourself from your land, from your relatives, and from your father’s house to the land that I will show you.” (The Chumash, 2009, Gen 12:1). Here at the very beginning arises the question of his obedience, which is to become an example for all humanity, but also denotes his solitude when embarking on such an arduous and unknown journey based on a promise. Abram, later Abraham, is in that regard the first pilgrim of the Jewish, and subsequently of the Christian tradition. Abraham marks the beginning of the epoch of the Patriarchs (19-17th cent. B.C.). The revolution with Abraham begins not because of his choice of monotheism (as opposed to the polytheistic belief of his father Terah), but

because of the Choice itself, i.e. free choice of good, that is, of God (Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary, 2001, 69). Abram's name will change to Abraham only 24 years after he and Sarai (subsequently Sarah) had embarked on a journey towards Canaan (The Chumash, 55). His journey is emblematic because in that "horizontal" journey we can recognize the "vertical" direction towards God, which is a constant in all pilgrimages in different times and in different places. In it, we can observe man's need to come closer to God, to communicate with him, to come back to him after "wandering", and to ask him for forgiveness for one's own sins.



Figure 1: Abraham's journey

Source: www.terrasanta.net

Thus we find Jews going on a pilgrimage in the time of the Patriarchs to "Shechem [...], Bethel [...], Hebron [...], Beersheba [...] and elsewhere. In those places, there was either a well of water or a consecrated tree as a visible sign of Yahweh's manifestation, encounter." (Rebić, 1984, p. 523). After Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem was erected and the Ark of the Covenant moved to it, Jerusalem became the center of pilgrimages for all Israelites, especially for the three large festivals: Pesach (Passover), Shavuot and Sukkot (Chenis, 2003).

From the very beginning, Christians accepted many of the traditions and ceremonies of Judaism, including pilgrimages. In the subsequent historical differentiation, the pilgrimage was an element which Christianity, and then Catholicism (unlike reformed churches), retained and complemented with new elements. Luther, Zwingli, the Calvinism and the Anglican Church rejected the cult of saints, pilgrimages and special devotions (Bendisoli, 1967). Whereas in the renovation the Catholic Church had special emphasis on promoting the veneration of saints, relics, the cult of Our Lady and pilgrimages (Bendisoli, 1973).

For Muslims, the pilgrimage represents a very important moment of the spiritual life: the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam, i.e. “fundamental ceremonial duties, *arkān al-dīn* or *arkān al-islām*” (Jukić, 1987, p. 118), after which the faithful is given the “honorary title ‘haji’ – from *hajj* pilgrimage” (Rebić, 1984, p. 552).

As we can see, the three major monotheistic religions, besides sharing common roots, express the need to be united with God through an earthly walk and search for God’s presence in material form, in something tangible and understandable to man in his “wanderings”. For Jews it is, among other things, the Temple in Jerusalem (of which nowadays only the Western Wall remains); for Muslims the Black Stone in Mecca; for Christians, the holy places once walked by Jesus, his mother, the Apostles, and then the saints.

Once the review is narrowed down and focus placed on Christianity, there is a direct link between pilgrimages and the mysteries of faith: just as Adam (who embodies man in all times) was expelled from the Garden of Eden and doomed to wander the earth seeking redemption, thus Jesus Christ, as the new Adam, comes to earth and redeems man from his sins, and through him man is saved. Jesus, therefore, saves and brings man (back) to the Kingdom of Heaven. Moreover, during his earthly life, Jesus cured and healed especially those who sought him out and visited him. The reward for those who were most persistent and most faithful, those of true faith, is the healing of the soul and the body. Therein lies the core of the Christian pilgrimage: to come to Jesus the Savior, to the God who forgives and takes under his wing. That is why Christians persistently seek him and go to him even after his death and resurrection, believing that in this search they will find fulfillment, meaning and salvation. That is also the reason why the places that Jesus had walked are holy places: Nazareth where he grew up and where the angel announced to Mary that she would give birth to God (hence, the greatest mystery: the Embodiment), Jerusalem, Calvary (where Jesus died), Jesus’ tomb etc., all these are places that the Christian visits to come into direct contact with the divine forces. These are places that have a special thaumaturgical power for which the pilgrim believes will be “activated” anew through his faith and hope. Also “il luogo, assieme alla reliquia, non solo traduce la memoria in realtà storico-escatologica ma media la concreta presenza dell’essenza divina”ⁱ (Sabbatini, 2011, p. 53). This is reconnecting to a whole medieval tradition about the search for the holy and thaumaturgical (Canta, 2004, p. 44; Raukar, 2007).



Figure 2: “Hic Verbum caro factum est”

Source: 4.share.photo.xuite.net

From the very beginning, Christians have been making pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and when in the 7th century Arabs started to conquer eastern parts of the Empire and northern Africa, despite the difficulties and additional levies, they were not persecuted and continued to go on pilgrimages (Hertling, 1988). The situation changes in the late 13th century when Christians are forced to withdraw from Palestine that has been taken over by the Mamelukes (Grimaldi, 2001). The West then launches the Crusades in the hope that, among other things, it will free the holy places for the faithful to be able to visit them again.

When the entire series of these endeavors do not yield fruit, Christianity manages to “reinvent” the places of pilgrimage in a particular way. Even though in the first centuries the Church developed relatively freely in Mediterranean countries and the great Church Fathers, who built the Church theologically and morally with their letters and treatises, came from all parts of the Roman Empire, now it is starting to withdraw to the West. See their activities: from Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch and Justin, all the way to Jerome, Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria (Beatrice, 1983). Thus the seats of the Church also change. From Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, through Shechem (the birthplace of St. Justine), Sardis, Smyrna, Carthage and Nicomedia, the centers of the Church now become or remain Rome, Milan, Lyon, Cluny and other western cities (Čoralić, 2010). As one could no longer make pilgrimages to the East, increasing importance is placed on new (and sometimes already common) places: Rome and thresholds of the Apostles (*Limina*

Apostolorum), Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres in France, Assisi and Loreto in Italy and many others (Čoralić, 2001). Thus we see that already in the Middle Ages, depending on the direction of their journey, pilgrims were called *Palmieri* – those who went to the Holy Land, with a palm in their hand, *Romei* – going to Rome, or *Confluenti* – going to Loreto (Di Virgilio, 2003).



Figure 3: Traditional pilgrim routes

Source: www.didatticare.it

2. Loreto and Croats

On the list of major medieval places of pilgrimage, already in the 14th century we can find the small Loreto in the hinterland of Ancona, in what was then the Papal State, the history of which is from its very beginning intertwined in an interesting and peculiar way with the history of Croats. Not just because of tradition, as Loreto is where the Holy House of Nazareth is, which on its “translation” (*translatio*) had a stop in Trsat by Rijeka, but also because of the exceptional institutional connections between Loreto, the Church and Croats.

The first to write about the transfer of the House of Nazareth was Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, “il Teramano”, in 1470, noting explicitly that the angels first moved the house to the Rijeka “castrum [...] in partibus Slavonie” and then to Italy near Recanati (Di Virgilio, 2003, p. 100).



Figure 4: The translation of Holy House to Trsat in 1291, according to the tradition

Source: www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr, p. 24.

This already ingrained tradition was also written about by Johann Gaspar Goethe, who in 1740, on his travels through Italy, stopped in Loreto and said that the Holy House “was transported to Trsat in Istria, from across the Adriatic, 145 miles, to Loreto” (Farinelli, 1932, pp. 111-118 as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, p. 147).

As early as 1520, we also have the Croatian translation of the Italian version of this story titled *Izgovorenje od carkve od Svete Marie de Lorite* (Grimaldi, 2001, p. 269) and then in

1648 *Historia Tersattana: raccolta dalle antiche, e moderne historie, annali, e traditioni* written by Franjo Glavinčić a Croatian Franciscan priest (Glavinich, 1989).



Figure 5: Illustration from the “Historia Tersattana”

Source: www.formula1-dictionary.net

In Recanati, namely, there was the *Fraternitas sclavorum S. Petri martiris* active already since 1375 (Sensi, 2003); Čoralić also gives 1375 as the year of the establishment of the fraternity (2001), whereas Grimaldi writes that it had existed since 1337, quoting Monaldo Leopardi and his *Annali di Recanati con le memorie e i costumi degli antichi recanatesi inoltre memorie di Loreto* (1945, p. 306, as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, p. 258). Not even a century later, in 1469, we come across the community of the *Schiavoni* expelled from Recanati, which in the meantime moved to Loreto, where it asked the municipality of Recanati for permission to join into a fraternity in order to be able to help each other.

In 1495, already financially strengthened owing to the grants and legacies within their own Croatian community, Croats seek permission to build an inn (*ospitale*) and an oratory for monthly gatherings, and ask for the allocation of a cemetery so they could bury their fellow compatriots. In the early 16th century, this fraternity established the new fraternity of the Holy Sacrament that managed the inn for the pilgrims (Grimaldi, 2001; Čoralić, 2001). The presence of permanently settled Croats increased so much that from 1471 to 1476 the manager of the workshop for the construction of the church of Our Lady of Loreto was a Croat from Zadar (Grimaldi, 2001).



Figure 6: The miraculous icon of Our Lady of Trsat: present of Pope Urban V in 1367

Source: www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr, p. 53.

In Loreto in 1580, Pope Gregory XIII established *Collegium Illyricum* – Illyrian College or seminary (Kovačić, 2003). Although the official act of foundation was never published, the College opened its door to the first students in 1580. It seems the reason for it is that Jesuits – who were entrusted with managing it – believed that Loreto was not the most suitable place for the College and tried on several occasions to find a better location on the Croatian Adriatic coast. As for the term *Illyricum* and “Illyrian provinces”, an interesting aspect is the legal battle (1651-1656) fought and won before the Tribunal of the Roman Rota, led by Jeronim Paštrić, a priest in the Split Diocese, member of the Congregation of St. Jerome, in order to prove that the Roman College (today Pontifical Croatian College of St. Jerome) is solely for Croats: that is, for those originating from Croatian lands and/or speaking the Croatian language. The case pertained to a different institution, but the information is indicative (Perić, 1985). It is an interesting fact that this seminary was of national character, especially taking into account that the Catholic Church, after a part of the Catholics drifted away to smaller and national denominations, prohibited with the Council of Trident (1545-1563) the reading of the Bible in national languages. Hence in 1622, with the establishment of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, it paid special attention to the education of the clergy of different nationalities in order to defend orthodoxy not only in the missions but also in the Catholic national churches (Bendisoli, 1973). To the College, then, bishops sent gifted young men from the Croatian regions so they could get an education and become priests (in order to subsequently return to their homeland and serve their own people and their own church). One such example is Bishop Ivan Skakoc, who, after his education at the Illyrian

College (1765-1773), returned to his hometown of Trogir, where he worked intensively in youth pastoral and in general on improving the school system (Trogrlić, 2003). It is also interesting that the expenses of the Illyrian College were covered by the shrine of the House of Loreto which, of course, caused a great deal of discontent and “struggles” of the administrators of the shrine itself to reduce the number of students because of the great financial burden (Kovačić, 2003). For that reason, their number, which used to vary from 12 to the envisaged 48, in certain periods of the college’s existence depended directly on the economic power of the House of Loreto itself. In theory, 48 of them were supposed to be enrolled per year. However, both because of the bishops who never sent the full number of students and because of objective space restrictions at the college itself, that number was never achieved: since the first year, the maximum number of students enrolled was 30 (Kovačić, 2003). However, regardless of all the issues of the college during its existence (1580-1798), it nevertheless educated about 1000 Croatian priests, a fact which has certainly also left a permanent mark and trace on the ties between Croatian and Italian religious communities.

Undoubtedly, this whole subject matter has not yet been sufficiently researched because the question remains of what kind and how deep the connections were between the settlement of Croats in the 14th century on the Italian coast, especially in the area around Loreto and Recanati, the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto and the *Collegium Illyricum*. The fact is that Croats, just as the majority of Catholics throughout history, made pilgrimages to Loreto, which is attested by the large number of written documents in the archives of the House of Loreto, the accompanying hospital, but also in the archives of the cities of Recanati and Macerata (Grimaldi, 2001).

3. Sources: *Croatian Maritime Regesta*

In this paper, special attention will be paid to the pilgrimages initiated in the 18th century by the residents of the eastern Adriatic coast towards the western. A total of 4,890 sources published in the *Croatian Maritime Regesta/Regesti marittimi croati*, vol. I in 1985 by Nikola Čolak (hereinafter RMC I) were analyzed, from different Italian funds.ⁱⁱ

This material pertains primarily to maritime trade connections between the two coasts and is presented in the form of regesta in standardized format, providing basic information for each individual document, namely the date and the respective port, the type of vessel or boat with its name, the name of the captain and/or *paron*-owner of the merchandise or of the ship (in the case of smaller vessels it was frequently the same person), the port of origin, the merchandise being transported with any amount of customs duty or waterage, the names and origin of sailors (depending on the source), and very rarely the list of passengers, their origin and direction of journey. The documents mostly pertain to cargo ships and boats and register their bills of lading and waybills based on which the entry and exit tax were calculated at the respective port. Depending on the source, there are also descriptions of shipwrecks with the list of damages and a

great deal of other content (such as quarrels, business deals, political opportunities, interstate relationships, piracies, thefts, etc.).

In that regard, the presence of passengers is almost surprising, especially on smaller cargo ships, passengers who are nowhere mentioned as pilgrims, i.e. *pellegrini*, nor are they mentioned as going on a pilgrimage (*in pellegrinaggio*), but are rather designated solely as *passengeri* (passengers), and only from the direction of their journey can we deduce that they were indeed pilgrims.

4. Source Analysis

The reviewed 4,890 documents contain 254 cases mentioning passengers, and only in 44 cases we are certain that the passengers are pilgrims going to Loreto.

Table 1 shows the above-mentioned 44 documents with the number of the regesta as it is entered in the RMC I, the port of arrival, type of vessel, name of the *paron* (owner), vessel's port of origin (and thus the passengers'), date of record (also the day when the pilgrims disembarked the ship to go to Loreto), possibly the day of return (if they were the same pilgrims and/or they had been joined by other pilgrims), number of passengers (when it was mentioned), the merchandise shipped in and out (if it was transported together with the pilgrims). See table here below elaborated by the author.

Table 1: Synopsis of the documents

No.	RMC I no.	Port	Type of vessel	Paron-owner	Port of origin	Towards Loreto	Same passengers, return from Loreto	Number of days stayed	Number of passengers	Also transporting merchandise	Merchandise on the return trip
1	3401	Ancona	trabaccolo	Antun Nikolić	Lošinj Mali	06.8.1782.	08.8.	3			
2	3447	Ancona	pielego	Antun Čupranić	Lošinj Mali	21.7.1786.	03.8.	14			
3	3477	Ancona	grippe	Antun Nikolić	Lošinj	08.7.1788.					empty
4	3592	Ancona	trabaccolo	Dominik Luković	Lošinj	03.7.1788.			16		
5	3633	Ancona	pielego	Franjo Vidulić	Lošinj	21.7.1786.	? 04.8.	15			
6	3784	Ancona	pielego	Ivan Skopinić	Lošinj Mali	05.8.1787.	yes				
7	3806	Ancona	trabaccolo	Josip Nikolić di Luka	Lošinj	04.7.1788.	no		27	a few wooden bars	empty
8	3807	Ancona	trabaccolo	Josip Luković	Lošinj Mali	02.7.1788.	no		12		empty
9	3809	Ancona	trabaccolo	Ivan Skopinić	Lošinj Mali	08.7.1788.	no		18		empty
10	3874	Ancona	trabac/pielego	Ivan Nikolorić	Korčula	04.6.1790.	no		1	oil and "trasmesso"	
11	3890	Ancona	trabaccolo	Ivan Taraboća	Lošinj Mali	29.7.1790.	31.7.	3	38		
12	3955	Ancona	trabaccolo	Luka Kožulić	Lošinj	15.8.1790.	17.8.	3	34		
13	4001	Ancona	pielego	Mattio Gerolimi	Lošinj Mali	20.6.1787.	22.6.	3	13		
14	4021	Ancona	trabaccolo	Marko Kožulić	Lošinj	14.7.1788.	no		45		
15	4042	Ancona	trabaccolletto	Matija Nikolić	Lošinj	01.6.1790.	no				empty
16	4051	Ancona	trabaccolo	Martin Nikolić	Lošinj	03.7.1791.	04.7.	2	36		
17	4283	Ancona	pieleghetto	Vinko Premuda	?	16.7.1786.	no				empty
18	4289	Ancona	trabaccolo	Vinko Premuda	Lošinj Mali	28.7.1790.			12		
19	4318	Ancona	grippetto	Antun Nikolić	Cres	05.8.1792.			7		garlic and onions
20	4319	Ancona	brazzera	Antun Kuzmanić	Vis	28.7.1792.	21.8.	25			
21	4360	Ancona	trabaccolo	Antun Marčula di Antun	Cres	20.7.1794.	01.8.	13	45		
22	4379	Ancona	trabaccolo	Antun Katarinić di Antun	Lošinj Mali	24.6.1795.	no		4	without goods	empty

No.	RMC I no.	Port	Type of vessel	Paron-owner	Port of origin	Towards Loreto	Same passengers, return from Loreto	Number of days stayed	Number of passengers	Also transporting merchandise	Merchandise on the return trip
23	4431	Ancona	trabaccolo	Dominik Luković	Lošinj	30.7.1793.	03.8.	5			
24	4439	Ancona	brazzera	Domenico Pazziani	Labin	24.7.1794.			9		empty
25	4440	Ancona	trabaccolo	Domenico Botticin	Rovinj	29.7.1794.	04.8.	7	32		
26	4523	Ancona	trabac/manzera	Ivan Radošić	Lošinj	23.8.1792.	28.8.				
27	4532	Ancona	trabaccolo	Jakov Dobrilović del fu Marko	Lošinj Mali	13.6.1793.	15.6.	3	26		
28	4548	Ancona	trabaccolo	Ivan Taraboća	Lošinj	31.7.1793.	08.8.				
29	4588	Ancona	trabaccolo	Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan	Lošinj	27.7.1794.	28.7.	2	76		
30	4626	Ancona	trabaccolo	Josip Nikolić di Luka	Lošinj Mali	21.7.1795.	21.7.	1	66		
31	4633	Ancona	trabaccolo	Ivan Taraboća del fu Luka	Lošinj	08.8.1795.	yes	1	21		
32	4643	Ancona	trabaccolo	Ivan Car del fu Josip	Lošinj Mali	17.6.1796.	yes				
33	4677	Ancona	trabaccolo	Luka Mirković di Božidar	Dugi Otok - Zadar	21.7.1794.	23.7.	3	21		
34	4681	Ancona	trabacchetto	Luka Mirković di Božidar	Dugi Otok - Zadar	21.7.1795.	no		22		fruit - Lošinj
35	4708	Ancona	trabaccolo	Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan	Lošinj Mali	06.8.1793.	08.8.	3	15		
36	4726	Ancona	trabaccolo	Matija Nikolić del fu Martin	Lošinj Mali	24.7.1794.	26.7.	3	8		empty
37	4730	Ancona	trabaccolo	Martin Letić del fu Martin	Lošinj Veli	27.7.1794.	30.7.	4	20		
38	4734	Ancona	grippetto	Matija Letinić del fu Antun	Dugi Otok - Zadar	22.7.1794.	no		5		garlic and onions
39	4746	Ancona	trabaccolo	Matija Skopinić del fu Matija	Lošinj Mali	01.8.1795.	03.8.	3	33		
40	4747	Ancona	trabaccolo	Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan	Lošinj Mali	09.8.1795.	11.8.	3	17		
41	4780	Ancona	trabaccolo	Niccolò Soppa di Giovanni	Lošinj Mali	17.7.1794.	18.7.	2	31		
42	4828	Ancona	brazzera	Šimun Deković	Zadar	17.7.1792.	no				empty
43	4833	Ancona	trabaccolo	Šimun Antončić	Lošinj Veli	04.8.1792.	15.8.	12	18		
44	4846	Ancona	brazzera	Stjepan Štefanić del fu Stjepan	Lošinj Mali	06.8.1794.	08.8.	3	4		

The first noticeable information is that those 44 cases pertain to only one segment of the above documents. In the RMC I, the numbers from 3401 to 4846 pertain to the documents from Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia busta 842, libro I-II, hence only one segment in which we come across records of information on pilgrimages.

Ancona represents the port of arrival for pilgrimages: this is the century in which the port is experiencing a special momentum and is a logical docking place due to its vicinity on the way to Loreto (Pirani, 2003). Another natural direction of travel was also Porto Recanati, much closer to Loreto than Ancona, but that information should be additionally researched in the archives of Porto Recanati and Recanati itself.

5. Pilgrims and traveling in groups

The analysis of passengers-pilgrims provides further valuable information: out of 44 journeys where passengers to Loreto are mentioned, there are 31 journeys explicitly mentioning the number of passengers. Thus we can count a total of 732 pilgrims, five of which are said to be priests. So we can see in the doc. 4734: “1794.22.VII, Ancona – Grippetto del paron Matija Letinić del fu Antun di Savar di Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) proveniente da Zadar con 5 sacerdoti diretti a Loreto e Assisi.”³ (RMC I, ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M).

In 13 documents we only have the information that there are passengers being transported to Loreto, with no additional details.

Table 2: Groups of pilgrims

No. of passengers	Up to 10	11-20	21-30	31-45	66 and 76	TOT
Groups	7	9	5	8	2	31

Source: author elaboration.

The second piece of information tells us of groups of pilgrims who can be assumed to be traveling together: seven groups of up to 10 people, nine groups of 11-20 people, five groups of 21-30 people, eight groups of 31-45 people, and two groups of as many as 66 and 76 people, respectively. Therefore, besides those seven journeys where pilgrims are traveling in relatively small numbers (between four and nine passengers at a time), with the exception of one journey of a single pilgrim alone, who is on top of everything traveling from Korčula on a *trabaccolo* loaded with 30 barrels of oil (which could not have been very comfortable!):

1790.4.VI, Ancona – Trabaccolo ossia pielego del paron Ivan Nikolorić da Bol di Brač proveniente da Korčula con 30 bar. di olio, di pertinenza del paron e dei marinai, oltre a due barili e 1 barilotto di trasmesso, diretto a Venezia. Approdato qui per sbarcare un passeggero diretto a Loreto. Ammonito severamente di non sbarcare l'olio. Il 5.VI licenziato per Venezia col detto carico. Tassa: 1s.”⁴(RMC I, doc. 3874 – ASV, CSM, b. 842, Lib. I).

In 24 cases there are relatively numerous groups of pilgrims, and in two cases these were groups of 66 and 76 pilgrims, respectively, traveling from Lošinj: “1795.21.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Josip Nikolić di Luka da Lošinj Mali da colà proveniente con 66 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 21.VII licenziato con i detti passeggeri. Tassa: 2.20 s.”⁵ (RMC I, doc. 4626 – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. G) and “1794.27.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan di Lošinj da colà proveniente con 76 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 28.VII licenziato per Lošinj Mali con i detti passeggeri”⁶ (RMC I, doc. 4588 – idem).

We know that due to grave dangers during travel (bandits, wars, diseases etc.) it was advisable to travel in groups. In various compendiums for pilgrimages, among advice and recommendations addressed to those starting on a pilgrimage, from those about prayer to those about health, there is also the one that says never to travel alone (Grimaldi, 2001).

6. Time and duration of pilgrimages

The third information we can analyze, when possible, is on how long the pilgrims stay in Loreto, taking into account the journey to the shrine, performance of religious ceremonies (confession, Holy Mass, Communion), and return to the ship: i.e. from the day of the registration of the ship in Ancona until the day of departure and discharge (*licenziamento*) from the port.

Here we can reflect on the fact that there were different “ideal durations of pilgrimage” we can find in various booklets written over the centuries *ad usum peregrini*: naturally, depending on the writer and the semantics used, this could range from 40 days, counting from the day of embarking on the journey until the return (the link being the 40 days Jesus had spent in the desert or the 40 years the Israelites had wandered in search of the Promised Land, etc.), to as little as three days (which is how long Jesus’ *Descensus ad Inferos* lasted after death until resurrection). Moreover, there was also a precise definition of the “minimum” of ceremonies to be fulfilled in order for the pilgrimage to be valid (Grimaldi, 2001).

Table 3: Duration of pilgrimage

Days of stay	1	2	3	4-7	12-15	25
Groups	2	3	11	3	4	1

Source: author elaboration.

In 24 cases we have information on the pilgrims returning on the same ship, so we can indirectly surmise how long they stayed. In only two cases (two large groups of pilgrims: of 66 and 21 people from Lošinj), the groups stayed only for a day because the ship started the journey back on the same day. This brevity should not be surprising because if you take into account the vicinity of Ancona to Loreto, it is obvious that it was possible to go to the shrine, celebrate the Holy Mass and return immediately afterwards. Furthermore, the itineraries from Loreto in different directions: Rome, Assisi, Venice, Milan... etc. had been very precisely outlined for several centuries, were

easy to obtain, and in addition to the information on the miles and post offices where one could change/rent horses for carriages (with relative prices and additional information on where something is more cost-efficient/cheaper), they also specified the number of hours needed to get from one post office to another (also associated, of course, with the number of Hail Marys and other prayers). The preciseness was incredible, so that the pilgrims, especially in such large groups, could safely and efficiently travel to the shrine and back (Serra, 2003).



Figure 7: Via Laurentina: the itinerary from Ancona to Rome.

Source: backoffice.turismo.marche.it

As for the confession and Mass, we know that Croats used to travel with their own priests and hear Mass in their own language. The pilgrimages of Croats to Loreto with their own priests and Masses in Croatian “in the old tradition” were attested in 1559 by the Jesuit Raffaele Riera, a confessor in Loreto in his *Historia de la Santa Casa di Loreto* and *Monumenta Historica societatis Jesus. Litterae Quadrimestres*: “almost five hundred of those Illyrians [...] together with their priests who accompany them” and also “every year the large boats of *schiaconi*, crossing in large numbers the Adriatic Gulf and coming with their priests to whom they confess and hear Mass in the vernacular, in the ancient tradition” (Riera, 1580, as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, 269). This way they could “save” time, confess on the way, and then tour the shrine without interruptions and celebrate the Holy Mass in Loreto. It is very interesting that even the Holy Congregation of Loreto provided confessors in Croatian so that Croats could go on a pilgrimage even without a priest, knowing they could still go to confession. When this, however, was not possible – because of high expenses – pilgrim groups were encouraged to come with their own priests. The Catholic Church attributed great importance to the cure of souls (*cura animae*) and took care that pilgrims of different nationalities and languages could not only confess at the shrine but also have a sufficient number of Masses for the scores of people arriving in Loreto. In that regard, the shrine was entrusted to the Jesuits, a Church order directly subjected to the Pope, with enough cosmopolitan spirit and strength for such an important task (Grimaldi, 2001; Moroni, 2003). There was, moreover, a very complex system of offering Mass at the shrine, with the number reaching up to 30 Masses a day by the end of the 18th century (Grimaldi, 2001).

Furthermore, there are three cases where the pilgrims stayed for two days. These were organized “large” pilgrimages with groups of 76, 36 and 31 passengers respectively.

They spent the night probably in one of the taverns or inns outside the walls of Loreto, because lodging in the city was intended for special guests. As Loreto was a very popular pilgrimage destination for high secular and Church officials, in the organization it was also necessary to anticipate all of the capacities for important guests, such as bishops and cardinals, noblemen, princes, kings and queens, who usually came with an entire entourage (Grimaldi, 2001). They could also spend the night in one of the shelters managed by the descendants of Croats who had moved there in the 15th century (they may not have known their language any longer, but they remembered their origin, as we see from the archive documents from Recanati). In Loreto itself, they would visit the shrine, celebrate Mass, and could go back to Ancona the next day to catch their ship.



Figure 8: Loreto: Square in front of the shrine

Source: www.itineraricristiani.it

As many as 11 pilgrim groups stayed for three days, which is evidently the optimum duration for a journey from Ancona to Loreto without great rush. They could perform all of the most important pilgrim ceremonies, see the surroundings and buy a few souvenirs at the stands around the shrine (a medal with the Madonna or perhaps a rosary). We know that the region around Loreto and Recanati lived on making pious and religious objects that could later be bought around the shrine. This is evident from many testimonies, such as, for instance, the experience of the English poetess Anne Riggs Miller in 1771 in the streets of Loreto (Grimaldi, 2001; Gulli Grigioni, 2003).



Figure 9: Our Lady of Trsat / Cross of St. Benedict. First half of the 18th c.

Source: muzej-rijeka.hr

Further on, we have three groups which stayed between four and seven days, then four groups which stayed between 12 and 15 days, and one group which stayed as long as 25 days.

We know there was a whole organization for the poorest, to enable them to go on a pilgrimage as well: as *pauperes Christi* they enjoyed special protection, were entitled to free food during their stay in Loreto, and could also, with special certificates of “performed pilgrimage” get free food on their way back (Grimaldi, 2001). However, for the Croats coming across the sea it was not advisable to count on the help provided for the poorest pilgrims, in particular because they had to pay the *paron* of the ship and carry enough food for the return across the sea. Their situation was quite different from those pilgrims who came to Loreto on foot, and on their journey could count, in the case of need, on *elemosina* (alms) they could get in different inns, fraternities or from the local population. Food and lodging, and even the price of renting a horse in the post office, were regulated in detail with special papal decrees and edicts to promote and support pilgrimages towards Loreto, and the innkeepers and other service workers (in the service of pilgrims) were exempt from paying various taxes and levies (Grimaldi, 2001). Despite the fact that over the years certain charges were reduced, precisely due to the direct authority of the legislators, one still needed to be of a certain financial standing to be able to embark on a journey to Loreto, especially a journey of several days or several weeks (Serra, 2003). This information directly suggests that such a journey was nevertheless something undertaken by more well-off people, who could afford such a distant and difficult journey.

Moreover, there are two special cases where pilgrims returning to the ship are joined by other pilgrims/passengers, who had arrived in Ancona on another ship. Thus, in document no. 4726 eight pilgrims returning from Loreto are joined by two more: “1794.24.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Matija Nikolić del fu Martin di Lošinj Mali

da colà proveniente con 8 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 26.VII congedato vuoto con soli 10 passeggeri per Lošinj Mali. Tassa: 1 s.”⁷ (RMC I – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M). Are they the same passengers? In this case we don’t know. Whereas in document no. 4730, a group of 20 pilgrims is joined on the way back by an extra passenger:

1794.27.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Martin Letić del fu Martin di Lošinj Veli (Lossino Grande) da colà proveniente con 20 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 30.VII licenziato con i detti passeggeri, più uno imbarcato in Ancona, per Lošinj Veli. Tassa: 1.40 s.⁸ (RMC I – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M).

However, the opposite could also happen, for the pilgrims to arrive on one ship and go back on another, as in the case of a group of 21 pilgrims from Dugi Otok, of which only three came back on the same ship after three days, whereas the others extended their stay and returned on another ship:

1794.21.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Luka Mirković di Božidar (Natale) di Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) di Zadar da colà proveniente con 21 passeggeri diretti a Loreto e Assisi. Il 23.VII licenziato per Zadar con tre dei detti passeggeri. Tassa: 0.20 s.⁹ (RMC I, doc. 4677 – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. L).

Upon analysis of the dates of travel, we see that the journeys took place between 1782 and 1796, over a span of 15 years. However, even more interesting is the season of the year: six journeys took place in June, as many as 26 in July, and 12 in August. We conclude that the preferred time of the year for pilgrimages are the summer months. Despite the relatively small scope of documents analyzed here, it is still quite understandable that one would travel in the season most favorable for overseas sailing.



Figure 10: Loreto – The Shrine

Source: www.tatarte.it

7. Area of origin and numerousness of pilgrims

The next information that can be derived from this analysis is the origin of the pilgrims. At the forefront are the residents of Lošinj, with 33 journeys and the total number of 590 pilgrims.¹⁰ After them, in terms of numerousness, there are two journeys organized from Cres, with 52 pilgrims. Then come the residents of the island of Dugi Otok with three journeys and 48 pilgrims. There was one pilgrimage organized from the city of Rovinj with 32 people, and one from the town of Labin with nine people. We know that from the island of Korčula one pilgrim traveled alone, whereas for the other Croatian regions (the island of Vis and the area of Zadar) we do not have the exact data. It's important to note that the area of origin of the pilgrims are not the port of origin of the vessels or of the captains: the documents are very specific about this matter.

A special review covers the ships that transport pilgrims and cargo. Thus in three cases we have pilgrims who travel together with cargo; in doc. no. 3806 on a *trabaccolo* from Lošinj 27 passengers are sailing together with "poche stecche di legno" (a few wooden bars), whereas in doc. no. 3874 (previously mentioned) one passenger from Korčula is sailing with oil barrels and the so called *trasmesso* – actually what people are sending by ship (RMC I). This fact of sending *trasmesso* demonstrates the frequency of this phenomenon and testifies to the strong daily and weekly connections between the two Adriatic coasts, where evidently such "packages" were a common thing. But they also speak of personal connections between people from both sides of the Adriatic who send each other packages by ship.

Table 4: Origin and numerousness of pilgrims

Origin	Number of journeys	Number of passengers	%
Lošinj	33	590	80.6%
Cres	2	52	7.1%
Dugi Otok	3	48	6.6%
Rovinj	1	32	4.4%
Labin	1	9	1.2%
Korčula	1	1	0.1%
Vis	1	-	
Zadar	1	-	
Unknown	1	-	
TOTAL	44	732	100.0%

Source: author elaboration.

Further analysis pertains to the pilgrims' return home. Thus we see pilgrims who on their way back travel with various products that the captains or *paroni* managed to gather to increase their earnings. Document no. 4726 says that the *trabaccolo* of Matija Nikolić, son of late Martin, was returning to Mali Lošinj with pilgrims, but

“empty” (RMC I). In two cases the ships, after they had left the pilgrims in Ancona, went back carrying garlic and onions (RMC I, doc. 4318 and 4734). In one case, a ship from Dugi Otok returned carrying fruit to Lošinj (RMC I, doc. 4681), and in the remaining nine cases, the ships returned empty (RMC I, doc. 3477, 3806, 3807, 3809, 4042, 4283, 4379, 4439 and 4828). This information additionally tells us that those journeys were relatively modest. Besides, to this day we can attest that when sailing on smaller vessels in Kvarner or in Dalmatia from the land to various smaller islands, the passengers (locals, but also guests) sailed together with food and other supplies for the said islands.

8. Ships as a means of pilgrimage

Another interesting piece of information is on the type of vessels in which the pilgrims crossed the Adriatic Sea: most frequently, in as many as 32 cases, this was a *trabaccolo* (in two of which it was a *trabaccolotto*, in the diminutive, meaning of smaller dimensions). This is a larger sailing coaster that can also cross to the other side of the Adriatic Sea. It is similar to a *brazzera*, but of larger dimensions and with two masts.

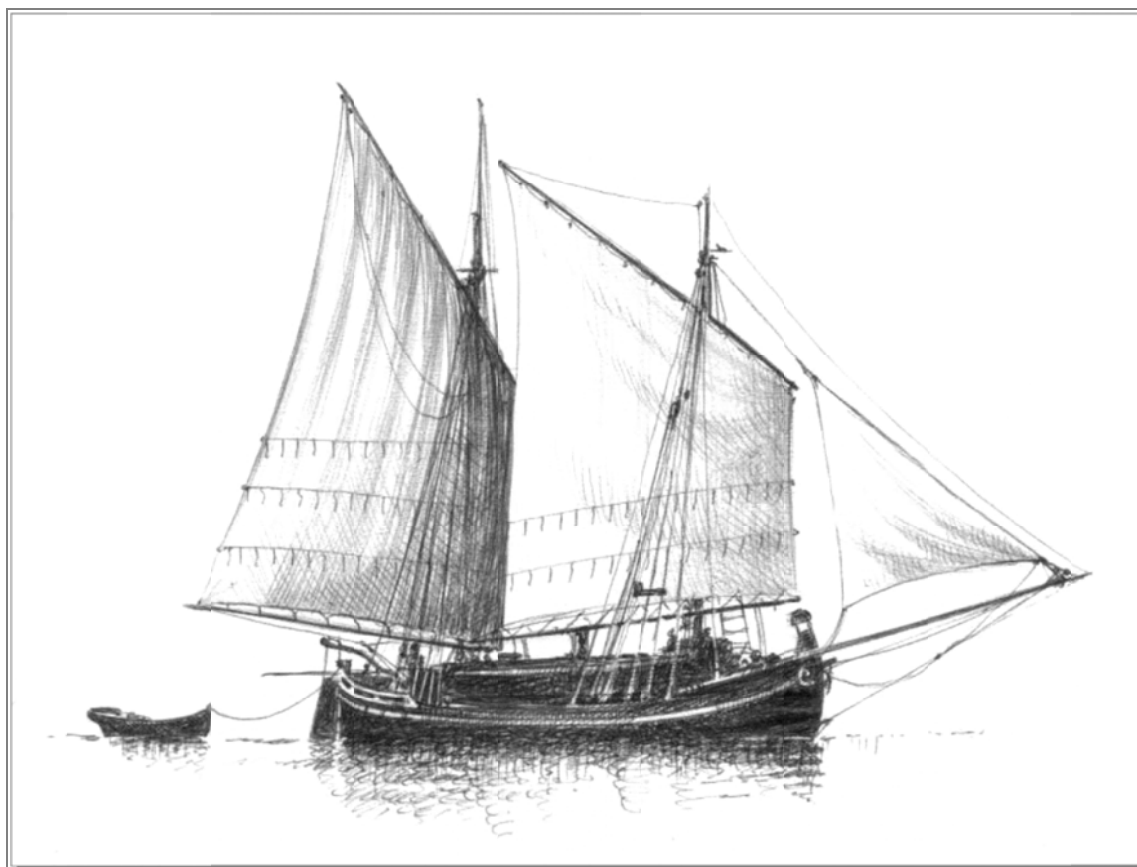


Figure 11: Aldo Cherini, *Il Trabaccolo*

Source: www.webalice.it

The hull has rounded sides and a round bottom, with a keel of 14 to 30 meters in length, dead-weight of up to 200 tons and a crew of up to eight members, and the ship itself could have up to four oars, and serve for trade, transport of cargo and people (Vidović, 1984; Pomorska enciklopedija, 1972). Moreover, in the document under no. 4523 with the term *trabaccolo* there is also the term *manzera*, which denotes a very similar vessel but with the arrangements for the transport of livestock, cattle: in other words, pilgrims did not really choose, and if necessary, they also boarded cargo, livestock carriers.

Other types of the vessels used to cross the Adriatic Sea were *pielego* or *pieleghetto* (in the diminutive), *brazzera*, *grippo* or *grippetto*: they are all very similar smaller vessels of up to 20 meters in length and of smaller dead-weight than *trabaccolo*, as visible in the below Table 5.

Table 5: Vessel characteristics

Type of vessel	Length (m)	Breadth (m)	Dead-weight (t)	Height (m)	Crew	Oars	Tender	Mast	Lateen sail
<i>Trabaccolo/ trabaccolotto</i>	14-30	Up to 6	14-200	1.5	3-8	Up to 4	Yes	2	Yes
<i>Pielego/ pieleghetto</i>	11-28	Up to 6	15-100	Up to 2.5	3-6	Up to 4	-	2	Yes
<i>Brazzera</i>	7-17	3-4	2.5-70	0.5-2	4-8	2-4	Yes	1-2	Yes
<i>Grippo/ grippetto</i>	-	-	15-45	-	5-6	2	Yes	1-2	Yes

Source: author elaboration.

Here mentioned vessels were sometimes visually similar to the point that even the scribes would use two different names for the same ship (i.e. *trabaccolo* and *pielego*).

Hence, from the short analysis of the types of vessels used by pilgrims to cross the Adriatic, it is evident that they were smaller vessels, most often used for trade and to transport merchandise and livestock, and more rarely passengers. This information is important because it demonstrates, within the limits of available information, the comfort (or discomfort) of the pilgrims' journeys. The journey was not long if everything went well (!), however, due to unfavorable winds and to avoid potential unwanted encounters (from *corsari dulcignotti*, *barbareschi* and even *tripolini* to bandits and pirates) it could take "forever" (Grimaldi, 2001). The corsairs are also mentioned in the RMC I in a large number of documents: the ships that had to wait in ports for the danger of corsairs to pass "Stanno ancorati nel porto 'per non incontrare i disastri' da parte dei corsari" (doc. 1207 – ASV, CSM, busta 61 N.S., filza 276) or were attacked at open sea "Durante la navigazione attaccate dai corsari" (doc. 1262 – ASV, CSM, busta 661, num. 5) to mention but a few cases.

As a pilgrimage itself implies a certain sacrifice (*sacrificium*) which is dedicated to God with a certain intention and offered voluntarily, it is easier to understand traveling on cargo ships across the sea which in itself raised some major existential questions: it was known (if it was actually known, again depending on the weather conditions) when the

ship would leave, but it was not known when and how it would reach its destination. A good example of the great uncertainty of sea navigation is provided by the names of the boats: all are named after saints and/or the Madonna, denoting a sort of a continuous invocation and plea for help, and at the same time a sort of insurance against adversity. At sea, besides storms, bad weather and the above-mentioned corsairs, there were also other ships lurking, and occasionally even the coastal residents. Just see in RMC I “Indice analitico” under: *naufragi, prove di fortuna, defraudamenti, depredazioni, piraterie, corsari*.

9. Captains and *paroni*: small entrepreneurs

The last analysis takes us to the names of the captains and of the *paroni*, those small entrepreneurs along the entire Adriatic coast. I have listed their names because they were truly the power moving the economy of the eastern Adriatic coast. This is the century in which Venice is starting to lose its power and new economic opportunities are appearing for the residents of different Croatian littoral regions: Istria, Primorje, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Boka.

Table 6: Names of the captains-*paroni* occurring repeatedly

No	Paron-owner	Port of origin	Type of vessel
1	Antun Nikolić	Cres	<i>grippetto</i>
	Antun Nikolić	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Antun Nikolić	Lošinj	<i>grippe</i>
2	Dominik Luković	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Dominik Luković	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
3	Ivan Skopinić	Lošinj Mali	<i>pielego</i>
	Ivan Skopinić	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
4	Ivan Taraboća	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Ivan Taraboća	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Ivan Taraboća del fu Luka	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
5	Jakov Dobrilović	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
6	Josip Nikolić di Luka	Lošinj	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Josip Nikolić di Luka	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
7	Luka Mirković di Božidar	Dugi Otok -Zadar	<i>trabacchetto</i>
	Luka Mirković di Božidar	Dugi Otok -Zadar	<i>trabaccolo</i>
8	Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
	Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
9	Matija Nikolić	Lošinj	<i>trabacchetto</i>
	Matija Nikolić del fu Martin	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>
10	Vinko Premuda	?	<i>pieleghetto</i>
	Vinko Premuda	Lošinj Mali	<i>trabaccolo</i>

Source: author elaboration.

We see many names and surnames repeated, which is not unusual for small towns and islands. Since we do not have a significant number of documents, we cannot be certain that the documents refer to the same individuals. They could be relatives or cases of homonymy. Ten names are dominant: Antun Nikolić from Lošinj and Cres, on a *trabaccolo*, *grippo* and *grippetto*; Dominik Luković from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Ivan Skopinić from Mali Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *pielego*; Ivan Taraboća from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Jakov Dobrilović from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Josip Nikolić (son of Luka) from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Luka Mirković (son of Božidar) from Dugi Otok, on a *trabaccolo* and *trabacchetto*; Marko Martinolić (son of late Ivan) from Mali Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Matija Nikolić (son of late Martin) from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *trabacchetto*; Vinko Premuda from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *pieleghetto*.

Another interesting piece of information is about the surnames of those entrepreneurs. We can see from Table 1 that in our 44 documents the majority of names and surnames are Croatian. In four cases, we have also Italian names: Mattio Gerolimi from Mali Lošinj (RMC I, doc. 4001), Domenico Pazziani from Labin (RMC I, doc. 4439), Domenico Botticin from Rovinj (RMC I, doc. 4440) and Niccolò Soppa di Giovanni from Mali Lošinj (doc. 4780). This is because Venice had ruled over the coastal territories of Istria and Dalmatia until the period of the pilgrimages in question for three and a half centuries. As for the Croatian family names, there are 22 different ones: Nikolić, Čupranić, Luković, Vidulić, Skopinić, Nikolorić, Taraboća, Kožulić, Premuda, Kuzmanić, Marčula, Katarinić, Radošić, Dobrilović, Car, Mirković, Martinolić, Letić, Letinić, Deković, Antončić and Štefanić.

Not only do they build small vessels to make a living, but seek in their inventiveness different opportunities to earn money offered by the fertile seas and denied by the ungriving land and frequently by the mountains in the hinterland. In this analysis, we find them transporting pilgrims, even entire organized groups. Even in that modern way of expressing faith, they find a possibility to earn money and make a living, adapting to the needs of the age they live in. Without them we would have had no pilgrimages across the sea: they were an important and indispensable link for Croatian pilgrimages towards the western coast of the Adriatic.

Conclusion

In the analysis of original documentary sources on maritime connections between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea in the 18th century, from the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* vol. I, that contains 4,890 documents from various archives of Venice and Fano, 1,466 documents were singled out from the State Archives of Venice (Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, books I-II), pertaining to the arrival and departure of ships to and from the Italian port of Ancona. There we found documents spanning 15 years at the end of the century (1782-1796) that testify to the 44 Croatian pilgrimages to Loreto.

The analysis of these materials in relation to the topic of pilgrimage in the 18th century is undoubtedly very promising. Out of 254 documents found in the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* concerning passengers moving for religious purposes, 44 refer explicitly and

specifically to the Shrine of Loreto. While dealing and made up mostly by documents of maritime-commercial nature, the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* (16.000 published so far) are in fact an as incredibly rich as largely untapped reservoir of information dealing virtually with any aspect of daily life in between the two shores of the Adriatic in the 18th century, from economy, through religion, to culture, in relation to a variety of specific cultural milieus. An absolutely new window and tool of investigation for scholars and researchers working on any aspect of 18th century history.

In those years, 732 pilgrims passed through Ancona in groups of four to 76. They came from different parts of Croatia: from Lošinj (590 pilgrims), Cres (52), Dugi Otok near Zadar (48), Rovinj (32), Labin (9), Korčula (1) and from Zadar and Vis.

They crossed the Adriatic Sea on smaller vessels, with dead-weight between 15 and 200 t, *trabaccolos*, *pielegos*, *brazzeras* and *grippos*, on which the captain of the vessel was also the owner. Those vessels were most often used for trade and transport of merchandise, so there were cases where pilgrims sailed in both directions with different cargo. This information tells us of a certain discomfort on those journeys that always took place in the summer, i.e. in the season in which it was easier and safer to cross the restless Adriatic Sea.

When the pilgrims would disembark in Ancona, in more than half of the cases the captains, those small and inventive maritime entrepreneurs, would wait for them on the way back or continue on their journey empty. The most resourceful ones would load fruit or vegetables (garlic and onions) on the way back, or a few extra passengers.

The last part of the pilgrimage (from Ancona to Loreto and back) would last between one and 25 days, and the pilgrims most often stayed for three days (in 11 cases), or between four and 15 days (in 7 cases). This information indirectly tells us of the social class of the pilgrims themselves, who obviously had a certain financial standing for such an organized pilgrimage.

As the documents contain 10 names of captains-*paroni* that are repeated two or three times, it is obvious that the transport of pilgrims was lucrative enough. Although there is no certainty that these were always the same persons, it is indicative that eight of them were from Lošinj.

From those 44 pilgrimages it is visible that in late 18th century, Croats from different parts of the eastern Adriatic coast, from Rovinj all the way south to Vis, were very familiar with the shrine in Loreto, that they made pilgrimages in large and organized groups, with the people of Lošinj being dominant in terms of numbers and frequency (just from this segment of the maritime documents).

Further analysis of the published *Croatian Maritime Regesta* (vol. II with 6,891 documents printed in 1993 in Padua and vol. III with another 3,927 documents just printed in 2017 in Split) and subsequent publication of its planned sequels – 16 in total – with the original material from Croatian and Italian archives (some 80,000 already singled out and microfilmed and currently being transcribed and summarized in the form of “regesta”) will yield a more complete and integral picture of the phenomenon

of Croatian pilgrimages overseas not just to Loreto and Assisi, but also further on towards Rome and other religious centers, maybe even more distant but no less known to the Croatian believers of the 18th century.

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ⁱ „The place, together with the relic, translates not only the memory into historical-eschatological reality but mediates the concrete presence of the Divine Essence”.

ⁱⁱ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia (CSM), Levante e Ponente; ASV, CSM, Consolato Veneto d'Ancona, Registro di approdi e spedizioni, Legni sudditi; ASV, CSM, Scritture dei Capi di Piazza; ASV, CSM, Manifesti di esportazioni; ASV, CSM, Diversorum; ASV, CSM, Naufragi; ASV, CSM, Consoli dei mercanti, Prove di fortuna; ASV, Giudici al Forestier, Terminazioni d'Avaree; ASV, CSM, Manifesti rilasciati ai parcenevoli e capitani, Levante; ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Lettere ai Provveditori; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli; ASV, CSM, Navi estere; ASV, CSM, Cotoni d'Alessandria e Durazzo; ASV, CSM, Dragomani; ASV, CSM, Dogana da Mar; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli di Durazzo; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli di Scutari; ASV, CSM, Lettere da Scutari; ASV, CSM, Lettere del priore del Lazzaretto di Spalato; ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Lettere ai Consoli; ASV, CSM, Navi recuperate a Durazzo; Archivio di Stato di Fano (ASF), Archivio Comunale (AC), Il Giornale del Porto; ASF, AC, Giornale del Libro Maestro del Porto; ASF, AC, Naufragi.

³ 1794.22.VII, Ancona - Grippetto of the owner Matija Letinić of the late Antun of Savar of Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) from Zadar with 5 priests headed to Loreto and Assisi.

⁴ 1790.4.VI, Ancona - Trabaccolo or pielego of the owner Ivan Nikolorić from Bol of Brač coming from Korčula with 30 barrels of oil, belonging to the owner and sailors, as well as two barrels and one little barrel of goods sent (*trasmesso*), directed to Venice. He landed here to disembark a passenger bound for Loreto. Warned strictly not to land the oil. The 5.VI discharged for Venice with the said load. Tax: 1s.

⁵ 1795.21.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Josip Nikolić of Luka from Lošinj Mali from there coming with 66 passengers to Loreto. The 21.VII discharged with the said passengers. Tax: 2.20 s.

⁶ 1794.27.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Jakov Dobrilović of the late Ivan of Lošinj from there coming with 76 passengers to Loreto. The 28.VII discharged for Lošinj Mali with the said passengers.

⁷ 1794.24.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Matija Nikolić of the late Martin of Lošinj Mali from there coming with 8 passengers to Loreto. The 26.VII discharged empty with only 10 passengers for Lošinj Mali. Tax: 1 s.

⁸ 1794.27.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the paron Martin Letić of the late Martin of Lošinj Veli (Lossino Grande) from there coming with 20 passengers to Loreto. The 30.VII discharged with the said passengers, plus one boarded in Ancona, for Lošinj Veli. Fee: 1.40 s.

⁹ 1794.21.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the paron Luka Mirković of Božidar (Christmas) of Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) of Zadar from there coming with 21 passengers to Loreto and Assisi. The 23.VII discharged for Zadar with three of the said passengers. Fee: 0.20 s.

¹⁰ These figures should always be considered with caution because they reflect only a smaller segment of maritime documents yet to be published and studied.