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# ZADARSKI AKVATORIJ U PÎRÎ REISOVOJ KNJIZI POMORSTVA IZ 1526. GODINE: POMORSKO-GEOGRAFSKE SLIKE DIJELA HRVATSKOGA JADRANA

## THE ZADAR MARITIME ZONE IN PÎRÎ REIS' BOOK OF NAVIGATION OF 1526: MARITIME AND GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGES OF PART OF THE CROATIAN ADRIA

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U radu su analizirane karte i tekstualni geografski opisi (peljar) zadarskog akvatorija iz djela *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (Knjiga pomorstva) osmanskog moreplovca, pirata i kasnije admirala Pîrî Reisa. Komparativnom analizom sravnjeno je više primjeraka toga plovidbenog priručnika iz dosad poznatih istanbulskih izvora, ali i manje poznati primjerak iz Umjetničkog muzeja Walters (Walters Art Museum) u Baltimoru. Cilj je bio usporediti saznanja koja su o širem zadarskom prostoru posredstvom skrovitog rada stranca iz neprijateljskih redova, Pîrî Reisa, dobili Osmanlije u odnosu na radove suvremenih mu mletačkih kartografa, kao “domaćina” na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. Preispitivanje njegova rada iz povijesno-kartografske ali i imagološko-geografske perspektive pokazuje da je uspio izbalansirati potrebu za nastankom navigacijski i geografski iznimno kvalitetnog materijala s vlastitom pozicijom stranca na istočnom Jadranu. Kartografske i narativne slike Pîrî Reisa o zadarskom akvatoriju predstavljaju odraz dosega i mogućnosti osmanske kartografije što omogućuje njezino preispitivanje. Razlog leži u činjenici da kvaliteta kartografskog i narativnog dijela produkcije Pîrî Reisa nije dosegnuta u onodobnim plovidbenim priručnicima. Korištena toponimija upućuje na to da se Pîrî Reis služio tuđim dostupnim izvorima, primjerice uputama za plovidbu, ali ih je kombinirao s brojnim vlastitim opažanjima. Stoga njegov rad predstavlja posve izvoran opis zadarskog akvatorija, koji zbog obilja novih podataka donosi potpuno nove znanstvene spoznaje.

**Ključne riječi:** kartografija, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, peljar, Pîrî Reis, povijest pomorstva, slika Drugoga, zadarski akvatorij

This paper contains the analysis of maps and textual geographical descriptions (pilot) of the Zadar maritime zone from the work *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (Book of Navigation) by Pîrî Reis, an Ottoman seafarer, pirate and later admiral. Comparative analysis was made of several examples of that navigational manual from Istanbul sources known to date and also from a lesser-known example from The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. The objective was to compare the information obtained by the Ottomans regarding wide Zadar area based on the secretive work of a foreigner from ranks of the enemy, Pîrî Reis, with that shown in the works of his contemporary Venetian cartographers, his ‘hosts’ on the eastern Adriatic coast. Providing either the historical-cartographical or imagological-geographical perspective, the research reveals that Pîrî Reis managed to balance the demand for production of high quality navigation and geographical materials with his position as a foreigner on the east Adria. Cartographic and narrative images of the Zadar maritime zone by Pîrî Reis represent a reflection of the scope and possibilities of Ottoman cartography, enabling its reappraisal. The reason lies in the fact that the quality of the cartographic and narrative output of Pîrî Reis was not achieved in the navigational manuals of that time. The toponyms employed indicate that Pîrî Reis used other accessible sources, for example, navigation instructions, but he combined them with numerous observations of his own. Therefore, his work represents a totally original description of the Zadar maritime zone which, due to a lot of new information it contains, provides completely new scholarly cognisance.

**Keywords:** cartography, pilot, history of maritime affairs, Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Zadar maritime zone, image of the *Other*

## Uvod

Pogled na istočnu jadransku obalu, konkretno zadarski akvatorij, osmanskog pirata i kasnije admirala Pîrî Reisa, kao stranca, u usporedbi s (mletačkim) kartografskim suvremenikima na Jadranu impresivan je i zadivljujući jer u zapadnjačkoj kartografiji sve do 19. stoljeća ne nalazimo takvih plovidbenih pojedinosti kakve sadrže njegov narativni opis (peljar) i kartografski prilozi sakupljeni u djelu *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.

Uz primjenu komparativno-analitičke metode u fokusu ove studije našli su se dosad poznati i u domaćoj literaturi već korišteni izvori primjerka iz 1521. godine (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., 785-794; NOVAK I DR., 2005., 78-110; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005., 329-365), ali i novi kartografski i tekstualni izvori iz dosad nekorištenoga baltimorskog izvornika *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, nastali u prijepisu iz 1526. godine (URL 1). Zbog istraživačkih ograničenja spomenutih primjeraka, s obzirom na njihovu dostupnost i/ili kvalitetu prijevoda (s osmanskog turskog najčešće na engleski jezik)<sup>1</sup>, u ovoj studiji je primijenjeno komparativno iščitavanje više izvora i njihova analiza u cilju analitičke rekonstrukcije postojećih geografskih znanja i plovidbenih mogućnosti toga vremena, odnosno sintetiziranja raspoloživih informacija kojima je Pîrî Reis, kao pripadnik stranog i neprijateljskog, a k tome i piratskog broda u to vrijeme mogao raspolagati.<sup>2</sup> Zadaća studije bila je identifikacija geografskih informacija i plovidbenih inovacija koje je u odnosu na mletačke i talijanske kartografske suvremenike istinski moreplovac Pîrî Reis osobno prikupio i primijenio na terenu i prvi put unio u kartografiju zadarskoga prostora. Osim te primarne zadaće, u fokusu se našao i položaj Pîrî Reisa kao stranca odnosno pripadnika neprijateljske mornarice kao konkurentne političke sile, kojemu su mnoge informacije na terenu upravo zbog toga ostale nedostupne i uskraćene od lokalnih informatora. Autorima se nametnulo i pitanje je li takav

<sup>1</sup> Za prijevod s osmanskog turskog i talijanskog korišteno je nekoliko rječnika (ROSAMANI, 1990.; DEVELLIOĞLU, 2003.; REDHOUSE, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Izvornik *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* iz Baltimora korišten je uz dopuštenje i pomoć kustosa odsjeka *Photo and Digital Imaging i Islamic Art and Manuscripts* Umjetničkog muzeja Walters (Walters Art Museum). Ovdje objavljeni kartografski materijal i rukopis pribavljeni su uz njihovu suglasnost, na čemu autori zahvaljuju.

## Introduction

The view of the eastern Adriatic coast, or, to be more precise, the Zadar maritime zone, seen by the Ottoman pirate and later admiral, Pîrî Reis, as a foreigner, compared with that of his (Venetian) cartographic contemporaries on the Adria is both impressive and astounding. Not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century does one find such navigational details as in the narrative descriptions (pilot) and cartographic contributions collected in his work, the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.

With the application of comparative-analytical methods, the focus of this study was on the example from 1521 (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, 785-794; NOVAK ET AL., 2005, 78-110; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005, 329-365), and on the information known to date and already used in national literature, as well as on new cartographic and textual sources unused to date from the Baltimore first copy of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* that was transcribed in 1526 (URL 1). Due to the research limitations on the examples mentioned, and with respect to their accessibility and/or the quality of the translation (from Ottoman Turkish, most frequently into English)<sup>1</sup>, comparative reading of several sources and their analysis was applied in this study. The objective was to carry out analytical reconstruction of the then-existing geographical knowledge and navigational possibilities and/or the synthesising of the information that could have been available to Pîrî Reis<sup>2</sup> from a foreign enemy ship, which was also a pirate ship.. The task of the study was to identify the geographical information and navigational innovations which, as compared with Venetian and Italian cartographic contemporaries, the authentic seafarer Pîrî Reis personally collected and applied in the field, entering the Zadar region into cartography for the first time. Apart from that primary intent, the focus was also on the position of Pîrî Reis as a foreigner and/or member of a foreign, enemy navy as an opposing political force, for which a lot of information in the field remained inaccessible and withheld by local informants for that very reason. The authors also had to consider

<sup>1</sup> Several dictionaries were used for the translation from Ottoman Turkish and Italian languages (ROSAMANI, 1990; DEVELLIOĞLU, 2003; REDHOUSE, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> The original of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* in Baltimore has been used with the kind permission and assistance of the curators of the *Photo and Digital Imaging and Islamic Art and Manuscripts* departments of The Walters Art Museum. The cartographic material and the manuscript published herein were obtained with their consent, for which the authors are extremely grateful.

pogled „izvana“ umanjio njegovo poznavanje geografsko-plovidbenog prostora zadarskog akvatorija ili je na neki drugi način ostavio traga na njegovim narativnim ili slikovnim (kartografskim) reprezentacijama istočne obale Jadrana iz perspektive jednog Osmanlije, kao ultimativnoga Drugoga u ranom novom vijeku.

Izraz slike ili predodžbe o drugima prilagođen je nakon preuzimanja iz imagologije kao zasebne istraživačke grane, koja iz aspekta različitih humanističkih znanosti posljednjih godina nastoji istražiti modalitete odnosno zakonitosti u promatranju stranaca i zemalja u kojoj stranci žive (*Kako vidimo strane zemlje*, 2009.). Izražene kroz kartografski i peljarski žanrovski narativ, upravo su takve slike istočnog Jadrana u redakciji Piri Reisa ovdje analizirane u suvremenom diskursu prostornoga i drugih „obrata“. Oni pak nužno zahtijevaju dekonstrukciju prostora kao kompleksnoga socijalnog konstrukta, sastavljenog od više značenjskih slojeva. Percepcija tako usložnjenog prostora može biti definirana primjerice sustavom vrijednosti ili političkim aspiracijama promatrača, kao uostalom i percipiranjem stanovnika toga prostora kao Drugih ako su promatraču strani i bitno drukčiji od njega samog. Kao pozornica ranonovovjekovnih kontakata na periferijama velikih europskih imperija, istočnojadranski prostor je pogodovao kontinuiranoj razmjeni ljudi, roba i ideja pri čemu su oblikovane i kulturne kategorije istosti i različitosti.

Kao posebna vrsta (i doslovno) slika, karte su po svojoj prirodi subjektivne konstrukcije i odraz različitih identiteta ranoga novog vijeka. Stoga i odražavaju prostorni imaginarij i svojevršne mentalne mape kolektivnog sjećanja unutar pojedinoga kulturnog kruga.<sup>3</sup> U ranome novom vijeku oblikovane su kroz interese različitih političkih i ideoloških strategija, teritorijalne i brojne druge pretenzije na višestrukom pograničju (habsburškom, mletačkom i osmanskom). Također su se razlikovale i prakse proizvodnje i uporabe karata spomenutih političkih i kulturno-kartografskih sila. Pritom je prikaz Drugoga u zapadnoj kartografiji redovito odražavao Sebe i to prije svega kroz kriterije različitosti, kao

the possibility that such an insight “from the outside” reduced his geographic-navigational knowledge of the Zadar maritime zone or that it left a trace in some other way on his narrative and pictorial (cartographical) representations of the eastern Adriatic coast from the perspective of an Ottoman, as the ultimate *Other* in the Early Modern Age.

The term of image or notion of Others used here was adapted after its adoption from imagology as a specific research branch, since imagology during recent years has tried to evaluate operation modes and regularities in the perception of foreigners and their lands of origin (*Kako vidimo strane zemlje*, 2009). These images (expressed through the conventions of the cartographic and pilot genre) of the eastern Adria are observed in Piri Reis’ redaction within the contemporary discourse of spatial and other *turns*. This approach requires deconstruction of space, as a complex social construct, consisting of several semantic strata at numerous levels. Perception of such a multiplex space can be modified even according to the system of values or political aspirations of the observer, in parallel with the shaping of perception of its inhabitants as Others in the event that they seem strange or are radically different from the observer. Since the eastern Adriatic region, as the setting of Early Modern Age contacts on the peripheries of the great European empires, facilitated continuous exchange of people, goods and ideas, so it also witnessed the shaping of cultural categories of Sameness and of Difference.

As a specific kind of image (or a picture), the map as a subjective construction and image of various identities of the Early Modern Age, therefore reflected a spatial imaginary as well as represented a sort of mental map of collective memory within a specific cultural circle.<sup>3</sup> During the observed time these maps mirrored diverse political and ideological strategies, territorial pretensions and numerous other interests on the multiple frontier areas – Hapsburg, Venetian and Ottoman. The practices of the output and the use of maps by those three political, cultural and cartographic powers also differed. In such a setting, the depiction of the *Other* in Western cartography regularly reflected the *Self*. It was done primarily

<sup>3</sup> Harley je među prvima apostrofirao često zanemarivanu ulogu kartografske ikonografije u kontroliranoj distribuciji znanja, ali i različitih oblika moći (HARLEY, 1988., 301-303).

<sup>3</sup> Harley was among the first who emphasised often disregarded role of cartographic iconography within controlled distribution of knowledge and various sorts of power (HARLEY 1988, 301-303).

što su obrazovanje, vjera, političko, etničko, kulturno, demografsko, zdravstveno ili neko drugo okružje, u kontinuiranom srazu manjine i većine, pučkoga i elitnoga te interesa centara i periferija moći. Namjera nam je istražiti jesu li i slike istočne obale Jadrana Pîrî Reisa, premda posredovane prirodom geografskog podatka i komunikacijskim kodom kartografskih izvora, odražavale složenu mrežu kulturnih konotacija kao i kod kartografa na zapadu.

### Kontekst nastanka Pîrî Reisove narativno-kartografske slike zadarskog akvatorija

#### *Socijalno-politički kontekst mletačko-osmanskih dodira na istočnom Jadranu u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća*

Nakon osvajanja Carigrada 1453. godine Osmansko Carstvo se širi dodatno na istok, zapad i sjeverozapad, uključujući u svoj posjed i prostore jugoistočne i srednje Europe. Osim političko-ideoloških razlika, od kršćanske Europe ga dijele i duboke društvene, religijske, kulturne i civilizacijske razlike, utemeljene dijelom na podržavanju tradicionalnih i drukčijih načina mišljenja i života uopće – od načina računanja vremena po Hidžri preko specifičnih (arapskog, osmanskog turskog, perzijskog) jezika i arapskog alfabeta (osmanske arabice) do islamske religije te konkurencije timarskoga i vazalnoga feudalnog sustava. Kontakti predstavnika dviju civilizacija izrastaju tek u labavo toleriranje različitih svjetonazora. S Habsburškom Monarhijom i dominijem Mletačke Republike Osmansko Carstvo dijeli i iskustvo okupljanja heterogenog stanovništva, s različitim religijama, jezicima, prošlošću i kulturnim nasljeđem.

Padom Bosne 1463. započinje serija mletačko-osmanskih ratova u „produženom srednjovjekovlju“ sve do 1540. (Mletačkoga mira s Osmanlijama), tek s kratkotrajnim mirnodopskim intervalima, u kojima se nastavlja „mali rat“ na pograničju praćen provalama i populacijskim gubicima (VRANDEČIĆ, BERTOŠA, 2007., 19-21). Početkom 16. stoljeća Venecija s papom i ugarsko-hrvatskim kraljem stvara protuosmanski savez, ali upravo u idućih dvadeset godina slijedi najintenzivnije osvajanje prijadranskih gradova do same granice dalmatinskih distrikata.

by the criteria of difference (in education, religion, public health, or in political, ethnic, cultural, demographic or some other background) during a series of perpetual conflicts: between minorities and majorities, common people and the elite and the interests of power centres and peripheries. The aim of this research was to reveal whether the images of the eastern Adria by Pîrî Reis, in spite of being communicated by way of geographical data and the communicational code of cartographic sources, reflected the complex cultural network with numerous connotative strata as in works of cartographers in the West, or not.

### Pîrî Reis' narrative-cartographic image origin context of the Zadar maritime zone

#### *The socio-political context of the Venetian-Ottoman contacts on the eastern Adria in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century*

After taking Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Empire continued to expand to the East, the West and the North-West, including the areas of south-eastern and Central Europe. Apart from political and ideological differences, it was also set apart from Christian Europe by deep social, religious, cultural and civilisational differences, based partly on the its traditional and different ways of thought and life in general, from the manner of measuring time using the Hicri Calendar through specific – Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian – languages and the Ottoman Turkish (Arabic) alphabet, on to the Islamic religion and the competition between the Timar and vassal feudal systems. The contacts between representatives of the two civilisations did not surpass a mere tolerance of divergent world-views. The Ottoman Empire had the experience of gathering together heterogenous populations, with diverse religions, languages, pasts and cultural heritage just like the Habsburg Monarchy and the dominion of the Venetian Republic.

After the fall of Bosnia in 1463, a series of Venetian-Ottoman wars started. They finished in the “prolonged Middle Ages” in 1540 (the Venetian Peace Treaty with the Ottomans), with short peaceful intervals in which the *minor war* continued in the border regions, accompanied by insurgencies and losses of population (VRANDEČIĆ, BERTOŠA, 2007, 19-21). At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, together with the pope and the Magyar-Croatian king, Venice created an anti-Ottoman league. However, the following 20 years

Gubitkom Albanije i Grčke na čelo mletačke mornarice dolaze miroljubivi plemići-rentijeri, više zainteresirani za zemlju nego more. Venecija je i sama iznenađena slabim uspjehom vlastita otpora osmanskim nadiranjima. Usto je suočena i s pretvaranjem trgovačkog funkcionalizma u ratni državni intervencionizam u strateški ranjivoj i dalekoj Dalmaciji, izbjegavajući se konfrontirati na kopnu, a sve sa strateškim ciljem očuvanja kontrole mora i obrane luka u novoj konstelaciji moći na Sredozemlju. Prekretničko je to razdoblje mletačke uprave u Dalmaciji jer komune prvi put gube dijelove distrikata i društvo se potpuno odvaja od prirodnoga zaleđa.

Sultani Selim I. (1512. – 1520.) i Sulejman Veličanstveni (1520. – 1566.) nakon upada akindžija i martolosa zaokružuju posjede u Dalmaciji (1522. osvajaju Knin i Skradin, 1523. Ostrovicu, 1527. Obrovac, 1538. Vranu i Nadin). Izbjegavanjem provokacija nakon rata Svete lige (1537.) dolazi razdoblje koegzistencije i trgovačkog utilitarizma, tj. otvaranja dalmatinskih gradskih tržišta osmanskim trgovcima i privlačenja prijadranske osmanske trgovine u mletačke luke, što se kao jamstvo dobrosusjedskih odnosa zadržalo sve do Ciparskoga rata 1570. godine.

### *Osmanska kartografska produkcija reprezentirana radovima Pîrî Reisa*

Kao zatvorena državna, kulturna i vjerska cjelina Osmansko Carstvo, unatoč tome što je sljednik bogate arapske kulturne i kartografske tradicije, a u knjižnicama posjeduje i tuđe kartografske radove, uključujući i prijevod Ptolemejeve *Geografije*, nakon osvajanja Bosne ne producira karte osmanskog serhata. No snažne vojnopolitičke aktivnosti i potrebe velikoga administrativnog aparata iziskivali su korištenje vodiča i pisanih dokumenata bez kartografskih priloga (SLUKAN, 2003., 107). Premda uzroke odsutnosti karata osmanskih posjeda kako u zapadnim tako i u turskim arhivima, koja se u to vrijeme na zapadu (dis)kvalificirala kao kartografska zaostalost i inferiornost, uz ostalo možemo tražiti i u ideološkom zazoru, odnosno podozrivosti prema vizualizaciji (kartiranju) geografskog prostora kao apstraktne kategorije, izvori obiluju narativnim izvorima, opisima, vodičima ili peljarima koji su služili kao zamjena za kartu. Oni pak nerijetko donose

were the most intensive period of conquest of the Adriatic coastal towns up to the border of the Dalmatian districts.

With the loss of Albania and Greece, peace-loving aristocrats-rentiers with private means, more interested in land than the sea, were given command of the Venetian Navy. Venice itself was surprised at the weak success of its own resistance to the Ottoman advances. In addition, it was also faced with the transformation of trading functionalism into warlike state interventionism in strategic development in distant Dalmatia, avoiding confrontation on land, all with the strategic objective of maintaining control of the sea and defence of the harbours under the new constellation of power in the Mediterranean. That was a turning point for the Venetian administration in Dalmatia since the cities started to lose part of their districts for the first time and the society separated completely from its natural hinterland.

After incursions by the Akinji cavalry and the Martolos, the sultans Selim I (1512-1520) and Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) rounded out their possessions in Dalmatia (conquering Knin and Skradin in 1522; Ostrovica in 1523; Obrovac in 1527; and Vrana and Nadin in 1538). With avoidance of provocations after the war with the Holy Alliance (in 1537), a period of co-existence and trading utilitarianism followed, that is, the opening of Dalmatian town markets to Ottoman merchants and the attraction of Adriatic coastal trade into the Venetian harbours, which was maintained as a guarantee of good neighbourly relations right up until the War of Cyprus in 1570.

### *Ottoman cartographic production represented by the works of Pîrî Reis*

After the fall of Bosnia, an enclosed administrative, cultural and religious entity, part of the Ottoman Empire, did not produce maps of the Ottoman frontier (*serhat*), although it was a follower of the rich Arab cultural and cartographic tradition with foreign cartographic works, including the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* in its libraries. However, its robust military and political activities and great administrative requirements imposed the usage of guide-books and written documents without cartographic attachments (SLUKAN, 2003, 107). Although the reasons for the absence of maps of the Ottoman possessions in either Western or Turkish archives – which was (dis)qualified in the West as cartographic backwardness and inferiority – are

i više konkretnih pojedinosti nego onodobne precrtavane ili shematizirane karte (MLINARIĆ, GREGUROVIĆ, 2011., 356).

No u vremenu jačanja humanističkih ideja i procvata znanosti u Europi, s kojima i kartografija doživljava renesansu, početkom 16. stoljeća Osmansko Carstvo je na vrhuncu svoje moći. Takva nova intelektualna strujanja neumitno prodiru i na područje toga Carstva. Prethodno istaknute zasade, uz humanističke ideje, iniciraju i u Osmanskom Carstvu novo intelektualno okruženje. Najbolji primjer toga je posve izvorno djelo Pîrî Reisa: dvije karte svijeta i djelo *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*<sup>4</sup> – nastali kompilacijom različitih dostupnih izvora. Prva karta svijeta iz 1513. godine nalazi se u muzeju Topkapı (sign R. 1633), a drugo izdanje karte svijeta iz 1528./29. godine u istom se muzeju čuva pod signaturom R. 1824 (URL 3). Njihov nastanak svakako je potaknut humanističkim okruženjem, ali ipak ponajprije trgovačkim i vojno-pomorskim potrebama Carstva te samom prirodom geografskog okruženja čijem su boljem shvaćanju namijenjene – morskim prostranstvima. Osim toga, plovidba morem kao medijem kojim su se povezivale različite regije posve je različita od putovanja ili vojnoga napredovanja kopnom. Za kopno je, dakako, poželjno imati kartu kao vrlo objektivan i pouzdan vodič, ali se na takvu putu, u njezinu nedostatku, moglo snaći i kvalitetnim opisom. Pritom je uvijek postojala i mogućnost usputnog provjeravanja geografskih informacija kod lokalnoga stanovništva. Napredovanje morem je drukčije. Ako se ne posjeduje kvalitetna kombinacija narativnoga i kartografskoga opisa područja, često se može doći u prilične poteškoće. Rješenje pritom nije pristati u prvu luku jer je upitno može li se u nju sigurno pristati ili sidriti (njezina veličina, vjetrovi, morske struje, kvaliteta dna, političke vlasti, zdravstveno stanje – kuga! itd.). Sve je to dobro znao Pîrî Reis, i upravo je to bilo pravi poticaj za nastanak njegova djela. Uostalom, kao nekadašnji gusar itekako je znao kakvi sve problemi mogu pomorca čekati na plovidbenom putu. Njegov *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* prilog je prevladavanju takvih problema.

<sup>4</sup> O kartama iz dviju različitih verzija toga priručnika (iz 1521. i 1526. godine) iz četrdesetak poznatih prijepisa u raznim svjetskim knjižnicama i arhivima, vidjeti više u NOVAK I DR., 2005.

unknown, one can also consider the basic reason in ideological aversion and/or suspicion towards visualisation (map-making) of geographic space as an abstract category, while sources are full of replacements of maps in the form of narrative sources, descriptions, guide-books and pilots. It is not rare for them to have provided more concrete detail than the copies and scheme-like maps of that time (MLINARIĆ, GREGUROVIĆ, 2011, 356).

However, at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the strengthening of Humanistic ideas and the blooming of science in Europe - in which cartography, too, underwent a Renaissance - the Ottoman Empire was at the peak of its power. Such new intellectual currents also unavoidably penetrated into that Empire. Previously emphasised tenets, coupled with Humanistic ideas, initiated a new intellectual environment in the Ottoman Empire, too. The best example of that is the fully original work of Pîrî Reis: two maps of the world and his *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*<sup>4</sup> - that came about through the compilation of various accessible sources. The first map of the world from 1513 is kept in the Topkapı Museum (signature R. 1633), while the second edition of the map of the world, dating from 1528-29, is stored in the same museum under signature R. 1824 (URL 3). Their creation was certainly prompted by the Humanistic environment but primarily by trading and naval needs of the Empire, as well as by the nature of geographical environment itself, the better understanding of which was aimed at the expanses of the sea. Apart from that, travel by sea as a medium that connected diverse regions was quite different from travel or military advances by land. It was, of course, desirable to have a map on land as a very objective and reliable guide but, on such a journey, it was also possible to find one's bearings even without one, by way of a high quality description. Under such circumstances, there was always the possibility of checking geography on the way by consulting the local population. Advancing by sea was a different matter. Without a sound combination of narrative and cartographic information, one could often find oneself in considerable difficulties. The solution did not lie in mooring in the first harbour, because it was questionable whether one could do so safely (its size, the winds, sea currents, topography of the sea bed, the political authorities, public health

<sup>4</sup> On maps in two different versions of that manual (from 1521 and from 1526) and some forty known transcriptions in various world libraries and archives, see more in (NOVAK ET AL, 2005).

Premda njegova kartografija nije mjerilo sveukupne osmanske kartografske tradicije toga vremena, već prije iznimka, ona reprezentira mogućnosti i dosege tadašnje osmanske proizvodnje plovbenih karata bez kojih ne bi bili mogući ni uspješni piratski prepadi, ali niti obimna pomorska osvajanja na istočnom i srednjem Sredozemlju. Kao dugovječni pirat a konačno i admiral crvenomorske flote, Pîrî Reis (1465./70. – 1553.) iskoristio je veze obitelji moreplovaca bliskih najvišim državnim političkim krugovima (velikom veziru Ibrahim-paši, sultanu Selimu I. i Sulejmanu I. Zakonodavcu). Zahvaljujući njima stjecao je plovdbena iskustva na zapadnom Sredozemlju, imao slobodan pristup carskoj knjižnici te sudjelovao u ratnim operacijama pa i u osmansko-mletačkim ratovima (MCINTOSH, 2000.; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005., 332-333). Sve mu je to omogućavalo pristup geografskim i navigacijskim informacijama.

Izvornost kartografskog rada Pîrî Reisa nije jedino u pregrštu potpuno novih podataka i širini zahvata, već u posve novoj koncepciji djela: tekstualnom opisu užih regija uz istodobni njihov prikaz na regionalnim kartama. Tako je osmanski pomorac mogao na karti vidjeti ono što se detaljnije opisalo u tekstu.

Pîrî Reisovo predočavanje istočnojadranskih luka i njihova šireg akvatorija tek je nedavno zaokupilo znanstveni interes istraživača, pri čemu je glavna prepreka da do toga ne dođe i puno ranije činjenica da su tekst i sve zabilješke na kartama pisani arapskim pismom koje je najvećem broju istraživača nepoznato. Tu je problem i s jezikom (osmanski turski). Zato su ti prvi radovi bili ponajprije usmjereni na kartografski dio (NOVAK I DR., 2005., 78-110; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005., 329-365). Tek u novije vrijeme pojavili su se i radovi koji uvažavaju obje sastavnice ovoga djela: peljarsku i kartografsku (SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2010., 93-107; KOZLIČIĆ, 2013., 245-249).

– plague!, etc.) That was well understood by Pîrî Reis and that was the first stimulus for compiling his work. As a former pirate he was well informed about all the problems that could await a mariner on his journey. His *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* was a contribution to overcoming such problems.

Although his cartography is not a measure of the overall Ottoman cartographic tradition of that time - but rather an exception - it represents the possibilities and scope of then-current Ottoman output of navigational maps, without which neither successful pirate raids would have been possible, nor the extensive maritime conquests on the eastern and central Mediterranean. As an experienced pirate and, eventually an admiral of the Red Sea Fleet, Pîrî Reis (1465/70-1553) took advantage of the connections of the members of his seafaring family with the highest state political circles (the Grand Vizier Ibrahim-Pasha, the sultans Selim I and Suleyman the Magnificent). Thanks to them, he gained navigational experience in the western Mediterranean, had free access to the Imperial Library and participated in military operations and in the Ottoman-Venetian wars (MCINTOSH, 2000; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005, 332-333). All of that made it possible for him to access geographical and navigational information.

The original nature of Pîrî Reis' cartographic work does not lie solely in the large amount of completely new data and the scope of the undertaking, but rather in the completely new concept of his work: textual description of close regions with their simultaneous depiction on regional maps. That enabled an Ottoman mariner to see on a map what was described in more detail in the text.

Pîrî Reis' presentation of the eastern Adriatic harbours and their broad maritime zones has only recently occupied the scholarly interest of researchers. It could have occurred much earlier if it were not for the fact that the text and all the notes on the maps are written in Arabic script, which is unknown to the majority of researchers. There is also the problem of the language (Ottoman Turkish). That is why the first studies were primarily orientated to the cartographic part (NOVAK ET AL., 2005, 78-110; NOVAK, MLINARIĆ, 2005, 329-365). Papers that respect both components of this work: the narrative pilots and the cartography have appeared only recently (SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2010, 93-107; KOZLIČIĆ, 2013, 245-249).



Zadarski akvatorij u Pîrî Reisovoj Knjizi pomorstva<sup>5</sup> iz 1526. godine, što je u žiži interesa ovoga rada, predočen je pomorskom kartom kojom se obuhvatilo obalni rub od Tisna na Murteru (i kopnu) do otoka Vira, te sva tri niza otoka ispred Zadra. Uz to, u relativno opširnem peljarskom tekstu na osmanskome turskom jeziku pisanom arapskim pismom, istaknute su brojne potankosti važne pomorcima. Izvornik koji se danas čuva u Istanbulu u Knjižnici Süleymaniye, Ayasofya, pod signaturom MS 2612 (Faksimilsko izdanje: ÖKTE I DR., 1988.), tiskan je u četiri sveska, a dvadeset tri karte istočnojadranske obale i popratni narativni tekstovi peljara nalaze se u drugom svesku u poglavlju *Dalmaçya Kıyıları (Obale Dalmacije)*. Pritom se donijelo preslike izvornika, transkripciju peljarskog dijela na latinični tekst, osuvremenjenje toga latiničnog teksta u moderni turski te prijevod na engleski jezik. Jedino kartografski dio nije transkribiran i preveden (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 783-789). Iz 1526. godine potječe i primjerak toga priručnika koji se čuva u Umjetničkom muzeju Walters (Walters Art Museum) u Baltimoru, Meriland, u SAD-u, ali njega se nije objavilo uz ustaljenu transkripciju arapskoga u latinični tekst i prijevod barem na engleski jezik, već je dostupan jedino preko interneta (URL 1).

U ovom se radu pozornost usmjerilo podjednako na obje sastavnice Pîrî Reisova djela o zadarskom akvatoriju, peljarsku i kartografsku, jer jedino njihov spoj daje cjelinu onoga što je taj osmanski velikan doista želio podariti onodobnim pomorcima. Kako je istovrsni istanbulski izvornik već izdan uz prijevod peljarskoga dijela na engleski, ali ne i uz transkripciju kartografskog prikaza, a baltimorski nije transkribiran niti preveden (peljar i karte), ovdje se prvi put

The Zadar maritime zone in Pîrî Reis' *Book of Navigation*<sup>5</sup> dating from 1526, which is the focus of interest of this paper, is presented in a maritime map which encompasses the coastal edge from Tisno to Murter (and the land part) up until the island of Vir, as well as all three series of islands in front of Zadar. In addition, in the relatively broad pilot text in the Ottoman Turkish language written in Arabic script, numerous details of importance to mariners are given prominence. The original that is housed today in the Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, in Istanbul under Signature MS 2612 (Facsimile edition: ÖKTE ET AL., 1988), is printed in four volumes, while 23 maps of the eastern Adriatic coast and the accompanying pilot narrative texts are found in the fourth volume under the chapter *Dalmaçya Kıyıları (The Coast of Dalmatia)*. A copy was made of the original, with a transcription of the pilot part into Latin text, a modernisation of that Latin text in modern Turkish and a translation into the English language. Only the cartographic part was not transcribed and translated (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 783-789). A copy of that manual dating from 1526 is housed in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland, USA. It has not been published with the usual transcription of the Arabic into Latin text and a translation, at least into English, but is accessible solely on the Internet (URL 1).

In this paper, equal attention was paid to both components of Pîrî Reis' work on the Zadar maritime zone – the pilot textual part and the cartographical part – since it is only together that they form the complete work that the great Ottoman really intended to present to the seafarers of his time. Since the identical Istanbul original of it has already been published with translation of the pilot part into English, but without a transcription of the cartographic depiction, while the Baltimore copy

<sup>5</sup> *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* u doslovnom je prijevodu „Knjiga pomorstva“. Takav naziv načelno odgovara sadržaju, ali nije dovoljno geografski precizan. U tom smislu svakako je ustaljen za vrijeme nastanka te je u duhu nešto ranijeg djela „De navigationes“ (obično se prevodi s „O plovidbi“) iz 1464. Benedikta Kotruljevića te kasnijeg djela Pedra (Pietra) de Medine (1493. – 1567.) „L'arte de nauegar ...“ iz 1554. što se najčešće shvaća i prevodi s „Umijeće plovidbe“. I Reisovo djelo u prvom dijelu ima temeljne spoznaje iz astronomije te astronomske i terestričke navigacije, meteorologije, dijelom hidrografije i oceanografije, ali je ipak pretežno peljarsko-kartografski prikaz Sredozemlja i okolnih mora. Stoga s razlogom danas *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* često „prevodimo“ s „Peljar Sredozemlja“ što odgovara sadržaju, ali i biti toga djela.

<sup>5</sup> It can be literally translated as the “Book of Seafaring” or “Book of Maritime Affairs“. Both titles precisely describe its content, however still geographically ambiguous at the same time. It is typical for the period, following the same idea as earlier work “De navigationes” from 1464 (usually translated as “About navigation”) by Benedikt Kotruljević and work of Pedro (Pietro) de Medina (1493-1567) “L'arte de nauegar ...” from 1554, usually comprehended and translated as “The Art of Navigation”. Some basics of astronomy, followed by astronomic and terrestrial navigation, meteorology, partly even hydrography and oceanography can be found in the first half of Reis' work. However it summarizes the primarily pilot and cartographic representations of Mediterranean and the surrounding seas. That is the reason why *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is nowadays often “translated“ as “Pilot of the Mediterranean”, which meticulously reflects its content but also the very essence of this masterpiece.

donosi transkripcija kartografskog dijela<sup>6</sup> iz oba izvornika uz ubiciranje svih geografskih imena, a peljarski dio iz baltimorskog izvornika u prijevodu. Budući da je najveći dio informacija korisnih pomorcu donesen u peljarskom tekstu, u nastavku se najprije donosi taj tekst prema baltimorskom izvorniku, uz njegovu valorizaciju u podnožnim bilješkama. U nastavku su kartografski dijelovi, uz napomenu da zadarski akvatorij u oba izvornika nije prikazan samo na karti toga akvatorija, već i akvatorija Šibenik – Zadar. Kod kartografskog materijala ubikacija je iznesena u sklopu legende, uz pripomenu da su na svakom kartografskom izvorniku stavljani arapski brojevi pokraj geografskih imena ispisanih arapskim pismom, kako bi se u legendi znalo što se na što odnosi. U nastavku je sintetički analitički dio obje sastavnice.

## Pîrî Reisova slika zadarskog akvatorija

### *Peljarski dio*

U baltimorskom izvorniku, na tri stranice (Sl. 1. – 3.), uz kartu zadarskog akvatorija stoji sljedeći tekst, koji je za potrebe ovoga rada preveden s osmanskoga turskoga zapisanog osmanskome arabicom:

**Ovo poglavlje opisuje jednu od utvrda u zaljevu Wenedik<sup>7</sup> imenom Ğara i njoj [nasuprotne otoke]<sup>8</sup>**

<sup>6</sup> U dijelu koji je u ovom radu preveden s osmanskog, transkripcija osmanske arabice provedena je prema pravilima Njemačkoga orijentalističkog društva (*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*).

<sup>7</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 785, daje izvorno *wenedik körfezi'nde* = Mletački zaljev kao onodobni ustaljeni naziv za Jadransko more, pa i u turskim izvorima.

<sup>8</sup> U istanbulskom primjerku (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., 785) naslov u prijevodu glasi: „Ovo poglavlje opisuje jednu od utvrda u zaljevu *Wenedik* imenom *Ğara* i njoj nasuprotne otoke“. Naslov je jednak u transkribiranoj verziji i na suvremenom turskom, a u prijevodu na engleski je pogrešan (Ovo poglavlje opisuje utvrde otoka koji se zove *Cara* u zaljevu *Venedik* koji leže nasuprot utvrđi *Hanun*). U baltimorskom primjerku završetak naslova (...*nasuprotne otoke*) je naprosto ispušten jer je naslov očigledno naknadno upisan, a nije ostavljeno dovoljno mjesta za cijeli naslov. Taj ispušten dio, zbog jasnoće, gore je dodan u kutnim zagradama.

is neither transcribed nor translated (the pilot and the maps), a transcription of the part<sup>6</sup> from both sections is given here for the first time with location of all the geographic names, while the pilot part from the Baltimore original is given in translation. Since the greatest part of information useful to seafarers is given in the pilot text, it is first presented with the Baltimore text, with its evaluation in the footnotes. The cartographic parts are shown in the continuation, with the comment that the Zadar maritime zone in both originals does not show only that zone, but also the Šibenik – Zadar zone. In the cartographic material, the locations are included in the legends, with the remark that Arabic numbers were given on each cartographic original beside the geographical names written out in Arabic script, so that it would be clear what referred to what in the legends. Below, we give The synthesised analysis of both components is given below.

## Pîrî Reis' image of the Zadar maritime zone

### *The Pilot Part*

On three pages in the Baltimore original (Fig. 1-3), the following text appears beside the map of the Zadar maritime zone. It is a direct translation from Ottoman Turkish written in Arabic script:

**This chapter describes one of the fortresses in the Wenedik Bay<sup>7</sup> named Ğara and [the islands opposite to it]<sup>8</sup>**

<sup>6</sup> In the part of this paper translated from Ottoman Turkish, the transcription of the Ottoman Turkish script was effected in keeping with the rules of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*.

<sup>7</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 785 originally gives *wenedik körfezi'nde* = *Venetian Bay* as the accepted name of the Adriatic Sea at that time, also found in Turkish sources.

<sup>8</sup> The translation of the title in the Istanbul copy (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, 785) reads: “This chapter describes one of the fortresses in the *Wenedik Bay* that is called *Ğara* and the islands lying opposite to it”. The title is the same in the transcribed version and in contemporary Turkish, while it is incorrect in the translation into English. (This chapter described the fortress of the island called *Cara* in the *Wenedik Bay*, lying opposite to the *Hanun* Fortress.) The end of the title (. . . *the islands lying opposite to it*) is simply omitted in the Baltimore copy since the title was evidently written in subsequently, while not sufficient place was left for the full title. For the sake of clarity, that omitted part has been added above in square brackets.

Te *Āare* su dvije utvrde. Jednoj od tih utvrda kažu *Eski Āara*,<sup>9</sup> a jednoj *Yerji Āara*.<sup>10</sup> Neki spomenute utvrde nazivaju *Zadire*.<sup>11</sup> Ali nekada davno *Eski Āara* je bila velika utvrda.<sup>12</sup> Sad je razrušena. Potom, tu je nekoliko kuća, poput sela. Dobro su održavane. Te kuće imaju brodove i bave se trgovinom.

Zatim, spomenuta *Eski Āara* je od *Yeni Āare* udaljena šest milja u smjeru *Wenedika*.<sup>13</sup> Spomenuta *Yerji Āara* sada je jedna lijepa utvrda. Tu utvrdu okružuje more, a u smjeru šiloka,<sup>14</sup> prema obali *Rumili*,<sup>15</sup> razvučen je lanac.<sup>16</sup> S

Those *Āaras* are two forts. One of them is called *Eski Āara*,<sup>9</sup> while one is *Yerji Āara*.<sup>10</sup> Some call the forts mentioned *Zadire*.<sup>11</sup> But once long ago, *Eski Āara* had been a large fort.<sup>12</sup> Now it is in ruins. Then, there are several houses here, as in a village. They are well maintained. Those houses have their own boats and engage in trade.

Then, the *Eski Āara* mentioned is six miles away in the direction of *Wenedik*.<sup>13</sup> The *Yerji Āara* mentioned is a beautiful fortress now. That fortress is surrounded by sea in the direction of the SE *šiloko*,<sup>14</sup> a chain<sup>15</sup> is stretched towards the *Rumili*'s<sup>16</sup> coast.

<sup>9</sup> *Eski Āara* = Biograd. Turski *Eski* = stara. Na ranijim kartama analogan romanski naziv: G. Benincasa, 1472., *giara vecchia*; M. Vesconte, 1512., *zara vega* (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995., 42-43, 60-61).

<sup>10</sup> *Yerji Āara* = Zadar. Turski *Yerji* = nova. Spominjanje Novog Zadra (*Yerji Āara*) i Starog Zadra (*Eski Āara*) reminiscencija je na 1202. i IV. križarsku vojnu u kojoj je za interese Mletačke Republike poharan Zadar pa je većina njegovih preživjelih stanovnika privremeni spas potražila u obližnjem Biogradu (standardno u srednjem vijeku: *Alba Civitas*, *Belgrad*). Tada će Biograd privremeno dobiti ime *Jadera Nova* (Novi Zadar), pri čemu će stvarni Zadar, u to doba potpuno razrušen, biti Stari Zadar (*Jadera Vetula*). Smirivanjem stanja Zadrani će se vratiti u svoj grad, a Biograd će u vlastitoj imenskoj nomenklaturi dobiti još jedno novo ime: Stari Zadar (*Zara vecchia*, *Jadera Vetula* ili *Alt Zara* kako ga bilježe mletački i brojni drugi kasniji kartografi), pri čemu će sada Zadar postati *Zara Nuova*, a zatim samo *Zara* – Zadar. Sam Zadar je utoliko novi što je povratkom njegovih stanovnika grad gotovo iz temelja obnovljen, pa se to *novi* najviše i odnosi na gradsku infrastrukturu, a sasvim sigurno i stanovništvo, od kojeg je najveći dio i sam bio nov jer su to prinove (novorođena djeca u progonstvu). Premda će od tada do Piri Reisova doba proći stoljeća, imenski će i dalje obilježavati tragičnu situaciju s početka 13. stoljeća. Vidjeti KLAIĆ, PETRICIOLI, 1976., 175-184; BUŽILOV, 2009., 55-67, gdje je i sva starija literatura.

<sup>11</sup> Prethodno *Āara* ili *Āaralar* i ovdje *Zadire* opći su nazivi koji se mogu kroatizirati sa *Zadar*.

<sup>12</sup> Biograd je u ranom srednjem vijeku bio doista značajan krunidbeni grad no i njega su poharali Mlečani, ali znatno ranije od Zadra (ANTOLJAK, 1990., 263-277; Kos, 1990., 409-428). Ovakav podatak svakako egzaktno potvrđuje iznimnu informiranost ovoga turskog pomorca i kartografa.

<sup>13</sup> *Wenedik* je turski naziv za Veneciju. Orijeatacija Biograda prema Zadru je točna.

<sup>14</sup> Tu koristi riječ *šuluq*, *široko*, *južina*, tal. *sciocco*, tj. JI (jugoistok).

<sup>15</sup> *Rumili* ili *Rumeli* = Rumelija (Rumenlija, Urumelija, Urumenlija). To je latinsko-turski naziv Europske Turske, tj. jugoistoka Europe koje je bio ili je prema zamislima turskih vladara trebao s vremenom ući u sastav Osmanskog Carstva. Prema ŠKALJIĆ, 1966., 536-537, turski *Rumeliye* i *Rumili* doslovno je Grčka. Stvarno je to kovanica od turskog *Rum* – Grk i latinskog *Roma* – Rim, te turskog *il* u značenju država, pokrajina. Međutim, DIVKOVIĆ, 1900., 933, posredno nudi preciznije tumačenje. Prema

<sup>9</sup> *Eski Āara* = Biograd. The Turkish *Eski* = old. The analogous Romanic title on older maps: G. Benincasa, 1472., *giara vecchia*; M. Vesconte, 1512., *zara vega* (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995., 42-43, 60-61).

<sup>10</sup> *Yerji Āara* = Zadar. The Turkish *Yerji* = new. The mentioning of New Zadar (*Yerji Āara*) and Old Zadar (*Eski Āara*) are reminiscences of 1202 and the IV Crusade in which Zadar was devastated in the interest of the Venetian Republic, so that the majority of its surviving inhabitants sought temporary safety in nearby Biograd (in the Middle Ages: *Alba Civitas*, *Belgrad*). Biograd was then temporarily named *Jadera Nova* (New Zadar), while actual Zadar itself, completely destroyed at that time, was to be Old Zadar (*Jadera Vetula*). When the situation settled, the people of Zadar were to return to their town while Biograd would be given yet another new name in its own nomenclature: Old Zadar (*Zara vecchia*, *Jadera Vetula* or *Alt Zara* as it was called by Venetian and numerous other later cartographers), while Zadar was to become *Zara Nuova*, and then just *Zara* - Zadar. Zadar itself was new to the extent that its returning inhabitants renewed the town from its foundations up, so that the *new* referred largely to the town infrastructure, but also most certainly to the population, of which the majority was itself new since it was to a large extent made up of children who had been born during the period of exile. Although several centuries would pass from that time to Piri Reis' era, the name would continue to mark the tragic situation from the beginning of the 13th century. See KLAIĆ, PETRICIOLI, 1976, 175-184; BUŽILOV, 2009, 55-67 where one can find all the earlier literature.

<sup>11</sup> The previous *Āara* or *Āaralar*, and *Zadire* here, are general names that can be Croatinized as *Zadar*.

<sup>12</sup> In the Early Middle Ages, Biograd was really a significant town where coronations were conducted, but it, too, was destroyed by the Venetians, although considerably earlier than Zadar (ANTOLJAK, 1990, 263-277; Kos, 1990, 409-428). Such a piece of information definitely precisely confirms the exceptionally well-informed nature of this Ottoman seafarer and cartographer.

<sup>13</sup> *Wenedik* is the Turkish name for Venice. The orientation of Biograd towards Zadar is correct.

<sup>14</sup> Here he uses the word *šuluq*, (Cr. *široko*, *južina*), (It. *Sciocco*), that is, SE.

<sup>15</sup> The earliest mention of the chain dates from 1202 at the time of the siege of Zadar during the IV Crusade. (SKOK, 1951, 92) This is also emphasised by PETRICIOLI, 1962, 1455.

<sup>16</sup> *Rumili* or *Rumeli* = Rumelija (Rumenlija, Urumelija, Urumenlija). That is the Latin-Turkish name for European Turkey, or south-eastern Europe that was or, according to the conceptions of Ottoman rulers would, with time, enter into

unutarnje strane toga lanca lijepa je luka. Tu ulaze brodovi, a ako stoje izvan toga lanca, konope vežu za građevine spomenute utvrde. Sidro spuste u more. A ako stoje sa strane *Rumili*, na spomenutu je mjestu uvala koju zovu *Walide Mayistire*.<sup>17</sup> Spomenuta je uvala dobro sidrište za brodice. Na dvije strane vežu konope, a sidro spuste u more.<sup>18</sup>

Pet milja nasuprot spomenutoj utvrdi *Āara*<sup>19</sup> u moru ima otoka.<sup>20</sup> Između tih otoka i spomenute *Āare* barke se sidre za ljetnih mjeseci. To je pjeskovita obala.<sup>21</sup> Ako s te obale idu prema *Eski*

There is a fine harbour on the inner side of that chain. Boats enter there, but if they stop outside that chain, then they tie their ropes to the buildings of the fortress mentioned. They cast their anchors into the sea. But if they stop on the *Rumili* side, there is a cove called *Walide Mayistire*<sup>17</sup> in that spot. They tie their ropes on both sides, while they cast the anchor into the sea.<sup>18</sup>

And then, there are islands in the sea,<sup>19</sup> five miles opposite the mentioned *Āara Fortress*<sup>20</sup>. Boats anchor there between those islands and the mentioned *Āara* during the summer months. The coast is sandy.<sup>21</sup>

njemu, *Romilius* doslovno je *romilijski*, što znači *rimski*. Dakle, nije riječ o Grcima i turskom nazivu za njih već specifičnom izrazu nastalom pod okriljem Bizanta koji je istina imao uporište na području gdje je nekada dominirala grčka kultura (grčki poluotok + mediteranska obala s plićim kopnenim zaleđem Male Azije ili Bliskog istoka, gdje će se vremenom uspostaviti, barem na tom azijskom dijelu, središte Osmanskog Carstva). Preciznije, Turci tek preuzimaju postojeći naziv, jer se Bizant protezao i na priličnom dijelu jugoistočne Europe, pa ga primjenjuju, uz djelomičnu prilagodbu, vlastitu jezičnom osjećaju.

<sup>16</sup> Najraniji spomen lanca je iz 1202. za opsade Zadra u IV. križarskoj vojni (ŠKOK, 1951., 92). To ističe i PETRICIOLI, 1962., 1455.

<sup>17</sup> *Walide Mayistire* = Uvala Maestrata. *Valide* je arapskim pismom zabilježen fonetski lik romanskog *valle* sa značenjem *uvala*. Identično je s *Mayistire* koje je nastalo od romanskog *Maestro*. Na 1824., Foglio VII, to je *Valle di Maestro*. *Maestral* ili tal. *maestrale* naziv je za SZ (sjeverozapadni) vjetar koji puše s kopna (BOERIO, 1856., 786). Dakle, to je uvala koja je SZ (sjeverozapadno) od Zadra, i to je pravo značenje njezina imena.

<sup>18</sup> To je četverovez. Konopima se veže krma na obalu, a po pramcu se obori jedno ili dva sidra. Obično se to čini na obali bez izgrađene infrastrukture za vez kao što su mula. Tako je brodu lakše isploviti. Odvežu se konopi prema obali te uvlačenjem sidrenih konopa uz pomoć vitla brod se pomjera prema otvorenom moru. Uz prethodno razvijeno jedrilje takvom je brodu lako isploviti.

<sup>19</sup> Zadar, kao ovdje, naziva i kratko *Āara*.

<sup>20</sup> Ponajprije se misli na Ugljan i Pašman koji su tada bili doduše razdvojeni prolazom Mali Ždrelac, ali je njegova dubina u to vrijeme bila tek nekoliko desetaka centimetara, pa se ta dva otoka često promatralo i koje stoljeće kasnije jedinstvenim (MAGAŠ, 1984., 53, bilješka 3; MAGAŠ, FARIČIĆ, 2000., 66). U nastavku, prije ulaza u Pašmanski tjesnac i nakon njega cijeli je niz otočića: Vela Bisaga, Mala Bisaga, Galešnjak, Garmenjak, Ričul, Komornik, Babac, Muntan, Frmić, Mali Dužac, Veli Dužac, Čavatul, Planac, Sveta Katarina (*Atlas istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004., 63).

<sup>21</sup> Misli se na obalu kopna, a ne otoka Ugljana i Pašmana nasuprot Zadru.

the system of the Ottoman Empire. According to ŠKALJIĆ, 1966, 536-537, Turkish *Rumeliye* or *Rumili* is literally Greece. In fact, it is a coined word from the Turkish *Rum* - Greek and Latin *Roma* - Rome, with the addition of the Turkish *il* meaning state or province. However, DIVKOVIĆ, 1900, 933 indirectly offers a more precise interpretation. In his view, *Romilius* is literally *romilic*, which means *Roman*. Consequently, this does not speak of the Greeks and the Turkish term for them but rather for the specific term for them derived under the auspices of Byzantium that was based factually in the region in which Greek culture had once dominated (the Greek peninsula + the Mediterranean coast with the immediate coastal hinterland of Asia Minor or the Near East where, at least in the Asian part, the centre of the Ottoman Empire would ultimately be established.) More precisely, the Ottomans merely adopted the existing term, since Byzantium spread over a considerably part of south-eastern Europe, so they used it, partly adapting it to their own linguistic sensibility.

<sup>17</sup> *Walide Mayistire* = Maestral Bay. *Valide* is a phonetic form of the Romanic *valle* meaning cove as noted in Arabic script. The same holds for *Mayistire* that derived from the Romanic *Maestro*. In CARTA, 1824, Foglio VII, it is *Valle di Maestro*. *Maestral* (Cr.) or the Italian *maestrale* is the term for the NW wind that blows from the landside direction (BOERIO, 1856, 786). Consequently, it is a cove that is NW of Zadar, and that is the correct meaning of its name.

<sup>18</sup> That is a fourfold mooring. Ropes tie the stern to the coast and one or two anchors are cast from the bow. This was usually done at locations on the coast without a built mooring infrastructure, such as a jetty. This method makes it easier to set out. The ropes on the landside are untied and, by taking up the anchor ropes with the help of a capstan reel, the boat can be moved towards the open sea. With previously raised sails, such a boat can easily set sail.

<sup>19</sup> One first thinks of the islands of Ugljan and Pašman that were separated, admittedly, by the *Mali Ždrelac* passage, but its depth at that time was only a few tens of centimetres, so that the two islands were often regarded as being one, even some centuries later (MAGAŠ, 1984, 53, note 3; MAGAŠ, FARIČIĆ, 2000, 66). From there, when entering the Pašman Channel and after that, there is an entire series of small islands: Vela Bisaga, Mala Bisaga, Galešnjak, Garmenjak, Ričul, Komornik, Babac, Muntan, Frmić, Mali Dužac, Veli Dužac, Čavatul, Planac, Sveta Katarina (Kos, 2004, 63).

<sup>20</sup> Zadar, as here, is called by the shorter name *Āara*.

<sup>21</sup> This refers to the mainland shore and not to the islands of Ugljan and Pašman opposite Zadar.

Ğara i Šibeniku,<sup>22</sup> nasuprot *Eski Ğare* su četiri malena otoka.<sup>23</sup> Udaljenost između tih otočića i *Rumili* je milja i pol. Plitko je. No preko te pličine prelaze galije.<sup>24</sup> Dubina je hvat i pol.<sup>25</sup> Ali ako idu dalje, tri od četiri otočića ostaju na strani *Rumili*, a jedan na strani velikog, dugog otoka,<sup>26</sup> i to je put kojim mogu proći galije s jedrima. Za ta tri otočića kažu *Isquyi Liyuwuruzi*.<sup>27</sup> Nasuprot njima na velikom su otoku tri sela.<sup>28</sup> Dakle, kad se prođe spomenuti kanal<sup>29</sup> idući prema *Šibeniku*, sa strane *Rumili* nalazi se maleni otok s jednom

If they sail from that coast towards *Eski Ğara* and *Šibenik*,<sup>22</sup> there are four small islands<sup>23</sup> opposite *Eski Ğara*. The distance between those islands and *Rumili* is a mile and a half. It is shallow. However, galleys can pass over those shallows.<sup>24</sup> The depth is a fathom and a half.<sup>25</sup> But if they go further on, three of the four islands remain on the *Rumili* side, and one on the side of the large, long island,<sup>26</sup> and that is where galleys with sails can pass. They call those three small islands *Isquyi Liyuwuruzi*.<sup>27</sup> There are three villages opposite them on the large island.<sup>28</sup> When they pass through the channel mentioned<sup>29</sup> going

<sup>22</sup> *Šibenik* = Šibenik. Zanimljiv je ovako rani doslovni hrvatski naziv ove luke i grada. To nedvojbeno svjedoči, kao kod primjerice Kotor (*Kotor*) ili Dubrovnika (*Dubrevonik*), o izravnom uvidu u realnu geografsku situaciju ove obale, pa i u to kako što domaće stanovništvo stvarno naziva (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., 739, 741, 745). Takvi hrvatski nazivi u kartografskoj i peljarskoj građi ponovno će se pojaviti tek potkraj 19. stoljeća.

<sup>23</sup> Vjerojatno se misli na otočiće: Babac, Muntan, Planac i Sveta Katarina (*Atlas istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004., 63).

<sup>24</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 787, donosi malo drukčiji prijevod za istanbulski izvornik. Prema njemu „čak ni galija ga (tu pličinu – op. autori) ne može prijeći jer je dubina hvat i pol“.

<sup>25</sup> Slične vrijednosti, ali u stopama, ima *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII, Plan *Stretto di Pasman*. V. M. Coronelli na svojoj karti *CONTADO DI / ZARA. / Parte della Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1688., nema numerički izraženih dubina već ih ističe gustim skupom crtica sugerirajući pomorcu da su dubine mora male; identični na karti *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi*, također iz 1688. (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995., 245, 251, 255-256, K-220, K-231 i K-231c). U tom smislu i te karte potvrđuje gornji navod iako specifičnim načinom.

<sup>26</sup> Kao i prethodno i ovdje se nedvojbeno misli na Ugljan i Pašman kao jedinstveni otok. Na strani prema obali kopna bili bi Babac, Planac i Sveta Katarina, a prema Pašmanu je Muntan. Između njih je ustaljeni plovni put.

<sup>27</sup> *Isquyi Liyuwuruzi*. Prema sugestiji talijanistice Lj. Šimunković, prva je riječ iz romanskog *scoio* (CORTELAZZO, 2007., 1202), tal. *scoglio* u značenju *otok, otočić*. U starom jeziku početna konsonantska skupina *-sc*, dobiva ispred protetički vokal *-i*, a *-o-* se zatvara u *-u-*. Oblik *isquyi* je množina, pa mu je značenje *otočići*. Drugi član sintagme najvjerojatnije potječe od starog oblika *lievoro* (CORTELAZZO, 2007., 718), tal. *lepre*, a znači *zec*, u ovom slučaju *zečji*. Ako jest tako, onda bi u prijevodu to bili *Zečji otočići*. Na dostupnim starim pomorskim i geografskim kartama takav naziv ne postoji, što ne znači da u vrijeme rada Reisa nije postojao.

<sup>28</sup> Naselja na otoku Pašmanu. Iz konteksta je jasno da su to naselja u relativnoj blizini Pašmanskog tjesnaca, pa su to vjerojatno Pašman, Kraj i Tkon.

<sup>29</sup> Pašmanski tjesnac.

<sup>22</sup> *Šibenik* = Šibenik. Such an early literally Croatian name for this harbour and town is noteworthy. This is irrefutable evidence, as in the cases of Kotor (*Kotor*) and Dubrovnika (*Dubrevonik*), of the direct insight into the actual geographic situation on this coast, and into the actual names used by the local population (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, 739, 741, 745). Such Croatian names in cartographic and portolan chart material would be present again only at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>23</sup> This probably refers to the small islands of Babac, Muntan, Planac and Sveta Katarina (Kos, 2004, 63).

<sup>24</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, Vol II, 787, provides a slightly different translation of the Istanbul original. According to him “not even a galley can pass over it (that shallow part – author’s note) since the depth is a fathom and a half”.

<sup>25</sup> Similar values, but in feet, are given in *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII, the *Stretto di Pasman* Plan. In his map, *CONTADO DI / ZARA. / Parte della Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1688, V. M. Coronelli has no numerically expressed depths but rather emphasises them by closely grouped lines, suggesting to the seafarer that the sea depths are small, as identical on the map *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi*, also dating from 1688 (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995, 245, 251, 255-256, K-220, K-231 i K-231c). In that sense, those maps in a specific manner confirm the above statement.

<sup>26</sup> Just like above, here Ugljan and Pašman are undoubtedly treated as a single island. Babac, Planac and Sveta Katarina were on the coastal side, while Muntan faced Pašman. There was a well-established sailing route between them.

<sup>27</sup> *Isquyi Liyuwuruzi*. According to the suggestion of the Italianist, Lj. Šimunković, the first word is the Romanic *scoio* (CORTELAZZO, 2007, 1202), It. *scoglio* meaning *island, small island*. In the early language, the initial consonant group *-sc* is given an initial prothetic vowel *-i*, while *-o-* closes in *-u-*. The *isquyi* form is a plural, so its meaning is *small islands*. The second part of the syntagm probably derives from the old form *lievoro* (CORTELAZZO, 2007, 718), It. *lepre*, meaning *rabbit*, in this case *rabbit’s*. If that is so, then that would translate as *Rabbit Islands*. However, no such name exists on old accessible maritime and geographical maps, although that does not mean that it did not exist in Reiss’ time.

<sup>28</sup> A settlement on the island of Pašman. It is clear from the context that the settlement was relatively close to the Pašman Channel, so that it was probably the village of Pašman, Kraj or Tkon.

<sup>29</sup> The Pašman Channel.

crkvom.<sup>30</sup> Između toga otočića i *Rumili* je pličina. Tri milje od toga mjesta u smjeru kible<sup>31</sup> na moru se nalazi jedan zakrivljeni otočić.<sup>32</sup> Taj otok zovu *Qornata Pičile*.<sup>33</sup> On ima dobru luku protiv sjeveroistočnog vjetrova.<sup>34</sup> To je luka u koju ulaze brodice. Na jugozapadnoj strani od njega nalaze se četiri grebena<sup>35</sup> koje zovu *Perverse Firanda*.<sup>36</sup> Između tih grebena nema prolaza. Ali između te skupine i grebena koji se nalazi na strani šiloka<sup>37</sup> brodovi mogu prolaziti. Sveukupno je četiri grebena.<sup>38</sup> Sjeverozapadno

towards *Šibenik*, there is a small island on the *Rumili* side with one church.<sup>30</sup> There are shallows between that small island and *Rumili*. From that place in the *kibla*<sup>31</sup> direction by sea, a curved island is located.<sup>32</sup> That island is called *Qornata Pičile*.<sup>33</sup> It has a safe harbour against the north-eastern wind.<sup>34</sup> Boats enter into that harbour. There are four reefs on its south-western side<sup>35</sup> that they call *Perverse Firanda*.<sup>36</sup> There are no passages between those reefs. However, boats can pass between that group and the reef that is located on the SE *šiloko*<sup>37</sup> side. There are four reefs in all.<sup>38</sup> There is a long island

<sup>30</sup> Sveta Katarina. Otočić je dobio ime po crkvi sv. Katarine izgrađenoj u srednjem vijeku (URL 2), što znači prije nastanka Reisova djela.

<sup>31</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 787, ovdje daje da je to „južno“, čime se nudi što je to „u smjeru kible“. Smjer *kible* je zapravo smjer prema Meki, koja je u odnosu na Istanbul jugoistočno (stvarno jugo-jugozapadno). (SMILAGIĆ, 1990., 328.)

<sup>32</sup> Vjerojatno misli na JI (jugoistočni) dio otoka Pašmana, a ne neki zaseban novi otok; taj dio Pašmana doista je malo zakrivljen.

<sup>33</sup> *Qornata Pičile*. Mletački *picciolo* (CORTELAZZO, 2007., 1003), riječ je koja označava *malen*. Dakle, dubleta u značenju *Mali Kornat*. Međutim, ovdje to nije Kornat već i dalje Pašman, ali njegov najjužniji dio.

<sup>34</sup> Triluke na JI (jugoistočnom) dijelu Pašmana (*Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII: *Val Triluke; Atlas istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004., 63). S druge, biogradske, strane toga najjužnijeg dijela otoka Pašmana je uvala Zaklopatica koja je dobar zaklon od južine. Između široke uvale Triluke (doista ima tri lučice) i Zaklopatice teren na Pašmanu se uzdiže, a na njegovoj koti 108 metara nadmorske visine je Pustograd, refugij još iz 6. stoljeća, što znači da je rano uočen taj dio Pašmana kao pribežište stanovništvu u vrijeme ratnih opasnosti. Očevidno njegovo značenje, pa i lučica ispod njega, nije u kasnijem vremenu izmijenjeno. Vidjeti GUNJAČA, 1986., 127; BRUSIĆ, 1991., 232.

<sup>35</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 787, ima da su to „četiri izlomljena grebena“.

<sup>36</sup> *Perverse Firanda*. Prema Lj. Šimunković, prvi član bi mogao potjecati od *pervertio* (BOERIO, 1856., 495) u značenju *pokvaren, oštećen*. Drugi član vjerojatno potječe od riječi *ferante* (CORTELAZZO, 2007., 538), kojom se imenuje neka vrsta plovila sa sidrom. U *Atlasu istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004., 63, to su Žižanj, Gangaro, M. i V. Kotula, Obun, Kozina itd. S obzirom na njihov položaj, ovdje se opisno nazivaju *Pogubno sidrište*, što bi svakako bili ako bi se uz njih sidrilo po južini.

<sup>37</sup> Vidjeti bilješku 12.

<sup>38</sup> Tj. svakako između Obuna i Šipnate; dalje su otočići oko Vrgade pa prema Murteru. Iz te množine mogli bi to biti: Žižanj, Gangaro, M. i V. Kotula skupno te Obun. Završnoga dijela ove rečenice, koji postoji u istanbulskoj redakciji peljara, a glasi „... to neka se zna“, nema u baltimorskoj verziji (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 787).

<sup>30</sup> Sveta Katarina. The small island got its name from the church of St Katharine that was built in the Middle Ages (URL 2), meaning prior to the emergence of Reis' work.

<sup>31</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, vol.II, 787 states here that it is “south”, suggesting that it is “in the direction of *kible*”. The *kible* direction is actually the direction towards Mecca, which is south-east (precisely south-south east) in relation to Istanbul. SMILAGIĆ, 1990, 328.

<sup>32</sup> He was probably thinking of the SE part of the island of Pašman and not of any new, separate island, since that part of Pašman really is slightly curved.

<sup>33</sup> *Qornata Pičile*. Venetian *picciolo* (CORTELAZZO, 2007, 1003), a word meaning *small*. Thus, this doublet means *Small Kornat*. However, in this case it is not Kornat being referred to but still Pašman, although to its most south-eastern part.

<sup>34</sup> Triluke on the SE part of Pašman (*Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII: *Val Triluke; Atlas istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004, 63). The Zaklopatica Cove is on the other, Biograd, side of the most southern part of the island of Pašman, and it provides a fine shelter from the south wind. The terrain between the wide Triluke Cove (it has three small harbours) rises, and Pustograd is located at an elevation of 108 m above sea level; it was a refuge from as far back as the 6<sup>th</sup> century, indicating that that part of Pašman was seen early on as a sanctuary at times of maritime perils. It is evident that its significance, as well as that of the small harbour below it, did not change in later times. See GUNJAČA, 1986, 127; BRUSIĆ, 1991, 232.

<sup>35</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, vol.II, 787, states that they were “four disconnected reefs.”

<sup>36</sup> *Perverse Firanda*. According to Lj. Šimunković, the first constituent unit could derive from *pervertio* (BOERIO, 1856, 495) meaning *spoilt, damaged*. The second constituent unit probably derives from the word *ferante* (CORTELAZZO, 2007, 538), the name for a specific style of vessel with an anchor. In *Atlas istočne jadranske obale, otoka i zaleđa*, 2004., 63, they are Žižanj, Gangaro, M. and V. Kotula, Obun, Kozina etc. Due to their position, the description here is *Perilous Anchorage*, which they would certainly be in the case of anchoring there during a southerly wind.

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 12.

<sup>38</sup> That is, definitely between Obun and Šipnat; further on are the small islands around Vrgada and towards Murter. That group could consist of: Žižanj, Gangaro, M. and V. Kotula together, along with Obun. The closing part of this sentence, which exists in the Istanbul redaction of the portolan chart, reads “. . . let that be known” is absent in the Baltimore version (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 787).

od tih grebena je jedan dugi otok.<sup>39</sup> Nasred spomenutog otoka je lijepa luka, sklonište od južnog vjetrova. Spomenutu luku zovu *Porto Daletor*.<sup>40</sup> To znači *Luka s utvrdom*.<sup>41</sup> Jer na spomenutom otoku nalaze se dvije ruševne utvrde.<sup>42</sup> Te dvije utvrde su orijentir za tu luku gledano s mora. Jer nalaze se iznad luke. U blizini se vide tri otočića. Ide se točno prema njima. A u luku se ulazi s dviju strana. Ali ta tri otočića imaju dva moreuza. Kroz njih se ne može proći. Između njih i velikog otoka more je duboko. Ulazi

north-west of those reefs.<sup>39</sup> There is a fine harbour in the middle of the island mentioned, a safe haven from the south wind. They call that harbour *Porto Daletor*.<sup>40</sup> That means *Harbour with a fortress*.<sup>41</sup> Because there are two ruined forts on the island mentioned.<sup>42</sup> Those two forts provide the orientation into that harbour as seen from the sea. Because they are located above the harbour. Three small islands can be seen nearby. You sail directly towards them. And you enter the harbour from two sides. However, those three small islands have two narrow passages. They

<sup>39</sup> Nedvojbeno današnji Dugi otok.

<sup>40</sup> *Porto Daletor*. Prema Lj. Šimunković, najvjerojatnije nastalo od romanskog *porto dalle torri*. Dakle, kao i u više drugih slučajeva, zabilježilo se arapskim slovima izgovorni lik imena. Vjerojatno je to danas *Luka* na Dugom otoku čiji je položaj takav da doista brodovlje štiti od južine. Vidjeti *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII: P.<sup>to</sup> *Luka* iznad koje je M.<sup>te</sup> *Vela Strasa*, a taj oronim je ono što je ovdje utvrda. Na ističanoj Coronellijevoj karti *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi* iz 1688. ima tek *Porto di Valle*.

<sup>41</sup> Nije poznato da je na Dugom otoku bila neka utvrda. Međutim, poviše Luke nalazi se *Vela Straža* na nadmorskoj visini 337 metara na kojoj su ostaci prapovijesne gradine koji, gledani s mora, djeluju kao utvrda. SKRAČIĆ, 1998., 16, dobro oslikava ovaj lokalitet i njegovo značenje: „Potpuno praćenje prilika na moru bilo je u velikoj mjeri pitanje opstanka na otoku. Kontrola se mogla obavljati samo s dobro odabrane točke za tu namjenu. O tome najbolje svjedoči rana lokacija gotovo svih dugotoočkih naselja na istaknutim točkama na brdu i s tim u vezi postojanje toponima *Straža* (16 potvrda u raznim varijantama).“ Slično ističe BADURINA, 1992., 7, za četrdesetak lokaliteta s istočnog Jadrana koji u svojem imenu nose imenicu *straža*, što se odnosi i na dugotoočnu *Velu Stražu*: „Kako im i samo ime kaže, na ovim su mjestima dugo kroz povijest bile straže i izvidnice koje su omogućavale sigurnu plovidbu ovim dijelom Jadrana“. Prema tome riječ je o velikoj gradini na *Veljoj Straži* poviše *Luke* koja je još od prapovijesti bila izvrstan terestrički orijentir.

<sup>42</sup> Prva je *Velika Straža* na Dugom otoku, a druga *Toreta* na Kornatu; nije ovo jedinstven slučaj da se Kornat i Dugi otok shvate kao jedinstven otok. Za *Velu Stražu* vidjeti prethodnu bilješku, a za *Toretu* FARIČIĆ, SIMIČIĆ, 2005., 65, gdje se ističu dvije utvrde koje Piri Reis donosi na svojoj karti i spominje u tekstu. Pritom se jedna od njih može identificirati kao *Toreta* na Kornatu, ali ne i druga. Istina, na otočiću Panitula je 1532. podignut kaštel, ali je prema godini izgradnje to kasnije od nastanka istanbulskih izvornika (KULUŠIĆ, 2000., 52-53).

<sup>39</sup> Undoubtedly today's Dugi Otok.

<sup>40</sup> *Porto Daletor*. According to Lj. Šimunković, this probably comes from the Romanic *porto dalle torri*. Consequently, as in several other cases, the original form of the name was noted down in Arabic letters. That is probably today's *Luka* on Dugi Otok, the position of which is such that it really does protect shipping from the southerly wind. See *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII: P.<sup>to</sup> *Luka* with M.<sup>te</sup> *Vela Strasa* above it, while that oronym is a fort here. Only *Porto de Valle* is mentioned on Coronelli's renowned map *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi* of 1688.

<sup>41</sup> It is not known whether there was a fortress on Dugi Otok. However, *Vela Straža* stood at an elevation of 337 m above *Luka*, where there are pre-historic remains which, seen from the sea, look like a hill-fort. SKRAČIĆ, 1998, 16, provides a good description of this locality and its significance: “Full monitoring of circumstances at sea was, to a great extent, a matter of survival on an island. Control could be exercised only from points well-chosen for that purpose. The best evidence of this is provided by early locations of almost all the Dugi Otok settlements on prominent positions on the hills and the existence of the toponyms *Straža* [Guard] (16 confirmations of this in a series of variants)”. BADURINA, 1992, 7 draws similar conclusions concerning some forty localities on the eastern Adriatic that have the word *straža* in their name, also related to *Vela Straža* on Dugi Otok: “As their names themselves indicate, there were guard-posts and lookouts at those places through history that made sailing safe in this part of the Adriatic”. Therefore, this relates to a large hill-fort at *Vela Straža* above *Luka* that was excellently terrestrially orientated as early as in pre-historic times.

<sup>42</sup> The first is *Velika Straža* on Dugi Otok, while the second is *Toreta* on Kornat, this not being the first case of Kornat and Dugi Otok being regarded as one single island. See the above note for *Vela Straža* and FARIČIĆ, SIMIČIĆ, 2005, 65 for *Toreta*, where the two hill-forts are shown by Piri Reis on his chart and mentioned in the text. One can be identified as *Toreta* on Kornat, but not the other one. True enough, a citadel was erected on the small island of Panitula in 1532 but, due to the date, it came into being later than the emergence of the Istanbul original (KULUŠIĆ, 2000, 52-53).

se i izlazi s dvije strane. Ta tri otočića zaustavljaju vjetar s mora. Valovi tu ne mogu doprijeti, to je dobra luka.<sup>43</sup>

Potom, na sjeverozapadnoj strani toga otoka s utvrdom<sup>44</sup> nalazi se još jedan dugi otok.<sup>45</sup> Prostor između toga otoka i otoka s utvrdom je dobra luka.<sup>46</sup> Ulazi se s južne strane.<sup>47</sup> Sjeveroistočna strana je plitka,<sup>48</sup> ali preko te pličine mogu proći maleni brodići. Spomenuti moreuz zovu *Buqada Burusa*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Te otočiće ima tek *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII - *Sco. Grande* (danas: Luški), *Sco. Maslinovac* (danas: Maslinovac), *Rava piccola* (danas: Ravica). Na suvremenoj pomorskoj karti *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977., doista je riječ o iznimno povoljnoj luci okrenutoj prema SZ (sjeverozapadu). Od bure je štite veći otočić Luški, a od manjih otočića su Maslinovac i Ravica. U luku *Luka* brodovi gaza do tri metra mogu ući kroz prolaz između dugootočnog rta Gubac i otočića Luški, a veliki brodovi, bez obzira na gaz, ploveći između Maslinovca i Luškog u kursu IJI – ZSZ (istok-jugoistok – zapad-sjeverozapad), a zatim okreću oko Luškog i plove u kursu JI (jugoistok) prema *Luci*. Iz konteksta gornjeg teksta može se zaključiti da Reis tako i preporučuje.

<sup>44</sup> Kornat. Iz teksta koji slijedi Kornat i Dugi otok u ovom se dijelu teksta shvaćaju kao dva zasebna otoka. Vjerojatno to sugerira o različitim izvorima iz kojih se crpilo podatke, pa tekst o cjelini zadarskog akvatorija zbog toga i jest s mjestimično kontradiktornim podacima.

<sup>45</sup> Dugi otok.

<sup>46</sup> Telašćica. *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>47</sup> Prolaz Proversa Vela. *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>48</sup> Prolaz Proversa Mala. *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824., Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>49</sup> *Buqada Burusa* – treba *Buqada Purverse*. U odnosu na istanbulski primjerak, ovdje je očito riječ o pogrešci, odnosno ispuštanju drugog *r* (ﺭ), i previdu razlike između početnog *p* (ﭗ) i *b* (ﺏ). Drugim riječima, ovo je nesumnjivo pogrešno prepisana riječ *Purverse*. Romanski *buca* u značenju *rupa, jama, udubina*; latinski *proversus* ima značenje *naprijed okrenut*. Dakle, naprijed okrenuta udubina (između otoka). Misli se očividno na Proversu Malu koju imenski obilježava suvremena pomorska karta *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977. Dakako, tu su dubine danas tako male da može proći tek kaić. Ona je optimalan prolaz za brodiće prema prostanoj luci Telašćica smještenoj na jugoistoku Dugog otoka. Cijeli gornji opis u biti problematizira kako dospjeti do Telašćice. Tom se opisu ne može odreći vrijednost, što znači da je utemeljen na informacijama iz plovidbene prakse.

are impassable. The sea is deep between them and the large island. You enter and leave from two sides. Those three small islands block the wind from the sea. The waves cannot enter, so it is a fine harbour.<sup>43</sup>

Then, on the north-western side of that island with the fortress<sup>44</sup> there is another long island.<sup>45</sup> The space between that island and the island with the fortress is a safe harbour.<sup>46</sup> You enter it from the southern side.<sup>47</sup> The north-eastern side is shallow,<sup>48</sup> but small boats can cross over those shallows. They call that narrow channel *Buqada Burusa*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Those small islands are shown only on CARTA, 1824, Foglio VII - *Sco. Grande* (today: Luški), *Sco. Maslinovac* (today: Maslinovac), *Rava piccola* (today: Ravica). On the contemporary maritime map of *Zadar, Dugi otok and Kornat*, Split, 1977, this really is an exceptionally favourable harbour facing towards the NW. It is protected from the north wind, the *bura*, by the larger island of Luški, while the smaller islands are Maslinovac and Ravica. In the *Luka* harbour, boats with a draught up to three metres can enter through the passage between the Dugi Otok Gubac headland and the small island of Luški, while large boats, regardless of their draught, sail between Maslinovac and Luški on a EES – WWN course, and then go around Luški and sail on a SE course towards *Luka*. One can conclude from the context of the above text that this was what Reis was recommending.

<sup>44</sup> Kornat. In the following text, Kornat and Dugi Otok are understood as being two separate islands in this part. This suggests various sources he used, so that the Zadar Maritime Zone text as a whole holds contradictory data in some places.

<sup>45</sup> Dugi Otok.

<sup>46</sup> Telašćica. *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>47</sup> Proversa Vela Passage *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>48</sup> Proversa Mala Passage. *Carta di cabottaggio del mare Adriatico*, 1824, Foglio VII; *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977.

<sup>49</sup> *Buqada Burusa* – should be *Buqada Purverse*. In relation to the Istanbul copy, this is obviously an error and/or the second *r* (ﺭ) is omitted, while the difference between the initial *p* (ﭗ) and *b* (ﺏ) is overlooked. In other words, this is undoubtedly an incorrect transcription of the word *Purverse*. The Romanic *buca* means *hole, hollow, depression*; the Latin *proversus* means *turned to the front* – thus a hollow turned to the front (between the islands). This obviously refers to Proversa Mala marked by name in the contemporary maritime map of *Zadar, Dugi otok i Kornat*, Split, 1977. Of course, those depths are so small that only small boats can cross them today. This is an optimal channel for small boats sailing to the spacious harbour of Telašćica, located on the south-east of Dugi Otok. The entire above description has as its theme how best to sail to Telašćica. The value of that description cannot be denied, which means that it is based on information from navigational practice.



Dakle, s ove (bliže) strane toga moreuza nalazi se otok s utvrdom.<sup>50</sup> Otok koji se nalazi na sjeverozapadnoj strani ima luku protiv šiloka.<sup>51</sup> Spomenutu luku zovu *Porto Mezi*.<sup>52</sup> To znači *Polu luka*. U blizini te luke je jedno selo.<sup>53</sup> Potom, kad se taj otok prođe sa sjeverozapadne strane i dođe do njegova kraja, taj kraj zovu *Qawi Biyanqo*.<sup>54</sup> To znači *Bijeli rt*. Na kraju toga rta nalaze se dva niska otočića.<sup>55</sup> Ako prođu te otočiće i krenu prema gradu *Ġari*, na tom je prostoru jedan dugi otok. Na spomenutom otoku ima jedna crkva.<sup>56</sup> Između toga otoka s crkvom i otoka s utvrdom, koji se nalazi pet milja nasuprot *Ġari*, prolaze brodovi, duboko je. Spomenuti otok s utvrdom je pet milja udaljen od *Ġare*. Zbog toga su na tom otoku izgradili zgradu s kulom kako bi s kule mogli promatrati stranu prema *Ġari*.<sup>57</sup> To je sve.<sup>58</sup>

So, from this (nearer) side of that passage there is an island with a fortress.<sup>50</sup> The island located on the north-western side has a harbour against the SE *šiloko*.<sup>51</sup> They call that island *Porto Mezi*.<sup>52</sup> That means *Half-a-Harbour*. There is a village near that harbour.<sup>53</sup> Then, when that island is passed on the north-western side and you reach its end, they call that part *Qawi Biyanqo*.<sup>54</sup> That means *White Promontory*. Two small low-lying islands are located at that promontory.<sup>55</sup> If you pass those islands and turn towards the town of *Ġara*, there is another long island. There is a church on the island mentioned.<sup>56</sup> Boats pass between that island with the church and the island with the fortress that is located five miles opposite *Ġara*, the water being deep. The island with the fortress referred to is five miles from *Ġara*. That is why they have built a structure with a tower so as to be able to observe the side towards *Ġara*.<sup>57</sup> That is all.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Misli se na Ugljan i njegov Sv. Mihovil.

<sup>51</sup> Misli se na Dugi otok.

<sup>52</sup> *Porto Mezi*. *Mezzo* je romanizam u značenju *srednji, polovičan*. To je danas uvala Sakarun (KOZLIČIĆ, 2013., 245-249).

<sup>53</sup> Sakarun.

<sup>54</sup> *Qawi Biyanqo*. Danas Veli Rat. Detaljno KOZLIČIĆ, 2013., 245-249.

<sup>55</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 791. O tim otočićima vidjeti KOZLIČIĆ, 2013., 245-249.

<sup>56</sup> Otok s crkvom za vrijeme prije nastanka našeg izvornika može biti jedino Iž. U njegovu naselju Iž Veli 1341. ustanovljena je župa sv. Petra i Pavla Apostola (URL 5), a sama je crkva s istim titularom izgrađena 1391. godine (*Opći šematizam katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji*, 1975., 320). Takvu situaciju sugerira i Coronelli svojom kartom *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi iz 1688*. gdje se otok Iž imenuje *Sc. Esso*, a ispod otoka se ističe *S. Pietro*, nedvojbeno kao tadašnje ime naselja Iž Veli. Crkve na drugim otocima su kasnije: Rava: Uznesenje Blažene Djevice Marije, 16. stoljeće; Sestrunj: sv. Petar i Pavao, 16. stoljeće (*Opći šematizam katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji*, 1975., 316, 321). Crkva sv. Jelene na otoku Rivanj izgrađena je 1877., a do sada su stanovnici toga otoka u vjerskom smislu pripadali otoku Sestrunj pa se tamo i pokapali (URL 4).

<sup>57</sup> Očevidno se misli na utvrdu sv. Mihovila koja se prvi put u vjerodostojnim povijesnim izvorima spominje 1345. godine. Ona je doista bila ključna u sustavu obrane Zadra. Vidjeti SORIĆ, 2012., 85-96, gdje je i sva starija literatura.

<sup>58</sup> U Istanbulskoj redakciji teksta peljara završna rečenica ovoga odlomka glasi: *Neka se tako zna, i to je sve*. (ÖKTE I DR., 1988., 791).

<sup>50</sup> Referring to Ugljan and its St. Mihovil.

<sup>51</sup> Referring to Dugi Otok.

<sup>52</sup> *Porto Mezi*. *Mezzo* is a Romanism meaning *central or in part*. That is Sakarun Cove today (KOZLIČIĆ, 2013, 245-249).

<sup>53</sup> Sakarun.

<sup>54</sup> *Qawi Biyanqo*. Veli Rat today. See KOZLIČIĆ, 2013, 245-249 for more detail.

<sup>55</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 791. See KOZLIČIĆ, 2013, 245-249 on those islands.

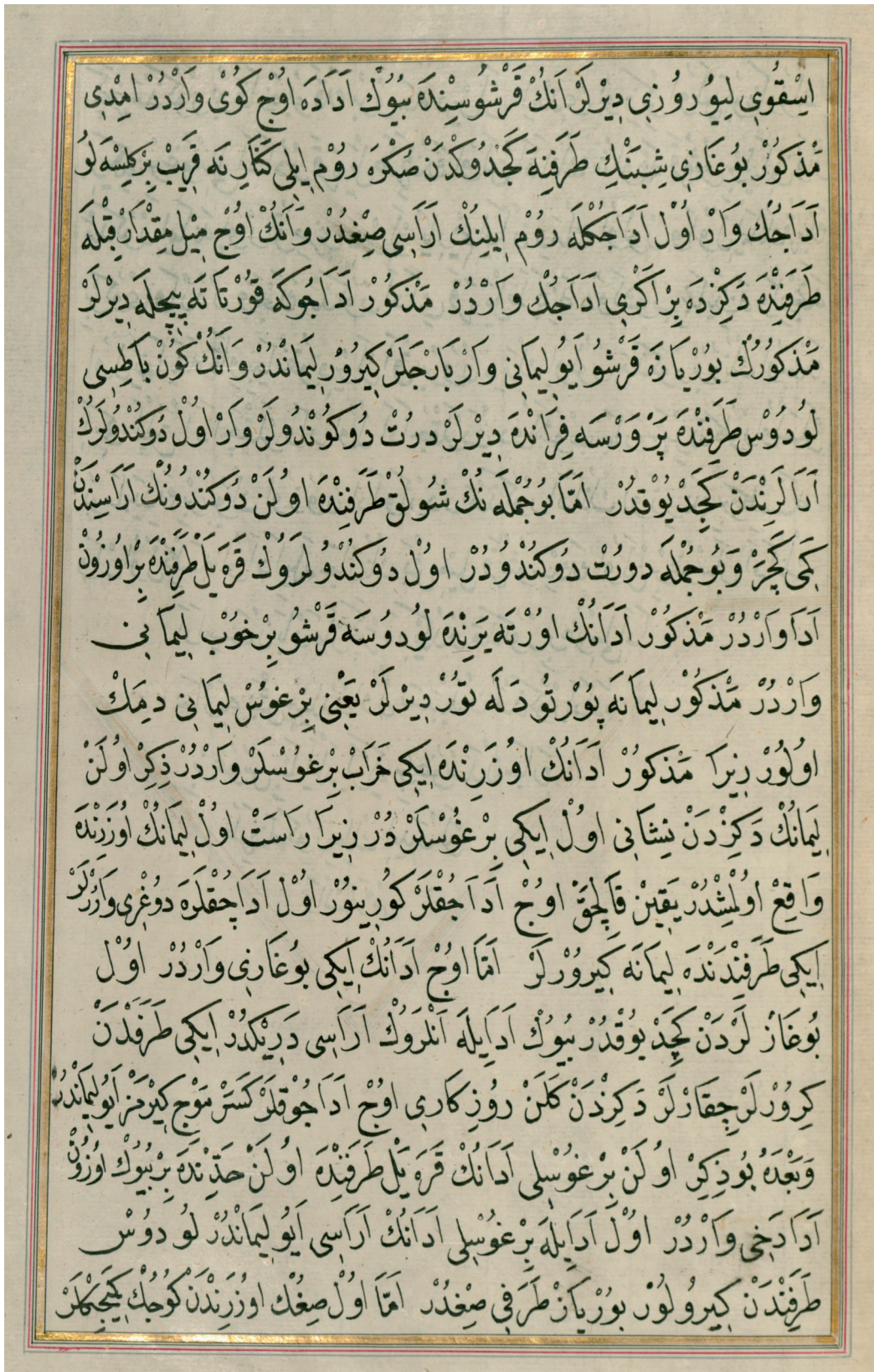
<sup>56</sup> Prior to the emergence of our original, the island with the church could only have been Iž. The Parish of St Peter and Paul the Apostles was established in the settlement Iž Veli in 1341 (URL 5), while the church with the same name was built in 1391 (DRAGANOVIĆ, 1975, 320). Such a situation is also suggested by Coronelli in his map *Ristretto della / DALMAZIA / Diuisa né suoi Contadi from 1688* in which the island of Iž is called *Sc. Esso* while *S. Pietro*, undoubtedly the name of the settlement Iž Veli at that time, is highlighted below the island. Later there were churches on the other islands: Rava: The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 16<sup>th</sup> century; Sestrunj: St Peter and Paul, 16<sup>th</sup> century (DRAGANOVIĆ, 1975, 316, 321). The small Church of St Jelena was built on the island of Rivanj in 1877 and, until then, the people of that island belonged to the religious community of the island of Sestrunj, and were buried there (URL 4).

<sup>57</sup> This is obviously a reference to the Fortress of St Michael that was first mentioned in credible historical sources in 1345. It really was the key in the defence system of Zadar. See SORIĆ, 2012, 85-96, where all the earlier literature is listed.

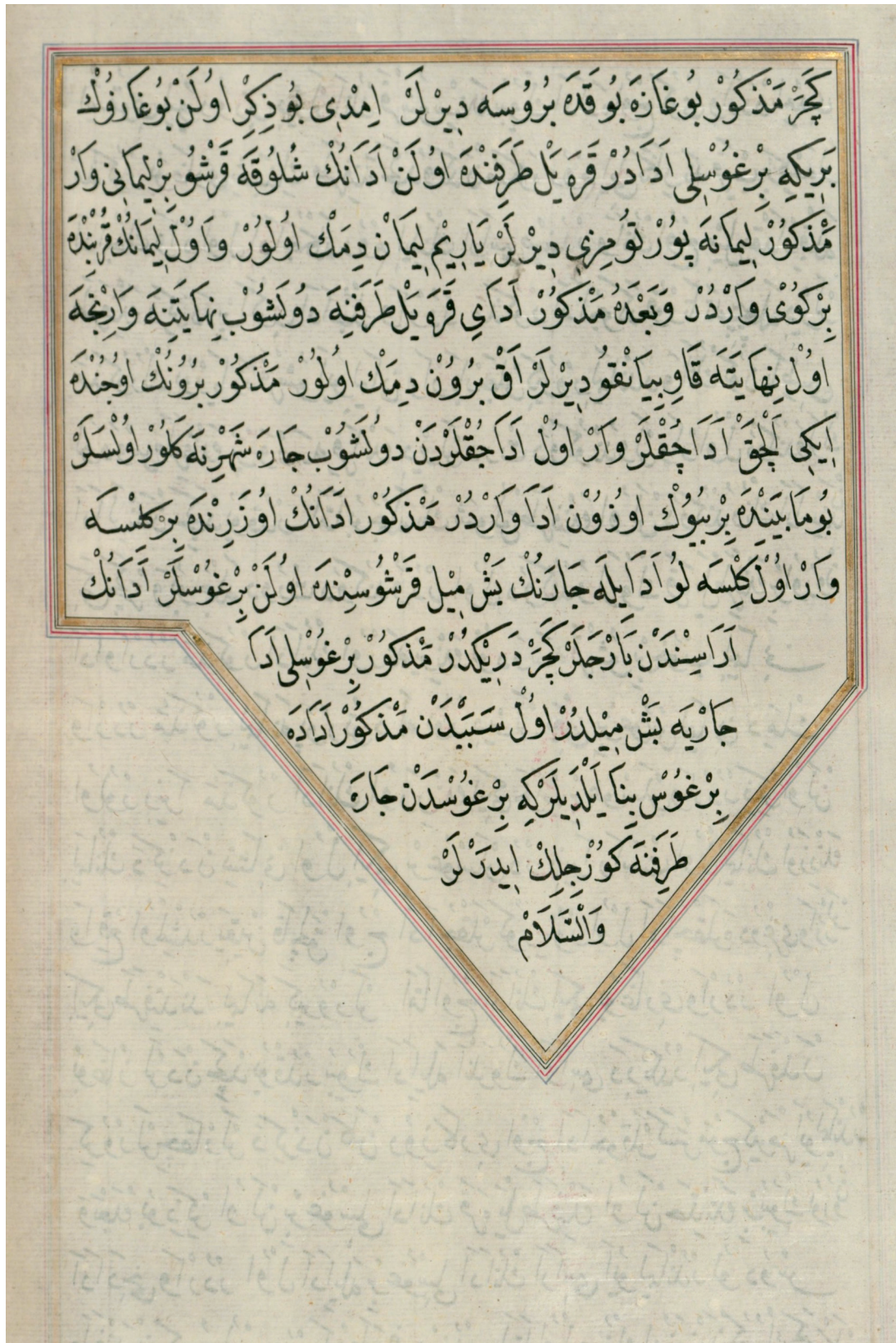
<sup>58</sup> The closing sentence of that section in the Istanbul redaction reads: *Let it be thus known, and that is all*. (ÖKTE ET AL., 1988, 791).

Slika 1. Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 158b, isječakFigure 1 Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 158b, a segment

Izvor / Source: URL 1



Slika 2. Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 159a, isječak  
 Figure 2 Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 159a, a segment  
 Izvor / Source: URL 1



Slika 3. Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 159b, isječak  
 Figure 3 Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Fol. 159b, a segment  
 Izvor / Source: URL 1

Istanbulski izvornik<sup>59</sup> uz minimalne različitosti istaknute u prednjim bilješkama gotovo je identičan baltimorskom. U oba je kursni nacrt opisa zadarskog akvatorija istovjetan. Kreće se iz Zadra put Biograda uz obalu Pašmana. Produžava se kroz Pašmanski tjesnac pa oko jugoistočnog dijela Pašmana dalje plovi prema Veloj Proversu gdje se prolazi između jugoistočnoga dijela Dugog otoka i sjeverozapada Kornata. Nastavlja se, uz pučinsku stranu Dugog otoka, do Sakaruna i Velog Rata, da bi se zatim kroz Sedmovraća produžilo prema sjeverozapadnom dijelu Sestrinja i u nastavku vratilo u Zadar. U opisivanju takva plovidbenog puta spominje se niz različitih topografskih podataka (otoci, naselja, utvrde, prolazi, plovnost s obzirom na dubinu ili širinu prolaza) te je jedan od mogućih opisa s obzirom na trasu puta. Pritom je značajno, premda se na Reisovim kartama donose naznake i o središnjem nizu zadarskih otoka, da se preferira plovidba uz obalu i plovidba uz pučinsku stranu vanjskog niza zadarskog otočja. Takav pristup je logičan s obzirom na onodobna znanja iz navigacije, navigacijski instrumentarij kojim je mogao raspolagati tadašnji prosječni jedrenjak, ustaljene rute s obzirom na moguća tržišta te maritimna svojstva tadašnjih brodova (KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005.).

### *Kartografski dio*

Pirî Reisov kartografski dio vizualna je dopuna prethodnoga, nešto širega peljarskog opisa zadarskog akvatorija.

Usporedbom dvaju izdanja, uočljivo je da je kartografiranjem zahvaćeni geografski prostor identičan, ali je baltimorska karta puno raskošnija. U oba primjerka jasna je orijentacija u geografskom prostoru (gdje je sjever!). Istanbulski to čini pojednostavljenom vjetrovljom (osam vjetrova), izravno strelicom ističući sjever te stavljanjem vjetrovlje posred karte. Takvo opredjeljenje, ako bi se primijenilo vjetrovlje iz baltimorske inačice, značilo bi „prekrivanje“ dijela kartografiranoga sadržaja, pa to i jest razlog za reduciranu i u grafičkom smislu pojednostavljenu vjetrovlju kod istanbulskog primjerka. U baltimorskom, u donjem lijevom i desnom kutu, donijelo se cjelovite vjetrovlje (trideset dva vjetra) u raskošnoj renesansnoj

<sup>59</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 785, 787, 789, 791.

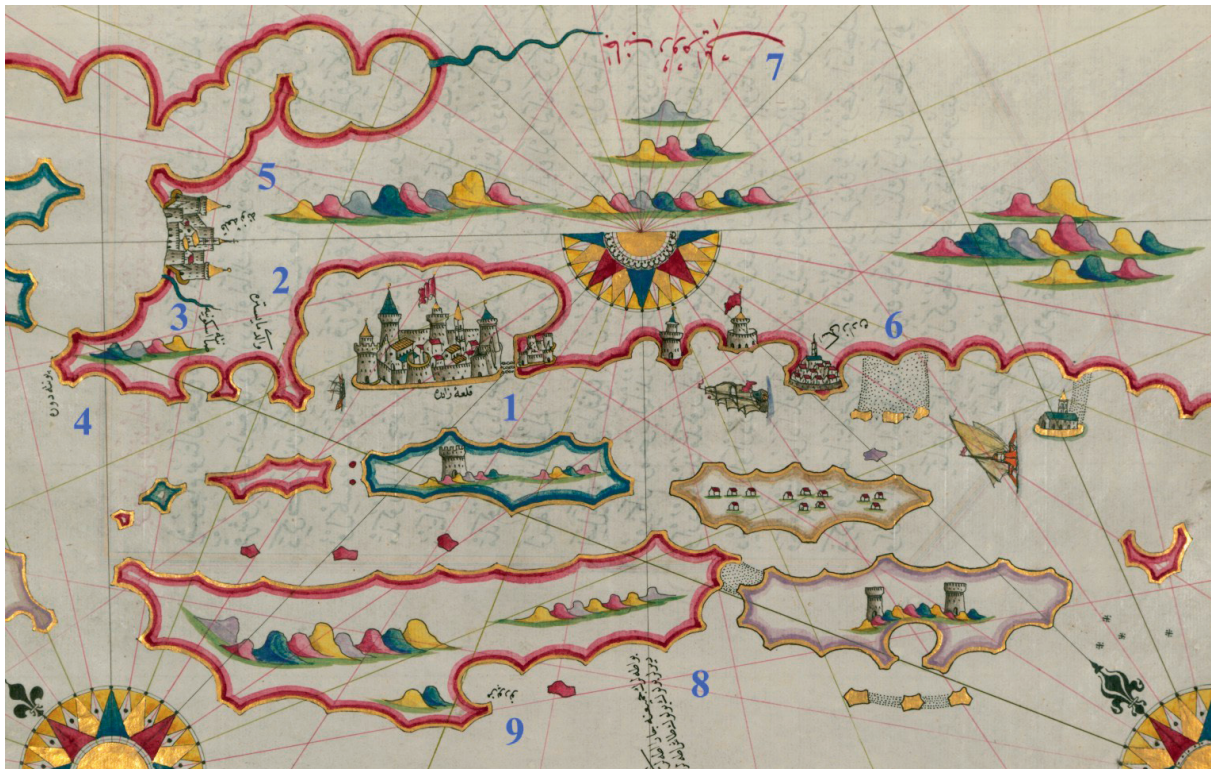
As it was mentioned in the above notes, the Istanbul original<sup>59</sup> is almost identical to the Baltimore one. The marine route scheme in the description of the Zadar maritime zone is identical in both. It starts from Zadar in the direction of Biograd close to the coast of the island of Pašman. It continues through the Pašman Channel and then towards Proversa Vela where it passes around the south-eastern part of Dugi Otok [*Dugi otok*] and the north-west of Kornat. It continues on the seaward side of Dugi Otok to Sakarun and Veli Rat, through the Sedmovraća carrying on towards the north-western part of Sestrinj, then returning to Zadar. A series of different topographic data – islands, settlements, fortresses, passages, navigability related to the depth or width of a passage – is given in describing such navigational route, and this is one of the possible descriptions related to the route of the journey. Although indications are also given on Reis' charts on the central series of Zadar islands, it is notable that he preferred sailing close to the coast or on the seawards side of those outer islands. Such an approach was logical, bearing in mind the known information on navigation and the navigational instruments that could have been available then on the average sailing ship, the well-established routes in respect of possible markets and the characteristics of the ships (KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005).

### *The Cartographic Part*

Pirî Reis' cartographic part is a visual addendum of the foregoing pilot part with a somewhat broader description of the Zadar maritime zone.

Comparing both editions, it is evident that the geographical space to which they relate is identical, although the Baltimore edition is much more luxuriant. The orientation in geographical space is quite clear in both variants – one knows where the north is! This was achieved in the Istanbul edition by a simplified wind-rose (of eight winds), with a straight arrow showing north and by placing the wind-rose in the centre of the chart. If the wind-rose from the Baltimore version had been employed in the other version in that way, such an orientation would have meant 'covering' part of the cartographic content, and that was the reason for its reduction and graphic simplification in the Istanbul example. In the Baltimore variant, the entire wind-rose (with 32 winds) was given in the lower left- and right-hand

<sup>59</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 785, 787, 789, 791.



Slika 4. Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Zadarski akvatorij, Fol. 160a, isječak s umetnutim arapskim brojevima

Izvor: URL 1

1. *qal'e-i zadire* = utvrda Zadire (Zadar); 2. *walide mayistire* = (Uvala Maestrala); 3. *şanşa iskewina* = (Uvala Petrčane); 4. *ponte dora* = (Otok Vir); 5. *qal'e-i nuna* = utvrda Nuna (Nin); 6. *eski zadire* = Stari Zadar (Biograd); 7. *ğānib-i rum-ili* = strana Rumelije (Europska Turska ili jugoistočni dio Europe koji se u tom trenutku nalazio pod osmanskom vlašću); 8. *Bu aṭalaruṅ ğem'ine ğara aṭaları dērler bölük bölük taş aṭalardır* = Sve te otoke zovu zadarski otoci. To su razdvojeni (rasparčani) kameni otoci. (Arhipelag Dugi otok - Kornati); 9. *mezi porto* = (Uvala Sakarun na Dugom otoku)

Figure 4 Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Zadar Maritime Zone, Fol. 160a, The segment with Arabic numbers inserted

Source: URL 1

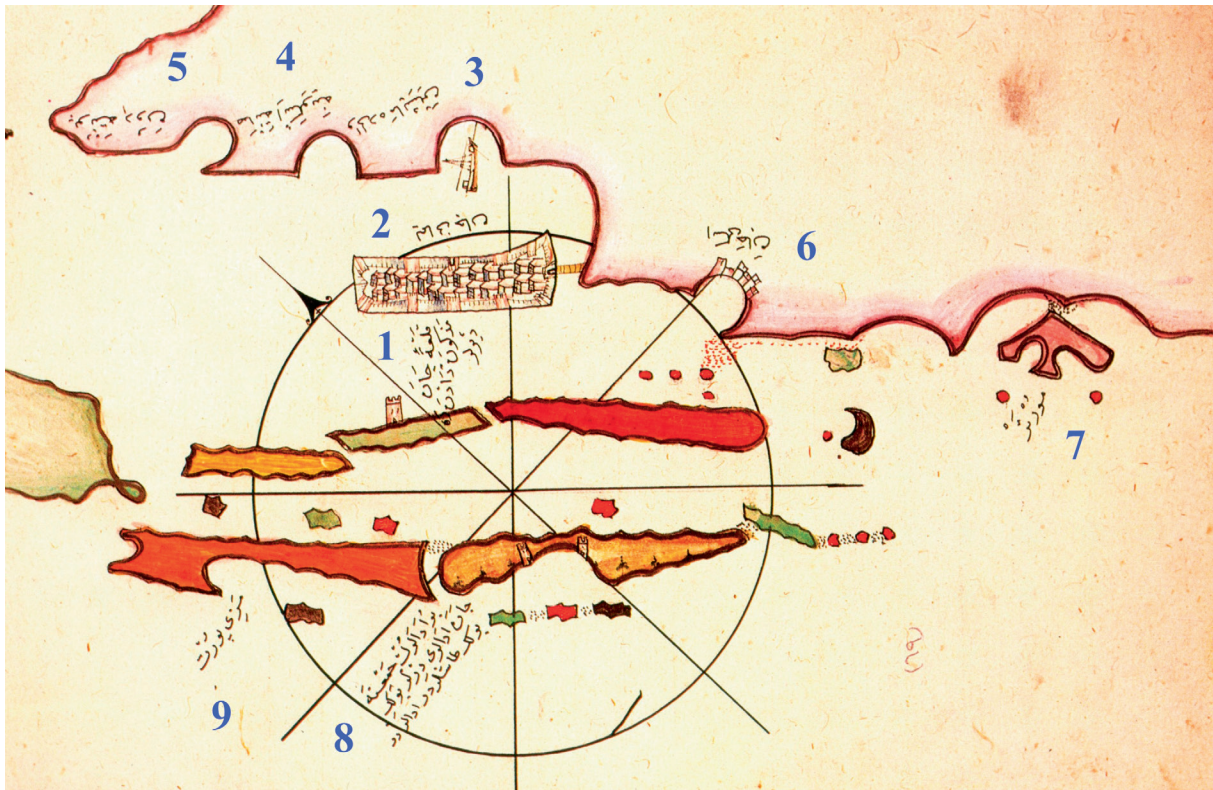
1. *qal'e-i zadire* = Zadire Fortress (Zadar); 2. *walide mayistire* = (Maestral Cove); 3. *şanşa iskewina* = (Petrčane Cove); 4. *ponte dora* = (Island of Vir); 5. *qal'e-i nuna* = Nuna Fortress (Nin); 6. *eski zadire* = Old Zadar. (Biograd); 7. *ğānib-i rum-ili* = The Rumeli Side (European Turkey or the south-eastern part of Europe that was under Ottoman power at that moment); 8. *Bu aṭalaruṅ ğem'ine ğara aṭaları dērler bölük bölük taş aṭalardır* = All those islands are called the Zadar islands. They are separated, detached stone islands. (Dugi otok – Kornati Archipelago); 9. *mezi porto* = (Sakarun Cove on Dugi Otok)

izvedbi, što svjedoči o autorovu poznavanju tadašnjih unapređenja u umjetnosti na području Italije i drugdje po Sredozemlju. Općenito, baltimorska inačica, unatoč očividnijoj raskoši, u svojoj likovnosti nije kičasta, nego i dalje na razini decentnosti. K tome smještaj vjetrovlje pomaže orijentaciji u geografskom prostoru, ali pri tome ne „zaklanja“ nijedan dio kartografiranoga geografskog sadržaja.

Kako su uz tekstualni dio ovoga djela, peljarski opis, objašnjeni svi toponimi, ovdje se to ne čini, već se zadržava na suštinskoj

corner in luxuriant Renaissance manner, which is the evidence of the author's awareness of the current advances in art in the Italian region and elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean. Generally speaking, the Baltimore variant, despite its more luxuriant presentation, is not kitch-like but manages instead to maintain good taste. In addition, the locating of the wind-rose helps orientation in the geographical area without 'concealing' any single part of the charted geographical content.

Since all the toponyms are explained in the textual part, that is, the pilot description, which



Slika 5. Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Zadarski akvatorij, isječak s umetnutim arapskim brojevima

Izvor: ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 790

1. *qaḷʿe-i ġara meḏkûre dadra dërler* = Utvrda Zadar. Spomenutu (utvrdu) zovu i Dadra. (Zadar); 2. *limân-ı ġara* = Luka Zadar (Luka Jazine u Zadru); 3. *walide mayistire* = (Uvala Maestrala); 4. *şaṅṭa iskewina* = (Uvala Petričane); 5. *ponte diwura* = (Otok Vir); 6. *eski ġara* = Stari Zadar. (Biograd); 7. *murter* = (Otok Murter); 8. *bu adalaruḡ ġem'ine ġara adaları dërler bölük bölük taşlardır adalardır* = Sve te otoke zovu otoci Zadra. To su rasparčani grebeni i otoci. (Arhipelag Kornati); 9. *mezi port* = (Uvala Sakarun na Dugom otoku)

Figure 5 Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Zadar Maritime Zone, The segment with Arabic numbers inserted

Source: ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 790

1. *qaḷʿe-i ġara meḏkûre dadra dërler* = Zadar Fortress. They also call the mentioned (fortress) Dadra (Zadar); 2. *limân-ı ġara* = Zadar Harbour. (Jazine Harbour in Zadar); 3. *walide mayistire* = (Maestral Cove); 4. *şaṅṭa iskewina* = (Petričane Cove); 5. *ponte diwura* = (Island of Vir); 6. *eski ġara* = Old Zadar. (Biograd); 7. *murter* = (Island of Murter); 8. *bu adalaruḡ ġem'ine ġara adaları dërler bölük bölük taşlardır adalardır* = They call all thos islands the Zadar islands. They are scattered reefs and islands. (Kornati Archipelago); 9. *mezi port* = (Sakarun Cove on Dugi Otok)

raščlambi dviju inačica.<sup>60</sup> Prva, baltimorska (Sl. 4.), prema broju geografskih zapisa – nazovimo tako te toponimijske identifikacije – gotovo je identična istanbulskoj (Sl. 5.). Baltimorska je djelomično pojednostavljena. Zadar je na obje

<sup>60</sup> Kako bi se znalo gdje što piše, uz arapski tekst stavilo se na obje Pîrî Reisove karte arapske brojeve, a u legendi ispod slike, iza svakoga takvog broja latinični tekst onoga što se na karti daje arapskim slovima. U produžetku je prijevod i u zagradi ubikacija, ili samo ubikacija ako je arapskim slovima bilo tek fonetski zapisano neko geografsko ime, pa ga ne treba prevoditi. Pritom se čitatelja upućuje na bilješke uz peljarski dio gdje su sve te ubikacije potanko objašnjene. Slično je učinjeno u SLUKAN, 2003., 106.

is not copied here. The emphasis is on the basic analysis of the two variants.<sup>60</sup> According to the number of the geographic notations, the first toponymic identification, the one from Baltimore (Fig. 4), is almost identical to the Istanbul variant

<sup>60</sup> With the objective of conveying what is written, Arabic numbers have been placed beside the Arabic text on both of Pîrî Reis' maps, while in the legend under the image, the text following such number is given in Latin, shown on the map in Arabic letters. In the continuation of the text the location is given in brackets, or only the location if the Arabic letters were only a phonetic notation of a certain geographical name, so that no translation is necessary. The reader is directed to the notes given with the pilot part, where all the locations are explained in full. Similarly as is done in SLUKAN, 2003, 106.

otok spojen s kopnom mostom. Sa SSZ (sjevero-sjeverozapadne) strane Zadra je njegova luka koju sl. 5. specificira tekstem (pod br. 2.), a na sl. 4. nije, vjerojatno jer je smatrano da se to podrazumijeva, Pírî Reis to ne čini. K tome na sl. 5. dodaje se i drugi naziv Zadra, *Dadra*, što se na sl. 4. izostavlja. Zato se na sl. 4. identificira zaobalje (pod br. 7.), što nije učinjeno na sl. 5. Identično je s isticanjem Nina (br. 5. na sl. 4.) koji uopće nije kartografirani na sl. 5.

Osim navedenog na sl. 5. nema istaknute konfiguracije terena. Za razliku od toga, na sl. 4. to se čini sustavom „krtičnjaka“. Na obje inačice oblikovane su dvije utvrde na Kornatu, što je pogrešno (kako se naprijed ustvrdilo), te još jedna utvrda na Ugljanu, Sv. Mihovil. Točkicama je istaknuta mala dubina između Kornata i Dugog otoka, čime se i kartografski potvrđuje navod da se između dva otoka ne treba ići kroz Malu Proversu, već kroz Velu Proversu. Tu su i otoci srednjeg niza Zadarskog otočja, potom otočje južno i u produžetku Kornata, sjeverno i u produžetku Pašmana, oko Biograda itd. Zanimljivo je i isticanje male dubine između obale kopna i otočića u Pašmanskom tjesnacu, što je istodobno uputa onodobnom pomorcima da plovi između tih otočića i otoka Pašmana. U produžetku Pašmana na obje inačice doista je kartografirani „krivi otok“, ali on je na takvom mjestu da bi to, prema položaju, trebao biti Murter, koji sa svoje sjeverne strane ima dublju uvalu na čijem se dnu smjestilo naselje Murter.<sup>61</sup> Dakle, još jedna od zabluda.

Današnji zadarski poluotok, u to doba ispravno prikazan kao otok spojen s kopnom mostom, predimenzioniran je u odnosu na zadarsko otočje. Takav način predimenzioniranja, kako bi se s time jednoznačno stavilo u prvi plan temeljni geografski objekt, prisutan je i na ranijim i na kasnijim kartama, te se može držati ustaljenom manirima za vrijeme 14. – 17. st. Takva činjenica eliminira mogućnost realnog orijentiranja s nekog rta određenog otoka, tj. određenja kursnoga nacrtu plovidbene rute, pa se taj segment nije ni moglo istražiti. Može se pretpostaviti da tadašnjim kartografima i pomorcima, kao korisnicima tih kartografskih djela, to nije bilo previše važno, jer su i tako imali relativno sadržajan narativni opis istoga akvatorija. Karta im je, čini se, u takvoj

(Fig. 5). The Baltimore variant is partly simplified. Zadar is connected to the mainland by a bridge on both of them. The Zadar harbour is on the NNW side that Fig. 5 specifies in the text (under No. 2.), while Pírî Reis does not do that on Fig. 4, probably thinking that it is self-evident. In addition, he gives another name for Zadar – *Dadra* – on Fig. 5, which he omits on Fig. 4. However, he does identify the surrounding coast on Fig. 4 (under No. 7.), which was not done on Fig. 5. The situation is identical with emphasising Nin (No. 5 on Fig. 4.) which is not mapped at all on Fig. 5.

Apart from what is mentioned on Fig. 5, there is no highlighted configuration of the terrain. Conversely, that is done on Fig. 4 by way of a ‘mole-hill’ system. Both variants show two hill-forts on Kornat, which is a mistake as stated above, and there is another fortress on the Island of Ugljan, St Michael [*Mihovil*]. Dots are used to indicate the shallows between Kornat and Dugi Otok, thus confirming cartographically the statement that passage between the two islands should not be through Proversa Mala, but through Proversa Vela. Here one also finds the islands of the central chain of Zadar islands, along with the islands south of Kornat and in its continuation, north of Pašman and in its, around Biograd, etc. What is also interesting is the emphasis on the shallows between the coast and the islets in the Pašman Channel, which was an instruction to the seamen of that time to sail between those small islands and the island of Pašman. Both variants really do show the charting of the ‘wrong island’ in continuation from Pašman, but it is situated in such a place that that is likely to be Murter, which has a deeper cove on the northern side where the Murter settlement was located.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, this was one of the misconceptions.

Today’s Zadar peninsula, depicted at that time correctly as an island connected to the mainland by a bridge, was shown out of proportion in relation to the Zadar islands. This oversizing method, aimed at bringing the basic geographical entities into the foreground, was also found both in earlier and in later maps, and can be considered an established method applied between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. This fact eliminates the possibility of realistic orientation from a headland on a particular island, i.e. a certain course on the navigational route, so that segment could not be researched. It can be assumed that that

<sup>61</sup> ÖKTE I DR., 1988., Vol. II., 780. Tu je kartu i prateći peljarski opis detaljno znanstveno valorizirala SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2010., 93-107.

<sup>61</sup> ÖKTE ET AL., 1988., Vol. II., 780. That map and the accompanying portolan description was scientifically evaluated in detail by SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2010, 93-107.



situaciji, više bila tek okvirna slika istoga toga akvatorija.<sup>62</sup> Slično je primjerice kod Pagana, Camocija, Rosaccija i više drugih, a takvih se karata može naći čak i kod Coronellija.

Imagološko-geografska komparacija karata i peljara Pîrî Reisa s kartografskim radovima autora s „druge strane“, uz određene sličnosti, upućuje i na razlike. U toponimiji je Reis obimno preuzimao građu od svojega „domaćina“ kao Drugog, bilo da se radilo o korištenju starijih izvora na talijanskom jeziku<sup>63</sup> ili možda čak informiranju kod lokalnog stanovništva, s obzirom na neke hrvatske jezične oblike.<sup>64</sup> Uspriko činjenici da je i sam bio Drugi na istočnom Jadranu, Pîrî Reis je osmanskim turskim jezikom zabilježio određen broj povijesnih informacija,<sup>65</sup> koje je očito smatrao korisnima za bolje poznavanje prostora. Istovremeno je napravio čak dvostruki konceptijski odmak od široko rasprostranjene zapadnjačke kartografske prakse koji su rabili i „uredski kartografi“ Mletačke Republike, posebno za karte prekojadranskih posjeda. Nastojao je izbjeći šablonsko precrtavanje sadržaja sa starijih karata koje je evidentno posjedovao. Njegove je praktične i točne plovidbene informacije, od kojih je dio prvi put zabilježen, netko nužno morao prikupiti na terenu.<sup>66</sup> No još je važnije da je upravo tu vrstu podatka Pîrî Reis naglasio i značenjski pretpostavio ideološkim ili čak političko-programatskim informacijama o Drugom, koje je gotovo potpuno izostavio. Ni grafički, a niti tekstualno nije izrazio svoju poziciju (Drugoga!) prema zadarskoj okolici kao „neprijateljskom“ mletačkom posjedu i njegovim stanovnicima. Time je bitno odstupio od uobičajene ranonovovjekovne interpretacije stvarnosti putem ideoloških poruka, komuniciranim „između redaka“ geografskih tekstova ili upotrebom simbola u sadržaju kartografske imagologije. Za razliku od Reisa,

was not too important to the cartographers and the seafarers of that time, who were the users of these maps, because they also had a relatively meaningful narrative description of the same maritime zones. It seems that to them the map was more a framework image of the same maritime zone.<sup>62</sup> The situation was similar, for example, with Pagano, Camocio, Rosaccio and several other authors, and such maps can even be found in Coronelli's work.

Beside some similarities, the imagological-geographical comparison of Pîrî Reis' maps and pilot with cartographic production of the authors from the "other side" also reveals some differences. Reis broadly applied toponyms "borrowed" from his "host" as the Other, either by use of the older sources written in Italian<sup>63</sup> or even by obtaining information from the local population, in respect to some language particularities in Croatian language<sup>64</sup>. Regardless of the fact he was also a member of the Others at the eastern Adriatic, Reis recorded certain amount of historical information<sup>65</sup> in the Ottoman Turkish language, underlying its importance for a better understanding of the area. At the same time he even reduplicated a conceptual distinction of his work from the widely spread practice among the western cartographers, including "office cartographers" of the Venetian Republic, particularly in the mapping of the Venetian overseas possessions (in Dalmatia). He tried to avoid schematic copying of data from the older maps he clearly had at his disposal. His set of practical and accurate data, some even recorded for the first time, was obviously gathered in the field<sup>66</sup>. What is even more important, Pîrî Reis stressed the semantic importance of such kind of data in comparison to subordinated ideological or even political-programmatic information about the Other, which he almost fully omitted. He did not declare his position (of the Other!) either graphically or textually, neither within the Zadar surroundings, as the Venetian possession of "the enemy", nor in

<sup>62</sup> O položaju Zadra prema Dugom otoku i Velom Ratu u odnosu na prekomorski trajekt Zadar – Veli Rat – Ancona na generalnoj karti Jadrana iz baltimorske inačice detaljnije KOZLIČIĆ, 2013., 247-248. Istodobno, kroz tamošnju raščlambu uočljiv je potpuno drukčiji odnos između regionalnih i generalnih karata kod ovoga osmanskog autora.

<sup>63</sup> Usporedi bilješke 6, 8, 9, 13, 16, 18, 26, 33, 35, 39, 48, 51 i 53.

<sup>64</sup> Usporedi bilješke 10 i 21.

<sup>65</sup> Usporedi bilješke 8, 9 i 11.

<sup>66</sup> Usporedi bilješke 15, 17, 19, 20, 22-25, 28-31, 34, 36, 37, 42-47, 49, 50 i 54.

<sup>62</sup> For more detail on the position of Zadar in relation to Dugi Otok and Veli Rat in relation to the overseas ferry Zadar – Veli Rat – Ancona on the general map of the Adriatic, see the Baltimore variant (KOZLIČIĆ, 2013, 247-248.). At the same time, a completely different relation between regional and general maps is seen through the analysis there in the work of this Ottoman author.

<sup>63</sup> See footnotes 5, 7, 8, 12, 17, 25, 31, 34, 37, 46, 49, 51.

<sup>64</sup> Footnotes 9, 20.

<sup>65</sup> See footnotes 7, 8, 10.

<sup>66</sup> See footnotes 14, 16, 18, 19, 21-24, 27-30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42-45, 47, 48, 52.

njih su vojnokrajiški, mletački, francuski pa i nizozemski kartografi koristili u prikazivanju drugih i drukčijih, pri čemu su Drugi često bili upravo Osmanlije.<sup>67</sup>

## Zaključak

Istražujući kartografski prikaz i pripadajući peljarski opis može se zaključiti da je to vrlo detaljna vizija plovidbenih svojstava zadarskog akvatorija. Dakako, u njoj ima krivih predodžbi pa i zabluda. Zanimljivo je istaknuti nekoliko temeljnih konstatacija koje su rezultirale iz provedenoga znanstvenog istraživanja: prvo, takav kvalitetan spoj, kartu i tekst, nemamo u ranijim danas poznatim plovidbenim priručnicima; drugo, tako velik broj raznolikih podataka također je nepoznat iz ranijih sličnih djela;<sup>68</sup> treće, ponajprije toponimijski likovi upućuju na zaključak da se Pîrî Reis okoristio njemu raspoloživom literaturom (uputama za plovidbu) na što je pridodao niz vlastitih opažanja; dakako, iskoristio je i brojne druge podatke koje je uključio u vlastiti tekst. Na temelju toga dobio je posve izvoran opis zadarskog akvatorija koji množinom podataka nudi niz novih znanstvenih spoznaja.<sup>69</sup>

Često se zanemaruje da je ovaj tekstualno-kartografski opis zadarskog akvatorija djelo admirala Pîrî Reisa, što znači vojnopomorskoga zapovjednika s bogatim višedesetljetnim iskustvom plovidbe i crtanja karata, koji je imao pristup arapskim, kineskim i portugalskim kartama. U tom smislu nije jedino riječ o genijalnoj osobi koja je na potpuno novi način pristupila peljarskim opisima i plovidbenim kartama cjeline Sredozemlja i okolnih mora, nego i vojnopomorskom časniku najvišega ranga koji je iz vlastita iskustva izvanredno dobro znao što je potrebno pomorcima Osmanskoga Carstva.

<sup>67</sup> Analizu negativne simbolike skrivene u dekorativnim elementima na karti *Danubius...* W. J. Bleaua i slične primjere sugestivne komunikacije ideološke poruke o Drugome uspoređi kod HARLEY, 1988., 298-303 i MLINARIĆ, GREGUROVIĆ, 2011., 350-368.

<sup>68</sup> Primjerice, poslužimo li se registrom toponima iz starijih pisanih plovidbenih priručnika (KRETSCHMER, 1909., 627), trebat će konstatirati da se s ovoga akvatorija oni lapidarno spominju: Zadar (*Ciara, Giara, Jara, Jayca, Zara*) i Biograd (*Zara uechia, Ziara uechia, Ciara uechia, Jayca ueya*).

<sup>69</sup> Slično zaključuje SLUKAN, 2003., 106-107.

relation to its inhabitants. By such an approach he significantly differentiated his work from the usual early modern interpretation of reality through ideological messages, communicated “between the lines“ of geographical texts or just by manipulation of symbolic content of cartographic imagery. Contrary to Reis, such a way of communication was broadly used by the Venetian, French and even Dutch cartographers or cartographers of Military Croatia in describing different people, having in mind that these Others were often - the Ottomans.<sup>67</sup>

## Conclusion

Research into the cartographic depictions and the pertaining pilot descriptions leads to the conclusion that they gave a very detailed vision of the navigational characteristics of the Zadar maritime zone. Naturally enough, the work does contain erroneous conceptions as well as certain misapprehensions. It is interesting to note several basic conclusions that resulted from the scholarly research carried out: firstly, we do not have such a high-quality conjunction of charts and text in earlier navigational manuals known today; secondly, such a host of diverse data is also unknown in similar earlier works;<sup>68</sup> thirdly, the toponymic forms indicate that Pîrî Reis used all the available literature (sailing instructions) known to him, to which he added his own observations. He did, of course, use copious information that he included in his own text. On that basis, he created a completely original description of the Zadar maritime zone in which the multitude of data offered a series of new scholarly concepts.<sup>69</sup>

It is often overlooked that this textual and cartographic description of the Zadar maritime zone is the work of Admiral Pîrî Reis, a naval commander with rich decades-long experience in sailing and drawing maps, who had access to Arabic, Chinese and Portuguese charts. In that

<sup>67</sup> The analysis of negative symbolism hidden within the decorative elements on the map of *Danubius...* by W.J. Bleau and of similar cases of suggestive communication of ideological messages about the Other can be seen in: HARLEY, 1988, 298-303 i MLINARIĆ, GREGUROVIĆ, 2011, 350-368.

<sup>68</sup> For example, if we apply the register of toponyms from navigational handbooks written earlier (KRETSCHMER, 1909, 627), it can be seen that from this maritime zone they briefly mention the following: Zadar (*Ciara, Giara, Jara, Jayca, Zara*) and Biograd (*Zara uechia, Ziara uechia, Ciara uechia, Jayca ueya*).

<sup>69</sup> A similar conclusion in SLUKAN, 2003, 106-107.

Ujedno *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* predstavlja i uvid „izvana“ u geografsku stvarnost zadarske regije. Temeljeći svoj rad ponajprije na geografskoj i navigacijskoj informativnosti, navodeći položaj otoka, pličina, podvodnih grebena, izvora pitke vode, kanala, vjetrove i sl., Pîrî Reis izostavlja ideološke poruke i ne komunicira stavove o domaćinu kao Drugome, posebno ne negativno konotirane. Upravo takvim diskursom razlikuje se od poznatih zapadnjačkih suvremenika i uobičajenih kartografskih kanona. Ali i dokazuje da sama činjenica da je bio pripadnik redova mletačkog vojnog suparnika na istočnom Jadranu nije umanjila njegovo poznavanje toga prostora, ali ni mogućnost da realizira jedan od najnaprednijih i najpreciznijih kartografsko-plovidbenih projekata svojega vremena. Upravo suprotno, Reis obilato preuzima talijansku geografsku i lingvističku građu, a dijelom i naglašava bogatu povijesnu baštinu, čime ostavlja dojam poštovanja tuđe tradicije. S obzirom na to da njegova predodžba prostora kao predodžba stranca istodobno interkulturalno sučeljava iznimno bogatu geografsko-navigacijsku faktografiju lokalne pozadine, premda ogoljenu od subjektivnih ideoloških komentara, i njega kao stranog promatrača (Drugog), ona predstavlja novinu i zanimljiv balans između uobičajenih autopredodžbi lokalnih kartografa i heteropredodžbi o Dalmaciji. Naime, s jedne se strane „Knjiga pomorstva“ može promatrati i kao nastavak portulanske tradicije kasnoga srednjeg vijeka i rane renesanse, koju su u zapadnoj Europi, u potrazi za što preciznijim podacima za navigaciju, predstavljali izolari i portulani. Time Pîrî Reis paradoksalno predstavlja kariku kontinuiteta europskoga kartografskog razvoja. No njegov rad ujedno predstavlja i odraz doseg a odnosno mogućnosti osmanske „gostujuće“ kartografije, koji nam omogućuje njezino drukčije vrednovanje i uvid u znanje kumulirano više od pola stoljeća prije nego što su se na krilima procvata grafičke umjetnosti i uz potporu državne vlasti pojavili slavni mletački izolari Pinargentija, Camocija ili Rosaccija.

sense, this is not merely the case of a brilliant man who showed more than a completely new approach to pilot descriptions and navigational charts of the entire Mediterranean and the adjoining seas. He was also a naval officer of the highest rank who knew extremely well from his own experience just what the mariners of the Ottoman Empire needed. In that respect, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* also represents an insight ‘from outside’ into the geographical reality of the Zadar region. Basing his work primarily on geographical and navigational information - the position of islands, shallows, submerged reefs, sources of fresh water, channels, winds and the like - in both the charts and the narrative descriptions in the pilots, Pîrî Reis omits ideological stances and does not communicate attitudes towards the host as the *Other*, especially not in a negative manner. By such a discourse his work is set apart as being different from that of his known Western contemporaries and usual cartographic patterns. It also proves that the fact that he belonged to the military enemy of Venice on the eastern Adriatic did not lessen his knowledge about the area. Furthermore, it did not diminish his capacity to produce one of the most precise and the most advanced cartographic and nautical projects of his time. Quite to the contrary, Reis applied abundant Italian geographic and linguistic data and even emphasised rich historical heritage, leaving the impression of respecting foreign tradition. His concept of space, as that of a foreigner, simultaneously reflects the inter-cultural confrontation of extremely rich geographical and navigational factography of a domestic background, although without his subjective comments as a foreign observer (the *Other*) and that was quite new. Besides, it makes an interesting balance between the customary auto-conceptions of local cartographers and the hetero-conceptions of Dalmatia. In fact, the *Book on Navigation* can be observed from one aspect as a continuance of the portolan tradition of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance that was represented in Western Europe by the island charts - isolarii and portolans, in the search for the most precise information possible on navigation. Paradoxically enough, Pîrî Reis thus represents a link in the chain of continuity in European cartographic development. However, from another aspect his work simultaneously demonstrates the reach and possibilities of Ottoman ‘visiting’ cartography. It enables our altered evaluation of and insight into knowledge accumulated over more than half a century, prior to the blooming of the graphic arts with the support of state authorities as seen in the famous Venetian island charts - the isolarii of Pinargenti, Camocio or Rosaccio.

Na koncu treba konstatirati da više podataka o ovoj, ali i drugim primorskim regijama istočnog Jadrana donosi tek Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, gotovo cijela dva stoljeća kasnije. I on je bio u imperijalnoj službi, premda Mletačka Republika nije imala naslov carstva, ali jest imala takva stremljenja u Jadranu i na većem dijelu Sredozemlja.<sup>70</sup> S druge strane, u narativnom smislu, tj. kroz peljarski opis, više se podataka može naći još kasnije: tek u „Peljaru Jadrana“ iz 1830. kojemu je autor Giacomo Marieni (MARIENI, 1830., 179-237). U tom kontekstu vrijednost Piri Reisova prinosa boljem poznavanju pomorsko-geografskih realiteta zadarskog akvatorija jedinstvena je i nemjerljivo važna.

Finally, it should be added that more data about this and other maritime regions of the Eastern Adria were provided only by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, almost a whole two centuries later. He, too, was in imperial service, although the Venetian Republic did not bear the title of *empire*, regardless of its ambitions in the Adria and in the greater part of the Mediterranean.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, in the narrative sense, that is, through the pilot descriptions, it was much later that more information became available: only in the *Pilot of the Adriatic* by the author Giacomo Marieni (MARIENI, 1830, 179-237), dating from 1830. In that context, the value of Piri Reis' contribution to a better knowledge of the maritime-geographical reality of the Zadar maritime zone is unique and immeasurably important.

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<sup>70</sup> Veći dio takvih prikaza na ranijim i kasnijim kartama donosi FARIČIĆ, 2006., 265-296. Još potpuniji pregled takve povijesne građe u FARIČIĆ, 2013., 341-437.

<sup>70</sup> The major part of such depictions in earlier and later maps are presented by FARIČIĆ, 2006, 265-296. There is an even more detailed review of such historical material in FARIČIĆ, 2013, 341-437.

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