



Geographical names of the Adriatic Sea on medieval and early-modern maps and nautical charts



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ABSTRACT

The Adriatic Sea is one of the most frequently depicted parts of the Mediterranean on medieval and early-modern maps and nautical charts. Examination of these maps has revealed that the name of this sea reflects ancient tradition, particularly in terms of the use of various versions of the ancient Latin name *Mare Adriaticum* and, from the end of the Middle Ages, the Venetian declaration of political ambition to gain dominance over the entire sea. This Venetian agenda manifested itself in the naming of the entire sea as the Gulf of Venice (*Golfo di Venezia*). By uncritically adopting the geographical content of Venetian maps, the Venetian name for this sea was transferred to maps produced in numerous European cartographic centres. The abolition of the Republic of Venice in 1797 contributed to reduce the geographical scope of the hydronym *Golfo di Venezia* to the water area in the immediate vicinity of Venice, while various versions of the ancient name (Eng. *Adriatic Sea*, Ital. *Mare Adriatico*, Fr. *Mer Adriatique*, Ger. *Adriatisches Meer*, Cro. *Jadransko more*, etc.) prevailed. Based on the fact that maps are an important medium of communication of spatial information and spatial concepts, examples of the names of the Adriatic Sea on old maps confirm the importance of these sources for toponymy research.

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Geographical names play an irreplaceable role in the identification of landscapes and in orientation, navigation and all other activities that take place in space. In addition to their primary function of spatial identification, geographical names often carry a certain symbolism through which the various motives of those who assigned them are expressed subtly or overtly to suggest certain meanings in a particular cultural context.¹ Geographical names are carriers of messages about the objects to which they refer – whose they are or whose they should be – that can influence how they are perceived. Geographical names shape social space by labelling places and related ideas and images.²

Many places are identified by several geographical names – a phenomenon known as polyonymy, which can be approached from

either a diachronic or a synchronic perspective.³ The Adriatic Sea, which has been influenced by various political relations and socio-economic processes in the past, is a good example of polyonymy (Fig. 1).

Research into changes in geographical names, as well as the simultaneous use of several geographical names for the same geographical object, such as the Adriatic Sea, contributes to an understanding of the perception of geographical reality in the past. Through their research, historical geographers significantly supplemented the existing knowledge of the meaning of geographical names as a kind of fossil within the linguistic-geographical strata, testifying to the specific circumstances of socio-economic development, but also to the perception of named space, which was based not only on a degree of geographical knowledge, but also on the imagination associated with the symbolic meaning of named

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¹ Daniel J. Orth, *Principles, Policies, and Procedures: Domestic Geographic Names* (Reston: U. S. Board on Geographical Names, 1987).

² Peter Jordan, 'Place names as ingredients of space-related identity', in *Geographical Names as a Part of the Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Peter Jordan, Hubert Bergman, Catherine Cheetham and Isolde Hausner (Vienna: Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, 2009), pp. 33–39.

³ Paul Woodman, The interconnections between toponymy and identity, *Review of Historical Geography and Toponomastics* 9 (2014) 7–20; Ivana Crljenko and Josip Faričić, 'Toponymic twins: polyonymy in Croatia', in *Standardisation and the Wealth of Place Names — Aspects of a Delicate Relationship*, ed. by Chrismi-Rinda Loth (Bloemfontein: Sun Media Bloemfontein, 2022), pp. 167–189.



Fig. 1. Geographical names of the Adriatic Sea on Ortelius's map of ancient Pannonia and Illyricum, 1590. Source: Used with permission from the University Library, Split, ZZ–XVI–2.

geographical objects and their contexts, from the local to the regional and even wider levels.⁴ It is possible to use a synchronic approach that simultaneously takes into account different points of view and attitudes towards the corresponding space, and a diachronic approach that focuses on the chronological development of naming, and then the use of geographical names that identify the named area in communication in space and about space.

⁴ Duncan Light, 'Street names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: exploring the modern historical geographies of post-socialist change', *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004) 154–172; David Henige, 'This is the place: putting the past on the map', *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007) 237–253; Osman Karatay, 'On the origins of the name for the Black Sea', *Journal of Historical Geography* 37 (2011) 1–11; Bronwen Douglas, 'Naming places: voyagers, toponyms, and local presence in the fifth part of the world, 1500–1700', *Journal of Historical Geography* 45 (2014) 12–24; Stephan Fuchs, 'History and heritage of two Midwestern towns: a toponymic-material approach', *Journal of Historical Geography* 48 (2015) 11–25; Brett R. Chloupek, 'Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multi-ethnic second city', *Journal of Historical Geography* 64 (2019) 25–35; Jeremy Burchardt, 'Far away and close to home: Children's toponyms and imagined geographies, c. 1870 – c. 1950', *Journal of Historical Geography* 69 (2020) 68–79; George Bishi, Joseph Mujere and Zvinashe Mamvura, 'Renaming Enkeldoorn: Whiteness, place, and the politics of belonging in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Historical Geography* 77 (2022) 55–64.

The geographical names of the Adriatic Sea enable the reconstruction of the 'deposition' of various influences, intentions and practices in this area of contact on the border of various political entities, including those that sought political, or at least economic, dominance over this part of the Mediterranean. Old maps are important sources of information about geographic names, as well as an important means of their dissemination, and thus important research material for historical geographical analyses.

The Adriatic Sea is the northernmost part of the Mediterranean Sea. Given this geographical position, it has functioned since pre-historic times as a link between continents, i.e. between different socio-economic systems at the interface between the European, Asian and African parts of the Mediterranean. This contact position was an important basis, not only for the exchange of material goods, ideas and technologies, but also for political conflicts in which different opposing parties tried to gain control over valuable spatial resources and transport corridors. All this was reflected in the naming of this part of the Mediterranean Sea on old maps and nautical charts.⁵

⁵ Franco Farinelli, 'Storia e geografia dell'Adriatico', in *Adriatico Mare d'Europa: La geografia e la storia*, ed. by Eugenio Turri (Bologna: Rolo Banca 1473, 1999), pp. 16–24.

Place naming and the Adriatic

Until now, there has been no complete research on the names of the Adriatic Sea, not even any that refers to the use of these names on old maps. Methodologically and conceptually, however, the research results of scholars who have dealt with geographical names and geographical names on old maps in general are valuable. We will single out those that are important for contextualising the discussion on the geographical names of the Adriatic Sea on old maps.

First and foremost are the scholarly works of Peter Jordan. To him, every geographical feature (in the sense of a subunit of geographical space) is a mental construct.⁶ From Jordan's point of view it is necessary to differentiate space between the cognitive and the emotional level, and naming is very important in that differentiation.⁷

Rose-Redwood et al., in a paper on new directions in critical place-name studies, write that the naming of geographical objects, such as natural and cultural spatial entities, 'is one of the primary means of attempting to construct clearly demarcated spatial identities'.⁸ Charles W. J. Withers points out that naming is 'widely recognised as a question of power'.⁹ Naming, according to István Hoffmann and Valéria Tóth, can be spontaneous and conscious. They write that conscious name-giving means that the new name-forms are created mostly as an outcome of intentional mental processes.¹⁰

Geographical names change over time. Simon Taylor, in his paper on methodologies in place-name research, writes: 'They are constantly evolving, reflecting our changing relationship with and perceptions' about named geographical entities.¹¹ Peder Gammeltoft has systematised the most common forms of naming seas or bodies of water. From the etymological aspect, many sea-names are formally secondary names whose specific element is the name of: a) a nearby settlement, b) a nearby island or c) a nearby country or region.¹²

Like Hoffmann and Tóth, Naftali Kadmon claims that geographical names can be researched on the basis of various data sources, including old maps.¹³ Angela Melville rightly emphasises that, at the same time, maps should not be regarded as simple repositories of name data.¹⁴ Moreover, in the past, according to John B. Harley, maps often served as an instrument that enabled a particular power to gain legitimacy and codify it.¹⁵

In his introductory discussion about mapping meaning, Denis Cosgrove writes that the dissemination of geographical names through maps can be completely separated from the original message conveyed by a decision-maker and/or the author of the map by choosing or writing a geographical name.¹⁶ Writing about geographers and cartographers as users and promoters of geographical names, Wojciech Włoskiewicz concludes that the geographical names on many maps were simply copied from older cartographic works without adopting the accompanying semiotics of the original maps.¹⁷

Methodology

The Adriatic Sea was depicted on smaller-scale nautical charts of the central or whole Mediterranean, as well as on larger-scale maps, with its basin displayed across the entire folio.¹⁸ In addition, the Adriatic Sea is depicted on numerous geographical maps, especially on maps of the Apennine Peninsula and maps of the Dinaric area in the early-modern period, and it appears in isolarios and on maps of specific Adriatic regions, ports or islands.

In this study, the authors have taken into account a wide number of maps and nautical charts, with representation of the Adriatic Sea, produced during the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries. Not all available maps depicting the Adriatic have been analysed. A representative sample of one hundred maps and nautical charts has been included, which can be used to trace the use of the hydronym of the Adriatic Sea, not only in the context of political events in this part of the Mediterranean, but also in the context of the development of European cartography. This approach considers maps as documents, or mixtures of coded image and text, that need to be decoded at both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels.¹⁹ Therefore, their deconstruction in terms of complex interpretation involves answers in a broader context to the question of why something is or is not shown and written on the map, not just where it is and how it is shown and written.²⁰

Qualitative analysis of selected maps and nautical charts aims to supplement the existing knowledge on medieval and early-modern depictions of the Adriatic Sea and, on the basis of an interdisciplinary approach with geographic and historiographic discourse, to improve research on geographical names, especially with regard to the evaluation of cartographic sources as a medium of communication in space and about space. Using the example of the Adriatic Sea, it has been shown how the geographical name could be an important tool in the process of mental structuring of geographical space, with maps being one of the most important factors in the dissemination of geographical names.²¹

The research was preceded by a search in the catalogues of numerous European and US archives, libraries and museums, as well as private cartographic collections. For some maps of the Adriatic this search was easier, because they were mentioned in the

⁶ Peter Jordan, 'Place Names as an Expression of Human Relations to Space', in *Names and Their Environment, Volume 1, Keynote Lectures: Toponomastics*, ed. by Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2016), pp. 209–223.

⁷ Jordan, 'Place Names as an Expression of Human Relations to Space', pp. 216–217.

⁸ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, 'Geographies of toponym inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies', *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (2010) 453–470.

⁹ Charles W. J. Withers, 'Authorizing landscape: 'authority', naming and the Ordnance Survey's mapping of the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography* 26 (2000) 532–554.

¹⁰ István Hoffmann and Valéria Tóth, 'Theoretical Issues in Toponym Typology', *Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society* 160 (2018) 281–302.

¹¹ Simon Taylor, 'Methodologies in Place-name Research', in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. by Carole Hough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 69–86.

¹² Peder Gammeltoft, 'Why is the North Sea West of Us?', *The Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies* 3 (2016) 103–122.

¹³ Naftali Kadmon, *Toponymy: The Lore, Laws, and Language of Geographical Names* (Great Barrington: Vantage Press, 2000); Hoffmann and Tóth, 'Theoretical Issues in Toponym Typology', pp. 281–302.

¹⁴ Angela Melville, 'Mapping the Wilderness: Toponymic Constructions of Cradle Mountain/Lake St Clair National Park, Tasmania, Australia', *Cartographica* 41 (2006) 229–245.

¹⁵ John Brian Harley, 'Maps, knowledge and power', in *The iconography of landscape*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 277–312.

¹⁶ Denis Cosgrove, 'Introduction: Mapping Meaning', in *Mappings*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), pp. 1–23.

¹⁷ Wojciech Włoskiewicz, 'Dissemination and Correctness of Geographical Names: Geographers and Cartographers as Toponym Users and Promoters', *Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society* 161 (2019) 291–324.

¹⁸ Mithad Kozličić, *Kartografski spomenici hrvatskog Jadrana* (Zagreb, AGM, 1995); Luciano Lago, *Imago Adriae: La Patria del Friuli, l'Istria e la Dalmazia nella cartografia antica* (Trieste: La Mongolfiera Libri, 1998).

¹⁹ Franco Farinelli, *La crisi della ragione cartografica* (Torino: Einaudi, 2009).

²⁰ John Brian Harley, 'Deconstructing the map', *Cartographica* 26 (1989) 1–20.

²¹ Peter Jordan, 'Geographical names as part of the cultural heritage: some general thoughts', in *Place names as intangible cultural heritage*, ed. by Andrea Cantile and Helen Kerfoot (Florence: United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names – Romano-Hellenic Division and Italian Geographic Military Institute, 2016), pp. 33–36.

scholarly literature; for others it was more difficult, because they were not mentioned or were 'hidden' under an incorrect title. (One such map, for example, was incorrectly catalogued in the Royal National Library in The Hague due to an error in the name of the Adriatic Sea, which was referred to on it as the Red Sea). This was followed by the collection of high-resolution digital reproductions of the originals of the selected geographic maps and nautical charts.

An overview of all maps included in the research with their basic metadata is presented in Appendix: author of the map (if known), title of the map, title of the work in which the map was published (if it was not created as a separate cartographic entity), place and time of creation or publication of the map, the institution where the map is kept, with its signature, and the name of the Adriatic Sea (whether it is on the map field or in the title cartouche).

The selected geographical maps are grouped (Table 1) according to the type (geographical maps, thematic historical maps and nautical charts), the method of production (handwritten and printed maps), the place of publication, the date (century) of publication and the name by which the Adriatic Sea is named. Such a systematisation enables a chronological overview and a basic differentiation of the medieval and early-modern maps of the Adriatic Sea. Moreover, as far as is known, this is the first time that a unified and comprehensive overview of all relevant medieval and early-modern maps of the Adriatic has been provided in one place, contributing to insight into these valuable sources of spatial data that can be used for other historico-geographical and cartometric analyses.

Since the creation of maps was not always preceded by surveying or some other form of direct data collection in the area to be mapped, but many maps were created by reproducing and slightly modifying existing maps (with more or less successful collages from different cartographic sources), it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the cartographers were aware of the semiotics conveyed by geographical names used by the cartographers who had originally designed the content of the maps, or whether they adopted the content uncritically and superficially in order to achieve a pragmatic purpose that depended on the purpose and the (potential) users of the map.

The history of the Adriatic Sea and its names

The ancient Greeks regarded the Adriatic Sea as a gulf of the Ionian Sea. From the sixth century BCE they began to call it the *Adriatic Sea*, naming it after the port of Adria and the river of the same name, which lies at the junction of the southern part of the Po Valley and the sea. As far as is known, this part of the Mediterranean was first named by Hecataeus in the sixth century BCE and then by other Greek historians and geographers. However, there are references to the older name in the works of some later Greek historians and writers. For example, Theopompus wrote, in the fourth century BCE, that some refer to the Ionian Sea at the mouth of the Adria as the Adriatic Sea, and Apollonius of Rhodes defined the Adriatic Sea as the deepest bay of the Ionian Sea in the *Argonautica* (Epic of the Argonauts) in the third century BCE. In addition, it is also called *Sea of Cronus* and *Gulf of Rhea*, after the gods Cronus and Rhea, spouses who were overthrown from the divine throne by their sons Zeus, Poseidon and Hades.²² However, by the time of the intensive Greek colonisation of the eastern coast of this part of the Mediterranean, the name Adriatic Sea was already established. The Greek historian Polybius named the sea so in the second century BCE, and the historian Diodorus Siculus did the same in the first century BCE

when he spoke about the colonisation of Vis (*Issa*) and Hvar (*Pharos*) in the third century BCE and stated that these colonies were located in the Adriatic Sea. At the beginning of the Common Era, the geographer Strabo also names this part of the Mediterranean as the Adriatic Sea in his *Geography*, as do Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy, both ancient authorities who significantly influenced the geographical conception of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages and early modern period, so that their influence was also reflected in early-modern European cartography. In chapter 5 of book III of the *Historia naturalis*, Pliny the Elder mentions two names for this sea: *mare Superum* and *mare Hadriaticum*.²³ In the eighteenth chapter of book III of the same work, Pliny called this sea only by the hydronym *mare Hadriaticum*.²⁴ *Mare Superum* (Upper Sea) is paired with *Mare Inferum* (Lower Sea), which refers to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Indeed, if the north is identified with above and the south with below, then Italy, i.e. the Apennine peninsula surrounded by these seas, is spatially delimited in this way. Such a view of identifying the Adriatic Sea (and the Tyrrhenian Sea) has not prevailed; but, judging by the designation in Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography*, the name *Mare (H)Adriaticum*, or *Sinus (H)Adriaticus*, has prevailed, and this, in the course of time, has been adopted in the language of the peoples who have inhabited its shores since the end of antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages. At the same time, at least in literature, the original etymology of this name has not disappeared. For example, Bishop Isidore of Seville (seventh century) states in the chapter *De mvndo et partibvs* of the comprehensive manuscript *Etymologiae*, in subchapter XVI, entitled *De Mediterraneo mari*: '*Nam Adria quaedam civitas Illyrico mari proxima fuit, quae Adriatico mari nomen dedit*' ('For Adria was a certain city near the Illyrian Sea, which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea'). In this interpretation he introduces another name for this sea: *Illyrian Sea* (after the Illyrians who inhabited its eastern coast or after the Roman province of Illyricum). Most of these names of the Adriatic Sea were recorded by Daniele Farlati on the map of ancient Illyricum (1751), which he added to the book on the ecclesiastical history of this part of Europe (Fig. 2).

Variants of the name *Mare Adriaticum* gradually developed in various idioms of the Italian language (*Mare Adriatico*) and then in other languages of the peoples who inhabited the Adriatic coast: Slovenian (*Jadransko morje*), Croatian (*Jadransko more*), Montenegrin (*Jadransko more*), Albanian (*Deti Adriatik*) and Modern Greek (*Ἀδριατικὴ θάλασσα = Adriatikí thálassa*). The name of the sea was also adopted in other European languages (e.g. Eng. *Adriatic Sea*, Fr. *Mer Adriatique*, Ger. *Adriatisches Meer*). However, the linguistic sedimentation marked by translation and other linguistic adaptations did not take place under stable political conditions, so that, in the early modern period, there was the interpolation of the name *Golfo di Venezia*, associated with political and other social events around Venice, i.e. the Republic of Venice as the leading maritime and economic power on the Adriatic.

Venice demonstrated its political and economic sovereignty over most of this sea, considering it its own economic and nautical basin. It based its right on the tradition that Pope Alexander III presented a ring to the Doge of Venice as a sign of confirmation of Venetian supremacy over the Adriatic and as a token of thanks for mediating the peace negotiations with Emperor Frederick I.²⁵ For Venice, this was a historic confirmation of its rights, which it had

²³ Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, III, v, 44.

²⁴ Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, III, xviii, 128.

²⁵ Filippo De Vivo, 'Historical justifications of Venetian power in the Adriatic', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003) 159–176; Stefano Cattelan, 'The defence of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic Sea: Situating Paolo Sarpi c. 1600–1625', *Comparative Legal History* 9 (2021) 177–207.

²² Mithad Kozličić, *Historijska geografija istočnog Jadrana u starom vijeku* (Split, Književni krug, 1990).

Table 1
Systematisation of the researched maps of the Adriatic Sea with regard to the naming of that sea.

Map/Chart		Geographical names						
		Gulf of Venice	Adriatic Sea	Unnamed	Gulf of Venice and Adriatic Sea	Several names	Red Sea	Tyrrhenian Sea
Total		29	28	19	17	5	1	1
Type by content	geographical	7	17	0	10	3	0	0
	nautical charts	22	11	19	7	0	1	1
	historical	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Type by method of manufacture	manuscript	9	4	19	2	0	1	1
	printed	20	24	0	15	5	0	0
Country of publication	Republic of Venice	8	7	15	3	1	0	1
	other countries on the Apennine Peninsula	5	6	2	3	0	0	0
	France	5	1	2	1	1	1	0
	England	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
	Netherlands	7	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Spain	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
	Habsburg Monarchy	0	5	0	4	0	0	0
	Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation	2	3	0	3	0	0	0
	other countries	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
Century of production	13th	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14th	0	1	3	1	0	0	0
	15th	2	2	4	0	0	0	0
	16th	6	9	7	2	2	1	0
	17th	11	7	5	3	0	0	1
	18th	7	1	0	5	3	0	0
	19th	2	8	0	6	0	0	0

already demonstrated militarily in 1000 by occupying numerous cities on the east coast of the Adriatic. To commemorate this victory, which in Venetian lore was considered the basis for all further conquests, a state festival was held every year, a kind of ‘state liturgy’ of the Marriage of the Sea (*Sposalizio del Mare*).²⁶ The ceremony took place on Ascension Day (*Festa della Sensa*) on the ship Bucentaur (*Bucintoro*).²⁷ At the climax of the ceremony, the Doge spoke the following words: *Desponsamus te, mare, in signum veri perpetuæ dominii* (‘We wed thee, sea, as a sign of true and everlasting domination’).²⁸ Despite such public display of its power, Venice was not always successful in its implementation, as other powers attempted to establish themselves in the Adriatic – notably the Habsburg monarchy, the Ottoman Empire and the little Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the east, and the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples on the west coast of the Adriatic – either through direct control of individual Adriatic regions, or by instigating pirate attacks on Venetian Adriatic possessions and on Venetian merchant ships (e.g. Uskoks from Senj supported by the Habsburgs, and pirates from Ulcinj supported by the Ottomans). In these circumstances, Venice sought to curb piracy, maintain the security of the Adriatic and constantly strengthen its legal arguments in support of its desired position in the Adriatic.²⁹ These Venetian ambitions were best articulated by Paolo Sarpi, who

wrote five texts in 1611–1612, summarised in *Dominio del Mar Adriatico della Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia*.³⁰ It should be noted, however, that Venice not only sought to exercise economic and political dominance over the Adriatic, but also contributed to the spread of its culture in the Adriatic region, especially by transferring models and motifs in literature, architecture, art and music into eastern-Adriatic urban centres, while also influencing the culture of living and customs.³¹ The Venetian presence on the Adriatic was thus comprehensive and covered a much larger territory than the one it directly dominated.

Names of the Adriatic Sea on medieval and early-modern maps and nautical charts

In the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the Adriatic Sea was usually named in one of three ways on geographical maps and nautical charts: as the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf of Venice, or both. Two thematic historical maps and three geographical maps list several names of the Adriatic Sea (see Table 1 and Appendix), and many nautical charts of the Adriatic Sea during the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not list any name of this sea.

On two nautical charts, the Adriatic Sea is erroneously given a name that refers to other seas. The unknown author of the so-called Dauphin Atlas of Dieppe, around 1538, incorrectly labelled the Adriatic Sea as the Red Sea, and F. Francini in Venice, in 1699, incorrectly named the northern part of the Adriatic Sea as the Tyrrhenian Sea. These errors indicate ignorance of basic facts about the Adriatic Sea if the nautical chart is by an unknown author from Dieppe, or negligence on the part of the author or draughtsman with regard to the geographical content of the chart, which is probably the case with Francini’s nautical chart. Indeed, it is difficult to explain otherwise that, on the nautical chart of the northern part of the Adriatic, made in Venice, the Adriatic Sea is called the

²⁶ *Ma perchè possano con chiarezza dilucidarsi i primi acquisti de’ Veneziani nella Dalmazia, che servirono poi di base agli ulteriori avanzamenti ...* (‘But so that the first acquisitions of the Venetians in Dalmatia can be clearly explained, which later served as a basis for further advances ...’) (Giacomo Diedo, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia: Dalla sua fondazione Sino l’Anno MDCCXLVII*, Tomo Primo, Venice, 1751); Cattelani, The defence of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic Sea, p. 181.

²⁷ William Henry Davenport Adams, *The Queen of the Adriatic Or, Venice Past and Present* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons 1869); William Senior, ‘The Bucentaur’, *The Mariner’s Mirror* 15 (1929) 131–138; Alberto Tenenti, *Venezia e il senso del mare, storia di un prisma culturale dal XIII al XVIII secolo* (Milan: Guerini e Associati and Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 1999).

²⁸ Marina Bertocin, ‘Dallo sposalizio del mare al baratto con la terra’, *Geostorie* 5 (1997) 6–13.

²⁹ Luciano Pezzolo, ‘Groom of the Sea: Venetian Sovereignty Between Power and Myth’, in *Ideologies of Western Naval Power, c. 1500–1815*, ed. by J. David Davies, Alan James and Gijs Rommelse (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 17–32.

³⁰ Cattelani, The defence of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic Sea, pp. 177–207.

³¹ Larry Wolff, ‘The Modern Re-conception of the Early Modern Venetian Adriatic’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011) 52–55.



Fig. 2. Geographical names of the Adriatic Sea on Farlati's map of ancient Illyricum, 1751. Source: Used with permission from the Research Library, Zadar, R 243.

Tyrrhenian Sea (which in reality lies to the west of the Apennine Peninsula, while the Adriatic Sea lies to the east of this peninsula), and on the nautical chart of the southern part of that sea the same author used the correct name.

Venetian influence in naming the Adriatic Sea

In line with its proclaimed supremacy, or at least with the blatant intention to achieve it, the Republic of Venice used the name *Golfo di Venezia* for the entire Adriatic Sea in official correspondence, and Venetian cartographers used it on their maps and nautical charts (see Table 1 and Appendix), doing so rarely from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and continuously from the sixteenth century. The political semiotics of such a designation was clear. It is a typical example of the 'founding' as a technology for establishing a new geographical name in order to create, legitimise, and ultimately sustain a new political and cultural order, as defined by F. Giraut and M. Houssay-Holzschuch.³² The fact that the name

Golfo di Venezia appeared on maps and nautical charts facilitated its dissemination among geographers, navigators and anyone else interested in using geographical maps and nautical charts (as one of the most commonly-used types of thematic maps showing the Adriatic Sea), which were for them an important source of spatial data, i.e. the most appropriate way to represent various spatial relationships that were relevant in various areas of social and political life. Considering the fact that the maps of Venetian authors often served as templates for the creation of maps of the Adriatic or generalised maps of the Mediterranean and certain European regions, European cartographers from various countries also adopted geographical names from such maps,³³ including, of course, the Venetian name of the Adriatic Sea. The reproduction of the geographical content did not necessarily mean the adoption of the ideas or intentions of the authors or those who commissioned the

³² Frédéric Giraut and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, 'Place Naming as Dispositif: Toward a Theoretical Framework', *Geopolitics* 21 (2016) 1–21.

³³ Emanuela Casti, 'L'Adriatico rappresentato', in *Adriatico Mare d'Europa: La geografia e la storia*, ed. by Eugenio Turri (Bologna: Rolo Banca 1473, 1999), pp. 46–51; Orrieta Selva, 'Lo stato della cartografia veneziana tra XVI e XVIII secolo: emblema di potere e strumento di pianificazione territoriale', *Bollettino dell'Associazione Italiana di Cartografia* 158 (2013) 69–87.

original maps, but simply a technical copying of the content without any semiotics. Because of that, it cannot be concluded that all European cartographers who used various versions of the Venetian name for this part of the Mediterranean considered it as a sea to which Venice had exclusive political and economic rights. Nevertheless, the Venetian message was successfully transmitted and effectively disseminated in Europe, at least at the level of linguistic communication in and across space: the name *Golfo di Venezia* began to be used in other European languages, becoming in fact a widespread exonym.

Abū'Abdullāh Muhammad al-Idrīsī was the first cartographer (see Appendix) who used the name 'Gulf of Venice'; this was on his map of the world (in 70 sheets) commissioned by the Norman King Roger II of Sicily in 1154. This map of the world in segments was included by al-Idrīsī in his book *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi'khtiraq al-afaq* ('The Book of Pleasant Journeys to Far-off Lands'), the original of which has not survived, but of which several medieval copies are extant.³⁴ On a copy of al-Idrīsī's book made between 1250 and 1325, the Adriatic Sea is depicted in three sections (261 r, 267 v and 268 r), with the name 'Gulf/Sea of Venice' on a section showing the southern part of the Adriatic (268 r). That name is written in Arabic language and script (and its Latin transcription would be *halig al banādika*).

On the nautical chart, made by Pietro Vesconte in Venice in 1318, the Adriatic Sea occupies the entire map field, but its name does not appear. The same author made a nautical chart of the central Mediterranean Sea, which was attached to the book *Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis* by Marin Sanudo the Elder (written about 1321), where the name *Adriatico Colfo de Venetia* actually appears. It is the oldest known nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea on which two names of this sea appear.

On later medieval nautical charts of the Adriatic Sea, the name of the sea was not written at all, although dozens of names of ports, capes and islands important for navigation were recorded on these charts. An exception is provided by the nautical chart of the central Mediterranean Sea made by A. Bianco (1436), on which the name *Colfo de Vegnexia* appears (see Appendix). This sailor and cartographer helped Fra Mauro in the creation of the world map, which dates back to approximately 1450.³⁵ On Fra Mauro's map, the Adriatic Sea was labelled with the hydronym *Sin(us) Adriatic(us)*, which would mean that the name *Golfo di Venezia* had not yet become established on the maps of that time.

It is interesting to note that, after Bianco, the Ottoman cartographer Pîrî Reis was the first to use the name *Gulf of Venice* (in Turkish *Wenedik koerfezi'nde*) on a handwritten nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea (see Appendix). He was active at the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, during the great expansion of the Ottoman Empire in south-eastern and central Europe. It is likely that this naming of the Adriatic Sea reflects the fact that the Ottomans considered Venice to be their main rival in the Adriatic and one of the barriers standing in their way in their campaigns in Europe. In view of these circumstances, they accepted the name of the sea attributed to Venice.

G. Gastaldi was the first among Venetian cartographers to write the name *Golfo de Venetia* on a printed map. He did so on a map of Hungary and neighbouring countries, which he published in Venice in 1546.

The first printed nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea with the name *Golfo di Venetia* on it was made by P. Forlani in Venice in 1568. Soon this practice was adopted by other authors of nautical charts, both in the area of present-day Italy (even in Genoa, which was often in open conflict with Venice because of mutual competition in the eastern Mediterranean) and throughout Western Europe (see Table 1 and Appendix). One of the most important maps of this kind was the nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea published in 1595 by the Dutch navigator and cartographer, W. Barents. A generalised version of this nautical chart was published by the Dutch cartographer, W. J. Blaeu (1621). As Blaeu was a respected publisher of atlases used throughout Europe, his maps and nautical charts generally had great communicative potential – whether they were used as definitive sources of geographical data or as templates for the production of other maps and nautical charts. Blaeu's nautical chart was used as a template by P. Goos (1650), H. Doncker (1655), F. M. Levanto (1664) and J. Seller (1667). Since there are no significant differences in content among these nautical charts, it is likely that their authors did not attribute any particular meaning to the name of the Gulf of Venice and did not concern themselves with the political implications of using this name.

One exception among Venetian cartographers with regard to the naming of the Adriatic in the seventeenth century was M. Boschini. He produced a map of Dalmatia and Albania in Venice in 1646, on which he named the Adriatic Sea with the hydronym *Mare Adriatico*, even though the reasons behind this choice are not clear.

The most important Venetian cartographer of the late seventeenth century, V. M. Coronelli, stated on his map of the Adriatic (1688) that the name 'Adriatic Sea' was the 'former' name of the Gulf of Venice (*Golfo di Venezia olim Adriaticum Mare*) (Fig. 3). Coronelli was recognised as an important cartographer at the European level,³⁶ so that his maps were often reproduced with minor modifications or used as a source of spatial data in the production of maps depicting the Adriatic in many European cultural centres. (For example, Coronelli's maps of the Adriatic Sea were published with minor changes by G. Sanson and J. B. Nolin in Paris, by R. and J. Ottens in Amsterdam, by J. B. Homann in Nuremberg and by G. M. Seutter in Augsburg.)

Unlike these European cartographers, Coronelli's contemporary, G. Cantelli da Vignola, did not fit Coronelli's cartographic model. He tried to provide his own contribution to the representation of the Adriatic, even though he did not take a unique approach either in the use of cartographic signs or in the spelling of geographical names. On the map of Dalmatia and the adjacent regions (1684), he called the Adriatic Sea by the hydronym *Mare Adriatico ouero Golfo di Venezia*, while on the map of Croatia (1690) he labelled the sea with the hydronym *Mare Adriatico*. In the title cartouche next to his name he wrote that he was *Geografo del Ser.^{mo} S. Duca di Mod.^a* ('Geographer of the Most Serene Duke of Modena'). Modena was a small independent state on the Apennine Peninsula, with limited Venetian influence, although Cantelli did not ignore the fact that, in practice, the Venetian name of the Adriatic Sea was also used.

Other practices in the naming of the Adriatic Sea in the early-modern period

Under the influence of Ptolemy's maps, which were printed in various versions after the translation of his *Geography* from Greek into Latin from 1477 onwards, the name 'Adriatic Gulf' was used by

³⁴ Michele Amari and Celestino Schiaparelli, *L'Italia descritta nel 'Libro del re Ruggero' compilato da Edrisi* (Roma: Salviucci, 1883); S. Maqbul Ahmad, 'Cartography of al-Sharif al-Idrisi', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. by John Brian Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 156–174.

³⁵ Angelo Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro's Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011).

³⁶ Helen Wallis, 'The Franciscan Vincenzo Coronelli and the Adriatic Sea', in *Five Centuries of Maps of Croatia*, ed. by Drago Novak, Miljenko Lapaine and Dubravka Mlinarić (Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 2005), pp. 179–202.



Fig. 3. Geographical names of the Adriatic Sea on Coronelli’s map, 1688. Source: Used with permission from the National and University Library, Map and Atlas Collection, Zagreb, S–JZ–XVII–56.

European cartographers until the middle of the sixteenth century (see Appendix). A kind of pattern was provided by Ptolemy’s Fifth Map of Europe, depicting Illyricum and the Adriatic Sea (*Tabula Europae V*), and the Sixth Map of Europe, depicting Italy, the Adriatic Sea and the Tyrrhenian Sea (*Tabula Europae VI*), on which the Adriatic Sea is named with the hydronym *Sinus Adriaticus* (in several variants, depending on the publisher of Ptolemy’s *Geography*: *Sinus Adriaticus*, *Sinus Hadriaticus*, *Adriaticus sinus*). For instance, on Ptolemy’s Fifth Map of Europe, prepared for printing by N. Germanus and published in Ulm in 1482, the Adriatic Sea is designated by the hydronym *Sinvs Adriaticvs* (Lat. *sinus* – ‘gulf’). Use of the word ‘gulf’ in the name of the Adriatic Sea was also practised by other cartographers. P. Coppo (1525) titled the nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea *Carta del Golfo Adrian* (Ital. *colfo* and *golfo* – ‘gulf’), while, on the map of Europe printed in Venice in 1547, B. Bordone wrote the name *Mare Adriatico* in place of the Ionian Sea, and on the area of the Adriatic Sea he wrote the name *Seno Adriatico* (Ital. *seno* – ‘gulf’).

The Republic of Venice was not the only European power interested in the geostrategically important Adriatic Sea. The Habsburg monarchy tried in various ways to weaken or completely reject Venetian supremacy in the Adriatic, even before it began a systematic Adriatic policy, proclaiming the right to free use of the Adriatic in 1719 and establishing free royal ports in

Trieste and Rijeka.³⁷ Thus Austrian, Hungarian and Croatian cartographers who lived under the Habsburg monarchy used the geographical name ‘Adriatic Sea’ in Latin (*Mare Adriaticum*) and German (*Adriatisches Meer*) versions.

The gradual disappearance of the Venetian name of the Adriatic Sea after the abolition of the Republic of Venice

With the conquest of Venice by Napoleon in 1797, dramatic changes occurred in the Adriatic. Under the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio, Venice and its Adriatic possessions in Istria and Dalmatia, as well as the Bay of Cattaro (today Boka Kotorska), belonged to the Habsburg monarchy (from 1804 to the Austrian Empire),³⁸ and then under the terms of the Peace of Pressburg

³⁷ Borut Klabjan, ‘Scramble for Adria: Discourses of appropriation of the Adriatic space before and after World War I’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011) 16–32.

³⁸ The name ‘Habsburg monarchy’ refers to the political entities (Austrian Crown Lands) united under the ruling dynasty of the Habsburgs, which they ruled as kings (by hereditary right or on the basis of personal union) until 1804, and not to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which the members of this ruling dynasty ruled as emperors. In 1804, the Austrian Crown Lands changed the constitutional framework by establishing the Austrian Empire and abolishing the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation at the same time.

(today Bratislava) in 1805, these territories were annexed by France. The fall of Napoleon, first in 1813 and then with the final overthrow in 1815, created opportunities for a new demarcation of borders. At the Congress of Vienna of 1814–1815, a new political mosaic was formed on the Adriatic. The territory of the former Republic of Venice and the former Republic of Dubrovnik was incorporated into the Austrian Empire, which shared the Apennine part of the Adriatic with the Papal States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Dinaric part of this sea with the Ottoman Empire.³⁹

Political events at the turn of the nineteenth century were reflected in the naming of the Adriatic Sea. Austrian cartographers continued to use the name *Adriatic Sea* in German (*Adriatisches Meer*) and Italian (*Mare Adriatico*) versions (see Table 1 and Appendix). The French authorities established the War Office in Milan (*Dépôt de la guerre*) and commissioned F. Visconti to draw up a new nautical chart of the Adriatic. In 1810, Visconti produced a nautical chart of the Adriatic, naming the sea with the hydronym *Mare Adriatico*.

The centuries-old use of the name *Golfo di Venezia* on maps and nautical charts could not disappear 'overnight', so on some geographical maps and nautical charts restoration was gradual, with the Venetian name being retained for some years after the fall of Venice, whether written alone or in conjunction with the name 'Adriatic Sea' (see Appendix). The last known map with the Venetian name of the Adriatic Sea was made by the Spanish cartographers G. Massa, T. González and M. C. Maré (1824).

The Military Geographical Institute in Milan (the successor to the French War Office in the same city) published the nautical chart *Carta di cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico* in 1824 and the complementary pilot guide *Portolano del Mare Adriatico* in 1830.⁴⁰ Since then, the name *Golfo di Venezia* has been used as the name for the immediate water area around Venice (like the name *Gulf of Trieste* for the water area near Trieste), and the name of the Adriatic Sea has prevailed and remained until today.

Although over two centuries have passed since the last use of the name 'Gulf of Venice' for the entire Adriatic Sea, the name has been retained in the local speech of the inhabitants of the islands in the Zadar Archipelago, in the form of the appellative *kulaf* (from the Italian *golfo*), for the open part of the Adriatic Sea.

Conclusion

In examining the representative sample of late-medieval and early-modern maps and nautical charts depicting the Adriatic Sea, it was found that various geographical names for this part of the Mediterranean were used on them. The various names of the Adriatic on old maps mainly reflect geographical knowledge of the Adriatic, and statements about the political power of the individual Adriatic states, especially Venice, as well as the methodology of map production.

While the naming of the Adriatic with the Latinised Greek name *Mare Adriaticum* testifies to cultural continuity (despite the

turbulent changes caused by the collapse of the Roman Empire, and the immigration of new ethnic and linguistic communities), the naming with the Venetian name *Golfo di Venezia* was originally the result of Venice's efforts to assume and then retain dominance over the entire Adriatic.

In the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the creation of maps was not preceded by geodetic surveying with a systematic and objective recording of spatial data on the ground, but their content was formed as a complex composite in which elements of geographical reality and imaginary elements were interwoven (motivated by the need to decorate maps and/or express symbolism that had the function of identifying space in a cultural, religious or political context). Geographical reality was known directly through field observations and indirectly through the study of various descriptions and reports, as well as through the copying of content from older maps. It is necessary to distinguish between original cartographic creations, in which one can more clearly read the author's knowledge of the depicted area or the conscious creation of messages about political power, and maps created by reproducing one cartographic original or compiling several, in which the contents depicted did not necessarily retain a real knowledge of the space and even less a conscious assumption of the intention of the author of the maps used as cartographic templates.

In that context, different European cartographers attached different meanings to the names of the Adriatic Sea: for the Venetians, it was a symbol of their supremacy, and for many others it was content that, like other geographical content, was taken from various sources, without any specific symbolism. The common combination of the two names of the Adriatic indicate a dual view of this part of the Mediterranean: the Venetian one and the other, whether opposed to the Venetian one or neutrally linked to the ancient tradition.

Regardless of whether different versions of the name of the Adriatic were used consciously or unconsciously on the maps, the map users shaped their mental image of this sea, which was largely determined by its name. After Venice disappeared from the European stage as an independent political entity, this image was simplified, remaining connected with ancient Greek and Roman roots.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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³⁹ Alvise Zorzi, *La Repubblica del Leone – Storia di Venezia* (Milano, Rusconi, 1982); Sergio Anselmi, 'Adriatico: la storia, le storie', in *Adriatico Mare d'Europa: La cultura e la storia*, ed. by Eugenio Turri (Bologna: Rolo Banca 1473, 2000), pp. 16–35; Olivier Chaline, 'L'Adriatique, de la Guerre de Candie à la fin des Empires (1645–1918) – Les dépouilles de Venise (1797–1866)', in *Histoire de L'Adriatique*, ed. by Pierre Cabanes (Paris: Seuil, 2001), pp. 397–436.

⁴⁰ Josip Faričić and Lena Mirošević, 'Carta di cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico (1822–1824): A Turning-Point in the Development of Adriatic Maritime Cartography', *Imago mundi* 69 (2017) 99–111.

Appendix. Maps and nautical charts included in the research of geographical names of the Adriatic Sea

Map/nautical chart (author, title, place and year of production)	Institution where map is kept, and call number	Geographical name	
		In title	On map field
Manuscript maps and nautical charts			
1. Muhammad al-Idrisi, [World Map], sheet on 268 r], in: Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi'khtiraq al-afaq, Palermo, 1154 (copy from 1250 to 1325)	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (hereinafter BNF), Département des manuscrits. Arabe 2221, 268 r		halig al banādika
2. Pietro Vesconte, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1318	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (hereinafter ÖNB), Cod. 594 (Cimel. 20), 10v-11r		unnamed
3. Pietro Vesconte, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1320	Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Rome; Cod. Pal. Lat.1362A		unnamed
4. Pietro Vesconte, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1321	Lyon Municipal Library (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon), Lyon; MS 175		unnamed
5. Pietro Vesconte, [World Map], in Marino Sanudo Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis, Venice, c. 1321	British Library, London (hereinafter BL); Add.MS 27376*		M. Adriatico
6. Pietro Vesconte, [Nautical chart of the central part of the Mediterranean Sea], in Marino Sanudo Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis, Venice, c. 1321	BL; Add.MS 27376*		Adriatico Colfo de Venetia
7. Francesco de Cesanis, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1421	Museo Civico Correr, Venezia (hereinafter MCC); Collezione Port. 13		unnamed
8. Giacomo Girolodi (Zirolodi), [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1426	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (hereinafter BNM); It. VI, 212 (=5694)		unnamed
9. Andrea Bianco, [Nautical chart of the central part of the Mediterranean Sea], Venice, 1436	BNM; It. Z, 76 (=4783)		Colfo de Vegnexia
10. Fra Mauro, [World Map], Venice, c. 1450	BNM; Inv.106173		Sin. Adriatic.
11. Grazioso Benincasa, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1472	MCC, Gabinetto di Cartografia; Cl. XLIVa n. 5		unnamed
12. Bartolommeo Zamberti (dall'i Sonetti), [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1485	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London (hereinafter NMM); P/21 (2); MS 38–9920C		unnamed
13. Vesconte Maggiolo, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Naples, 1511	John Carter Brown Library, Map Collection, Providence; 3-Size Codex Z 2		unnamed
14. Piri Reis, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], in: Kitab-i bahriye, Gallipoli, 1526	The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; W.658, fol. 208a		Wenedik koerfezi'nde unnamed
15. Battista Agnese, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1538	University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Philadelphia; IJS 28		unnamed
16. Alonso de Santa Cruz, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea and south Italy], Seville, c. 1545	National Library of Spain (Biblioteca Nacional de España), Madrid, MSS.MICRO/12638		Mar Adriatico
17. Unknown author, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Dieppe, c. 1538–1546	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Nationale bibliotheek, The Hague; 129 A 24		Le Mer Rouge
18. Unknown author, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Dieppe, 1547	The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, Library Collections, Maps and Atlases, Portolans, San Marino, CA, USA (hereinafter HL); mssHM 29		unnamed
19. Joan Martines, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Messina, c. 1550	NMM; P/25 (5); MS 39 9926C		unnamed
20. Hieronimo Masarachi, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, c. 1560	Newberry Library, The Franco Novacco Map Collection, Chicago; Novacco 2R 1 (PrCt)		unnamed
21. Diogo Homem, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1570	Croatian State Archives, Cartographic Collection, Zagreb (hereinafter CSA); HR-HDA-902, D.XIV.6		unnamed
22. Ignazio Danti, Italia moderna (Italia artium studiorumque plena semper est habita), Rome, c. 1580	Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche		Mare Adriaticum overo Golfo di Venetia unnamed
23. Antonio Millo, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1583	The National Library of Poland, Warsaw; BN ZZK 0.2399		unnamed
24. Vicko Dimitrije Volčić, Golfo di Venetia, Naples, 1593	National Library of Finland, Maps, The Nordenskiöld Map Collection, Helsinki; N-Kt-103c	Golfo di Venetia	unnamed
25. Alvise Gramolin, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1624	MC; Cl. XLIVa n. 0044		unnamed
26. Brasito Oliva, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1633	BNM; It. IV, 126 = 5325		unnamed
27. Pierre Collin, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Marseille, 1642	Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Lyon; MS 177		unnamed
28. Niccolò Guidalotti, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1646	BNM; It. IV, 10 = 5062		Golfo di Venetia
29. Giovanni Battista Cavallini, Carta Particolare di G. di Venezia, in Teatro del Mondo Maritimo Conforme La Carta da Nauigare, Livorno, 1652	Institute and Museum of the History of Science (Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza), Florence; MED G.F 027	G. di Venezia	unnamed
30. Placido Caloiro et Oliva, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1650	MCC; Cl. XLIVa n. 0011		unnamed

(continued on next page)

(continued)

Map/nautical chart (author, title, place and year of production)	Institution where map is kept, and call number	Geographical name	
		In title	On map field
31. Jean François Roussin, Carta du Golfo di Venetia, Venice, 1661	HL; mssHM 37	Golfo di Venetia	
32. Marccheto Fassoi, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1679	HL; mssHM 30		unnamed
33. Jacob Robin, Pas Cart van Venedi, Unknown place, 1694	MCC; Cl. XLIVa n. 23	Venedi	
34. Filippo Francini, Principio del Golfo di Venezia, á Compasso Largo, Venice, 1699	ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken; Cod. Ser. n. 12685, 7	Golfo di Venezia	
35. Filippo Francini, [Nautical chart of the northern part of the Adriatic Sea], Venice, 1699	ÖNB, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken; Cod. Ser. n. 12685, 6		Mare Tireno
36. Ferdinando Visconti, Carte generale ridotta del mare Adriatico, Milan, 1810	Private Collection Marco Asta, Bologna (hereinafter PC MA)	Mare Adriatico	
Printed maps and nautical charts			
37. Claudius Ptolemaeus (Nicolaus Germanus), Quinta Europae Tabula, Ulm, 1482	Stanford University Libraries, The Barry Lawrence Ruderman Map Collection		Sinvs Adriaticvs
38. Nicolaus Germanus, Tabvla moderna Italiae, in [Claudii Ptolomei viri alexandrini] Cosmographiae libri octo. De Locis ac mirabilibus mundi et primo de tribus orbis partibus, Ulm, 1482	BNF, département Cartes et plans, Paris, GE DD-1003 (RES)		Mare Venetvm
39. Jacques Signot, La carte Ditalie, Paris, 1515	BNF; Inv. Gé. 1.013		Mare Adriaticum
40. Pietro Coppo, Carta del Golfo Adrian, Piran, 1525	Maritime Museum Sergej Mašera, Piran	Golfo Adrian	
41. Lazarus, Tabula Hungariae, Ingolstadt, 1528	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Régi és Ritka Nyomtatványok Tára (National Széchényi Library, Collection for Ancient and Rare Prints), Budapest; App. M. 136		Mare Adriaticum
42. Sebastian Münster, Italia XIII nova tabvla, Basel, c. 1540	Stanford University Libraries, The Renaissance Exploration Map Collection		Mare Adriaticum
43. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, La vera descrizione del Mare Adriatico: di L'arcipelago; e Mare di Soria ..., Venice, 1541	NMM; G235:1/3	Mare Adriatico	Mare Hadriaticum
44. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, Italia, Venice, ante 1536	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome; Cod. Barb. Lat. 4431-A		Mare Hadriaticvs Sinvs Golfo de Venetia
45. Giacomo Gastaldi, La vera descrizione di tutta la Vngheria ..., Venice, 1546	Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Gabinetto della Grafica, Rome; Stampe.Geogr.I.150		Seno Adriatico Mare Adriatico Sinvs Venetvs antea Adriaticvs
46. Benedetto Bordone, [Map of Europe], Venice, 1547	Scientific Library, Zadar; R 76		
47. Giacomo Gastaldi, Dalmacia nova tabvla, Venice, 1548.	National and University Library, Map and Atlas Collection, Zagreb (hereinafter NUL); S-JZ-XVI-31		
48. Girolamo Ruscelli, Tavola nuova d'Italia, in La geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino, Venice, 1561	Stanford University Libraries, The Renaissance Exploration Map Collection.		Golfo di Vinegia
49. Paolo Forlani, Il Golfo di Venetia, Venice, 1568	BNF; GE CC-1380 (35RES)	Golfo di Venetia	Golfo di Venetia
50. Giacomo Gastaldi, Italia novissima, in: Abraham Ortelius Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Antwerp, 1570	University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Rare Map Collection, Washington; G6710 1579 O7		Mare Adriaticum sive Superum, nunc Golfo di Venetia Mare Adriaticum
51. Augustin Hirschvogel, Ilirici seu Sclavoniae continentis Croatiae, Carniam, Istriam, Bosniam, eisquae conterminas provincias, Antwerp, 1578	NUL; S-JZ-XVI-34		
52. Abraham Ortelius, Pannoniae et Illyrici veteris tabula, Amsterdam, 1590	University Library, Split; ZZ-XVI-2		Cronivm, Hadriaticvm, et Svpervm mare. Priscis Quibvsdam etiam Ionivm; et Rheae Sinvs Golfo de Venetia
53. William Barents, Tabula Hydrographica, In qua Italiae, orae maritimae; Item Venetiae, Istriae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae, Graeciae, ..., in: Nieuwe beschryvinghe ende Caertboeck vande Midlantsche Zee, Amsterdam, 1595	Stanford University Libraries, The Barry Lawrence Ruderman Map Collection, Stanford	Mare Superum	
54. Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Zeecaarte vande Golfe van Venetien, in Tderde Deel vant Licht der Zee-vaer inhovdende de Beschryvinghe der Zee Kusten van de Middellantsche Zee, Amsterdam, 1621	National Library of Spain, Flemish and Dutch Atlases collections; GMG/527	Golfe van Venetien	
55. Marco Boschini, Dalmatia et Albania, Venice, 1646	BNF, département Cartes et plans; CPL GE DD-2987 (5856 B)		Mare Adriatico
Robert Dudley, Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea (in three sheets), Florence, 1647	National Library of Finland, Helsinki; URN:NBN: fi-fe201002051338	Mare Adriatico	Mare Adriatico
56. ... Carta Particolare del mare Adriatico che comincia con il capo di Ancona è Finisce con L'Isola Lesina nello Isteso Mare			

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Map/nautical chart (author, title, place and year of production)	Institution where map is kept, and call number	Geographical name	
		In title	On map field
57. Carta Particolare del mare Mediterraneo che comincia con Ciuita vecchia è Finisce con il Capo S. Maria in Calabria			
58. Carta Particolare del mare Mediterraneo che comincia con Budua in Dalmatia è Finisce con corfu nelo Stato Venetiano			
59. Pieter Goos, Zee-kaarte van de Golf van Venetien, Amsterdam, 1650	PC MA	Golf van Venetien	
60. Hendrick Doncker, Golfo van Venetien, in De Lichtende Columne ofte Zee-Spiegel, Amsterdam, 1655	PC MA	Golfo van Venetien	
61. Francesco Maria Levanto, Carta Maritima del Golfo di Venetia, Genoa, 1664	PC MA	Golfo di Venetia	
62. Pierre du Val, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], in La carte générale et les cartes particulières des costes de la mer Méditerranée, Paris, 1664	PC MA		Golfe de Venise
63. John Seller, A Sea chart of the Gulph of Venice, London, 1677	CSA; HR-HDA-902, E.IV.35	Gulph of Venice	
64. Martin Stier, Vermehrte und Verbesserte Landkarten des Königreichs Ungarn, Nuremberg, 1684	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-1		Mare Adriaticum
65. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia, Servia, Croatia e Parte di Schiavonia, Rome, 1684	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-38		Mare Adriatico ouero Golfo di Venezia
66. Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, Golfo di Venezia, Venice, 1688	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-56	Golfo di Venezia	Golfo di Venezia olim Adriaticum Mare Adriatico
67. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, La Croatia e Contea di Zara, Rome, 1690	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-11		
68. Guillaume Sanson, Le Golfe de Venise avec ses Principaux Caps, Promontoires et Ports de Mer, Paris, 1696	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-67	Golfe de Venise	Golfe de Venise ou Mer Adriatique
69. Pavao Ritter Vitezović and Johann Chistoph Müller, Mappa generalis Regni Croatiae totius, 1699	CSA; HR-HDA-902, D.I.60		Mare Adriaticum
70. Jean Baptiste Nolin, Le Royaume de Dalmatia: divise en ses comtez territoires etc. la Morlaquie et la Bosnie. Paris, c. 1700	NUL; S-JZ-XVII-32		Mer ou Golfe de Venise, Anciement Mer Adriatique, et Haute Mer ou Superum Mare
71. Ioannes van Keulen, Pas-Caart van de Weder zytische Zee-kusten soo van Italia als Dalmatia en Griecken Inde Golf van Venetien, Amsterdam, 1700	CSA; HR-HDA-902, E.IV.30	Golf van Venetien	
72. Herman Moll, A new map of Italy distinguishing all the sovereignties in it, whether states, kingdoms, dutchies, principalities, republicks &c. With the post roads, and many remarks not extant in any map, London, 1714	Princeton University Library, Special Collections – Rare Books Historic Map Collection; HMC01.2544		Gulf of Venice or Adriatick Sea
73. Johann Baptist Homann, <i>Regnorum Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Bosniae et Serviae et principatu Transylvaniae</i> , Nuremberg, c. 1714	NUL; ZN-Z-XVIII-HOM-1714		Mare Adriaticum vulgo Golfo di Venetia
74. Nicolas de Fer, Le Golfe de Venise: aux environs du quel se trouvent à l'Orient, partie des états du Turc en Europe, les isles et côtes de Dalmatie et d'Istrie aux Venitiens, et la Republique de Raguse, Paris, 1720	Bibliothèque municipale du Havre, Havre; CP CH 205	Golfe de Venise	Golfe de Venise
75. Pierre Van der Aa, Golfe de Venise avec les Côtes maritimes, Bayes et Ports etc. De la Grèce, Dalmatie et Italie, Leida, 1720	CSA; HR-HDA-902, E.IV.29	Golfe de Venise	
76. Reiner and Josua Ottens, Nouvelle carte du Royaume de Dalmacie divise en ses comtes etc la Morlaquie, la Bosnie, et la Servie, partie de la Hongrie, Croatia, Albania, Amsterdam, c. 1720	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-90		Mer ou Golfe de Venise, Anciement Mer Adriatique, et Haute Mer ou Superum Mare
77. Georg Matthaeus Seutter, Nova et accurata tabula regnorum et provinciarum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Bosniae, Serviae, Istriae et Reip. Ragusane cum finitimis regionibus, Augsburg, c. 1736	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-50		Golfo di Venetia vulgo Mare Adriaticum
78. Johann Baptist Homann, Danubii fluminis (...) Pars media in qua Hungaria, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia et Servia, Nuremberg, 1740	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-43		Golfo di Venetia

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Map/naval chart (author, title, place and year of production)	Institution where map is kept, and call number	Geographical name	
		In title	On map field
79. Georg Matthaeus Seutter, <i>Novissima et accuratissima Hungariae: cum circumjacentibus regnis et principatibus</i> , Augsburg, c. 1745	NUL; ZN-Z-XVIII-SEU-1745		Mare Adriaticum vulgo Golfo di Venetia
80. Daniele Farlati, <i>Tabvla Illyrici Vniversalis et Hodierni</i> , in: <i>Illyrici sacri Tomus primus</i> . Ecclesia Salonitana, Venice, 1751	Scientific Library, Zadar; R 243		Mare Saturnum, Ionium, Adriaticum, Liburnicum, Illyricum, Superum, Dalmaticum, Venetum
81. Joseph Roux, <i>Carte de la mer Méditerranée</i> , Marseille, 1764	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-116		Golfe de Venise
82. Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, <i>Carte hydrographique du Golphe de Venise</i> , Paris, 1771	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-145		Golphe de Venise
83. Lodovico Furlanetto, <i>Nuova carta Marittima del Golfo di Venezia</i> , Venice, 1784	CSA; HR-DAZD-383 No. 3.1	Golfo di Venezia	
84. Carl Schütz und Franz Müller, <i>Neueste Karte der Koenigreiche Bosnien, Servien, Croatien und Slavonien ...</i> , Vienna, 1788	BNF, département Cartes et plans; GE C-9858		Meerbusen von Venedig oder Das Adriatische Meer
85. Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly, <i>Special Karte von dem Oesterreichischen u. Osmanischen Koenigreiche Kroatien Nro 2</i> , Vienna, 1791	NUL; S-JZ-XVIII-31		Adriatisches Meer
86. Giovanni Fileti, [Nautical chart of the Adriatic Sea], Foglio VI, in <i>Carta Piana del mare Mediterraneo corretta, rettificata sotto i felicissimi auspici di Ferdinando IV, Re delle Due Sicilie per ordine del Signor Conte di Thurn e Valsassina</i> , Naples, 1802	PC MA		Mare Adriatico o Golfo di Venezia
87. Arcangelo Sartori, <i>Nuova carta marittima del Golfo di Venezia</i> , Ancona, 1802	PC MA	Golfo di Venezia	
88. Juan Ferrer (Dirección Hidrográfica), <i>Carta esférica que comprehende Las Costas de Italia, Las del Mar Adriatico ...</i> , Madrid, 1804	PC MA	Mar Adriatico	Mar Adriatico
89. Joseph Marx von Liechtenstern, <i>Charte von der Provinz Venedig und den Oesterreichischen Küstenländern Istrien und Dalmatien dann von Adriatischen Meere</i> , Vienna, 1805	ÖNB, Kartensammlung; FKB K.9.4	Adriatisches Meer	Adriatisches Meer
90. Vincenzo de Lucio, <i>Nuova carta del Mare Adriatico ossia Golfo di Venezia, Trieste</i> , 1809	Scientific Library, Zadar; 15188 D-20	Mare Adriatico ossia Golfo di Venezia	
91. Joseph Dessiou, <i>New Chart of the Mediterranean Sea</i> , London, 1811	McMaster University Library, Map Collections, Hamilton; RMC 4286		Gulf of Venice or Adriatic Sea
92. Ignaz Heymann, <i>General Charte der Illyrischen Provinz</i> , Vienna and Pest, 1810	BNF, département Cartes et plans; GE C-10859		Mare Adriatico
93. Domenico Pagani, Gaudenzio Bordiga and Benedetto Bordiga, <i>Carta delle Provincie Illiriche co'loro diversi stabilimenti e con una parte degli Stati limitrofi</i> , Milan, 1813	BNF, département Cartes et plans; GE SH 18 PF 1 QUARTER DIV 6 P 1		Mare Adriatico
94. Giovanni Grubas, <i>Saggio di una Carta ridotta del Mare Adriatico ossia Golfo di Venezia, Trieste</i> , 1816	PC MA	Mare Adriatico ossia Golfo di Venezia	
95. Georg Strudthoff, <i>Chart of the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice, Trieste</i> , 1816	PC MA	Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice	
96. Pierre Henri Gauttier, <i>Carte Réduite du Golfe de Venise</i> , Paris, 1820	PC MA	Golfe de Venise	
97. Military Geographic Institute, <i>Carta di cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico (in twenty sheets)</i> , Milan, 1822–1824	State Archives in Zadar, Cartographic collection, Zadar; HR-DAZD-383 No. 3.2	Mare Adriatico	
98. Gaspar Massa, Tomás González and M. C. Maré, <i>Carta Esferica que comprehende las Costas de Italia Las del Mar Adriatico</i> , Madrid, 1824	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; MR/22 H. 100 N.2	Mar Adriatico	Golfo di Venecia
99. Dirección de Hidrografía, <i>Carta esférica de las Costas e islas de la mitad septentrional del Mar Adriático</i> , Madrid, 1840	PC MA	Mar Adriatico	Mar Adriatico
100. Dirección de Hidrografía, <i>Carta esférica de la mitad meridional del Mar Adriático</i> , Madrid, 1842	PC MA	Mar Adriatico	