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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF VENETIAN MERCHANT GUGLIELMO QUERINI ON HIS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN BOSNIA, 1443–1447

Abstract: The paper presents a transcription of seven previously unpublished letters sent by the Venetian patrician and merchant Guglielmo Querini (1400–1468) to his business associate Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia between June 1443 and April 1447. The letters were already known to historians, primarily through the works of Gino Luzzatto, Desanka Kovačević-Kojić and Marko Šunjić, but were mostly treated only in passing, in line with the research interests of the authors at the time. In addition to the letters and a brief commentary on their content, this text will also present readers with the basic biographical information about Querini and his business ventures, both in Bosnia and beyond.

Keywords: Guglielmo Querini, Ieronimo Malipiero, Bosnia, Venice, Fojnica, trade

Introduction

Within the fund *Procurators of St Mark's Basilica on this side of the Grand Canal (De citra canalem)* in the State Archive of Venice, box no. 271 contains a substantial manuscript dossier comprising notes, accounts, excerpts, and copies of letters, which can be dated to the period between March 1428 and December 1461.¹ In scholarly literature, this file is referred to as the *Copialettere* or *Copiaro Querini*, after its author, the Venetian patrician and merchant Guglielmo Querini. It contains, among

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¹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia [=ASVe], *Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canalem"*, b. 271/3.

other records, copies of his correspondence with business partners, employees, and associates, preserved as evidence during the liquidation of his estate.

These important documents have not been entirely overlooked in historiography, having featured in various economic and historical analyses. The first scholar to draw attention to them was Giuseppe Dalla Santa, who, in the early twentieth century, used them to illustrate Querini's efforts to recover a certain monetary debt from Francesco Filelfo (d. 1481), the renowned Italian philosopher and humanist scholar.² Following him, this file was also used by Gino Luzzatto, a distinguished economic historian, who, under the pseudonym Giuseppe Padovan, published a study in 1943 in *Rivista di storia economica* devoted exclusively to Querini and his diverse commercial enterprises.³ The same text was reprinted a decade later, without any alterations, in his far more accessible volume of *Studies on Venetian Economic History*.⁴

It was the mention of Querini's Bosnian connections in Luzzatto's study that first drew the attention of Professor Desanka Kovačević, who incorporated these references into her doctoral dissertation on trade in medieval Bosnia, published in Sarajevo in 1961.⁵ She would later revisit the same material in several subsequent works.⁶ Professor Marko Šunjić also briefly addressed Querini and his letters in his 1996 book on relations between Bosnia and Venice.⁷ These eminent scholars of medieval Bosnian past have highlighted in their works that Guglielmo Querini was a patrician and a "major Venetian merchant", that is, "a merchant operating on a grand scale", engaged in trade relations with the markets of Constantinople, Seville, Trebizond, Tana and Candia, and shipping his goods to ports in Syria, North Africa and southern France, as well as Bruges and London. They noted that Querini, at one point, turned his attention to Bosnia's economic prospects, consulting his associate, the Venetian patrician Girolamo (Ieronimo) Malipiero, about possible ventures in pepper, spices, and other commodities. On occasion, he dispatched precious stones to Bosnia for sale through his agents, seeking precious metals in return. These observations, however, were drawn entirely from Luzzatto's earlier work and did not engage directly with the preserved archival material, which contains further details

² Giuseppe Dalla Santa, "Di un patrizio mercante veneziano dèl Quattrocento e di Francesco Filelfo suo debitore", *Nuovo archivio Veneto*, n.s., anno VI, 11/2 (1906) 63–90.

³ Giuseppe Padovan, "L'attività commerciale di un patrizio veneziano del Quattrocento", *Rivista di storia economica* 8 (1943) 1–22.

⁴ Gino Luzzatto, "L'attività commerciale di un patrizio veneziano del Quattrocento", in: *Studi di storia economica Veneziana*, Padova 1954, 167–193.

⁵ Desanka Kovačević, *Trgovina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, Sarajevo 1961, 96.

⁶ Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовјековне босанске државе*, Сарајево, 1978 197–199, 326; eadem, "Privredni razvoj srednjovjekovne bosanske države", in: *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine I, Društvo i privreda srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, ed. Enver Redžić, Sarajevo 1987, 162; eadem, "Ekonomske veze i kulturni uticaji između bosanske države i talijanskih gradova u XIV i XV vijeku", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 35 (1984) 42.

⁷ Marko Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. i XV. st.)*, Sarajevo 1996, 332–333.

on Querini's Bosnian ventures. After outlining the basic biographical background of this prominent Venetian merchant and examining the content of his correspondence, the present study concludes with an appendix containing a complete transcription of the seven letters Guglielmo Querini sent to Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia between 1443 and 1447.

Guglielmo Querini (1400–1468)

Guglielmo Querini was born in Venice in 1400 into an old and distinguished patrician family, and was named after his paternal grandfather. His father, Andrea Querini, and mother, Maria, both died when he was very young, leaving him an orphan.⁸ He never married and left no known descendants. Querini had three brothers, Bartolomeo, Taddeo, and Giacomo, who lived in the East, engaged in mercantile pursuits, and with whom he maintained both personal and business ties; all three died in Constantinople. Although he would go on to build a notable career in politics and commerce, leaving traces in various records of the Venetian State Archives, most of what is known about him comes from a ledger he began keeping in 1428, after inheriting landed property in the Polesine region near Venice. That estate did not bring him significant income, so he had to sustain himself financially by expanding the network of his business contacts. Yet despite the breadth of this network, Querini remained until his death a patrician of modest means.

He embarked upon a political career relatively late in life, at the age of forty, holding a number of various public posts within the judicial and administrative structures of the Venetian Republic, skilfully aligning his political, legal and economic interests. In February 1440, he was appointed state attorney (*avogador di comun*), and six months later became senior auditor of judicial sentences (*auditor vecchio delle sentenze*). From 1443 to 1454 he served continuously as a member of the Venetian Senate, and from 1456 regularly sat on the Council of Ten. In May 1462, he participated as an elector in the selection of Cristoforo Moro (r. 1462–1471) to Venice's highest office, and in his final years served on the Republic's executive council (*Collegio*) as a naval adviser (*savio alla guerra*).

Scholarly literature presents Querini as the archetypal example of a Venetian patrician and merchant of his time, who conducted his affairs from the city's centre and did not venture far beyond Venice,⁹ while simultaneously maintaining extensive and far-reaching connections with partners across the known world: Constantinople, Tana, Trebizond, Candia, Syria, the Maghreb, Provence, Seville, Bosnia, Albania,

⁸ The biography was compiled based on the article: Giuseppe Gullino, "Querini, Guglielmo", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 86, *Querenghi – Rensi*, Roma 2016, 28–29, which also contains a comprehensive list of sources and literature about Querini.

⁹ Jean-Claude Hocquet, *The Merchant of Venice. The Activity of Patricians in the Late Middle Ages*, Leiden–Boston 2025, 34–40.

Bruges and London. He traded mainly in luxury textiles, brocade fabrics, gold, wool, textile dyes, grain and slaves, though he preferred to buy and sell precious stones. His notes reveal that he regularly entrusted certain sums of his own capital to more mobile merchants, who would then invest these funds during their travels in accordance with favourable conditions of the markets where they conducted commerce. The nature of these business partnerships varied considerably – with some clients and associates he entered into unilateral *colleganza* agreements, acting as the *socius stans* (stationary partner) who provided capital to a travelling colleague, called *socius procertans*. Upon settlement of accounts at the journey's end, the travelling partner would return the initial investment and profit, retaining merely one quarter of the earnings for himself. The surviving correspondence makes clear that a certain number of Querini's associates maintained either a fixed stake or percentage commission for conducting business abroad on his behalf.¹⁰ Yet more frequently, Querini entrusted these merchants with goods for resale – most commonly consisting of various precious stones. In pursuing this approach, he also relied on individuals from Šibenik, Senj, Kotor, Krk and Trogir, maintaining both extensive correspondence and commercial relations with them.¹¹

Querini undoubtedly possessed sound business acumen, yet several factors constrained him from achieving greater commercial success. Namely, he relied too much on the help of other merchants, was disinclined to undertake independent travel, and often lacked a stable financial foundation necessary for further investment. In the long term, this dependence on other merchants proved detrimental to his economic interests. Querini's business ventures suffered most damage after 1435, following the deaths of his two brothers in Constantinople who had managed his trade in the East. This shows that Querini was in fact the administrator of a family company, which was an arrangement relatively common among Venetian merchants operating in major trading centres.¹² Following his brothers' deaths, Guglielmo devoted more attention to liquidating their assets and recovering their inheritance rather than pursuing new commercial ventures of his own. The extant correspondence further reveals that from 1441 onward, he spent most of his time attempting to collect outstanding debts, and was mainly unsuccessful in doing so.¹³ During this period, he

¹⁰ Gino Luzzato, "La commenda nella vita economica dei secoli XIII e XIV. Con particolare riguardo a Venezia", in: *Mostra bibliografica e Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale. Amalfi, luglio-ottobre 1934. Atti*, vol. 1, Napoli 1934, 139–164; Frederic Chapin Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449*, Baltimore 1944, 150; Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*, vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World*, London 1984, 129–130.

¹¹ Reinhold C. Mueller, "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia", in: *Quattrocento Adriatico, Fifteenth Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. Charles Dempsey, Bologna 1996, 55–56.

¹² Frederic Chapin Lane, "Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic", *The Journal of Economic History* 4/2 (1944) 178–196.

¹³ Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, Baltimore 2019, 506–510.

suspended his previously active trade connections with Seville, Flanders and England, only occasionally attempting to initiate trade with other markets, including the territory of the Bosnian Kingdom, though with mixed success.

Guglielmo Querini died on 18 May 1468 without a wife or legitimate heirs, bequeathing his entire estate to charitable causes. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried on the island of Sant'Andrea del Lido, also known as Isola della Certosa.

Correspondence Querini – Malipiero

Among the numerous letters whose drafts or copies Querini noted in his ledger, there are seven messages that he dispatched between June 1443 and April 1447 to Bosnia, i.e. Fojnica, to his business associate Ieronimo Malipiero, a member of a prominent Venetian mercantile family with extensive economic and political connections on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. Ieronimo's father, Fantin, had likewise traded in Bosnia. In January 1411, Fantin claimed in Venice that King Ostoja of Bosnia (r. 1398–1404; 1409–1418) had failed to repay 87 pounds, i.e. around 26 kg of refined silver owed for textiles that he had sold him six years earlier when he was trading in Bosnia and when King Ostoja was exiled from his realm. Following Ostoja's return to the throne, with the support of Voivode Sandalj Hranić, Fantin implored the Venetian government to dispatch an envoy to the Voivode who would intercede with the King to repay the debt to Fantin.¹⁴ The same merchant is mentioned again in the records of the Dubrovnik Chancellery in 1412, when he presented certain certificates to the city authorities about some money he had borrowed from Voivode Sandalj,¹⁵ while his two sons Francesco and Ieronimo served as governors of Hvar.¹⁶ As for Ieronimo, his commercial ties with Bosnia were also documented. In 1447, he lodged a complaint in Dubrovnik against Nikola, the son of his servant Radin, to whom he had entrusted certain goods and money to trade on his behalf in Kreševo. Nikola, however, failed to return them before the agreed term, leading Ieronimo to conclude that he had appropriated these goods for himself.¹⁷

As evidenced by the surviving correspondence, the relationship between Querini and Malipiero was not merely business-like but also familiar and friendly in nature, which is why Querini openly expressed his trust in Malipiero and his handling of his

¹⁴ (15 January 1411), ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 48, fol. 208v; Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, knj. VI, Zagreb 1878, 134–135.

¹⁵ (7 March 1412), Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku [=DADu], *Diversa Cancellariae*, sv. 38, fol. 236r.

¹⁶ Šime Ljubić, *Statuta et leges civitatis Buduae, civitatis Scardonae, et civitatis et insulae Lesinae*, Zagreb 1882–3, 233, 410, 490. In his work about Querini, G. Luzzatto, "L'attività commerciale di un patrizio veneziano del Quattrocento", 185, mistakenly noted Ieronimo's name *Girolamo* as *Giovanni*. This led to a wrong assumption that two Malipiero brothers were active in Bosnia. See: D. Kovačević-Kojić, "Privredni razvoj srednjovjekovne bosanske države", 162.

¹⁷ (30 January 1447), DADu, *Lamenta de foris*, sv. 21, fol. 9v.

merchandise. Yet it turned out later that his trust was rather misplaced and that both men fell victim to the volatile commercial and political climate that prevailed in the Bosnian Kingdom at the time.

The earliest traces of their correspondence date to late March and early April 1443, when a certain Lorenzo de Stipos conveyed letters from Ieronimo Malipiero from Bosnia to Venice. Beyond serving as an intermediary in the exchange of letters, Lorenzo provided Querini with intelligence regarding Bosnia's economic conditions. On this occasion, Querini entrusted him with eleven ruby rings, which he collectively valued at around ten gold ducats. He deemed the rubies were of high quality and would appeal to prospective buyers. In addition to the rubies, Querini also entrusted Lorenzo with a diamond ring, whose value he estimated at eighteen ducats. All these rings with precious stones were to be handed over to Malipiero by Lorenzo, with the aim of selling them in the Bosnian market.

Querini advised his partner that a gem's true worth derived not only from appraisal but primarily the buyer's willingness to pay for it. He illustrated this with the example of Venetian fishermen who usually demanded double the expected price, later settling for half or slightly more, depending on a customer's disposition. Despite market uncertainties, Querini professed absolute faith in Malipiero's judgment, considering him an experienced and reliable merchant. He granted him full discretion over the jewels' sale – stipulating only that no ruby be sold below the price of ten ducats, nor the diamond beneath eighteen, to avoid loss. Furthermore, he recommended displaying the gems to potential buyers exclusively in optimal daylight to best reveal their beauty and quality.

This first letter radiates Querini's optimism and expectation to earn profit on the invested funds. He wrote that he would like to get a forty ducats' return, paid in gold dust or granules (*paiola/paiuola*),¹⁸ but he also demonstrated considerable flexibility, permitting a lower sum provided the funds were remitted to him as soon as possible. He was ready to await their delivery either by Lorenzo de Stipos in person, by Malipiero himself, or by any third party deemed trustworthy by Malipiero. For any outstanding balance, he stood prepared to accept payment in silver or wax.

However, if Malipiero failed to sell the consigned goods (a prospect Querini viewed with scepticism), he demanded from him to send, of his own funds as a loan, between ten or twenty ducats' worth of raw gold, to enable him to keep the business running. In such case, Querini would permit Malipiero to later retain profit proportionate to this loaned capital. Based on this, as well as other details in the letters, it seems that Malipiero was Querini's agent, and that their relationship can be described as that between a commission agent and a principal. Given that it is explicitly stated here that Malipiero could retain future earnings proportional to the funds he had been advanced for unsold goods, the impression is that he otherwise

¹⁸ Peter Spufford, "The Provision of Stable Moneys by Florence and Venice, and North Italian Financial Innovations in the Renaissance Period", in: *Explaining Monetary and Financial Innovation. A Historical Analysis*, ed. Peter Bernholz & Roland Vaubel, Cham 2014, 233.

had no financial stake in Querini's business dealings, i.e. that the two of them did not pool funds or establish a partnership of the *colleganza* type. Instead, Querini employed Malipiero solely as a trusted agent for trade with the Bosnian market, owing to his residence there and his better understanding of local economic conditions.

At the end of the letter, Querini requested that, if Malipiero did not plan to return to Venice soon, he provide him with detailed information about pepper, other spices and luxury goods typical of the region where he was then residing. He was particularly interested in the available quantity, variety and price of each individual item. Querini also asked to be informed whether Malipiero possessed better rubies than those he had already received. If the answer was affirmative, he instructed him to send measurements of the stone – either in the form of a wooden, wax or lead shape of its size, along with an estimate of the price it could fetch. Querini was explicit that such details should only be sent via Lorenzo de Stipos or another trusted person, to prevent them from falling into the wrong hands.¹⁹

Their correspondence resumed over a year later, when in early July 1444 Querini again wrote to Malipiero. Regrettably, he did not copy this letter in his ledger. At the end of August that same year, Querini dispatched a new message in response to a letter received from Malipiero on 10 August, in which his colleague had informed him of the disturbances caused in Bosnia by the Turks through Duke Stjepan Vukčić.²⁰ Querini conveyed his sorrow for the sufferings endured by the Christians, as well as expressing gratitude that Malipiero and other merchants had escaped more serious consequences. He attributed this good fortune to their prudence and timely withdrawal to the safety of a fortified position, emphasizing that, in the final reckoning, it was better to endure temporary hardship than remain exposed to danger without hope of deliverance, for nothing was more precious than security. This was evidently not the first problem of this kind that Malipiero had encountered. Indeed, Querini recalled how he had previously recounted seeking refuge in a stronghold out of fear of the Turks, though on that earlier occasion they had not penetrated so deeply into the interior as they had now.

In the continuation of the letter, Querini confirmed that Malipiero had still not obtained money from Voivode Ivaniš (presumably Vlatković) for the diamond and two rubies previously sold to him for 37 ducats. He entreated Malipiero to employ every means to recover this debt as soon as possible.

His Bosnian business partner had, in a prior message, also promised to send to him any fine silver acquired, and Querini now pressed him to forward it to him if he had already bought it. Additionally, he wrote about how he had heard that, due to instability in those regions, the price of raw gold had changed – what could once be

¹⁹ ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canale"*, b. 271/3, fol. 30rv. Appendix 1.

²⁰ Those were doubtless military attacks carried out by Duke Stjepan Vukčić against King Stefan Tomaš in the summer of 1444. Сима Ђирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, Београд 1964, 79; Emir O. Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386-1463)*, Sarajevo 2019, 349.

bought for one ducat was now selling for five. Separately, Querini requested that enough gold be sent to him to cover current needs, but stipulated that, given this price shift, his funds should henceforth be invested in other goods. Malipiero apologised for failing to provide regular updates, citing the unrest in Bosnia as the cause. Querini, however, stated that he understood the situation, hoping that they would achieve a quality result together.²¹

In late October of that same year, Querini again wrote to Malipiero, expressing confidence that even before his letter reached Bosnia, his associate would have successfully sold all goods in his keeping and recovered the outstanding debt from Voivode Ivaniš. Nevertheless, should any merchandise remain unsold, he urged Malipiero to sell as soon as possible and conclude all outstanding business, converting the proceeds into silver or other suitable commodities. Failing even this possibility, Querini was willing to acquiesce to Malipiero's judgment – whether to sell or procrastinate with sale, since he believed that Malipiero handled his goods with the same diligence as they were his own.²²

Already on 2 December 1444, Querini wrote a response to Malipiero's new message in which he had informed him that he still had six of his rubies in his possession. Querini therefore urged him to dispose of them before leaving Bosnia. If he could not sell them for money, he suggested exchanging them for other goods, but emphasised that nothing more of his merchandise should be left behind – everything was to be brought back to Venice.²³

It was not until 4 March 1445 that Querini received Malipiero's long-awaited letter, dispatched from Bosnia on 13 November of the previous year, which once again reported his inability to sell the six rubies due to the continuing unrest in the country. Querini urged him again to sell them in the best possible way and to return any unsold items to Venice upon his arrival. Malipiero further reiterated his failure to collect the outstanding debt from Voivode Ivaniš for the diamond and rubies, providing explanations which Querini accepted as reasonable and conveying hope that the problem would be solved during a calmer period. Querini did not hold Malipiero responsible for this situation, but demanded that he attempt to recover some value from the sold jewels.²⁴

By September 1446, Querini sent another letter to Malipiero regarding the outstanding debt of thirty ducats still owed to him. As these funds were now urgently required, he pressed Malipiero to repay them at the earliest opportunity so their business dealings might resume as before. This was particularly serious since Malipiero had previously promised to settle the matter by September.²⁵

²¹ ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canale"*, b. 271/3, fol. 34rv. Appendix 2.

²² *Ibidem*, fol. 35v. Appendix 3.

²³ *Ibidem*, fol. 37r. Appendix 4.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, fol. 42v. Appendix 5.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, fol. 49v. Appendix 6. Cf. Appendix 7.

In the last preserved letter, dated April 1447, Querini expressed his astonishment that Malipiero had still not sent what was owed to him and what Querini considered his, even if Malipiero wanted to send silver via a courier unwilling to transport it. While he understood the reasons for delay, his words carried a gentle reproach alongside the hope of imminent satisfaction in silver. Though the sum itself was modest, Querini needed it in order to continue with other, more substantial ventures that were suffering due to these debts.²⁶

Concluding remarks

The analysis of the correspondence between Guglielmo Querini and Ieronimo Malipiero from 1443–1447 offers a valuable insight into the business relations between Venetian merchants and medieval Bosnia. While previous researchers have mostly relied on condensed information drawn from earlier studies, direct access to the preserved letters reveals a far more complex and vivid picture of commercial practice, communication, challenges and expectations within a precarious and dynamic fifteenth-century trading network.

Querini emerges as an experienced, though to some extent limited, merchant who was more attached to the safe environment of Venice than to uncertain journeys abroad, and who relied on trustworthy and seasoned partners like Malipiero for his business ventures. His letters testify not only to the exchange of goods, but also to business strategies, pragmatic expectations, and adaptability to changing market conditions. Beyond their economic content, the letters also reveal an emotional dimension of trust and frustration, optimism and disappointment, as well as concern for the safety of a business partner amid the unstable political circumstances of Bosnia, particularly in the context of increasingly frequent Ottoman incursions.

Despite the limitations and commercial setbacks that marked the later phase of his trading activity, Querini nonetheless remains a representative example of a Venetian patrician and merchant whose business interests extended deep into the Balkan interior. His preserved correspondence with Malipiero thus not only enriches our understanding of the region's commercial history, but also broadens the larger picture of the mutual ties and the circulation of goods, information and people between the Republic of Venice and the Bosnian Kingdom in the fifteenth century.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, fol. 50r. Appendix 8.

APPENDIX

1

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia
Venice, June 1443**

Chopia de l^a letera io scrivo a ser Ieronimo Malipiero de ser Fantin in Bosnia a di _____
zugno 1443

Fradelo charissimo, a di 22 april receputo l^a vostra letera per ser Lorenzo de Stipos dada a di 30 marzo con summo piazer si per saper de nostra salud chome del rizever de mie letere et informazion de quei luogi me da vi avixandove prima a tute vostre ho avute vi ho risposto, de inde vedendo la vostra bona volunta in servir me chomo io faria a vui, la qual chosa a mi non he nuova de notandove che li gran tempo che con nui et con Franzescho non meno faria che se mie propri fradeli fossate, che mancho non vi reputo, si per le nostre vernide [?] chome et per la benivolenzia innata fra nui longissimi anni, qua propria prexo confidenza de noster scriver. Sum stado col dito noster ser Lorenzo ed a quello ho avuto alguna informazion, laqual per non lo patir nil tempo ni et lasason non ho possudo far in tuto que lo seria stado la mia intenzion spero in Dio, sera in la vega [?] e maxime essendo prospera la fortuna in questo pocho chome io credo per la informazion abuda. Io ho dado al dito ser Lorenzo de Stipos rubini xi ligadi zoe undexe, questi fradelo podi vender da ducati x in saxo l'uno sono beli e piaxerave. Apresso li ho dado diamante l^o ponta ligado che sun in summa aneli 12, zoe dodexe, igual a vui siano dadi e chussi ho commesso a ser Lorenzo, de que so diamante ne ho possudo auer de qual ducati 18. Unde a dirve l'usanza de queste zoie avega io credo la sapiate tanto valono le zoie quanto le persone ne ano bixogno, e fasse chomo fano i nostri pescadori de qui, che dimanda del suo pesie do volte tanto de quello il vendeno zoe altra tanto et secondo le persone più et meno ma a vui che sete persona perita e praticha in quale parte et decui. Io ho ogra confidenza, non voio dar altre ordene salvo che quel piu et me di ducati x l'uno. Dei rubini potete aver mi piaxera pur li metiate fine in quanto vignesa di que questo hotubrio chome sum informado. Del diamante da ducati 18 in saxo, si chel non romagna nula del mio da poi de vui ma se nui romagnesa et le vi paresse meio ategnier cha vender tuto lasso in vostra liberta pur io abia quella pichola investida ve diro che he questa qui soto. Apresso vi avixo che le zoie se vol mostrar quando e dove la mior mostra et a che ora del dì.

Io voria ducati 40 d'oro paiuola. Ese non possa ducati 40, sia ducati 30, se non ducati 30, sia ducati 20, huer ducati 10. Questi numeri ve chiarificho per che ad hogno modo per la prima via vi para suficiente voio mel mandiate, e sel vi paresse meio induxiar ala venuta del dito ser Lorenzo e dargelo a lui non induxiando piu cha otunbrio, sum contento aspetar. E si vignesa vui a quel tempo mi contento nui el portiate, ma se induxiese e trovessa persona fidada avero acharo averlo avantia del resto vi avanzasse

del mio a le mie chosse mandeme arzento ho zere chome farete per vui e non lasse nula dapoi de nui del mio vignando la vostra persona de qui.

E per chaxion chel poria hochorer che ala venuta de qualche persona suficiente ho de ser Lorenzo de que vui non avessa trato algun denaro de queste mie zoie che nol credo. In questo chaxo prego vi me serva dei vostri denari e mandarme da ducati 10 in 20 d'oro paiuola azio non resti de far el fato mio e poi reteniteveli dei mie e pur labia preso lavelo acharo.

Non vignando vui de que sel ve piaxe de me plenaria informazion de piper et altre spezie et marzarie de luxe sorte fesse per quei luogi, per che le poria tornar utile a vui et a mi, e dixte per che suma vosse per questo prinzipio et el prexio ne chauesa de chadauna chosa.

A maxime ansi, se vossa piu rubini e mior de questi, e mande me la misura de la piera di l^o pezo de pria ho legno, ho zera, o pionbo, e che prexio el se venderia. Et similiter se vossa altra sorta zoie. E queste informazion se vol mandar per ser Lorenzo de Stipos ho altra persona a vui fidata, azio le letere non chapitasse in altre man, per a biene bona advertenzia.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 30rv

2

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia
Venice, 30 August 1444**

Chopia de l^a letera scritta a ser Ieronimo Malipiero di miser Fantin in Bossina a di 30 agosto 1444

Anchuo fo ro [?] ricevuto l^a vostra letera dada a di 10 del instante per laqual fui avixado del ricevuta di l^a mia de 4 luio et insieme del vostro ben esser che assai mi piaze vidi apresso lafano di spirito avete avuto per el disturbio de Turchi per el mezo del conte Stefano fato in Bossina che in verita mi duole per amor vostro et per el ben de Christiani iqual abiano ricevuto tanto danno Dio prego li doni restoro el qual laudo chel vi abia preservado di danno con tuti l'altri merchadanti de li e questo per la buona provixion se sa in redur el nostro in chastelo siando meglio ad aver l^o pocho de senester per la via longa e star seguro cha voler star de fuora in speranza ni una chossa he piu laudabile in tuti i caxi cha la segurtad ala qual non fa mestier suaderve per che l'avete chognosuto avanti cha me ricordandomi altra volta me scrivesti ansi aver vi nel chastelo messo per dubito de Turchi, quantumque i non vegnisse illo tunc tanto avanti chome ano fato ahora. Savete bene che chi fa buona guarda schiva ria [?] ventura.

Dite non aver anchor schosso dal vayvoda lanus la montar del mio diamante e do rubini li desti per ducati 37. Prego vi fate quanto presto pode d'averli et del resto mete li fin azio. In futuro possiamo far qual mior cosa utile a vui et a mei.

Apresso, dite chome trovare de fino arzento, me ne manderete come vi ho dito per altre. Ahora ve dito se fin al rizever de questa non avessa compra el dito arzento, io sun contento mandate per mi quello per vui ho per raxon de miser vostro padre manderete. Et se avesti tolto l'arzento, me ne contento e mandamelo presto se potete.

Ho intexo che per le sechure de li state non aparso oro paiuola per l^o ducato se ne pode aver solo per ducati 5. Mandemelo che mi bastara per el prexente, e per la vegnir, bixognando, ve ne avixero. E quando non de possa aver, sia con Dio, investite el mio ut supra.

Vedo non mi avete possuto dar alcuna informazion per questo disturbio. E si, dimandate perdono. Unde, per la mia autorita, venendo anni mille, ben sero desiderosso. Quando averete el potere de esser avixato per far qualche bene insieme e ristorar el longo passato tempo senza qualche fruto. Dio fazi el meglio et chome a lui piaze.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 34rv

3

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia
Venice, 29 October 1444**

Chopia de l^o capitolo scritto a ser Ieronimo Malipiero di miser Fantin in Bossina a di 29 hotubrio 1444

Io mi fazo zerto che avanti el zonzer de questa averete posto fine a tuto quello vi a trovate del mio et similiter schosso quello restavi ad aver da quel lanus che assai mi piaxera, e quando alchuna chossa vi restasse a vender voglio che in quanto fossa per repatriar che a tuto limetiate fine avanti la partita nostra e dir investita in arzento et in quele chosse tossa per nostra raxion hover per raxion de miser e padre vostro ma se non vignessa sum contento faze chome vi par del vender et induxiar per che sum zerto non meno le mie fazendete vi siano achuor che se vostre proprie le fosseno et chussi assai vene exorto.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 35v

4

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosnia
Venice, 2 December 1444**

Chopia de l^o chapitolo scrivo a ser Ieronimo Malipiero in Bosina a di 2 dezembrio 1444

Apresso dite restarni nele mane rubini 6 mie questi vi prego spazate avanti di li vi partiate et ad hogno modo vignando nui ma di li meterli fine adenir e non possando barateli a quello vi par meglio e non lassate nula del mio driodo nui ma tuto man di hoportate da qui con nui in quele investi di farete per nui ho per miser nostro padre.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 37r

5

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero to Fojnica
Venice, 29 May 1445**

Chopia de l^a letera scritta a ser Ieronimo Malipiero di miser Fantin, in Choniza adi 29 mazo 1445

Amado quanto fradelo, a di 4 del presente ebi l^a vostra antiqua dada a di 13 novembrio, la qual me fu azeta si per veder nui che sano, chome per le chosse seguide dei fati mie lequal stano ut supra, zoè chel vi resta anchor rubini 6 de mia raxon al qual non avete possuto meter sui per quelii disturbii et cetera. Undi vi rispondo et prego tegni modo di venderli al meo poder. Et se questo non podesse esser vignando nostri de que duteli con nui per che nula voio del mio romagni dapoi de nui ma se vegnando trova se ad infirne fate chome vi par. Dite non avete anchor schosso da vaivoda lanus la montar del mio diamante e rubini per quale chaxion le qual ho ben intexe. Et che Dei grazia le chosse sono si inquieto et pazifichate, che provedere de schuoder et chussi quante io so et posso vene suplichio e ben li puo bastar ad averli tegnudi tanto tempo e si non tegno pronto che negligenzia alchuna sia stada dalla di nostro, imo sum zertissimo che chome vostre fusseno chussi l'abiate tratate. E questo per lamor he fra nui chome dite. Ma sel fosse altri cha nui et non chognosuto da me chome vui me la menterei che lavesse dado el mio senza dener hover me daria maderia creer lavesse fato altro del mio, a suo uso. Ben che la montar sia iachelo ma denui credo quello di me proprio e pero avanti pretiate de li fate di averli ese altramente fasse mai se averiano sete. Savio, et se me intendete l'oro paiuola posto in quella nostra letera, ho rezevudo non ne voio pui lavergera daro avete, dite la manderete hover con nui porterete. Se quella fa per mi vi dicho se la potete mandar me la mandate quando no dureta con nui che sun contento. Averla dar schoderete da lanus e eltrato dei mie

rubini 6 vi resta vignando nui di que ho non voio me linvestiate in arzento hover altro investissa per vui hover per le raxon di miser vostro padre et fradello vostro et se non possa investirli fate per me avelo farete dei prenominati.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 42v

6

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero to Fojnica
Venice, 5 September 1446**

Chopia de 1^a letera scritta a ser Ieronimo Malipiero, condam miser Fantin, in Choniza di 5 setenbrio 1446

Fradelo, li per nostro chuxin ho sapudo chome quel conpadre nostro se ha portado benissimo nel tempo sete qui stato, si nel spaziar per la via da Raguxi, chome per altro modo, con bona utilità, che assai mi piaze. Et quanto olsa con piu vostro avantazo, tanto piu ne sero e questo per la benivolenzia he semper fra mi stata. E però vi prego vi arichordate dei mie ducati xxx. mi restate a dar, dei qual nesun in piu bixogno de quello. Ma trovava quando qui eri, per farsse piu continue fazion de quello allora se seva. Et anche siamo in sentenbrio nel qual tempo dizesti spazarme et chussi havero a grato fazete.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 49v

7

**Note by Guglielmo Querini regarding the forwarding of a copy of the previous
letter to Ieronimo Malipiero in Fojnica, which was to be passed on to his cousin
Christofalo Malipiero, Venice, 21 September 1446**

Adi 21 setenbrio 1446 io mandai a ser Ieronimo Malipiero, fo di miser Fantin, la chopia de la littera li scrissi a di 5 dito in Choniza, chome apar di sopra, e di là a suo chuxin, Christofalo Malipiero.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 49v

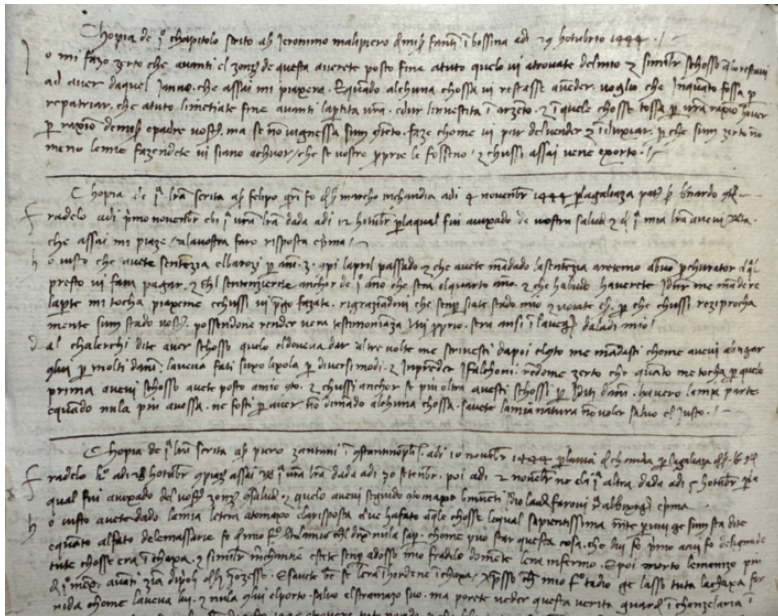
8

**Guglielmo Querini to ser Ieronimo Malipiero to Fojnica
Venice, 4 April 1447**

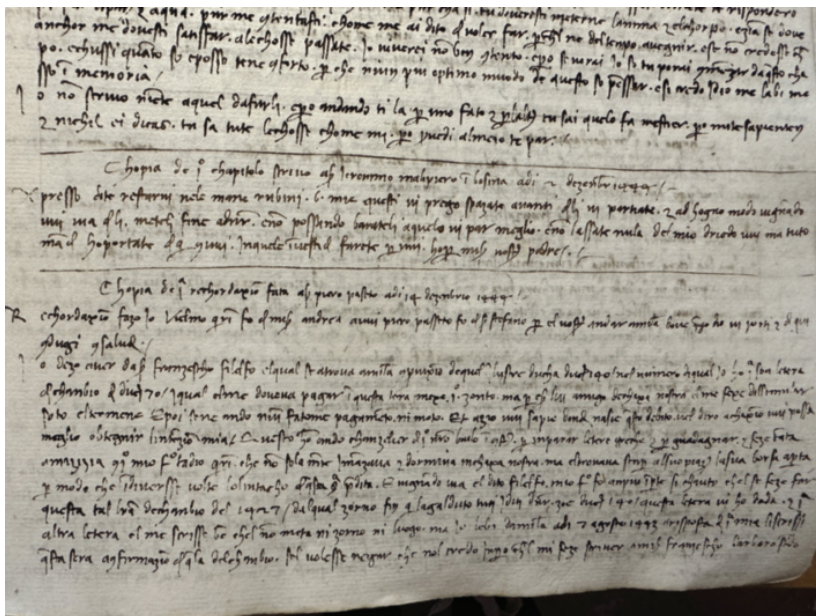
Chopia de l^o Capitolo scritto a ser Ieronimo Malipiero fo a miser Fantin in Chogniza adi
4 april 1447

I de comprender io non stia senza ammirazione che non mi habiate mandato el mio,
et la chaxion sete ristato ho visto, et che presto sperate contentarmi et con utilità,
chome avessa fato inmandarmi tanto arzeno se'l portador l'avesse voluto condur.
Hor io spiero che, chome scrivete, chussi fare et prego ve ne assai, et che'l sia presto,
et ben che la chosa sia pichola. In verità ne ho bixogno pro continuarsse molto piu le
in possizion, et assai piu grosse per quando que fosti, le qual assai disturba i fati mie
per far grosso, chome sapete. Ni mi lassa tuor di i partidi, che al' altra volta parte
siando, io potria.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco,
Procuratori "de citra canale", b. 271/3, fol. 50r

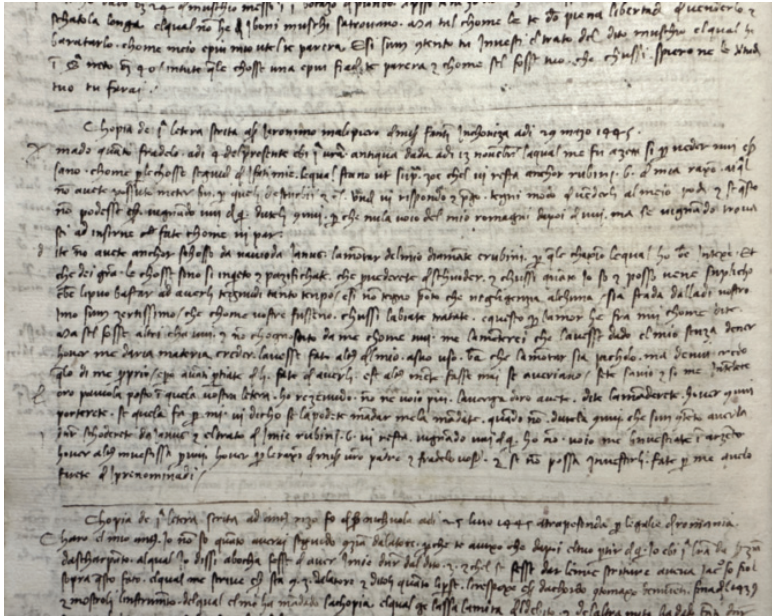


5. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canalem", b. 271/3, fol. 35v

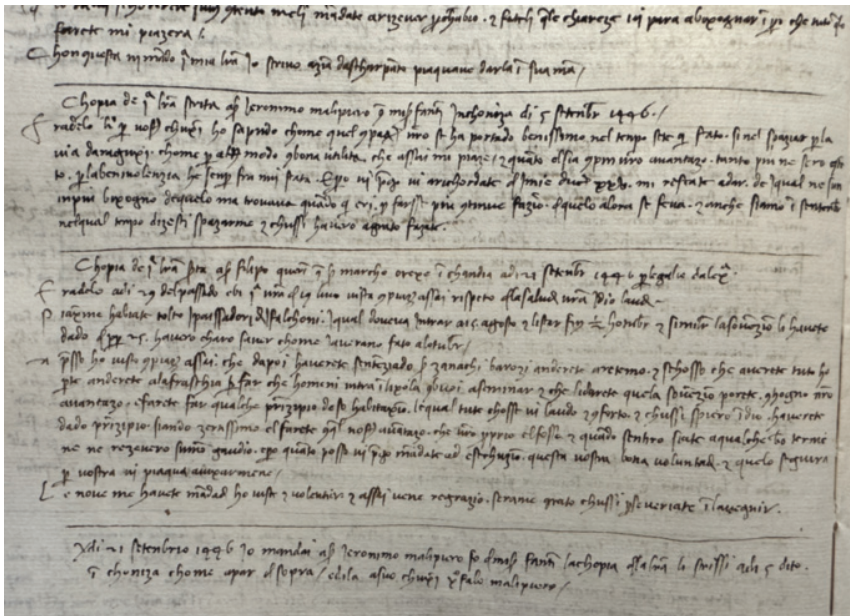


6. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canalem", b. 271/3, fol. 37r

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF VENETIAN MERCHANT GUGLIELMO QUERINI
ON HIS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN BOSNIA, 1443-1447



7. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori “de citra canale”, b. 271/3, fol. 42v



8. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori “de citra canale”, b. 271/3, fol. 49v

Chopia de i ltra frita af Jeronimo malpuro a mi fathi paragona di s' marzo 1946.
 raddo in q' noff' chome ho sapudo chome quel g'pax' mo se ha portado benissimo nel tempo che g' Palo. si nel spax' pla
 uia d'aragone. chome y' altri modi. chome ualata. che affai mi par: 12 quale elia g'p'm' mo uantato. moito piu ne lero on
 to. y' labonmologia ho fomy fra mi para. Ego mi fize in aridordak' d' hinc d'ua g'p'le. mi refero adon. de l'qual ne on
 impie l'ocagio deualo ma trouaua quito q' eu. y' f'as'li. y' mi g'mue fize. d'queto alora se f'ua. 2 anse f'imo i f'osito
 nequal impo d'ic'li f'ragome y' ch'uffi. h'auero eguie f'ize.

Chopia de i ltra fite af filipo quito a s' marzo 1946. y' ch'ante ad. 2 f'ante eq. q' y' g'p'le d'ale.
 raddo ali. 2 d'el'p'f'ale. che i' mo d'ca l'uo uita g'p'p' affai r'f'p'ro d'f'af'ad' uita d'is' laud.
 p' uome habite uita p'p'f'ador d'f'el'g'f'ori. qual bouca uita ar. ag'p' y' l'itaz' f'p' 2 h'ome y' f'imo l'af'ozio lo h'auero
 d'ado d'f'p' 2 f'auero ch'ore f'auer ch'ome u'urano f'uo al'ou'ro.
 y' p'f'li ho uita g'p'p' affai. che d'ap' h'auero f'itoyado s' q'ant' h'au'ro and'ro ar'emo. 2 f'of'fo che auere h'ue h'
 p'ic' an'ete al'af'af'ia h'af' che h'omei mo' i'p'ala g'p'ic' af'f'inas y' che h'auero quela f'itoyio p'ote. g'p'p' mo
 auantato. f'of'fo f'ue quela p'p'p'io de f' habitayio. l'qual h'ue ch'uffi in laud' y' f'of'fo y' ch'uffi f'p'ro d'is'. h'auero
 d'ado p'p'p'io. f'anoo g'p'f'imo el f'of'fo q'f' nof' auantato. che uo g'p'ro el f'of'fo y' quito f'itoyio f'itoyio aqua. che ho terne
 me ne rez'auero f'imo quito. ego quito p'f'li in f'p' mo' ad' af'of'f'ia. quita u'itoyio uita uoluntad' y' quela f'ig'ura
 y' u'itoyio in u'itoyio au'ou'ro.
 2 noie me h'auero mo' ad' ho uita y' uoluntad' y' affai uene rez'auio. f'itoyio g'p'p' ch'uffi y' u'itoyio f'itoyio.

2di a s' febrero 1946. 10 munda af' Jeronimo malpuro a f'ome f'athi. f'achopia d'f'ala l'ra f'uffi ali s' d'ito.
 y' ch'omiza ch'ome opor d'f'p'ra. c'ila af'ue ch'uffi y' Palo malpuro.

9. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canalem", b. 271/3, fol. 49v

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 p' uome habite uita p'p'f'ador d'f'el'g'f'ori. qual bouca uita ar. ag'p' y' l'itaz' f'p' 2 h'ome y' f'imo l'af'ozio lo h'auero
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2di a s' febrero 1946. 10 munda af' Jeronimo malpuro a f'ome f'athi. f'achopia d'f'ala l'ra f'uffi ali s' d'ito.
 y' ch'omiza ch'ome opor d'f'p'ra. c'ila af'ue ch'uffi y' Palo malpuro.

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 p' uome habite uita p'p'f'ador d'f'el'g'f'ori. qual bouca uita ar. ag'p' y' l'itaz' f'p' 2 h'ome y' f'imo l'af'ozio lo h'auero
 d'ado d'f'p' 2 f'auero ch'ore f'auer ch'ome u'urano f'uo al'ou'ro.
 y' p'f'li ho uita g'p'p' affai. che d'ap' h'auero f'itoyado s' q'ant' h'au'ro and'ro ar'emo. 2 f'of'fo che auere h'ue h'
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 d'ado p'p'p'io. f'anoo g'p'f'imo el f'of'fo q'f' nof' auantato. che uo g'p'ro el f'of'fo y' quito f'itoyio f'itoyio aqua. che ho terne
 me ne rez'auero f'imo quito. ego quito p'f'li in f'p' mo' ad' af'of'f'ia. quita u'itoyio uita uoluntad' y' quela f'ig'ura
 y' u'itoyio in u'itoyio au'ou'ro.
 2 noie me h'auero mo' ad' ho uita y' uoluntad' y' affai uene rez'auio. f'itoyio g'p'p' ch'uffi y' u'itoyio f'itoyio.

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 y' ch'omiza ch'ome opor d'f'p'ra. c'ila af'ue ch'uffi y' Palo malpuro.

10. ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori "de citra canalem", b. 271/3, fol. 50r

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Емир О. Филиповић

**ПИСМА МЛЕТАЧКОГ ТРГОВЦА ГУЉЕЛМА КВЕРИНИЈА
О ПОСЛОВНИМ ПОДУХВАТИМА У БОСНИ 1443–1447**

Резиме

Преписка између Гуљелма Кверинија и Ђеронима Малипијера у периоду од 1443. до 1447. године пружа драгоцен увид у пословне односе између млетачких трговаца и средњовековне Босне. Док су се ранији истраживачи углавном ослањали на сажете информације из претходних студија, директан приступ сачуваним писмима открива далеко сложенију и живописнију слику трговачке праксе, комуникације, изазова и очекивања у оквиру нестабилне и динамичне трговачке мреже XV века.

Кверини се појављује као искусан, мада у извесној мери ограничен трговац, који је био више везан за сигурно окружење Венеције него за неизвесна путовања у иностранство, и који се у својим пословним подухватима ослањао на поуздане и искусне сараднике попут Малипијера. Његова писма сведоче не само о размени добара, већ и о пословним стратегијама, прагматичним очекивањима и прилагодљивости променљивим тржишним условима. Осим економског садржаја, писма откривају и емотивну димензију – поверење и фрустрацију, оптимизам и разочарање, као и забринутост за безбедност пословног партнера у нестабилним политичким околностима у Босни, нарочито у контексту све чешћих османских упада.

Упркос ограничењима и пословним неуспесима који су обележили каснију фазу његове трговачке делатности, Кверини ипак остаје репрезентативан пример млетачког патриција и трговца чији су пословни интереси допирали дубоко у унутрашњост Балкана. Његова сачувана преписка са Малипијером стога не само што обогаћује наше разумевање трговачке историје овог региона, већ и проширује ширу слику узајамних веза и циркулације добара, информација и људи између Млетачке Републике и Босанског краљевства у XV веку.